### PILDAT Report

# Public Opinion on Quality of Democracy in Pakistan

First Year of Federal and Provincial Governments: June 2013 – May 2014
September 2014 <sup>1</sup>

# **Executive Summary**

# **Table 1: Core Quality of Democracy Indicators**

No	Indicator	Explanation
1	Overall Quality of Democracy	Measures the public's perception of the overall state of democracy and affairs in the country under the current democratic Government
2	Independence of Media	Measures the public's perception of the Government's performance at ensuring the freedom of media in the country
3	Effectiveness of the Supreme Court	Measures the public's perception of the Government's performance at facilitating the strengthening of the Supreme Court so that it becomes more independent and stronger
4	Transfer of Powers at the Provincial Level	Measures the public's perception of the Government's success at transferring power to the provinces – especially after the passage of the 18 <sup>th</sup> Amendment
5	Effectiveness of the National Assembly	Measures the public's perception of the Government's performance at making the National Assembly stronger and effective
6	Effectiveness of the Federal Cabinet	Measures the public's perception of the Government's performance at making the Prime Minister and his Cabinet stronger and more authoritative
7	Democratic Checks on the Military	Measures the public's perception of the Government's ability and success at making the armed forces subordinate to democratic institutions and norms in Pakistan
8	Effectiveness of the Bureaucracy	Measures the public's perception of the Government's success at making the bureaucracy more effective and ensuring that civil servants remain impartial, transparent, and obedient to the Constitution and laws of Pakistan
9	Respect for Human Rights	Measures the public's perception of the Government's performance with regards to ensuring the respect for human rights in the country

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This summary report presents an analysis of the public opinion obtained on core indicators on quality This summary Taport spressents afrom the survey included 3065 citizens from rural and urban areas from all the four provinces of Pakistan. They represented a cross section of young and old, middle and high income. The fieldwork for the report was done face to face in respondents' homes. The sample is also based on a cross-section of various age, income, education and language groups of the population. Error margin is estimated to be approximately  $\pm 3-5\%$  at 95% confidence level.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Upon the completion of the 1<sup>st</sup> year of National and Provincial Assemblies and Governments in office in May 2014, PILDAT conceived and commissioned a *public opinion survey* to gauge public opinion across the country on quality of democracy. The nationwide poll was conducted during **July 16, 2014 to August 6, 2014**. The Nationwide Poll was conceived and commissioned by PILDAT and conducted by Gallup Pakistan.

10	Sovereignty	Assesses the public's perception of the
		Government's performance at ending foreign
		interference in the country's affairs, and
		protecting national sovereignty
11	Trust in Political Parties	Measures the public trust in their favoured
		political party

# Federal Government's Scorecard (National Evaluation)

The scorecard shows the Federal Government's Net Performance Ratings (NPR) on core democratic indicators. Negative Scores reflect performance evaluations where the negative assessment of the Federal Government's performance outpaces positive evaluation. Similarly, a positive NPR is indicative of an evaluation where the positive assessment of the Federal Government's democratic functioning and performance is greater than the sum of negative assessment.

**Table 2: Democracy Score Card** 

No.	Indicator	<b>Net Performance Rating</b>
		(NPR)
1	Overall Quality of Democracy	+13%
2	Independence of Media	+16%
3	<b>Effectiveness of the Supreme Court</b>	+2%
4	Transfer of Powers at the Provincial Level	-8%
5	<b>Effectiveness of the National Assembly</b>	+2%
6	<b>Effectiveness of the Federal Cabinet</b>	-8%
7	<b>Democratic Checks on the Military</b>	-3%
8	Effectiveness of the Bureaucracy	-21%
9	Respect for Human Rights	-16%
10	Sovereignty	-13%
11	Trust in Political Parties	+33%

### **Quality of Democracy in Pakistan – Public Confidence is High**

Over the last year, the Pakistani public has been able to see glimpses of the Federal Government's policy agenda and the state of democracy in the country. Crucially, the democratic transition from the PPP Government to the PML-N Government was a landmark event in the country's history. This peaceful and stable transfer of power from one democratic Government to another has given the Pakistani public an opportunity to begin assessing and engaging with democratic institutions and functions in the country. Moreover, as the country's democratic experience deepens, the people of Pakistan are beginning to understand and analyse the core indicators and norms that democratic Governments must adhere to, in order to make democracy more transparent, legitimate, and effective.

