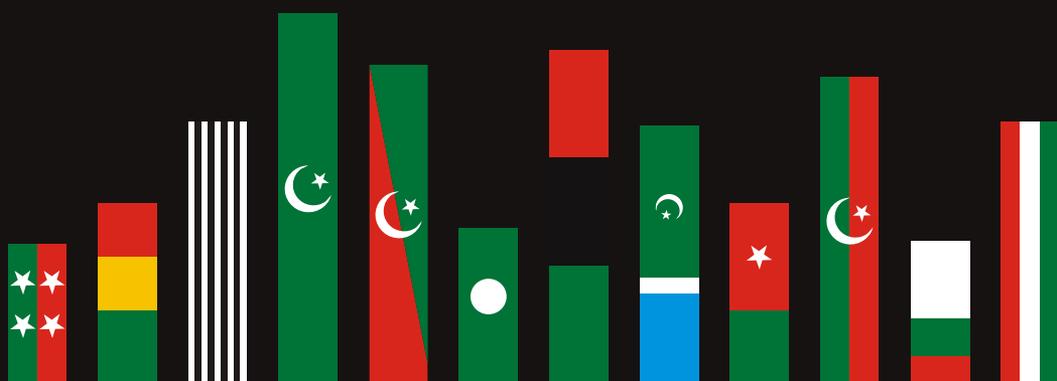


On October 10, 2002
Who Voted for whom

Findings from an Exit Poll Survey

October 2002





ELECTION 2002

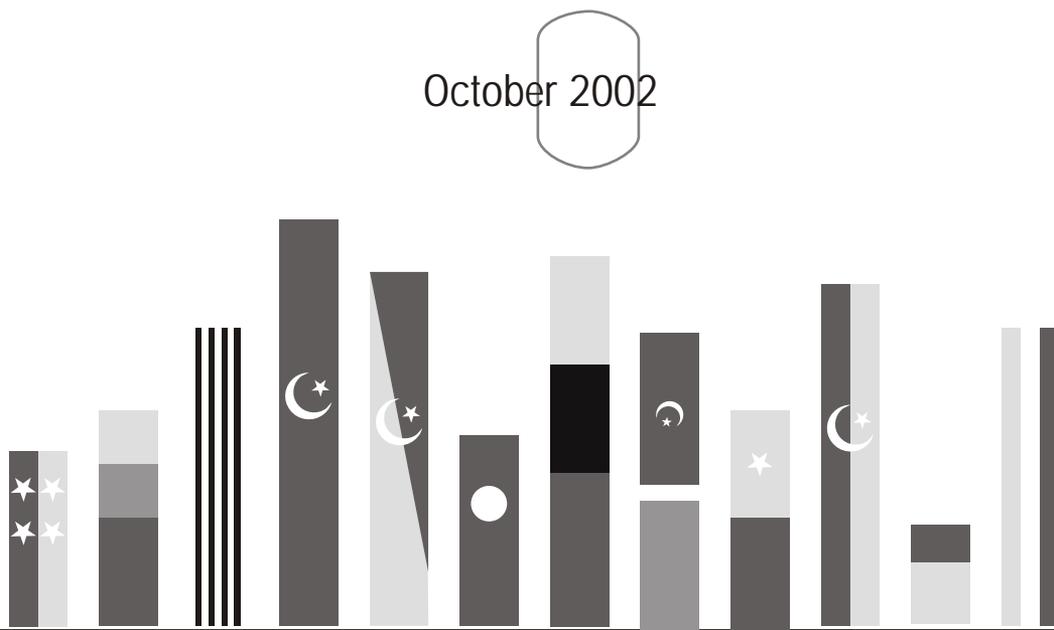
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Executive Summary

