

CDPP

CENTRE FOR
DEVELOPMENT
POLICY AND
PRACTICE

WHY DO YOUNG URBAN INDIANS VOTE THE WAY THEY DO: A STUDY ACROSS FOUR STATES

Authors

Netheena Mathews | Nahia Hussain

In collaboration with

**NEEV ADVISORY RESEARCH
& CONSULTANCY SERVICES PVT. LTD.**

WORKING PAPER SERIES

ISSUE - 11 | NOVEMBER - 2021



WHY DO YOUNG URBAN INDIANS VOTE THE WAY THEY DO: A STUDY ACROSS FOUR STATES

In collaboration with
NEEV ADVISORY RESEARCH & CONSULTANCY SERVICES PVT. LTD.

WORKING PAPER SERIES
ISSUE - 11 | NOVEMBER - 2021

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	01
METHODOLOGY	04
SECTION I: PERCEPTION OF INDIA'S DEVELOPMENT & ECONOMY	09
I. India's Development in the 60 years since Independence	10
II. UPA vs NDA – Who Performed Better	12
III. Modi's Influence on India's Global Image	14
IV. Did Demonetisation benefit the Nation?	17
V. Did Citizens or Businesses Benefit from Demonetisation?	20
VI. Evaluation of Current Economic Situation	22
SECTION II: STANCE ON HINDUTVA-APPEASING POLICIES	24
I. Cow Vigilantism	25
II. Support for CAA	27
III. Ban on Triple Talaq	29
IV. One Law for all Religions – Uniform Civil Code	31
SECTION III: VOTING BEHAVIOUR & PREFERENCES	33
I. Tampering of EVMs	33

INTRODUCTION

With the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) riding a second victory wave in India in the 2019 Lok Sabha elections, Centre for Development Policy and Practice (CDPP) embarked on a study to analyse voting behaviour among young urban Indians and their understanding of the nation's development. The study, supported by Institute of Objective Studies (IoS), looks into major issues that concern urban Indians in the 18-35 age group, while assessing how they feel about inclusive growth, India's progress since independence, its global reputation, and cases concerning religious polarisation in the country.

With India entering its 37-year period of demographic dividend, the opinions, aspirations and priorities of the young Indian assume even more significance. To this end, CDPP partnered with Neev Research & Advisory to undertake a comprehensive survey across four Indian states in early 2020, spanning five cities and a total of 2,586 respondents. Neev provided data collection services, gathering responses from young citizens residing in Lucknow, Varanasi, Bhopal, Jaipur and Ahmedabad on a range of issues such as the economy's performance, abrogation of Article 370, Uniform Civil Code, cow vigilantism, demonetisation, voting preferences, and the Citizenship Amendment Act, among others. Questions on their demographic characteristics and voting behaviour were also posed. The responses have been analysed across various parameters such as the respondents' age, gender, occupation, education, monthly income and city of residence – essential drivers of the young hindi speaking Indian voter's identity.

While this report does not intend to serve as a predictor of future election exercises in any manner, it aims to provide insights into the young urban Indian's understanding of their identity and India's development. CDPP trusts this report will help leaders at the state and central levels across all political parties rethink their strategy and priorities such that they align with the young voters' needs and aspirations. This report also intends to help underline issues regarding religious polarisation that call for affirmative action and creation of counter-narratives, wherever required.

Rationale for the study

The 2019 General Election results were astounding for many reasons. Despite governance failure, a tanking economy and rising unemployment rates, among several other issues, the BJP-led government still managed to not just consolidate but also expand its support base. About half of the 900 million registered voters were women. The year also saw the highest number of women candidates. However, the number of women was still far low, comprising only 723 out of 8,000 candidates.

Of the 543 seats contested in 2014, BJP won 282, and its NDA allies another 41 seats. Congress, on the other hand, saw its tally dip dramatically to 44 seats from 206 seats captured in 2009. BJP won 303 out of 542 seats that were contested in 2019, expanding its vote share from 31% in the 2014 elections to about 37%. In 2019, its support base increased across all social groups, except Muslims. Of the 60.37 crore total votes polled, more than 22.6 crore were for BJP. Congress, on the other hand, won only 52 seats in 2019. It managed to gain only 19.6% of the total votes polled, up marginally from 19.3% in 2014.

MAJOR LEARNINGS

Below is a brief summary of some of the major learnings from the study:

PERCEPTION OF ECONOMY & DEVELOPMENT

a. Evaluation of the Economy

The majority of the survey respondents seem to think the current economic situation in the country is poor. The youngest cohort (18-24 years) is most likely to feel this way too. More men seem to think the current economic situation is good as compared to women.

b. Perception of India's Development in 60 Years Since Independence

Young urban Indian voters do not seem to think that India has seen no development in the 60 years since independence, though '60 years of misgovernance' was a narrative that ran common through Prime Minister Narendra Modi's election campaigns. Even among those who intend to vote for BJP, the majority does not support this view. However, women believe this narrative more than men, as per the survey results. The respondent's level of education seems to have a direct relation with their likelihood to agree with this. The narrative receives the greatest support from those who are illiterate. Those employed in government jobs seem to support the view the most.

c. Performance – NDA vs UPA

An overwhelming 81% of the study's respondents feel the Modi-led BJP government is working more efficiently than the previous UPA. Muslim respondents support the Modi-led government the least among all major religious groups in this regard. When compared to other cities, respondents from Jaipur seem to support the BJP government the least.

d. Modi Effect' on India's Global Image

A large majority of the study's respondents agree with the view that Prime Minister Narendra Modi has raised India's name to great heights at the international level. Along expected lines, those intending to vote for BJP seem to agree with the view more than the others. However, this perception carries great favour even among intended non-BJP voters. The view that Modi has done good for India's international image gains maximum support from Jain and Hindu respondents.

e. Impact of Demonetisation on Nation

The survey's respondents seem divided on their opinion on demonetisation. While 51% of all respondents feel the policy move has brought gains to the nation, 41% say it has not. In line with the BJP's view, those intending to vote for the party seem to think demonetisation has benefited the nation. Moreover, one's level of income seems to have a direct impact on their likelihood to think demonetisation has benefited the nation. The youngest cohort is most likely to accept this view. A city-wise break-up of opinions shows that respondents from Jaipur are less likely to think demonetisation benefited the nation as compared to all other cities surveyed.

f. Impact of Demonetisation on Businesses

Unlike their view on demonetisation's benefits for the nation, a large majority of the respondents feel demonetisation did nothing to benefit their businesses or themselves personally. Voting intentions show significant variations. Respondents from Bhopal seem to think demonetisation had benefited them personally the most. While a sizable share of Muslims say demonetisation has not benefited them personally, the majority of other religious groups surveyed too feel the same way. Those from the highest income bracket seem to have benefited the most. Young voters seem more likely to think demonetisation has benefited them personally with rising levels of education. Those who are engaged in agricultural and related jobs have benefited the most from demonetisation, according to the survey.

STANCE ON HINDUTVA-APPEASING POLICIES

a. Cow Vigilantism

In a largely worrying trend, the respondents of the survey seem divided about their opinion on extra-judicial activity for cow protection. When asked if citizens or social outfits should be allowed to take the law into their own hands for cow protection, residents of Jaipur seemed to extend support the most. Residents of Varanasi seem to oppose the idea the most, among cities surveyed. While looking at different caste groups, those from the ST category seem to support such cow vigilantism the most. The youngest respondent group aged 18-22 seem most supportive of extra-judicial cow protection among all age groups surveyed. Support for this idea seems to steadily decrease with age, but is highest from among the unemployed across all observed occupation groups.

b. Support for Citizenship Amendment Act

Majority of the survey's respondents favour enactment of the Citizenship Amendment Act, 2019. Difference in opinion is clear across voting intentions. Respondents in Ahmedabad seem most likely to support the CAA among all the cities surveyed. Women seem to favour the legislation less than men. Hindus and Jains seem to favour the legislation the most, while Muslims favour enactment of the act the least among all observed groups. The youngest age group seems most likely to support the CAA. Among all groups observed according to levels of education, those with higher education levels seem most likely to support the CAA. .

c. Ban on Triple Talaq

About 84% of all respondents express support for the ban on triple talaq. Intended voters of the BJP are most likely to support the ban on triple talaq. In comparison, those supporting AAP, independent candidates and other parties seem to agree with the ban the least. Residents of Varanasi favour the triple talaq ban the most among all cities surveyed. Respondents with higher levels of education seem more likely to support the ban than those who are illiterate.

d. Uniform Civil Code

Among all young urban voters surveyed for this study, a sizable majority support the idea of one law for all religions. Among major religious groups, Hindus and Jains extend maximum support for a Uniform Civil Code. Though Muslims seem less likely to favour a uniform civil code when compared to others, a majority of them express support. Residents of Bhopal seem least likely to support the idea among all cities surveyed. Government employees seem least likely to support the idea of uniform civil code among all occupation groups observed.

The survey covers the sentiments of the mainly Hindu citizens of the Hindi heartland in India. Hence , the findings of the survey also show staunch support for the populist and nationalist rhetoric of the ruling government. There is however significant opposition among voters for policies of the ruling government. These opposing voices come from the vulnerable and marginalised groups which are the most affected by these programs, manifestos and policies.

METHODOLOGY

SAMPLING METHODOLOGY

This study focuses on the voting behaviour among young urban voters in four Indian states – Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Uttar Pradesh, while capturing the factors that influence their choice of party and candidate, as well as their understanding of the nation's development. The survey explores key issues that concern urban Indians in the 18-35 age group and assesses how they feel about inclusive growth, India's progress since independence, the country's global reputation, as well as issues relating to religious polarisation.

The massive support garnered by the ruling BJP despite the crumbling economy and the worsening unemployment rate has been puzzling for many reasons. To analyse this, the study identifies policies, laws, personalities, and concerns that could have had larger implications on electoral patterns and voting preferences. A scientifically-designed questionnaire was used to assess the young voters' preferences. The four states were chosen after careful deliberation on whether they truly represented a robust Indian population.

The study seeks to capture the sentiments of states with a large majority of Hindi-speaking respondents. The study was restricted to the northern part of the country as the region has relatively younger population when compared to south India. UP is the youngest state in India. Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan also boast of a majorly young population. At the turn of the century, 60% of the population increase in India would come from the four states of Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan¹. Another factor behind choosing these states is that given the strength of the young population, the electorate would have a noteworthy chunk of first-time voters, whose voting behaviour and preferences need to be explored

Among all northern states, two major criteria were considered:

- i) The states had recently held Assembly elections.
- ii) They were also the states which had voted for BJP in large numbers.

Table: Summary of 2017 Assembly elections in Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan

State	Result Date	Winning Alliance
Uttar Pradesh	March 2017	NDA
Gujarat	December 2017	BJP
Madhya Pradesh	November 2018	BJP
Rajasthan	December 2018	Congress

With the intent to make the sample representative of India, we also try to use populous regions akin to the Indian population. Since the study essentially investigates youth behaviour, states with large young populations were surveyed.

Among the chosen states, Ahmedabad, Bhopal, Jaipur, Benares and Lucknow were picked as the cities to be surveyed. The premise behind choosing capital cities is that other cities in the state are usually seen to display similar trends in political and voting behaviour. Hence, the representative nature of

1 Catalyst | The Age of India. (2013). Retrieved from: <https://takshashila.org.in/catalyst-the-age-of-india/>

capital cities makes them fit for assessing the broad political landscape of the state. For Uttar Pradesh, two cities were chosen given the sheer size of the state. The cities chosen were largely populous, with Ahmedabad having the highest density of about 890/km² (Census,2011).

Cities, Constituencies and Booths Covered

Ahmedabad

Five assembly constituencies were chosen in Ahmedabad - Danilimda, Ellisbridge, Jamalpur Khadia, Maninagar and Naranpura. Out of these, Danilimda is a constituency reserved for the SC group, and others are in a General category. About 121 respondents were covered in Danilimda, as were 98 in Ellisbridge, 96 in Jamalpur Khadia, 82 in Maninagar and 91 respondents in Naranpura. From each of the five assembly constituencies, an average of five booths were chosen. In the Danilimda constituency, Danilimda, Gomtipur, Kankaria and Shahwadi booths were chosen, each having 32, 20, 24 and 45 respondents, respectively. In the Ellisbridge constituency, Ambavadi, Ellisbridge Memnagar and Navrangpura were the booths chosen with 54, 16, 13 and 15 respondents, respectively. In Jamalpur Khadia, Baherampura, Gollimda, Jamalpur, Jamalpur Darwaaza, Khadia and Raykhad booths having about 10-20 respondents each were chosen. Maninagar comprising Easanpur/Isanpur, Kankaria Khokhra, Maninagar and Uttamnagar had 31, 4, 17, 23 and 7 respondents, respectively. In Naranpura, booths in Juna Vadaj, Keshav Nagar, Naranpura, Nava Vadaj and Patrakar Colony (Vijayanagar) with 22, 15, 31, 20 and 3 respondents respectively, were chosen.

Jaipur

Five assembly constituencies were chosen in Jaipur – Adarsh Nagar, Amber, Sanganer, Shahpura and Vidhyadhar Nagar. All are General category constituencies. The number of respondents in each of these was 106, 125, 133, 102 and 115, respectively. In Adarsh Nagar constituency, Bass Badanpura, Jawahar Nagar, Raja Park, Ramganj Bazaar, Rishi Galav Nagar and Van Vihar booths with 18, 12, 21, 20, 18 and 17 respondents were observed. In Amber, Achrol, Amer (Handipora), Amer (Kunda), Couscous, Dhingpur and Saladwas booths with 25, 19, 20, 13, 16, 15 and 17 respondents respectively were chosen. From Sanganer, seven booths were chosen – Bhokrota, Durgapura, Gurjar Ki Thadi, Mahesh Nagar, Mansrovar, Pratapnag and Sanganer with 19, 16, 15, 15, 14, 18 and 36 respondents, respectively. In Shahpura, the booths chosen were Khoury, Manoharpur, Rajpura, Shahpura. These had 18, 38, 16 and 30 respondents, respectively. Amba Body, Ambawadi, Harmada, Jhotwara, Khatipura, Murlipura and Vidyadhar Nagar booths with 14, 4, 22, 31, 20, 4 and 20 respondents, respectively, were selected from the Vidhyadhar Nagar constituency.

Varanasi

In the city of Varanasi - Rohaniya, Sevapuri, Varanasi Cantonment, Varanasi North, and Varanasi South were the five assembly constituencies chosen, with the respondent size being 100, 102, 94, 117 and 100, respectively. In Rohaniya, Kesariapur (CT), Kotwa (CT), Maruadih (CT), Susuwahi (CT) and Suzabad (CT) were the five booths chosen with roughly 20 respondents in each of them. From Sevapuri - Badora, Deipur, Gajapur, Gajepur, Ghosila and Sirhira with 18, 22, 4, 15, 22 and 21 respondents, respectively, were the chosen booths. Chhittapur, Kakarmatta, Mahoorganj, Purvottar Railway Stadium Colony, Ramnagar (NPP), Sundarpur and Tulsipur booths in Varanasi Cantt. each having 15, 11, 12, 18, 15, 15 and 8 respondents, respectively, were also picked. Ashok Vihar Colony, Awadhpur Colony, Bhojubir Khajuri, Lallapura R, Premchand Nagar and Ramarepur booths in Varanasi North had 15, 15, 17, 15, 20, 18 and 18 respondents, respectively. Bhaironath, Chetganj, Durgakund, Kabir chaura, Katehar, Lahurabir and Pilikothi booths were picked in South Varanasi.

Bhopal

Berasia, Bhopal Central, Bhopal Uttar, Govindpura and Narela assembly constituencies were selected in Bhopal – each having an average of 104 respondents. Berasia is an SC-reserved constituency, where Barasiya, Bhojapura, Jaitapura, Kulhor, Lambakheda and Rusalli booths were selected, each of them having about 20 respondents. Booths chosen in the Bhopal Central constituency were Barkhedi, Chavni Road, Itwara, Fool Mehal, Ginnauri, Hamidiya Kotwali Road, Laxmi Tokiz Road, Momin Pura, New Subhash Nagar and Talliya Shetra. The reason for the inclusion of a higher number of booths in this group is the paucity of respondents in these booths. All booths except New Subhash Nagar, Fool Mehal and Laxmi Tokiz Road had less than ten respondents. From Bhopal Uttar, the booths selected were Fatehgadh, Laalghati Mahadev Mandir Road, Malipura, Marghatiya Mandir, Pari Bazar, PGBT Parisar and Sharda Nagar. The number of respondents were 8, 21, 9, 17, 16, 18, 13 and 10, respectively. In Govindpur, Bhanupur, Govindpura, Kalpana Naga, Malikhedi and Narela Shankri booths were chosen. Bhanupur had 37 respondents while the others had about an average of 16 respondents. In Narela, Aeshabaagh, Ashoka Garden Baagh, Dilkusha, Bijli Nagar, Gurunanakpura, Habibganj, Kasturba Nagar, Punjabi Bagh and Shankaracharya Nagar were the chosen booths. All of these had an average of 11 respondents, except Habibganj, which had only one respondent.

Lucknow

In Lucknow, B130akshi Ka Talab, Lucknow Cantt, Lucknow North, Lucknow West and Malihabad assembly segments were selected. Malihabad constituency is reserved for the SC category. The booths in Bakshi Ka Talab were Bakshi Ka Talab (NP), Derava, Digoj and Rampur Bahera, having about 27, 15, 20 and 19 respondents, respectively. Lucknow Cantt, Lucknow North, and Lucknow West had about 89, 109 and 111 respondents, respectively. In Malihabad, the booths selected were Barhi Garhi, Kasmandi Khurd, Malihabad (NP) and Nabi Panah with about 12, 10, 40 and 30 respondents, respectively.

