

## **LOKNITI-CSDS-TIRANGA TV-THE HINDU-DAINIK BHASKAR PRE POLL SURVEY 2019**

### **Methodology**

As part of its National Election Study, Lokniti, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS), Delhi, conducted a Pre-Poll Survey between March 24th and March 31st, 2019 among **10,010** respondents spread across 19 States of India - Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Delhi, Gujarat, Haryana, Jharkhand, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Telangana, Uttar Pradesh, and West Bengal. The survey was conducted in 101 Assembly Constituencies (ACs) spread across 101 Parliamentary Constituencies. The total sample size targeted was 10,100 with an AC/PC-wise target of 100 interviews. In order to decide the number of PCs to be sampled in each of the 19 States, we first gave special weightage to the small States with 14 seats or less in order to achieve a decent sample of 300 from these States. Thereafter, the number of PCs to be sampled in the remaining medium and large States was determined based on the proportion of their electorate in the total electorate of the remaining States. The resultant target sample of each State was then adjusted to the nearest 100.

The sampling design adopted was multi-stage random sampling. This procedure ensures that the selected sample is fully representative of the cross-section of voters in the country. The PCs where the survey was conducted were randomly selected using the probability proportional to size method (adjusting the probability of choosing a particular constituency according to the size of its electorate). Then, one AC was selected from within each sampled PC using the PPS method again. Thereafter, four polling stations were selected from within each of the sampled ACs using the systematic random sampling method. Finally, 38 respondents were randomly selected using the systematic method from the electoral rolls of the sampled polling stations. Of these 38, we set a target of 25 interviews per polling station.

Once we identified our sample among the electorate, trained field investigators or FIs (a training workshop for them was conducted in each state) were sent to meet them. They were asked to interview only those whose names had been sampled. However at some locations the non-availability of sampled respondents or difficulty in finding households necessitated replacements/substitutions. Our investigators sat down in the homes of people and asked them a detailed set of questions which could take up to 30 minutes. The questionnaire we presented to our sample of voters was designed in the language mainly spoken in the respondents' State. In Gujarat in Gujarati, in Kerala in Malayalam, etc. Each PC/AC was covered by a team of two FIs, except Tamil Nadu where a team of four FIs was sent to each AC due to late start of fieldwork. A total 216 field investigators conducted the survey at 404 locations.

The achieved national sample is broadly representative of India's population, in terms of the country's general demographic profile. Data of each State has been weighted by gender, locality, caste group and religion as per Census 2011 percentages.

### Profile of the achieved national sample

	Raw share in the achieved survey sample (%)	Actual share in total population of 19 States as per Census 2011 (%)	Actual share in India's total population as per Census 2011 (%)
Women	46	49	49
Urban	34	31	31
SC	19	17	17
ST	10	8	9
Muslim	13	14	14
Christian	2	2	2
Sikh	3	2	2

Note: Figures have been round off.

### Distribution of the Sample

S. no.	State	Targeted sample	No. of ACs/PCs	No. of PSs	Achieved sample
1	Andhra Pradesh	400	4	16	390
2	Assam	300	3	12	317
3	Bihar	800	8	32	802
4	Chhattisgarh	300	3	12	317
5	Delhi	300	3	12	266
6	Gujarat	400	4	16	391
7	Haryana	300	3	12	318
8	Jharkhand	300	3	12	317
9	Karnataka	500	5	20	568
10	Kerala	300	3	12	300
11	Madhya Pradesh	500	5	20	519
12	Maharashtra	1000	10	40	817
13	Odisha	500	5	20	510
14	Punjab	300	3	12	303
15	Rajasthan	500	5	20	552
16	Tamil Nadu	700	7	28	637
17	Telangana	300	3	12	297
18	Uttar Pradesh	1600	16	64	1621
19	West Bengal	800	8	32	768
	<b>Total</b>	<b>10,100</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>404</b>	<b>10,010</b>

The survey was coordinated by scholars from the Lokniti Network: E Venkatesu and Srinivas Rao Gangiredla (Andhra Pradesh), Dhruva Pratim Sharma and Nurul Hassan (Assam), Rakesh Ranjan (Bihar), Lakhan Choudhary (Chhattisgarh), Biswajit Mohanty (Delhi), Bhanu Parmar (Gujarat), Kushal Pal and Anita Agarwal (Haryana), Harishwar Dayal and Amit Kumar (Jharkhand), Veenadevi and K L Nagesh (Karnataka), Sajad

