

Election 2008

Gallup Pakistan

EXIT POLL – ELECTION DAY SURVEY

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Understanding Elections in Pakistan
Elections 2008



This report has been prepared under the direction of **Dr. Ijaz Shafi Gilani** who holds a doctorate in Political Science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and is Chairman of Gallup Pakistan (Pakistan Institute of Public Opinion). Dr. Gilani has conducted several pioneering studies on electoral politics in Pakistan.

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INTRODUCTION

Gallup Pakistan carried out a large scale Election Day Survey on February 18 across all four provinces of Pakistan. The survey was not meant to be an early prediction or to monitor the fairness of elections. It was a survey to determine the age, income and education composition of the vote banks of the leading political parties. But it also captured perceptions about fairness of elections, voter's outlook on the powers of the prime minister and a host of other issues.

The survey was carried out by Gallup Pakistan and the findings are presented here in the form of eleven reports. Report 1 analyses profile of political party vote banks, by age, gender, education, income group and previous voting history. Report 2 discusses voter perceptions about fairness of the electoral process. Report 3 captures voters' opinion on powers of the President and Prime Minister. Report 4 reveals voters choices for various party alliances. Report 5 discussed motivations to vote categorizing them into seven voters types. Report 6 looks at voters' views on Prime Ministerial favorites. Report 7 discusses voters' sense of efficacy as well as apprehensions about incomplete tenures. Report 8 contrasts the views of leaders and voters on the issue of Presidential powers. Report 9 compares voting behavior across education groups. Report 10 compares voting behavior of families of Overseas Pakistanis. The final report in this series analyses the role of biradri (kinship ties) in the electoral politics of Pakistan.

The findings are based on a survey of 5338 statistically selected voters from all the four provinces of Pakistan. They were randomly selected as they stepped out of polling stations after casting their vote.

Report # 1

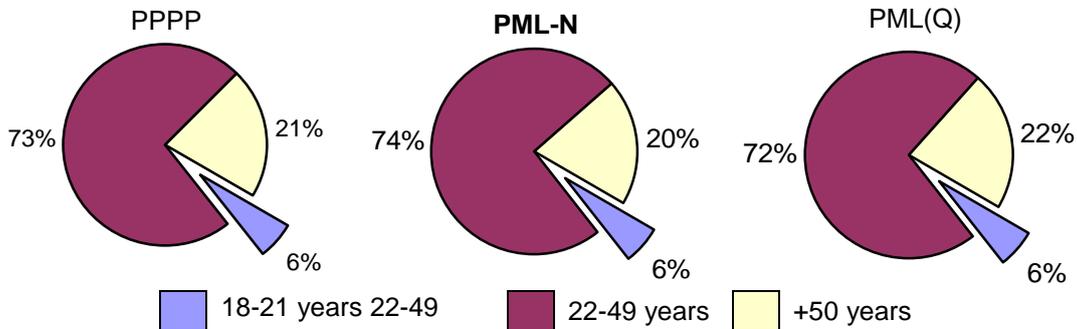
PROFILE OF POLITICAL PARTY VOTE BANKS

By Age, Education, Income, Gender and previous voting history.

AGE COMPOSITION

The vote bank of all three leading parties is fairly similar in age composition.

	PPP	PML(N)	PML(Q)
	<i>Percent share</i>		
New voters (Age 18-21)	6%	6%	6%
Age 22-49	73%	74%	72%
Age 50+	21%	20%	22%



Source: Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll Election Day Survey, 2008.

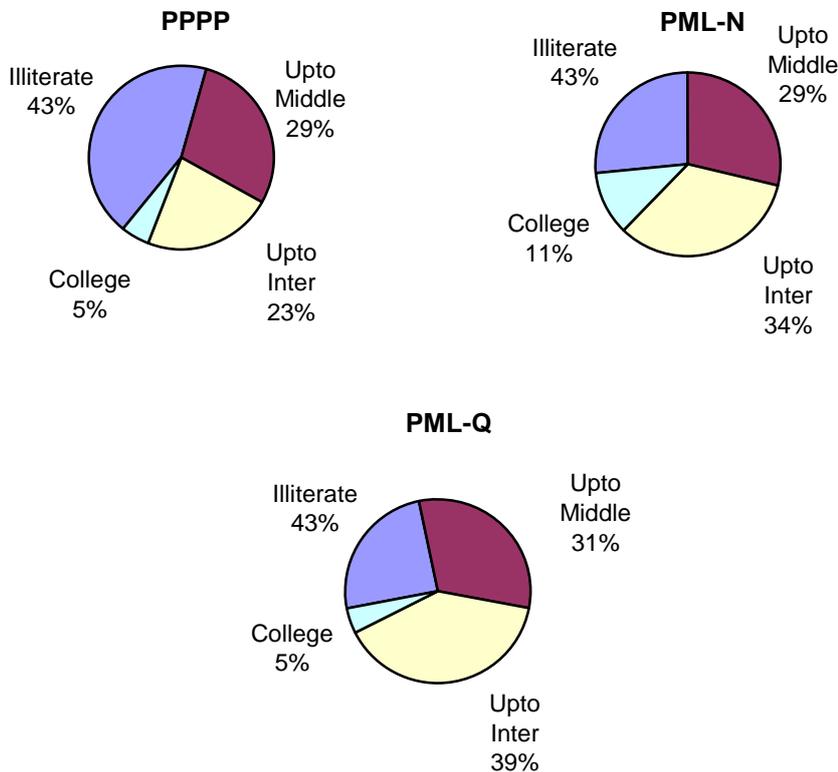
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EDUCATIONAL COMPOSITION

PML(N) vote bank has a higher share of college-educated voters compared to the other. The PPP vote bank has a notably higher share of illiterate voters.

	PPP	PML(N)	PML (Q)
	<i>Percent share</i>		
Illiterate	43%	26%	27%
Up to Middle School	29%	29%	34%
High School and Intermediate	23%	34%	44%
Bachelors and Masters (College)	5%	11%	5%



Source: Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll Election Day Survey, 2008.