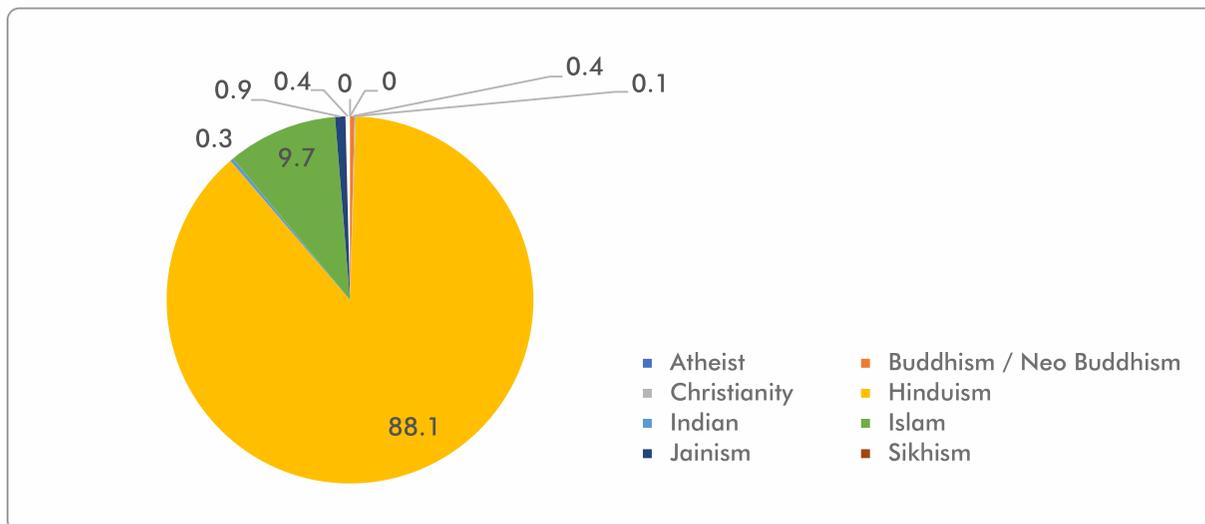
Rationale Behind Age Group selection

The study is essentially meant to capture the voting behaviour of India's youth; hence, the age group of 18-35 has been observed. Respondents in the age group of 18-24 are slightly higher in number in the sample population, given that some of them are first-time voters and hence will be a force to reckon with in electoral politics. It is imperative to gauge their preferences, beliefs, and aspirations. As per the National Youth Policy 2014, 'youth' in India are defined as those aged between 15-29, while for the Census of India, youth include individuals up to the age of 35. Keeping this in mind, the study includes individuals between 18 to 35 years of age. The selected age bracket incorporates first-time voters as well as prospective first-time voters.

Religious Groupings

Among all respondents chosen, 2,279 are Hindus and 251 are Muslims. While the sample has 88% Hindus and 10% Muslims, it is only a slight variation from the country's religious demographics. As per the Census of 2011, Hindus comprise 80% and Muslim 14% of the country's population. A higher proportion of Hindus in the sample has helped better gauge the sentiments of the 'Hindu-Hindi heartland' on Hindutva-based electoral politics. Jains with 22 or 0.9% respondents are in proportion to the Census figures (0.4%). Buddhist, Sikhs and Christians are in minority forming only about 0.4% of the sample.

Figure: Percentage of Respondents by Religious Groupings



Rationale Behind Population Sample

About 25 Assembly segments in total, comprising 5 parliamentary constituencies in 4 different states, were chosen. Five Assembly segments per city were selected; care was taken to ensure the segments reserved for SC and ST are also incorporated. Due consideration was also given to include segments populated by minorities in the sample. Furthermore, 4-6 booths per Assembly segment were chosen, again including reserved booths in the sample. In each Assembly segment, every 20th or 25th booth was selected for the study.

The following points were kept in mind while selecting respondents:

- A household survey was performed as surveying colleges and offices would have restricted access to data from the unemployed and illiterate population.
- No two people from the same house were interviewed.
- Houses were scattered across and not just those on the main road were selected.
- Approximately 90-100 interviews were taken in each Assembly segment.
- Urban migrants have also been included, even though they may not be voting in these cities. The underlying principle is that the political atmosphere in their state of residence does impact their voting choices for electoral processes in their home state.

ANALYSIS METHODOLOGY

The responses received from the survey have been analysed across various parameters such as the respondents’ age, religion, city of residence, education, sex, voting intention and level of income as these are seen to be the essential drivers of a young Indian’s identity. Certain categories in each of these parameters were collapsed into similar groups to allow for ease of understanding and analysis.

Political Parties

During the survey, the main political parties that featured among the responses were:

- Aam Aadmi Party (AAP)
- All India Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen (AIMIM)
- Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)

- Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP)
- Independent candidates
- Janata Dal (Secular) (JD(S))
- Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD)
- Samajwadi Party (SP)
- Indian National Congress (INC)
- None of the above (NOTA)
- Rashtriya Lok Dal (RLD)
- Rashtriya Lok Samta Party (RLSP)
- Undecided/Did not disclose/Do not want to say

However, for the purpose of streamlining responses in the study, parties with negligible share of responses were not considered. Certain smaller regional parties were grouped with AAP to form a cohesive unit. The idea is to see the voters tilt towards their respective regions' party. Moreover, SP and BSP were combined owing to their similar ideological underpinnings. To assess future voting intentions, respondents were asked which party they would vote for if elections were to be held tomorrow. The final groupings of parties according to the current study are:

- BJP
- Congress
- AAP and other parties
- SP and BSP
- NOTA, Did not Vote, Undecided, Do not Want to Disclose, etc.

Religious Groups

The major religious groups that were a part of the responses were:

- Atheists
- Buddhists
- Christians
- Hinduism
- Indians
- Islam
- Jainism
- Sikhism
- Tribal

For the purpose of this analysis, certain groups were combined with each other. It was found that Hindus and Jains had similar responses to most questions posed to them and largely showed similar political ideologies and affiliations. Atheists, Buddhists, Christians, Indians, Sikhs and Tribal were grouped together as 'others' owing to their low numbers in this survey. The major religious groupings as per this analysis are – Hindus and Jains, Muslims, and Others, which included atheists, Buddhists, Christians, Sikhs and all others not included in the other two groups.

Level of Education and Medium of Instruction

The respondents' level of attained education was grouped as below:

Education Level	Grouping
Education between classes I-IX or Matriculation or Intermediate Education	Primary / Secondary Education
Possessing diploma, graduates, pursuing graduation, post-graduates, pursuing PG	Higher Education

The medium of instruction included Kannada, Tamil, Marathi, Bengali and Urdu in the group. Gujarati was kept separately for the purpose of analysis due to the considerable size of respondents in this category.

SECTION I: PERCEPTION OF INDIA'S DEVELOPMENT & ECONOMY

Context

Modi's 2014 election campaign centred around the issue of development or 'vikas' when he asked for 60 days to 'correct the misdoings of the past six decades'. A narrative that ran common through most of his election speeches was that the Congress gave nothing but 'misgovernance' to India over the past 60 years. On the first anniversary of the second term of Modi's government, Union Home Minister Amit Shah alluded to how the government had 'undone the past six decades in just six years'. By discrediting independent India's past achievements on multiple occasions, BJP's narrative that India has not developed in the 60 years since independence may have attained a level of 'received truth' among several sections of the population, especially among young supporters of Modi².

A Pew Research Center survey conducted in 2018 suggested the Indian public was optimistic about the future of India. About 65% of respondents said the financial situation of the average Indian was better in 2018 in comparison to 20 years ago. Only 15% of the respondents felt things were worse than before. About 66% expected children to be better off than their parents. However, this has fallen ten percentage points since 2017.

The results of the 2019 general elections have revealed that state of the economy takes a back seat in influencing voter preferences in a country where a sizeable share of the population is uneducated. Although trust in the current government seems uniform across all age groups, the immense support that the ruling party received from young voters was perplexing. The job market was shrinking and unemployment rates were peaking, both of which directly impacted growth prospects of today's career-oriented youth. The Lokniti-CSDS post-poll survey reveals that a significant proportion of young voters that voted for the party considered joblessness a serious issue. However, they still cast their vote in favor of the ruling party after hearing about the Balakot air strikes.

The enormous role 2016's demonetisation move played in aggravating the agrarian distress and inciting difficulties for the small businesses was also not understood by the young voters who saw it as a move of courage to end corruption and widely applauded it on social media platforms. With substantial control over the media and social media, even the slip-ups of the ruling party leader are advertised in a manner that enabled him to become a brand in himself. Post-poll surveys reveal that for one-third of the young voters that voted in favour of the ruling party, the Prime Minister candidate held primary importance (Lokniti-CDS). BJP's loss in the state assembly elections in Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Delhi, indicate that economic prosperity still continues to hold considerable significance. Mint YouGov-CPR survey revealed that about 46% of millennials are now worried about the direction of the economy (Bhatia and Devulapalli, 2019).

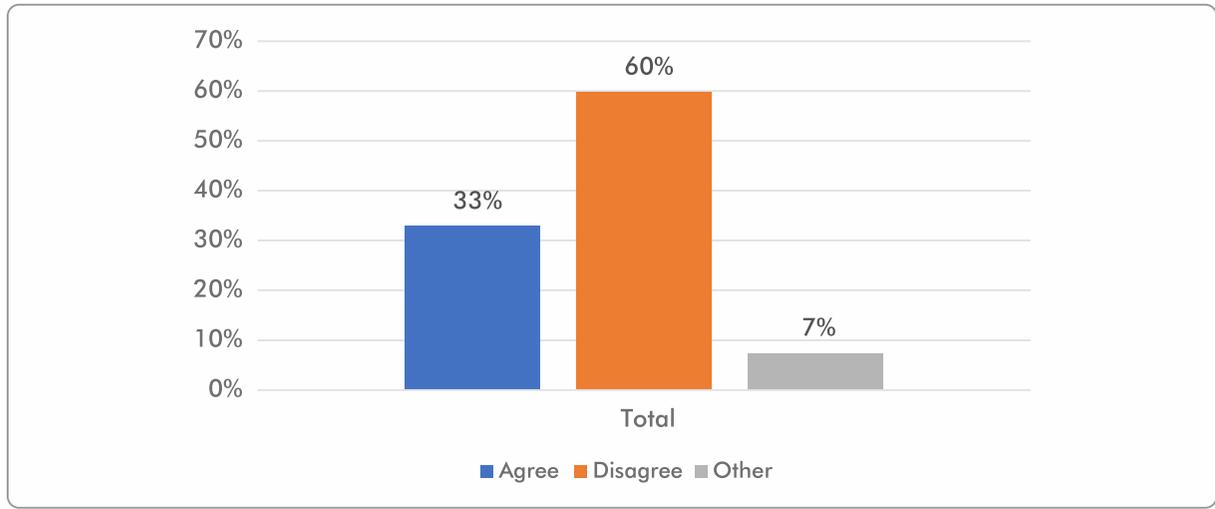
2 Koppikar, S. (2017, August 15). Modi claims India achieved little in 60 years. These seven charts prove why he's wrong. Scroll.in. <https://scroll.in/article/847237/modi-claims-india-achieved-little-in-60-years-these-seven-charts-prove-why-hes-wrong>

I. INDIA'S DEVELOPMENT IN THE 60 YEARS SINCE INDEPENDENCE

Survey Analysis

Among all of the current survey's respondents, about 33% feel that even after 60 years of independence, there has been no progress in the country. However, 60% of the respondents disagree with this view. The rest expressed inability to comment on the subject or chose not to respond. Respondents were asked if they agree/disagree/choose not to comment on this statement: India has seen no development in the 60 years since independence.

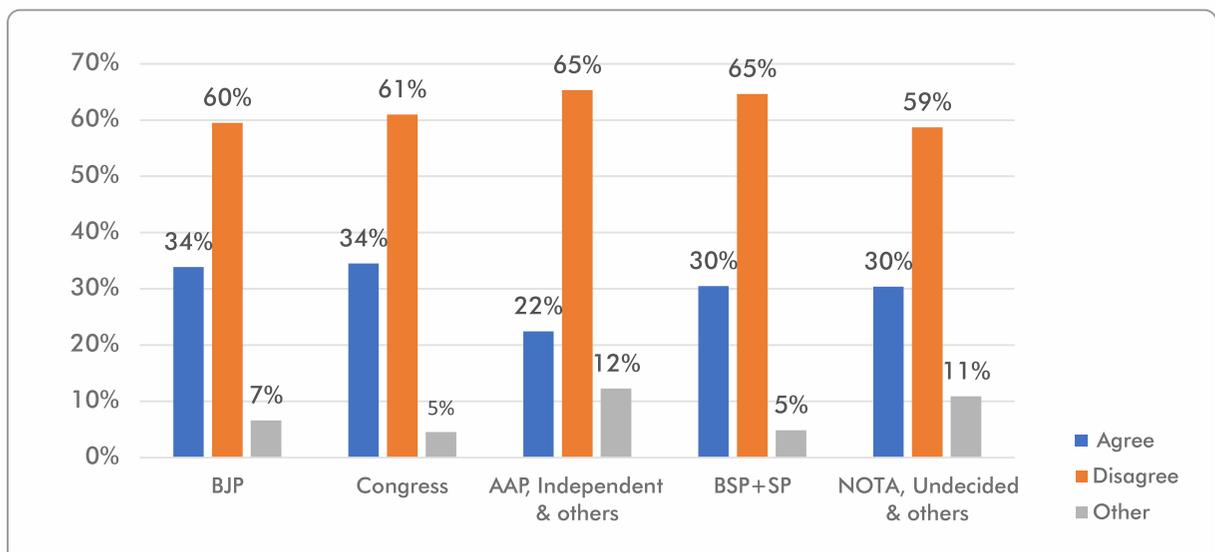
Figure: Perception of India's Development in the 60 years Since Independence



Voting Inclination

A majority of all party supporters agree to disagree on the statement that India has seen no development in the last 60 years. Among the groups who intend to vote for BJP and Congress, 60% of both say they disagree with the statement. This view has least support from among those intending to vote for AAP, Independents and others; 65% express disagreement. About 65% of those intending to vote for BSP and SP feel the country had seen progress in the 60 years since independence.

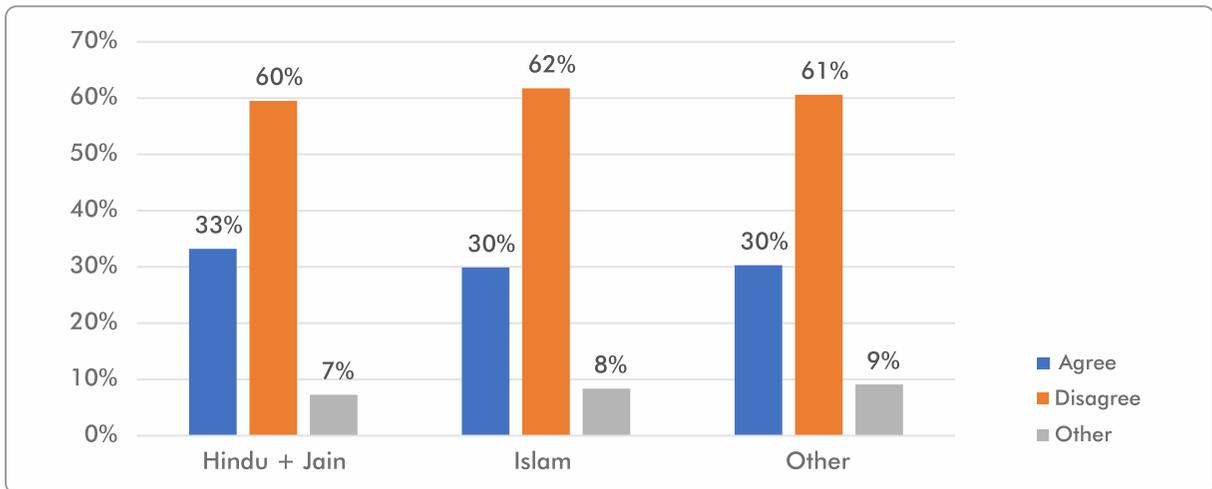
Figure: Perception of India's Development Across Voting Intentions



Religion

When looking at religious categories, though Hindus and Jains seem to increasingly favour the view that India has made no progress since Independence, the variation is not much across other groups. While 33% of the group comprising Hindus and Jains 30% Muslim respondents agree with the statement, 60% of the former group and 62% of the latter disagree. The third group comprising believers of other faiths also show trends similar to that of Muslim respondents.

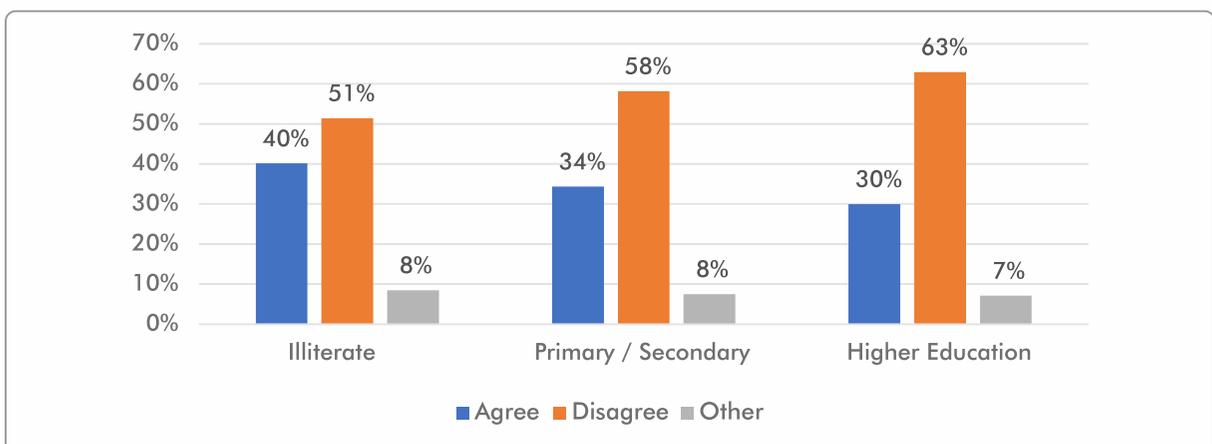
Figure: Perception of India's Development Across Religions



Level of Education

The respondent's level of education seems to have a direct relationship with their likelihood to agree with the statement. The statement receives the greatest support from those who are illiterate with 40% of them agreeing, and 51% disagreeing. Among those whose education was in the primary/secondary levels, 34% think India has not seen any development in the past 60 years since Independence and 58% feel otherwise. About 30% of those pursuing their higher education agree with the statement, while 63% of this group say they disagree.

