

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
	Total	10,100	101	404	10,010

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.

The Balakot Bump

Lokniti Team

Trapped in loquacious incumbency, which of the more recent decisions of the Modi government have the potential to help it retain power? A pre-election survey conducted by Lokniti in the last week of March (for methodology, see *BOX*) suggests that three decisions of the Modi government taken between January 7 and February 26 might just have the ability to change the course of an election that just could very well have been a close race. On January 7, the government took a decision to accord 10 percent reservations to the economically weaker sections; on February 1, a decision to transfer money to bank accounts of farmers was announced and in the last week of February, the air strikes took place within Pakistan following the Pulwama attack.

The survey found that 43% or more than four of every ten respondents wanted Modi to return as prime minister. This is a good seven percentage points higher than the preference for Mr. Modi recorded during the 2014 elections when a little over one thirds had wanted him to lead the country. It is also nearly the same as what was recorded in May 2017 in the post-demonetization phase and the BJP's spectacular showing in the Uttar Pradesh assembly election. However what is significant is the nine percentage point's rise in support as compared to just a year ago - May 2018 - when Lokniti had conducted a national survey in the very same States.

It would perhaps not be wrong to assume that the air strike by India in Pakistan's Balakot, the new reservation quota and the cash transfer to farmers have had a significant role to play in this unusually high spike in Prime Minister Modi's popularity in such a short span of time. It is also important to note that this rise in popularity took place in the backdrop of BJP losing 3 crucial Hindi heartland state elections to the Congress at the end of 2018.

There is a flip side to this however: most respondents in the survey did not openly say that the air strike in Pakistan, the reservation issue or the money transfer would be the most important voting issues for them. When asked to spontaneously state what the single most important voting issue will be for them, one-fifth of the respondents

said it would be unemployment and one-sixth said development. Barely 2% said that national security and the air strikes against Pakistan would be the single most important voting issue for them. Even on being prompted with a given set of options the proportion of those who said air strikes rose very marginally to 4%. Reservation was cited by only 3%. However, looking at other data from the survey, we have reason to believe that the three back to back happenings seem to have had impacted voter preferences and opinions, quite possibly at a sub-conscious level.

The survey for instance found awareness about the Balakot strike and reservation, and the benefit of cash transfer, to be making a noticeable difference to the views of people about Narendra Modi and his government. Four of five respondents were found to have heard or read about the Balakot strike and among them preference for Modi as the next Prime Minister was found to be at 46%. On the other hand among those who weren't aware of the Balakot strike, Modi's acceptability was way lower at just 32%. This difference could be seen across all regions including South India where Mr. Modi's is relatively less favored compared to other regions. Similarly, among those who had heard of reservations for the general category (57% had heard about it), Mr. Modi was preferred by 47% of the respondents and among those who hadn't, his favorability acceptability was ten points less at 37%. As far as the cash transfer to farmers is concerned, once again the effect was quite similar. Farmers who claimed to have received money in their accounts in the last one month were found to be far more likely to want Modi as the next PM than farmers who hadn't, 54% to 42%. However, in the southern and the eastern regions, where some of the state governments have similar money transfer schemes, this difference was not tangibly visible.

Awareness about Balakot, reservations and cash transfers was also found to be making a difference to whether voters wanted to give the government another chance or not. Those who had heard or read about the Balakot strike were far more likely to want the NDA government to return to power than those who hadn't. A gap of 20 percentage points was found between the two – 50% of those aware of Balakot wanted the Modi government to return as opposed to 30% among those unaware about it. Being aware and unaware of the reservation decision and cash transfers yielded a 17-percentage point gap.

We also notice that awareness about these three decisions blunts the adverse effect that the unemployment issue could have had on the government's re-election bid. Respondents who stated that unemployment was the biggest voting issue for them but had heard about these happenings were far more likely to want the government to return to power than respondents who saw unemployment as a big issue but were unaware of these happenings. A similar pattern could be noticed among those for whom price rise will be the most important election issue.

Interestingly, this differing sentiment about the government and its leadership among those aware and unaware was also found across castes and communities, including among those communities that have traditionally voted for the BJP. For instance, the survey found less than one sixth of upper castes to be unaware about the Balakot strikes and among them the inclination to give the Modi government another chance was found to be more than two times less than the inclination among upper castes who were aware, 31% to 63%.

The case of Dalits is interesting too. Dalits who were not aware of the Balakot strike were far more likely to want the government to go. On the other hand, Dalits who were aware of the air strikes were split down the middle on the issue of whether or not to give the government another chance.