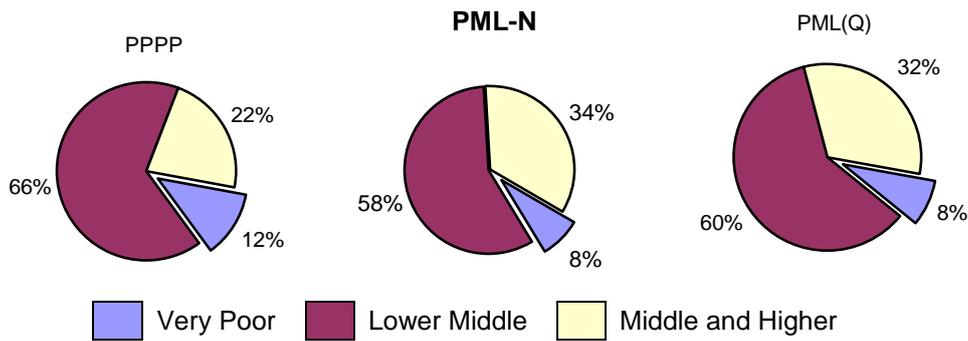
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INCOME POSITION

PML(N) vote bank has a higher share of upper income groups followed by PML(Q). PPP has higher share of the very poor.

	PPP	PML(N)	PML(Q)
	<i>Percent share</i>		
Very Poor*	12%	8%	8%
Lower Middle	65%	57%	60%
Middle and Higher	23%	35%	32%

*Income Group Definitions available on request

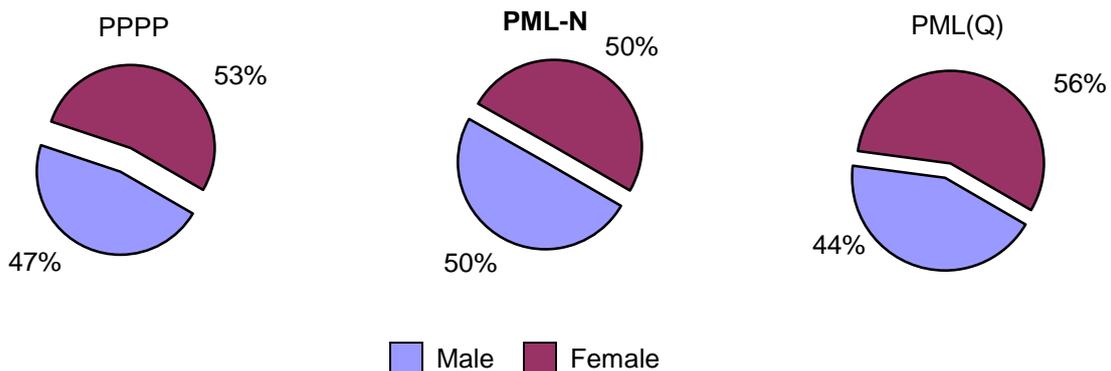


Source: Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll Election Day Survey, 2008.

GENDER COMPOSITION

PML (Q) and PPP vote banks have higher share of women compared to PML (N).

	PPP	PML(N)	PML(Q)
	<i>Percent share</i>		
Men	47%	50%	44%
Women	53%	50%	56%



Source: Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll Election Day Survey, 2008.

Report # 2

PERCEPTIONS ON FAIRNESS OF ELECTIONS

The majority of a scientific sample of voters from all across the country perceived that the polling process on the Election Day was fair. However views on environment prior to polling were mixed.

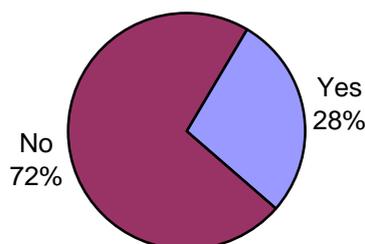
72 % perceived there was very little chance of unfair practice on their polling stations, while 28% believed such a chance existed.

This preliminary report provides questions by answers to the relevant survey questions. It is followed by a summary table on the indicators of perceptions about fairness on Election Day and the electoral environment.

OVERALL

Question: *Do you suspect Election Day rigging against the party/candidate you voted today for the national assembly seat at your polling station?*

Percentage of respondents	
Yes	28%
No	72%

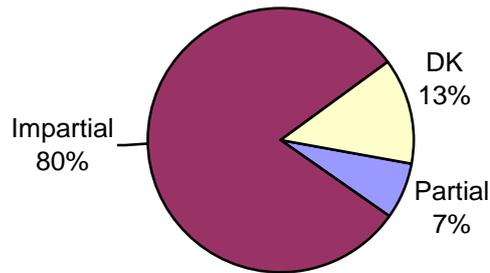


Source: Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll Election Day Survey, 2008.

POLLING STATION LEVEL

Question: *Do you think that the polling staff at the polling station is impartial in your constituency or partial towards a particular candidate?*

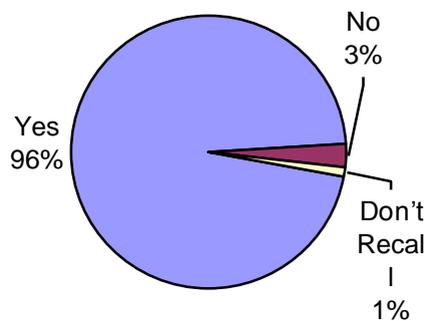
<i>Percentage of respondents</i>	
Partial	7%
Impartial	80%
Don't Know	13%



Source: Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll Election Day Survey, 2008.

Question: *Did you have your hand stamped after you cast your ballot?*

<i>Percentage of respondents</i>	
Yes	96%
No	3%
No Response	1%



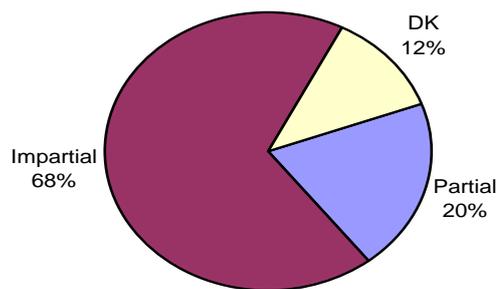
Source: Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll Election Day Survey, 2008.

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PRE-ELECTION ENVIRONMENT

Question: *Do you think that the local administration is impartial in your constituency or is partial towards a particular candidate?*

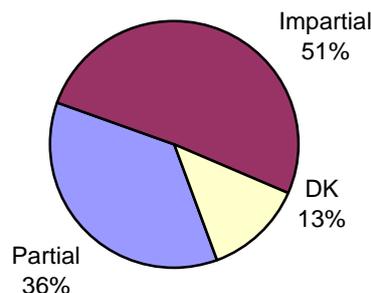
Percentage of respondents	
Partial	20%
Impartial	68%
Don't Know	12%



Source: Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll Election Day Survey, 2008.

Question: *Some people believe that the Caretaker Government is partial in the elections while some others believe that Government is impartial. What do you think?*

Percentage of respondents	
Partial	36%
Impartial	51%
Don't Know	13%



Source: Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll Election Day Survey, 2008.

