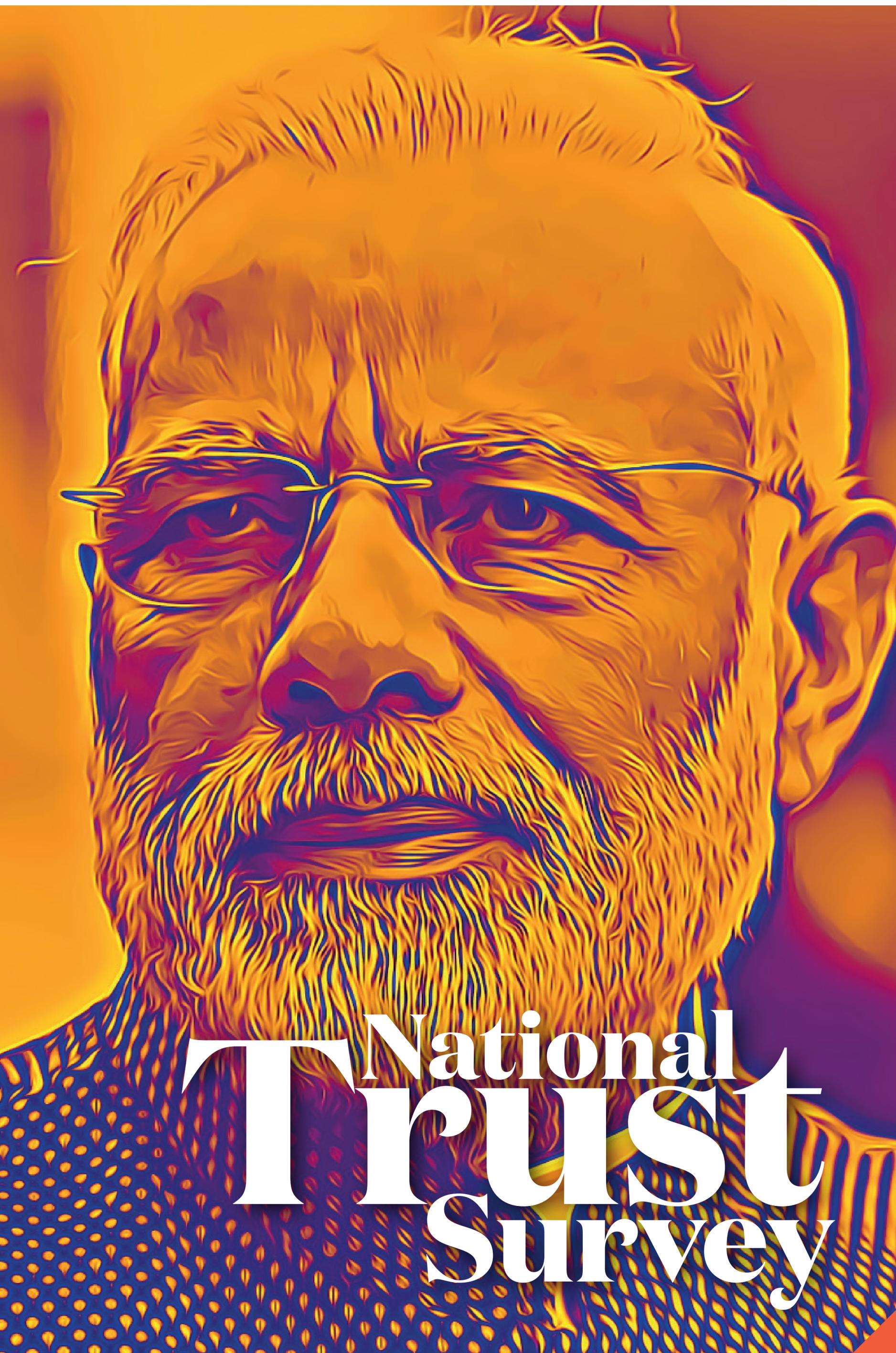


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National  
**Trust**  
Survey

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**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

Sample size



34,470

# Methodology



**34,470**  
INDIVIDUALS

**291**  
URBAN WARDS

**690**  
VILLAGES

**320**  
CONSTITUENCIES

**285**  
DISTRICTS

**23**  
STATES

ooo Total 34,470 individuals were surveyed from 291 urban wards and 690 villages in 57 socio-cultural regions covering 320 parliamentary constituencies, spreading in 285 districts across 23 states of India.

ooo To ascertain local political situation and identify influencing factors of each state segregated by urban and rural constituencies coupled with some diagnostics on how and why people might vote in a certain way. Therefore, a sampling protocol that was best suitable to capture the heterogeneity of India's population base across all states was followed.

ooo To ensure representation at Socio-cultural region (SCR) level with 95% confidence interval and 5% margin of error desired levels of precision.

# Methodology



- For this, a comprehensive national sample frame at the most granular level possible (census enumerator blocks in urban and villages in rural) and random selection at every level of sample selection (i.e.: district, ward/village, household, individual)
- The sampling methodology was designed to provide estimates at socio-cultural region and state level
- The method was developed using ward (urban) and village (rural) level data from the 2011 National Primary Census Abstract Data
- The PPS sampling procedure was adopted for selection of wards and villages in each SCR.
- Raw data collected was then weighted using 2011 national Census data to correct for over- and under-sampling of certain population sub-groups.

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**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

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## Points considered while conducting survey

### **WEIGHTING IS DONE IN TWO STEPS**

**STEP 1** State, SCR, age and gender population were taken basis IRS data. Sample proportion were calculated on IRS data and sample collected.

**STEP 2** Weights have been applied in proportion to state population to make it nationally representative.

**USE OF SECRET BALLOT (KIND OF):** While asking the question on who they voted for or whom they are going to vote, we handed over the data capturing device to respondent on which they could mark their choice. The process was designed to ensure that the people interviewed knew they would remain anonymous.

**TRANSLATION:** The questionnaire was further translated in the language which is mainly spoken in the respondent's state. Translation was carefully scanned by language expert, so that a question in their state did not have a changed version.

### **SHOW CARDS AND DEFINITION SHEET**

were shown to respondents wherever required to proceed with the questions in the questionnaire.

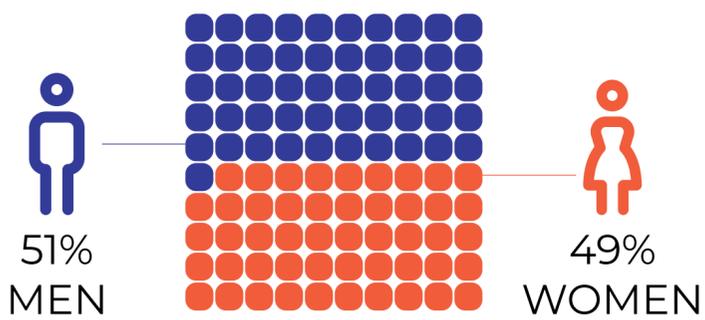


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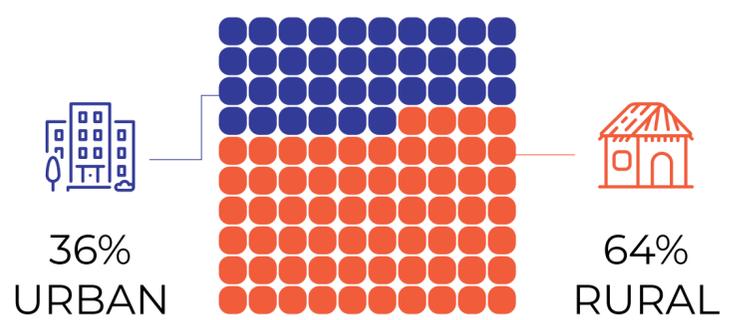
**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

Demographic profile of respondents - WAVE 1

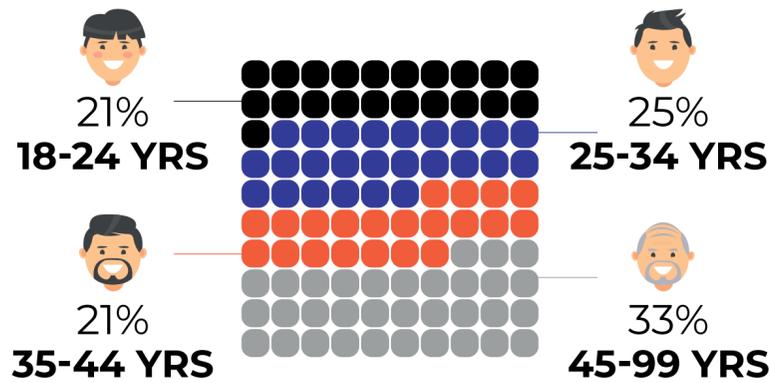
**GENDER**



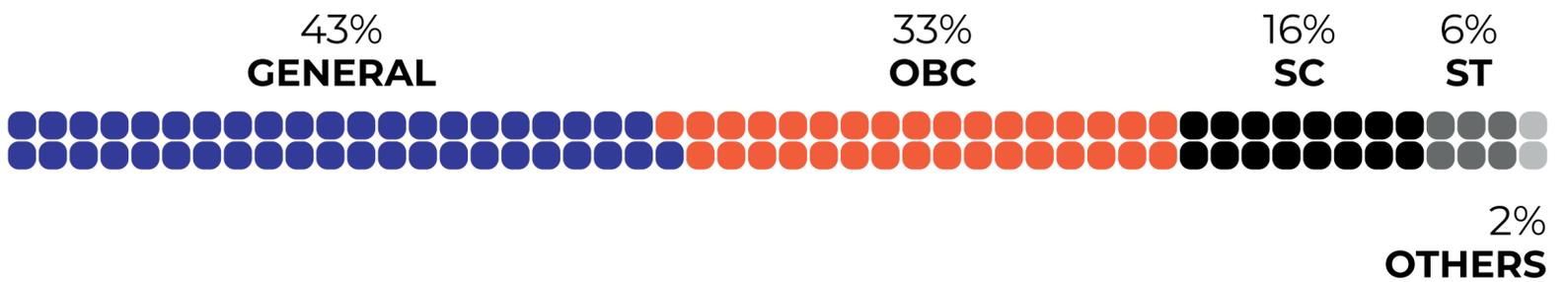
**AREA TYPE**



**AGE GROUP**



**CASTE**



**NCCS CLASSIFICATION**



Note: Additional sample of 5802 was covered in four states (MADHYA PRADESH, CHHATTISGARH, RAJASTHAN, TELANGANA) post assembly election results in 2018

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**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

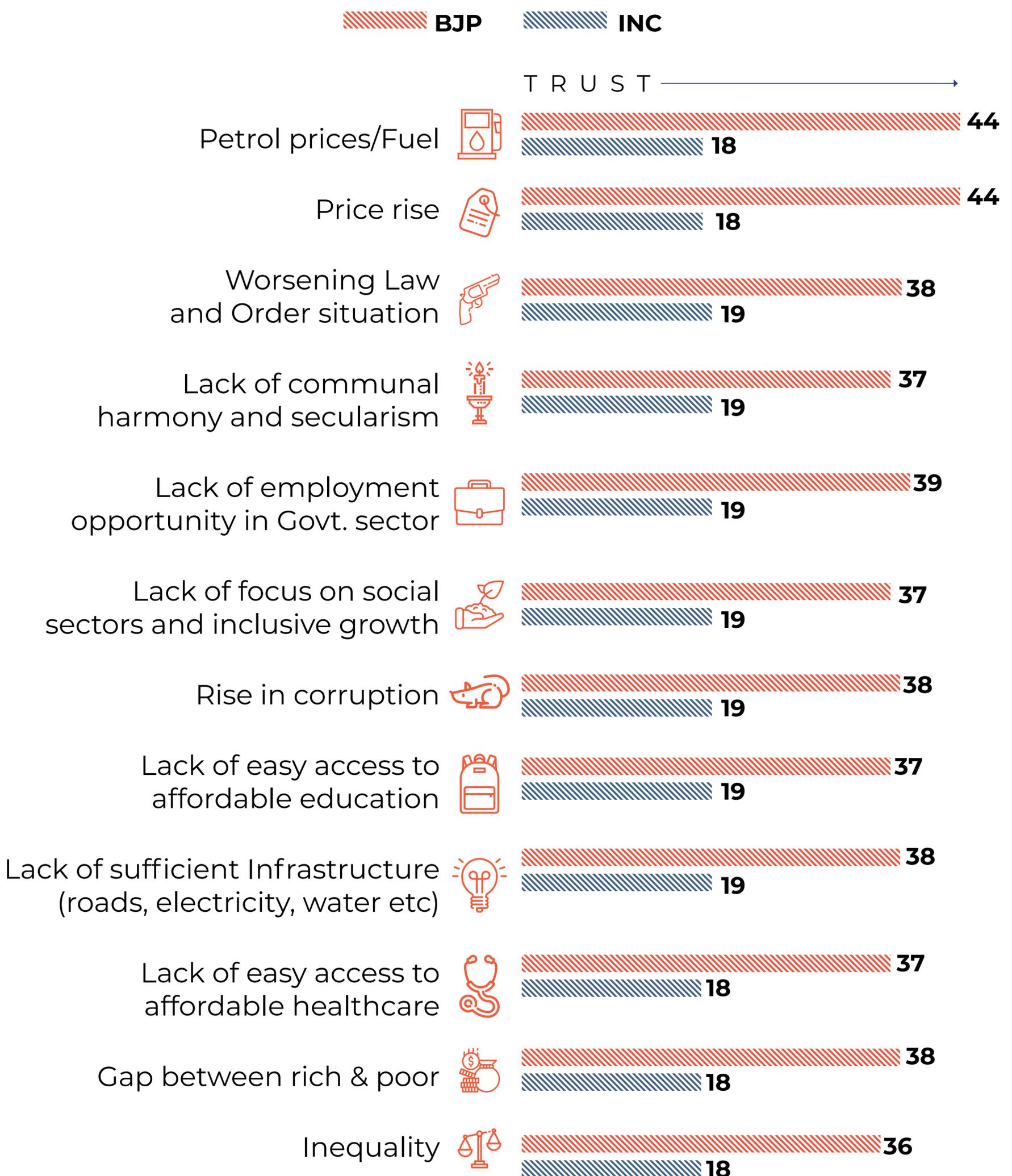
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**ISSUES &  
CONCERNS**

**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

Voters are trusting BJP more than INC for solving issues in country



Q2. People like you have identified many important issues which India is facing today. I have a list of such issues. For each issue that I read out, please tell me as which political party would you trust to handle these issues. You may choose only one party or more if you want. You may also choose 'none of party' if you feel that way. It doesn't matter how familiar you are with these parties as it is only your impression we are interested in.

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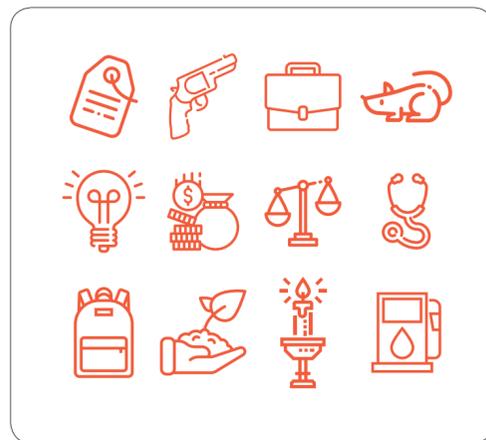
**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

Voters are trusting BJP across Hindi heartland for solving majority of issues in country

■ **BJP** ■ **INC** ■ **TDP** ■ **TRS** ■ **AIADMK** ■ **AITC** ■ **AAP** ■ **BJD** ■ **LEFT**

-  Price rise
-  Law & Order situation
-  Employment opportunity
-  Corruption
-  Infrastructure
-  Gap between rich & poor
-  Inequality
-  Access to affordable healthcare
-  Access to affordable education
-  Focus on social sectors and inclusive growth
-  Communal harmony and secularism
-  Petrol prices/Fuel

**BIHAR, CHHATTISGARH, GOA, GUJARAT, HARYANA, HIMACHAL PRADESH, JHARKHAND, KARNATAKA, MADHYA PRADESH, MAHARASHTRA, UTTAR PRADESH, UTTARAKHAND**



**ANDHRA PRADESH**



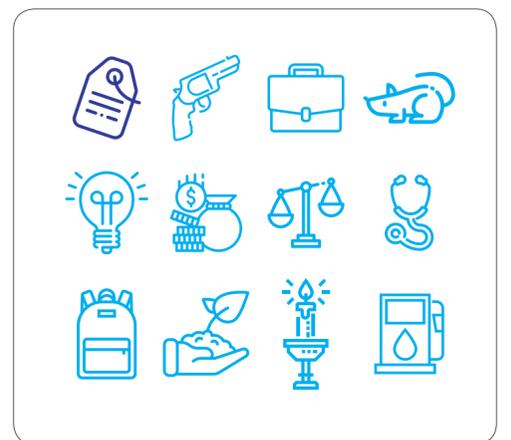
**ASSAM, PUNJAB**



**JAMMU & KASHMIR**



**KERALA**



Q2. People like you have identified many important issues which India is facing today. I have a list of such issues. For each issue that I read out, please tell me as which political party would you trust to handle these issues. You may choose only one party or more if you want. You may also choose 'none of party' if you feel that way. It doesn't matter how familiar you are with these parties as it is only your impression we are interested in.

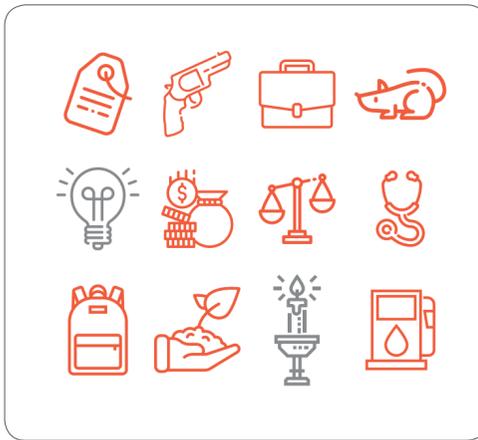
**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

Voters are trusting BJP across Hindi heartland for solving majority of issues in the country

BJP INC TDP TRS AIADMK AITC AAP BJD LEFT

-  Price rise
-  Law & Order situation
-  Employment opportunity
-  Corruption
-  Infrastructure
-  Gap between rich & poor
-  Inequality
-  Access to affordable healthcare
-  Access to affordable education
-  Focus on social sectors and inclusive growth
-  Communal harmony and secularism
-  Petrol prices/Fuel

**DELHI**



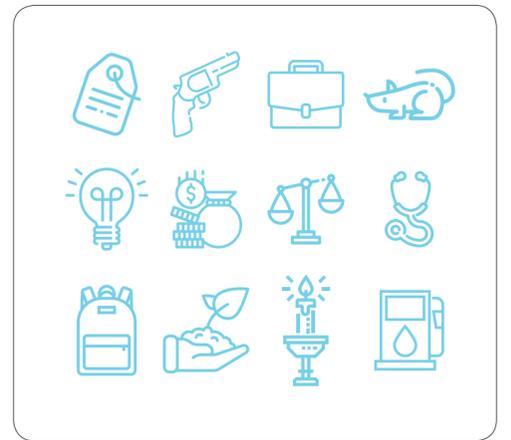
**ODISHA**



**RAJASTHAN**



**TAMIL NADU**



**TELANGANA**



**WEST BENGAL**

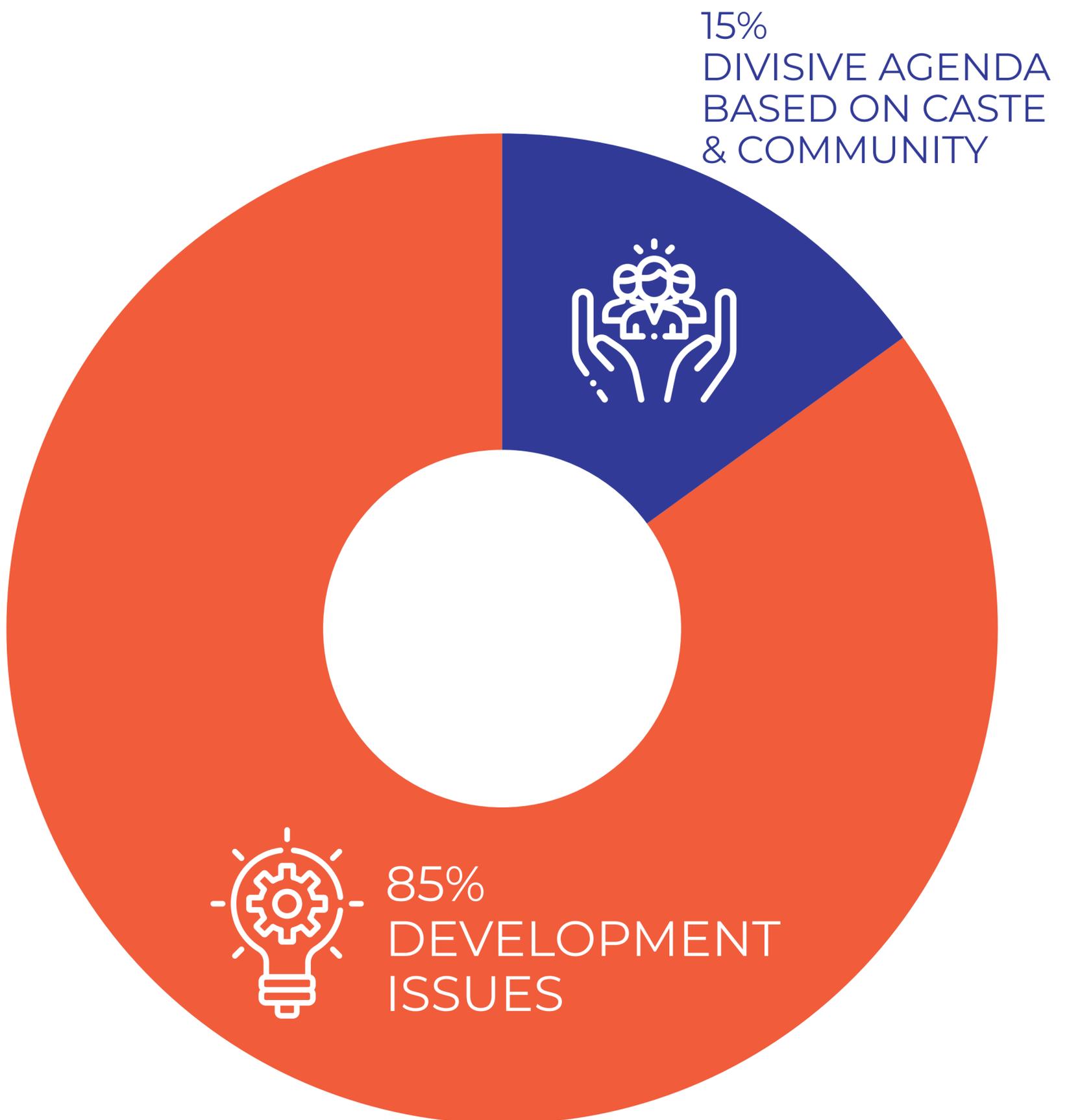


Q2. People like you have identified many important issues which India is facing today. I have a list of such issues. For each issue that I read out, please tell me as which political party would you trust to handle these issues. You may choose only one party or more if you want. You may also choose 'none of party' if you feel that way. It doesn't matter how familiar you are with these parties as it is only your impression we are interested in.

**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

**2019 ELECTION CAMPAIGN AGENDA**

Majority of voters think that election campaign for 2019 would be contested on developmental agenda



## NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY

### 2019 ELECTION CAMPAIGN AGENDA

Majority of voters think that election campaign for 2019 would be contested on developmental agenda

	N	 Development Issues (%)	Divisive agenda based on caste and or community (%)
Jammu & Kashmir	498	98.2	1.8
Telangana	515	96.9	3.1
Andhra Pradesh	1111	96.5	3.5
Odisha	2169	95.8	4.2
Gujarat	2147	94.1	5.9
Chhattisgarh	471	93.1	6.9
Madhya Pradesh	2079	91.9	8.1
Himachal Pradesh	501	91.1	8.9
Jharkhand	527	91.0	9
Nct Of Delhi	540	89.4	10.6
Bihar	1548	89.1	10.9
Goa	531	87.8	12.2
Uttarakhand	496	85.9	14.1
West Bengal	1524	84.7	15.4
Rajasthan	2092	84	16
Uttar Pradesh	2604	83.5	16.5
Punjab	964	83.3	16.7
Haryana	1046	82.2	17.8
Maharashtra	2635	81.4	18.6
Tamil Nadu	1018	80	20
Karnataka	1552	72.8	27.3
Kerala	1029	69.1	30.9
Assam	1070	57.4	42.6

**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

**2019 ELECTION CAMPAIGN AGENDA**

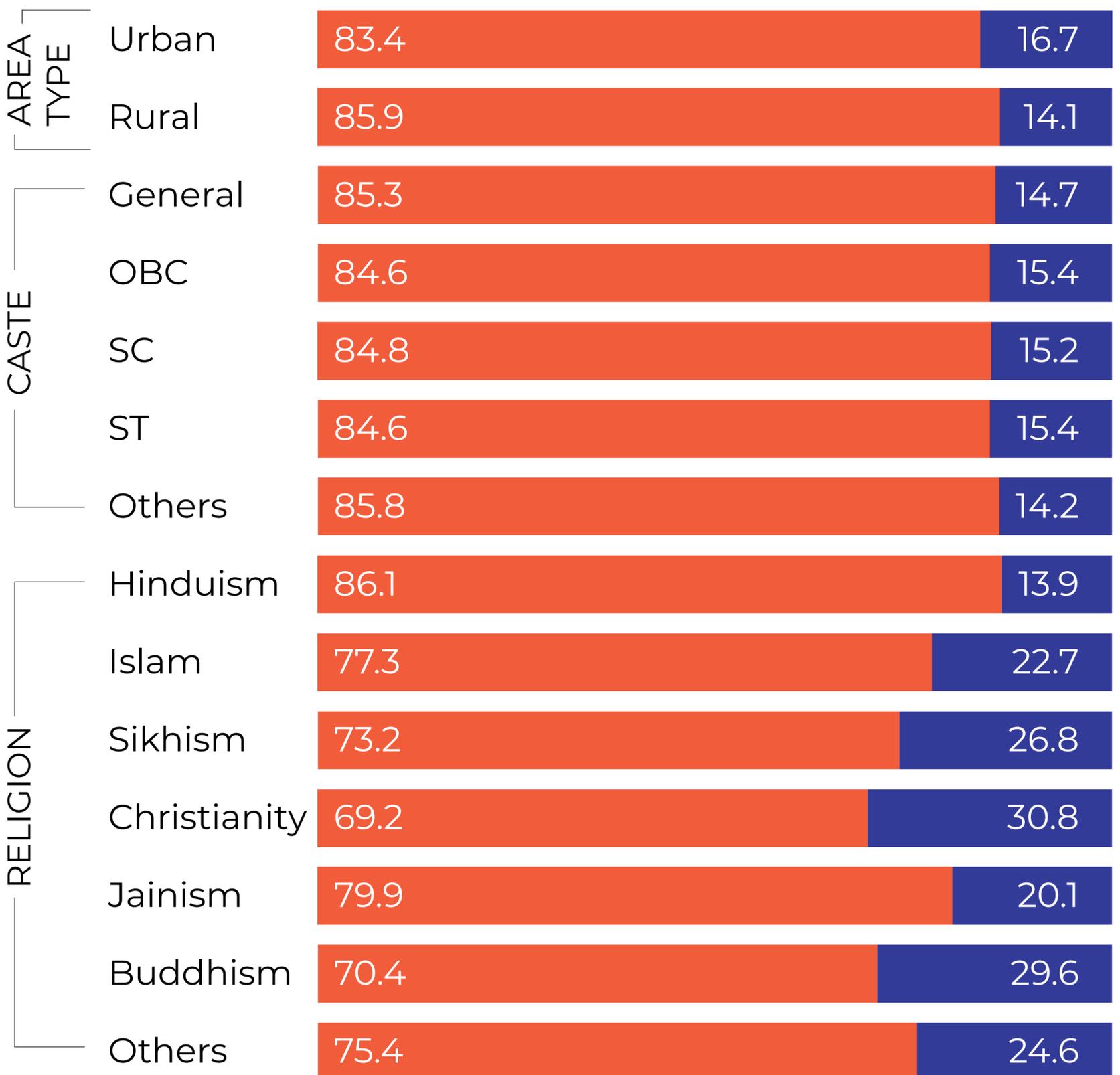
# Demographic Break Up



Divisive agenda based on caste and or community (%)



Development Issues (%)



Q3. What do you think will dominate in the election campaigning for 2019?

