

Gaon Se Shehar Tak: The Indian Voter

March 2014

The “Lok Surveys”

- Why?
 - To understand the social and political reconfigurations taking place across India today
- What?
 - Multi-year, panel survey of 65,000 households
- How?
 - Piggy-back off quarterly CMIE “Consumer Pyramids” survey
- When?
 - Biannually

Survey calendar

Q4-2013:

Pre-election
survey

Q3-2014:

Post-election
survey



Q1-2014:

“Aspirations
& Anxieties”

Key findings

- The electoral horse-race
- Five myths about the Indian voter?
 - Regional parties are surging
 - Good economics \neq good politics
 - Voters are fed up with dynasties
 - Lack of information breeds criminality
 - Vote your caste, not cast your vote

The electoral horse-race

The bottom line

Estimated 2014
vote share

UPA

23%

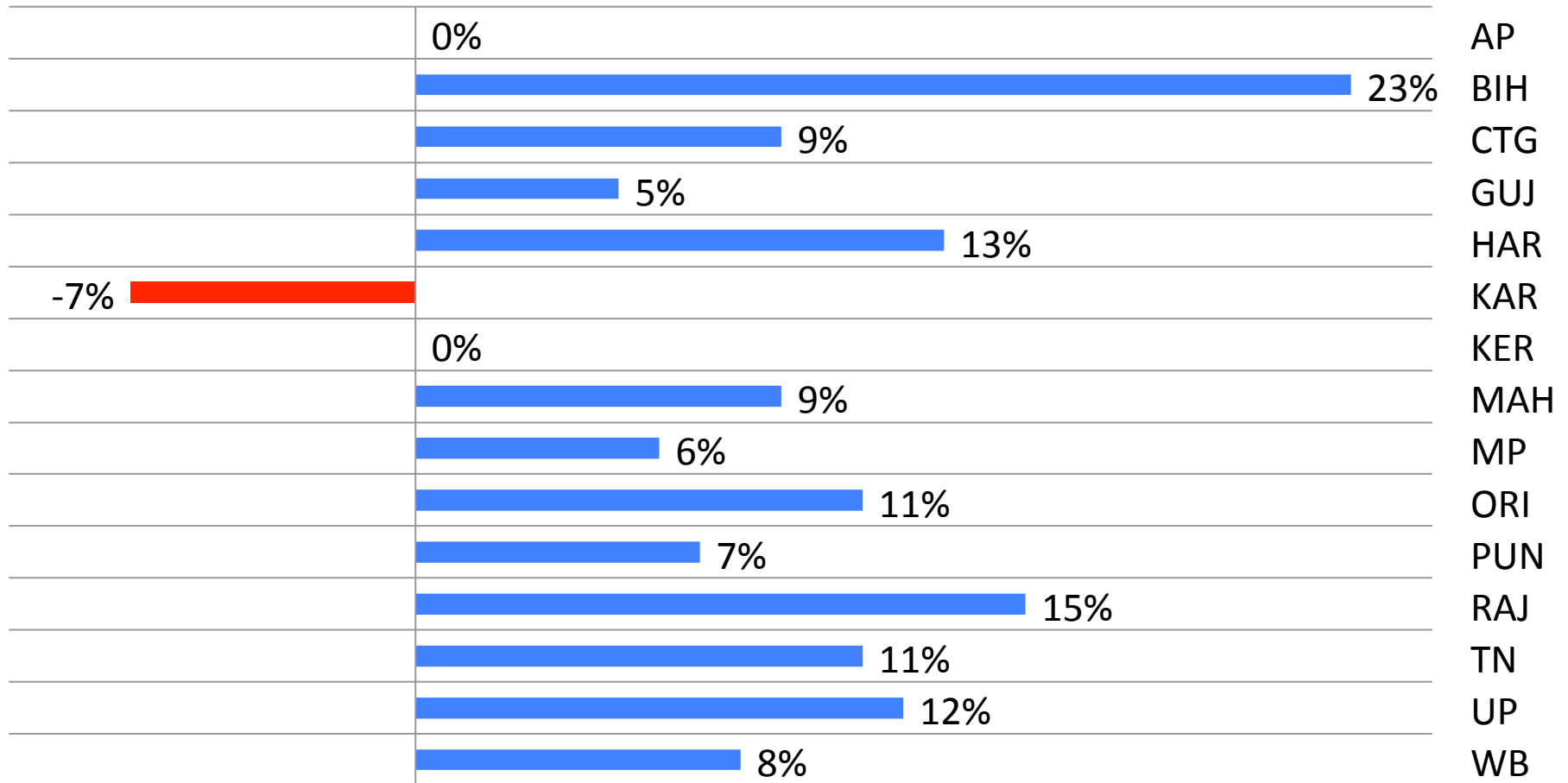
NDA

31%

The bottom line

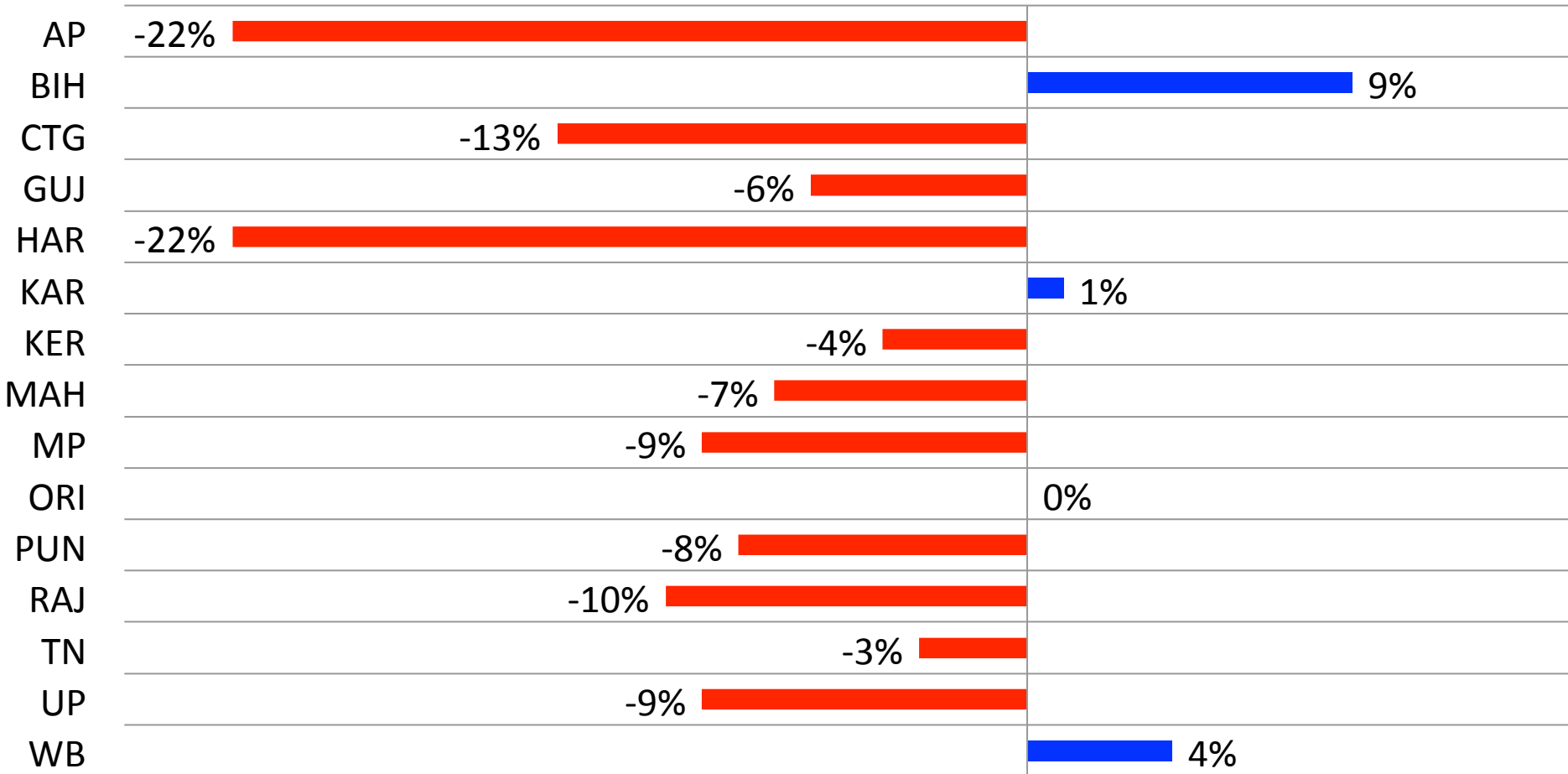
	CSDS (7/2013)	Lok (4Q/2013)	CSDS (1/2014)	HT- Cvoter (1/2014)	Times- Cvoter (1/2014)	ABP- Nielsen (2/2014)
UPA	29%	23%	28%	23%	22%	23%
NDA	29%	31%	36%	34%	36%	31%