Ibrahim and Rincy Mathew (Kerala), Yatindra Singh Sisodia and Ashish Bhatt (Madhya Pradesh), Nitin Birmal (Maharashtra), Gyanaranjan Swain and Balaram Pradhan (Odisha), Ashutosh Kumar and Hardeep Kaur (Punjab), Sanjay Lodha and Nidhi Seth (Rajasthan), P Ramajayam (Tamil Nadu), Vageeshan Harathi and Ramya C. (Telangana), Mirza Asmer Beg, Shashikant Pandey and Sudhir Khare (Uttar Pradesh), and Suprio Basu and Jyotiprasad Chatterjee (West Bengal).

The survey was designed and analysed by a team of researchers at Lokniti, CSDS. The team included Amrit Negi, Amrit Pandey, Anurag Jain, Dhananjay Kumar Singh, Himanshu Bhattacharya, Jyoti Mishra, Manjesh Rana, Sakshi Khemani, Shreyas Sardesai and Vibha Attri. The survey was directed by Prof. Sanjay Kumar, Prof. Suhas Palshikar and Prof. Sandeep Shastri of Lokniti.

## **A CLEAR ADVANTAGE TO THE RULING ALLIANCE**

*Sandeep Shastri, Suhas Palshikar and Sanjay Kumar*

As the nation gears up for the first round of the Lok Sabha elections, the ruling BJP and its NDA seem to enjoy a distinct advantage over its opponents. The CSDS-Lokniti Pre Election Survey, indicates that the national mood appears to be to give the ruling party/alliance a second term. Over the last one year, the ruling party appears to have overcome the emerging mood of anti-incumbency and turned the tide in its favour. Each region of the country appears to have its own trend and political direction. As things stand in the last week of March 2019, the NDA appears close to the majority mark, though the BJP itself seems well short of securing a majority on its own. One must however hasten to add, that there does not appear to be any national wave in favour of the ruling party.

The CSDS-Lokniti Pre Poll Survey shows that both the BJP and the Congress are likely to register a four percentage point increase in their vote share. However, in the case of the BJP, this rise, is not accompanied by a corresponding increase in its seat share. In some key states of North and Central India, the party is likely to lose seats as it may find it difficult to achieve the high `strike rate` it secured in 2014. The SP-BSP combine in Uttar Pradesh is posing a stiff challenge to the BJP. If the current trends were to continue, the BJP is likely to lose a significant chunk of seats in this politically important state. While it may continue to do well in Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and even Chattisgarh, it is unlikely to repeat its 2014 performance here. The BJP could well make up part of this deficit it suffers in North and Western India through marginal gains in the East and North East. Its tally in South is unlikely to see any visible improvement. The overall shortfall the party is likely to face, could well result in its partners within the NDA playing a crucial role in government formation after the elections.

It is important to highlight that as things stand today, the projected rise in the NDA vote share appears to be at the cost of the Non-UPA opposition. Ironically, among supporters of these non-UPA parties, the sentiment against NDA is not very strong. Close to one-third of non-UPA/non-BJP voters prefer not to take a stand on the question of the Modi government getting a second chance and just four of every ten are against giving the ruling party another opportunity. Possibly, the supporters of the non UPA opposition see a limited opportunity of the parties they support coming to power and this is reflected in their stand on a second chance for the BJP. In any case, this opens possibilities for the BJP in states like West Bengal and Odisha.

If one were to undertake a region wise analysis, it is clear that the NDA appears to be doing extremely well in North, West and Central India. It is also catching up in the East and North East, though it is faring poorly in the South. While the NDA has made some gains in the South in the last one year, it has been unable to catch up with either the UPA or other state based parties in this region. South India is the only region where close to half the respondents (45%) believe that the country is heading in the wrong direction.

The BJP seems to be ahead of its opponents on account of the support it enjoys among critical social groups. It retains its lead among both upper castes and the OBCs. While it gets more support among the upper and middle income groups, its support among the low income group and the poor is not insignificant. Young voters (below the age of 25) seem to be more enthusiastic in their support for the BJP. The support for the ruling party declines with age and between the oldest and youngest age groups there is an eight percentage point difference. The BJP, which a year ago appeared to have lost ground to the Congress in small towns and cities, appears to have made up the deficit and is now ahead of the Congress in villages, towns and both the small and large cities. The farmers, among whom support for the party had declined last year are once again rallying around the BJP.

