REAL-TIME OPINION POLLING

FOR THE AFGHAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION 2019



Real-Time Opinion Polling for the Afghan Presidential Election 2019



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PROJECT DIRECTION

Organization for Social Research and Analysis

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ABOUT THE ORGANIZATION FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS

The Organization for Social Research and Analysis (OSRA) is a nonpartisan and independent non-governmental organization based in Kabul. At OSRA, we conduct socio-economic research, public opinion polls, big data analytics, content analysis and a variety of data-driven research.

Our mission is to facilitate fact-based transparency to support sustainable development and good governance, and to promote democracy by producing evidence-based research and high-quality data analysis. We study Afghan public attitude, demographic trends, policy impact, communication and public relations with the help of the latest technology, as well as a standardized and customized methodology to enable intelligent decision-making processes. In order to deliver a meaningful message gleaned from complex and large datasets, we focus on presenting the general public and our clients with easy to read and comprehensible real-time data visualization platforms.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Afghan Presidential Election 2019 marked the fourth general election in Afghanistan since 2002. Data gathered from 11,337 adult participants covering 34 provinces during the run-up phase to the Afghan presidential elections on 28 September revealed that the willingness to participate in the presidential election was strikingly high despite the overall deteriorating security situation in Afghanistan. From 11,337 participants, 69.3% (7,860) stated they will participate in the election, 18.3% (2,079) stated they would not participate, and 12.3% (1,398) stated that they were undecided but intended to participate. While the willingness to participate remained the highest among Pashtun participants at 77.6%, more than half of Tajik participants at 62.7%, Hazara participants at 60.9%, and Uzbek participants at 64.4%, expressed their willingness to participate in the election.

The two mattered candidates remained Ashraf Ghani and Abdullah Abdullah. 40.9% of all participants willing to vote stated they would vote for Ashraf Ghani, and 7% of all the participants willing to vote stated they would vote for Abdullah Abdullah. Ashraf Ghani's voter-base was the highest in Kabul, Nangarhar, Kandahar, Herat and Helmand provinces, followed by almost the entire Pashtun belt provinces stretching from east to south to west Afghanistan. In contrast, Abdullah Abdullah's voter-base was the highest in Kabul, Herat, Takhar, Balkh and Faryab provinces, followed by the northern provinces spanning from the north-east to north-west of Afghanistan. Analysis of the data indicated that ethnic and geographic affiliation tends to determine the choice of the presidential candidate.

While 61.5% of all Pashtun participants said they would vote in favor of Ashraf Ghani, 1.9 % said they would vote for Abdullah Abdullah. Tajik participants candidate preference was less stark with 23.2% in favor of Ashraf Ghani, and 12.3% in favor of Abdullah Abdullah. Hazara participants candidate preference tended to be rather even with 14.5% in favor of Ashraf Ghani, and 10.9% in favor of Abdullah Abdullah. Simultaneously, Uzbek participants were increasingly in favor of Abdullah Abdullah with 19.9% as compared to Ashraf Ghani with 13.8%. The overall gender-based voting behavior revealed that Abdullah had a larger female voter base with 15.8% female, whereas the female voter base of Ashraf Ghani's was 6%. Meanwhile, of all female participants willing to vote, 32% remained undecided, 27.6% refused to name their choice of candidate, 23.9% said they would vote for Ashraf Ghani, and 10.8% preferred Abdullah Abdullah as their candidate of choice.

Male participants showed more certitude about their preference. Of all male participants willing to vote, 42.8% said they would vote for Ashraf Ghani, 27.9% refused to name their preferred candidate, 19% remained undecided, and 6.6% preferred Abdullah Abdullah.

The analysis of voter behavior from 5 August till 28 September revealed that both Ashraf Ghani and Abdullah Abdullah's popularity remained relatively constant. While Ashraf Ghani's voter base fluctuated between 34% - 45% with a decrease during the last weeks towards the election date, Abdullah Abdullah's voter base varied between 4% - 10% with an increase during the last weeks up to the elections.

A post-election poll was conducted between 1st and 20th October 2019, with a total of 4,424 adult participants. Of all the 4,424 participants 48.7% (2158) stated that they had cast their vote. The willingness to participate in the presidential election during the pre-election phase was much higher at 69.3% than the actual post-election phase revealed. However, analysis of the collected data from pre and post-election polls demonstrates that Ashraf Ghani remained the frontrunner in both the pre-election and post-election polls, followed by Abdullah Abdullah and Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. The main voter bases were concentrated in the provinces of Kabul, Herat, Nangarhar, Kandahar and Balkh provinces, mirroring the major population centers of the country.

Projection

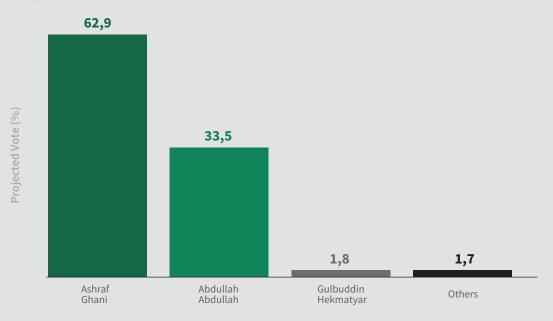
Fig. 1: Pre-Election projected results (%)



Candidates

Projection

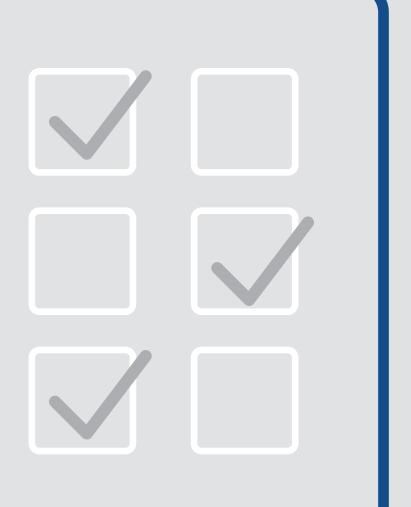
Fig. 2: Post-Election projected results (%)



Candidates

01

INTRODUCTION



INTRODUCTION

The objective of this poll was to understand public opinion towards the Afghan presidential election 2019, to study people's preferences towards the presidential candidates, and to reflect their opinion in real-time on a web platform.

The poll was conducted for eight weeks from the 5 August to 28 September 2019 and a total of 11,337 adult participants were polled from all 34 provinces of Afghanistan. A random and representative sample of men and women aged 18 and above were polled via phone interviews.

OSRA chose phone interviews as this still remains the most reliable and tested method in building a random and representative sample. 1 Especially in the culturally and highly sensitized context of Afghanistan, empirical experience showed, phone interviews provide interviewees the time and space to respond to critical and sensitive questions without social and peer pressure of family members or bystanders. Furthermore, women willing to respond demonstrate greater enthusiasm and openness towards phone interviews.

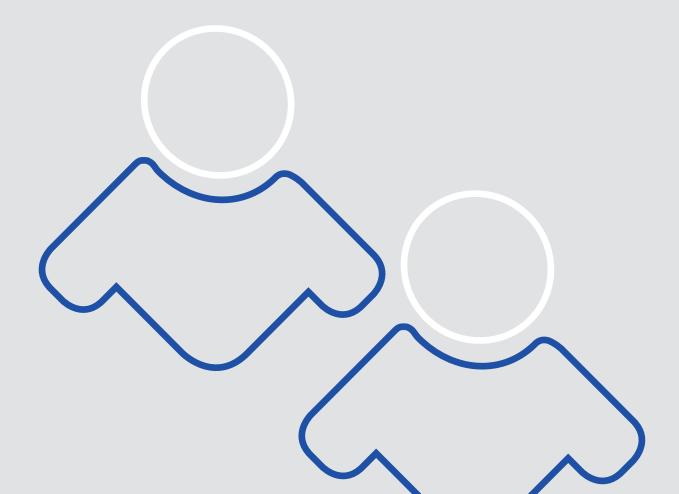
To analyze and reflect public opinion in real-time, the Organization for Social Research and Analysis (OSRA) utilized a web-based real-time opinion poll analysis and data visualization system, the Real-Time Opinion Polling Platform (ROPP), developed especially for this poll.

