

HOW HARYANA VOTED

Jat split, non-Jat consolidation

A post-poll survey by Lokniti-CSDS finds how communities voted, which party's voters made their choices early or late, and the educational background of voters. Data analysed by Shreyas Sardesai

CM CHOICE
NOT AN ISSUE

36%

DID NOT TAKE ANY NAME WHEN ASKED WHO THEY WOULD PREFER AS CM.

BHUPINDER SINGH HOODA 15%

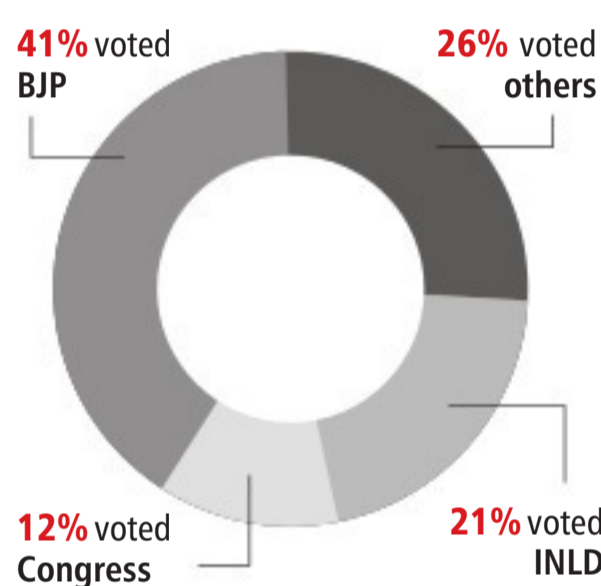


OM PRAKASH CHAULTALA 15%



ALSO: 18% VARIOUS NAMES FROM BJP, 6% INLD NAMES OTHER THAN CHAULTALA'S, 4% CONG NAMES OTHER THAN HOODA'S, 2% NAMES FROM OTHER PARTIES

4% KULDEEP BISHNOI

OUT OF 36%
WITHOUT A CM CHOICE...

The VADRA LAND DEAL

36% of the respondents were unaware about the Robert Vadra land deal controversy.

75% of those aware of it, however, were of the opinion that the Haryana government was suppressing the issue.

RULING-PARTY
ADVANTAGE

For all-round development of the state, the ruling party at the Centre and the state should be the same. Do you agree?

	All	BJP voters
Fully agree	44	53
Agree somewhat	13	11
Disagree somewhat	7	5
Disagree fully	11	8
No opinion	25	23

(Figures in %)

WHAT MATTERS
MOST TO VOTERS

(Spontaneous answers)

PRICE RISE	14%
CORRUPTION	13%
JOB	10%
LACK OF DEVELOPMENT	10%
DEVELOPMENT BY CONG	5%
WATER/POWER	4%
POVERTY	2%
LEADERSHIP	1%
OTHER ISSUES	11%
CAN'T SAY	30%

BIG VICTORIES

24 Of 47 seats won by the BJP were with a margin of more than 20,000 votes.

Margin	BJP	Cong	INLD+
<1000	2	1	1
1,001-5000	7	4	8
5,001-10000	6	4	5
10,001-15000	4	2	3
15,001-20,000	4	1	1
Above 20,000	24	3	2

SANJAY KUMAR, PRANAV GUPTA & KUSHAL PAL

THE election results mark the beginning of a new chapter in the politics of Haryana, in terms of both political competition and social alliances. The BJP gained at the cost of the two principal parties which have dominated politics in the state for close to two decades. The incumbent Congress faced a negative vote swing of more than 10 percentage points and its tally was reduced by 25 seats. The INLD, which was hitherto considered the primary alternative to the Congress, was a distant second. Other parties such as Kuldeep Bishnoi's Haryana Janhit Congress and the BSP have been reduced to marginal players.

Haryana was an open contest in the beginning with the BJP enjoying a narrow lead over its main rival the INLD but the BJP picked up momentum as the polling day came near. Narendra Modi's campaign seems to have helped the BJP as its lead over its nearest rival was 16 percentage points among those who decided their choice during the campaign, as compared to only 3 points among those who decided before the campaign. The support offered by the Dera Sacha Sauda and khap panchayats, too, helped the BJP garner votes among those who made their choice close to polling.

REGION BY REGION

The BJP dominated the electoral contest in the three regions except for the Jat-dominated western Haryana. The BJP continued its dominance in north Haryana, winning 14 of the 18 seats despite a marginal drop in votes as compared to the Lok Sabha election. In east Haryana, the fight was mainly between the BJP and the Congress and the former maintained its narrow lead. Both the Congress and the BJP lost some votes in the region to the INLD and the HJC but this swing was too narrow to translate into seats.

