

## **LOKNITI-CSDS-TIRANGA TV-THE HINDU-DAINIK BHASKAR PRE POLL SURVEY 2019**

### **Methodology**

As part of its National Election Study, Lokniti, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS), Delhi, conducted a Pre-Poll Survey between March 24th and March 31st, 2019 among **10,010** respondents spread across 19 States of India - Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Delhi, Gujarat, Haryana, Jharkhand, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Telangana, Uttar Pradesh, and West Bengal. The survey was conducted in 101 Assembly Constituencies (ACs) spread across 101 Parliamentary Constituencies. The total sample size targeted was 10,100 with an AC/PC-wise target of 100 interviews. In order to decide the number of PCs to be sampled in each of the 19 States, we first gave special weightage to the small States with 14 seats or less in order to achieve a decent sample of 300 from these States. Thereafter, the number of PCs to be sampled in the remaining medium and large States was determined based on the proportion of their electorate in the total electorate of the remaining States. The resultant target sample of each State was then adjusted to the nearest 100.

The sampling design adopted was multi-stage random sampling. This procedure ensures that the selected sample is fully representative of the cross-section of voters in the country. The PCs where the survey was conducted were randomly selected using the probability proportional to size method (adjusting the probability of choosing a particular constituency according to the size of its electorate). Then, one AC was selected from within each sampled PC using the PPS method again. Thereafter, four polling stations were selected from within each of the sampled ACs using the systematic random sampling method. Finally, 38 respondents were randomly selected using the systematic method from the electoral rolls of the sampled polling stations. Of these 38, we set a target of 25 interviews per polling station.

Once we identified our sample among the electorate, trained field investigators or FIs (a training workshop for them was conducted in each state) were sent to meet them. They were asked to interview only those whose names had been sampled. However at some locations the non-availability of sampled respondents or difficulty in finding households necessitated replacements/substitutions. Our investigators sat down in the homes of people and asked them a detailed set of questions which could take up to 30 minutes. The questionnaire we presented to our sample of voters was designed in the language mainly spoken in the respondents' State. In Gujarat in Gujarati, in Kerala in Malayalam, etc. Each PC/AC was covered by a team of two FIs, except Tamil Nadu where a team of four FIs was sent to each AC due to late start of fieldwork. A total 216 field investigators conducted the survey at 404 locations.

The achieved national sample is broadly representative of India's population, in terms of the country's general demographic profile. Data of each State has been weighted by gender, locality, caste group and religion as per Census 2011 percentages.

### Profile of the achieved national sample

	Raw share in the achieved survey sample (%)	Actual share in total population of 19 States as per Census 2011 (%)	Actual share in India's total population as per Census 2011 (%)
Women	46	49	49
Urban	34	31	31
SC	19	17	17
ST	10	8	9
Muslim	13	14	14
Christian	2	2	2
Sikh	3	2	2

Note: Figures have been round off.

### Distribution of the Sample

S. no.	State	Targeted sample	No. of ACs/PCs	No. of PSs	Achieved sample
1	Andhra Pradesh	400	4	16	390
2	Assam	300	3	12	317
3	Bihar	800	8	32	802
4	Chhattisgarh	300	3	12	317
5	Delhi	300	3	12	266
6	Gujarat	400	4	16	391
7	Haryana	300	3	12	318
8	Jharkhand	300	3	12	317
9	Karnataka	500	5	20	568
10	Kerala	300	3	12	300
11	Madhya Pradesh	500	5	20	519
12	Maharashtra	1000	10	40	817
13	Odisha	500	5	20	510
14	Punjab	300	3	12	303
15	Rajasthan	500	5	20	552
16	Tamil Nadu	700	7	28	637
17	Telangana	300	3	12	297
18	Uttar Pradesh	1600	16	64	1621
19	West Bengal	800	8	32	768
	<b>Total</b>	<b>10,100</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>404</b>	<b>10,010</b>

The survey was coordinated by scholars from the Lokniti Network: E Venkatesu and Srinivas Rao Gangiredla (Andhra Pradesh), Dhruva Pratim Sharma and Nurul Hassan (Assam), Rakesh Ranjan (Bihar), Lakhan Choudhary (Chhattisgarh), Biswajit Mohanty (Delhi), Bhanu Parmar (Gujarat), Kushal Pal and Anita Agarwal (Haryana), Harishwar Dayal and Amit Kumar (Jharkhand), Veenadevi and K L Nagesh (Karnataka), Sajad

Ibrahim and Rincy Mathew (Kerala), Yatindra Singh Sisodia and Ashish Bhatt (Madhya Pradesh), Nitin Birmal (Maharashtra), Gyanaranjan Swain and Balaram Pradhan (Odisha), Ashutosh Kumar and Hardeep Kaur (Punjab), Sanjay Lodha and Nidhi Seth (Rajasthan), P Ramajayam (Tamil Nadu), Vageeshan Harathi and Ramya C. (Telangana), Mirza Asmer Beg, Shashikant Pandey and Sudhir Khare (Uttar Pradesh), and Suprio Basu and Jyotiprasad Chatterjee (West Bengal).

