

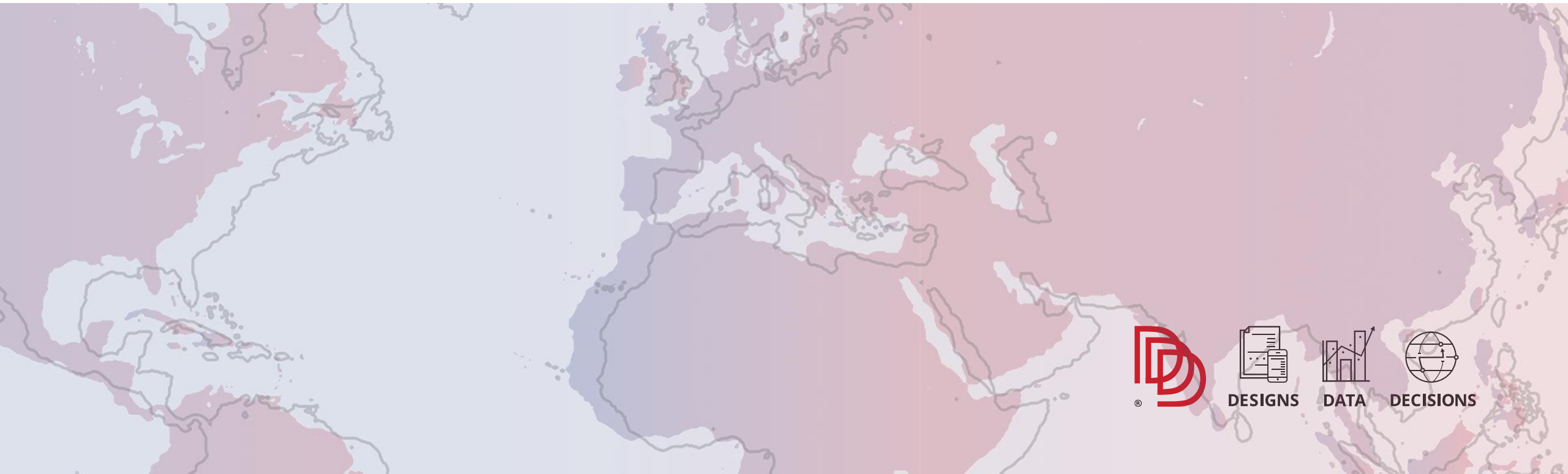
Landscape of Pakistani Politics:

Exploring Indicators of Support for Political Parties

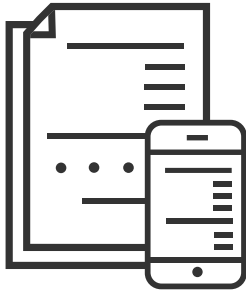
Sam Solomon, Senior Research Analyst, D3: Designs, Data, Decisions

David Rae, Senior Statistical Programmer, D3: Designs, Data, Decisions

Presented to AAPOR's 78th Annual Conference on May 12, 2023



What We Do



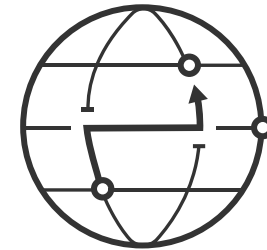
DESIGNS

We develop **research designs & methodologies** to meet your research needs. We also build the capacity of local research firms through in-person training & support to ensure procedures are followed.



DATA

We collect accurate & reliable data in even the **most challenging research environments**, and our in-house team of statisticians calculate complex weights & perform advanced analyses, if needed.



DECISIONS

We analyze, interpret, & visualize results, providing you with the **insights into your research questions** to directly inform your programs & policies. Let our proven experience in over 125 countries work for you!

Motivation

Surveys of Pakistan

D3 has been conducting a series of surveys of Pakistan to measure perceptions and attitudes related to **recent events and long-term trends in Pakistani society**.

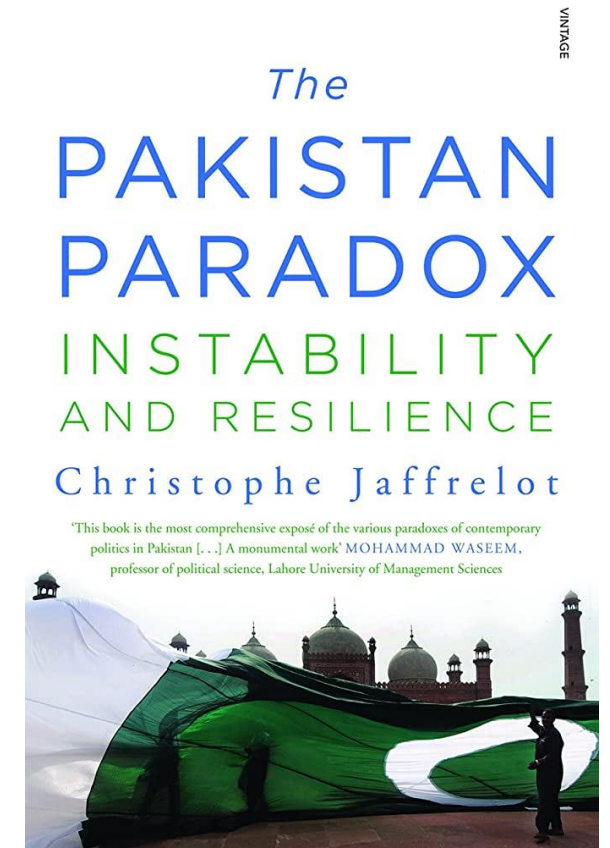
Fieldwork was completed by the Pakistan Institute of Public Opinion (PIPO).

Framework

Themes in Pakistan's History

Per Christophe Jaffrelot's *Pakistan Paradox*, three tensions at the heart of Pakistan:

1. Centralizing government vs multiple regional, ethnic, and linguistic identities
2. Democratic institutions vs military rule
3. Nation of Muslims vs Islamic republic



Framework

Recent Events in Pakistan

- ▶ Polycrisis?
 - **Security:** resurgence of TTP, Taliban govt next door in Afghanistan
 - **Environmental:** devastating flooding, record heat waves
 - **Economics:** dwindling foreign currency reserves, IMF bailout
 - **Politics:** Imran Khan govt lost no-confidence vote last year, uncertainty of upcoming elections

Framework

Party Politics

Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf PTI

- ▶ Led by Imran Khan, Prime Minister (PM) from 2018-2022
- ▶ Won last general election in 2018, but lost power after no confidence vote in April 2022
- ▶ Populist, advocates Islamic democracy

Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) PML(N)

- ▶ Led by Nawaz Sharif, who served as PM several times before, most recently 2013-2017
- ▶ Shehbaz Sharif, Nawaz's brother, became PM after no-confidence vote of previous government in April 2022
- ▶ Centre-right, conservative

Pakistan People's Party PPP

- ▶ Led by Asif Ali Zardari, former president and widower of former PM Benazir Bhutto, and son Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, Minister of Foreign Affairs in current government
- ▶ In coalition with PML(N) to support current government
- ▶ Centre-left, social democratic

Methodology

Survey

Two surveys have been completed, composed of in-person interviews conducted in Urdu, Sindhi, and Pashto among a randomly selected national sample of Pakistani adults.



First survey

Sample size: 1,533 Pakistani adults

Dates: November 9 - December 17, 2022



Second survey

Sample size: 1,524 Pakistani adults

Dates: March 3 - April 2, 2023

Methodology

Survey

In the provinces of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Punjab, Sindh, and Islamabad Capital Territory, interviews were conducted **in-person using RCS**. In the province of Balochistan, interviews were conducted in-person using paper surveys.



Gilgit Baltistan, Azad Jammu and Kashmir, and the former Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) – which together account for 5% of Pakistan's population – were excluded from the sample frame due to inaccessibility and safety.

Methodology

Survey

The sample was stratified by province and urban/rural status, with **census blocks serving as the primary sampling unit** via probability proportional to size systematic sampling.



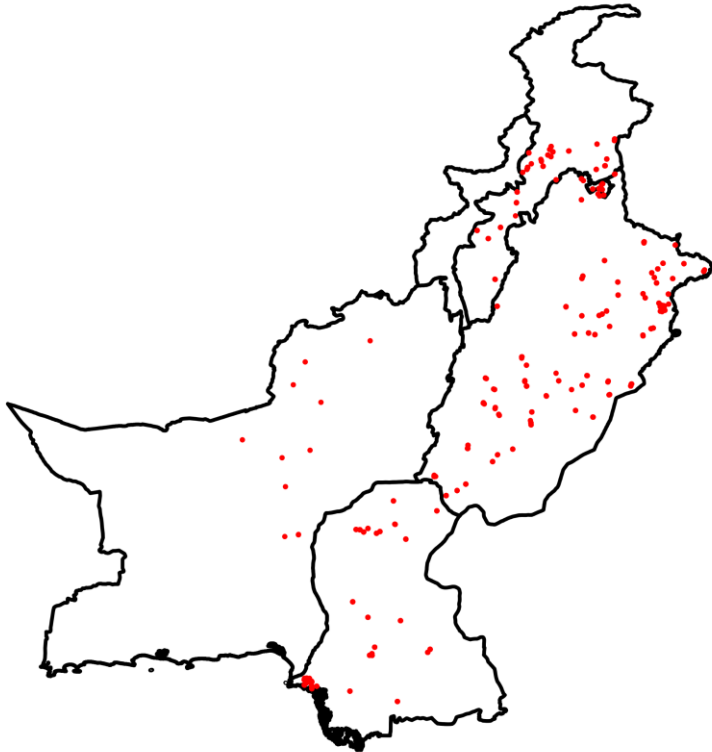
Data were weighted to reflect the demographic composition of Pakistan's adult population (age 18+) based on the 6th Population and Housing Census of Pakistan from 2017, with gender, age group, and strata (province and urbanicity) used as the raking targets.