As allegations of vote-rigging and ballot box tampering have been widespread in previous Afghan elections, contributing to distrust and disillusionment with politics and politicians by voters, the purpose of this poll was to increase transparency by creating predictability mechanisms based on scientific research.

¹ https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/why-telephone-polling-used-to-be-the-best-and-why-its-dyingout/article13417520/

02

METHODOLOGY



METHODOLOGY

DATA COLLECTION

OSRA polled 11,337 adult participants from all 34 provinces in Afghanistan. To achieve an unbiased and representative sample, the random digit dialing sampling methodology was applied. The poll interviewed a random and representative sample of men and women aged 18 and over by phone. A specially designed Survey Management System (SuM-Sy) was used for the data collection process. SuMSy facilitates and speeds up the data gathering process and ensures the consistency and validity of the data during the entry. It is designed to assist data gathering in telephone surveying and allows the interviewer to follow a script provided by the software to ensure accurate and valid data entry.

Random telephone numbers were generated using SuMSy's intelligent 'valid phone number generator' module. To ensure inclusive and non-discriminatory coverage, numbers from all Afghan telecommunication providers (including but not limited to Roshan, Etisalat, Afghan Wireless, MTN, and Salaam) were used. The data gathering was conducted by experienced operators who contacted participants in order to capture their views. The operators were fluent in all the official languages of Afghanistan including Dari, Pashto, Uzbaki, and Turkmani. Female operators were specifically trained to ease the interview process for female participants, who tendentially feel more comfortable and willing to talk to women.

After gaining the consent of each participant, the interviews were recorded and digitally stored in SuMSy. The interview questions are provided in Annex I.

DATA QUALITY

To ensure consistency and validity of the data, OSRA adopted a two-layer quality assurance procedure. First, SuMSy has an integrated data validity and consistency check which prevents the entry of invalid and inconsistent data. Second, after the data is entered into the system by the interviewers, it is checked by the data quality control team. They listen to the voice recording and make sure that the entered data is consistent with the recording. After passing these two stages, the data is released to be published on the ROPP.

MARGIN OF ERROR

The margin of error in this poll is +/- 1 % resulting from an estimated proportion of p=0.5 and a confidence interval of 95%.

DATA PRESENTATION

For the purpose of this poll, ROPP - a Real-time Data Visualization System - was developed and tailored to the context and requirements of this poll. ROPP is a web-based real-time opinion polling, data analysis, and data visualization platform. It offers a very user-friendly and intuitive data analysis and visualization functionality. The user can see the data in different categories and filter it according to demographic attributes; enabling users to infer varying correlations with the help of multiple concurrent filters. This provides and allows for a wide range of hypotheses to be drawn, and possible conclusions to be made.

03

DEMOGRAPHICS

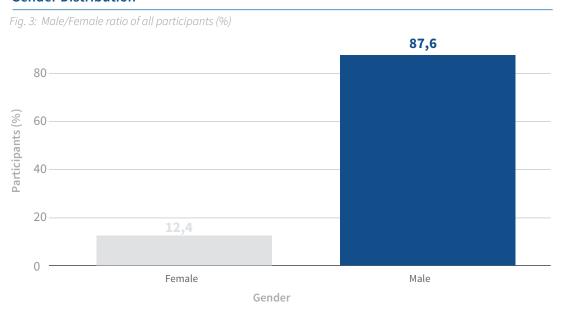


DEMOGRAPHICS

GENDER DISTRIBUTION

The male/female ratio of the collected sample was 87.6% male and 12.4% female.²

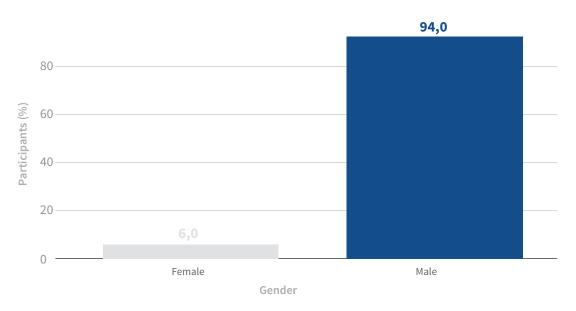
Gender Distribution



Of all the participants that said they would vote for Ashraf Ghani, 94% were male and 6% were female.

Gender Distribution

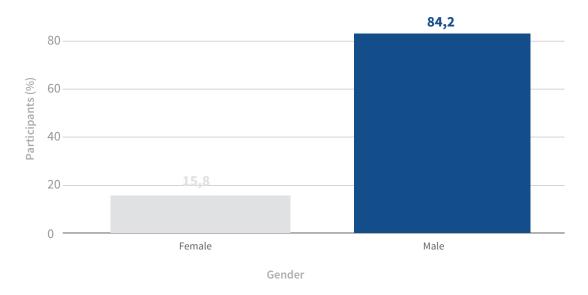
Fig. 4: Male/Female ratio of participants in favour of Ashraf Ghani (%)



2. The reason for this disproportion is twofold: firstly, households that can afford only one mobile phone, it is more likely that the male head of the household will have primary access to that mobile phone, therefore, making it less likely for women in the household to be sampled. Secondly, women are less likely to answer the phone if the caller is unknown to them. Hence, they are less likely to be sampled.

GENDER DISTRIBUTION

Fig. 5: Male/Female ratio of participants in favor of Abdullah Abdullah (%)



Of all the participants that said they would vote for Abdullah Abdullah, 84.2% were male and 15.8% were female.

For additional queries into the male/female ratio of participants for other candidates, visit the link:

→ https://ropp.osra.af

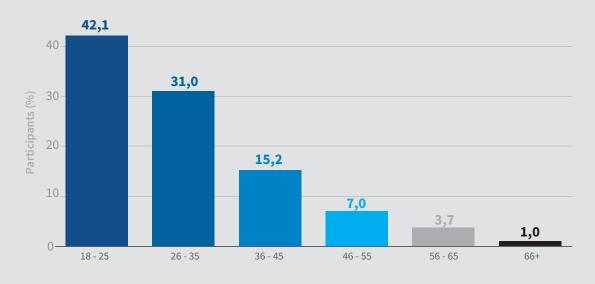
click the tab "Sample Overview", choose the category labeled "Gender", and from the drop-down menu "Preference for:" select a candidate.



AGE DISTRIBUTION

The age distribution shows that 73.1% of the 11,337 participants polled were aged 35 years or younger.

