

LOKNITI-CSDS-ABP NEWS MOOD OF THE NATION SURVEY-3 (MAY 2018)

About the Survey

The third round of the Mood of the Nation (MOTN) Survey was conducted by Lokniti, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS), Delhi for ABP News between April 28 and May 17, 2018 among 15,859 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 at 700 locations in 175 Assembly Constituencies (ACs). These are the same ACs (except 10 in Karnataka and 1 in Andhra Pradesh) where the second round of the MOTN Survey had been conducted in January 2018. Each AC was located in a different Parliamentary Constituency (PC). The total sample size targeted was 16,100 with an AC/PC-wise target of about 92 interviews. The number of PCs to be sampled in a State was determined based on the percentage share of that particular State's electorate in the total/combined electorate of all 19 states. 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 random sampling method. Thereafter, four polling stations were selected from within each of the sampled ACs using the systematic random sampling method (the polling stations across all States, except Delhi, were sampled afresh in this round). Finally, the respondents were also randomly selected using the systematic method from the electoral rolls of the sampled polling stations (except Odisha where electoral rolls were not available).

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 (except Odisha). 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 25 minutes. The questionnaire we presented to our sample of voters was designed in the language mainly spoken in the respondents' State. In Punjab it was in Punjabi, in Gujarat in Gujarati, in Kerala in Malayalam, etc. About 357 field investigators in total conducted the survey.

The achieved national sample is broadly representative of India's population, in terms of the country's general demographic profile. It has nevertheless been weighted by gender, locality, caste group and religion in each State as per Census 2011 percentages. For our all-India analysis, we adjusted the figures using a statistical technique known as weighting, which means that each State was proportionately represented in the analysis.

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	46.2	48.5	48.6
Urban	23.7	31.2	31.1
SC	19.2	16.8	16.7
ST	9.2	8.0	8.6
Muslim	11.5	13.9	14.2
Christian	2.2	1.8	2.3
Sikh	2.4	1.7	1.7

May 24, 2018

Distribution of the Sample

S. no.	State	Targeted sample	No. of ACs/PCs	No. of PSs	No. of FIs	Achieved sample	Final weighted sample
1	Andhra Pradesh	736	8	32	16	701	685
2	Assam	368	4	16	8	321	324
3	Bihar	1288	14	56	28	1273	1291
4	Gujarat	828	9	36	18	807	795
5	Haryana	368	4	16	8	356	355
6	Karnataka	920	10	40	20	920	916
7	Kerala	552	6	24	12	543	568
8	Madhya Pradesh	920	10	40	20	978	965
9	Maharashtra	1656	18	72	36	1422	1441
10	Odisha	552	6	24	12	602	592
11	Punjab	368	4	16	8	428	436
12	Rajasthan	828	9	36	18	890	877
13	Tamil Nadu	1104	12	48	24	1152	1139
14	Uttar Pradesh	2760	30	120	60	2731	2758
15	West Bengal	1288	14	56	28	1199	1201
16	Delhi	276	3	12	13	285	280
17	Jharkhand	368	4	16	8	364	359
18	Chhattisgarh	368	4	16	8	356	351
19	Telangana	552	6	24	12	531	529
	Total	16100	175	700	357	15859	15862

The survey was designed and analysed by a team of researchers at Lokniti, CSDS. The team included Ananya Singh, Ankita Barthwal, Asmita Aasaavari, Dhananjay Kumar Singh, Himanshu Bhattacharya, Jyoti Mishra, Shreyas Sardesai and Vibha Attri. The survey was directed by Prof. Sanjay Kumar, Prof. Suhas Palshikar and Prof. Sandeep Shastri of Lokniti.

The survey was coordinated by scholars from the Lokniti Network: E Venkatesu and Srinivas Rao Gangireddla (Andhra Pradesh), Dhruva Pratim Sharma and Nurul Hassan (Assam), Rakesh Ranjan (Bihar), Anupama Saxena and Shamshad Ansari (Chhattisgarh), Biswajit Mohanty (Delhi), Mahashweta Jani (Gujarat), Kushal Pal and Anita Agarwal (Haryana), Harishwar Dayal and Amit Kumar (Jharkhand), Veenadevi (Karnataka), Sajad Ibrahim (Kerala), Yatindra Singh Sisodia and Ashish Bhatt (Madhya Pradesh), Nitin Birmal (Maharashtra), Gyanaranjan Swain (Odisha), Ashutosh Kumar and Hardeep Kaur (Punjab), Sanjay Lodha and Nidhi Seth (Rajasthan), P Ramajayam (Tamil Nadu), Vageeshan Harathi (Telangana), Mirza Asmer Beg, Shashikant Pandey and Shilpa Tripathi (Uttar Pradesh), and Suprio Basu (West Bengal).

May 24, 2018

BJP SLIPS FURTHER AS ANTI-INCUMBENCY SETS IN*Lokniti team*

There are more people in the country today who do not want the Narendra Modi-led National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government to return to power after the next election as compared to those who do. This is among the most striking findings to have emerged from the latest round of the Mood of the Nation (MOTN) Survey conducted by Lokniti-CSDS. Fielded between April 27 and May 17, 2018 in 175 Lok Sabha constituencies spread across 19 states, the survey found nearly half (47%) of the total 15,859 respondents to be of the opinion that the Modi government does not merit another opportunity to govern India after the 2019 Lok Sabha election. Less than 2 of every 5 (39%) thought it did deserve a second innings in power, with the rest being non-committal. These numbers for the NDA are about as bad as those that had been recorded for the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) in July 2013, nine months before the 2014 national elections. Back then 39% had been against giving the UPA another chance, 31% had been in favor and 30% had been non-committal. The anti-Modi government sentiment was found to be especially strong among the country's religious minorities. About three-fourths of Muslims, three-fifths of Christians and well over half the Sikhs indicated that they do not wish to see the Modi government coming back to power next year. While the high disapproval of the Modi government among minorities, particularly Muslims, comes as no surprise given the innumerable incidents of violence and intimidation that have taken place against them during the last four years, the survey rather unexpectedly also found a sizeable section of voters from the majority Hindu community to be also carrying an anti-government sentiment. Hindu voters, in fact, were nearly split down the middle on the question on whether the Modi regime should be given another chance with 44% exhibiting a pro-government stand and 42% taking an anti-government position. Out of all Hindu communities, Dalits and Adivasis, who have also been victims of violence and atrocities, were found to be most vociferous in their opposition to the government at 55% and 43% respectively. Dominant OBC communities are also quite opposed (42%) to the present government.

This fairly strong anti-incumbency sentiment against the Narendra Modi government has meant that Modi's party, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), has suffered a further dent in its support base. The latest MOTN survey found the ruling party to be two percentage points less popular in terms of people's voting choice compared to the previous MOTN survey that was conducted in January. At the start of the year, 34% of the voters had said they would vote for the BJP in the event of a snap Lok Sabha election. Now, five months later, 32%, said they would do so. While this may appear to be a modest drop for a five-month period, it is nevertheless indicative of a declining trend, one that the BJP has been unable to stem. Last year in May when Lokniti-CSDS had conducted the first round of the MOTN survey, the BJP had appeared to be peaking with 39% of the voters supporting it. Between May and January, the BJP lost 5 percentage points in support and now between January and May it has lost a further two points. Overall then, compared to a year ago the BJP's popularity is down seven percentage points. Moreover, the vote share being netted by the BJP currently is just a percentage point higher than what it had secured during the 2014 Lok Sabha election and if this declining trend continues then the ruling party may well dip below the 30% mark in the next few months.

The NDA as a whole (BJP and its allies put together) is netting about 37% of the total vote currently, a drop of three percentage points since January and eight points since May 2017. Furthermore, the commitment of the voters of BJP's allies towards the Modi government appears to be rather shaky as many of them do not seem to be too enamored by either Modi's charisma or his performance anymore. Only half of them (52%) would like to give the Modi government another chance in 2019, whereas nearly two in every 5 of them (38%) do not want the present dispensation to return to power. If this sentiment gains strength in the months ahead, it is likely to pose a serious challenge not only for the BJP but for its allies as well. The Congress, which had gained tremendously at the BJP's expense between May 2017 and January 2018, does not seem to have made much

May 24, 2018

headway in the last five months. The party is expected to net about one in four votes (25%) nationally, the same as January 2018. Its allies however have improved marginally adding one point to their 5% vote share recorded five months ago. This means that the Congress-led United Progressive Alliance (UPA) would in most likelihood secure 31% votes nationally if snap elections were to take place today. The other parties that have recorded an increase in their vote share since the beginning of this year are the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) and its ally in Uttar Pradesh, the Samajwadi Party (SP). Both parties have seen their support level rise by a percentage point each. As things stand today, non-NDA and non-UPA parties would in all likelihood secure about 32% votes in the event of an immediate national election.

Currently, the anti-Modi government vote is getting divided between various opposition parties with the Congress-led UPA being able to corner only half of it in their favour. The BJP-led NDA on the other hand is securing about three-fourths of the pro-government vote.