Pakistani public remains confident and optimistic about the democratic system in the country. When asked to assess the Government's performance on 11 core quality of democracy indicators, the current Federal Government earned positive NPRs on five counts: (1) Trust in Political Parties (+33%), (2) Independence of Media (+16%), (3) Overall Quality of Democracy (+13%), (4) Effectiveness of the Supreme Court (+2%), and (5) Effectiveness of the National Assembly (+2%).

Of particular significance is the public's positive rating on the **Overall Quality of Democracy** Indicator. This holistic indicator measures the public's level of

satisfaction, as well as their assessment of how well the democratic Government is functioning in the country. This positive NPR is reflective of the growing and deepening attachment that the people of Pakistan have begun forming with a democratic system of governance.

Notwithstanding this overall positivity in democratic assessment, the Federal Government also scored negative NPRs on 6 out of the 11 Indicators assessed in this public opinion poll: (1)\_Effectiveness of the Bureaucracy (-21%), (2) Respect for Human Rights (-16%), (3) Sovereignty (-13%), (4) Effectiveness of the Federal Cabinet (-8%), (5) Transfers of Powers at the Provincial Level (-8%) and (6) Democratic Checks on the Military (-3%).

The difference in positive and negative NPRs on specific indicators shows that the people of Pakistan are content with and support the overall democratic architecture that has been built over the last few years. Specifically, the people of Pakistan are happy with the overall democratic dispensation, and favour democratic governance. However, specific indicators of democratic functioning are still rated negatively. This implies that the people of Pakistan, while favouring the democratic infrastructure and overarching democratic norms in the country, still wish to see improvement on the operational aspects of democratic governance.

#### Strong Trust in Political Parties, Weak Assessment of Bureaucracy

Public opinion on the Federal Government's first year democratic performance indicates that the Pakistani public has clearly distinguished between the Government's strengths and weaknesses. The people of Pakistan have begun forming linkages with their favoured political parties and their political agendas. The current democratic order in the country gained its highest positive NPR on **Trust in Political Parties** (+33%). This signals a welcome change in Pakistan's socio-political discourse and politics. Pakistan's political parties, the principal institutions and agents of democratic functioning, norms, and practices in the country, enjoy strong public trust and confidence. This development augurs well for the future of democratic evolution and probability of democratic consolidation in the country.

In contrast, the lowest NPR on the current democratic system in the country was registered on Effectiveness of the Bureaucracy (-21%). This high negative NPR is indicative of the lack of transfusion of democratic accountability and transparency in the civil services in Pakistan. Critically, the machinery of governance, i.e., bureaucracy, is rated negatively by the people of Pakistan. This implies that while democratic norms and architecture are strengthening in Pakistan, the tool for delivering effective democratic policies remains ineffective. Specifically, the indicator assessed here analyses the impartial, objective, effective, and subordinate functioning of Civil Services under the Constitution and laws of the State. The negative NPR on this indicator is reflective of the need for democratic Governments in Pakistan to undertake bureaucratic reforms in order to deliver effective and improved governance to the people of Pakistan.

The best and worst rated Quality of Democracy Indicators here are also indicative of another important emerging feature of Pakistani politics and democracy: while the people of Pakistan have formed a confident and trust-based link with their political parties, thereby indicating a commitment to democratic norms in principle, the democratic Governments need to improve their performance via reforming the

bureaucratic machinery in order to bring positive and palpable reforms to the people of Pakistan.

#### **Democracy Scores: National Scores vs. Provincial Scores**

The scores published in Table 3 compare the National and Provincial scores on the Quality of Democracy at the Federal level. This comparison shows how each province views the current democratic dispensation in Islamabad and its performance on core democratic indicators.

**Table 3: Comparative Federal and Provincial Score Card** 

No.	Indicator	National	Provincial Scores				
		Scores					
			Balochistan	KP	Punjab	Sindh	
1	Overall Quality of	+13%	+54%	+31%	+19%	-27%	
	Democracy						
2	Independence of Media	+16%	-3%	-27%	+31%	+7%	
3	Effectiveness of the	+2%	-10%	-54%	+18%	-3%	
	Supreme						
	Court						
4	Transfer of Powers at the	-8%	-45%	-29%	+6%	-18%	
	Provincial Level						
5	Effectiveness of the	+2%	-15%	-2%	+11%	-19%	
	Parliament						
6	Effectiveness of the	-8%	+4%	-19%	+4%	-31%	
	Federal Cabinet						
7	Democratic Checks on	-3%	-30%	-30%	+11%	-15%	
	the Military						
8	Effectiveness of the	-21%	-30%	-28%	-8%	-51%	
	Bureaucracy						
9	Respect for Human	-16%	-20%	-27%	+2%	-55%	
	Rights						
10	Sovereignty	-13%	-18%	-9%	0	-43%	
11	Trust in Political Parties	+33%	+64%	+61%	+32%	+11%	

Table 3 provides an insight into how residents in each province of the country view the overall functioning and performance of democracy in the country.

# Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa – Similar Democratic Perceptions and Aspirations

Provincial scores from Balochistan and KP are somewhat similar in their positive and negative ratings on Quality of Democracy questions. Overall, people from Balochistan and KP hold positive opinions of the quality of democratic functioning in Islamabad. Respondents from both provinces registered their highest NPR on Trust in Political Parties (+64% in Balochistan, and +61% in KP). This strong positive NPR is indicative of the robust trust that political parties in each province have been able to generate.

Similarly, people from Balochistan and KP were equally positive in their assessment of the Overall Quality of Democracy in the country; Balochistan, with the NPR of +54% in fact provides the most favourable opinion on quality of democracy, followed by +31% in KP. Interestingly, the positive NPR by the people of KP

(+31%) for the overall quality of democracy in the country was higher than that of Punjab (+19%). These scores show that the people of Balochistan and KP are committed to democracy and democratic functioning in the country, and are satisfied with the current quality of democracy in Pakistan.

However, the two provinces also differ in their highest negative assessment of the Quality of Democracy Indicators. In Balochistan, the **most negative NPR** was registered on **Transfer of Powers at the Provincial Level (-45%;** a perennial and legitimate concern of the people of Balochistan), while in KP the most negative NPR was registered on **Effectiveness of the Supreme Court (-54%)**.

An important distinction here is the slightly **positive NPR** on **Effectiveness of the Federal Cabinet (+4%)** recorded in **Balochistan**. This score supports the idea that the people of Balochistan are increasingly becoming more comfortable with the democratic Government at the Federal level, and are fully supportive of retaining a democratic political system in the country.

#### **Sindh's Continued Negativity**

Sindh has emerged as politically the most pessimistic jurisdiction in the country. On all democracy Indicators, the Provincial Government earned negative NPRs. In this Quality of Democracy assessment, the people of Sindh have given negative NPRs to the democratic Government in Islamabad. The lowest NPR was recorded on Respect for Human Rights (-55%). Similarly, Effectiveness of the Bureaucracy (-51%) and Sovereignty (-43%) were rated poorly by the people of Sindh. The only positive NPR was registered on Independence of Media (+7%) and Trust in Political Parties (+11%).

This pervasive and prevailing negativity in Sindh must alert the national and political leadership to the resentment and pessimism brewing in the province. The people in Sindh are deeply dissatisfied with the current system of political governance, as well as the actual delivery of governance in the province. However, the silver lining remains in the trust quotient still attached to the political parties operating on the provincial and national level. Despite the overall negativity on most quality of democracy indicators, the people of Sindh are still expectant that political parties will successfully translate democratic support from the people into effective and transparent improvements in governance.

#### **Positive Punjab**

Punjab has emerged as the only province in the country with the highest number of positive NPRs for the current Federal Government's performance at strengthening the democratic system in the country. The people of Punjab gave the current democratic dispensation in the Federation, positive ratings on 9 out of 11 assessed indicators.

This result could be a reflection of the PML-N's Federal Government, which draws most of its electoral mandate and support from Punjab. The people of Punjab gave the **highest NPR** to **Trust in Political Parties** (+32%). This rating can be taken as evidence for strong support for the current system of democracy, as well as its qualitative performance over the last year.

The only **negative NPR** from the province was recorded on **Effectiveness of the Bureaucracy (-8%)**. Given the negative NPRs on this indicator from all four provinces, including Punjab, the current Federal Government should invest its focus and energies into reforming the bureaucratic institutional infrastructure in the country.

As the most populous province in the country, Punjab holds the key to political success in Pakistan. Crucially, positive evaluation from the people of Punjab is critical for ensuring support for democracy in the country, while continuing assessment from the people can help democratic Governments improve their governance record.

### **Detailed Scores on Indicators of Democracy**

#### Public Trust in Democracy: 55% provide positive ratings

55% Pakistanis report that they are somewhat to strongly satisfied with current democratic system in the country. However, a strong 42% said that they were somewhat to strongly dissatisfied with democracy at this point in time.

#### **Democracy vs. other Systems**

A substantial 67% of the country's population believes that democratically elected Governments constitute the best system for Pakistan. Crucially, the popular appetite for another Army rule in the country remains low – only 19% Pakistanis see another military rule as the best system for the country.

