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# Indians Want Political Change

*Modi Viewed More Favorably than Gandhi*

**FOR FURTHER INFORMATION  
ON THIS REPORT:**

Bruce Stokes, Director of Global Economic Attitudes  
Russ Oates, Communications Manager

202.419.4372

[www.pewresearch.org](http://www.pewresearch.org)

## About the Report

This report examines political attitudes in India and is based on 2,464 face-to-face interviews with adults 18 and older, between December 7, 2013 and January 12, 2014. The survey covers 15 of the 17 most populous states (Kerala and Assam were excluded) and the Union Territory of Delhi, which together are home to about 91% of the adult Indian population. People were asked their views of major political leaders in India, their preference for which party should lead the next government, and assessments of the two major parties – the opposition Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the current head of the governing coalition, Indian National Congress (INC). For more details, see survey methods and topline results.

The report is a collaborative effort based on the input and analysis of the following individuals:

Bruce Stokes, *Director of Global Economic Attitudes*

Richard Wike, *Director of Global Attitudes Research*

James Bell, *Director of International Survey Research*

Claudia Deane, *Director, Research Practice*

Bruce Drake, *Senior Editor*

Jacob Poushter, *Research Associate*

Neha Sahgal, *Senior Researcher*

Kat Devlin, *Research Assistant*

Aaron Ponce, *Research Associate*

Steve Schwarzer, *Visiting Research Methodologist*

Katie Simmons, *Senior Researcher*

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# Indians Want Political Change

## *Modi Viewed More Favorably than Gandhi*

Seven-in-ten Indians are dissatisfied with the way things are going in India today, according to a new Pew Research Center survey. And, with the Indian parliamentary elections just weeks away, the Indian public, by a margin of more than three-to-one, would prefer the Hindu-nationalist opposition Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) to lead the next Indian government rather than the Indian National Congress (INC), which heads the current left-of-center governing coalition.

By a margin of better than two-to-one, the public says the BJP would do a better job on each of a half dozen challenges facing the nation – from combating corruption to fighting terrorism. And the BJP candidate for prime minister, Narendra Modi, the chief minister of the state of Gujarat, is more popular than putative Congress party prime ministerial candidate Rahul Gandhi, grandson and son of former Indian prime ministers.

These are the findings from a Pew Research Center survey conducted between December 7, 2013 and January 12, 2014. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with 2,464 randomly selected adults at their place of residence, in states and territories that are home to roughly 91% of the Indian population. The margin of error is 3.8%. (For more details, see methodology statement at end of report.)

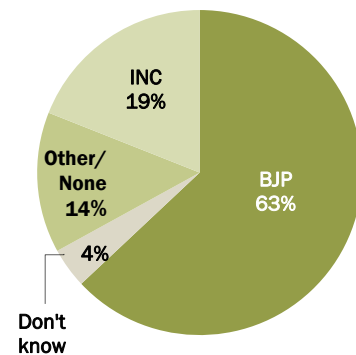
Dissatisfaction with recent developments in India is remarkably widespread: among both BJP supporters and Congress backers; among young and old; among rich and poor; and among city dwellers and rural residents. But views of the major parties vary across the country, with support for a BJP-led government strongest in the north of India. However, backing for the BJP is roughly equal in both rural and urban areas despite Congress's deep roots in rural India and its efforts to cement rural political support through employment and food security programs.

The 2014 Indian election will select 543 members of the Lok Sabha, the lower house of the national parliament. The new Lok Sabha will elect the prime minister, who will then name a cabinet.

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### BJP Favored in Parliamentary Elections

*% Which party should lead the next government?*



Source: Dec. 2013-Jan. 2014 Global Attitudes survey in India. QIND5.

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There will be 788 million eligible voters in the upcoming election, including nearly 150 million who will have become eligible to vote for the first time since the last national election five years ago. In that 2009 parliamentary election voter turnout was 58%.