South Haryana, known as the Ahirwal region, saw one of the most interesting contests. The BJP, which had swept the Lok Sabha election in this region by leading 20 of 23 assembly segments with a vote share of 51 per cent, faced a negative vote swing of more than 10 percentage points. But the shift benefited neither the Congress nor the INLD as the negative



votes got fragmented among them and other parties. This helped the BJP minimise losses in terms of seats.

In the absence of a prominent Jat face, the BJP was not expected to do well in Jat-dominated western Haryana. Though the INLD remains the most favoured party among the Jats with an overall vote share of 42 per cent, it was unable to make substantial gains in this region as it faced a negative vote swing of more than 5 percentage points. The problem for the INLD is that unlike the Congress, its vote bank among the Jats is distributed across the state. Even with a lower vote share among Jats (24%), the Congress was able to win 12 of the high-Jat-concentration seats. The BJP swept seats where Jats could be considered swing voters and those where they were in a low proportion.

THE JAT VOTE

Jats constitute slightly more than a fourth of the state's population but the BJP was successful in creating a strong non-Jat social coalition as it got 47 per cent votes among the Brahmins, 55 per cent among other upper castes and 40 per cent among the OBCs. The Congress seems to have lost support among its core support group of the Dalits. There was a three-way split in the Dalit vote among the Congress, the INLD and the BJP. Issues other than the formation of a separate Gurdwara Pra-

HOW THE JATS VOTED

PROPORTION OF JATS SEATS	CONGRESS		BJP		INLD+		
	Won	Vote	Won	Vote	Won	Vote	
<15%	38	1	17.9	28	39.7	7	20.7
15-25%	15	2	19.5	10	33.9	2	26.7
25%+	37	12	24	9	25.8	11	28.2

BY REGION

	Seats	Congress		BJP		INLD+	
		Won	Vote	Won	Vote	Won	Vote
North Haryana	18	1	19.2	14	37.8	1	23.4
East Haryana	23	10	28.1	12	32.2	0	19.5
West Haryana	26	1	18.2	7	25.1	15	32
South Haryana	23	3	17.4	14	39.6	4	22.3
Overall	90	15	20.6	47	33.2	20	24.7

BY SOCIAL GROUP

	Cong	BJP	INLD+	O*
Brahmin	12	47	18	23
Upper castes	15	55	12	18
Jats	24	17	42	27
OBC	20	40	21	19
SC	27	20	21	32
Muslim	16	5	52	27
Sikh	16	36	31	16

BY EDUCATION

	Cong	BJP	INLD+	O*
College	16	45	22	17
Up to matric	21	34	27	18
Up to primary	26	27	23	24
Not literate	22	24	26	28

* OTHERS

bandhak Committee seem to have influenced voting decision of the Sikhs — despite high approval of this decision, the community voted primarily for the BJP and the INLD.

URBAN & EDUCATED

The BJP also benefited from its popularity among urban voters. In the 11 urban seats, the BJP had a vote share of 51.5 per cent — more than 18 percentage points higher than its overall share. The party won 10 of these 11 seats. Findings of the post poll survey conducted by the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies indicate that the BJP performed much better among educated voters. The party polled 45 per cent of the votes among the college-educated as compared to

THE BIG PICTURE

BJP+
33.2%
47 WON/90 CONTESTED

INLD +
24.7%
20/90 CONTESTED

CONGRESS
20.6%
15/90 CONTESTED

HJC+
4.2%
2/88 CONTESTED

BJP workers celebrate outside the BJP office in Ludhiana.

GURMEET SINGH

24 per cent among non-literate voters. Even among school-educated voters, 34 per cent voted for the BJP.

CONGRESS AND INLD

The gap between the Congress and the INLD is not substantial and the Congress could have performed much better had the election taken place at a different time. More than 40 percent of the respondents felt that the condition of basic services like electricity, roads and hospitals had improved during the last five years. What seems to have hurt the prospects of the Congress is the negative perception of the voters about the work done by the Congress-led UPA government the Centre. A large proportion of voters did not want to vote for the Congress as they blamed it for various corruption scandals.

While the Congress has been thrown out of power after being in government for ten years, there is a bigger worry for the INLD which has been out of power for last 10 years. It will remain out of power and also faces a leadership vacuum as its leader Om Prakash Chautala and his elder son Ajay Chautala are in jail.

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How this post-poll survey differs from an exit poll

LOKNITI TEAM

THIS analysis is based on post-poll surveys conducted by Lokniti, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, in Maharashtra and Haryana. The survey in Maharashtra was conducted among 1,542 respondents spread across 35 assembly constituencies. In Haryana it was conducted among 1,462 respondents in 25 constituencies. In both states, the constituencies were randomly selected using the "probability proportionate to size" method. Thereafter, four polling stations within each of the sampled constituencies were selected using the "systematic random sampling" method. Finally, the respondents were also randomly selected using the same method from the latest electoral rolls of the sampled polling stations.

