

Gallup Pakistan

Latest Press Release

PUBLIC PULSE ON

ELECTIONS AND OTHER RAGING ISSUES

PART II

Survey Dates: *February 9-10, 2008*

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Perceptions About TURN OUT And voting on the Election Day

When asked, “Given the present circumstances, in your opinion will the elections be free and fair?” a majority of 51% still doubts the forthcoming elections on February 18 will be free and fair. But the level of trust has increased from 15% in early November, 2007 to 31% in the latest Gallup Pakistan poll conducted on January 26, 2008. There are good reasons behind the change including the lifting of Emergency, shedding of Army Chief uniform by Pervez Musharraf, partial restoration of media freedom, return of exiled leaders, visible presence of national and international election observers. But many problems continue to persist including the subservience of judiciary, partisanship of local governments and other state functionaries as well as the nagging memories of rightly or wrongly held notions that rulers would go to any length to hang on the authority and would twist and bend the elections rather than accept electoral defeat. It is nevertheless gratifying for researchers that the science of polling provides sensitive instruments to pickup changes in perceptions, and that the ordinary citizen of Pakistan is sufficiently objective in changing his and her perceptions when realities change.

Opinion Polls conducted only weeks before Election continue to produce nuanced perceptions on the coming event. In the recent Gallup Pakistan nationwide polls, the second of a two-part series, perception, intentions and inclinations to vote in the forthcoming Elections were questioned. More than 1300 men and women in all the four provinces of the country spanning cities, large and small towns and villages were questioned on February 9-10, 2008. The fieldwork was carried out face-to-face and the error margin is estimated to be in the range of $\pm 3-5\%$ at 95% confidence level. Details on the sample composition and methodology are provided at the end.

Note: In figures not adding up to 100%, the remaining are those, which did not respond, unless otherwise mentioned.

The polls addressed the following issues:

1. Voting Intention in the forthcoming Elections.
2. Voter Turnout on Polling Day
3. Public Perceptions on the Process of Civilianization
4. Public Perceptions on American Influence

WHO STANDS WHERE A WEEK BEFORE THE ELECTIONS

According to the survey a week prior to the election, it appears to be a strong contest between PPP and PML-N with PML-Q trailing behind the two. PPP does considerably better than PML-N in Sindh, Balochistan and to some extent in NWFP. But it is notably behind PML-N in the Punjab province. Since Punjab is the largest province (*nearly 55% of seats in the parliament*) this creates an interesting situation. While PPP is likely to score more votes nationally it may be neck and neck with PML-N in the seats in the parliament or even behind PML-N if the PML-N edge in Punjab becomes more decisive in the final week of the election. From the analysis of election campaigns of last five elections we know that the final week can be quite decisive. The end week does not make people switch voting loyalties yet it is decisive by way of success or failure of parties in mobilizing their own vote banks. In recent years both major parties had disgruntled and unhappy supporters. Would they rally back to the mother party in the last week of the campaign could be decisive. Another uncertainty to the very last day is the question of fear of violence on the Election Day. It seems to be deterring more voters in Punjab, the urban areas and women. Both PML-N and PML-Q are likely to be affected by low turn-out slightly more than PPP.

At an ALL PAKISTAN level and with various uncertainties still to play out, our barometer reading on party positions a week ahead of elections were PPP 35%, PML-N 25%, PML-Q 15%, while 15% support smaller parties and 10% remain undecided.

Looking at the PROVINCES, PML-N has a notable edge over PPP in PUNJAB standing at 38% against 28% for PPP and 22% for PML-Q. This edge of PML-N which could still move in either direction, will determine the outcome of the election.

The position in other provinces follows more traditional patterns with MQM dominating URBAN SINDH and PPP RURAL SINDH. In NWFP the vote is split between JUI/MMA, ANP, PPP and the two Muslim Leagues, as well as independent candidates. The survey indicates that both ANP and PPP are likely to perform better than in the previous elections; yet the outcome will be a split of seats among all four. BALOCHISTAN continues to be fragmented among various national and regional parties.