Big Gains for NDA



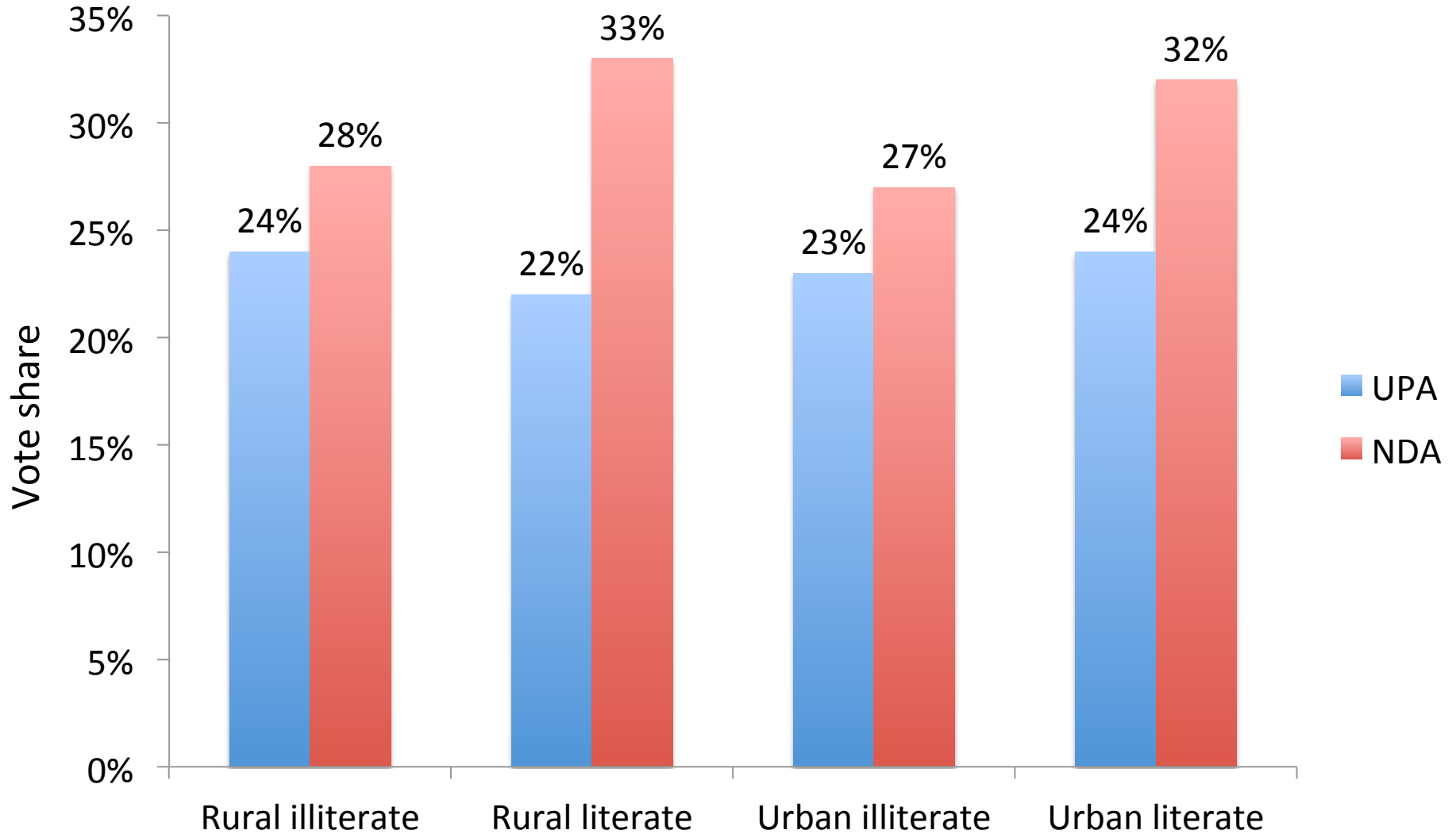
*Note: Maharashtra and Punjab projections include coalition partners