India has a winner-take-all electoral system, so whoever gets the most votes in a given constituency wins that seat. No single party has won a parliamentary majority since 1989, so recent governments have involved coalitions of smaller regional parties led by either the BJP or Congress. The Pew Research survey does not directly ask about vote choice or the likelihood that a respondent will vote, and it cannot gauge the level of support for either the BJP or Congress in particular constituencies. But it reveals a widespread desire among Indians for a change in leadership.

Just 29% of Indians are satisfied with the way things are going in India today; 70% are dissatisfied. Such disgruntlement cuts across various demographic groups: men (72%) and women (67%); Indians age 18 to 29 (72%) and those 50 years of age and older (69%); those with a primary school education or less (67%) and those with at least some college education (75%); and people living in urban areas (72%) and those in rural areas (68%).

More than six-in-ten Indians (63%) prefer the BJP to lead the next Indian national government. Just two-in-ten (19%) pick the Indian National Congress. Other parties have the support of 12% of the public. BJP backing is consistent across age groups. And support is almost equal between rural (64%) and urban (60%) Indians.

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## BJP Consistently More Popular

*% would like to see \_\_\_ run the next government*

	<b>BJP</b>	<b>INC</b>	<b>Other/ None</b>	<b>BJP-INC Diff.</b>
	%	%	%	
<b>Total</b>	63	19	14	+44
Men	67	19	11	+48
Women	58	20	16	+38
18-29	66	19	11	+47
30-49	63	18	15	+45
50+	59	22	15	+37
Primary school or less	62	20	14	+42
Secondary school/ Higher secondary certificate	65	17	14	+48
Some college or more	68	16	13	+52
Low income	59	22	14	+37
Middle income	65	16	14	+49
High income	63	21	13	+42
Urban	60	21	14	+39
Rural	64	18	13	+46

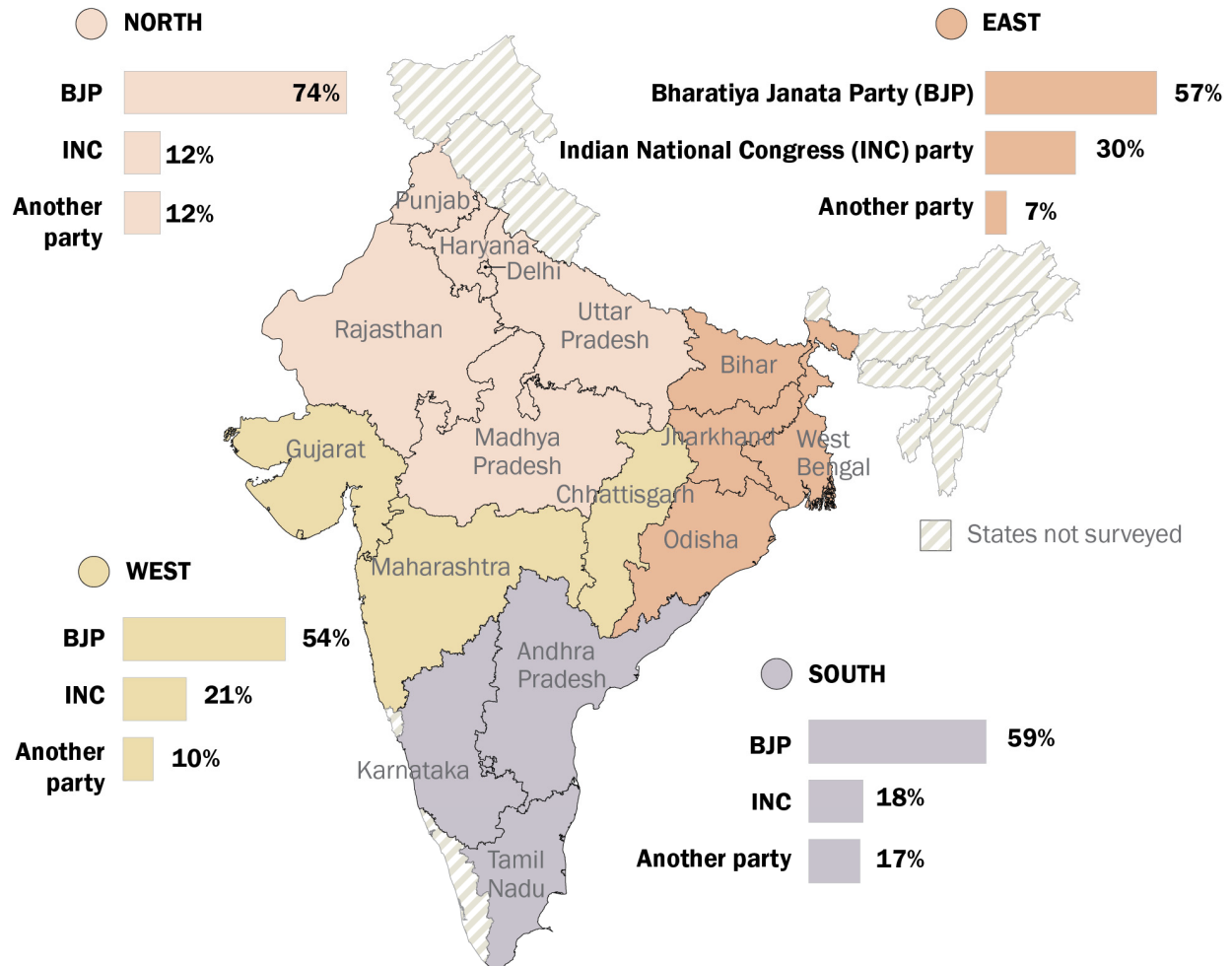
Source: Dec. 2013-Jan. 2014 Global Attitudes survey in India. QIND5.

