



**Political Weather Forecast®**  
**Platform for competing views and decent debate**

The Uncertain  
**POLITICAL WEATHER FORECAST**  
for Election 2013

**Caution to Readers of  
Political Weather Forecast®**

We attempt to make scientific forecast of electoral outcome. However, despite their scientific methodology political forecasts are as 'uncertain' as weather forecasts. Structural hazards in political and physical weather bear many similarities. ALL READERS ARE THEREFORE CAUTIONED TO READ THESE FORECASTS AT THEIR OWN RISK! Political Weather Forecasts can be helpful but they are by no means definitive on electoral outcomes in Pakistan in 2013. They can only be a guideline for decent debate and deliberation.

**February 2013: Bulletin**  
released on March 4, 2013 **EMBARGOED TILL 4<sup>TH</sup> MARCH (1800 PAKISTAN TIME)**



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**Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development And Transparency** – PILDAT ([www.pildat.org](http://www.pildat.org)) is an indigenous, independent, not-for-profit, non-partisan political think tank working to strengthen democracy and democratic institutions in Pakistan since 2001.



# WHO ARE WE ?

## **Gallup-Pildat Political Weather Forecast®**

A platform for competing views and decent debate

This study is being presented jointly by Gallup Pakistan and PILDAT. Gallup Pakistan is providing findings from an unsponsored survey conducted by Gallup as part of its public service program. PILDAT is providing its facilities and communications platform on a gratis basis to generate meaningful discussion and dialogue. The common objective of Gallup-Pildat Poll is to introduce a joint nonpartisan platform for discussing issues related to Election 2013.



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## Definitions and Acronyms

### 1- **Eleven Electoral Territories**

The Pakistani electorate elects 272 Members to the National Assembly of Pakistan on the election day for as many constituencies. A given number of members are later elected by the chosen house.

We have grouped the 272 constituencies into 11 electoral territories, **3 in Punjab, 2 in Sindh, 4 in KPK and 2 in Balochistan**. The groups have been carved on the basis of historical patterns of voting during the last 20 years. Each of the 11 territories exhibits a certain type of uniformity in it, specially in terms of key contesting parties. While each territory has internal similarity, it is dissimilar from the others. The table at the end of this document provides evidence to this thesis.

The geographical scope of each electoral territory is as below:

### **Geographic Scope of the 11 Electoral Territories**

Electoral Territory Number and Name	Constituting Administrative Divisions
Electoral Territory # 1: <b>Punjab 1:</b> National Assembly Seats: <b>69</b> Percent of 272 contested seats: <b>25.3%</b>	Rawalpindi, Gujranwala and Lahore Divisions <b>Northern-Central Punjab</b>
Electoral Territory # 2: <b>Punjab 2:</b> National Assembly Seats: <b>31</b> Percent of 272 contested seats: <b>11.4%</b>	Faisalabad and Sargodha Divisions <b>Western Punjab</b>
Electoral Territory # 3: <b>Punjab 3:</b> National Assembly Seats: <b>50</b> Percent of 272 contested seats: <b>18.4%</b>	Bahawalpur, DG Khan and Multan Divisions <b>South Punjab</b>



Electoral Territory # 4: <b>Sindh 1:</b> National Assembly Seats: <b>20</b> Percent of 272 contested seats: <b>7.4%</b>	Karachi Division <b>Karachi</b>
Electoral Territory # 5: <b>Sindh 2:</b> National Assembly Seats: <b>41</b> Percent of 272 contested seats: <b>15.1%</b>	Hyderabad, Larkana, Mir Pur Khas and Sukkur Divisions <b>Rest of Sindh</b>
Electoral Territory # 6: <b>KPK 1:</b> National Assembly Seats: <b>8</b> Percent of 272 contested seats: <b>2.9%</b>	Malakand Division <b>Northern KPK</b>
Electoral Territory # 7: <b>KPK 2:</b> National Assembly Seats: <b>19</b> Percent of 272 contested seats: <b>7.0%</b>	Bannu, DI Khan and Kohat Divisions <b>South KPK</b>
Electoral Territory # 8: <b>KPK 3:</b> National Assembly Seats: <b>13</b> Percent of 272 contested seats: <b>4.8%</b>	Peshawar and Mardan Divisions <b>KPK Peshawar Valley</b>
Electoral Territory # 9: <b>KPK 4:</b> National Assembly Seats: <b>7</b> Percent of 272 contested seats: <b>2.6%</b>	Hazara Division <b>KPK Hazara</b>
Electoral Territory # 10: <b>Balochistan 1:</b> National Assembly Seats: <b>6</b> Percent of 272 contested seats: <b>2.2%</b>	Quetta and Zhob Divisions <b>Quetta-Zhob Zone</b>
Electoral Territory # 11: <b>Balochistan 2:</b> National Assembly Seats: <b>8</b> Percent of 272 contested seats: <b>2.9%</b>	Kalat, Makran, Nasir Abad and Sibi Divisions <b>Kalat-Makran Zone</b>



## 2- **February 2013 Forecast by Gallup-Pildat Poll**

These forecasts are based on a nation-wide poll on voting intentions in approximately 300 villages and 200 urban locations in all provinces and regions of the country. Detailed methodology is provided in the document.

## 3- **Consolidated Forecast by Political Weather Forecast (PWF)**

The PWF forecast is computed by averaging the findings of two polls conducted by two separate organisations during the last 3 months. The consolidated figure is an average of the poll reported by IRI (as appeared in the media) and the poll conducted in January-February 2013 by Gallup Pakistan.

## 4- **Gilani's Index of Electoral Record: 1993-2008**

This Index is based on data provided by the Election Commission of Pakistan for all national elections conducted during 1993-2008. The purpose of the Index is to measure consolidated voting patterns for all elections during this period. The consolidated voting pattern emerging from 4 National Elections over a period of 20 years provides a guideline to understand and interpret the latest forecasts. Details on this Index are available separately.

