

LOKNITI-CSDS-ABP NEWS MOOD OF THE NATION SURVEY 2017

About the Survey

The Mood of the Nation Survey was conducted by Lokniti, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS), Delhi for ABP News between **May 1 and May 15, 2017** among **11,373 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 **584 locations in 146 Assembly Constituencies (ACs)**. Each AC was located in a different Parliamentary Constituency (PC). The total sample size targeted was 12,000 with an AC-wise target of about 80-85 interviews. The number of ACs 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. The ACs 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. Finally, the respondents were also randomly selected using from the electoral rolls of the sampled polling stations.

Once we identified our sample of the electorate, trained investigators were sent to meet them. They were asked to interview only those whose names were given to them, 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 whose names were selected from the electoral roll and asked them a detailed set of questions which could take up to 20-25 minutes. While asking the question on who they would vote for if Lok Sabha elections are held now, we gave them a dummy ballot paper on which they could mark their choice. They were then asked to place the ballot paper in a dummy ballot box. The process was designed to ensure that the people interviewed knew they would remain anonymous. This enabled us to collect detailed information about the respondents' work and background. The questionnaire we presented to our sample of voters was designed in the language mainly spoken in the respondents' State.

Our aim was to provide a sample of the electorate across the States of India which was as representative of the whole of Indian electorate as was practicably possible. We are confident that we used the best possible methodology to achieve this task. The achieved sample is broadly representative of the Indian population, in terms of the country's general demographic profile.

Profile of the achieved national sample

	Share in Survey sample (%)	Share in Census 2011 (%)
Women	47.4	48.6
Urban	27.9	31.2
SC	17.4	16.7
ST	10.5	8.6
Muslim	11.4	14.2

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. This means that we were able to produce an accurate assessment of regional and State level situations, as well as having a balanced and authoritative overview at the national level.

The survey was designed and analysed by a team of researchers at Lokniti, CSDS. The team included Asmita Aasaavari, Arushi Gupta, Dhananjay Kumar Singh, Himanshu Bhattacharya, Jyoti Mishra, Sana Salim, Souradeep Banerjee, Shashwat Dhar, 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 (Andhra Pradesh), Dhruva Pratim Sharma (Assam), Rakesh Ranjan (Bihar), Anupama Saxena and Shamshad Ansari (Chhattisgarh), Biswajeet Mohanty (Delhi), Bhanu Parmar and Mahashweta Jani (Gujarat), Kushal Pal and Anita Agarwal (Haryana), Harishwar Dayal (Jharkhand), Veena Devi and Reetika Syal (Karnataka), Sajad Ibrahim (Kerala), Yatindra Singh Sisodia (Madhya Pradesh), Nitin Birmal (Maharashtra), Gyanaranjan Swain (Odisha), Jagroop Kaur (Punjab), Sanjay Lodha and Nidhi Seth (Rajasthan), Ramajayam (Tamil Nadu), A.K. Verma, Asmer Beg, and Sudhir Khare (Uttar Pradesh) and Suprio Basu and Jyoti Prasad Chatterjee (West Bengal).

Survey details in a nutshell

Conducted by	Lokniti-CSDS, for ABP News
Coverage	19 States
Dates of fieldwork	May 1-May 15, 2017
No. of Parliamentary Constituencies covered	146
No. of Polling Stations (Locations) covered	584
No. of interviews conducted (Sample size)	11,373
Sampling method	Multi-stage random sampling
Fieldwork method	Standardized face to face interview in language mainly spoken in the respondents' State

Summary of the findings

Lokniti Team

BJP on a roll

Every newly elected government enjoys a honeymoon period. It's a phase during which the party elected to power and its leadership is judged by the public with a tinge of indulgence and enjoys reasonably high ratings. While in the US a honeymoon period for a new President rarely stretches beyond a few months, in India it has usually stretched up to a year and a half, at times going up to two years, rarely beyond that. However, three years after it swept to power in the country, the electorate's honeymoon with Narendra Modi's government appears to not merely continue, but seems to have grown stronger. A nationwide Survey (Mood of the Nation) conducted by Lokniti-Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS) among 11,373 randomly sampled voters in 19 States has found that nearly seven in every ten voters (69 percent) are satisfied with the performance of Modi as prime minister. This satisfaction rating is higher than the satisfaction ratings recorded for

Modi's predecessor Manmohan Singh at the end of the first two years of the UPA I and II governments. When Lokniti-CSDS had conducted similar nationwide Surveys in 2006 and 2011, satisfaction levels with Singh's performance had been lower at 61 percent and 56 percent, respectively.

More significantly, the Mood of the Nation Survey has found that in the event of a Lok Sabha election taking place now, Prime Minister Modi's party, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) would secure yet another convincing victory, quite similar to the one it notched up in 2014. The Survey found the BJP to be the vote choice of 39 percent or close to four of every ten voters. This is eight percentage points greater than the vote share secured by the party in the Lok Sabha elections held three years ago. The BJP's allies are expected to get 6 percent votes taking the ruling alliance's vote share to about 45 percent. This significant vote increase, however, may not translate into too many additional seats for the BJP as most of its major vote gains are in those States where it had already scaled the peak in terms of seats in 2014. In fact, it may actually lose a few seats in these stronghold States as the vote share of the opposition parties is highly concentrated. The Indian National Congress (Congress) which slumped to its worst ever electoral performance in a national election in 2014 continues to be in dire straits in terms of popularity and is finding it difficult to revive. If elections to the Lok Sabha were to happen today, the party that governed India for 55 years is expected to secure only 21 percent votes, an increase of just two percentage points since its disastrous performance in 2014. Congress's allies seem to be in no great shape either with only 6 percent of the voters indicating their vote preference for them.

