

PAKISTAN'S GENERAL ELECTION: 2024

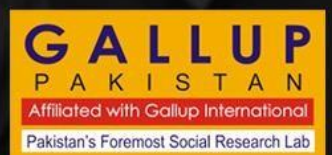
EXIT POLL SURVEY REPORT

Who voted for whom why and
what does it mean for Pakistan's
future?

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Introduction

INTRODUCTION

Gallup Pakistan carried out a large-scale Election Day Survey on February 8th-10th 2024 across all four provinces of Pakistan using a mix of phone and face to face survey. 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, and education composition of the vote banks of the leading political parties. But it also captured perceptions about impartiality of polling staff, role of media in election campaigning and a host of other issues. This report is in continuation of Gallup Pakistan reports about Pakistani elections since 1988 Elections. Every election since 1988 has a detailed report called Exit poll report as well as a series of reports compiling the Election Votes data as released by Election Commission. Please do visit our [website](#) for access to these earlier reports.

The Election 2024 survey was carried out by Gallup Pakistan and the findings are presented here in the form of seven sections.

Section 1 analyses profile of political party vote banks, by age, and education groups. **Section 2** discusses voter perceptions about impartiality of polling staff. **Section 3** reveals voters' choices for various party alliances. **Section 4** discusses motivations to vote categorizing them into seven voter types. Section 5 discusses voters' sense of efficacy of their vote. The **final section** in this series discusses the new Federal Government and what people expected right on election day (and within the 2 days)

The findings are based on a survey of **3,888 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 and also a larger sample collected randomly over the phone using random digit dialling methodology. The usual Gallup Pakistan approach for Exit polls is face to face survey outside polling station. Due to certain legal and logistical challenges this

could not be implemented for this survey and therefore strict comparison with previous election surveys like those conducted in 2018, 2013 and others should be done with caution.

Executive Summary

Section 1: Voting Behavior and Profile of Leading Political Parties Vote Bank

PTI is the most popular choice (31% voters voted for it) among voters of most age groups, followed by PML-N (24% voted for it). Among 50+ age group, PMLN- leads, showing a generational divide in voting preferences.

- i- The age wise voting behavior of the Exit Poll data suggests in the recent elections PTI retained its position as the most favored party by most age groups. PTI has a significant lead in all age groups except in the age category of 50+ years old where PML-N is ahead.
- ii- Among new voters, the PTI vs. PMLN gap was 14% in 2018, but has increased to 16% in 2024.
- iii- On the other hand, among 35–49-year-olds, PML-N has narrowed the gap between 2018 and 2024 to only 1% from 9%, and in 50+ years-olds, PML-N now leads with a 10% edge as compared to 10% loss against PTI.

PML-N's share of new voters (age 18-24) increased by 1% since the last elections, going from 21% in 2018 to 22% in 2024, while PTI has been the most popular choice of new voters (age 18-24) in the recent elections.

- i- Among new voters, 38% voted for PTI but only 26% voted for PML-N. However, among 25+ year olds or older, the gap between PML-N and PTI was only 2%, with PTI in the lead. This was a substantial 6% in 2018.
- ii- In this young voter range, PML-N's share has increased by 1% since General Elections 2018. It was 21% in the last elections as compared to 22% in this election.
- iii- PTI's fortunes have increased by 3% in this age bracket. PTI's share was 35% in the last elections and 38% in GE 2024. PPP also saw a minor increase in their share. It was 14% in 2018, while it is 15% now.
- iv- In the age category of 25+, PML-N lost 1% voters since the last elections. PTI lost 5% voters, while PPP gained 1% voters.

New and educated voters – PML-N vs. PTI: Compared to 2018, 5% more voted for PTI while 2% fewer voted for PML-N.

- i. Defined as voters aged 18-24 years and with education up to high school and above.
- ii. PTI has been the choice of more “new and educated” voters than PML-N since 2018 – 41% of them voted for PTI in 2024 compared to the 36% in 2018.
- iii. Alternatively, PML-N being the choice of this category of voters has seen a decline of 2% since the last elections – falling from 23% votes in 2018 to 21% in 2024.

Young, educated and upscale voters – PML-N vs. PTI: Compared to 2018, the gap between PTI and PML-N has increased from merely 1% (27% PML-N and 28% PTI) to a massive 22%.

- i. Defined as New voters (Age 18-24) who are educated to a level of High School and above and are earning more than Rs. 30,000.

- ii. PTI in the lead with almost half (47%) young, educated and upscale voters while PML-N sufficiently lacks with 15% voters.

Age composition of Party voters: the Pakistani voter who voted in the 2024 election is overwhelmingly young- 35% of those who voted were under 30 years of age. However, a sizeable 17% were also 50+ years of age.

- i. The data shows turnout among young voters was significantly higher than previous years. In 2013, 25% of voters who voted were under 30; in 2018 31% were under 30 and in 2024, 34% were under 30 years of age.
- ii. PTI voter is significantly younger. Whereas 19% of average voters were first time voters, among PTI voters, a quarter of the voters were first time voters (25%). PTI had on the other hand has lower share of the older voter (50+ age group) at 12% compared to the national average of 17%.
- iii. The converse was true for PML-N, who had a higher-than-average share of 50+ age group (22%). PPP seems to be close to average proportion with respect to all age groups.

PML-N with the highest share of illiterate voters in 2024 at 29%, followed by PPP (23%) and PTI (21%).

- i. Since General Elections 2018, PTI has seen a 3% decrease in illiterate voters, while PML-N's vote bank has seen an increase of 4%, and PPP's vote bank has had a 6% increase in illiterate voters.
- ii. PML-N has the highest share among voters who are educated up to middle school (31%), followed by PTI (26%) and then PPP (15%). PTI takes lead among voters who are educated till high school/intermediate level (30%) and those who have obtained higher education (35%).

The PPP and PML-N vote bank have a notably higher share of illiterate voters. PTI vote bank has a higher share of High School and Intermediate voters compared to the other.

- i. At all Pakistan level, there are 18% illiterate voters, 18% voters educated up to middle school, 41% educated to a level of high school/intermediate and only 23% who hold a bachelors/master's degree.
- ii. PTI has 5% less illiterate voters than the percentage of illiterate voters at all Pakistan level, while PML-N has 4% more illiterate voters while PPP has 11% more illiterate voters.
- iii. PML-N has 6% more voters and PPP has 1% more voters than the country's total share of voters in the category of education up to middle school, PTI has 1% less share as the country's share of such kind of voters.
- iv. Only PTI's share of voters is greater than the country's share of voters among voters who have acquired higher education.