## 5- **Three Drivers of Change in conventional (historically rooted) electoral patterns:**

Experts at Gallup Pakistan have developed three indicators which bear on political weather and can cause shifts in electoral behavior under certain conditions. Those are the following:



a- **Popularity-Electability Gap: (PE Gap)**

This Index is computed by measuring 2 variables. The first estimates the popularity of a party's leader; the second estimates the vote bank of the party at the constituency level. The difference of the two is called Popularity-Electability Gap.

b- **Alliance Potential Index:**

All voters are surveyed on their first choice in the forthcoming electoral contest and the second choice. The second choice provides an indication of the acceptability of that party to the voter under certain conditions. This figure is taken as the Alliance Value or Index of that party.

c- **Acceptability Gap:**

Acceptability Gap measures the level of voter's net hostility among voters about a political party. If the positive value of voting intention in favor of a party is greater than hostility against it (voters saying they will never vote for it), the Index gives a positive value on Ability to Govern. This means that irrespective of the size of its vote bank, it enjoys **Acceptability to Govern**. If the value of hostility is higher than the value of voting intention, the Index provides a Negative Value. Negative value indicates the possibility of voters casting their strategic vote for a competing party, not for the love of it, but to defeat the party that invokes their hostility. It also shows that irrespective of the size of its vote bank, the party has wide **Unacceptability to Govern** the country.



All three indices provide important background information for intelligent and decent debate on expected outcome of the forthcoming election.

**6- Acronyms for Party Names:**

<b>ANP</b>	Awami National Party
<b>FATA</b>	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
<b>MNA</b>	Member National Assembly
<b>MQM</b>	Muttahidda Quami Movement
<b>KP</b>	Khyber Pakhtunkhawa Province
<b>PML-Q/O</b>	Pakistan Muslim League Q/Other Groups
<b>PML-N</b>	Pakistan Muslim League -Nawaz
<b>PPP</b>	Pakistan Peoples Party
<b>PTI</b>	Pakistan Tahreek-e-Insaf
<b>JI</b>	Jamat-e-Islami
<b>JUI-F/MMA</b>	Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam (F) / MMA
<b>PAT</b>	Pakistan Awami Tahreek
<b>PWF</b>	Political Weather Forecast
<b>IND</b>	Independent Candidate





**FEBRUARY 2013**

The Uncertain  
POLITICAL WEATHER FORECAST  
for Election 2013

Part 1

# Highlights



# Highlights

## **FEBRUARY FORECAST**

and Historical Factors underlying Voting behavior

According to the consolidated findings of two nation-wide polls on voting intentions, conducted by IRI and Gallup Pakistan respectively during past 3 months, the front runner in Pakistan's elections scheduled in mid 2013, is **PML-N** led by former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. His consolidated average national score is **37%**. The two runner ups are the incumbent **PPP**, led by President Asif Zardari and **PTI**, led by Imran Khan whose dramatic rise on the political scene has caused great stir in Pakistani politics. PPP and PTI both score **16%** on a national level. *(Further details on consolidated PWF scores are provided at the end of this Report).*

However since Pakistan follows a parliamentary system and a winner take all majoritarian system, national vote banks are a poor indicator of forecasting whether the front runner will also win a majority of seats in the National Assembly, whose members elect the Prime Minister.

### **Eleven Electoral Territories**

According to Gallup-Pildat experts ,the prospects for gaining a majority in the Parliament can be forecast better by splitting the electorate into a minimum of **eleven electoral territories**. *(For definition of these electoral territories visit the Methodology at the end of the Report).*



Gallup has carved these electoral territories on the basis of a deep and insightful analysis of electoral data of past 20 years. Based on Gallup-PILDAT February poll, **PML-N is poised to be front runner in 5 of the 11 electoral territories, PTI in 1** (*where it shares it with PML-N , the small difference in voting intention being statistically insignificant*) **PPP in 2 territories; MQM in 1 territory, ANP in 1 territory and JUI-F /MMA in 1.**

## **CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN VOTING PATTERNS**

According to Gallup-Pildat experts, 5 out of 11 territories show signs of continuity with historical trend of voting in that territory. These include all 3 territories in Punjab, and both of the 2 territories in Sindh. The situation in the 4 territories of KP and 2 territories of Balochistan show signs of change from historical trend. The historical voting trends in KP are being challenged by the emergent popularity of Imran Khan who is poised to be front runner in 1 territory of KP, and runner up or significant player in the remaining three. In the two territories of Balochistan, the provincially based parties are challenging the historical trend. Alongside that there seems to be a revival of ANP in one part of Balochistan. This is a notable change from the historical trend of past 20 years. Considering that the 5 territories which are forecasted as territories of continuity are much more populous, accounting for approximately 80% of total National Assembly seats, the 6 territories (*constituting 20% of National Assembly seats*) of change may not be able to cause a shift in the historical composition of the National Assembly.



## **DRIVERS FOR CHANGE IN VOTING PATTERNS**

Gallup-Pildat Forecast identifies certain drivers of change in historically rooted traditional vote banks. The study has developed a **Popularity-Electability (PE) Gap Index**, which measures the Gap between the popularity of party leader and the voting intentions for the parliamentary candidates at the constituency level. It shows that the value of the **PE Gap** for Imran Khan is over 35% points in all the 11 regions.