Such is the dominance of Modi's BJP at the moment that in state after state the party has made further gains since the 2014 election. Except for Punjab and Telangana, the Survey did not find any other state where the BJP's popularity has lessened compared to elections held three years ago. In some States, the BJP is so far ahead in the race at the moment that even a coming together of two or three opposition parties may not fully bridge the gap. Not only has the BJP consolidated and extended its appeal in northern, central and western India where its main competitor is mostly the Congress, it has also made some stunning gains in the eastern part of the country where regional parties dominate. In Odisha, for instance, the Survey found the BJP to be leading the Biju Janata Dal that has been ruling the State for nearly two decades. In West Bengal, meanwhile, it was found to be placed a fairly close second behind the Trinamool Congress. If in 2014, most of BJP's victories came at the expense of the Congress, the next election in 2019 could well see the BJP posing a serious threat to the dominance of India's regional parties as well.

The rise and rise of Narendra Modi

The BJP's growing dominance in Indian politics is mostly on account of Prime Minister Narendra Modi's tremendous popularity among the masses. Three years into office, Modi has cemented his position as the most popular leader in contemporary India. From being a relatively low profile leader in national politics less than a decade back to being India's most popular leader today, Modi's career graph has been no less than phenomenal. Time series data on the prime ministerial preference of Indian voters reveals that Modi, from being the spontaneous choice of a mere 2 percent of the electorate in 2009 is now the preferred prime ministerial choice of a whopping 44 percent of India's voters. This is also eight points higher than the proportion of those who wanted to see him as India's Prime Minister during the 2014 election. None of Modi's opponents come anywhere close to him, their popularity being limited to single digits. The survey found the Prime Minister's nearest rival, Congress Vice-President Rahul Gandhi to be a huge 35 percentage points behind him. Only 9

percent respondents expressed a spontaneous preference for Gandhi as prime minister. This is a decline of 4 percentage points since the last election. What's more, when voters were asked who they thought should lead the Congress into the next election, only one in every four (25 percent) took Rahul Gandhi's name. Among Congress voters too, the preference for Rahul was quite low at just 39 percent.

Two dimensions are clearly evident here. The Prime Minister's popularity and being the preferred choice is way above any of those who could be perceived as his competitors. In the first place, this is an indication of the visibility and presence in the public domain that one has seen of the Prime Minister in the last three years. Secondly, it is also indicative of the inability of political leaders opposed to the BJP and the Prime Minister to gain public support. Support for Modi as the preferred Prime Ministerial choice is echoed by eight of every ten BJP supporters. In the case of the Congress supporters, a little over one-thirds endorses Rahul Gandhi as their preferred Prime Ministerial choice. It is important to record that more than half the Congress supporters preferred not to mention any name as their Prime Ministerial favourite or indicate a leader other than Rahul Gandhi or Narendra Modi. Over one of every seven Congress supporters favoured Modi as their Prime Ministerial choice. It must be stressed that Modi enjoyed lukewarm support among those who supported BJP's allies. A little over one third of them supported Modi as their Prime Ministerial candidate with close to two-thirds expressing no opinion or choosing someone other than Modi or Gandhi.

The Survey found Modi's popularity having increased across all regions of the country with the increase being greatest in eastern India. There are, in fact, important variations in support for Narendra Modi as the preferred Prime Ministerial choice across the States of India. In seven states of India - Odisha, Rajasthan, Delhi, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh, more than half the respondents mentioned Modi as their preferred Prime Ministerial candidate. In Odisha and Rajasthan, six of every ten respondents mentioned his name. In Chhattisgarh too, the support for Modi as Prime Minister was higher than the national average of forty four percent. In four states of India, support for Modi as Prime Minister fell below one-thirds of the respondents. These states were Punjab, Telangana, Kerala and Tamil Nadu. In the two southern states of Tamil Nadu and Kerala, less than one sixth of the respondents mentioned his name as their preferred Prime Ministerial choice. In Punjab and Telangana, less than three of every ten mentioned Modi as their favoured Prime Ministerial candidate. Clearly in states where the BJP has emerged powerful especially after the 2014 Lok Sabha elections, Modi as the Prime Ministerial choice is heard with greater intensity. If Odisha, a state ruled by a powerful state based party, shows the highest support for Modi as Prime Minister, other states where powerful state based payers are in power, like Bihar, Delhi and West Bengal, the support for Modi as the Prime Ministerial candidate is visibly high. Clearly, three years after coming to power, the Prime Minister has further consolidated the support for his leadership.