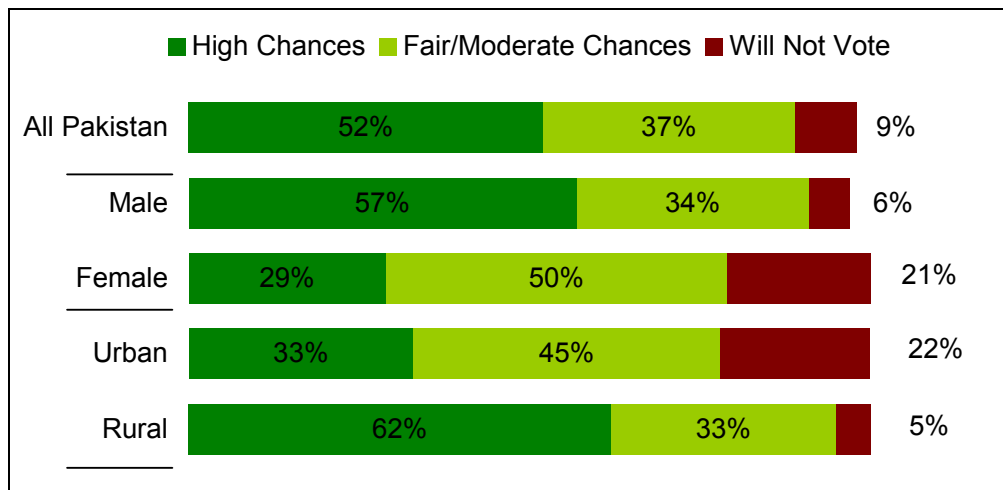
INTENTION TO VOTE (TURN-OUT):

When respondents were asked, “Given the circumstances, what are the chances that you will cast a vote in the Elections?” a majority says there are high (52%) or fair/moderate (37%) chances. Only 9 % say they will not cast a vote.

However, intentions to vote differed between men and women. While 57% of the male respondents say there are high chances that they will vote in the coming elections, the figure is only 29% among the female respondents. 21% of the women interviewed say they do not intend to vote at all.

Intention to vote was considerable higher in rural with 95% of the respondents saying there are high (62%) or fair (33%) chances they will vote, while respondents in urban areas were less inclined to vote. A considerably lower 78% say there are high (33%) or moderate (45%) chances of voting. 22% in urban areas say they will not cast a vote compared to only 5% in rural areas.

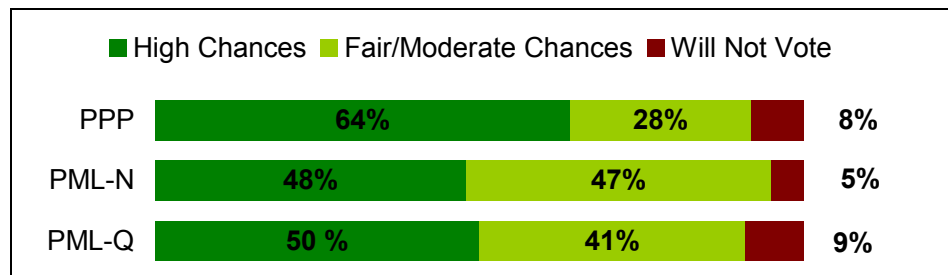
WHAT IS THE PROBABILITY THAT YOU WILL VOTE IN THE FORTHCOMING ELECTIONS?



Source: Gallup Pakistan, Surveys February 9-10, 2008

Among supporters of major political parties, the intention to vote also reflected interesting results. While more than 90% of the supporters of the three major political parties, PPP, PML-N, and PML-Q, are intending to cast their vote, there is a stronger resolution among PPP supporters, 64% of who say there are high chances they will vote in the coming elections, compared to 48% of PML-N and 50% of PML-Q.