The study reminds that a similar PE Gap enabled Imran Khan to cause a dramatic erosion of PML-N vote bank in 2011 and 2012, during which voting intentions for Imran Khan had risen substantially beyond its current figure, partly at the expense of voting intentions for PML-N. During that period, Imran Khan's Electability Ratio rose and PE Gap narrowed. The PE Gap has risen again in the February poll. But the rise and fall of Imran Khan's PE Gap indicates that he can still make an inroad into the high voting intention scores of various front runners between February and the election day. The study also shows relative high PE Gap scores for Dr. Tahir-ul-Qadri and Syed Munawar Hasan of Jamaat-i-Islami. Their political parties 'PAT and JI' do not appear significant on the voting intention ladder, but their high leader approval scores show that under certain circumstances they can exercise influence on the voting choices of sizeable number of voters.



**FEBRUARY 2013**

**The Uncertain  
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Part 2

# Survey Findings

**Pildat-Gallup Political Weather Forecast****Background to  
Hazards of Political Weather Forecasting**

Political weather forecasting is as hazardous as weather forecasting. Both of them rely on scientific principles of measurement and scientific tools. And yet their predictions can be overridden by structural unpredictabilities, imprecise measurement tools and flawed information. Political forecasts are helpful guidelines for decent debate and deliberation, and not the truth. Electoral forecasts are further hazardous because situations change between the forecast and the election. The bottom-line is that please be aware that this forecast is **scientific**, but only to the best of our abilities! Feel free to challenge it on scientific grounds. It is **contextual** because the measurement was taken in January and early February 2013. Much can change in the months to come until the election day. It is not without purpose that we have titled our Report as 'The Uncertain Political Weather Forecast'. We wish to register the point about human frailty and contextual contingency of our findings. It is, to repeat, only a scientifically prepared guideline for decent debate.

**Historical Trends:**

To pursue the weather forecasting metaphor, forecasting is partly based on evidence from historical patterns. Weather forecasting experts dig into historical patterns of weather to substantiate their predictions. We have attempted to do the same. We have computed the historical score of leading parties of today over the last 20 years. Four national elections were held during that period. We have averaged the vote bank of all leading players. It is in



that light that we reflect on the current forecasts. We ask the question: *Is the current forecast a continuity of historical trend, or is it a departure? And what are the possibilities or indicators which might trigger a change in the status quo.* There are certain electoral territories where the latest forecast suggests that voting intentions are largely a continuation of historical trends. In other territories voting intentions indicate a 'changed mood'. Both types of 'voting intention' cases call for debate and deliberation.

**February 2013 Forecast:**

The February 2013 forecast is based on a nation-wide poll of approximately **9660 voters** in more than **300 villages** and **200 urban** localities of Pakistan. The respondents were chosen through probability sampling. They are a cross-section of men and women of all ages, income, education and linguistic groups across Pakistan's four provinces and nearly 100 districts

The field work was conducted by a trained group of interviewers across Pakistan by Gallup Pakistan.

The sample size of this survey was larger and more representative of Pakistani voters compared to any other survey released so far on the subject .

**Nation-wide Vote Bank: A figure which is interesting but of low relevance to electoral forecast**

In our view, two or more polls about voting intentions can be treated as two independent measurements of the phenomenon, if they follow a common and transparent methodology. We have thus treated a poll which appeared in the media recently as an IRI



poll. Its methodology was available on its website. We examined the methodology and found it to be standard scientific methodology. Its measurements were taken in November 2012. The Gallup Pakistan poll was conducted in January and early February. Both polls had followed the same standard methodology. We have averaged the two measurements and recommend to the readers to use the average of 2 polls as the current guideline for what we propose as process of decent debate and deliberation. Table 2 below provides the two measurements separately as well.

On the basis of two nation-wide polls over the past 3 months, one conducted by IRI and the other by Gallup Pakistan, PML (N) is the front-runner at this time, a few months ahead of 2013 National Elections of Pakistan. The average nation-wide score for PML-N at all Pakistan level is computed as 36.5%. There are two Runner ups scoring roughly the same score. They are PPP at 16%, and PTI at 15.5%.

The National Consolidated Score (*cumulative of the two polls*) shows that the picture in each of Pakistan's four provinces is quite unique. According to the consolidated score the forecasted top vote banks for each province are the following. The respective score are provided in the Table ahead. A graphical representation is available in the Appendix 1.





Table 1

## CONSOLIDATED NATIONAL SCORE OF LEADING PLAYERS

Based on average of **2 National Polls** conducted independently by IRI and Gallup Pakistan

Approximate: Will not vote

All Pakistan	IRI (Nov.2012)	GP (Feb.2013)	PWF consolidated Average (Feb.2013)
<b>ALL PAKISTAN</b>			
PML-N	32%	41%	<b>36.5%</b>
PTI	18%	14%	<b>16%</b>
PPP	14%	17%	<b>15.5%</b>
PML-Q	2%	4%	<b>3%</b>
<b>PUNJAB</b>			
PML-N	49%	59%	<b>54%</b>
PTI	19%	14%	<b>16.5%</b>
PPP	8%	10%	<b>9%</b>
PML-Q	-*	5%	-
<b>SINDH</b>			
PPP	32%	37%	<b>34.5%</b>
MQM	16%	19%	<b>17.5%</b>
PTI	9%	7%	<b>8%</b>
PML-N	8%	6%	<b>7%</b>
Independent/Regional Parties	-*	17%	-
<b>KPK</b>			
PTI	32%	28%	<b>30%</b>
PML-N	12%	34%	<b>23%</b>
JUI-F (MMA)	6%	10%	<b>8%</b>
ANP	3%	11%	<b>7%</b>
PML-Q	-*	3%	-
PPP	-*	9%	-
<b>Balochistan</b>			
Regional Parties/IND	-*	36%	-
PPP	18%	17%	<b>17.5%</b>
JUI/MMA	-*	18%	-
PML-N	13%	12%	<b>12.5%</b>
ANP	-*	13%	-
PTI	8%	3%	<b>5.5%</b>

\* Data Not available from IRI Poll

IRI Poll figures have been reproduced from reports Published in Newspapers. Gallup bears no responsibility of its authenticity.