Section 2: Perceptions on Impartiality

The same proportion of voters in 2024 as 2018 found the polling staff to be partial to a particular candidate (11%).

- i. The Exit Poll data suggests that the same proportion of voters in the recent most

elections felt that a particular candidate was favored by the polling staff as they did in the last election – 11%.

- ii. Fewer people found the polling staff to be impartial in 2024 (82%) as compared to GE 2018 (83%), but more thought the polling staff was impartial as compared to GE 2013 (80%).

More people think the 2024 elections would be free and fair (78%) than not (22%).

Section 3: Tips For Party Leaders About Voters' Choices for Political

Alliances

11% fewer PTI voters listed PML-N as their second-best choice in the GE 2024 (8%) as compared to GE 2018 (19%).

- i. The respondents were asked about their second-best choice to vote for. Among PML-N voters, PTI was the most popular choice (17%), while PTI voters preferred PPP (8%) and PML-N (8%) the most over all other parties.
- ii. PPP voters listed PTI as their most common pick (as their second-best choice) at 27%, while MQM (48%) and independent candidate voters (16%) also picked PTI.

The Exit Poll data of GE 2024 suggests that PPP was the most popular second choice of PML-N voters (48%), while majority of the PTI voters chose MQM as their second-best choice (45%).

- i. Among those who gave a second choice, 30% of PTI voters listed PML-N as their second-best choice, while 31% of PML-N voters favored PTI.
- ii. Among PPP voters, PML-N (29%) and PTI (29%) were popular choices while most independent candidate voters listed PML-N (12%) as their second-best choice.

Section 4: How Voters Make Their Choice

The share of patron seeking voters sees a fall of 8% since the last elections – 16% in 2024 compared to 23% in 2018.

- i. The voters have been classified in seven different categories based on their motivations to vote for a particular candidate.
- ii. Since GE 2018, the proportion of party loyal voters has increased by 7% (11% to 19%), while development seeking voters have seen a fall in their proportion (30% to 21%). Patron seeking voters have decreased, as have legislation minded voters (14% to 13%).
- iii. Morality seeking voters have also increased (12% to 14%) but the Biradari bound voters have decreased by 1% (6% to 5%). The proportion of skeptic voters has remained about the same (2% in 2018 vs. 1% in 2024).

Almost 6 in 10 voters (64%) voted for a candidate not belonging to their Biradari, compared to 59% in 2018.

- i. To see how Biradari plays a role in voting decisions, respondents were asked if the candidate they voted for belonged to their Biradari.
- ii. To this only 15% said that the candidate did belong to their Biradari while, majority (64%) said that the candidate did not belong to their Biradari. 20% said that they are

not associated to a specific Biradari.

48% voters' Biradari together made the decision to cast their vote, compared to 52% in 2018.

- i. Voters were asked if their Biradari together made a decision to cast their vote. To this 48% said that it did, while 52% said it did not.
- ii. In 2018, it was the other way around where 52% made the decision to vote together with their Biradari and 45% did not.

Section 5: Voter's Sense of Empowerment

3% less voters in GE 2024 (82%) than GE 2018 (85%) believe that their vote will be helpful improving the condition of the country.

- i. In comparison to GE 2018, 3% fewer voters are optimistic about their vote making a difference in these elections, but this number has seen a rise of 2% since GE 2008 (80%).
- ii. The percentage of those who think that their vote will not be helpful has remained at 8% across 2018 and 2024, increasing from 6% in 2013.

Section 6: New Federal Government

7 in 10 (70%) voters said one party should form the government.

- i. The Exit Poll survey asked the respondents, whether one party should form the government or there should be a coalition government.
- ii. To this 70% said that one party should form the government while 20% said more than one party should form a coalition government. 10% said they did not know or did not respond.

Compared to 2018 (17%), 29% more voters in 2024 (46%) advice the new government to provide electricity, roads, education, health facilities and employment to the public.

- i. In comparison to GE 2018, 9% fewer people want the new government to make Pakistan a modern and powerful country (27% in 2018 vs. 18% in 2024), while 12% fewer advice it to protect the faith and values of Muslims (35% in 2018 vs. 23% in 2024).
- ii. 5% fewer voters want the government to give opportunity to educated people to make the government instead of themselves – 18% in 2018 to 13% in 2024.

A vast majority (79%) of voters agree that all political parties should set aside their differences and work together.

- i. The respondents were asked whether all political parties should set aside their differences after the elections and work together.
- ii. In response to this, 79% were in the favor of parties working together but 15% opposed it.

PART 1

PAKISTAN'S GENERAL ELECTION: 2024

SURVEY FINDINGS

Who voted for whom why and
what does it mean for Pakistan's
future?

SECTION 1

Voting Behavior and Profile of
Leading Political Parties Vote
Bank

Section # 1

This Section provides a set of tables on Voting Behavior and Profile of Political Party Vote Banks across Age, Education, Income and Gender

Table 1.1A
AGE-WISE VOTER BEHAVIOUR

	2013					2018					2024				
	New voters (Age 18-24)	Age 25 – 29	Age 30 - 34	Age 35 - 49	50 +	New voters (Age 18-24)	Age 25 – 29	Age 30 - 34	Age 35 – 49	50 +	New voters (Age 18-24)	Age 25 – 29	Age 30 - 34	Age 35 – 49	50 +
All Pakistan	<i>Among those who voted for (Col %)</i>					<i>Among those who voted for (Col %)</i>					<i>Among those who voted for (Col %)</i>				
PML-N	35	26	33	32	39	21	23	25	26	23	22	20	23	24	30
PTI	26	21	14	16	12	35	33	34	29	33	38	35	28	25	20
PPP	12	14	15	16	16	14	12	13	12	17	15	16	15	13	13
All others	27	39	38	36	33	31	31	28	33	27	26	29	34	38	37
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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

Generational Divide was more evident in the 2024 election.

Among the New Voters aged 18-24, PTI was the most popular choice with 38% voting for it. Second choice with a margin was PMLN at 22% and third was PPP at 15%.

