

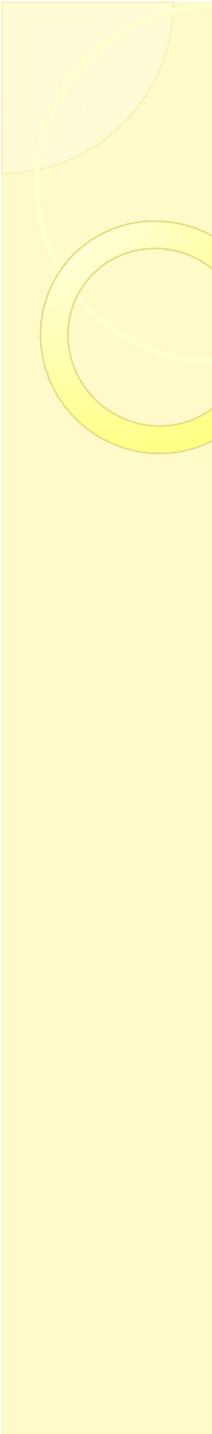
# **Election with a difference: Analysing the Verdict of Lok Sabha Elections 2014**

Sanjay Kumar

Director

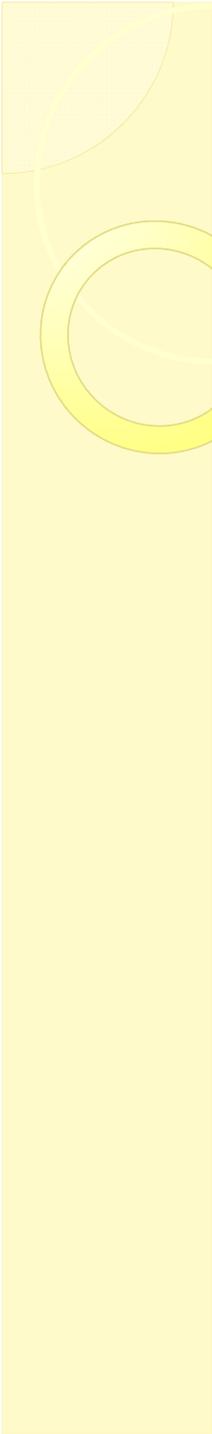
Centre for the Study of Developing Societies

Delhi



## This presentation is meant to highlight some of the features of Lok Sabha Elections in India

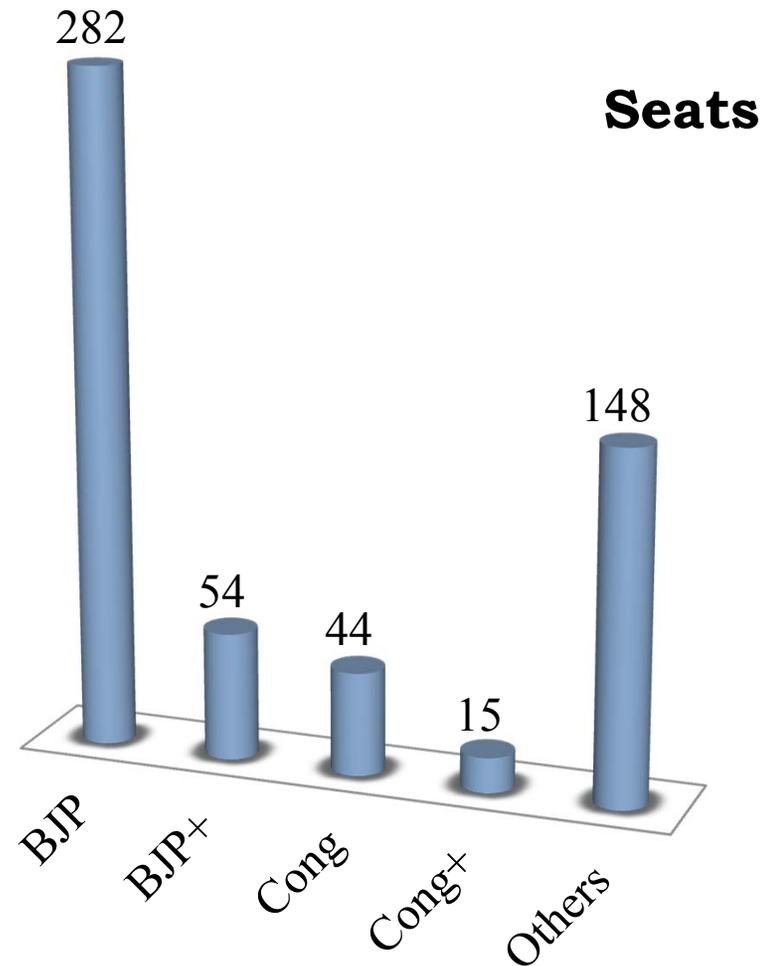
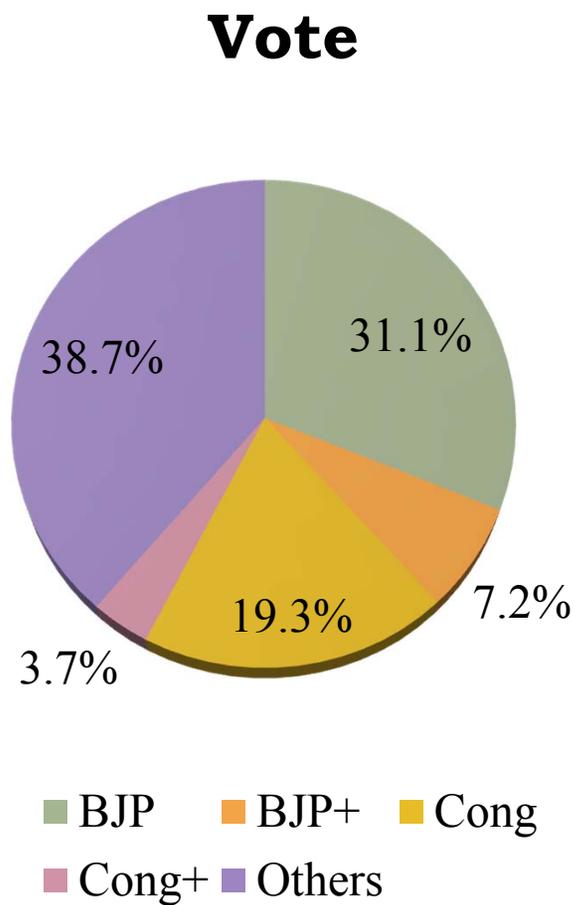
- Few months ago 16<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha elections were held in India.
- These elections not only resulted in change of government, but these elections also marked some new changes in Indian Electoral Politics.
- The results indicate, this elections marked not one but several shifts in Indian Electoral Politics.
- At the moment it is difficult to say if these are long terms changes or these are only episodic.



# Sources of Information

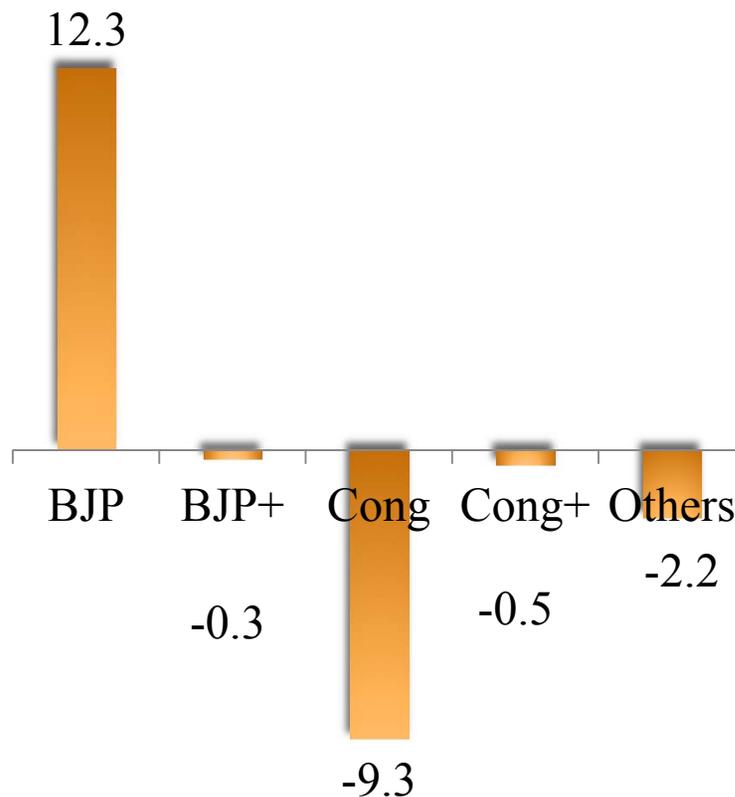
- In order to highlight some of the changes in trend in Indian electoral politics I would use the following data sources
- Election results from the Election Commission of India
- Findings of the post poll survey conducted by the CSDS of national representative sample of 20,000 (approx.) respondents