**Gallup-PILDAT Results for 11 Electoral Territories:  
A bit complicated but far more relevant for Electoral forecasting**

Electoral forecasting in a Parliamentary system should be at the level of electoral territories rather than a lumped up figure on voting intentions at the all Pakistan level. Furthermore voting intentions for the latest elections should be interpreted by looking at the historical trend of how voters voted in that electoral territory over a longer period, let us say, 20 years. Further details on voting intentions in the 11 electoral territories are provided at the end of this document.

**Interpretation of forecasted vote banks in Pakistan’s 11 electoral territories:**

According to the February 2013 forecast 5 electoral territories show a trend of continuity with 20 years history. The Front Runner in the February Poll is the same as the front runner in all votes polled during four national elections conducted since 1993. However 6 electoral territories show signs of discontinuity or change from historical trend.

Table 2

**REGIONS OF CONTINUITY AND CHANGE**

Regions of Change		Regions of Continuity	
1	KP 1	1	Punjab 1
2	KP 2	2	Punjab 2
3	KP 3	3	Punjab 3
4	KP 4	4	Sindh 1
5	Balochisan 1	5	Sindh 2
6	Balochistan 2		

Source: Gilani's Index of Electoral Record



## DRIVERS OF CHANGE

The February poll findings reveal an inherent element of instability in the vote bank of Front runners in several electoral territories. The source of instability is Popularity-Electability Gap. There is a very marked PE Gap in the case of Imran Khan, Tahir-ul-Qadri and JI leader Munawar Hassan. All three score high on popularity and low on electability. In the case of Imran Khan such gap caused dramatic and sudden change in voting intentions during 2011-12. Some of that change turned out to be stable, while the rest subsided. But it showed the inherent vote gaining potential among parties whose leaders enjoy a PE Gap. The following PE Gaps are illustrative for the case of Imran Khan.

Table 3

### IMRAN KHAN'S PE GAP

	Territory	Leader Popularity (1)	Voting Intention (2)	PE Gap (1-2) = 3
1	Punjab 1	66%	15%	51%
2	Punjab 2	52%	9%	43%
3	Punjab 3	68%	16%	52%
4	Sindh 1	65%	11%	54%
5	Sindh 2	39%	4%	35%
6	KP 1	86%	20%	66%
7	KP 2	90%	33%	57%
8	KP 3	90%	28%	62%
9	KP 4	86%	34%	52%
10	Balochistan 1	53%	1%	52%
11	Balochistan 2	47%	5%	42%



## **WHAT EXPLAINS SIGNS OF CHANGE IN TERRITORIES OF ELECTORAL CHANGE**

Electoral territories which show signs of change are mainly in the KP. Unlike the territories of electoral continuity these territories did not move in the direction of one dominant party, or uni-polarity, during the past 20 years. Instead they were multi-polar. Apparently the voters in these territories have experienced frequent switching across parties. That is unlike the territories of continuity where cross-party switching was gradual and more permanent in nature. Any abrupt changes were within the factions of a party rather than across parties. Thus low party loyalty factor is one explanation.

The second factor is the ambiguity on whether elections are the best means to achieve political objectives. The territories of change harbor higher ambiguity as compared to territories of continuity. They have vacillated between their attraction to electoral and extra-electoral methods. They have also switched across parties. As a result they are subject to cross-pressures which allows room for the entry of new comers. As a comer Imran Khan meets highest success in these territories.

### **CHALLENGES TO STATUS QUO**

Gallup Pakistan studies on Electoral Prospects are based on measuring four parameter value:

- 1- Voting Intentions Score
- 2- Alliance Potential Score
- 3- Acceptability GAP Score
- 4- Popularity-Electability (P-E) Gap Score



The previous section addressed the first factor of Political Weather, that is, **Voting Intentions**. In the following three sections we shall talk about the remaining three factors. These three factors carry the possibility of changing the historically rooted patterns of voting behavior.

## **POPULARITY-ELECTABILILTY (PE) GAP**

We have identified the gap between a leader's popularity and voting intentions for the party candidates at constituency level as the major driver for change in traditional voting patterns. The existence of such gap indicates the possibility of converting leader popularity into voting intentions. If and when such transformation occurs the Gap is narrowed and status quo electoral patterns are challenged.

Beginning in 2011, Imran Khan has shown considerable ability to challenge political continuity or the status quo in Punjab and KP. His voting intention score rose dramatically in 2012 in both Punjab and KP. It has since receded in Punjab, but is largely intact in the KP. **According to Gallup-Pildat experts** in electoral studies, Imran Khan continues to enjoy the potential for upsetting electoral continuity due to his high Popularity score across the country. This potential however stands unrealized when his personal or party popularity does not translate into electability at the constituency level. Thus the gap between his Popularity and Low Electability, **the P-E Gap**, has to be bridged before Imran Khan's potential to upset electoral status quo is realized.



## **ALLIANCE POTENTIAL SCORE**

Gallup-PILDAT poll measures Potential as an alliance partner by asking voters about who would be their second best choice. Political parties which score high as second choices have potential as partners in alliances.

The summary tables in appendix shows the Second Choice or Alliance Potential Scores of various political parties in respective electoral territories.

## **ACCEPTABILITY GAP**

In this section we shall talk about the Gap in Acceptability to govern rule. This is measured by asking voters about which, if any, party they were so hostile that they would not vote for it, under any circumstances. The response is designed to measure the Acceptability to Rule Score for various parties.

The difference between Voting Intention Score and Hostility Score provides the score of Acceptability Gap.

The summary tables in appendix provide February 2013 score of Acceptability Gap, for the Top 3 Electoral Players in each Electoral territory.