A post-poll survey is very different from an exit poll. Trained field investigators approached voters for an interview during the period after the polls were over (after 6 pm on October 15) and before the results were known on October 19. The investigators asked the respondents, in a face-to-face interview, a detailed set of questions which could take up to 20-25 minutes. The achieved sample matches largely with the actual demographic profile of the population in the two states. The post-poll studies were not used to make any vote or seat projections but are purely academic exercises for explaining the verdict. The data file used for

FOR EXAMPLE...

	MAHARASHTRA		HARYANA	
	Actual	Sample	Actual	Sample
SC	11.8	18.1	20.1	22.2
ST	9.3	8.6	—	—
Muslim	10.6	6.8	5.8	3.8
Women	48.1	42.7	46.7	41.2
Urban	45.9	39.4	34.8	32.4

Figures (%) for Women, Urban, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are from Census 2011; figures for Muslims are from Census 2001.

analysis has been weighted by the actual vote share secured by major parties.

The fieldwork of the study in Maharashtra was coordinated by Nitin Birmal (Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar College, Pune), Vivek Ghotale (Savitribai Phule Pune University), Harshad Bhosale (Kirti College, Mumbai) and Rahul Bavage (Govt. College, Nagpur). The fieldwork in Haryana was coordinated by Kushal Pal and Anita Agarwal (Dyal Singh College, Karnal) and Nitin Mehta (Lokniti-CSDS, Delhi).

The surveys were designed and analysed by a team of researchers at Lokniti-CSDS. The team included Anuradha Singh, Dhananjay Kumar Singh, Himanshu Bhattacharya, Jyoti Mishra, Pranav Gupta, Shreyas Sardesai and Vibha Attri. Suhas Palshikar provided his suggestions during the entire exercise. The surveys were directed by Sanjay Kumar.

LATE SURGE

Nearly half the BJP voters made their choice either close to election-day or during the period of campaign. A sizeable section of Dalits decided on the day of voting, which is significant considering that the Dera Sacha Sauda, which has a following among a sizeable following among Dalits, extended support to the BJP just a few days before the polls.

Did Narendra Modi's campaign help the BJP?

TIME OF DECIDING	BJP voters	CONG voters	INLD+ voters
VOTING DAY OR EVE	20	20	14
DURING CAMPAIGN	29	17	23
BEFORE CAMPAIGN	45	56	55
NO OPINION	6	7	8

Did Dera Sacha Sauda's support for BJP swing Dalit vote?

TIME OF DECIDING	JATS	DALITS
VOTING DAY OR EVE	13	22
DURING CAMPAIGN	20	21
BEFORE CAMPAIGN	60	48
NO OPINION	7	9

PARTY OR CANDIDATE?

While voting...	BJP voters	Cong voters	INLD+ voters
PARTY MATTERED MORE	61	53	53
CANDIDATE MATTERED MORE	27	37	35
NO OPINION	12	10	12

RURAL-URBAN DIVIDE

	RURAL (79)		URBAN (11)	
	WON	VOTE	WON	VOTE
CONG	15	20.5	0	21.1
BJP	37	30.8	10	51.5
INLD+	19	26.5	1	11.4
HJC+	2	4.4	0	2.5
OTHERS	6	17.8	0	13.5

MIXED OPINION ON CHAULTALA

'Om Prakash Chautala was sent to jail in a false case'



SOCIAL CONSERVATIVENESS

Working women acceptable, but 70% frown on women in jeans

	SUPPORT	OPPOSE
MARRIAGE WITHIN SAME GOTRA	9	88
MARRIAGE WITHIN SAME VILLAGE	12	84
WOMEN WEARING JEANS	24	70
WOMEN GOING OUT TO WORK	79	16
WOMEN IN KHAP PANCHAYATS	44	44
KHAP PANCHAYATS	51	22

(Figures in %)

MODI FACTOR

Modi vs Hooda	HOODA GOVT	MODI GOVT
RESPONSE		
SATISFIED	56	66
DISSATISFIED	36	21
CAN'T SAY	8	13

...AND HOW THEY VOTED

27% satisfied with Centre, not with state govt
(Of these, 53% voted BJP, 23% voted INLD, 5% voted Congress)

12% not satisfied with either
(Of these, 31% voted BJP, 30% voted INLD, 4% voted Congress)

49% satisfied with both
(Of these, 31% voted BJP, 23% voted INLD, 27% voted Congress)

12% satisfied with state govt, not with Centre
(Of these, 9% voted BJP, 22% voted INLD, 48% voted Congress)

Haryana sample size: 1,462