



DEMOCRACY THREATENED BY THE STICKY CHARGE OF CORRUPTION

VIEWS ARE DIVIDED ON ISLAMABAD LOCK –UP : MAJORITY IS OPPOSED 63:37%

See latest poll conducted between October 16-22 on page 13

FOUR POINT PUBLIC PULSE: 2016

- **Democracy**
- **Development**
- **Corruption**
- **Political Calculus**



October 28th, 2016





METHODOLOGY

The study was released by **Gilani Research Foundation** and carried out by **Gallup Pakistan**, the Pakistani affiliate of Gallup International. The recent surveys quoted in this Report were carried out, face to face among “*nationally representative samples*” of approximately 1800 men and women in rural and urban areas of all four provinces of the country, during the year 2016, unless specified otherwise. **Error margin is estimated to be approximately $\pm 2-3$ per cent at 95% confidence level.** The latest poll quoted in the Report was conducted among a sample of 1568 men and women during **October 16-22, 2016.**

Further details can be available on request :

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Disclaimer: Gallup Pakistan has conducted this poll according to the ESOMAR Code of Ethics and internationally recognized principles of scientific polling. The results in this Report do not represent views held by the authors or Gallup Pakistan. The results only represent public opinion, computed on the basis of views expressed by anonymous respondents selected through the procedure outlined in the Methodology section of this Report.

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Commentary and Analysis by Dr. Ijaz Shafi Gilani
Chairman, Gallup Pakistan

**FIVE YEARS OF DEMOCRACY UNDER TWO DEMOCRATICALLY
ELECTED GOVERNMENTS: (2011-16): 4 point diagnostic test.**
SYNOPSIS

Even though trust in the institutions of democracy, parliament and political parties has notably risen over the last 5 years, the political class continues to suffer from persistent charges of financial corruption. These conflicting images cause a stalemate on their popular legitimacy.

This public pulse report captures the latest opinion on support and opposition for Imran Khan's protest to lock down Islamabad, and places it within the broader context of Democracy, Development, Corruption and the emerging Political Calculus.

This analysis and the accompanying Tables provide further details.

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

1. Trust in Political Institutions is on the rise

Conventional wisdom notwithstanding, polls show quite conclusively that trust in all institutions in Pakistan, including parliament and the political class has been rising steadily, during the last five year.

As is true across the world (including US and other mature democracies) Military and Religious leaders in Pakistan are, and continue to be, the two most trusted entities. But the Parliament and Political leaders, as a class, are catching up.

2. Image on Corruption did not prevent rise of trust in the political class

Given that the top political leadership and Members of the parliament are seen as complicit in corruption revealed through Panama leaks (Tables #3.1 -3.4), our finding on rising trust in the parliament and of political leadership will take many analysts by surprise. But the finding is corroborated by surveys done over the years by several independent polling organizations.



STALEMATE ON THE LEGITIMACY OF POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

Nawaz Sharif is seen as complicit in Panama leaks by 65%, whereas Imran Khan is seen as guilty of concealing offshore companies as well. 62 % accuse him on offshore holding companies. His party leaders are believed to be guilty of corruption by 78 %, just as 71 % believe that the Sharif family is tainted by corruption charges attributed to them in Panama leaks (Table#3).

Corruption charges on political leaders not only by their political opponents but also by a sizeable member of their own voters. However, it does not lead them to switch their voting decision, or to walk away from their view on choosing between democracy and its alternatives.

CONFLICTING PERCEPTIONS ON PERSONAL AND PUBLIC FINANCES

The rising trust in parliament is also related to Perception of prosperity: 45% believe their financial conditions have improved over the last year, only 21% believe it has deteriorated. But views on the national economy are skeptical and polarized. While 48% are hopeful that national economy will improve during the next year, 51% are skeptical and believe it will deteriorate. These conflicting perceptions between personal and public finances contribute to a continuing stalemate in the popularity of the democratic government.

ELECTORAL CALCULUS

The political calculus of who would poll how much if the elections were held today remains somewhat static since the time of the last election held in 2013.

The change in political intentions and the vote bank of top 3 political parties has remained stable within the error margin of +/- 4% during this period. We have therefore reproduced the size of their vote banks in 2013. Our research shows no notable deviation from it in the latest straw polls on the subject.