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SUMMARY TABLES
**PERCEPTION ON FAIRNESS ON ELECTION DAY AND
ELECTORAL ENVIRONMENT**

	<u>Overall</u>	<u>Polling Staff</u>	<u>Procedure Observance</u>	<u>Local Government</u>	<u>Caretaker Government</u>
Fair	72%	79%	95%	68%	55%
Unfair	28%	9%	4%	20%	32%
No Response	0	12%	1 %	12%	13%

Source: Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll Election Day Survey, 2008.

Report # 3

VIEWS OF VOTERS ON POWERS OF PRIME MINISTER AND THE PRESIDENT

The distribution of power between the President and the Prime Minister has been a troublesome issue in Pakistan's recent political history. In some cases, it led to the dissolution of the parliament while in others it created a situation where the Parliament, in the view of many, ceased to perform its Constitutional function. Given that background the voters who voted in the 2008 elections for the Parliament in Pakistan were asked to give their understanding of who should have more powers to run the country: the President or the Prime Minister. They were also asked to state their expectations of what might happen in practice. They were asked (*irrespective of what their own preference was*) who would exercise more powers, once the new parliament is elected: the President or the Prime Minister.

Seventy-eight percent (78%) of the national sample of voters interviewed in all the four provinces (*Total sample was 5538 voters interviewed on February 18, as they stepped out of the polling stations*) said they would prefer that the new Prime Minister should exercise more powers than the President. However, when asked to give their perceptions of what might actually happen, their views were quite different. Forty percent (40%) believed that in reality the President will exercise more powers. The survey found a sharp difference between the preferences of voters and their expectations about the realization of their preferences.

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The survey showed a high degree of clarity among the cross-section of men and women voters of all ages, educational and income status on who should exercise more powers as 78% support more powers to the Prime Minister. However the survey findings also reflect a high degree of skepticism on the practice since only 60 % believe that the new elected Prime Minister will actually have more powers in running the country.

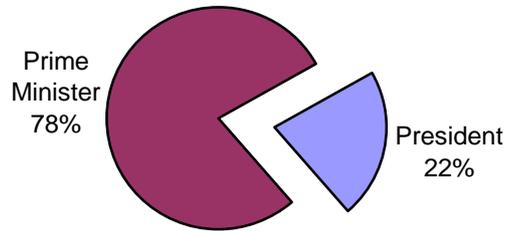
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CLARITY ON PREFERENCE

Who should have more powers to run the country: President or Prime Minister?

Percentage of Respondents

President	22%
Prime Minister	78%

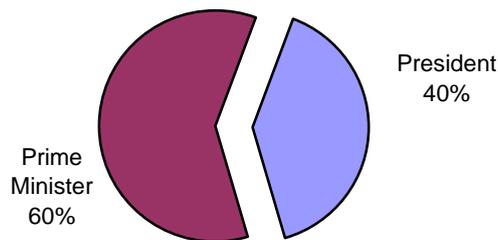


SKEPTICISM ON PRACTICE

Who will have more powers to run the country?

Percentage of Respondents

President	40%
Prime Minister	60%



Source: Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll Election Day Survey, 2008.

Report # 4

VOTERS AND LEADERS

TIPS FOR PARTY LEADERS ABOUT VOTERS' CHOICES FOR POLITICAL ALLIANCES

As Asif Ali Zardari and Nawaz Sharif scramble to put together an alliance to form a Government one thing must be on their mind: How would their voters react to their alliance-formation. Are they emotionally supportive of some political parties more than others? Are they pre-disposed to some alliances more than others?

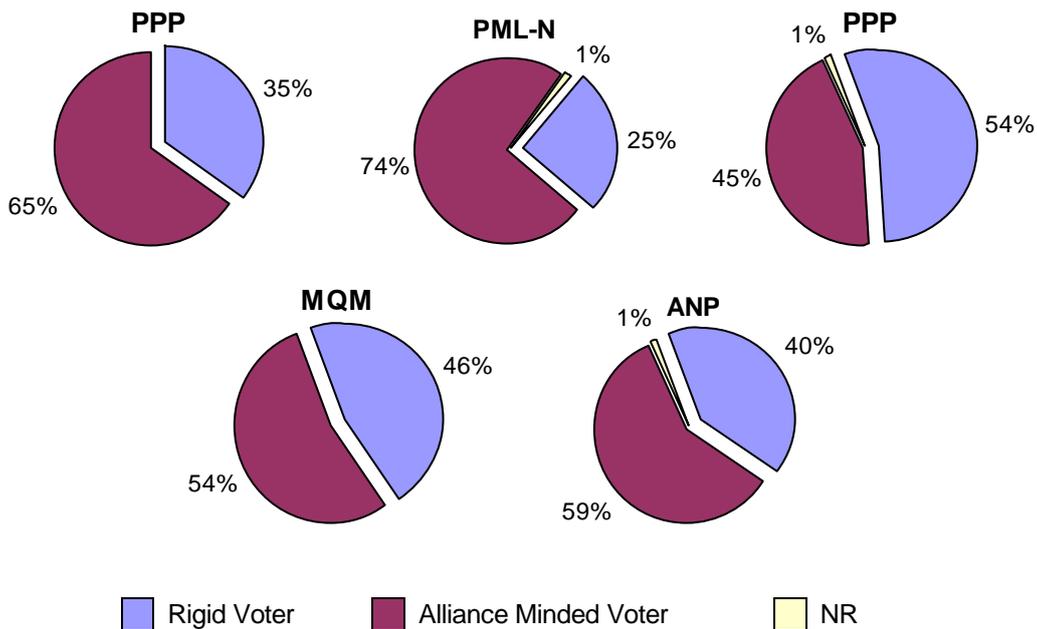
Anticipating this situation the Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll Survey had asked a nationally representative sample of voters on the Election Day: **“You have just voted for a person of your choice. Please let us know who would have been your second best choice?”**

The responses by the voters of all the leading parties were both interesting and revealing. A sizeable group, although a minority, in each party refused to give a second choice. They were firmly attached to the party of their first choice and would not speculate on any other possibility. For want of a better description we have termed them as the “Rigid Voters”. Yet a majority in each party’s voters mentioned a second choice. These choices would be a good tip for party leaders about the preferences of the voters who voted them in as parliament members. Here are the findings:

THE RIGID VOTERS

The proportion of rigid voters who would not even speculate on a second best choice varies from party to party. Interestingly it was the lowest in the PML(N) vote bank, 25 % and the highest in the PML(Q), 55 %.

RIGID VOTER RATIO IN VARIOUS POLITICAL PARTIES



Source: Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll Election Day Survey, 2008.

PREFERRED ALLIES

PPP-PML(N) Alliance: Voter Affinities

The Exit Poll-Election Day Survey reveals that at this point the voters of the two top parties, PPP and PML(N) have the highest level of mutual political affinity. Thus, 40 % of **PPP voters** indicated PML(N) as their second best choice; and 45 % of **PML (N) voters** said the same about PPP.