Regional picture

Its Karnataka election performance notwithstanding, South India continues to be the region where BJP fares the worst. The party is currently securing only about 18% votes in the five southern states put together. This sharp drop of seven percentage points since January is largely on account of the Telugu Desam Party (TDP) having moved out of the NDA over the Special Category Status issue. The survey in fact found the TDP to be doing far better in Andhra Pradesh than it was in January. Other parties in the region such as the TRS (Telangana), DMK (Tamil Nadu), JDS (Karnataka) and the Left (Kerala) have also seen their support levels rise in the last five months.

Voters in North India too seem to be far less inclined towards the BJP than they were five months ago. Currently only about 39% of the voters in this region are supporting the BJP/NDA compared to 45% in January. This significant decline in the BJP's share of the vote in the region has been primarily due to its sudden and precipitous fall in the all-important state of Uttar Pradesh where the party has lost about 8 percentage points in popularity since the beginning of this year. The SP-BSP alliance which came into being two months ago is currently comfortably ahead of the BJP in terms of the electorate's voting preference. In Rajasthan, the other big state of the region, even as the BJP maintains an overall edge over the Congress, the latter has made substantial gains compared to the January survey. Moreover, at the assembly level, it is the Congress which leads the BJP.

In West and Central India, the NDA continues to maintain its lead over the UPA but a surge in support for the Congress in Gujarat has meant that the gap between the two national fronts has shrunk considerably. In May 2017, the NDA had led the UPA by 24 percentage points in this region. In January 2018 this lead dropped to 8 points and now it has further reduced to just 5 points. Other than Gujarat, the Congress is also performing rather well in Madhya Pradesh where it is ahead of the BJP by a comfortable margin currently both at the Lok Sabha and Assembly election levels. In Maharashtra, while the BJP-Shiv Sena alliance continues to be ahead, the Congress and the NCP are giving it a tough fight.

In the Eastern part of the country, overall support for the BJP/NDA has remained stable over the last one year. The BJP continues to perform extremely well in Bihar (along with the JDU) and Odisha; however, it is still unable to make much of a dent in West Bengal where the Trinamool Congress remains the dominant player by quite a distance. Jharkhand and Assam, meanwhile, are showing clear signs of a Congress revival. While in Jharkhand, the survey found the Congress and Jharkhand Mukti Morcha to be ahead of the BJP and its partners, in Assam the Congress has surged ahead of the ruling party, perhaps because of people's anger against the proposed amendments to the Citizenship Act.

Economic anxieties

Economic anxieties of the voters have not been allayed in the last five months, if anything they have increased in several areas. In understanding people's worries about the economic situation, the survey sought people's opinions on issues like employment, taxes and their personal financial situation. We find that unemployment continues to be the main concern for most voters. For the third straight MOTN survey, one in every four voters (a plurality) saw lack of jobs as the biggest problem facing the country. What's more, nearly three in every five voters (57%) said that finding jobs in their area has become more difficult during the last 3-4 years. This figure had been 8 points less at 49% during the January survey. This is also the variable where economic anxiety seems to be affecting vote choice in a major way. Among people who think it's more difficult to find jobs now, only 27% were found to be voting for the BJP (overall average of the BJP is 32%); this same figure was 33% in January (BJP's average vote share then was 34%).

Apart from unemployment, the growing unpopularity of the Goods and Services Tax (GST) seems to be emerging as the other problem area for the government. While nearly one-fourth of the respondents (24%) had found taxes under GST to be harsh in the January round of MOTN, in the current round, this figure has jumped to more than 40%. While unavoidable changes in question placement could have had some effect on the responses received, a substantial rise such as this cannot be ignored.

Meanwhile, on the subject of personal economic situation, the number of people who feel that their total household income falls short of meeting their needs has nearly doubled itself from 14% in January to 27% now. Since no drastic economic downturn has been experienced in the country in the intermediate period, it is safe to assume that the significant change in people's responses can be attributed to an increasing anxiety about the economic front.

The NDA government's claims of '*Sabka Saath Sabka Vikaas*' is no longer convincing many voters. Only 30% or three in every ten were found to be of the opinion that development has been for all sections. Back in January this figure had been much higher at 39%. On the other hand, a far greater percentage now believes that the development that was promised by the BJP in 2014 has been limited to benefitting only the rich (42% as against 36% in January). Finally, about 22% (up by 3 points since January) are of the opinion that there has been no development at all. Overall then, 64% (42%+22%) or nearly two-thirds of the voters now carry a negative view of the development that has taken place under the NDA regime.

The NDA continues to suffer among farmers and traders, even though the benefit of their unpopularity accrues not to the UPA but to other regional players. Its vote share among farmers has fallen by 3 percentage points since January (from 40% to 37%), while other political parties (barring UPA) have benefited with a 5-point increase (from 23% to 28%). Similarly, the benefit of NDA's fall among traders is also reaped by other political parties (a 3-point decrease and a 5-point increase respectively).

Dalits desert the BJP

If there is one community among which the BJP has taken a severe beating in the last five months, it is the Dalits. Disappointed with the government indifference to rising atrocities against them and angry with the Supreme Court mandated changes to the SC-ST Act, a sizeable section of the community seems to have turned its back on the BJP. Only 22% of the Dalits were found to be supporting the BJP in the current survey. Not only is this a massive drop of 9 percentage points compared to the previous survey in January, it is also two points less compared to the Dalit vote received by the BJP during the 2014 Lok Sabha election. Moreover, for the first time since the 2014 election, the Congress leads the BJP among Dalits. India's principal opposition party is netting as much as 23% of Dalit votes as opposed to BJP's 22%. This same pattern can be witnessed among Adivasis too – the Congress is now getting more Adivasi votes nationally as compared to the BJP, 38%

May 24, 2018

as opposed to 36%. This is a remarkable recovery for the Congress among Adivasis since only 28% of them had voted for the party in the national election four years ago. The survey found both Dalits and Adivasis to be disappointed with the attitude shown by the Narendra Modi government to the rising atrocities against them. Three in five Dalits (60%) and over half the Adivasis (54%) said that they were dissatisfied with the concern shown by the Modi government towards growing crimes and atrocities against them (only about one-third across the two communities said they were satisfied). On the question of the changes to the SC-ST Act which would prevent the immediate arrest of an accused, 57% of Dalits and 62% of the Adivasis were found to be opposed to it. Interestingly, a fairly high degree of opposition to the changes in the SC-ST Act was also seen among OBC voters (43%).

Modi slips, Rahul gains

Dalits and Adivasis have not only shifted their vote preference but their prime ministerial preference as well. Congress President Rahul Gandhi, who was the PM choice of 18% Dalits and 27% Adivasis in January, is now the choice of 25% Dalits and 30% Adivasis. Modi on the other hand has seen his favorability drop from 35% to 25% among Dalits and from 42% to 37% among Adivasis. Among most other communities too Rahul Gandhi's favorability has gone up marginally and Modi's has declined somewhat. This has meant that nationally the gap between Narendra Modi and Rahul Gandhi which was 17 percentage points in January 2018 is now down to just 10 points. As of today Narendra Modi is the spontaneous PM preference of 34% of voters and Rahul Gandhi of 24%. These figures are also significant when compared with the Lok Sabha election. Modi for the first time has dropped below his favorability level of 2014 when he was the PM choice of 36% voters. Preference for Rahul Gandhi on the other hand has climbed by 8 points since 2014. Interestingly, compared to the January survey, Modi's favorability has declined and Rahul's has increased the most among middle-aged and elderly voters.

The survey also tried to measure the likeability of the two leaders among the electorate. Prevailing wisdom would suggest that Narendra Modi would be a far more liked leader than Rahul Gandhi. However, surprisingly, the findings do not seem to indicate this. Both leaders were found to be liked in equal measure – 43% each. Interestingly though, if we take into account the dislike figures as well, then currently Rahul Gandhi enjoys a greater net likeability of 11 points (43% minus 32%) than Narendra Modi's 7 points (43% minus 36%).

Growing dissatisfaction with government performance

In more bad news for the BJP, dissatisfaction with the overall performance of the Modi government continues to rise across the country. It has gone up from 27% in May 2017 to 40% in January 2018 to 47% now, indicating a 20-point increase in dissatisfaction levels in just one year. Conversely, overall satisfaction with the government's performance has come down from 64% last year to 47% now. What should worry the government even more is that the gap between those 'fully satisfied' and 'fully dissatisfied' has widened further, so much so that for every one person who is completely satisfied with the government's performance there are now two who are completely dissatisfied. Dissatisfaction levels have increased across all regions of the country and in most of the states, particularly the southern states.