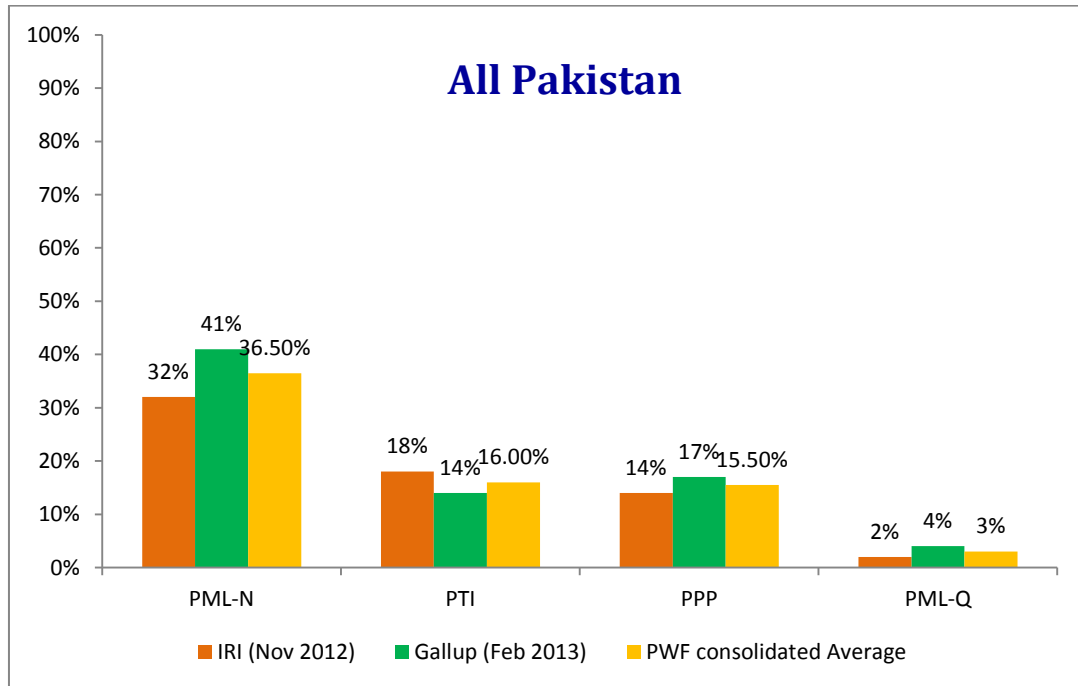


# Appendices

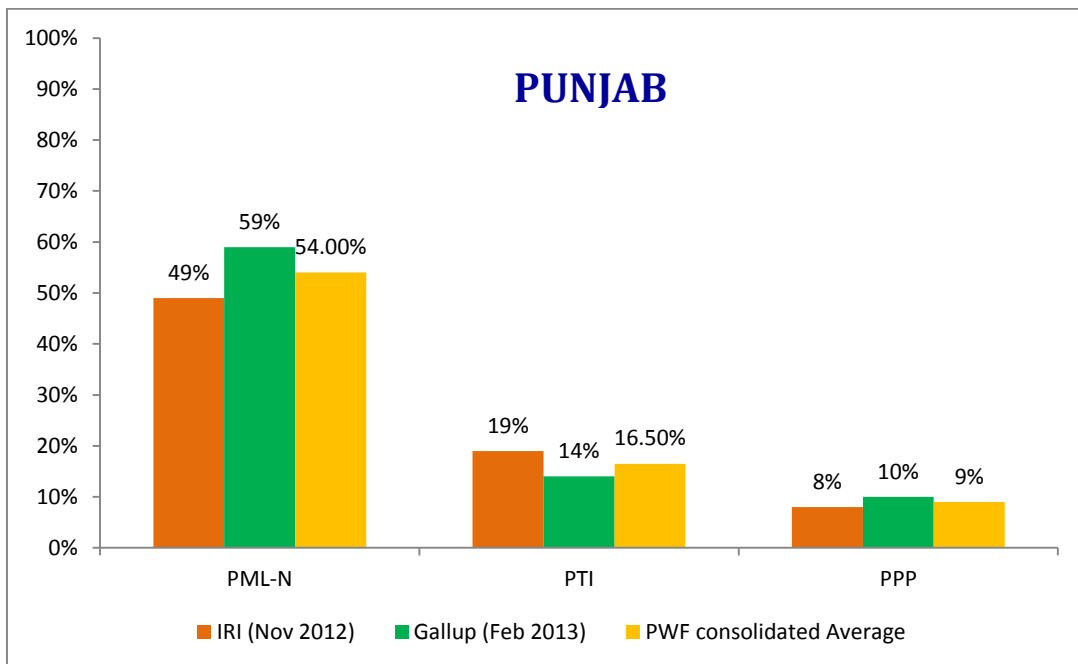


**Appendix 1**  
**Consolidated Voting Intentions**

**All Pakistan Voting Intentions**  
(IRI, Gallup Scores and PWF consolidated Average)



**Punjab Voting Intentions**  
(IRI, Gallup Scores and PWF consolidated Average)

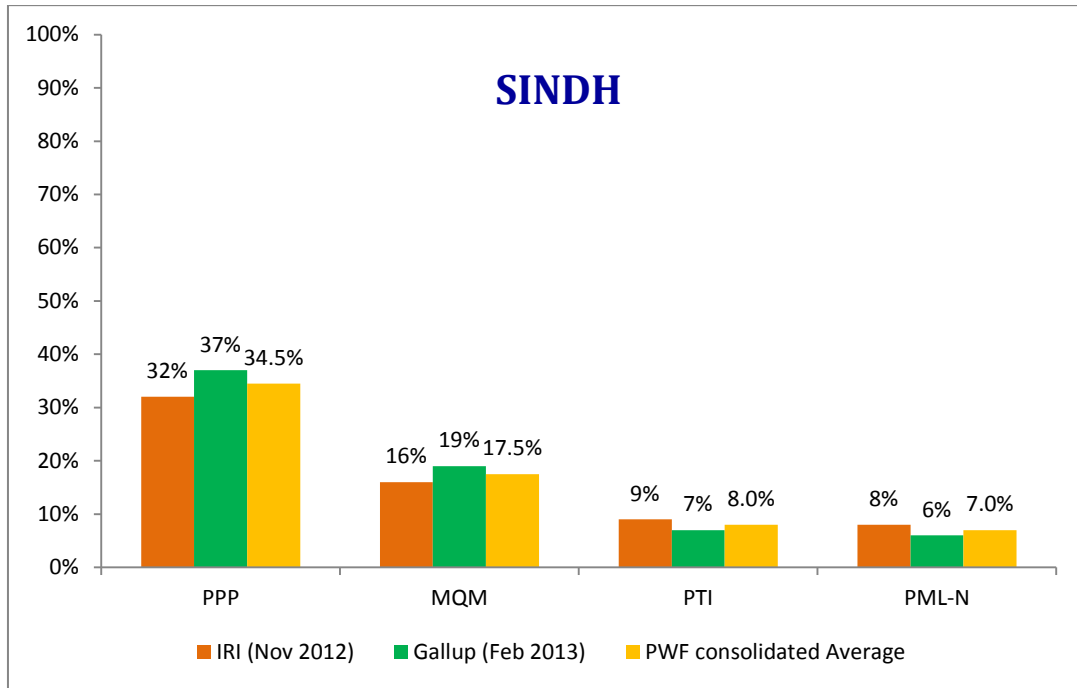