PPP-PML(Q) Alliance: Voter Affinities

On the other hand only 14 % of **PPP voters** indicated PML(Q) as their second best choice and 13 % of **PML-Q voters** would choose PPP as their second best choice.

PPP-MQM Alliance: Voter Affinities

The survey showed very uneven relationship between PPP and MQM voters. Among MQM voters 36 % would have PPP as their second choice. In contrast only 1 % of PPP voters chose MQM as their second choice. Since the two parties might need to ally in the Provincial Assembly of Sindh, the party leaders would need to motivate their voters in favor of cooperation.

PML(Q)-MQM Alliance: Voter Affinities

The affinity between **PML(Q) voters and MQM voters** is also rather low. Only 12 % of MQM voters indicated PML(Q) as their second best; the comparable figure among PML(Q) voters for MQM was 9 %.

ANP Alliance with PPP and PML(N): Voter Affinities

ANP voters are divided roughly equally between PPP and PML(N) as their second best choice. 17 % ANP voters indicated PPP and 18 % ANP voters indicated PML-N as their second best choice.

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SECOND BEST CHOICE

Question: *You have just voted for a person of your choice. Please let us know who would have been your second best choice?*

Among voters of	PREFERENCES OF ALLIANCE MINDED VOTERS						RIGID VOTERS	NR
	PPP	PML-N	PML-Q	MQM	ANP	Others		
PPP		40%	14%	1%	2%	8%	35 %	0%
PML-N	45%		20%	1%	2%	7%	25 %	1%
PML-Q	13%	17%		9%	0%	5%	55 %	1%
MQM	36%	4%	12%		0%	3%	46 %	0%
ANP	17%	18%	4%	1%		20%	40 %	1%

Source: Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll Election Day Survey, 2008.

Report # 5
VOTING BEHAVIOR
SEVEN TYPES OF VOTERS

One issue often raised in political discourse about Pakistani politics is: To what extent are the voters' loyalties bound to the individual candidate's attributes rather than the party in whose name he contested the elections? The Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll (Election Day Survey) has some answers.

Analysis of the Exit Poll data suggests that voters can be classified into seven major types by their motivation to vote: **Party Loyals, Morality Seeking Voters, Patron Seeking Voters, Legislation Minded Voters, Development Seeking Voters, Biradari Bound, and Skeptic Voters.**

A preliminary analysis of the data suggests that almost one quarter (24%) of the voters in the 2008 General Elections like to be seen as **Party Loyals**. The most important reason in their choice was the nomination of their candidate by the party. They chose this reason from seven different reasons provided to them on a circular card.

21 % of voters would pass as **Development Seekers**. They mentioned their legislator's ability to execute development projects, such as, bringing electricity and building roads for their community as the critical reason behind their choice.

17 % percent of voters are the **Patron-seeking** types. The legislator's ability to help them with the police, courts and other officials stands out

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as his major attribute.

12 % of voters are **Legislation-Minded**. They chose their legislator because of his competence in the comprehension of national affairs.

Another 12 % voters would like to be seen as **Morality/ Value Seeking** voters. They describe legislator's religiosity, honesty and integrity as the principal motive behind their choice.

9 % admitted to be **Biradari-bound**. They said they followed their Biradri's verdict in choosing the legislator.

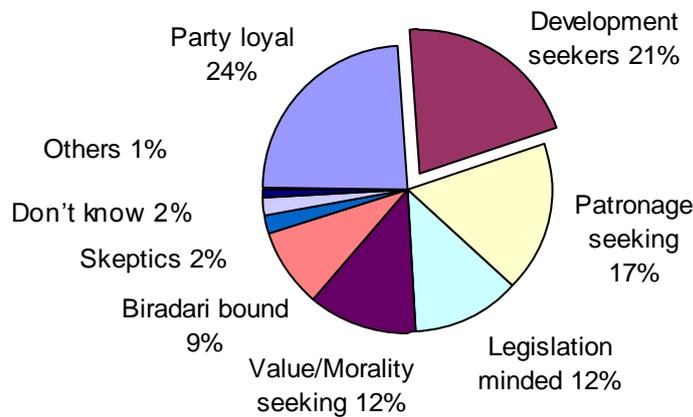
Only 2 % placed themselves in the category of **Skeptic Voters**, that is those who chose a certain legislator because he was most capable of defeating the candidate whom the voter disliked or despised.

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Question: *Would you tell us the most important reason, which led you to vote for the candidate for whom you have just voted for the National Assembly?*

	<i>Percentage of Respondents</i>
Party loyal	24%
Development seekers	21%
Patronage seekers	17%
Legislation minded	12%
Value/Morality seekers	12%
Biradri bound	9%
Skeptics	2%
Don't know	2%
Others	1%



Source: Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll Election Day Survey, 2008.

Report # 6
VOTERS SPEAK OUT
AMIN FAHEEM AND NAWAZ SHARIF ARE PRIME
MINISTERIAL FAVORITES

As the possibility of a coalition between the two leading political parties increases, the decisive and divisive issue at hand is who will be the country's twenty-seventh Prime Minister. With the tragic assassination of PPP chairperson, Benazir Bhutto, an obvious option is no longer available. As parties look towards new and old leaders, voters have indicated some favorites in the Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll (Election Day Survey). A nationally representative sample of voters on the Election Day was asked: "Which political leader would you like to see as the next Prime Minister?"

Thirty-four percent (34 %) of the respondents nominated a candidate from the Pakistan People's Party. While 24 % selected PPP's Makdoom Amin Faheem, 10% favored party Co-Chairman Asif Ali Zardari as the next Prime Minister. Leader of PML-N and ex-Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was the choice of twenty-six percent (26 %) of the respondents. Another 21 % supported PML-Q leader Chaudary Pervez Elahi. The remaining 19 % favored other miscellaneous.

While no leader was markedly ahead in the national sample, within parties the tally of support for political leaders varies. Among respondents who voted for PPP, a clear majority of 59 % supports Amin Faheem. Less than half of that (26 %) support Asif Ali Zardari. The remaining are divided between Nawaz Sharif (5 %) and other candidates (10 %).

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Among respondents who voted for PML-N, Nawaz Sharif received the overwhelming support of 87 %.

Within the PML-Q vote bank, Pervez Elahi is the favorite candidate for 63 % of the respondents. Compared to others, the PML-Q voter is more open to the idea of a Prime Minister from outside the party. While 10 % supported Amin Faheem, another 10 % supported Nawaz Sharif as the next Prime Minister.

