

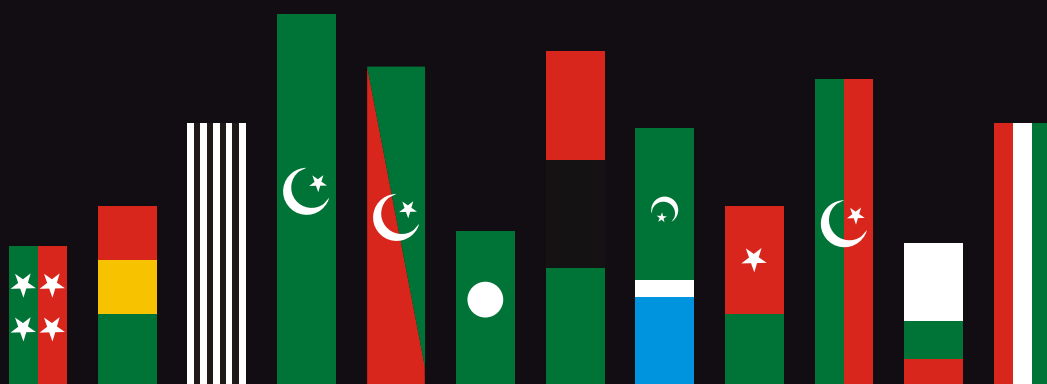


Why Some People Vote and Others do not?

*Penetrating answers to this and other key questions which
intrigue election-observers*

Highlights of the Post-Election Public Opinion Survey

March 2002





ELECTION 2002

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Pakistan Institute of
Legislative Development
And Transparency

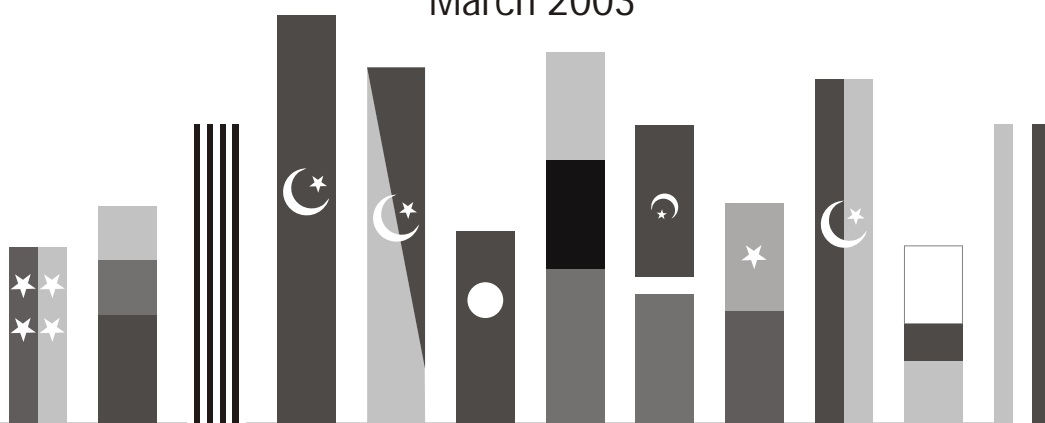


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ELECTION 2002

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Executive Summary

The elections 2002 were Pakistan's eighth (8th) national elections. The first one was held in 1970, and another seven (7) followed with different intervals in-between. These were held in 1977, 1985 (*non-party elections*), 1988, 1990, 1993 and 1997.

This report examines in detail the findings of post-election survey carried out in January 2003 by the Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development And Transparency - PILDAT, in association with Gallup Pakistan and Pakistani pollster Mr. Bilal Hassan Khan. Viewed in the context of research studies on previous elections, this report provides an insight into the elements of continuity and change in the electoral behavior of Pakistan.

The post-election survey shows that almost half of the Pakistani electorate was interested in the October 2002 general elections. Eligible voters, who were interested in the general elections 2002, were more likely to vote in the October 2002 elections. In addition, most of the general elections 2002 voters made their decision of who to vote for during the election campaign. This is in contrast to previous surveys conducted in Pakistan where most of the people had already decided who to vote for even before the election campaign had started. The study also reveals that higher proportion of the Pakistan Peoples Party-Parliamentarians (PPPP) voters, as compared to other parties' voters, had decided to vote for their party even before 2001. Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid-e-Azam (PML-Q) voters, on the other hand, decided during the election campaign.