Figure: Perception of India's Development Across Levels of Education



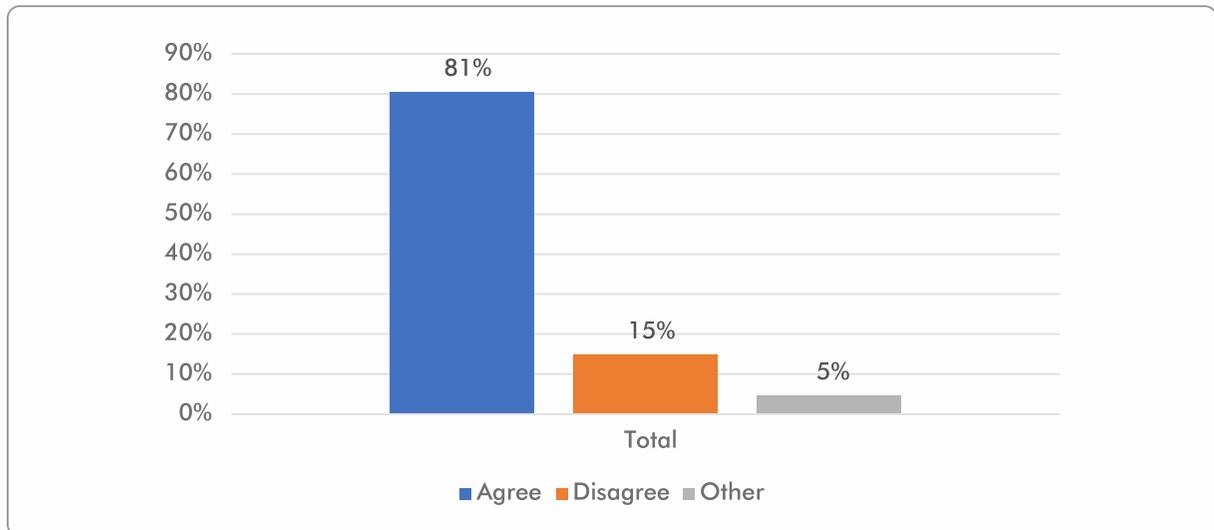
A majority of the respondents feel that India has seen considerable development in the last 60 years. Despite the large Hindu population in the sample exhibiting a pro-BJP stance, they also feel that is wrong to say that no development has occurred in the last 60 years.

II. UPA vs NDA – WHO PERFORMED BETTER

Survey Analysis

Respondents were asked if they feel the current Narendra Modi-led BJP government is performing better than the previous UPA. An overwhelming 81% of the study's respondents feel the current government is working more efficiently than the previous UPA regime. Only 15% of the respondents disagree with the view. The rest expressed inability to comment on the subject or chose not to respond.

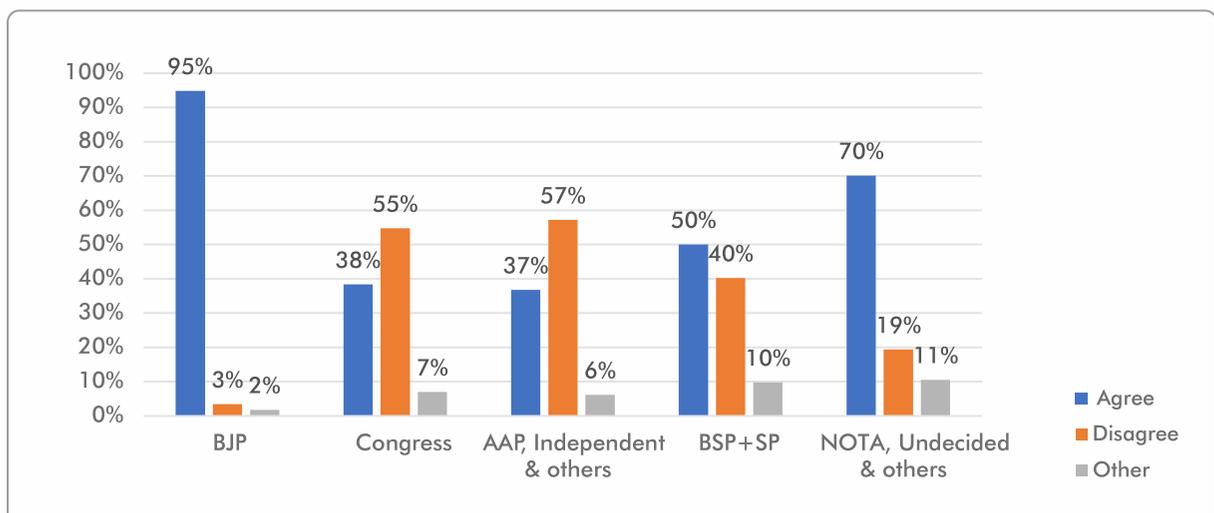
Figure: Responses across all respondents



Voting Inclination

The voting intentions show significant differences in their response to this question. While 95% of those intending to vote for BJP feel the Modi-led BJP government is performing better than the UPA, 38% of those intending to vote for Congress, 37% of AAP supporters, and 50% of those intending to vote for BSP and SP feel the same way. As much as 3% of intended BJP voters and 55% of intended Congress voters disagree. Among those extending support to AAP, Independent and Other parties, about 57% disagree with the statement.

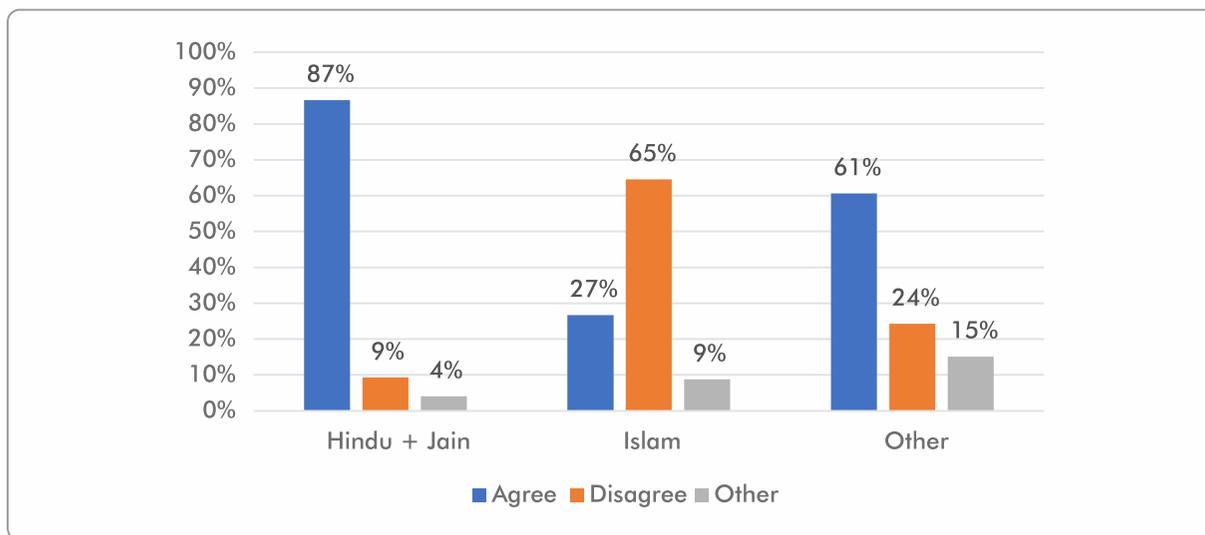
Figure: Responses across voting inclinations



Religion

Muslim respondents support the Modi-led government the least among all major religious groups observed with only about 27% expressing agreement, as compared to 87% Hindus and Jains, and 60% of the others.

Figure: Responses across religious groups

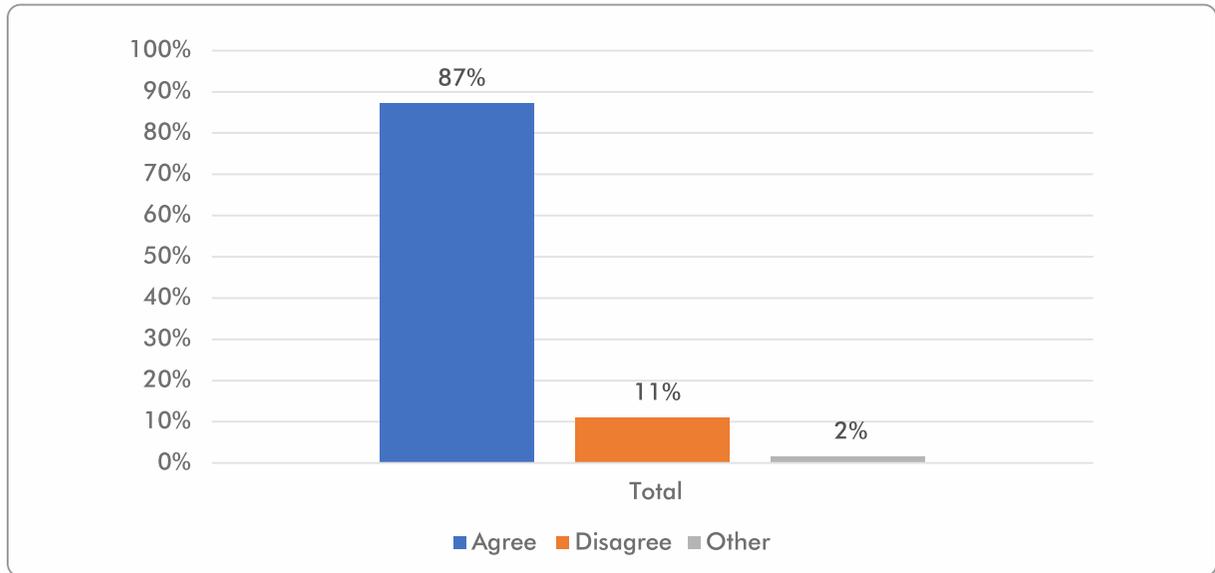


The unanimous support for BJP over UPA spreads across all ages, income, social groups and cities. This hints at the possibility of a general fatigue stemming from the UPA years and also the lack of alternative electoral choices. The fact that a vast proportion of the respondents come from the Hindi-speaking region where the Hindutva narrative has swept popular imagination, the reflection of staunch support is not unimaginable.

III. MODI'S INFLUENCE ON INDIA'S GLOBAL IMAGE

A large majority of the study's respondents seem to agree when asked if *Prime Minister Narendra Modi has raised India's image to great heights at the international level*. While 87% agree with the view, only about 11% disagree.

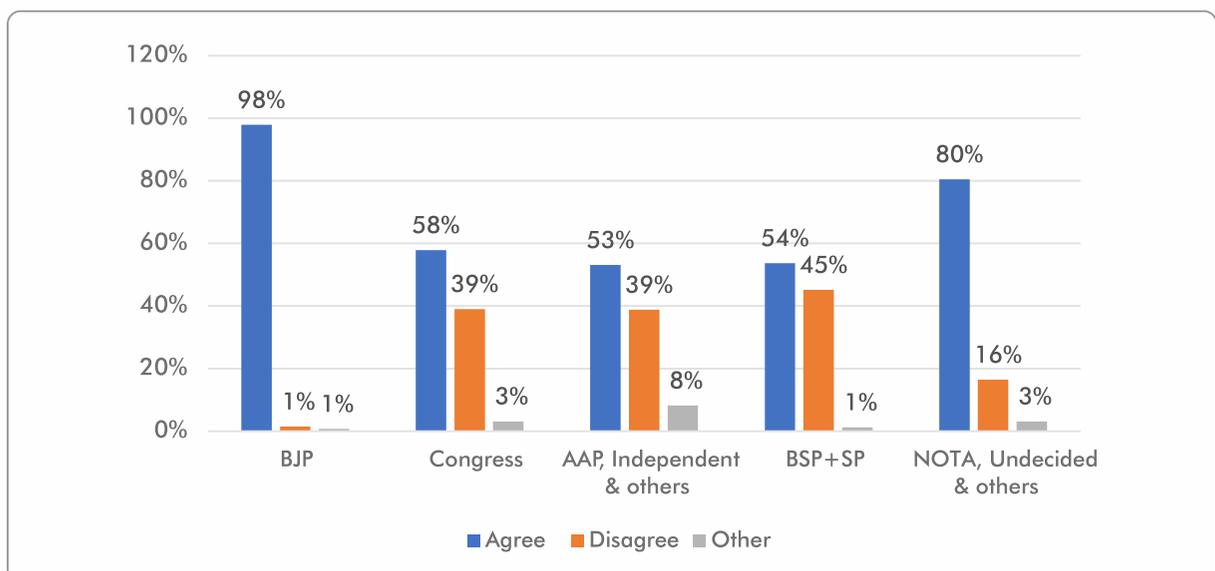
Figure: Responses across all surveyed



Voting Inclination

As expected, those intending to vote for BJP seem to agree with the view more than the others with 98% expressing agreement, and only about 1% disagreeing. However, the perception that Modi has raised India's name to great heights at the international level carries great favour even among intended non-BJP voters as well. About 58% of those intending to vote for Congress, and 54% of intended BSP and BSP voters' express agreement with the survey question. Those intending to vote for AAP, Independent and other parties' express the least agreement with this view with 54% of them agreeing.

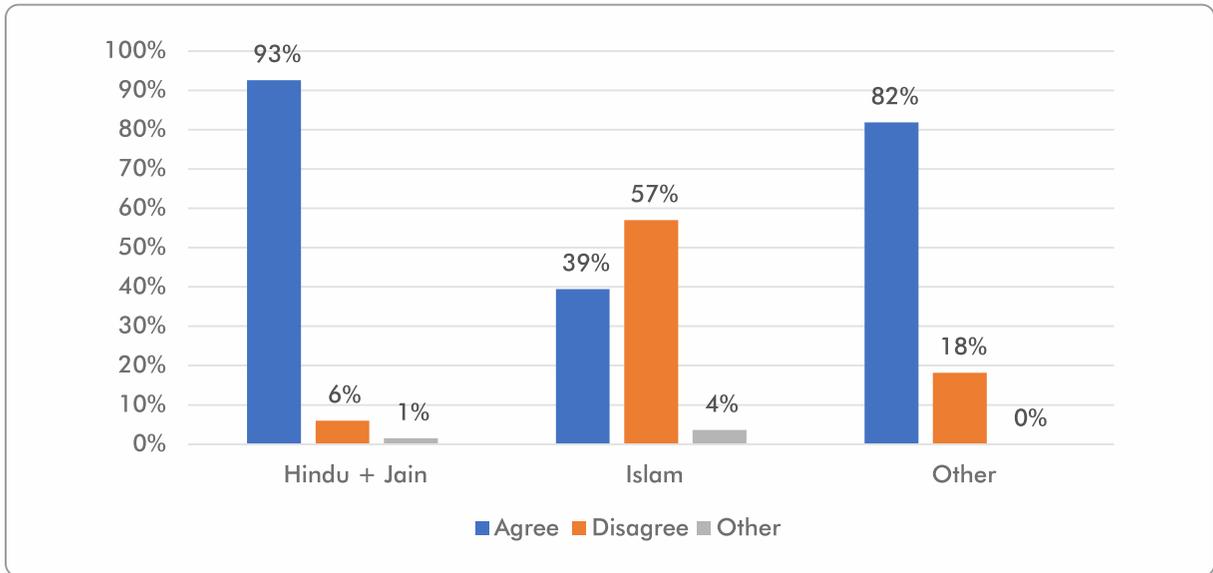
Figure: Responses across voting inclinations



Religion

The view that Modi has done good for India's international image gains maximum support from Jain and Hindu respondents who express 93% agreement with the view. Only 39% Muslims feel the same way. A large share of 57% of Muslim respondents express disagreement with the view. As much as 82% of the those following other faiths express support.