Narendra Modi's pan India appeal is further buttressed by his popularity across big cities, small towns and villages, across regional divisions and gender. What is particularly striking is the astonishing pace at which the Modi wave is sweeping India's small cities and towns, with an overwhelming 47 percent of small town voters desirous of seeing him at the helm. This is almost 11 percentage points up from 2014. Findings also show that even though Modi continues to be preferred more by men than women, he has greatly endeared himself to women voters in the last three years. 41 percent of women in the Survey expressed a preference for him, up from a mere 30 percent in 2014. This increase of eleven points is greater than the one seen among men.

It is also interesting to note that the support for Modi as the preferred Prime Ministerial choice was the highest among voters below 25 years of age with close to half of the respondents in this age group endorsing his name. The least support for Modi was among those who were over 56 years of age. It is not that this age group supported any other candidate but preferred not to express an opinion on the matter.

Interestingly, the Prime Minister also appears to be gaining greater acceptance among India's religious minorities. 18 percent or almost one in every five Muslims said they would like to see Modi return as the PM in the event of an election now. Back in 2014, this figure had been a modest 9 percent or one in every ten. Among Christians too his popularity has doubled from 16 percent to 32 percent.

The survey also found both these communities, Muslims and Christians, to be supporting the BJP in much greater proportions than they did in 2014. Support (vote preference) for the BJP among Muslims has gone up from 8 percent to 15 percent. Among Christians it has climbed from 7 percent to 19 percent. Meanwhile, Hindus, not surprisingly, are most attracted to the BJP with 44 percent of them indicating that they would vote for the party in the event of a national election now. This is eight points higher than their support to the BJP in the 2014 election. Among Hindus however, Dalits continue to be the least likely to support the BJP (32 percent), however support for the BJP among them has also registered a sharp increase of eight percentage points.

Demonetization

Contrary to perceptions in some sections of society, PM Modi's move to demonetize old 500 and 1000 rupee notes (which accounts for about 86 percent of the total currency in circulation) appears have been a resounding success, in so far as its politico-electoral implications are concerned. The Survey finds that nearly half the voters (45 percent) believed that it was the right move compared to only 16 percent respondents who thought the move was unnecessary and wasn't required at all. Meanwhile, about one in every three (32 percent) were of the opinion that while the decision to demonetize was right it was done in a hurry without any groundwork. It must be stressed here that even as the survey finds fairly high support for Modi's demonetization decision, it is certainly nowhere close to the kind of overwhelming support that was claimed by the Prime Minister's own app-based survey conducted back in November.

The Mood of the Nation survey found that while there is support for demonetization across classes, poor voters, especially the urban poor, have been the least enthused by it. More than one fourth (26 percent) of the poor living in the India's big cities thought that the move was completely unnecessary, a finding which contests Modi government's unqualified claims about demonetization being a pro-poor move that had the full backing of the poor. Intriguingly though, this has not diminished Modi's appeal among India's poor. In fact the poor have come out more strongly in support of his party, despite having endured the tribulations of demonetization. The survey found that even as the poor and lower classes continue to be less likely to vote for the BJP compared to the middle and upper classes, the gains made by the BJP among them since 2014 are as big as the gains the party has made among the higher income groups.

One of the stated objectives of demonetization was to speed up India's transition to a digital and cashless economy. To achieve this objective, the government popularized the use of credit/ debit cards and mobile wallets on an unprecedented scale. However, a cursory glance at India's digital

reality reveals that it probably did not do its homework before executing the move. The Survey finds that close to half of India's households (45 percent) today do not have a credit/debit card. Even those that do have a debit/credit card (49 percent), four in ten of them (43 percent) never use it or use it very rarely. While a vast majority of Indians do have a mobile phone (74 percent) today, only about three in ten (29 percent) have access to internet on their phones. Despite the mass popularization of mobile wallet services, only about one in every ten (11 percent) Indians who own a mobile phone have ever used them.

Economy and jobs

Narendra Modi's rise to power occurred against the backdrop of a bleak economic outlook and one of his principal challenges upon becoming India's Prime Minister was to revive India's sluggish economy and create jobs for millions of unemployed youth. While it is for economists to judge how well Modi has fared on this count, people's assessment of their financial condition under the Modi regime does not inspire much confidence. Only 37 percent or a little over one in every three respondents said that their household's financial condition has improved over the last two to three years. A little over four out of every ten voters (45 percent) believe that it has remained the same over the last two to three years, and one in every six (16 percent) feel that it has gotten worse. These figures are no different from the ones recorded during Manmohan Singh's tenure. If anything, they are slightly worse. In a 2011 survey conducted by Lokniti-CSDS 41 percent of the people had reported their household economic condition as having improved in response to the exact same question.

Modi does not seem to have performed any better on the employment front. On being asked about whether employment opportunities had increased or decreased in the country over the last two to three years, one in every three respondents (33 percent) said they had decreased. About the same proportion (34 percent) felt that they had remained the same and only a quarter (23 percent) opined that there are more jobs than before. From our time series analysis, we find that the UPA-2 government was rated slightly better on job creation in 2013 than Modi's is in 2017. Compared to the 23 percent respondents who feel that job opportunities have increased over the last couple of years, some 30 percent respondents expressed the same view back in 2013 when the UPA-2 was in power.