The study also depicts that the respondents' considered ideology, party identification or affiliation, and decision of the household leader or the head are the key reasons to vote for a particular political party candidate in the National Assembly elections. The post-election survey shows that party policies and party leaders, as compared to the candidates themselves, are important reasons for voters' choice in the National Assembly elections. A majority of Pakistani voters vote on the basis of party policies and their leadership. Similarly, party affiliation is one of the most important determinants of voting behaviour, according to this post-election survey.

Lack of interest in politics and non-voting behaviour of the Pakistani electorate is an important reason for not voting in various National Assembly elections. Similar to the previous research which illustrates that same people tend to vote regularly in various elections, this research shows that non-voting is also habitual: there are certain types of people who are least likely to vote in an election and this may be habitual.

The post-election study shows that an overwhelming majority of the Pakistani voters consider the October 2002 general elections as free and fair. At the same time, the study also reveals that those voters, who voted for such political parties which lost the October general elections at the national level, are more likely to perceive the elections as unfair.

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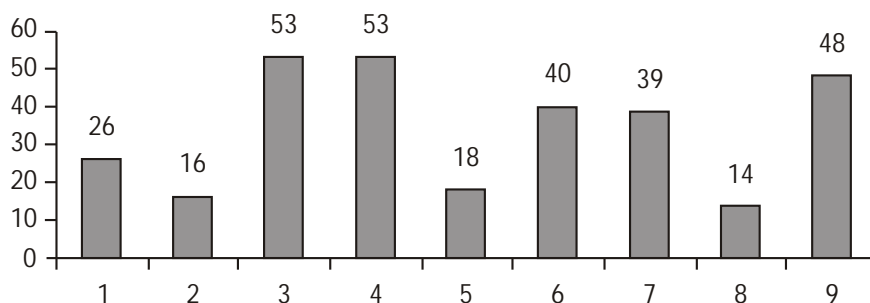
APATHY TOWARDS POLITICS AND FEELING OF INEFFICACY ARE THE TWO MOST IMPORTANT FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR NON-VOTING

Nearly sixty (60) per cent of eligible voters did not vote. Out of those sixty (60) per cent, fifty-three (53) per cent said they were not interested in politics and fifty-three (53) per cent also said they usually do not vote.

Question: *If you did not vote for the National Assembly seat in your constituency in the October 2002 elections, which statements describe your decision not to vote?*

	Yes
1. Did not like any candidate	26
2. I did not like the candidate of my party	16
3. I usually do not vote	53
4. I am not interested in politics	53
5. Polling station was quite far from where I live	18
6. I really intended to vote but circumstances on the day prevented me.	40
7. There is no point in voting because my vote will not change anything in Pakistan	39
8. The party I used to support no longer stands for what I believe in.	14
9. I did not feel like voting	48

The percentages do not add to 100 due to the multiple response nature of the question.



ELECTION 2002

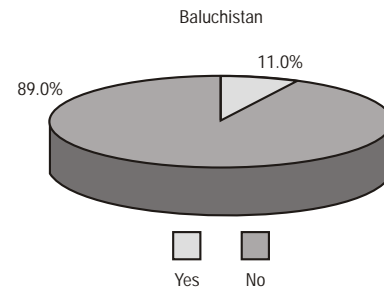
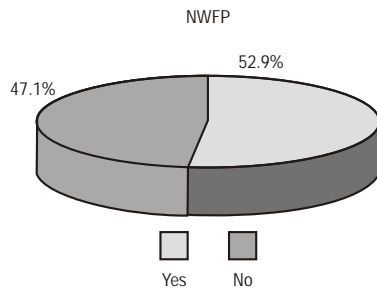
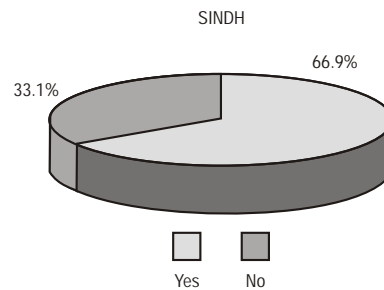
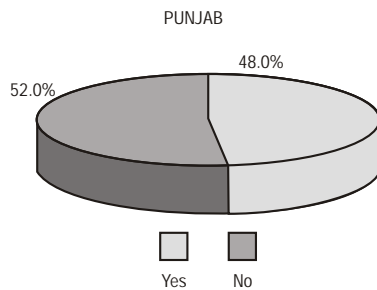
Why Some People Vote and Others do not?