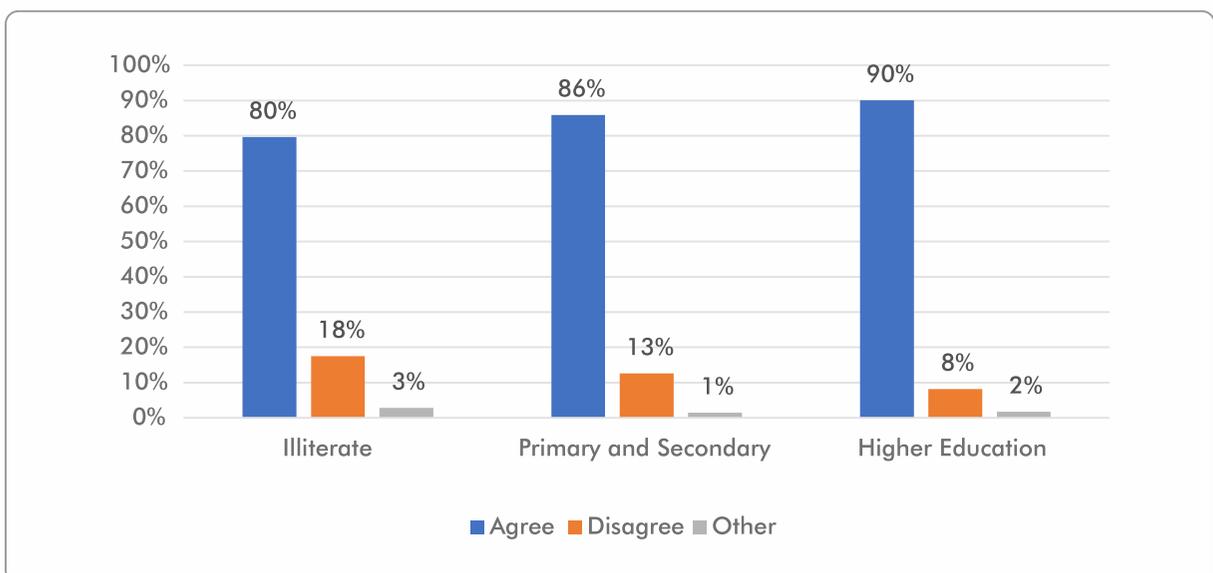
Figure: Responses across religions



Education Level

The respondent's level of education seems to have some impact on their likelihood to agree with the view that Modi has taken India's image to new heights at the international level. With only 80% of the illiterate respondents agreeing with the statement, they seem least likely to support the view as compared to 90% of those who have attained higher education or are pursuing it. As much as 86% of those who had attained primary/secondary level of education say they support the statement.

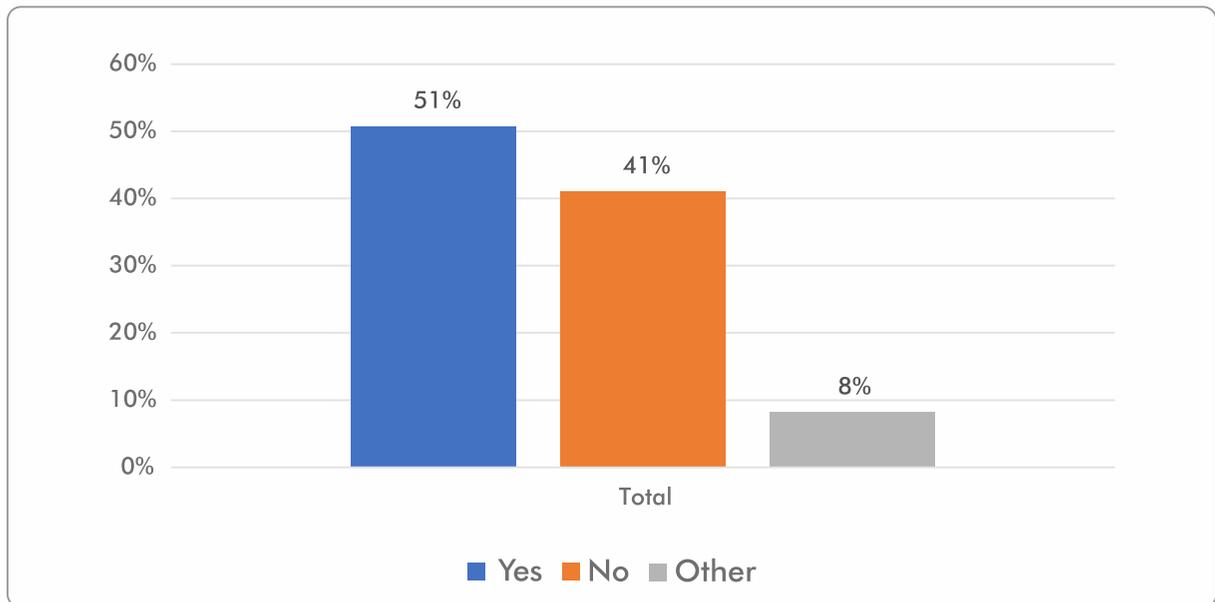
Figure: Responses across levels of education



Foreign policy was largely insignificant in Modi's election campaign, however, PM Modi has had some notable firsts in the domain of international relations. The first to invite heads of South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC) countries to his swearing-in; the first to host POTUS at the Republic Day celebrations and have two summits within six months; the first PM to raise a call for "peace, stability and order" in the realm of oceans, outer space and cyberspace;. He was also one of the foremost leader in India to stress on the need for India to lead the initiative against climate change and take responsibility to help counter new threats to global peace and security³. The initiatives have been extremely dynamic and have fit in well with the nationalist narrative in the average Indian mind. Hence, the unanimous support garnered comes as no surprise.

3 Brookings India. (2015). Modi's Foreign Policy @365:Course Correction. New Delhi: Brookings India. Retrieved from Brookings India: https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/modi365_final-book.pdf

IV. DID DEMONETISATION BENEFIT THE NATION?

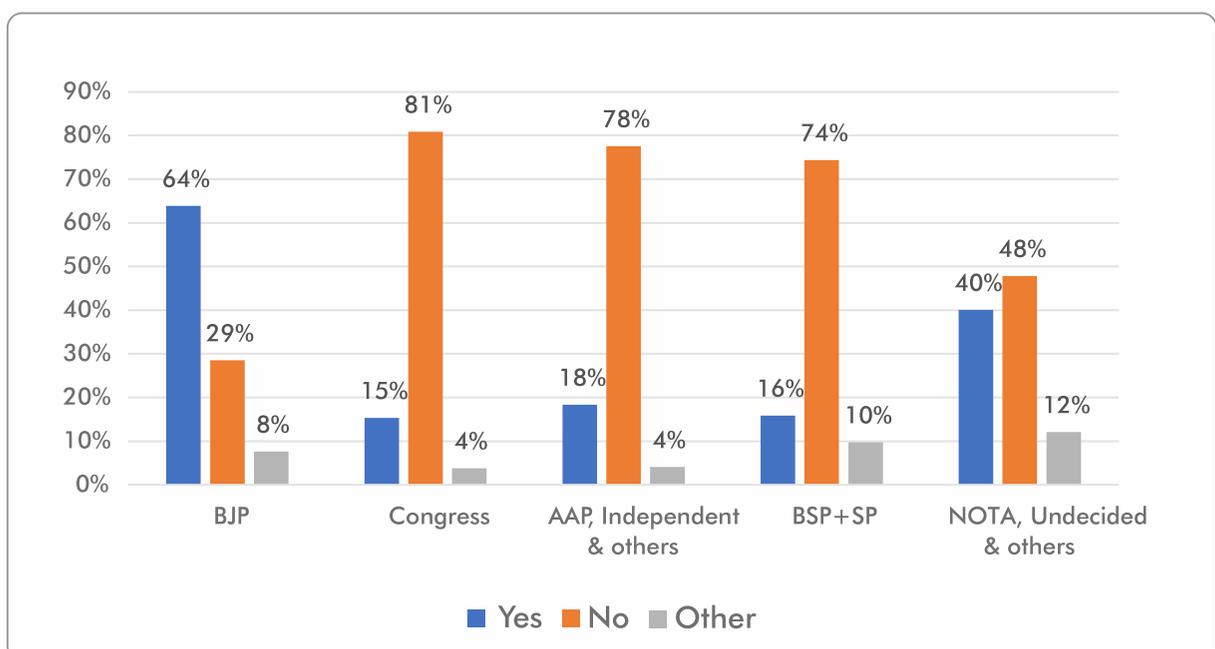


The survey's respondents are divided on their opinion on if demonetisation has benefitted the nation. While 51% of all respondents feel the policy move has brought gains to the nation, 41% say it has not. About 6% expressed inability/chose not to comment.

Voting Intention

In line with the BJP's view, those intending to vote for the party seem to think demonetisation has benefitted the nation with 64% of them agreeing and only 29% disagreeing. In stark contrast, only 15% of those intending to vote for the Congress agree with this view. A sizeable 81% of this respondent group thinks demonetisation has not benefitted the nation, as do 74% of those who support BSP/SP and 78% of those extending support to AAP, independents and other parties.

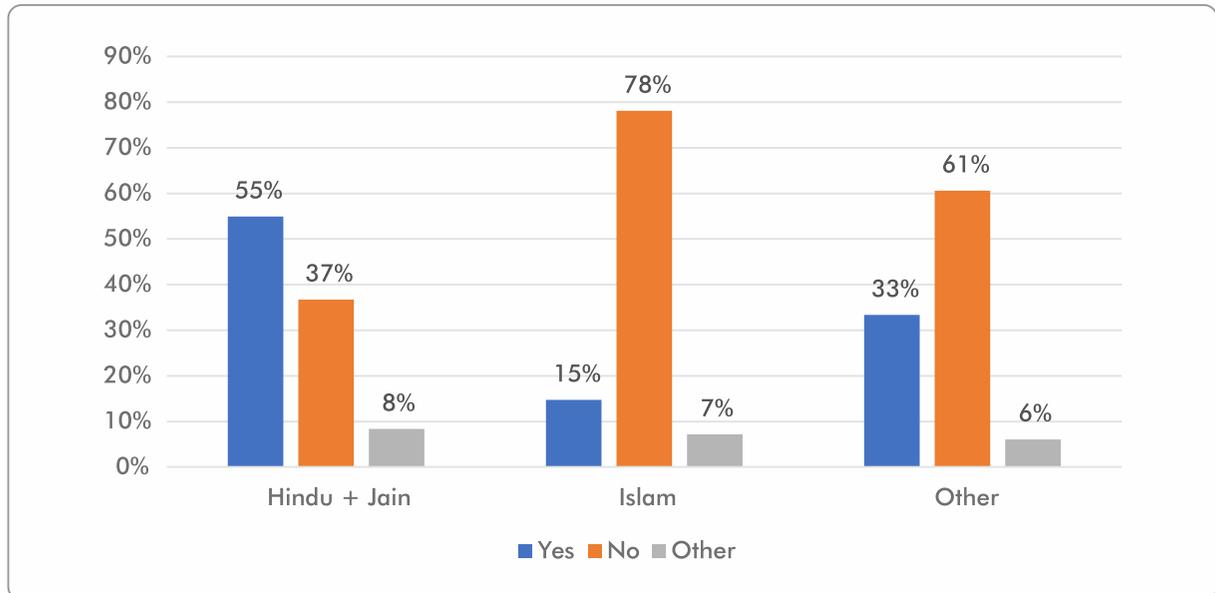
Figure: Responses across voting intentions



Religion

Religious categories show differences. Among all religions observed, those who are in the group comprising Hindus and Jains seem most likely to think demonetisation has benefitted the nation with 55% of the respondents replying in the affirmative. In contrast, 78% of the Muslim respondents feel demonetisation has not benefitted the country, as do 61% of the other respondents.

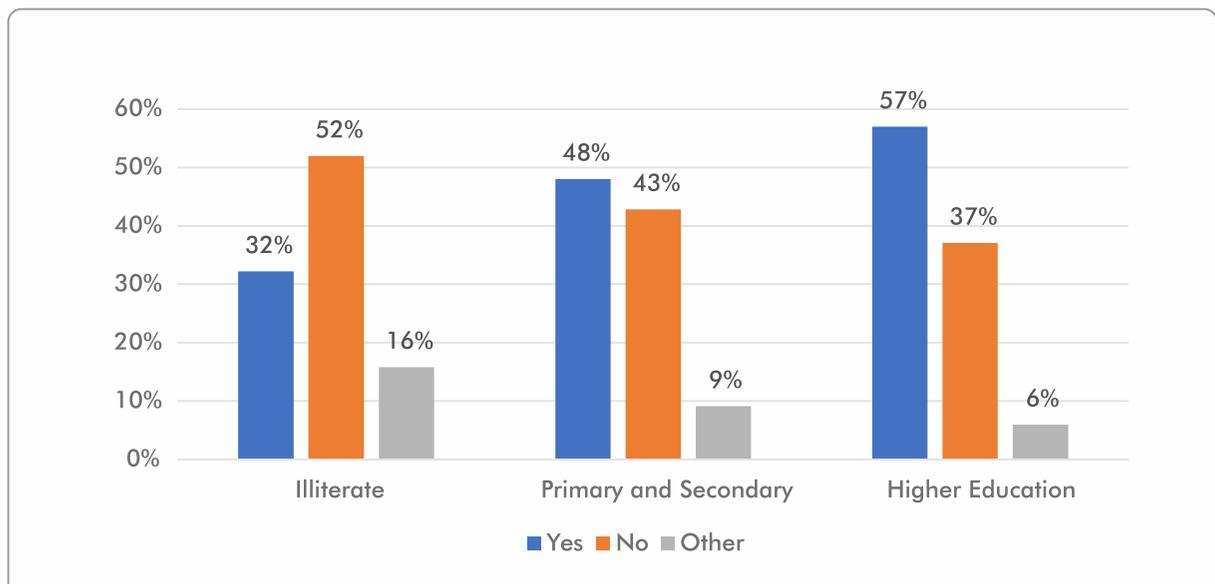
Figure: Responses across religious groups



Level of Education

The respondent's level of education seems to have a direct impact on their likelihood to support this view. The illiterate respondents seem to agree with the statement the least when compared to other groups. As much as 32% of the group expresses agreement as compared to 48% of those with primary/secondary levels of education and 57% of those with higher education levels.

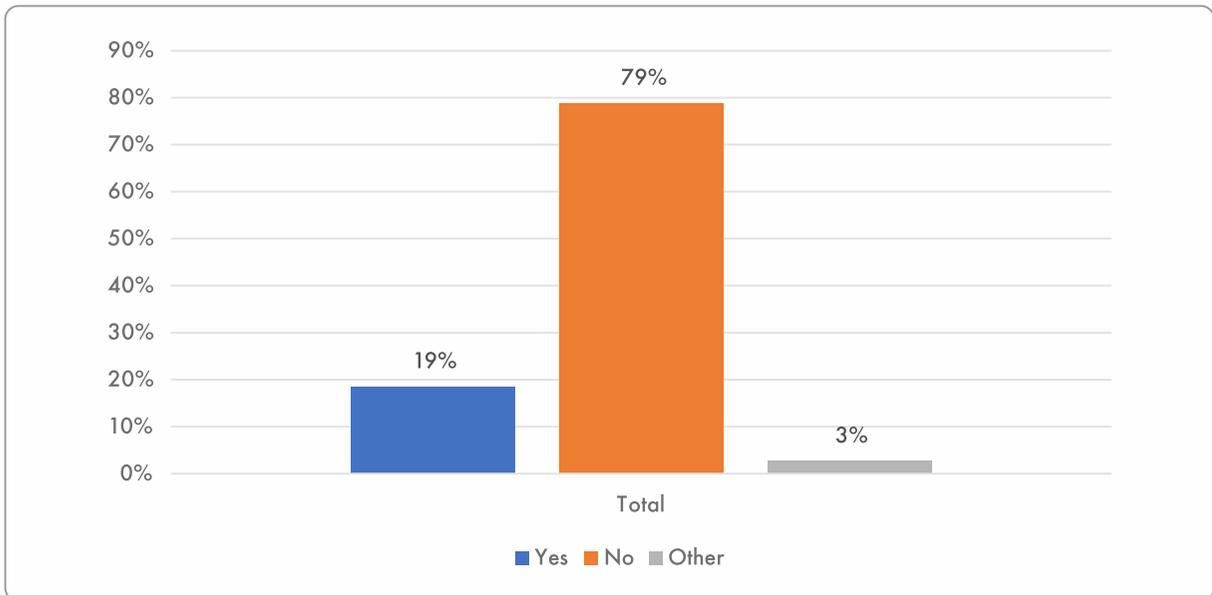
Figure: Responses across levels of education



While a majority support the idea that demonetisation benefited the nation, there are several outliers in opposition to the policy move. These include the marginalised social groups, Muslims and people from other faiths. Perhaps, the policy negatively impacted the livelihood of these categories. There seems to be a vehement disagreement to demonetisation from supporters of all other parties other than BJP. An aspect that needs further exploration is whether such policy directives resonate with voters and make them inclined to BJP or whether the support for BJP makes voters believe that demonetisation is good for the nation. While the former theory allows economics to drive politics, the latter just lets politics drive economics. The second sets a dangerous precedent for an electoral democracy.

V. DID CITIZENS OR BUSINESSES BENEFIT FROM DEMONETISATION?

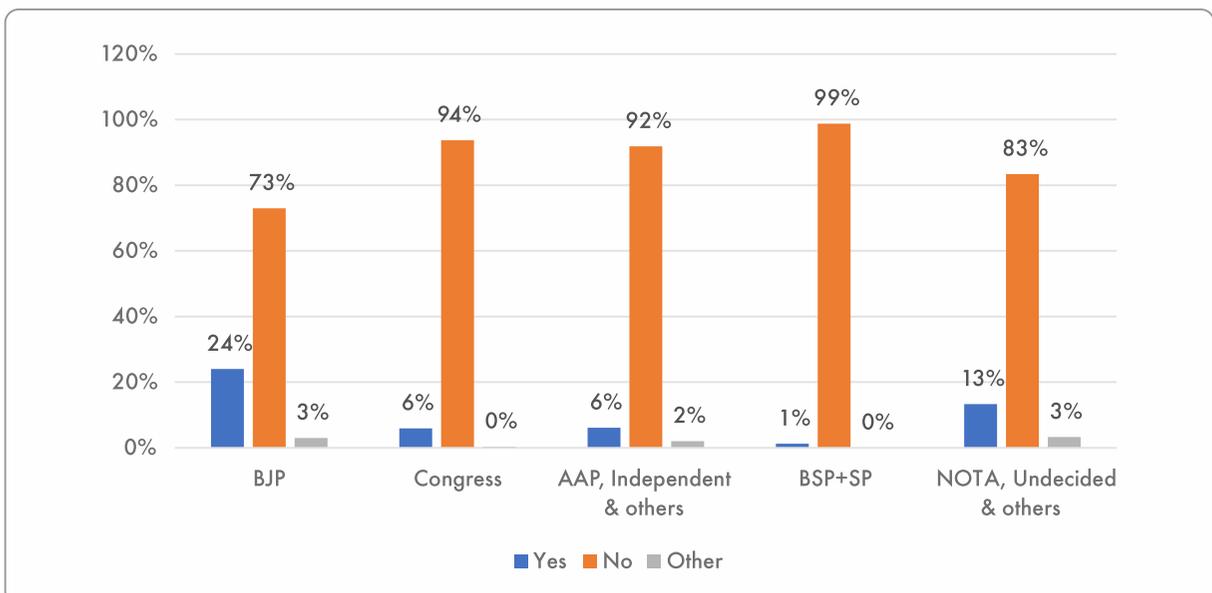
In contrast to the question on demonetisation's benefits for the nation, a majority of 79% of all respondents feel the policy decision has not benefitted them or their businesses. As much as 19% of them feel otherwise.