Another major difference between 2017 and 2014 is the growing concern about increasing joblessness. A vast plurality of India's voters (25 percent) believes that unemployment is the single biggest problem in the country today. This may be juxtaposed with the corresponding figure for 2014, when only 7 percent voters stated unemployment to be the single most important issue during the 2014 Lok Sabha election. This sentiment is particularly pronounced among those living in North India (30 percent), a region over which Modi commands the greatest influence. It was also found to be very high among 18-34-year-olds, one-third (33 percent) of who said unemployment is India's biggest problem today. This figure has in fact shot up tremendously in the last one year. In April-May 2016, when Lokniti-CSDS had asked the same question in a Youth Survey that it had conducted, only 19 percent of the respondents belonging to the same age bracket had referred to the problem of joblessness.

Not just the young, farmers too seem to be rather critical of the government at the moment. In the survey, around half (49 percent) the farmers said that the government had done a bad job in addressing the issues faced by farmers. And yet, we find that *achhe din* have indeed arrived for most

voters. Over three in every five (63 percent) voters were of the opinion that Modi has succeeded in keeping his electoral promise of *achhe din*. As paradoxical as it may sound, *achhe din* have also arrived for an overwhelming majority of those who say employment opportunities have decreased in last 3 years (57 percent) and for those for whom unemployment is the biggest problem in the country today (68 percent).

Cow, lynching, nationalism and talaq

The Survey found a fairly strong religious divide on the issue of cow protection, a matter that the Modi government and the BJP have been raising repeatedly and a matter that has led to the violent targeting of Muslims in some parts of the country. While only one in every seven (14 percent) Hindus were in favour of allowing cow meat consumption, among Christians and Muslims the figures recorded were 47 and 43 percent, respectively. Some Muslims (18 percent) and Christians (13 percent), in fact, adopted a middle of the road approach to the issue. They agreed with the proposition that while cow meat consumption should be banned, there should be no restriction on the consumption of buffalo meat. Hindus, however, were not so agreeable to this proposition. Instead, seven in every ten (70 percent) of them were in favour of banning both cow and buffalo meat consumption. Quite interestingly, even as a majority of Hindus are against beef consumption, a majority of them (52 percent) were also of the opinion that Prime Minister Modi should have condemned the incidents of violent mobs lynching Muslim men to death over mere suspicions of cow meat consumption or cow smuggling.

The survey also indicates that the BJP's constant focus on the issue of *rashtrawad* or nationalism might just be working in its favour. It found more people to be in favour of the proposition that the party is raising the issue in national interest (36 percent) than the proposition that the issue of nationalism was being raised by the party merely to deflect people's attention from its failure on issues of governance (28 percent). Hindu voters were two times more likely to take this position than Muslim, Christian and Sikh voters.

Meanwhile on triple talaq, an issue that Prime Minister Modi and other BJP leaders have been quite vociferous in raising, Muslim sentiment was found to be divided. 42 percent of Muslims saw nothing wrong in the practice while 43 percent did. This divide is largely on account of different responses among Muslim men and women. While Muslim men were more likely to agree than disagree with the proposition that there is nothing wrong with triple talaq (48 percent to 40 percent), among Muslim women it was the other way around. They were more likely say that it is wrong than not wrong (46 percent as opposed to 36 percent).

Overall, the survey clearly indicates an 'aspirational India' having high expectations from the government and its leadership. This hope is not necessarily translated into a positive response towards the government's achievements. In spite of the lukewarm response to the government's performance on critical areas like economy and employment, the hope of a better future continues to drive support for both the leadership as well as the ruling party.

THE BIG PICTURE

Survey-based Vote estimate if Lok Sabha elections take place now

	May 2014 Actual (%)	May 2017 Survey-based estimate (%)	Change since 2014 (% points)
BJP	31	39	+8
BJP allies	7*	6	-1
BJP+/NDA	38	45	+7
Congress	19	21	+2
Congress allies	7*	6	-1
Cong+/UPA	26	27	+1
BSP	4	3	-1
Left parties	5	3	-2
Others	27	22	-5

Note: **BJP allies** include: Shiv Sena (only in Maharashtra), Shiromani Akali Dal (only in Punjab), Telugu Desam Party, Lok Janshakti Party (only in Bihar), Bodoland People's Front, Swabhimani Paksha, Rashtriya Samaj Paksha, Republican Party of India (A), Apna Dal, Hindustan Awam Morcha, Rashtriya Lok Samata Party and All Jharkhand Students Union Party.

Congress allies include Rashtriya Janata Dal (only in Bihar and Jharkhand), Janata Dal United (only in Bihar and Kerala), Nationalist Congress Party (only in Maharashtra), Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, Manithaneyya 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) and Bahujan Vikas Aghadi. *Actual vote of allies is based on current alliances

Source: Mood of the Nation (MOTN) Survey 2017; Sample size - 11,373; The survey was not conducted in J&K, Uttarakhand and Himachal Pradesh, Goa, Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram, Tripura and Meghalaya.