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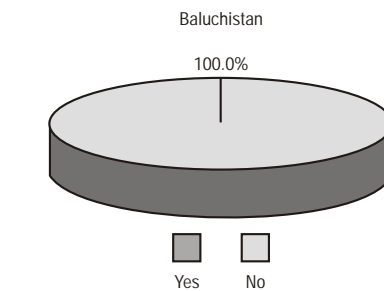
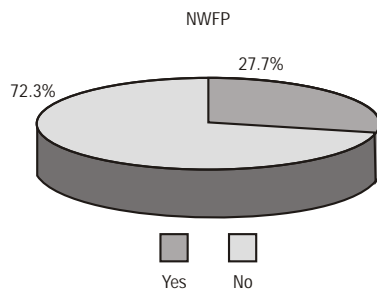
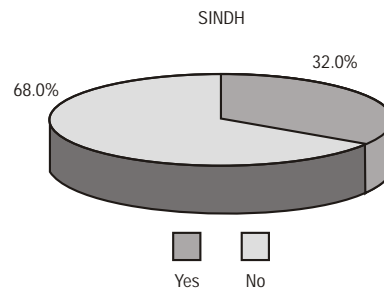
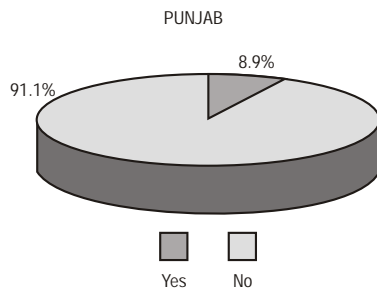
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PROVINCIAL VARIATIONS IN RESPONSES

I am not interested in politics



Polling station was quite far from where I live



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Why Some People Vote and Others do not?

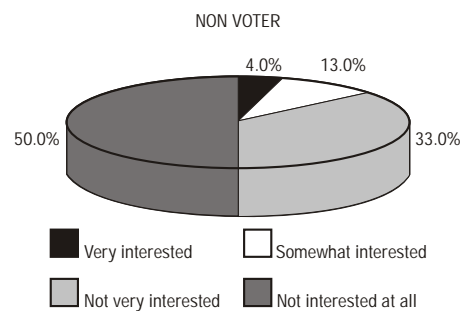
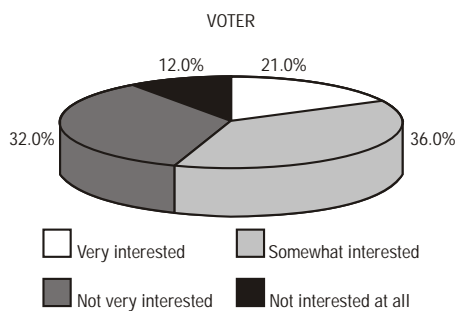
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A MATTER OF INTEREST

Nearly half (47%) of the respondents said they had a high or moderate level of interest in the election campaign. The voter turn-out was much higher among this group compared to those who did not take interest in the elections.