The Pakistani electorate chose a parliament divided mainly between three major parties in the October 2002 national election. These parties (the Muslim League Quaid-e-Azam (PML Q), the Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarian (PPPP) and the alliance of religious parties Muttahidda Majlis-e-Amal (MMA)) have successfully attracted a cross section of voters with certain regional concentrations. The PPPP came up with a stronghold in Sindh province, the PML (Q) amassed supporters in Punjab province and the MMA gained a foothold in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Balochistan. The Exit Poll, carried out by the Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development And Transparency - PILDAT, in association with Gallup Pakistan and Pakistani pollster Mr. Bilal Hassan Khan, shows that the MMA and independent candidates attracted a higher number of new voters in the age group 18-21, as well as better educated voters and won greater support in the NWFP and Balochistan. On the other hand, the PML (Q) and the PPPP did proportionately better among the illiterate and very poor rural voters. The MMA and independent candidates performed better with men than women, while the PPPP experienced a slight advantage amongst female voters. More than 70% of the voters of the PPPP, the PML (Q), and the PML (N) formerly voted for their own parties; (in the case of the PML (Q) and the PML (N) they are former voters of the combined PML). In the case of MMA, over 50% of their voters formerly voted for the PML.

About five thousand male and female voters were selected at random from polling stations in sixty-three (63) districts spanning Pakistan's four (4) provinces. The fieldwork was conducted face to face on election day, October 10, 2002, from the start to the end of polling. According to the survey, 99% of the voters claimed they showed their National Identification Card to the election officers and had their thumb marked with indelible ink so as to prevent double voting.

The exit poll was supervised by a team of scholars and analysts. Pollster Bilal Hassan Khan designed the sample, the questionnaire and other research methodology. Further analysis of the data will be done at a later stage for the benefit of students and scholars of Pakistani politics.

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FINDINGS

Pakistani voters have elected a parliament divided between the PML (Q), the PPPP and the MMA. These parties comprise around three quarters of the seats in the parliament. The remainder is split between other parties including smaller regional parties and independent candidates.

A voter profile analysis of those supporting the leading parties in the new parliament shows that the MMA and the independent candidates were able to attract a proportionately higher number of new voters in the age group 18 to 21 years as well as voters in higher income and education groups. In contrast, the PML (Q) (which won the largest number of seats, mainly from rural Punjab) attracted greater support from lower income and less educated voters.

There are great similarities between the income, education and age profile of those who voted for the PPPP and the PML (Q). However, the PPPP has a notable edge amongst the very poor. The PPP also enjoyed this edge over the Muslim League in the 1988 election but lost it in the three subsequent elections (1990, 1993 and 1997) when the populist appeal of Mr. Nawaz Sharif attracted the marginalised and poorer segments of the voting public. Apparently, the 1988 trend has partly reemerged in the election of 2002.

Another interesting shift occurred amongst young voters. In the 1988 elections, Gallup Exit Poll Surveys showed that the PPP had a disproportionately higher appeal among young voters. This changed in the 2002 election when this edge shifted to the MMA and the independent candidates, perhaps suggesting that younger and more educated voters were expressing their dissatisfaction with the performance of traditional political parties and their leaders. Parties able to portray themselves as alternatives to the status quo gained substantial new support in 2002.

The survey also suggests that both the MMA and the independent candidates did slightly poorer among women than men. But on the whole, the three major parliamentary parties gained support from the mainstream Pakistani electorate. Each attracted substantial numbers of men and women, educated and illiterate, poor and well off, young and old.

The tables following this summary provide further insight into the socio-economic composition of the voters supporting the PML (Q), the PPPP, the MMA, the independent candidates and others.

The PILDAT exit poll survey sheds some light on the logistics surrounding the election and the balloting process. More than 99% of the voters sampled in this exit-poll said they showed their National Identity Card and their thumb was marked with indelible ink to prevent the possibility of double voting. Only 15% of the voters said they were concerned that interference on polling day could hurt the prospects of victory for their favourite candidate. When asked if they felt pressured or compelled to vote in a particular way, a vast majority denied any pressure; only 6% responded in the affirmative. However this proportion was higher than the national average among voters in the NWFP (13%).

The PILDAT exit poll included a cross section of male and female voters from rural and urban areas from 63 districts spanning Pakistan's 4 provinces and various regions. The fieldwork was carried out in-person by a team of men and women who interviewed a random selection of voters outside the polling stations. The error margin for a survey of this kind is estimated to be $\pm 3\%$ at 95% confidence level.