# Verdict 2014: How did various political parties perform?

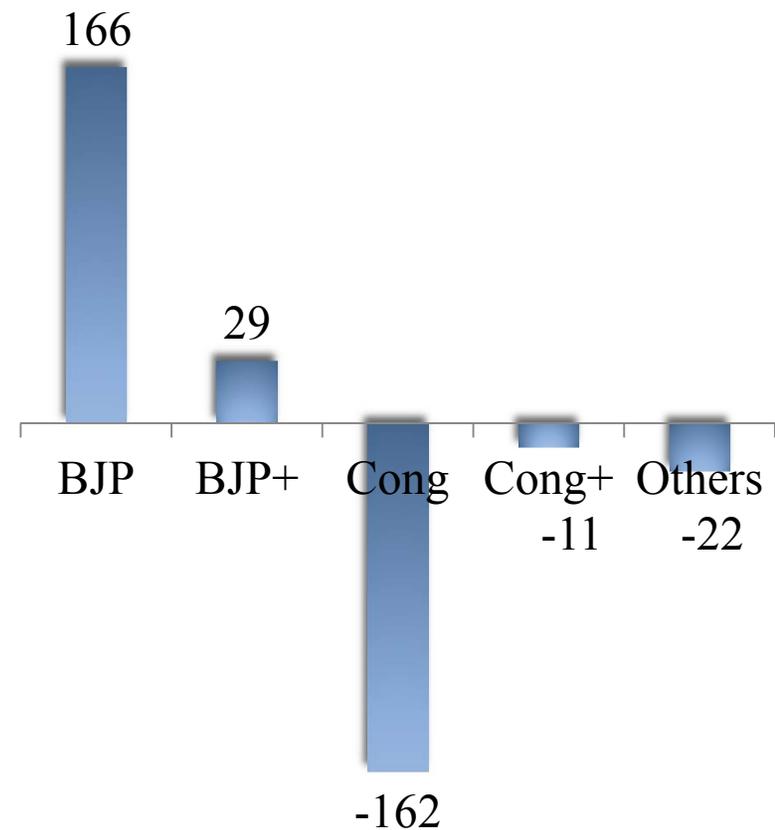


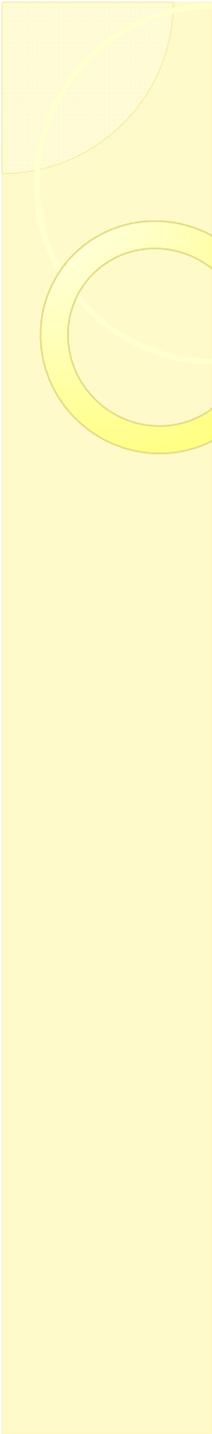
# Change from 2009 Lok Sabha Election

Vote change (% points)



Seat change





## Why it happened: Explaining the reasons for that ?

- Dissatisfaction with the UPA government at the centre continued to rise during the campaign
- Role of leadership and the ‘Modi factor’
- Issues like corruption and price rise contributed to increased anti incumbency
- Role of the Media

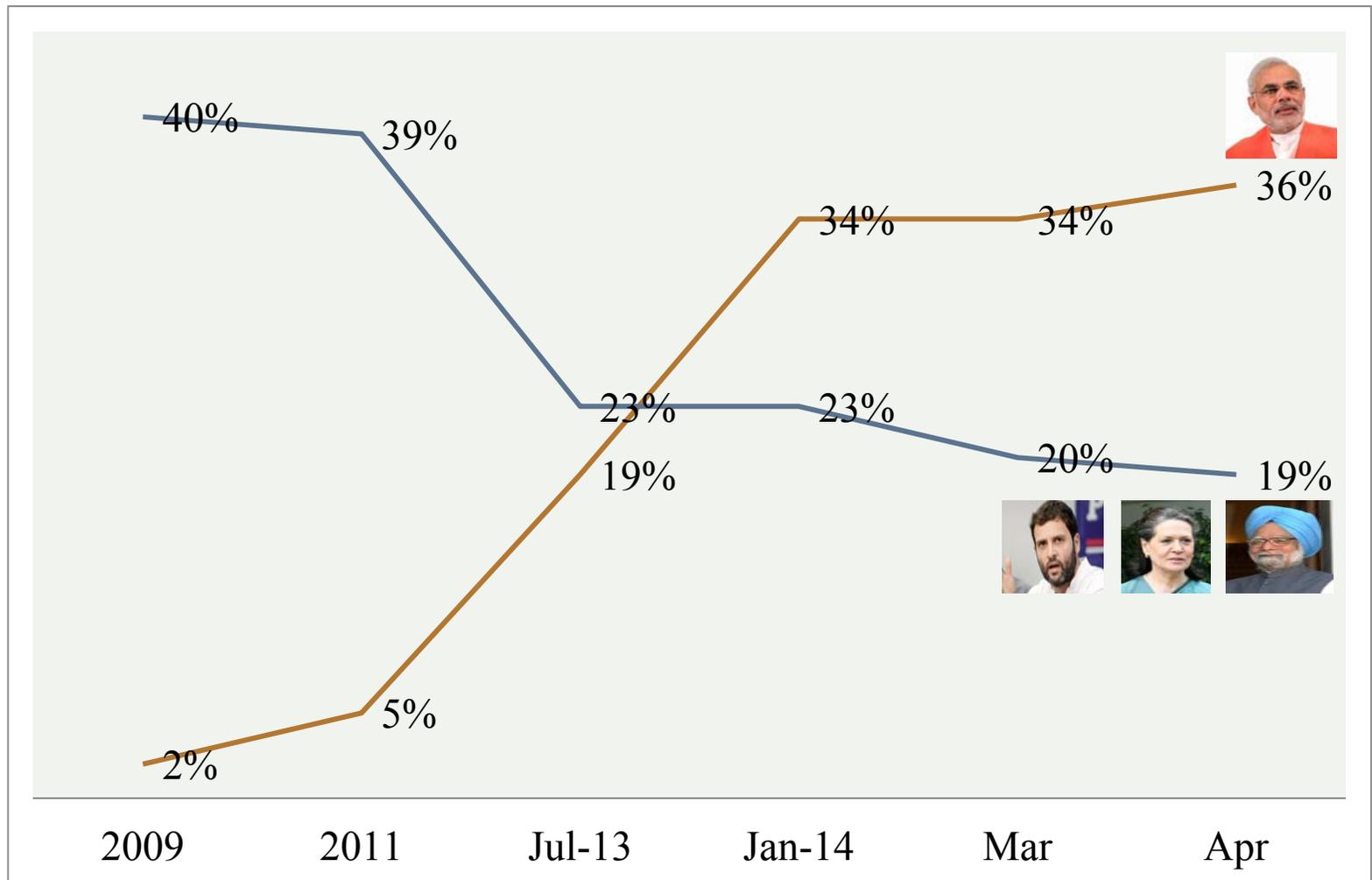
# Public Anger and anti incumbency were building up

Dissatisfaction with UPA government and Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh kept rising as the campaign progressed

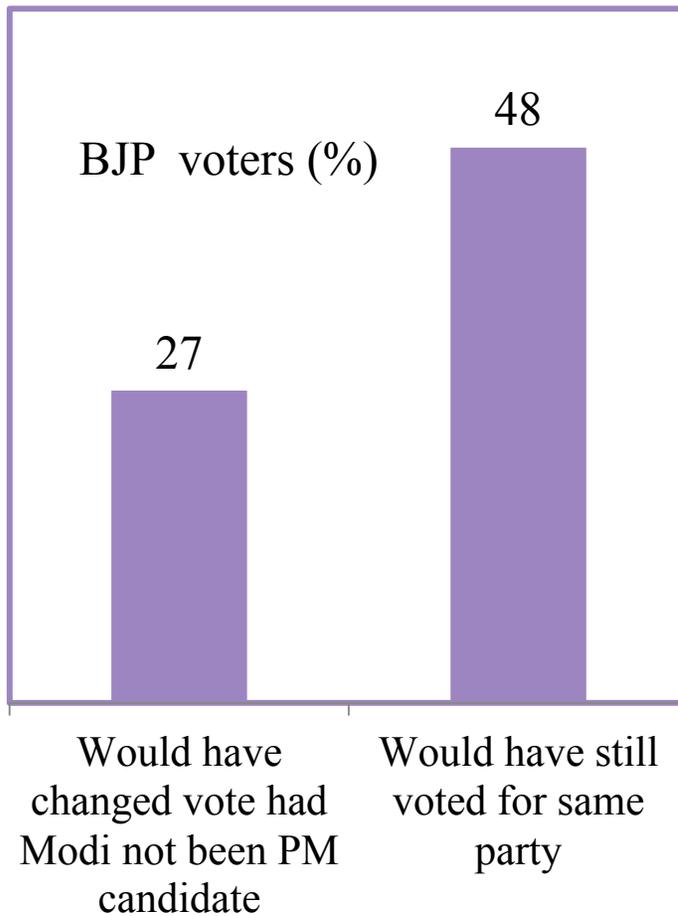
|  | 2009 | 2011<br>July | 2013<br>July | 2014<br>January |
|--|------|--------------|--------------|-----------------|
| Dissatisfied with the UPA Government                 | 21%  | 31%          | 40%          | 50%             |
| Dissatisfied with Manmohan Singh's performance as PM | 17%  | 24%          | 32%          | 43%             |