AGE DISTRIBUTION



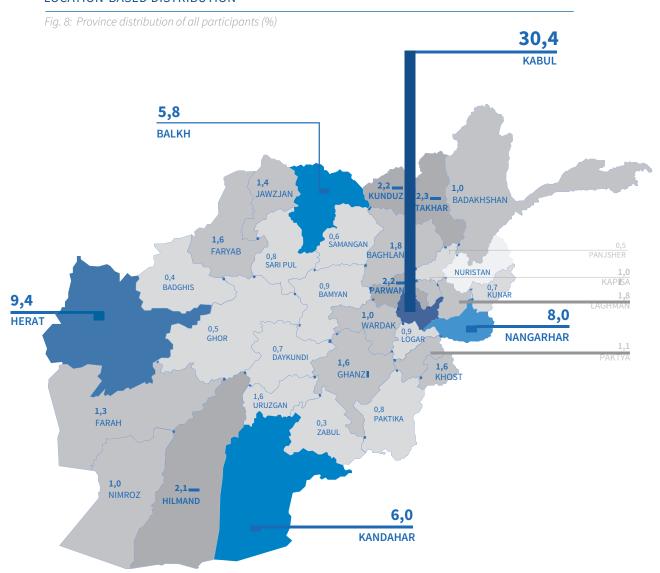
Age (Years)

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

The poll covered all 34 provinces of Afghanistan. The sample size distribution largely mirrors the population distribution of the country. The higher number of participants from Kabul, Herat, Nangarhar, Kandahar and Balkh provinces is indicative of the concentrated population in these provinces; specifically, the major cities of Kabul, Herat,

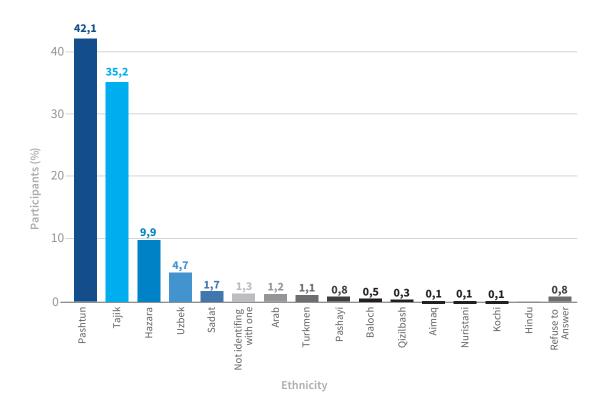
Jalalabad, Kandahar, and Mazar-e-Sharif. High population density and better mobile connectivity makes it more likely for people living in these areas to be approached.

LOCATION-BASED DISTRIBUTION



ETHNICITY DISTRIBUTION

Fig. 9: Ethnicity distribution of all participants (%)



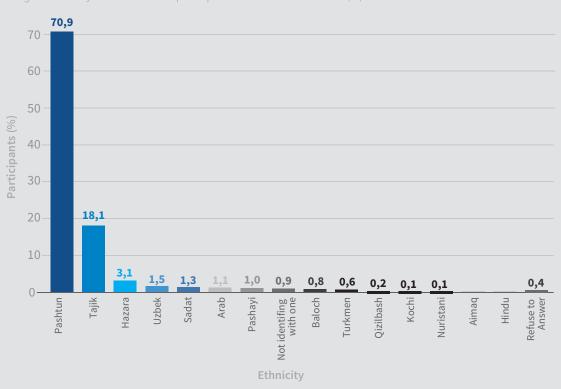
ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION

The ethnic distribution shows that Pashtun and Tajik ethnic groups account for 77.3% of the representative sample of 11,337.

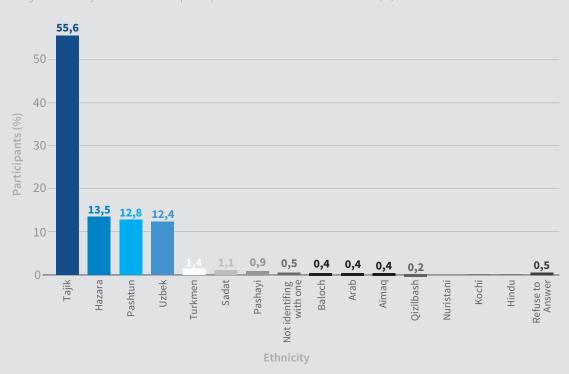
Of all the participants that said they would vote for Ashraf Ghani, 70.9% were Pashtuns, 18.1% were Tajiks, 3.1% were Hazaras and 1.5% were Uzbeks.

Of all the participants that said they would vote for Abdullah Abdullah, 55.6% were Tajiks, 13.5% were Hazaras, 12.8% were Pashtuns and 12.4% were Uzbeks.

ETHNICITY DISTRIBUTION



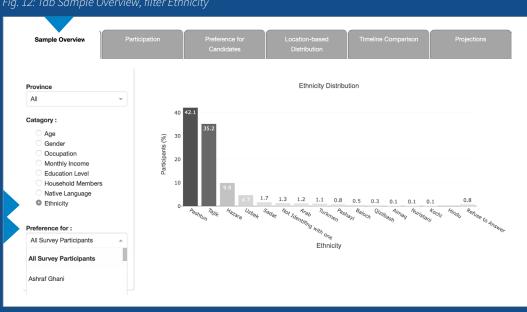
ETHNICITY DISTRIBUTION



For additional queries regarding the ethnic composition of all participants in favor of other candidates, visit the link

→ https://ropp.osra.af

Click on the tab "Sample Overview", choose category "Ethnicity", and from the drop-down filter "Preference for:" select a candidate. The query can be further specified using the drop-down filter "Province".

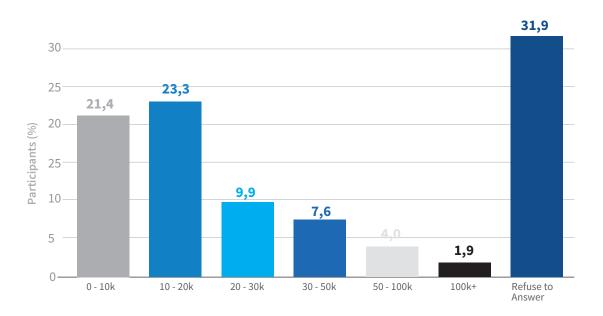


ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

The monthly income of all participants in Afs was divided into six categories. The majority of participants had a monthly income between 0 - 30,000 Afs, however, a significant 31.9% refused to answer the question.

MONTHLY INCOME DISTRIBUTION

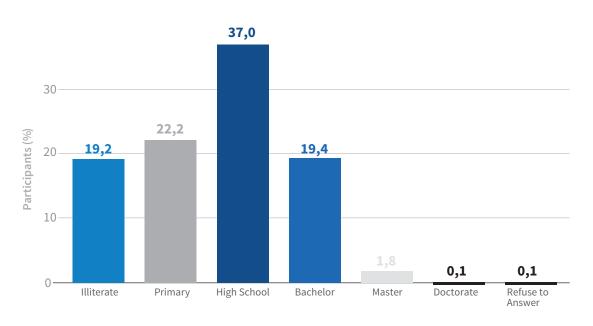
Fig. 13: Income distribution of all participants (%)



Monthly Income (Afghanis)

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL DISTRIBUTION

Fig. 14: Education level distribution of all participants (%)



Education Level

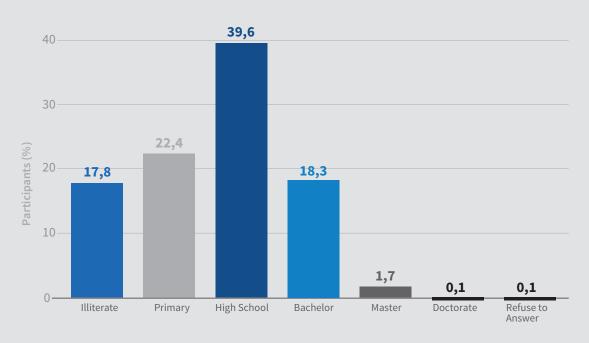
EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

Of all 11,337 participants, 37% had high school degrees, 22.2% had received only primary education, 19.4% had a bachelor's degree, and 19.2% were illiterate. A total of 21.3% of the entire sample size were holders of an academic degree.

Of all participants that said they would vote for Ashraf Ghani, 39.6% had a high school degree, 22.4% had received primary education, 18.3% had a bachelor's degree, and 17.8% were illiterate.

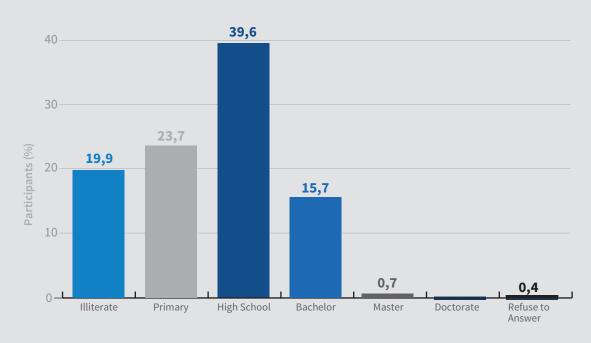
All participants that said they would vote for Abdullah Abdullah, 39.6% had a high school degree, 23.7% had received primary education, 15.7% had a bachelor's degree, and 19.9% were illiterate.