BJP+/NDA ahead of competition in all regions except South India

Regions	BJP+/NDA as vote choice in May 2017 (%)	Cong+/UPA as vote choice in May 2017 (%)	Others as vote choice in May 2017 (%)
North India	50	18	32
South India	33	34	33
East India	42	23	35
West and Central India	56	32	12

Note: North India includes Punjab, Haryana, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan (survey was not conducted in J&K, Uttarakhand and Himachal Pradesh); South India includes Karnataka, Kerala, Telangana, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, West and Central India includes Maharashtra, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh (survey was not conducted in Goa). East India includes Bihar, Jharkhand, Odisha, West Bengal and Assam (survey was not conducted in other north-eastern states and Sikkim).

Source: MOTN 2017

BJP+'s gains since 2014 are greatest in eastern India

Regions	Actual Vote for BJP+/NDA in LS 2014 (%)	BJP+/NDA as vote choice in May 2017 (%)	Change since 2014 (% points)
North India	44	50	+6
South India	30	33	+3
East India	28	42	+14
West and Central India	53	56	+3

Source: Election Commission of India data for the 2014 election and the MOTN 2017

Support for BJP among Muslims and Christians has gone up significantly

Religion	BJP* as vote choice in LS 2014 (%)	BJP* as vote choice in May 2017 (%)	Change since 2014 (% points)
Hindu	36	44	+8
Muslim	8	15	+7
Christian	7	19	+12
Sikh	16	15	-1

Note:*Figures are only for BJP and not BJP+

Source: National Election Study (NES) 2014 and MOTN 2017; Sample size in 2014 was 22,295

BJP has made major gains among STs, OBCs and Dalits in last three years

Castes and communities	BJP* as vote choice in LS 2014 (%)	BJP* as vote choice in May 2017 (%)	Change since 2014 (% points)
Hindu Upper Castes	47	50	+3
Hindu OBC	34	44	+10
Hindu SC	24	32	+8
Hindu ST	37	48	+11

Note:*Figures are only for BJP and not BJP+

Source: NES 2014 and MOTN 2017; Sample size in 2014 was 22,295

BJP continues to do best among the well-off but makes big gains among less privileged also

Economic Class	BJP* as vote choice in LS 2014 (%)	BJP* as vote choice in May 2017 (%)	Change since 2014 (% points)
Rich	38	43	+5
Middle	32	41	+9
Lower	31	39	+8
Poor	24	31	+7

Note:*Figures are only for BJP and not BJP+

Source: NES 2014 and MOTN 2017; Sample size in 2014 was 22,295

CITIZENS' ASSESSMENT OF MODI'S GOVERNMENT'S PERFORMANCE

Seven in every ten satisfied with Modi performance as PM; this is higher compared to satisfaction levels recorded for Manmohan Singh during UPA's tenure

	Fully satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Fully dissatisfied	No response
Modi's performance as PM (2017)	23	46	9	15	7
Singh's performance as PM (2006)	22	39	9	9	21
Singh's performance as PM (2011)	19	37	11	14	19

Source: State of the Nation (SOTN) Survey 2006 and 2011, and MOTN 2017; Sample size in 2006 was 14,680; Sample size in 2011 was 20,854.

Question asked in MOTN 2017 was - Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of Narendra Modi as Prime Minister over the last three years? (If satisfied or dissatisfied, probe further whether fully or somewhat).

Question asked in SOTN 2006 and 2011 was - What is your assessment of Manmohan Singh as Prime Minister? Would you say you are satisfied or dissatisfied with his performance (Probe further whether fully or somewhat satisfied or dissatisfied).

Two in every three satisfied with BJP-NDA government's performance; this too is higher compared to satisfaction levels recorded for Cong-UPA govt. during its two tenures

	Fully satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Fully dissatisfied	No response
NDA govt.'s performance (2017)	17	47	12	15	9
UPA-1 govt.'s performance (2006)	24	34	10	12	20
UPA-2 govt.'s performance (2011)	16	34	12	18	20

Source: SOTN 2006 and 2011, and MOTN 2017. Sample size in 2006 was 14,680; Sample size in 2011 was 20,854

Question asked in MOTN 2017 was - Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of the BJP-led NDA government at the Centre in Delhi over the last three years? (If satisfied or dissatisfied, probe further whether fully or somewhat).

Question asked in SOTN 2006 and 2011 was - What is your opinion about the Congress party led UPA government at the Centre? Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with it? (Probe further whether fully or somewhat satisfied or dissatisfied).

Modi government assessed most positively on issue of tackling black money problem and most negatively on issue of addressing farmers' problems

	Good	Bad	Average	No response
Controlling price rise	48	39	5	8
Addressing farmer woes (<i>only farmer responses</i>)	42	49	4	5
Dealing with problem of terrorism	40	37	6	17
Maintaining religious harmony	38	37	7	18
Tackling problem of black money	53	30	6	11
Regarding situation in Kashmir	28	38	7	27
Controlling corruption	43	35	7	15

Source: MOTN 2017

Question asked was: Please tell me for each of the following areas, is the Narendra Modi-led Central government doing a good job or a bad job with regard to them? (If good or bad, probe further whether very or somewhat. If someone says so-so/average then mark under 'Average'.)

The very and somewhat good/bad categories have been merged in this table.

ECONOMY AND JOBS

People's assessment of their financial condition under the Modi government is not much different from what it was under Manmohan Singh's government

Compared to 2-3 years ago, the financial condition of household has...	2011 (%)	2017 (%)
Become better	41	37
Remained same	38	45
Become worse	18	16
No response	3	2

Source: SOTN 2011 and MOTN 2017.