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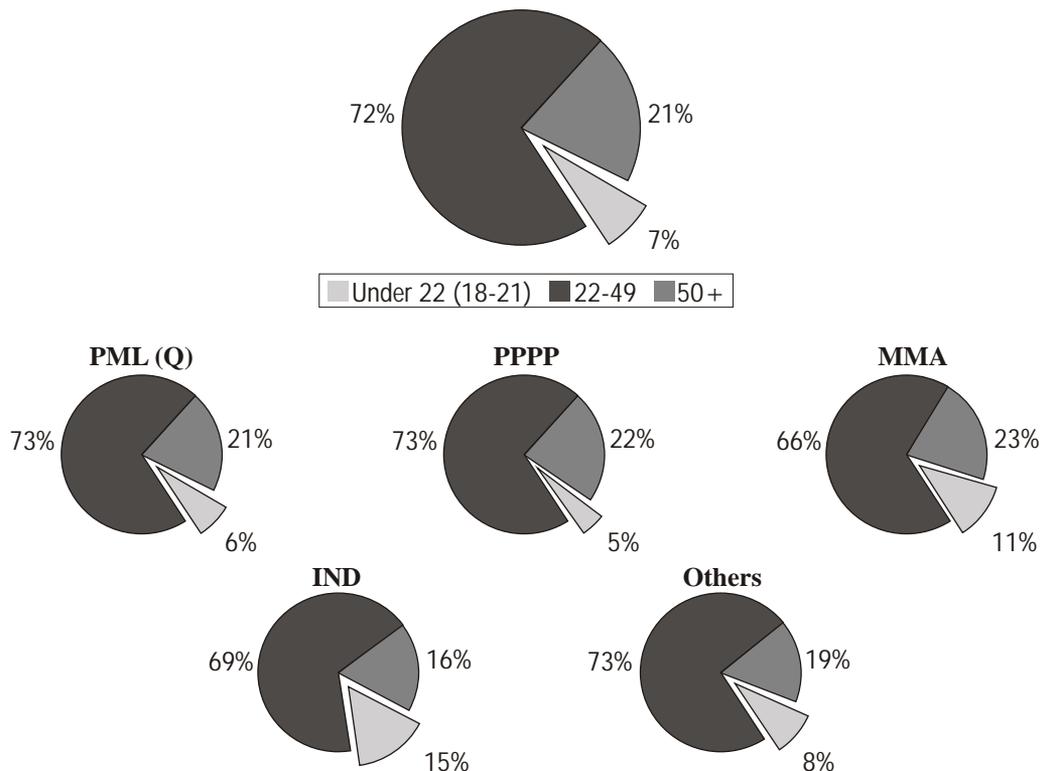
Voting Among Different Age Groups

According to the Exit Poll, 7% of the total voters were between the ages of 18-21. The MMA and the independent candidates received a proportionately higher percentage of youth votes at 11% and 15% out of their overall respective tallies. In contrast, youth voting for the PML (Q) and the PPPP comprised only 6% and 5% of their overall respective tallies.

Table 1
AGE PROFILE OF VOTERS SUPPORTING LEADING PARTIES
FOR THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

	PML (Q)	PPPP	MMA	IND	Others
Age Group 18-21	6%	5%	11%	15%	8%
Age 22-49	73%	73%	66%	69%	73%
Age 50+	21%	22%	23%	16%	19%

ALL VOTERS



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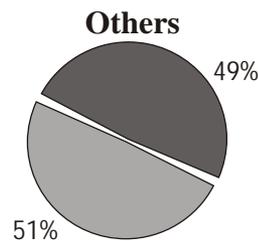
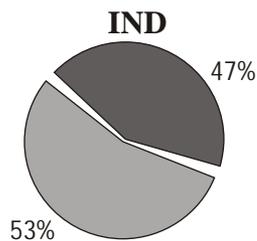
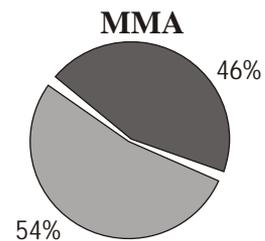
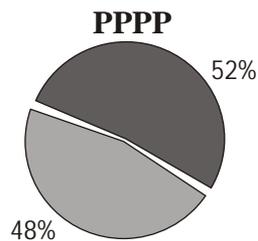
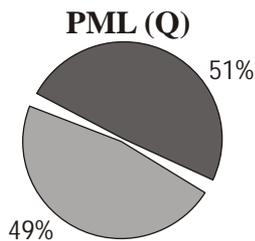
Voting Among Males and Females

There is a slight difference in the gender composition of voters for the top three parties. Compared to the other parties, the PPPP has a slight advantage amongst women.