Table 1.1B

AGE-WISE VOTERS BEHAVIOUR

(Age 18-24 & the rest)

	2013		2018		2024	
	New voters (Age 18-24)	Age 25 +	New voters (Age 18-24)	Age 25 +	New voters (Age 18-24)	Age 25 +
	<i>Among those who voted for (Col %)</i>		<i>Among those who voted for (Col %)</i>		<i>Among those who voted for (Col %)</i>	
PML-N	35	32	21	25	22	24
PTI	26	16	35	31	38	26
PPP	12	15	14	13	15	14
All others	27	37	31	31	26	36
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

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

PTI loses support among 25+ year olds, but gains in new voters.

Among new voters, 38% voted for PTI but only 26% voted for PML-N. However, among 25+ year olds or older, the gap between PML-N and PTI was only 2%, with PTI in the lead. This was a substantial 6% in 2018.

Table 1.1C

Voting Behavior Among

YOUNG AND EDUCATED VOTERS

	2013	2018	2024
	New voters (Age 18-24) who are educated to a level of High School and above	New voters (Age 18-24) who are educated to a level of High School and above	New voters (Age 18-24) who are educated to a level of High School and above
	<i>Among those who voted for</i>	<i>Among those who voted for</i>	<i>Among those who voted for</i>
PML-N	31	23	21
PTI	34	36	41

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

Among the young and educated defined as 18–24-year-olds having a high school or higher degree, PTI has further gained vote bank in 2024 – from 36% to 41%.

Moreover, the gap between PML-N and PTI has increased in this voting cluster. PTI was leading with a 13% margin against PML-N in 2018. The gap has now increased to 20% - a significant jump.

Table 1.1D

Voting Behavior Among

YOUNG, EDUCATED AND UPSCALE VOTERS

	2013	2018	2024
	New voters (Age 18-24) who are educated to a level of High School and above and are earning more than Rs. 30,000	New voters (Age 18-24) who are educated to a level of High School and above and are earning more than Rs. 30,000	New voters (Age 18-24) who are educated to a level of High School and above and are earning more than Rs. 30,000
	<i>Among those who voted for</i>	<i>Among those who voted for</i>	<i>Among those who voted for</i>
PML-N	35	27	15
PTI	37	28	47

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

Young Educated Upscale Voters are overwhelmingly in favor of PTI and the gap has further increased between PML-N and PTI from merely 1 % to a massive 22%.

AGE COMPOSITION OF PARTY VOTES

What is the age profile of the Pakistani voter?

The Pakistani voter who voted in the 2024 election is overwhelmingly young. 35% of those who voted were under 30 years of age. However, a sizeable 17% were also 50+ years of age.

The data shows turnout among young voters was significantly higher than previous years. In 2013, 25% of voters who voted were under 30; in 2018 31% were under 30 and in 2024, 34% were under 30 years of age.

The Profile of Major parties in terms of age:

Although not very different, there are age differences in profile of voters of the top 3 parties.

PTI voter is significantly younger. Whereas 19% of average voters were first time voters, among PTI voters, a quarter of the voters were first time voters. PTI had on the other hand has lower share of the older voter (50+ age group). Among national voters, 17% voters fell in this group but among PTI 12% fell in this group.

The converse was true for PML-N, who had a higher-than-average share of 50+ age group. PPP seems to be close to average proportion with respect to all age groups.

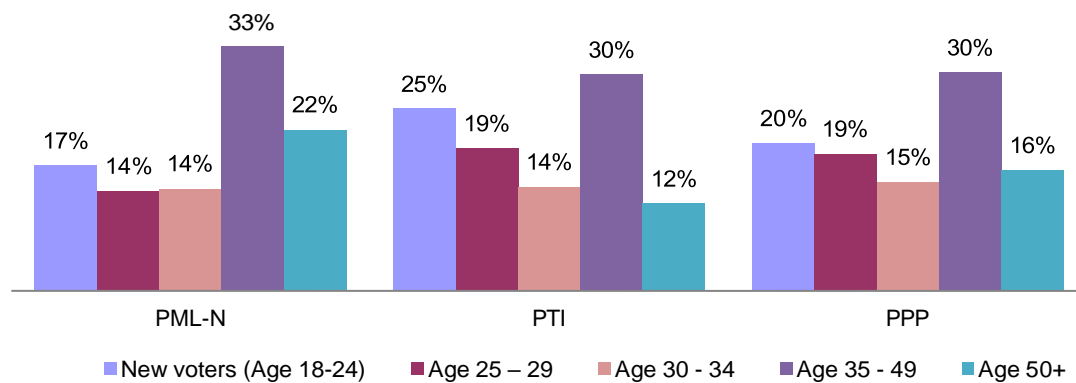
2013 and 2018 elections were less polarized in terms of age groups i.e. composition of parties was closer to national voter age distribution.

Table 1.2



	2013				2018				2024			
	All Pakistan	PML-N	PTI	PPP	All Pakistan	PML-N	PTI	PPP	All Pakistan	PML-N	PTI	PPP
	Percent share in all votes scored by this party (col %)				Percent share in all votes scored by this party (col %)				Percent share in all votes scored by this party (col %)			
New voters (Age 18-24)	11	12	17	9	12	11	14	13	19	17	25	20
Age 25 – 29	14	11	18	14	19	18	19	18	16	14	19	19
Age 30 – 34	18	18	15	18	17	16	17	16	14	14	14	15
Age 35 - 49	42	42	40	44	37	41	35	34	33	33	30	30
50 +	15	17	10	15	15	14	15	20	17	22	12	16
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

2024



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

Table 1.3

EDUCATION-WISE VOTER BEHAVIOUR

	2013				2018				2024			
	Illiterate	Up to Middle School	High School and Intermediate	Bachelors and Masters	Illiterate	Up to Middle School	High School and Intermediate	Bachelors and Masters	Illiterate	Up to Middle School	High School and Intermediate	Bachelors and Masters
	<i>Among those who voted for (Col %)</i>				<i>Among those who voted for (Col %)</i>				<i>Among those who voted for (Col %)</i>			
PML-N	33	38	30	23	25	27	23	21	29	31	23	15
PTI	11	13	22	28	24	32	35	40	21	26	30	35
PPP	20	14	13	12	17	12	11	12	23	15	12	10
All others	36	35	35	37	33	30	31	27	27	29	35	40
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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