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## NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY

### Key Highlights



Inflation, employment opportunities, corruption and law and order are the burning issues for voters and majority of them would trust BJP as party to solve these issues.



**AAP IS PERCEIVED TO BE DOING WELL ON ASPECTS LIKE INFRASTRUCTURE AND MAINTAINING COMMUNAL HARMONY IN DELHI**



**MATTER OF CONCERN FOR BJP IN ASSAM. VOTERS ARE ATTACHING MORE TRUST TOWARDS INC TO HANDLE ISSUES CONCERNING PEOPLE**



Trust is more for regional parties in their respective states mainly in Tamil Nadu, Odisha, West Bengal, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh & Telangana

Positive perception for INC in Punjab and Assam

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**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

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# **VOTERS TRUST**

ON INSTITUTIONS, FAMILY/FRIENDS  
AND POLITICAL PARTIES

**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

**VOTERS' TRUST**

People have expressed more trust towards their 'own family' followed by 'religious place'

TRUST A LITTLE

TRUST A GREAT DEAL

RELIGIOUS PLACE

21 56

SCHOOLS/EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

24.1 52.6

PRIME MINISTER OF COUNTRY

25.4 49

SUPREME COURTS

24.2 48.5

PARLIAMENT

27.1 44.6

MEDIA

29.4 38.2

PUBLIC AUTHORITIES

32.9 30.2

POLICE

29.9 30.6

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

33.7 24.7

CORPORATES

30.3 24.7

PRINCIPAL OPPOSITION PARTY

31.9 21.4



Institutions

**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

**VOTERS' TRUST**

People have expressed more trust towards their 'own family' followed by 'religious place'

TRUST A LITTLE

TRUST A GREAT DEAL



Family & Friends

YOUR OWN FAMILY



FRIENDS



NEIGHBOURS



COMMUNITY LEADERS



STRANGERS



Parties/ Politicians

NARENDRA MODI



POLITICAL PARTIES



POLITICIAN



RAHUL GANDHI



## NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY

### VOTERS' TRUST

In AP, Kerala, TN, Rahul Gandhi has gained more trust than Narendra Modi



**NARENDRA  
MODI**



**RAHUL  
GANDHI**



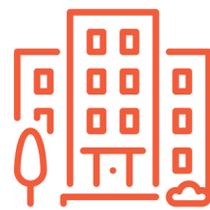
**YOUR OWN  
FAMILY**

	NARENDRA MODI	RAHUL GANDHI	YOUR OWN FAMILY
Overall	67	49	83
Andhra Pradesh	41	64	85
Assam	70	55	65
Bihar	83	45	95
Chhattisgarh	82	51	87
Goa	62	42	89
Gujarat	71	42	71
Haryana	83	25	92
Himachal	87	36	99
Jammu	93	50	96
Jharkhand	76	38	84
Karnataka	60	49	68
Kerala	37	63	73
Madhya Pradesh	81	61	91
Maharashtra	72	52	80
NCT of Delhi	73	40	87
Odisha	77	53	78
Punjab	45	43	85
Rajasthan	82	60	88
Tamil Nadu	25	60	83
Telangana	60	43	39
Uttar Pradesh	77	36	88
Uttarakhand	77	42	92
West Bengal	65	51	95

## NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY

### VOTERS' TRUST

## By Demographic cuts



#### URBAN



#### RURAL

	URBAN	RURAL
Base	9564	19104
Your own family	81.0	84.2
Religious place	74.5	78.5
Educational system	74.8	77.8
Friends	74.6	77.5
PM of the Country	71.0	76.3
Neighbors	71.6	75.9
Supreme courts	70.5	73.9
Parliament	68.3	73.7
Media	66.7	68.1
Narendra Modi	63.9	69.5
Public authorities	59.8	64.9
Police	60.1	60.8
Community Leaders	57.4	61.6
Council of ministers	55.5	60.1
Corporates	53.2	56.0
Political Parties	52.2	55.6
Politician	51.7	55.0
Principal Opposition Party	50.6	54.8
Rahul Gandhi	46.9	50.2
Strangers	33.7	34.4

**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

**VOTERS' TRUST**

# Key Highlights



Family comes first followed by friends, religious place and educational institutions in terms of trust. The level of trust on family is nearly cent percent in Himachal Pradesh followed by Jammu. While in Telangana, friends are more trusted than family



PMO is more trusted than Supreme Court and Parliament, indicating faith on PM



**THERE IS SIGNIFICANT GAP IN LEVEL OF TRUST BETWEEN PM NARENDRA MODI AND RAHUL GANDHI**

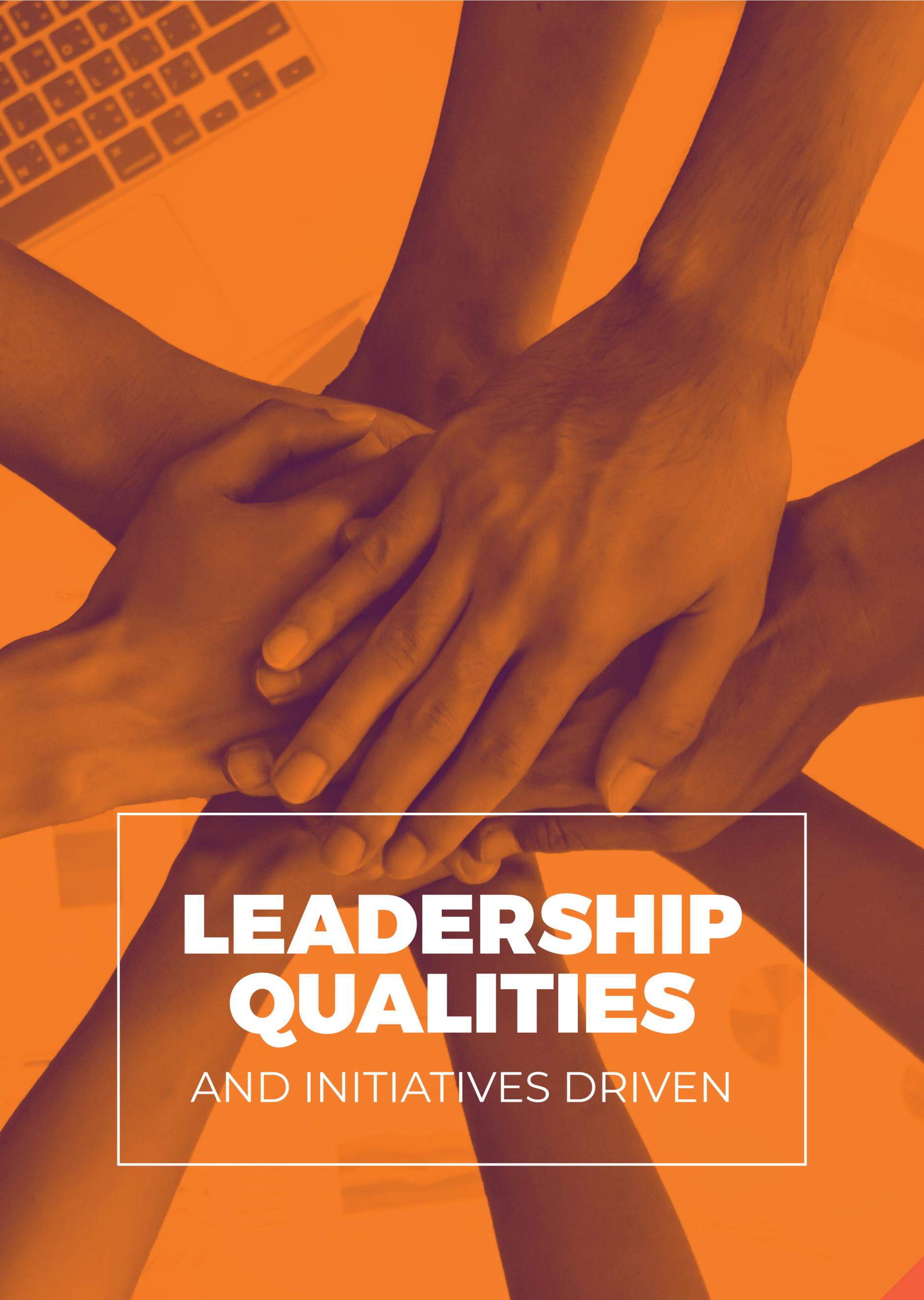


**RAHUL GANDHI HAS SCORED LOWER THAN GENERAL POLITICIANS IN TERMS OF PEOPLE'S TRUST**

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**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**



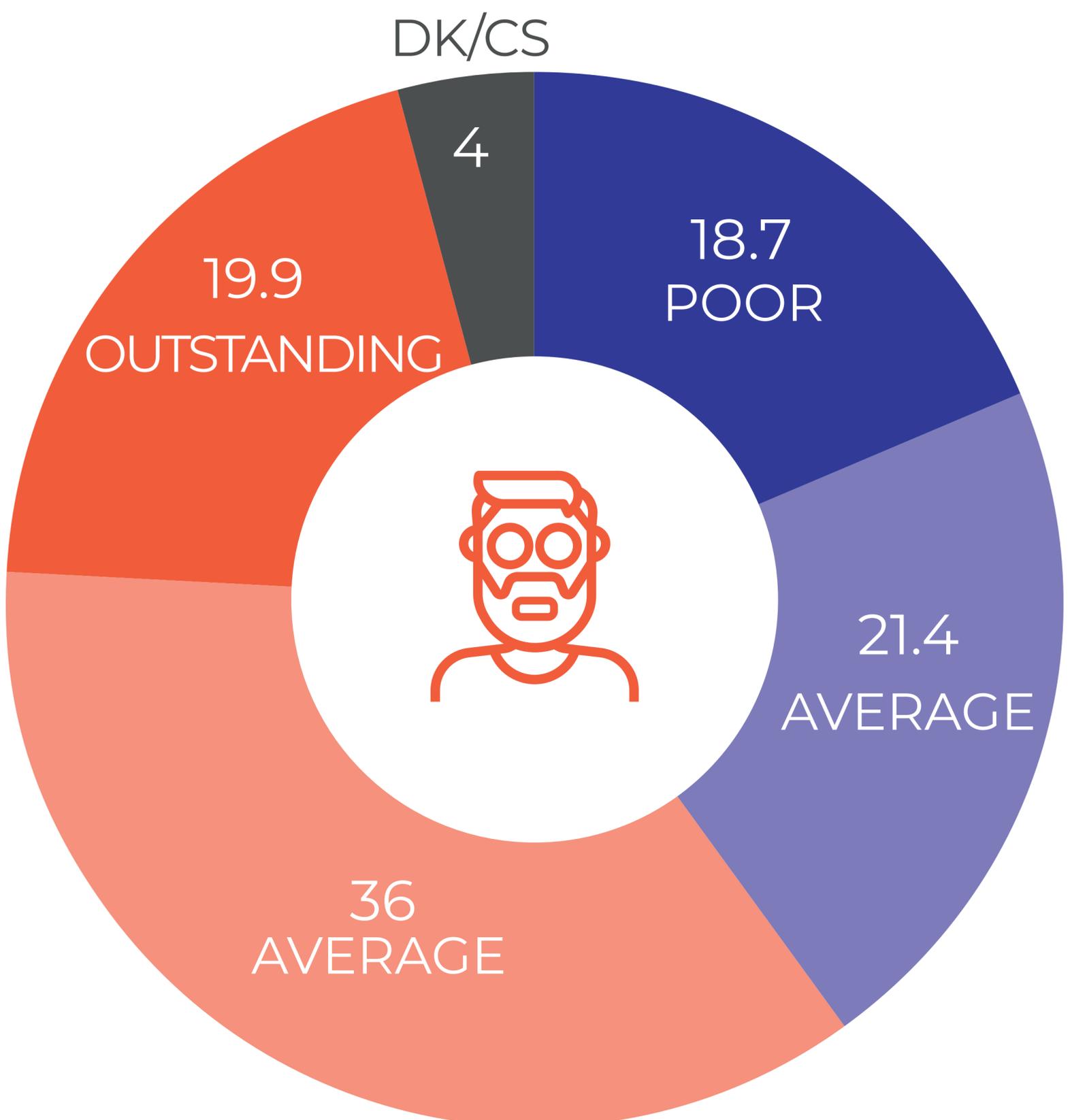
**LEADERSHIP  
QUALITIES**

AND INITIATIVES DRIVEN

**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

**PERFORMANCE RATING OF  
THE CURRENT PRIME MINISTER**

AP followed by Tamil Nadu and Kerala  
have rated low on performance of  
Prime Minister Narendra Modi

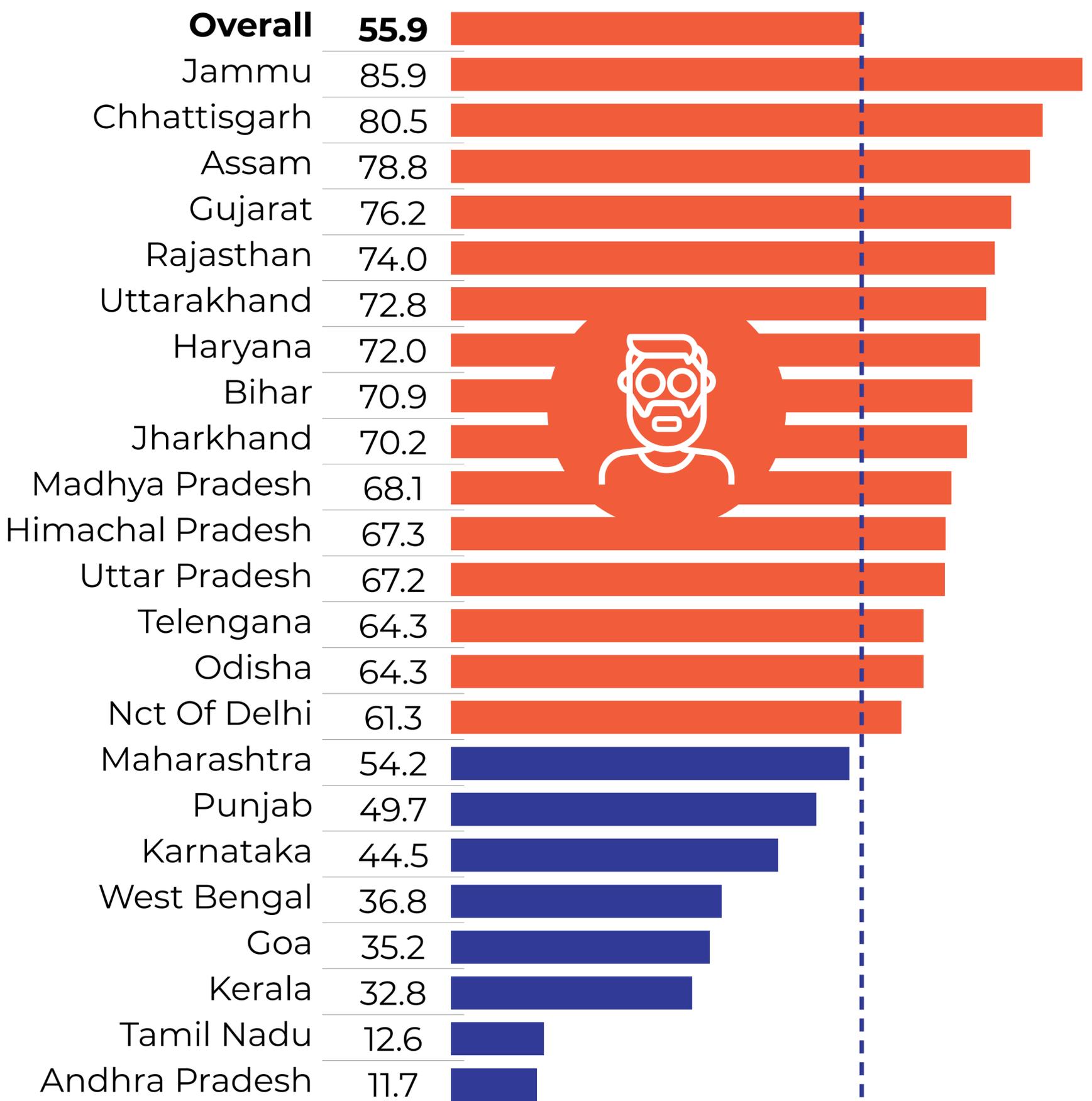


How would you rate the performance of  
Prime Minister Narendra Modi?

**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

**PERFORMANCE RATING OF PRIME MINISTER NARENDRA MODI**

Maharashtra, Punjab, Karnataka, West Bengal & Goa have also rated below overall average

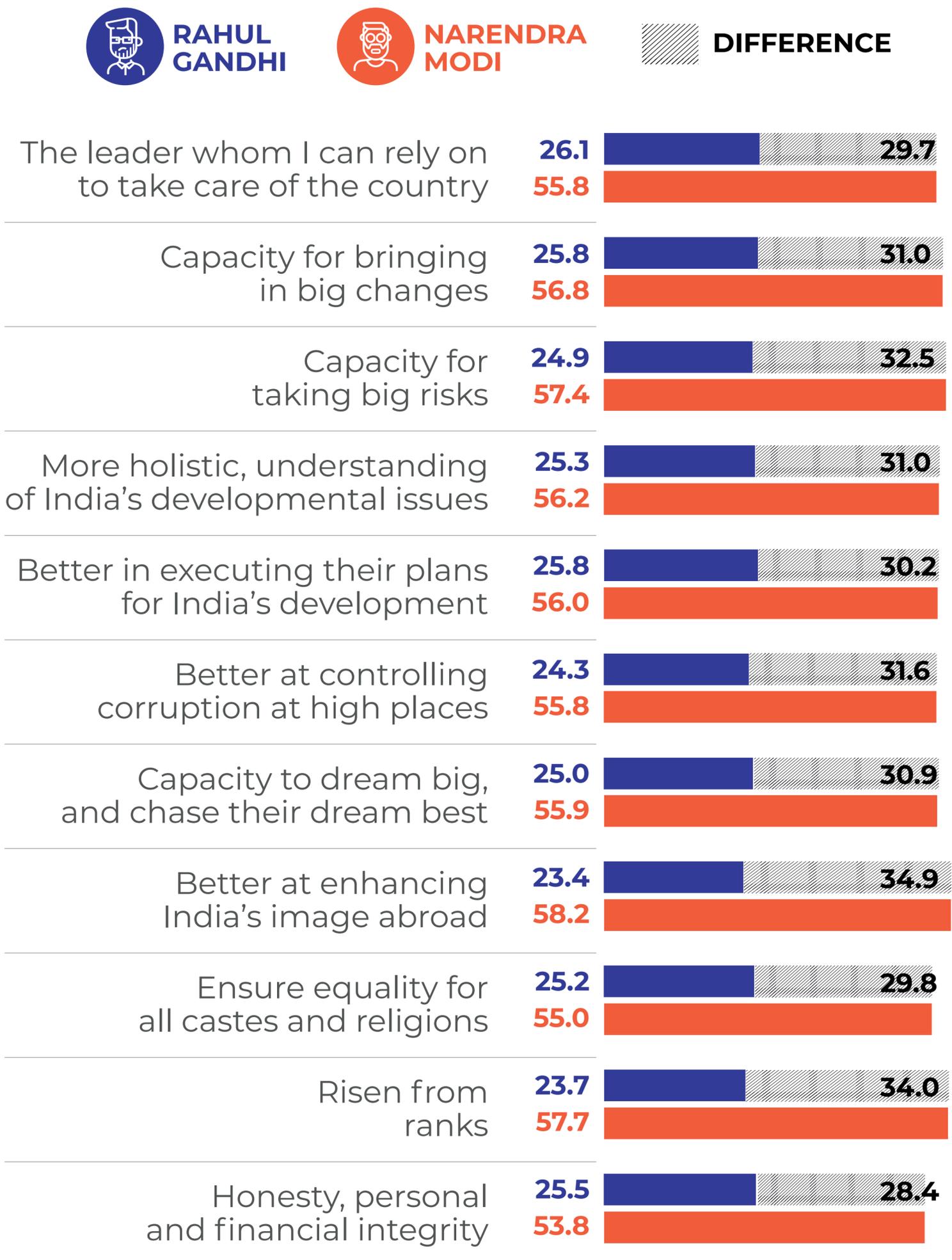


How would you rate the performance of the Prime Minister Narendra Modi?

**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

**QUALITY OF LEADERSHIP**

Narendra Modi has significant lead over Rahul Gandhi on all leadership attributes 'Better at enhancing India's image abroad' followed by 'Risen from ranks' leads the most



How do voters perceive about various political leaders on different leaderships aspects?

