



Special Press Release

GALLUP PAKISTAN ELECTORAL REPOSITORY DEMOGRAPHIC DIVIDE IN PAKISTANI VOTING POLITICS Issue # 1

2013 Elections Exit Poll: The edge of victory of PML-N over PTI declined as education and income level of voters rose, and hiked for voters among the older age cohorts. Gallup Pakistan

Islamabad, July 18, 2017

Introduction to the series on Gallup Pakistan Electoral Repository:

This press release is part of a special press release that aims to provide the readers interesting findings from Gallup Pakistan's electoral database. Empirical analysis of elections in Pakistan is quite restricted and the Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll, on which this press release is based, is the only Exit Poll in the country providing a window into the minds of Voters on issues like who voted for whom and why? The Gallup Pakistan Electoral Repository program aims to fill this void of dearth of data in anticipation of the 11th General Elections in the country. The press releases, as part of this programme, are geared towards academics and policy makers as well as voters for the next general and provincial elections. For more information on the programme please contact Gallup Pakistan (isb@gallup.com.pk).

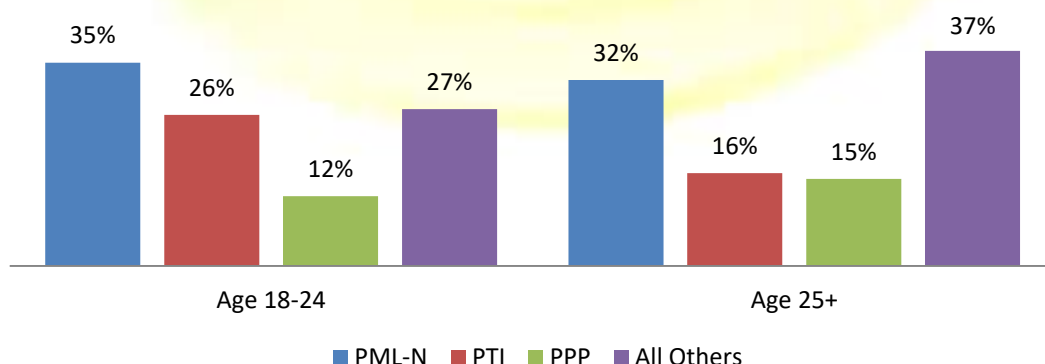
Abstract

This particular press release provides an overview of the demographic divide amongst voters in the previous election of 2013. Findings on demographic divide indicate how voter behavior varies among different education and income levels, across different age groups, for different genders. Comparing voter behavior over these can help policymakers understand the implications of low education and income levels on political processes. It can also help understand how voters' influence on election results varies across different age groups and gender.

Age-Wise Voter Behavior: PTI had a considerably higher share of new voters

On the Election Day in 2013, Gallup Pakistan in its Exit Poll asked a representative sample of over 4000 voters, who they had voted for and a list of demographic questions. Among voters over 25 years of age, PML-N's edge of victory over PTI was **16%** points. Among those that were under 25 years of age, this edge was reduced to **9%** points only. Moreover, further analysis revealed that PTI had a considerably higher share of new voters (Age 18-24).

One of the key take-away of the present press release is that age and education remained the greatest fault-line in the decision on who voted for whom in the 2013 elections.