Methodology

Survey

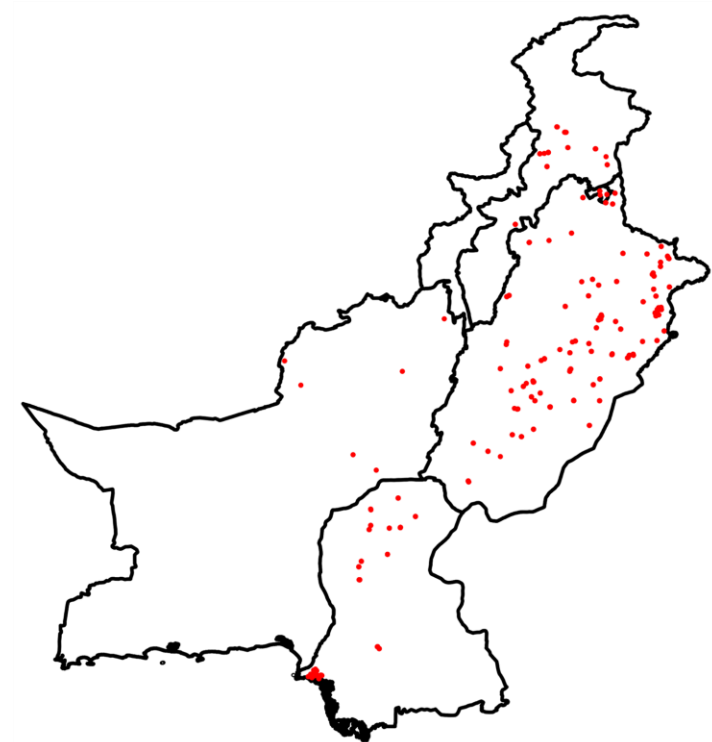
First survey

November 9 – December 17, 2022



Second survey

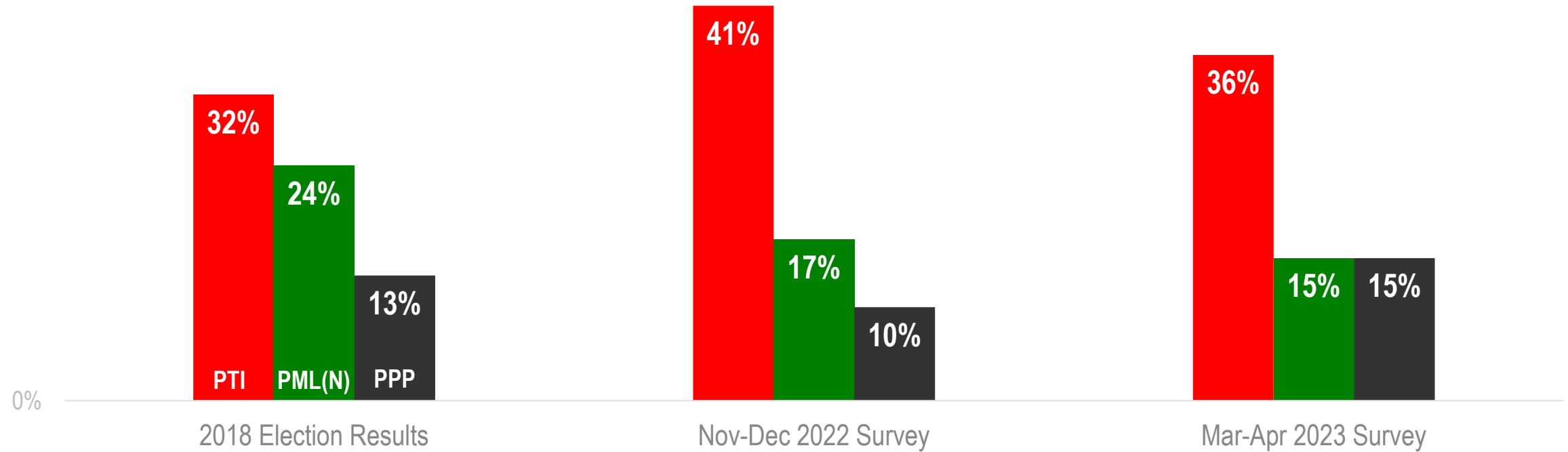
March 3 – April 2, 2023



Findings

2018 Election Results & Recent Survey Results

50%

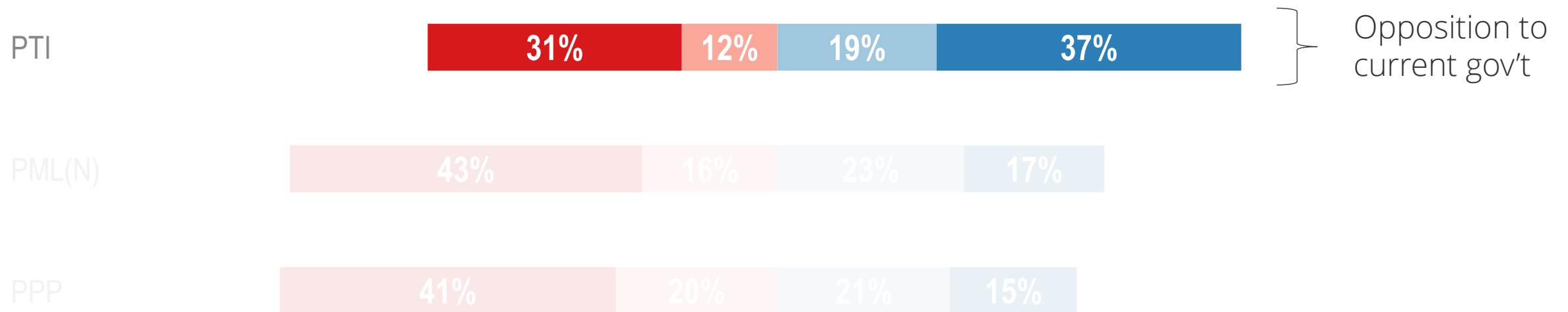


"If elections were held today, for which party would you vote?"
n=1,533 - November 9 to December 22, 2022; n=1,524 - March 3 to April 2, 2023.

Findings

Popularity of Parties

A majority of Pakistanis have a **very** or **somewhat favorable** view of the PTI, with a plurality having a **very favorable** view.

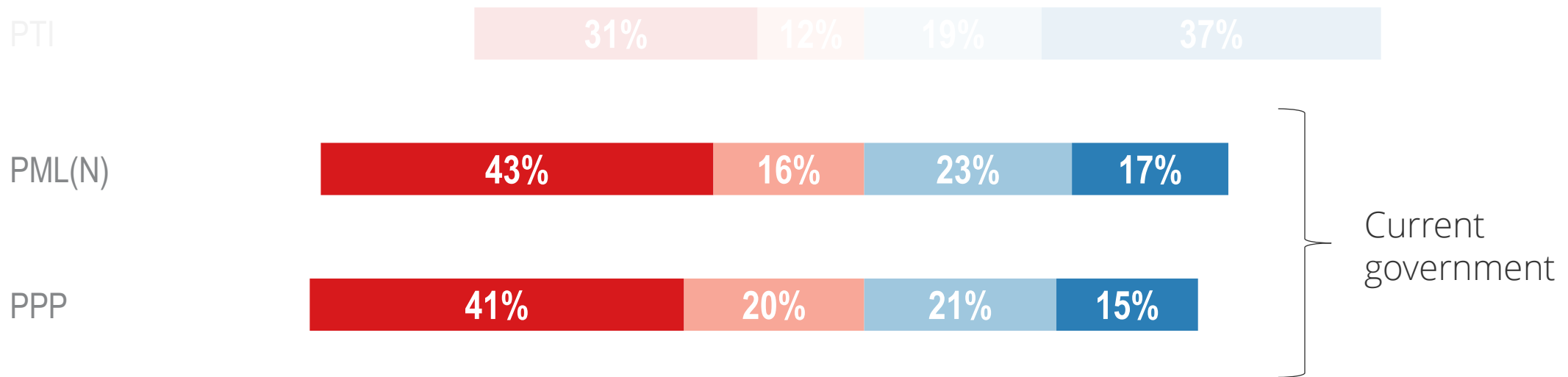


"Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of the following political parties and movements? [INSERT ITEM]"
n=1,524 - March 3 to April 2, 2023.

Findings

Popularity of Parties

A majority of Pakistanis have a **very** or **somewhat unfavorable** view of the PML(N) and PPP, with a plurality having a **very unfavorable** view.