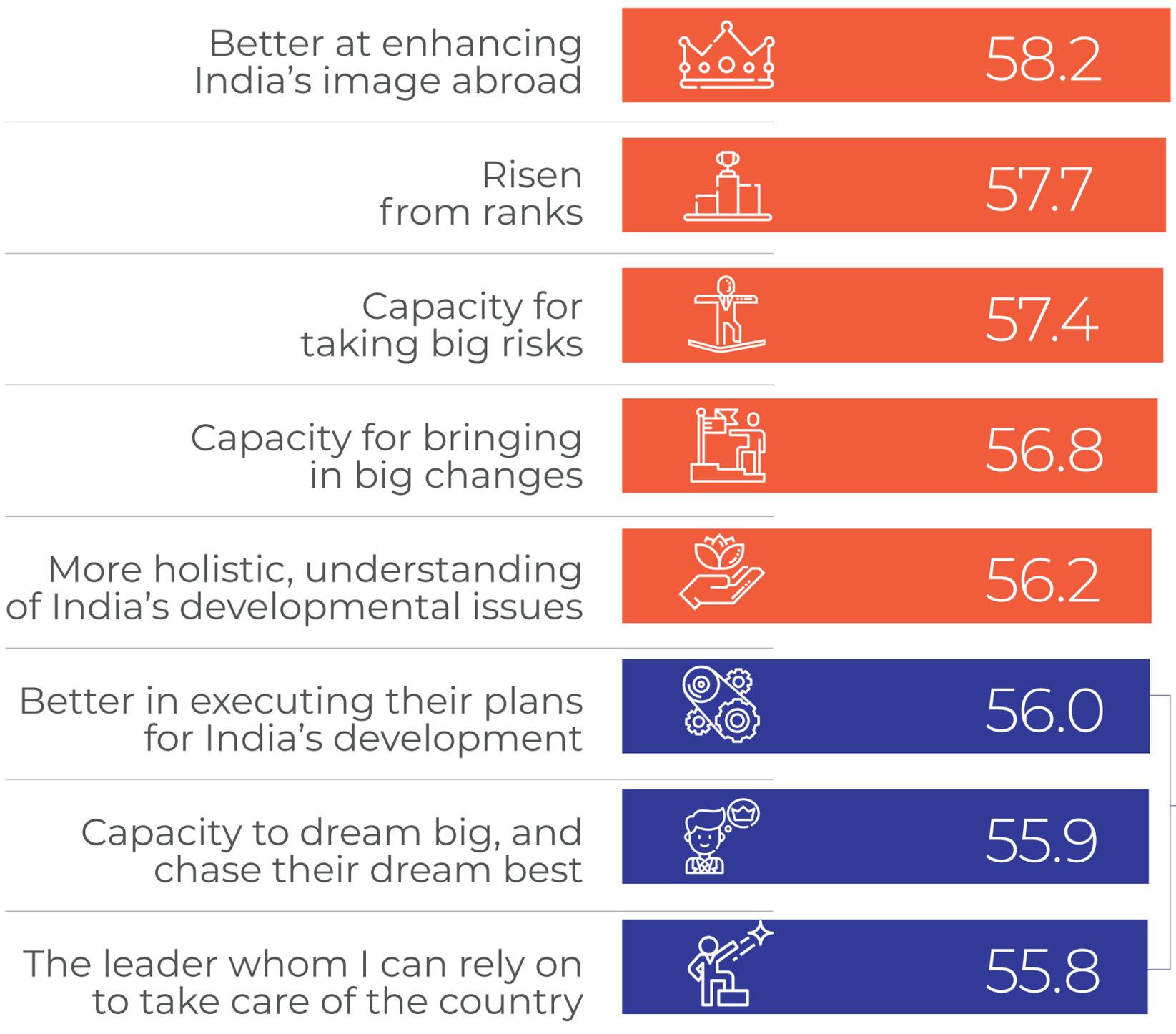
**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

**QUALITY OF MODI LEADERSHIP**



Narendra Modi

**Normalisation**



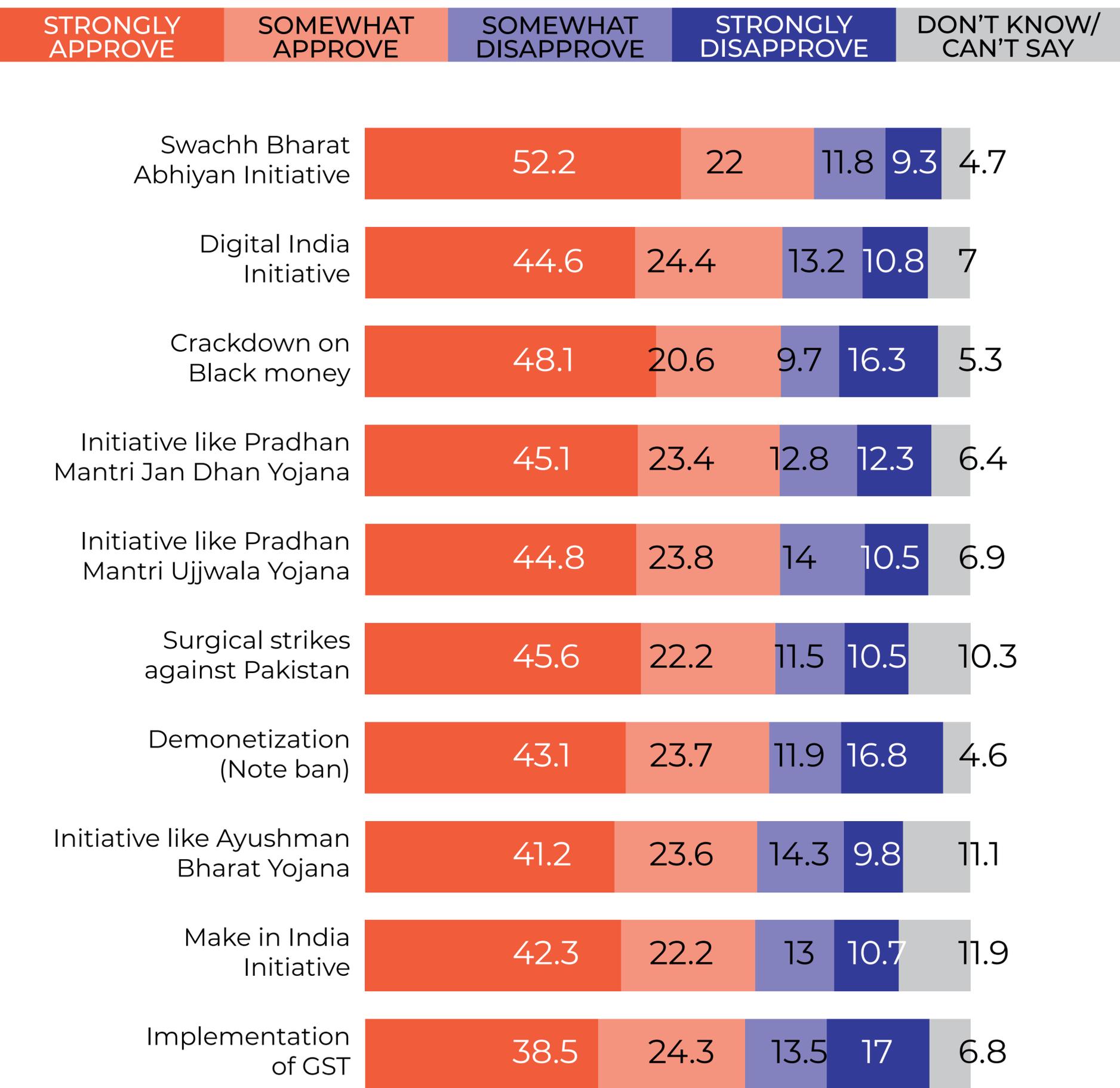
**LEADERSHIP QUALITIES & WHERE IT REQUIRES IMPROVEMENT**

How do voters perceive about various political leaders on different leaderships aspects?

**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

**INITIATIVES LED BY NARENDRA MODI**

People have identified Swachh Bharat Abhiyan, crackdown on black money and surgical strike as top 3 actions initiated by PM Narendra Modi



To what extent do you approve or disapprove of the following about the NDA Government led by PM Narendra Modi?

## NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY

### INITIATIVES LED BY PM NARENDRA MODI

## Strongly Approve % Only



URBAN



RURAL

ALL

	ALL	URBAN	RURAL
Swachh Bharat Abhiyan Initiative	52.2	50.4	53.3
Crackdown on Black money	48.1	45.7	49.6
Surgical strikes against Pakistan	45.6	44.7	46.2
Initiative like Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana	45.1	43.4	46.1
Pradhan Mantri Ujjwala Yojana (PMUY)	44.8	42.8	45.9
Digital India Initiative	44.6	44.4	44.7
Demonetization	43.1	42	43.7
Make in India Initiative	42.3	41.8	42.6
Initiative like Ayushman Bharat Yojana	41.2	40.4	41.7
Implementation of GST	38.5	37.1	39.3

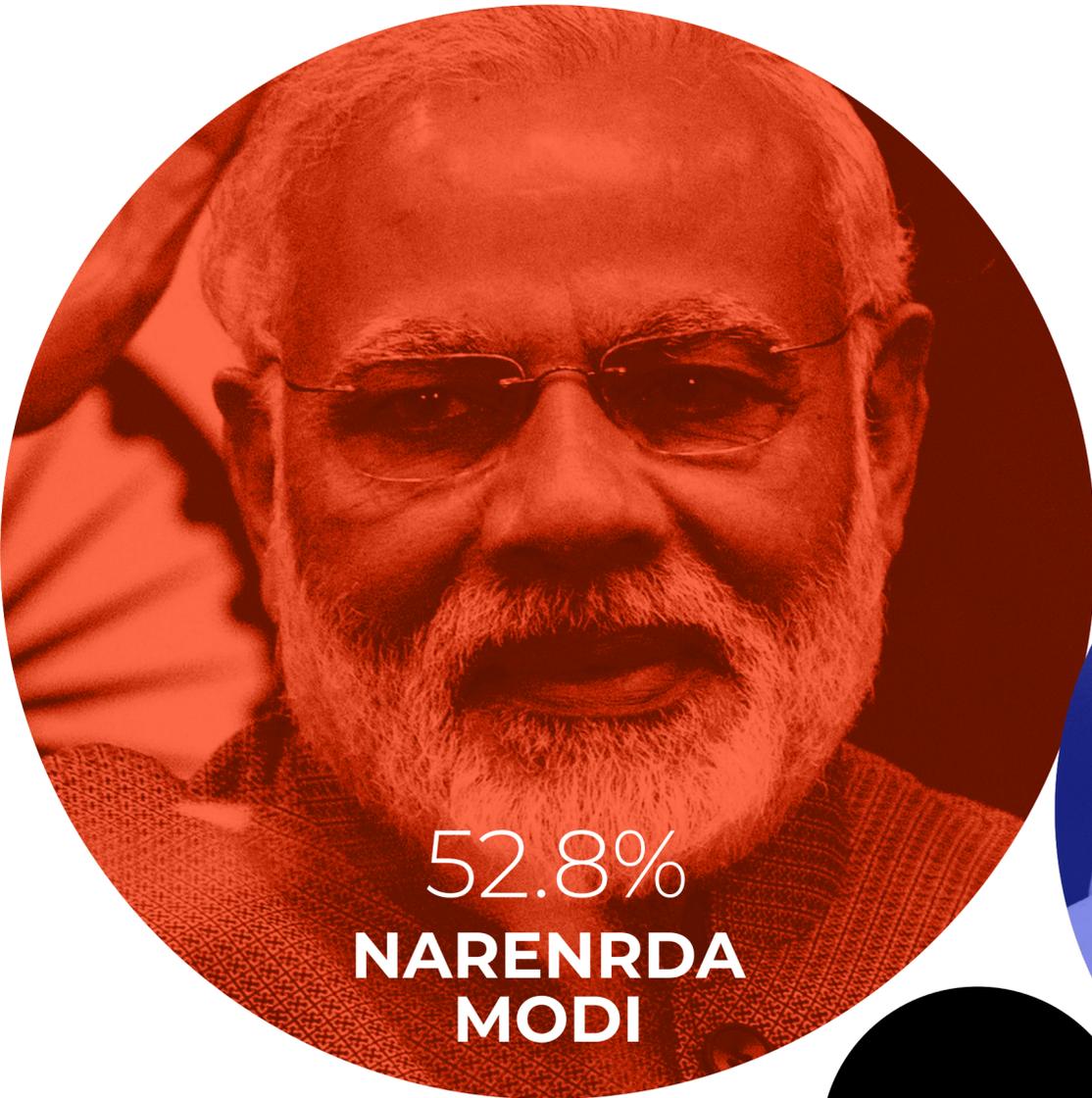
To what extent do you approve or disapprove of the following about the NDA Government led by PM Narendra Modi?

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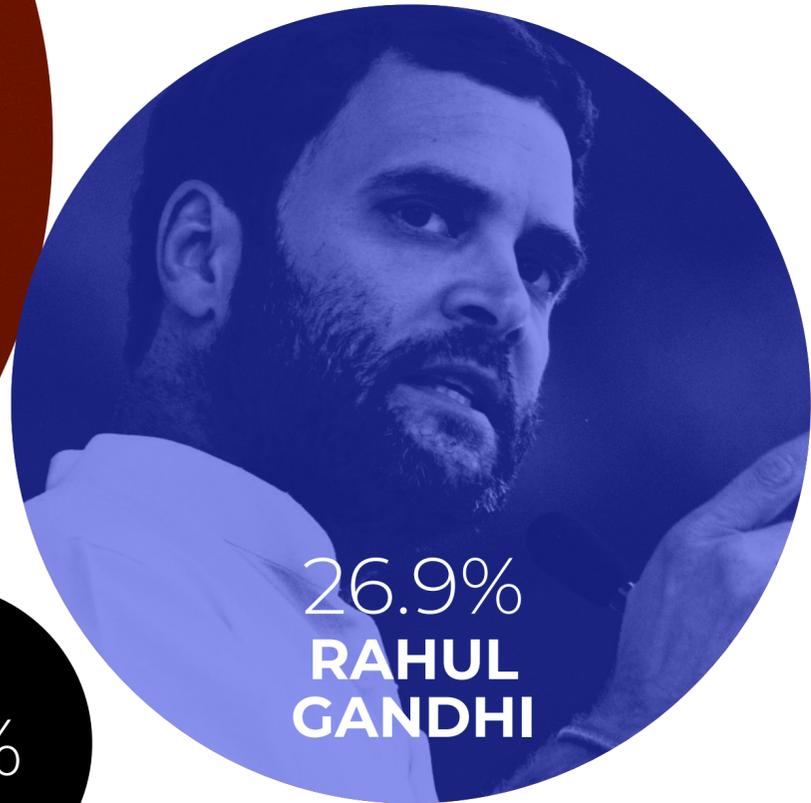
**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

**PREFERRED PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA 2019**

Future PM  
of India



52.8%  
**NARENDRA  
MODI**



26.9%  
**RAHUL  
GANDHI**

4.2%

**MAMTA  
BANERJEE**

2.8%

**MAYAWATI**

0.9%

**PRIYANKA  
GANDHI**

0.7%

**HD DEVE  
GOWDA**

**DON'T KNOW/  
CAN'T SAY**

7.4%

After the next Lok Sabha election who would you prefer as the Prime Minister?

**NONE OF  
THE ABOVE**

2.4%

2.0%

**OTHERS**

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## NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY

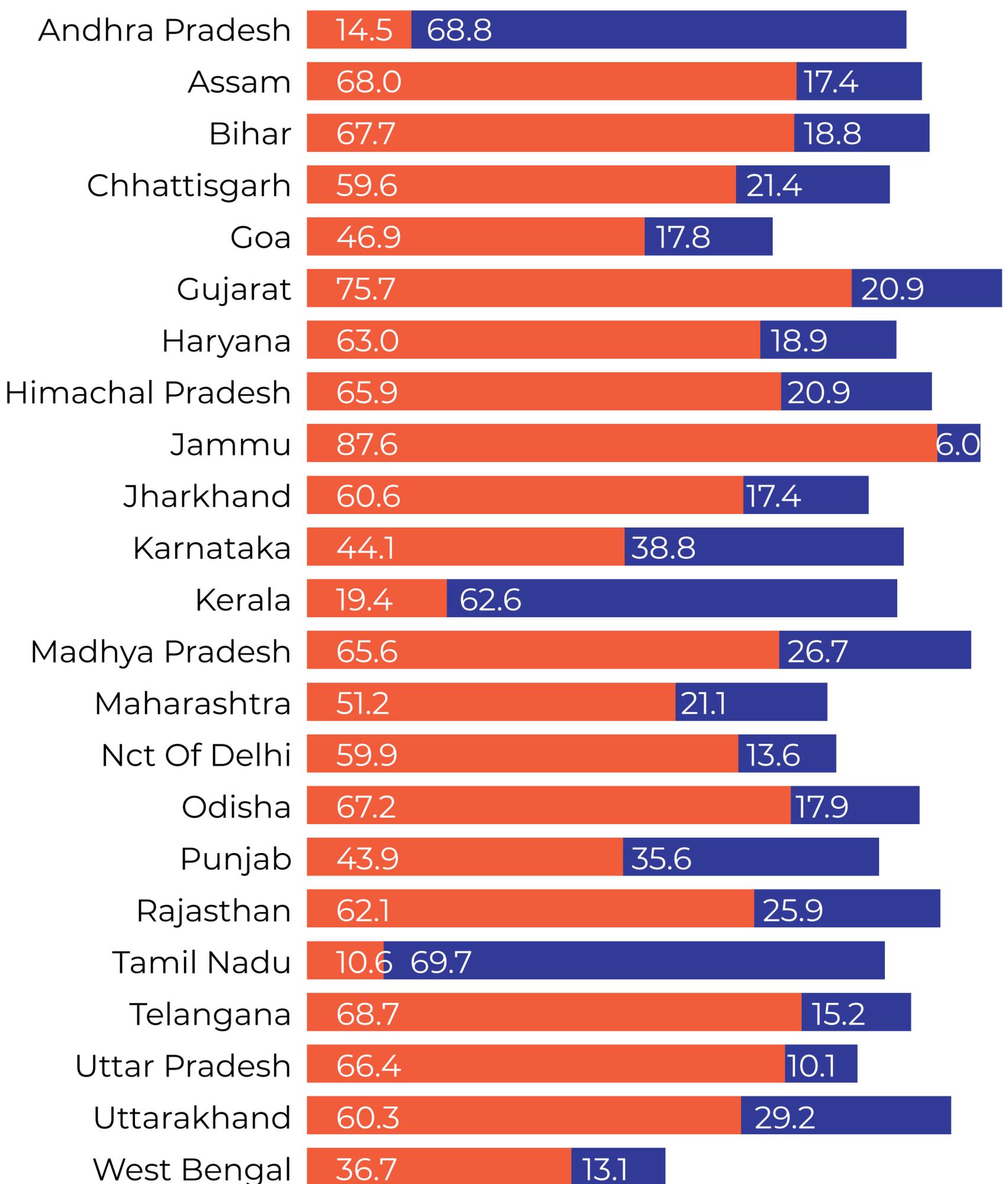
Overall more than 50% voters wanted to see Narendra Modi as PM in 2019. Whereas, voters from 'AP, Kerala AND TN' wanted to see Rahul Gandhi as PM in 2019



**NARENDRA  
MODI AS PM**



**RAHUL GANDHI  
AS PM**



After the next Lok Sabha election who would you prefer as the Prime Minister?

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## **NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

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**LEADERSHIP QUALITIES & INITIATIVES DRIVEN**

# Key Highlights

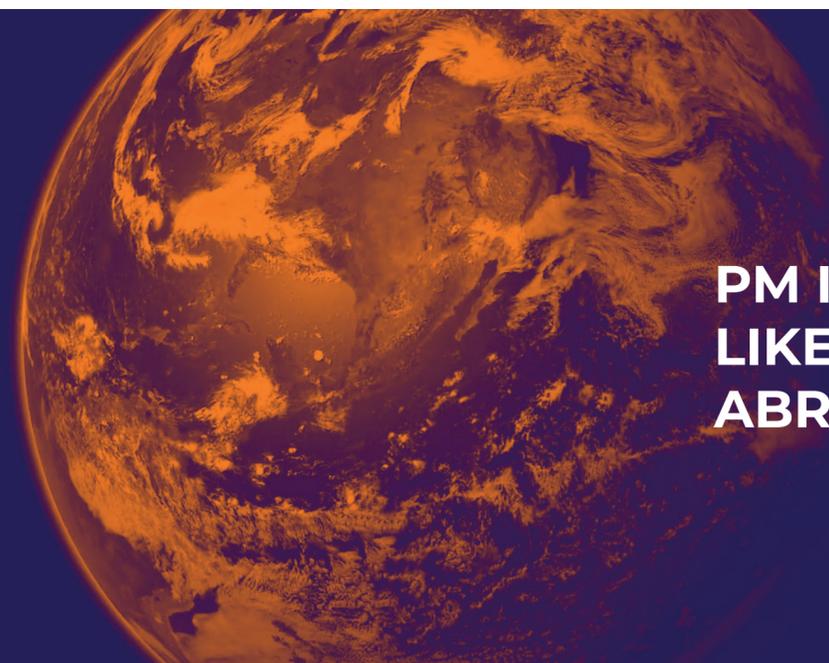


**UNDERSTANDABLY, THE COUNTRY APPRECIATED A WELL ROUNDED AND ACTION-ORIENTED LEADER. IN THE CURRENT STANDING PM MODI PERFORMANCE IS WELL RECOGNISED ACROSS INDIA, SPECIALLY IN THE HINDI HEARTLAND. HOWEVER, PM IS YET TO MAKE INROADS IN SOUTH (AP & TN)**

**HIGHEST RATING OF TWO FLAGSHIP PROGRAMMES SWACHH BHARAT ABHIYAN AND DIGITAL INDIA**



**PM IS HIGHLY RATED ON ASPECTS LIKE ENHANCING INDIA'S IMAGE ABROAD AND RISEN FROM RANKS**



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**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**



**VOTING  
BEHAVIOUR**

**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

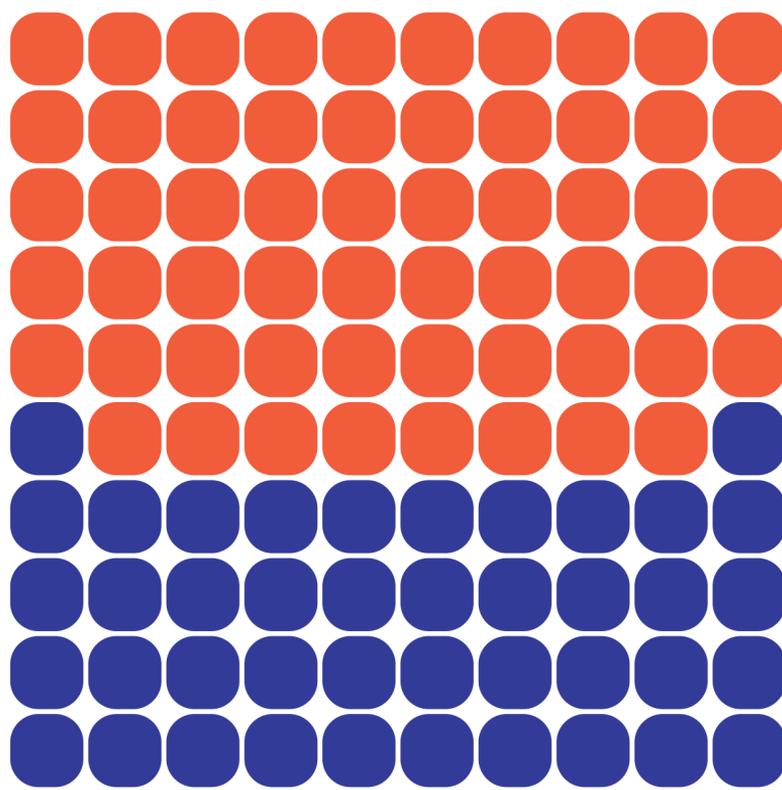
**2019 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION**

# The two political scenarios



58%

I will Vote in favour  
of BJP led-alliance/  
NDA



42%

I will vote in favour of Grand  
United Opposition alliance/  
Mahagatbandhan



## NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY

All southern belt (except Telangana), WB and Punjab would vote in favor of Grand United Opposition alliance/Mahagatbandhan



I will vote in favour of BJP-led alliance/  
NDA



I will vote in favour of Grand United Opposition alliance/  
Mahagatbandhan

	I will vote in favour of BJP-led alliance/ NDA	I will vote in favour of Grand United Opposition alliance/ Mahagatbandhan
Andhra Pradesh	22.7	77.3
Assam	69.8	30.2
Bihar	72.5	27.5
Chhattisgarh	63.2	36.8
Goa	74	26
Gujarat	78.3	21.7
Haryana	68.1	31.9
Himachal Pradesh	68.3	31.7
Jammu	88.5	11.5
Jharkhand	71.5	28.5
Karnataka	49.3	50.7
Kerala	22.1	77.9
Madhya Pradesh	69.9	30.1
Maharashtra	60.1	39.9
Nct Of Delhi	62.4	37.6
Odisha	65.5	34.6
Punjab	45.4	54.6
Rajasthan	62.9	37.1
Tamil Nadu	23.7	76.3
Telangana	92.5	7.5
Uttar Pradesh	67.2	32.8
Uttarakhand	57.7	42.3
West Bengal	36.8	63.2

In case, two political scenarios become reality in 2019 parliamentary election, which of two political scenarios would you prefer to vote?

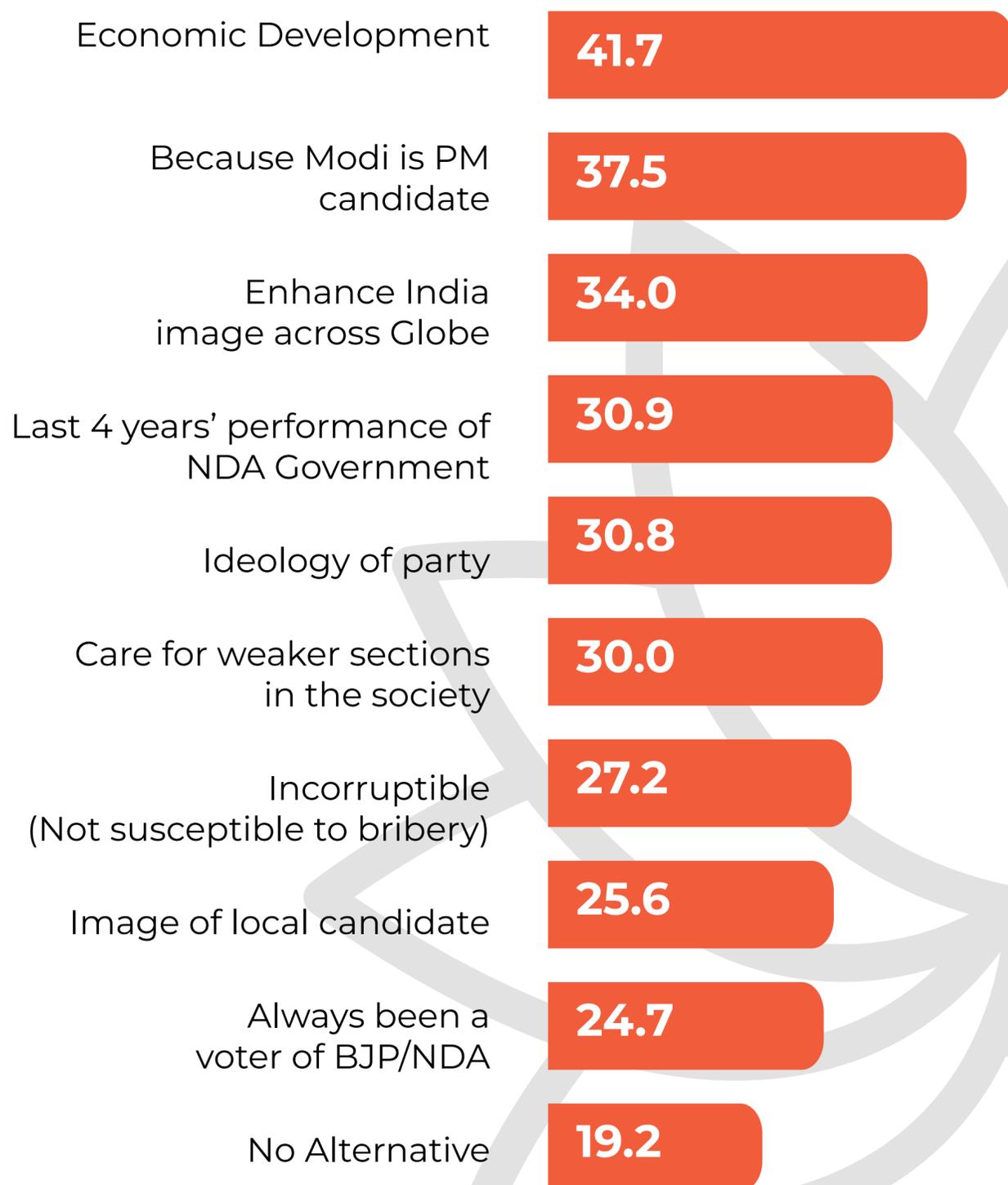
**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

**BJP LED-ALLIANCE (NDA)**

People are strongly disposed towards BJP-led alliance because of economic development

Sample size: 16227

**REASONS FOR STRONGLY DISPOSED TOWARDS BJP LED ALLIANCE/NDA [AMONG THOSE WHO WILL VOTE FOR BJP LED ALLIANCE]**



What makes you so strongly disposed towards BJP-led alliance (NDA)?