A clear reflection of the absence of the practice of inclusiveness is seen in the response of the religious minorities. While close to half the Hindu respondents felt that the BJP should get another chance, more than half the Muslim respondents were against a second chance for the BJP. This assertion of no second chance for the government was much higher among the Christians ( six of every ten) and Sikhs ( seven of every ten).

Above all, besides the social arithmetic, it is political skills that would finally make and unmake the electoral fortunes of different parties. In this respect, a fascinating piece of data deserves mention: When asked about how determined they are to go and vote, three fourths of those who support the NDA said they were 'very likely' to vote whereas only three fifths of the potential non-NDA voters appeared similarly determined. Muslims were the least enthusiastic to vote (four of every ten not sure of voting) and the Upper Castes were the most enthusiastic (seven of every ten saying that they would surely vote). In other words, NDA voters are more likely to turn out and vote and non-NDA voters are less likely to turnout to vote. It is clear that if the

UPA and the non-UPA parties do not get their act together, the levels of eagerness among their supporters is not likely to increase as voting day approaches. If the contest is between active pro-incumbency and passive anti-inti-incumbency, that will surely benefit the BJP and its allies. BJP thus, enters the hotly contested election with a clear advantage in more senses than one.

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## CSDS-Lokniti-Tiranga TV-The Hindu-Dainik Bhaskar Pre Poll Survey 2019

### VOTE SHARE & SEAT SHARE ESTIMATES

**Table 1: All-India Vote Estimate for Lok Sabha Election based on CSDS-Lokniti Pre Poll Survey (Fieldwork: March 24-31, 2019)**

	(%)
BJP	35
BJP allies	6
Cong.	23
Cong. allies	7
BSP	5
BSP allies	4
Left	3
Others	17

Note: Raw figures of voting intention have been adjusted by the Lokniti-CSDS team for the known patterns of under-reporting for independents and very small parties and over-reporting for the ruling party/alliance in a state to arrive at the vote share estimates presented here. Voters who did not disclose their vote preference have been adjusted proportionately.

**BJP allies** include: Shiv Sena (only in Maharashtra), Shiromani Akali Dal (only in Punjab), Lok Janshakti Party (only in Bihar), Janata Dal-United (only in Bihar), Bodoland People's Front, Asom Gana Parishad, Rashtriya Samaj Paksha, Republican Party of India (A) (*supporting*), Apna Dal (Sonelal), NISHAD Party, All Jharkhand Students Union Party, Rashtriya Loktantrik Party, All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, Puthiya Tamizhagam, Desiya Murpokku Dravida Kazhagam, Pattali Makkal Katchi, Puthiya Needhi Katchi

**Congress allies** include Rashtriya Janata Dal (only in Bihar), Nationalist Congress Party (only in Maharashtra), Rashtriya Lok Samata Party, Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, Kongunadu Makkal Desia Katchi, Indhiya Jananayaga Katchi, Viduthalai Chiruthaigal Katchi, Communist Party of India-Marxist (Only in Tamil Nadu), Communist Party of India (only in Tamil Nadu), Communist Party of India Marxist-Leninist (only in Bihar), Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (in Jharkhand and Odisha), Jharkhand Vikas Morcha-P, Indian Union Muslim League (in Kerala and Tamil Nadu), Revolutionary Socialist Party (only in Kerala), Hindustan Awam Morcha, Vikassheel Insaan Party, Swabhimani Paksha, Bahujan Vikas Aghadi, Mahan Dal, Apna Dal-Krishna Patel, Yuva Swabhimani Party, Janata Dal-Secular (only in Karnataka)

**BSP allies** include Samajwadi Party (in Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand and Madhya Pradesh), Rashtriya Lok Dal (in Uttar Pradesh), Jana Sena and Loktantra Suraksha Party.

**Left** includes Communist Party of India Marxist (except Tamil Nadu), Communist Party of India (except Tamil Nadu), All India Forward Bloc, and Revolutionary Socialist Party (except Kerala).

**Others** include parties like the Trinamool Congress, Biju Janata Dal, Telangana Rashtra Samiti, Yuvajana Shramika Rythu Congress Party, Aam Aadmi Party, All India United Democratic Front, Indian National Lok Dal, Jananayak Janata Party, Amma Makkal Munnetra Kazhagam, etc.