The survey found that there isn't a single major issue on which the Modi government is rated positively now. About 40% view the government as having done a bad job in dealing with China and Pakistan (only 33% said it had done a good job), 61% feel it has failed in controlling rising prices, 52% do not approve of its performance in maintaining religious harmony, about 51% view it as having done little developmental work, 64% are of the opinion that it has not been able to address farmer concerns and 55% thought that it had done a bad job in curbing corruption. On the corruption front, in fact, the image of the government has taken a huge beating in the aftermath of the Nirav Modi-PNB scam. Half the respondents had heard about the scam and

May 24, 2018

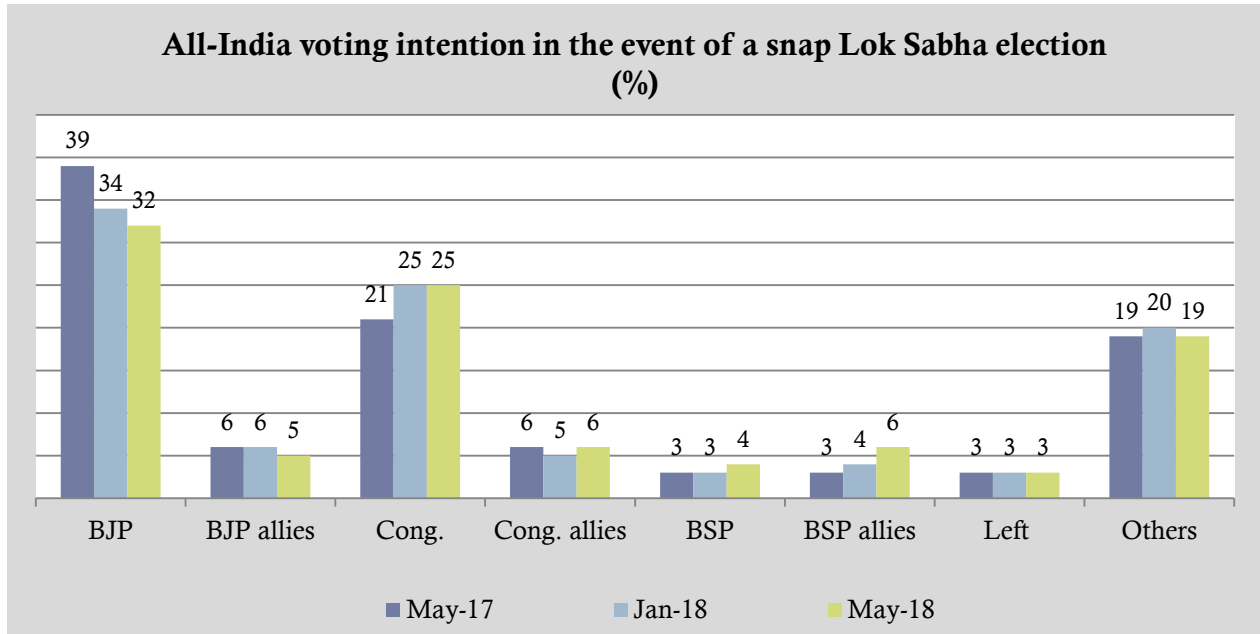
among them two-thirds were dissatisfied with the action taken by the government in the case so far. What's more, 61% or three in five were of the opinion that Modi government is a corrupt government - 26% saw it as being very corrupt and 35% said that it was somewhat corrupt.

Country going in the wrong direction, say most

Awareness of the Kathua and Unnao crimes was also found to be quite high. Over half the respondents (53%) had heard about the Kathua rape and murder incident and about 46% were aware of the Unnao rape incident. One in every three had also heard about the Judge Loya death controversy. However, none of these incidents/cases are determining how people are voting. The survey found the BJP to be netting more or less similar vote-shares among those who are aware of these happenings and those not aware of them.

Even as these incidents may not be affecting voter choices, they do seem to be, however, creating a greater sense of despondency among the electorate. Overall, 44% of the voters thought that the country was headed in the wrong direction and 35% felt otherwise. Among those who were aware of these cases, pessimism about the country's future was four points higher at 48%.

May 24, 2018



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, Rashtriya Samaj Paksha, Republican Party of India (A), Apna Dal, Rashtriya Lok Samata Party and All Jharkhand Students Union Party.

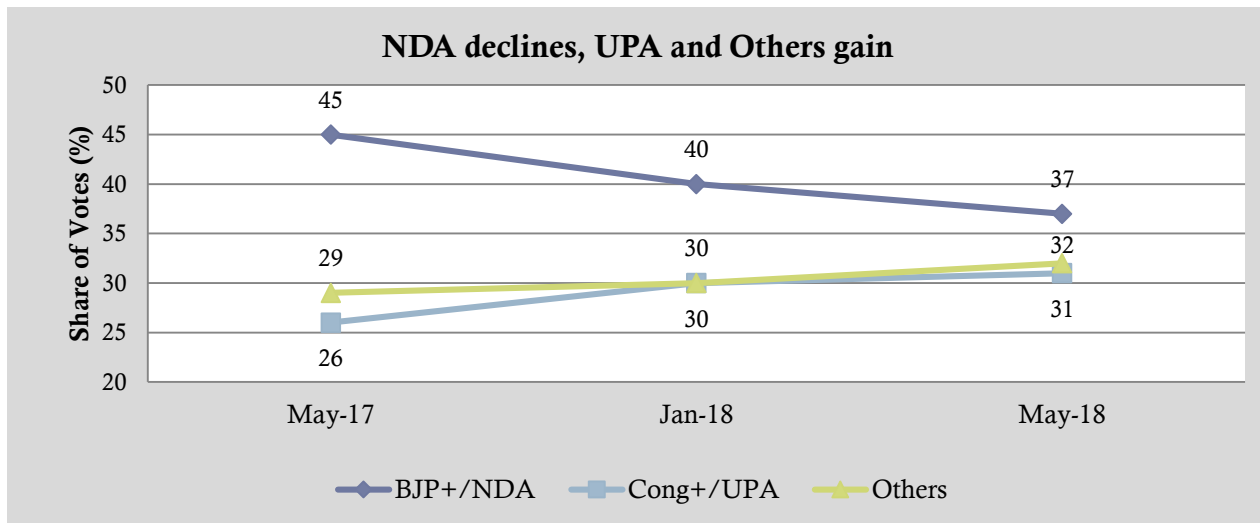
Congress allies include Rashtriya Janata Dal (only in Bihar and Jharkhand), Nationalist Congress Party (only in Maharashtra), Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, Manithaney Makkal Katchi, Puthiya Tamizhagam, Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (only in Jharkhand), Indian Union Muslim League (only in Kerala and Tamil Nadu), Revolutionary Socialist Party (only in Kerala), Hindustan Awam Morcha, Swabhimani Paksha and Bahujan Vikas Aghadi.

BSP allies include Samajwadi Party, Janata Dal (Secular) and Indian National Lok Dal (INLD).

The survey was not conducted in Jammu and Kashmir, Uttarakhand and Himachal Pradesh, Goa, Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram, Tripura and Meghalaya.

Source for estimates: Mood of the Nation (MOTN) surveys conducted by Lokniti-CSDS in May 2017, January 2018 and May 2018.

Sample size (N) in May 2017 - 11,373; Jan 2018 - 14,336; May 2018 - 15,859.



Note: NDA stands for National Democratic Alliance; UPA stands for United Progressive Alliance.

Source: MOTN surveys by Lokniti-CSDS

May 24, 2018

Voting intention in East India

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

Note: East India here includes West Bengal, Bihar, Odisha, Jharkhand and Assam

Source: MOTN surveys by Lokniti-CSDS

Voting intention in West and Central India

	May 2017 (%)	Jan 2018 (%)	May 2018 (%)
BJP+/NDA	56	48	48
Cong+/UPA	32	40	43
Others	12	12	9

Note: West and Central India here includes Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, and Chhattisgarh

Source: MOTN surveys by Lokniti-CSDS

Voting intention in North India

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

Note: North India here includes Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Punjab, Haryana and Delhi

Source: MOTN surveys by Lokniti-CSDS

Voting intention in South India

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

Note: South India here includes Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Telangana

Source: MOTN surveys by Lokniti-CSDS

Congress+/UPA doing best in towns and small cities; recovering in big cities

	May 2017 (%)	Jan 2018 (%)	May 2018 (%)
Villages			
Vote for NDA	46	41	37
Vote for UPA	25	29	29
Vote for Others	29	30	34
Towns and small cities			
Vote for NDA	43	35	31
Vote for UPA	28	34	38
Vote for Others	29	31	31
Big cities			
Vote for NDA	42	47	44
Vote for UPA	37	28	34
Vote for Others	21	25	22

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

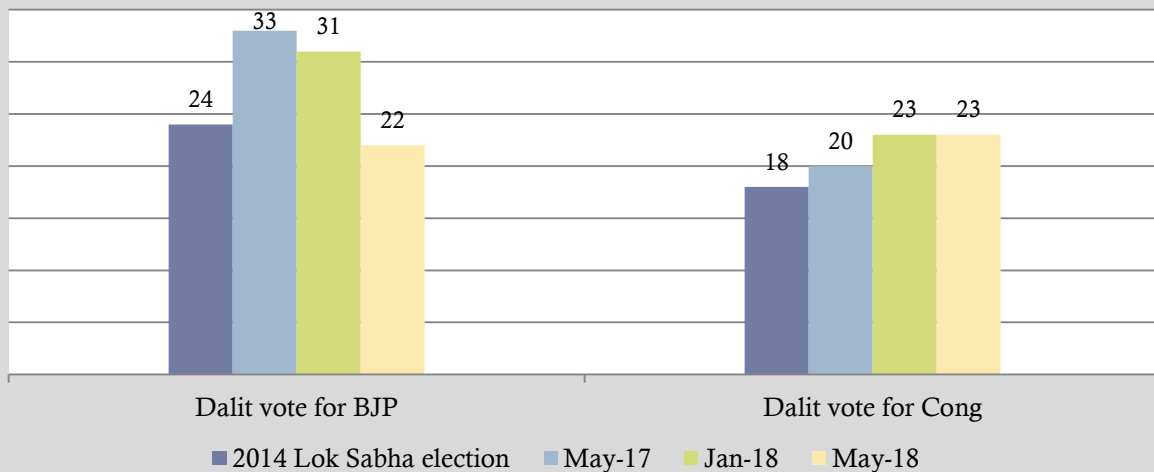
Source: MOTN surveys by Lokniti-CSDS

May 24, 2018

BJP+/NDA's fall is sharpest among middle and lower class voters

	May 2017 (%)	Jan 2018 (%)	May 2018 (%)
Upper Class			
Vote for NDA	50	48	48
Vote for UPA	24	33	28
Vote for Others	26	19	24
Middle Class			
Vote for NDA	46	43	39
Vote for UPA	29	32	34
Vote for Others	25	25	27
Lower Class			
Vote for NDA	46	41	36
Vote for UPA	24	30	31
Vote for Others	30	29	33
Poor			
Vote for NDA	37	36	34
Vote for UPA	30	29	30
Vote for Others	33	35	36