The survey was designed and analysed by a team of researchers at Lokniti, CSDS. The team included Amrit Negi, Amrit Pandey, Anurag Jain, Dhananjay Kumar Singh, Himanshu Bhattacharya, Jyoti Mishra, Manjesh Rana, Sakshi Khemani, Shreyas Sardesai and Vibha Attri. The survey was directed by Prof. Sanjay Kumar, Prof. Suhas Palshikar and Prof. Sandeep Shastri of Lokniti.

### **Economy: The Perception-Reality Gap!**

#### *Lokniti Team*

Despite indications of an economic slowdown and visible indicators of a severe job and farm crisis, voters across the country seem to be rather satisfied with India's economic situation, and even more as compared to a year ago. The CSDS-Lokniti survey in 19 States between March 24<sup>th</sup> and 31<sup>st</sup>, found voters to be expressing a more positive than a negative opinion about India's economic situation. One thirds (34%) described it as being good while only one in every four (25%) viewed it as being bad. There were a large proportion of respondents who saw the economy as being in average shape - neither good nor bad. What's more, this favourable opinion among voters about the Indian economy has risen consistently across the last five years. In May 2014, before Narendra Modi came to power, only one in every five (19%) respondents had described the economy as being in good shape. This rose to 26% (one in every four) in January 2018 and is now at 34% on the eve of elections. Compared to a year ago, the perception that the economy is in a satisfactory condition has seen the biggest jump in the southern States followed by States located in the eastern part of the country. The mood regarding the economy in the northern, western and central States, however, hasn't changed much over the last one year. Although the economic situation of the country is assessed quite positively here too but it hasn't registered any major increase compared to last year. In fact, in States like Delhi, Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Gujarat, joblessness emerged as the single most important election issue for the voters.

The overall improved image about the economy in most parts of the country is likely to work to the BJP's advantage in these elections. Three in every four of those who see the economy as being in a good situation were found to be in favour of giving the Modi government another term. Even among those who viewed the economy as being in an average shape, the endorsement of a second term for the ruling party was ten points

higher as compared to those who did not favour second chance. This segment of respondents could prove to be decisive in the elections.

People's assessment of their personal economic condition has also improved in the last one year. Last May, two thirds of the respondents had reported that with their total household income, they found it difficult to make both ends meet. Now the segment which reports this is just over half. While this more positive sentiment regarding one's personal economic condition was noticed across all economic classes, it was found to be greatest among the poor. In May last year, four of every five poor voters had reported facing economic hardships. Now the proportion of such voters has dropped to two in every three. A plurality among the poor was also more likely to view the development under the Modi government in more positive terms. When asked whether development during Modi's tenure had been for all, only for the rich or had not taken place at all, four of every ten poor voters said that it had been for all sections. In May last year, this figure had been one in every four.

There seems to be an apparent contradiction, as most people now seem to believe in Narendra Modi's claim of *Sabka Saath Sabha Vikas*, even as the survey found that they do not seem as convinced about the government's claim of having created lakhs of jobs. When respondents were asked whether employment opportunities under the Modi government had increased or decreased during the last five years, close to half (46%) said they had gone down and one in every four (25%) were of the opinion that they had increased. What is significant here is that in May 2014, when the same question had been asked of voters regarding the UPA government, one-third (33%) had reported a decrease in employment opportunities under the UPA and one-fifth (19%) had reported an increase. In net terms, therefore, the NDA fares worse than the UPA on the jobs front. Job-related anxiety was found to be greatest among the young and college educated voters. Whereas overall 47% of all respondents reported finding a job in their area more difficult during the last 3-4 years, among the young voters aged between 18-35 years it was found to be three points higher at 50% and among the college educated voters, a further three percentage points higher, at 53%.