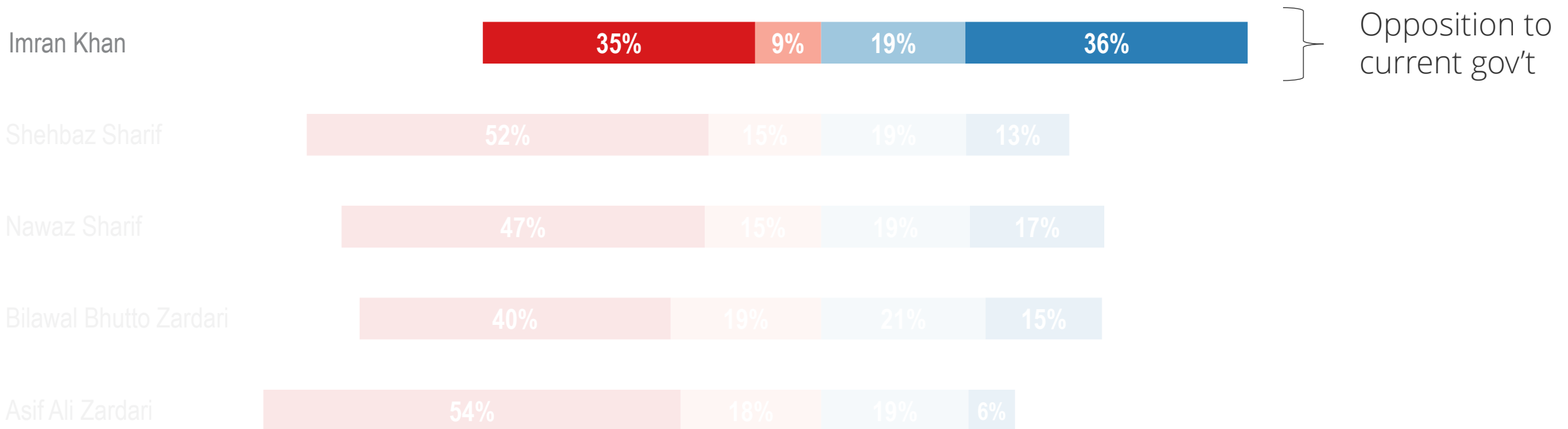


"Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of the following political parties and movements? [INSERT ITEM]"
n=1,524 - March 3 to April 2, 2023.

Findings

Popularity of Politicians

A majority of Pakistanis have a **very** or **somewhat favorable** view of PTI leader Imran Khan.

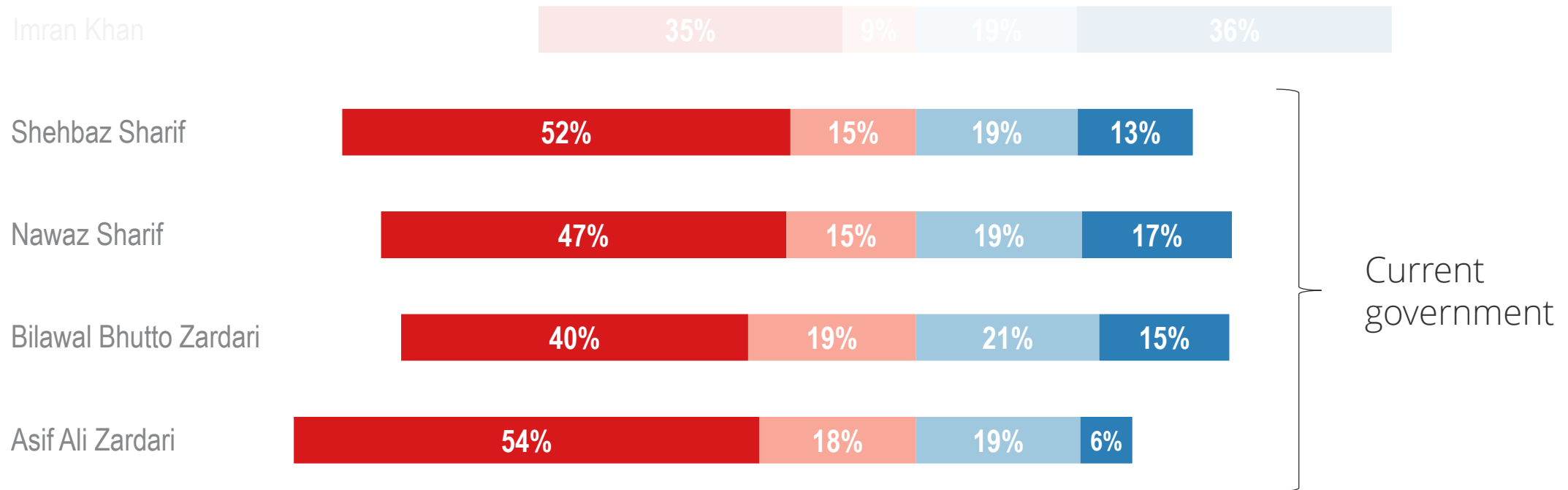


"Do you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of...[INSERT ITEM]?"
n=1,524 - March 3 to April 2, 2023.

Findings

Popularity of Politicians

A majority of Pakistanis have a **very** or **somewhat unfavorable** view of PML(N) leaders Nawaz Sharif and Shehbaz Sharif and PPP leaders Bilawal Bhutto Zardari and Asif Ali Zardari.

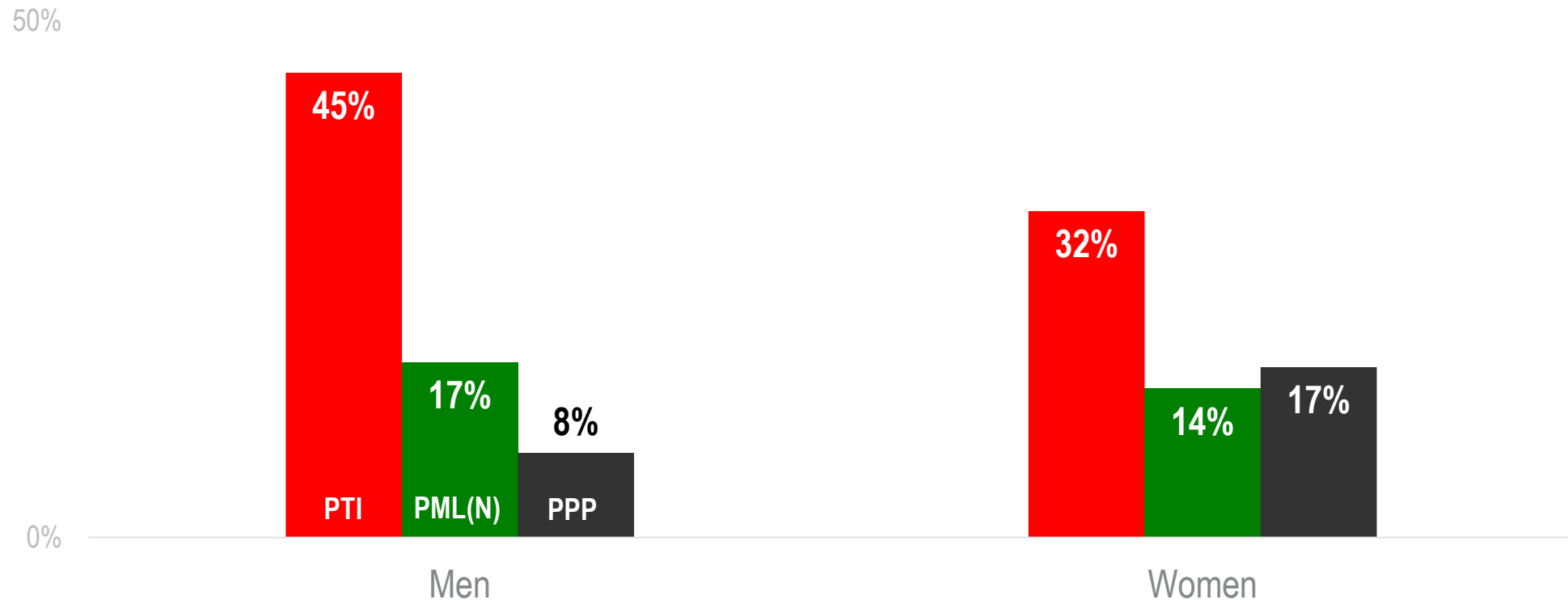


"Do you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of...[INSERT ITEM]?"
n=1,524 - March 3 to April 2, 2023.

Findings

Party Support by Demographics

PTI has more support from men than women, while **PPP** draws more support from women than men.