CONSOLIDATED RESULT OF FOUR POINT PULSE:

Diagnosis #1: DEMOCRACY SUPPORT LEVEL:

Signs: Healthy and improving. Threatened by sticky charges of Corruption.

Diagnosis #2: DEVELOPMENT PERCEPTIONS:

Personal Finances: Positive Signs

National Finance: Mixed Signs tilted towards skepticism.

Diagnosis #3: CORRUPTION IN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICIANS:

Signs show chronic illness. The Perception that most politician, specially those in ruling party, are corrupt is persistent and sticky.

Diagnosis #4: POLITICAL CALCULUS:

Considering simultaneous signs of health and sickness in 3 diagnostics, the fourth, that is, Political calculus registers two types of stalemates: **Firstly**, between top 3 political forces, as there is no shift in their relative rating. **Secondly**, there is no evidence of change in the continuing stalemate between competitive democracy and its alternatives. Neither is giving way.

BOTTOMLINE:

1. There is a stalemate in the political calculus as far as it relates to popular opinions.
2. While politics is embedded in public opinion, its dynamics do not solely rest on it. The political or electoral stalemate in popular opinion may or may not reflect itself in the broader political calculus of the country.



TOPIC 1

Democracy



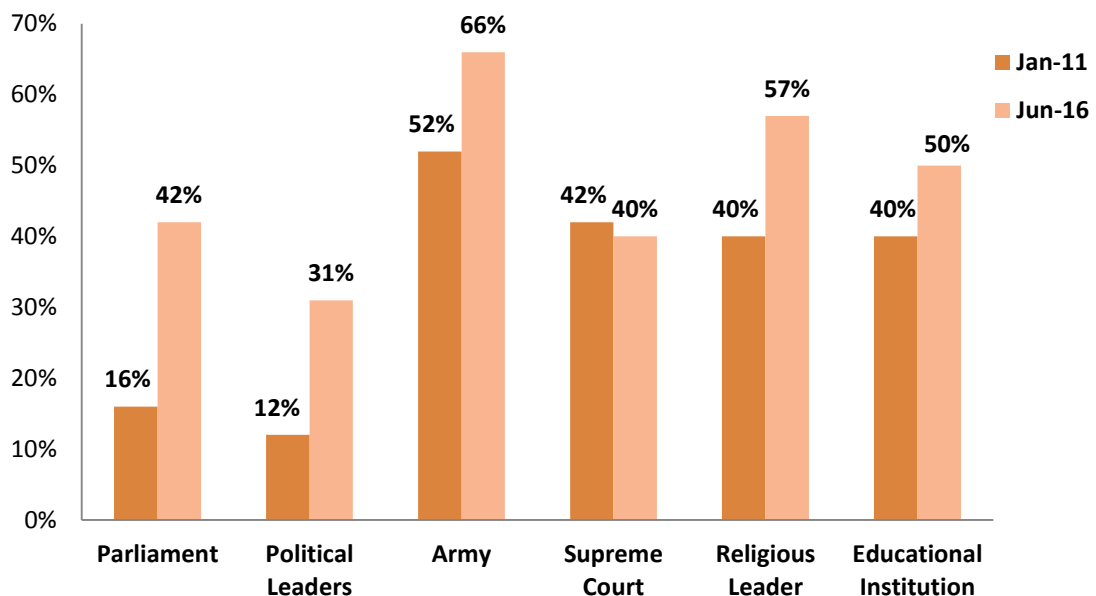
Item 1.1

TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS OF SOCIETY, STATE AND GOVERNMENT

Question: **What is your opinion about the performance of following institutions during the last year?**

	<i>Positive Score (Very high plus high)</i>	
	January 2011	June 2016
National Assembly/Parliament	16%	42%
Political Leaders	12%	31%
Army	52%	66%
Supreme Court	42%	40%
Religious Leaders	40%	57%
Educational Institutions	40%	50%

TREND DATA UPWARD SHIFT IN 5 YEARS (2011-16)



Source: Gilani Research Foundation polls conducted by Gallup Pakistan (2011-16)



INTERPRETATION

Contrary to Conventional Wisdom
TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS OF DEMOCRACY HAS BEEN RISING