Our survey finds that the issue of farmers' distress, although very real, might not be much of an electoral issue as it does not seem to be affecting the government's popularity among the farming community. Even as a slightly higher proportion of farmers were found to be blaming the Central government and not their State government for their plight, this has not resulted in any strong anti-Modi government sentiment among them. Despite holding the Central government responsible for their problems, two-fifths of such farmers still want the Modi government to return to power. The pro-government sentiment among farmers was found to be strongest in North and East India and weakest in South India. This is in fact very similar to how non-farmer respondents across these regions also responded to the incumbency question. Moreover, when asked what would be the most important issue for them while voting, only about 6% reported specific farming-related issues as their most important

problem. The rest of the farmers stated voting issues similar to the ones stated by non-farmers. Farmers in Maharashtra were most likely to report farming related problems as the most important voting issue (20%) followed by Haryana (16%).

Finally, to reiterate the point we made in our review yesterday, possibly the effect of Balakot strike is visible in all responses to questions related to the economy. Those who were aware of the India's air strikes were far more likely to hold positive perceptions about the economy, their personal economic condition, the job situation and Modi's development model than those who had not. It must also be stressed here that we are not sure about which way the causality runs - are people actually deciding their political preferences about giving/ not giving the ruling party/coalition a second chance on the basis of their perception of the economy or is the perception of the economy being determined by their political preferences and their likes or dislikes regarding a government<sup>1</sup>. The latter, that is, people assessing the economy from the lens of their party choice cannot be ruled out, given that this is election season. Our survey found a sharp divide between BJP supporters and the rest on this question. While over half the BJP supporters were found to be viewing the economy in a positive light, among Congress and Congress allies' supporters only one-fifth held such a view. Supporters of opposition parties were more likely to view the economy as being in average or bad shape. Given that the BJP seems to have gained post-Balakot, this finding might explain this unusually sanguine assessment by voters at a time when issues linked to the economy are not actually all that great.

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<sup>1</sup> This is not quite unusual and has been noticed elsewhere also - <https://nyti.ms/2FUQCZB>

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

**DAY TWO: ECONOMY, JOBS AND FARMERS**

**Table 1: Opinion on country's present economic condition – a greater proportion views it as being good than bad**

The present economic situation of the Country is.....	Pre-poll 2019 (%)
Very good	11
Good	23
So-so	33
Bad	16
Very bad	9
No response	8

Question asked: Overall, how would you rate the economic situation of the country at the moment - is it very good, good, so-so, bad or very bad?

N size= 10,010

**Table 2: Perception that economic condition of India is good has strengthened considerably in last one year**

The present economic situation of the country is.....	Pre-poll 2019 (%)	January 2018 (%)	May 2014 (%)
Good	34	26	19
So-so	33	40	31
Bad	25	27	37
No response	8	7	13

Note: The option categories of bad and very bad have been merged as 'Bad', and very good and good as 'Good' for better readability.

**Table 3: Perception that India's economic situation is good has strengthened most in South and East India compared to last year; more or less the same in North and West-Central India**

The present economic situation of the country is.....	Economic condition of country is 'good' Pre Poll 2019 (%)	Economic condition of country is 'good' January 2018 (%)
North India	30	28
South India	35	22
East India	36	29
West-Central India	35	32

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

**Table 4: There is largely a pro-govt sentiment even among those who view the economy to be in so-so (average) condition**

The present economic situation of the country is.....	Government <b>should</b> get another chance (%)	Government <b>should not</b> get another chance (%)
Good	64	23
So-so/average	46	36
Bad	27	56
No response	26	32

**Table 4a: In the South, 37% of those who view the economy as being in good shape don't want to give the government another chance. In other parts of the country this percentage is around 19%**

	Country's economic situation is...	Govt. <b>should</b> get another chance (%)	Govt. <b>should not</b> get chance (%)
East	Good	64	17
	so-so	51	32
	Bad	33	48
West-Central	Good	70	19
	so-so	45	37
	Bad	23	63
North	Good	72	19
	so-so	54	32
	Bad	34	54
South	Good	50	37
	so-so	20	53
	Bad	17	61

**Table 5: Self-assessment of personal economic hardship - half the respondents said they have any difficulty making ends meet but the other half doesn't face difficulty; about one fifth face a lot of difficulty**

	Pre-poll 2019 (%)
Able to fulfill all our needs & also end up saving some money	15
Able to fulfill all our needs but don't end up saving	31
Not able to fulfill all our needs and face some difficulty	33
Not able to fulfill our needs and face a lot of difficulty	18
No response	3

Question asked: Which one of these four sentences truly describes your current economic condition?

1. With our total household income we are able to fulfill all our needs & also end up saving some money.
2. With our total household income we are able to fulfill all our needs but don't end up saving.
3. With our total household income we are not able to fulfill all our needs and face some difficulty.
4. With our total household income we are not able to fulfill our needs and face a lot of difficulty.