Question asked was: As compared to two/three years ago, how is the financial/economic condition of your household today - would you say it has become much better, better, remained same, become worse or much worse?

Poorer voters more likely to say their financial condition has worsened in last 2-3 years

	Compared to 2-3 years ago, the financial condition of my household has...		
	Become better	Remained same	Become worse
All respondents	37	45	16
Rich	51	36	12
Middle	39	46	13
Lower	32	48	19
Poor	28	47	23

Note: The rest of the respondents did not answer the question; Source: MOTN 2017

Question asked was: As compared to two/three years ago, how is the financial/economic condition of your household today - would you say it has become much better, better, remained same, become worse or much worse?

For a plurality of voters unemployment is the biggest problem in the country today

	Country's biggest problem (%)
Unemployment	25
Poverty	16
Corruption	13
Price rise	8
Lack of development, basic amenities	8
Black money	2
Other issues	16
No response	12

Source: MOTN 2017

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

The question was asked in an open ended manner without prompts.

Concern about unemployment seems to have gone up considerably in last three years

	Single most important voting issue in 2014 (%)	Biggest problem in India 2017 (%)
Unemployment	7	25
Poverty	2	16
Corruption	12	13
Price rise	19	8

Source: NES 2014 and MOTN 2017

Question asked in NES 2014 was: What was the single most important issue for you while voting in this election?

Question asked in MOTN 2017 was: In your opinion, what is the biggest problem in India today?

In both the surveys the question was asked in an open ended manner without prompts

Unemployment a bigger concern in northern India and among young voters

	Those who said that the biggest problem in India today is unemployment (%)
Regions	
North India	30
South India	16
East India	26
West and Central India	25
Age group	
18-25 years	33
25-35 years	26
36-45 years	24
46-55 years	23
56+ years	19

Source: MOTN 2017

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

The question was asked in an open ended manner without prompts.

Concern about unemployment has gone up considerably among youth in last one year

	Unemployment is the biggest problem in India today	
	2016 (%)	2017 (%)
18-21 years	17	26
22-25 years	23	34
26-34 years	18	27

Source: CSDS Youth Survey 2016 and MOTN 2017.

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

In both the surveys the question was asked in an open ended manner without prompts.

UPA's govt. was rated slightly better on job creation in 2013 than Modi's govt. is in 2017

Employment opportunities in the country have...	2013 (%)	2017 (%)
Increased	29	23
Remained same	29	34
Decreased	29	33
No response	13	10

Source: CSDS National Pre-Election Tracker in July 2013 and MOTN 2017. Sample size in 2013 was 19062.

Question asked in 2013 was: Have employment opportunities increased, remained same or decreased during last 4 years of UPA rule?

Question asked in 2017 was: Thinking of employment opportunities in the country, some people believe that they have increased over the last three years, while some others believe they have decreased. What do you think?

Despite criticism on the job front, *Achhe Din* seem to have arrived for three in five voters

Narendra Modi has...	%
Succeeded in bringing <i>Achhe Din</i>	63
Failed in bringing <i>Achhe Din</i>	27
No response	10

Source: MOTN 2017

Question asked was - During the 2014 Lok Sabha election campaign Narendra Modi had promised to bring '*achhe din*'. After three years of Modi's government, do you think Modi has succeeded or failed in bringing '*achhe din*'? (If succeeded or failed, probe further whether fully or somewhat). The fully and somewhat categories have been merged in the table.

Paradoxically *Achhe Din* have also arrived for majority of those who say jobs have decreased in last 3 years and for those for whom unemployment is the biggest problem

	<i>Achhe Din</i> have arrived* (%)
Those who say jobs have decreased in last three years	57
Those who say unemployment is the biggest problem in India today	69

Source: MOTN 2017

Plurality of all respondents said that they had viewed Modi's promise of *Achhe Din* as more development, more jobs, less corruption and lower prices, and for seven in ten of them *Achhe Din* seem to have arrived.

	<i>Acche Din</i> have arrived* (%)
Those who said promise of <i>Achhe Din</i> meant development (15%)	75
Those who said promise of <i>Achhe Din</i> meant tackling inflation (5%)	72
Those who said promise of <i>Achhe Din</i> meant no corruption (6%)	69
Those who said promise of <i>Achhe Din</i> meant more jobs (13%)	69

Source: MOTN 2017

The table shows a cross-tabulation of responses to two questions -

Question 1. During the 2014 Lok Sabha election campaign when Narendra Modi had promised he will bring '*achhe din*', what did you expect from him? The question was asked in an open ended manner without prompts.

Question 2. During the 2014 Lok Sabha election campaign Narendra Modi had promised to bring '*achhe din*'. After three years of Modi's government, do you think Modi has succeeded or failed in bringing '*achhe din*'? (If succeeded or failed, probe further whether fully or somewhat).*The fully and somewhat categories have been merged.