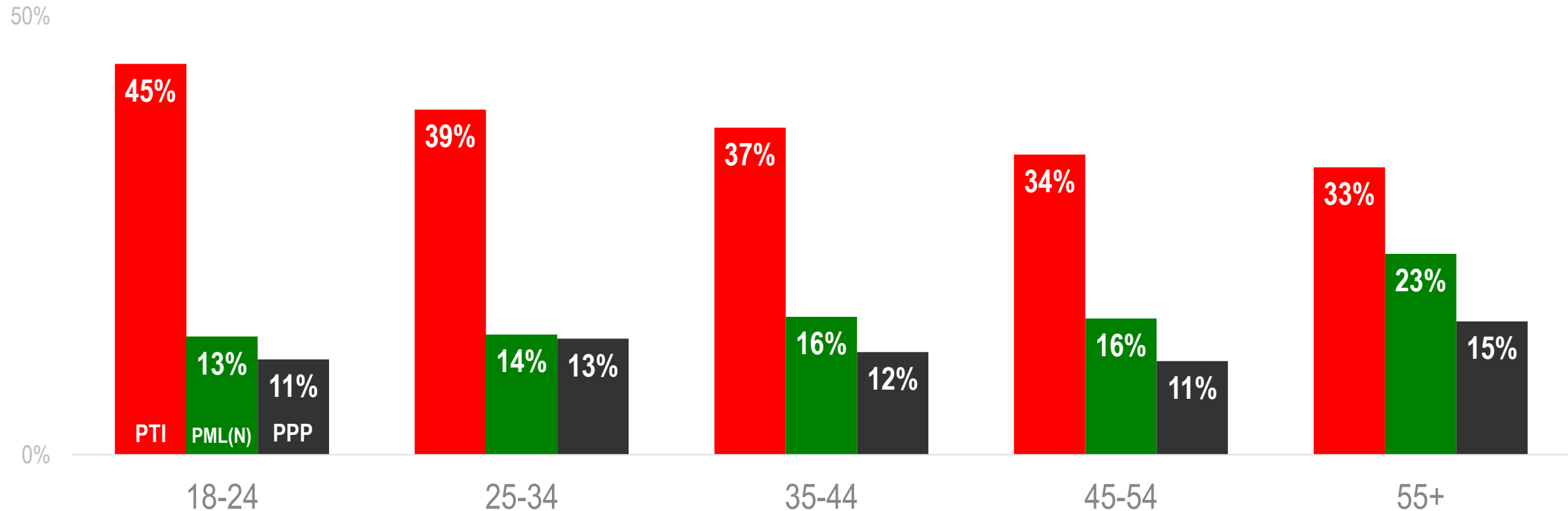


"If elections were held today, for which party would you vote?"
n=1,533 - November 9 to December 22, 2022; n=1,524 - March 3 to April 2, 2023.

Findings

Party Support by Demographics

Younger Pakistanis are more supportive of **PTI**, while **PML(N)** draws more support from older Pakistanis.

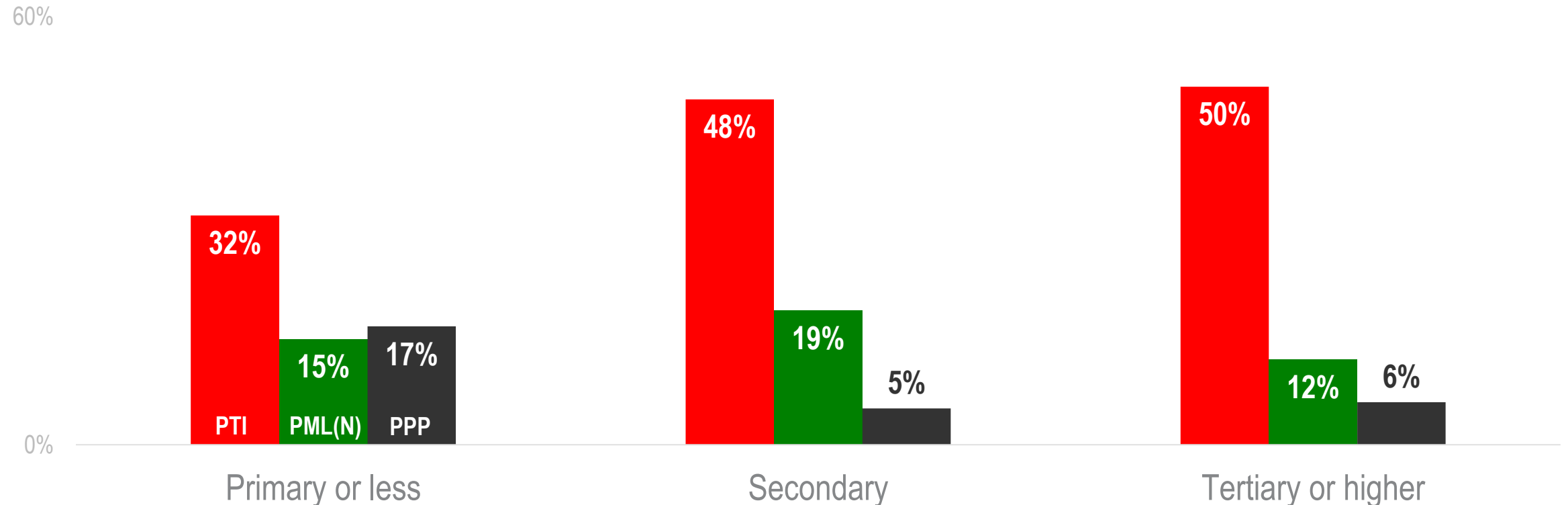


"If elections were held today, for which party would you vote?"
n=1,533 - November 9 to December 22, 2022; n=1,524 - March 3 to April 2, 2023.

Findings

Party Support by Demographics

Support for **PTI** is highest among more educated Pakistanis. **PPP** draws more support from less educated Pakistanis.



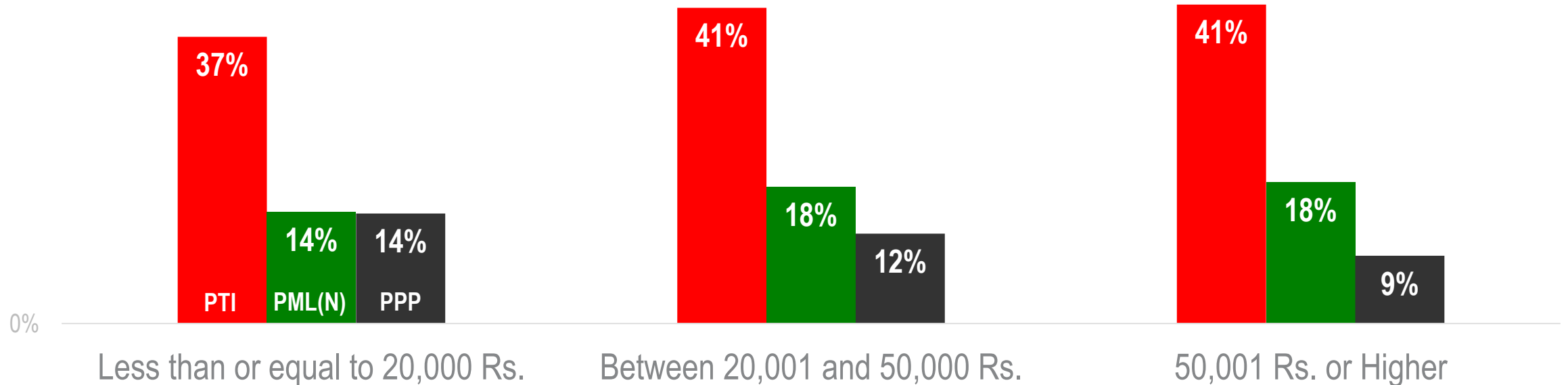
"What is the highest level of formal education that you have completed?"
"If elections were held today, for which party would you vote?"
n=1,533 - November 9 to December 22, 2022; n=1,524 - March 3 to April 2, 2023.

Findings

Party Support by Demographics

PPP draws more support from Pakistanis with lower income households.

60%



"What is your household's total monthly income from all sources, that is all types of income for all the persons living at this address? Is it..."

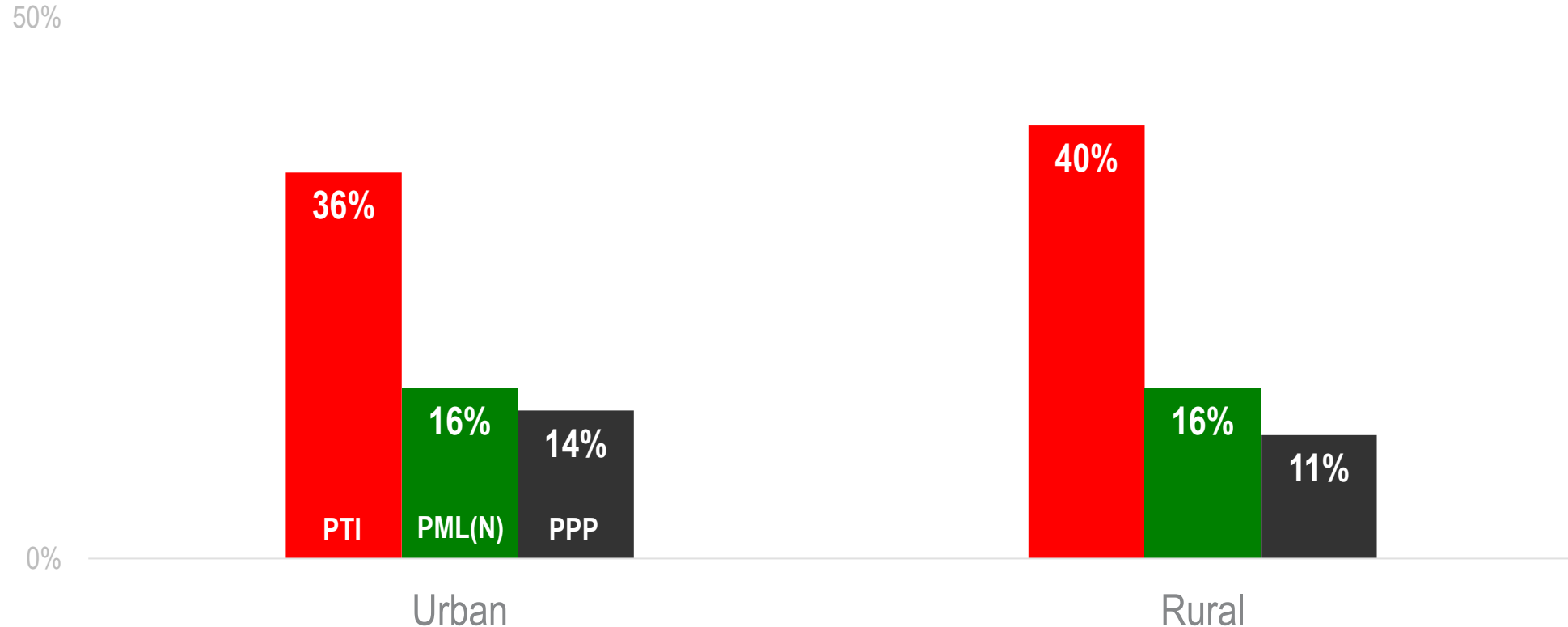
"If elections were held today, for which party would you vote?"

n=1,533 - November 9 to December 22, 2022; n=1,524 - March 3 to April 2, 2023.

