

# *The Indian Voter in 2014*

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# *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\*

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UPA

23%

NDA

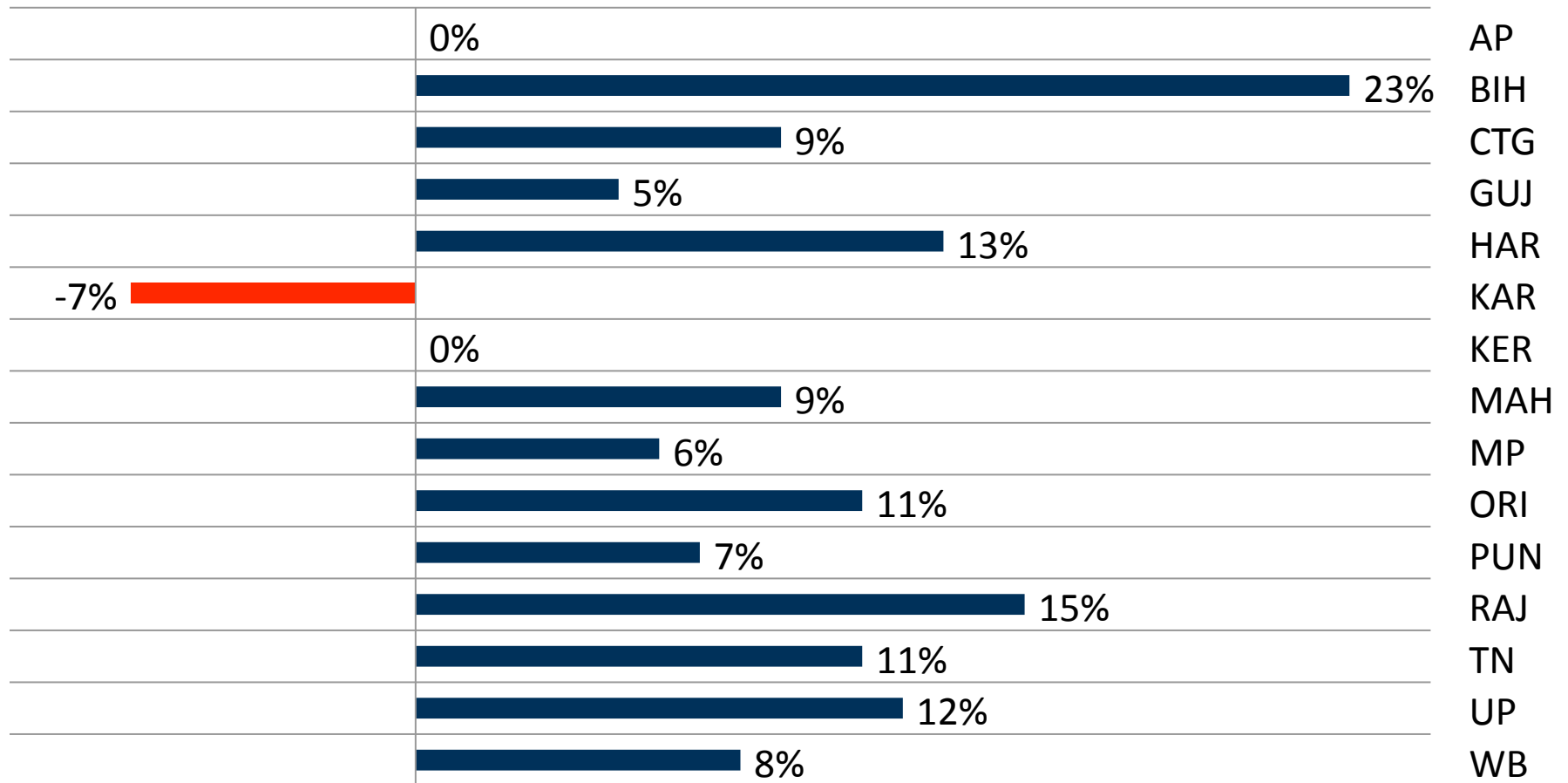
31%

\* Lok Survey conducted between Oct-Dec 2013

# *The bottom line*

	CSDS (7/2013)	<b>Lok</b> <b>(4Q/2013)</b>	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%

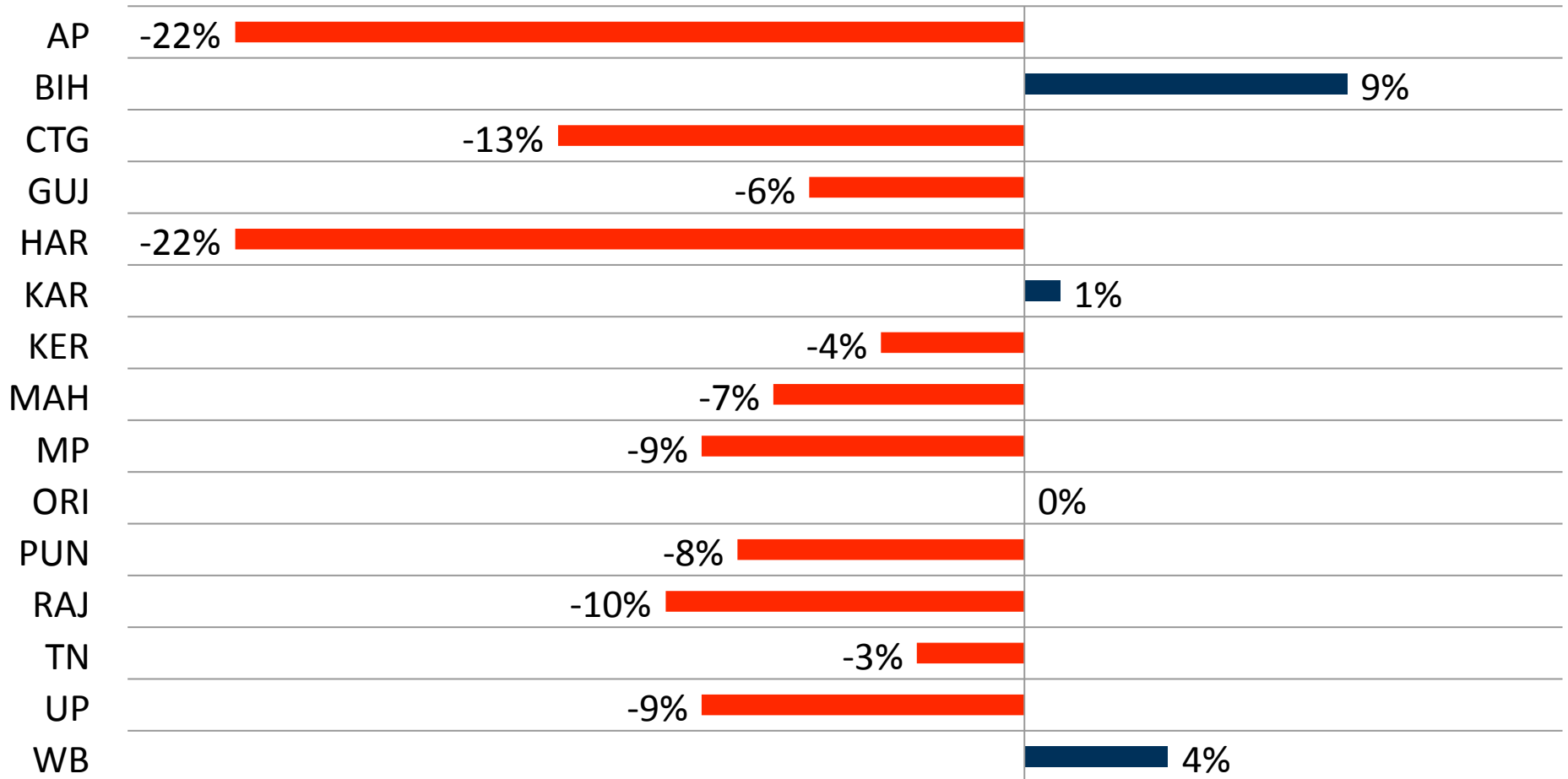
# Big Gains for NDA



\*Note: Lok Survey; Maharashtra and Punjab projections include coalition partners