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL DISTRIBUTION



Education Level

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL DISTRIBUTION

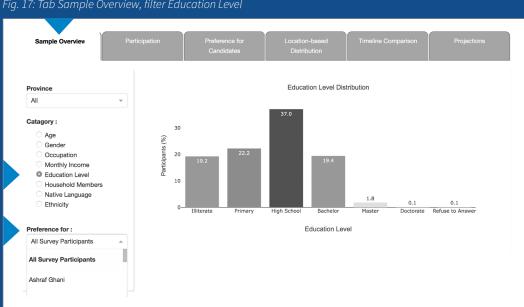


Education Level

For additional queries regarding educational background of all participants in relation to other candidates, visit the link

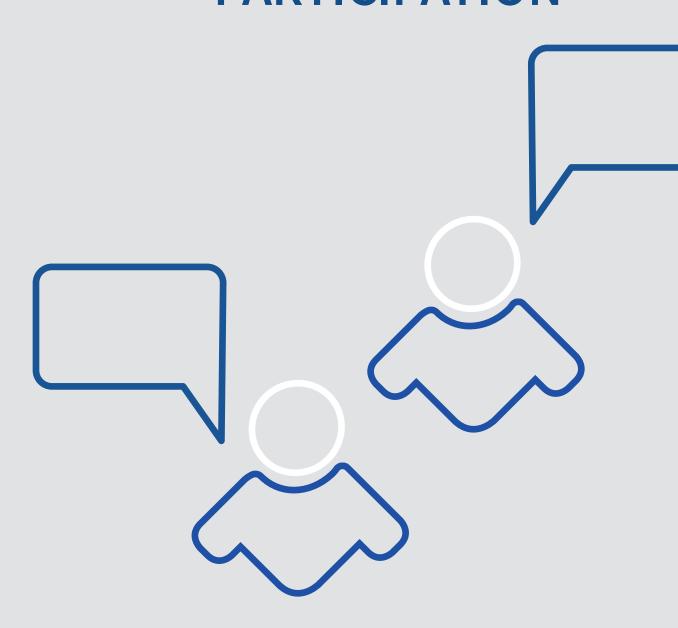
→ <u>https://ropp.osra.af</u>

Click on the tab "Sample Overview", choose the category "Education Level", and from the drop-down menu "Preference for:" select a candidate.

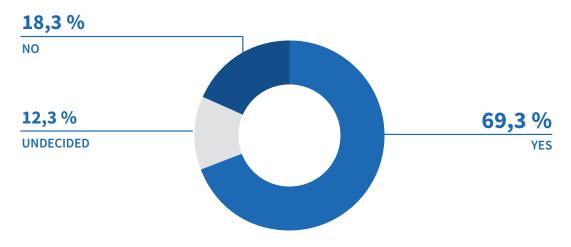


04

PARTICIPATION

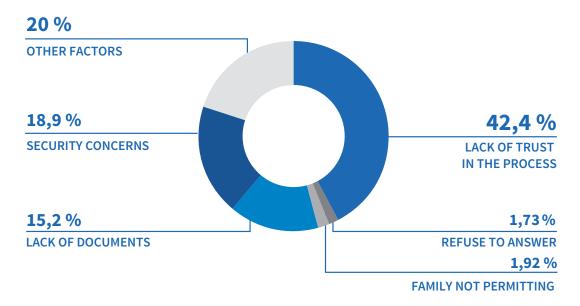


WILL YOU PARTICIPATE IN THE UPCOMING ELECTION?



IF NOT PARTICIPATING, WHAT IS YOUR REASON?

Fig. 19: Reasons for not participating in all participants (%)



PARTICIPATION

The poll reflected willingness to participate and to not participate along the lines of ethnicity, location, age, gender, occupation, native language, education level, monthly income, and household members. The results illustrate that 69.3% of 11,337 respondents would participate in the Afghan presidential election of 2019. 18.3.% of the respondents said they would not participate and only 12.3% were undecided in the pre-election opinion poll up to 28 September 2019. Of the 18.3% that would not participate, 42.4% stated "lack of trust in the election process", 20% chose "other factors", 18.9% said "security-related reasons", followed by "lack of documents" at 15.2% as their reason not to participate.

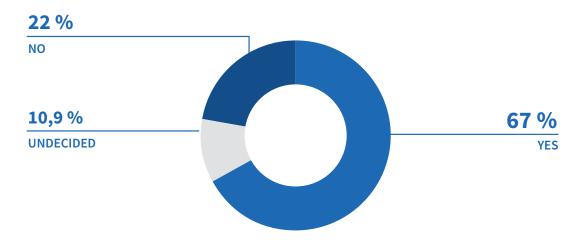
PARTICIPATION AND PROVINCE

The willingness to participate of all respondents from Kabul province was 67%, followed by 22% that said they would not participate - a further 10.9% were undecided.



WILL YOU PARTICIPATE IN THE UPCOMING ELECTION?

Fig. 20: Willingness to participate across all participants from Kabul province (%)

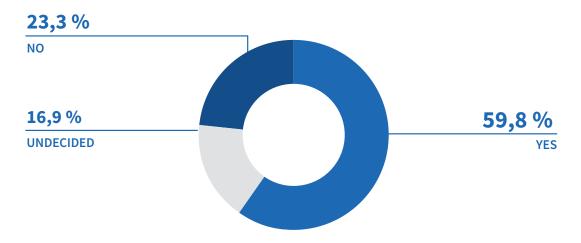




The willingness to participate of all respondents from Herat province was 59.8%, followed by 23.3% that said they would not participate - a further 16.9% were undecided.

WILL YOU PARTICIPATE IN THE UPCOMING ELECTION?

Fig. 21: Willingness to participate in all participants from Herat province (%)

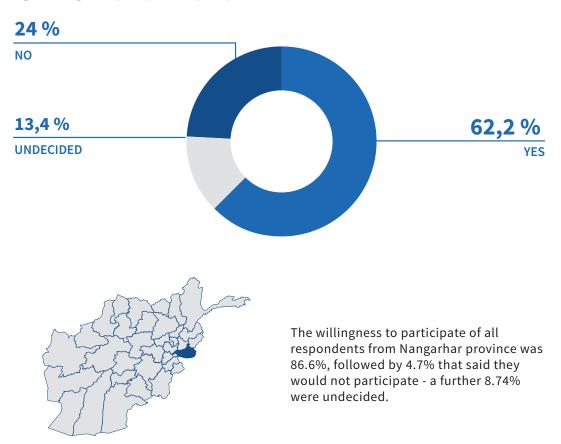


The willingness to participate of all respondents from Balkh province was 62.6%, followed by 24% that said they would not participate - a further 13.4% were undecided.



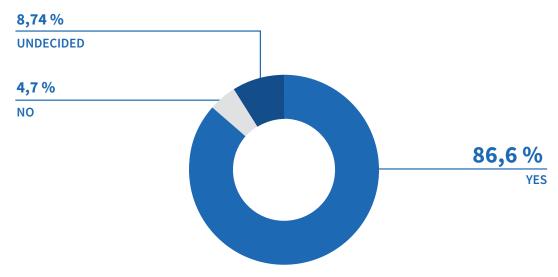
WILL YOU PARTICIPATE IN THE UPCOMING ELECTION?

Fig. 22: Willingness to participate in all participants from Balkh (%)



WILL YOU PARTICIPATE IN THE UPCOMING ELECTION?