	Voter	Non voter	Total
Very interested	21%	4%	16%
Somewhat interested	36%	13%	29%
Not very interested	32%	33%	32%
Not interested at all	12%	50%	23%
Total	100%	100%	100%



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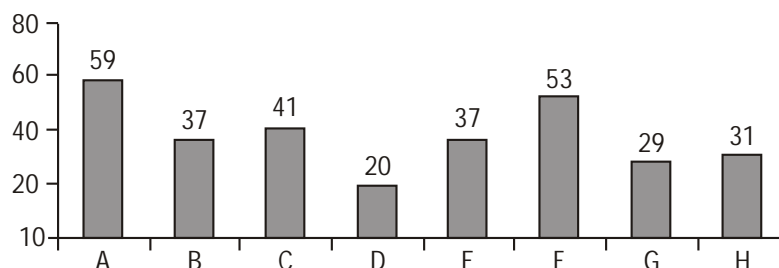
VOTING CHOICE IS A COMBINATION OF POLITICAL IDEOLOGY, PARTY AFFILIATION AND THE INFLUENCE OF FAMILY AND COMMUNITY

Harmony of political views and ideology was cited by fifty-nine (59) per cent of the respondents as the underlying reason for their voting choice while the forty-one (41) per cent of the respondents cited common party affiliation as the main reason for their voting choice. Only twenty (20) per cent of the respondents said they had voted because of “*biradri*” or clan affiliations. “*Biradri*” or clan was seen as far less important compared to political ideology or party loyalty. Thirty-five (35) per cent of the respondents said that the ability of a candidate to provide patronage and support in day-to-day matters was the basis for their voting choice.

Question: What were your reasons amongst the following to vote for a particular candidate of a particular party?

	Yes
A. The candidate reflected my ideology and opinion	59
B. The candidate took care of my every day problems like basic services to the community	37
C. The candidate represented the political party that I am a member of or sympathetic to	41
D. The candidate belongs to my tribe, caste or <i>biradry</i>	21
E. A local leader or an elder of my tribe/ <i>biradry</i> convinced me to vote for this particular candidate/party	37
F. My head of the household told me to vote for this particular candidate	53
G. The MPA I was supporting had a panel with this particular MNA candidate	29
H. This candidate's father/brother/uncle or candidate himself/herself did a lot of social and development work in my constituency	31

The percentages do not add to 100 due to the multiple response nature of the question.



ELECTION 2002

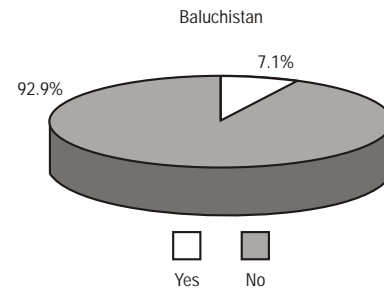
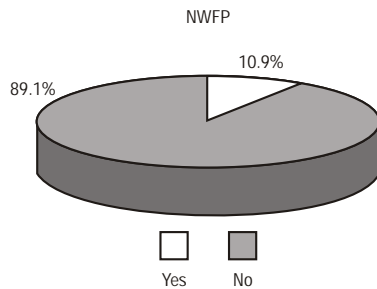
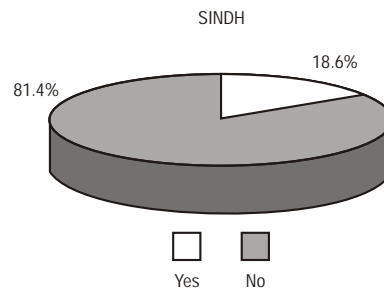
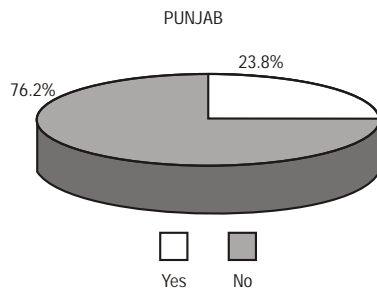
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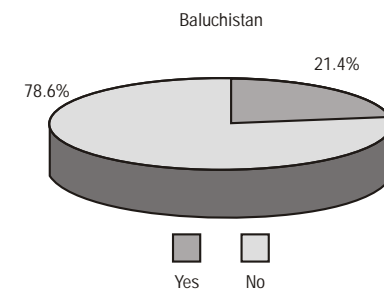
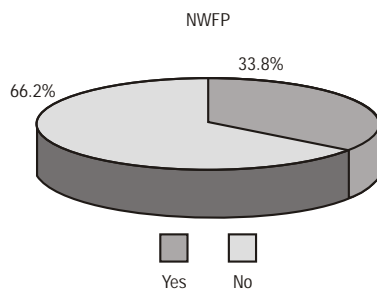
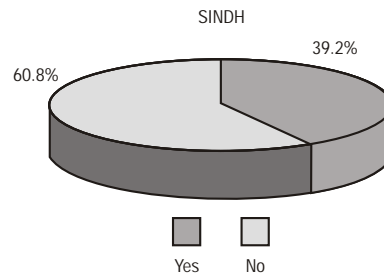
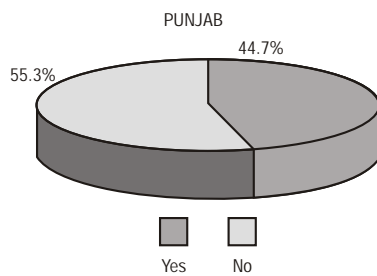
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PROVINCIAL VARIATIONS IN RESPONSES