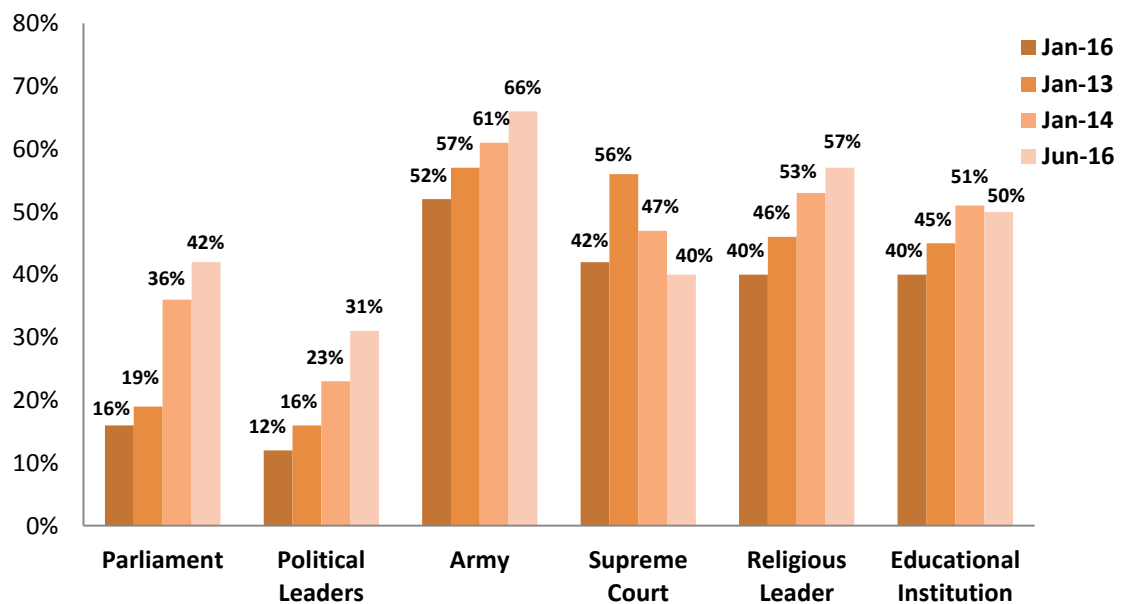
The following Table shows that this trend began during PPP led government and continued through PML-N led government

TREND IS VALID ACROSS TWO DIFFERENT DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVERNMENTS:

PPP led (2011-13); PML-N led (2011-16)

	Positive Score (Very high plus high)			
	January 2011	January 2013	January 2014	June 2016
National Assembly/Parliament	16%	19%	36%	42%
Political Leaders	12%	16%	23%	31%
Army	52%	57%	61%	66%
Supreme Court	42%	56%	47%	40%
Religious Leader	40%	46%	53%	57%
Educational Institution	40%	45%	51%	50%

UPWARD SHIFT ACROSS TWO GOVERNMENTS

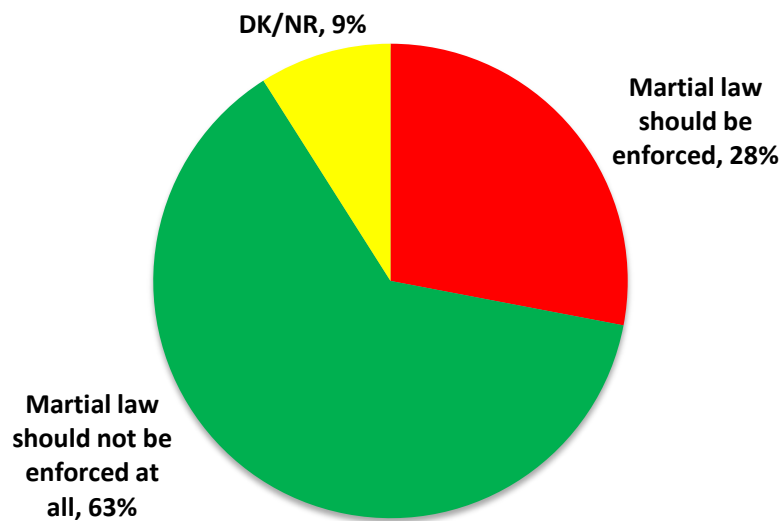


Source: Gilani Research Foundation polls conducted by Gallup Pakistan (2011-16)

Item 1.2

MARTIAL LAW DOES NOT ATTRACT PAKISTANI MAJORITY

Question: Some people believe that martial law was better than the painful process of democracy and elections. Others think martial law is a curse and it should never happen again. What is your opinion?