Source: MOTN surveys by Lokniti-CSDS

Dalit support for the BJP plummets (%)

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

Source: National Election Study (NES) 2014 and MOTN surveys by Lokniti-CSDS

Cong makes major gains among Adivasis (STs)

	2014 Lok Sabha (%)	May 2017 (%)	Jan 2018 (%)	May 2018 (%)
Adivasi vote for BJP	37	49	34	36
Adivasi vote for Cong	28	22	36	38

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

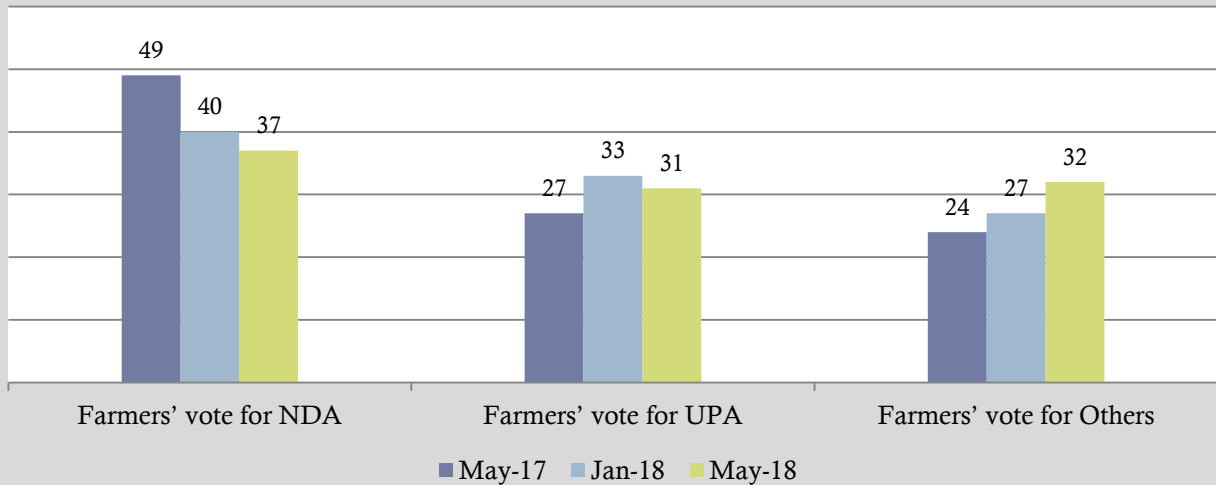
Source: NES 2014 and MOTN surveys by Lokniti-CSDS

May 24, 2018

Traders' support for NDA continues to fall post-GST

	May 2017 (%)	Jan 2018 (%)	May 2018 (%)
Traders' vote for NDA	50	43	40
Traders' vote for UPA	25	34	32
Traders' vote for Others	25	23	28

Source: MOTN surveys by Lokniti-CSDS

Non-NDA, non-UPA parties have gained substantial ground among farmers in 5 months (%)

Source: MOTN surveys by Lokniti-CSDS

Youth are still most likely to vote for the BJP; BJP's decline sharpest among the elderly

	Vote for BJP in May 2017 (%)	Vote for BJP in January 2018 (%)	Vote for BJP in May 2018 (%)
Voters aged 18-25 years	43	34	33
Voters aged 26-35 years	42	36	35
Voters aged 36-45 years	37	35	32
Voters aged 46-55 years	37	32	32
Voters aged 56+ years	36	32	28

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

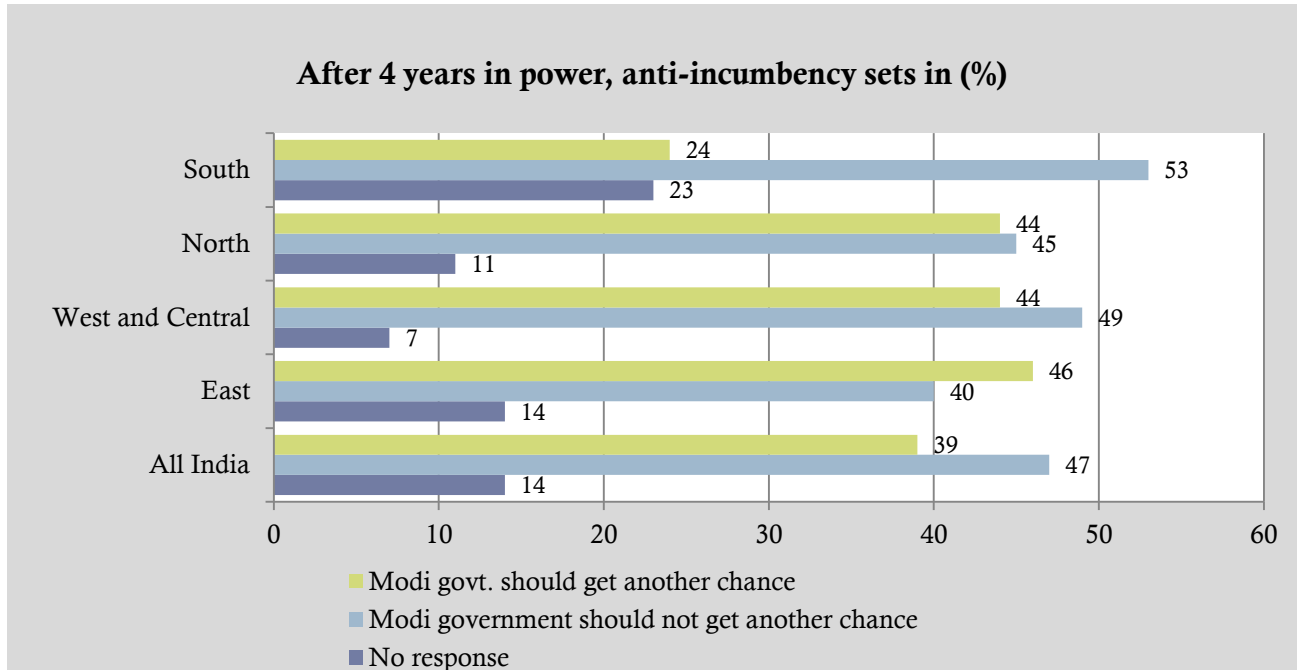
Source: MOTN surveys by Lokniti-CSDS

Compared to an overall drop of 2 points, the BJP has fallen by 6 points among daily users of Whatsapp and Facebook in last 5 months

	Vote for Congress (%)			Vote for BJP (%)		
	May 2017	Jan 2018	May 2018	May 2017	Jan 2018	May 2018
All voters	21	25	25	39	34	32
Daily Facebook users	20	26	26	48	41	35
Daily Twitter users	20	30	26	43	37	37
Daily Whatsapp users	22	24	26	45	41	35
Daily Instagram users	NA	27	25	NA	40	38

Source: MOTN surveys by Lokniti-CSDS

May 24, 2018



Source: MOTN Survey, May 2018

Question asked: Should the Modi-led BJP NDA government get another chance after the next election?

Nearly 2 in 5 voters of BJP's allies do not want to give the Modi govt. another chance

	Modi govt. should get another chance (%)	Modi government should not get another chance (%)	No response (%)
All voters	39	47	14
Congress voters	12	76	12
Congress allies' voters	18	76	6
BJP voters	82	11	7
BJP allies' voters	52	38	10
Left voters	18	66	16
BSP voters	18	70	12
BSP allies' voters	24	68	8
Others' voters	20	48	32

Source: MOTN Survey, May 2018

Question asked: Should the Modi-led BJP NDA government get another chance after the next election?