For Amin Faheem, three fourths (77 %) of his support came from the PPP voters while the rest from voters of other parties. Nawaz Sharif has a wider support base; while two-thirds (65 %) of it came from within his own party, the rest one third was roughly equally divided among the rest of the parties.

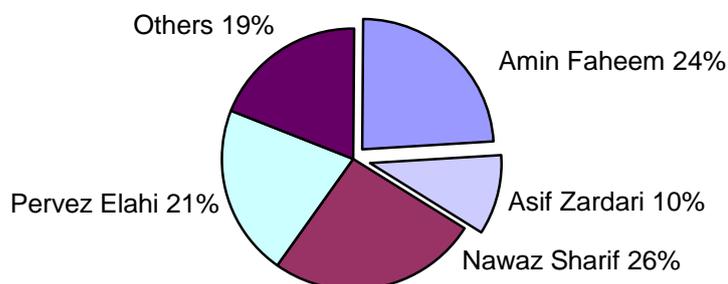
Although the decision of who will lead the government has not been declared, whatever formula of power sharing is evolved, each party will have to heed the choice of their party voters as well as the acceptability of their Prime Ministerial candidate among the supporters of other political parties.

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Question: “From the given names, who would you like to be the Prime Minister of the Country: Amin Fahim, Asif Zardari, Nawaz Sharif, Pervez Elahi or someone else?”



Source: Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll Election Day Survey, 2008

WHO SHOULD BE THE NEXT PRIME MINISTER OF PAKISTAN?

Percent of Respondents	PPP Candidates		PML-N	PML-Q	Others/ NR
	Amin Faheem	Asif Zardari	Nawaz Sharif	Pervez Elahi	
Among All (Read in Rows)	24%	10%	26%	21%	19%
Among Voters of * (Read in Rows)					
PPP	59%	26%	5%	2%	8%
PML-N	4%	1%	87%	3%	5%
PML-Q	10%	2%	10%	63%	15%
MQM	8%	1%	5%	35%	51%

* Those who voted for the party in 2008 National Assembly Election

Source: Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll Election Day Survey, 2008

Report # 7

COMBINATION OF HOPE AND DESPAIR ON DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

The verdict is out on this very crucial election which President Pervez Musharraf had casually and perhaps half jokingly termed as the “Mother of all Elections”. Voters express a combination of hope and despair on different aspects of the electoral process. Eighty percent (80 %) are confident their vote can make a difference. Yet only 57 % believe this parliament will complete its term.

The Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll (Election Day Survey) asked a nationally representative sample of voters on the Election Day: **“Do you think your vote will be helpful in improving the condition of our country or not?”** Eighty percent (80%) of the respondents expressed faith that their vote will be helpful. Only 7% were despondent, while 13% remained uncertain. Voters’ sense of efficacy has increased from 70% in 1997 when the same question was asked in the 1997 Exit Poll. This increase is a healthy sign that voters are increasingly confident about the ability of democracy to resolve the country’s current political crises.

Regionally, the voter in Sindh was the most confident on Election Day. Ninety-two percent (92%) said their vote will improve national affairs. They were followed by voters in NWFP (78%), Punjab (77%) and then Balochistan (71%). Among political parties while most followed the national average, MQM voters were the most confident about the efficacy of their vote (95 %).

Despite this heightened sense of empowerment, when voters were asked, **“Do you think the Newly Elected Government will complete its five-year tenure or not?”** only 57 % said yes it will. Sixteen percent (16 %) were convinced that the government will follow in the footsteps of its predecessors and be dismissed in less than five years. A notable 27% remained dubious and said they did not know. The average life expectancy of an elected Parliament in Pakistan is less than three years. With four out of five recent governments dismissed before their time, voters remain apprehensive about the prospects of the 2008 Parliament.

Within regions, voters in Sindh were again more hopeful; sixty-four percent (64 %) said the new government will serve for five years. In Balochistan 68%, in NWFP 57% and in Punjab 54% said the same. Among political parties, again 78% of MQM voters expected parliament to remain for five years. On the other hand, PML-N voters were the most despondent; only 49% believed the new government will be allowed to complete its term.

In an interesting comparison, the last time a government was elected to be dismissed (1997), levels of hope about the longevity of the parliament were even lower; only 40% of voters in the 1997 Exit Poll Survey on Election Day believed the parliament would complete its term.

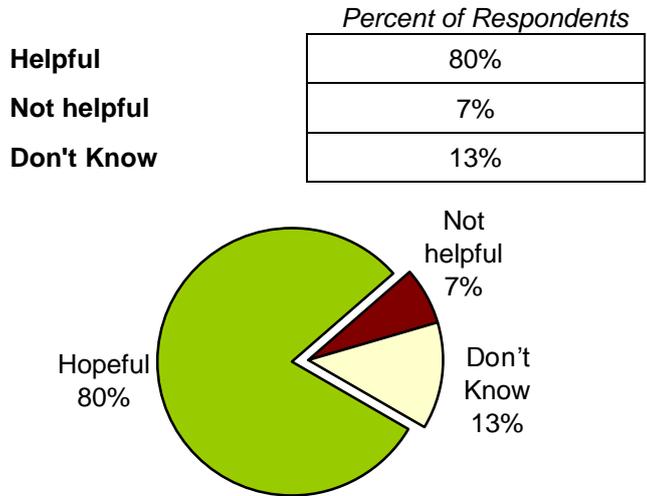
In the span of a decade, the expectations of voters have increased, not only from the power of their own individual votes and their favored parties but also from the ability of the system to deliver on its promises. As the new parliament begins to take shape, one hopes it will rise up to these expectations.

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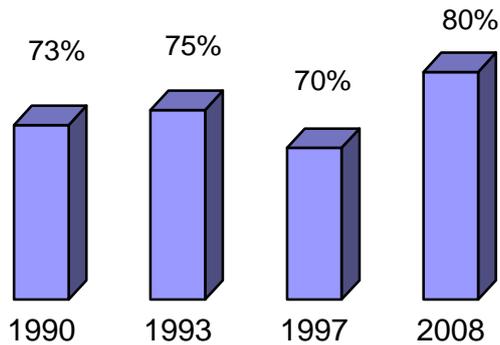
Question: “Do you think your vote will be helpful in improving the condition of our country or not?”