The survey was not conducted in Jammu and Kashmir, Uttarakhand, Himachal Pradesh, Goa, Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram, Tripura, Meghalaya and the Union Territories (except Delhi).

Source: National Election Study Pre Poll 2019 by CSDS-Lokniti

Sample size (N) - 10,010

**Table 1a: Both BJP and Congress up by 4 percentage points**

	May 2014 actual vote share based on alliances back then (%)	Pre Poll 2019 Vote estimate (%)
BJP	31.0	35
BJP allies	7.4	6
Cong.	19.3	23
Cong. allies	3.7	7
BSP	4.1	5
BSP allies	3.5	4
Left	4.8	3
Others	26.2	17

\*Does not include vote share of SP and RLD here; SP and RLD secured 3.4% and 0.1% votes respectively in 2014.  
Note: 2019 estimate based on NES Pre Poll Survey 2019 by CSDS-Lokniti

**Table 1b: After hitting a peak in 2017, BJP's vote share, which had begun declining, has risen compared to last May**

	May 2017 estimate (%)	Jan 2018 estimate (%)	May 2018 estimate (%)	Pre Poll 2019 estimate (%)
BJP	39	34	32	35
BJP allies	6	6	5	6
Cong.	21	25	25	23
Cong. allies	6	5	6	7
BSP+	6	7	10	9
Left	3	3	3	3
Others	19	20	19	17

Source: Mood of the Nation 2017, Mood of the Nation Jan 2018 and Mood of the Nation May 2018; National Election Study Pre Poll 2019. All done by CSDS-Lokniti  
Sample size (N) in May 2017 - 11,373; Jan 2018 - 14,336; May 2018 - 15,859; Pre Poll 2019-10,010

**Table 1c: NDA seems to have gained in past year mostly at the expense of non-UPA parties**

	May 2017 estimate (%)	Jan 2018 estimate (%)	May 2018 estimate (%)	Pre Poll 2019 estimate (%)
BJP+/NDA	45	40	37	41
Cong+/UPA	27	30	31	30
Others	28	30	32	29

Source: Mood of the Nation 2017, Mood of the Nation Jan 2018 and Mood of the Nation May 2018; National Election Study Pre Poll 2019. All done by CSDS-Lokniti  
Sample size (N) in May 2017 - 11,373; Jan 2018 - 14,336; May 2018 - 15,859; Pre Poll 2019-10,010

**Table 2: Despite increase in vote share, BJP likely to lose seats due to a more united Opposition in some key States**

	2014 Seats Won based on alliances back then	2019 Seat Estimate (Pre Poll)
Cong	44	74-84
Cong allies	15	41-51
BJP	283	222-232
BJP allies	53	41-51
BSP+	0*	37-47
Left	12	5-15
Others	136	88-98

Note: 2019 estimate based on NES Pre Poll Survey 2019 by CSDS-Lokniti

\*Does not include SP and RLD; **SP won 5 seats in UP which are part of Others in 2014 in this Table.**

**Table 2a: NDA may or may not cross the majority mark**

	2014 Seats Won based on alliances back then	2019 Seat Estimate (Pre Poll)
UPA	59	115-135
NDA	336	263-283
Others	148	135-155

Note: 2019 estimate based on NES Pre Poll Survey 2019 by CSDS-Lokniti

**Table 3: State-wise vote estimates for major blocs**

States	UPA (%)	NDA (%)	Others (%)
Andhra Pradesh	4	5	91 (TDP - 36) (YSCRP - 46)
Bihar	39	53	8
Gujarat	36	56	8
Karnataka	50	46	4
Kerala	34	18	49 (LDF - 38)
Madhya Pradesh	44	50	6
Maharashtra	39	57	4
Odisha	17	27	57 (BJD - 44)
Rajasthan	40	50	10
Tamil Nadu	53	37	10
Uttar Pradesh	10	44	46 (MGB - 44)
West Bengal	10	26	64 (TMC - 39) (Left - 19)

Source: NES Pre Poll Survey 2019 by CSDS-Lokniti

**Table 3a: Pre Poll Survey-based Seat estimates for major States**

States	UPA	NDA	Others
Andhra Pradesh	0	0-3	19-25 <i>TDP – 6-12</i> <i>YSRCP – 10-16</i>
Bihar	5-11	28-34	0-2
Gujarat	0-4	22-26	0-0
Karnataka	8-14	14-20	0-0
Kerala	5-13	0-2	6-14
Madhya Pradesh	6-12	17-23	0-0
Maharashtra	6-10	38-42	0-0
Odisha	0-0	2-8	13-19*
Rajasthan	4-8	17-21	0-0
Tamil Nadu	25-35	4-14	0-0
Uttar Pradesh	0-6	32-40	38-46**
West Bengal	3-7	2-6	30-36***

