



Special Press Release

Rural Punjab Vote switch away from PML-N as opposed to urban middle class exodus main reason for PML-N defeat in Punjab and Pakistan in GE 2018: Gallup Pakistan Data Analytics

Islamabad: According to Gallup Pakistan Data Analytics team working on the digitised results of Election 2018, contrary to expectations, PML-N's performance was better than its archival PTI in urban Punjab, whereas PTI performed much better in rural areas as compared to urban areas.

Gallup Pakistan Data base of Polling Stations

Gallup Pakistan Data analytics team has compiled and triangulated the Census 2017 information on to publicly released Election Commission Polling station data and categorised polling stations into urban and rural areas. The Election 2018 results comprised of 142 National Assembly Seats of Punjab, however our analysis covers the data on votes casted for 137 National Assembly Seats of Punjab, and overall 96.5% of NAs have been covered in this report whereas 3.5% have not been covered. This report aims to present findings emerged from the analysis done on Punjab province and votes casted in urban and rural polling stations.

This is first of a series of Press Release Gallup Data Analytics team aims to release based on the Election 2018 data sets created.

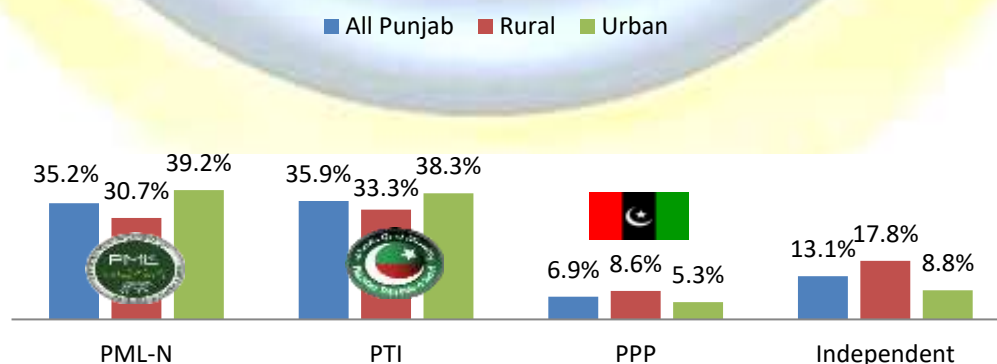
PML-N outperforms PTI in urban Punjab debunking the myth that urban middle class brought PTI to power

Contrary to expectations, PML-N performed better than PTI in urban areas, where PMLN secured 39.2% of total National Assembly votes while PTI secured 38.3% of the total National Assembly votes. The usual narrative regarding PTI is that it is a party of urban educated middle class and PML-N is a party of rural supporters. The results represented here however, present a completely different picture. Just to convey the point, if elections were held in urban Punjab only, PTI would not have been able to outperform PML-N.

Rural Punjab votes PTI to Power

As opposed to this in rural Punjab, PTI performed better than PML-N by almost a 3% margin. It should be remembered that in Punjab, in terms of popular vote PML-N and PTI were a virtual tie. In other words, PTI's performance in rural areas of Punjab was better than its Punjab wide performance.

Figure 1: Total all Punjab votes received by each party in Rural and Urban Polling Stations for National Assembly seats- General Election 2018



Source: Gallup Pakistan Data Analytics on Election Commission of Pakistan Data 2018



Independents are an important force in rural Punjab with nearly 1 in 5 voters voting for them

The results also show the interesting role of Independents in rural Punjab. Almost 18% of rural voters in Punjab voted for independent candidates. These independent candidates are usually what are called the electable, which are less bound by party identity and are vote catchers for their hereditary, tribal or religious significance. These 18% independents yield incredible influence in government formation, the current PTI government in Punjab as well as in Centre could not have been possible without the support of these independent candidates as PTI lacked the required number of seats for forming government in the Centre despite being the largest party. Whereas in Punjab, PTI was in fact a minority, with PML-N being the largest party in terms of seats and votes, and it was through the support of these independents that PTI was able to become the largest party and form government in Punjab.