Source: Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll Election Day Survey, 2008

COMPARISON WITH THE PAST

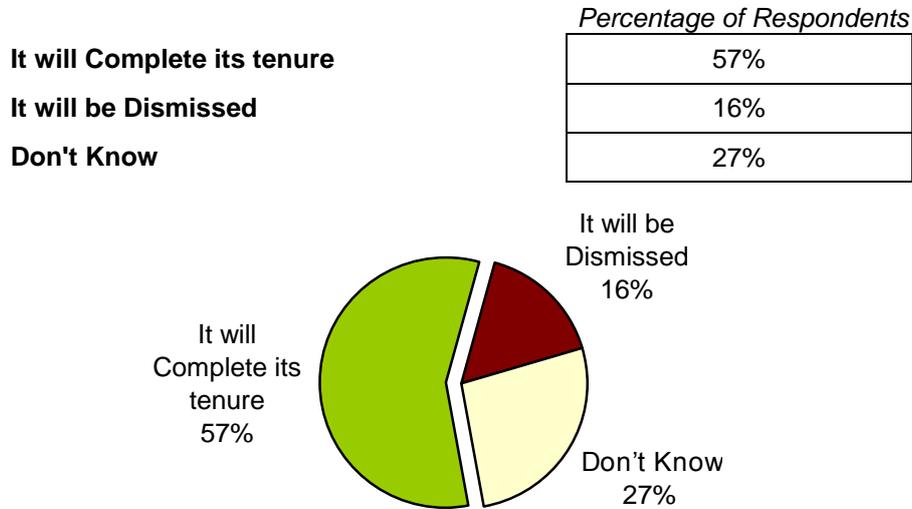
Question: “My vote will be helpful in improving the condition of our country”



Source: Gallup Pakistan Exit Polls, 1990-2008

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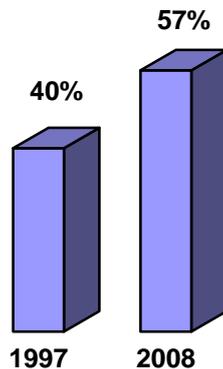
Question: “Do you think the Newly Elected Government will complete its five-year tenure or not?”



Source: Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll Election Day Survey, 2008

COMPARISON WITH 1997

“I think the Newly Elected Government will complete its tenure”



Source: Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll Election Day Survey, 2008

Report # 8

DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES IN VIEWS OF LEADERS AND VOTERS

Leaders of political parties have developed staunch views on issues of power sharing, but do their views reflect the constituency they purport to represent? Recent media reports indicate that PML-Q leadership is very articulate in supporting President Musharraf to stay as President for the next five years, while his other ally, MQM, had been taking a more cautious stance on the subject. The Gallup Pakistan Election Day survey reveals an interesting contrast with the attitudes of their voters. Even though the leadership is cautious, the voters of MQM are warm towards him and his powers. To the contrary despite the unambiguous support by party leadership, the voters of PML-Q are only lukewarm towards Musharraf.

More than 5000 voters were asked as they stepped out of polling booths what was their opinion on the formula for power sharing. In response to the question, **“Who would you say should have more powers in the new parliament”** 57 % of MQM voters favor the President over the Prime Minister. In contrast, only 34 % of PML-Q voters favor the President’s pre-eminent role, Their enthusiasm hangs roughly in the middle of the scale between MQM voters on the one end and PPP and PML-N voters on the other, as only 13 % of PPP and 12 % of PML-N voters would like to see the President to have more powers than the Prime Minister.

Among the voters of PPP and PML-N there is a resounding support for the Prime Minister to have more authority in running the country (87% and 88%,

respectively). This is not surprising since the last two Prime Minister to get deposed by a presidential order belonged to these two parties.

**WHO SHOULD HAVE MORE POWERS:
PRESIDENT OR PRIME MINISTER?**

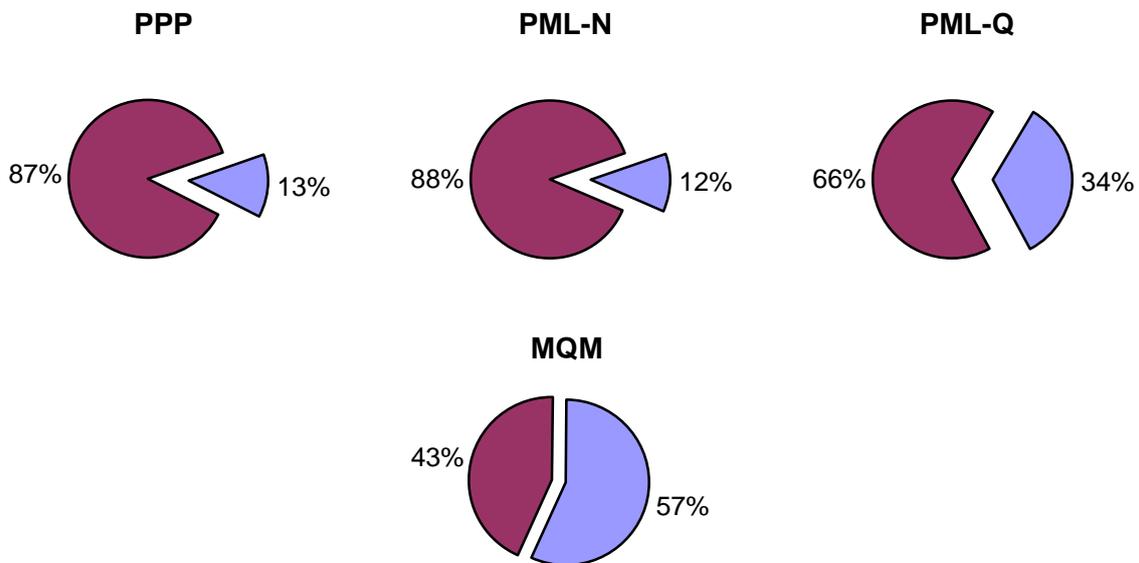
Percentage of Respondents

Among Voters of * (Read in Rows)	President	Prime Minister
PPP	13 %	87 %
PML-N	12 %	88 %
PML-Q	34 %	66 %
MQM	57 %	43 %

* Those who voted for the party in 2008 National Assembly Election

Source: Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll Election Day Survey, 2008

Question: “Who would you say should have more powers in the new parliament: President or Prime Minister?”



Source: Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll Election Day Survey, 2008

Report # 9

PPP AHEAD AMONG ILLITERATE, PML-N AMONG COLLEGE EDUCATED

PPP and PML-N, the two emerging alliance partners in the aftermath of the 2008 Elections in Pakistan appeal to different socio-economic groups of voters especially when it comes to educational attainment. The PPP has a notable edge among the bottom of the scale, those with low levels or no education, while the PML-N has a notable edge among the top of the scale, among voters with college and university education.

