

# Third Assembly Elections in Uttarakhand

Uttarakhand witnessed a single day poll to elect the third assembly in the state on 30 January 2012. A record 67% of a total of 63,78,293 registered voters turned out to vote, the highest ever and up by nearly 7 percentage points since the last assembly election. The turnout among women voters at nearly 69% was 3 percentage points higher than the turnout among men, and 9 percentage points higher than the women's turnout in 2007. The number of contestants also went up marginally to 788 from 787 in the previous elections (Table 1A).

**Table 1A: Summary Electoral Participation: Electorate, Turnout and Number of Candidates Compared to the Assembly Election (2007)**

	Assembly Election 2012	Change from 2007 (%)
Total electorate	63,78,293	+4.9
Male electorate	33,53,612	+8.5
Female electorate	30,24,680	+1.1
Other electorate	1	-
Total voters	42,50,314	+10.4
Total turnout	66.6%	+7.2
Male turnout	65.7%	+6.5
Female turnout	68.8%	+9.1
Number of candidates	788	+0.1

For electorate, voters and candidates the change is in %, with 2007 as the base. Change in turnout is computed in percentage points, compared to turnout in 2007.

Source: Figures available from the official website of chief electoral officer, Uttarakhand, <http://ceo.uk.gov.in/>; accessed on 9 March 2012; Data aggregated and recomputed by CSDS data unit.

The main contest in this election was between the incumbent Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the Indian National Congress (INC/Congress). Other key players in the electoral race were the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), the Samajwadi Party (SP), the newly formed Uttarakhand Raksha Morcha (URM) and the Uttarakhand Kranti Dal-Panwar (UKD(P)), a breakaway faction of the erstwhile UKD. The UKD(P) contested in alliance with the left parties, namely, the Communist Party of India (CPI) and the Communist Party of the India (Marxist) – CPI(M).

The final outcome of the election was a photo finish both in terms of seats and votes. The Congress emerged as the single largest party winning 32 seats

and the BJP finished a close second with 31 seats. While the Congress gained 11 seats compared to 2007, the BJP lost four

seats since the previous election. However in terms of vote share, both the parties ended up adding votes. The Congress' vote share went up by 4 percentage points compared to 2007, and the BJP's increased by 1%. The difference in vote shares between the Congress (33.79%) and the runner-up, BJP (33.13%) is just 27,701 votes, less than 1% of the

**Table 1B: Summary Results: Seats Contested, Won and Votes Secured by Major Parties, Compared to the Assembly Election (2007)**

	Seats Contested	Seats Won	Gain/Loss of Seats since 2007	Vote Share (%)	Vote % Per Seat Contested	Vote Swing since 2007 (% Points)
Indian National Congress (INC)	70	32	+11	33.79	33.79	+3.90
Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)	70	31	-4	33.13	33.13	+0.87
Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP)	70	3	-5	12.19	12.19	+0.63
Samajwadi Party (SP)	45	0	0	1.41	1.94	-3.46
Uttarakhand Raksha Morcha (URM)	42	0	0	1.90	3.22	+1.90
Uttarakhand Kranti Dal (Panwar) (UKD(P))	44	1	-2	1.93	3.18	-3.47
Communist Party of India (CPI)	5	0	0	0.21	3.00	-0.02
Communist Party of India (Marxist) – CPI(M)	6	0	0	0.27	3.14	+0.02
Nationalist Congress Party (NCP)	20	0	0	0.20	0.67	-1.44
Others	155	0	0	2.62	-	-0.66
Independents	261	3	0	12.35	-	+1.73
Total	788	70	0	100	-	0

(1) "Others" in 2012 include All India Trinamool Congress, Janata Dal (United), Shiv Sena, Janata Dal (Secular), Lok Janshakti Party, Peace Party, Rashtriya Janata Dal and other parties. "Others" in 2007 included Janata Dal (United), Shiv Sena, Janata Dal (Secular), Lok Janshakti Party, Rashtriya Janata Dal, Forward Bloc, Republican Party of India and other parties.