Source: Gilani Research Foundation polls conducted by Gallup Pakistan, October 2016

INTERPRETATION

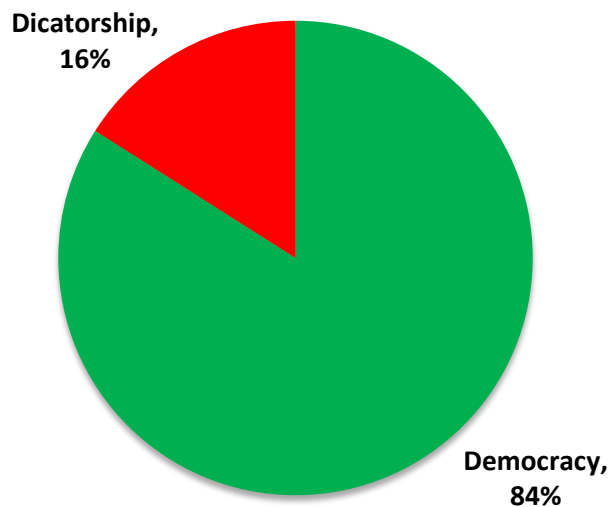
Despite the fact that corruption charges stick heavily in public perception, against the ruling Prime Minister, his family members as well as leaders in the opposition, (see Tables ahead), the prospect of Martial law does not attract Pakistani majority.



Item 1.3

DEMOCRACY PREFERRED OVER DICTATORSHIP

Question: (If you were to choose) Which would you prefer: democracy or dictatorship?



Source: Gilani Research Foundation polls conducted by Gallup Pakistan, May 2016

INTERPRETATION

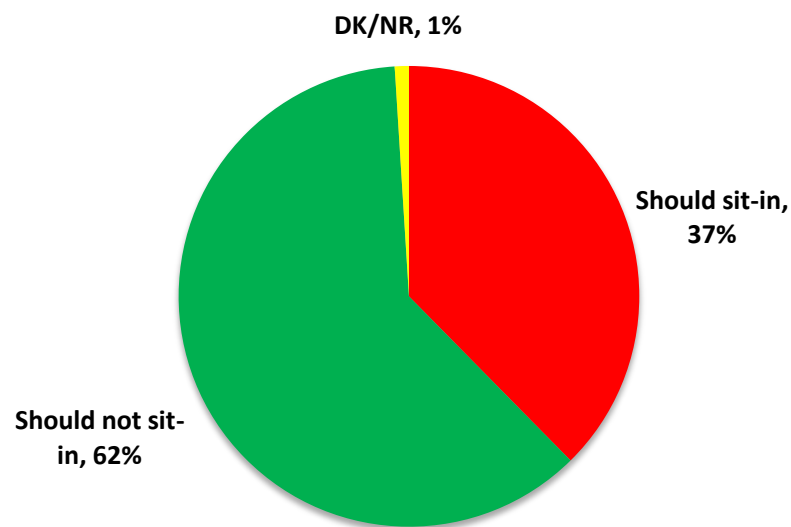
PAKSTANIS CONSISTENTLY PREFER DEMOCRACY OVER DICTATORSHIP. MILITARY RULE OR “AUTHORITARIAN PERSONALITY CULT” HAS NEVER PROSPERED DURING 70 YEARS OF PAKISTANI HISTORY (1947-2016).

Unlike several other countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and even Europe no military rule sustained in Pakistan for over a decade. Military rule in Pakistan (1958) began alongside Egypt (few years earlier), Iraq (same year), Syria (few years later). But while none of them was able to return to pluralistic and competitive democracy to this day, Pakistan’s first military rule lasted for ten years (1958-68) and two successive martial laws (1973, 1999) were unable to outlast the duration of the first tenure.

Item 1.4

VIEWS ARE DIVIDED ON 'ISLAMABAD LOCK-UP' **Majority is opposed 62%: 37%**

Question: Some people say: Now that the Supreme Court has sent notice to the Prime Minister and related persons on the issue of Panama Leaks, Imran Khan should not hold the sit-in in Islamabad, while some say that Imran Khan should hold the sit-in. What is your opinion?