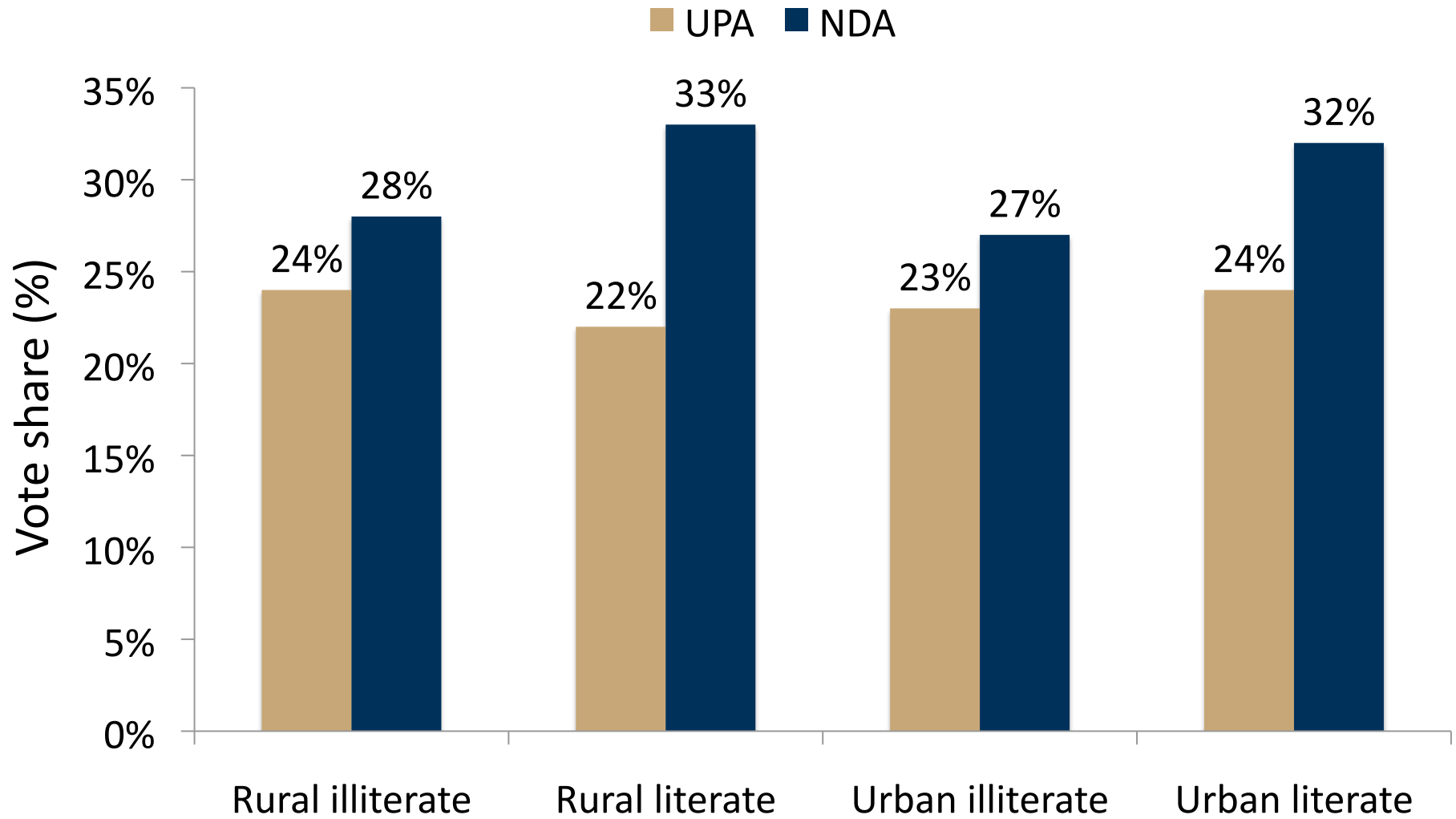


# Big Losses for UPA

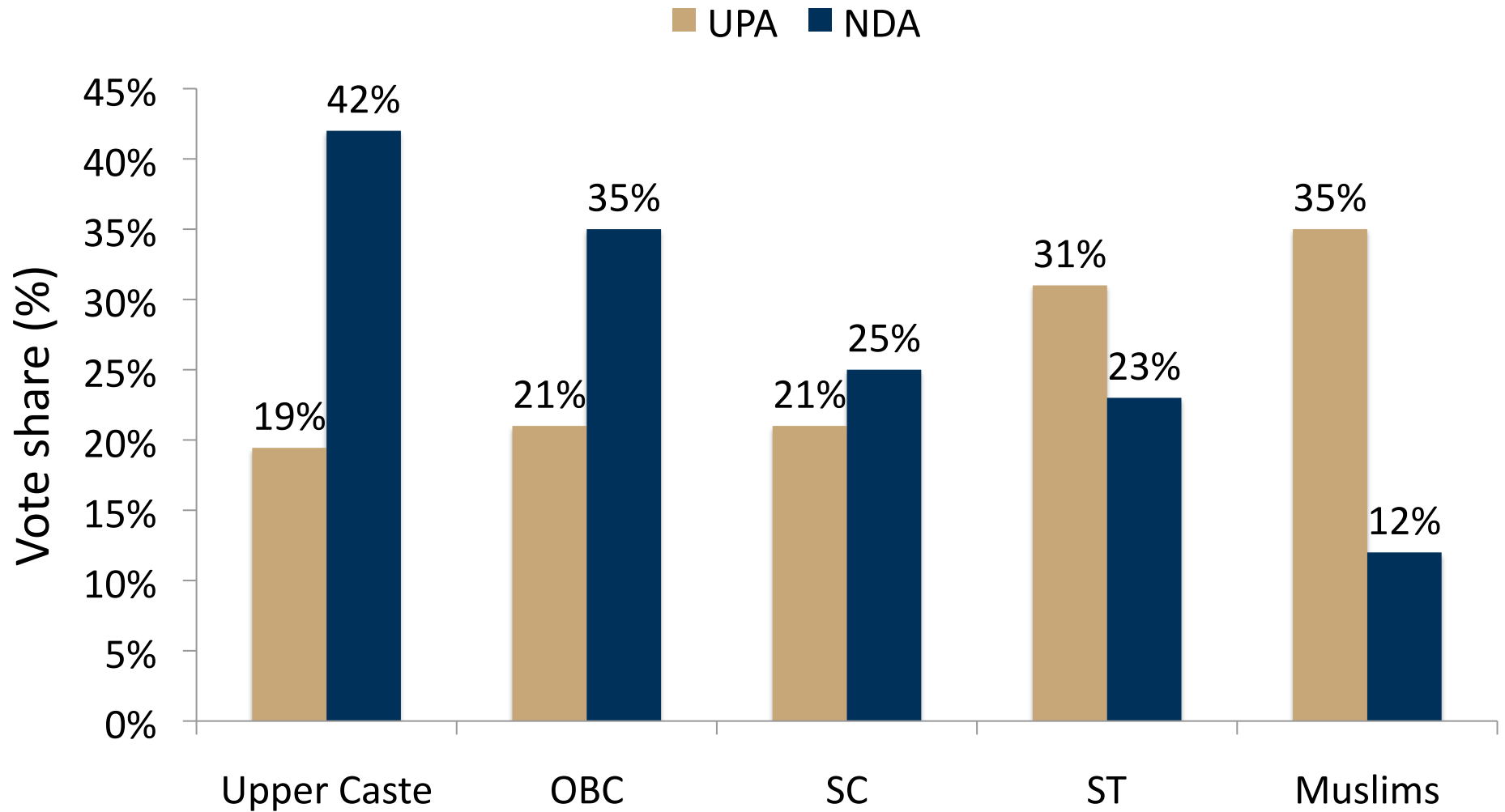


\*Lok Survey; Maharashtra and Kerala include coalition partners

# *Urban-rural differences*



# *Social bases of support*

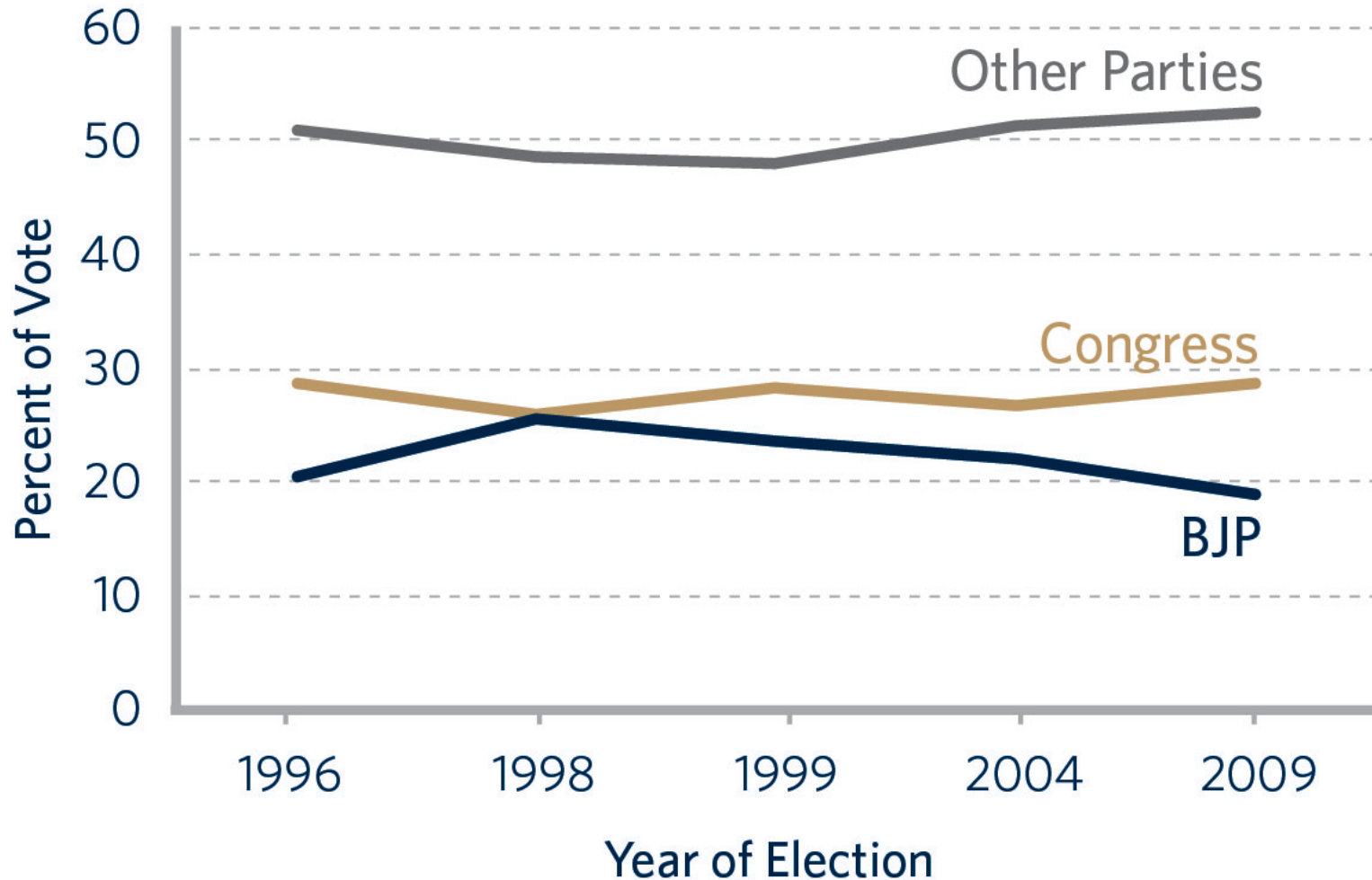