**Note: 1-** PWF figures are an average of IRI and Gallup-Pildat poll figures. In beginning this tradition, we are following a recently introduced tradition in other parts of the world, specially the last presidential election in USA

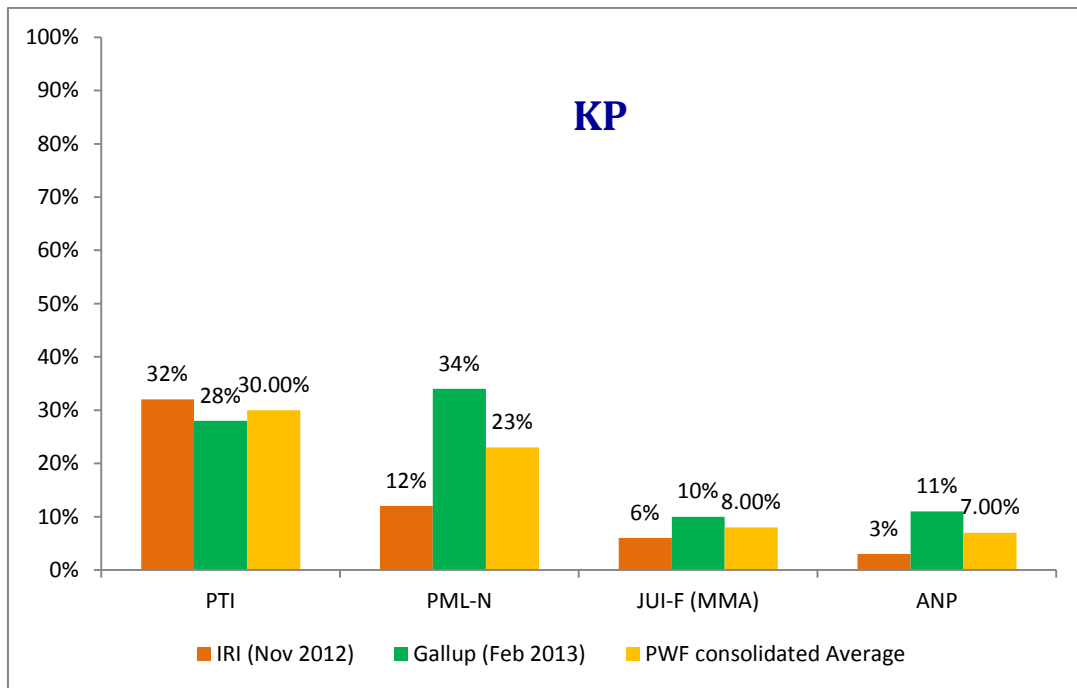




### Sindh Voting Intentions (IRI, Gallup Scores and PWF consolidated Average)



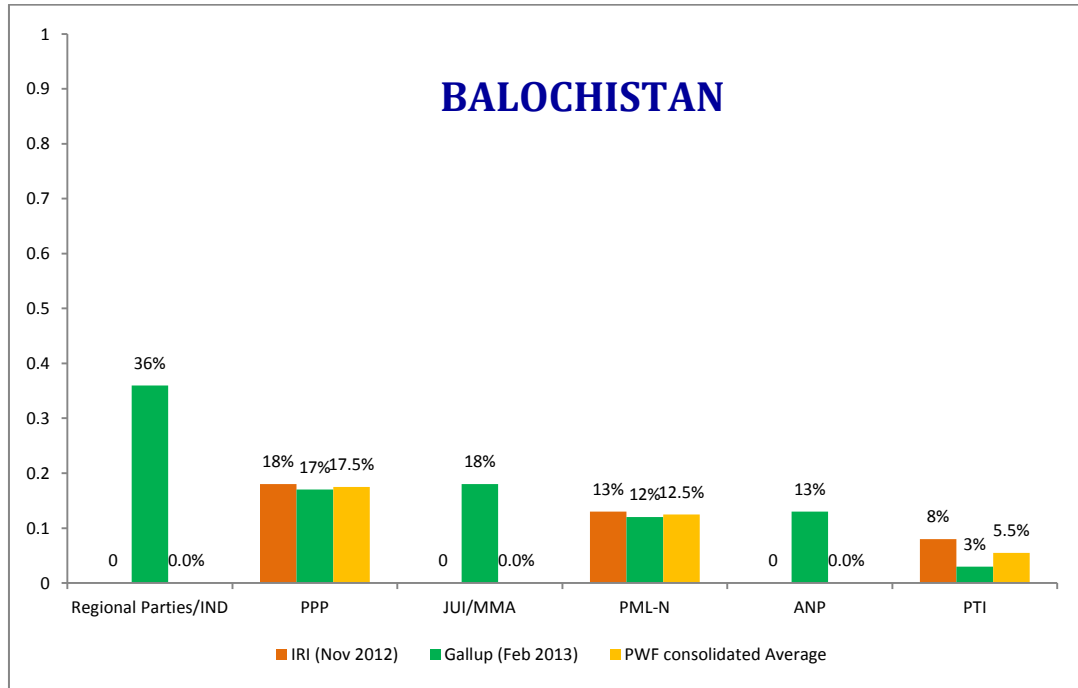
### KP Voting Intentions (IRI, Gallup Scores and PWF consolidated Average)