(2) UKD split into UKD (Panwar) and UKD (Diwakar) before the 2012 assembly elections. Candidates of UKD (Diwakar) contested elections on the BJP symbol. The gain/loss of votes and seats for UKD (Panwar) takes into account the total votes and seats secured by the united UKD in 2007.

Source: Detailed constituency level results downloaded from Election Commission of India website <http://eciresults.ap.nic.in/>; accessed on 9 March 2012. Data aggregated and recomputed by CSDS data unit.

**Table 2A: Region-wise Analysis: Turnout and Performance of Major Parties in the Assembly Election (2012)**

Regions	Total Turnout		Congress		BJP		UKD (P)		SP		BSP		Independents		Others	
	Seats	(%)	Won	Vote (%)	Won	Vote (%)	Won	Vote (%)	Won	Vote (%)	Won	Vote (%)	Won	Vote (%)	Won	Vote (%)
Garhwal	22	61.2	12	34.2	7	32.0	1	3.0	0	0.3	0	2.9	2	17.8	0	9.8
Kumaon	20	61.5	11	37.1	8	34.1	0	3.9	0	1.7	0	10.8	1	10.4	0	2.1
Maidan	28	73.0	9	31.9	16	33.3	0	0.4	0	1.9	3	17.6	0	10.5	0	4.5
Total	70	66.6	32	33.8	31	33.1	1	1.9	0	1.4	3	12.2	3	12.3	0	5.2

(1) "Others" in this table and in Tables 2B, 2C and 2D include other smaller parties.

(2) Garhwal region includes all the seats in the districts of Uttarkashi, Chamoli, Rudrapur, Tehri Garhwal, Garhwal and two seats of Dehradun district; Kumaon region includes all the seats in the districts of Pithoragarh, Bageshwar, Almora, Champawat and Nainital; Maidan region includes all the seats in the districts of Haridwar, Udham Singh Nagar and eight seats of Dehradun district (see Table 2B).

Source: As in Table 1B.

**Table 2B: District-wise Analysis: Turnout and Performance of Major Parties in the Assembly Election (2012)**

Districts	Total Turnout		Congress		BJP		UKD (P)		SP		BSP		Independents		Others	
	Seats	(%)	Won	Vote (%)	Won	Vote (%)	Won	Vote (%)	Won	Vote (%)	Won	Vote (%)	Won	Vote (%)	Won	Vote (%)
Uttarkashi	3	72.9	1	31.7	1	30.9	1	11.8	0	0.0	0	2.6	0	20.6	0	2.4
Chamoli	3	60.4	3	31.9	0	23.2	0	0.9	0	0.6	0	2.1	0	28.0	0	13.4
Rudrapur	2	61.7	2	35.5	0	31.9	0	0.9	0	0.7	0	3.3	0	14.9	0	12.8
Tehri Garhwal	6	58.6	2	28.6	2	35.0	0	3.1	0	0.1	0	2.9	2	27.1	0	3.3
Dehradun	10	66.8	5	37.9	5	34.4	0	0.5	0	1.2	0	5.2	0	13.1	0	7.8
Haridwar	11	75.2	3	29.2	5	28.6	0	0.1	0	0.7	3	25.8	0	9.1	0	6.4
Garhwal	6	56.9	3	38.5	3	38.3	0	1.7	0	0.0	0	3.8	0	7.7	0	9.9
Pithoragarh	4	61.1	3	42.9	1	34.9	0	4.2	0	0.0	0	9.4	0	4.2	0	4.5
Bageshwar	2	60.4	1	39.3	1	39.8	0	2.9	0	0.5	0	10.6	0	5.2	0	1.7
Almora	6	55.2	3	34.2	3	35.8	0	8.0	0	0.2	0	8.5	0	10.9	0	2.3
Champawat	2	60.4	1	38.6	1	38.4	0	2.0	0	0.4	0	15.3	0	5.1	0	0.2
Nainital	6	67.7	3	35.2	2	29.8	0	1.8	0	4.2	0	11.8	1	15.9	0	1.3
Udham Singh Nagar	9	76.7	2	30.4	7	35.8	0	0.5	0	3.6	0	17.9	0	9.4	0	2.4
Total	70	66.6	32	33.8	31	33.1	1	1.9	0	1.4	3	12.2	3	12.3	0	5.2

Source: As in Table 1B.

total votes polled in the state. Never before has Uttarakhand witnessed as slender a margin in terms of votes. The BSP also increased its vote share by 1% but managed to win only three seats, down five since 2007. Independents won three seats and UKD (P) won one seat, holding the key to government

formation in a situation where both the Congress and BJP had fallen short of a majority (Table 1B, p 76).