Source: Based on NES Pre Poll Survey 2019 by CSDS-Lokniti

\*All for BJD

\*\*All for SP-BSP-RLD Gathbandhan

\*\*\*All for TMC

**Table 4: Region-wise voting preference based on Pre Poll Survey**

	UPA (%)	NDA (%)	Others (%)
North	21	44	35
South	38	28	34
East	26	39	35
West and Central	41	53	6

Source: NES Pre Poll Survey 2019 by CSDS-Lokniti

**Table 4a: Region-wise estimated seat range based on Pre Poll Survey**

	UPA	NDA	Others
North (151)	14-24	78-88	39-59
South (132)	51-61	28-38	38-48
East (142)	21-31	58-68	48-58
West and Central (118)	19-29	89-99	0-0

Source: Based on NES Pre Poll Survey 2019 by CSDS-Lokniti

Note: South India here includes Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Telangana A & N Islands, Puducherry and Lakshadweep; East India here includes West Bengal, Bihar, Odisha, Jharkhand, Assam, Sikkim, Tripura, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur and Mizoram; West and Central India here includes Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Chhattisgarh, Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Daman and Diu; North India here includes Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Punjab, Haryana, Delhi, Uttarakhand, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir and Chandigarh.



**Table 5a: Voting preference in East India during the last two years**

	May 2017 (%)	Jan 2018 (%)	May 2018 (%)	Pre Poll 2019 (%)
BJP+/NDA	42	43	43	39
Cong+/UPA	23	21	25	26
Others	35	36	32	35

Source: Mood of the Nation 2017, Mood of the Nation Jan 2018 and Mood of the Nation May 2018; NES Pre Poll 2019 by CSDS-Lokniti

**Table 5b: Voting preference in West and Central India during the last two years**

	May 2017 (%)	Jan 2018 (%)	May 2018 (%)	Pre Poll 2019 (%)
BJP+/NDA	56	48	48	53
Cong+/UPA	32	40	43	41
Others	12	12	9	6

Source: Mood of the Nation 2017, Mood of the Nation Jan 2018 and Mood of the Nation May 2018; NES Pre Poll 2019 by CSDS-Lokniti

**Table 5c: Voting preference in North India during the last two years**

	May 2017 (%)	Jan 2018 (%)	May 2018 (%)	Pre Poll 2019 (%)
BJP+/NDA	50	45	39	44
Cong+/UPA	18	22	21	21
Others	32	33	40	35

Source: Mood of the Nation 2017, Mood of the Nation Jan 2018 and Mood of the Nation May 2018; NES Pre Poll 2019 by CSDS-Lokniti

**Table 5d: Voting preference in South India during the last two years**

	May 2017 (%)	Jan 2018 (%)	May 2018 (%)	Pre Poll 2019 (%)
BJP+/NDA	33	25	18	28
Cong+/UPA	34	39	38	38
Others	33	36	44	34

Source: Mood of the Nation 2017, Mood of the Nation Jan 2018 and Mood of the Nation May 2018; NES Pre Poll 2019 by CSDS-Lokniti

## Voting Choice – Trends and Patterns

**Table 6: UPA loses May 2018 advantage over NDA in small cities**

	May 2017 (%)	Jan 2018 (%)	May 2018 (%)	Pre Poll 2019 (%)
<b>Villages</b>				
Vote for NDA	46	41	37	40
Vote for UPA	25	29	29	30
Vote for Others	29	30	34	30
<b>Small cities</b>				
Vote for NDA	43	35	31	38
Vote for UPA	28	34	38	28
Vote for Others	29	31	31	34
<b>Big cities</b>				
Vote for NDA	42	47	44	49
Vote for UPA	37	28	34	31
Vote for Others	21	25	22	20

Note: Big cities are those whose population is above 5 lakh.