Big Losses for UPA

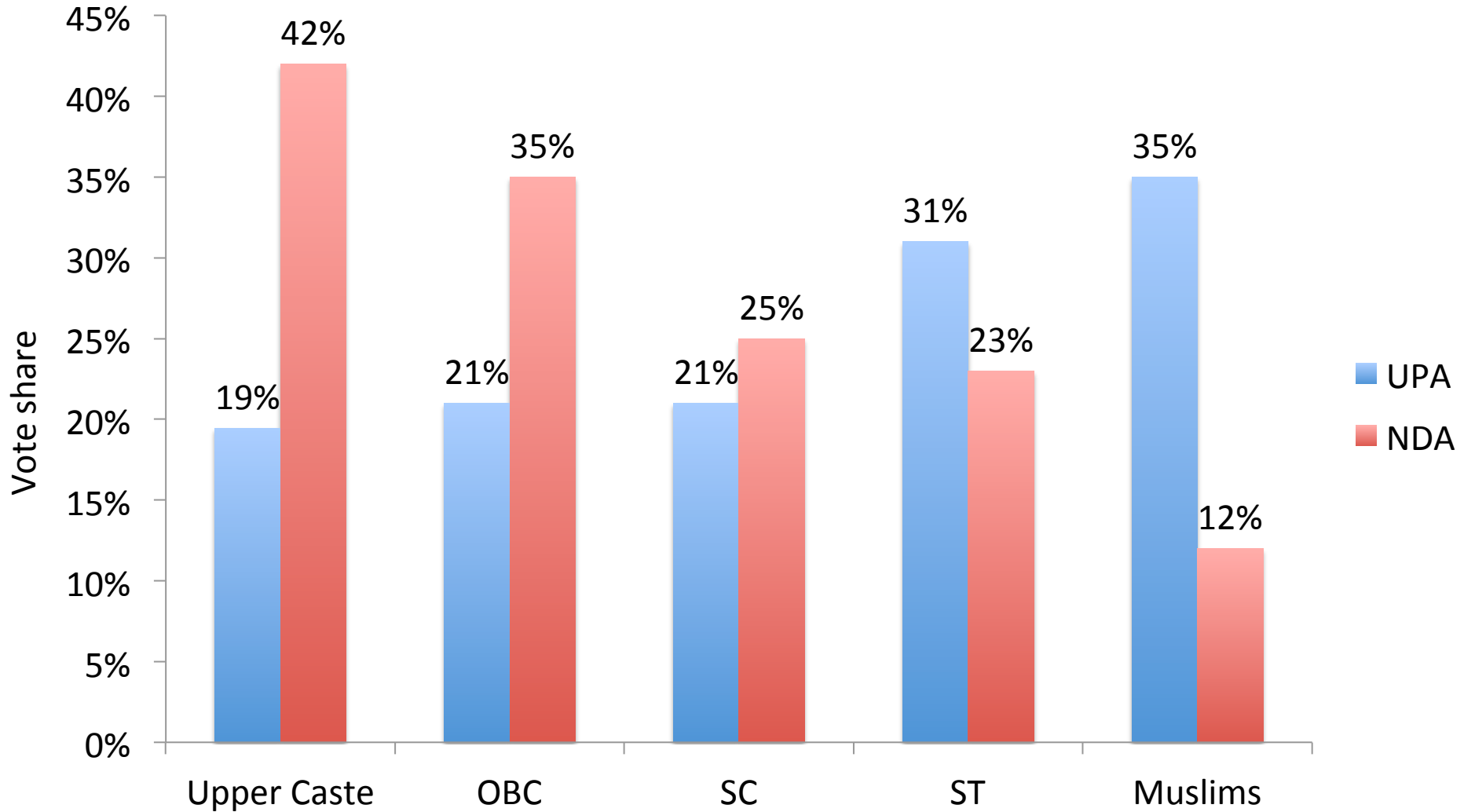


*Maharashtra includes NCP

Urban-rural differences



Social bases of support

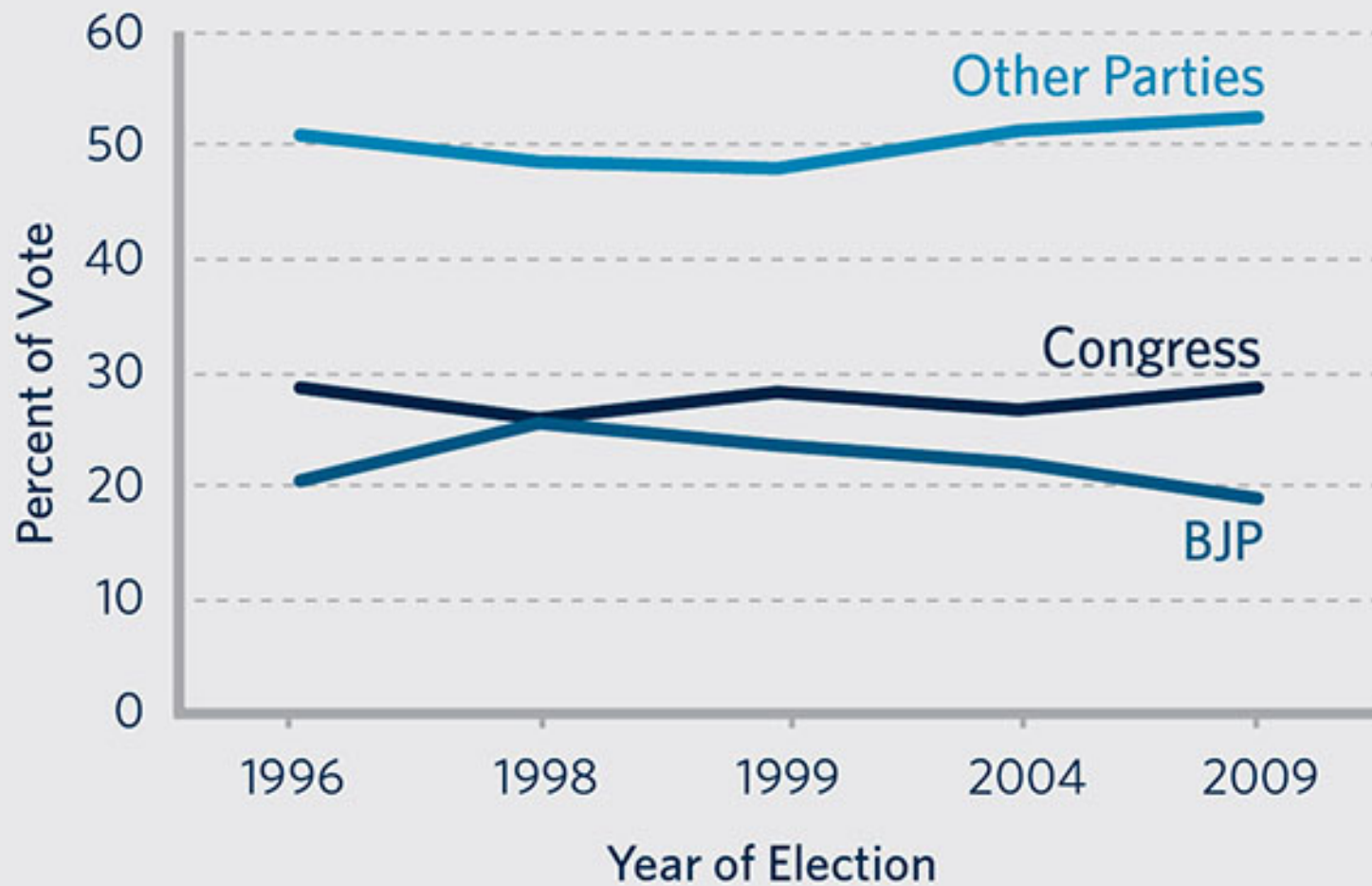


Actual seat share will depend on:

- Campaign effects
- Candidates
- Alliances

1. Are regional parties rising?

Figure 4: **Relative Vote Shares in India's National Elections**

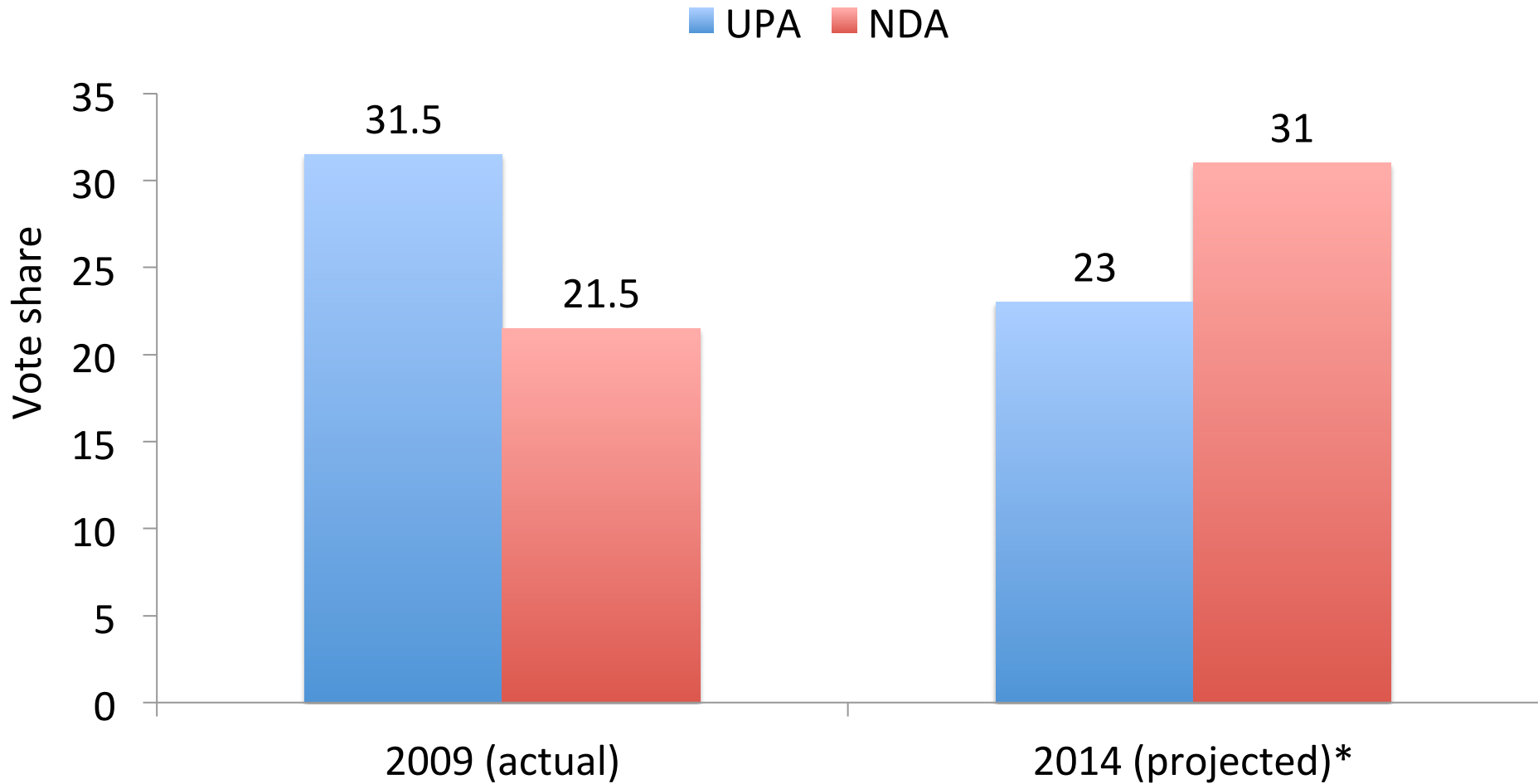


Source: Election Commission of India

All-India vote share estimates

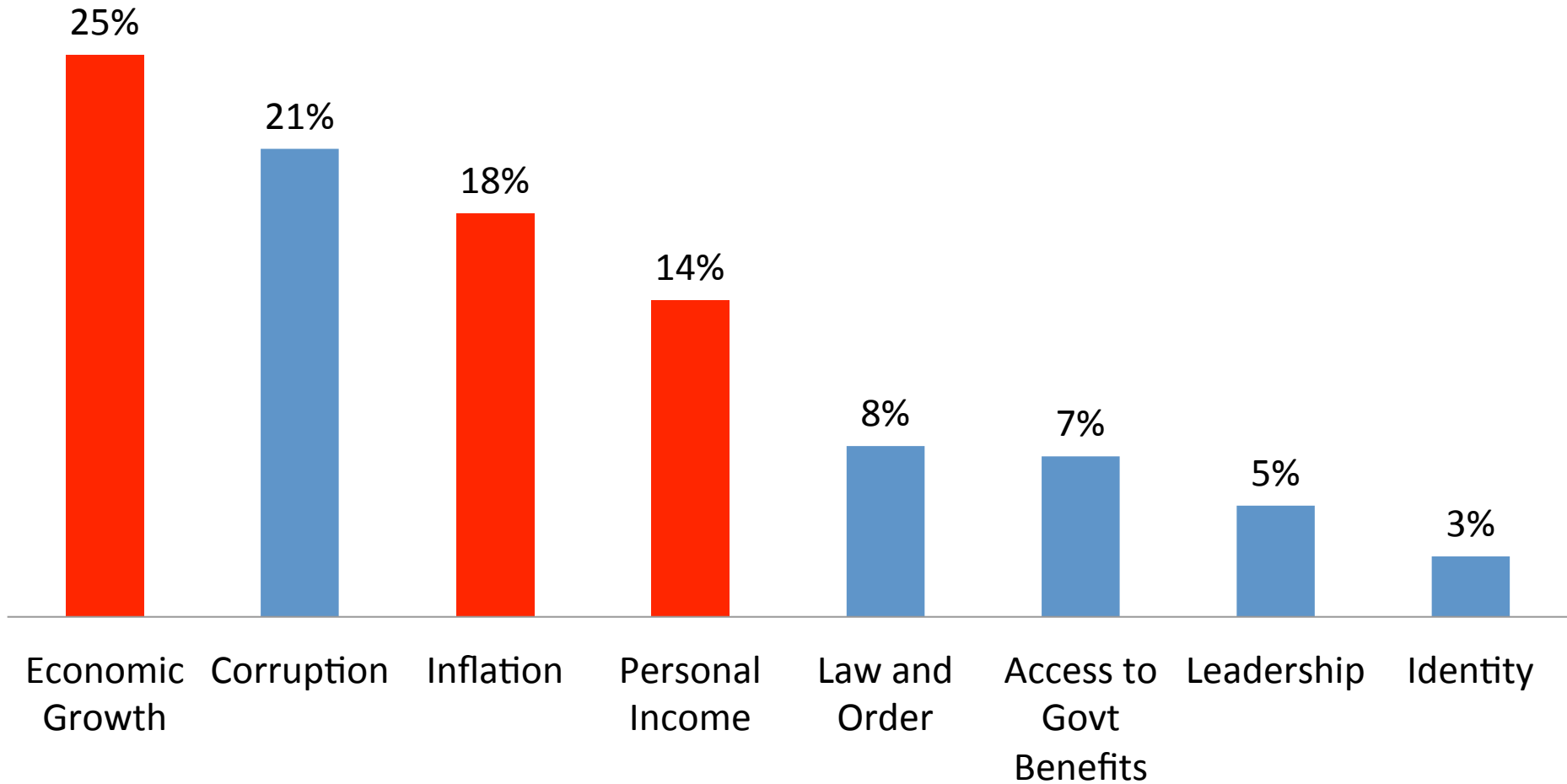
	CSDS (7/2013)	Lok (4Q/2013)	CSDS (1/2014)	HT- Cvoter (1/2014)	Times- Cvoter (1/2014)	ABP- Nielsen (2/2014)
UPA	29%	23%	28%	23%	22%	23%
NDA	29%	31%	36%	34%	36%	31%
UPA + NDA	58%	54%	54%	57%	58%	54%