Regional Split of Results

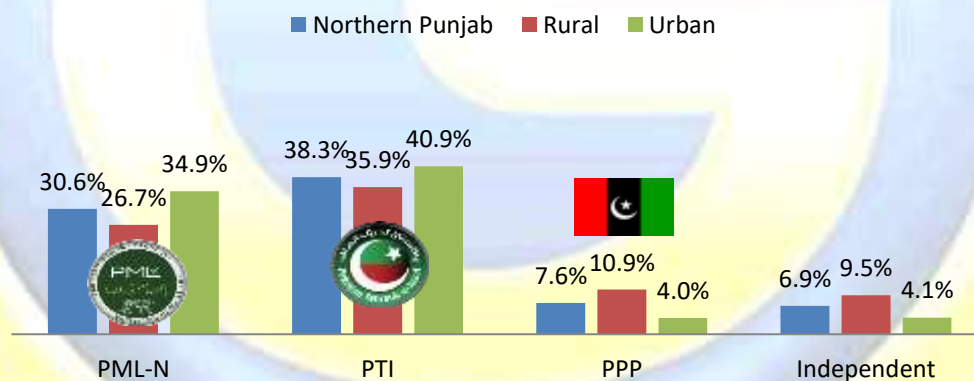
Looking at the results by different regions of Punjab and rural / urban split of votes; it is evident that while urban Punjab stood with PML-N, rural Punjab parted ways and joined PTI or independents.

Northern Punjab

Overall, PML-N received 30.6% votes which were 7.4% less than PTI's 38% votes.

However, in urban areas of Northern Punjab, PML-N's margin of 6% against PTI was much smaller compared to its margin of 9.2% in rural Northern Punjab.

Figure 2: Voting % in Rural and Urban Polling Stations for National Assembly seats in Northern Punjab



Source: Gallup Pakistan Data Analytics on Election Commission of Pakistan Data 2018

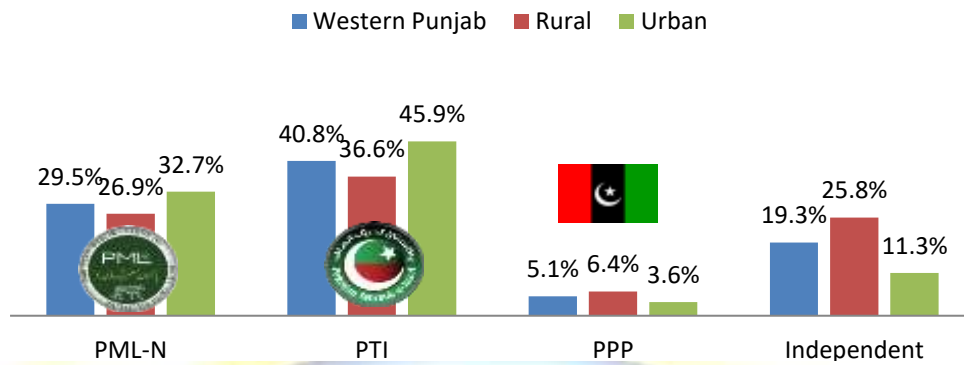
Western Punjab

Overall, PML-N received 29.5% votes which were 11.3% less than PTI's 40.8% votes.

However, in urban areas of Western Punjab, PML-N's margin of 13.2% against PTI was greater than its 9.7% margin in rural Western Punjab.



Figure 3: Voting % in Rural and Urban Polling Stations for National Assembly seats in Western Punjab



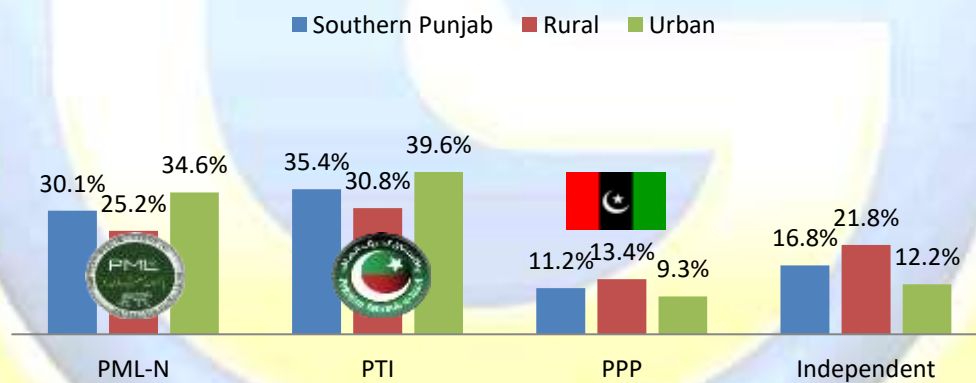
Source: Gallup Pakistan Data Analytics on Election Commission of Pakistan Data 2018

Southern Punjab

Overall, PML-N received 30.1% votes which were 5.3% less than PTI's 35.4% votes.