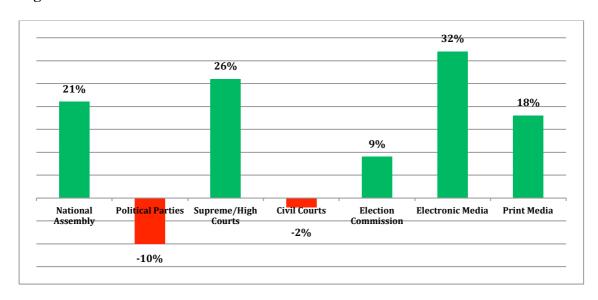
#### **Evolution of Democracy: 47% provide positive rating**

47% Pakistanis believe that the country is getting its democratic evolution mostly on the right track. This proportion of respondents rated the current democratic system in the country between 6 and 10 (on a scale of 1-10; a score of 1 being "Highly Undemocratic" and a score of 10 denotes "Highly Democratic"). 53% of the country's population rates the current democratic system more apprehensively by rating the current democratic system in the country between 1 and 5 (out of 10).

**Table 4: Trust in Institutions** 

	Institution	A lot	Somewhat	Little	Not at all	Net
						Rating
1	National Assembly	18%	42%	28%	11%	+21%
2	<b>Political Parties</b>	9%	35%	33%	21%	-10%
3	Supreme Court/High	29%	33%	21%	15%	+26%
	Court					
4	Civil Courts	11%	39%	32%	16%	-2%
5	<b>Election Commission</b>	8%	35%	33%	19%	+9%
6	Electronic Media	16%	48%	24%	8%	+32%
7	Print Media	12%	45%	28%	11%	+18%

**Figure 1: Trust in Institutions** 



Respondents from across Pakistan were asked to assert their level of trust on major national institutions. The data presented in Table 4 provides an indication of the most and least trusted institutions in the country.

Pakistan's burgeoning electronic media is seen as the most trustworthy institution, with a positive Net Rating of 32% - 64% Pakistanis stated that they trusted the electronic media "a lot" to "somewhat".

Similarly, the Supreme and High Courts of Pakistan earned a strong positive rating of +26%, while the National Assembly also generated a strong positive rating of +21%. The other important arm of the media industry – print media, also earned a solid trust rating of +18%. The Election Commission of Pakistan, currently embroiled in the middle of the national political crisis, was able to earn a positive rating of +9%.

In contrast to the robust trust embedded in the higher courts of the country by the people of Pakistan, civil courts in the country managed a negative rating of -2%. Political Parties in Pakistan received the lowest rating of the institutions covered in this poll: -10%.

### Perceptions of Election 2013: 63% provide positive ratings

A substantial 63% of all Pakistanis believe that the General Election in 2013 was somewhat to completely transparent and fair. Only 37% respondents see the Election as somewhat rigged to completely rigged.

#### Need for Reforms in the ECP: 85% think it is critical

The overwhelming majority of Pakistanis, 85%, believe that it is critical that the Election Commission of Pakistan's functions need to be reformed and reconfigured, while only 10% did not consider these changes necessary.

### Prospects of Fair Election in Future: 30% provide positive ratings

In the context of the need for reforms and changes in the ECP, 30% Pakistanis believe that the next elections will be conducted in a much better fashion by the Election Commission of Pakistan. However, 26% Pakistanis have serious doubts about the Election Commission and believe that the ECP will fare worse in the next elections. 37% of all Pakistanis believe that the ECP's performance at holding free and fair elections in the country will be no different in the future.

#### **Local Government Elections: 71 % consider Important**

A substantial 71% of the population says that holding Local Government elections are somewhat to very important. Only 27% of the country's population believes that holding local elections is not very important or not important at all.

## **Local Government System: 65% Support**

The majority of Pakistanis (65%) believe that a locally elected Government is somewhat to very important in solving the problems faced by ordinary Pakistanis. Only 32% Pakistanis asserted that local Governments are not important in resolving the problems faced by common people.