*Actual seat share will depend on:*

- Campaign effects
- Candidates
- Alliances

***1. Are regional parties rising?***

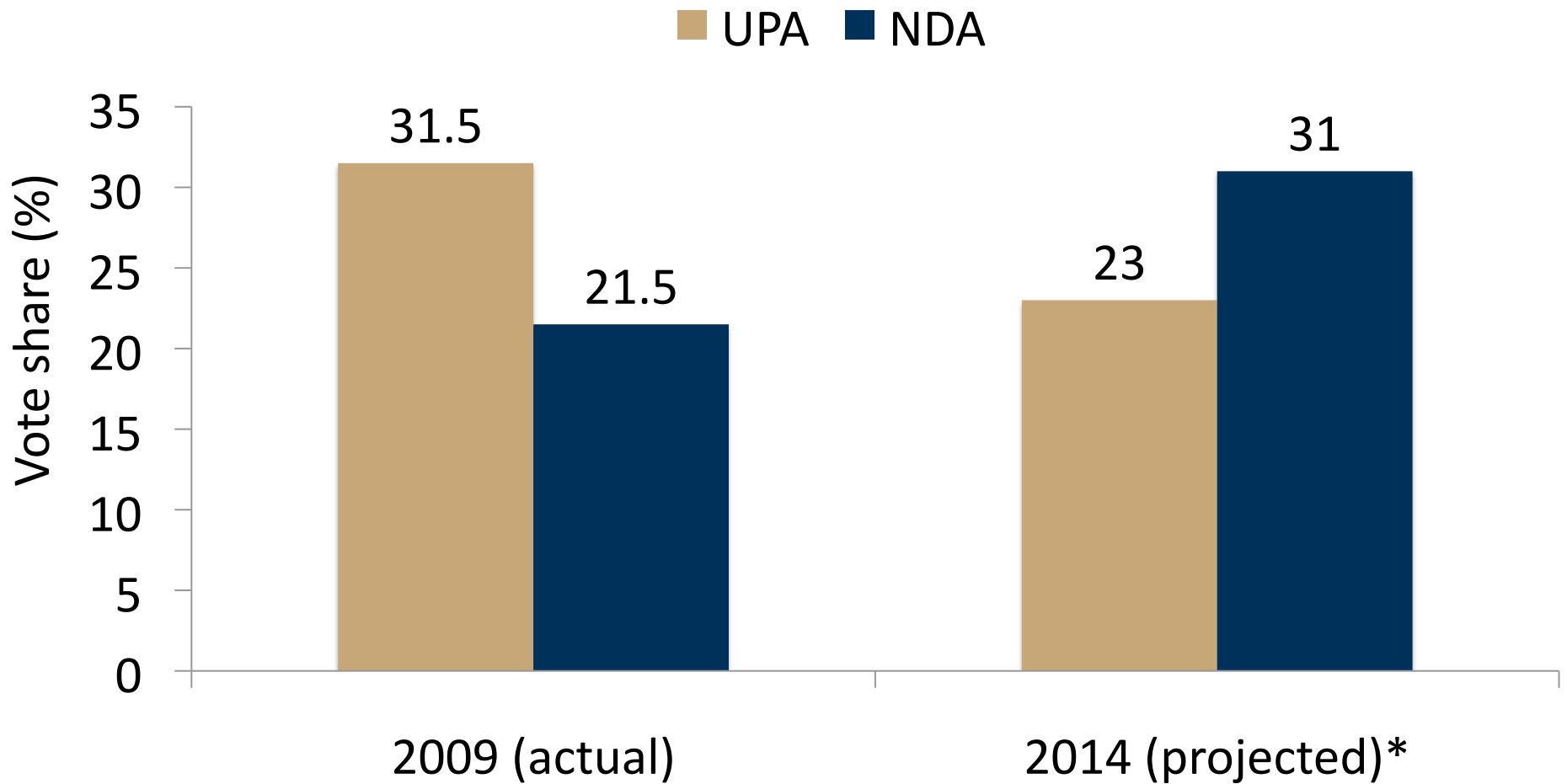
# *Relative Vote Share In India's National Elections*