The candidate belongs to my tribe, caste or *biradri*



The candidate represented the political party that I am a member of or sympathise with



ELECTION 2002

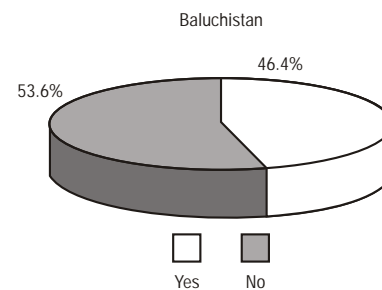
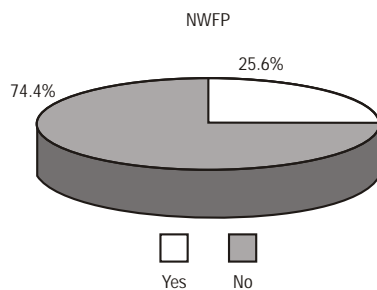
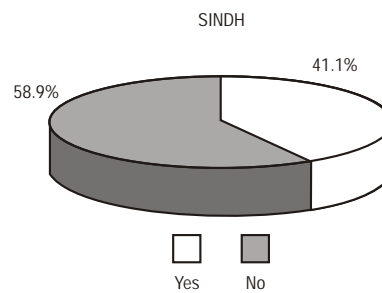
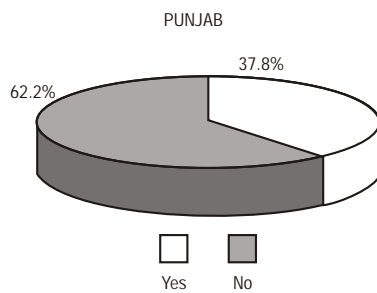
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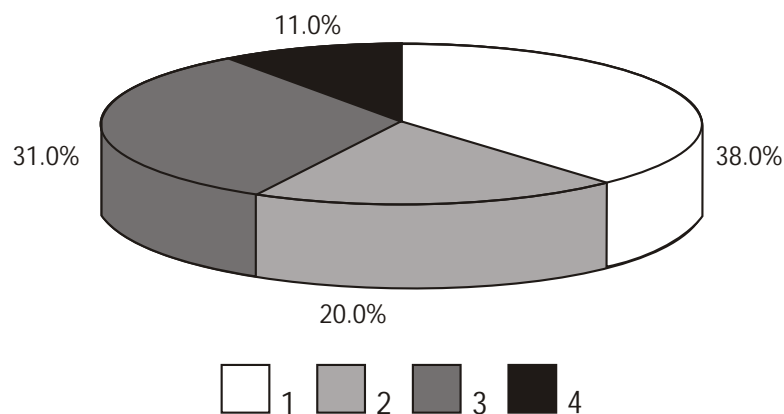
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THE MAJORITY OF VOTERS MAINTAIN THEIR POLITICAL LOYALTIES

The survey shows that just under two-thirds of the voters maintain their political loyalties from one election to the next. According to the results, voters in Sindh and Balochistan are most likely to maintain party loyalties.

Question: Which one of the following statements most determines for whom you voted in the October National Assembly elections?