Close to half the respondents gave the credit for the air strikes to the Indian Air Force only. However a sizeable proportion, two of every ten also exclusively gave credit to the Modi government. About one in every ten said that both the Air Force and the government deserved credit. Also, significantly, even though three-fifths of the respondents agreed with the proposition that the BJP was trying to take the credit for the air strike for electoral gain, a plurality among them (46%) nonetheless favored giving the government another chance.

In contrast to the effect that Balakot, reservation and cash transfers seem to having on the BJP and Modi's popularity, the impact of the Rafale deal controversy and the Congress's assurance of a Minimum Income guarantee to the poor were found to be not as strong.

Half the respondents were not found to be aware of the Rafale controversy, and even among the other half that was aware, opinion on whether there had been wrongdoing by the government in the deal was nearly split down the middle – 41% believed there had been wrongdoing and 37% felt otherwise. Moreover, a sizeable proportion (31%) among even those who felt that there had been wrongdoing was in favour of giving the government another chance, perhaps indicating that the Congress has not been able to fully convince voters of the Prime Minister's alleged corruption in the issue.

Awareness about the Congress' minimum guarantee promises or NYAY was also found to be quite low. Once again, just about half the respondents (48%) polled had heard about it and awareness was lower still among respondents who may stand to benefit from it. What we do notice however is that just as Modi does better among those aware of Balakot, reservations and cash transfer, similarly Rahul Gandhi is far more popular among those who were aware about NYAY. The key to the Congress's success at blunting Mr. Modi's advantage may therefore lie in further popularizing the scheme in the days and weeks ahead. But with the election set to begin in a week's time, it could well be too late!

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

Note: In some tables, the figures may not add up to 100 due to rounding.

BALAKOT, RESERVATION & CASH TRANSFER EFFECT ON MODI'S POPULARITY

Table 1a: Unemployment emerged as the biggest electoral issue in response to an open ended question; national security was mentioned by just 2% respondents

	Pre-poll 2019 (%)
Unemployment	21
Development	17
Price rise	7
Poverty	5
Other economy related issues	5
Corruption	5
Governance	5
Bijli/Sadak/Pani	3
Farmer related woes	2
Nationalism/national security/Balakot	2
Women Security	1
Other issues	20
No response	7

Question asked: What will be the most important issue for you while voting in the coming Lok Sabha election.

Note: this was an open ended question and responses were spontaneous
N=10,010

Table 1b: When prompted with a given set of options, development followed by price rise emerged as the top 2 issues, leaving unemployment at third place; Balakot strike was fourth most important issue

	Pre-poll 2019 (%)
Development	33
Price rise	25
Unemployment	20
India's air strike on Pakistan	4
Reservation	3
Cow protection	2
Mandir-Masjid	2
Rafale deal	1
Citizenship Bill	1
Other issues	3
No response	6

Question asked: Finally, when you vote in the Lok Sabha election, which one of these issues will be most important for you while arriving at your final decision about who to vote for?

Note: This was a close ended question and set of options were given to the respondents.

Table 2: Even though the Balakot strike, quotas and cash transfers were not stated much as an electoral issue, other data suggest it may be having a silent effect - four-fifths respondents have heard about India's air strike in Pakistan, three-fifths had heard about 10% quota

	(%)
Heard about India's air strike in Pakistan	79
Heard about 10% quota for General category	57
Farmers who have received money from bank account in last one month	30

Question asked: Have you heard about India's air strike on terrorist training camps in Pakistan in response to the Pulwama terrorist attack?

Table 3: Awareness about India's air strike in Pakistan, 10% quota greatest in North India; farmers in north also most likely to have received money from govt in last month

	Aware of Balakot strike (%)	Aware of 10% quota strike (%)	Farmers who have received money from govt. in last month (%)
North	83	61	45
East	78	56	23
West-Central	79	55	25
South	73	53	25

Note: North India here includes Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Punjab, Haryana and Delhi; South India here includes Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Telangana; East India here includes West Bengal, Bihar, Odisha, Jharkhand and Assam; West and Central India here includes Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, and Chhattisgarh

Table 4: Preference for PM - Post-Balakot, quota and cash transfer, Narendra Modi's popularity soars

	May 2014 (%)	May 2017 (%)	January 2018 (%)	May 2018 (%)	Pre Poll 2019 (%)
Narendra Modi	36	44	37	34	43
Rahul Gandhi	16	9	20	24	24
Mayawati	2	3	3	3	3
Mamata Banerjee	1	1	3	3	2
Other leaders	17	19	18	19	13
No response	28	24	19	17	15

