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Lokniti-CSDS-ABP News Pre Election Surveys in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Chhattisgarh

About the Surveys

Pre-election surveys were conducted by Lokniti, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS), Delhi, in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Chhattisgarh, for ABP News. The survey in Madhya Pradesh was conducted from October 18 through October 25, 2018 among 5512 voters in 235 locations (polling stations) spread across 57 assembly constituencies (the State has a total of 230 assembly constituencies). In Rajasthan, the survey was conducted from October 20 to October 26 among 5554 voters in 205 locations situated in 50 assembly constituencies (out of 200). The Chhattisgarh survey was conducted between October 16 and October 26 among 3026 voters in 122 locations spread across 30 assembly constituencies (out of 90).

The sampling design adopted for all 3 States was multi-stage random sampling. The assembly constituencies where the survey was conducted were randomly selected using the probability proportional to size method. Thereafter, four polling stations within each of the sampled constituencies were selected using the systematic random sampling method. However, in sampled constituencies with a highly urban profile (urban population >70%) five polling stations were randomly selected instead of four since response rates in urban areas are usually low in election surveys. Finally, 38 voters were randomly selected from the electoral rolls of the sampled polling stations of which the field investigators were asked to interview at least 25.

Before going to the field for the survey, field investigators were imparted training about the survey method and interviewing techniques at training workshops held in Bilaspur, Ujjain and Udaipur. The field investigators conducted face-to-face interviews of the respondents in Hindi asking them a set of standardized questions. The duration of an interview was about 30-35 minutes. At some locations the non-availability of sampled respondents or difficulty in finding households necessitated replacements or substitutions. In order to be representative of the state's population profile, the achieved raw sample has been weighted by gender, locality, religion, and caste group based on Census 2011.

Profile of Achieved Sample

| | Madhya Pradesh | | Rajasthan | | Chhattisgarh | |
|-----------------|----------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| | Survey | Census 2011 | Survey | Census 2011 | Survey | Census 2011 |
| Scheduled Caste | 18.7% | 15.6% | 15.9% | 17.8% | 18.4% | 12.8% |
| Scheduled Tribe | 24.5% | 21.1% | 12.2% | 13.4% | 26.5% | 30.6% |
| Muslim | 6.9% | 6.6% | 9.1% | 9.1% | 1.7% | 2.0% |
| Women | 46.4% | 48.2% | 46.8% | 48.1% | 48.1% | 49.7% |
| Urban | 27.3% | 26.5% | 21.2% | 24.8% | 11.7% | 23.2% |

In Madhya Pradesh, the fieldwork of the survey was coordinated by Prof. Yatindra Singh Sisodia and Dr. Ashish Bhatt (Madhya Pradesh Institute of Social Science Research, Ujjain). In Rajasthan, it was coordinated by Prof. Sanjay Lodha and Dr. Nidhi Jain (Mohanlal Sukhadia University, Udaipur). In Chhattisgarh, it was coordinated by Dr. Shamshad Ansari (Ad Hoc Asst. Prof., Government Niranjana Kesharwani College in Kota, Bilaspur). The survey was designed and analysed by a team of researchers at Lokniti. The team included Amrit Pandey, Dhananjay Kumar Singh, Himanshu Bhattacharya, and Shreyas Sardesai. The survey was directed by Prof. Sanjay Kumar, Prof. Suhas Palshikar and Prof. Sandeep Shastri of Lokniti.

Survey details in a nutshell

| | Madhya Pradesh | Rajasthan | Chhattisgarh |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Dates of fieldwork | Oct 18-25, 2018 | Oct 20-26, 2018 | Oct 16-26, 2018 |
| No. of Constituencies covered | 57 | 50 | 30 |
| No. of Polling Stations covered | 235 | 205 | 122 |
| No. of field investigators | 114 | 100 | 60 |
| Total interviews conducted | 5512 | 5554 | 3026 |
| *Error margin (for total sample) | +/- 1.9 pts | +/- 1.9 pts | +/- 2.6 pts |

*Increases for cross-tabulations

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The pre-election mood of Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Chhattisgarh

Pre-election surveys conducted by Lokniti, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, in the poll-bound states of Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Chhattisgarh offer mixed news for the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and its main opponent, the Congress. They find both parties to be ahead in a state each, trailing in one and locked in a dead-heat in the third (*see Table 1*). Conducted in the second half of October, the surveys found the BJP to be the electoral preference of about 43% of the voters in Chhattisgarh (7 percentage points ahead of the Congress), 41% in Rajasthan (4 points behind the Congress) and 41% in Madhya Pradesh (just a point ahead of the Congress). The Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), a marginal but important player in all three states, appears not to be making much headway but is nonetheless showing potential of hurting the prospects of either of the two or both the key contestants in at least two states. Mayawati's party is currently the choice of about 2% voters in Rajasthan and 6% voters in Madhya Pradesh. This is significant, because if the Madhya Pradesh election indeed goes down to the wire, as the Lokniti survey currently suggests, even a mere 2-3% votes for the BSP could well end up determining who gets to form the government in Bhopal. Besides Madhya Pradesh, the BSP seems to be upsetting the electoral calculations in Chhattisgarh as well, and with far greater success at that. The Lokniti survey finds its alliance with Ajit Jogi's Janata Congress Chhattisgarh (JCC), a breakaway from the Congress, to be cornering about 15% of the total votes at present. A large chunk of this vote for the BSP-JCC alliance seems to be coming from the Congress's social base (*see section on Chhattisgarh on page 10*), thus benefitting the BJP in its bid to retain power for a fourth consecutive term.