Findings

Party Support by Demographics

There are not sizable differences in party vote share between rural and urban Pakistanis.



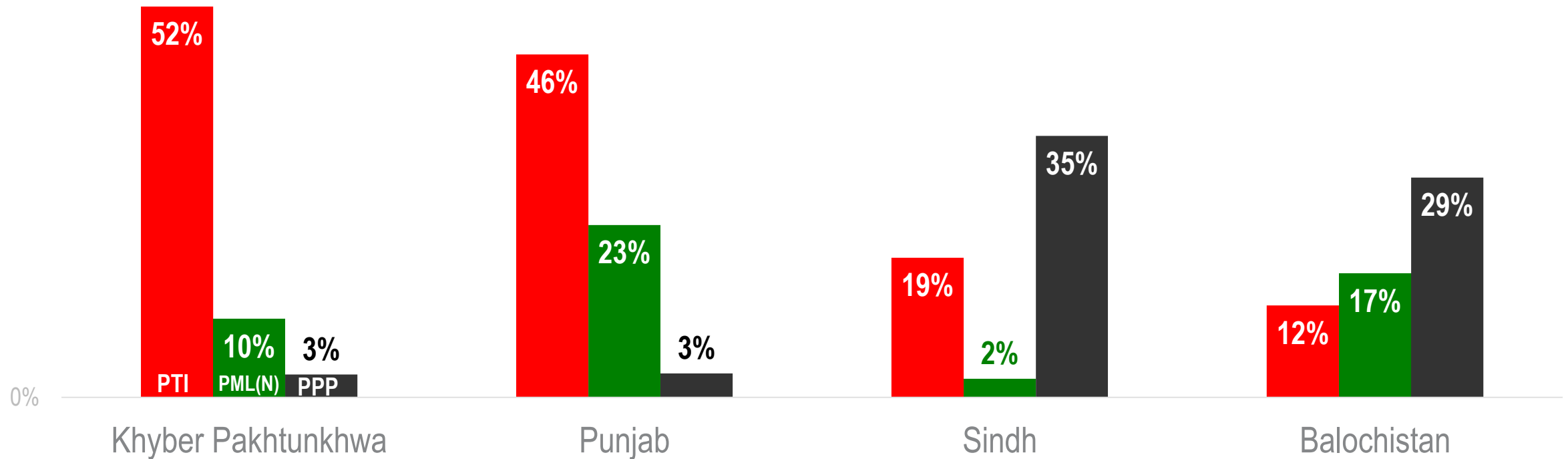
"If elections were held today, for which party would you vote?"
n=1,533 - November 9 to December 22, 2022; n=1,524 - March 3 to April 2, 2023.

Findings

Party Support by Province (Jaffrelot Paradox #1)

PTI draws most support from KPK and Punjab, while **PPP** draws support from Sindh and Balochistan. **PML(N)** has the most support in Punjab.

60%



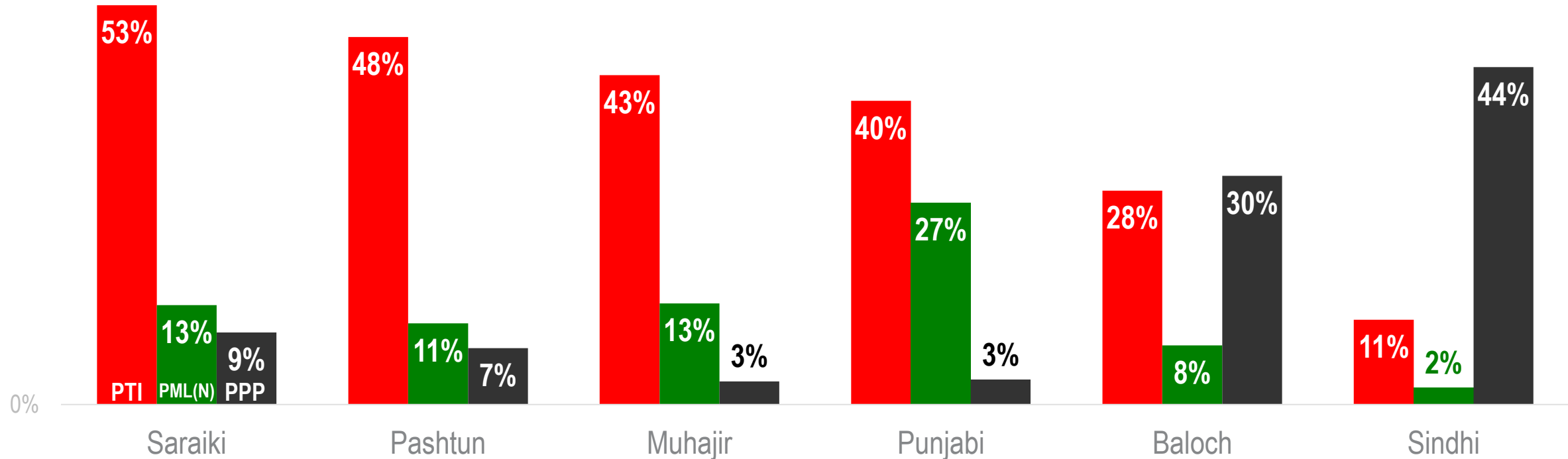
"If elections were held today, for which party would you vote?"
n=1,533 - November 9 to December 22, 2022; n=1,524 - March 3 to April 2, 2023.

Findings

Party Support by Ethnicity (Jaffrelot Paradox #1)

PTI draws most support from Saraikis, Pashtuns, Muhajirs, and Punjabis, while **PPP** draws the most support from Baloch and Sindhis. **PML(N)** has the most support among Punjabis.

60%



"Do you consider yourself to be..."

"If elections were held today, for which party would you vote?"

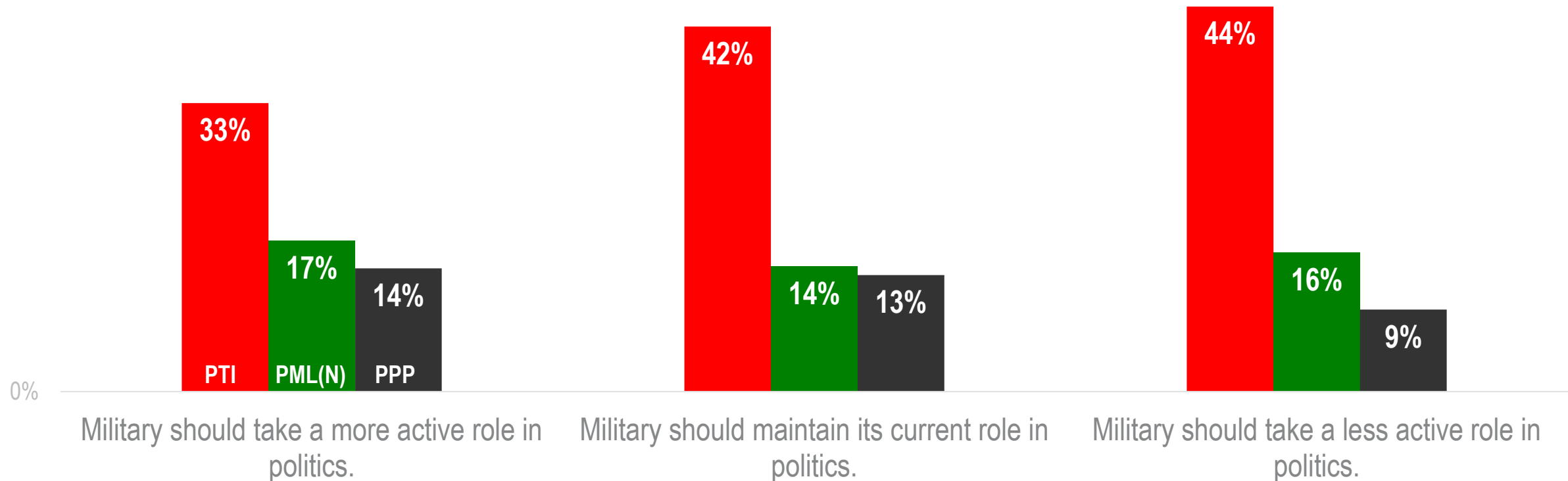
n=1,533 - November 9 to December 22, 2022; n=1,524 - March 3 to April 2, 2023.