Source: Mood of the Nation 2017, Mood of the Nation Jan 2018 and Mood of the Nation May 2018; NES Pre Poll 2019 by CSDS-Lokniti

**Table 7: NDA has gained in a significant way among all classes except the upper class among which UPA is doing much better compared to 2018**

	May 2017 (%)	Jan 2018 (%)	May 2018 (%)	Pre Poll 2019 (%)
<b>Upper Class</b>				
Vote for NDA	50	48	48	46
Vote for UPA	24	33	28	32
Vote for Others	26	19	24	22
<b>Middle Class</b>				
Vote for NDA	46	43	39	45
Vote for UPA	29	32	34	33
Vote for Others	25	25	27	22
<b>Lower Class</b>				
Vote for NDA	46	41	36	40
Vote for UPA	24	30	31	29
Vote for Others	30	29	33	31
<b>Poor</b>				
Vote for NDA	37	36	34	38
Vote for UPA	30	29	30	28
Vote for Others	33	35	36	34

Source: Mood of the Nation 2017, Mood of the Nation Jan 2018 and Mood of the Nation May 2018; NES Pre Poll 2019 by CSDS-Lokniti

**Table 8: NDA has regained support of farmers**

	May 2017 (%)	Jan 2018 (%)	May 2018 (%)	Pre Poll 2019 (%)
Farmers' vote for NDA	49	40	37	44
Farmers' vote for UPA	27	33	31	32
Farmers' vote for Others	24	27	32	24

Source: Mood of the Nation 2017, Mood of the Nation Jan 2018 and Mood of the Nation May 2018; NES Pre Poll 2019 by CSDS-Lokniti

**Table 9: BJP's gains in last one year are greatest among the youngest voters; gap of 8 points between support of youngest and oldest for BJP**

	Vote for <b>BJP</b> in May 2017 (%)	Vote for <b>BJP</b> in January 2018 (%)	Vote for <b>BJP</b> in May 2018 (%)	Vote for <b>BJP</b> in Pre Poll 2019
18-25 years	43	34	33	40
26-35 years	42	36	35	36
36-45 years	37	35	32	35
46-55 years	37	32	32	33
56+ years	36	32	28	32

Note: Figures shown in this table are only for BJP and not for NDA.

Source: Mood of the Nation 2017, Mood of the Nation Jan 2018 and Mood of the Nation May 2018; NES Pre Poll 2019

**Table 10: Supporters of Non-Congress Opposition parties do not seem to be that against the Modi govt. as compared to supporters of Congress+**

	Modi govt. should get another chance (%)	Modi government <b>should not</b> get another chance (%)	No response (%)
<b>All voters</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>18</b>
Congress voters	12	66	22
Congress allies' voters	13	74	13
BJP voters	86	6	8
BJP allies' voters	56	30	14
BSP-SP+ voters	32	52	16
Left voters	29	36	35
Others' voters	28	37	35

Source: NES Pre Poll 2019 conducted by CSDS-Lokniti

Question asked: Should the BJP-led NDA government at the Centre get another chance after the coming Lok Sabha election?

**Table 11: Religious minorities continue to dislike Modi government; interestingly Sikhs and Christians are slightly more opposed to it than Muslims**

	Modi govt. should get another chance (%)	Modi government <u>should not</u> get another chance (%)	No response (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>18</b>
Hindus	51	31	18
Muslims	26	56	18
Christians	20	62	18
Sikhs	21	68	10
Others	35	41	24

Source: NES Pre Poll 2019 conducted by CSDS-Lokniti

**Table 12: Anti-incumbency vote is getting split between UPA and Others**

	Voting for NDA (%)	Voting for UPA (%)	Voting for Others (%)
Pro-incumbent vote ( <i>govt. should get another chance</i> )	73	8	19
Anti-incumbent vote ( <i>govt. should not get another chance</i> )	11	56	33
No response	20	32	48

Source: NES Pre Poll 2019 conducted by CSDS-Lokniti

**Table 13: Southern India is the only region that thinks that the country is headed in the wrong direction**

	Country headed in the right direction (%)	Country headed in the <b>wrong</b> direction (%)	No response (%)
<b>All India (19 States)</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>33</b>
East	43	21	36
West and Central	46	23	31
North	41	22	37
South	30	45	25

Source: NES Pre Poll 2019 conducted by CSDS-Lokniti

Question asked: In general, do you think things in the country are headed in the right direction or the wrong direction?