Reversal of fortune?

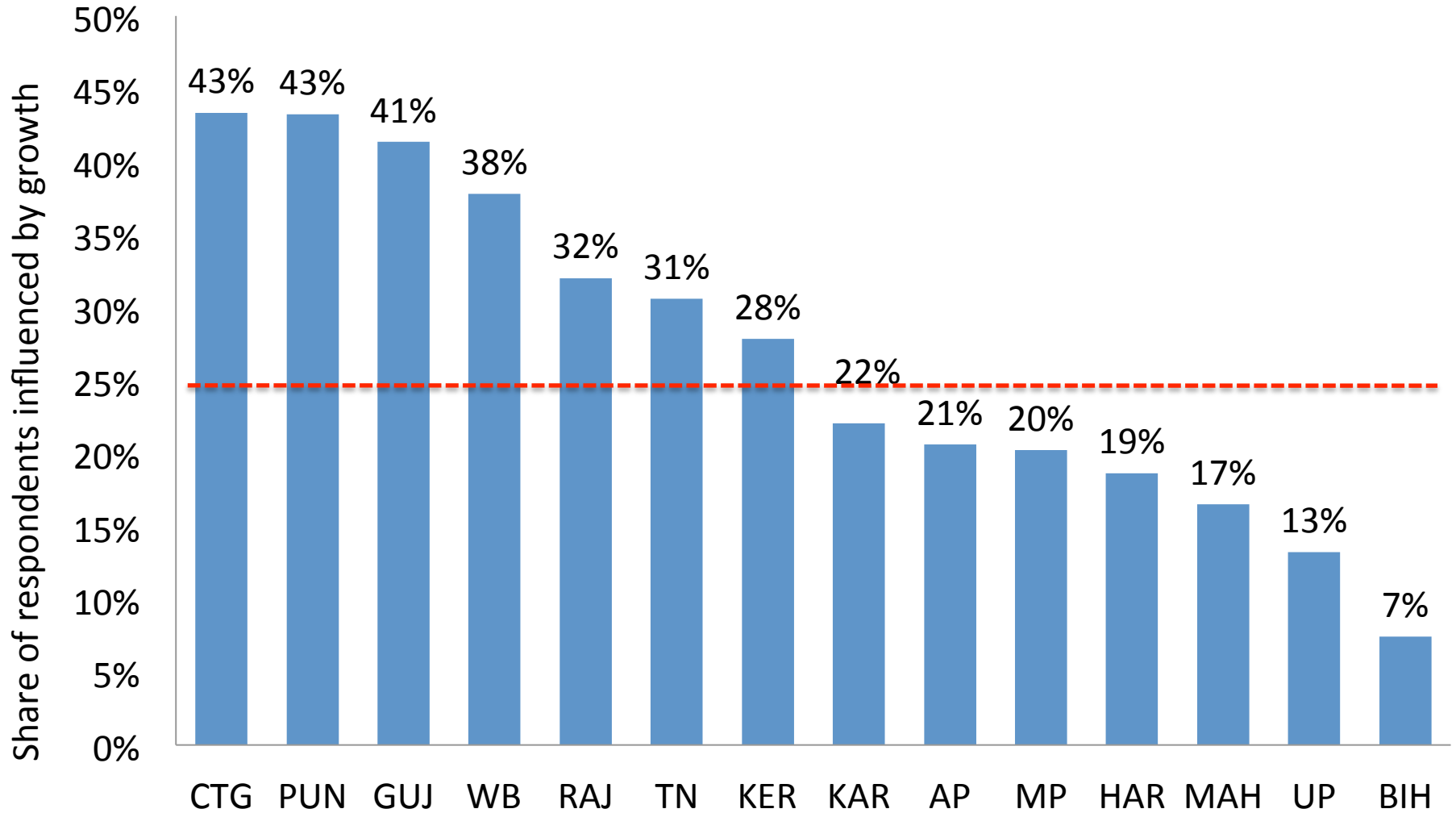


2. Good economics ≠ good politics

The economy dominates




Growth: large state-level variation




Top election issue, by state

Corruption




Kerala	43%
Bihar	40%
Uttar Pradesh	33%
Andhra Pradesh	26%
Madhya Pradesh	25%

Economic growth



Chhattisgarh	43%
Punjab	43%
Gujarat	41%
West Bengal	38%
Rajasthan	32%
Tamil Nadu	31%
Karnataka	22%