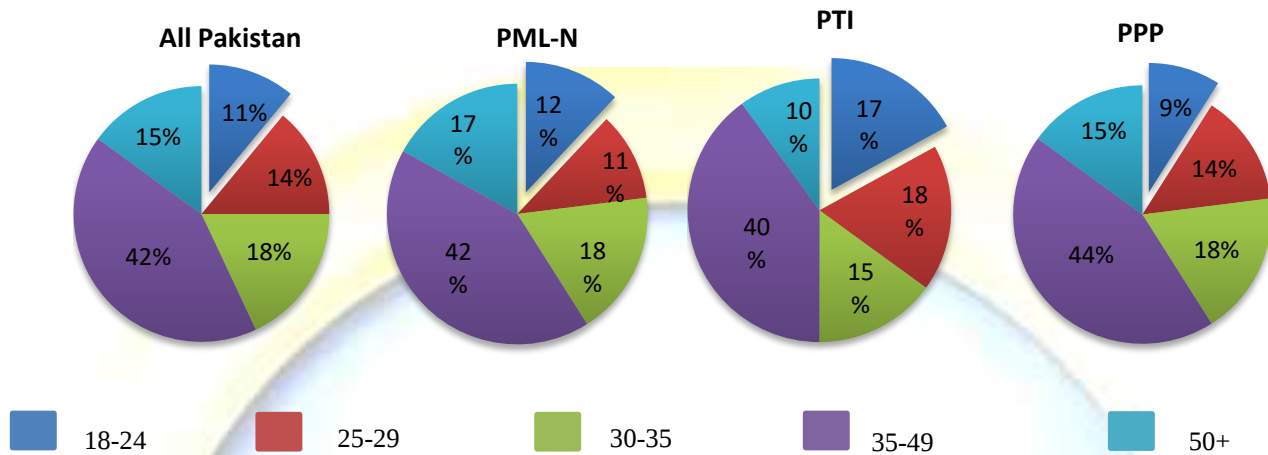


Source: Gilani's Index of Electoral Record, based on Gallup Exit Poll data computed by Gallup Pakistan



The vote bank of all three leading parties varied significantly in age composition. PML-N and PPP roughly had similar age composition, whereas PTI had a larger youth vote bank.

Age Composition of Party Voters: 2013 General Elections Results



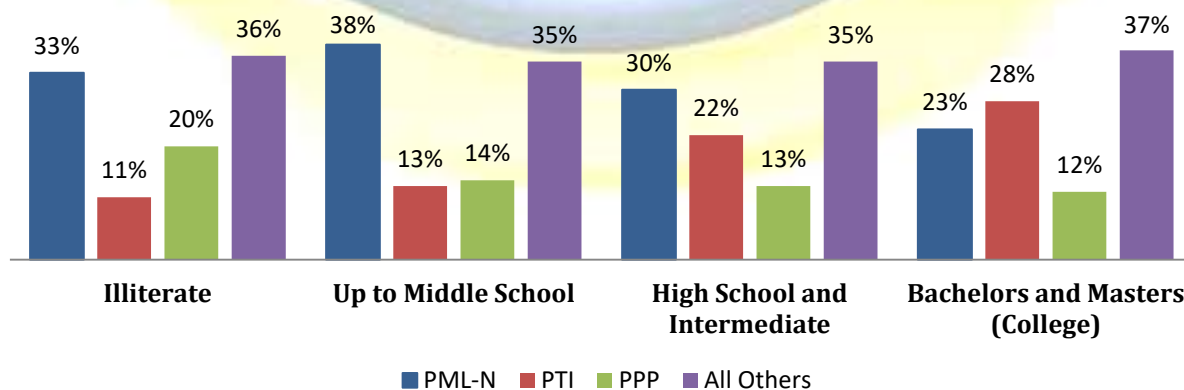
Source: Gilani's Index of Electoral Record, based on Gallup Exit Poll data computed by Gallup Pakistan

Younger Voters Making all the Difference that Counts - Comparison with other Countries:

A comparative analysis between voter demographics observed during Pakistani elections of 2013 with German federal elections 2013 and Indian elections of 2014 reveal some interesting results. In 2014, about half of India's population was under the age of 26, and between the last general elections (2009) and 2014, roughly 100 million new voters were added to the electorate.¹ These new voters were central to Narendra Modi's victory in 2014. In comparison, a large proportion of first-time electorates in Pakistan voted for PTI in the general elections of 2013, however, PML-N's victory was driven primarily by voters between 35-50 years of age. German Bundestag elections of 2013 also observed a similar trend, with older voters having a significantly more pronounced influence on election results.²

Education-Wise Voter Behavior: PTI beat PML-N in the college-educated cohort in Pakistan

The edge of victory by PML-N over PTI declined as educational category of voter rose. Among the least educated, PML-N won by 22% points; among the college educated, it lost by 5%.