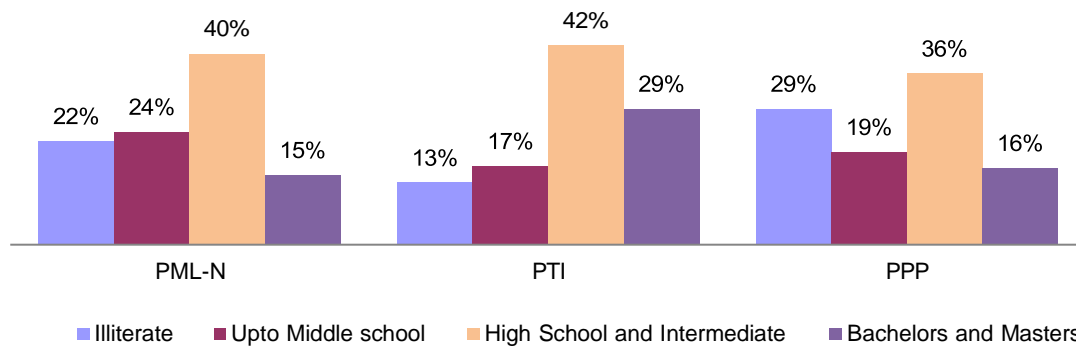
Table 1.4

EDUCATIONAL COMPOSITION OF PARTY VOTES

The PPP and PML-N vote bank have a notably higher share of illiterate voters. PTI vote bank has a higher share of High School and Intermediate voters compared to the other.

	2013				2018				2024			
	All Pakistan	PML-N	PTI	PPP	All Pakistan	PML-N	PTI	PPP	All Pakistan	PML-N	PTI	PPP
	Percent share in all votes scored by this party (col %)				Percent share in all votes scored by this party (col %)				Percent share in all votes scored by this party (col %)			
Illiterate	26	27	17	35	22	24	17	31	18	22	13	29
Up to Middle School	32	37	25	30	35	38	35	32	18	24	17	19
High School and Intermediate	33	30	43	28	34	30	37	29	41	40	42	36
Bachelors and Masters (College)	9	6	15	7	10	8	11	8	23	15	29	16
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

2024



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

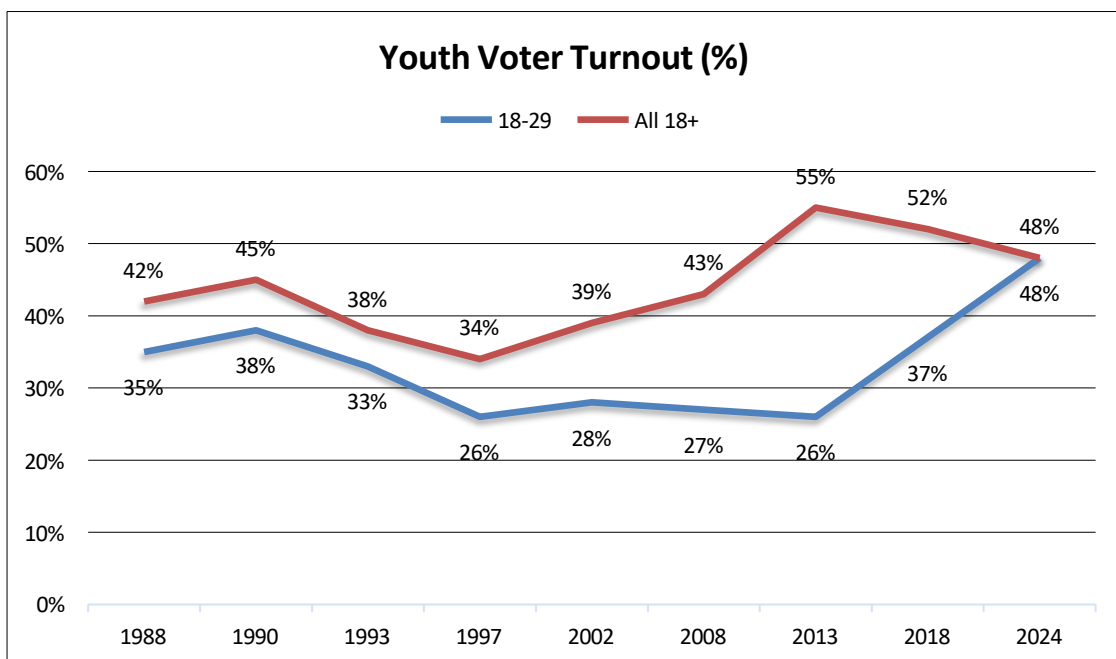
Youth Turnout

According to Gallup Exit Poll 2024, youth voter turnout was roughly similar to the national voter turnout.

This marks a massive improvement from earlier years where youth voter turnout was half or a third less than national average.

As can be seen below the Election 2024 youth voter turnout is 11% higher than 2018 and 22% higher than 2013.

This is despite the fact that both 2018 and 2024 saw a fall in overall voter turnout (in other words, voter turnout among young is on a rising curve whereas its on declining curve for voters of other age groups).



SECTION 2

Perceptions on Impartiality

Section # 2

PERCEPTIONS ON IMPARTIALITY

POLLING STATION LEVEL

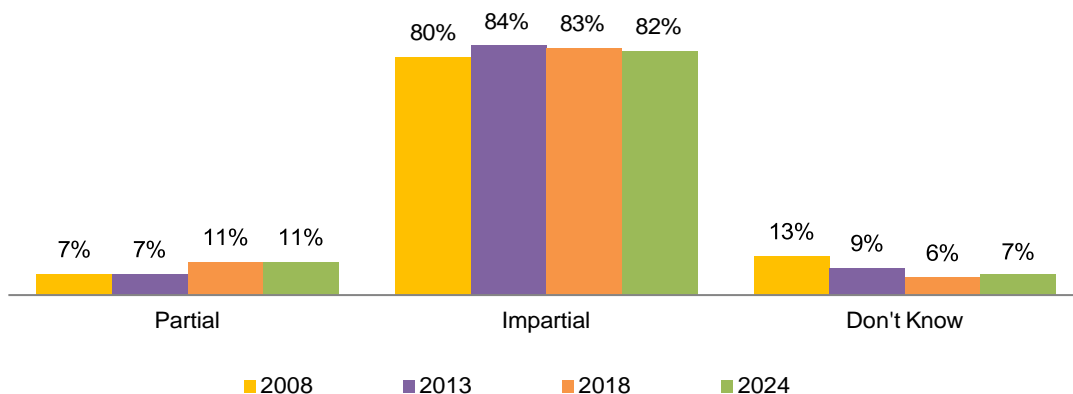
The majority (82%) of a scientific sample of voters from all across the country perceived that the polling staff was impartial on the Election Day.