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## Broad Support for BJP to Lead Next Government Across All Regions

What party would you like to lead the next government?



Source: Dec. 2013–Jan. 2014 Global Attitudes survey in India. QIND5.

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Northern Indian states – Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Haryana, Punjab and Delhi – which together are home to more than 400 million people, give the BJP its highest level of support, with 74% saying they want it to lead the next government. The party’s weakest backing (54%) is in the western states of Maharashtra, Chhattisgarh and Gujarat (Modi is the chief minister leading a BJP-led Gujarati state government). Congress’s strongest regional support (30%) is in the eastern states of Odisha, Bihar, West Bengal and Jharkhand, among India’s poorest areas and home to 270 million people.

Support for a BJP-led government after the upcoming election reflects across-the-board sentiment that the BJP would do a better job dealing with a range of challenges facing Indian society.

A majority says the BJP (58%) is likely to be more successful than Congress (20%) in creating employment opportunities in the future. BJP prime ministerial candidate Modi leads the economically successful state of Gujarat.

A similar proportion of the Indian public (56%) say BJP would do a better job than Congress (20%) in reducing terrorism.

There is equal belief (56%) that the BJP will do more to combat corruption. Only 17% say Congress would do a better job dealing with this issue.

Although [inflation in January fell](#) to an eight-month low of 5%, limiting rising prices is a special public concern. More than half the public (55%) say the BJP would be better at reining in inflation. Just 17% expect Congress to be more successful in that economic task.

In recent months the Lok Sabha has been stymied by partisan disputes. The Indian public says the BJP (47%) is better suited than the Congress party (19%) to end that gridlock.

A majority of the public (54%) says the BJP would do a better job than Congress (21%) in helping the poor. This is true even among low-income Indians and despite the fact that Congress party-led governments enacted programs to guarantee unskilled manual labor wage employment at the government's expense and to provide subsidized food grains to approximately two-thirds of India's 1.2 billion people.<sup>1</sup>

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### BJP Seen as Problem Solver

*% saying \_\_\_ party would do a better job ...*

	<b>BJP</b>	<b>INC</b>	<b>Diff.</b>
	%	%	
Combating corruption	56	17	+39
Creating job opportunities	58	20	+38
Limiting rising prices	55	17	+38
Reducing terrorism	56	20	+36
Helping the poor	54	21	+33
Ending political deadlock	47	19	+28

Source: Dec. 2013-Jan. 2014 Global Attitudes survey in India. QIND2a-f.