Majority of India's religious minorities want to see the back of the Modi government

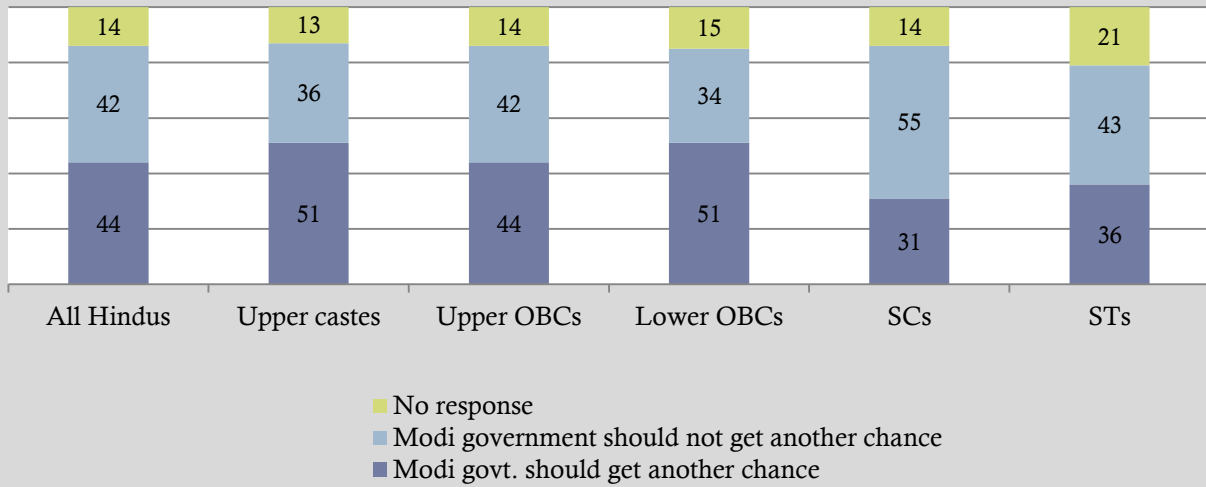
	Modi govt. should get another chance (%)	Modi government should not get another chance (%)	No response (%)
Overall	39	47	14
Hindus	44	42	14
Muslims	15	75	10
Christians	17	62	21
Sikhs	31	56	13
Others	53	40	7

Source: MOTN Survey, May 2018

Question asked: Should the Modi-led BJP NDA government get another chance after the next election?

May 24, 2018

Among Hindus, it is Dalits and Adivasis who are most disenchanted with the Modi government (%)



Source: MOTN Survey, May 2018

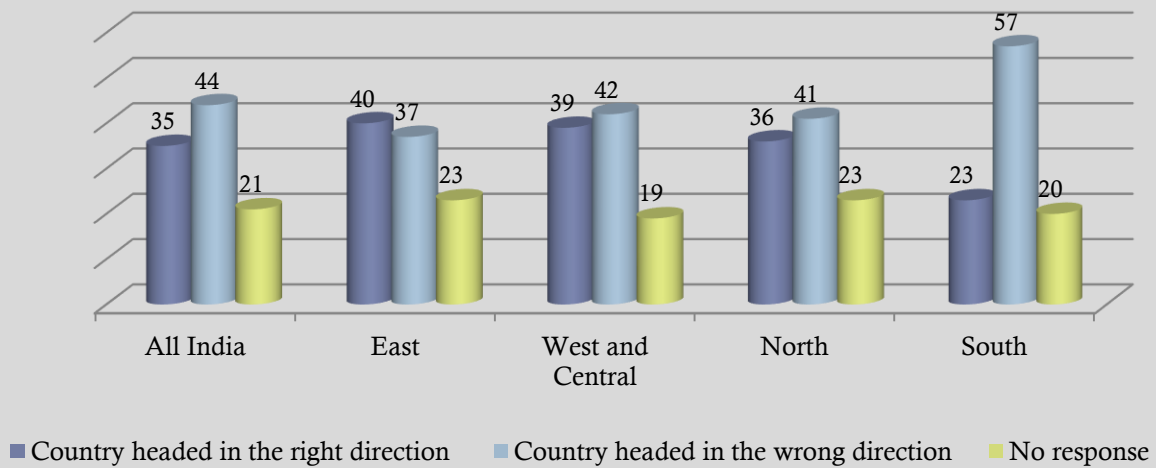
Question asked: Should the Modi-led BJP NDA government get another chance after the next election?

Current UPA able to corner only half the anti-incumbency vote, rest going to Others

	Voting for NDA (%)	Voting for UPA (%)	Voting for Others (%)
Pro-incumbent vote (<i>govt. should get another chance</i>)	73	10	17
Anti-incumbent vote (<i>govt. should not get another chance</i>)	12	50	38
No response	20	24	56

Source: MOTN Survey, May 2018

Most believe India is heading in the wrong direction; this sentiment is strongest in South India where nearly 3 in 5 think so (%)



Source: MOTN Survey, May 2018

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

May 24, 2018

Pessimism about country's situation seen across age groups

	Country is headed in the right direction (%)	Country is headed in the wrong direction (%)	No response (%)
All voters	35	44	21
Voters aged 18-22 years	39	48	13
Voters aged 23-25 years	37	44	19
Voters aged 26-35 years	38	43	19
Voters aged 36-45 years	33	43	24
Voters aged 46-55 years	33	45	22
Voters aged 56+ years	31	45	24

Source: MOTN Survey, May 2018

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

Religious minorities and Dalits are most pessimistic about how things are in the country

	Country is headed in the right direction (%)	Country is headed in the wrong direction (%)	No response (%)
All voters	35	44	21
Hindus	38	41	21
<i>Dalits only</i>	26	48	26
Muslims	18	63	19
Christians	20	61	19
Sikhs	27	58	15

Source: MOTN Survey, May 2018

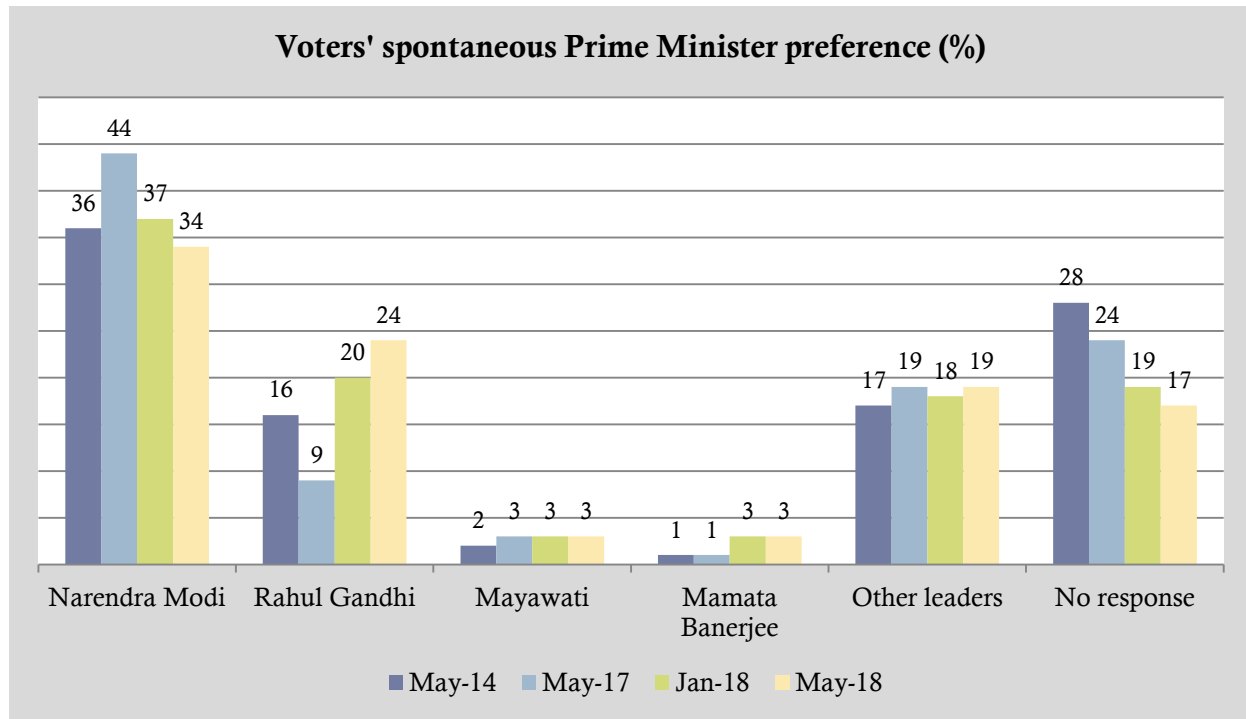
Question asked: In general, do you think things in the country are headed in the right direction or the wrong direction?

NDA cornering two-thirds of the optimism vote; pessimism vote divided between UPA and Others

	Voting for NDA (%)	Voting for UPA (%)	Voting for Others (%)
Optimism vote (<i>Country headed in right direction</i>)	65	16	19
Pessimism vote (<i>Country headed in wrong direction</i>)	18	44	38
No response	31	28	41

Source: MOTN Survey, May 2018

May 24, 2018



Source: NES 2014 (N=22295) and MOTN surveys by Lokniti-CSDS

Question asked: If Lok Sabha elections are held in the country tomorrow, who would you prefer to see as the Prime Minister of the country? Question was asked in an open ended manner and no choices were offered to the respondent.

Rahul Gandhi liked as much as Narendra Modi; has a greater net likeability

	Like him (%)	<u>Don't</u> like him (%)	Neither like him nor dislike him (%)	No response (%)
Narendra Modi	43	36	12	9
<i>Net like: +7</i>				
Rahul Gandhi	43	32	14	11
<i>Net like +11</i>				

Note: 'Net like' is like percentage minus dislike percentage

Source: MOTN Survey, May 2018

Questions asked: 1) Some people like Rahul Gandhi as a leader and some don't like him. What about you - do you like Rahul Gandhi or you don't like him? 2) Some people like Narendra Modi as a leader and some don't like him. What about you - do you like Modi or you don't like him?