Source: Gilani's Index of Electoral Record, based on Gallup Exit Poll data computed by Gallup Pakistan

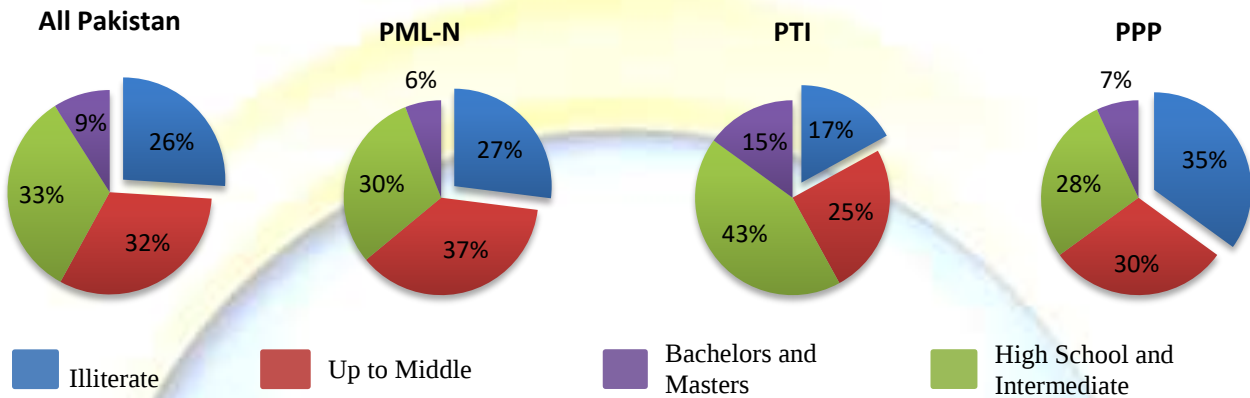
¹ <http://www.if.org.uk/2014/05/24/indias-election-shows-the-power-of-youth/>

² https://www.destatis.de/EN/PressServices/Press/pr/2014/01/PE14_031_141.html



As a general trend, PPP and PML-N vote bank had a notably higher share of illiterate voters. PTI vote bank had a higher share of college educated voters compared to the others.

Educational Composition of Party Voters: 2013 General Elections Results



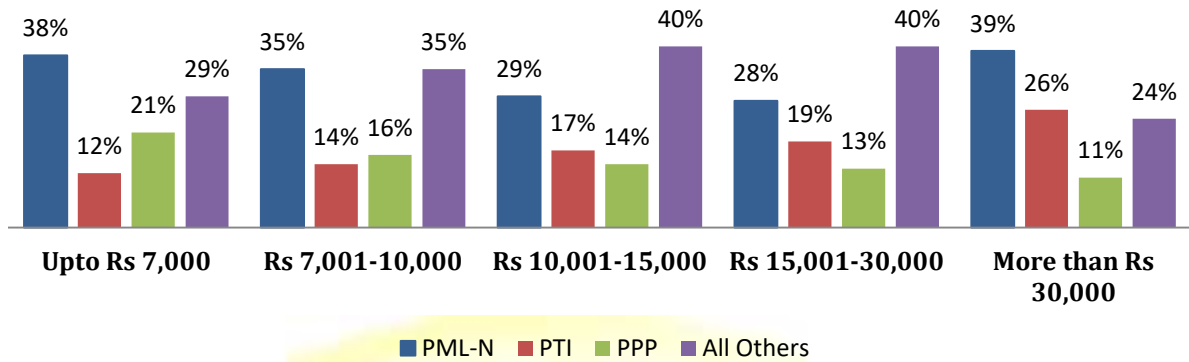
Source: Gilani's Index of Electoral Record, based on Gallup Exit Poll data computed by Gallup Pakistan

The college-educated class in Pakistan primarily resides in urban areas. It is therefore, in retrospect, quite understandable that when election rigging accusations were raised, the urban educated class raised their voices in unison because the party that they had voted for so overwhelmingly had suffered defeat at the national level. For these urban educated young voters, election 2013 was a huge disappointment and, to a certain extent, a reason for despair about elections and democratic set up as a whole. The Dharna Politics, with avid support from this class of voters, calling for, in subtle and not-so-subtle ways for the entire democratic set-up to be extirpated, was one sign of this despair.