**Note: 1-** PWF figures are an average of IRI and Gallup-Pildat poll figures. In beginning this tradition, we are following a recently introduced tradition in other parts of the world, specially the last presidential election in USA



**Balochistan Voting Intentions**  
(IRI, Gallup Scores and PWF consolidated Average)



**Note:** 0 figure reflects the relevant data is not available

**Note: 1-** PWF figures are an average of IRI and Gallup-Pildat poll figures. In beginning this tradition, we are following a recently introduced tradition in other parts of the world, specially the last presidential election in USA



**Appendix 2:**

**Gallup-Pildat Poll Analytical Charts**

**PUNJAB**

**SUMMARY CHART # 1**

Top 3 Players in Feb 2013		Electoral Record (1993-2008 National Elections)		Gallup-Pildat Feb 13 Poll	DRIVERS OF CHANGE			
#	Party	Seats (%)	Votes (%)	Voting Intention Score (%)	Leader Popularity Score (%)	P-E Gap Score (%)	Alliance Power Score (%)	Acceptability Gap (%)
<b># 1</b> Seats: 69 <b>Punjab 1:</b> (North) Rawalpindi, Gujranwala and Lahore Divisions	<b>PML-N</b>	57%	41%	63%	85%	+22%	10%	+62% (63-1)
	PML (Q/O)	18%	17%	1%	21%	+20%	3%	-5% (1-6)
	<b>PTI</b>	-	-	15%	66%	+51%	28%	+14% (15-1)
	<b>PPP</b>	18%	27%	4%	3%	-1%	2%	-64% (4-68)
	<b>All Others</b>	7%	15%	17%	-	-	-	-
<b># 2</b> Seats: 31 <b>Punjab 2:</b> (West) Faisalabad and Sargodha Divisions	<b>PML-N</b>	39%	33%	69%	81%	+12%	5%	+61% (69-8)
	PML (Q/O)	22%	18%	6%	+41%	36%	3%	+4% (6-2)
	<b>PPP</b>	21%	25%	10%	7%	-3%	2%	-22% (10-32)
	<b>PTI</b>	1%	1%	9%	52%	+43%	23%	+1% (9-8)
	<b>All Others</b>	17%	23%	6%	-	-	-	-
<b># 3</b> Seats: 50 <b>Punjab 3:</b> (South) Bahawalpur, DG Khan and Multan Divisions	<b>PML-N</b>	35%	30%	49%	74%	+25%	19%	40% (49-9)
	PML (Q/O)	20%	21%	11%	26%	+15%	8%	+5% (11-6)
	<b>PPP</b>	36%	34%	18%	16%	-2%	3%	-34% (18-52)
	<b>PTI</b>	-	-	16%	68%	+52%	38%	+12% (16-4)
	<b>All Others</b>	9%	15%	6%	-	-	-	-



SUMMARY CHART # 2

SINDH

Top 3 Players in Feb 2013		Electoral Record (1993-2008 National Elections)		Gallup-Pildat Feb 13 Poll	DRIVERS OF CHANGE			
		Seats (%)	Votes (%)	Voting Intention Score (%)	Leader Popularity Score (%)	P-E Gap Score (%)	Alliance Power Score (%)	Acceptability Gap (%)
<b># 4</b> Seats: 20	<b>MQM</b>	52%	42%	45%	68%	+23%	4%	+39% (45-6)
	<b>PTI</b>	-	-	11%	65%	+54%	18%	+10% (11-1)
	<b>PPP</b>	26%	19%	10%	11%	+1%	2%	-32% (10-42)
	<b>All Others</b>	22%	39%	34%	-	-	-	-
<b>Sindh 1: (Karachi)</b> Karachi Division								
<b># 5</b> Seats: 41	<b>PPP</b>	63%	48%	51%	70%	+19%	8%	+40% (51-11)
	<b>MQM</b>	3%	5%	5%	9%	+4%	1%	-30% (5-35)
	<b>PML-N</b>	7%	5%	5%	26%	+21%	3%	-8% (5-13)
	<b>PML (Q/O)</b>	13%	19%	0%	8%	+32%	1%	-3% (0-3)
	<b>All Others</b>	14%	23%	39%	-	-	-	-
<b>Sindh 2: (Rest)</b> Hyderabad, Larkana, Mirpur Khas and Sukkur Divisions								