All figures are in percentage

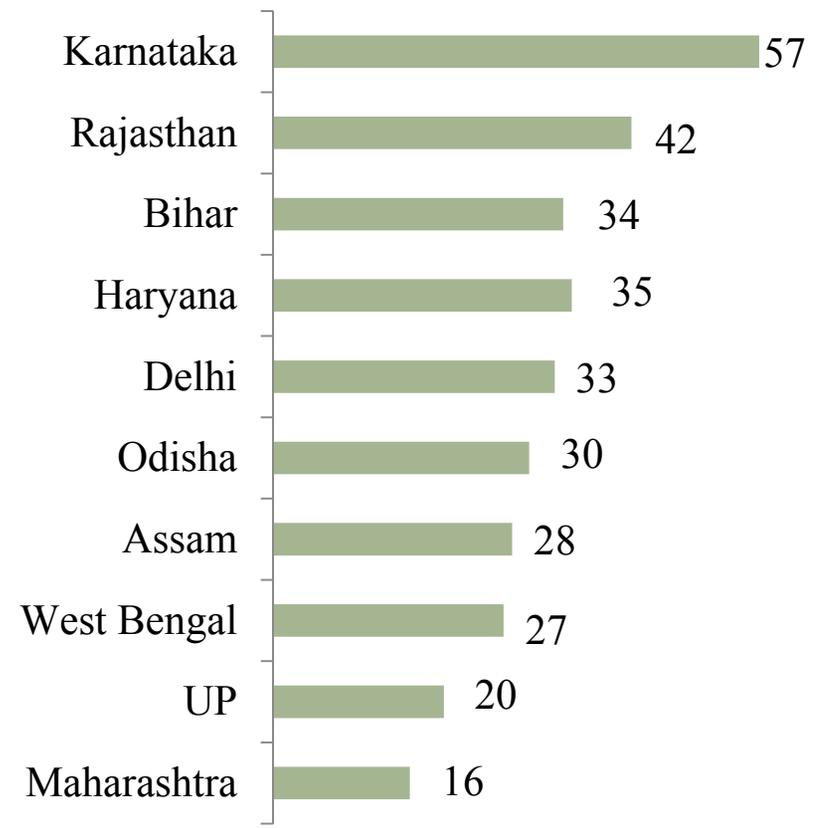
As a leader Narendra Modi was far more popular compared to Congress leader Rahul Gandhi, and popularity kept rising



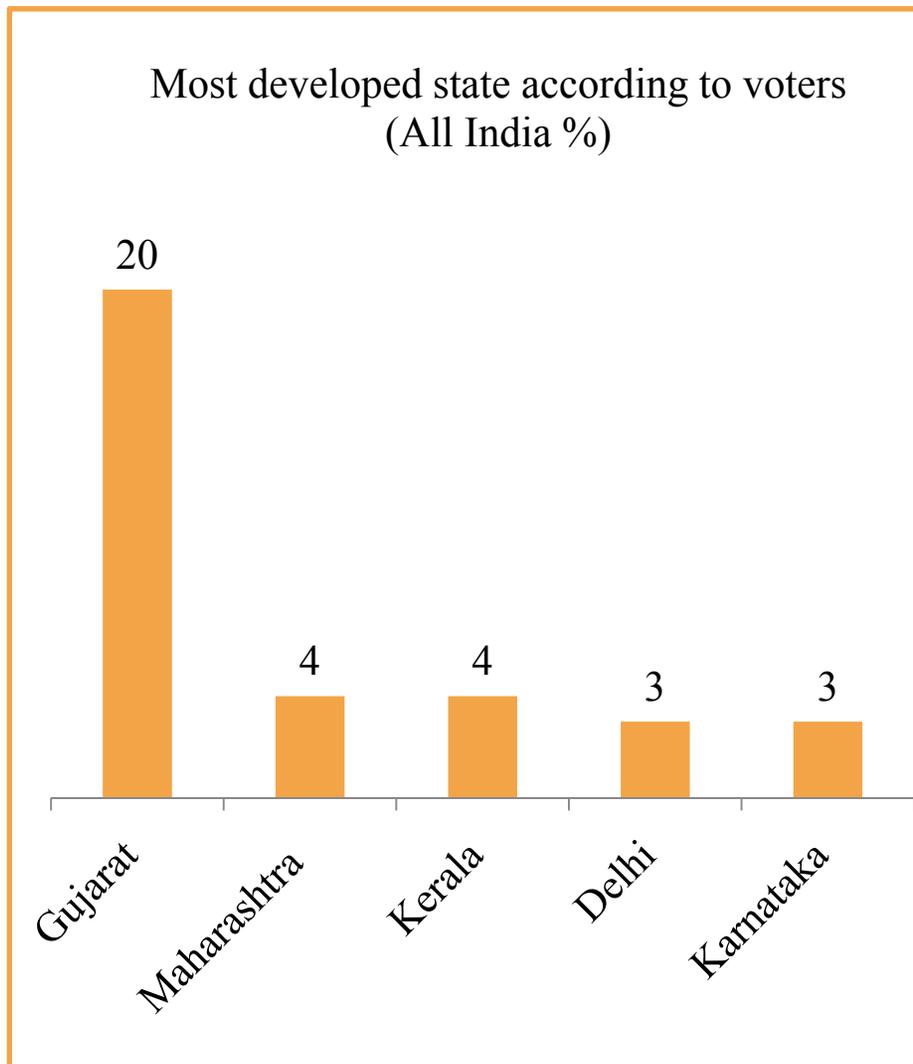
Modi's popularity helped mobilise additional voters for BJP.  
One in four BJP voters would have voted differently had Modi not been BJP's PM candidate



BJP voters who would have changed vote had Modi not been PM (%)



## Modi's message about Gujarat's 'development' worked also contributed to BJP's massive victory



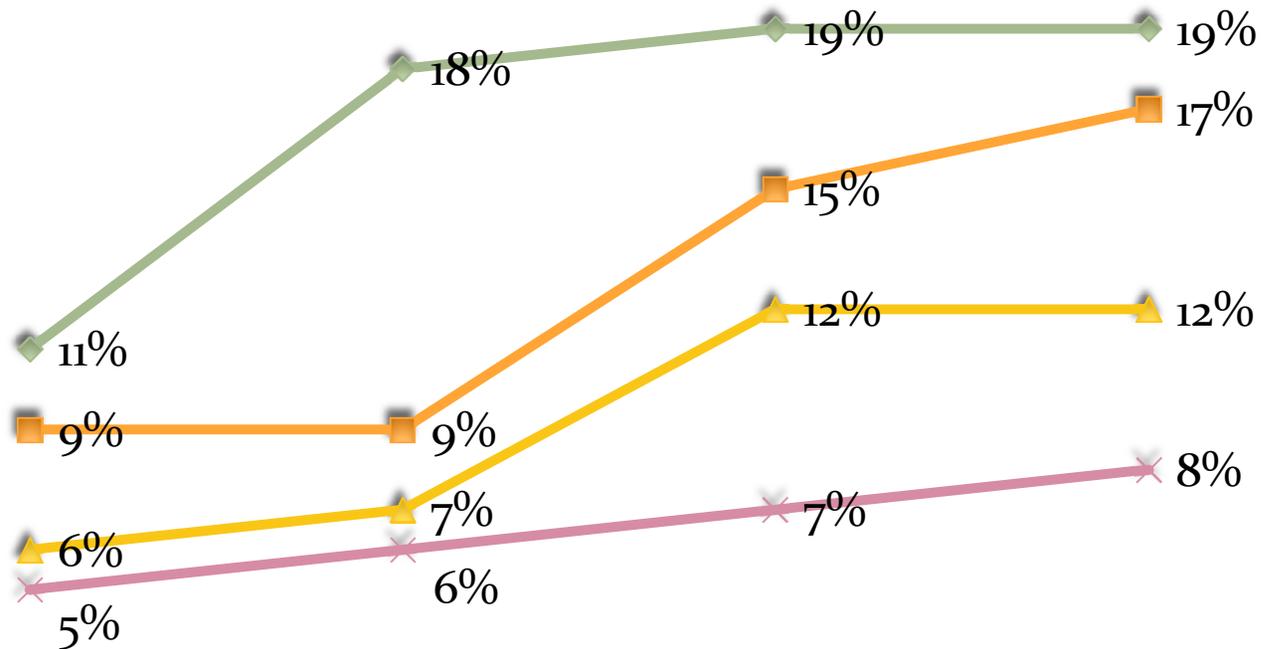
'Gujarat is most developed state' (%)

|             |    |
|-------------|----|
| Gujarat     | 62 |
| Rajasthan   | 36 |
| Maharashtra | 31 |
| Jharkhand   | 28 |
| UP          | 25 |
| Odisha      | 23 |
| Karnataka   | 21 |

Out of 21 states, Gujarat was ranked first in 8 states (AP, Bihar, Gujarat, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, UP, Uttarakhand). It was ranked second in 9 states.