# *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%

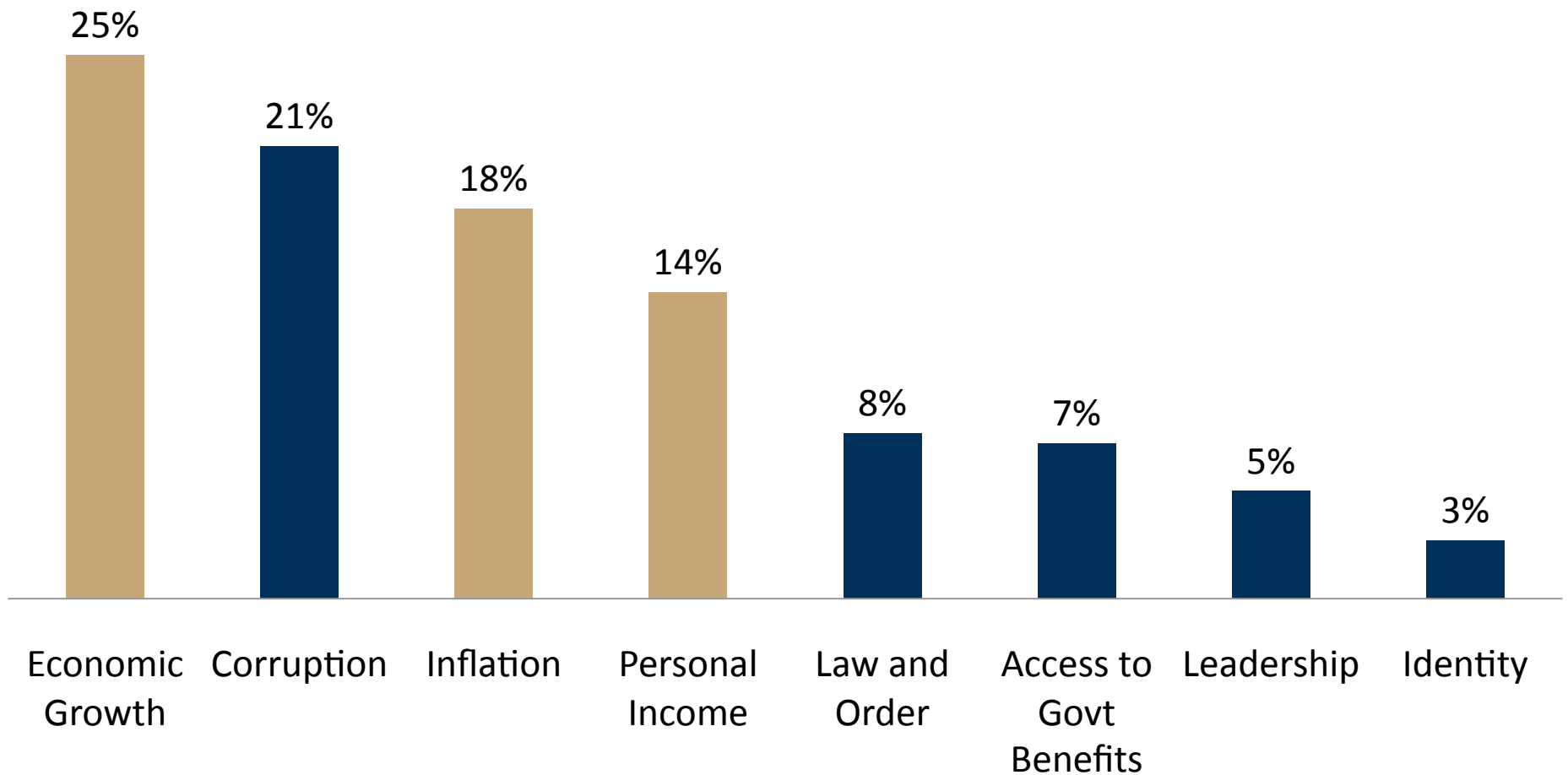
# *Reversal of fortune?*



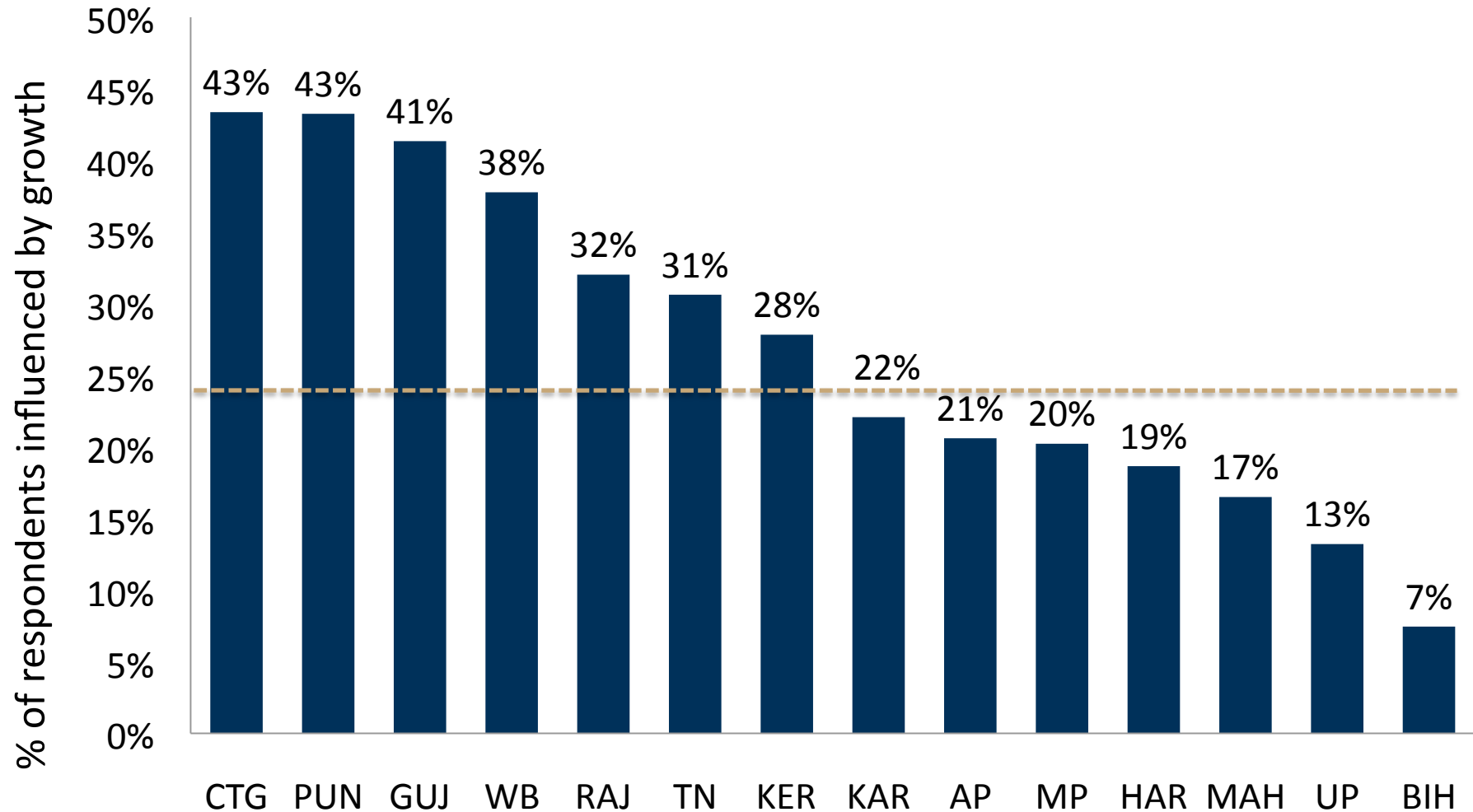


***2. Good economics ≠ good politics***

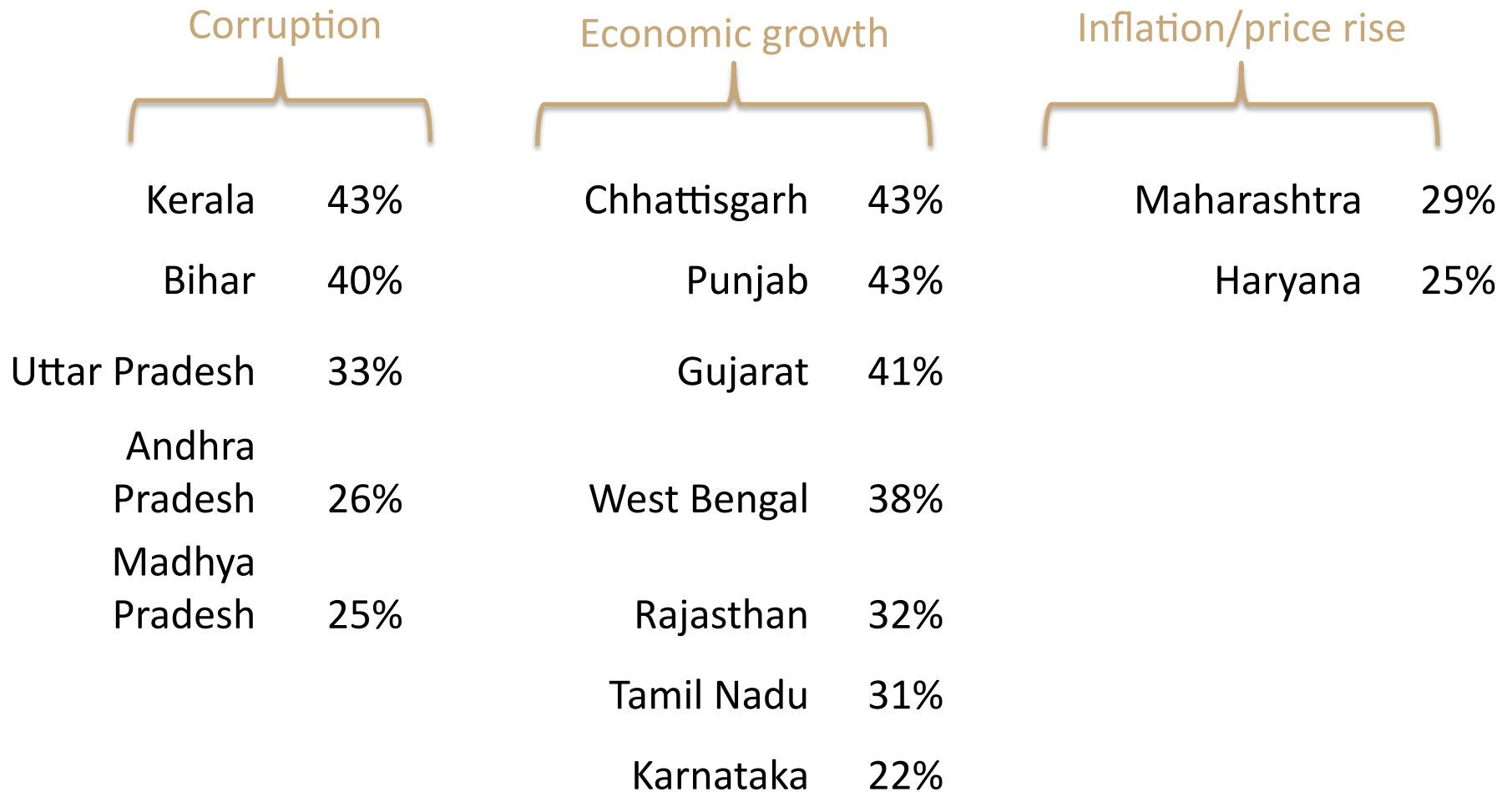
# *The economy dominates*



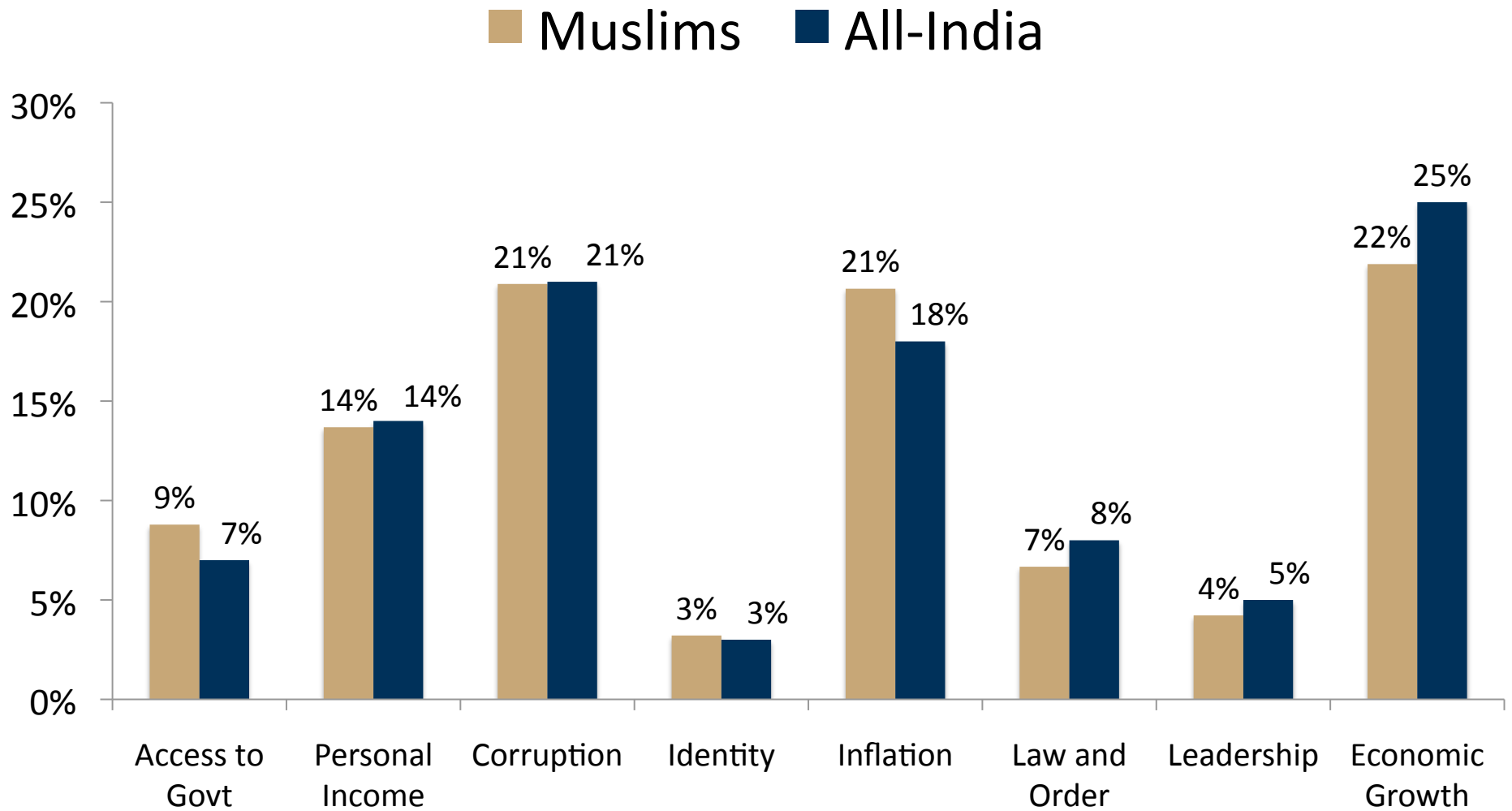
# *Growth: large state-level variation*



# *Top election