This election witnessed a significant change in the pattern of voting in two of the three regions of the state, namely, Garhwal with 22 seats and Kumaon with 20 seats. In both these regions, the Congress ended up winning more seats (12 and 11 respectively) and votes than the BJP. In 2007, it was the BJP which had finished on top in these regions. The Congress performed particularly well in Rudraprayag and Chamoli districts of Garhwal, and Pithoragarh district of Kumaon. In the third region, that is, Maidan, which has the highest number of seats (28) post-delimitation, the BJP retained its 2007 dominance over the Congress winning 16 seats. The decline of the SP, and the BSP, which lost five seats in this region compared to 2007, seems to have benefited the BJP more than the Congress. The BJP's performance was particularly impressive in the

**Table 2C: Category-wise Analysis: Turnout and Performance of Major Parties by Reserved and General Constituencies in the Assembly Election (2012)**

Category	Total Seats	Turnout (%)	Congress		BJP		UKD (P)		SP		BSP		Independents		Others	
			Won (%)	Vote (%)	Won (%)	Vote (%)	Won (%)	Vote (%)	Won (%)	Vote (%)	Won (%)	Vote (%)	Won (%)	Vote (%)	Won (%)	Vote (%)
Reserved (SC)	13	64.7	6	36.7	5	33.1	0	0.8	0	0.8	2	16.3	0	8.1	0	4.2
Reserved (ST)	2	74.4	1	41.0	1	21.6	0	1.2	0	3.8	0	8.0	0	2.0	0	22.5
General	55	66.8	25	32.8	25	33.6	1	2.2	0	1.5	1	11.4	3	13.7	0	4.7
Total	70	66.6	32	33.8	31	33.1	1	1.9	0	1.4	3	12.2	3	12.3	0	5.2

Source: As in Table 1B.

**Table 2D: Locality-wise Analysis: Turnout and Performance of Major Alliances and Parties by Rural-Urban Nature of Constituency in the Assembly Election (2012)**

Locality	Total Seats	Turnout (%)	Congress		BJP		UKD (P)		SP		BSP		Independents		Others	
			Won (%)	Vote (%)	Won (%)	Vote (%)	Won (%)	Vote (%)	Won (%)	Vote (%)	Won (%)	Vote (%)	Won (%)	Vote (%)	Won (%)	Vote (%)
Rural	45	66.0	18	30.9	22	31.8	1	2.9	0	1.1	2	12.5	2	14.9	0	5.8
Semi-urban	19	68.7	11	36.8	6	33.3	0	0.6	0	1.3	1	13.6	1	9.5	0	4.8
Urban	6	64.4	3	41.6	3	40.6	0	0.3	0	3.6	0	6.0	0	5.4	0	2.5
Total	70	66.6	32	33.8	31	33.1	1	1.9	0	1.4	3	12.2	3	12.3	0	5.2

Rural constituencies are those where less than 25% electors live in urban areas. Semi-urban constituencies are those where 25% and more but less than 75% of electors live in urban areas. Urban constituencies are those where 75% or more electors live in urban areas. The classification of constituencies is based on Census 2001 and description of constituency boundary provided by the Delimitation Commission 2002 read with the urban/rural location indicated on the top sheet of electoral rolls for each polling booth area. Computation and classification has been done by the CSDS data unit.

Source: As in Table 1B.