Voting Inclination

The voting intentions show some differences in their opinions. Among those intending to vote for the BJP, 24% of the respondents feel demonetisation has benefitted them or their businesses and 73% say it has not. However, non-BJP voters are less likely to support this view. Among the intended Congress voters, 94% say demonetisation has not benefitted them personally. This share is a whopping 99% among BSP and SP, voters and 92% among those who are extending support to AAP and other parties/independents.

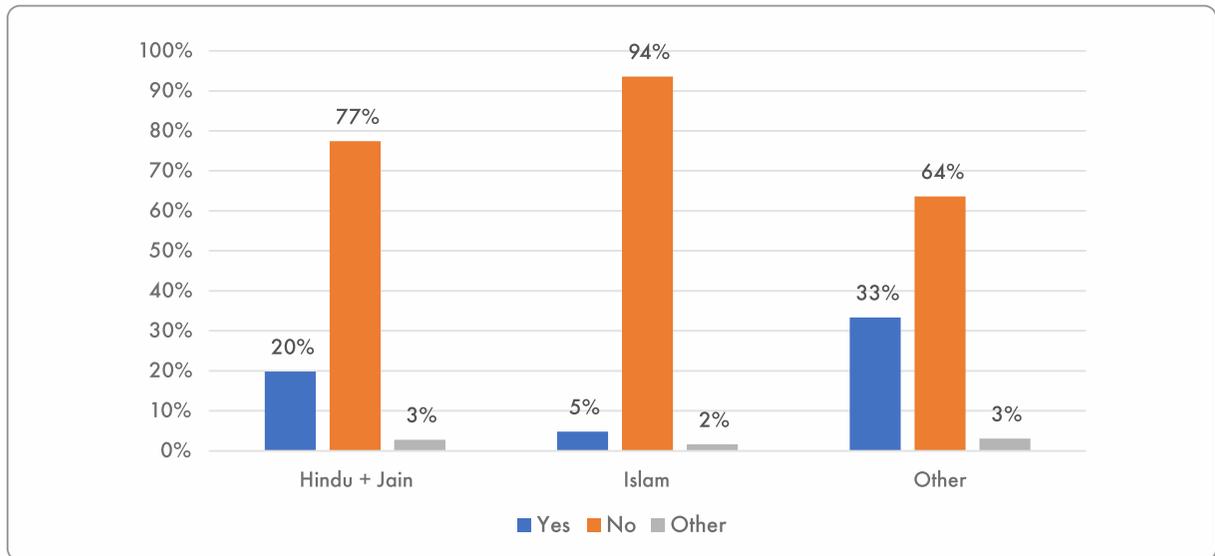
Figure: Responses across voting intentions



Religions

Muslim respondents seem least likely to think demonetisation has benefitted them personally as only 5% of this respondent group agree with this view. As much as 33% of those following faiths other than Jainism, Hinduism and Islam think demonetisation has benefitted them personally, as do 20% of the Hindu and Jain respondents.

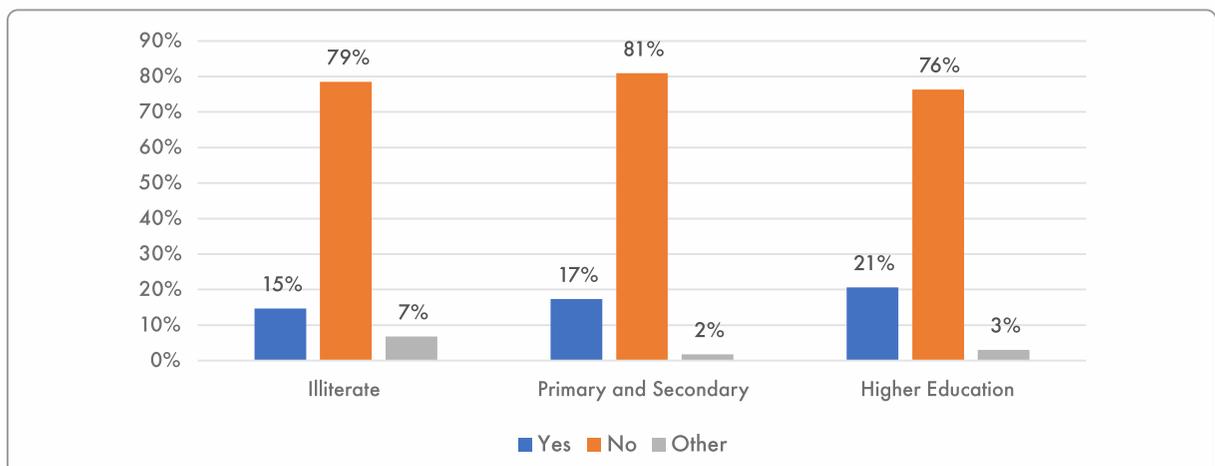
Figure: Responses across religions



Level of Education

People seem more likely to think demonetisation has benefitted them personally with rising levels of education. While 15% of those who are illiterate seem to think demonetisation has benefitted them personally, 17% of those who have attained primary or secondary levels of education and 21% of those with or pursuing higher education echo this opinion.

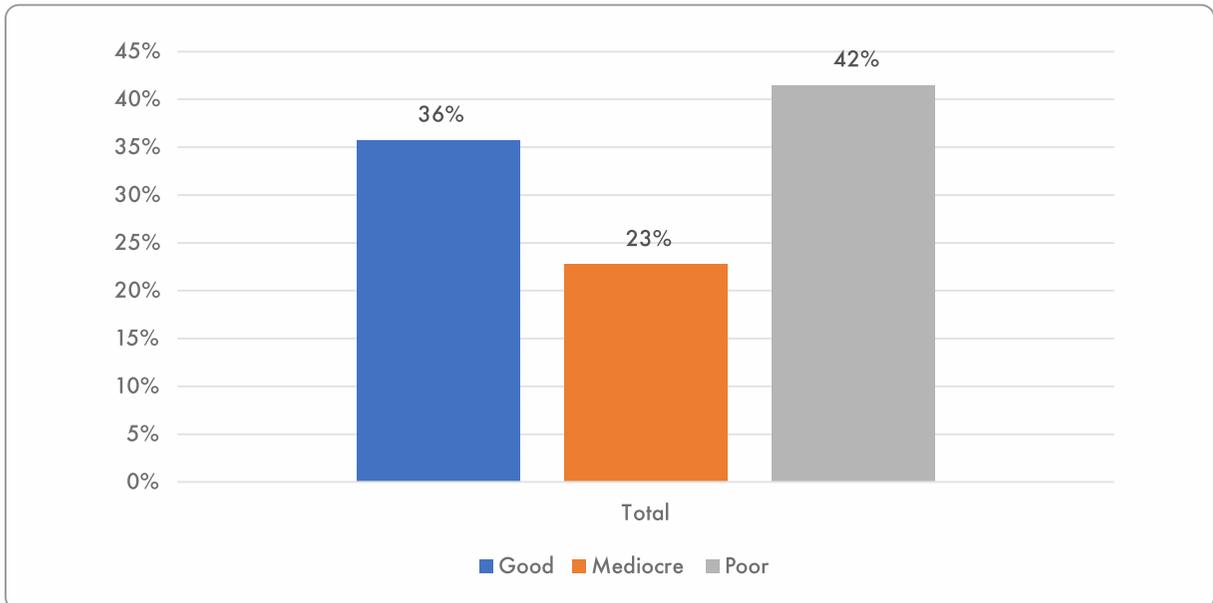
Figure: Responses across income groups



In contrast to demonetisation benefiting the nation, when asked if the respondents personally benefited from demonetisation, there seemed to be a complete turnaround of opinion. All categories of respondents largely deny having personally benefited from demonetisation. This probably hints at citizens believing in a popular narrative or just being victims of propaganda.

VI. EVALUATION OF CURRENT ECONOMIC SITUATION

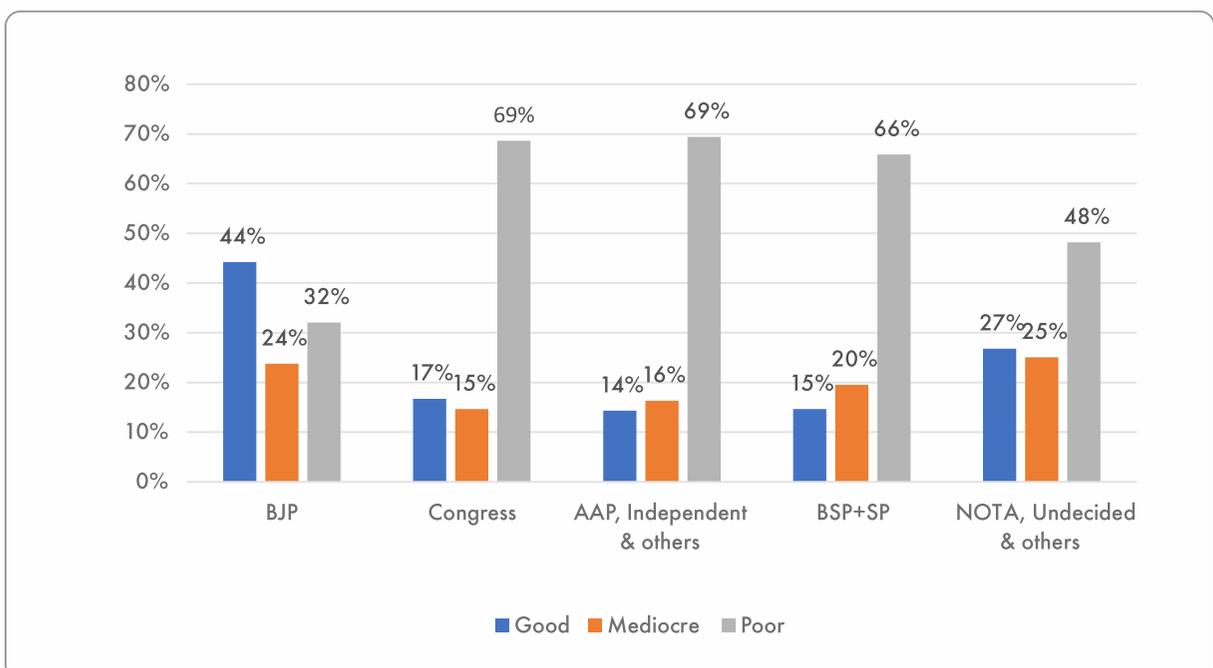
Majority of the respondents seem to think the current economic situation in the country is poor. While 36% feel it is good, 23% say it is mediocre.



Voting Inclinations

As expected, those intending to vote for the BJP in the upcoming Lok Sabha polls think the current economic situation is good. Only 32% of this group think the economic is performing poorly. Among those intending to vote for Congress and those supporting AAP and others, about 69% feel the economic situation is poor. As much as 66% of those intending to vote for the BSP and SP think the current economic situation is poor.

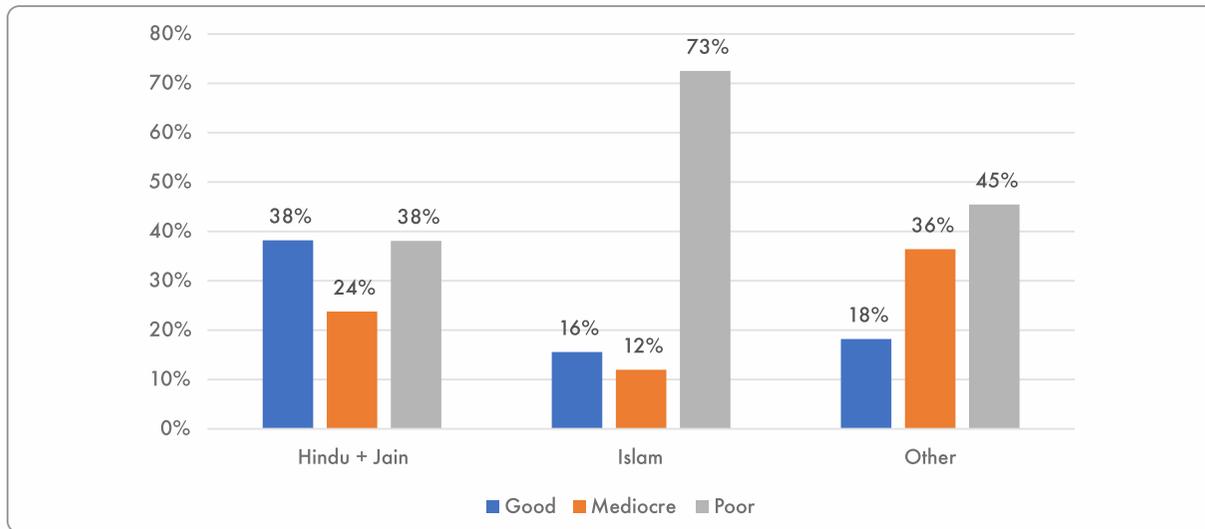
Figure: Responses across voting inclinations



Religion

An equal percentage of 38% of the group comprising Hindus and Jains think the current economic situation is good and poor. About 24% of these respondents think it is mediocre. However, in stark contrast, about 73% Muslims feel the current economic situation is poor. About 45% of those who follow other faiths seem think the same way. A larger share of 36% respondents in this group think the economic performance is mediocre.

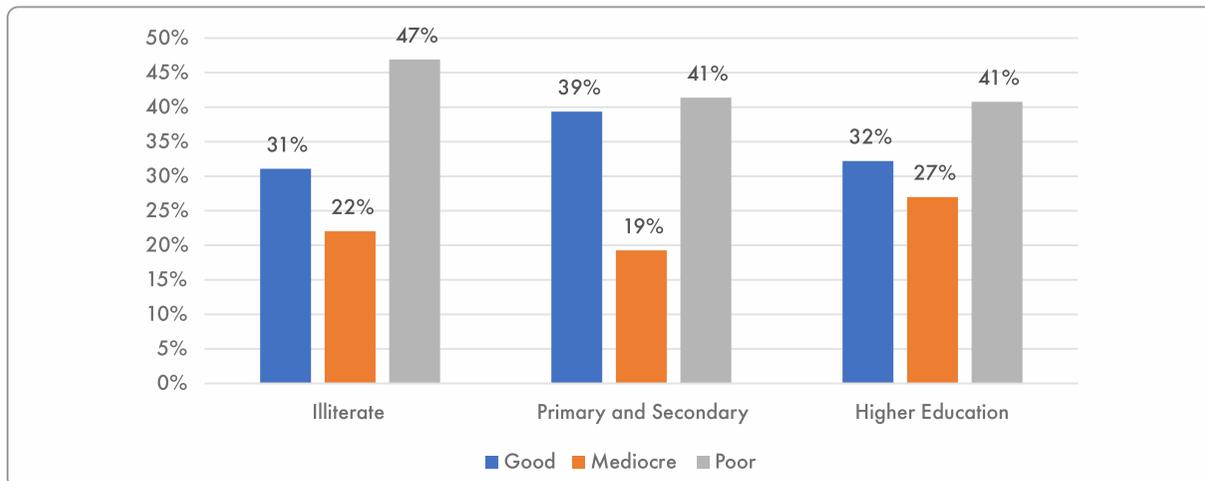
Figure: Responses across religions



Education Level

The illiterate respondents seem to be the least satisfied with the current economic situation with 47% of them rating it as poor. In comparison, those with primary/secondary levels of education seem more satisfied with 39% of them rating it as good. A significant 27% of those pursuing or have completed their higher education feel the current economy's performance is only mediocre.

Figure: Responses across levels of education



A substantial proportion rate the performance of the economy as poor or mediocre. However, most groups continue to be inclined towards the ruling government. So, can economic performance be delineated from electoral outcomes? Youth voters maybe are conscious of the state of the economy, but perhaps they compartmentalise politics and economics in separate silos.

SECTION II: STANCE ON HINDUTVA-APPEASING POLICIES

Context

India's 1.3 billion-strong population comprises not just the world's largest share of Hindus, but also the second-largest group of Muslims in a nation, only after Indonesia. Crimes against Dalits and Muslims have gone up significantly in the past decade. Mob lynching led by cow protection mobs is being reported widely as several states enact strict laws banning the slaughter of cows.

In this backdrop, the 2019 election results came in with the Modi government winning an even bigger victory than it scored in 2014. States such as Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi and Uttarakhand that had enacted cow protection laws strongly supported punishment for beef consumption, according to a 2019 Lokniti-CSDS study. Though cases of communal violence are higher than they were in 2014, only a minority comprising 34% Indians covered by a 2019 Pew Research survey saw this as a very big problem that the country is dealing with.