**Table 5: Trust in Leaders:** 

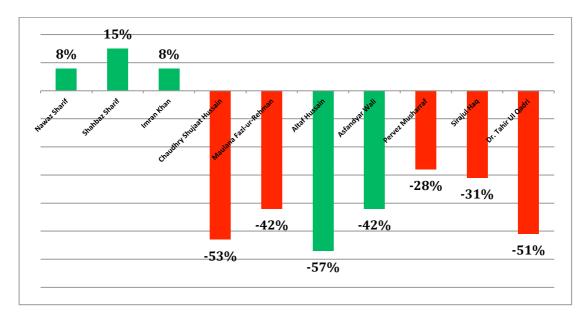
No.	Leader	Very	Good	Bad	Very	NPR
		Good			Bad	

1	Nawaz Sharif	17%	36%	31%	14%	+8%
2	Shahbaz Sharif	16%	41%	27%	15%	+15%
3	Imran Khan	15%	37%	29%	15%	+8%
4	Chaudhary Shujaat	2%	18%	45%	28%	-53%
	Hussain					
5	Maulana Fazlur-	3%	21%	40%	26%	-42%
	Rehman					
8	Altaf Hussain	3%	15%	31%	44%	-57%
9	Asfandyar Wali	2%	19%	35%	28%	-42%
	Khan					
10	Pervez Musharraf	9%	25%	33%	29%	-28%
11	Sirajul Haq	4%	26%	38%	23%	-31%
12	Dr. Tahir Ul Qadri	3%	18%	36%	36%	-51%

A review of the current leadership of the country shows that the people of Pakistan have contrasting views on the most favourable leaders in the country.

Of the political leadership in the country, Shahbaz Sharif emerged as the most popular political leader with a positive NPR of +15% (16% rated the Chief Minister of Punjab as Very Good or Good).

Figure 2: Trust in Leaders



Crucially, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and Imran Khan, at the centre of the current political crisis in the country, are equally popular in the country: both leaders garnered a positive NPR of +8%. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was rated marginally higher with 53% of the respondents rating him as a Very Good to Good leader, while 52% of Pakistanis rate Imran Khan as a Very Good to Good leader.

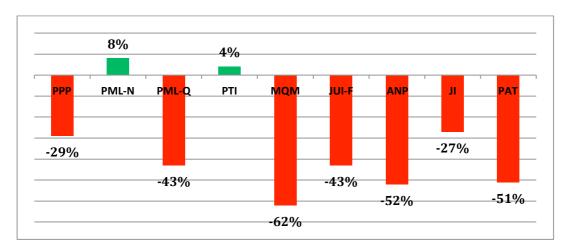
All other national political leaders included in the poll were rated negatively by the people of Pakistan. Altaf Hussain emerged as the least popular leader in Pakistan with the highest negative NPR of -57% (18% respondents rated him as "Very Good" to "Good". Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain also earned a substantial negative NPR of -53%, while Dr. Tahir Ul Qadri earned a similarly strong negative rating: -51%. Maulana Fazlur-Rehman and Afandyar Wali Khan earned a negative NPR of -42%, while JI's new Amir Mr. Sirajul Haq earned a rating of -31%. Ex-COAS-President and now

head of his political party, Gen. (Retd.) Pervez Musharraf, is also viewed negatively in the country (-28%).

**Table 6: Competence of Political Parties** 

No.	Party	Very	Good	Bad	Very	NPR
		Good			Bad	
1	Pakistan People's Party (PPP)	11%	24%	42%	22%	-29%
2	Pakistan Muslim League – Nawaz (PML-N)	18%	36%	28%	18%	+8%
3	Pakistan Muslim League – Quaid-e- Azam (PML-Q)	5%	22%	45%	25%	-43%
4	Pakistan Tehreek-i- Insaf (PTI)	14%	36%	29%	17%	+4%
5	Mutahida Quami Movement (MQM)	3%	13%	38%	40%	-62%
6	Jamiat Ulema-e- Islam (JUI-F)	3%	22%	42%	26%	-43%
7	Awami National Party (ANP)	2%	17%	41%	30%	-52%
8	Jamaat-i-Islami	3%	30%	38%	22%	-27%
9	Pakistan Awami Tehreek (PAT)	3%	18%	38%	34%	-51%

Figure 3: Competence of Political Parties



Respondents from across Pakistan were asked to evaluate the performance of major national political parties in the country. The results indicate that the majority of the country's political parties are largely negatively evaluated by the People of Pakistan.

The Pakistan Muslim League – Nawaz (PML-N) had the highest positive NPR of +8%, with 54% of the respondents rating the party's competence as "Very Good" to "Good". The Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf was the only other national political party to generate a positive NPR of +4% (50% of the respondents from across Pakistan rated the party's competence as "Very Good" or "Good).

In contrast, all other political parties included in this poll generated negative ratings of their competence. The MQM emerged as the most negatively rated political party in

the country with a negative NPR of -62% (only 16% of the respondents nationwide rated the party as "Very Good" or "Good"). The ANP received a negative NPR of -52%, while Dr. Tahir Ul Qadri's PAT received a negative NPR of -51%. The JUI-F and PML-Q were also rated negatively by the majority of the country – both parties received a negative rating of -43%.