# Price rise and a desire for development were big election issues

◆ Price rise   ■ Development   ▲ Corruption   ✕ Employment



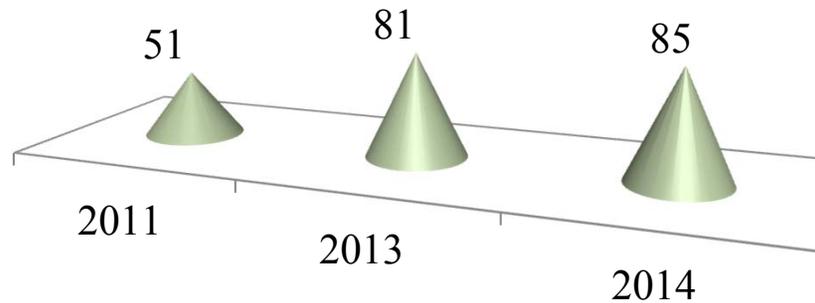
Jul-13

Jan-14

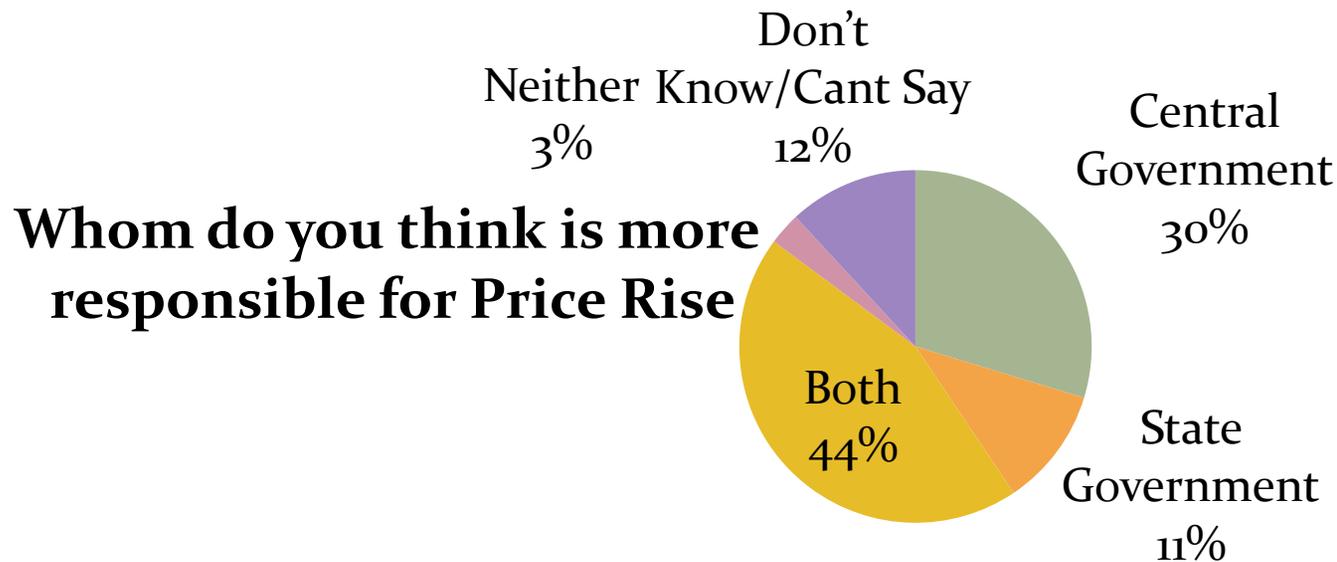
March

April

# Increasing price rise; Common voters blamed the Central government more than the state government

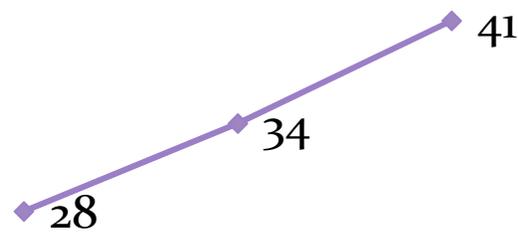


Prices of essential commodities have increased (%)

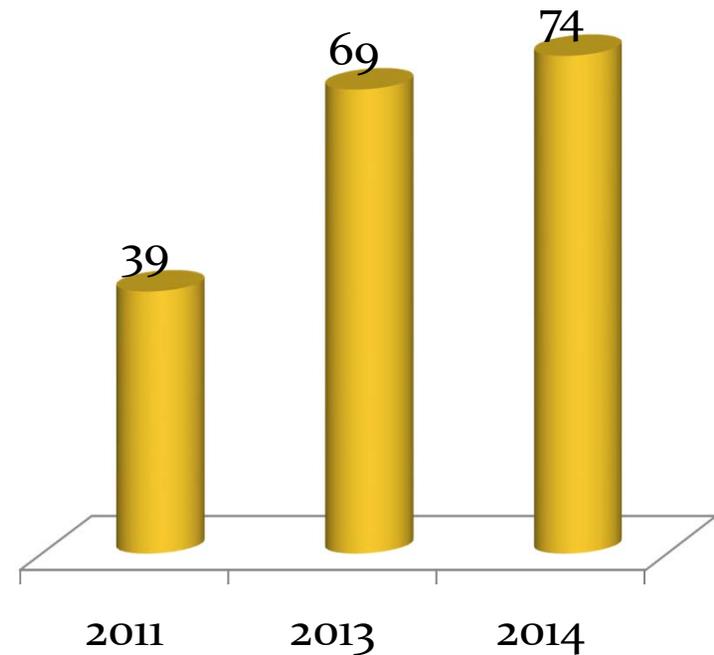


# Shared perception amongst voters of UPA Government being “Corrupt” kept gaining strength

**UPA 'Very Corrupt'**  
(%)



**Corruption has  
increased under UPA**  
(%)



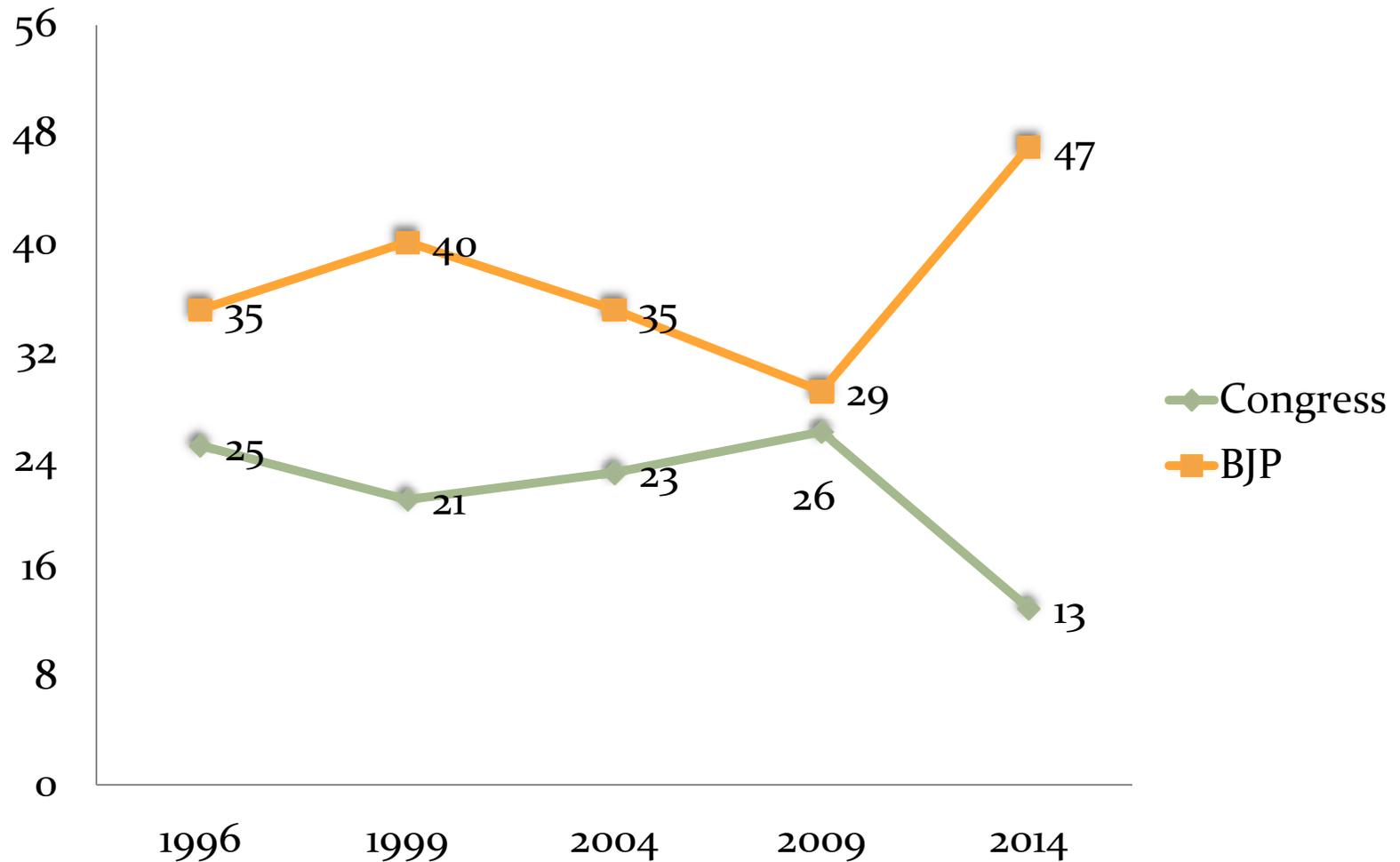
More presence in the media did help the BJP in mobilising voters in favour of the party

| <b>Voters who-----</b>   | <b>July<br/>2013</b> | <b>Jan<br/>2014</b> | <b>March<br/>2014</b> | <b>May<br/>2014</b> |
|--------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| Watch TV Regularly       | + 3                  | +10                 | +13                   | +15                 |
| Never watch TV           | -6                   | +3                  | +1                    | +3                  |
| Read Newspaper Regularly | +7                   | +14                 | +15                   | +20                 |
| Never read the Newspaper | -7                   | -1                  | +3                    | +4                  |
| Use Internet Regularly   | +13                  | +19                 | +23                   | +26                 |
| Never use the Internet   | -2                   | +6                  | +9                    | +10                 |