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)**

Source: NES 2014, Mood of the Nation 2017, Mood of the Nation Jan 2018 and Mood of the Nation May 2018; NES Pre Poll 2019

Table 5: From strong anti-incumbency a year ago to strong pro-incumbency now

	Pre Poll 2019 (%)	May 2018 (%)
Modi Govt. should get another chance	46	39
Modi Govt. should not get another chance	36	47
Can't say	12	14

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

Table 6: Anti-Modi govt sentiment in South India

	Govt. should get another chance (%)	Govt. should not get another chance (%)
North India	52	35
South India	29	47
East India	50	30
West-Central India	49	35

Note: The rest of the respondents did not respond to the question.

Table 7: Modi more popular among those aware of Balakot strike, 10% quota and among farmers who have benefited from recent cash transfer

	Prefer Narendra Modi as PM (%)	Prefer Rahul Gandhi as PM (%)
Not heard of Balakot strike	32	24
Heard of Balakot strike	46	24
Not heard of 10 reservation for EWS in general category	37	24
Heard of 10 reservation for EWS in general category	48	24
Farmers who did not received any money from the government in last one month	42	27
Farmers who received any money from the government in last one month	54	22

Table 8: Awareness of Balakot strike blunts the unemployment factor, those for whom unemployment is the most important voting issue but have heard of Balakot strike are more likely to want the Modi government to return than those for whom unemployment is the most important issue but have not heard about Balakot. The same effect can be seen with respect to price rise.

	BJP-led NDA government should NOT get another chance (%)	BJP-led NDA government should get another chance (%)	No response (%)
Those for whom unemployment is the biggest voting issue and have not heard of India's air strike on terrorist training camps in Pakistan	35	36	29
Those for whom unemployment is the biggest voting issue but have heard of India's air strike on terrorist training camps in Pakistan	36	53	11
Those for whom Price rise is the biggest voting issue and have not heard of India's air strike on terrorist training camps in Pakistan	46	26	28
Those for whom Price rise is the biggest voting issue but have heard of India's air strike on terrorist training camps in Pakistan	38	44	18

Table 9: Across all regions, those who have heard of the Balakot strike are far more likely to want the government to return than those who haven't heard of it

		(%)
NORTH	Belief that government should get another chance among those who have heard of Balakot strike	55
	Belief that government should get another chance among those who have not heard of Balakot strike	41
EAST	Belief that government should get another chance among those who have heard of Balakot strike	56
	Belief that government should get another chance among those who have not heard of Balakot strike	28
WEST-CENTRAL	Belief that government should get another chance among those who have heard of Balakot strike	52
	Belief that government should get another chance among those who have not heard of Balakot strike	37
SOUTH	Belief that government should get another chance among those who have heard of Balakot strike	34
	Belief that government should get another chance among those who have not heard of Balakot strike	16

Table 10: Across all regions, those who have heard of the Balakot strike are more likely to want Modi as PM than those who haven't

	Prefer Narendra Modi as PM (%)	Prefer Rahul Gandhi as PM (%)
Not heard of Balakot strike in East India	31	18
Heard of Balakot strike East India	53	22
Not heard of Balakot strike West-Central India	45	26
Heard of Balakot strike West-Central India	50	23
Not heard of Balakot strike in North India	30	18
Heard of Balakot strike in North India	48	18
Not heard of Balakot strike in South India	25	34
Heard of Balakot strike in South India	31	37

Table 11: Most respondents give credit for the air strike to the Indian Air Force but a sizeable proportion also credit the Modi government for it

Credit for India's air strike goes to...	Overall (%)
Air Force	45
Modi government	19
Both	29
Neither	2
No response	6

Question asked: *(If heard about the Balakot air strike)* Who do you think should get the credit for India's air strike on terrorist training camps in Pakistan - the Indian Air Force or the Narendra Modi government?