**Table 3A: Social Basis of Voting: Survey-Based Estimates of Vote for Major Parties by Gender, Age, Education, Locality, Class and Caste/Community in the Assembly Elections (2007 and 2012)**

	Congress		BJP		BSP		Others		N for
	2007	2012	2007	2012	2007	2012	2007	2012	2012
<b>Age groups</b>									
Up to 25 yrs	27	37	32	31	11	13	30	19	264
26-35 yrs	31	32	31	38	12	8	26	22	454
36-45 yrs	31	33	34	31	12	16	24	21	337
46-55 yrs	34	33	33	36	11	10	23	21	225
56 years and above	29	35	34	28	12	15	25	22	250
<b>Gender</b>									
Men	30	35	32	33	11	13	28	20	849
Women	30	32	34	34	13	12	23	22	680
<b>Level of education</b>									
Non-literate	25	36	18	25	24	17	33	22	344
Up to primary	30	37	30	33	14	6	26	25	220
Up to matric	29	35	34	33	13	13	25	19	419
College and above	32	30	37	38	5	12	26	20	547
<b>Locality</b>									
Rural	27	31	31	32	15	14	27	24	1,199
Urban	37	45	36	38	4	6	23	11	329
<b>Class</b>									
Upper	NA	41	NA	27	NA	9	NA	23	256
Middle	NA	31	NA	33	NA	16	NA	19	471
Lower	NA	35	NA	34	NA	12	NA	20	554
Poor	NA	29	NA	38	NA	10	NA	23	248
<b>Caste community</b>									
Brahmin	29	19	44	48	3	6	24	27	211
Rajput	32	29	36	45	4	6	29	19	529
Other upper castes	28	22	53	28	4	7	15	43	117
OBC Hindu	19	41	30	32	16	15	35	11	182
Hindu dalit	27	33	12	18	43	36	19	14	181
Hindu adivasi	45	33	20	8	16	42	19	17	24*
Muslim	29	63	12	9	19	11	40	16	175
Sikh	37	54	45	24	4	0	15	22	37*
Others	30	31	37	19	12	14	21	37	74

(1) All figures except 'N' are in % and rounded off.

(2) 'N' stands for sample size for the relevant row. In some cases the sample size is too small and figures indicated with \* need to be read with caution.

(3) Educational categories: are defined as follows. Non-literate: A person who can neither read nor write in any language. Up to primary: It includes the persons who received formal schooling; either completed the whole primary cycle (I-V) or completed one or other grades of it. Up to matric: It includes persons ranging from those who received schooling beyond the primary cycle to those who actually completed the 10th standard. College and above: It includes persons who went to college but could not receive a degree and those who completed five years of education in college and persons who received education beyond graduation either in general education or in specialised streams/courses.

(4) The class scheme used here takes into account two elements of material wealth – durable household assets and monthly household income. Upper are those who had a car/jeep/tractor or colour TV, scooter, telephone, fridge, air conditioner, pumping sets (rural) and LPG (rural), or whose monthly household income was above Rs 20,000. Middle class respondents are those who had any three out of four assets such as telephone, colour TV, scooter/motor cycle and fridge in their households or whose monthly household income was above Rs 5,000 and up to Rs 20,000. Lower class respondents are those who had any three out of four assets such as B/W TV, electric fan, bicycle and LPG in their households or whose monthly household income was above Rs 2,000 and up to Rs 5,000. Poor are those who had no more than two out of the household assets or whose monthly household income was Rs 2,000 and less.

(5) Since the analysis uses data-file weighted by actual vote shares, it holds on the assumption that any discrepancy between the reported vote in the post-poll survey and the actual vote share is evenly distributed across all the social groups.

(6) "Others" in this table (column) include other smaller parties and independents.

(7) NA means not available.

Source: All figures are based on post-poll/exit poll surveys carried out by CSDS in 2007 and 2012. Total sample size in 2007 was 3,171. Total sample size in 2012 was 1,680; In these surveys the respondents were asked to indicate who they voted for by using a ballot paper that carried the list of candidates, their party names and symbols as on the EVM in their constituency. Figures reported here are for respondents who said they voted. The investigators checked if these respondents carried a mark on their finger. Those without a finger mark have been excluded from this analysis. The raw survey figures were weighed by actual vote share obtained by major alliances/parties in the final results.