issue, by state*



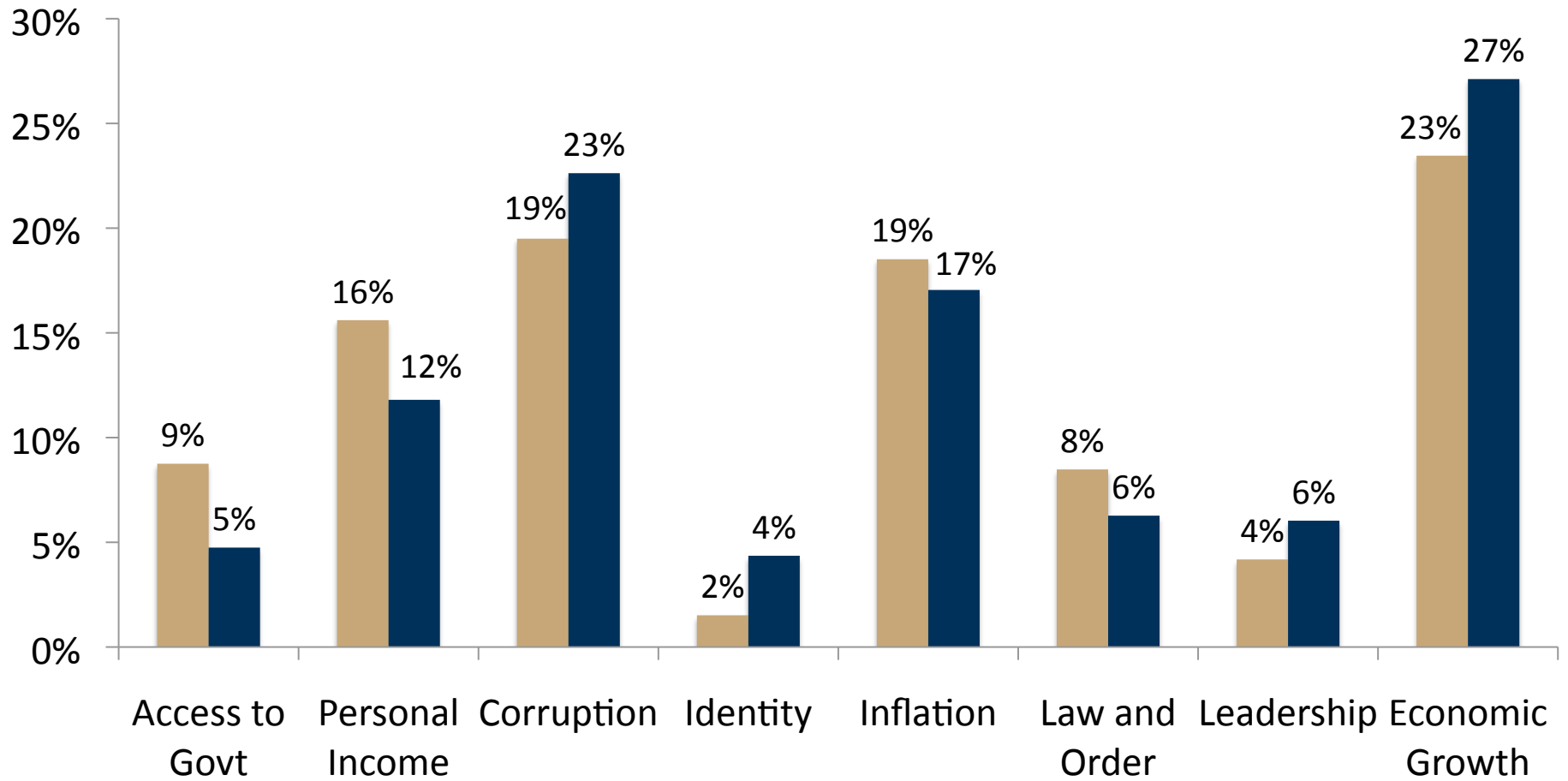
# *Are Muslim voters different?*



Source: Lok Foundation

# *Bharat vs. India?*

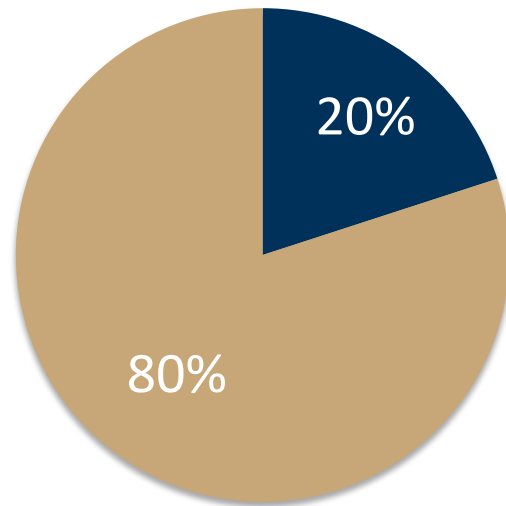
■ rural ■ urban



***3. Are voters fed up with dynasties?***

# *Dynasticism among MPs*

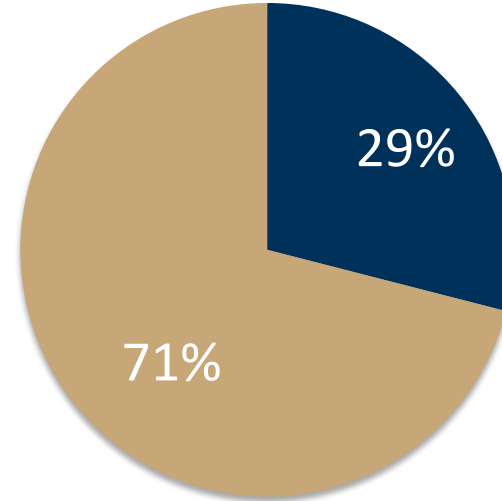
**2004**



■ Dynastic ties

■ No dynastic ties