It must be pointed out that the percentage of undecided voters in Rajasthan was 4%, in Madhya Pradesh 7% and in Chhattisgarh 10%. While distributing such cases proportionately among the various parties for the purposes of making an estimate, one cannot be sure about how they will behave come Voting Day. They may well affect the outcome, particularly in state like Madhya Pradesh where the contest is so close. Unexpectedly high/low turnout levels among certain demographics also have the potential of changing the current scenario.

Table 1: Assembly Election Voting Intention in second half of October

| | Voting intention in Madhya Pradesh 18-25 Oct (%) | Voting intention in Rajasthan 20-26 Oct (%) | Voting intention in Chhattisgarh 16-26 Oct (%) |
|----------|--------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| Congress | 40 | 45 | 36 |
| BJP | 41 | 41 | 43 |
| BSP/BSP+ | 6 | 2 | 15 |
| Others | 13 | 12 | 6 |

Note: Voting intentions declared by voters through a secret dummy ballot. Undecided voters (MP 7%, Rajasthan 4% & Chhattisgarh 10%), have been distributed proportionately among parties. M.P. N= 5512, Rajasthan N=5554, Chhattisgarh N=3026; BSP+ refers to BSP-JCC-CPI alliance in Chhattisgarh.

While the three states have their own political specificities, there are some common aspects that emerge from the pre-election surveys. In all the three states, the Congress seems to be getting greater support from rural voters than those residing in urban areas, the gap being the widest in Rajasthan at 4 points (*see Table 2*). Furthermore, barring Chhattisgarh, the Congress is currently securing a greater share of rural votes than the BJP in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. This is significant as both states are highly rural in nature with over 70% of their electorate, living in villages. The BJP on the other hand seems to be holding on to its core urban vote across all three states. It is currently leading the Congress by 2, 9 and 13 percentage points in urban Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh, respectively. This rural-urban difference is reminiscent of the voting behaviour observed in the Gujarat assembly election last year, where the BJP had underperformed in rural areas but made up for those losses by making a near sweep of many urban areas thus enabling it to get scrape through.

Table 2: Cong doing better in rural areas, BJP seems to be taking big leads in urban areas

| | Voting intention for BJP (%) | | Voting intention for Congress (%) | |
|----------------|------------------------------|-------|-----------------------------------|-------|
| | Rural | Urban | Rural | Urban |
| Madhya Pradesh | 39 | 48 | 40 | 39 |
| Rajasthan | 40 | 44 | 46 | 42 |
| Chhattisgarh | 42 | 47 | 36 | 34 |

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Even as the surveys find the Congress to be doing well among rural voters, it may be wrong to conclude, as many usually do, that this shift is mainly on account of distress in the farming sector. This is because Lokniti's pre-poll surveys in all the three states indicate that their 'anger' notwithstanding, farmers in sizeable proportion are still planning to vote for the BJP (*see Table 3*). In Chhattisgarh, support for BJP among farmers was found to be only 2 points less than support for it among non-farmers (42%-44%). In Rajasthan, it was 38% to 42%. Moreover, in Madhya Pradesh, the epicenter of the farmer protests and where the state police had opened fire on protesting farmers in Mandsaur, many farmers seem to have returned to the BJP, or so the survey suggests. About 43% of them said they would vote for the BJP as opposed to 40% of non-farmers who said so. Close to seven of every ten farmers in the state were of the opinion that the state government had succeeded in taking care of farmer interests. There is however a section among farmers in all the three states that is not backing the BJP as enthusiastically - that of agricultural labourers. Among them it is the Congress which is doing well currently (*see Table 4*) and holding on to this vote till Voting Day will be crucial for it.

Table 3: Farmer anger notwithstanding, many are still planning to vote for the BJP

| | Voting intention for BJP (%) | | Voting intention for Congress (%) | |
|----------------|------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|
| | Among farmers | Among non-farmers | Among farmers | Among non-farmers |
| Madhya Pradesh | 43 | 40 | 39 | 41 |
| Rajasthan | 38 | 42 | 44 | 45 |
| Chhattisgarh | 42 | 44 | 36 | 36 |

Table 4: Among farmers, farm laborers seem to be supporting the Congress more

| | Farm labourers planning to vote for BJP (%) | Farm labourers planning to vote for Cong (%) | Farm labourers planning to vote for Others (%) |
|----------------|---------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| Madhya Pradesh | 42 | 42 | 16 |
| Rajasthan | 37 | 47 | 16 |
| Chhattisgarh | 39 | 38 | 23 |

Another common finding emerging from the pre-poll surveys is that most voters in all three states identified unemployment and price rise as the single biggest election issues in response to an open-ended question (*see Table 5*). It must be pointed out that a very few respondents spontaneously identified emotive issues such as the Ayodhya dispute, cow protection, reservation, triple talaaq, SC-ST Act and the like as the most important election issues. They did so only when they were specifically asked separate questions about them, but not on their own volition. Moreover, what is significant is that the Congress also manages to get a fairly large chunk of the vote of those who consider these issues to be very important in the election, particularly in Rajasthan. In fact, on issues like the SC-ST Act, reservation and triple talaaq, the Congress actually leads BJP.