At the all Pakistan level, 34 % low education group voted for PPP and only half as many, 17 %, voted from PML-N. Conversely among those with college education, PML-N has a notable edge over PPP; 35 % of them voted for PML-N and only 25% for PPP. The pattern is the same in Punjab, the most populous province of the country where the two leading parties competed for voters. Among the lower education groups in Punjab, PPP was ahead of PML-N by a margin of 5 %. But PML-N more than made up for this gap among the college educated scoring 51 % against only 18 % for PPP.

Between now and the next elections the two leading political parties might try to improve their position among groups that they are currently weak in. However in the meantime their alliance provides a sound basis for ensuring between the two of them a wider appeal for both the upscale and the downscale sections of the Pakistani population.

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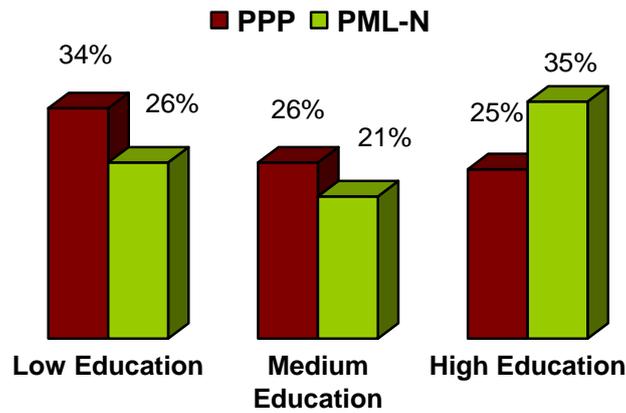


VOTING BEHAVIOR BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENTS

Among voters (*read in rows*)

Illiterate or up to Middle School education only
Secondary and Higher Secondary Education
College and University Education

	PPP	PML-N	Others
Illiterate or up to Middle School education only	34 %	26 %	40 %
Secondary and Higher Secondary Education	26 %	21 %	53 %
College and University Education	25 %	35 %	40 %



Source: Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll Election Day Survey, 2008

Report # 10

VOTING BEHAVIOR AMONG FAMILIES OF OVERSEAS PAKISTANIS

Nearly 15% or 5.3 million of those who voted on February 18 in Pakistan's 9th National Elections are intimately linked to the world because they have an immediate family member who is working abroad as an overseas worker. This figure corresponds with the latest estimates on Pakistanis abroad, as approximately 4 million Pakistanis coming from close to 15% of Pakistani households are currently working abroad. Thus they turned out to vote in the same proportion as the rest of the population, neither higher nor lower.

Did any of the political parties enjoy a notable edge of support among the overseas Pakistani families?

They generally voted in the same proportions for various political parties as their neighbors and other constituents. But there were some exceptions. PML-N in Punjab enjoyed an edge over PPP among the OP (Overseas Pakistani) families in Punjab. Similarly and more surprisingly PPP enjoyed an edge over MQM among OP families in urban Sindh (Karachi) where it was otherwise a distant runner up. 51 % of OP families claimed to vote for PPP as opposed to 40% to MQM.

As a spillover from the electoral behaviour survey the Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll (Election Day Survey) produced a good indication of OP families in different parts of the country. It showed that 18% of households in each of Punjab and NWFP, 9% in Sindh and only 2% in Balochistan had one or more family

members who are currently working abroad. Their voting behaviour is however only marginally different from their neighbors with no household members working abroad.

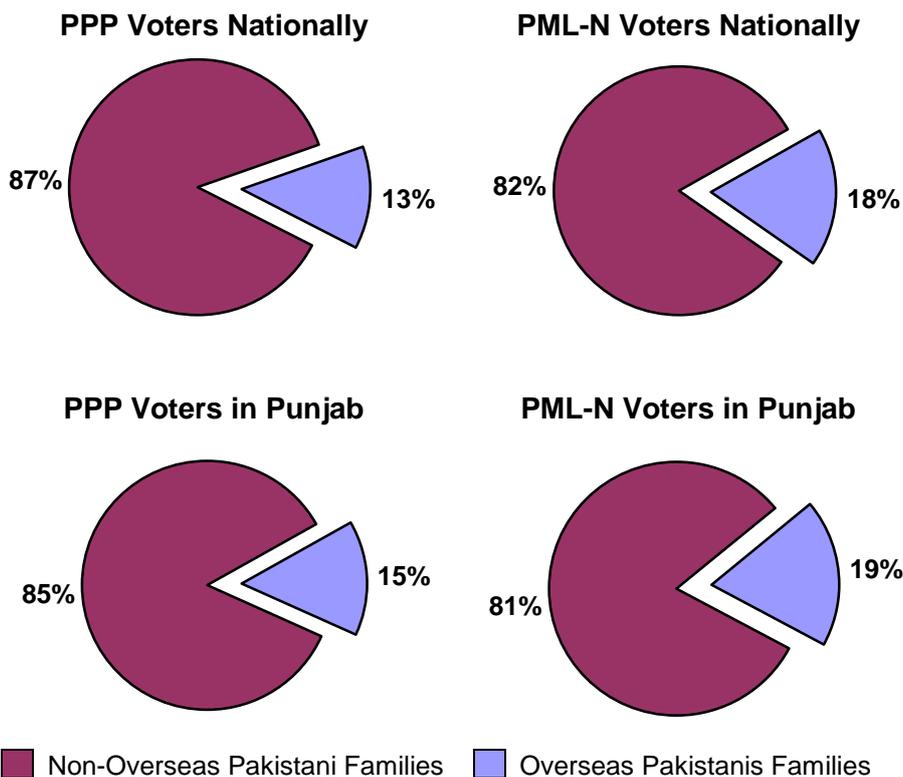
VOTERS PROFILE OF LEADING POLITICAL PARTIES

Percentage of respondents

<i>Voters of</i>	PPP	PML-N	PML-Q
Share of OP families in party's voters Nationally	13 %	18 %	19 %
Share of OP families in party's voters in Punjab	15 %	19 %	21 %

OVERSEAS PAKISTANI FAMILIES

SHARE IN TOTAL VOTERS OF LEADING PARTIES



Source: Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll Election Day Survey, 2008.