Table 2
GENDER COMPOSITION OF VOTERS SUPPORTING LEADING PARTIES FOR THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

	PML (Q)	PPPP	MMA	IND	Others
Male	49%	48%	54%	53%	51%
Female	51%	52%	46%	47%	49%

Male Female



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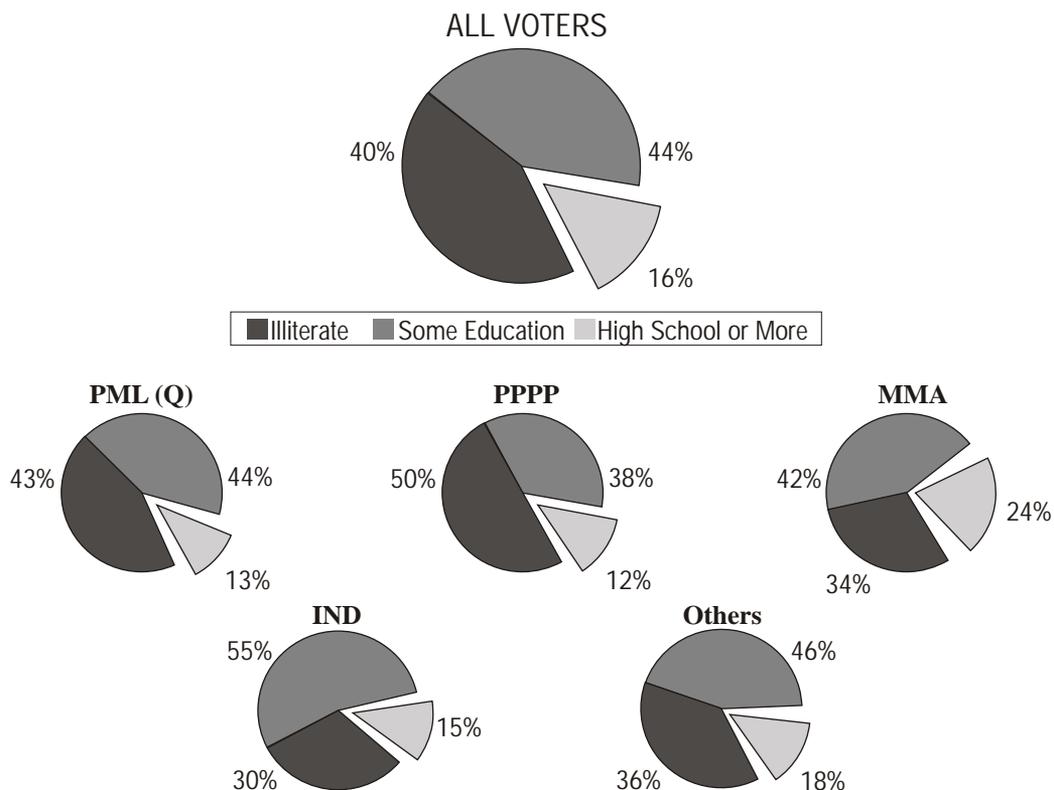
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Voting Among Different Education Groups

The PPPP and the PML (Q) have a proportionate edge over the MMA among illiterate voters whereas the MMA attracted the largest number of high school or better-educated voters than any other party.

Table 3
EDUCATION PROFILE OF VOTERS SUPPORTING LEADING PARTIES
FOR THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

	PML (Q)	PPPP	MMA	IND	Others
Illiterate	43%	50%	34%	30%	36%
Some Education	44%	38%	42%	55%	46%
High School or More	13%	12%	24%	15%	18%