CHANCES OF VOTING AMONG SUPPORTERS OF MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES

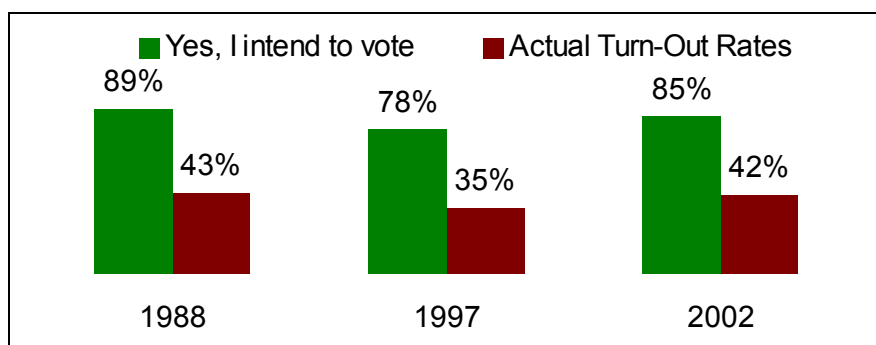


Source: Gallup Pakistan, Surveys February 9-10, 2008

Comparative data from previous elections shows that intention to vote has been considerably higher than the actual turnout rates. People are optimistic about their chances of voting but fairly few turn out on the polling day.

In previous election only about one half of those who showed intention to vote actually turned-out to vote. Given that background we can expect a low turn-out in the range of 30%.

INTENTION TO VOTE VS ACTUAL VOTE (1988-2002)

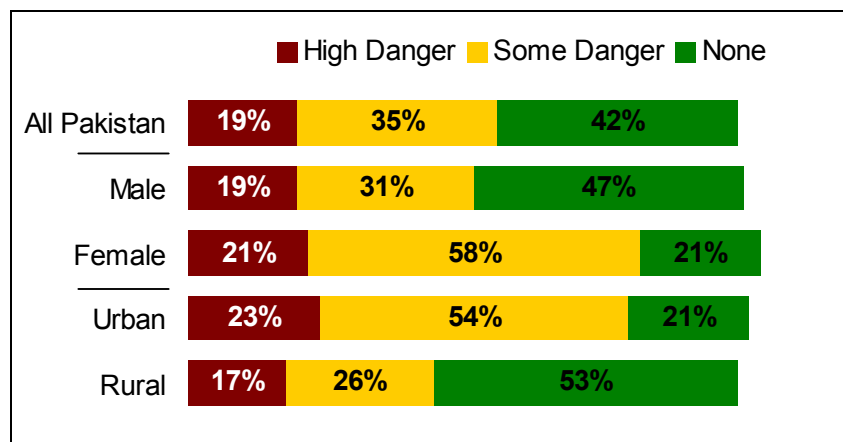


Sources: Gallup Pakistan, Surveys 1988-2002 (*Intention to Vote*)
Election Commission of Pakistan, 1988-2002 (*Turn-out Rates*)

EXPECTED VIOLENCE ON ELECTION DAY

Despite high intentions to vote, people fear that the elections day will be marked by violence. When national respondents were asked “In your view, is there a danger of riots and violence on Election Day” more than half say yes there is a lot (19%) or some (35%) danger of violence. 42% feel there is no danger at all. 4% did not answer this question.

“IN YOUR VIEW, IS THERE ANY DANGER OF RIOTS AND VIOLENCE ON ELECTION DAY?”



Source: Gallup Pakistan, Surveys February 9-10, 2008

Once again responses varied differently among women and men. While half (50%) the male respondents feel there was a lot (19%) or some (31%) danger of violence, among women the figure is as high as 79% expecting a lot (21%) or some (58%) danger of violence on Election Day. Only 21% female respondents feel there is no danger at all compared to more than twice as many among men (47%).