Table 5: Most important voting issues - the top 2 issues across all states are unemployment and price rise

| | Lack of jobs | Price rise | Poverty | Development /governance | Corruption | Roads, power, water | Reservation | Education |
|----------------|--------------|------------|---------|-------------------------|------------|---------------------|-------------|-----------|
| Madhya Pradesh | 21 | 20 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 3 | <1 |
| Rajasthan | 26 | 17 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 3 | 1 |
| Chhattisgarh | 27 | 13 | 11 | 5 | 3 | 9 | 1 | 5 |

Note: Figures are percentages; the rest gave other answers. All responses are spontaneous as the question was an open-ended one. Question asked: What will be the most important issue for you while voting in the coming assembly election?

Interestingly, development or *vikaas* which has usually been the main election issue in many state elections in the past does not seem to be much of a concern among voters in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Chhattisgarh – merely 5 to 7% said that development and governance would be the most important election issue for them in the coming state elections. In fact, all three governments were rated quite highly by the voters on most governance-related matters – electricity supply, roads, health, education etc. Moreover, the percentage of those satisfied (fully and somewhat) with the performance of their respective governments was greater than the percentage of those dissatisfied (fully and somewhat - *see Table 6*). Rajasthan was the only state where full dissatisfaction was found to exceed full satisfaction with the government – 26% to 22% (*see section on Rajasthan on page 8 for more*). It was also the only state where a greater proportion of voters responded negatively when

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asked if their incumbent government should get another chance (see Table 7). Madhya Pradesh was a close second.

Table 6: Level of satisfaction with the BJP state governments

| | Fully satisfied | Somewhat satisfied | Somewhat dissatisfied | Fully dissatisfied | No response |
|----------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| Madhya Pradesh | 25 | 32 | 19 | 22 | 2 |
| Rajasthan | 22 | 29 | 18 | 26 | 6 |
| Chhattisgarh | 17 | 48 | 20 | 14 | 1 |

Note: Figures are percentages; they may not total 100 due to rounding.

Question asked: Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of the BJP Government of in the State during last five years? (Probe further whether fully or somewhat)

Table 7: Anti-incumbency sentiment strongest in Rajasthan; in Chhattisgarh many were still deciding

| | State Government should get another chance | State Government should not get another chance | No response |
|----------------|---------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Madhya Pradesh | 45 | 43 | 12 |
| Rajasthan | 34 | 44 | 22 |
| Chhattisgarh | 39 | 35 | 26 |

Note: Figures are percentages; they may not total 100 due to rounding.

Question asked: Should the BJP government in Madhya Pradesh/Rajasthan/Chhattisgarh get another chance?

Across all the three states, two in every five voters were found to be aware of the PNB/Nirav Modi scam and over one in every three about the Rafale aircraft controversy. However, interestingly, this growing awareness about corruption allegations is not making too many voters view the Narendra Modi government as being “very corrupt” (see Table 8). Moreover, these alleged scandals do not seem to have had any negative effect on Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s personal popularity. Modi was found to be highly liked in all the three states (see Table 9). Barring Madhya Pradesh, where Jyotiraditya Scindia and Shivraj Singh Chouhan had a higher likeability than Modi (see section on Madhya Pradesh on page 5), the PM was found to be far more liked than others, in Rajasthan and Chhattisgarh. Rahul Gandhi also enjoys fairly high likeability in Madhya Pradesh but fares poorly in Rajasthan (see Table 10).

Table 8: Perception that Modi government is corrupt is strongest in Madhya Pradesh

| | Modi govt. is very corrupt | Modi govt. is somewhat corrupt | Modi govt. is not much corrupt | Modi govt. is not at all corrupt |
|----------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Madhya Pradesh | 29 | 30 | 17 | 18 |
| Rajasthan | 13 | 20 | 18 | 41 |
| Chhattisgarh | 17 | 31 | 27 | 23 |

Note: Figures are percentages; the rest of the respondents did not answer.

Question asked: How corrupt do you consider the Modi government at the Centre – very, somewhat, not much or not at all?

Table 9: Narendra Modi’s personal popularity continues to be high

| | Highly like Modi | Somewhat like Modi | Somewhat dislike Modi | Highly dislike |
|----------------|------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| Madhya Pradesh | 39 | 25 | 14 | 20 |
| Rajasthan | 52 | 22 | 10 | 13 |
| Chhattisgarh | 48 | 31 | 12 | 8 |

Note: Figures are percentages; the rest of the respondents did not answer.

Question asked: Do you like or dislike Narendra Modi? (Probe further whether fully or somewhat)

Table 10: Rahul’s popularity is less than Modi’s; he is most disliked in Rajasthan

| | Highly like Rahul Gandhi | Somewhat like Rahul Gandhi | Somewhat dislike Rahul Gandhi | Highly dislike Rahul Gandhi |
|----------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Madhya Pradesh | 33 | 30 | 13 | 19 |
| Rajasthan | 18 | 28 | 13 | 37 |
| Chhattisgarh | 28 | 45 | 14 | 11 |

Note: Figures are percentages; the rest of the respondents did not answer the question.