**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

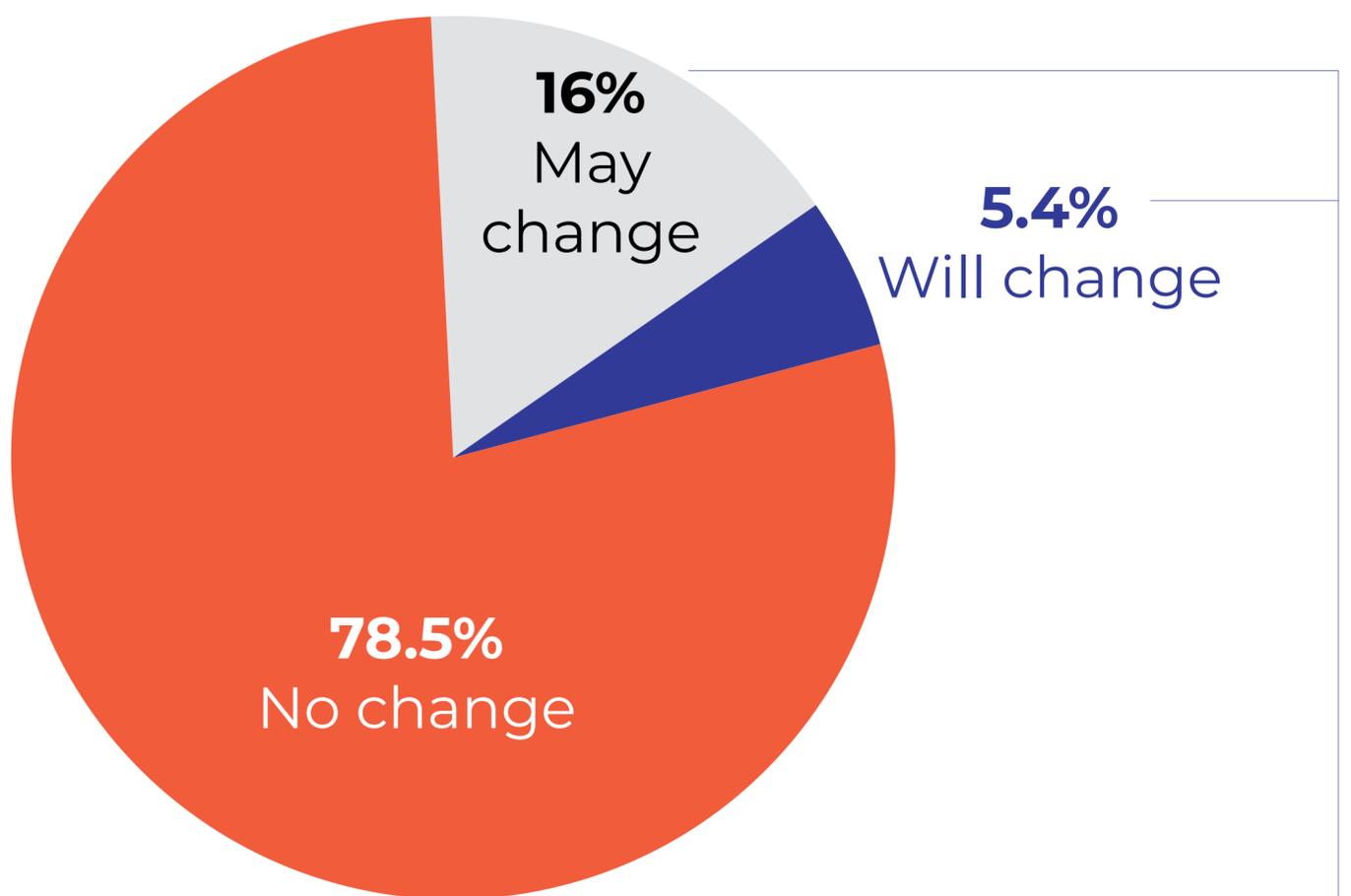
**LIKELY SCENARIOS FOR BJP**

[AMONG THOSE WHO WILL VOTE FOR BJP-LED ALLIANCE]

SCENARIO I

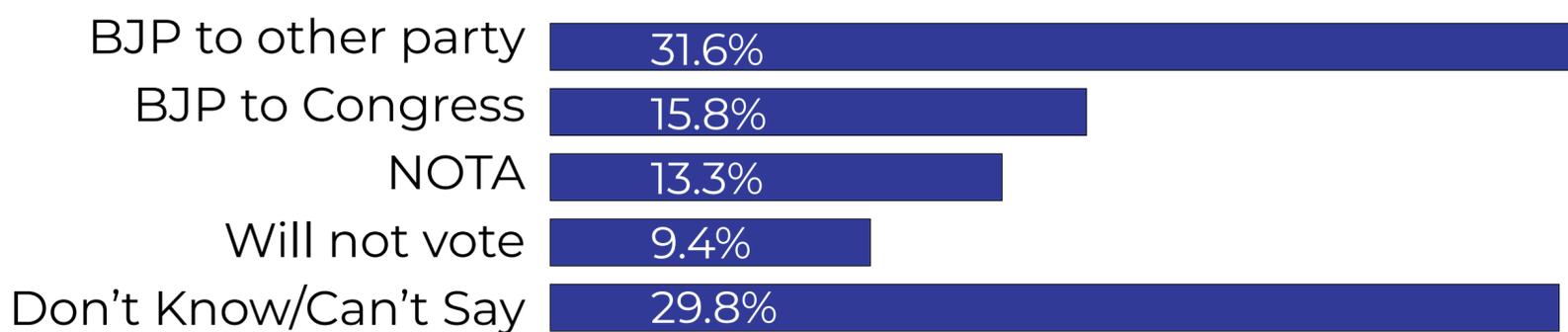
If Narendra Modi is NOT leader of the BJP-led alliance (NDA)

Sample size: 16627



Among those who said, 'may change' or 'will change'

Sample size: 3558



If Narendra Modi is NOT leader of the BJP-led alliance (NDA), then would you still prefer to vote for BJP or some other party or this would have made no difference on your decision Q12 What would have been the change in your voting decision? Q13. Let's assume that in 2019 election, BJP FAILED to retain its alliance partners (Akali Dal, Shiv Sena, JD[U], Apna Dal, other parties) in NDA fold, then would you still prefer to vote.. Q14. What would have been the change in your voting decision?

**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

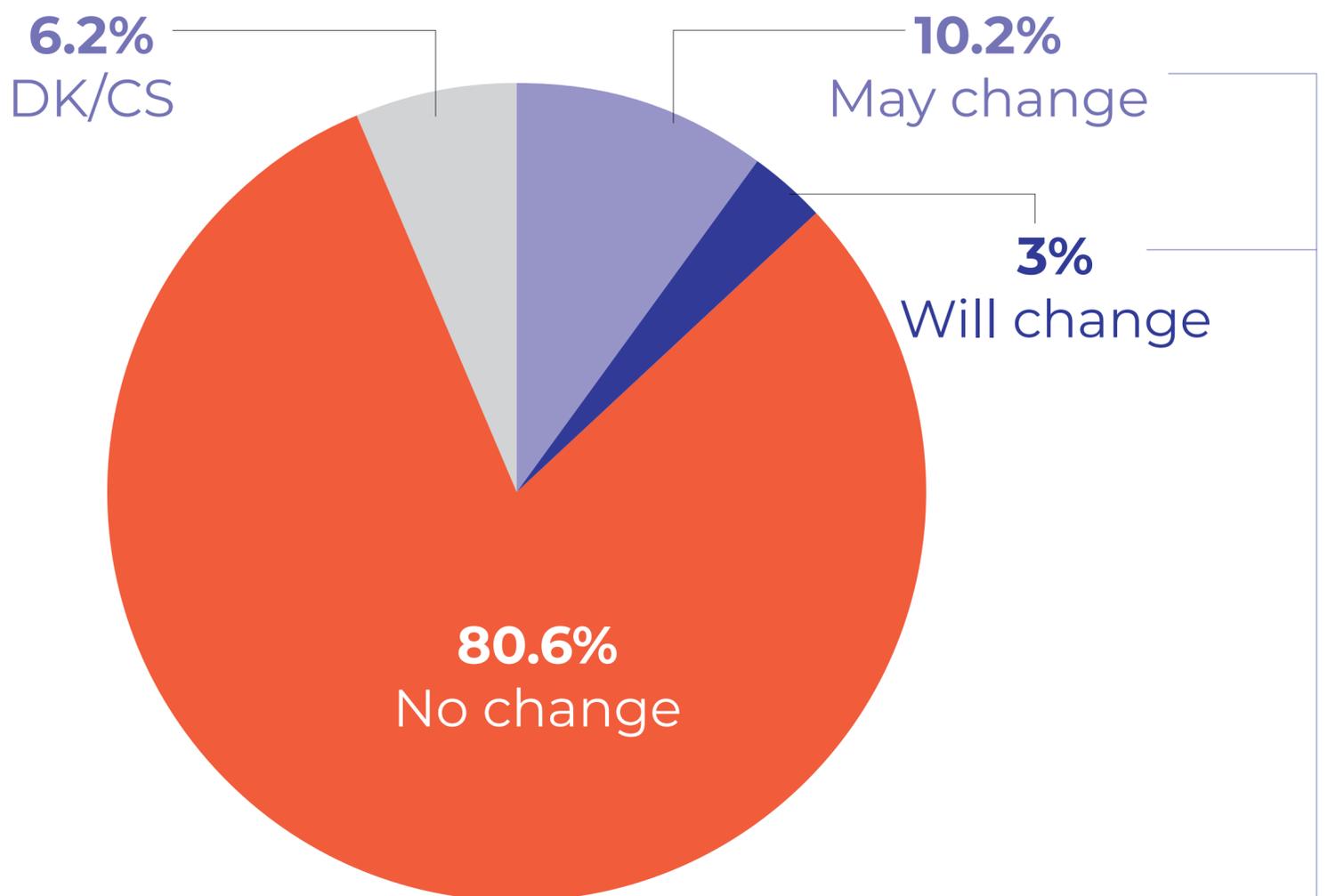
**LIKELY SCENARIOS FOR BJP**

[AMONG THOSE WHO WILL VOTE FOR BJP-LED ALLIANCE]

SCENARIO II

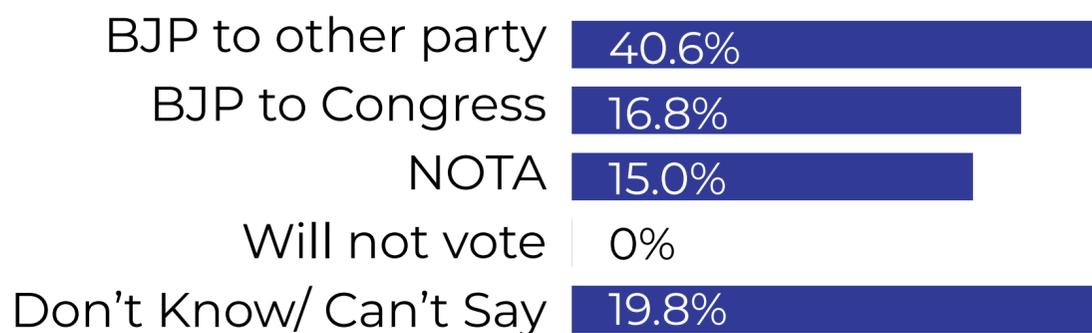
If Narendra Modi is NOT leader of the BJP-led alliance (NDA)

Sample size: 16627



Among those who said, 'may change' or 'will change'

Sample size: 2211



If Narendra Modi is NOT leader of the BJP-led alliance (NDA), then would you still prefer to vote for BJP or some other party or this would have made no difference on your decision Q12 What would have been the change in your voting decision? Q13. Let's assume that in 2019 election, BJP FAILED to retain its alliance partners (Akali Dal, Shiv Sena, JD[U], Apna Dal, other parties) in NDA fold, then would you still prefer to vote.. Q14. What would have been the change in your voting decision?

**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

**LIKELY SCENARIOS FOR BJP**

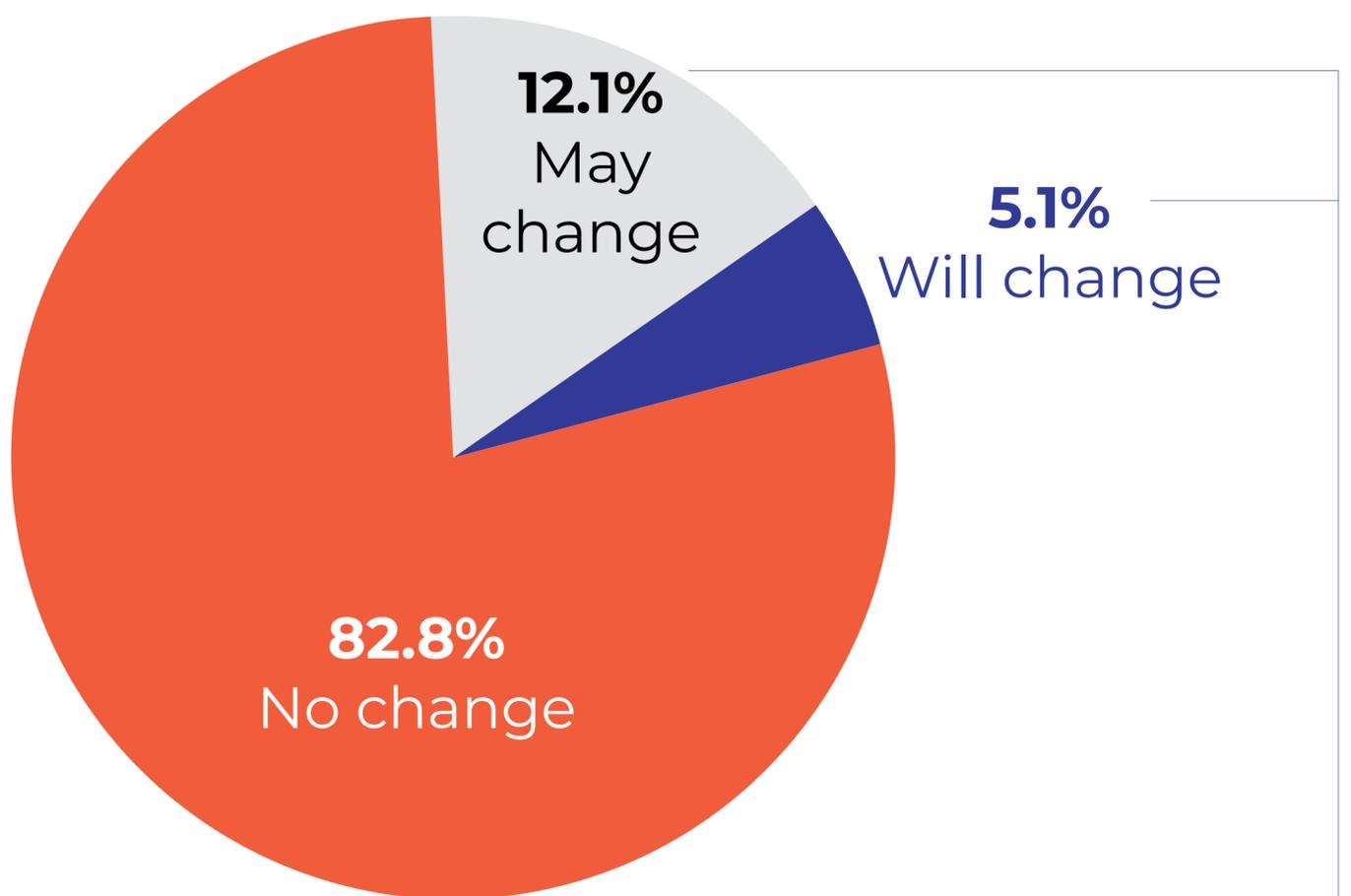
[AMONG THOSE WHO WILL VOTE FOR BJP-LED ALLIANCE]

Every 6th BJP supporters may or will change their voting decision, if RSS not backing the party

SCENARIO III

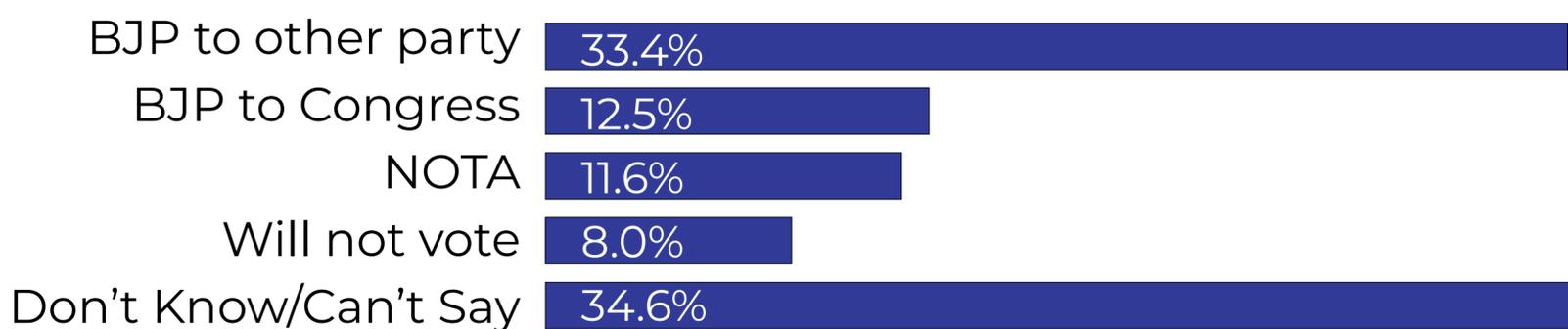
If RSS decides NOT to support BJP-led alliance

Sample size: 16627



Among those who said, 'may change' or 'will change'

Sample size: 2860



Let's assume that in 2019 election, If RSS decides to disengage from supporting BJP-led alliance in electoral process, then would you still prefer to vote .. Q16 What would have been the change in your voting decision Q17 Let's assume that in 2019 election, if local candidate from your constituency is non-BJP party, then would you still prefer to vote for BJP led alliance supported.. Q18. What would have been the change in your voting decision?

**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

**LIKELY SCENARIOS FOR BJP**

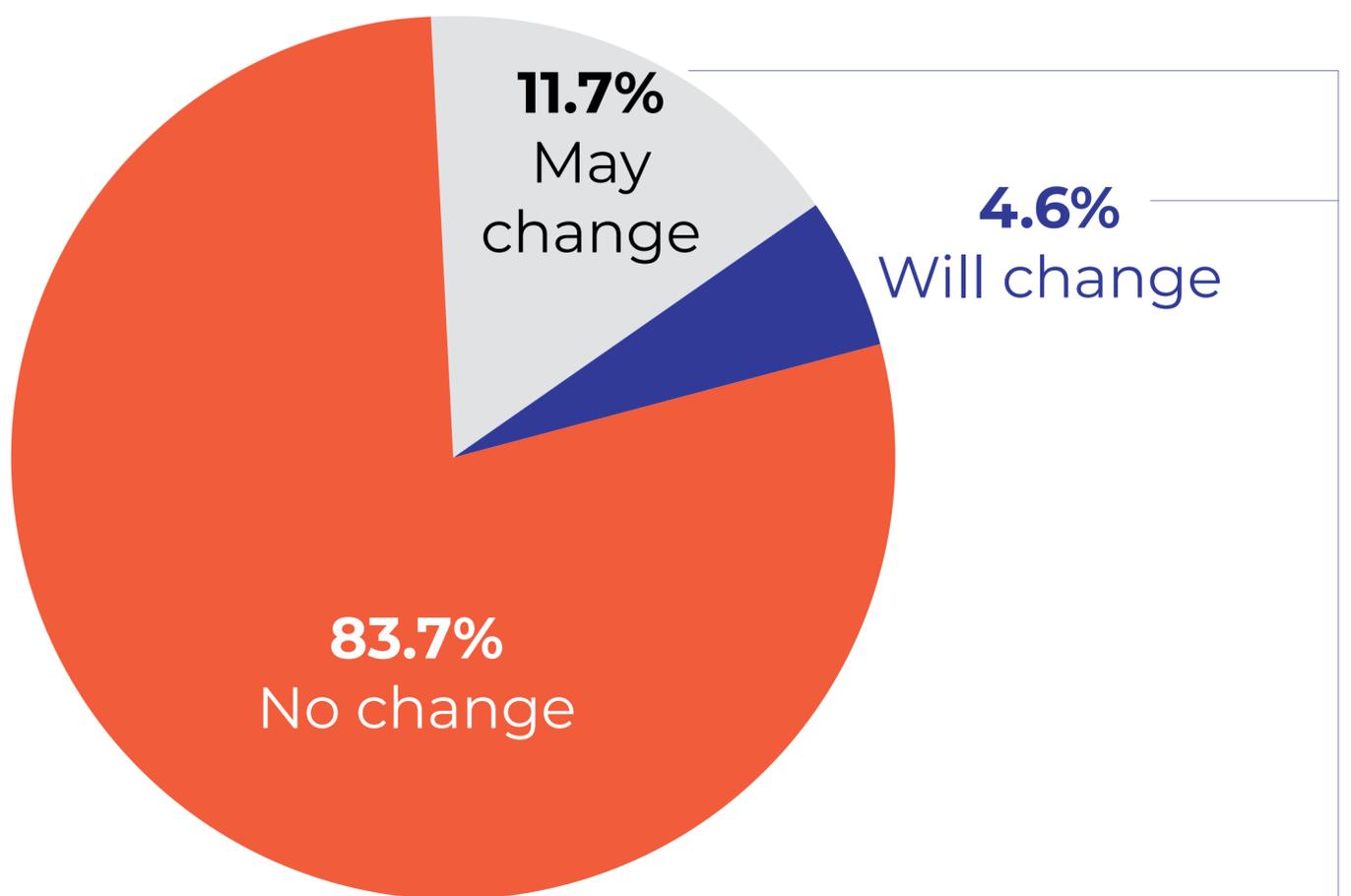
[AMONG THOSE WHO WILL VOTE FOR BJP-LED ALLIANCE]

Every 6th BJP supporters may or will change their voting decision, if local candidate from constituency is not a BJP candidate

SCENARIO IV

If local candidate from constituency is non-BJP

Sample size: 16627



Among those who said, 'may change' or 'will change'

Sample size: 2710



Let's assume that in 2019 election, If RSS decides to disengage from supporting BJP-led alliance in electoral process, then would you still prefer to vote .. Q16 What would have been the change in your voting decision Q17 Let's assume that in 2019 election, if local candidate from your constituency is non-BJP party, then would you still prefer to vote for BJP led alliance supported.. Q18. What would have been the change in your voting decision?

**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

**LIKELY SCENARIOS FOR BJP**

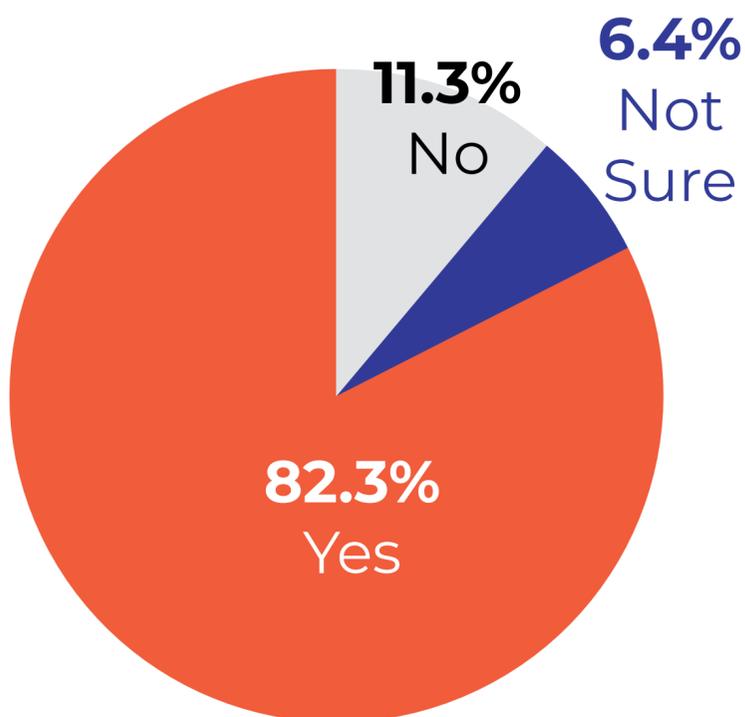
[AMONG THOSE WHO WILL VOTE FOR BJP-LED ALLIANCE]

SCENARIO V

If candidate in not from same CASTE

Would you still vote to support BJP-led alliance/NDA?

Sample size: 16627

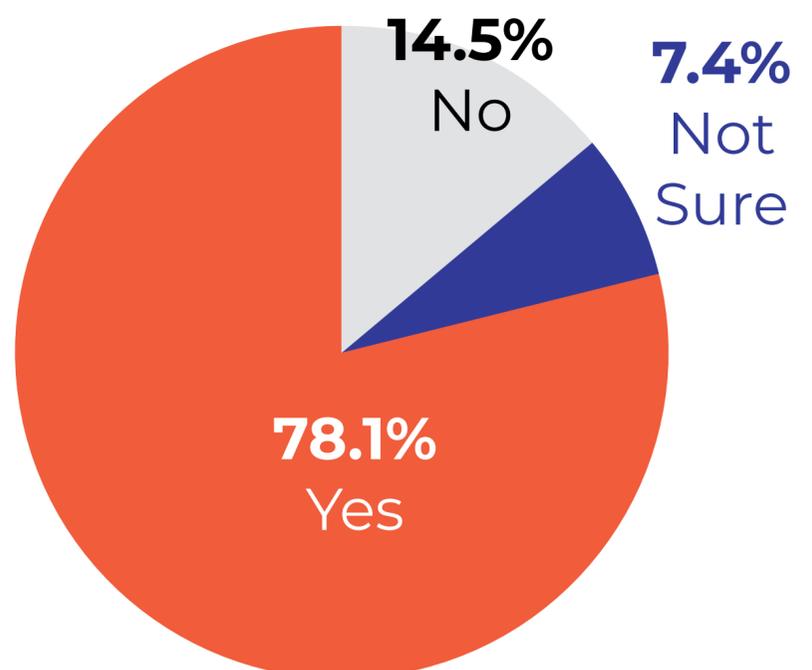


SCENARIO V

If candidate in not from same RELIGION

Would you still vote to support BJP-led alliance/NDA?