Furthermore, Bilal I Gilani, Executive Director of Gallup Pakistan and a Political Scientist by training adds, "A careful analysis of the Exit Poll data by the ruling PML-N would have clearly outlined that although PML-N had a considerable lead over the runner up party i.e PTI, the electorate was deeply divided when it came to age and education. The urban educated youth had in fact voted not for PML-N but for PTI. In other words, if we were a country of only undergraduate educated and 18-24 Males from urban areas, PTI would have been the ruling party. For winning the election, disregarding this segment was not an issue but for governing the country with legitimacy, alienation of such a group would prove to be problematic. I would opine that the rather unstable character of the present PML-N government over the past 4 years is largely due to the lack of a strategy by PML-N for encouraging these voters. For the upcoming 2018 elections, disregarding the educated youth's concerns and hopes could prove to be both an electoral problem as well as a post-election issue of governance."

Income-Wise Voter Behavior: PML-N and PPP had a higher share of very poor voters

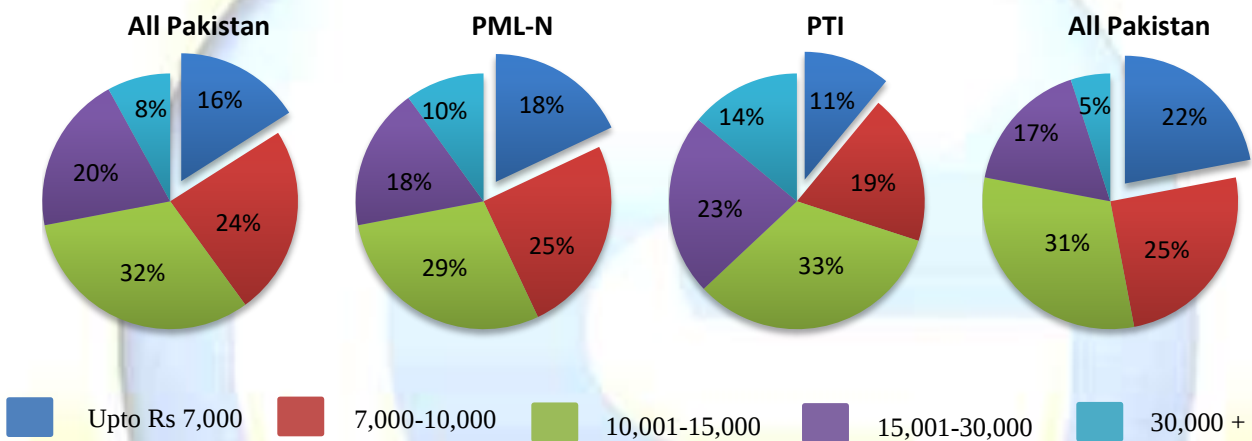
Among the bottom two income groups, PML-N won by 23% points; among the top two income categories, the margin of victory reduced to 10% only.



Source: Gilani's Index of Electoral Record, based on Gallup Exit Poll data computed by Gallup Pakistan

PML-N and PPP had higher share of the very poor voters. PTI vote bank had a higher share of upper income groups, followed by PML-N.

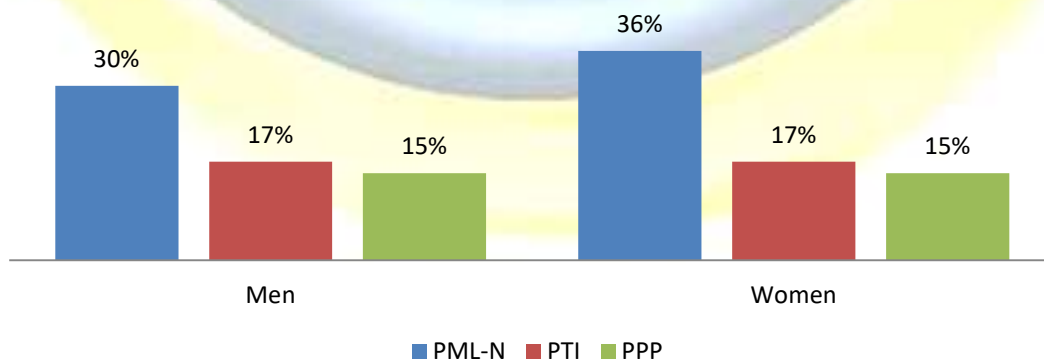
Income Composition of Party Voters: 2013 General Elections Results