However in urban areas of Southern Punjab, PML-N's margin of 5% against PTI was less than its margin of 5.6% in rural Southern Punjab

Figure 4: Voting % in Rural and Urban Polling Stations for National Assembly seats in Southern Punjab



Source: Gallup Pakistan Data Analytics on Election Commission of Pakistan Data 2018

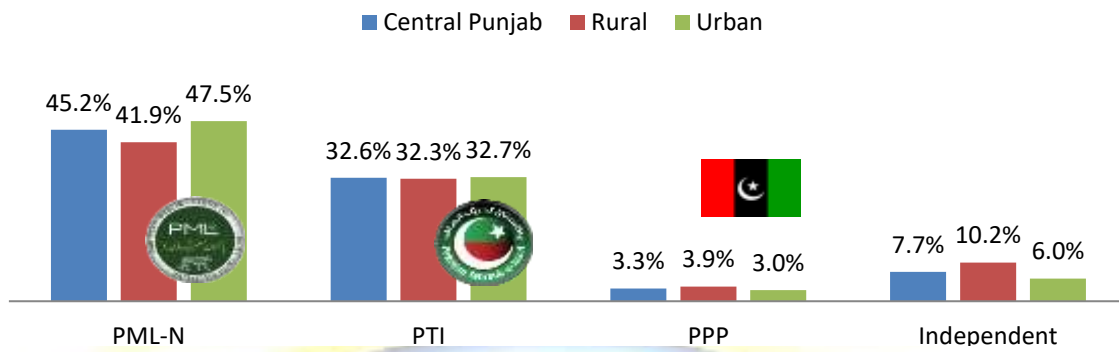
Central Punjab

Overall, PML-N received 45.2% votes which were 12.6% more than PTI's 32.6% votes

In rural areas of Central Punjab, PML-N's margin of 9.6% against PTI was less than its margin of 14.8% in urban Central Punjab.



Figure 5: Voting % in Rural and Urban Polling Stations for National Assembly seats in Central Punjab



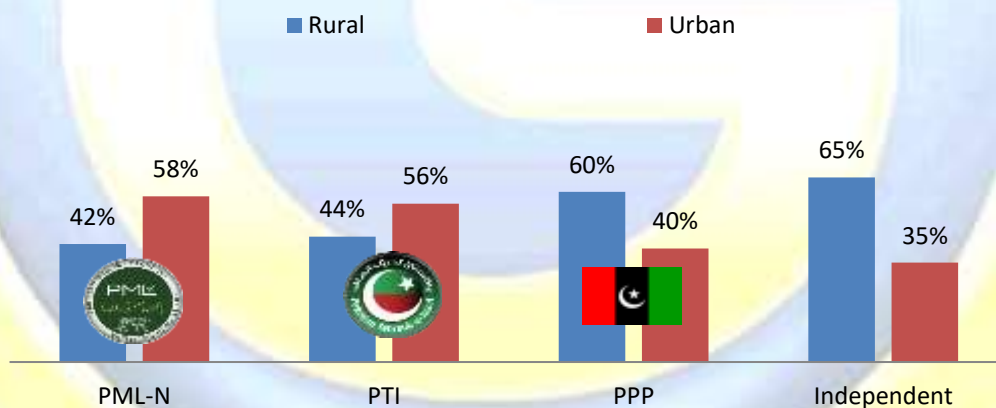
Source: Gallup Pakistan Data Analytics on Election Commission of Pakistan Data 2018

Profile of Political Parties in terms of Urban and Rural Share

Our analysis reveals that when it comes to Punjab and vote share, PML-N is more urban in profile than PTI. Contrary to view that PTI is a party of urban classes, this is actually truer for PML-N whose majority voters are from Urban Punjab (58%) as opposed to PTI whose profile of voters is 56% urban.

As opposed to this, PPP and Independents both have a higher proportion of its voters hailing from rural Punjab.