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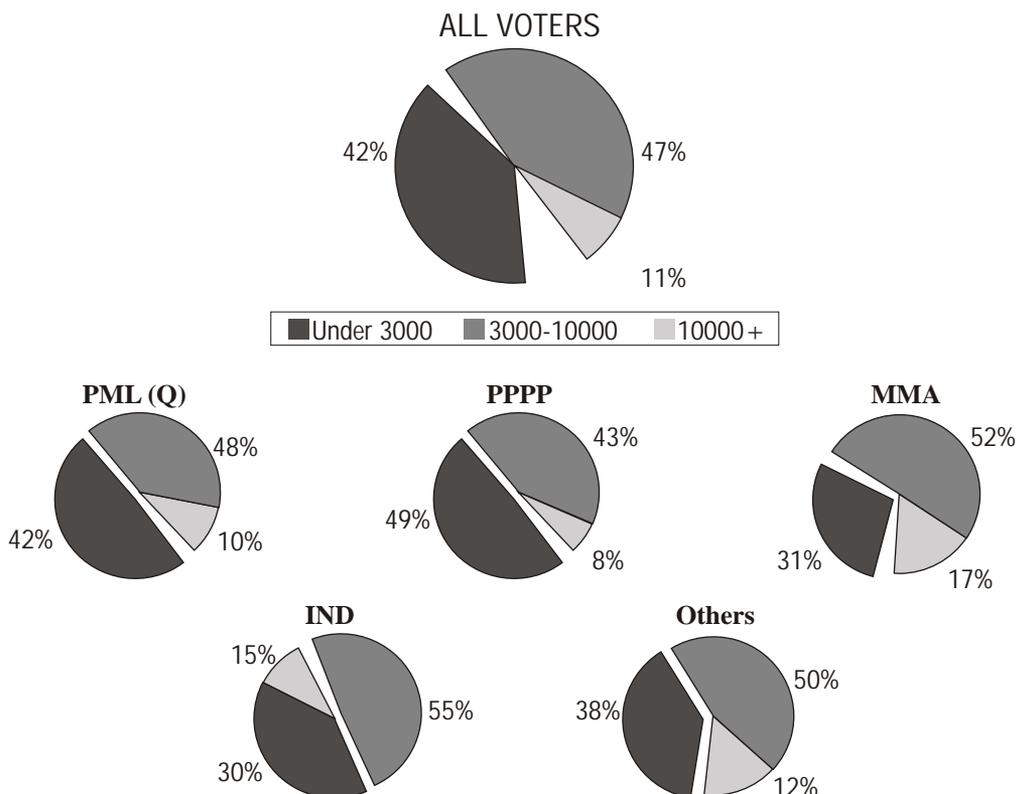
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Voting Among Different Income Groups

The PPPP and the PML (Q) enjoy an advantage over the MMA amongst very poor voters with a reported monthly household income of less than Rs. 3,000. On the other hand, the MMA leads other parties amongst voters whose monthly household income is over Rs. 10,000. *(Approx. Rs.60=\$1)

Table 4
VOTING AMONG DIFFERENT INCOME GROUPS

	PML (Q)	PPPP	MMA	IND	Others
Very Poor	48%	49%	31%	30%	38%
Lower Middle	42%	43%	52%	55%	50%
Middle and Higher	10%	8%	17%	15%	12%



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Previous Voting Patterns of Current Voters

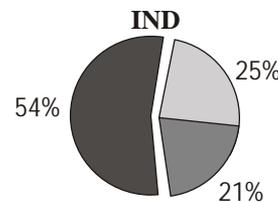
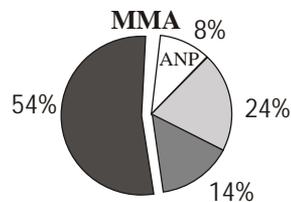
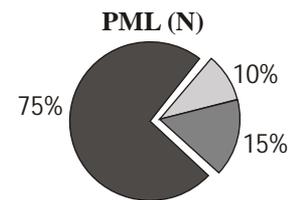
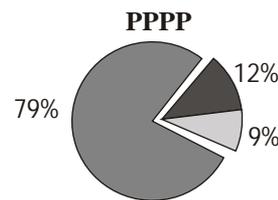
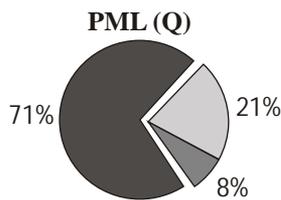
79% of those who voted for PPPP in 2002 voted for PPP in 1997. 71% of those who voted for the PML (Q) in 2002 voted for the united PML in 1997. In the case of the MMA, over 50% of their voters formerly voted for the PML.