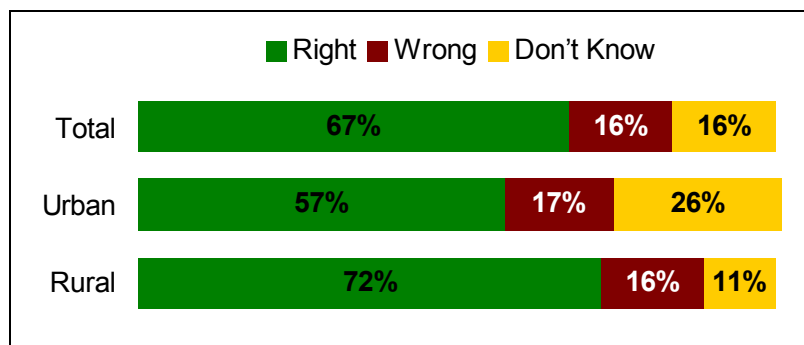
Similarly, expectation of violence on Election Day is lower among rural respondents than their urban counterparts. While only 43% expect a lot of some level of violence in rural areas (17%; 26%); in urban areas the figure is as high as 77% of the respondents expecting a lot or some level of violence (23%; 54%). Those expecting no violence at all are 53% in rural areas and only 21% in urban areas.

It would seem that the lower chances of voting among women and urban residents have some foundation in the high expectation of violence and rioting among these groups.

SUPPORT FOR CIVILIANIZATION

Recently, the new Chief of Army Staff, General Kiyani issued an order for army personnel serving in civilian institutions to return to the barracks. The general public has appreciated this move towards ‘civilianization’. When asked, “In your opinion, is the decision to call back army officers from civilian institutions the right decision”, a clear majority of 67% say yes. Only 16% disagree while 16% say they did not know. Support for this decision is higher among urban areas where 72% say yes, 16% say no, and 11% don’t know. In urban centers support rests at 67%, 17% disagree and 26% have not formed an opinion.

“IN YOUR OPINION, IS THE DECISION TO CALL BACK ARMY OFFICERS FROM CIVILIAN INSTITUTIONS THE RIGHT DECISION”



Source: Gallup Pakistan, Surveys February 9-10, 2008

AMERICAN INTERFERENCE IN NATIONAL POLITICS

When national respondents were asked, “In your view is America playing a good or bad role with reference to its remarks about Pakistan’s elections” 61% say bad, while only 19% say good. 18% say they did not know.

In response to another question, “In your view, is American support for Musharraf as the President good or bad for Pakistan?” 59% of the respondents say it is bad for Pakistan, while 29% say it is good. 16% say they do not know.

When asked, “Do you think Musharraf can remain the President of Pakistan if he does not have American support” 56% say no, 31% say yes while 13% say they do not know.

SAMPLE COMPOSITION

Total $\simeq$ 1300

BREAKDOWN

Province-wise

Punjab	n $\simeq$	725	(54%)
Sindh	n $\simeq$	350	(26%)
NWFP	n $\simeq$	175	(13%)
Balochistan	n $\simeq$	100	(7%)

Location-wise

Large Cities (over 2 million)	n $\simeq$	300	(23%)
Medium Cities (over half a million)	n $\simeq$	350	(27%)
Towns (Population 5000 plus)	n $\simeq$	400	(31%)
Villages	n $\simeq$	250	(19%)

Weighting:

The achieved sampled is re-weighted to correspond with the census distribution of provincial and urban rural segments of Pakistani Population.

Note: There is a slight variation in the achieved number of respondents from survey to survey. The approximate breakdown (generally within 2-3% variation) is given above

Sampling Methodology

The finding are based on a national sample comprising a cross-section of Pakistani men and women age 18+, belonging to all provinces of Pakistan, its large and medium cities, towns and villages according to the approximate sizes noted above. The achieved sample is re-weighted to correspond with the census distribution of provincial and urban rural segments of Pakistani population. The sample was selected through multi-stage area probability sampling. The error margin for a sample of this type would be approximately $\pm 3-5\%$ at 95% confidence level. Fieldwork was carried out face to face during on February 9-10, 2008.