Figure 6: Urban- Rural Party Profile of Major Political Parties of Punjab



Source: Gallup Pakistan Data Analytics on Election Commission of Pakistan Data 2018

Split of party voters from various regions of Punjab

PTI seems to have almost similar spread across 4 parts of Punjab (Centre, North, Western, and South)

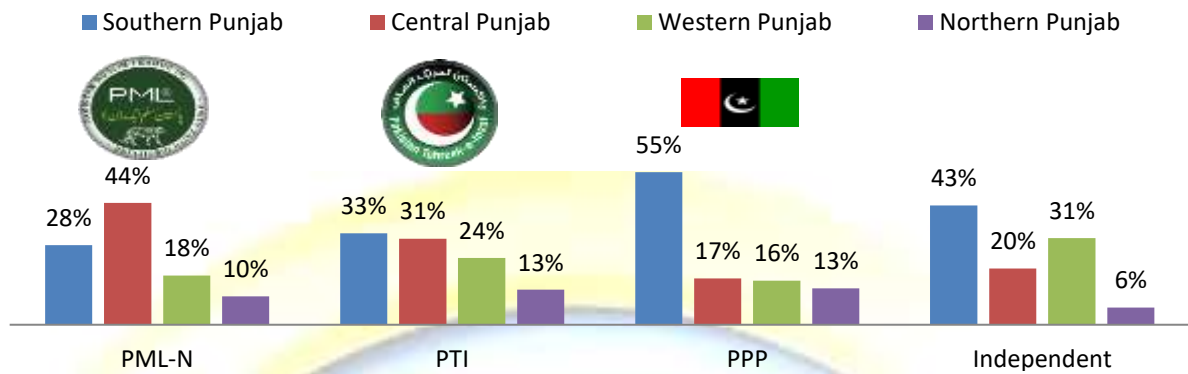
As opposed to this, PML-N has had a heavy skew in favour of Central Punjab and worse performance is in North Punjab.

PPP voters are now heavily concentrated in South Punjab and then equally split across other regions.

Independents are also unevenly distributed with a heavy share in South followed by Western Punjab.



Figure 7: Regional Party Profile of Major Political Parties of Punjab



Source: Gallup Pakistan Data Analytics on Election Commission of Pakistan Data 2018

Comparison of PMLN's performance in rural and urban districts of Punjab

Overall, PML-N performed better in the urban areas of 18 Punjab districts out of a total of 36 Districts, whereas it performed worse in the urban areas of only 4 Punjab districts; namely Bahawalnagar, Rahim Yar Khan, Sheikhpura, and Toba Tek Singh. For the remaining 14 Punjab districts the rural-urban breakdown was not available or possible due to limitations, for example for Lahore, which is an entirely urban district no such comparison could be made.

Figure 8: Voting % comparison for districts where PML-N performed better in urban areas

Districts	Rural PML-N NA Vote %	Urban PML-N NA Vote %
Okara	35.30%	56.00%
Gujranwala	49.80%	54.60%
Sialkot	45.40%	47.40%
Pakpattan	42.30%	46.50%
Kasur	43.50%	45.60%
Khanewal	26.40%	45.20%
Sargodha	43.00%	44.70%
Faisalabad	28.70%	41.40%
Bahawalpur	30.20%	41.10%
Rawalpindi	15.00%	40.70%
Multan	19.10%	36.70%
Chiniot	10.50%	35.20%
Attock	25.50%	34.30%
Vehari	31.90%	33.40%
Bhakkar	0.00%	33.00%
Dera Ghazi Khan	13.80%	29.50%
Gujrat	21.80%	27.30%
Jhang	0.00%	3.85%

Source: Gallup Pakistan Data Analytics on Election Commission of Pakistan Data 2018



Figure 9: Voting % comparison for districts where PML-N performed worse in urban areas

Districts	Rural PML-N NA Vote %	Urban PML-N NA Vote %
Toba Tek Singh	82.60%	34.79%
Sheikhupura	42.30%	40.85%
Bahawalnagar	37.63%	32.81%
Rahim Yar Khan	26.80%	22.44%

Source: Gallup Pakistan Data Analytics on Election Commission of Pakistan Data 2018

Figure 10: Voting % of PML-N in rural only districts

Districts	Rural PML-N NA Vote %
Sahiwal	45.5%
Mandi Bahauddin	42.9%
Khushab	33.2%
Nankana Sahib	30.1%
Chakwal	25.6%
Muzaffargarh	6.4%