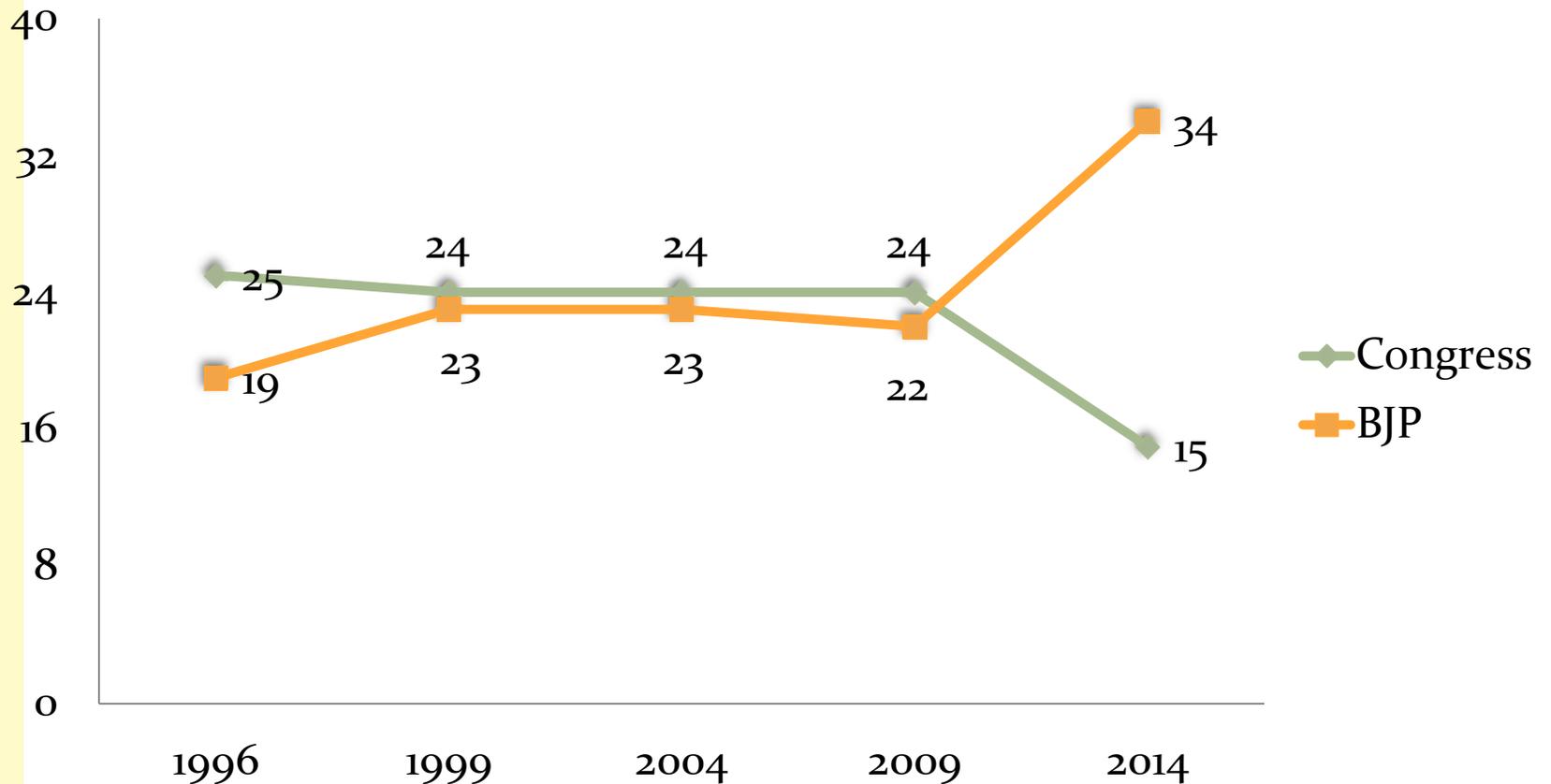
## Who deserted the Congress and switched towards the BJP in recent years

| <b>Community which matter in Indian elections most/seen as blocks</b> | <b>Proportion in the population</b> |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| <b>Upper Castes</b>   | <b>10%-15 % Approximately</b>       |
| <b>OBCs</b>   | <b>42-46% Approximately</b>         |
| <b>Dalits</b>   | <b>16.2% (Census of India)</b>      |
| <b>Tribals</b>  | <b>9.7% (Census of India)</b>       |
| <b>Muslims</b>  | <b>13.4% (Census of India)</b>      |

# Greater consolidation of Upper Caste voters in favour of the BJP



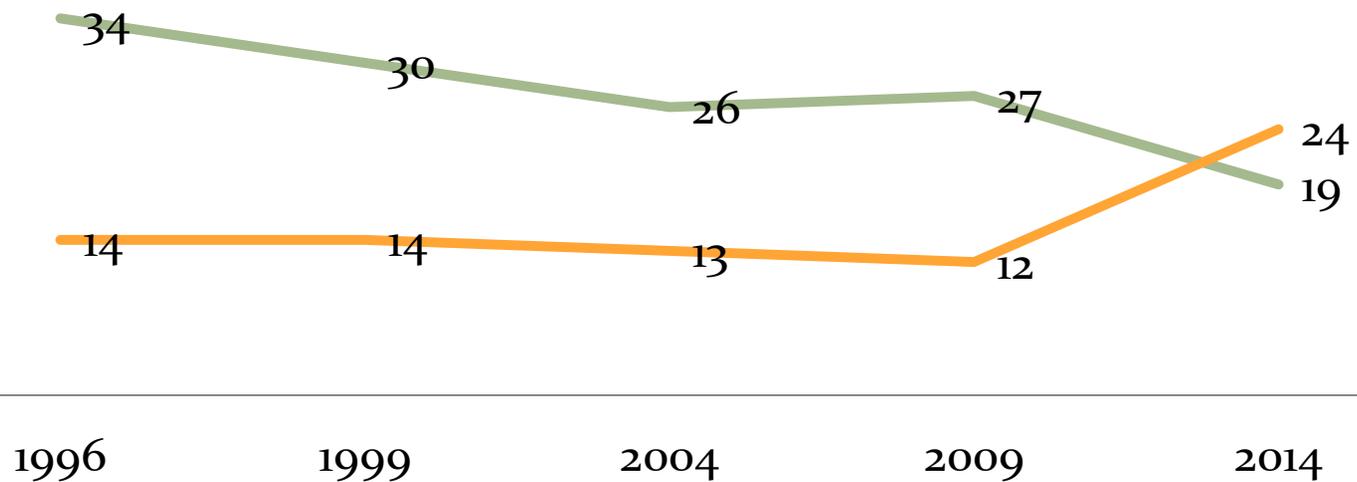
# BJP takes a significant lead among Other Backward Classes voters (OBCs)