Question asked: Do you like or dislike Rahul Gandhi? (Probe further whether fully or somewhat)

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As he campaigns in the weeks ahead, Prime Minister Modi is expected to leverage his high likeability among voters to his party's benefit. However, the three pre-poll surveys done by Lokniti also reveal the limitations of this so-called Modi effect/factor. They find that while the BJP overwhelmingly secures the vote of those who "fully like" Modi, among those who "somewhat like" him, it is the Opposition that gets the plurality of votes. In Rajasthan for instance, among those who "strongly like" Modi, the BJP gets a whopping 69% of the vote. However, this drops drastically to just 14% among those who like him moderately (*see Table 11*). In fact, more than Modi's personal popularity, satisfaction with the state and central governments is a far better predictor or determinant of vote choice. This is because the surveys find the BJP to be getting a very large proportion of the votes of not only those who are "fully satisfied" with the state and central government's work but also "somewhat satisfied" with it. To give Rajasthan's example again, not only are 78% of those who are highly satisfied with the BJP government's work planning to vote for the BJP, but 59% of those who are somewhat satisfied are also planning to do so (*see Table 12*).

Table 11: Only those who like Modi "a lot" are voting for BJP in large proportions

| | Vote for BJP among those who highly like Modi | Vote for BJP among those who somewhat like Modi | Vote for BJP among those who somewhat dislike Modi | Vote for BJP among those who highly dislike Modi |
|----------------|-----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| Madhya Pradesh | 77 | 28 | 14 | 7 |
| Rajasthan | 69 | 14 | 5 | 6 |
| Chhattisgarh | 67 | 30 | 8 | 7 |

Note: Figures are percentages

Table 12: Level of satisfaction with state govt. and not Modi's image a far stronger determinant of choice

| | Vote for BJP among those highly satisfied with state govt's work | Vote for BJP among those somewhat satisfied with state govt's work | Vote for BJP among those somewhat dissatisfied with state govt's work | Vote for BJP among those highly dissatisfied with state govt's work |
|----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Madhya Pradesh | 84 | 44 | 24 | 6 |
| Rajasthan | 78 | 59 | 26 | 5 |
| Chhattisgarh | 83 | 46 | 27 | 5 |

Note: Figures are percentages

MADHYA PRADESH

Lokniti's pre-poll survey in Madhya Pradesh finds the contest between the BJP and the Congress to be currently on a knife's edge. Although Shivraj Singh Chouhan's personal popularity continues to be high (he leads the chief ministerial race by a comfortable margin over his rivals - *see Table 13*) and his government is rated quite highly by voters on most governance issues (electricity, roads, health and education - *see Table 14*), yet there seems to be a substantial degree of voter fatigue with his government that has been in power for a decade and a half. The survey found a sizeable proportion of voters (one in every four) not wanting to give the government another chance despite being satisfied with its performance in office (*see Table 15*).

Table 13: Voters' spontaneous preference for the post of chief minister - Shivraj Chouhan on top

| | |
|-----------------------------|----|
| Shivraj Singh Chouhan (BJP) | 37 |
| Jyotiraditya Scindia (Cong) | 24 |
| Kamal Nath (Cong) | 10 |
| Digvijay Singh (Cong) | 3 |
| Kailash Vijayvargiya (BJP) | 3 |
| Other names (<1% each) | 16 |
| No response | 7 |

Note: Figures are percentages; they may not total 100 due to rounding. The question was asked in an open-ended manner. Question asked: After the coming election, who would you like to see as the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh?

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Table 14: People's assessment of MP government's governance

| | Improved in last 5 years | Deteriorated in last 5 years | Remained same (<i>silent option</i>) |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| Facilities in schools and colleges | 57 | 23 | 16 |
| Hospital facilities | 50 | 27 | 20 |
| Supply of electricity | 67 | 13 | 17 |
| Condition of roads | 59 | 22 | 17 |
| Supply of drinking water | 36 | 30 | 29 |
| Hindu-Muslim relations | 22 | 30 | 31 |
| Safety of women and girls | 33 | 37 | 22 |

Note: Figures are percentages; the rest of the respondents did not answer the question.

Question asked: Have the following improved or deteriorated in the last five years of BJP rule in Madhya Pradesh?

Table 15: One in every four of those satisfied with govt's work does not wish to see it return to power

| | State Govt. should get another chance | State Govt. should not get another chance |
|------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| Satisfied with Shivraj Chouhan government's performance | 64 | 25 |
| Dissatisfied with Shivraj Chouhan government's performance | 19 | 68 |

Note: Figures are percentages; they rest of the respondents did not answer the question.

A perception that the state government is corrupt (26% called it highly corrupt and 36% viewed it as being somewhat corrupt) and resentment among communities due to the SC-ST Act controversy, also seem to be a road block in the BJP's attempts to retain power for a fourth consecutive term. The SC-ST Act particularly appears to be denting the BJP's prospects not just among Dalits and Adivasis but also to some extent among its core upper caste voter base, especially Rajputs. On being asked specifically about the SC-ST Act, nearly half the upper caste and Dalit voters and two-thirds of Adivasi voters said the issue will be very important to them in the coming election (*see Table 16*).