Udham Singh Nagar district where the party won seven of the nine seats on offer. This was also the district which saw the highest turnout in the state at 77% (Tables 2A and 2B, p 76).

The contest between the Congress and BJP was closely fought in both the general and reserved sc seats, with the Congress taking a marginal lead over the BJP in the latter category. However, the BJP was not able to retain the edge it had over the Congress in both these

categories in 2007. The BSP which had won five general seats in 2007 managed to win only one this time (Table 2c, p 77).

The BJP enjoyed a significant lead over the Congress in the almost entirely rural constituencies, while the Congress did better than the BJP in the semi-urban constituencies. The contest between both the parties was close in the almost entirely urban constituencies (Table 2D, p 77).

Post-poll survey-based estimates of vote by social background reveal that the BJP's performance among its traditional voters, brahmins and Rajputs improved further compared to 2007. The party however dropped by a huge 25 percentage points among other upper castes which include Jat Hindus, Bhumihars, Kayasthas and Punjabi Khatris. The Congress however did not benefit from BJP's decline here. Compared to BJP's gains among brahmins and Rajputs, the Congress' gains among other communities, particularly Muslims and Hindu OBCs were equally big. The party gained by a massive 34 percentage points among Muslims and by 22 percentage points among Hindu OBCs. Both the BJP and the Congress also made huge gains among dalits, largely at the expense of the BSP. The Congress also made significant gains among the young 18-25 years (up 10 percentage points compared to 2007), among non-literates (up 11 percentage points), in urban seats (up 8 percentage points) and among men (up 5 percentage points). Much of these gains came from parties other than the BJP. Women favoured the BJP more than the Congress. The BJP also did well among the poor, while the Congress did well among the upper class (Table 3A, p 77).

The post-poll survey found that overall a majority of voters expressed a sense of satisfaction with the work done by the BJP government. However this does not seem to have swung the election in BJP's favour, like it did not for the Congress five years ago. When a similar survey was conducted in 2007, most people had also expressed their satisfaction with the then Congress government, and yet it was voted out (Table 4A).

When asked to compare the performance of the BJP government with that of the previous Congress government led by N D Tiwari, respondents were almost equally divided, with 29% opting for the BJP government and 28% choosing the Congress government (Table 4B). However, on most key issues of governance, the BJP government fared much worse than the previous Congress government. In 2007, during a similar survey, the Congress government had got fairly high ratings from voters on questions of governance. The BJP government was however not rated as highly by the voters on the same questions this time. For instance, in 2007 nearly two-thirds had said that development of Uttarakhand had improved under the Congress government; however in 2012 less than one-third said the development of the state had improved under the BJP government (Table 4c).

**Table 4A: Level of Satisfaction with the Incumbent Government (2007 and 2012)**

Satisfaction with Government	2007 Congress Government	2012 BJP Government	N in 2012
Satisfied with performance	61	58	977
Dissatisfied with performance	30	27	451
No opinion	10	15	251

(1) All figures except 'N' in % and rounded off.  
 (2) 'N' stands for sample size for the relevant row.  
 (3) Question asked in surveys- What is your assessment of the work done by the Congress/BJP government in Uttarakhand during the last five years? Would you say that you are satisfied or dissatisfied with it? (Probe further whether "fully" or "somewhat" satisfied or dissatisfied). Categories of "Fully satisfied" and "Somewhat satisfied" have been merged together as "Satisfied"; categories of "Fully dissatisfied" and "Somewhat dissatisfied" have been merged together as "Dissatisfied".

Source: Figures are based on post-poll/pre-poll surveys carried out by CSDS. Data sets weighted by actual vote share of major parties. Total sample in 2007 was 1,379.

**Table 4B: Comparison of BJP Government (2007-12) and Congress Government (2002-07) in Uttarakhand**

Comparing Governments	
BJP govt better than previous Cong govt	29
Previous Cong govt better than BJP govt	28
Both equally good/bad	20

(1) All figures are in % and rounded off; rest of the respondents had no opinion.  
 (2) Question asked in the survey: If we compare the present BJP government (2007-12) with the previous Congress government (2002-07), then in your opinion which government has been better?