# Decisive shift amongst the Dalits in favour of BJP

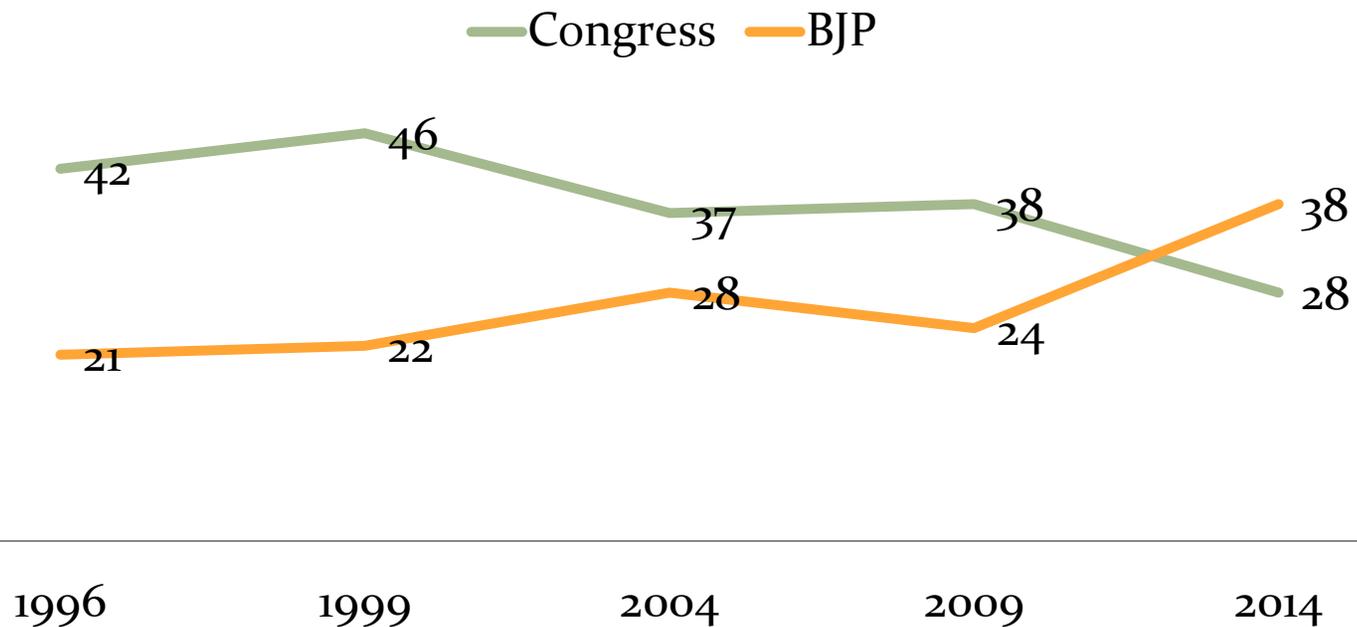
Vote Share Among Dalits

— Congress — BJP

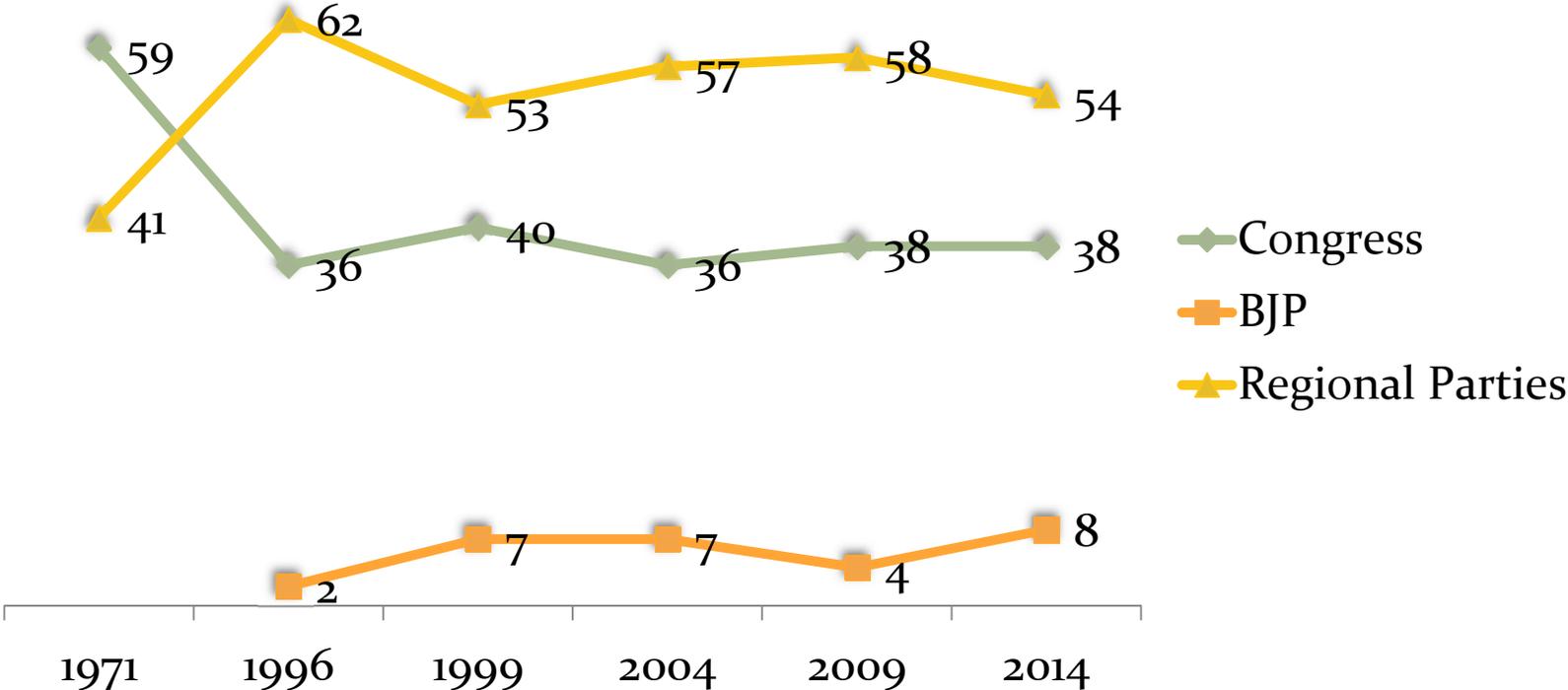


The Adivasis (ST/Tribals) also shifted towards the BJP in large numbers

### Vote Share Among Tribals



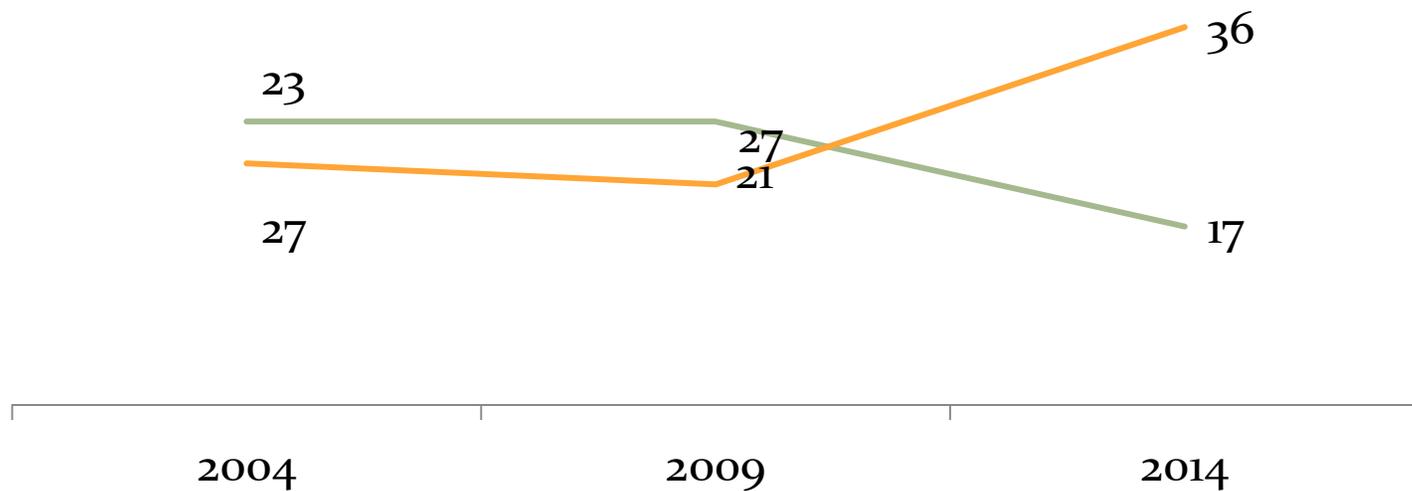
# Hardly any change in the Muslim support for the Congress

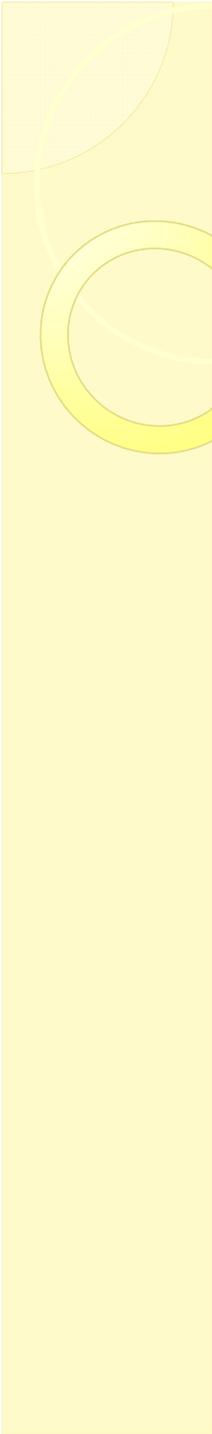


Modi succeeded in mobilising the “Young Voters” more so the first time voters in age group 18-22 years

| Age group (years) | Narendra Modi for PM (%) |
|-------------------|--------------------------|
| 18-22             | 43                       |
| 23-25             | 40                       |
| 26-35             | 38                       |
| 36+               | 32                       |