Table 16: SC-ST Act row to be a 'very important' poll issue Adivasis, Dalits and Upper castes particularly

| | SC-ST Act will be a very important election issue for me | SC-ST Act will be a somewhat important election issue for me |
|--------------|----------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| Upper castes | 50 | 25 |
| OBCs | 44 | 27 |
| Dalits | 53 | 22 |
| Adivasis | 62 | 18 |
| Muslim | 43 | 25 |

Note: Figures are percentages; the rest of the respondents gave other answers.

Question asked: How important will the SC-ST Act controversy issue be for you in the coming election – very, somewhat, or much or not at all?

The Congress however is unable to fully capitalize on this social disenchantment with the government mainly due to two factors – its failure to arrive at an electoral understanding with the BSP and the presence of a new player, the Jai Adivasi Yuva Shakti (JAYS). The survey found over half of those planning to vote for the Congress and close to three-fourths of those planning to vote for the BSP to be of the opinion that there should have been a pre-election alliance between the two parties (*see Table 17*). This sentiment was also found to be quite strong among Dalits as a whole. As far as Adivasis are concerned, while a majority of them prefer the Congress currently, a significant chunk of them was also found to be supporting JAYS. What's more, JAYS may well end up garnering more support in the weeks ahead as the survey found current one-fifth of Congress voters to be highly likely to vote for a JAYS candidate if one was fielded from their area (*see Table 18*). In this regard, the recent decision of JAYS founder Hiralal Alawa to contest on a Congress ticket, a development that happened after the pre-poll survey was conducted, assumes significance.

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Table 17: Majority of BSP voters would have liked a Cong-BSP alliance; Cong voters not as enthusiastic

| | Congress-BSP should have tied up | Cong-BSP should perhaps have tied up (<i>silent option</i>) | Cong-BSP shouldn't have tied up | Doesn't make a difference to me (<i>silent option</i>) | No response |
|-------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Congress leaning voters | 36 | 19 | 16 | 14 | 15 |
| BSP leaning voters | 56 | 21 | 12 | 4 | 8 |
| SC voters | 36 | 18 | 15 | 15 | 17 |
| Non-SC voters | 29 | 16 | 18 | 20 | 18 |

Note: Figures are percentages; they may not total 100 due to rounding. Silent option means that it was a spontaneous response.

Question asked: In your opinion should the Congress and the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) have formed an alliance in Madhya Pradesh for this election?

Table 18: Nearly 3 in every ten Adivasi voters may consider voting for JAYS if it fields a candidate from their area; likely to damage Congress the most

| | Aware of JAYS outfit | Very likely to vote for JAYS if it fields a candidate from my area |
|-------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Tribal voters | 57 | 28 |
| Tribal voters currently planning to vote for Congress | 56 | 20 |
| Tribal voters currently planning to vote for BJP | 33 | 12 |

Note: Figures are percentages

Questions asked: Have you heard about Jai Adivasi Yuva Shakti (JAYS) party? (If heard) If JAYS party fields a candidate from your area then how likely is it that you will vote for it – very likely, somewhat likely, not much likely or not at all likely?

The Congress may also suffer a bit on account of perceived factionalism and the absence of a clear face to take on Shivraj Singh Chouhan. The survey found about 10% of Kamal Nath supporters (those who want to see him as the next CM) and 19% of Digvijay Singh supporters to be voting not for the Congress but for other parties at the moment. In a close election, this could make all the difference between victory and defeat. Jyotiraditya Scindia seems to be the Congress's best bet in Madhya Pradesh at the moment. Not only is he the second most preferred person for the post of chief minister (24%) after Shivraj Singh Chouhan, his likeability among voters is also extremely high and matches that of Chouhan (*see Table 19*). Moreover, over half the Congress voters and a plurality of BJP voters would like to see him as the next chief minister of the state if the Congress were to win the election on December 11 (*see Table 20*).

Table 19: Chouhan and Scindia nearly equally liked by voters, Rahul Gandhi's likeability is close to Narendra Modi's and is better than other States

| | Like a lot | Like somewhat | Dislike somewhat | Dislike a lot |
|-----------------------|------------|---------------|------------------|---------------|
| Shivraj Singh Chouhan | 44 | 27 | 12 | 15 |
| Jyotiraditya Scindia | 40 | 34 | 11 | 10 |
| Narendra Modi | 39 | 25 | 14 | 20 |
| Rahul Gandhi | 33 | 30 | 13 | 19 |
| Kamal Nath | 28 | 32 | 15 | 17 |

Note: Figures are percentages; the rest of the respondents did not answer the question.

Question asked: Do you like or dislike the following leaders? (*Probe further whether fully or somewhat like or dislike*)

Table 20: Majority of Congress leaning voters want Scindia to be CM if Congress wins elections; BJP voters also prefer Scindia over Nath, who does slightly better among BSP voters

| | CM preference if Cong were to win the election | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------|
| | Jyotiraditya Scindia | Kamal Nath | Digvijay Singh |
| All voters | 44 | 24 | 5 |
| Congress leaning voters | 54 | 26 | 6 |
| BJP leaning voters | 37 | 19 | 3 |
| BSP leaning voters | 42 | 29 | 5 |

Note: Figures are percentages; the rest of the respondents gave other answers.