Fig. 23: Willingness to participate in all participants from Nangarhar (%)

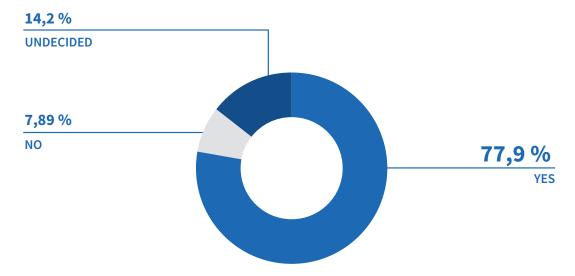


The willingness to participate of all respondents from Kandahar province was 77.9%, followed by 7.89% that said they would not participate, - a further 14.2% were undecided.



WILL YOU PARTICIPATE IN THE UPCOMING ELECTION?

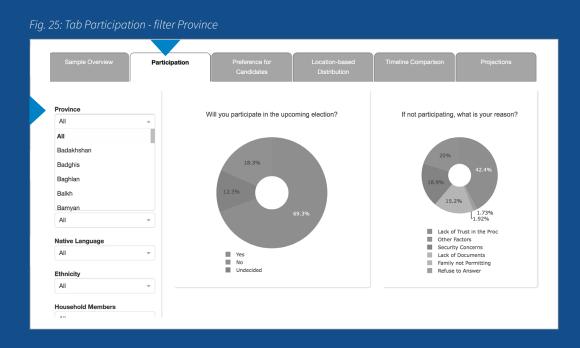
Fig. 24: Willingness to participate in all participants from Kandahar (%)



For additional queries regarding participation and a breakdown of participation by province, visit the link:

→ https://ropp.osra.af

Click on the tab "Participation", and choose any province from the drop-down filter "Province".

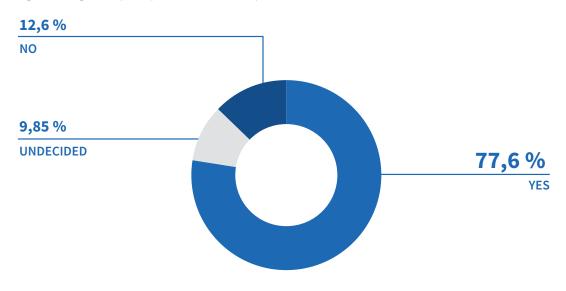


PARTICIPATION AND ETHNICITY

The willingness to participate of all Pashtun respondents was 77.6%, with 12.6% who said they would not participate and 9.85% who remained undecided.

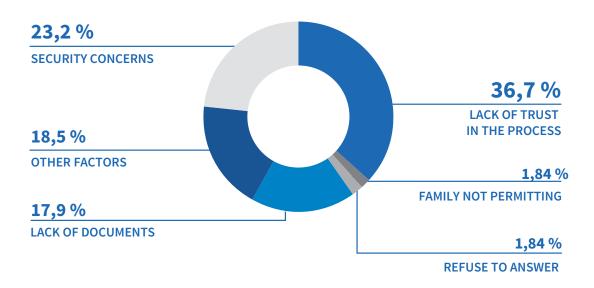
WILL YOU PARTICIPATE IN THE UPCOMING ELECTION?

Fig. 26: Willingness to participate in all Pashtun respondents (%)



IF NOT PARTICIPATING, WHAT IS YOUR REASON?

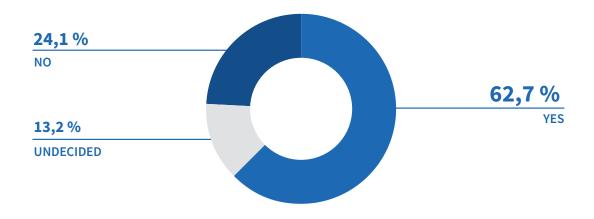
Fig. 27: Reasons for not participating in all Pashtun respondents (%)



The willingness to participate of all Tajik respondents was 62.7%, with 24.1% who said they would not participate and 13.2% who remained undecided.

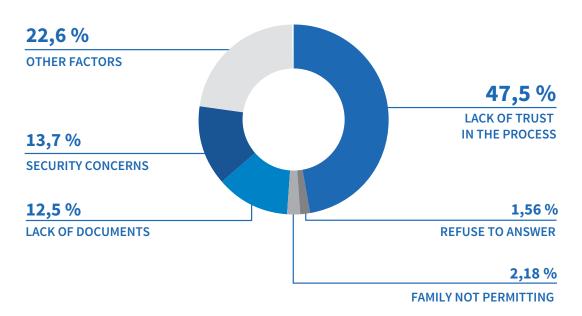
WILL YOU PARTICIPATE IN THE UPCOMING ELECTION?

Fig. 28: Willingness to participate in all Tajik respondents (%)



IF NOT PARTICIPATING, WHAT IS YOUR REASON?

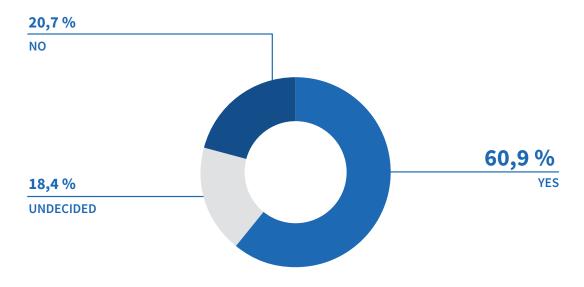
Fig. 29: Reasons for not participating in all Tajik respondents (%)



The willingness to participate of all Hazara respondents was 60.9% with 20.7% who said they would not participate and 18.4% who remained undecided.

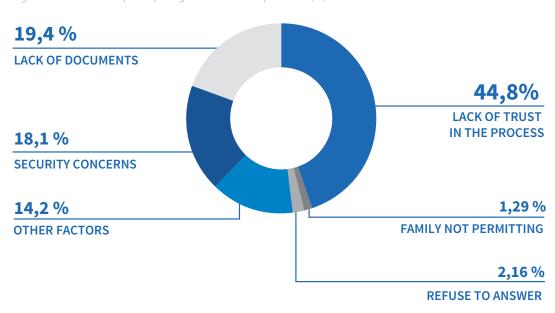
WILL YOU PARTICIPATE IN THE UPCOMING ELECTION?

Fig. 30: Willingness to participate in all Hazara respondents (%)



IF NOT PARTICIPATING, WHAT IS YOUR REASON?

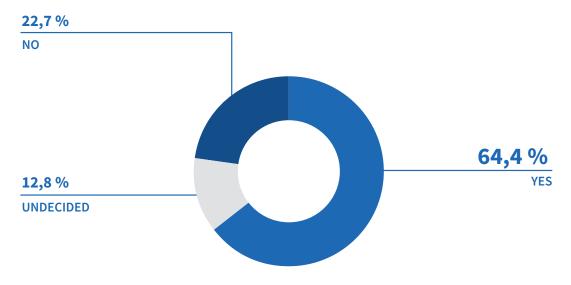
Fig. 31: Reasons for not participating in all Hazara respondents (%)



The willingness to participate of all Uzbek respondents was 64.4%, with 22.7% who said they would not participate and 12.8% who remained undecided.

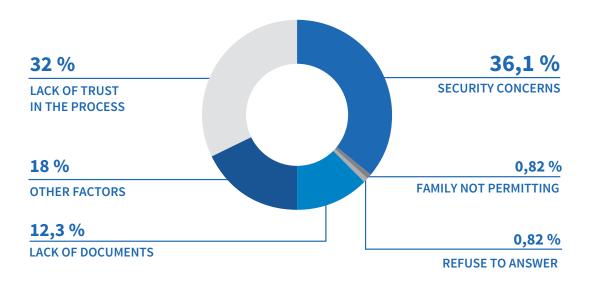
WILL YOU PARTICIPATE IN THE UPCOMING ELECTION

Fig. 32: Willingness to participate in all Uzbek respondents (%)



IF NOT PARTICIPATING, WHAT IS YOUR REASON?