Report # 11

IMPORTANCE OF BIRADRI IN VOTING DECISIONS

Does Biradri play a role in voting decisions? Only 9% in the Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll (Election Day Survey) say it does. But the subject is perhaps more complicated than reaching this simple conclusion. Firstly, while only 9 % nationally say "Biradri" or "kinship group" was the single most important influence in their voting decision, the proportion in some areas of the country is much larger. Incidentally, it might be appropriate to translate "Biradri" in English as "kinship" as opposed to "caste" which has several other connotations and usually a fixed hierarchy attached to it. Secondly, the influence of "Biradri" on voting decision is more complex than a straightforward "yes" and "no". As we have discovered in our research, "group-thinking" comprising deliberations in the community and negotiating political loyalties as "corporate" groups in the sociological sense is an important part of election campaign. It happens in rural settings as well as urban neighborhoods, and occupational syndicates of various levels and kinds. People may not always decide to vote for a person from their own community or "biradri". Yet meeting as a community or "biradri" to deliberate and decide on who to vote for is much more common than what might be otherwise understood as voting for a candidate of ones own "biradri". It should also be noted that in many cases competing candidates are from the same biradri and that biradri can be a very loose concept encompassing at one level tens of millions of people leaving very little room for narrow and binding group loyalty. In a nutshell, "Biradri" plays a role in voting behaviour well understood by the players in the game but not necessarily its observers and analysts. Here is an attempt to reveal at least one layer of understanding as captured though survey research among a nationally representative sample of

over 5000 voters on the Election Day and a follow up survey with over 1000 voters across the country.

Percent of respondents indicating
**BIRADRI AS THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT INFLUENCE
ON VOTING DECISIONS**

Question: “Would you tell us the most important reason, which led you to vote for the candidate for whom you have just voted for the National Assembly?”

All Pakistan	9 %
Province-wise	
Punjab	9 %
Sindh	7 %*
NWFP	15 %
Baluchistan	7 %
Rural-Urban-wise	
Urban	7 %
Rural	11 %

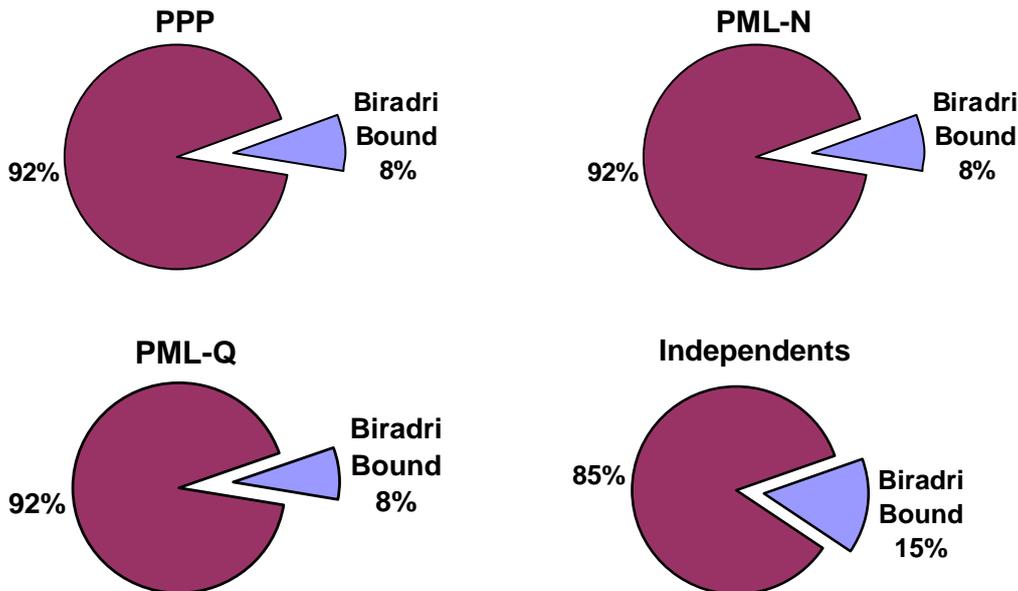
* This figure is for all of Sindh. The figure is higher for Rural Sindh. In NWFP, it also includes the tribal areas

Source: Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll Election Day Survey, 2008.

**PROPORTION OF “BIRADRI BOUND” VOTERS IN VOTE BANKS OF
LEADING POLITICAL PARTIES**

Interestingly, the three leading parties have the same share of “Biradri Bound” voters in their vote bank. However, the biradri bound voters have a much higher proportion in the vote bank of ‘Independent’ candidates who did not contest the election under a party banner.

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Source: Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll Election Day Survey, 2008.

ROLE OF BIRADRI IN VOTING DECISION PROCESS

Two questions were asked in a follow-up survey of voters a week after the Pakistan National Elections 2008. The findings show that approximately 20% said they voted for someone who belonged to their Biradri. This figure is higher than the 9 % who told us in the Election Day – Exit Poll that "Biradri" bonds critically determined their voting decision, indicating that even when they vote for someone from their own "Biradri" they do not necessarily think or admit the decision was guided by that consideration. Whether the continuing role of "Biradri" in Pakistani society is considered desirable or undesirable, the survey findings confirm its existence as an important civil society institution. Thus, 37% of rural voters and 27 % of urban voters claim that they gathered in a meeting of their Biradri to deliberate on whom to vote for.

Percent of respondents
**SAYING THE PERSON THEY VOTED FOR
belonged to their Biradri**

Question: *“The person whom you voted for in this National Election was from your Biradri or some other?”*

All Pakistan	20%
Location-wise	
Urban	12%
Rural	25%

Source: Gallup Pakistan Survey, 23-24 February 2008

Percent of respondents
**SAYING THEY MET AS BIRADRI GROUP TO DELIBERATE ON A
VOTING DECISION**

Question: *“Did you meet as Biradri group to deliberate on a voting decision?”*

All Pakistan	33%
Location-wise	
Urban	27%
Rural	37%

Source: Gallup Pakistan Survey, 23-24 February 2008

Summary Table
IMPORTANCE OF BIRADRI IN VOTING DECISIONS

<i>Percentage of Respondents who say</i>	All Pakistan	Urban	Rural
Biradri was the single most important influence in their voting decision	9%	7 %	11 %
The person they voted for belonged to their Biradri	20%	12 %	25 %
They met as Biradri group to deliberate on a voting decision	33%	27 %	37 %

Source: Gallup Pakistan Survey, 23-24 February 2008.

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Methodology

The survey was conducted with a statistically selected sample of 5,338 men and women voters comprising a cross-section of all ages, income and educational backgrounds. The survey was conducted in the rural and urban polling stations of all the four provinces of Pakistan. Interviews were face to face conducted by a team of more than 200 men and women between 8 am to 5 pm on the polling day (*February 18*). The respondents were selected through time sampling method soon after they stepped out of the polling station. Every voter stepping out at the end of 10-minute slot was selected for interview. The purpose was to randomize the selection independent of arbitrary role of the interviewer. The process was continued throughout polling time to ensure randomization of voters casting their votes during different parts of the day. All data are computer processed. The error margin is estimated to be + 2-5% at 95% confidence level.

The survey was carried out by Gallup Pakistan, supervised and directed by Dr. Ijaz Shafi Gilani, Chairman, Gallup Pakistan.

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