In light of the rising tensions along the borders accompanied by identity politics advocated by regional parties, the abrogation of Article 370 was hailed as a bold move by even leaders in the opposition. Such a political move has the potential to do wonders for the popularity of the ruling party across states in the country. About 55% of Indians feel the situation in Kashmir is a very big problem, while 53% say matters have only got worse in Kashmir in the five years preceding the survey. An overwhelming 58% feel the Indian government should use more military force in dealing with the situation, according to the 2019 Pew survey.

The Uniform Civil Code advocating a single law across religions finds itself a position in the ruling party's manifesto, and has been widely promoted as a pro-women act by the party ever since 2016. While the reality behind this claim is widely debatable, it has successfully created a drift in the opposition's voter base who has failed to assert a firm stance on the subject historically. The Supreme Court's decision in favour of a ban on triple talaq was widely applauded back in 2017. It functioned in mounting the popularity of the already-admired ruling party, which publicly supported and hailed the verdict. Even though Supreme Court functions autonomously, the fact that such a sensitive judgment could be upheld during its regime definitely firmed the rising tide of popularity that the ruling party received.

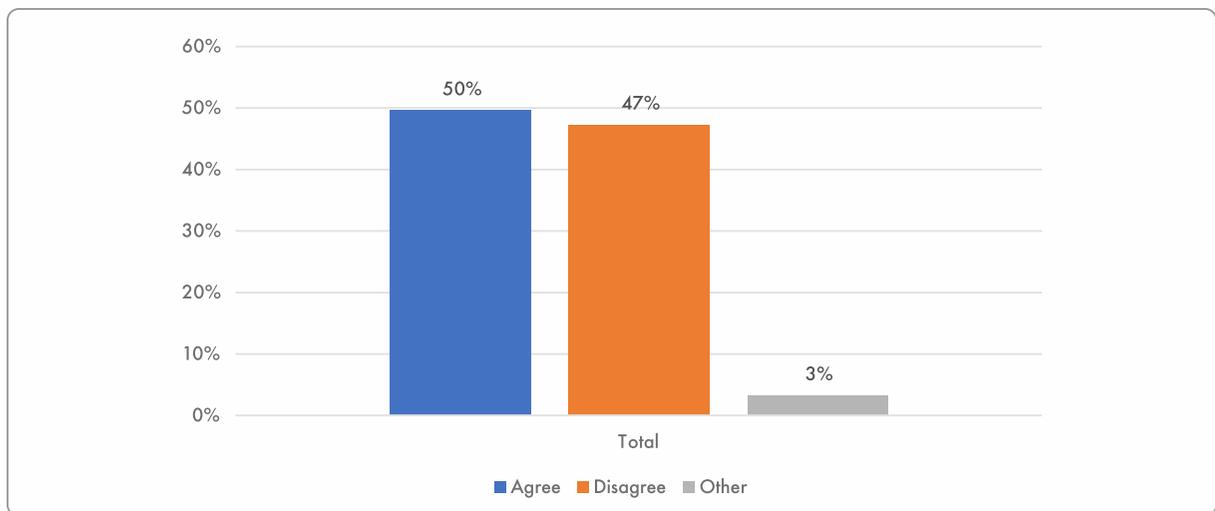
The Citizenship Amendment Act, 2019, brought in a religious flavour prejudiced against Muslims in India's citizenship laws. According to the YouGov-Mint-CPR Millennial Survey 2020, majority of the young surveyed agreed with the change in citizenship laws as well the move to implement the National Register of Citizens. Support for CAA and NRC was the lowest among post-millennials when compared to millennials and pre-millennials. Disapproval for the abrogation of Article 370, the Supreme Court's Ram Mandir judgement, as well as the enactment of CAA/NRC was highest among post-millennials, according to the survey results.

I. COW VIGILANTISM

Survey Analysis

Among all respondents in the survey, the opinion seems a bit divided on vigilantism for cow protection. While 50% of them agree when asked if independent outfits, social groups and the general public should be allowed to take the law into their own hands for cow protection, a smaller 47% seem to disagree.

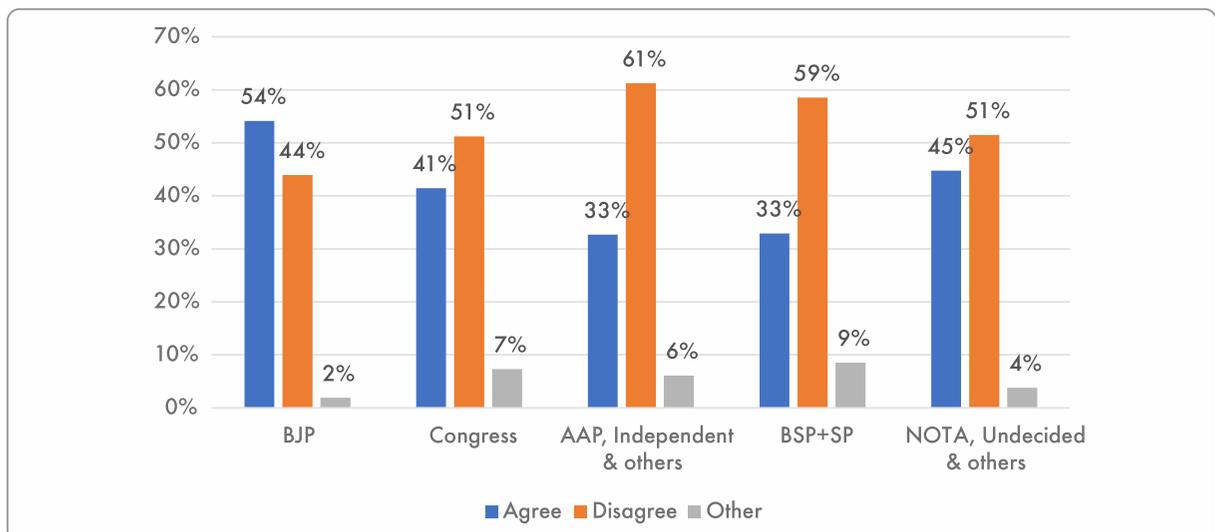
Figure: Stance on need for cow vigilantism



Voting Inclination

Clear variations in opinions emerge across voting intentions. Most support comes from those intending to vote for BJP with 54% respondents agreeing with the statement. While 41% of those voting for Congress seem to think one should not fear taking the law into their own hands for cow protection, only 33% of those extending support to BSP, SP, AAP and other parties and independents feel this way. Maximum opposition to the idea emerged from among those intending to vote for AAP, independents and other parties with 61% disagreeing with the statement, while only 51% of intended Congress voters and a smaller 44% of intended BJP supporters feel this way.

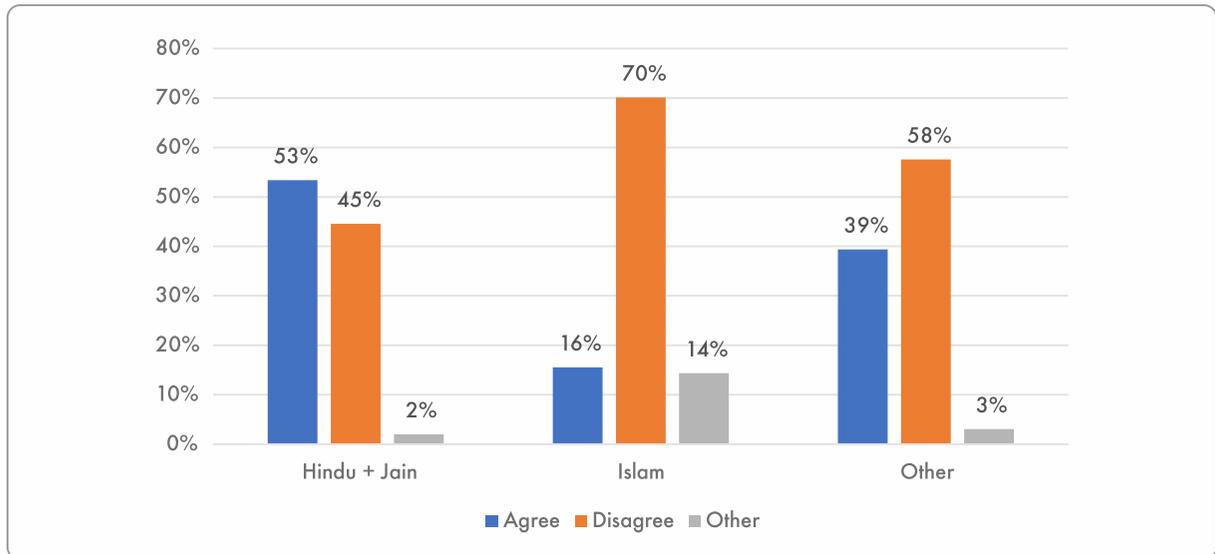
Figure: Stance on Cow Vigilantism across voting inclinations



Religion

As expected, significant differences emerge across different religious groups observed. While 53% of the Hindu and Jain respondents support the idea of vigilantism for cow protection, only 16% of the Muslims and 39% of those from other faiths seem to agree with this view. As much as 70% of the Muslims respondents disagreed with the idea of vigilantism by cow protection groups or individuals.

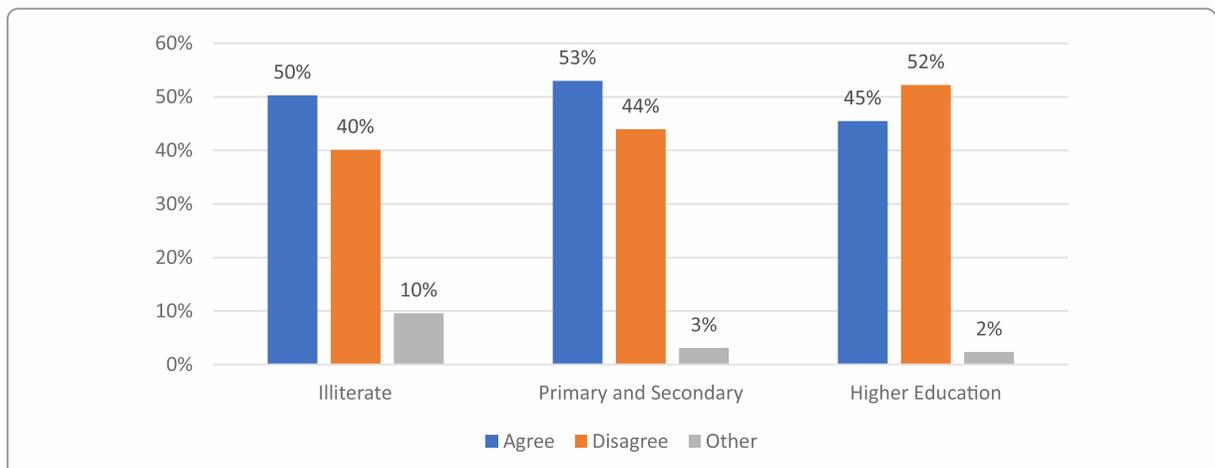
Figure: Stance on cow vigilantism across religions



Level of Education

Respondents who have attained higher education or are still pursuing it seem least likely to agree with the statement. While 45% of them express agreement, as much as 52% disagree with the idea. About 53% of those who have attained primary/secondary levels of education seem to think citizens and outfits should be allowed to take the law into their own hands for cow protection, as compared to 50% of the illiterate respondents who feel the same way.

Figure: Stance on cow vigilantism across levels of education



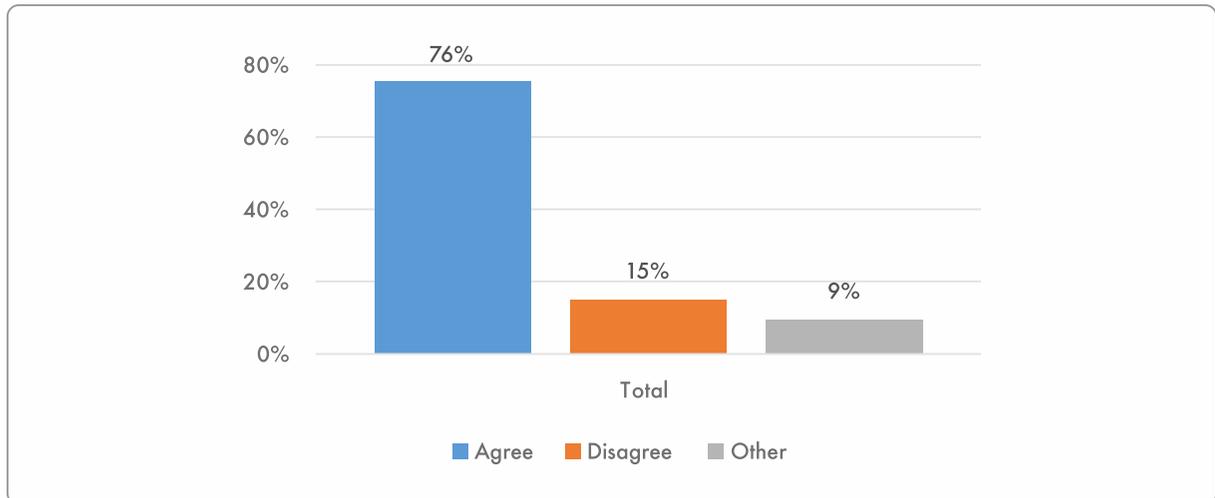
A substantial support for cow vigilantism comes from the unemployed, less educated and lower-income groups. These are groups that probably fall on misinformation and hence buy the propaganda around cow protection.

II. SUPPORT FOR CAA

Survey Analysis

Among all respondents surveyed, about 76% agree with the government's decision to enact the Citizenship Amendment Act, 2019 (CAA). Only 15% seem to disagree with it.

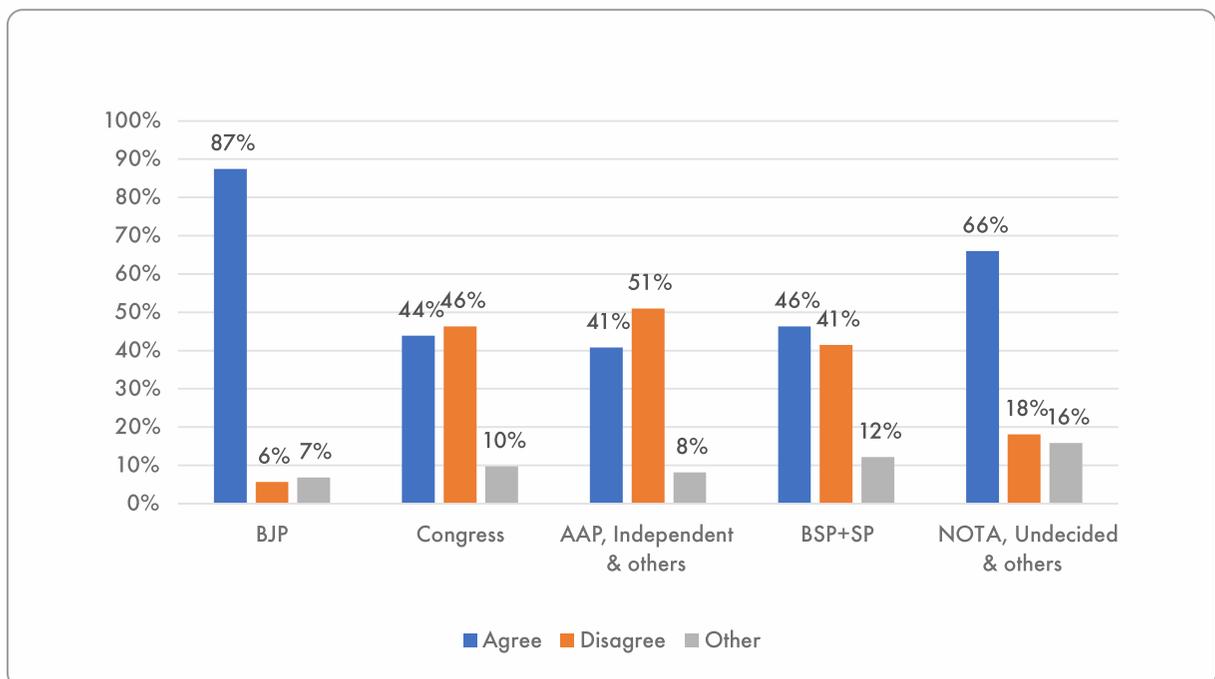
Figure: Support for CAA



Voting Intention

Across all voting intentions observed, those supporting the BJP are most likely to support the CAA with 87% agreeing. Supporters of AAP, independent and other parties disagree with the law the most with 51% of them expressing disagreement. Only 41% of this group extend support to the law. About 46% of the intended Congress voters disagree with the law, and 44% of them support it. While 46% of those voting for BSP/SP seem to support the CAA, 41% of them disagree.