The PPP has still not recovered from its performance in power between 2008 and 2013. The party received a nation-wide negative NPR of -29%. The JI received a negative NPR of -27% by respondents from across Pakistan.

# Legislative Function of the National Assembly: 48% rate the National Assembly positively

The National Assembly of Pakistan's performance is rated the best in terms of its legislative role in its first year. While 48% of the respondents saw the National Assembly's legislative performance as "Good" or "Very Good", 47% saw its functionality on this metric as "Bad" or "Very Bad".

## Oversight Functions of the National Assembly: 38% provide positive ratings

The majority of the country (57%) viewed the National Assembly's performance as "Bad" or "Very Bad" in carrying out oversight of the Executive. 38% of the country viewed the Assembly's performance as "Good" or "Very Good".

# Prime Minister's attendance and Participation in the National Assembly Sessions: 51% consider it bad

A majority of Pakistanis, 51%, saw Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's attendance and participation in the National Assembly sessions over the year as "Bad" or "Very Bad'. However, a substantial 42% seem to rate this as "Good" or "Very Good".

# Relations between the Federal Government and the Opposition: 53% do not approve

Over the last year 53% Pakistanis saw the Federal Government failing in keeping good relations with its political opposition in the National Assembly, while 42% rated it as "Good" or "Very Good".

### **Comparative Public Assessment of the Performance of Provincial Assemblies**

#### **Nationwide Score and Individual Provincial Scores**

46% of Pakistanis provided positive ratings to their Provincial Assembly regarding the making of Law whereas 48% provided negative ratings. This number shows that on average, 46% Pakistanis rate their respective provincial legislature's performance as Very Good or Good, while 48% rate their provincial legislatures as Bad or Very Bad in terms of their legislative performance.

The province-wise breakdown of these ratings is given in Table 7.

**Table 7: Provincial Assemblies' Ratings on Legislation** 

Province	Very Good	Good	Bad	Very Bad	NPR
Punjab	13%	36%	29%	15%	+5%
Sindh	13%	26%	32%	26%	-19%
KP	4%	40%	35%	18%	-9%
Balochistan	26%	35%	31%	8%	+22%

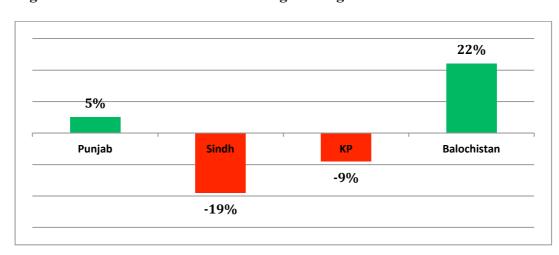


Figure 4: Provincial Assemblies' Ratings on Legislation

Balochistan's Provincial Assembly achieved the highest rating for its performance at enacting new laws, with a positive NPR of +22%, the Assembly in Quetta was rated as being "Very Good" or "Good" in this function over the last year.

In Punjab, 49% of the respondents rated the Provincial Assembly's performance at legislating as "Very good" or "Good" – with a NPR of +5%.

In KP, 44% of the respondents rated the performance of their Provincial Assembly at legislation as "Very Good" to "Good" (NPR: -9%).

The Sindh Assembly had the least favourable ratings on enacting new legislation, with a negative NPR of -19% - only 39% of the respondents rating the Provincial Assembly's performance at this metric as "Very Good" or "Good".

# Provincial Legislature – Oversight Functions of the Provincial Assembly: 41% provide positive ratings

55% Pakistanis considered the performance of their Provincial Assembly as "Bad" or "Very Bad" regarding exercising oversight over the Provincial Executive, while 41% provided positive ratings of 'Very Good' or 'Good' to Provincial Assemblies on this metric. This number shows that on average, 55% Pakistanis rate their respective provincial legislature's performance as Very Bad or Bad; while 41% rate their provincial legislatures as Very Good or Good in terms of exercising oversight and supervision over the provincial executive.

Province-wise distribution of these ratings is given in Table 8.

Table 8: Provincial Assemblies' Ratings on Maintaining Oversight

Province	Very Good	Good	Bad	Very Bad	NPR
Punjab	10%	38%	30%	16%	+2%
Sindh	8%	21%	39%	30%	-40%
KP	8%	17%	49%	24%	-48%
Balochistan	21%	41%	28%	11%	+23%

Figure 5: Provincial Assemblies' Ratings on Maintaining Oversight



In its function as a forum for exercising checks and balances on the Provincial Executive, the Balochistan Assembly received the highest positive ratings with 62% of the respondents rating their Provincial Assembly as "Very Good" or "Good" on this indicator (NPR: +23%).