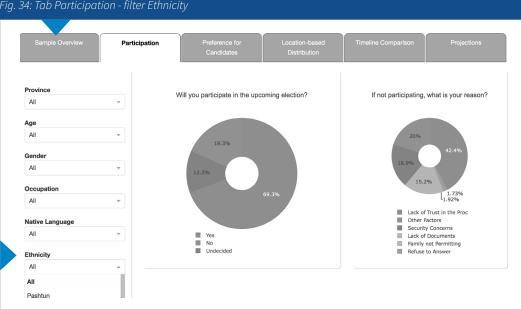
Fig. 33: Reasons for not participating in all Uzbek respondents (%)



For additional queries regarding participation and ethnicity, visit the link

 $\rightarrow https://ropp.osra.af$

Click on the tab "Participation", and choose any ethnicity from the drop-down filter "Ethnicity".

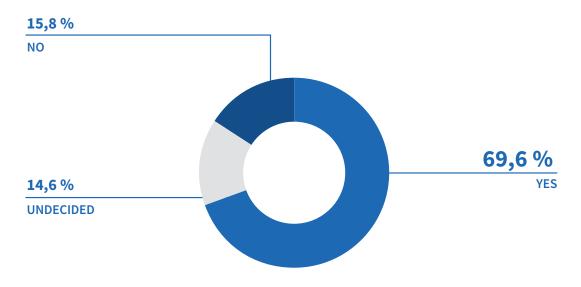


PARTICIPATION AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION

The willingness to participate across all respondents who stated they were illiterate was 69.6%. A total of 15.8% said they would not participate - a further 14.6% remained undecided.

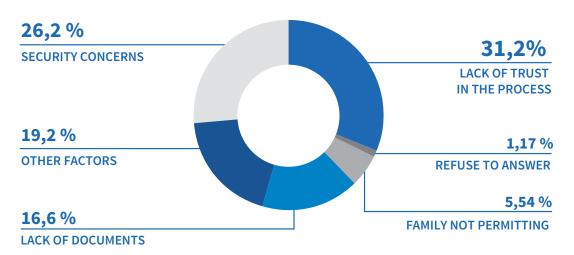
WILL YOU PARTICIPATE IN THE UPCOMING ELECTION

Fig. 35: Willingness to participate in all illiterate respondents (%)



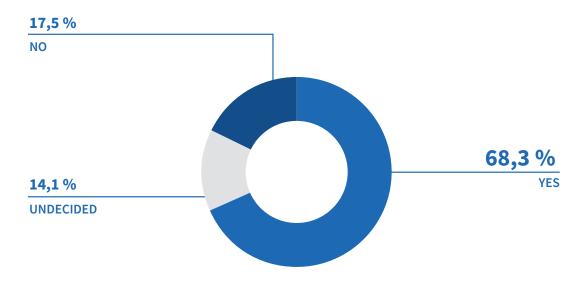
IF NOT PARTICIPATING, WHAT IS YOUR REASON?

Fig. 36: Reasons for not participating in all illiterate respondents (%)



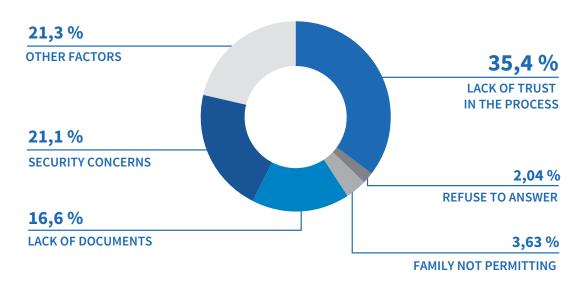
WILL YOU PARTICIPATE IN THE UPCOMING ELECTION

Fig. 37: Willingness to participate in all respondents with primary education (%)



IF NOT PARTICIPATING, WHAT IS YOUR REASON?

Fig. 38: Reasons for not participating in all respondents with primary education (%)

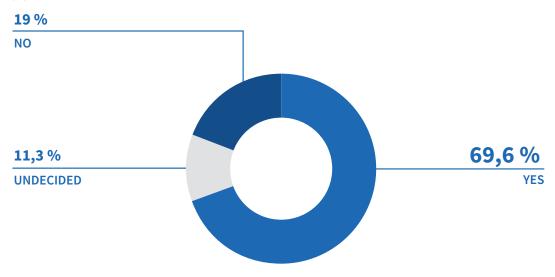


The willingness to participate across all respondents with primary education was 68.3%. A total of 17.5% said they would not participate, and 14.1% remained undecided.

The willingness to participate across all respondents with a high school degree was 69.6%. A total of 19% said they would not participate - a further 11.3% remained undecided.

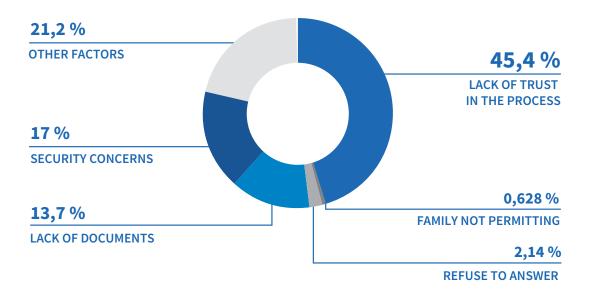
WILL YOU PARTICIPATE IN THE UPCOMING ELECTION





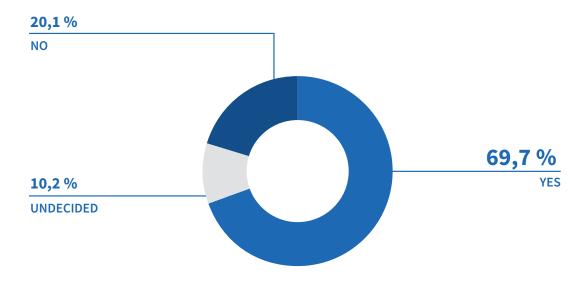
IF NOT PARTICIPATING, WHAT IS YOUR REASON?

Fig. 40: Reasons for not participating in all respondents with a high school degree (%)



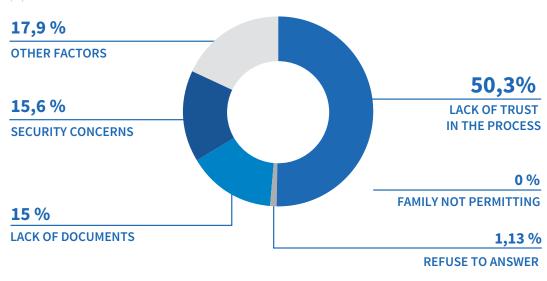
WILL YOU PARTICIPATE IN THE UPCOMING ELECTION

Fig. 41: Willingness to participate in all respondents with a bachelor's degree (%)



IF NOT PARTICIPATING, WHAT IS YOUR REASON?



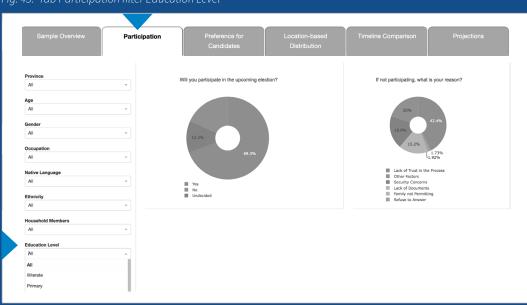


The willingness to participate across all respondents with a bachelor's degree was 69.7%. A total of 20.1% said they would not participate, and 10.2% remained undecided.

For additional queries regarding participation across different levels of education, visit this link

$\rightarrow \underline{https://ropp.osra.af}$

Click on the tab "Participation", and choose from the drop-down filter "Education Level".