Question asked: Suppose the Congress party forms the government in Madhya Pradesh after the election, then in such a situation who should be the Chief Minister?

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RAJASTHAN

Voters in Rajasthan are known for their revolving door policy of voting out the incumbent and they may well be on the verge of doing so again. Of the 3 states where surveys were conducted by Lokniti, the anti-incumbency sentiment was found to be strongest in Rajasthan with most voters disinclined to give the BJP government in the state another chance. Although the survey found sitting chief minister Vasundhara Raje to be preferred by a plurality (32%) of voters for the post of chief minister, the combined might of Congress's Ashok Gehlot (26% want him as the next CM) and Sachin Pilot (14%) overtakes her by a comfortable margin (*see Table 21*) and this seems enough to ensure a Congress victory at this stage. The survey found the Congress to be netting 45% of the votes with the BJP at 41%.

Table 21: Voters' spontaneous CM preference - Raje leads, Gehlot does better than Pilot

| | |
|---------------------------|----|
| Vasundhara Raje (BJP) | 32 |
| Ashok Gehlot (Cong) | 26 |
| Sachin Pilot (Cong) | 14 |
| Hanuman Beniwal (Other) | 4 |
| Gulab Chand Kataria (BJP) | 3 |
| C P Joshi (Cong) | 1 |
| Other names (<1%) | 9 |
| No response | 11 |

Note: Figures are percentages; they may not total 100 due to rounding. The question was asked in an open-ended manner and no choices were offered to the respondent

Question asked: After the coming election, who would you like to see as the Chief Minister of Rajasthan?

To be fair, the Rajasthan government's governance record is not assessed all that poorly by the voters (*see Table 22*), but when juxtaposed with the findings on similar questions asked to voters in Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh, this assessment pales in comparison. Also, of all the three states, Rajasthan is the only one where extreme dissatisfaction with the state government's performance is greater than extreme satisfaction (26% to 22%).

Table 22: People's assessment of Rajasthan govt's governance record

| | Improved in last 5 years | Deteriorated in last 5 years | Remained same (<i>silent option</i>) |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| Facilities in schools and colleges | 44 | 22 | 23 |
| Hospital facilities | 41 | 24 | 27 |
| Supply of electricity | 35 | 28 | 31 |
| Condition of roads | 39 | 30 | 26 |
| Supply of drinking water | 33 | 26 | 35 |
| Hindu-Muslim relations | 13 | 28 | 38 |

Note: Figures are percentages; the rest of the respondents did not answer the question

What's more, the voters' five-year itch to change the government seems to be so strong that even though many admit to having benefitted from some of Raje government's welfare schemes (Bhamashah Swasthya Bima Yojana, Annapurna Rasoi - *see Table 23*), a sizeable section among them are still choosing to vote for the Congress, thus not giving the ruling party any great advantage among such beneficiaries (*see Table 24*).

Table 23: Some of Rajasthan govt's welfare schemes are widely known and have sizeable beneficiaries

| | % who have heard about it | % of households that have benefitted from it |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| Bhamashah Swasthya Bima Yojana (<i>cashless treatment in hospitals</i>) | 93 | 51 |
| Annapurna Rasoi (<i>Meals at subsidized rates</i>) | 74 | 29 |

Note: Figures in the two columns are percentages from two different sets of questions; the rest of the respondents had not heard of the scheme and not benefitted from the scheme. The % of beneficiary households shown here are not among the targeted population segment but among the entire sample. Questions asked: 1) Have you heard about these schemes/programmes? 2) Have you or a member of your family benefitted from them?

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Table 24: BJP only gets a marginal advantage over the Congress among welfare scheme beneficiaries

| | Congress | BJP | Others |
|--------------------------------------------------------|----------|-----|--------|
| Voting intention of all voters | 45 | 41 | 14 |
| Voting intention of Swasthya Bima Yojana beneficiaries | 42 | 45 | 13 |
| Voting intention of Annapurna Rasoi beneficiaries | 43 | 46 | 11 |

Note: Figures are percentages.

That having been said, what may still work to the BJP's advantage in Rajasthan is the Modi factor. When asked what would be their main consideration while voting in the coming election – party, candidate or chief ministerial candidate, over one in four voters currently leaning towards the BJP chose none of these options and instead spontaneously said that their main consideration will be Narendra Modi (*see Table 25*). On another question that tried to measure satisfaction levels with the performance of the Modi government, over one in three voters (34%) said they are fully satisfied with it and about 29% said they are somewhat satisfied. Modi's personal popularity is also very high in the state as the Prime Minister is highly liked by a majority of voters. About 52% of voters in Rajasthan said they like Modi "a lot". This is higher than the figures recorded in Madhya Pradesh (39%) and Chhattisgarh (48%). While, the Modi factor has its limits (as demonstrated earlier in this report), the BJP which seems to be in a difficult situation in Rajasthan, may well have no option but to play the Modi card.