**Table 14: Could higher turnout help Opposition? - NDA leads by big margin among those most enthusiastic about voting; among those less enthusiastic about voting UPA/Others lead over NDA. Getting these voters out is going to be crucial for the Opposition**

	Voting for UPA (%)	Voting for NDA (%)	Voting for Others (%)
Very likely to vote (66%)	28	46	26
Somewhat likely to vote (23%)	36	35	29
Not much or not at all likely to vote (11%*)	33	26	41

Source: NES Pre Poll 2019 conducted by CSDS-Lokniti

\*This includes those who did not respond to the question

Question asked: The Lok Sabha election is being held in a few weeks time. How likely is it that you will vote in it - very likely, somewhat likely, less likely or not at all likely?

**Table 14a: Looked at another way, three-fourths of those who preferred NDA also said they are highly likely to vote; in contrast only three-fifths of those who said they will vote for UPA and Others said they are highly likely to vote**

	Very likely to vote (%)	Somewhat likely to vote (%)	Not much or not at all likely to vote (%)
NDA voters	74	20	7
UPA voters	61	27	12
Others' voters	63	21	16

Source: NES Pre Poll 2019 conducted by CSDS-Lokniti

**Table 14b: In the Survey, Muslim respondents were least enthusiastic about voting; Hindu upper castes were most enthusiastic**

	Very likely to vote (%)	Somewhat likely to vote (%)	Not much or not at all likely to vote (%)
Hindu Upper Castes	71	20	9
Hindu OBCs	67	23	10
Hindu SCs	65	25	10
Hindu STs	62	24	14
Muslims	60	25	15
Christians	74	12	14
Sikhs	71	27	2

Source: NES Pre Poll 2019 conducted by CSDS-Lokniti

## Modi factor

**Table 15: Gap between NDA and UPA narrow among those for whom party or candidate will be a voting consideration; but NDA sweeps the votes of those who say PM candidate will be their voting consideration**

Between candidate, party and PM candidate, my most important voting consideration will be...	Voting for UPA (%)	Voting for NDA (%)	Voting for Others (%)
Local candidate (32%)	32	35	33
Party (41%)	36	34	30
PM candidate (20%)	17	68	15

Source: NES Pre Poll 2019 conducted by CSDS-Lokniti

Question asked: What will be the most important consideration for you when you vote in the upcoming Lok Sabha election – the local Candidate, the Party or the Prime Ministerial candidate?

**Table 16: Spontaneous Preference for PM (open ended question) – Narendra Modi way ahead of Rahul Gandhi**

	(%)
Narendra Modi	43
Rahul Gandhi	24
Mayawati	3
Mamata Banerjee	2
Other leaders	13
No response	15

Source: NES Pre Poll 2019 conducted by CSDS-Lokniti

Question asked: After the upcoming Lok Sabha election who would you prefer as the next Prime Minister of India? (*Do not offer any name, record exact answer & consult PM codes for coding*)

**Table 16a: Rahul Gandhi fared far better in a close ended question. When asked to choose between Modi and Rahul as next PM, Modi's ratings went up only marginally from 43% to 45% but Rahul Gandhi's jumped from 24% to 32% as supporters of some Opposition parties and BJP allies seem to have rallied behind him**

	Modi over Rahul (%)	Rahul over Modi (%)	Either would do (%)	Neither (%)
<b>All voters</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>11</b>
Cong voters	10	72	5	6
Cong allies' voters	11	54	14	16
BJP voters	89	4	2	2
BJP allies' voters	48	17	17	10
BSP-SP+ voters	25	39	4	22
Left voters	22	40	3	20
Others' voters	29	23	8	24

Note: The rest of the respondents did not give an answer

Source: NES Pre Poll 2019 conducted by CSDS-Lokniti

Question asked: If you had to choose just between Narendra Modi and Rahul Gandhi as the next Prime Minister of India, who would you choose?

**Table 16b: Among first time women voters, Narendra Modi’s lead over Rahul Gandhi narrowed to 9 points. But among first time men voters it widened to 15 points.**

	Modi over Rahul (%)	Rahul over Modi (%)	Either would do (%)	Neither (%)
<b>All voters</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>11</b>
First time women voters (18-22 years)	45	36	4	13
First time men voters (18-22 years)	49	34	5	9

Note: The rest of the respondents did not give an answer

Source: NES Pre Poll 2019 conducted by CSDS-Lokniti

Question asked: If you had to choose just between Narendra Modi and Rahul Gandhi as the next Prime Minister of India, who would you choose?