Sample size: 16627



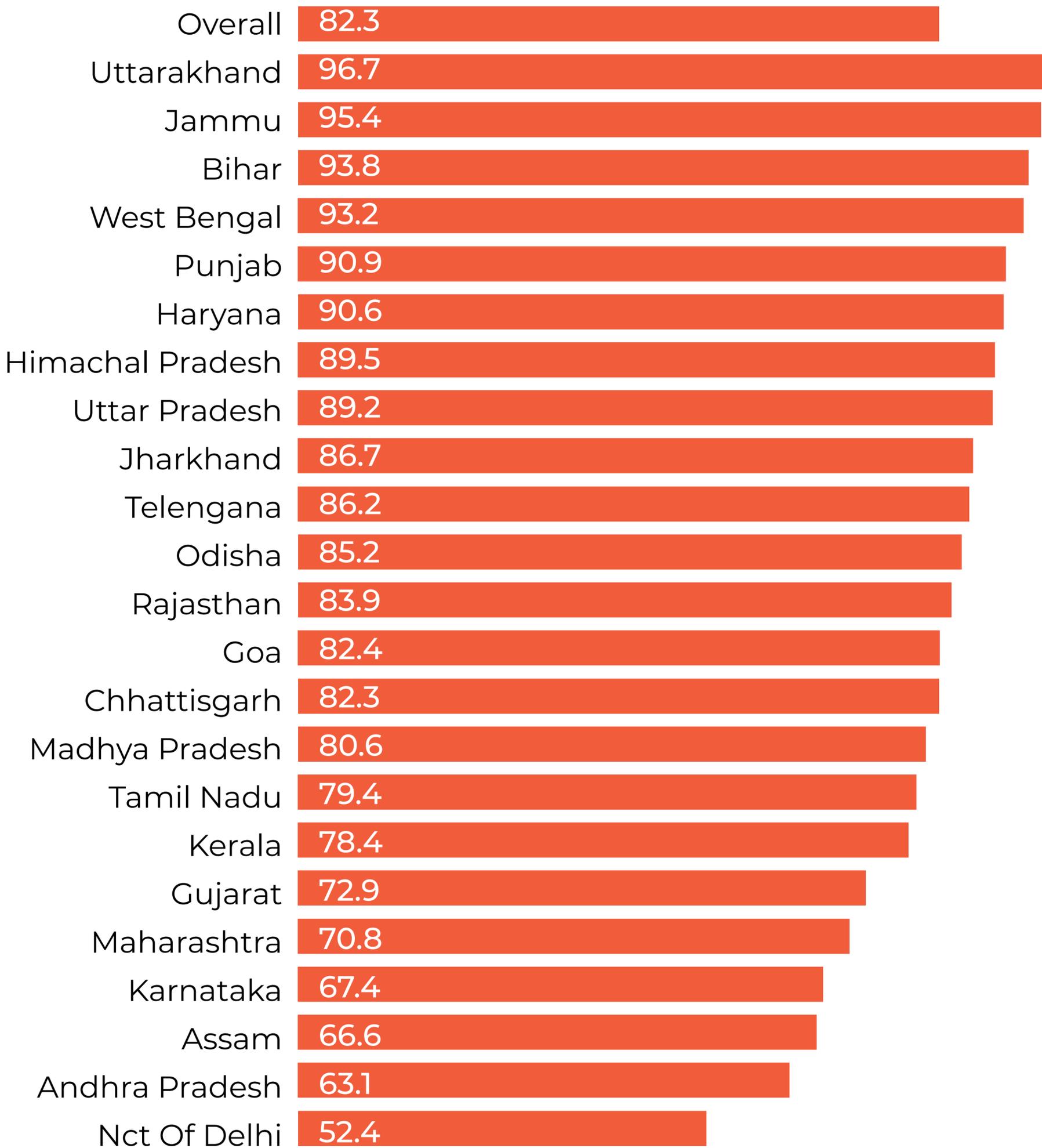
Q36 If candidate in not from your caste, would you still vote for her/him to support the BJP-led alliance/ NDA? Q37 If candidate in not from your religion, would you still vote for her/him to support the BJP-led alliance/ NDA?

## NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY

### LIKELY SCENARIOS FOR BJP

[AMONG THOSE WHO WILL VOTE FOR BJP-LED ALLIANCE]

### CASTE Yes %



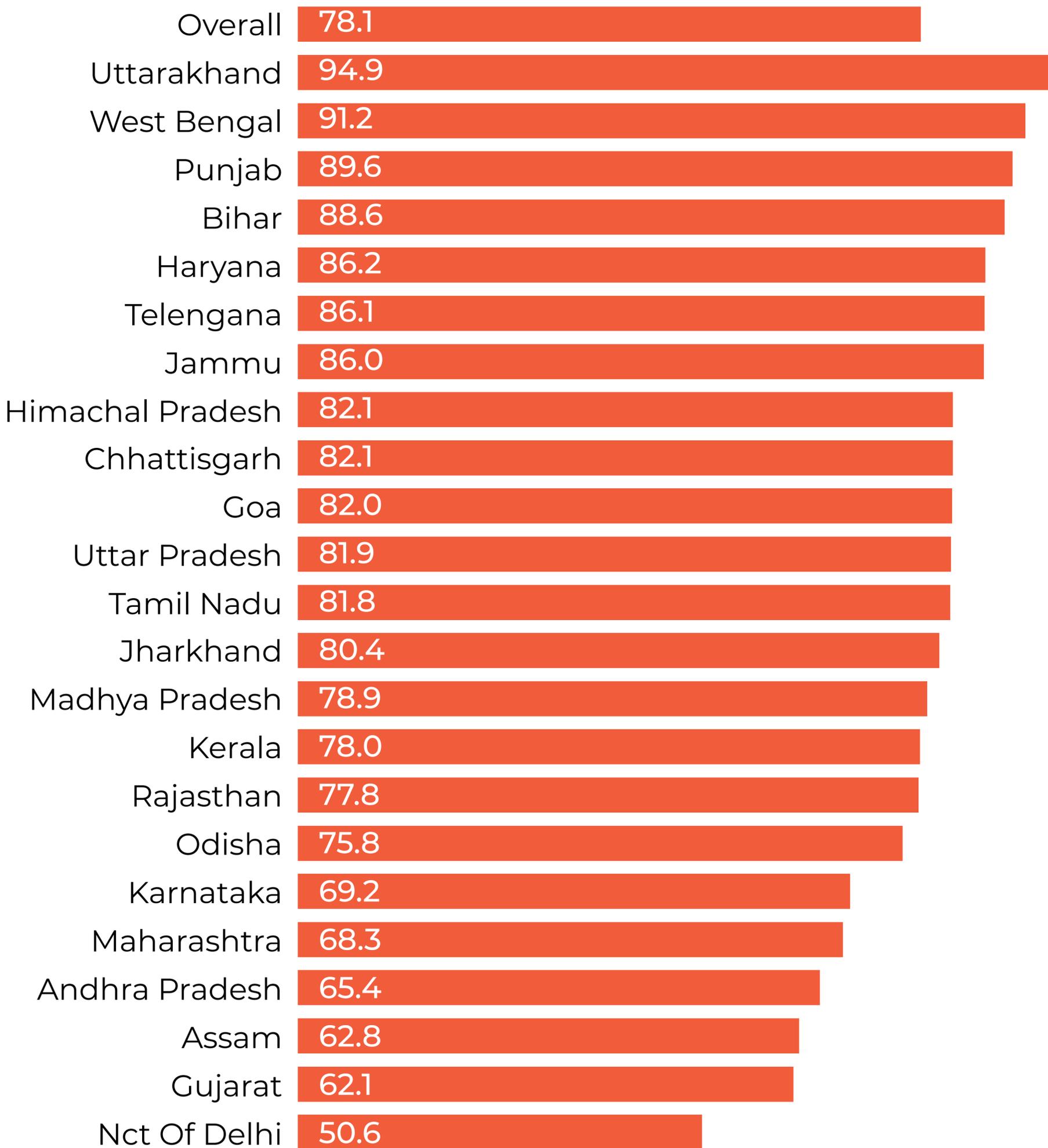
Q36 If candidate is not from your caste, would you still vote for her/him to support the BJP-led alliance/ NDA? Q37 If candidate is not from your religion, would you still vote for her/him to support the BJP-led alliance/ NDA?

## NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY

### LIKELY SCENARIOS FOR BJP

[AMONG THOSE WHO WILL VOTE FOR BJP-LED ALLIANCE]

### RELIGION Yes %



Q36 If candidate is not from your caste, would you still vote for her/him to support the BJP-led alliance/NDA? Q37 If candidate is not from your religion, would you still vote for her/him to support the BJP-led alliance/NDA?

**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

**LIKELY SCENARIOS FOR BJP**

[AMONG THOSE WHO WILL VOTE FOR BJP-LED ALLIANCE]

SCENARIO V

If candidate in not from same CASTE

Base All 1 Coded at Q8	CASTE					
	ALL	GENERAL	OBC	SC	ST	OTHERS
	16627	7057	5806	2274	1185	195
Yes	82.3	81.9	84.4	82.1	75.4	68.6
No	11.3	12	9.8	9.6	17.2	24.4
Not Sure	6.4	6.1	5.8	8.3	7.4	7.1

RELIGION

	HINDUISM	ISLAM	SIKHISM	CHRISTIANITY	JAINISM	BUDDHISM	OTHERS
15607	450	185	70	50	43	59	
82.7	77.6	80.6	59	76.8	48.8	61.4	
11	17.8	13.1	25.7	20.2	14	22	
6.3	4.6	6.3	15.3	3	37.2	16.6	

SCENARIO VI

If candidate in not from same RELIGION

Base All 1 Coded at Q8	CASTE					
	ALL	GENERAL	OBC	SC	ST	OTHERS
	16627	7057	5806	2274	1185	195
Yes	78.1	79.8	77.2	78.2	72.7	67.1
No	14.5	13.5	15.5	12.7	18.2	25.1
Not Sure	7.4	6.8	7.2	9.2	9.1	7.9

RELIGION

	HINDUISM	ISLAM	SIKHISM	CHRISTIANITY	JAINISM	BUDDHISM	OTHERS
15607	450	185	70	50	43	59	
78.3	78.2	78.2	65.7	78.5	51.2	60	
14.5	14.7	10.7	23.7	15.2	11.8	18.5	
7.2	7	11.1	10.6	6.4	37	21.5	

Q36 If candidate in not from your caste, would you still vote for her/him to support the BJP-led alliance/NDA? Q37 If candidate in not from your religion, would you still vote for her/him to support the BJP-led alliance/NDA?

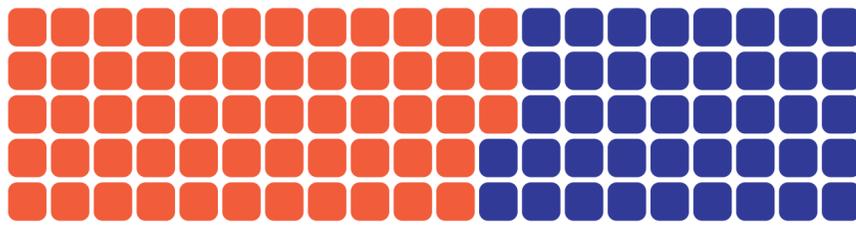
**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

**REASONS FOR STRONGLY DISPOSED TOWARDS CONGRESS-LED ALLIANCE**

**People would strongly disposed towards Congress led alliance because of performance of previous Congress-led Government**

Overall N=28668

I will vote in favor of BJP-led Alliance/NDA,  
**58%**



I will vote in favour of Grand United Opposition alliance/ Mahagatbandhan,  
**42%**



Reasons for strongly disposed towards Congress-led alliance (N=12041)  
 [Among those who will vote for Congress-led alliance]

- Performance of previous Congress-led Government
- Ideology of party
- Rahul as PM candidate
- Always been a voter of Congress
- No Alternative
- Care for weaker sections in the society
- Oldest party
- Incorruptible (Not susceptible to bribery)



Q19 What makes you so strongly disposed towards Congress-led alliance?

**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

**LIKELY SCENARIOS FOR CONGRESS**

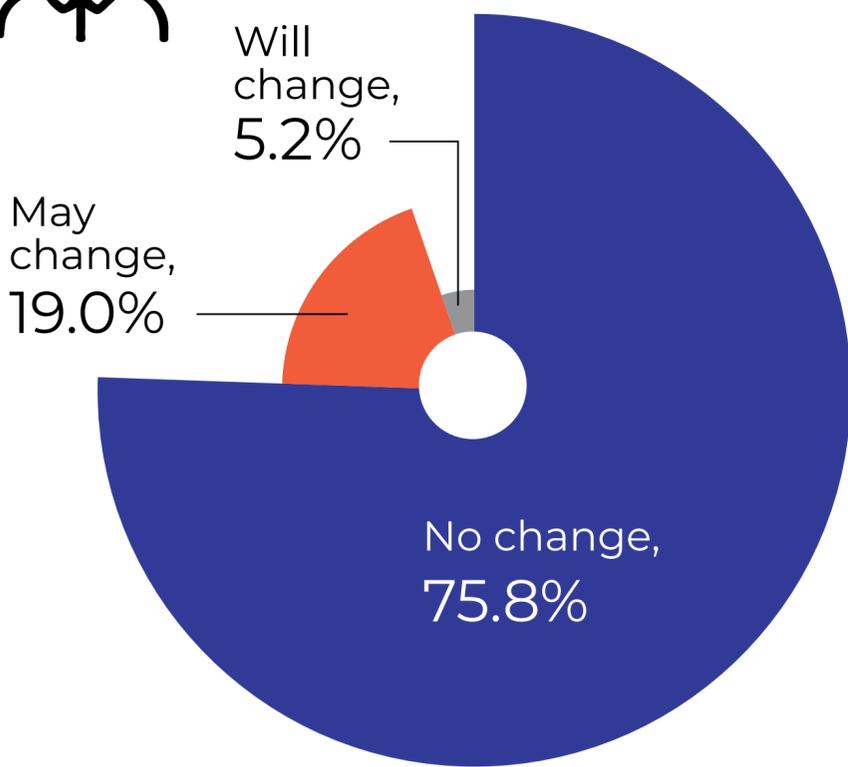
[Among those who will vote for Congress-led alliance]

Rahul will have a tough battle of winning own supporters  
 Every 4th respondent 'will or may change' their voting decision



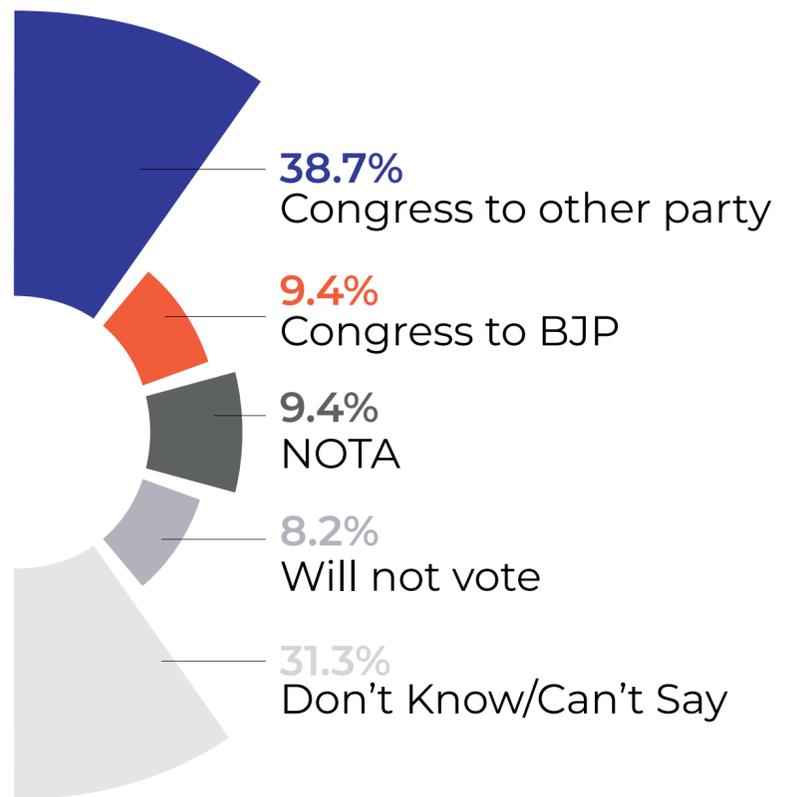
**If Rahul Gandhi is the leader of the Congress**

Change in voting decision (N=12041)



**Voting decision**

Among those who said, 'may change' or 'will change'



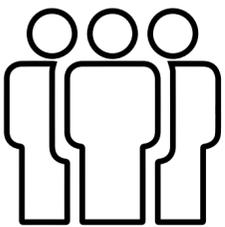
Q21 Assume that in 2019 election, if Rahul Gandhi is the leader of the Congress, then would you still prefer to vote for Congress or some other party or this would have made no difference on your decision Q22. What would have been the change in your voting decision?

**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

**SCENARIOS FOR CONGRESS-LED GRAND UNITED OPPOSITION ALLIANCE**

[Among those who will vote for Congress-led alliance]

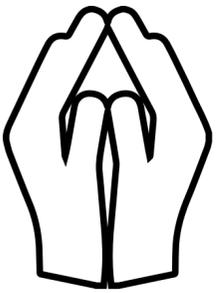
**SCENARIO 1: If candidate in not from same CASTE**



Would you still vote to support congress Led Alliance? (N=12041)



**SCENARIO 2: If candidate in not from same RELIGION**

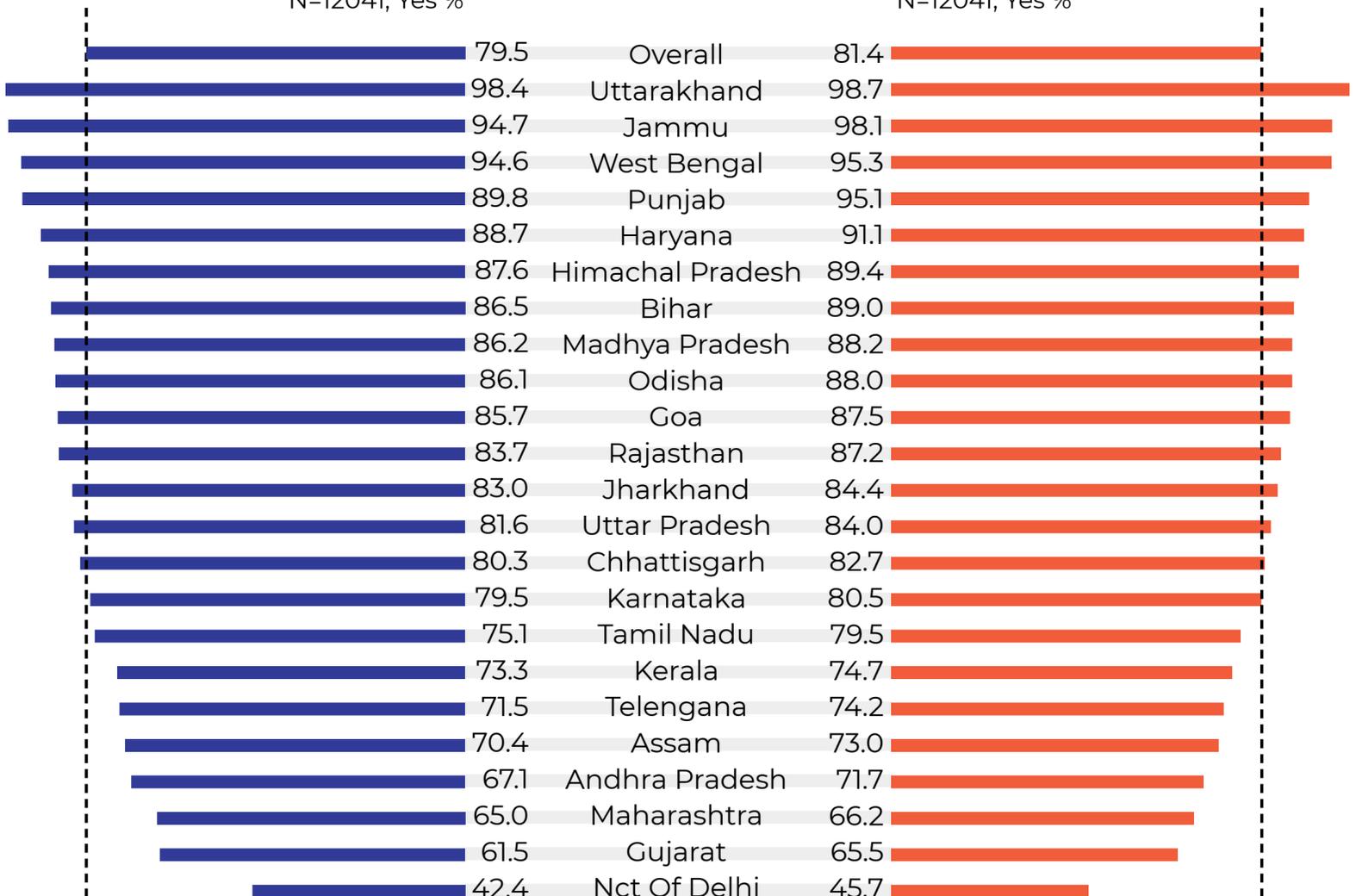


Would you still vote to support Congress Led Alliance? (N=12041)



Religion  
N=12041, Yes %

Caste  
N=12041, Yes %



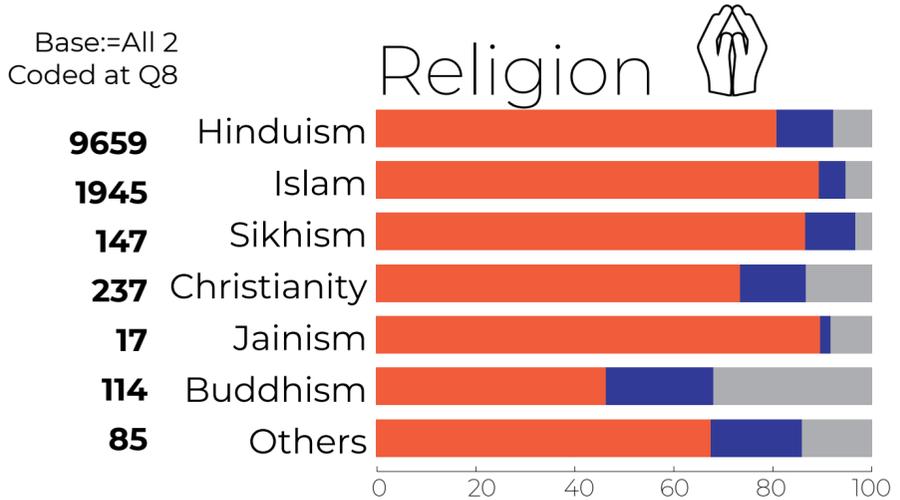
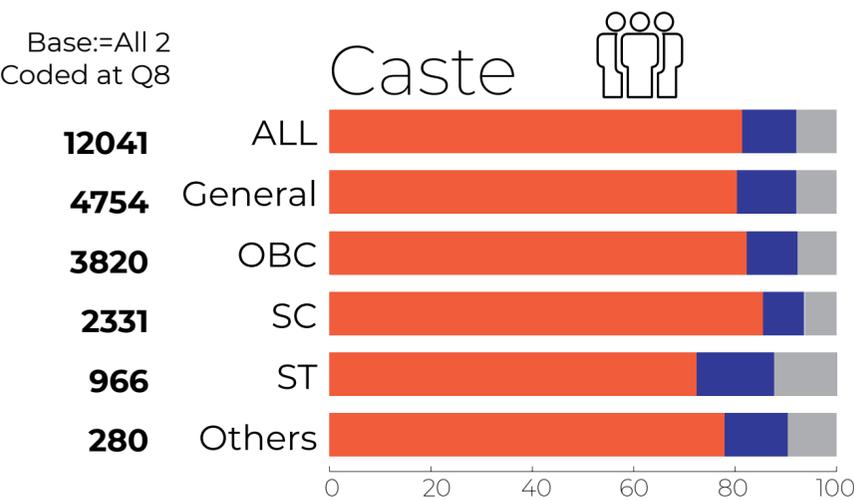
Q42 If candidate in not from your caste, would you still vote for her/him to support the Grand United Opposition alliance? Q43 If candidate in not from your religion, would you still vote for her/him to support the Grand United Opposition alliance?

**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

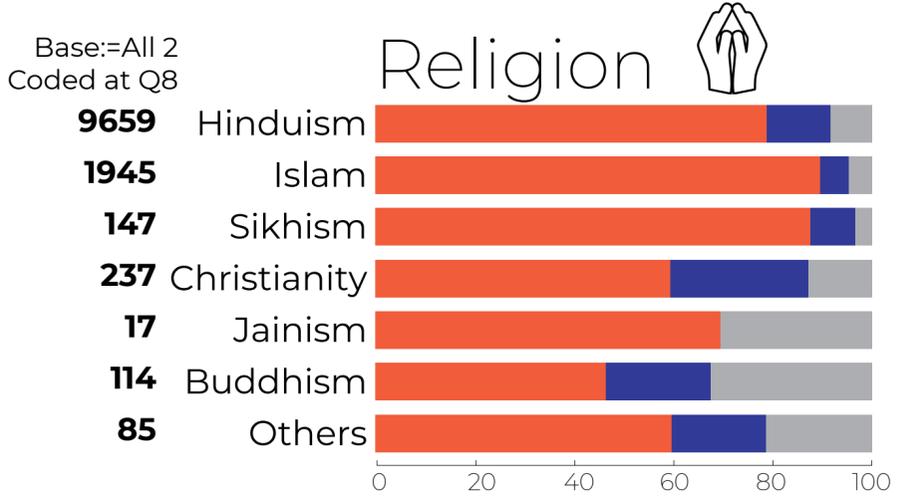
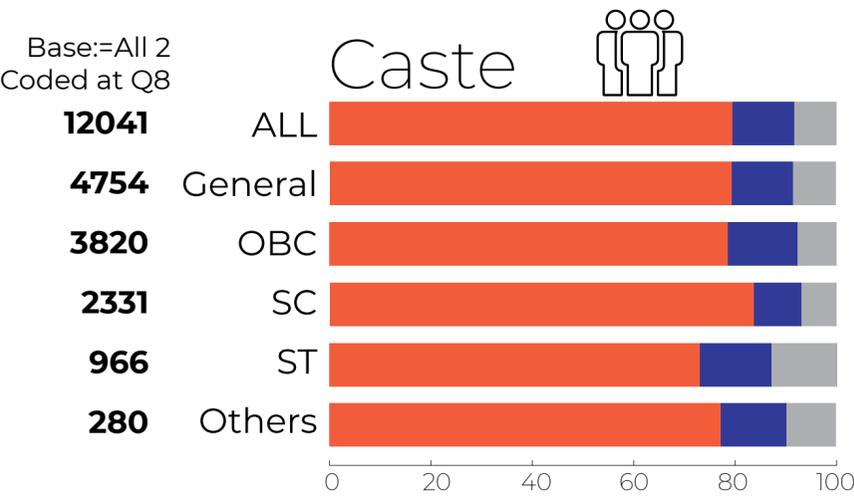
**SCENARIOS FOR CONGRESS-LED GRAND UNITED OPPOSITION ALLIANCE**

[Among those who will vote for Congress-led alliance]  
[By Caste and Religion cuts]

**SCENARIO 1: If candidate in not from same CASTE**



**SCENARIO 2: If candidate in not from same RELIGION**



Q42 If candidate in not from your caste, would you still vote for her/him to support the Grand United Opposition alliance? Q43 If candidate in not from your religion, would you still vote for her/him to support the Grand United Opposition alliance?