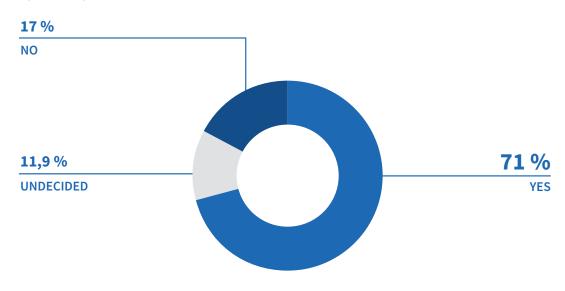


PARTICIPATION AND GENDER

The willingness to participate of all male respondents was 71%. A total of 17% said they would not participate, while 11.9 % remained undecided.

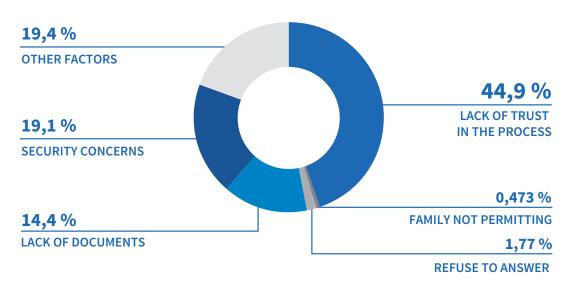
WILL YOU PARTICIPATE IN THE UPCOMING ELECTION

Fig. 44: Willingness to participate in all-male respondents (%)



IF NOT PARTICIPATING, WHAT IS YOUR REASON?

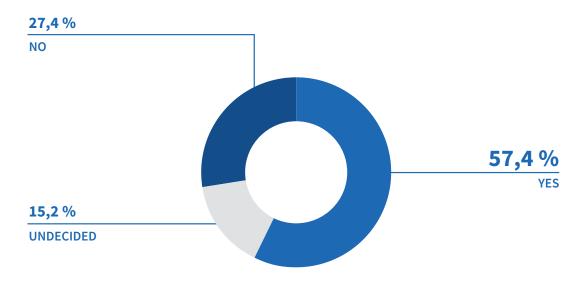
Fig. 45: Reasons for not participating in all-male respondents (%)



The willingness to participate of all female respondents was 57.4%. A total of 27.4% said they would not participate, while 15.2% remained undecided.

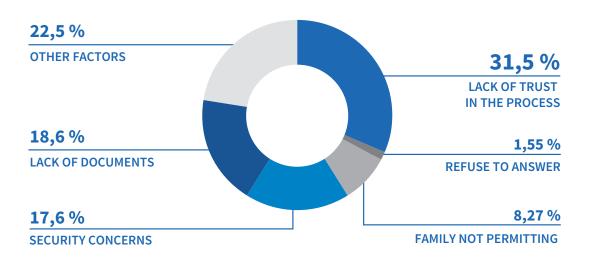
WILL YOU PARTICIPATE IN THE UPCOMING ELECTION

Fig. 46: Willingness to participate in all-female respondents (%)



IF NOT PARTICIPATING, WHAT IS YOUR REASON?

Fig. 47: Reasons for not participating in all-female respondents (%)



For additional queries regarding participation in relation to location, age, gender, occupation, ethnicity, level of education, monthly income, mother language, and more, visit the link

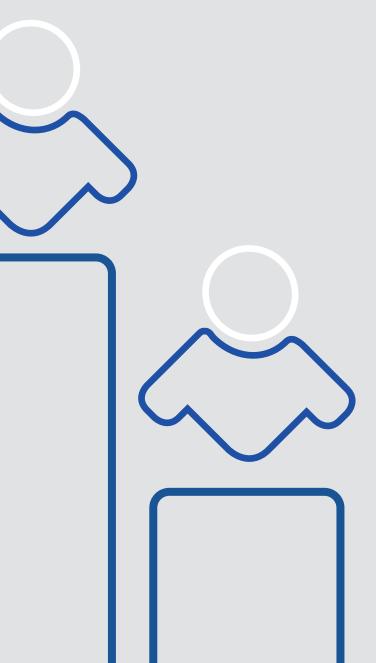
→ <u>https://ropp.osra.af</u>

Click on the tab "Participation", and choose any filter separately or in combination to obtain opinion poll results. Example: How high was the willingness to paricipate of Tajiks from Laghman Province with high school degrees?



05

CANDIDATE PREFERENCE



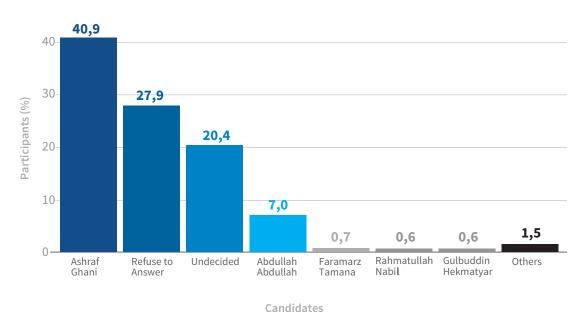
CANDIDATE PRFFFRFNCF

Of the 11,337 people polled, 69.3% (7,860) said they would vote for one of the candidates. The male/female ratio was 90:10, which resulted in a disproportionate low representation of possible female voters.3 While the collected data was broken down and analyzed by province, age, gender, occupation, ethnicity, level of education, monthly income, mother language, and household members, the aim was to identify trends in relation to the candidates.

All participants polled over the course of eight weeks, from 5 August to 28 September 2019, indicated that if the election was held tomorrow, 40.9% would vote for Ashraf Ghani, 27.9% indicated that they would vote but refused to answer the question, while 20.4% would vote but remained undecided whom to vote for. Further 7% would vote for Abdullah Abdullah, 0.7% for Faramarz Tamana, 0.6% for Rahmatullah Nabil, and 0.6% for Gulbuddin Hekmatyar.

IF THE ELECTION WAS TOMORROW, WHICH CANDIDATE WILL YOU VOTE FOR (IN %)?





3 There are many potential reasons for the skewness of this data and the lack of female participants. If a household can afford only one mobile phone, it is more likely that the male head of the household will have primary access to that mobile phone and therefore be more likely to be sampled. Furthermore, women are less likely to answer the phone if the caller is unknown. Hence, they are less likely to be sampled.

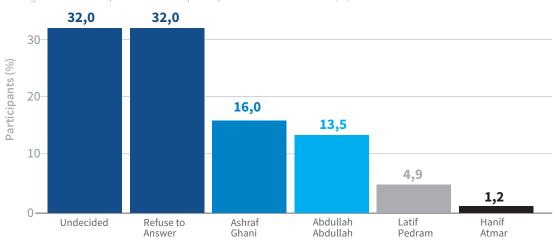
CANDIDATE PREFERENCE AND PROVINCE

In Badakhshan province 64% of the sample size polled remained largely undecided or refused to answer. While 16% would vote in favour of Ashraf Ghani, 13.5% would vote for Abdullah Abdullah if the election was held tomorrow.



IF THE ELECTION WAS TOMORROW, WHICH CANDIDATE WILL YOU VOTE FOR (IN %)?





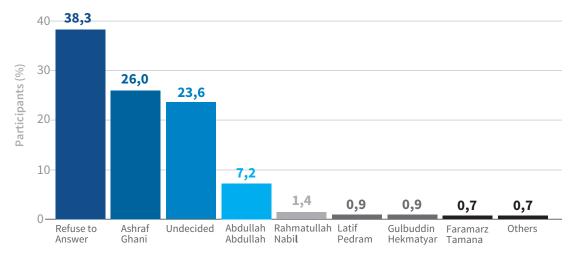
Candidates



In Balkh province 61.9% of the sample size polled remained largely undecided or refused to answer. While 26% would vote in favour of Ashraf Ghani, 7.2% would vote for Abdullah Abdullah if the election was held tomorrow.