**2009**

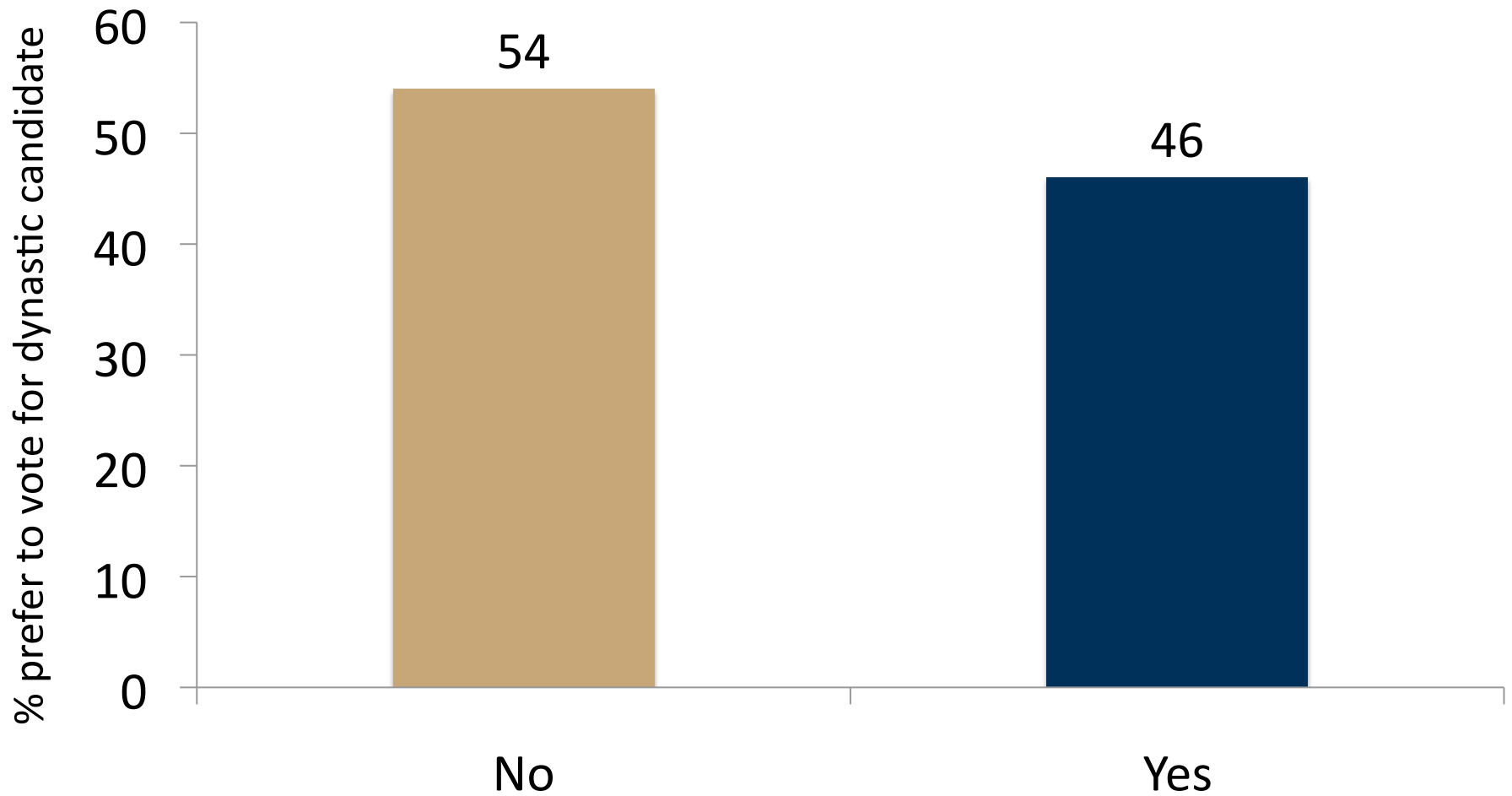


■ Dynastic ties

■ No dynastic ties



# *Dynastic preference?*

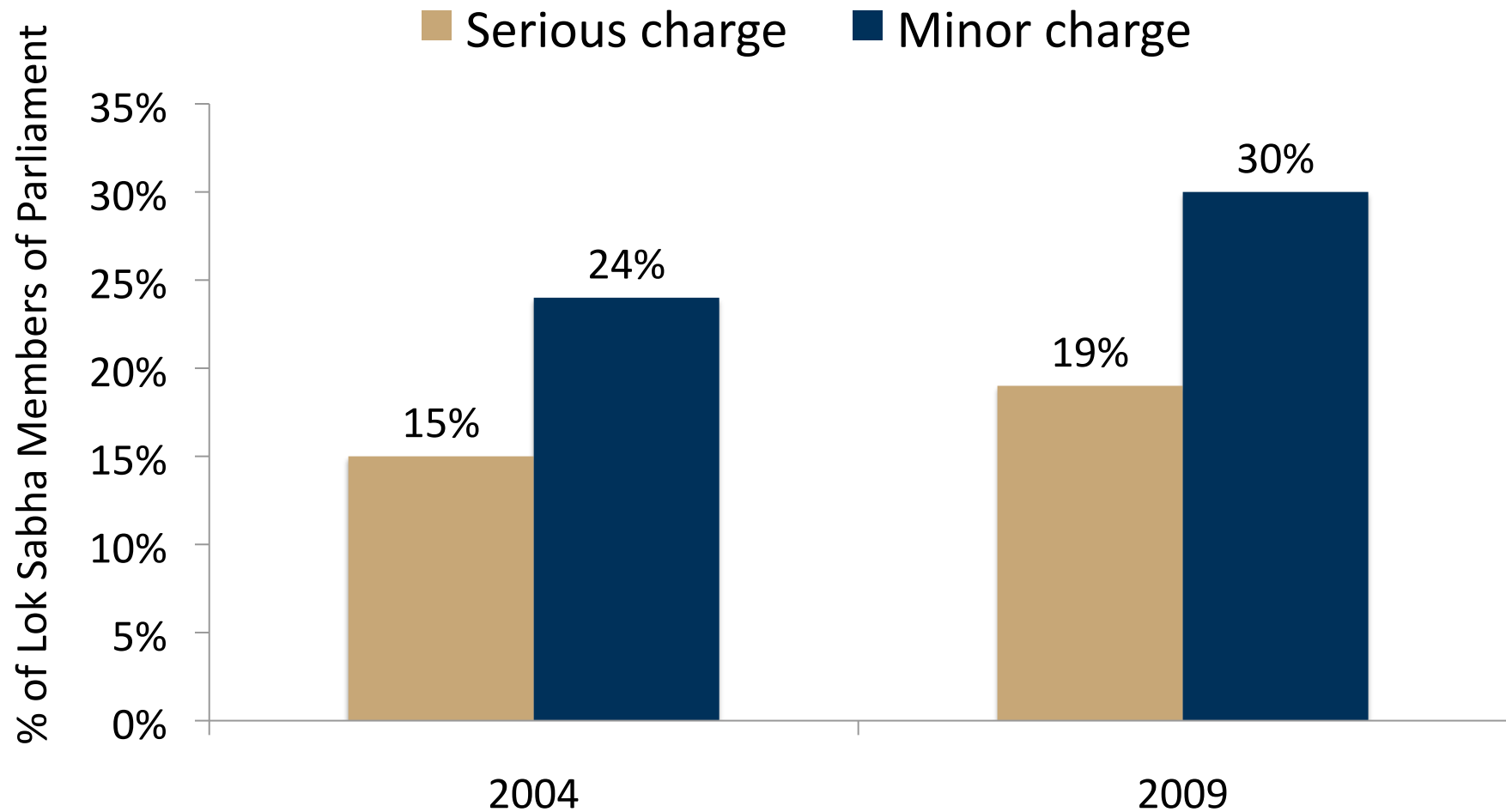


# *Why voters prefer dynasties*

<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%

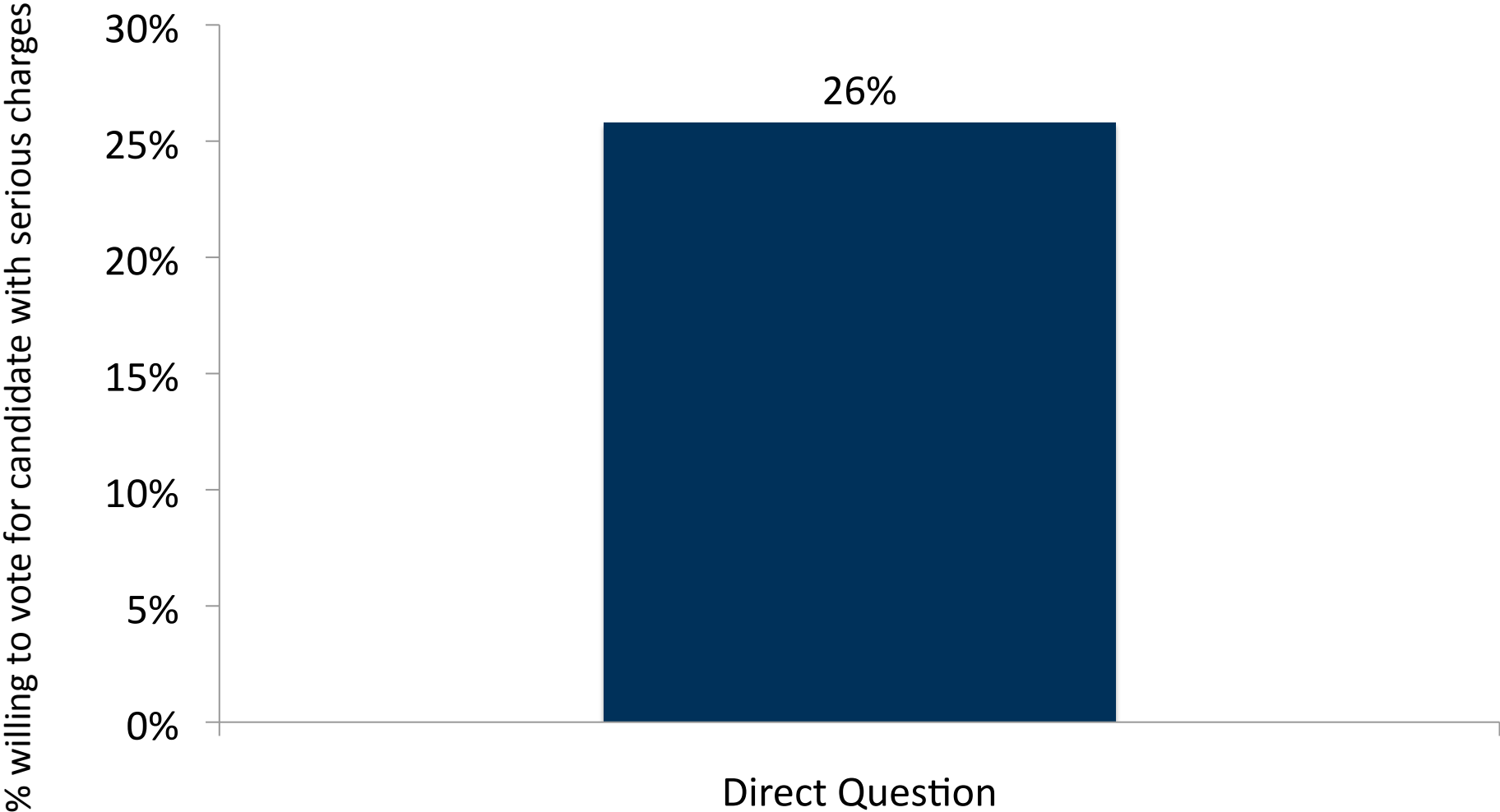
***4. Lack of information breeds criminality***

# *Lawmakers and law-breakers?*



Source: Vaishnav (2014)