3 in 10 of those who like Rahul Gandhi had disliked him earlier

	Always liked him (%)	Didn't like him earlier but <u>like him now</u> (%)	No response (%)
Narendra Modi	68	25	7
Rahul Gandhi	66	29	5

Note: Responses shown above are of only those who said they like Modi and Rahul.

Source: MOTN Survey, May 2018

Questions asked were: 1) (If like Rahul) Have you always liked Rahul Gandhi or you did not like him much earlier but now like him? 2) (If like Modi) Have you always liked Modi or you did not like him much earlier but now like him?

May 24, 2018

1 in 3 of those who dislike Modi had liked him earlier

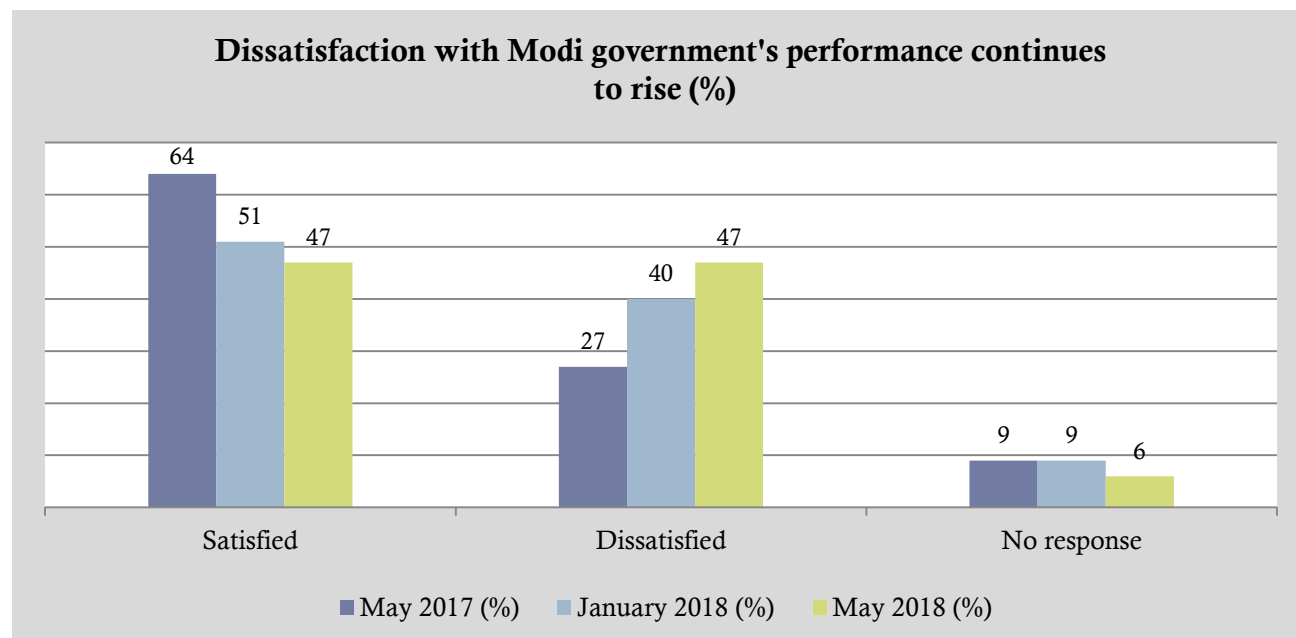
	Always disliked him (%)	Liked him earlier but don't like him now (%)	No response (%)
Narendra Modi	53	35	12
Rahul Gandhi	66	22	12

Note: Responses shown above are of only those who said they dislike Modi and Rahul.

Source: MOTN Survey, May 2018

Questions asked were: 1) (If don't like Rahul) Have you never liked Rahul Gandhi or you liked him earlier but don't like him now?

2) (If don't like Modi) Have you never liked Modi or you liked him earlier but don't like him now?



Note: Fully and somewhat satisfied or dissatisfied categories have been merged as 'Satisfied' and 'Dissatisfied' in this chart.

Source: MOTN surveys by Lokniti-CSDS

Question asked: Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of the BJP-led NDA government at the Centre in Delhi over the last three/three and a half/four years? (Probe further whether fully or somewhat satisfied or dissatisfied).

Complete dissatisfaction with BJP govt's work now twice as high as complete satisfaction

	May 2017 (%)	January 2018 (%)	May 2018 (%)
Fully satisfied	17	10	16
Somewhat satisfied	47	41	31
Somewhat dissatisfied	12	23	15
Fully dissatisfied	15	17	32
No response	9	9	6

Source: MOTN surveys by Lokniti-CSDS

Question asked: Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of the BJP-led NDA government at the Centre in Delhi over the last three/three and a half/four years? (Probe further whether fully or somewhat satisfied or dissatisfied).

May 24, 2018

Across all regions, dissatisfaction with Modi gov't's performance has increased; South India particularly unhappy with the Central government

	May 2017 (%)		Jan 2018 (%)		May 2018 (%)	
	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Dissatisfied
All India	64	27	51	40	47	47
<i>All India Net satisfaction</i>	+37		+9		0	
East India	64	23	56	36	53	40
West and Central India	68	24	56	38	54	42
North India	72	20	56	38	50	43
South India	49	39	35	51	30	63

Note: The rest of the respondents gave no response. Fully and somewhat satisfied or dissatisfied categories have been merged as 'satisfied' and 'dissatisfied' in this table. 'Net satisfaction' is satisfaction percentage minus dissatisfaction percentage

Source: MOTN surveys by Lokniti-CSDS

Dissatisfaction with Modi gov't. has increased in almost all large States

	May 2017 (%)		January 2018 (%)		May 2018 (%)	
	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Dissatisfied
Andhra Pradesh	48	38	37	52	26	68
Bihar	72	20	62	37	69	29
Gujarat	72	20	57	35	55	40
Karnataka	73	20	51	40	50	45
Kerala	30	54	24	66	28	64
Madhya Pradesh	68	26	54	38	48	46
Maharashtra	63	28	56	38	51	47
Odisha	67	14	66	23	63	28
Rajasthan	83	12	59	38	57	37
Tamil Nadu	31	55	33	52	19	75
Uttar Pradesh	71	21	55	37	49	44
West Bengal	54	24	46	38	44	45
Telangana	*	*	*	*	29	63

Note: The rest of the respondents gave no response. Fully and somewhat satisfied or dissatisfied categories have been merged as 'satisfied' and 'dissatisfied' in this table. *Findings not shown as n size was <500.

Source: MOTN surveys by Lokniti-CSDS

There isn't a single issue on which the Modi government is rated positively now

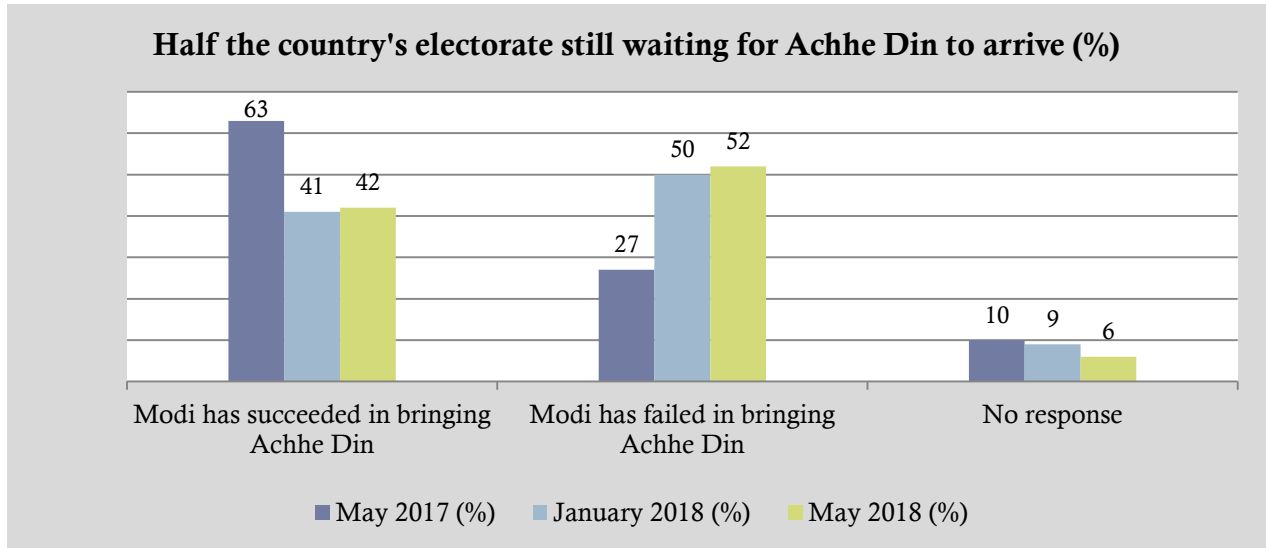
	Good job (%)			Average job (%)			Bad job (%)		
	May '17	Jan '18	May '18	May '17	Jan '18	May '18	May '17	Jan '18	May '18
Curbing corruption	43	46	36	7	6	5	35	40	55
Controlling price rise	48	38	33	5	5	3	39	52	61
Maintaining religious harmony	38	42	37	7	7	6	37	44	52
Doing developmental work	-	-	40	-	-	6	-	-	51
Addressing farmers woes (<i>farmer responses</i>)	41	41	30	5	*	5	50	53	64
Dealing with Pakistan	-	40	33	-	10	12	-	37	42
Dealing with China	-	40	33	-	11	13	-	36	40
Handling the situation in Kashmir	28	-	31	7	-	12	39	-	43

Note: Cells with a hyphen (-) indicate that question was not asked. *Option of 'average' was not provided. Very and somewhat good/bad categories have been merged as 'good' and 'bad' in this table.