*Opposition to lock-up/sit-in is highest among PPP voters (78%) followed by PML-N voters (70%)
Source: Gilani Research Foundation polls conducted by Gallup Pakistan, October 2016*

INTERPRETATION

MAJORITY IS OPPOSED TO DISRUPTION AND RESPECTS THE JUDICIARY AS AN ARBITER

Among the voters of various parties, PPP voters are most opposed to lock-up (78) % followed by PML-N voters (70) %. Support is highest among PTI voters (78) %. Opposition to lock-up is lowest among PTI workers (22%). Among them 78% support the lock-up.



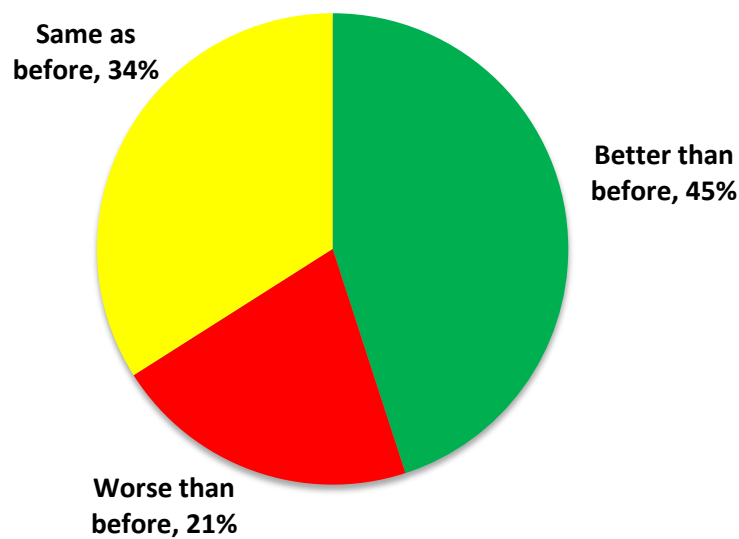
TOPIC 2

Development

Item 2.1

PERCEPTIONS ON PERSONAL PROSPERITY: Majority is positive

Question: (Personal Finances) Keeping your financial status in consideration, please tell us whether your family's personal financial status during the last one year has improved, worsened or stayed the same as during the previous year?



Source: Gilani Research Foundation polls conducted by Gallup Pakistan, August 2016

NET POSITIVE: Positive (45%) minus Negative (21%)

+ 34%

INTERPRETATION

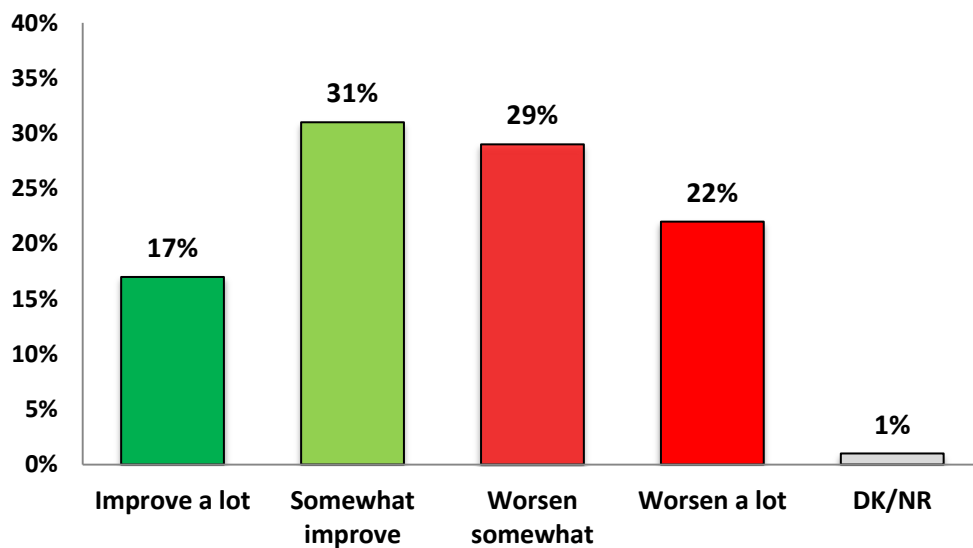
MAJORITY GIVES POSITIVE FEELINGS ABOUT IMPROVEMENTS IN PERSONAL FINANCES DURING THE LAST ONE YEAR

45% say personal finances have improved. 34% say there is no change, while 21% believe they are worse off compared to a year ago.