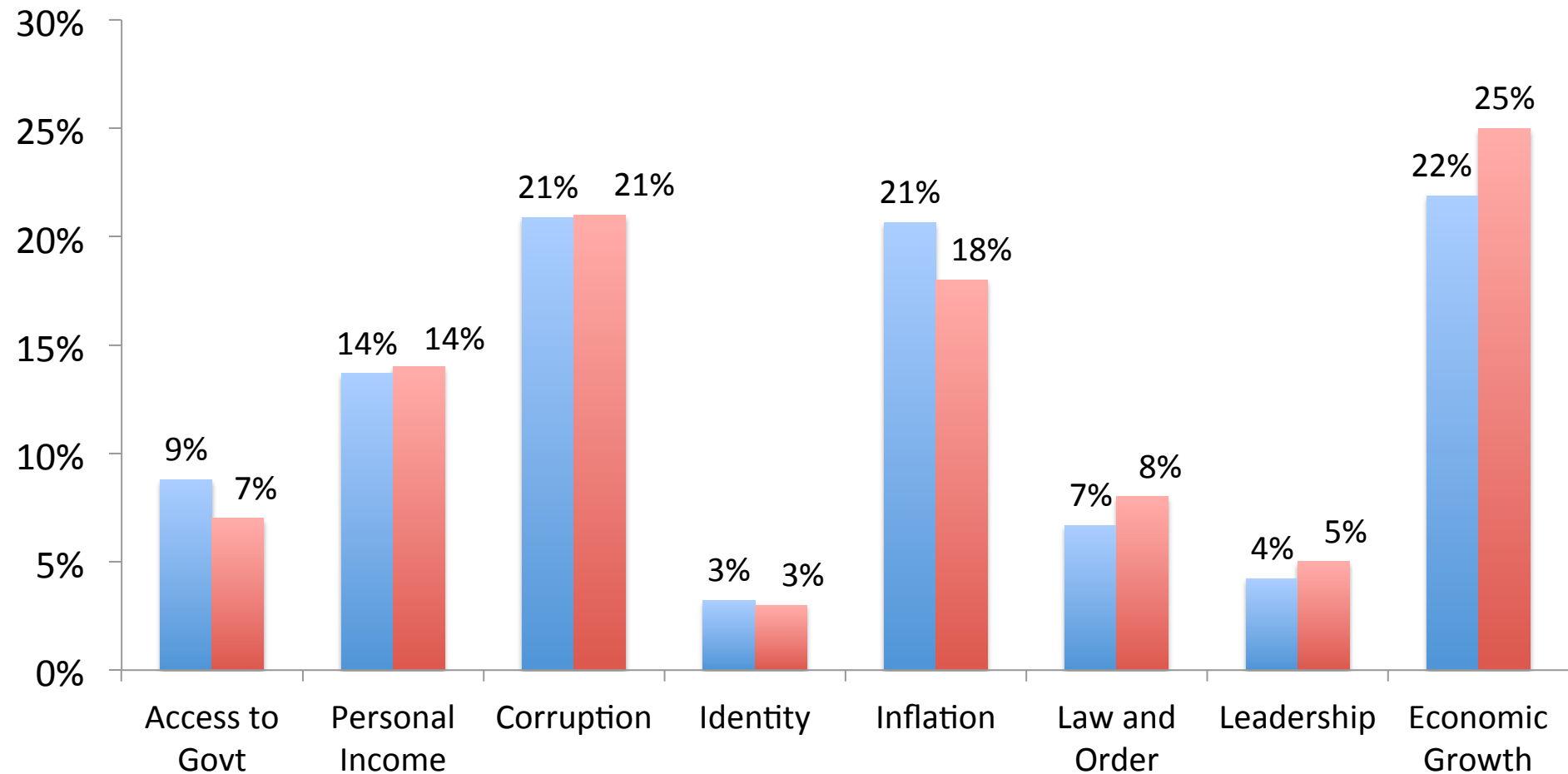
Inflation/price rise



Maharashtra	29%
Haryana	25%

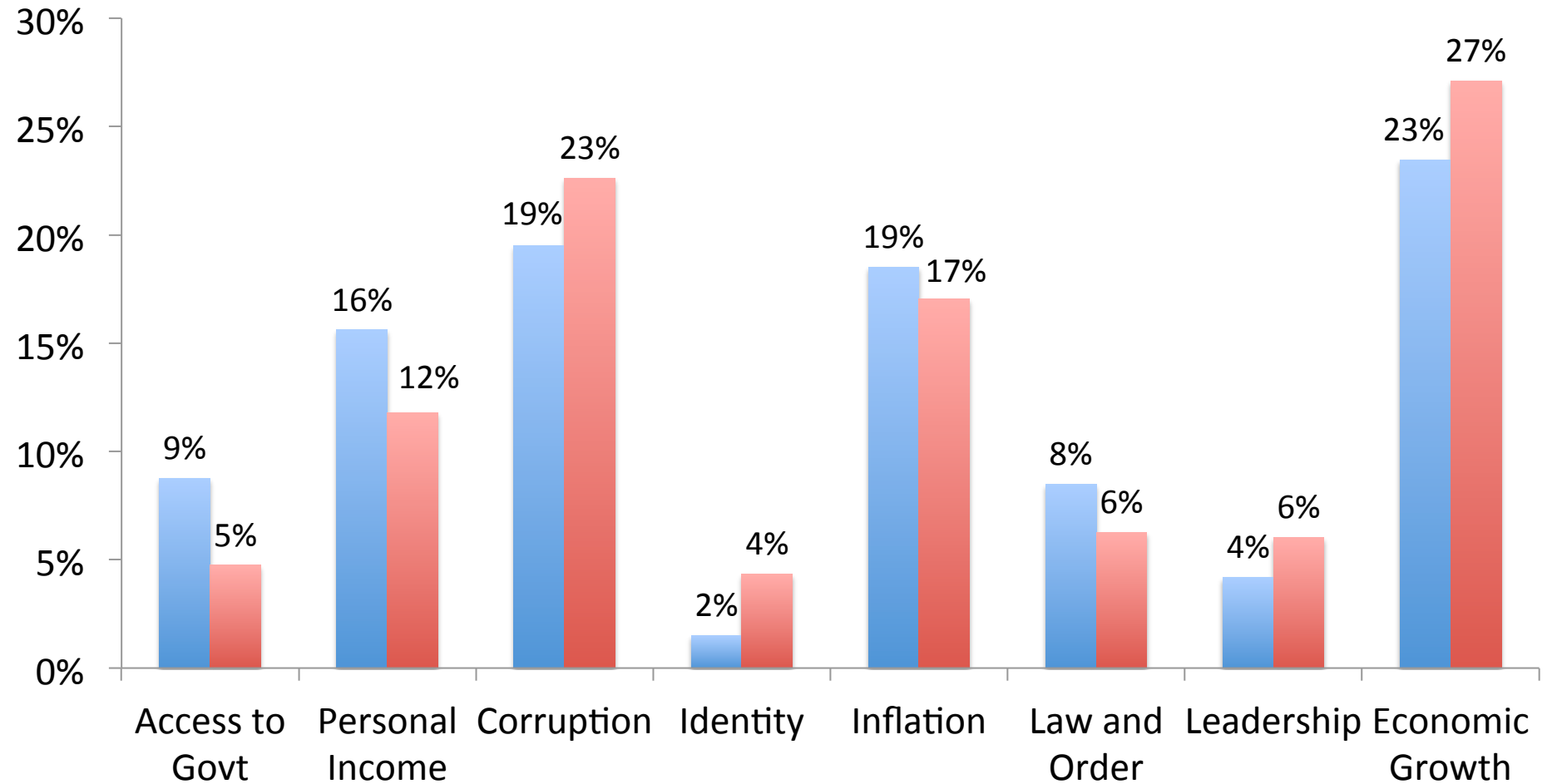
Are Muslim voters different?

■ Muslims ■ All-India



Bharat vs. India?

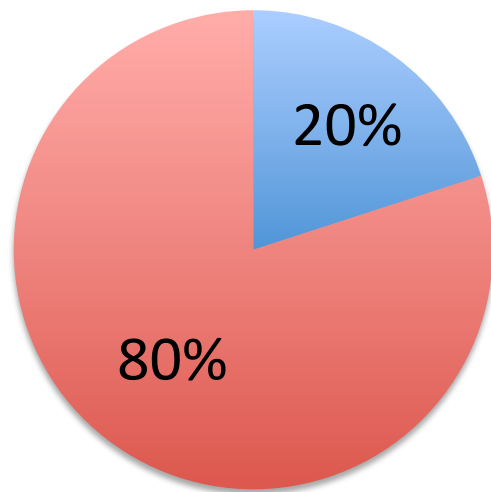
■ rural ■ urban



3. Are voters fed up with dynasties?

Dynasticism among MPs

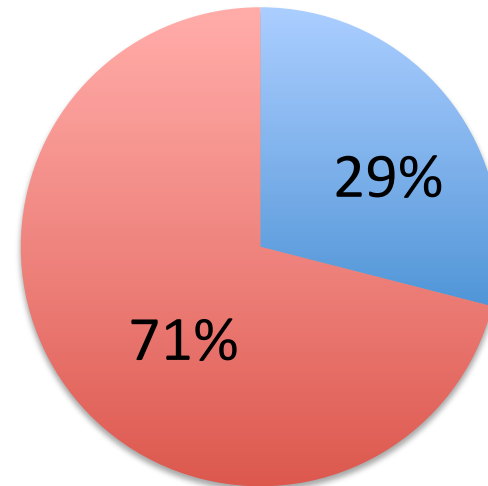
2004



■ Dynastic ties

■ No dynastic ties

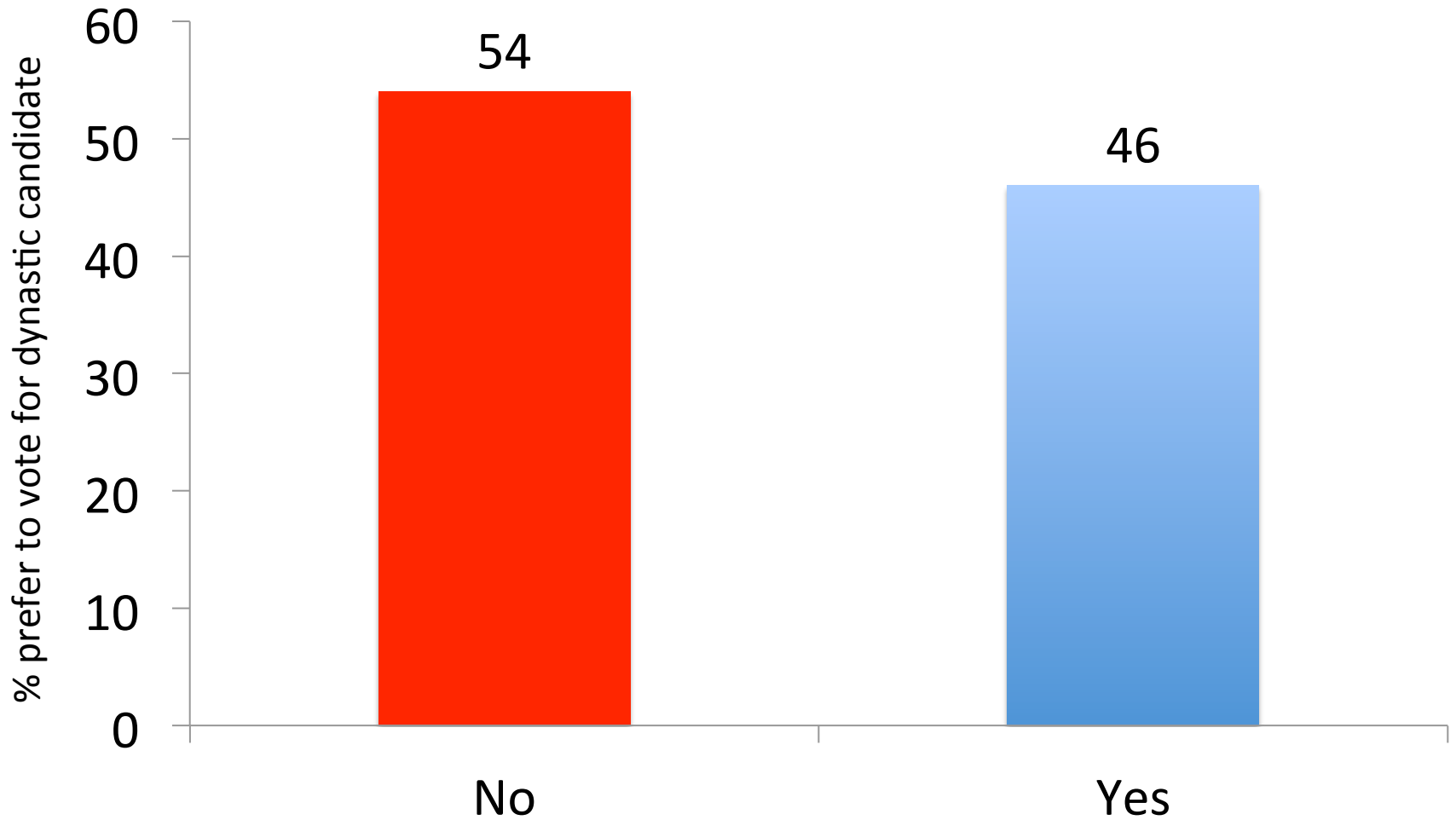
2009



■ Dynastic ties

■ No dynastic ties

Dynastic preference?