Source: MOTN surveys by Lokniti-CSDS

Question asked: Has the Narendra Modi-led Central government done a good job or a bad job with regard to the following? (*Probe further whether very or somewhat good or bad. If someone says Average then code as such.*)

May 24, 2018



Note: Fully and somewhat succeeded or failed categories have been merged as 'succeeded' and 'failed' in this table.

Source: MOTN surveys by Lokniti-CSDS

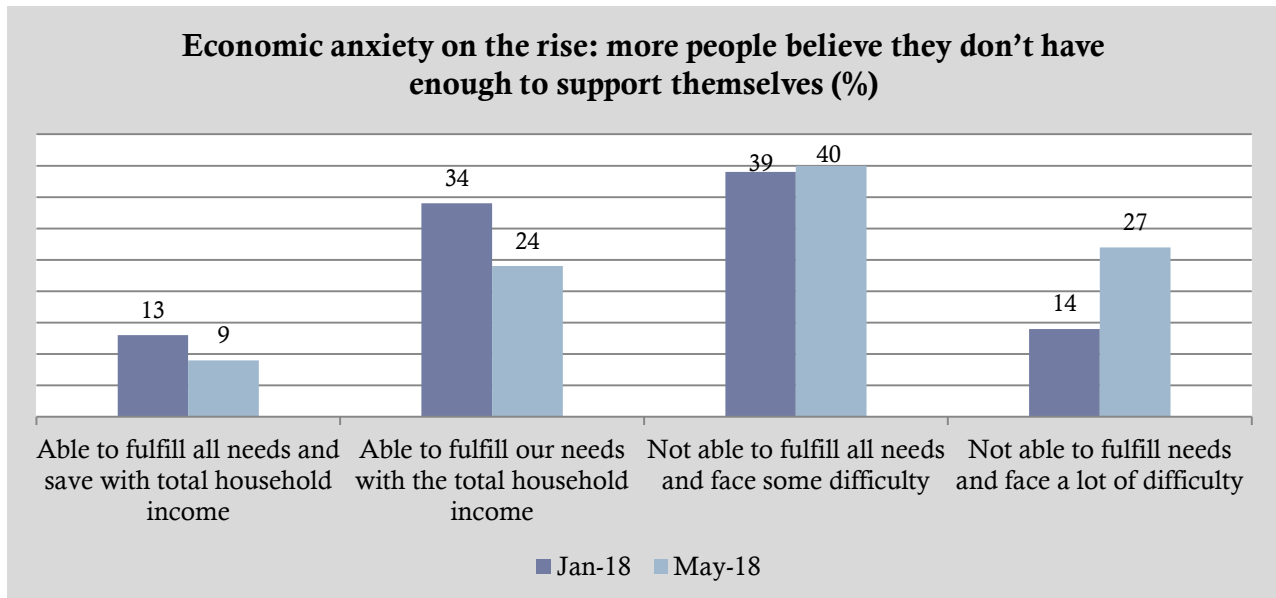
Question asked: During the 2014 Lok Sabha election campaign, Narendra Modi had promised to bring 'achhe din'. After three/three and a half/four years of Modi's government, do you think Modi has succeeded or failed in bringing 'achhe din'? (Probe further whether fully or somewhat succeeded or failed)

Only 3 in every 10 now believe that there has been 'Sabka Vikas' in last 4 years

In the last 3-4 years...	January 2018 (%)	May 2018 (%)
Development has been for all	39	31
Development has been only for the Rich	36	42
There has been no development at all	19	22
No response	6	5

Source: MOTN surveys by Lokniti-CSDS

Question asked: People have different opinions about the development that has taken place in the country in the last 3-4 years. Some believe it has only been for the rich, others say it has been for all people. What is your opinion?



Source: MOTN surveys by Lokniti-CSDS

Question asked: Which one of the following sentences best describes your economic condition?

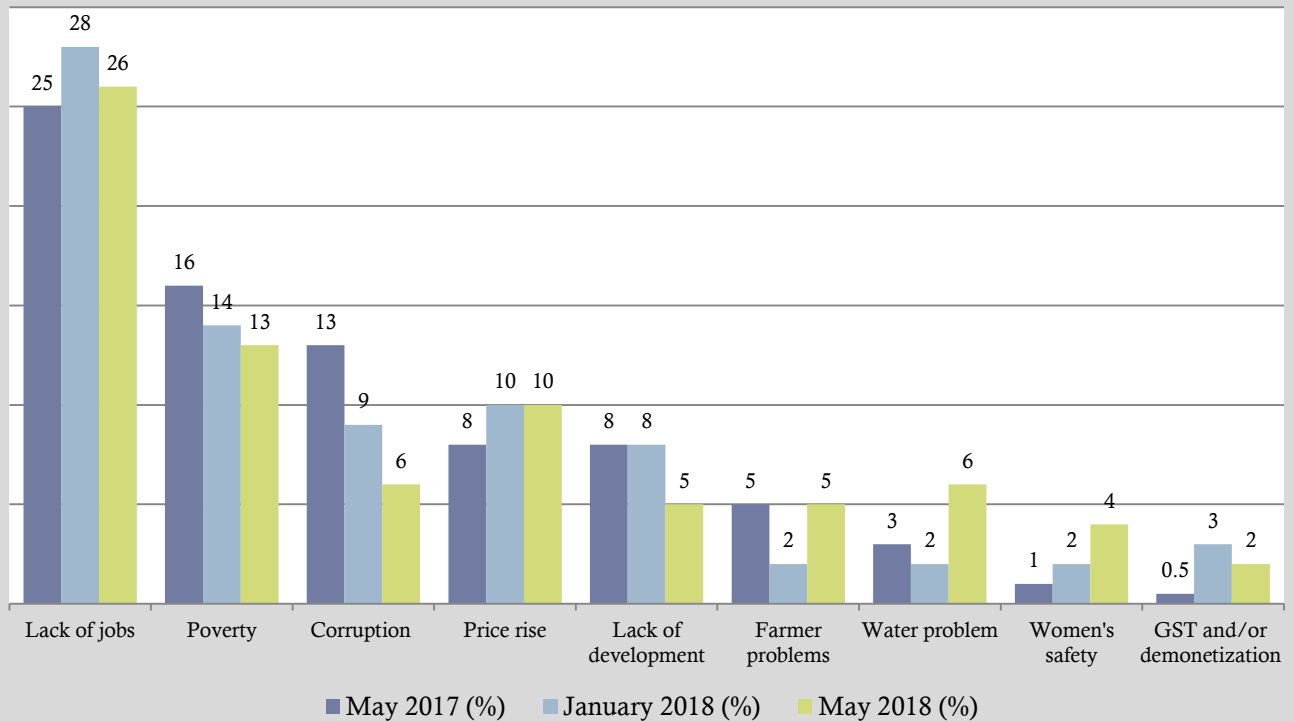
May 24, 2018

Nearly 6 in 10 believe finding a job has become more difficult

	January 2018 (%)	May 2018 (%)
Has become more difficult to find a job in my area	49	57
Has become less difficult	19	16
Remained same	21	22
No response	12	5

Source: MOTN surveys by Lokniti-CSDS

Question asked: Thinking about the city/town/village you live in, during the last 3-4 years has it become more difficult or less difficult to new employment?

India's biggest problem according to voters (%)

Note: The rest of the respondents reported other problems or did not give an opinion. Question was asked in an open ended way; no choices were offered to the respondent

Source: MOTN surveys by Lokniti-CSDS

Question asked: In your opinion, what is the biggest problem in India today?