Item 2.2

PERCEPTIONS ON NATIONAL ECONOMY: Skepticism narrowly prevails over hope

Question: (National Economy) Keeping your country's business and economic conditions in mind, would you say that Pakistan's business or economic conditions will improve, worsen or stay the same in the next 12 months?



Source: Gilani Research Foundation polls conducted by Gallup Pakistan, August 2016

NET POSITIVE: Positive (48%) minus Negative (51%)

-3%

COMBINED INTERPRETATION ON PERSONAL AND PUBLIC FINANCES

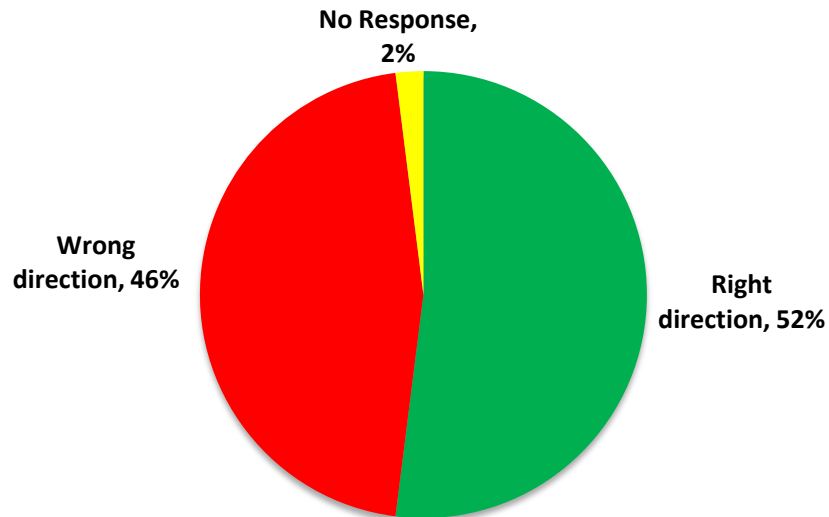
NET POSITIVE ON PERSONAL PROSPERITY (+34%) DESPITE DIVIDED VIEWS ON PROGRESS IN NATIONAL ECONOMY (-3%)

Despite positive experience in personal finances over the last one year (net positive +34%), there is skepticism about the prospects of progress in the national economy, 48% see bright prospects, but 51% see bleak prospects producing a net negative of 3%. It shows public discourse produces a bleaker image than personal experience. This is another reason for our analysis that there is a stalemate in political calculus regarding support for political parties as well as the political system.

Item 2.3

DIRECTION OF THE COUNTRY

Question: **(Direction of the Country) On the whole, is Pakistan heading in the right direction or wrong direction?**



Source: Gilani Research Foundation polls conducted by Gallup Pakistan, August 2016

INTERPRETATION

SHARP RISE IN POSITIVE VIEW ABOUT DIRECTION OF THE COUNTRY

Over a period of 3 years, positive view on direction of the country has risen from a low of 15% in April 2013 to a high of 52% during the second half of 2016.