Why voters prefer dynasties

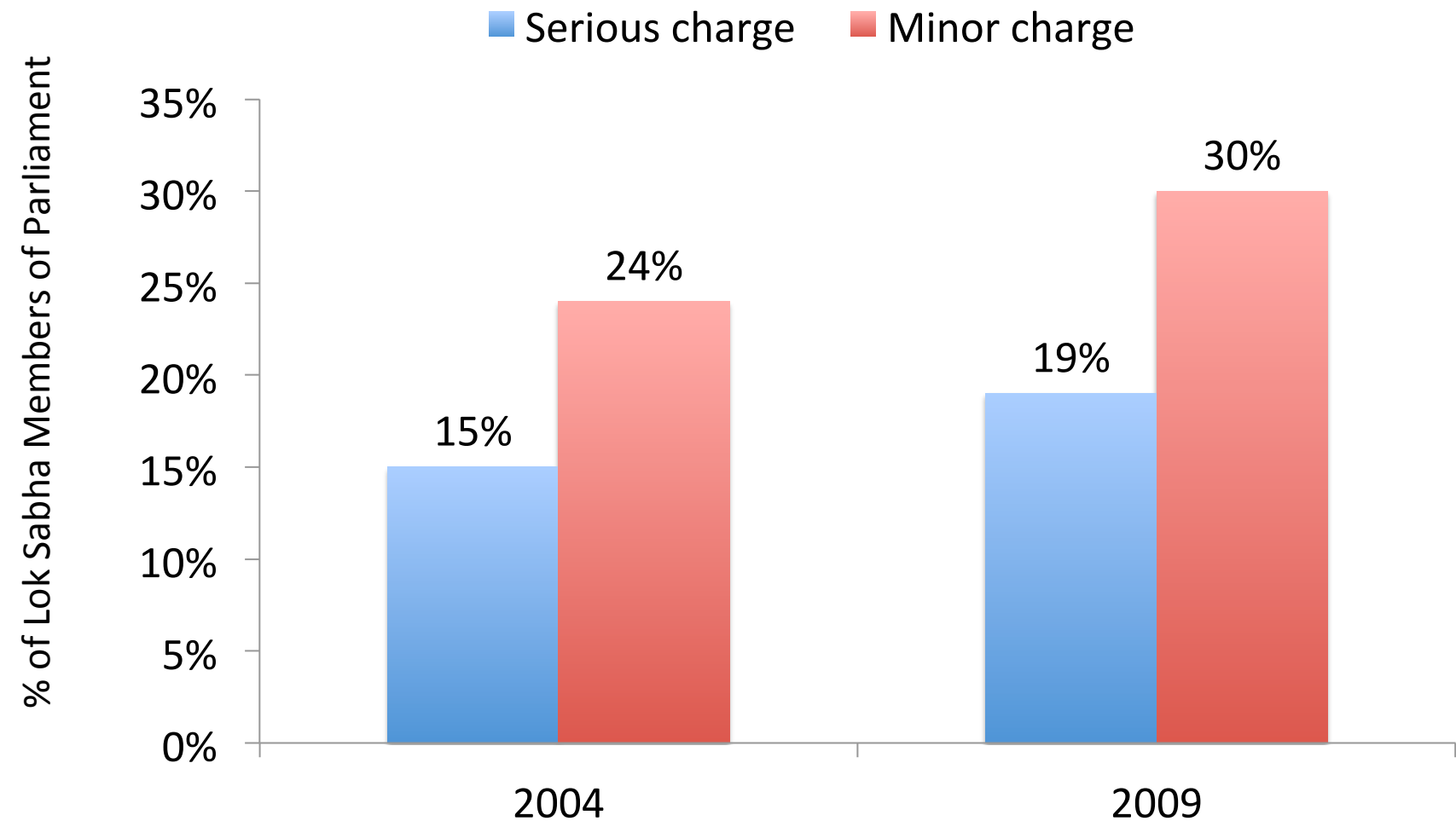
<u>Reason</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Better at doing politics because it is their occupation	45%
Likely to succeed because of greater exposure to politics	40%
Makes it easier to deliver services	15%

And why they do not

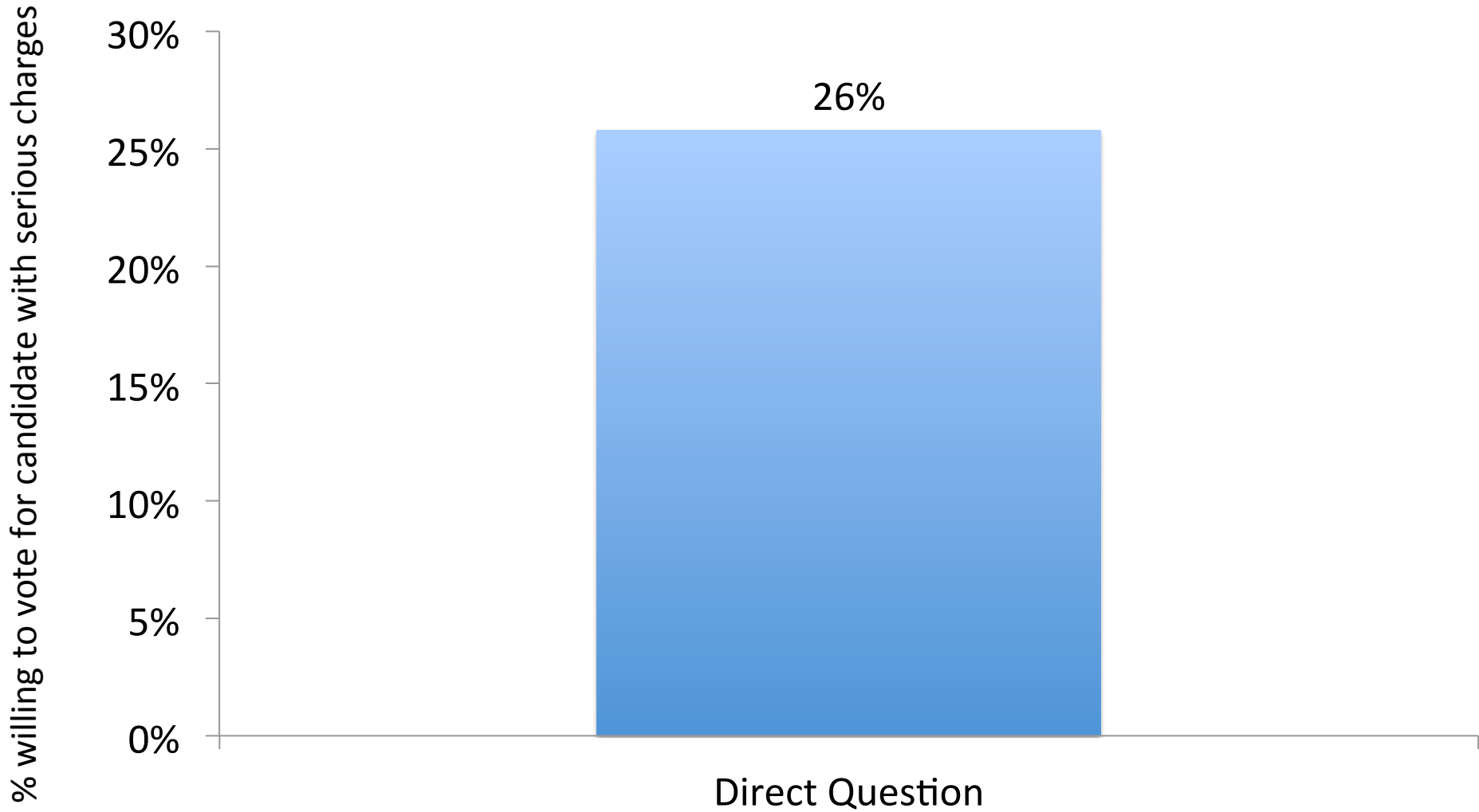
Reason	Percent
Prevent best candidates from standing for election	43%
Not representative of the common man	36%
Leads to corruption	22%

4. Lack of information breeds criminality

Lawmakers and law-breakers?