Voters in North India continue to be most concerned about the problem of lack of jobs

	Those who said unemployment is country's biggest problem...		
	May 2018 (%)	Jan 2018 (%)	May 2018 (%)
East India	25	28	27
West-Central India	25	22	24
North India	30	40	37
South India	14	18	16

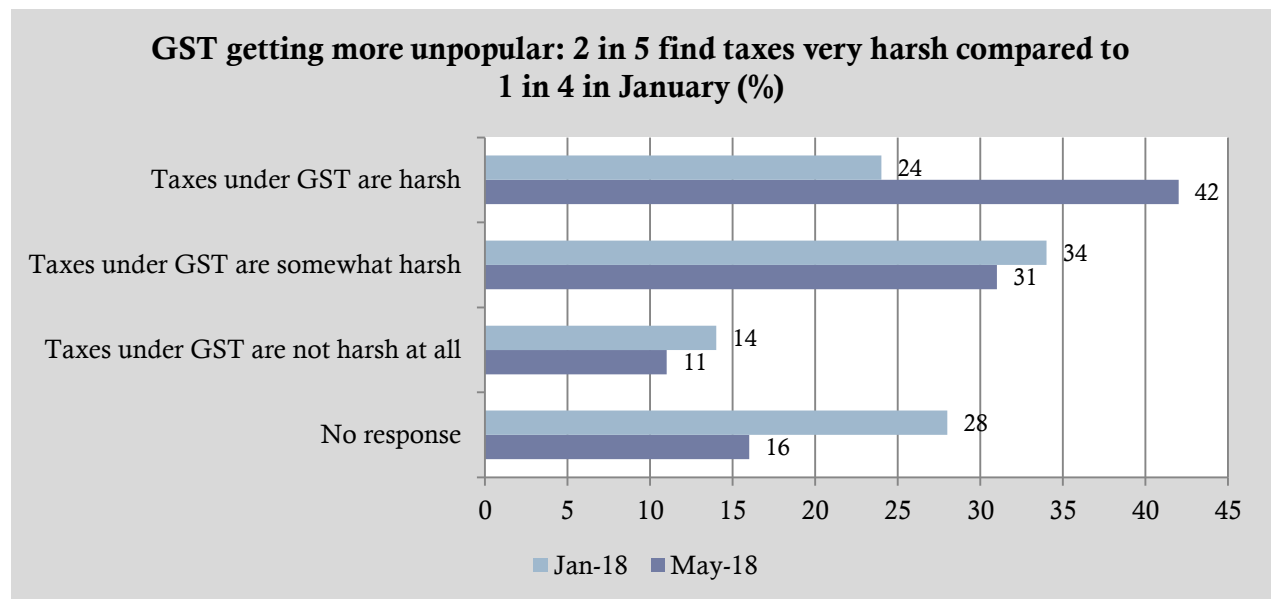
Source: MOTN surveys by Lokniti-CSDS

May 24, 2018

UPA doing best among those concerned about price rise, lack of development, farmers' problems, GST/demonetization and women's safety

Those who said...	Leaning towards NDA %	Leaning towards UPA %
Unemployment is the biggest problem	41	29
Corruption is biggest problem	42	31
Price rise is biggest problem	36	36
Poverty is biggest problem	38	28
Lack of development/governance is biggest problem	35	34
Farmer related woes are the biggest problem	23	38
Water problem is the biggest problem	40	34
Lack of women's safety and discrimination is the biggest problem	28	38
GST or demonetization is the biggest problem	23	38

Source: MOTN survey conducted by Lokniti-CSDS in May 2018



Source: MOTN surveys by Lokniti-CSDS

Question asked: Overall, are the taxes under GST harsh, somewhat harsh or not harsh at all?

About half the country's electorate is aware of the Nirav Modi scam and the Kathua and Unnao rape cases; one-third have heard about the Judge Loya death controversy

	Heard about them (%)
Nirav Modi/PNB scam	50
Kathua rape and murder case	53
Unnao rape case	46
Judge Loya death controversy	33

Source: MOTN Survey, May 2018

Questions asked were: 1) Have you heard about the Nirav Modi scam or the PNB scam? 2) Have you heard about the Kathua rape and murder case? 3) Have you heard about the Unnao rape case? 4) Have you heard about the Judge Loya death controversy?

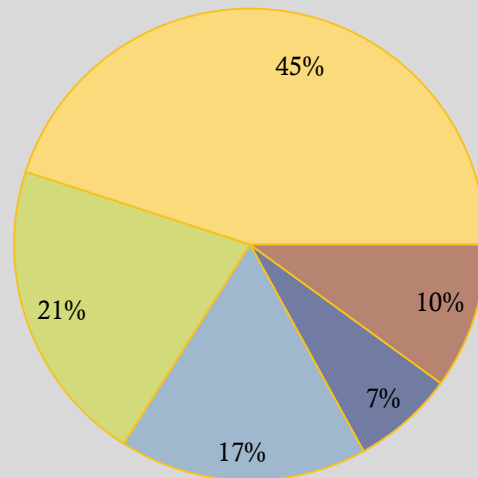
May 24, 2018

But awareness of these cases is not determining vote for the BJP; in fact, BJP is doing slightly better among those who are aware of these cases except Kathua

	Voting for BJP (%)
Heard of Nirav Modi/PNB scam	34
Not heard of it	30
Heard of Kathua rape and murder case	31
Not heard of it	33
Heard of Unnao rape case	33
Not heard of it	31
Heard of Judge Loya death controversy	35
Not heard of it	31

Source: MOTN Survey, May 2018

Two-thirds dissatisfied with action taken by Modi govt. in the Nirav Modi scam case



■ Fully satisfied ■ Somewhat satisfied ■ Somewhat dissatisfied ■ Fully dissatisfied ■ No response

Note: Responses shown above are of only those who said they had heard of the Nirav Modi scam case.

Source: MOTN Survey, May 2018

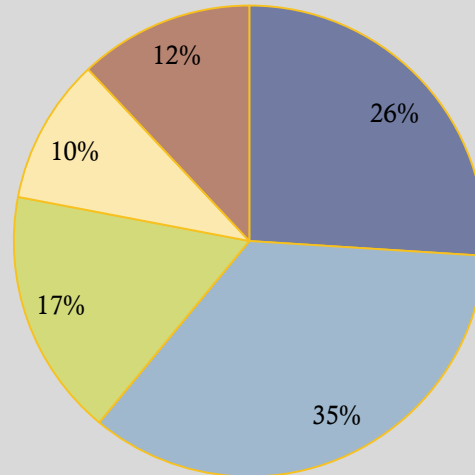
Question asked: (If heard of Nirav Modi scam case) Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the action taken by the government in the Nirav Modi scam case so far? (Probe further whether 'fully' or 'somewhat')

Only 1 in 5 of those fully dissatisfied with how govt. has dealt with the Modi scam case is voting for BJP

	Voting for BJP (%)
Fully satisfied with action taken by govt. in Nirav Modi scam	67
Somewhat satisfied with action taken	53
Somewhat dissatisfied with it	39
Fully dissatisfied	20
No response	30

Source: MOTN Survey, May 2018

May 24, 2018

Over 3 in 5 view the Modi government as being a ‘corrupt’ government

■ Very corrupt ■ Somewhat corrupt ■ Not much corrupt ■ Not corrupt ■ No response

Source: MOTN Survey, May 2018

Question asked: How would you rate the BJP-NDA Central government in terms of corruption – is it very corrupt somewhat corrupt, not much corrupt or not at all corrupt?

Plurality against cancelling immediate arrest provision of SC-ST Act; one-third of upper castes and two-fifths of OBCs also opposed to any such change

	Which one of these two statements do you agree with?	
	The SC/ST Act is being used by some to settle scores and some innocent people end up getting falsely implicated. Hence it is necessary to cancel the provision of the Act which mandates the immediate arrest of an accused (%)	Atrocities against SCs and STs are widespread and increasing. Hence under no circumstances should the SC/ST Act be changed to prevent the immediate arrest of an accused; doing so would lead to more atrocities. (%)
All voters	39	44
Hindu SC voters	31	57
Hindu ST voters	21	62
Hindu OBC voters	41	43
Hindu Upper caste voters	50	34
Muslim voters	36	38
Other voters	33	43

Note: The rest of the respondents did not give a response.

Source: MOTN Survey, May 2018

Question asked was: Which of these two statements do you agree with? *(Read both statements first & then take response)*

May 24, 2018

Majority dissatisfied with Modi government's attitude towards atrocities, crimes and violence against vulnerable and marginalized sections

	Satisfied with attitude/concern shown by govt. towards them (%)	Dissatisfied with attitude/concern shown by govt. towards them (%)	No response (%)
Atrocities against Dalits (responses of all respondents)	40	49	11
Atrocities against Dalits (responses of only <i>Dalit</i> respondents)	30	60	10
Atrocities against Adivasis (responses of all respondents)	36	50	14
Atrocities against Adivasis (responses of only <i>Adivasi</i> respondents)	33	54	13
Violence against Muslims (responses of all respondents)	34	53	13
Violence against Muslims (responses of only <i>Muslim</i> respondents)	16	79	5
Crimes against women/girls (responses of all respondents)	31	61	8
Crimes against women/girls (responses of only <i>Female</i> respondents)	29	60	11

Note: Fully and somewhat 'satisfied' or 'dissatisfied' categories have been merged as satisfied and dissatisfied in this table.

Source: MOTN Survey, May 2018

Question asked: Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the attitude/concern shown by the Modi government towards the following incidents? (*Probe further whether 'fully' or 'somewhat' satisfied or dissatisfied*).

Majority has trust in the EC and SC's functioning; news shared on Whatsapp and Facebook is least trusted of all news sources

	Trust a lot (%)	Trust somewhat (%)	Don't trust much (%)	Don't trust at all (%)	No response (%)
Election Commission's fairness in conducting elections	37	26	13	11	13
Supreme Court's fairness in adjudicating cases	41	24	13	9	13
News that is published in newspapers these days (only among newspaper readers)	19	36	26	13	6
News that is shown on TV these days (only among TV news watchers)	17	33	25	15	10
News that is shared on Whatsapp/Facebook (only among Whatsapp and Facebook users)	9	20	27	34	10

Source: MOTN Survey, May 2018

Question asked: How much trust do you have in the following - a lot of trust, some trust, not much or none at all?