Minority communities not as enthusiastic as Hindus on the question of *Achhe Din*

	Modi has succeeded* in bringing <i>Acche Din</i> (%)	Modi has failed* in bringing <i>Acche Din</i> (%)	No response
Hindus	66	24	10
Muslims	43	45	12
Christians	51	37	12
Sikhs	54	38	8

Source: MOTN 2017

Question asked was - During the 2014 Lok Sabha election campaign Narendra Modi had promised to bring '*achhe din*'. After three years of Modi's government, do you think Modi has succeeded or failed in bringing '*achhe din*'? (If succeeded or failed, probe further whether fully or somewhat).*The fully and somewhat categories have been merged.

NARENDRA MODI'S POPULARITY

People's Prime Minister Preference if Lok Sabha elections take place now

	%
Narendra Modi	44
Rahul Gandhi	9
Sonia Gandhi	3
Mayawati	3
Nitish Kumar	2
Manmohan Singh	2
Akhilesh Yadav	2
Mamata Banerjee	1
Other leaders	10
No response	24

Question asked was: If Lok Sabha elections are held in the country tomorrow, who would you prefer to see as the Prime Minister of the country?

Note: The question was asked in an open ended manner and no choices were offered to the respondent.

The rise and rise of Narendra Modi

Choice for PM	2009 Apr- May	2011 Jul	2013 Jul-Aug	2014 Jan	2014 Mar	2014 Apr- May	2017 May
Narendra Modi	2	5	19	34	34	36	44
Rahul+Sonia+Manmohan	40	39	23	23	20	19	14

Note: Figures are percentages

Source: National Election Studies (NES) conducted by CSDS during Lok Sabha elections in 2009 and 2014. State of the Nation Survey 2011, Pre-Lok Sabha election Tracker Polls in Jul-Aug 2013, Jan 2014 and Mar 2014 and Mood of the Nation 2017; Sample sizes: 2009 - 36641; 2011 - 20,854, 2013 - 19062, 2014 Jan - 18596, 2014 Mar - 20957, 2014 Apr-May - 22295.

Modi's popularity sees sharpest increase in small cities, among women & among Christians

	Preference for Modi as PM in Apr-May 2014	Preference for Modi as PM in May 2017	Change since 2014 (% points)
All India	36	44	+8
Region			
North India	41	50	+9
South India	25	33	+8
East India	34	44	+10
West and Central India	45	48	+3
Locality			
Big cities	40	41	+1
Small cities and towns	36	47	+11
Villages	35	44	+9
Gender			
Men	40	47	+7
Women	30	41	+11

	Preference for Modi as PM in Apr-May 2014	Preference for Modi as PM in May 2017	Change since 2014 (% points)
Religion			
Hindus	40	49	+9
Muslims	9	18	+9
Christians	16	32	+16
Sikhs	33	28	-5
Age group			
18-25 years	41	49	+8
26-35 years	38	48	+10
36-45 years	36	42	+6
46-55 years	33	44	+11
56+ years	30	38	+8

Source: NES 2014 and MOTN 2017

What do people who want to continue to see Modi as PM like about him?

	%
Does development, good governance, good administrator	24
His policies are good	8
Has been a good PM	7
Good orator	7
Did demonetization	7
Honest	6
Decisive	4
Experienced	4
Hard working	3
Looks after poor	2
Represents Hindus	1
Other qualities	11
Can't say	16

Source: MOTN 2017

Question asked was: *(If respondent wants Modi as PM) What is the one thing about Modi you like most?* The question was open ended.

DEMONETIZATION

Support for demonetization is high but not as high as what PM's app survey had claimed

Demonetization was a...	%
Right move	45
Right move but done with bad preparation	32
Wrong move that wasn't required at all	16
No response	7

Source: MOTN 2017

Question asked was: People have different opinions about demonetization/*notebandi*. Some people believe that it was a right move. Some believe that it was the right move but done with bad preparation. And some others believe that it was a wrong move that wasn't required at all. What is your opinion?

Support for *notebandi* across classes but poor, esp. in big cities, more likely to be against it

	Demonetization/ <i>notebandi</i> was a...			
	Right move (%)	Right move but done with bad preparation (%)	Wrong move (%)	No response (%)
Rich Class	44	35	16	5
Middle Class	45	34	14	7
Lower Class	49	27	17	7
Poor Class	42	28	19	11
Poor by Locality				
Poor in Big cities	27	42	26	5
Poor in Small cities and town	44	41	12	3
Poor in Villages	45	23	19	13

Source: MOTN 2017

Question asked was: People have different opinions about demonetization/*notebandi*. Some people believe that it was a right move. Some believe that it was the right move but done with bad preparation. And some others believe that it was a wrong move that wasn't required at all. What is your opinion?

Demonetization has backing of sizeable UPA voters; Left, BSP voters least likely to back it

	Demonetization/ <i>notebandi</i> was a...			
	Right move (%)	Right move but done with bad preparation (%)	Wrong move (%)	No response (%)
BJP voters	64	26	5	5
BJP allies' voters	34	48	12	6
Congress voters	31	37	26	6
Congress allies' voters	35	41	18	6
Left voters	30	26	31	13
BSP voters	30	34	33	3
Other parties' voters	35	31	22	12

Source: MOTN 2017

Question asked was: People have different opinions about demonetization/*notebandi*. Some people believe that it was a right move. Some believe that it was the right move but done with bad preparation. And some others believe that it was a wrong move that wasn't required at all. What is your opinion?