Source: Gallup Pakistan Data Analytics on Election Commission of Pakistan Data 2018

Figure 11: Voting % of PML-N in urban only districts

Districts	Urban PML-N NA Vote %
Lahore	50.1%
Narowal	48.8%
Lodhran	45.8%
Hafizabad	39.9%
Jhelum	36.7%
Layyan	29.9%
Mianwali	21.1%
Islamabad	13.5%

Source: Gallup Pakistan Data Analytics on Election Commission of Pakistan Data 2018

PML-N and Punjab Vote in past 3 decades

For most of the past 28 years, PML-N has had a strong foothold in Punjab, with performance reaching a peak of 59% in 1997 General Election, when PM-LN was voted into forming the government.

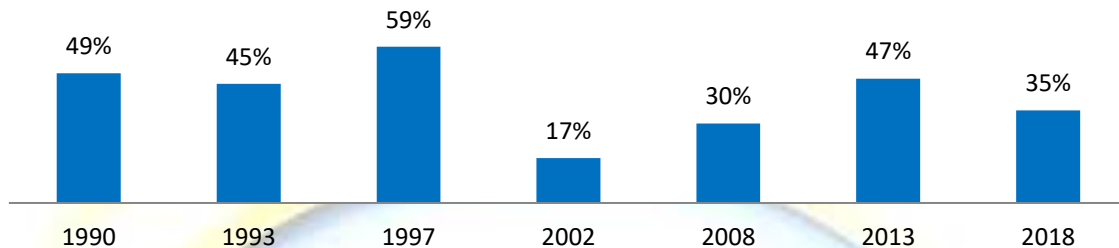
PML-N received the lowest percentage of votes in 2002's General Election held under the military government of General Pervez Musharraf, in which PML-Q came out victorious.

In the 2008 General Elections PML-N received lower than expected % of votes due to the death of PPP's Leader and former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto that swayed sympathy votes in favour of PPP.



Since the 2013 election, PTI has emerged as the greatest contender in Punjab, the results of which are evident from the vote split of 2018 Election results.

Figure 12: PML-N's performance in Punjab NA Votes over the past 28 years



Source: Gallup Pakistan Data Analytics on Election Commission of Pakistan Data 2018

Analysis by Bilal Gilani, Executive Director, Gallup Pakistan

PML-N's decline in Punjab after remaining in power for 2 terms was one of the biggest shocks of Election 2018. Very few could have predicted the decline especially in North and Western Punjab where the entire leadership lost its seats. The reasons for this decline are quite complex and ones that require looking at both time factors around the election 2018 as well as long term shift in public attitude and political behaviour. However before such an analysis can be done, the actual results need to be understood well. This poses significant challenge as Punjab is nearly half of Pakistan, a total population of 100 million (bigger than UK or Germany and closer to size of Russia and Japan), and our electoral data base creation project aims to overcome these challenges with the help of Big Data Analytics. One of the lines that we wanted to draw through this report was to see how urban and rural Punjab behaved in terms of voting. Thanks to highly sophisticated tabulations released by ECP, analysis of vote count by urban and rural was possible (if combined with Census results). The results are outstanding and challenge the conventional wisdom we have grown accustomed to believing. One of the conventional wisdom it shatters is the belief that PTI came to power due to the support of urban voters. It is true that PTI leadership (top 10 individuals) are urban and therefore educated etc. but the voter base in Punjab is deeply rural. In fact, PTI is more popular in rural areas than in urban areas.

The analysis also shatters the belief that PML-N's development narrative failed. It failed to woo the rural segments of the voters but it was very popular with the urban dwellers (and it makes sense as most neutral observers would agree that PML-N Punjab government was very urban centric in its Orange line and Metro Bus mantra).

The analysis also shows a way forward. If PML-N has to regain its lost share it has to reconnect with the rural voters! It is the loss of rural votes across Punjab which has caused the electoral defeat in Punjab.

Introduction to Gallup Pakistan Data Analytics

Gallup Pakistan Digital Analytics is led by Bilal Ijaz Gilani, Executive Director of Gallup Pakistan. Gallup Pakistan has digitised all part 11 election results in Pakistan and has been releasing data and reports based on these for over 3 decades now. Gallup election research dates back to 1985 when the first Exit Poll was conducted in the country.