The Punjab Assembly also earned a marginally positive assessment on this indicator with a positive NPR of +2%. 29% respondents from Sindh rated their Provincial Assembly's exercise of oversight over the Provincial Executive as "Very Good" or "Good", which gave the Provincial Assembly in Karachi a negative NPR of -40%. The Provincial Assembly in Peshawar had the least favourable ratings in terms of its ability to exercise oversight and accountability over the Provincial Executive. Only 25% of the respondents from KP rated their Provincial Assembly as "Good" to "Very Good" on this indicator, which translates into a negative NPR of -48%.

# Provincial Legislature – Chief Minister's attendance and involvement in the Provincial Assembly - 47% provide positive ratings

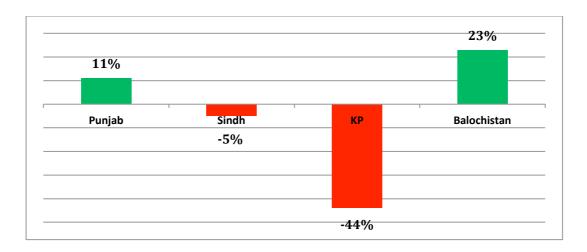
47% Pakistanis rated the Provincial Assembly's performance regarding this function positively – better than the Prime Minister's performance in the National Assembly, while an equal 47% rated their Chief Minster's attendance and involvement in the Provincial Assembly negatively. These numbers are indicative of the average positive evaluation provided by a respondent for his/her provincial Assembly.

The province-wise distribution of this rating is shown in Table 9.

**Table 9: Ratings on the Chief Ministers' Attendance** 

Province	Very Good	Good	Bad	Very Bad	NPR
Punjab	11%	40%	27%	13%	+11%
Sindh	11%	35%	24%	27%	-5%
KP	7%	21%	40%	32%	-44%
Balochistan	21%	41%	24%	14%	+24%

Figure 6: Ratings on the Chief Ministers' Attendance



Balochistan's Chief Minister's attendance at the Provincial Assembly's sessions was rated most positively out of the four provinces, with 62% rating the Chief Minister's attendance and involvement in the Provincial Assembly as "Very Good" or "Good" (NPR: +24%).

Punjab's Chief Minister had positive ratings of 51% (Very Good or Good) at attending and engaging with the Provincial Legislature, which translates into a NPR of +11%.

The Chief of Minister of Sindh was rated as "Very Good" or "Good" by 46% of the respondents from Sindh for his attendance at and involvement with the Provincial Assembly's sessions in Karachi (NPR: -5%).

The Chief Minister of KP had the least positive rating on this indicator: 28% of the respondents rated his attendance and involvement in the Provincial Assembly as "Very Good" or "Good", which gives the Provincial Assembly a negative NPR of -44%.

# Provincial Legislature – Relations between the Provincial Government and the Opposition: 42% provide positive ratings

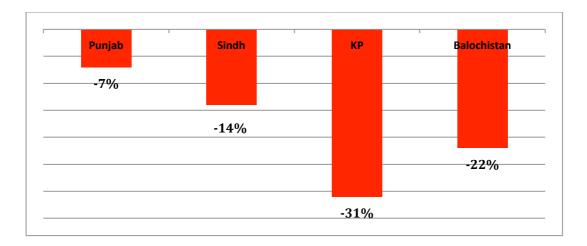
The Provincial Assembly's performance regarding improvement of relations between the Provincial Government and Opposition was rated positively by 42% Pakistanis. It was rated negatively by 54%. This shows that on average, the majority of Pakistanis (54%) believe that their Provincial Assembly is ineffective at improving relations between the Provincial Government and Opposition.

The province-wise distribution of this rating is given in Table 10.

**Table 10: Relations Between Provincial Government and Opposition** 

Province	Very Good	Good	Bad	Very Bad	NPR
Punjab	8%	35%	33%	17%	-7%
Sindh	9%	32%	28%	27%	-14%
KP	8%	26%	52%	13%	-31%
Balochistan	12%	27%	37%	24%	-22%

Figure 7: Relations Between Provincial Government and Opposition



All four Provincial Assemblies were rated negatively on their performance at improving relations between the Provincial Government and Opposition. 43% of all respondents from Punjab rated their Provincial Assembly's performance at mediating between and improving relations between the Provincial Government and the Provincial Opposition as "Very Good" or "Good", which translates into a negative NPR of -7%.