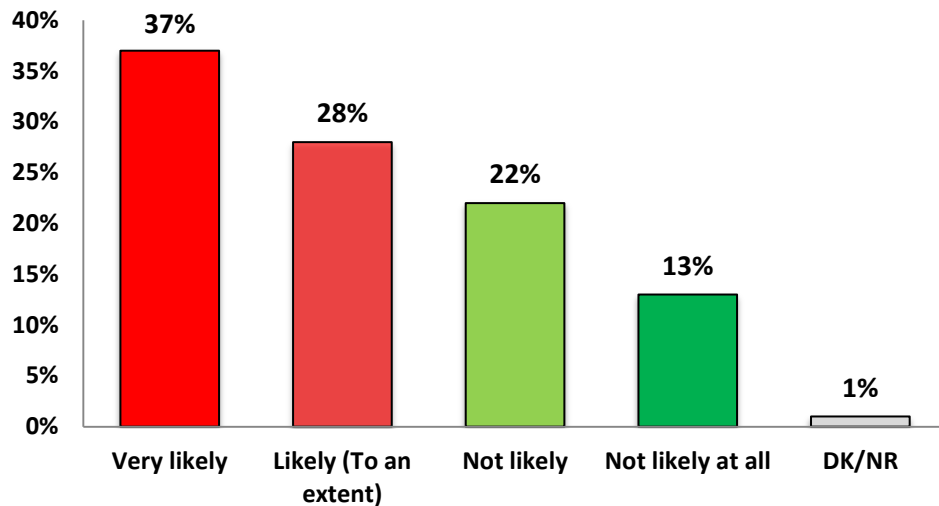
TOPIC 3

Corruption

Item 3.1

65% BELIEVE IN THE 'PANAMA LEAK' COURRUPTION CHARGE AGAINST THE PM; 71% BELIEVE THE SAME FOR HIS FAMILY

Question: **Kindly please tell how likely do you think it is that the prime minister is himself involved in corruption?**

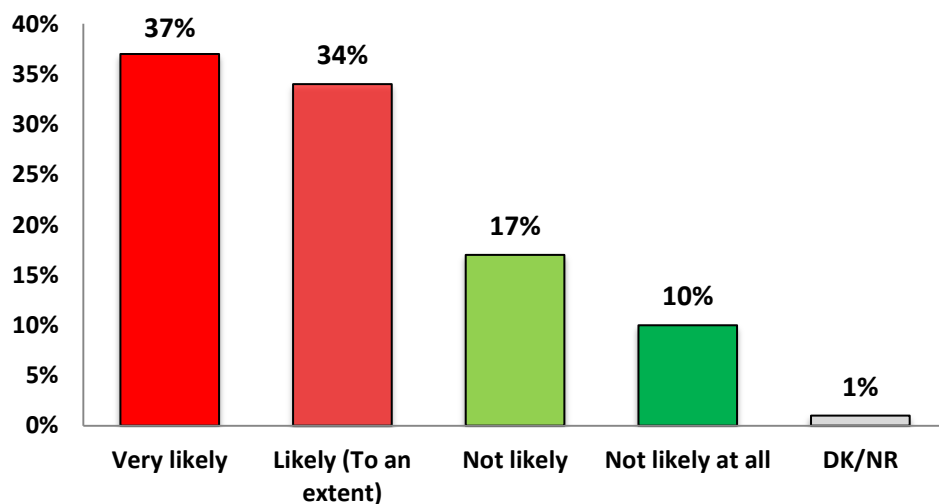


Among PML-N's own voters 39% charge Nawaz Sharif on this charge.

Source: Gilani Research Foundation polls conducted by Gallup Pakistan, August 2016

Item 3.2

Question: **Kindly please tell how likely do you think it is that the prime minister's relatives are involved in corruption?**



Among PML-N's own voters 52% charge Sharif family on this charge

Source: Gilani Research Foundation polls conducted by Gallup Pakistan, August 2016

(Interpretation of both items on following page)



INTERPRETATION

THROUGHOUT THEIR POLITICAL CAREER (1985-2016)

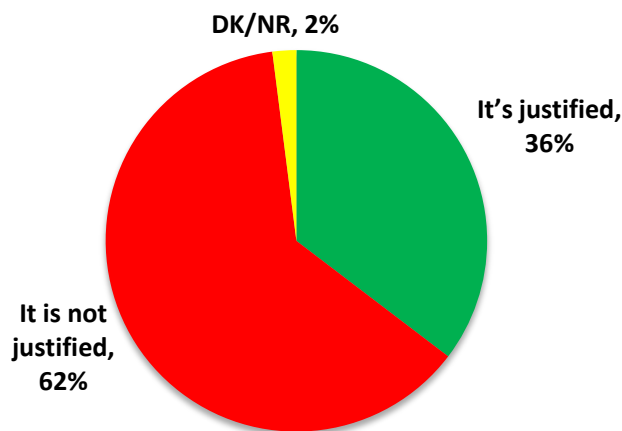
PM AND HIS FAMILY HAS FAILED TO WASH AWAY THE IMAGE OF 'FINANCIAL CORRUPTION'

Despite their consistent rise in Pakistan's electoral politics for three decades, PM Nawaz Sharif and his family has failed to wash away the image of financial corruption. The image is strong enough to affect their vote bank. Thus 39% of those intending to vote for PML-N, nevertheless believe in Panama Leak related corruption charges, lower than the national average of 65%, but still considerable. The sticking of corruption does not necessarily weaken their legitimacy against competing politicians because most of those in the big league suffer from the same syndrome. Hence it does not affect electoral calculus. But the charge and its legitimacy among own and competing voters becomes quite lethal when they are pitted against political options which periodically appear as alternatives to competitive democracy led by civilian politicians.