— First time voters for Congress — First time voters for BJP

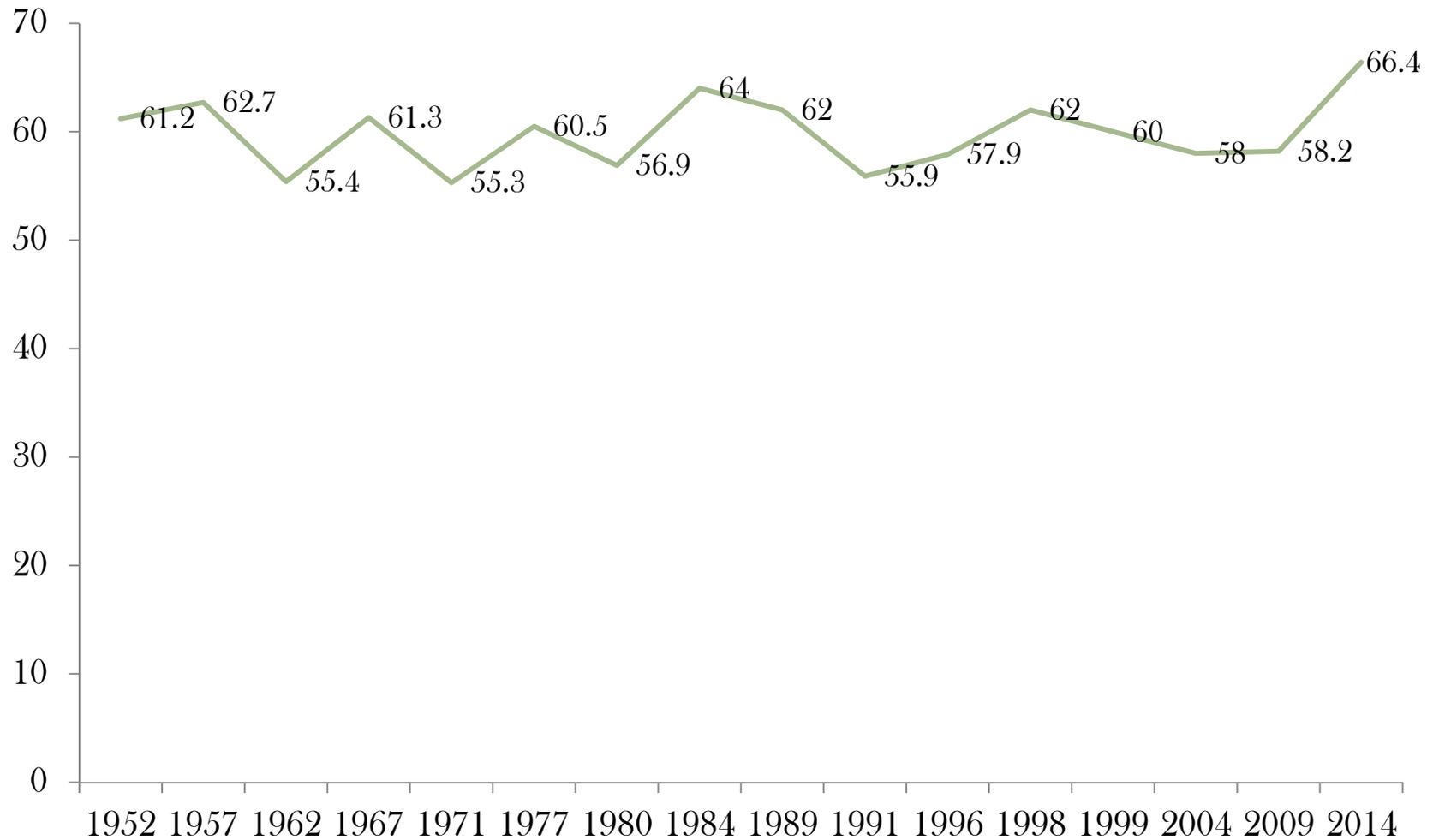




## 2014 – What makes this elections different from many other National Elections

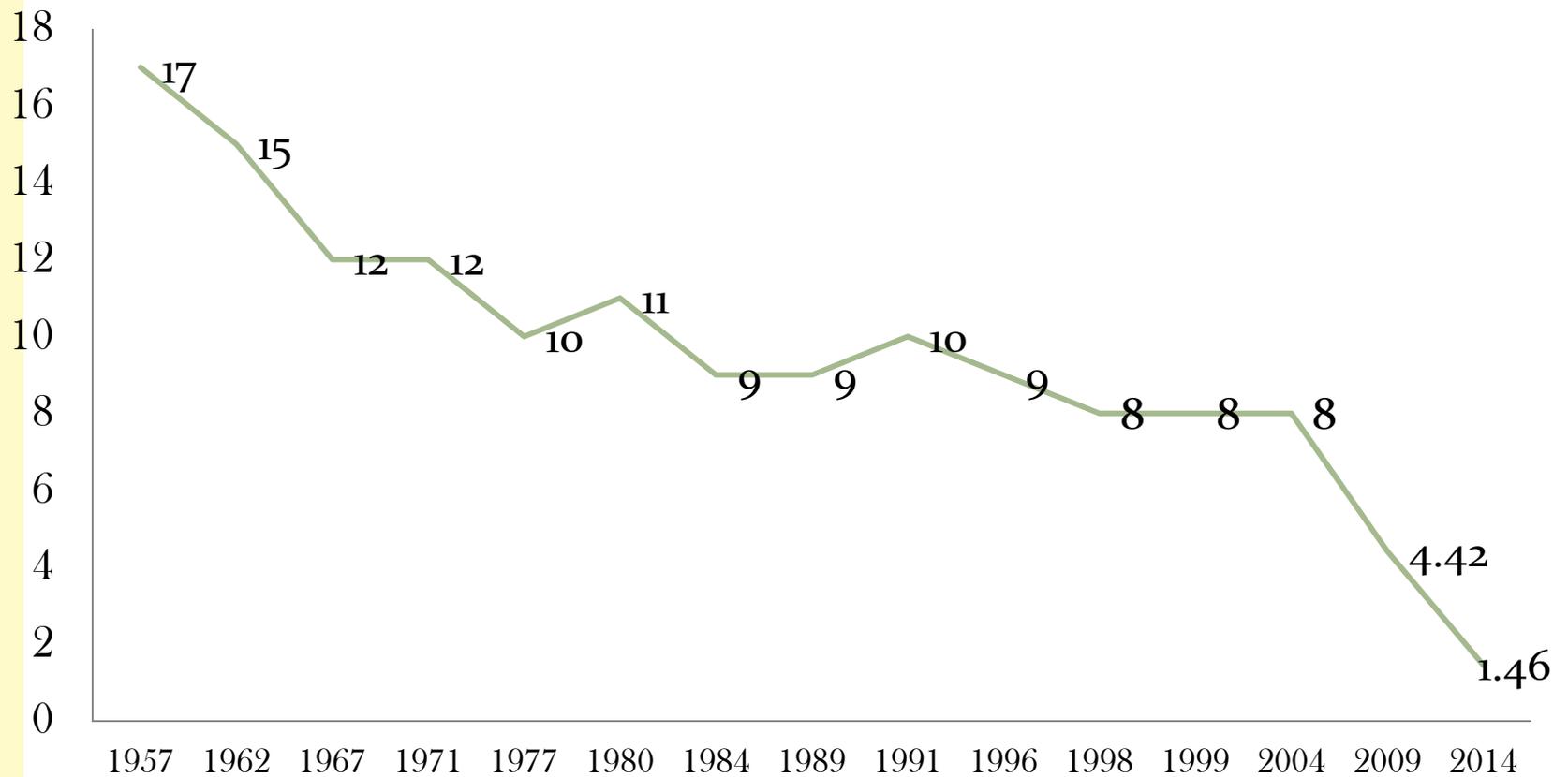
- Turnout reached an all time high in 2014
- First Non Congress Party to get a majority ever
- First Single party majority government in 30 years all previous governments during last 30 years were coalition of various parties
- High average victory margins for the BJP
- Party registered highest ever vote share increase for a national party between two elections

# The 2014 Lok Sabha elections witnessed highest ever turnout in Indian elections



# Increased electoral participation of women in 2014 Lok Sabha elections contributed to the increase turnout

## Gender Gap in Lok Sabha Elections

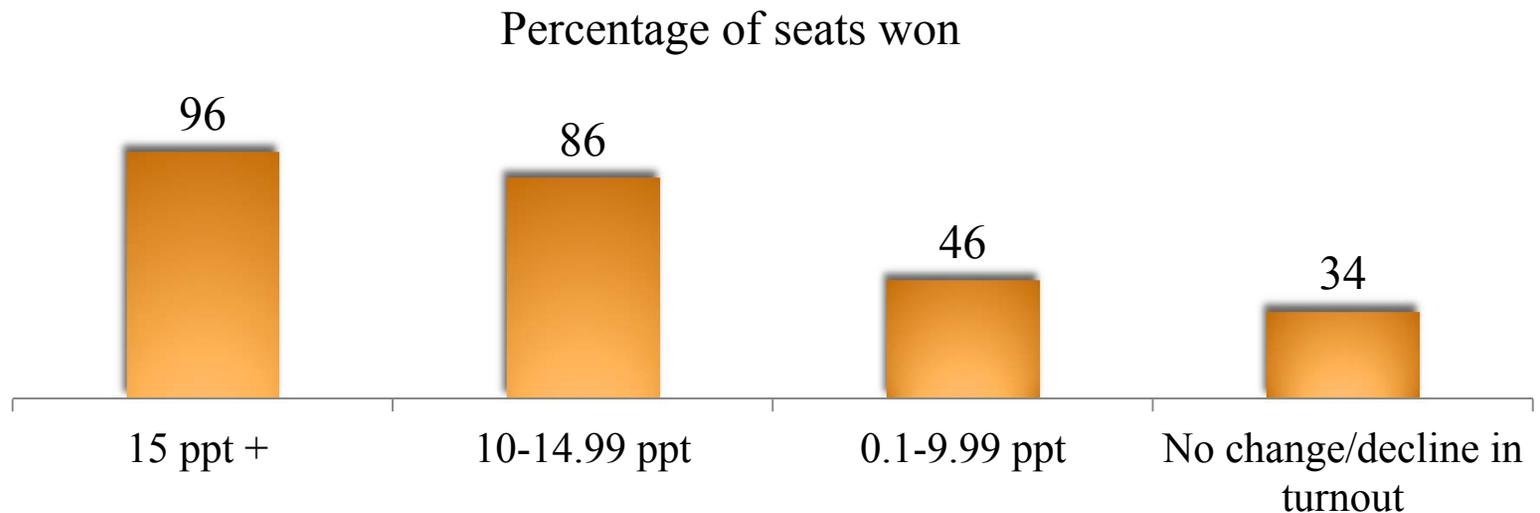


The increased electoral participation of Youth in 2014 also contributed to the increased turnout

| <b>Year of Lok Sabha Election</b> | <b>Average Turnout (In %)</b> | <b>Turnout among Youth Voters (in %)</b> |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| <b>1996</b>                       | <b>58</b>                     | <b>54</b>                                |
| <b>1998</b>                       | <b>62</b>                     | <b>60</b>                                |
| <b>1999</b>                       | <b>60</b>                     | <b>57</b>                                |
| <b>2004</b>                       | <b>58</b>                     | <b>55</b>                                |
| <b>2009</b>                       | <b>58</b>                     | <b>54</b>                                |
| <b>2014</b>                       | <b>66</b>                     | <b>68</b>                                |

# How do we read this higher turnout in 2014? Did this helped any particular political party

| Turnout increase since 2009  | Number of seats | Seats won by NDA |
|------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| 15% points and above         | 70              | 67               |
| 10-14.99% points             | 145             | 125              |
| 0.1-9.99% points             | 267             | 123              |
| No change/decline in turnout | 61              | 21               |