Table 2.1

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

Percentage of respondents

	2008	2013	2018	2024
Partial	7%	7%	11%	11%
Impartial	80%	84%	83%	82%
Don't Know	13%	9%	6%	7%



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

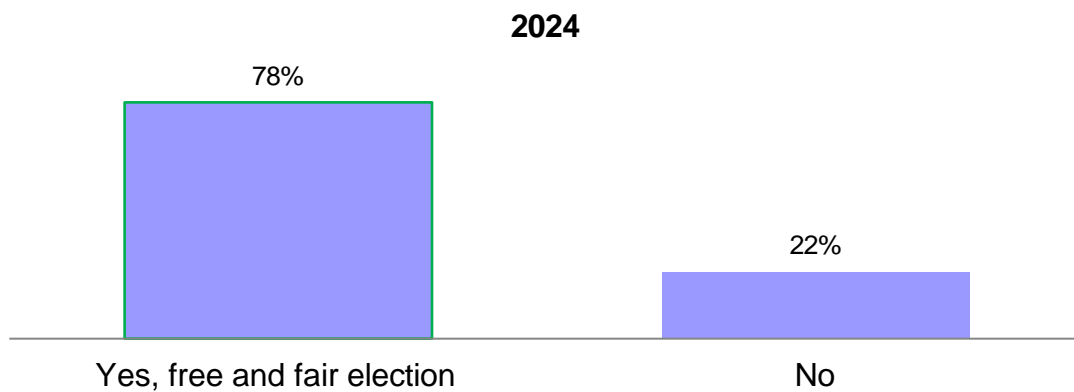
FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS

The Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll (Election Day Survey) asked a nationally representative sample of voters on the Election Day that do they think that that today's election will be free and fair. 78% of voters trust the electoral process of GE 2024 to be free and fair, 22% responded electoral process of GE 2024 will not free and fair.

Question: Overall, do you think that today's election will be free and fair?

Table 2.2

	2024
Yes, free and fair election	78%
No	22%



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

SECTION 3

VOTERS AND LEADERS

Tips for Party Leaders About
Voters' Choices for Political
Alliances

Section # 3

VOTERS AND LEADERS TIPS FOR PARTY LEADERS ABOUT VOTERS' CHOICES FOR POLITICAL ALLIANCES

As winners and runner ups ponder upon forming alliances and future relationships 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. Most 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:

PREFERRED ALLIES

PTI – PPP: Voter Affinities

Among PTI voters 8% would have PPP as their second choice. In contrast 27% of PPP voters chose PTI as their second choice.

PTI – PML-N: Voter Affinities

Among PTI voters 8% would have PML-N as their second choice. In contrast 17% of PML-N voters chose PTI as their second choice.

PTI - MQM: Voter Affinities

Furthermore, 2% of **PTI voters** indicated MQM as their second-best choice; and 48% of **MQM voters** said the same about PTI.

PTI – Independent Candidates: Voter Affinities

Additionally, only 5% of **PTI voters** indicated Independent Candidates as their second-best choice; 16% of **Independent Candidate voters** said the same about PTI.

PML-N - PPP: Voter Affinities

On the other hand, 16% of **PML-N voters** indicated PPP as their second-best choice and 16% of **PPP voters** would choose PML-N as their second-best choice.

Table 3.1

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?

2013

Among voters of	PREFERENCES OF ALLIANCE MINDED VOTERS				
	<i>Percent share (Among All)</i> Read in Rows				
	PML-N	PTI	PPP	MQM	Independent Candidate
PML-N	24	36	11	0	13
PTI	48	14	8	2	9
PPP	21	12	22	2	25
MQM	3	22	11	13	6
Independent Candidate	39	17	5	0	28

2018

Among voters of	PREFERENCES OF ALLIANCE MINDED VOTERS				
	<i>Percent share (Among All)</i> Read in Rows				
	PML-N	PTI	PPP	MMA	Independent Candidate
PML-N	NA	25	16	11	11
PTI	19	NA	21	8	9
PPP	13	32	NA	4	9
MMA	9	38	17	NA	8
Independent Candidate	13	32	4	8	NA

2024

Among voters of	PREFERENCES OF ALLIANCE MINDED VOTERS				
	<i>Percent share (Among All)</i> Read in Rows				
	PML-N	PTI	PPP	MQM	Independent Candidate
PML-N	NA	17	16	0	6
PTI	8	NA	8	2	5
PPP	16	27	NA	1	6
MQM	5	48	4	NA	0
Independent Candidate	13	16	6	1	NA

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

Table 3.2

PERCENTAGE (2013)

(among those who gave a second choice)

Among voters of	PREFERENCES OF ALLIANCE MINDED VOTERS				
	<i>Percent share (Among those who gave a second choice)</i>				
	PML-N	PTI	PPP	MQM	Independent Candidate
PML-N	NA	47	14	0	17
PTI	56	NA	10	3	10
PPP	27	15	NA	2	32
MQM	4	0	13	NA	7
Independent Candidate	53	23	7	0	NA

PERCENT SHARE (2018)

(among those who gave a second choice)

Among voters of	PREFERENCES OF ALLIANCE MINDED VOTERS				
	<i>Percent share (Among those who gave a second choice)</i>				
	PML-N	PTI	PPP	MMA	Independent Candidate
PML-N	NA	32	29	37	33
PTI	55	NA	53	36	37
PPP	16	22	NA	8	15
MMA	4	10	7	NA	5
Independent Candidate	13	19	3	3	NA

PERCENT SHARE (2024)

(among those who gave a second choice)

Among voters of	PREFERENCES OF ALLIANCE MINDED VOTERS				
	<i>Percent share (Among those who gave a second choice)</i>				
	PML-N	PTI	PPP	MQM	Independent Candidate
PML-N	NA	31	48	2	31
PTI	30	NA	30	45	33
PPP	29	29	NA	15	17
MQM	0	0	0	NA	0
Independent Candidate	12	8	6	4	NA

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

SECTION 4

How Voters Make their Choice:
SEVEN TYPES OF VOTERS

Section # 4

How Voters Make their Choice: 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 19% of the voters in the 2024 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.