Findings

Party Support by Attitudes of Military (Jaffrelot Paradox #2)

Pakistanis who think the military should take a less active role in politics are more supportive of **PTI**.

50%



"Which of the following view is closest to yours?"

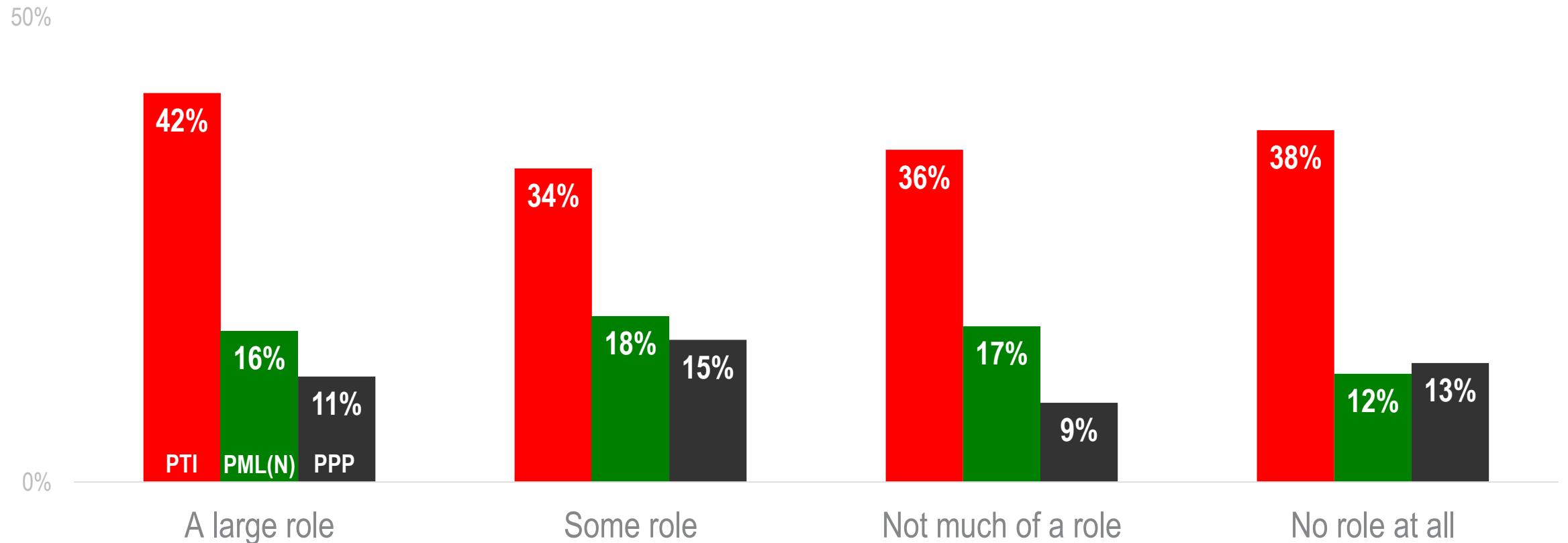
"If elections were held today, for which party would you vote?"

n=1,533 - November 9 to December 22, 2022; n=1,524 - March 3 to April 2, 2023.

Findings

Party Support by Attitudes of Islam (Jaffrelot Paradox #3)

There is no clear trend in party vote share by the role Pakistanis think Islam plays in politics.



"How much of a role do you think Islam plays in the political life of our country - a large role, some role, not much of a role, or no role at all?"

"If elections were held today, for which party would you vote?"

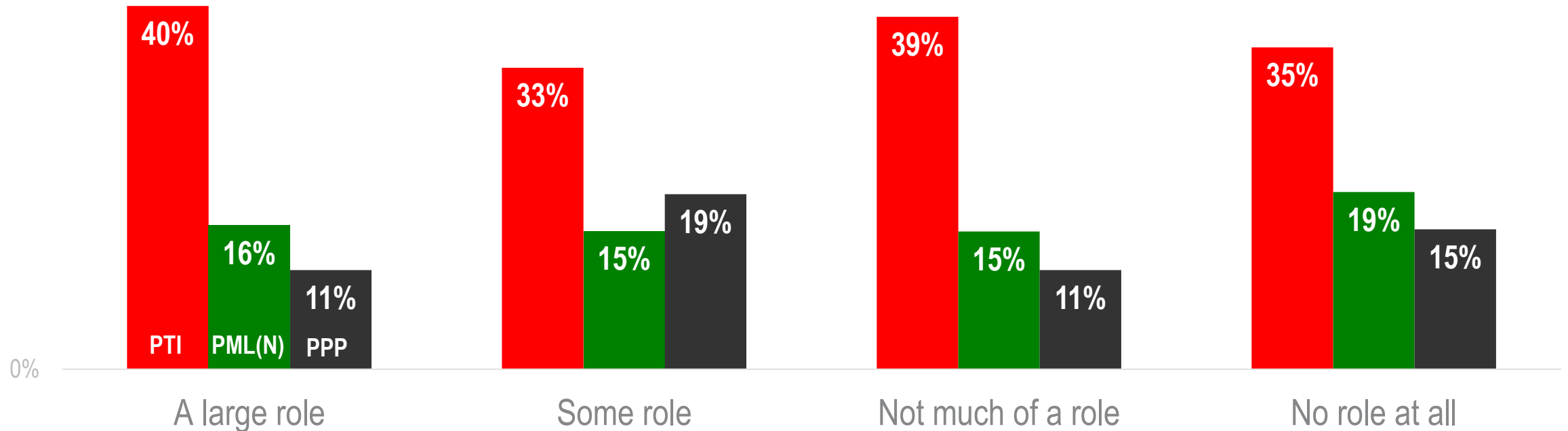
n=1,533 - November 9 to December 22, 2022; n=1,524 - March 3 to April 2, 2023.

Findings

Party Support by Attitudes of Islam (Jaffrelot Paradox #3)

There is no clear trend in party vote share by the role Pakistanis think Islam should play in politics.

50%



"And how much of a role do you think Islam should play in the political life of our country?"

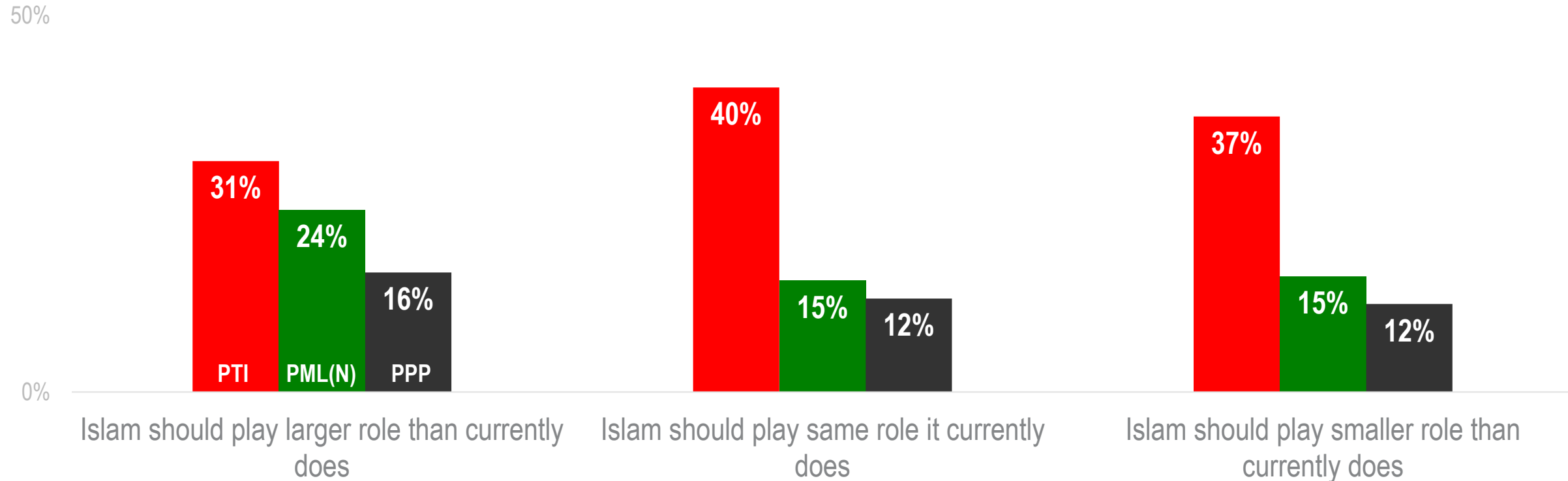
"If elections were held today, for which party would you vote?"

n=1,533 - November 9 to December 22, 2022; n=1,524 - March 3 to April 2, 2023.

Findings

Party Support by Attitudes of Islam (Jaffrelot Paradox #3)

There is no clear trend in party vote share by the role Pakistanis think Islam should play in politics, as compared with the role it currently plays.