# *Uncovering support for criminal candidates*



Source: Lok Foundation

*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?*

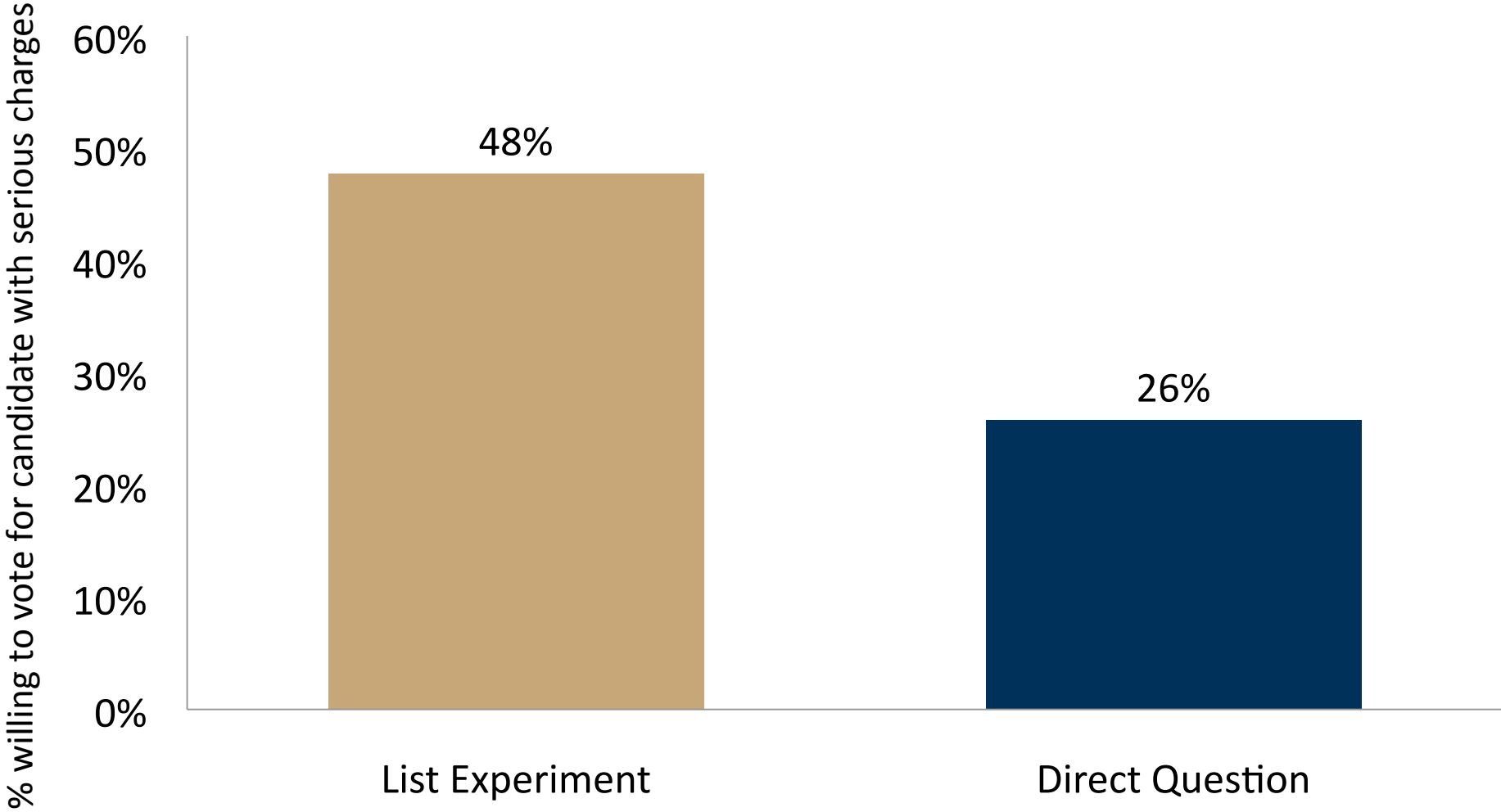
**Control Group**

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

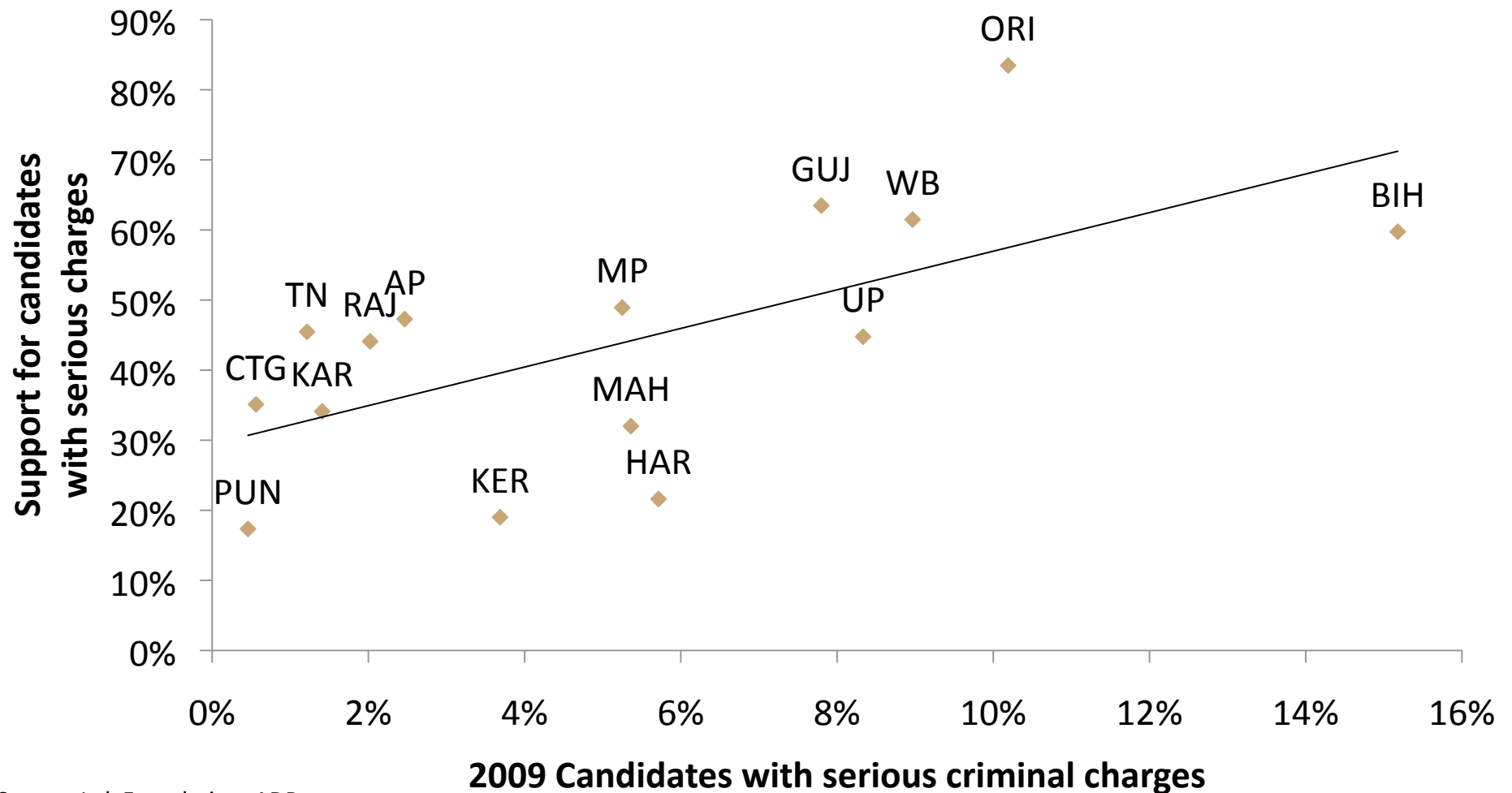
# *Uncovering support for criminal candidates*



Source: Lok Foundation



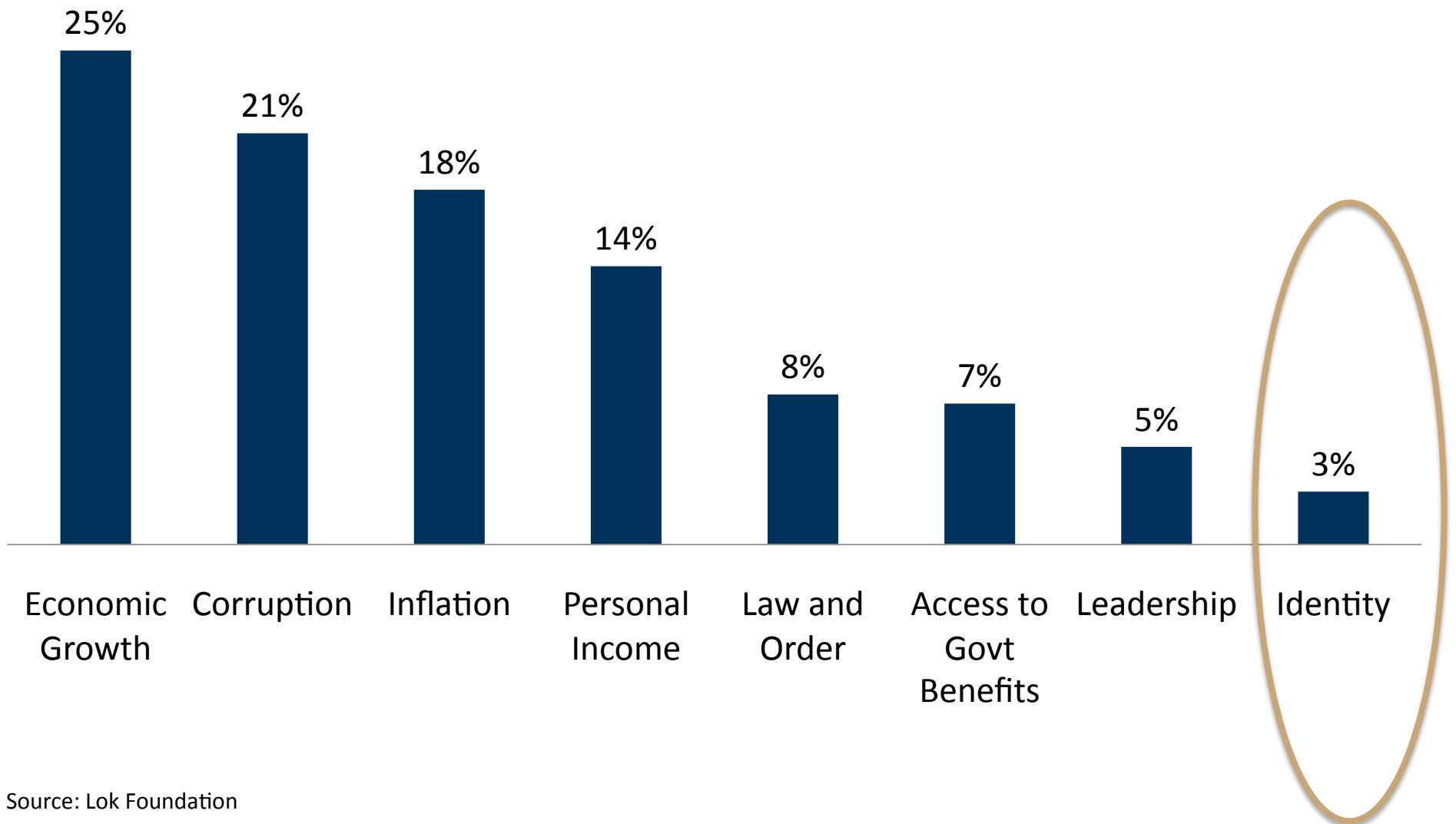
# *Support vs. prevalence*



Source: Lok Foundation; ADR

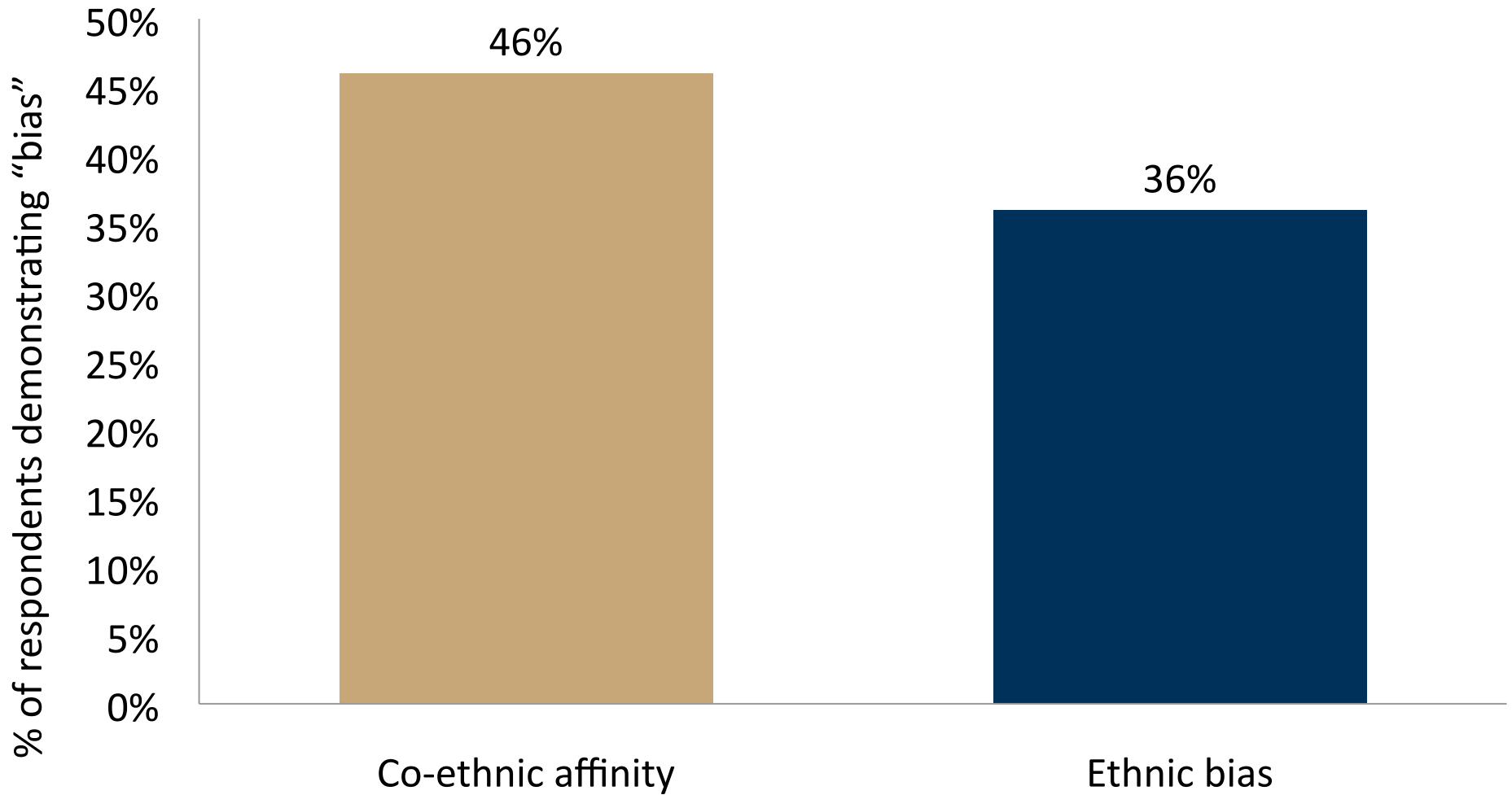
***5. Vote your caste, not cast your vote***