Table 25: Other than party and local candidate, Modi to be a fairly significant factor determining a BJP voter's vote, Congress voters to focus on party or candidate

| | Party | Local candidate | CM candidate | Narendra Modi (<i>silent option</i>) | Rahul Gandhi (<i>silent option</i>) | Other factors (<i>silent</i>) | No response |
|-----------------|-------|-----------------|--------------|-------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------|
| All voters | 32 | 33 | 10 | 15 | 1 | 3 | 8 |
| BJP voters | 29 | 28 | 11 | 27 | 0 | 1 | 4 |
| Congress voters | 37 | 34 | 9 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 11 |

Note: Figures are percentages; they may not total 100 due to rounding. Silent option here means that the option was not read out while asking the question and that these were spontaneous responses.

Questions asked: While deciding whom to vote for in the assembly election, what would matter to you the most - party, local candidate or CM candidate?

If Narendra Modi might be BJP's trump card in Rajasthan, Ashok Gehlot could well be the Congress's. Gehlot's likeability is second only to Modi's in the state with 33% liking him a lot and 32% liking him somewhat (*see Table 26*). The survey also found Gehlot to be the chief ministerial choice of a majority of Congress voters. When voters were asked who they would like to see as the chief minister of Rajasthan if the Congress were to win the coming election, 52% of Congress leaning voters took Gehlot's name and only 27% said Sachin Pilot (*see Table 27*). Even among BJP leaning voters, Gehlot was more acceptable than Pilot, 29% to 21%. Interestingly, the survey found Sachin Pilot to be getting no advantage over Gehlot either among urban voters or younger voters. Gehlot was also found to be most favoured across castes and communities, particularly Jats. Currently both Gehlot and Pilot supporters (i.e. those who want them as CM) are converting their support for the two leaders into a vote for the Congress in equal measure. One must concede the fact that a past Chief Minister tends to have a greater chance of recall as compared to someone who has not occupied that position earlier.

Table 26: Gehlot is second most liked leader in Rajasthan after Modi; Rahul Gandhi and Raje least liked

| | Like a lot | Like somewhat | Dislike somewhat | Dislike a lot |
|-----------------|------------|---------------|------------------|---------------|
| Narendra Modi | 52 | 22 | 10 | 13 |
| Ashok Gehlot | 33 | 32 | 14 | 18 |
| Sachin Pilot | 25 | 36 | 16 | 17 |
| Vasundhara Raje | 26 | 27 | 12 | 31 |
| Rahul Gandhi | 18 | 28 | 13 | 37 |

Note: Figures are percentages; the rest of the respondents did not answer the question.

Question asked: Do you like or dislike the following leaders? (*Probe further whether fully or somewhat like or dislike*)

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Table 27: When voters were asked who they want as CM if Cong wins elections, Gehlot was more preferred than Pilot even among BJP leaning voters

| | CM preference if Cong were to win the election | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| | Ashok Gehlot | Sachin Pilot |
| All voters | 40 | 23 |
| Congress leaning voters | 53 | 27 |
| BJP leaning voters | 29 | 21 |

Note: Figures are percentages; the rest of the respondents gave other answers. Question was asked in an open ended way.

Question asked: Suppose the Congress party forms the government in Rajasthan after the election, then in such a situation who should be the Chief Minister?

CHHATTISGARH

In Chhattisgarh, like in Madhya Pradesh, even as many voters are satisfied with the performance of the state government (*see Table 28*) and many have benefitted from its welfare and populist schemes (*see Table 29*), there seems to be a fairly strong desire for change after a decade and a half of BJP rule, one that is stronger than it has ever been the past. Only about two of every five (39%) respondents in the survey said they would like to see the BJP government return to power (in 2013 this figure had been 51%). About a little over one thirds want the government to go whereas the rest remained non-committal. However, despite this seemingly favorable situation, the main opposition Congress seems unable to seize the initiative and this is largely because of the Ajit Jogi factor that may well end up ensuring a fourth consecutive term for Chief Minister Raman Singh. The Lokniti pre-poll survey in the State gives enough indications that the alliance between Jogi's party, the Janata Congress Chhattisgarh, and the BSP (and CPI) is likely to seriously affect the Congress's chances.

Table 28: Chhattisgarh government rated positively by voters on important governance parameters except communal harmony, water supply and safety of women

| | Improved in last 5 years | Deteriorated in last 5 years | Remained same (<i>silent option</i>) |
|----------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| Facilities in schools and colleges | 62 | 17 | 16 |
| Hospital facilities | 50 | 27 | 18 |
| Supply of electricity | 51 | 27 | 19 |
| Condition of roads | 54 | 29 | 15 |
| Supply of drinking water | 41 | 29 | 26 |
| Hindu-Muslim relations | 25 | 25 | 25 |
| Safety and security of women and girls | 40 | 30 | 23 |

Note: Figures are percentages; the rest of the respondents did not answer the question.

Question asked: Have the following improved or deteriorated in the last five years of BJP rule in Chhattisgarh?