**Table 6: In May last year, one-fourth of respondents had found their income to be insufficient to make ends meet; this proportion has now dropped to one-fifth**

	Pre-poll 2019 (%)	May 2018 (%)	Jan 2018 (%)
Able to fulfill all our needs & also end up saving some money	15	9	13
Able to fulfill all our needs but don't end up saving	31	24	34
Not able to fulfill all our needs and face some difficulty	33	40	39
Not able to fulfill our needs and face a lot of difficulty	18	27	14
No response	3	<1	<1

**Table 7: Economically poor sections reporting the sharpest drop in economic hardship compared to May 2018**

	Not able to fulfill our needs and face difficulty March 2019 (%)	Not able to fulfill our needs and face difficulty May 2018 (%)
Poor	65	80
Lower	54	67
Middle	41	57
Rich	28	39

**Table 8: Is Modi's Development model 'Inclusive'? – Over two-fifths say 'yes'**

In the last 3-4 years...	Pre-poll 2019 (%)
Development has been for all	44
Development has been only for the Rich	27
There has been no development at all	17
No response	12

Question asked: People have different opinions about the development that has taken place in the country in the last 5 years. Some believe it has only been for the rich, others say it has been for all people. What's your opinion?

**Table 9: In May 2018, most people had said development had only been for rich, now most people think it has been for all**

In the last 3-4 years...	Pre-poll 2019 (%)	May 2018 (%)	January 2018 (%)
Development has been for all	44	31	39
Development has been only for the Rich	27	42	36
There has been no development at all	17	22	19
No response	12	5	6

**Table 10: How people from different strata perceive ‘Modi’s development model’ – religious minorities are most critical of it; of all regions South is most likely to feel Modi’s development has been for the Rich**

	Development has been for all (%)	Development has been only for the Rich (%)	There has been no development at all (%)
<b><i>Social groups</i></b>			
Hindu upper caste	55	19	14
Upper OBC	49	27	18
Lower OBC	49	22	12
Dalit	41	33	17
Adivasi	32	29	16
Muslim	33	34	20
Christian	26	31	34
Sikh	14	48	32
<b><i>Economic class</i></b>			
Poor	42	27	16
Lower class	45	27	17
Middle class	44	30	17
Upper class	46	26	19
<b><i>Regions</i></b>			
North	49	25	16
East	50	26	10
South	26	37	25
West-Central	47	23	17

Note: The rest of the respondents did not answer the question

**Table 11: One in four of those who say that development has only been for rich are still ready to give the government another chance**

In the last 3-4 years...	Government <b>should</b> get another chance (%)	Government <b>should not</b> get another chance (%)
Development has been for all	73	16
Development has been only for the Rich	28	54
There has been no development at all	19	64

## **Jobs**

**Table 12: Over half the respondents said that it had become difficult to find a job in their area in last 3-4 years**

	Pre-poll 2019 (%)
It has become more difficult to find a job in my area in last 3-4 years	47
It has become less difficult	20
Remained same/no difference compared to past	21
No response	12

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

**Table 13: However, the proportion of those who believe that jobs in their area are difficult to find has reduced in last one year**

	Pre-poll 2019 (%)	May 2018 (%)	January 2018 (%)
More difficult to find a job in my area	47	57	49
Less difficult to find a job in my area	20	16	19
Remained same	21	22	21
No response	12	5	12

**Table 14: Youth and college-educated respondents more likely to report job related anxiety**

	More difficult to find a job in my area (%)	Less difficult (%)	Remained same (%)
<b>Region</b>			
North	46	19	24
East	46	20	22
South	44	23	20
West-Central	51	18	18
<b>Age groups</b>			
Youth (18-35 years)	50	20	21
Others (above 35)	44	20	21
<b>Level of education</b>			
Non-literate	43	13	23
Upto primary	42	19	24
Upto matric	47	23	21
College and above	53	24	19

Note: Rest didn't respond to this question.

**Table 15: Unemployment was the biggest electoral issue for Youth and college-educated respondents**

	Unemployment is the biggest election issue (%)
Up to 25 yrs	31
26-35 yrs	24
36-45 yrs	19
46-55 yrs	18
56 yrs. and above	12
Non Literate	14
Upto Primary	18
Upto Matric	22
College and above	25
North	27
East	21
South	13
West-Central	19

**Table 16: Nearly half the respondents of the opinion that employment opportunities have decreased in last five years**

Employment opportunities under BJP-NDA's rule at the Centre have.....	Pre-poll 2019 (%)
Increased	25
Decreased	46
Remained same	21
No response	8

Question asked: Now I will ask you about some important issues. Please tell me about employment opportunities have increased or decreased during the last 5 years of BJP-NDA's rule at the Centre?