	Percentage excluding non response
1. I usually vote for the same political party in my national assembly constituency	38
2. I usually vote for the same candidate or his/her local political group/ <i>biradri</i>	20
3. I usually do not vote for the same political party or political group and my vote for national assembly candidate depends upon various other factors	31
4. Do not Know	11
Total	100



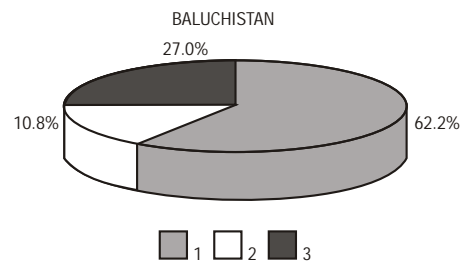
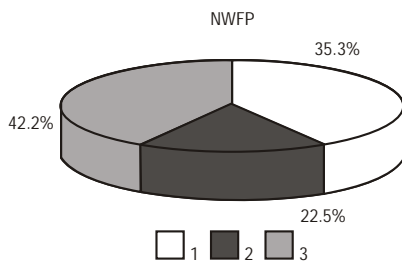
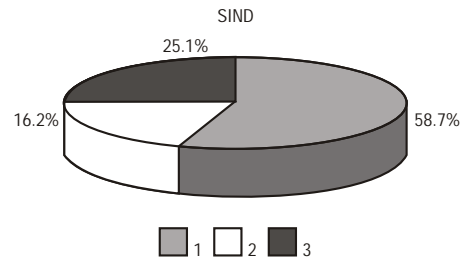
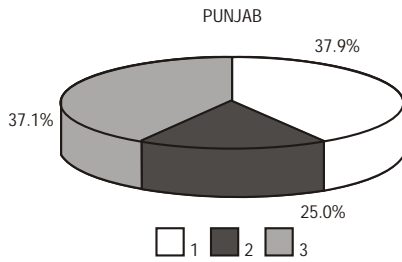
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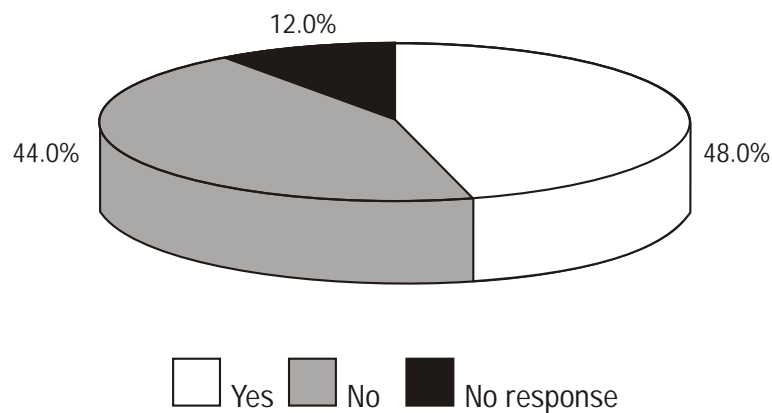
MORE THAN HALF OF ALL TELEVISION VIEWERS RECALLED HAVING WATCHED POLITICAL PARTY ADVERTISEMENTS DURING THE 2002 ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Nearly half of the respondents (48%) said they had come across election advertisements in the mass media during the campaign. Of those, thirty-three (33) per cent said they had watched a political party advertisement on television. This would amount to nearly half of all television viewers in the country, since the combined reach of various television stations is around sixty (60) per cent of the population, according to the recent Gallup TV Audience reports.

Question: Do you recall seeing any advertisement asking you to vote during the recent October 2002 elections?

Percent of the respondents

Yes	48
No	44
No response	12
Total	100



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THE POST-ELECTION SURVEY SUGGESTS THAT THERE WAS EXTENSIVE DOOR-TO-DOOR CAMPAIGNING BEFORE THE OCTOBER ELECTION