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<sup>1</sup> For income, respondents are grouped into three categories of low, middle and high. Low-income respondents are those with a reported monthly household income of 4,000 rupees or less, middle-income respondents fall between the range of 4,001 to 10,000 rupees per month, and those in the high-income category earn 10,001 rupees or more per month.

Roughly eight-in-ten Indians (78%) have a favorable view of Narendra Modi, compared with 16% who hold an unfavorable view. Modi's support is especially high in the North, and he is seen favorably in both rural and urban areas and among high and low income and well educated and less educated Indians.

Rahul Gandhi, is seen favorably by 50% of those surveyed and unfavorably by 43%. Gandhi's favorability is fairly consistent across demographic groups and his regional support is strongest in the eastern part of the country: in the states of Odisha, Bihar, West Bengal and Jharkhand.

There is a notable difference between the intensity of support for Modi and Gandhi. Fully 60% of those surveyed say they have a *very* favorable view of the Gujarati leader. Just 23% of the public have a *very* favorable opinion of the heir apparent to the Gandhi family legacy.

Sonia Gandhi, long-time president of the Congress party, Rahul's mother and widow of assassinated prime minister Rajiv Gandhi, is seen favorably by 49% of the public. But 46% have an unfavorable view of her. She too has her greatest support in the east.

Roughly half of Indians (52%) have a favorable view of Manmohan Singh, the Congress party's outgoing two-term prime minister. But 42% have an unfavorable opinion of the man who has served as prime minister for nearly a decade. The public is divided about Singh's finance minister, P. Chidambaram: 37% have a favorable view, 39% see him unfavorably, 24% voice no opinion.

There is only slightly more enthusiasm for Rajnath Singh, the president of the BJP: 43% have a favorable opinion and 34% have an unfavorable view. But again, nearly a quarter (23%) of the public has no view.

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## Modi Widely Viewed Favorably

*% favorable*

	Narendra Modi %	Rahul Gandhi %	Diff.
<b>Total</b>	78	50	+28
Men	80	51	+29
Women	75	50	+25
18-29	80	49	+31
30-49	78	52	+26
50+	74	52	+22
Primary school or less	76	50	+26
Secondary school/ Higher secondary certificate	81	51	+30
Some college or more	86	55	+31
Low income	72	51	+21
Middle income	81	53	+28
High income	80	46	+34
Urban	77	53	+24
Rural	78	49	+29

Source: Dec. 2013-Jan. 2014 Global Attitudes survey in India. QIND4d, QIND4e.

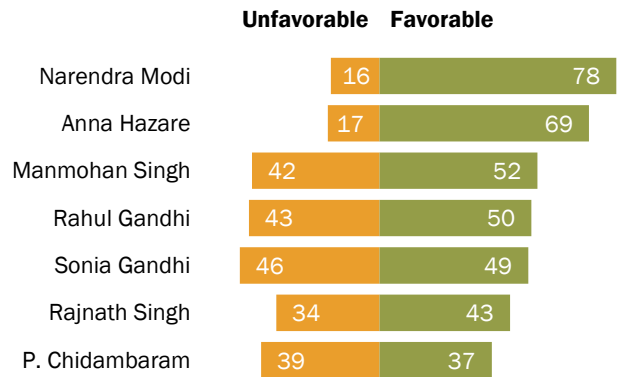
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Anna Hazare, a social activist prominent in the anti-corruption movement that presaged the rise of the Aam Aadmi (Common Man) party that recently took control of Delhi's state government and is attempting to mount a national campaign for the Lok Sabha, is seen favorably by 69% of the public, making him the second most popular of the national figures tested in the survey.

## Modi, Hazare Seen Favorably

% with a \_\_\_\_\_ opinion of ...



Source: Dec. 2013-Jan. 2014 Global Attitudes survey in India. QIND4a-g.

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## **India Survey Methods**

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**Winter 2013-2014 Survey**

The survey in India was conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International.