Source: Figures are based on a post-poll survey carried out by CSDS; Data set weighted by actual vote share of major parties.

**Table 4C: Citizen's Assessment of the Work Done by Government during Its Tenure for Various Public Goods and Services**

Assessment of Governance Issues...	BJP Govt 2012			Congress Govt 2007		
	Improved	Remained Same	Deteriorated	Improved	Remained Same	Deteriorated
Development of Uttarakhand	30	26	32	64	25	6
Control of corruption	19	47	25	22	53	14
Drinking water supply	42	22	32	47	37	11
Electricity supply	55	18	25	54	29	11
Medical facilities	32	30	32	38	40	15
Educational facilities	42	22	30	58	26	10
Condition of roads	42	29	26	57	24	14
Security of common man	18	35	33	24	50	16

(1) All figures in % and rounded off; rows do not add up to 100 as those who said "Don't know" have not been reported here.  
 (2) Question asked in surveys- Now I will ask you about the assessment of the work done by the Congress/BJP government in Uttarakhand in the last five years. Do you think the condition of the following has improved, deteriorated or remained same?  
 Source: Figures are based on post-poll/pre-poll surveys carried out by CSDS. Data sets weighted by actual vote share of major parties. Total sample in the 2007 pre-poll survey was 1,379.

**Table 4D: Trend in Popularity of Major Political Leaders as Most Preferred CM (2002-12)**

Chief Minister Choices	2002	2004	2007	2009	2012
B C Khanduri	3	2	14	30	34
Harish Rawat	7	12	10	9	11
Ramesh Pokhriyal	1	NC	1	NC	2
N D Tiwari	8	26	18	14	6
Bhagat Singh Koshyari	19	10	12	7	1
Satpal Maharaj	NC	NC	4	5	4
Harak Singh Rawat	NC	NC	NC	NC	3
Yashpal Arya	NC	NC	NC	NC	2

(1) All figures are in % and rounded off; Respondents who said "Don't know" or gave other choices have been excluded; Responses above are to an open ended question.

(2) Question asked in the surveys – After this election, who would you prefer as the next chief minister of Uttarakhand? (No names were offered to those being interviewed; all responses are spontaneous and were post-coded)

(3) NC: names Not Coded in those years as the responses were insignificant.

Source: All figures are based on post-poll/exit poll surveys carried out by CSDS. Data sets weighted by actual vote share of major parties alliances. Sample size in 2002 was 733; Sample size in 2004 was 491; Sample size in 2007 was 3,171; Sample size in 2009 was 771; Sample size in 2012 was 1,679.

**Table 4E: Popularity of B C Khanduri and Harish Rawat as Most Preferred CM, by Regions and among Communities**

Chief Minister Choices	Garhwal	Kumaon	Maidan	Rajputs	Hindu OBCs
B C Khanduri	49	32	27	46	25
Harish Rawat	5	19	10	11	16

All figures are in % and rounded off; Respondents who said "Don't know" or gave other choices have been excluded; Responses above are to an open ended question.

Source: Figures are based on a post-poll survey carried out by CSDS; Data set weighted by actual vote share of major parties.

**Table 4F: Opinion of BJP's Repeated Change of Chief Ministers between 2007 and 2012**

Opinion of BJP's Repeated Change of CMs	All	Among Traditional BJP Supporters
BJP did the right thing by changing CMs again and again	6	7
BJP should not have removed B C Khanduri in the first place	42	61
BJP should not have removed Ramesh Pokhriyal	1	2
BJP should have kept one CM for five years, whoever it be	28	17

(1) All figures are in % and rounded off; rest of the respondents had no opinion

(2) Question asked in the survey: People have different opinions on the BJP's repeated change of chief ministers during the last five years – some say BJP did the right thing by changing CMs again and again; some say B C Khanduri was doing fine and BJP should not have removed him in the first place, some say BJP did the right thing by bringing in Ramesh Pokhriyal and should not have removed him, and others say that BJP should have kept one CM for five years, whoever it be. What is your opinion?