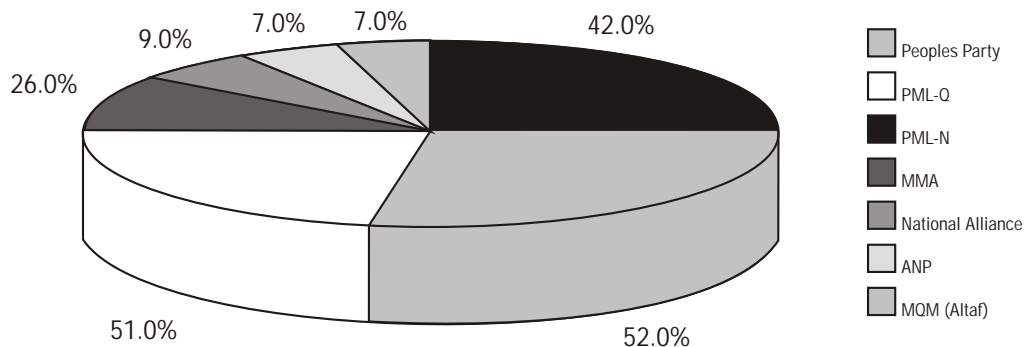
A large majority of the respondents (40%) said that representatives of various political parties had visited their homes to canvass them in favour of their candidate during election campaign 2002. The door-to-door campaign by the PPP and PML (both PML-Q and PML-N) seemed to have reached a very large section of the total population followed by the Muttahidda Majlis-e-Amal (MMA).

The Reach of Door-to Door-Election Campaign

Percentage of all households in the country which were reached by the door to door campaign

Peoples Party	52
PML-Q	51
PML-N	42
MMA	26
National Alliance	9
ANP	7
MQM (Altaf)	7

The percentages do not add to 100 due to multiple response nature of the question.



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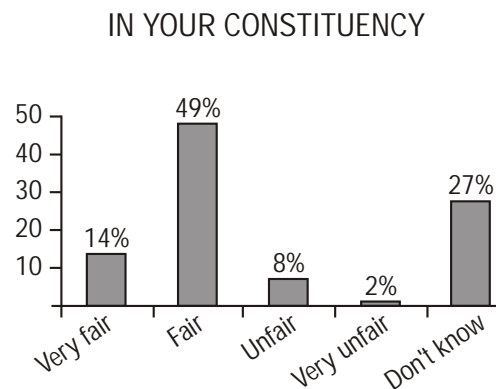
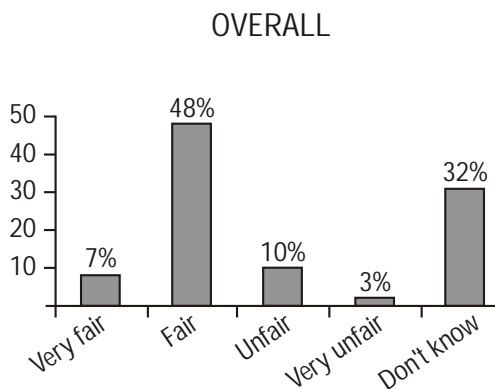
LARGE MAJORITY OF THE VOTERS VIEWED THE ELECTIONS TO BE FAIR

A majority of the respondents (55%) in the post election survey viewed the elections to have been conducted fairly. Only thirteen (13) per cent believed the elections were conducted unfairly. The remaining thirty-two (32) per cent said they did not know. Interestingly, the perception of fairness of elections in one's own electoral seat was higher (62%) compared to the perceived fairness at the national level (55%).

Question: How fair do you think were the October 2002 National Assembly elections?

	Overall nationwide	In your constituency
Very fair	7	14
Fair	48	49
Unfair	10	8
Very unfair	3	2
Don't know	32	27
Total	100.0	100.0

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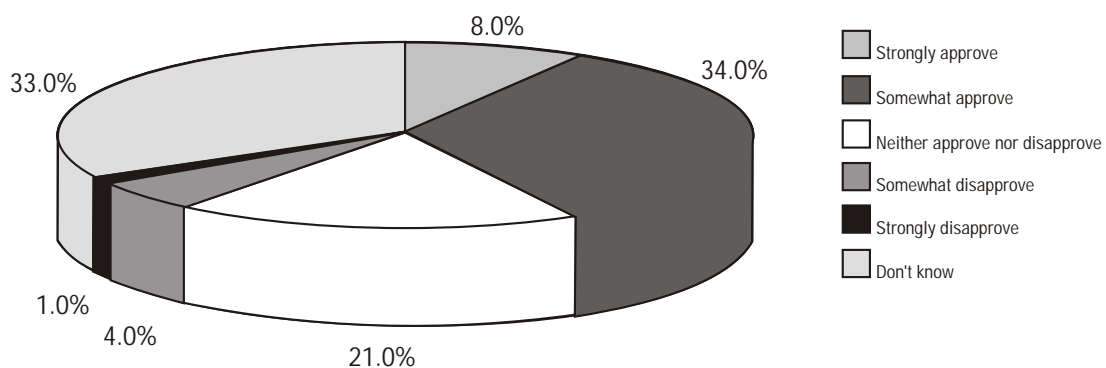
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THE NEW GOVERNMENT HAS ENJOYED A RELATIVELY GOOD RATING THUS FAR