16% percent of voters are the **Patron-seeking** types. The legislator's ability to help them with the police, courts and other officials stands out as his major attribute.

13% of voters are **Legislation-Minded**. They chose their legislator because of his competence in the comprehension of national affairs.

Another 14% 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.

5% admitted to be **Biradari-bound**. They said they followed their Biradri's verdict in choosing the legislator.

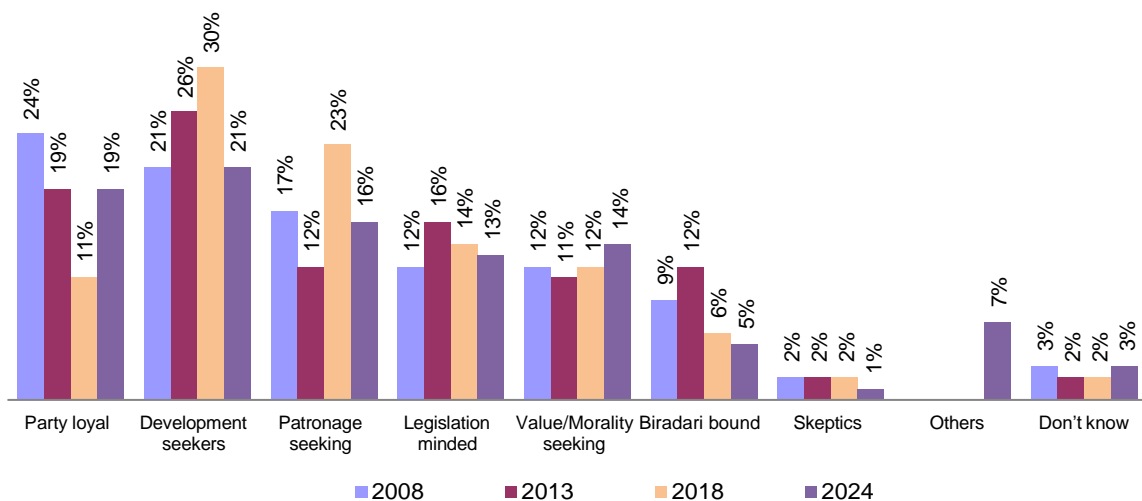
Only 1% placed themselves in the category of **Skeptic Voters** that is those who chose a certain legislator because he was most capable of defeating the candidate whom the voter disliked or despised.

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?

Table 4.1

Percentage of Respondents

	2008	2013	2018	2024
Party loyal	24%	19%	11%	19%
Development seekers	21%	26%	30%	21%
Patronage seekers	17%	12%	23%	16%
Legislation minded	12%	16%	14%	13%
Value/Morality seekers	12%	11%	12%	14%
Biradri bound	9%	12%	6%	5%
Skeptics	2%	2%	2%	1%
Others	-	-	-	7%
Don't know	3%	2%	2%	3%



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

IMPORTANCE OF BIRADRI IN VOTING DECISIONS

Does Biradri play a role in voting decisions? Only **15%** 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 15% 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 one's 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 behavior 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 through survey research among a nationally representative sample of 3,888 voters on the Election Day.

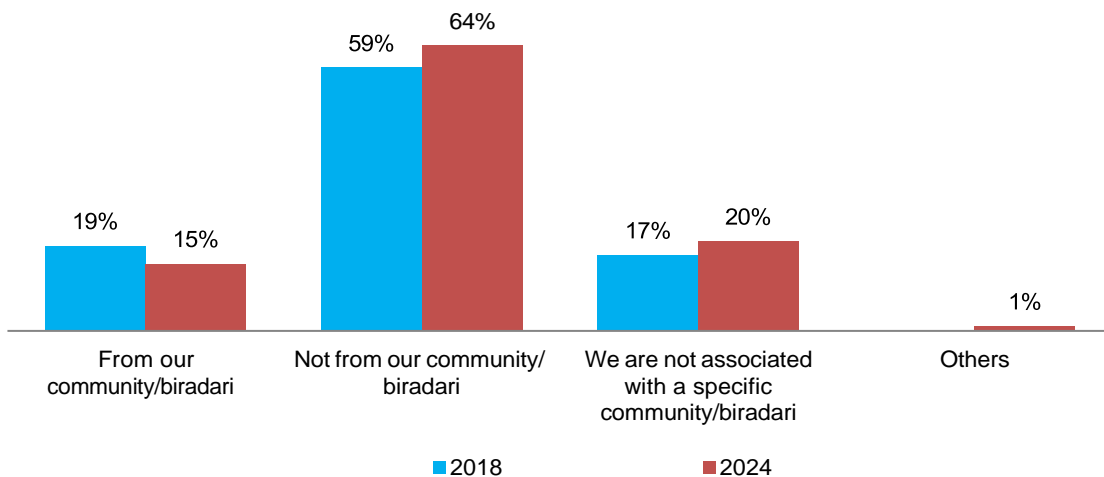
ROLE OF BIRADRI IN VOTING DECISIONS

Does Biradri play a role in voting decisions? Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll Survey had asked a nationally representative sample of voters on the Election Day: **"The National Assembly candidate you voted for, is he from your Biradari or not?"**

Table 4.2

Percentage of Respondents

	2018	2024
From our community/biradari	19%	15%
Not from our community/ biradari	59%	64%
We are not associated with a specific community/biradari	17%	20%
Others	-	1%
Don't Know / No Response	-	-