Source: Gilani's Index of Electoral Record, based on Gallup Exit Poll data computed by Gallup Pakistan

Gender-Wise Voter Behavior: PML-N and PPP vote banks had a slightly higher share of women compared to PTI

Edge of victory by PML-N over PTI was **19%** among women. Among men, this margin reduced to **13%** only.

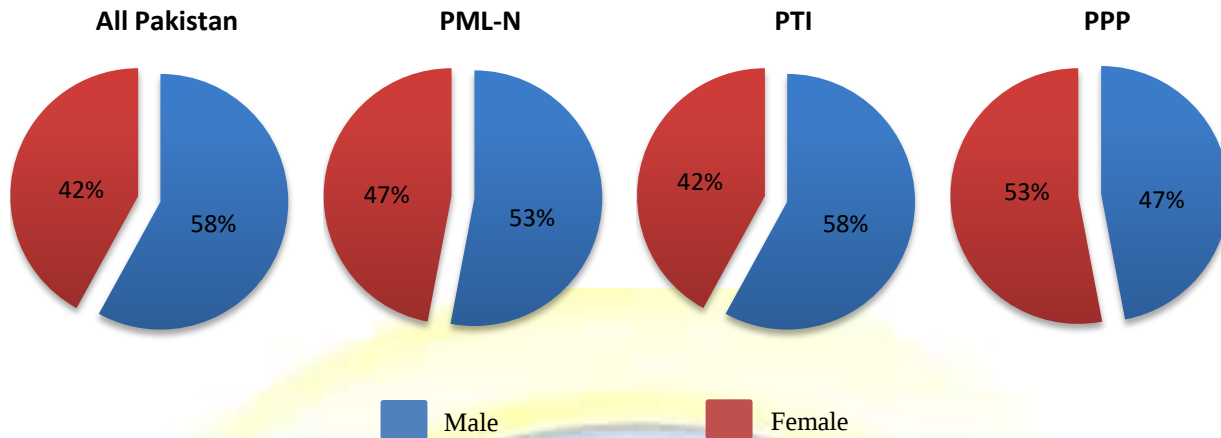


Source: Gilani's Index of Electoral Record, based on Gallup Exit Poll data computed by Gallup Pakistan

PML-N and PPP vote banks had a higher share of women compared to PTI.



Gender Composition of Party Voters: 2013 Elections in Pakistan



Source: Gilani's Index of Electoral Record, based on Gallup Exit Poll data computed by Gallup Pakistan

Gallup Pakistan Electoral Repository: An Introduction

The Gallup Pakistan Electoral Repository is comprised of the following sources:

1. Election Commission data on past 10 elections in Pakistan, available over each constituency. This data was acquired from Election Commission website and converted into digital database in SPSS form and is now referred to as Gilani Index of Electoral Record.
2. Gallup Exit Polls for every election since 1985.
3. Gallup pre and post-election survey record since 1985.
4. Analysis by Dr. Ijaz Shafi Gilani on elections piece by piece, as well as in combined form.

For complete access to reports or the Gallup Electoral Database, please visit the following links:

<http://gallup.com.pk/polls/gallup-pakistan-digital-libraries/digital-library-pakistan-elections/>

For definition of Gallup Electoral Territories, please visit the following link: <http://gallup.com.pk/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Gallup-Pakistan-Electoral-Repository-3.pdf>

Gallup Pakistan Electoral Repository Team:

Overall Direction: Bilal I. Gilani, Executive Director, Gallup Pakistan

Other Team Members: Amnah Imtiaz, Fatima Aamir and Noon Un Nisa Shahid

For more survey data, see website www.gallup.com.pk or write to Ms. Amnah Imtiaz at amnah.imtiaz@gallup.com.pk

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