When asked to rate the performance of the new government (*the survey was held during the last week of January 2003*) forty-one (41) per cent of the respondents gave it very good and good rating, while twenty-one (21) per cent said it was “neither bad nor good”. Only five (5) per cent gave it bad ratings and thirty-three (33) per cent had not formulated an opinion at this stage. Respondents in the Baluchistan and the NWFP provinces gave the most favourable rating.

Question: Do you approve or disapprove the way Prime Minister Jamali is handling his job as Prime Minister?

Strongly approve	8
Somewhat Approve	34
Neither approve nor disapprove	21
Somewhat disapprove	4
Strongly disapprove	1
Don't know	33



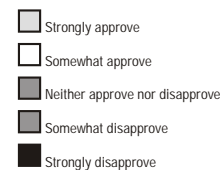
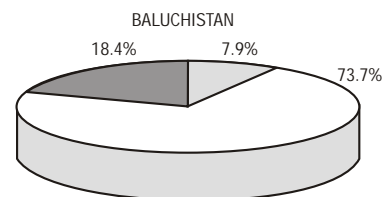
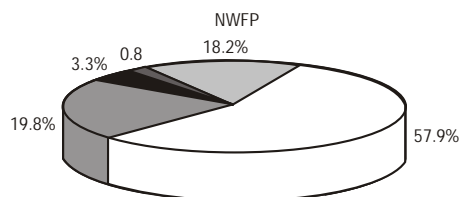
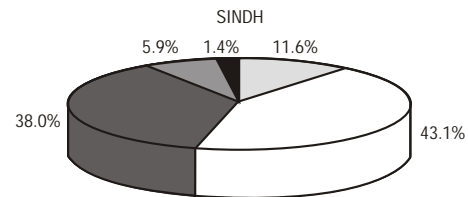
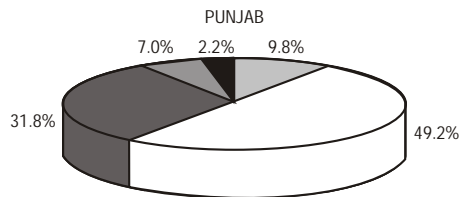
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RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The survey was conducted among a highly scientific sample comprising 2500 adult men and women chosen from nearly 100 villages and 50 urban locations of all the four (4) provinces of Pakistan. Same respondents from the pre-election study were interviewed again in the post-election study phase.

The choice of the sample was strictly on the basis of the probability of various provinces in the census distribution of the population. The rural and urban voters also came out in the same ratio as their share in the population. Similarly voters with respect to the age were in the same ratio as their share in those eligible to vote. The gender distribution also corresponded with their census share. Thus the sample was highly represented in most of the population proportion, age 18 years and above.

The fieldwork was conducted face to face by a team of men and women during January 2003. The error margin for the national sample is highly likely to be $\pm 3\%$ at 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: 2500 men and women approximately

Distribution of the sample

Locality	Percent of Sample
Rural	67%
Urban	33%
Gender	
Male	52%
Female	48%
Provinces	
Punjab* (Including Islamabad)	58%
Sindh	23%
NWFP	14%
Baluchistan	05%

*Kish method was used to select the respondents 18 years and above within the randomly selected household. The right hand method was used to select every third household in the localities selected through area probability sample.



11-F, Model Town Lahore, Pakistan.
Ph: (92-42) 111 123 222 Fax: (92-42) 583 5884
Email: info@pildat.org URL: www.pildat.org