Uncovering support for criminal candidates



HOW MANY of the following candidates trouble you?

Control Group

1. Wealthy Candidate
2. Poor Candidate
3. Independent Candidate

Experimental Group

1. Wealthy Candidate
2. Poor Candidate
3. Independent Candidate

HOW MANY of the following candidates trouble you?

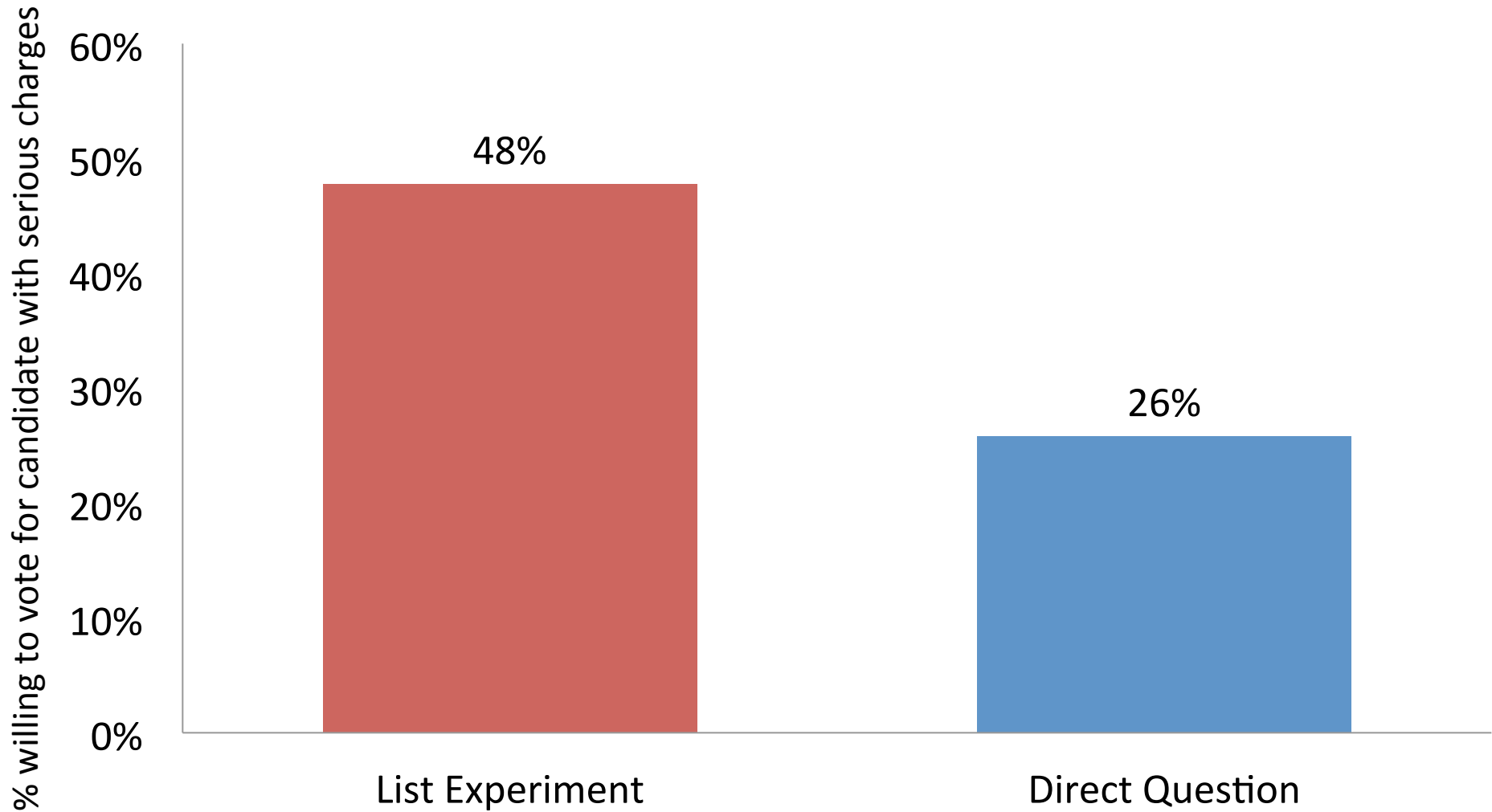
Control Group

1. Wealthy Candidate
2. Poor Candidate
3. Independent Candidate

Experimental Group

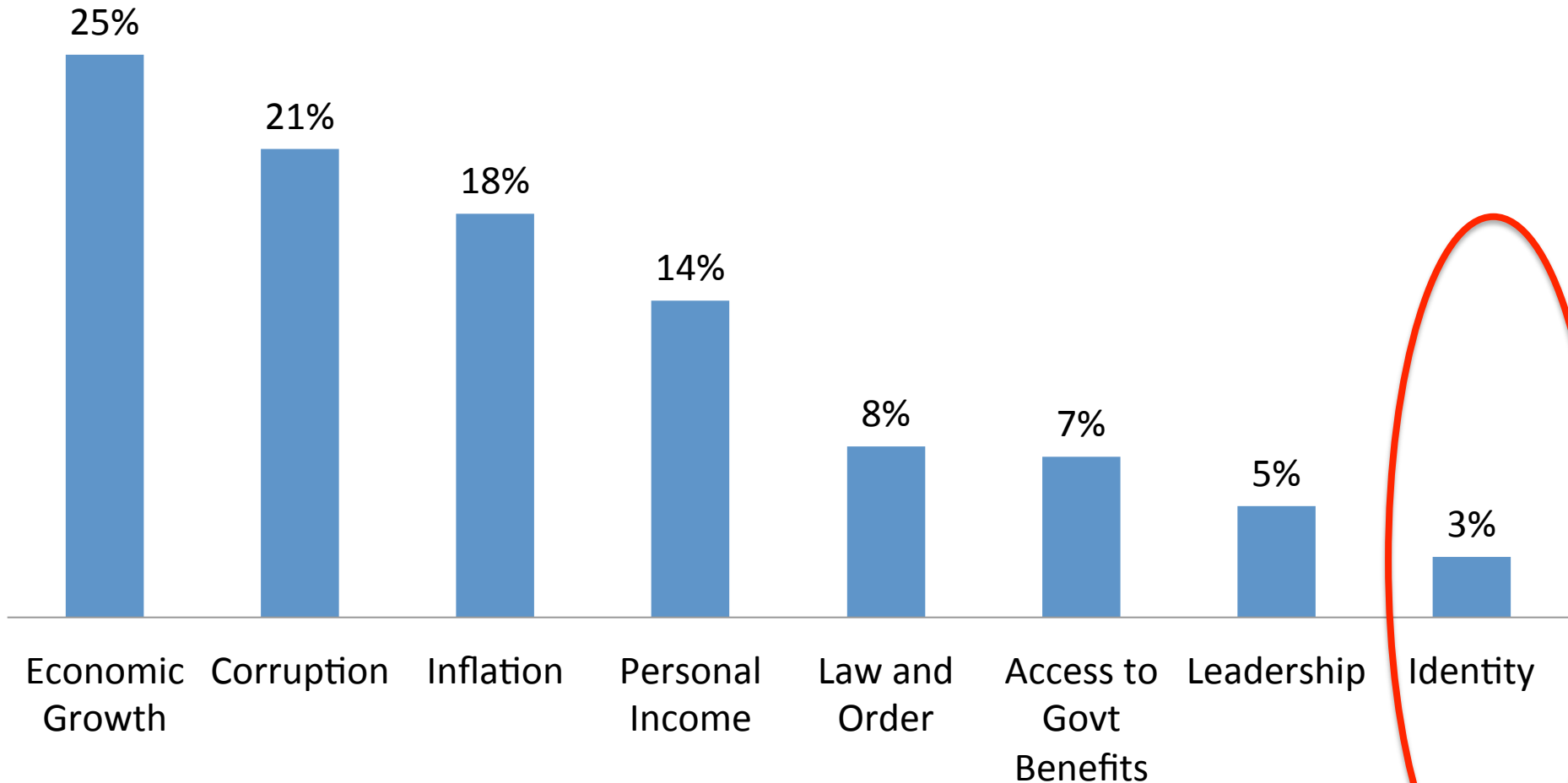
1. Wealthy Candidate
2. Poor Candidate
3. Independent Candidate
4. Candidate with serious criminal charges