Results for the survey in India are based on 2,464 face-to-face interviews with adults 18 and older, between December 7, 2013 and January 12, 2014. Interviews were conducted in Hindi, Tamil, Bengali, Telugu, Odia, Marathi, Kannada, and Gujarati. The survey covers 15 of the 17 most populous states (Kerala and Assam were excluded) and the Union Territory of Delhi, which together are home to about 91% of the adult Indian population. The survey is based on an area-probability design, which entailed proportional allocation of 1,876 interviews by region and urbanity, plus an urban over-sample of 588 interviews. The primary sampling units were urban settlements and rural districts. The full sample was weighted to reflect the national urban-rural distribution in India.

The margin of sampling error is  $\pm 3.8$  percentage points. For the results based on the full sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus the margin of error. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

# **Topline Results**

## **Pew Research Center**

### **Winter 2013-2014 Survey**

#### **February 26, 2014 Release**

#### Methodological notes:

- Survey results are based on a national sample. For further details on sample designs, see Survey Methods section.
- Due to rounding, percentages may not total 100%. The topline “total” columns show 100%, because they are based on unrounded numbers.
- For some countries, trends for certain years are omitted due to differences in sample design or population coverage. Omitted trends often reflect less representative samples than more recent surveys in the same countries. Trends that are omitted include:
  - India prior to 2013
- Not all questions included in the Winter 2013-2014 survey are presented in this topline. Omitted questions have either been previously released or will be released in future reports.

		Q1 Overall, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in our country today?			
		Satisfied	Dissatisfied	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	29	70	1	100

		QIND2a Please tell me if, in your opinion, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) or the Indian National Congress (INC) party could do a better job in each of the following areas: a. Creating employment opportunities					
		BJP	INC	Other (Volunteered)	None (Volunteered)	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	58	20	10	6	6	100

		QIND2b Please tell me if, in your opinion, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) or the Indian National Congress (INC) party could do a better job in each of the following areas: b. Reducing terrorism					
		BJP	INC	Other (Volunteered)	None (Volunteered)	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	56	20	10	6	8	100

		QIND2c Please tell me if, in your opinion, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) or the Indian National Congress (INC) party could do a better job in each of the following areas: c. Combating corruption					
		BJP	INC	Other (Volunteered)	None (Volunteered)	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	56	17	12	8	7	100

		QIND2d Please tell me if, in your opinion, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) or the Indian National Congress (INC) party could do a better job in each of the following areas: d. Limiting rising prices					
		BJP	INC	Other (Volunteered)	None (Volunteered)	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	55	17	11	9	8	100

		QIND2e Please tell me if, in your opinion, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) or the Indian National Congress (INC) party could do a better job in each of the following areas: e. Ending political deadlock					
		BJP	INC	Other (Volunteered)	None (Volunteered)	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	47	19	12	9	14	100

		QIND2f Please tell me if, in your opinion, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) or the Indian National Congress (INC) party could do a better job in each of the following areas: f. Helping the poor					
		BJP	INC	Other (Volunteered)	None (Volunteered)	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	54	21	11	8	6	100

		QIND4a Now I'd like to ask your views about some political leaders in our country. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of: a. Manmohan Singh					
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	24	28	19	23	5	100

		QIND4b Now I'd like to ask your views about some political leaders in our country. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of: b. Sonia Gandhi					
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	19	30	19	27	5	100

		QIND4c Now I'd like to ask your views about some political leaders in our country. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of: c. Rajnath Singh					
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	15	28	20	14	23	100

		QIND4d Now I'd like to ask your views about some political leaders in our country. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of: d. Rahul Gandhi					
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	23	27	22	21	6	100
		QIND4e Now I'd like to ask your views about some political leaders in our country. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of: e. Narendra Modi					
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	60	18	9	7	7	100
		QIND4f Now I'd like to ask your views about some political leaders in our country. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of: f. P. Chidambaram					
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	13	24	20	19	24	100
		QIND4g Now I'd like to ask your views about some political leaders in our country. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of: g. Anna Hazare					
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	47	22	10	7	13	100
		QIND5 As you may know, national parliamentary elections are scheduled for next year. What party would you like to lead the next government – the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), the Indian National Congress (INC) party, another party or none of the above?					
		BJP	INC	Other	None	DK/Refused	Total
India	Winter, 2013-2014	63	19	12	2	4	100