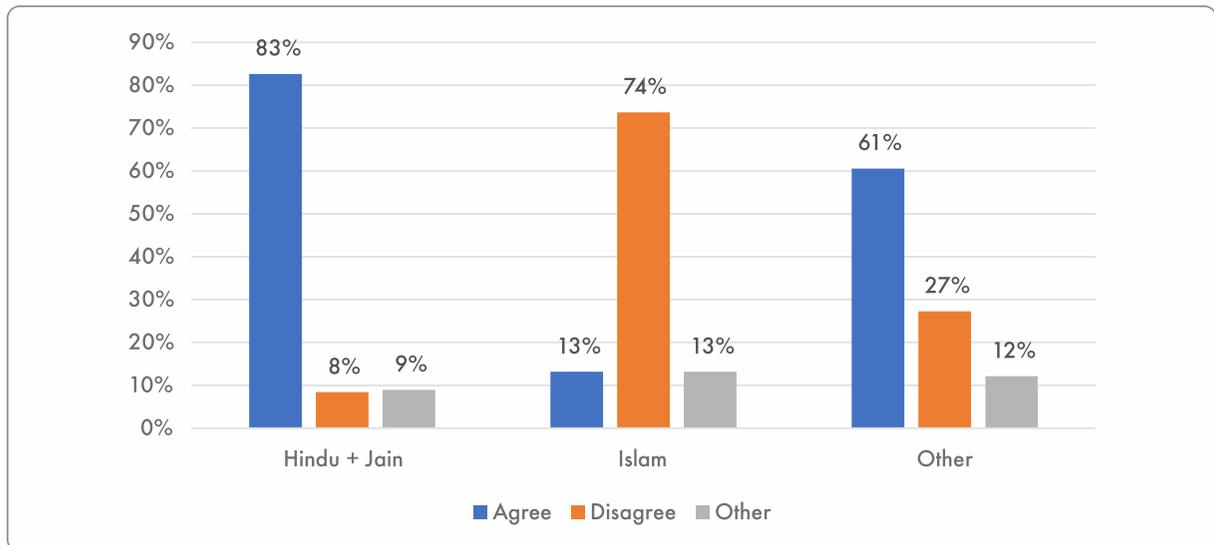
Figure: Support for CAA across voting intentions



Religion

Significant variations exist across religious groups with respect to their support extended to the CAA. While 83% of the Hindu and Jain respondents agree with the law, only 61% of those from the other faiths express similar opinions. A sizeable 74% of the Muslims oppose the law.

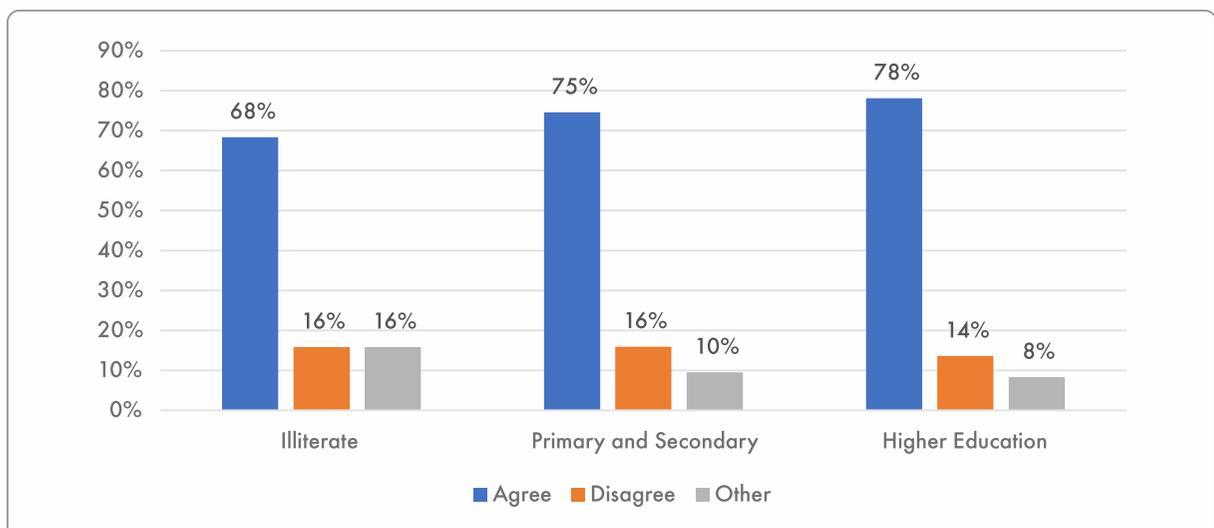
Figure: Support to CAA across religions



Education

Among all groups observed, those with higher education levels of education seem most likely to support the CAA. While 78% of those who have completed or are pursuing their higher education support the law, this number declines to 68% percent among the lowest education level.

Figure: Support to CAA across levels of education



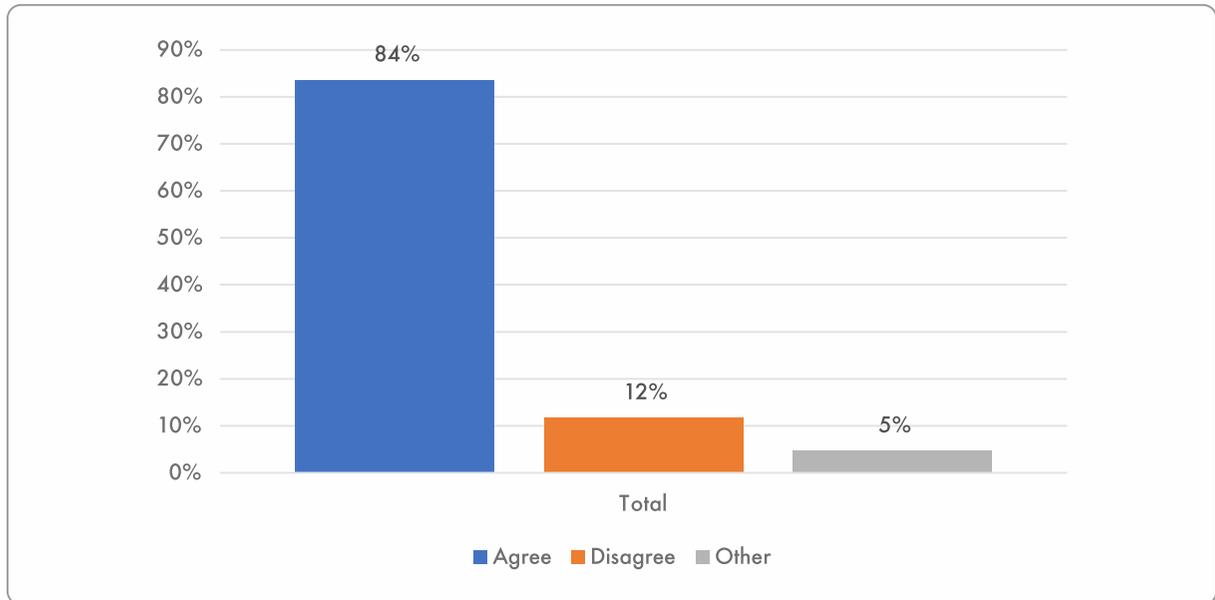
The CAA excludes Muslims facing persecution in the neighbouring regions to seek citizenship in India. Hence, the vehement opposition from Muslim religious group is natural. There is also some opposition from labourers on the imposition of CAA and NRC, possibly due to the migrant nature of their work and the uncertainty of residential patterns that stem from it.

III. BAN ON TRIPLE TALAQ

Survey Analysis

Among all respondents surveyed, a sizeable 84% of them express agreement with the decision to ban the triple talaq. Only 12% of them disagree with it.

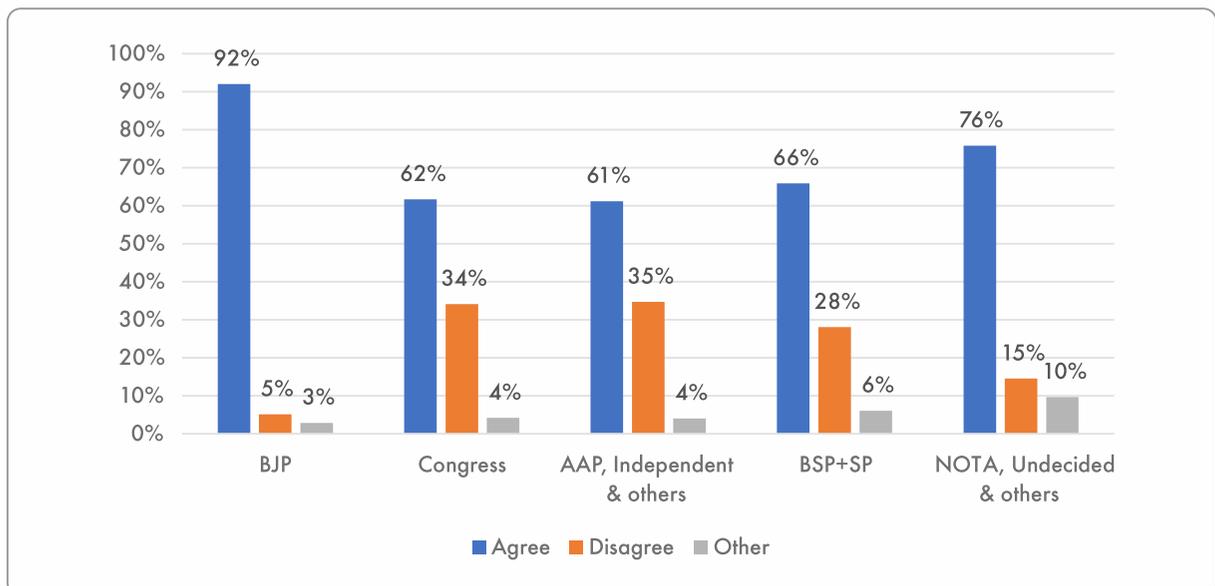
Figure: Support to ban Triple Talaq



Voting Intention

Intended voters of the BJP are most likely to support the ban on triple talaq with 92% of them agreeing with the decision. In comparison, those supporting AAP, independent candidates and other parties seem to agree with the ban the least with a comparably smaller 61% of this group agreeing with the decision. While 62% of those intending to vote for the Congress support the decision, a slightly larger 66% of the BSP/SP supporters feel the same way.

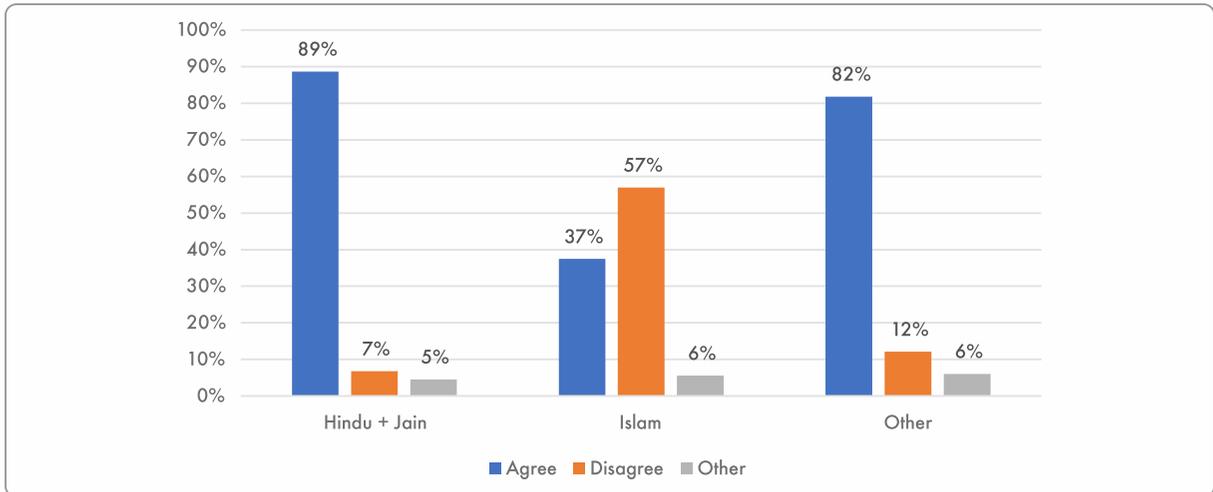
Figure: Support to ban Triple Talaq across voting intentions



Religion

Most support for the ban came from among Hindu and Jain respondents in the survey. While 89% of Hindus and Jains, and 82% of those from other faiths agree with the ban, only 37% Muslims support it. A sizeable 57% Muslims disagree with the government's decision to ban triple talaq.

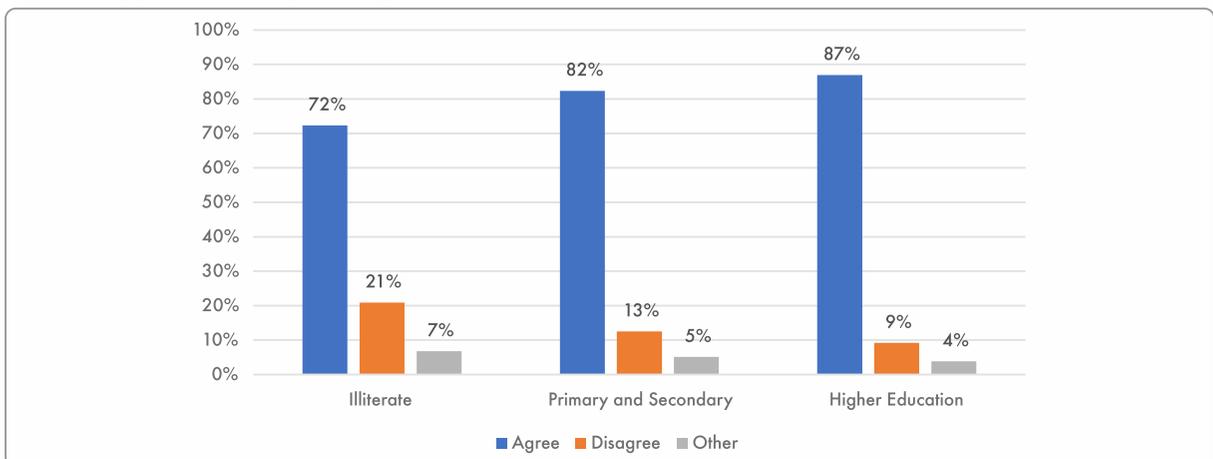
Figure: Support to ban on Triple Talaq across religions



Level of education

Respondents with higher levels of education seem more likely to support the ban than those who are illiterate. Among the illiterate respondents, 72% express agreement with the government's decision. However, 82% of those with primary/secondary levels of education and about 87% of those who have completed or are pursuing their higher education support the ban on triple talaq. About 21% of the illiterate respondents disagree with the government decision.

Figure: Support to ban Triple Talaq across levels of education

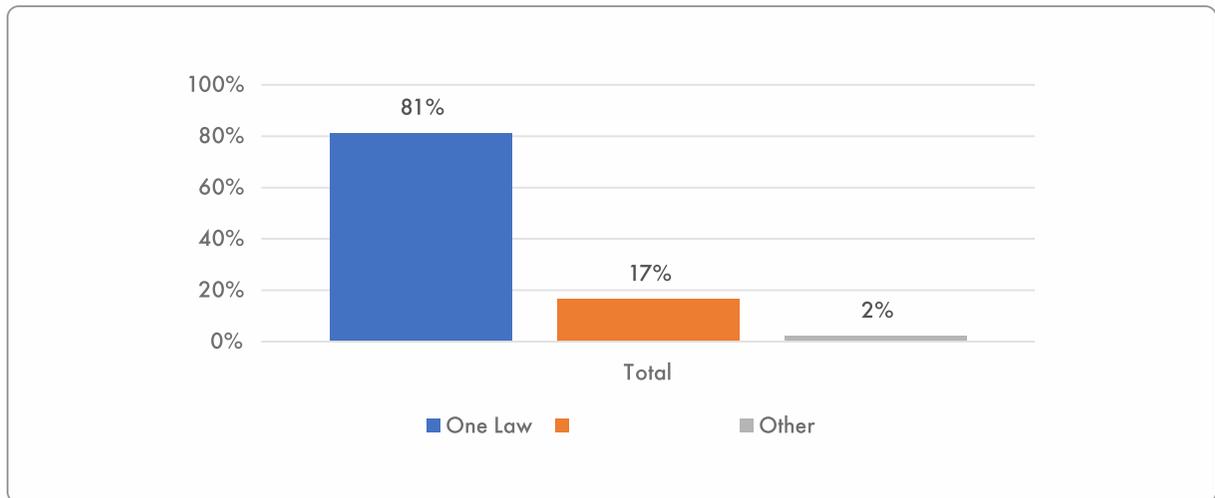


A vast majority of Muslims do not support the law that amends the Muslim Personal Law. The largest support for the ban on triple talaq comes from BJP inclined voters. There are fewer supporters of this ban among voters of other parties. The lack of consensus among Muslims in favour of the law reflects the failure of the ruling government in bringing the affected stakeholders on board. The contrast of opinion between Hindu and Muslim voters on the issue reflects how polarisation allows political parties the space to swoop right in and capture the voters' imagination.

IV. ONE LAW FOR ALL RELIGIONS – UNIFORM CIVIL CODE

Among all young urban voters surveyed for this study, a sizeable majority comprising 81% support the idea of one law for all religions. Only about 17% of the respondents agree with the idea of separate laws for different faiths.