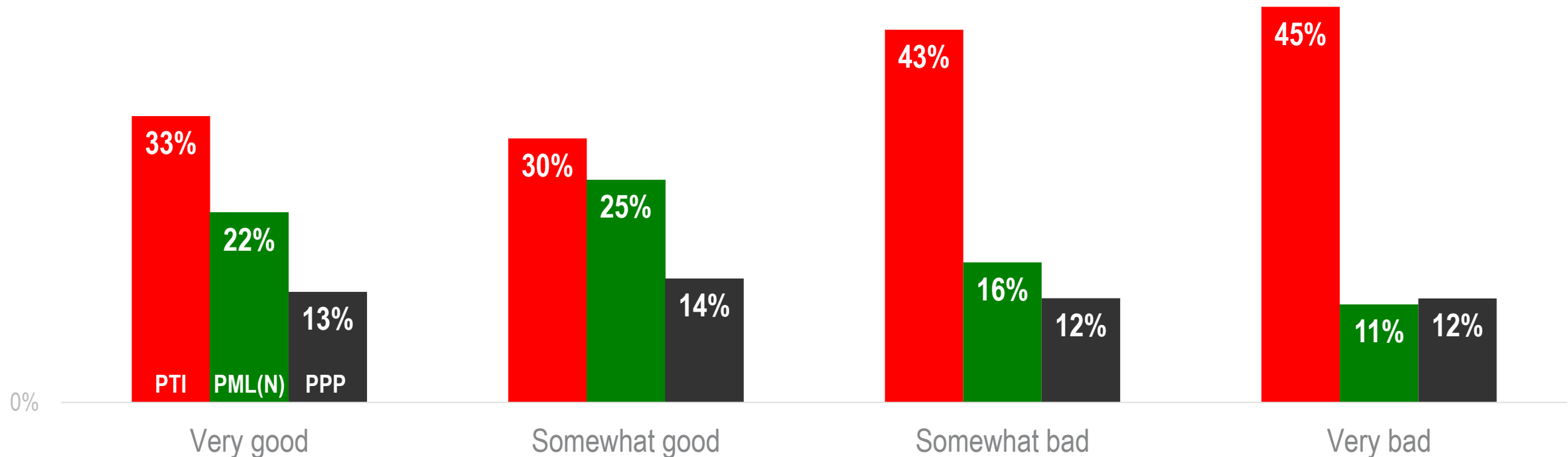
Based on difference in coding between "How much of a role do you think Islam plays in the political life of our country - a large role, some role, not much of a role, or no role at all?" and "And how much of a role do you think Islam should play in the political life of our country?"
"If elections were held today, for which party would you vote?"
n=1,533 - November 9 to December 22, 2022; n=1,524 - March 3 to April 2, 2023.

Findings

Party Support by Foreign Policy Views

Pakistanis with negative views of the US are more supportive of **PTI**. **PML(N)** draws more support from Pakistanis with positive views of the US.

50%



"Do you feel that the following countries are very good partners, somewhat good partners, somewhat bad partners, or very bad partners to Pakistan? The government of America"

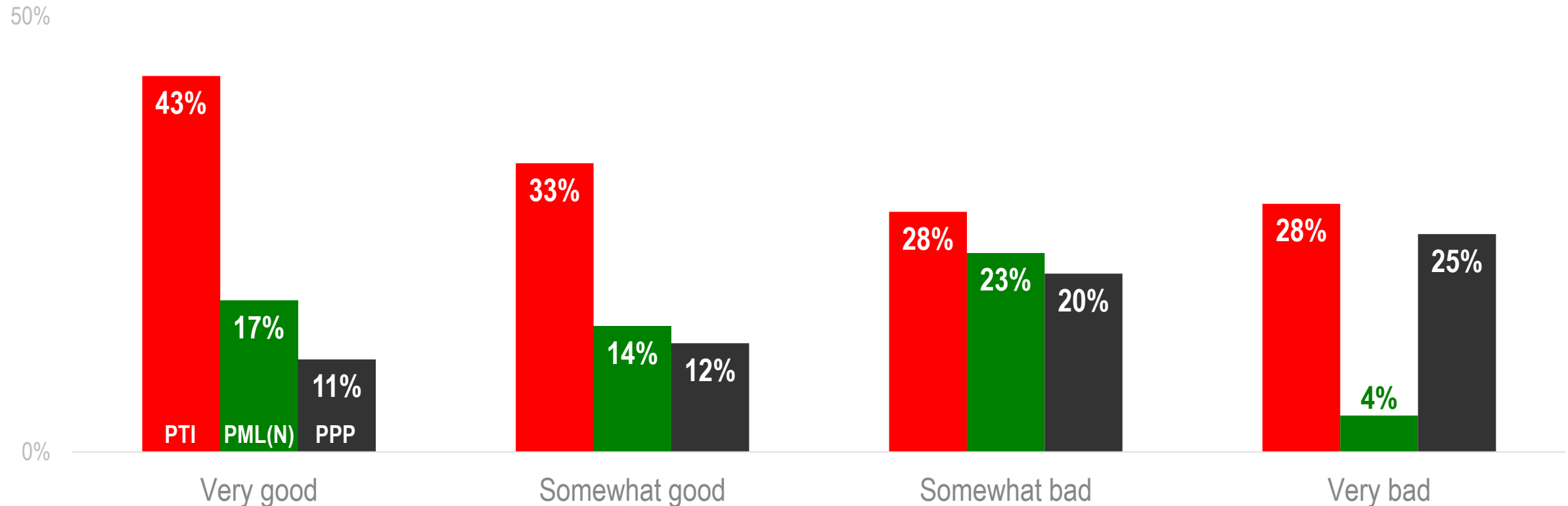
"If elections were held today, for which party would you vote?"

n=1,533 - November 9 to December 22, 2022; n=1,524 - March 3 to April 2, 2023.

Findings

Party Support by Foreign Policy Views

Pakistanis with positive views of China are more supportive of **PTI**. **PPP** draws more support from Pakistanis with negative views of China.



"Do you feel that the following countries are very good partners, somewhat good partners, somewhat bad partners, or very bad partners to Pakistan? The government of China"

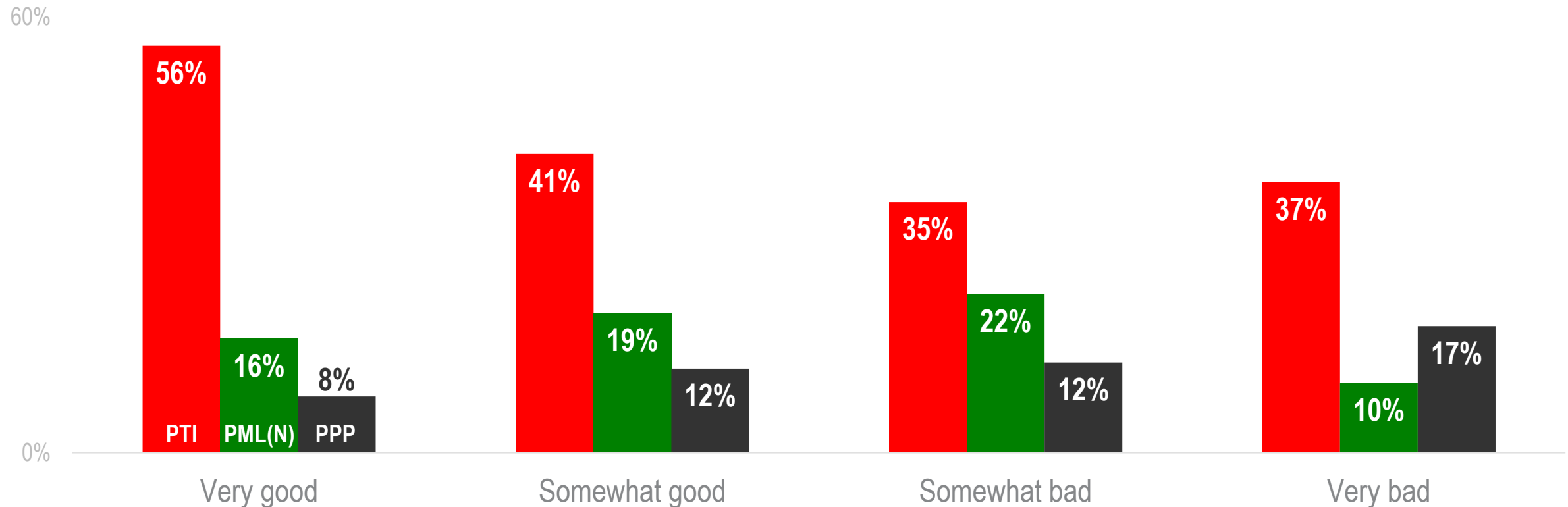
"If elections were held today, for which party would you vote?"

n=1,533 - November 9 to December 22, 2022; n=1,524 - March 3 to April 2, 2023.

Findings

Party Support by Foreign Policy Views

Pakistanis with positive views of Russia are more supportive of **PTI**. **PPP** draws more support from Pakistanis with negative views of Russia.



"Do you feel that the following countries are very good partners, somewhat good partners, somewhat bad partners, or very bad partners to Pakistan? The government of America"

"If elections were held today, for which party would you vote?"

n=1,533 - November 9 to December 22, 2022; n=1,524 - March 3 to April 2, 2023.