SUMMARY CHART # 3

KP

Top 3 Players in Feb 2013		Electoral Record (1993-2008 National Elections)		Gallup-Pildat Feb 13 Poll	DRIVERS OF CHANGE			
#	Seats	Seats (%)	Votes (%)	Voting Intention Score (%)	Leader Popularity Score (%)	P-E Gap Score (%)	Alliance Power Score (%)	Acceptability Gap (%)
# 6	Seats: 8	32%	26%	JUI 12%	68%	+36%	23%	+32% (32-0)
KPK 1: (Malakand) Malakand Division	JUI-F/MMA	21%	12%	MMA 20% (including JI)	72%	+48%	12%	+14% (24-10)
	PML-N	7%	8%	Total 32%	13%	+13%	4%	-22% (0-22)
	PML (Q/O)	0%	1%		86%	+66%	31%	+19% (20-1)
	PTI				68%	51%	14%	+14% (17-3)
	ANP	40%	53%		-	-	-	-
All Others				3%				
# 7	Seats: 19	FATA is included in this territory. Adult franchise began after 2002. Record does not match other territories		34%	72%	+38%	18%	+25% (34-9)
KPK 2: (South) Bannu, DI Khan and Kohat Divisions	PML-N			4%	31%	+27%	6%	-3% (4-7)
	PML (Q/O)			33%	90%	+57%	42%	+31% (33-2)
	PTI			13%	23%	+10%	1%	-33% (13-46)
	PPP			16%	-	-	-	-
	All Others							
# 8	Seats: 13	0%	3%	36%	78%	+42%	22%	+23% (36-13)
KPK 3: (Peshawar Valley) Peshawar and Mardan Divisions	PML-N	0%	2%	5%	34%	+29%	7%	-5% (5-10)
	PML (Q/O)	-	-	28%	90%	+62%	42%	+26% (28-2)
	PTI	36%	29%	12%	37%	+25%	6%	3% (12-9)
	ANP	64%	66%	19%	-	-	-	-
	All Others							
# 9	Seats: 7	54%	40%	43%	75%	+32%	20%	+34% (43-9)
KPK 4: (Hazara) Hazara Division	PML-N	21%	24%	2%	32%	+30%	5%	-4% (2-6)
	PML (Q/O)	0%	1%	34%	86%	+52%	42%	+32% (34-2)
	PTI	0%	2%	11%	20%	+9%	3%	-38% (11-49)
	PPP	0%	1%		-	-	-	-
	PPP (O)	25%	32%	10%	-	-	-	-
All Others								



# SUMMARY CHART # 4

## BALOCHSITAN

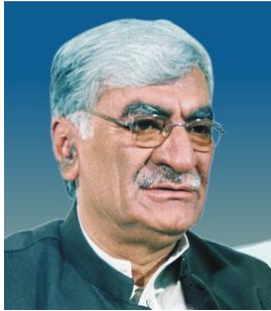
Top 3 Players in Feb 2013		Electoral Record (1993-2008 National Elections)		Gallup-Pildat Feb 13 Poll	DRIVERS OF CHANGE			
		Seats (%)	Votes (%)	Voting Intention Score (%)	Leader Popularity Score (%)	P-E Gap Score (%)	Alliance Power Score (%)	Acceptability Gap (%)
# 10 Seats: 6	ANP	0%	4%	28%	83%	+55%	27%	+27% (28-1)
Balochistan 1: (Quetta) Quetta and Zhob Divisions	JUI-F/MMA	40%	24%	25%	83%	+58%	10%	+19% (25-6)
	PML-N	10%	9%	19%	78%	+59%	10%	+17% (19-2)
	PML (Q/O)	5%	14%	0%	65%	+65%	0%	-3% (0-3)
	All Others (including Regional Parties)	45%	49%	28%	-	-	-	-
# 11 Seats: 8	PPP	10%	15%	27%	41%	+14%	3%	+15% (27-12)
Balochistan 2: (Rest) Kalat, Makran, Nasir Abad and Sibi Divisions	JUI-F/MMA	7%	6%	12%	25%	+13%	3%	+5% (12-7)
	PML-N	3%	15%	7%	45%	+38%	8%	+6% (7-1)
	PML (Q/O)	13%	14%	0%	9%	+9%	0%	-5% (0-5)
	All Others (including Regional Parties)	77%	50%	54%	-	-	-	-



## Appendix 3:

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1-	<b>Sample Size:</b>	9,660
2-	<b>Scope of Sample:</b>	The sample is representative of Male and Female adult (Age 18+) population of Pakistan. The sample represents both rural and urban areas of all four provinces of the country
3-	<b>Sampling Method:</b>	The sample was selected through area probability sampling, using the method of Population Proportionate to size (PPS). The achieved sample was weighted to correspond with the census distribution of population for rural and urban areas of all four provinces of Pakistan
4-	<b>Field Work:</b>	The field work was done through face to face, in-home interviews.
5-	<b>Field Dates:</b>	The field-work was carried during the month of January and February 2013.
6-	<b>Field verification and Quality Checks:</b>	The survey was carried out by Gallup Pakistan whose field work processes are ISO certified and strictly observe guidelines required by Gallup International Association and European Society of Opinion and Marketing Research (ESOMAR) Code of Conduct. These require as elaborate set of Field Verification and Quality Control steps whose details are available separately.
7-	<b>Estimation of Error Margins:</b>	The sampling error for this survey is estimated to be $\pm 2-3$ percent at 95% confidence level.
8-	<b>11 Electoral Territories:</b>	Punjab 1 ( <i>North and Central</i> ), Punjab 2 ( <i>Western</i> ), Punjab 3 ( <i>Southern</i> ), Sindh 1 ( <i>Karachi Division</i> ), Sindh 2 ( <i>All other Divisions</i> ), KP1 ( <i>Malakand Division</i> ) North, KP2 ( <i>Bannu, DIK &amp; Kohat Divisions</i> ) South, KP3 ( <i>Peshawar &amp; Mardan Divisions</i> ) Peshawar Valley, KP4 ( <i>Hazara Division</i> ), Balochistan 1 ( <i>Quetta Zone</i> ), Balochsitan 2 ( <i>Kalat &amp; Makran Zone</i> )



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