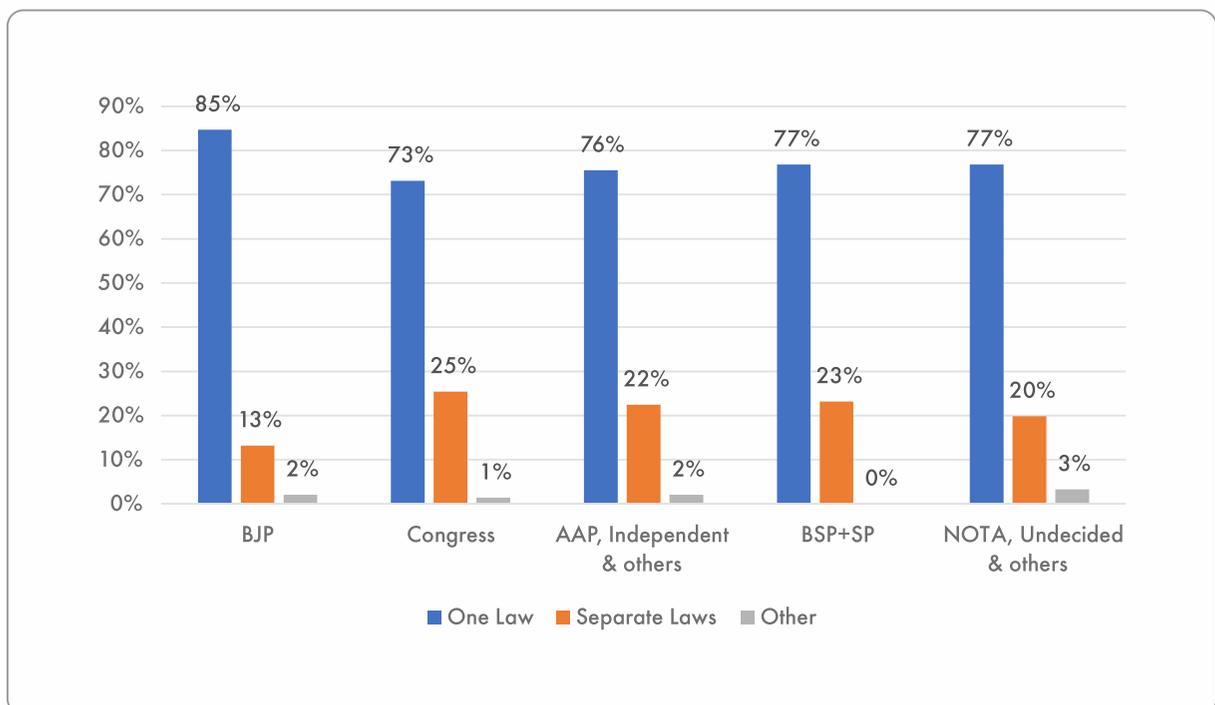
Figure: Stance on Uniform Civil Code



Voting Intention

With about 85% of intended BJP supporting the idea of one law for all religions, this respondent group extends maximum support to the uniform civil code from among all groups observed. Congress supporters seem less likely to call for one law for all religions with a comparably smaller 73% supporting it. 76% of those voting for AAP and others, and 77% of those voting BSP/SP support the idea of a uniform civil code.

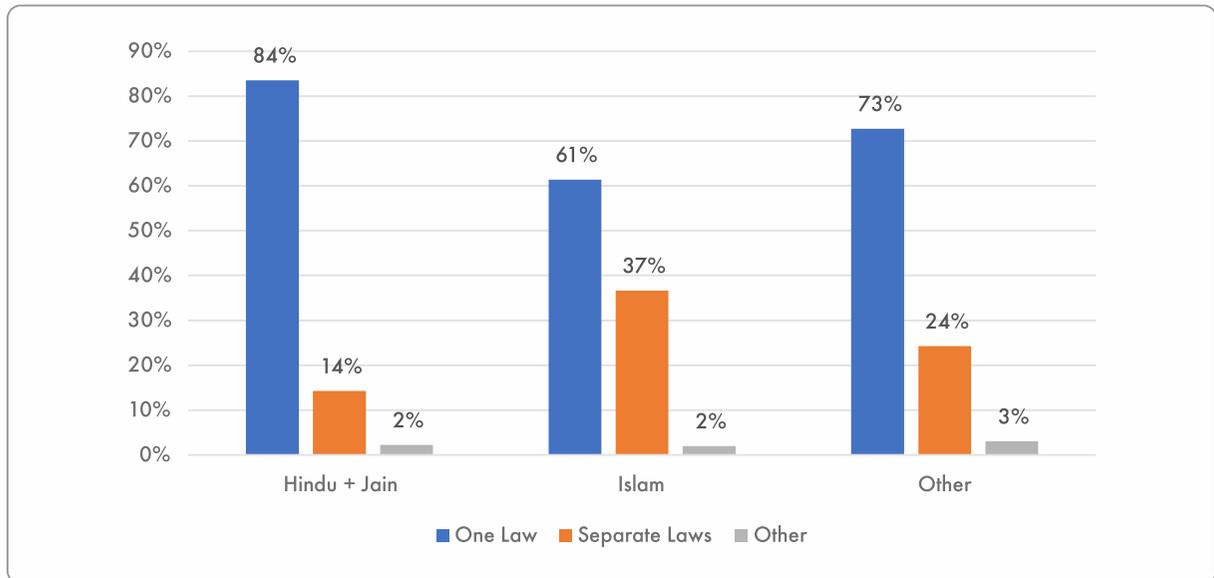
Figure: Stance on Uniform Civil Code across voting intentions



Religion

Majority of all religious groups observed support the idea of a uniform civil code, though Hindus and Jains extend maximum support. More Muslims seem to oppose the idea with a comparably smaller 61% calling for one law and 37% for separate laws. About 73% of those from other religions support the idea, and 24% of them find the need for separate laws.

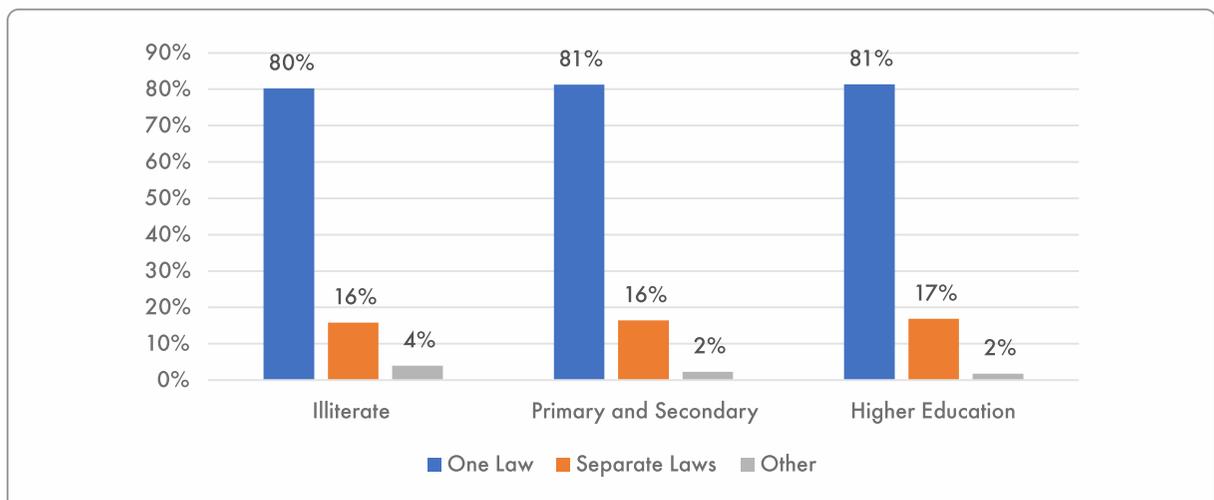
Figure: Stance on Uniform Civil Code among men and women



Education Level

Support for a uniform civil code seems consistent across respondents from all educational backgrounds observed. While 80% of the illiterate respondents agree with the idea of one law for all religions 81% of the other two groups express support as well.

Figure: Stance on Uniform Civil Code among levels of education



A substantial proportion of the respondents seem to be in favour of a uniform civil code. If all stakeholders are brought on board, the various religious and social group may not be averse to the idea of one law.

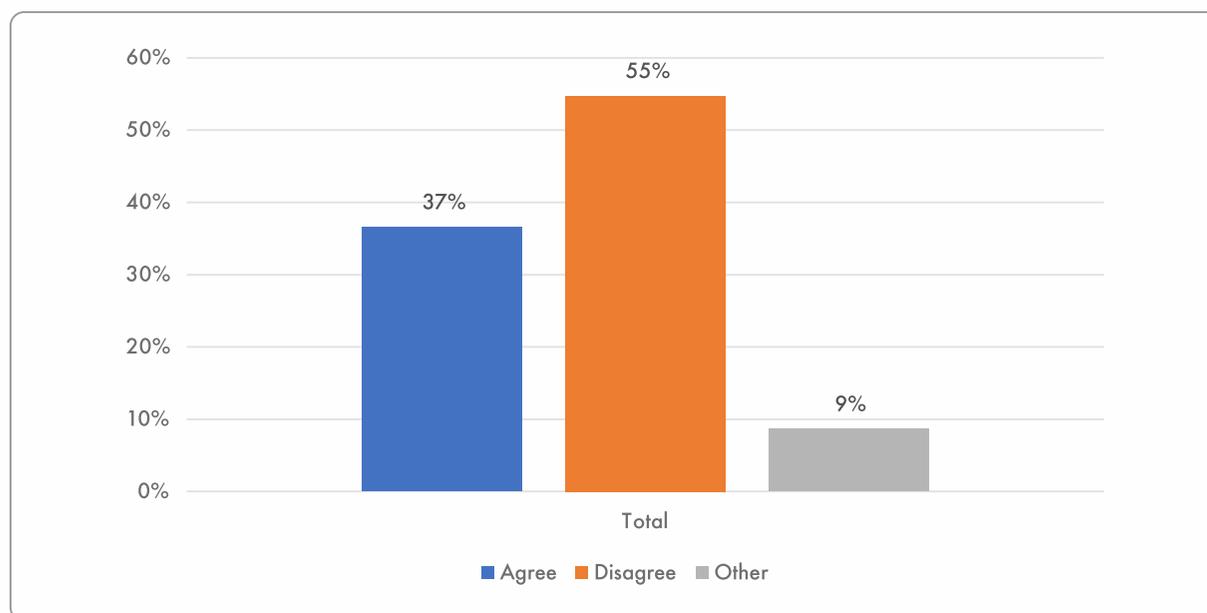
SECTION III: VOTING BEHAVIOUR & PREFERENCES

Fair elections are at the cornerstone of every democracy. Amidst allegations of EVM tampering and challenges in the court against its use, India's election commission authorities have maintained that the machines are tamper-proof. While research has shown that EVMs have helped reduce fraudulent practices in the elections and improved accessibility and general competitiveness in the polls, credible concerns about the technology used in the machines have also been raised from time to time⁴. In 2014, Supreme Court mandated the use of printers for every EVM for VVPAT-generation, which creates voter-verifiable paper audit trails. This has helped build confidence in the EVM system. Not a single mismatch was reported between VVPAT slips and EVM votes in 20,625 VVPATs that were audited for verification in the 2019 elections, Election Commission of India data said. A majority of the respondents in the NES 2019 Post-poll survey expressed confidence in EVM machines. About 33% of the respondents said they had decided their candidate of choice even before the campaign started. About 11% had highlighted unemployment and lack of jobs, and 13% said development was one of their biggest concerns while voting in the elections, the survey results showed.

I. TAMPERING OF EVMs

A large majority of the respondents seem to think it is not possible to tamper with electronic voting machines (EVMs) to rig election results. While 55% of them disagree when asked if they think EVMs can be rigged, and only as much as 37% agree.

Figure: Responses across all surveyed

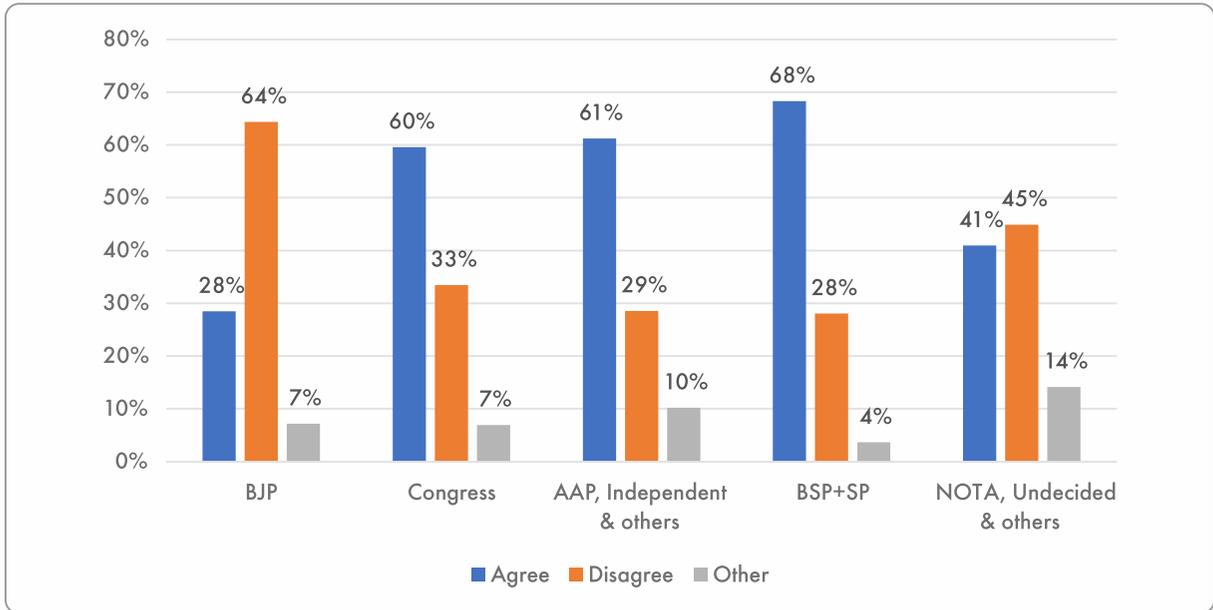


Voting Intention

Interesting differences in opinion emerge across voting intentions. While only 28% of those intending to vote BJP in the coming Lok Sabha elections think EVMs can be tampered with, a whopping 68% of those extending support to the BSP or SP feel otherwise. Similar trends emerge from other major voting intention categories with 60% of those intending to vote for Congress and 61% of those supporting AAP and others agreeing with the statement.

4 Biswas, S. (2019, January 25). India election 2019: Are fears of a mass hack credible? BBC News. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-46987319>

Figure: Responses across voting intentions



CENTRE FOR DEVELOPMENT POLICY AND PRACTICE (CDPP)

The Centre for Development Policy and Practice (CDPP) is a research institute that works on development concerns and contemporary public policy challenges.

Working with a team of research professionals and expert consultants, under the guidance of eminent public intellectuals, CDPP conducts research studies, develops policy papers, publishes a peer reviewed quarterly Journal and hosts Conferences, Seminars and Workshops.

CDPP - GOVERNING COUNCIL

1. G. Sudhir is a former IAS officer. He was Chairman of the Commission of Inquiry to study the Socio-economic and Educational conditions of Muslims in Telangana.
2. Amir Ullah Khan is Research Director at CDPP and a Development Economist. He teaches at ISB, IIFT, NALSAR, MCRHRDI and TISS.
3. Neelima Khetan headed the CSR division for companies like Coca-Cola, the Vedanta Group and Hindustan Zinc Limited. She is now visiting fellow at Brookings India
4. Amitabh Kundu has been chairperson of the Post-Sachar Evaluation Committee set up by Ministry of Minority Affairs. Currently, he is chairs a Committee for Swachh Bharat Mission at the Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation.
5. Aalok Wadhwa is a management professional with more than three decades of experience working in FMCG, online and social media content, publishing, and retail businesses.
6. Saleema Razvi is a Research Economist at the Copenhagen Consensus Center. She has previously served in organisations like Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations, Population Foundation of India, and UNICEF.
7. Abdul Shaban is a Professor at Tata Institute of Social Sciences. He has been a member of Post-Sachar Evaluation Committee, Chief Minister's High-Powered Committee on Muslims, Government of Maharashtra; and Sudhir Commission, Telangana.
8. Adeeluddin Syed is a Director at CDPP, and a philanthropist and social worker.
9. Jeemol Unni is a former Director of the Institute of Rural Management, Anand (IRMA) and RBI Chair Professor of Economics at IRMA. She is currently Professor at Ahmedabad University.
10. Rubina Mazhar is a social entrepreneur and Founder of SAFA. SAFA is a self-sustainable organisation working for the socio-economic upliftment of women.

CDPP - RESEARCH TEAM

1. G. Sudhir is Chairman of the Research Team at CDPP, and a former IAS officer.
2. Amir Ullah Khan, Research Director at CDPP, is a former Civil Servant. He has worked with Encyclopedia Britannica, India Development Foundation and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation.
3. Netheena Mathews, Senior Fellow (Publications), is also the Managing Editor of the Journal of Development Policy and Practice. She has past experience in Policy Research and Advocacy, Journalism and Academic Publishing.
4. Nahia Hussain, Vice President (Policy Affairs) at CDPP, has worked on diverse issues like Gender Rights, Sustainability, Foreign Policy, and Criminal Justice.
5. Sriram Bhupathiraju, Analyst at CDPP, is an anthropologist with an Mphil from IIT, Hyderabad.
6. Anjana Divakar is Research Associate at CDPP with a Masters in Public Policy from Jindal School of Government and Public Policy. She is Managing Editor of the Journal of Development Policy and Practice.
7. Madhav is a Research Associate at CDPP. He has done his bachelor's degree in Business Economics from the University of Delhi. He was also a student at the Institute and Faculty of Actuaries, UK. His areas of interest are development economics and public policy.
8. Syed Salman Uddin is Manager (Operations and Finance) at CDPP. He has a degree in mechanical engineering from JNTU.
9. Syed Moin Afroz is Lead Graphic Designer at CDPP. He has been a part of the design industry for a decade now.
10. Ismail Shaikh is an Editorial and Communications intern at CDPP.



The CDPP brings out a monthly working paper based on the research work being carried out here. These are published on our website www.cdpp.co.in and sent to a select group for review, comments and critique.

OUR WORKING PAPER SERIES

1. Technology-Aided Models for Tracing and Tracking COVID-19
2. India's Healthcare Market
3. India's AgriTech Sector
4. Study on the IT Industry of Hyderabad
5. Covid-19 and India The impact of lockdowns on Infections, Economy and Education
6. Tracking Discrimination Understanding and locating Hate crimes in India
7. Philanthropy in India
8. Tracing the Evolution of the Concept Citizenship
9. Economic Condition of Muslims in India
10. Education Quality: How do we get better outcomes from our Schools