**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**



KEY HIGHLIGHTS  
VOTING BEHAVIOUR

- As of today, the NDA has edge over UPA. But, there is a big however...The actual selection of candidates, campaign and political narratives by parties would attract and win trust and vote in the run-up to election
- BJP is associated by economic development and strong PM but at the same time party is unable to create strong positioning around aspect like incorruptible
- Those supporting INC have identified performance of previous INC Government as the key reason
- INC does not have candidate for PM post to match the stature of Narendra Modi

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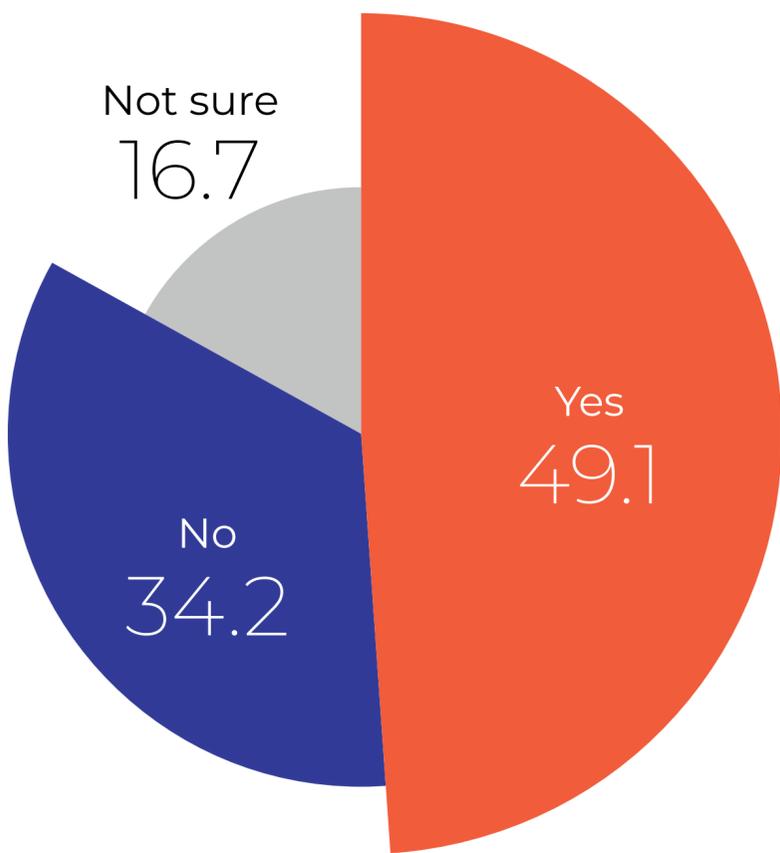
**ABOUT  
MAHAGATBANDHAN**

**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

POSSIBILITY OF FORMATION OF  
'MAHAGATBANDHAN'

**Majority (51%) says either 'No or Not sure' about formation of Mahagatbandhan**

Formation of Mahagatbandhan  
N=28668

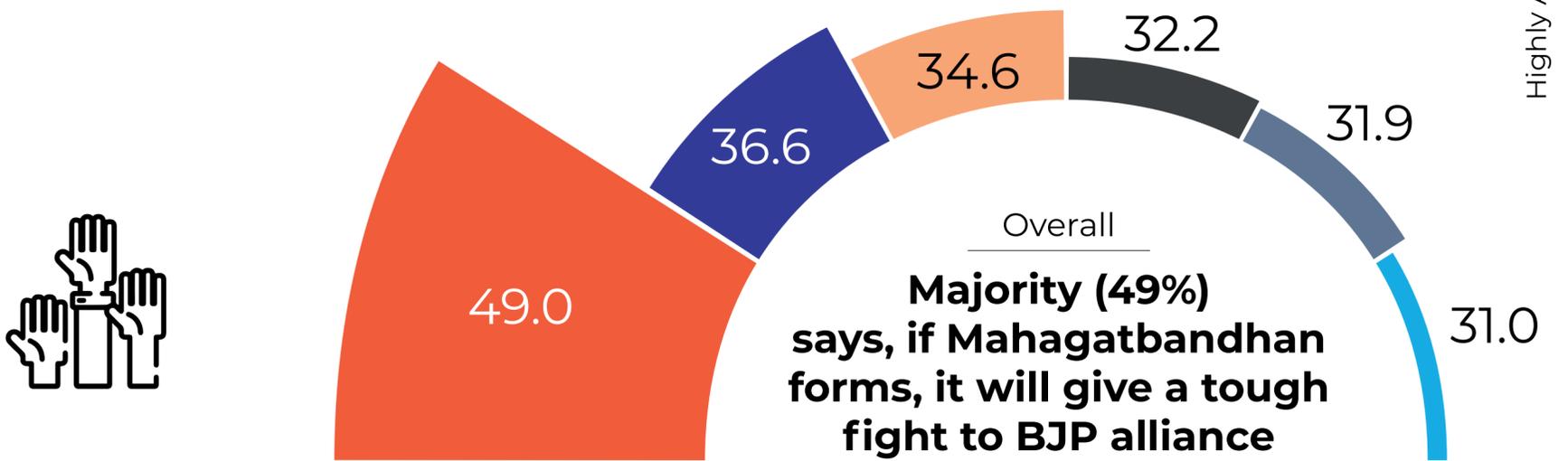


	N	Yes	No	Not sure
Andhra Pradesh	1111	68	14	18
Assam	1070	38	39	24
Bihar	1548	46	40	14
Chhattisgarh	471	48	25	27
Goa	531	28	16	56
Gujarat	2147	37	48	15
Haryana	1046	48	46	6
Himachal Pradesh	501	29	39	32
Jammu	498	35	25	40
Jharkhand	527	41	33	25
Karnataka	1552	51	38	11
Kerala	1029	62	24	14
Madhya Pradesh	2079	63	32	6
Maharashtra	2635	45	28	27
Nct Of Delhi	540	35	35	30
Odisha	2169	48	29	24
Punjab	964	65	29	6
Rajasthan	2092	51	33	16
Tamil Nadu	1018	52	38	11
Telangana	515	90	7	3
Uttar Pradesh	2604	44	40	15
Uttarakhand	496	51	47	2
West Bengal	1524	35	40	24



**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

**POSSIBLE IMPACT OF 'MAHAGATBANDHAN' – STATE-WISE BREAK UP**



- It will give tough fight to BJP alliance
- It will induce fragmentation in BJP alliance
- The Mahagatbandhan will turn 2019 election into bi-polar contest
- High risk of fragmentation in Mahagatbandhan due to clash of political leader's ego
- Vote consolidation due to Mahagatbandhan will put congress in advantageous position in states where it has direct fight with BJP
- The Mahagatbandhan will have no impact on BJP performance in states where it has direct fight with Congress

State	Sample Size	Icon 1	Icon 2	Icon 3	Icon 4	Icon 5	Icon 6
Andhra Pradesh	1111	58.2	50.0	59.5	44.4	48.2	50.6
Assam	1070	32.4	32.7	24.7	14.3	18.8	15.5
Bihar	1548	57.2	38.6	36.1	33.8	31.4	36.0
Chhattisgarh	471	50.2	35.1	36.9	33.2	34.3	31.9
Goa	531	20.5	21.5	12.9	14.2	13.0	16.6
Gujarat	2147	47.0	24.4	31.2	28.7	26.0	31.5
Haryana	1046	38.2	28.6	26.4	18.9	20.0	18.2
Himachal Pradesh	501	44.6	51.0	49.5	62.1	49.0	38.6
Jammu	498	62.7	35.7	34.5	36.4	35.6	35.9
Jharkhand	527	56.8	32.8	28.1	23.1	27.7	26.2
Karnataka	1552	45.7	25.8	11.8	17.3	14.4	12.6
Kerala	1029	47.6	32.4	36.9	32.7	34.0	26.1
Madhya Pradesh	2079	65.4	46.3	51.5	44.9	44.2	43.6
Maharashtra	2635	43.7	35.1	31.3	27.0	28.8	27.3
Nct Of Delhi	540	40.5	35.8	39.4	28.9	36.2	35.3
Odisha	2169	33.9	31.7	29.8	23.6	26.7	27.4
Punjab	964	58.6	39.2	39.5	37.2	39.9	39.0
Rajasthan	2092	62.0	34.4	44.1	45.6	40.8	36.9
Tamil Nadu	1018	44.3	38.1	35.6	33.7	31.6	33.5
Telangana	515	3.7	50.4	1.6	2.0	2.6	2.4
Uttar Pradesh	2604	47.7	35.5	36.1	34.0	35.5	34.8
Uttarakhand	496	35.7	25.3	25.9	28.4	29.1	27.7
West Bengal	1524	61.2	41.9	37.1	45.0	38.4	30.4

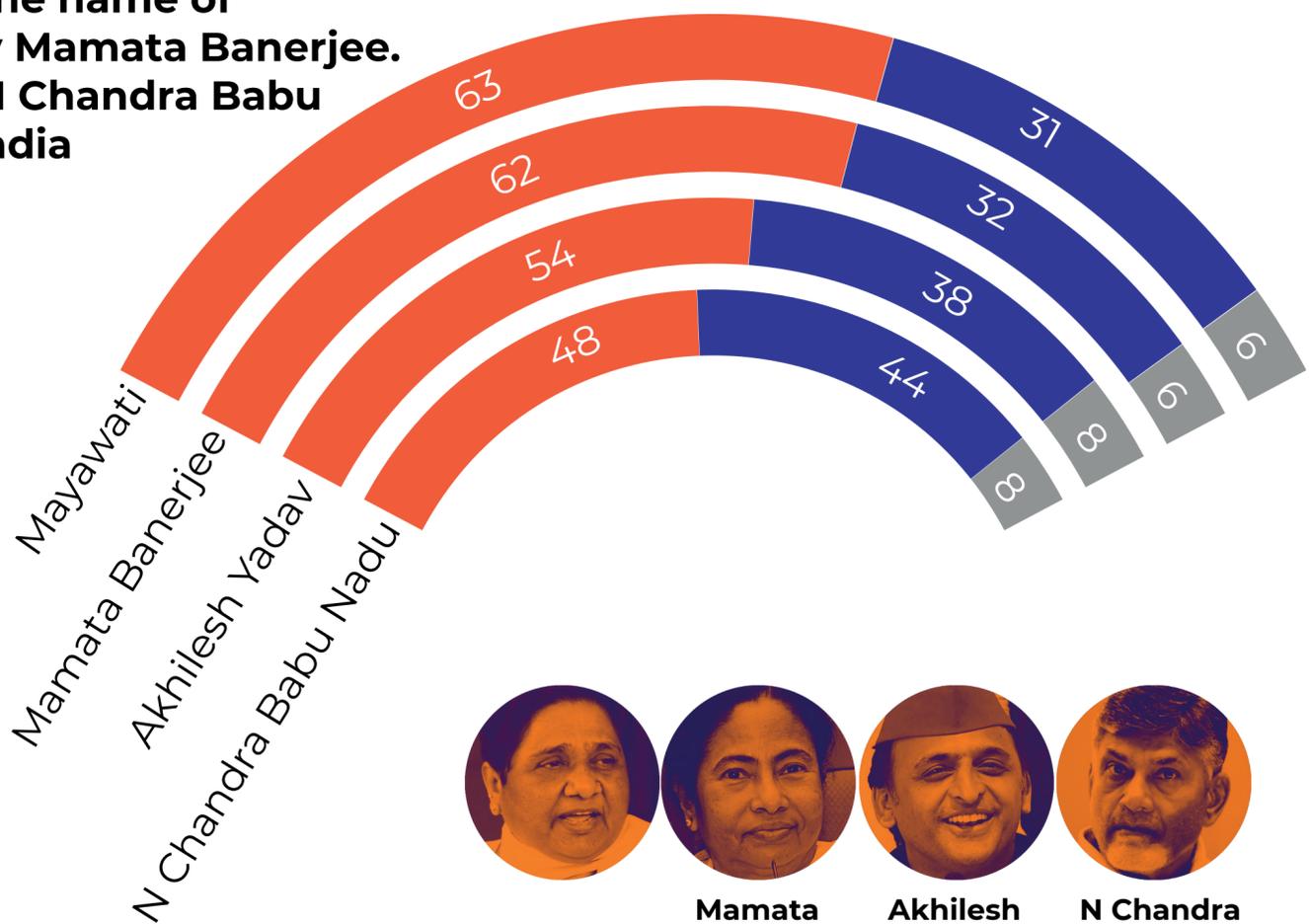
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**HEARD THE NAME OF KEY POLITICAL LEADERS...**

**Majority have heard the name of Mayawati followed by Mamata Banerjee. People are aware of N Chandra Babu Naidu only in south India**

Heard the name of...  
[N=28688]

● Yes ● No ● DK/CS



	N	Mayawati	Mamata Banerjee	Akhilesh Yadav	N Chandra Babu Naidu
Andhra Pradesh	1111	51.5	44.3	27.3	96.6
Assam	1070	66.3	43.2	31.1	30.2
Bihar	1548	64.4	62.9	55.9	43.6
Chhattisgarh	471	57.3	60.2	46.3	30.7
Goa	531	63.6	61.7	51.9	44.7
Gujarat	2147	51.5	55.2	47.3	38.9
Haryana	1046	51.1	56.2	46.5	31.3
Himachal Pradesh	501	83.9	81.0	71.6	58.2
Jammu	498	47.1	56.3	46.5	37.3
Jharkhand	527	53.5	42.6	38.3	28.1
Karnataka	1552	40.1	41.5	28.5	39.1
Kerala	1029	70.8	62.7	55.1	53.8
Madhya Pradesh	2079	52.3	60.1	56.4	37.9
Maharashtra	2635	62.1	67.2	55.6	50.4
Nct Of Delhi	540	86.8	91.0	88.8	58.0
Odisha	2169	51.3	42.0	36.7	38.9
Punjab	964	80.9	83.9	62.1	51.8
Rajasthan	2092	66.1	71.2	64.6	42.4
Tamil Nadu	1018	62.7	55.9	33.6	71.8
Telangana	515	46.2	41.5	40.0	86.2
Uttar Pradesh	2604	59.9	95.9	95.5	40.8
Uttarakhand	496	70.7	88.5	83.0	39.1
West Bengal	1524	97.2	48.8	41.4	40.1



Q26. Have you heard the name of Mamata Banerjee? Q28. Have you heard the name of Mayawati? Q30. Have you heard the name of Akhilesh Yadav? Q32. Have you heard the name of N Chandra Babu Naidu?

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**CURRENT  
BURNING  
ISSUES**

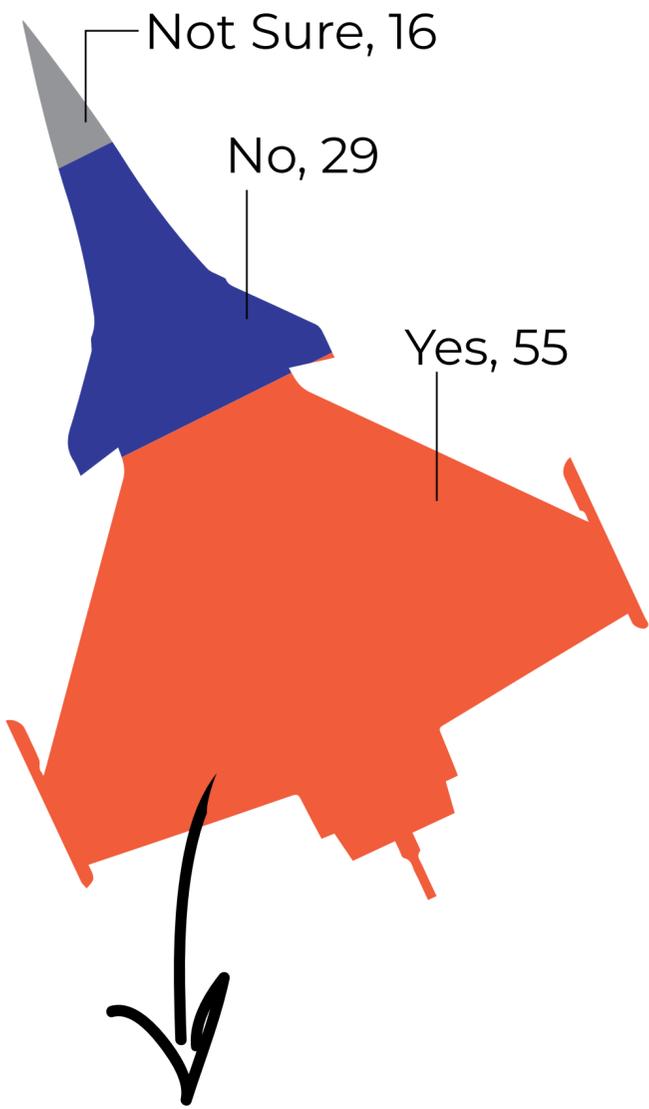
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**BURNING ISSUES**  
**# 1: RAFALE DEAL**

**RAFALE DEAL:**  
**An issue ahead of 2019**  
**parliamentary election**



N=28668



**Corruption allegations**  
**made by Congress accusing**  
**PM Modi on Rafale deal**

N=15767



	AGREE (Strongly Agree + Slightly Agree)	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE (Strongly Disagree + Slightly Disagree)
Andhra Pradesh	86	9	5
Assam	58	14	28
Bihar	61	6	33
Chhattisgarh	35	15	50
Goa	25	38	37
Gujarat	58	11	30
Haryana	51	5	43
Himachal Pradesh	37	14	50
Jammu	10	12	79
Jharkhand	48	12	40
Karnataka	66	15	19
Kerala	79	12	9
Madhya Pradesh	69	8	23
Maharashtra	75	10	15
Nct Of Delhi	83	6	10
Odisha	78	7	16
Punjab	74	15	11
Rajasthan	56	7	37
Tamil Nadu	78	8	14
Telangana	28	5	66
Uttar Pradesh	56	14	31
Uttarakhand	12	6	82
West Bengal	49	18	34

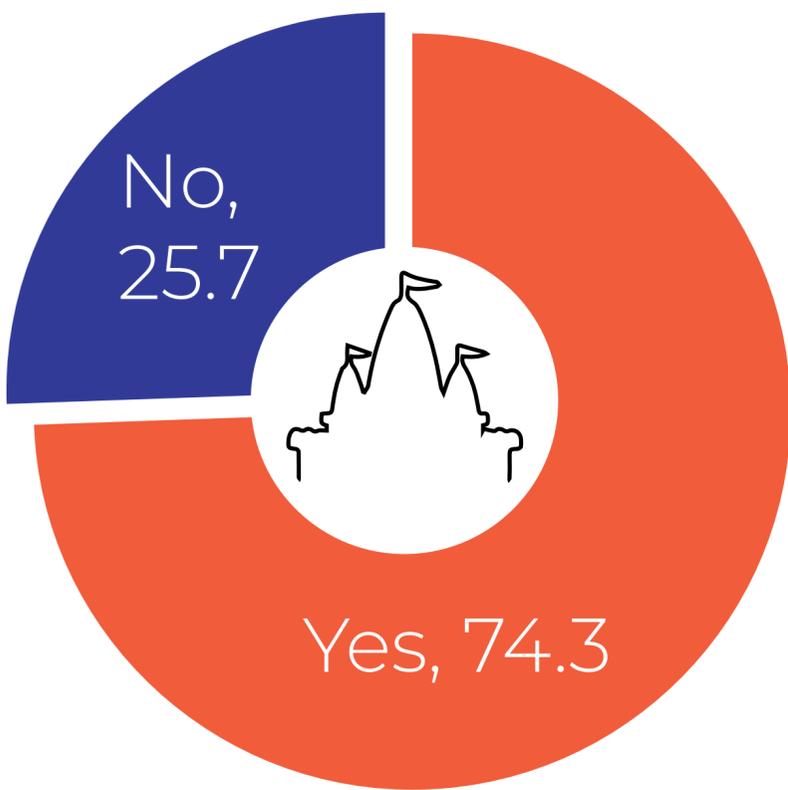
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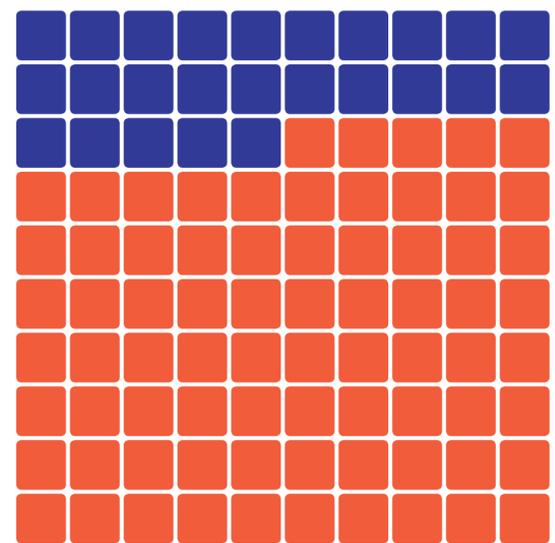
**BURNING ISSUES**  
**# 2: AYODHYA RAM TEMPLE**

**Close to 3/4th says, Ayodhya Ram temple will become an election issue in the run-up to the 2019 Lok Sabha election**

**Support if Government brings in ordinance in favour of building Ram Temple in Ayodhya**



No, 25



Yes, 75

N=28668



564. Will Ayodhya Ram Temple become an election issue in the run-up to the 2019 Lok Sabha election? Q55. Will you support if Government brings in ordinance in favour of building Ram Temple in Ayodhya?

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# COMPARISON – 4 STATES

(Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh,  
Rajasthan, Telangana)

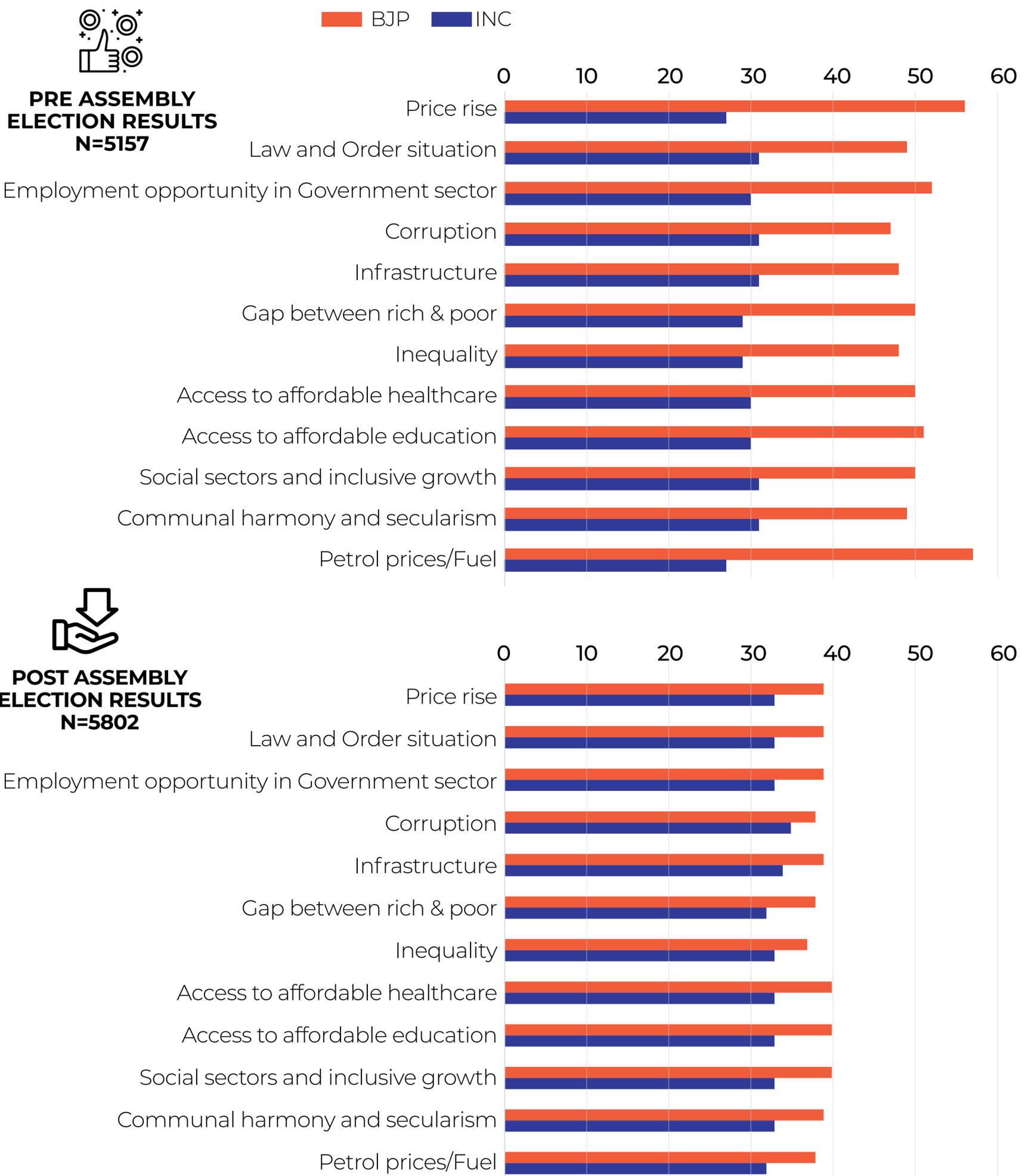


**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

**ISSUES & CONCERNS**

(PRE & POST 2018 ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS)

**VOTERS ARE TRUSTING BJP MORE THAN INC FOR SOLVING MAJORITY OF ISSUES IN COUNTRY**



Q2. People like you have identified many important issues which India is facing today. I have a list of such issues. For each issue that I read out, please tell me as which political party would you trust to handle these issues. You may choose only one party or more if you want. You may also choose 'none of party' if you feel that way. It doesn't matter how familiar you are with these parties as it is only your impression we are interested in.