Item 3.3

62% ACCUSE IMRAN KHAN DENIAL ON OFFSHORE COMPANIES; 78% ACCUSE PTI LEADER JAHANGIR TAREEN'S DEFENCE ON BANK LOANS WRITE-OFF

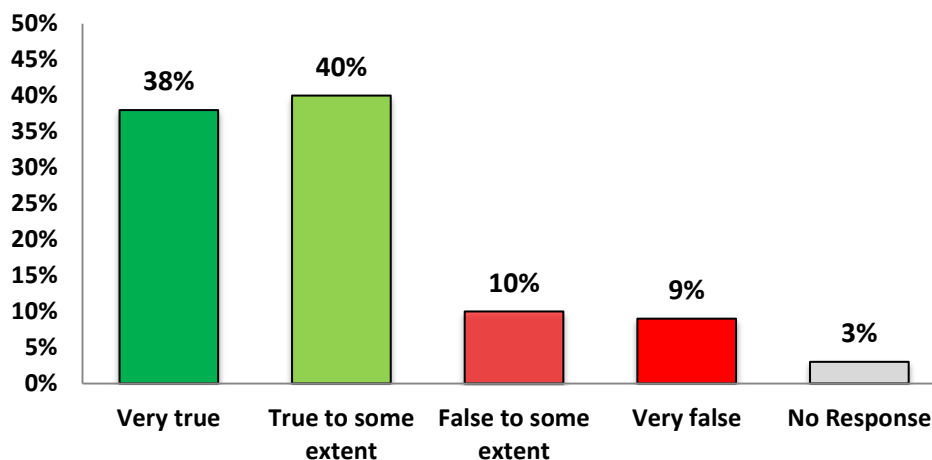
Question: (With reference to Panama Leaks, what is your view on Imran Khan's stance on off shore companies?) He says that he formed these companies to save taxes on his cricket income and he had the right to form these companies because he was not a British citizen. Do you think Imran Khan's stance about saving taxes is justified or not?



Source: Gilani Research Foundation polls conducted by Gallup Pakistan, May 2016

Item 3.4

Question: Recently PLM N has put blame on Jahagnir Tarin, member of PTI, of having his loans excused from various banks. Please describe the extent to which you think these allegations are true?



Source: Gilani Research Foundation polls conducted by Gallup Pakistan, May 2016

(Interpretation of both items on following page)



INTERPRETATION

AS IMRAN KHAN JOINS THE BIG LEAGUE OF POLITICIANS, CHARGES OF FINANCIAL CORRUPTION BEGIN TO HAUNT HIM AND HIS POLITICAL COLLEAGUES

The history of Pakistan's competitive politics shows that the charge of financial corruption is endemic to it. There is considerable evidence to support the veracity of the charge, but some to challenge and put it in perspective as well. The political battles on it have generally suffered from opportunism, such as the one successively calling for "accountability before elections", a popular slogan during 1990s; as well as unfair reliance on partisan platforms for justice rather than serious recourse to fair legal process. A non-partisan and non-righteous soul searching is critical for sustained life of competitive democracy in Pakistan.



TOPIC 4

Political Calculus



Item 4.1

ELECTORAL CALCULUS

The political calculus of who would poll how much if the elections were held today remains somewhat static since the time of the last election held in 2013.

The change in political intentions and the vote bank of top 3 political parties has remained stable within the error margin of +/- 4% during this period. We have therefore reproduced the size of their vote banks in 2013. Our research shows no notable deviation from it in the latest straw polls on the subject.

Voting Intentions in **2013** and **Now** (All Pakistan)

	Votes%
PML-N	33%
PTI	17%
PPP	15%
Independent	14%
All Others	21%
Total	100%

Source: Votes polled by various parties in the National Elections 2013 : Gallup Pakistan Digital Library on Elections (www.gallup.com.pk)

All Others include MQM, JUI, JI, Regional Parties, Muslim Leagues other than PML-N.



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