Table 29: Many beneficiaries of Chhattisgarh government's welfare schemes, particularly free smartphones

| | % who have heard about it | % of households that have benefitted from it |
|------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| Saraswati Cycle Yojana (for ST/ST/BPL girl students) | 90 | 38 |
| Sanchar Kranti Yojana (free smartphones) | 89 | 64 |
| Shram Anna Sahayata Yojana (Rs 5 meals for laborers) | 68 | 50 |
| Mukhyamantri Awaas Yojana (housing) | 92 | 43 |

Note: Figures in the two columns are percentages from two different sets of questions; the rest of the respondents had not heard of the scheme and not benefitted from the scheme

Questions asked: 1) Have you heard about these schemes? 2) Have you or a member of your family benefitted from them

The clearest such indication comes from the voting intention itself. As per the survey, the JCC-BSP alliance is currently netting about 15% of the total votes. This is two times greater than the 7 percentage point vote margin recorded by the survey between the BJP and the Congress. The Jogi alliance seems to be damaging the Congress party far more than BJP as nearly one in six traditional Congress voters are planning to vote for JCC-

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BSP in the coming election (*see Table 30*). On the other hand the vote shift from the BJP to the JCC alliance is four times less, as only 4% of traditional BJP voters were found to be voting for the new alliance by the survey. The dent made by JCC and BSP to the Congress's traditional votes is greatest among Dalits and tribals. About 23% of the Dalits who described themselves as traditional Congress voters and 16% of Adivasis who used to vote for the Congress earlier are now planning to vote for the JCC-BSP alliance. This has ensured that the BJP is now neck and neck with the Congress in terms of votes among Dalits and tribals.

Table 30: JCC-BSP alliance damaging Cong more than BJP; nearly one in six traditional Cong voters are planning to vote for JCC-BSP in the coming election

| | Planning to vote for Cong | Planning to vote for BJP | Planning to vote for JCC-BSP | Planning to vote for Others |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Traditional Cong voters | 75 | 6 | 16 | 3 |
| Traditional BJP voters | 7 | 85 | 4 | 4 |

Note: Figures are percentages; they may not total 100 due to rounding. Traditional voters here are those who claimed they voted for the party in last 3 assembly polls

Source: Lokniti-CSDS Chhattisgarh Pre Poll 2018

The survey also found Ajit Jogi's alliance to be cornering a sizeable chunk of the anti-incumbency vote which would have otherwise in all likelihood gone to the Congress. One in every five voters who said that they do not want the BJP government to get another chance is planning to vote for the JCC-BSP alliance (*see Table 31*).

Table 31: JCC-BSP alliance taking away one-fifth of the anti-incumbency vote

| | Planning to vote for Cong | Planning to vote for BJP | Planning to vote for JCC-BSP | Planning to vote for Others |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Those who say that the BJP Govt. should get another chance | 10 | 84 | 4 | 2 |
| Those who say that the BJP Govt. should not get another chance | 62 | 8 | 21 | 10 |

Note: Figures are percentages; they may not total 100 due to rounding.

Another indication of Ajit Jogi's capacity to damage comes from the chief ministerial preference question. While Raman Singh leads the race with a 40% preference, it is Jogi and not any Congress leader who comes second at 20%. Congress leaders Bhupesh Baghel and T S Singh Deo manage to garner just 14% and 4% support respectively (*see Table 32*). Interestingly, at least 36% of those backing Jogi for the chief minister's post are currently planning to vote for the Congress. If they were to switch to Jogi's party in the days ahead, then the damage inflicted on the Congress by Jogi could be even greater.

Table 32: Raman Singh is most preferred for CM's post; Ajit Jogi is more preferred than any Cong leader

| | |
|------------------------------|----|
| Raman Singh (BJP) | 40 |
| Ajit Jogi (JCC) | 20 |
| Bhupesh Baghel (Congress) | 14 |
| T S Singh Deo (Congress) | 4 |
| Karuna Shukla (Congress) | 2 |
| Charan Das Mahant (Congress) | 2 |
| Amit Jogi (JCC) | 1 |
| Dharamlal Kaushik (BJP) | 1 |
| Other names (<1%) | 9 |
| No response | 7 |

Note: Figures are percentages and may not total 100 due to rounding; question was asked in an open-ended manner without any options being offered.

Question asked: After the coming election, who would you like to see as the Chief Minister of Chhattisgarh?

The survey also indicates that Congress voters are far more attracted to the JCC-BSP alliance than BJP voters. On being asked about how attracted they were to the JCC-BSP alliance, 15% of Congress voters said that they were highly attracted to it and 47% said somewhat attracted (*see Table 33*). The same figures among BJP leaning voters were 11% and 39%. This higher attraction of Congress voters towards Ajit Jogi's alliance can

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also be explained by the fact Jogi enjoys high likeability among them. In the survey, nearly two out five (39%) Congress leaning voters said they like Jogi “a lot” and about 45% said they like him somewhat.

Table 33: Cong voters seem to be far more attracted to the JCC-BSP alliance than BJP voters

| | Highly attracted towards JCC-BSP alliance | Somewhat attracted towards JCC-BSP alliance | Not much attracted towards JCC-BSP alliance | Not at all attracted towards JCC-BSP alliance | No response |
|-----------------|-------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Congress voters | 15 | 47 | 21 | 9 | 9 |
| BJP voters | 11 | 39 | 26 | 13 | 11 |

Note: Figures are percentages; they may not total 100 due to rounding.

Question asked: As a voter how attracted are you to the electoral alliance of Ajit Jogi's Janata Congress Chhattisgarh and Mayawati's Bahujan Samaj Party - a lot, somewhat, very little or not at all?