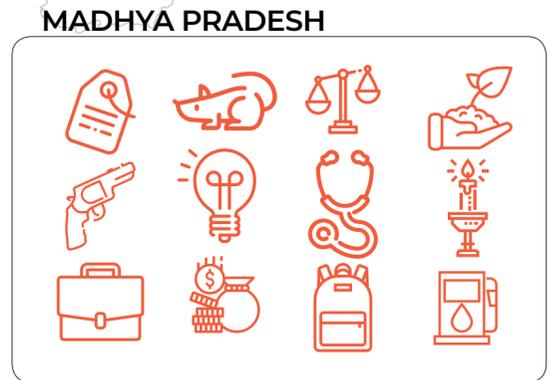
**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

**ISSUES & CONCERNS**  
(PRE & POST 2018 ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS)

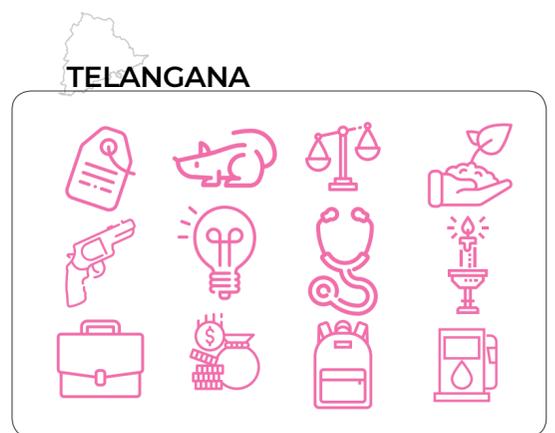
**VOTERS ARE TRUSTING BJP ACROSS HINDI HEARTLAND FOR SOLVING MAJORITY OF ISSUES IN COUNTRY**

BJP Inc TRS

-  Price rise
-  Deteriorated Law & Order situation
-  Employment opportunity

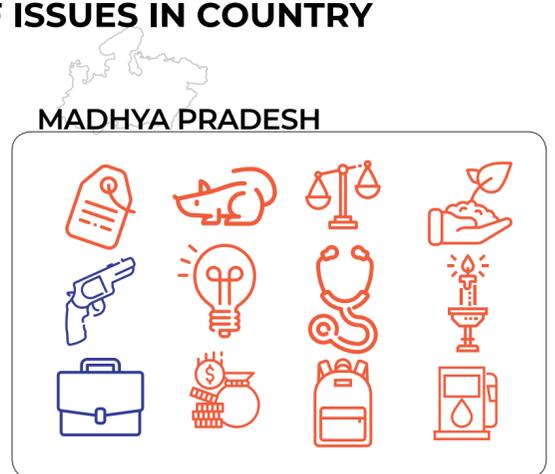


-  Rise in corruption
-  Sufficient Infrastructure
-  Gap between rich & poor



**VOTERS ARE TRUSTING BJP ACROSS HINDI HEARTLAND FOR SOLVING MAJORITY OF ISSUES IN COUNTRY**

-  Inequality
-  Easy access to affordable healthcare
-  Easy access to affordable healthcare



-  Focus on social sectors & inclusive growth
-  Communal harmony and secularism
-  Petrol prices/ Fuel



Q2. People like you have identified many important issues which India is facing today. I have a list of such issues. For each issue that I read out, please tell me as which political party would you trust to handle these issues. You may choose only one party or more if you want. You may also choose 'none of party' if you feel that way. It doesn't matter how familiar you are with these parties as it is only your impression we are interested in.

N=5157

N=5802

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**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

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**KEY HIGHLIGHTS -  
ANALYSIS ON TRUST**

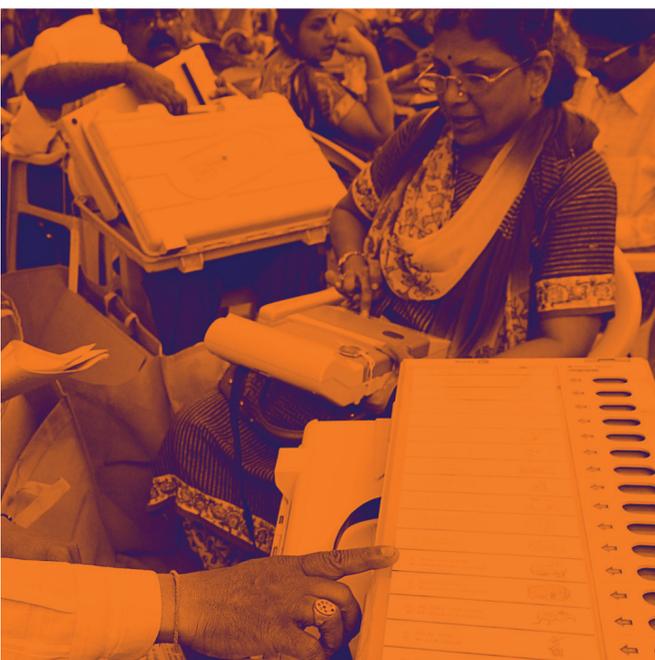
**(PRE & POST 2018 ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS)**



○○○ Though Inflation, employment opportunities, corruption and law and order are the burning issues for voters and majority of them have trusted BJP as party to solve these issues in pre-election period. The gap between the parties have narrowed in the survey conducted after assembly election 2018 results. This might be because of loan waiver announcement and other election manifesto of INC played a key role in drawing attention of voters.



○○○ TRS is believed to be a strongest party among voters in Telangana and have very high trust associated towards TRS in resolving their issues. This has reflected in both pre and post assembly election.



○○○ Post Assembly election results, voters have shown more trust towards INC in resolving issues concerning people, which might be a matter of concern for BJP.

○○○ INC is perceived to be doing well on aspects like law & order and generation of employment.

**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

**VOTERS TRUST ON INSTITUTIONS**

**(PRE & POST 2018 ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS)**

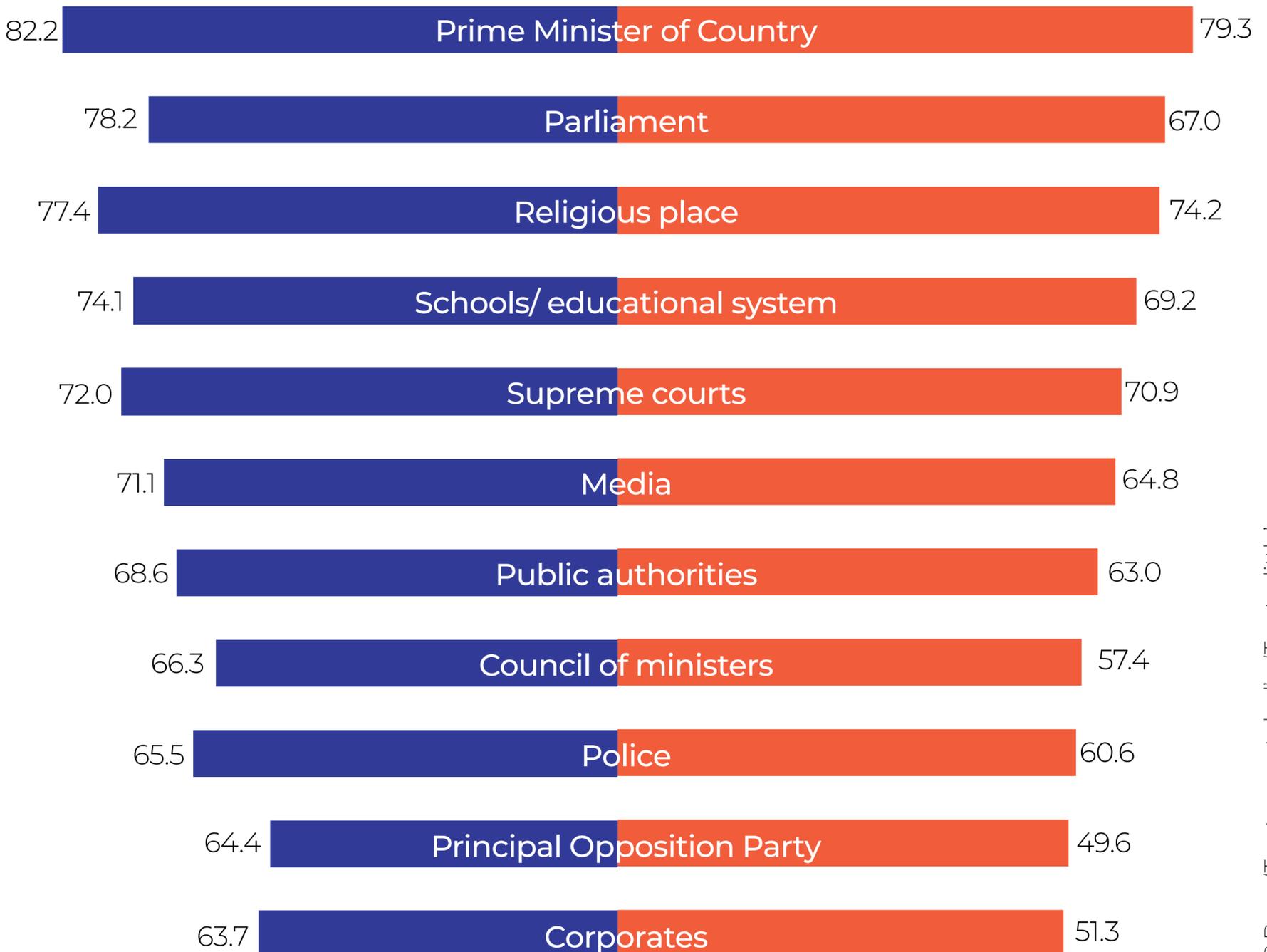


In institutions, voters have expressed more trust towards PM of the country.

Principal opposition party and corporates are among the least and have low trust compared to other institutions

Pre Assembly Election Results  
 N=5157

Post Assembly Election Results  
 N=5802



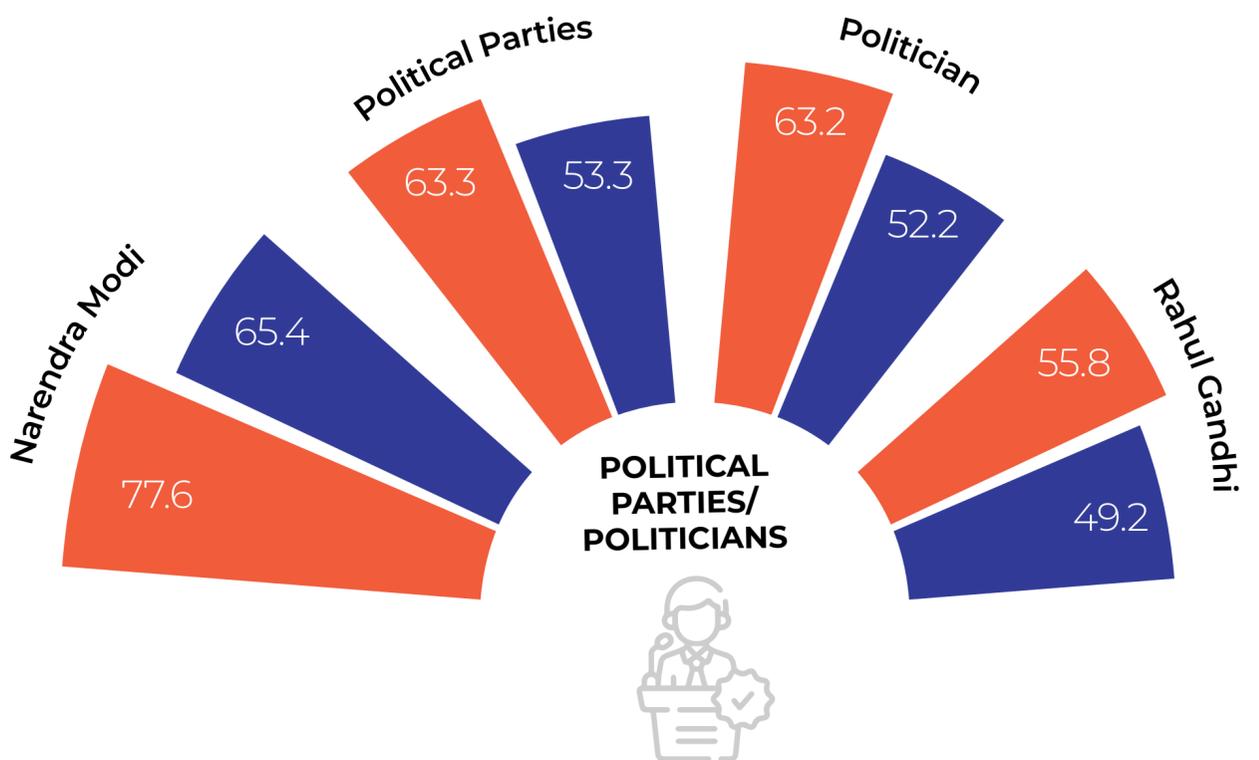
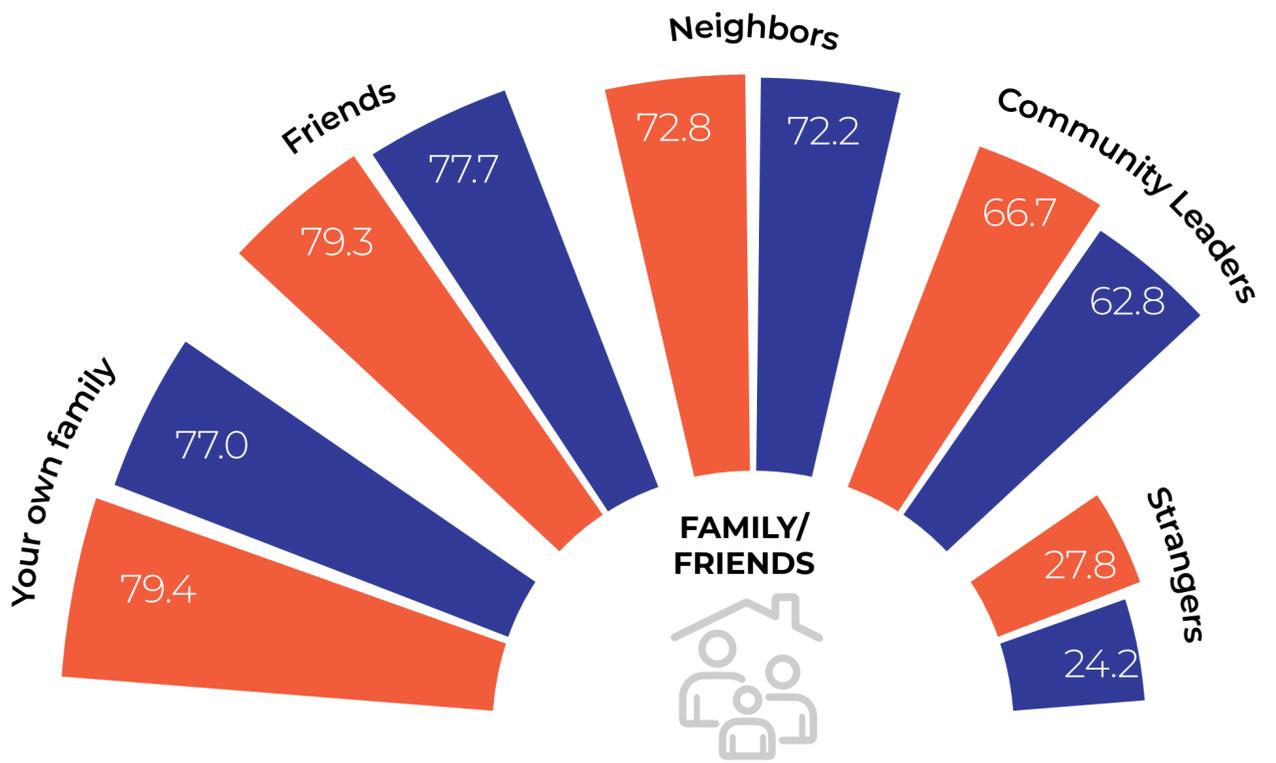
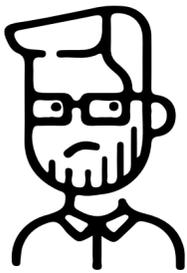
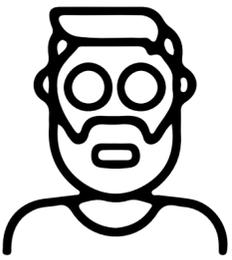
**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

**VOTERS TRUST ON FAMILY/  
 FRIENDS, POLITICAL PARTIES/  
 POLITICIANS  
 (PRE & POST ASSEMBLY ELECTION)**

No change has been observed in trust hierarchy towards “own family, friends, neighbor, community leaders and strangers”  
 There is significant gap in level of trust between PM Narendra Modi and Rahul Gandhi.

Pre Assembly;  
 N=5157

Post Assembly;  
 N=5802

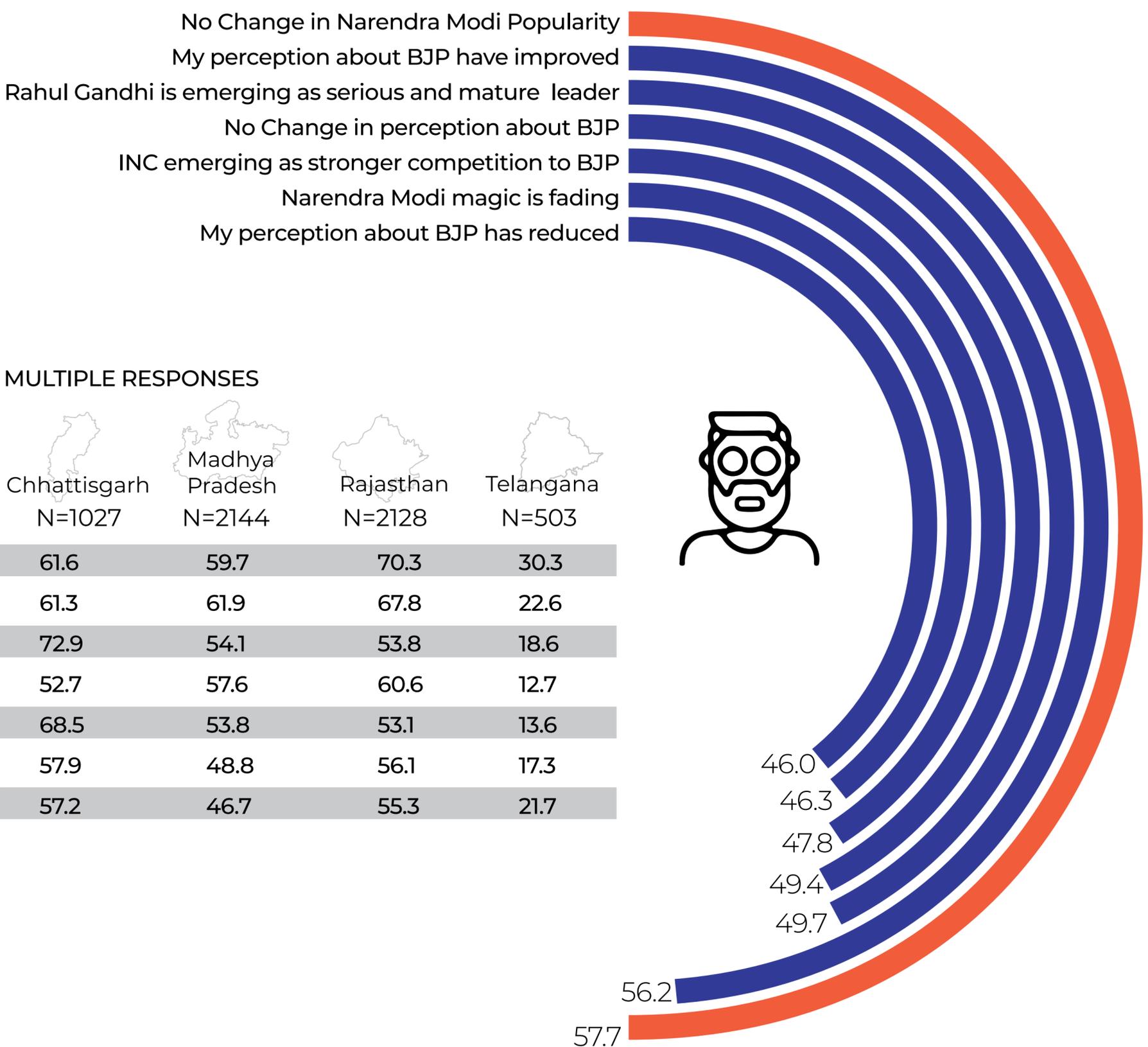


**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

**INC HAS REPLACED THE BJP IN THREE STATES –**

**MADHYA PRADESH, RAJASTHAN & CHHATTISGARH, WILL VICTORY OF INC IMPACT THE 2019 GENERAL ELECTION [POST ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS 2018]**

Dipstick, N=5802 Figures in %

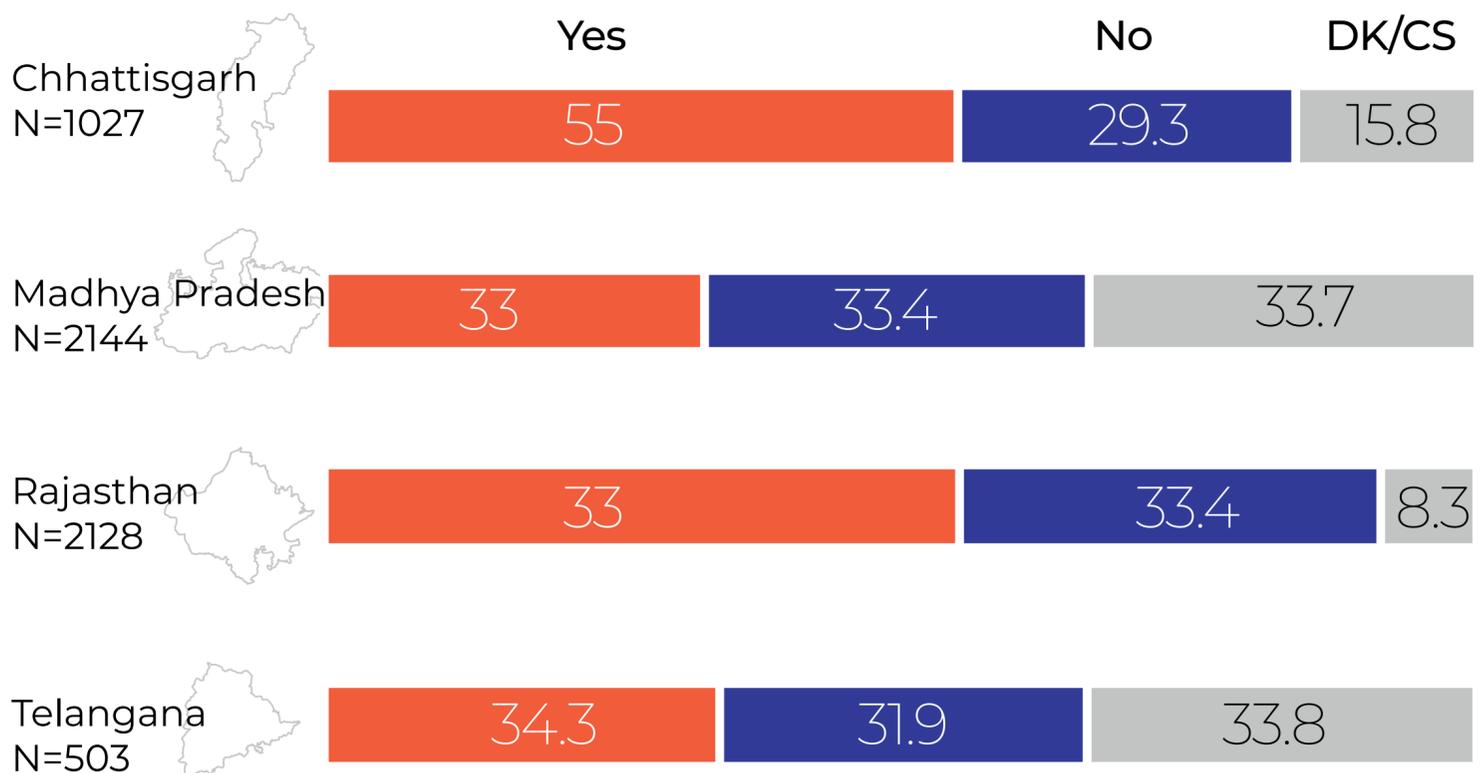
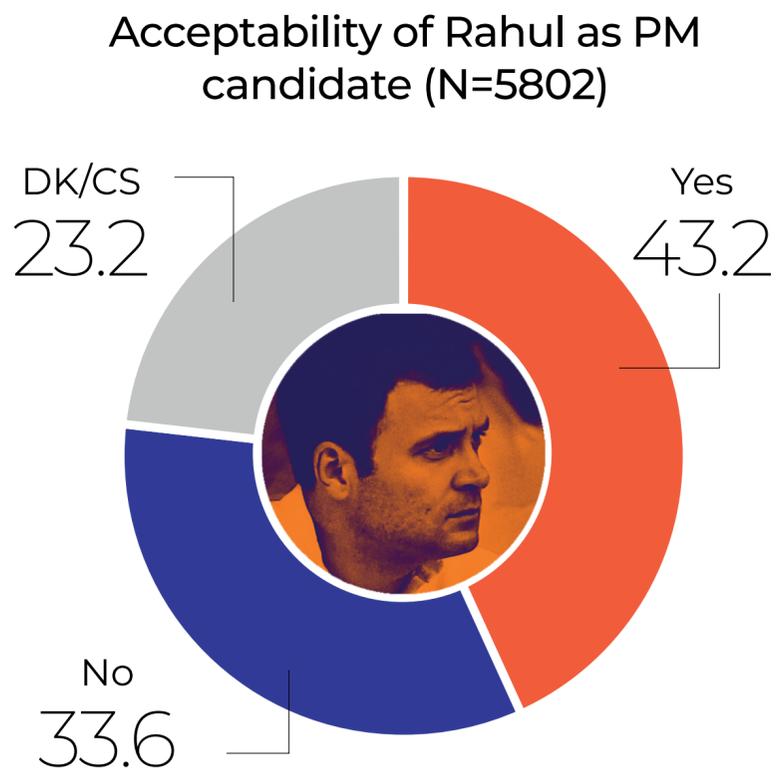


5A. In recent assembly elections, INC has replaced the BJP in three states – Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Chhattisgarh. In your opinion will this victory of INC impact the 2019 general election?