# *Identity ranks 8/8*



Source: Lok Foundation

# *Caste and vote choice*



# *HOW MANY statements trouble you?*

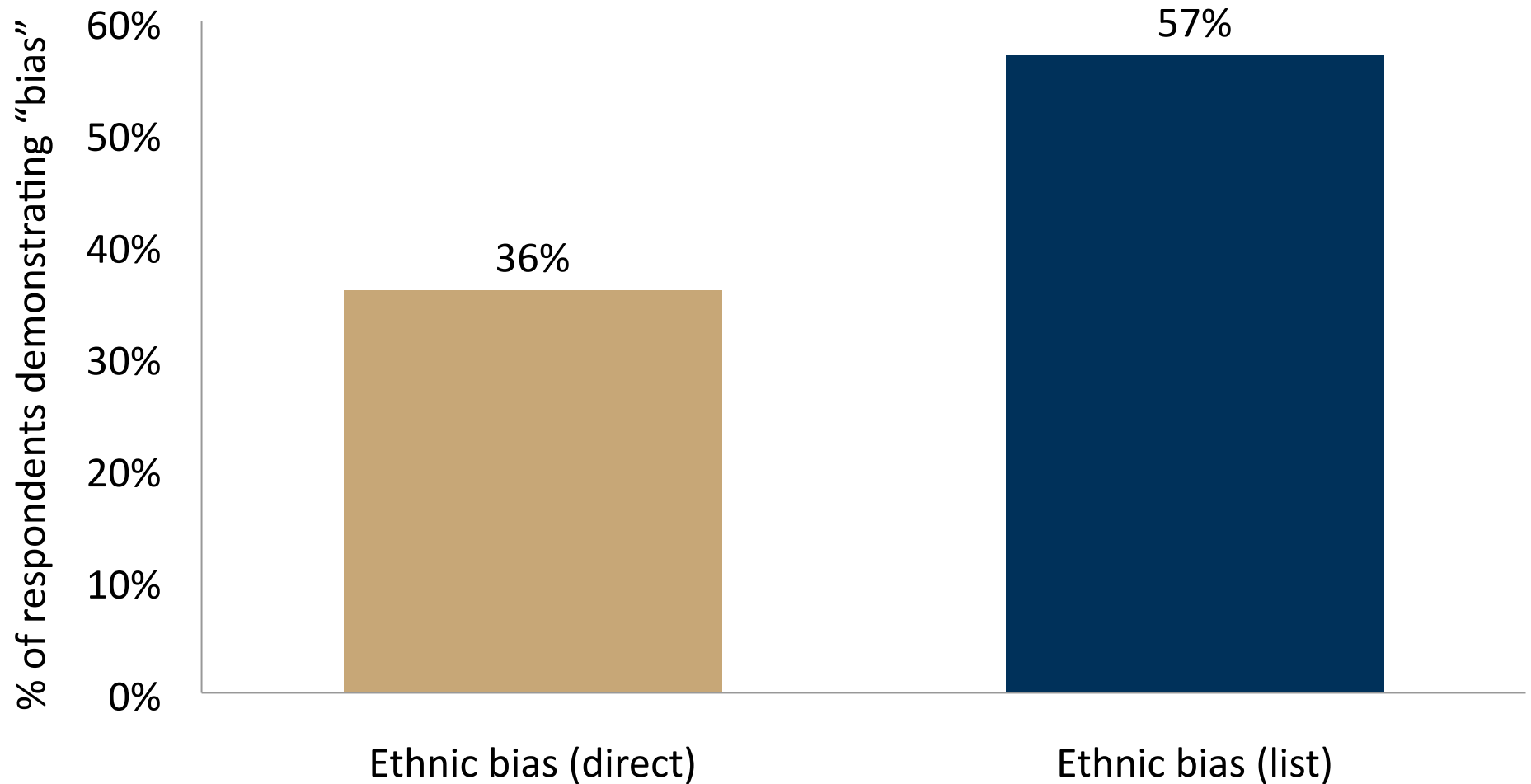
## **Control Group**

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

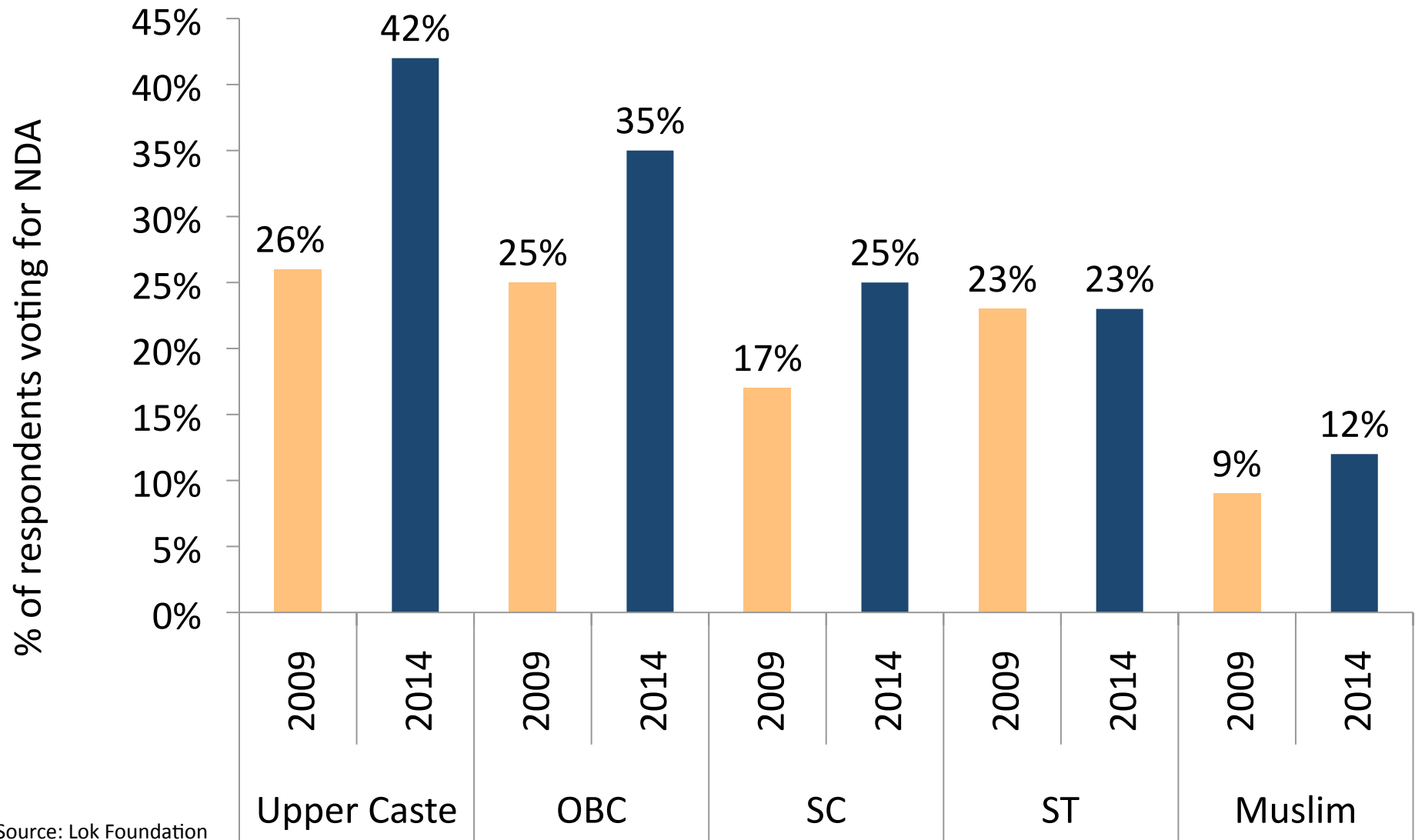
## **Experimental Group**

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

# *Uncovering caste discrimination*



# *Identity predicts vote choice, not electoral outcomes*



Source: Lok Foundation

# Conclusion

- Indian society is changing and, with it, the preferences of Indian voters
- While the majority of India remains rural, rural India is increasingly shaped by urban sensibilities
  - Classic rural-urban divide is getting blurred
- Social bias continues to be endemic in India
  - However, these biases affect the *levels* of political support based on social identities, not *changes*



# Conclusion (cont'd)

- The changes in voting behavior are being driven mainly by economic factors and governance
- This election is clearly a vote for change. Potentially it is a pivotal election that could fundamentally affect India's trajectory
- ...But we will not really not know that until mid-May!

# Thank you

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*Sunday Times of India*

**“Indian Voter: Inside and Out”**