**Table 17: NDA rated worse than UPA on the jobs front**

Employment opportunities under BJP-NDA's rule at the Centre have.....	Pre-poll 2019 (under NDA govt) (%)	May 2014 (under UPA govt) (%)
Increased	25	19
Decreased	46	33
Remained same	21	34
No response	8	14

**Table 18: However, many among those who feel jobs have decreased want to give the government another chance**

Employment opportunities under BJP-NDA's rule at the Centre have.....	Government <b>should</b> get another chance (%)	Government <b>should not</b> get another chance (%)
Increased	67	21
Decreased	40	45
Remained same	40	40
No response	26	28

### **Farmers**

**Table 19: Most farmers blame the State and Central governments equally for their plight**

Who is responsible for Farmers' problems (Only farmer respondents)	Pre-poll 2019 (%)
Central government	17
State government	19
Both	48
Neither	4
Farmers themselves	3
No response	9

Question asked: Who would you consider most responsible for the problems being faced by farmers – the Central government or your State government?

**Table 20: A much greater proportion blames the Central government now than a year ago**

Who is responsible for Farmers' problems (Only farmer respondents)	Pre-poll 2019 (%)	January 2018 (%)
Central government	17	10
State government	19	18
Both	48	57
Neither	4	7
Farmers themselves	3	2
No response	9	6

**Table 21: However a sizeable proportion of farmers who blame the Modi government for their plight also want it to return**

	Government <b>should</b> get another chance (%)	Government <b>should not</b> get another chance (%)
Farmers who blame Central government for their problems	41	47
Farmers who blame State government for their problems	61	28
Farmers who blame Both governments for their problems	47	40

**Table 22: Most farmers in South India don't want the Modi government to return; farmers elsewhere want it to return**

	Government <b>should</b> get another chance (%)	Government <b>should not</b> get another chance (%)
Farmers of North India	55	34
Farmers of East India	51	33
Farmers of South India	34	46
Farmers of West-Central India	49	38

**Table 23: Farmers' perception of country's economic situation no different from non-farmers**

	Country's present economic condition is..... (%)				
	Very good	Good	So-so	Bad	Very bad
Farmers	13	22	36	15	8
Non-farmers	10	23	33	17	10

**Table 24: Are political preferences guiding perception of economy or is it the other way around?**

	Country's present economic condition			
	Good (%)	So-so (%)	Bad (%)	No response (%)
Congress voters	22	37	31	10
Congress allies voters	24	34	40	3
BJP voters	52	33	11	5
BJP allies voters	30	35	29	6
BSP+ voters	21	32	41	6
Left voters	26	22	45	7
Others voters	26	30	29	15

**Table 25: Most important voting issues across States, Unemployment is the biggest concern in Delhi, Chhattisgarh, Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, Gujarat, UP**

	Development (%)	Unemployment (%)	Price rise (%)	Poverty (%)	Other economy related issues (%)
Andhra Pradesh	11	20	0	10	11
Assam	26	6	0	0	2
Bihar	22	26	15	3	3
Gujarat	7	23	11	8	2
Haryana	18	28	2	3	0
Karnataka	56	3	2	5	5
Kerala	16	9	18	2	7

	Development (%)	Unemployment (%)	Price rise (%)	Poverty (%)	Other economy related issues (%)
Madhya Pradesh	18	22	17	3	4
Maharashtra	28	12	1	3	2
Odisha	2	22	6	13	1
Punjab	18	28	17	12	0
Rajasthan	5	27	4	1	13
Tamil Nadu	4	14	9	9	13
Uttar Pradesh	12	23	5	6	7
West Bengal	13	22	4	2	4
Delhi	22	41	3	0	2
Jharkhand	13	22	8	2	4
Chhattisgarh	11	29	0	1	10
Telangana	10	20	2	6	7

Question asked: What will be the **most important issue** for you while voting in the coming Lok Sabha election? *(Note down answer and consult codebook for coding)*

**Table 26: Farmers of Maharashtra and Haryana were most likely to state farming related issues as their most important issue compared to farmers in other States**

	Farming related woes as an electoral issue among farmers (%)
Andhra Pradesh	<1
Assam	<1
Bihar	5
Gujarat	3
Haryana	16
Karnataka	5
Kerala	<1
Madhya Pradesh	3
Maharashtra	20
Odisha	5
Punjab	4
Rajasthan	7
Tamil Nadu	1
Uttar Pradesh	2
West Bengal	<1
Delhi	<1
Jharkhand	<1
Chhattisgarh	<1
Telangana	12