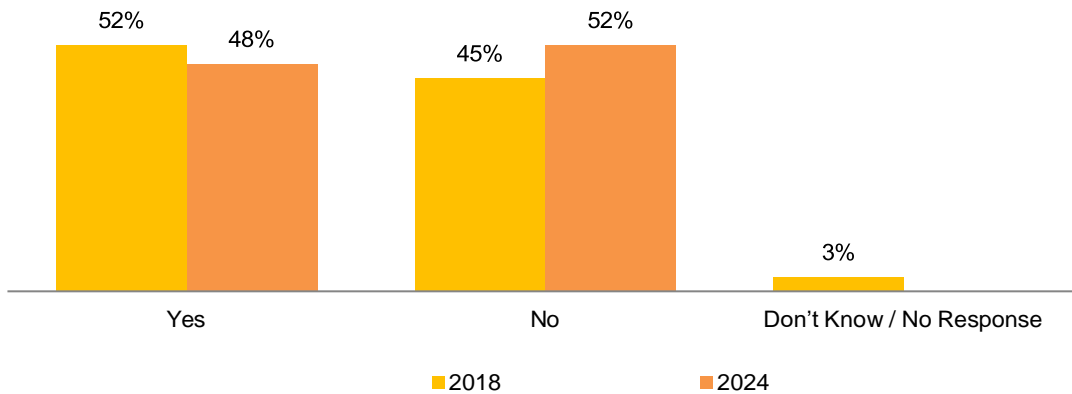
Source: Gilani's Index of Electoral Record, based on Gallup Exit Poll data

Respondent were further asked: **“Did your Biradari together make a decision to cast their vote?”**

Table 4.3

Percentage of Respondents

	2018	2024
Yes	52%	48%
No	45%	52%
Don't know / No Response	3%	-



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

SECTION 5

Voter's Sense of
Empowerment

Section # 5

VOTER'S SENSE OF EMPOWERMENT

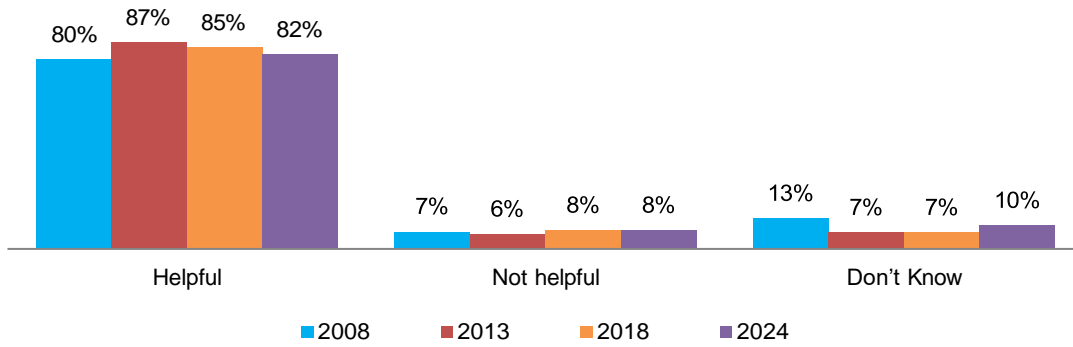
The verdict is out on this very crucial election. Voters express a combination of hope and despair on different aspects of the electoral process. 82% are confident their vote can make a difference.

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?"** 82% of the respondents expressed faith that their vote will be helpful. Only 8% were despondent, while 10% remained uncertain.

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

Table 5.1

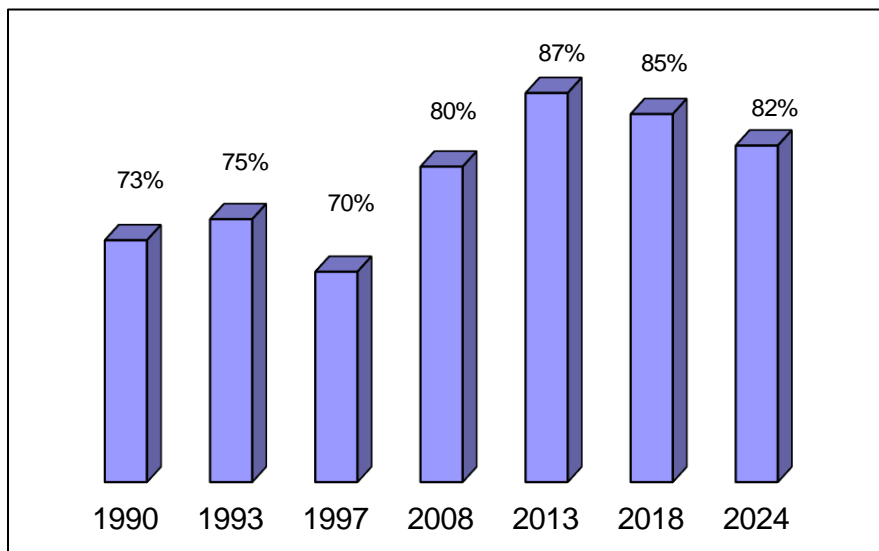
	<i>Percentage of Respondents</i>			
	2008	2013	2018	2024
Helpful	80%	87%	85%	82%
Not helpful	7%	6%	8%	8%
Don't know	13%	7%	7%	10%



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

COMPARISON WITH THE PAST

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



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

SECTION 6

New Federal
Government

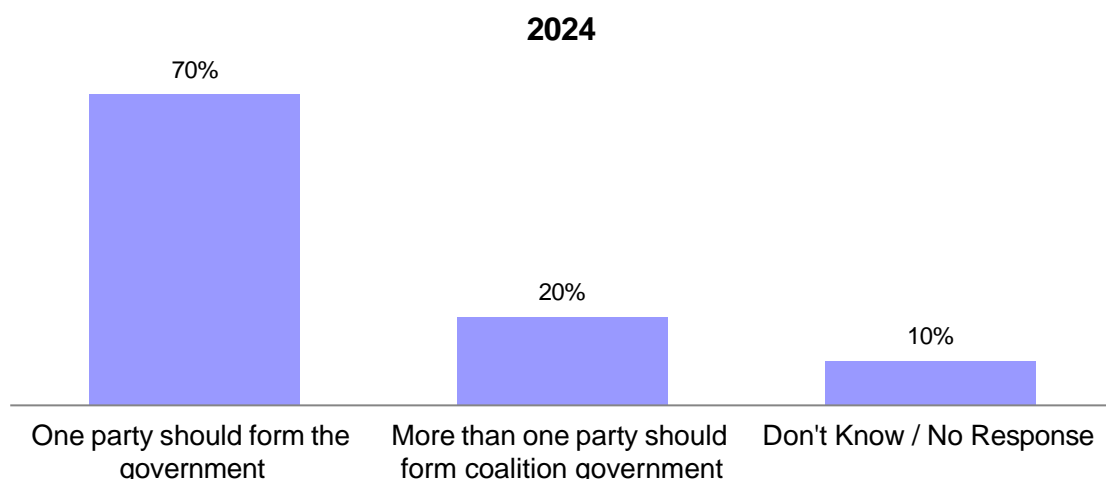
COALITION GOVERNMENT

A nationally representative sample of voters on the Election Day was asked, what would they would prefer: one party should form the government, or more than one party should form the coalition government together. 20% of voters favor a coalition government while 70% of voters favor that one party should form the government.