Table 12: Modi government gets most credit in North and East India and least in South India

	Credit for India's air strike goes to...		
	Air Force (%)	Modi govt. (%)	Both
North India	42	20	31
East India	40	20	33
West- Central India	41	17	34
South India	60	16	17
Hindi-speaking States	38	22	34
Non-Hindi speaking States	52	15	25

Table 13: Supporters of all non-BJP parties, including those of BJP allies, more likely to give credit only to the Air Force than exclusively to the Modi government

Credit for India's air strike goes to...	Air Force (%)	Modi govt. (%)	Both
Among Congress supporters	62	11	17
Among Cong allies' supporters	69	11	14
Among BJP supporters	23	29	43
Among BJP allies' supporters	45	12	39
Among BSP+ supporters	50	17	21
Among Left supporters	54	12	18
Among Other party supporters	56	10	24

Table 14: Most agree that BJP is trying to take credit for the Balakot air strike for electoral gain

"The BJP is trying to take credit for the air strike against Pakistan and gain in elections"	(%)
Fully agree	33
Somewhat agree	28
Somewhat disagree	9
Fully disagree	17
No response	12

Question asked: (If heard of Balakot strike) Do you agree or disagree with the following statement - "The BJP is trying to take credit for the air strike against Pakistan and gain in elections"?

Table 15: However, this is not making a huge difference to their perception about the Modi government; even those who believe that BJP is taking electoral mileage out of the issue want the government to return to power

	Modi government should get another chance (%)	Modi government shouldn't get another chance (%)
Agree that BJP is taking credit for electoral gain	46	43
Disagree that BJP is taking credit for electoral gain	66	27
No response	41	27

Table 16: Proportion of those favoring dialogue with Pakistan has declined in the last decade; most in favour of aggressive retaliation

	Pre-poll 2019 (%)	NES 2009
To stop cross border terrorism, India must destroy all terrorist camps in Pakistan	44	37
India must patiently engage Pakistan in regular dialogue	36	29
No response	20	34

Note: The rest of the respondents did not give an answer. Data from 2009 from National Election Study conducted by CSDS-Lokniti in 2009.

Table 17: Most supporters of BJP, its allies and BSP+ more favour military action against Pakistan than dialogue with it

	To stop cross-border terrorism, India must destroy all terrorist camps in Pakistan (%)	India must patiently engage Pakistan in regular dialogue (%)
Among Congress supporters	35	40
Among Cong allies' supporters	42	49
Among BJP supporters	56	27
Among BJP allies' supporters	54	32
Among BSP+ supporters	52	28
Among Left supporters	23	53
Among Other party supporters	26	48

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

RAFALE EFFECT

Table 18: Awareness about Rafale deal controversy, an issue raised by the Congress, pales in comparison, only half the country has heard about it

	NOT heard about Rafale deal controversy (%)	Heard about Rafale deal controversy (%)
All India	48	52
North India	43	57
East India	52	48
South India	47	53
West-Central India	52	48

Question asked: Have you heard of the controversy surrounding the Rafale aircraft deal?

Table 19: Divided opinion on whether there has been wrongdoing in Rafale deal

	Believe there has been wrong doing by the government in Rafale deal (%)	Believe there has not been any wrongdoing by the government in Rafale deal (%)
All India	41	37
North India	42	36
East India	31	39
South India	53	33
West-Central India	37	39

Question asked: (*If heard in Rafale controversy*) Do you believe there has been some wrong doing by the government in the Rafale aircraft deal?

Table 20: Awareness of Rafale deal or perception that there has been wrongdoing by the government is not giving the Congress any great advantage as many such people also want the Modi government to return

	Modi government should get another chance (%)	Modi government shouldn't get another chance (%)
Aware of Rafale deal	52	38
Not aware of Rafale deal	39	34
Believe there has been wrongdoing	31	60
Believe there has not been any wrongdoing	78	17

Table 21: Most of those aware of Rafale deal controversy more likely to see Modi as clean and honest than as corrupt; even many among of those who believe there has been wrongdoing don't view Modi as corrupt

	Modi is clean and honest (%)	May be clean and honest but has done nothing to control corruption (%)	Modi is corrupt (%)
Aware of Rafale deal	44	24	24
Not aware of Rafale deal	36	17	17
Believe there has been wrongdoing	24	29	39
Believe there has not been any wrongdoing	68	17	11

Question asked: People have different opinions about Prime Minister Narendra Modi. Some say he is a clean and honest man who has tried his best to control corruption, others say he is himself corrupt, and some others say that he may be clean and honest but he has done nothing to control corruption. Which one of these do you agree with?

Table 22: Barring NDA supporters, supporters of other parties are more likely to believe there has been wrongdoing

	Believe there has been wrongdoing by the government in Rafale deal (%)	Believe there has not been any wrongdoing by the government in Rafale deal (%)
Among Congress supporters	62	21
Among Cong allies' supporters	65	19
Among BJP supporters	21	59
Among BJP allies' supporters	32	43
Among BSP+ supporters	57	18
Among Left supporters	47	19

MINIMUM INCOME GUARANTEE SCHEME (NYAY)

Table 23: Awareness about Congress's promise of minimum income guarantee still quite low, over half the respondents had not heard about it

	Pre-poll 2019 (%)
NOT heard about Congress's promise of minimum income guarantee	52
Heard about Congress's promise of minimum income guarantee	48

Question asked: Have you heard of the Congress's promise of Minimum Income Guarantee for poor households if it gets elected to power?