Uncovering support for criminal candidates

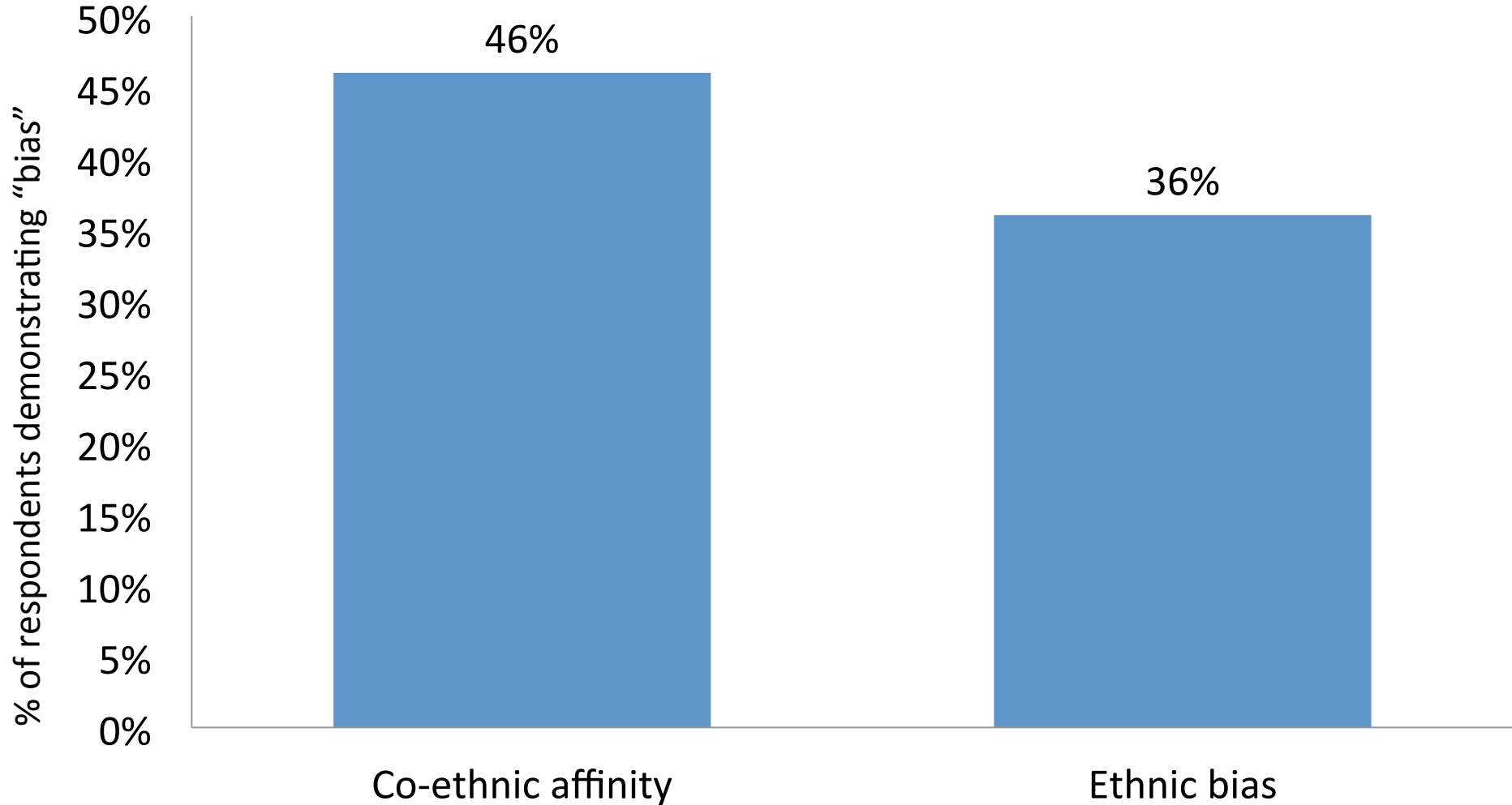


5. Vote for your caste, not cast your vote

Identity ranks 8/8



Caste and vote choice



HOW MANY statements trouble you?

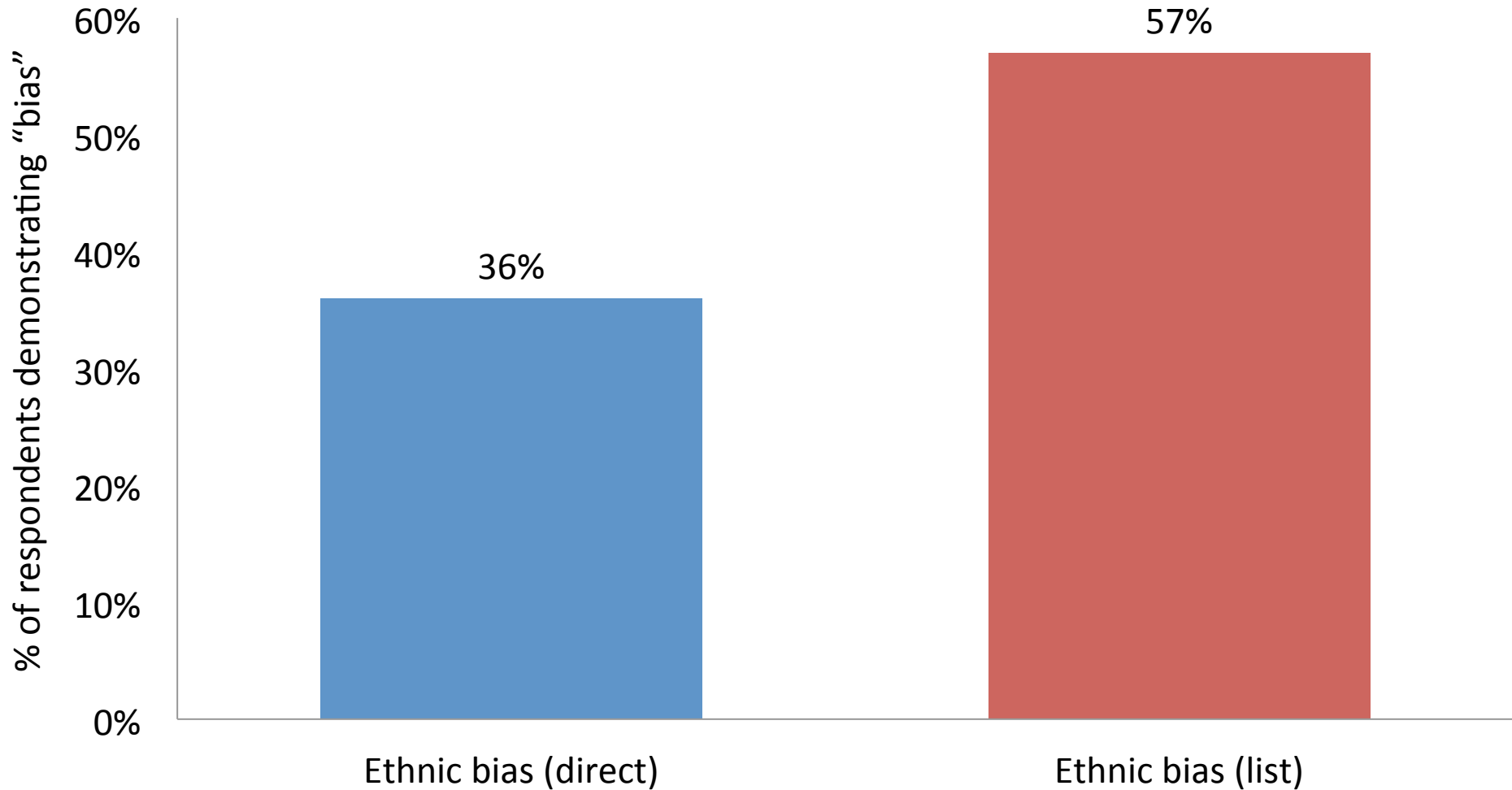
Control Group

- A corrupt candidate wins
- An uneducated candidate wins
- An educated candidate wins

Experimental Group

- A corrupt candidate wins
- An uneducated candidate wins
- An educated candidate wins
- A [Upper Caste/OBC/SC] candidate wins

Uncovering caste discrimination



Conclusion

- Much of our understanding of the Indian voter is wrong or at least much more complex
- Voters in India are strategic, rational actors who are intensely pragmatic
 - Social biases strong
 - Correlation with vote choice weak
 - ...but may be stronger for state/local elections
- In that way, voters in India may be like voters in all other parts of the world. And why not?

Extra slides

Projected change in UPA vote share since 2009

Gain/No Change/ Low Vote Loss (0-5%)		Medium Vote Loss (6-10%)		High Vote Loss (over 10%)	
<i>North</i>	Bihar	<i>North</i>	Punjab	<i>North</i>	Haryana
<i>South</i>	Karnataka		Rajasthan	<i>South</i>	Andhra Pradesh
	Kerala*		Uttar Pradesh	<i>Central/ West</i>	Chhattisgarh
	Tamil Nadu	<i>Central/ West</i>	Gujarat		
<i>East</i>	Odisha		Madhya Pradesh		
	West Bengal		Maharashtra*		

* Includes alliance partners

Projected change in NDA vote share since 2009

Loss/No Change/ Low Vote Gain (0-5%)		Medium Vote Gain (6-10%)		High Vote Gain (over 10%)	
<i>South</i>	Andhra Pradesh	<i>North</i>	Punjab*	<i>North</i>	Bihar
	Karnataka	<i>East</i>	West Bengal		Haryana
	Kerala	<i>Central/ West</i>	Chhattisgarh		Rajasthan
<i>Central/ West</i>	Gujarat		Madhya Pradesh		Uttar Pradesh
			Maharashtra*	<i>East</i>	Odisha
				<i>South</i>	Tamil Nadu

* Includes alliance partners