41% of the respondents from Sindh rated their Provincial Assembly's performance at this indicator positively, with a negative NPR -14%. 39% of the respondents from Balochistan rated their Provincial Assembly's performance at improving relations between the Provincial Government and Opposition as "Very Good" or "Good" which returned a negative NPR of -22% for the Provincial Legislature in Quetta The Provincial Assembly in KP received the least favourable ratings on this indicator with a NPR of -31%; only 34% of all respondents from KP rated their Provincial Assembly's performance on this indicator as "Good" or "Very Good".

#### **Internal Democracy in Political Parties**

The PML-N's internal democracy quotient was assessed positively by a majority of the country. 55% Pakistanis believe that the party has internal democracy ranging from some to a very great extent. 41% disagreed and claimed that the PML-N has very little to no democracy in its internal party structures and operations.

In comparison, exactly 50% of Pakistanis believe that **PTI** has some to substantial internal democratic practices, rules, and norms. In contrast, 44% Pakistanis believe that the PTI has very little to no internal democratic practices or structures.

With regards to the **PPP**, a 53% majority of Pakistanis opined that the party has very little to no internal democracy. However, a significant 43% disagreed and stated that the PPP has an internal democratic order ranging from some to a very large extent.

73% of all Pakistanis assessed the **MQM** as a party has very little to no internal democracy, while only 18% respondents disagreed with this negative assessment.

67% Pakistanis reported that they think that the **PML-Q** has very little to no internal democracy, while only 26% disagreed with notion.

66% of all Pakistanis assessed the **JUI-F** to have very little to no internal democracy, while only 23% respondents disagreed with this negative assessment.

66% of all Pakistanis believe that the **ANP** has very little to no democracy at all, while only 22% respondents believe the party has internal democracy.

34% Pakistanis see the **JI** to have very good levels of internal democracy while 58% of all Pakistanis disagree with this.

The **PAT** is assessed positively on account of having internal democracy by only 19% of the respondents and 70% of all Pakistanis assessed the party as having very little to no internal democracy at all.

# Treatment of Religious and Ethnic Minorities: 54% provide positive ratings to the Federal Government

54% rated the Federal Government's performance as "Good" to "Very Good" on this metric, while 42% Pakistanis saw the Government's performance as "Bad" to "Very Bad".

### Collective Performance of the Federal Cabinet - 39% provide positive ratings

Over the past year, a significant 55% Pakistanis rated the Federal Cabinet's performance as Bad or Very Bad in framing policies to resolve national issues and crises. 39% Pakistanis rated the Federal Cabinet's performance as "Good" or "Very Good" on this indicator. This translates into a negative NPR of -16% for the Federal Cabinet.

Collective Performance of the Provincial Cabinets - 42% provide positive ratings Over the last year, a significant 52% Pakistanis rated their Provincial Cabinet's performance as Bad or Very Bad in framing policies to resolve national issues and crises. 42% Pakistanis rated the Provincial Cabinet's performance as "Good" or "Very Good" on this indicator. This rating shows that on average, 52% Pakistani citizens rate their provincial cabinets' performance at resolving problems and issues negatively.

The province-wise distribution of the Provincial Cabinet's performance on framing policies to resolve issues and crises is shown in Table 11.

**Table 11: Ratings of Provincial Cabinets on Resolving Issues** 

Province	Very Good	Good	Bad	Very Bad	NPR
Punjab	8%	40%	29%	15%	+4%
Sindh	4%	20%	42%	33%	-51%
KP	6%	47%	39%	6%	+8%
Balochistan	16%	29%	39%	16%	-10%

The Provincial Cabinet in KP received the highest positive rating of the four provinces, in its performance at framing policies to overcome various challenges. 53% of the respondents rated the KP Provincial Cabinet's performance as "Very Good" or "Good" on this function (NPR: +8%).

48% of the respondents from Punjab rated their Provincial Cabinet's performance at forming policies to overcome problems as "Very Good" or "Good", which translates into a NPR of +4%.

45% of the respondents from Balochistan rated their Provincial Cabinet's performance as "Very Good" to "Good" on this count (NPR: -10%).

Sindh's Provincial Cabinet earned the least favourable ratings on its function to form successful and effective policies to deal with problems: only 24% of all respondents from Sindh rated their Provincial Cabinet positively on this front, with a substantial negative NPR of -51%