Table 24: Awareness also not particularly high among those stand to benefit from the scheme

Monthly income	Heard about Congress's promise of minimum income guarantee (%)
Upto Rs. 3,000	44
Rs. 3,001 to 5,000	39
Rs. 5,001 to 10,000	48
Rs. 10,001 to 15,000	49
Rs. 15,001 to 20,000	49
Over Rs. 20,000	55

Table 25: NYAY awareness makes a difference to wanting Rahul as PM, but Modi also popular among those who have heard about it but gap between Rahul and Modi reduces among such people

	Prefer Rahul as PM (%)	Prefer Modi as PM (%)
NOT heard about Congress's promise of minimum income guarantee	21	44
Heard about Congress's promise of minimum income guarantee	28	42

Question asked: Have you heard of the Congress's promise of Minimum Income Guarantee for poor households if it gets elected to power?

ISSUE OF RESERVATION FOR ECONOMICALLY BACKWARD AMONG GENERAL CATEGORIES

Table 26: 3 in 5 respondents have heard about the 10% EWS quota for General category

	Pre-poll 2019 (%)
Not heard about 10% reservation in govt. jobs and educational institutions for economically backward among general categories	43
Heard about 10% reservation in govt. jobs and educational institutions for economically backward among general categories	57

Table 27: Poor in the General category however are less aware of it than the rich in the general category

	Heard about 10% reservation in govt. jobs and educational institutions (%)
Poor in general category	49
Lower class in general category	61
Middle class in general category	70
Upper class in general category	77

MANDIR-MASJID ISSUE

Table 28: Voters seek Supreme Court's intervention to resolve Ayodhya dispute

	Pre-poll 2019 (%)
Supreme Court verdict	43
Through mediation	26
Law by Parliament	8
Ordinance	4
Other	1
No response	17

Question asked: People have different opinions about resolving the temple-mosque issue of Ayodhya. Some say it should only be resolved through a Supreme Court verdict. Some others say it should be resolved through mediation between the Hindu and Muslim sides. And there are some others who feel that the Parliament should intervene and enact a law to resolve the matter. What's your opinion?

Table 29: Muslims and Hindus both favour a resolution through Supreme Court

	Supreme Court verdict (%)	Through mediation (%)	Law by Parliament (%)	Ordinance (%)	Other (%)	No response (%)
Hindus	43	25	9	5	2	17
Muslims	50	26	7	1	1	15

CITIZENSHIP AMENDMENT BILL

Table 30: One in four have heard of the Citizenship Amendment Bill

	Pre-poll 2019 (%)
Not heard about the Citizenship Amendment Bill	75
Heard about the Citizenship Amendment Bill	25

Question asked: Have you heard about the Citizenship Amendment Bill that was introduced in Parliament by the government recently?

Table 31: Opposition to Citizenship Amendment Bill greater than support for it

Level of support for the Citizenship Amendment Bill	Pre-poll 2019 (%)
Fully support	16
Somewhat support	19
Somewhat oppose	10
Fully Oppose	23
No response	32

Question asked: The aim of the Citizenship Amendment Bill is to grant Indian citizenship to **non-Muslim** migrants and refugees from Pakistan, Afghanistan and Bangladesh. It does not apply to Muslim refugees from these countries. Do you support or oppose this Bill? (*Probe further whether fully or somewhat support or oppose*)

Table 32: Support and Opposition to the Bill by regions

Regions	Level of support for the Citizenship Amendment Bill				
	Fully support (%)	Somewhat support (%)	Somewhat oppose (%)	Fully Oppose (%)	No response (%)
East	17	21	11	26	25
West	10	13	13	23	41
Central	12	12	6	16	54
North	21	17	6	23	33
South	14	24	13	22	26

Table 33: Nearly two of five Hindus support the Bill; Muslims and Christians most opposed

Religious groups	Level of support for the Citizenship Amendment Bill				
	Fully support (%)	Somewhat support (%)	Somewhat oppose (%)	Fully Oppose (%)	No response (%)
Hindus	18	19	8	22	32
Muslims	11	17	15	30	28
Christians	7	16	15	26	36
Others	7	13	14	19	47