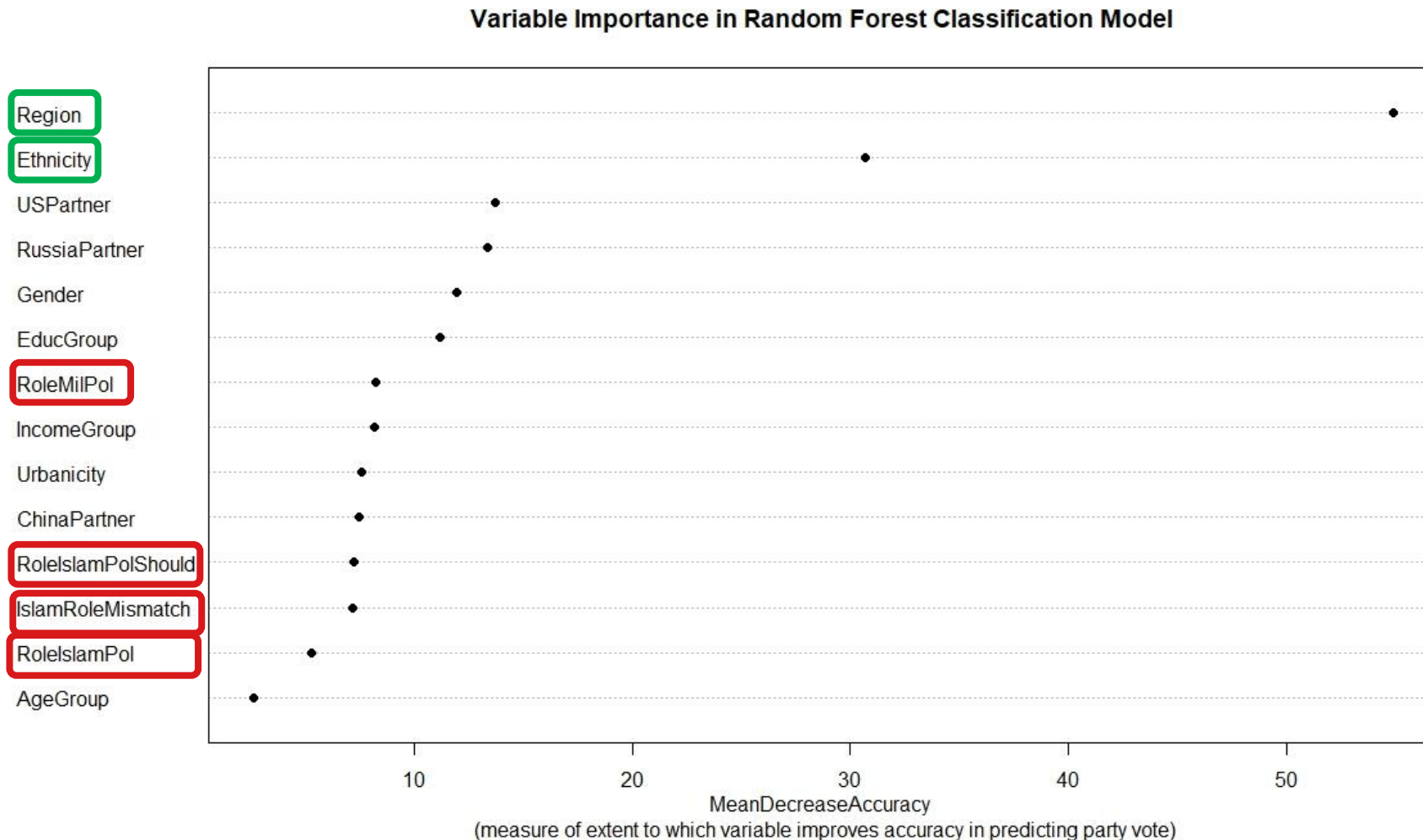
Findings

Random Forest Model – Components

- ▶ Outcome Variable: Vote, if election today – PTI, PPP, PML(N), or other
- ▶ Predictor Variables
 - Gender
 - Age (grouped)
 - Region
 - Education (grouped)
 - Income (grouped)
 - Urbanicity
 - Ethnicity
 - Attitudes towards role of Islam in politics
 - Attitudes towards role of military in politics
 - Attitudes toward US, China, and Russia

Findings

Random Forest Model – Variable Importance



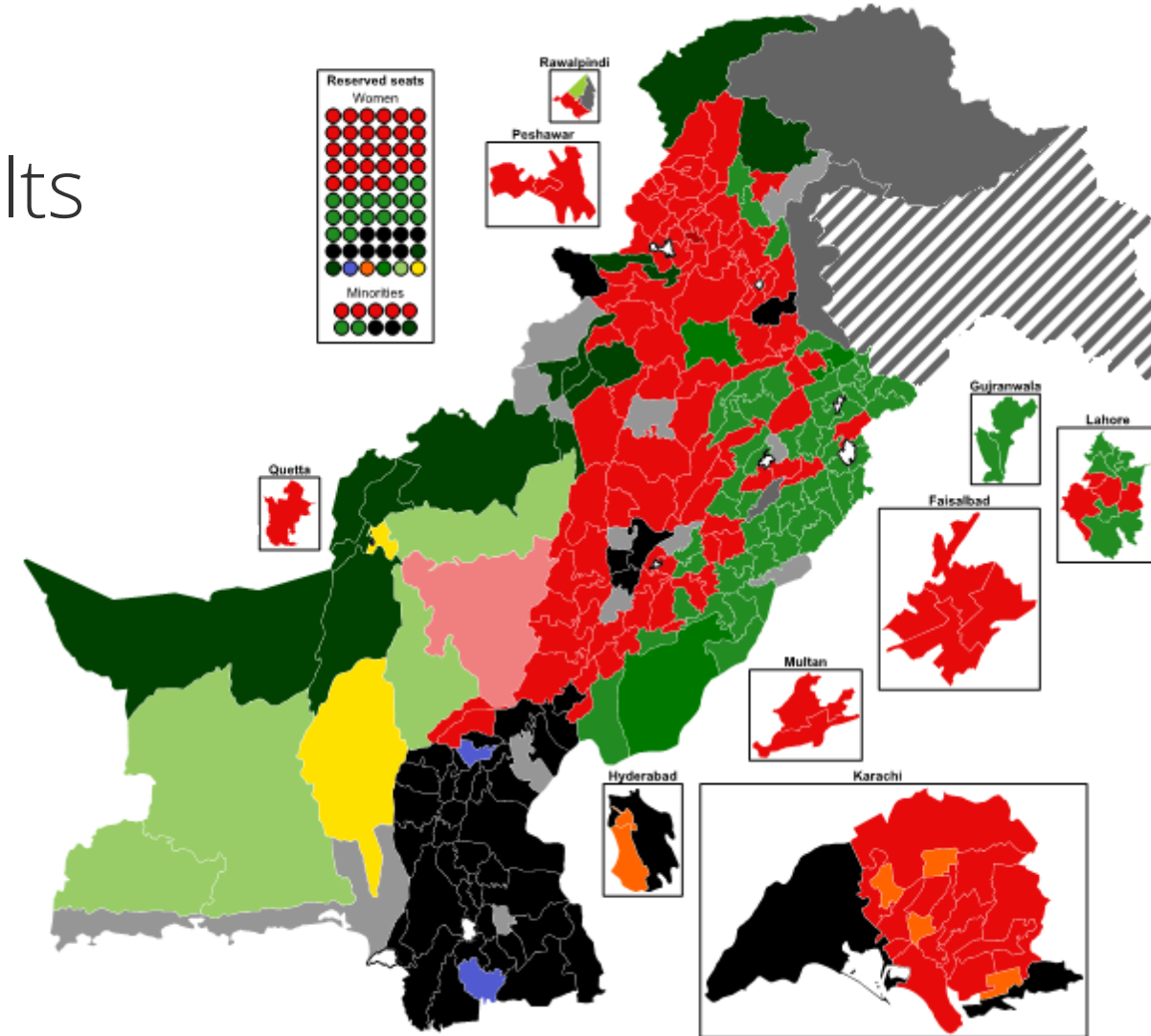
Discussion

- ▶ PTI and its leader Imran Khan are in the strongest electoral position in Pakistan today
- ▶ Attitudes towards role of Islam and military in politics as operationalized in our surveys do not map neatly onto party politics
- ▶ While many other factors are at play, regional and ethnic dynamics play a central role in driving Pakistani politics

Discussion

Back to the future?
Consider the 2018 election results

Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI)	149
Pakistan Muslim League (Q) (PML-Q)	82
Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP)	54
Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA)	15
Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM)	7
Pakistan Muslim League (C) (PML-C)	5
Sabohistia Awami Party (SAP)	5
Pakobhistan National Party (Merged) (BNP-M)	4
Grand Democratic Alliance (GDA)	3
Award National Party (ANP)	1
Award Muslim League	1
Jamhoori Wattai Party (JWP)	1
Independent	13
Voting did not take place	



For more information, please contact:

Sam Solomon

Senior Research Analyst

samuel.solomon@d3systems.com



®



DESIGNS



DATA



DECISIONS

8300 Greensboro Dr. Suite 450 | Tysons Corner, VA 22102
703.388.2450 | www.d3systems.com

References

- Breiman, Leo. "Random Forests." *Machine Learning* 45 (2001): 5–32.
<https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1010933404324>.
- Friedman, Jerome, Trevor Hastie, and Robert Tibshirani. *The Elements of Statistical Learning: Data Mining, Inference, and Prediction*. New York: Springer, 2009.
- Jaffrelot, Christophe. *The Pakistan Paradox: Instability and Resilience*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Pakistan 2018 General Election Results. Wikipedia.
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/a7/Pakistan_General_Election_2018_-_Results_Map.svg.