Table 5
PREVIOUS AFFILIATIONS OF 2002 VOTERS

1997	2002 PML (Q)	2002 PPPP	2002 PML (N)	2002 MMA	2002 IND
PPP	8%	79%	15%	14%	21%
PML	71%	12%	75%	54%	54%
Others	21%	9%	10%	32%*	25%

* This includes 8% of former ANP voters as shown in the chart below

■ PPPP ■ PML ■ Others



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VOTING PATTERNS OF 2002 NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION ACCORDING TO EXIT POLL

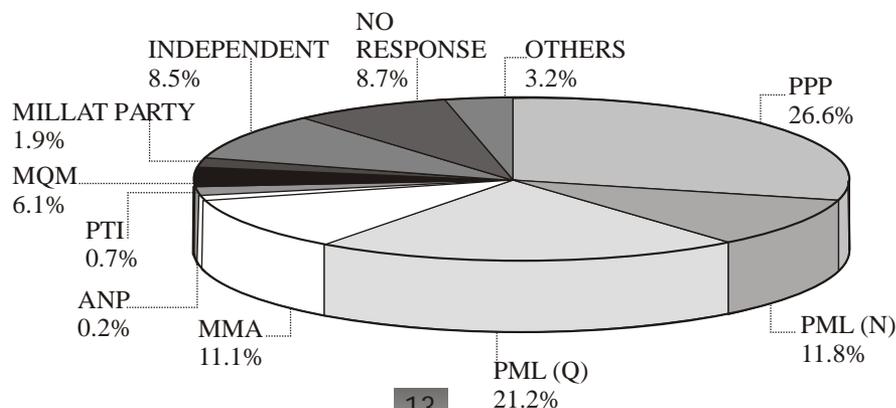
Exit poll data below indicates the PPPP and the PML (Q) as front runners capturing 26.6 and 21.2 percentage of the popular vote respectively, followed by the PML (N) and the MMA. It must be noted that 8.7 percent of those polled did not reply to this question.

Table 6

Percentage of Votes Received by Each Political Party

PARTY	PERCENT
PPPP	26.6
PML (Q)	21.2
PML (N)	11.8
MMA	11.1
INDEPENDENT	8.5
MQM	6.1
MILLAT PARTY	1.9
ANP	.2
PTI	.7
OTHERS	3.2
TOTAL	91.3
NO RESPONSE	8.7
TOTAL	100.0

TOTAL NO OF RESPONDENTS	4680
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RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

About the survey

The survey was conducted among a highly scientific sample comprising 4680 adult men and women chosen from nearly 100 locations from all four provinces of Pakistan including Islamabad.

The choice of the sample was based strictly on the probability of various provinces in the census distribution of the population. The rural/urban, gender, and age ratios were also preserved to maintain a highly representative sample.

In each of the sample locations, 50 interviews (25 males and 25 females) were conducted at both male and female polling stations. The sampling interval was 15 minutes at each location.

The fieldwork was conducted face to face by a team of men and women on election day, October 10, 2002. The error margin for the national sample is in the range of $\pm 2-3\%$ at a 95% confidence level.

- Sample:** National probability sample, Rural and Urban, covering all the four provinces. (except Fata, Chitral and Kohistan)
- Sample Method:** Multi-stage area probability sample
- Sample Size:** 4680 men and women

Table 7
Sample Proportion Exit Poll (Province-based)

	Sample Proportion	Actual Population Proportion	Actual Population Proportion Excluding FATA, Chitral, Kohistan
Punjab including Islamabad ¹	59%	56.20%	57.94%
Sindh	24%	22.97%	23.67%
NWFP ²	5%	4.99%	5.14%
Baluchistan	12%	15.85%	13.23%
Total	100%	100.01%	100%

1. Punjab is slightly over represented mainly due to sampling error and also due to exclusion of FATA, Chitral and Kohistan districts in NWFP. Actual population proportion includes FATA, Chitral and Kohistan.
2. NWFP is slightly underrepresented mainly due to sampling error and also due to exclusion of FATA, Chitral and Kohistan districts in NWFP. Actual population proportion includes FATA, Chitral and Kohistan.

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Table 8
Sample Proportion Exit Poll (Based on Urban-Rural divide)

	Sample Proportion	Actual Proportion	Actual Population Proportion Excluding FATA, Chitral, Kohistan
Urban	35%	33%	33.51%
Rural	65%	67%	66.48%



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