What proportion of Indian households has a bank account, credit card, mobile phone?

	%
Have bank/post office account	87
Have debit/credit card	49
Debit/credit card owners who rarely or never use it	43
Mobile phone owners (feature and smart phone, both)	74
<i>Smart phone owners</i>	<i>24</i>
Mobile phone owners who have internet on their phones	29
Mobile phone owners who have used a mobile wallet service	11

Source: MOTN 2017

Questions asked were: Do you or a member of your household have a bank or post office account?

Do you or a member of your household have a debit/credit card?

(If have a credit/debit card) How often do you use a debit card or credit card for payments/transactions - every day, few times a week, few times a month, rarely or never?

What kind of a mobile phone do you have - is it a normal one or a touch screen smart phone?

(If have mobile phone) Is there an internet connection on your mobile?

(If have mobile phone) Have you ever used any mobile wallet service like PayTM, Mobikwik, UPI, Freecharge, PayUMoney, BHIM etc. to make a payment?

COW/BEEF, LYNCHINGS, TALAAQ AND NATIONALISM

Religious divide over beef consumption - Christians, Muslims most opposed to banning it

	Ban both cow and buffalo meat consumption (%)	Ban cow meat but allow buffalo meat consumption (%)	Allow both cow and buffalo meat consumption	No response (%)
All respondents	63	9	18	10
Hindu	70	8	14	8
Muslim	20	18	43	19
Christian	31	13	47	9
Sikh	76	1	15	8

Source: MOTN 2017

Question asked was: Out of these three statements that I will now read out, which one do you agree with the most?

1. Cow or buffalo, eating meat of both should be banned.
2. Eating of cow meat should be banned but consumption of buffalo meat should be allowed.
3. There should not be any legal restriction on eating meat of any kind, cow or buffalo.

Majority of Hindus including those opposed to beef consumption is of the opinion that the PM should have condemned the incidents of mob lynching of Muslims

	PM should have condemned incidents of mob lynching of Muslims (%)	No need for PM to condemn incidents of mob lynching of Muslims (%)	No response (%)
All respondents	51	20	29
Hindus	50	21	29
<i>Hindus opposed to beef consumption</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>27</i>
Muslims	56	16	28
Christians	66	8	26
Sikhs	55	6	39

Source: MOTN 2017

Question asked was: Over the last two years there have been incidents in some states of violent mobs lynching Muslim men to death over mere suspicions of cow meat consumption or cow smuggling. Do you think Prime Minister Modi should have condemned these acts of violence/lynching or do you think these were minor incidents that did not merit the Prime Minister's condemnation?

Muslim community divided on the issue of triple talaq on gender lines

	There is nothing wrong in the tradition of triple talaq...		
	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	No response (%)
All respondents	21	54	25
Muslim respondents	42	43	15
Muslim men	48	40	12
Muslim women	36	46	18

Source: MOTN 2017

Question asked was: Do you agree or disagree with this statement? - There is nothing wrong with the tradition of triple *talaq*. (If agree or disagree, probe further whether fully or somewhat)

Most among minorities do not seem to think highly of BJP's nationalism agenda; most among Hindus however do; many stayed silent on the issue

	BJP is raising issue of nationalism in national interest (%)	BJP is raising issue of nationalism to deflect attention from govt.'s failures (%)	No response (%)
All	36	28	36
Hindu	39	26	35
Muslim	18	45	37
Christian	21	41	38
Sikh	18	27	55

Source: MOTN 2017

Question asked was: Now I am going to read out two statements to you. Which one do you agree with?

1. The issue of nationalism is important and the BJP is raising it in the interest of the nation.
2. Even though the issue of nationalism is important, the BJP is raising it only to deflect people's attention from the failures of the government.

RAHUL GANDHI

The rise and fall of Rahul Gandhi

Choice for PM	2004	2009	2011	2013	2014 Jan	2014 Mar	2014 Apr-May	2017
Rahul Gandhi	1	6	19	12	15	15	14	9
Sonia Gandhi	26	16	10	5	5	3	3	3
Manmohan Singh	1	18	10	6	3	2	2	2

Note: Figures are percentages; Source: National Election Studies (NES) conducted by CSDS during Lok Sabha elections in 2004, 2009 and 2014. State of the Nation Survey 2011, Pre-Lok Sabha election Tracker Polls in Jul-Aug 2013, Jan 2014 and Mar 2014 and Mood of the Nation 2017; Sample sizes: 2004 – 27,189; 2009 – 36,641; 2011 - 20,854, 2013 – 19,062, 2014 Jan – 18,596, 2014 Mar – 20,957, 2014 Apr-May - 22,295.

On being asked who should lead Cong into next election, only one in 4 said Rahul Gandhi

	Rahul Gandhi	Sonia Gandhi	Priyanka Gandhi	Manmohan Singh	Other	Can't say
All voters	25	10	6	3	6	50
Congress voters	39	14	7	4	9	27
Traditional Cong voters who voted for BJP in 2014	26	13	10	4	16	31

Source: MOTN 2017

Question asked was: In your opinion which Congress leader should lead the Congress party into the next Lok Sabha election in 2019?
The question was asked in an open ended manner without prompts.