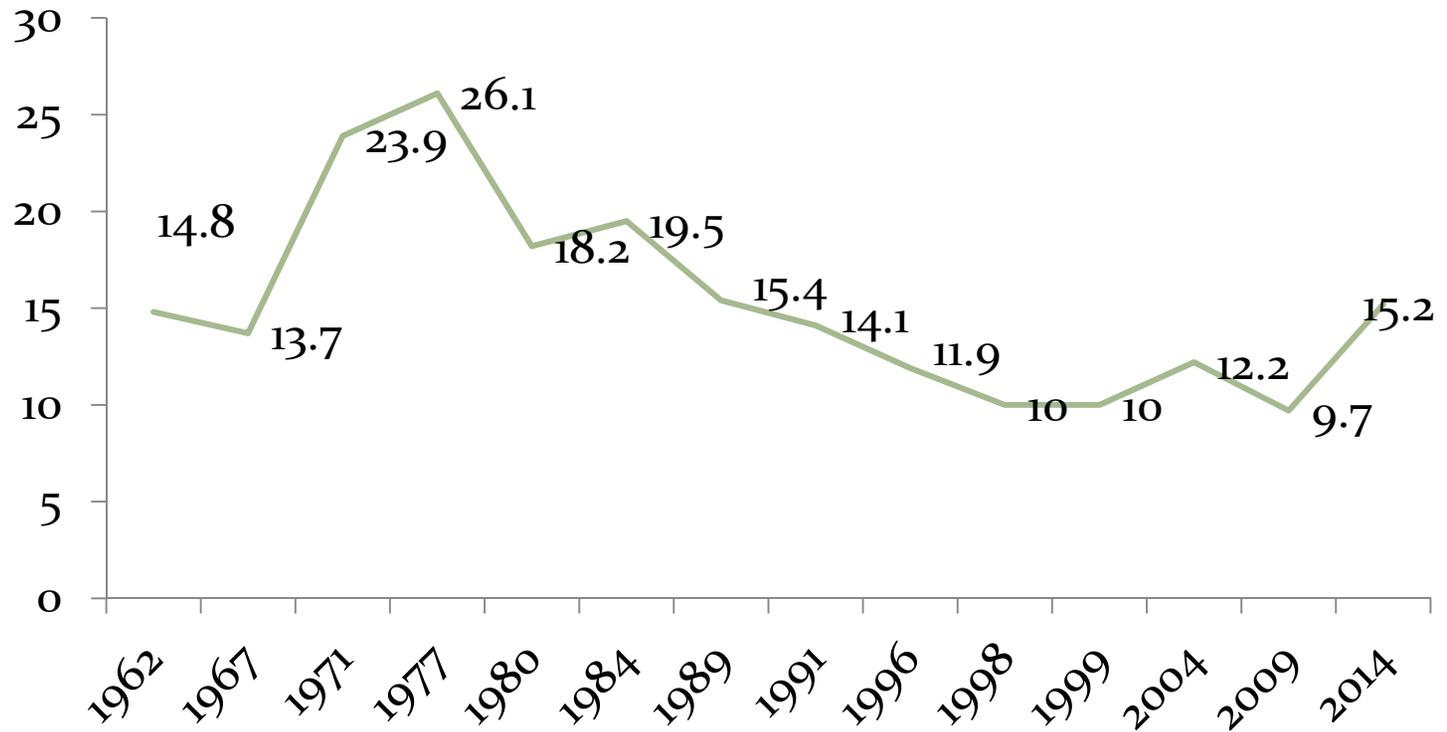


## First Non Congress Party to get a majority; Single party majority after 30 years

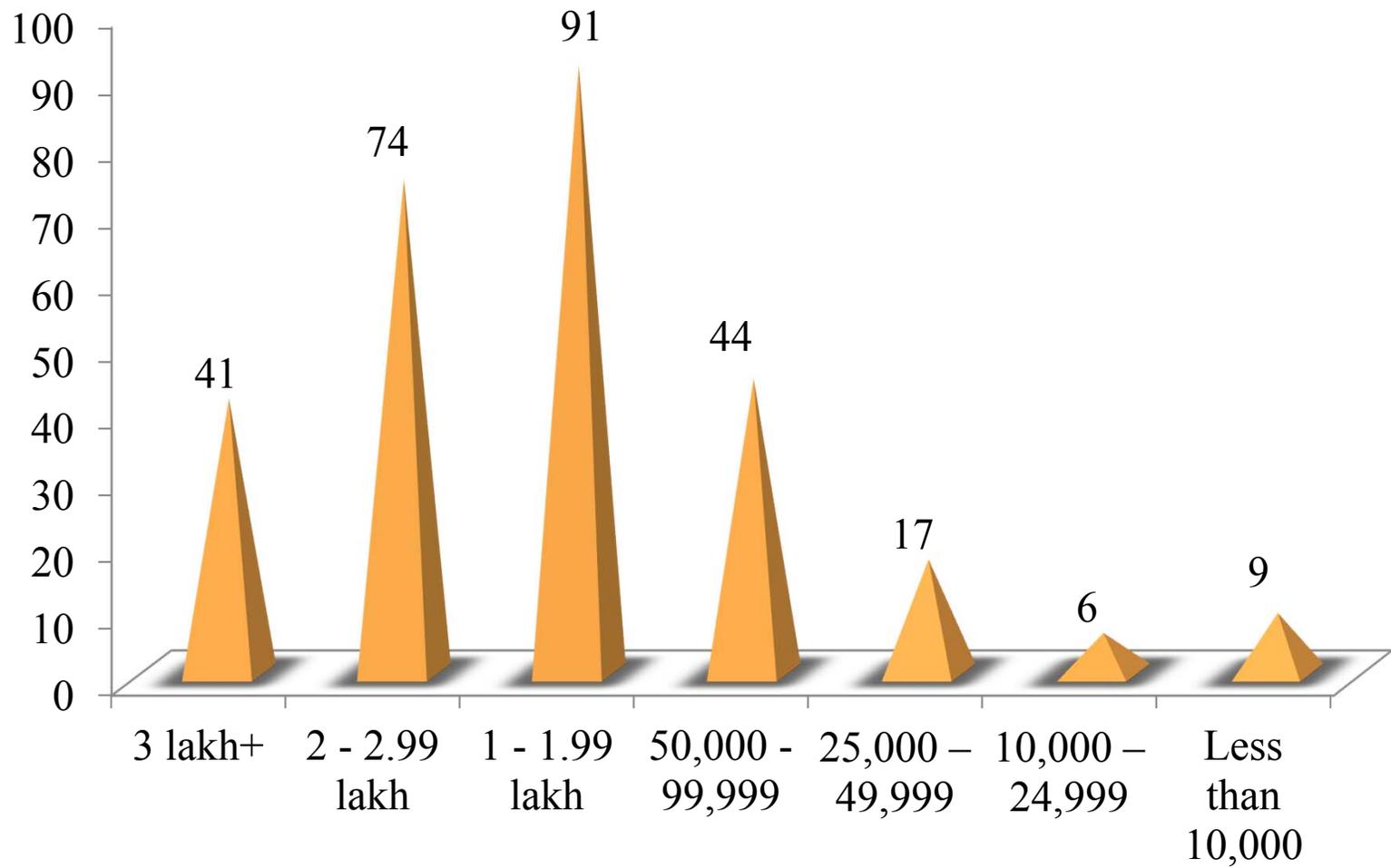
| Year        | Leading party   | Vote %      | Seats won  |
|-------------|-----------------|-------------|------------|
| 1952        | Congress        | 45.0        | 364        |
| 1957        | Congress        | 47.8        | 371        |
| 1962        | Congress        | 44.7        | 361        |
| 1967        | Congress        | 40.8        | 283        |
| 1971        | Congress        | 43.7        | 352        |
| 1977        | BLD             | 41.3        | 295        |
| 1980        | Congress        | 42.7        | 353        |
| <b>1984</b> | <b>Congress</b> | <b>48.0</b> | <b>415</b> |
| 1989        | Janata Dal      | 17.8        | 143        |
| 1991        | Congress        | 36.6        | 244        |
| 1996        | BJP             | 20.3        | 161        |
| 1998        | BJP             | 25.6        | 182        |
| 1999        | BJP             | 23.8        | 182        |
| 2004        | Congress        | 26.5        | 145        |
| 2009        | Congress        | 28.6        | 206        |
| <b>2014</b> | <b>BJP</b>      | <b>31.1</b> | <b>282</b> |

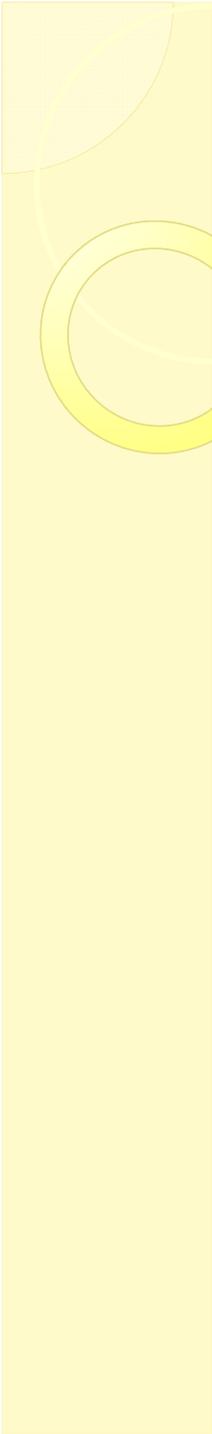
More parties did not mean decline in average victory margin, on the contrary it increased

**Average Victory Margin  
(Difference in Vote Share in %)**



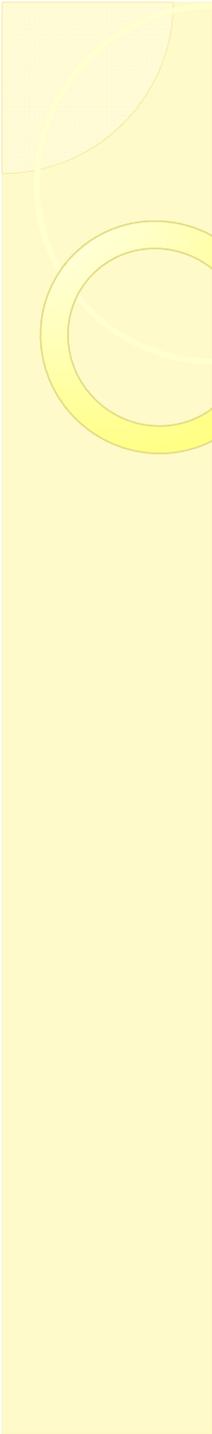
BJP registered convincing victories, three out of four seats won by margins of over one lakh votes (282 seats)





# Highest ever increase in vote share between two elections

- The BJP gained 12.2 percent votes as compared to the 2009 election – highest ever increase in the vote share of a national party between two elections
- The Congress lost 9.3 percent votes in 2014 election – highest ever loss of vote share for any party between two elections
- Negative vote swing for the Congress is higher than its earlier major defeats – 1977 and 1989.
- The previous highest gain was in 1991, when the BJP had gained 8.7 percent votes
- 2014 marks a major shift in the vote shares of major parties which had become almost stagnant in the last decade. Major increase in vote share gap between BJP and Congress.



## Summing up

- Will this trend continue at the national level?
- Will this trend continue in election being held in various provinces (States)?
- Can we see emergence of the Non-BJP front in coming years?
- Will Congress be willing to be part of any such alliance?