**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

**INC HAS WON IN THREE STATES.**

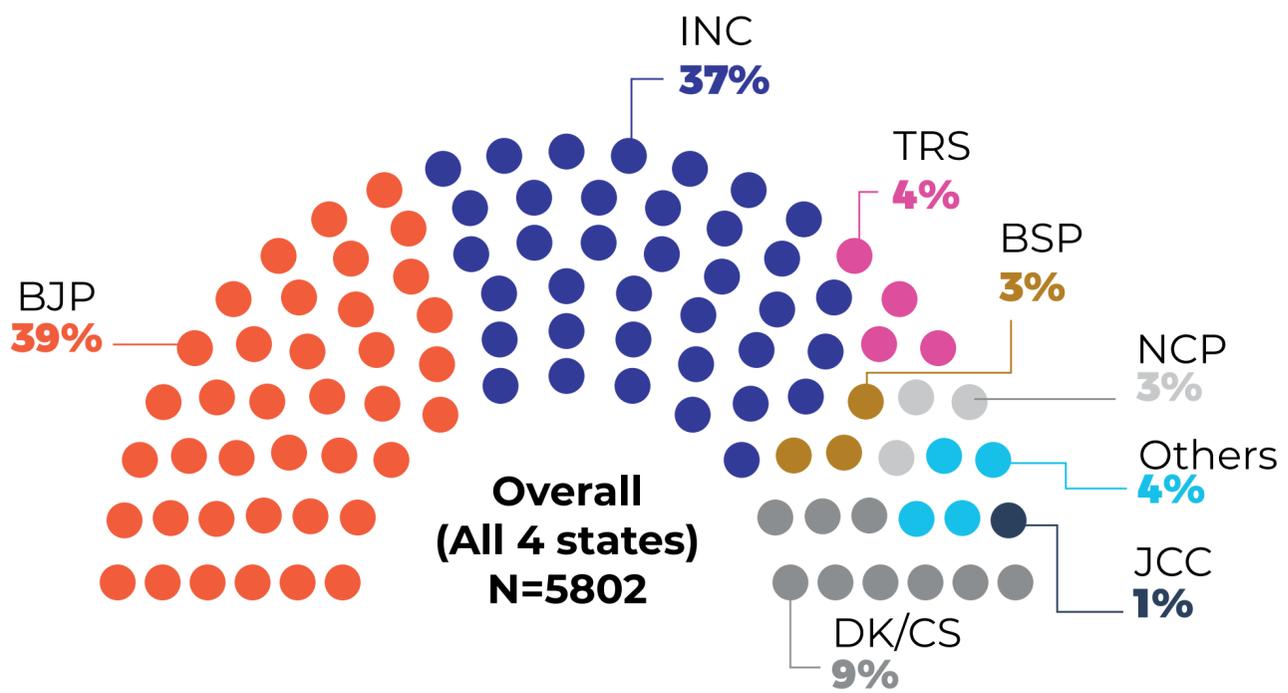
INC HAS WON IN THREE STATES. IMPROVEMENT IN ACCEPTABILITY OF RAHUL GANDHI AS POSSIBLE CANDIDATE FOR PM POSITION IN MAHAGATBANDHAN



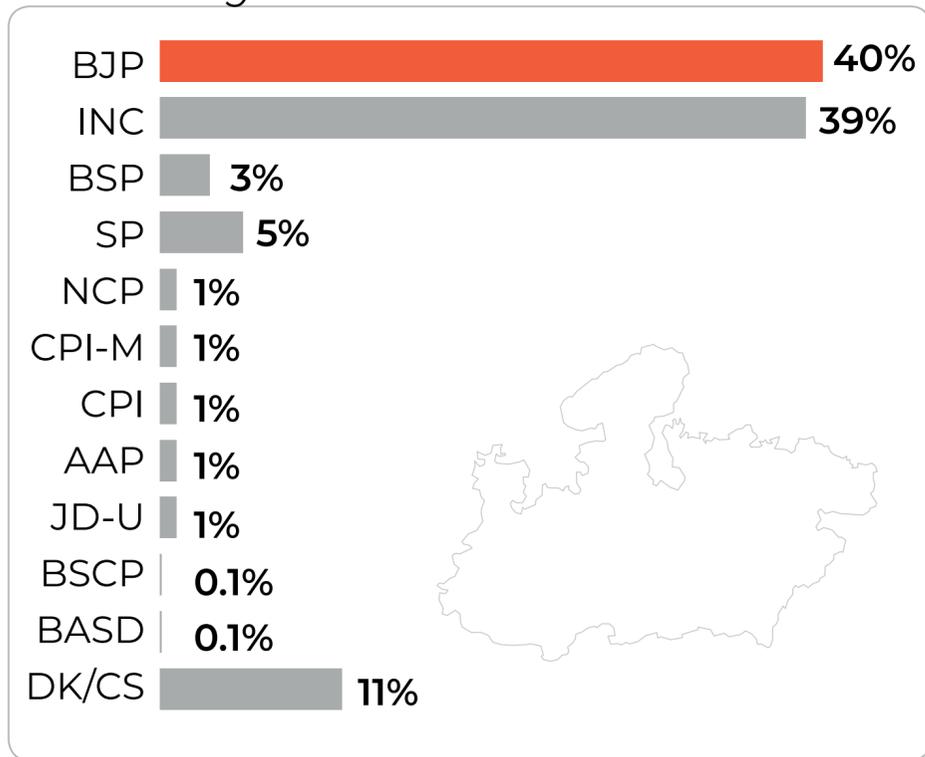
34A. INC has won in three states. Will it improve acceptability of Rahul Gandhi as possible candidate for PM position in Mahagatbandhan?

**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

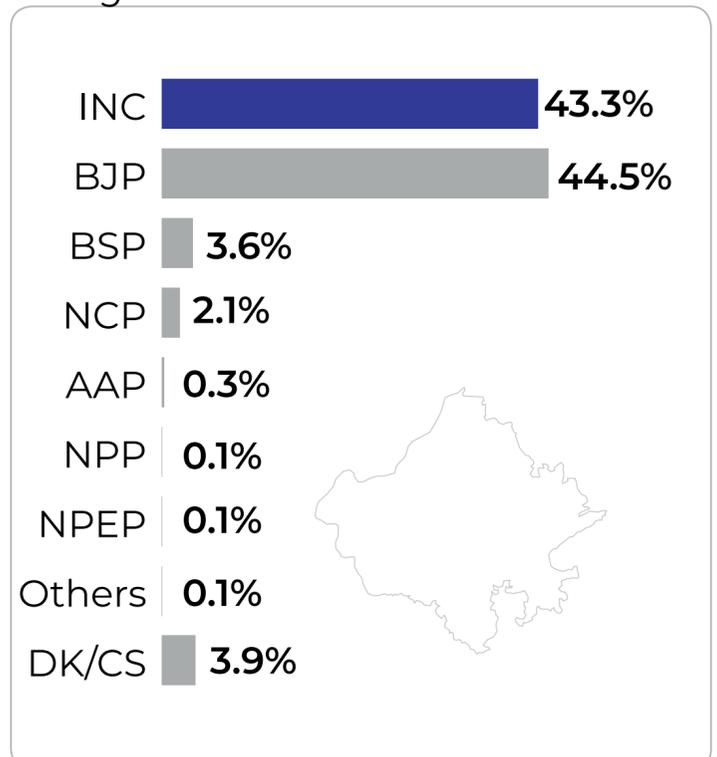
PARTY VOTED IN JUST CONCLUDED ASSEMBLY ELECTION 2018



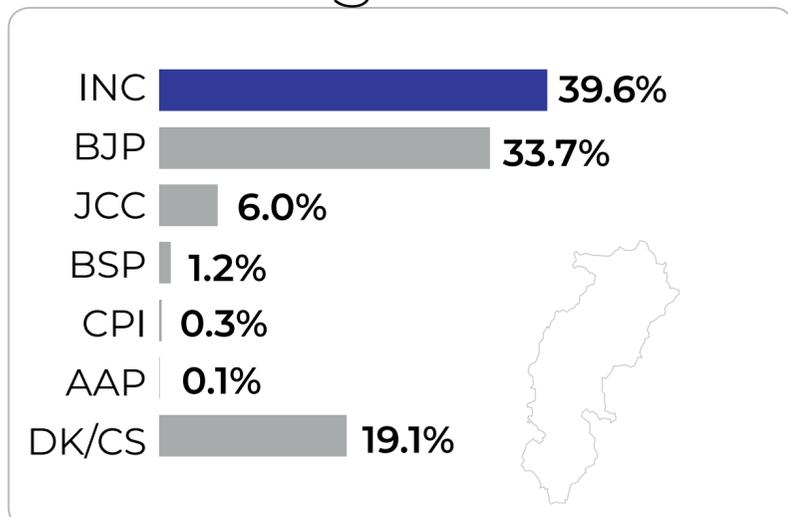
Madhya Pradesh



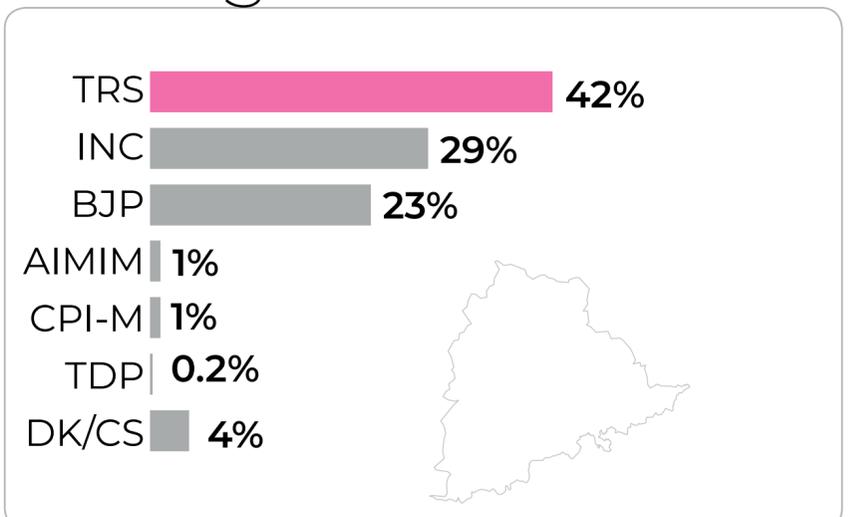
Rajasthan



Chhattisgarh



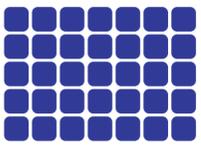
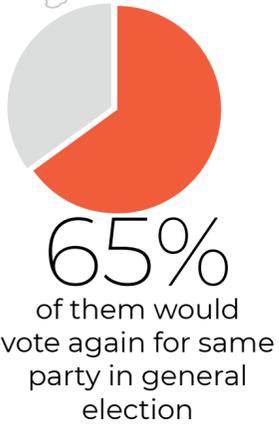
Telangana



**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

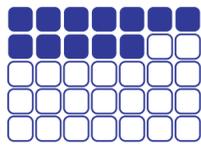
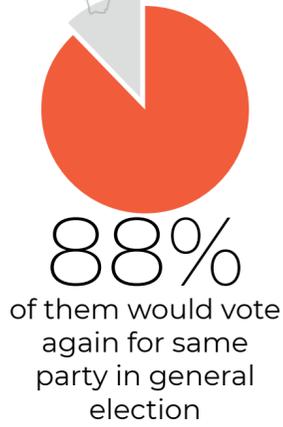
**POSSIBLE SHIFT OF VOTES FROM LAST ASSEMBLY ELECTION TO 2019 GENERAL ELECTION**

**Among voters of recent assembly election**



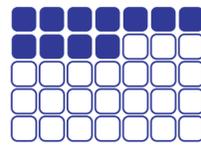
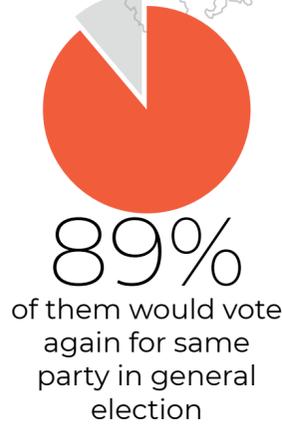
Contribution to 35% votes –

INC	12%
Undecided	12%
BSP	4%
BJP	2%
NCP	2%
Others	3%



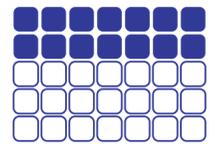
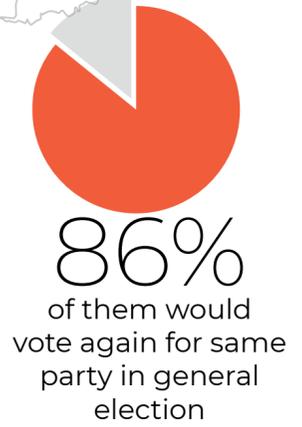
Contribution to 12% votes –

BJP	4%
INC	7%
Others	1%



Contribution to 11% votes –

BJP	3%
INC	6%
BSP	1%



Contribution to 14% votes –

TRS	4%
BJP	4%
INC	6%

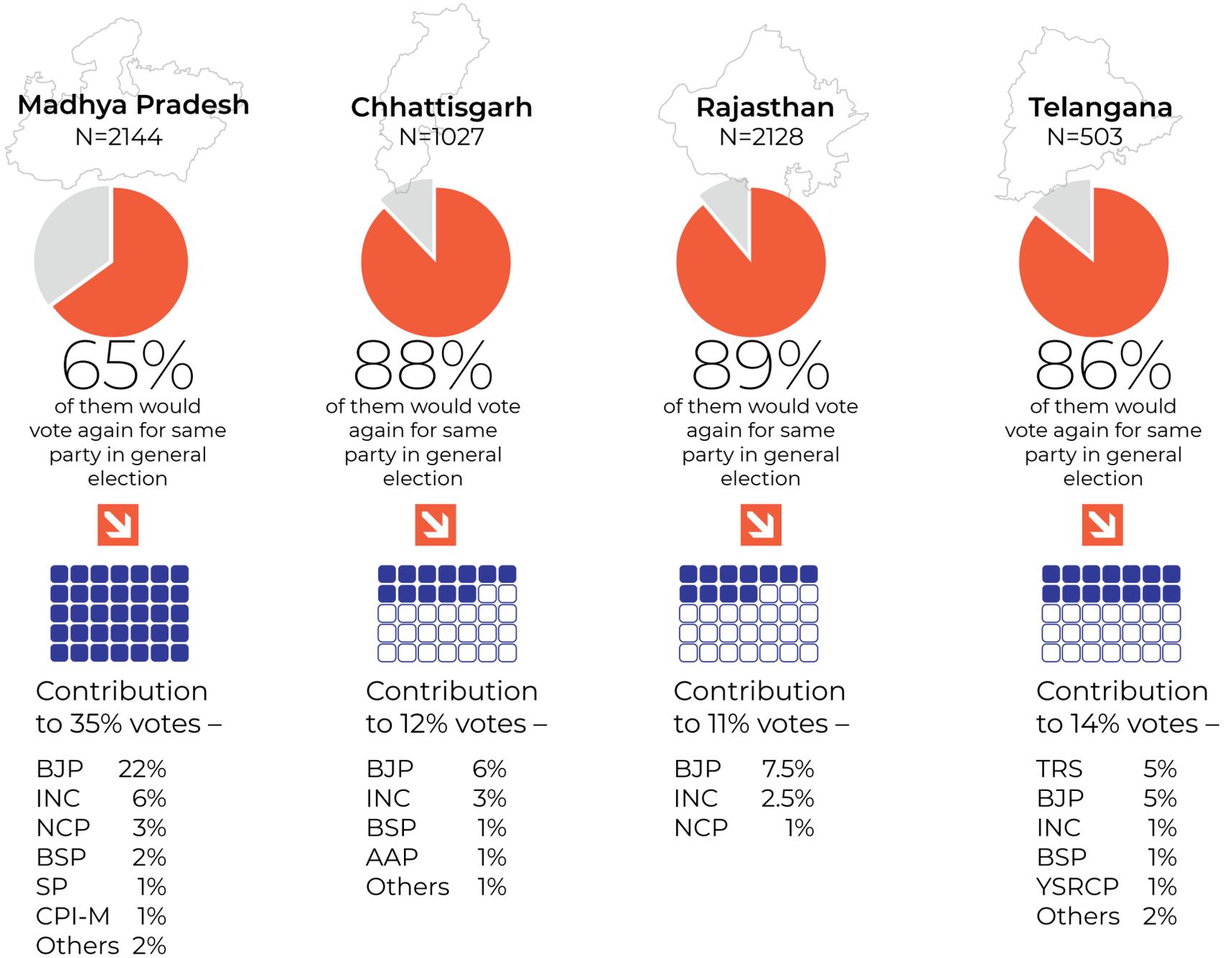


5F Will you vote for same party if parliamentary election had to happen today?  
 Q7. Imagine that the election for the Lok Sabha is to be held in a few days from now. Which party will you vote for?

**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

**PARTY VOTED IN JUST CONCLUDED ASSEMBLY ELECTION 2018**

**Amongst voters of recent assembly election**



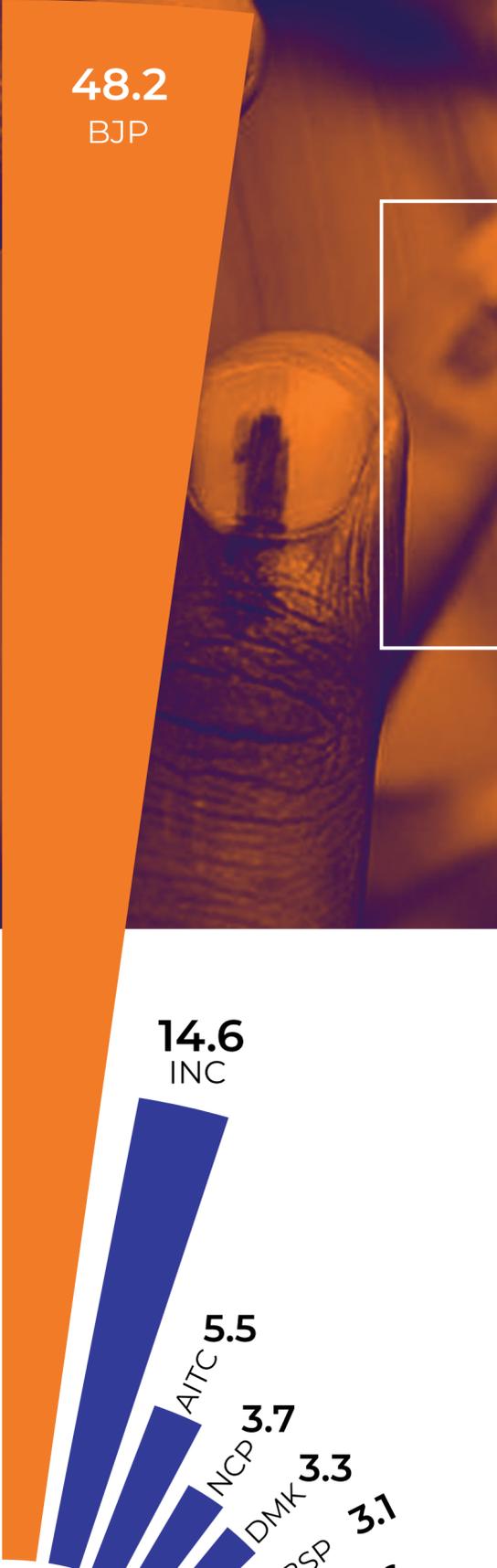
5F. Will you vote for same party if parliamentary election had to happen today?  
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**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

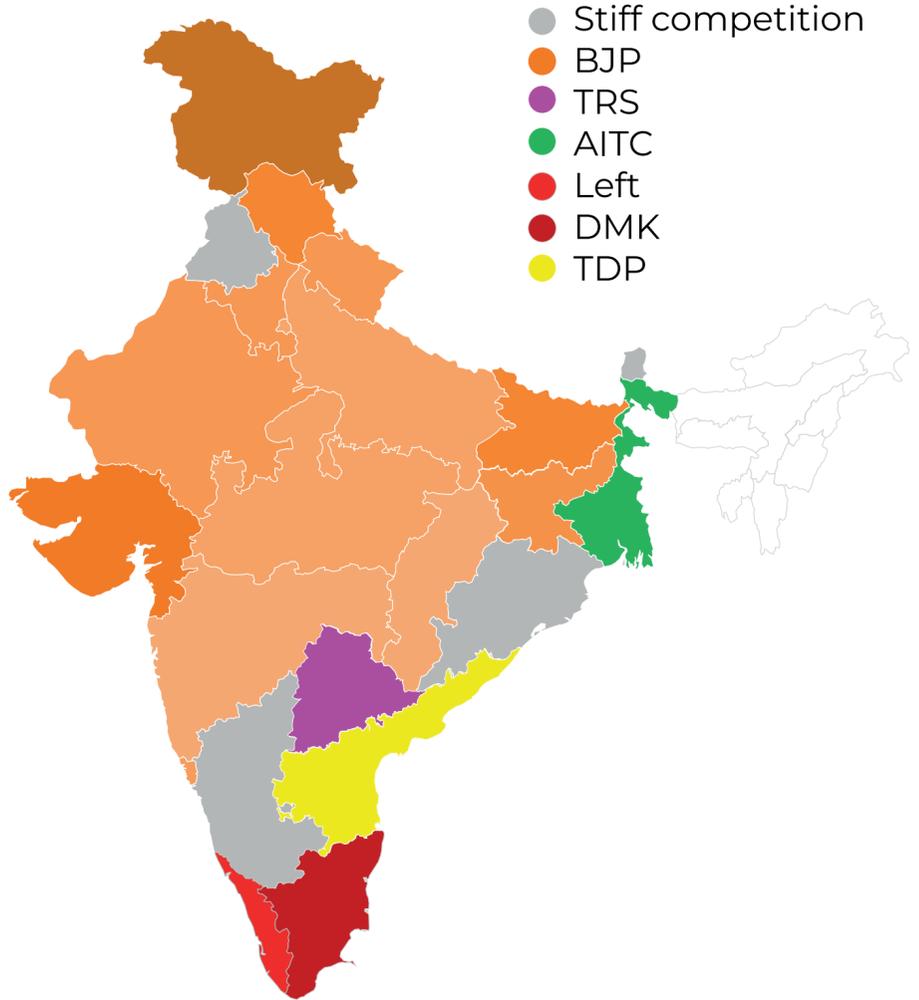


**VOTE SHARE**



**PARTIES TO GET FOLLOWING VOTE SHARE AS OF TODAY**

**STATES FAVOURABLE TO BJP IN ORDER OF VOTE SHARE**



Q7. Imagine that the election for the Lok Sabha is to be held in a few days from now. Which party will you vote for?

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**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

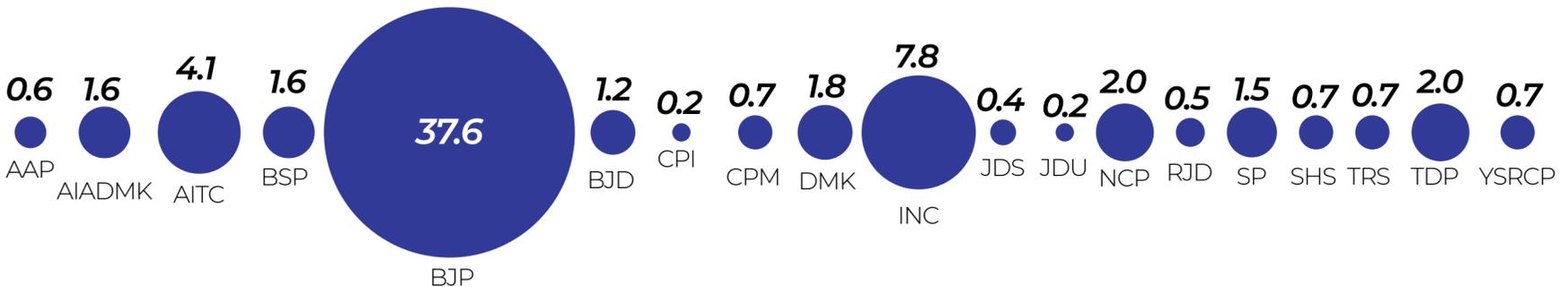
**VOTE SHARE**



N=28668

**PARTY VOTED IN THE LAST LOK SABHA ELECTIONS**

PARTY TO VOTE	PARTY VOTED IN THE LAST LOK SABHA ELECTIONS																					Total
	AAP	AIADMK	AITC	BSP	BJP	BJD	CPI	CPM	DMK	INC	JDS	JDU	NCP	RJD	SP	SHS	TRS	TDP	YSRCP	Others		
AAP	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	1.4
AIADMK	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	2.0
AITC	0.0	0.0	4.1	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	5.6
BSP	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	3.1
BJP	0.2	0.1	0.7	0.7	37.6	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.0	1.3	0.0	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.0	7.2	48.2
BJD	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	1.5
CPI	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.8
CPM	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	1.2
DMK	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.8	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	3.3
INC	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	2.9	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.1	7.8	0.0	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	1.9	14.6
JDS	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.5
JDU	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.5
NCP	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	3.7
RJD	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	1.2
SP	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	2.6
SHS	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	1.3
TRS	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	1.4
TDP	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.1	0.0	0.2	2.5
YSRCP	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.7	0.0	0.2	1.4
Others	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.5	0.7	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.7
Total	1.0	3.0	5.3	3.1	45.3	1.5	0.9	1.6	2.2	10.6	0.5	0.7	2.9	0.9	2.1	1.1	1.2	2.8	0.9	12.8	100.0	



Same party intersection numbers is retention vote share. Row-wise: gain of vote share from other parties.

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**NATIONAL TRUST SURVEY**

**THANK YOU**