Question: What would you prefer: one party should form the government, or more than one party should form the coalition government together?

Table.6.1

	2024
One party should form the government	70%
More than one party should form coalition government	20%
Don't Know / No Response	10%



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

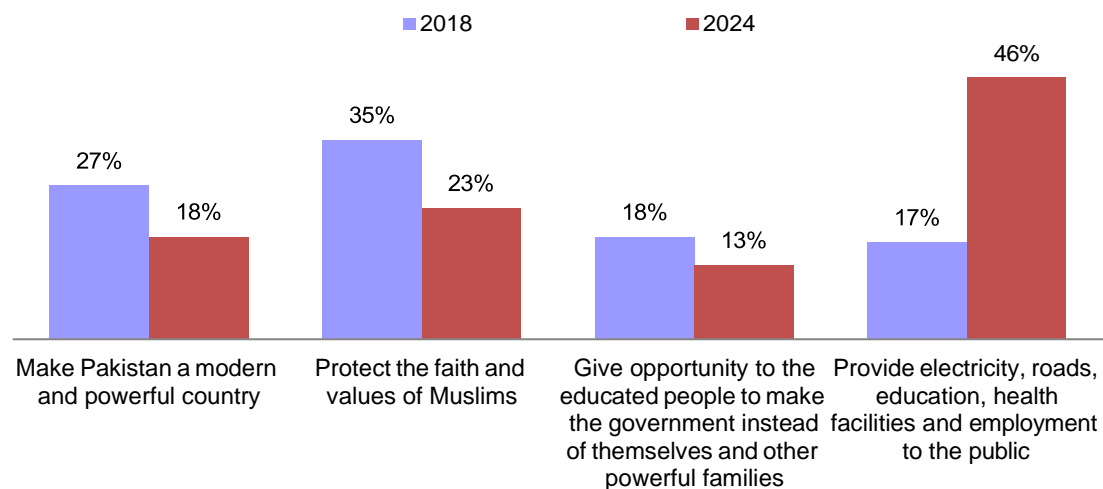
ADVISE TO THE NEW GOVERNMENT

The Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll (Election Day Survey) asked a nationally representative sample of voters on the Election Day, What would be their first advise to the new government? 18% said 'make Pakistan a modern and powerful country', 23% 'Protect the faith and values of Muslims', 13% 'Give opportunity to the educated people to make the government instead of themselves and other powerful families', and 46% 'Provide electricity, roads, education, health facilities and employment to the public'.

Question: What would be your first advise to the new government?

Table 6.2

	2018	2024
Make Pakistan a modern and powerful country	27%	18%
Protect the faith and values of Muslims	35%	23%
Give opportunity to the educated people to make the government instead of themselves and other powerful families	18%	13%
Provide electricity, roads, education, health facilities and employment to the public	17%	46%
Don't Know / No Response	2%	-



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

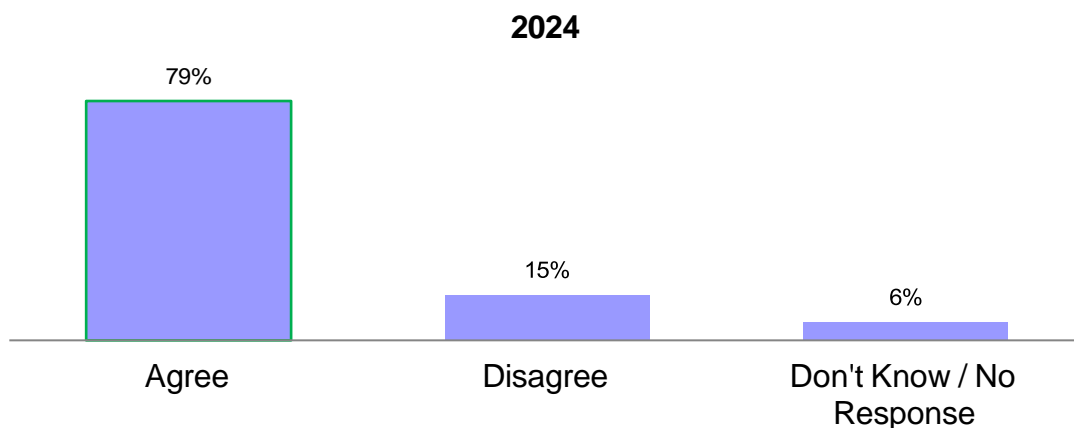
NEW FEDERAL GOVERNMENT - ALLIANCE FOR WORK

The Gallup Pakistan Exit Poll (Election Day Survey) asked a nationally representative sample of voters on the Election Day "Some people think that all political parties should set aside their differences after the elections and should work together. Do you agree or disagree with this opinion?". 79% of voters on the election day agreed that political parties should set aside their differences after the elections and work together, followed by 15% who disagree with this statement, and 6% said that they did not know or gave no response.

Question: Some people think that all political parties should set aside their differences after the elections and should work together. Do you agree or disagree with this opinion?

Table 6.4

	2024
Agree	79%
Disagree	15%
Don't Know / No Response	6%



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

Methodology

METHODOLOGY

The survey was conducted with a statistically selected sample of 3,888 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. Face-to-face Interviews were conducted by a team of more than 40 men and women between 4pm to 8 pm on the polling day (*February 8*). This was followed with a phone survey using random digit dialing where respondents were asked if they had voted and those who had voted were asked the same questionnaire as was asked to those exiting the polling station. The phone survey data continued to be collected on Feb 9th and Feb 10th 2024.

All data are computer processed and weighting was applied based on Election 2024 vote share of major parties.

The error margin is estimated to be $\pm 2-3\%$ at 95% confidence level for national level results and higher for sub national results.

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

For more information, please write to Bilal Gilani: bilal.gilani@gallup.com.pk

Source of funding: This survey was not commissioned or supported by an external grant. This survey was conducted by Gallup Pakistan using its own resources as a data for public good activity.

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