Source: Figures are based on a post-poll survey carried out by CSDS; Data set weighted by actual vote share of major parties.

**Table 4G: Most Important Election Issue for People in Uttarakhand**

Most Important Election Issue	%
Unemployment	38
Price rise	37
Corruption	9
Development of state	4
Electricity, road, water, etc	3

(1) All figures are in % and rounded off; rest of the respondents had no opinion.

(2) Question asked in the survey: Now I will read out certain issues. Please tell me how important were they to you while voting – very much, somewhat or not at all? Once the respondent had given an answer to each of the issues put before him/her, a follow-up question was asked to the respondent where only those answer categories where the respondent had said "very much" in the first question were read out again, and the respondent was asked to choose from among them the single most important election issue.

Source: Figures are based on a post-poll survey carried out by CSDS; Data set weighted by actual vote share of major parties.

The survey data throws some light on the factors that may have made this a closely fought election. B C Khanduri's personal image was a positive factor for the BJP and his popularity continued to be high with 34% of the surveyed respondents wanting him to continue as

the chief minister (CM) of Uttarakhand. Harish Rawat of the Congress was a distant second with 11% of voters wanting him as CM. Responses for Vijay Bahuguna were insignificant and therefore have not been reported (Table 4D, p 78). Khanduri's popularity was highest in Garhwal with 49% of the people in his home region wanting him as the CM. Harish Rawat on the other hand did best in Kumaon, his home turf. If we look at CM preferences of different communities then the gap between Khanduri and Rawat was highest among Rajputs and lowest among Hindu OBCs (Table 4E).

When voters were asked what they thought about the repeated change of chief ministers by the BJP during the last five years, 42% said that the BJP should never have removed Khanduri as chief minister in 2009 in the first place. Twenty-eight per cent were of the opinion that BJP should have kept one CM for five years, whoever it be. Six per cent said that the BJP did the right thing by changing chief ministers again and again, and only 2% said that the BJP should not have removed Ramesh Pokhriyal as CM (Table 4F).

Unemployment was the main issue for the voters of Uttarakhand. Thirty-eight per cent of the voters who were interviewed said it was the most important election issue. Price rise was not far behind at 37% (Table 4G).

### Survey Methodology

The findings presented here are based on a post-poll survey conducted by the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS), Delhi, in Uttarakhand. A total of 1,680 persons,

randomly selected from the latest electoral rolls, were interviewed in the first and second week of February 2012 (after polling but before counting of votes) in 116 locations in 30 constituencies spread across the state. The assembly constituencies and four polling booths within each sampled constituency were selected using the Systematic Random Sampling technique. The respondents were sampled randomly (oversampling to allow for non-completion) from the updated electoral rolls of the selected polling booths. Of the 3,840 sampled respondents, 1,680 could be interviewed within the stipulated time.

The social profile of the respondents interviewed largely matched the demographic profile of the state (Table 5). The interviews were conducted by specially trained field investigators. The respondents were interviewed in the face-to-face interview situation using a structured interview schedule in Hindi. Respondents were mostly interviewed at their home, preferably alone. The voting question was asked using a dummy ballot paper and dummy ballot box.

**Table 5: Sample Profile**

Social Background	Census 2001	Survey 2012
Women	49.0	45.1
Urban	25.7	21.9
Dalit	17.9	16.0
Hindu	84.9	85.2
Muslim	11.4	11.7

All figures are in %.

The fieldwork of the survey in Uttarakhand was coordinated by Annpurna Nautiyal (HNB Garhwal University, Srinagar, Garhwal), Jaya Pande (Government College, Ranikhet) and Rakesh Negi (HNB Garhwal University). The survey was designed and analysed by a team of researchers at the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, Delhi which included Banasmita Bora, Dhananjai Kumar Singh, Himanshu Bhattacharya, Jyoti Mishra, K A Q A Hilal, Kanchan Malhotra, Kinjal Sampat, Rupali Warke, Shreyas Sardesai, Sohini Mookherjee, Vibha Attri, and Yogendra Yadav. Sanjay Kumar of the CSDS directed the survey.

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