IF THE ELECTION WAS TOMORROW, WHICH CANDIDATE WILL YOU VOTE FOR (IN %)?

Fig. 51: Candidate preference of all participants from Balkh (%)



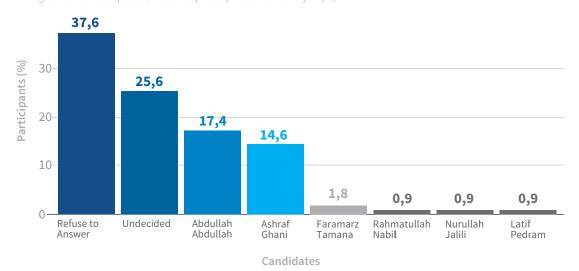
Candidates

In Jawzjan province total of 63.2% of the sample size polled remained largely undecided or refused to answer. While 17.4% would vote in favour of Abdullah Abdullah, 14.6% stated they would vote for Ashraf Ghani if the election was held tomorrow.



IF THE ELECTION WAS TOMORROW, WHICH CANDIDATE WILL YOU VOTE FOR (IN %)?

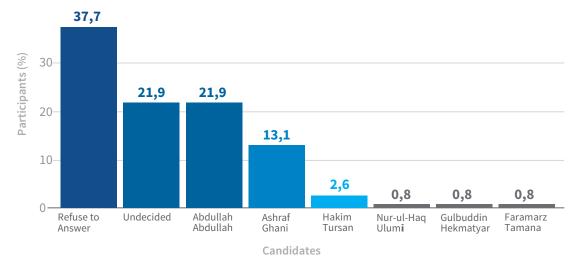
Fig. 52: Candidate preference of all participants from Jawzjan (%)





In Faryab province 59.6% of the sample size polled remained undecided or refused to answer. While 21.9% would vote in favour of Abdullah Abdullah, 13.1% would vote for Ashraf Ghani if the election was held tomorrow.

Fig. 53: Candidate preference of all participants from Faryab (%)

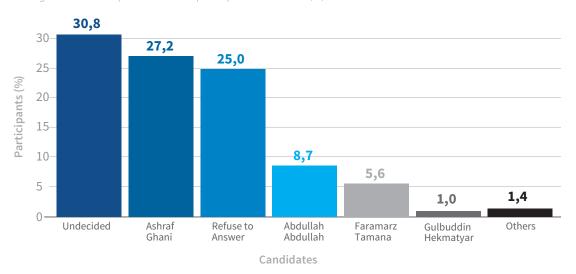


In Herat province a total of 55.8% of the sample size polled remained undecided or refused to answer. While 27.2% would vote in favour of Ashraf Ghani, 8.7% would vote for Abdullah Abdullah if the election was held tomorrow.



IF THE ELECTION WAS TOMORROW, WHICH CANDIDATE WILL YOU VOTE FOR (IN %)?

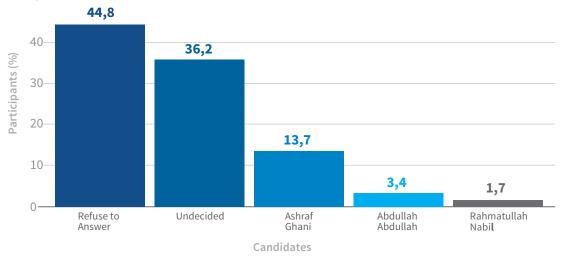
Fig. 54: Candidate preference of all participants from Herat (%)





In Daykundi province a total of 81% of the sample size polled remained undecided or refused to answer. While 13.7% would vote in favour of Ashraf Ghani, 3.4% would vote for Abdullah Abdullah if the election was held tomorrow.

Fig. 55: Candidate preference of all participants from Daykundi (%)

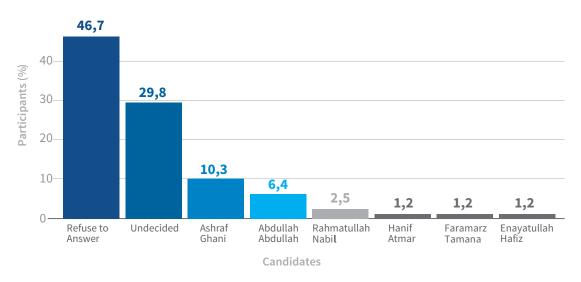


In Bamyan province a total of 76.5% of the sample size polled remained undecided or refused to answer. While 10.3% would vote in favour of Ashraf Ghani, 6.4% would vote for Abdullah Abdullah if the election was held tomorrow.



IF THE ELECTION WAS TOMORROW, WHICH CANDIDATE WILL YOU VOTE FOR (IN %)?

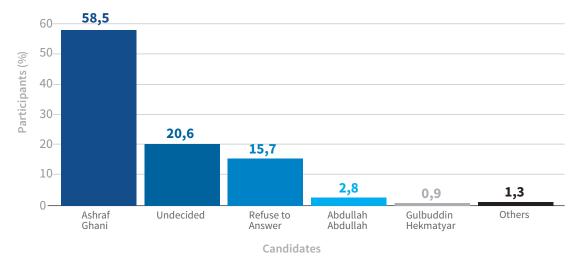
Fig. 56: Candidate preference of all participants from Bamyan (%)





In Kandahar province a total of 58.5% would vote in favour of Ashraf Ghani, 36.3% either refused to answer or were undecided. A further 2.8% said they would vote for Abdullah Abdullah if the election was held tomorrow.

Fig. 57: Candidate preference of all participants from Kandahar (%)

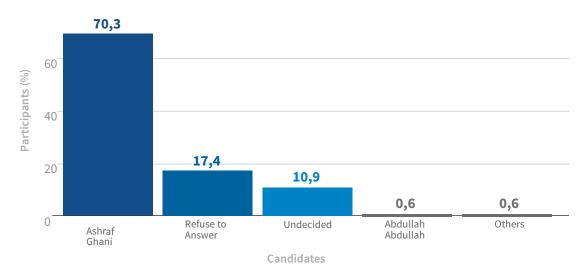


In Nangarhar province a total of 70.3% would vote in favour of Ashraf Ghani, followed by 28.3% that either refused to answer or were undecided. A further 0.6% would vote for Abdullah Abdullah if the election was held tomorrow.



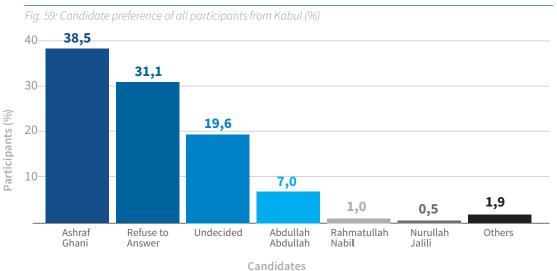
IF THE ELECTION WAS TOMORROW, WHICH CANDIDATE WILL YOU VOTE FOR (IN %)?

Fig. 58: Candidate preference of all participants from Nangarhar (%)





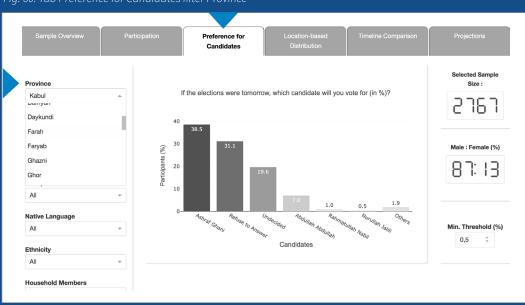
In Kabul province a total of 50.7% of the sample size polled remained undecided or refused to answer. While 38.5% would vote in favour of Ashraf Ghani, 7% would vote for Abdullah Abdullah if the election was held tomorrow.



For additional queries regarding candidate preference and how it varies by province, visit this link

→ https://ropp.osra.af

Click on the tab "Preference for Candidates", and choose any province from the drop-down filter "Province".



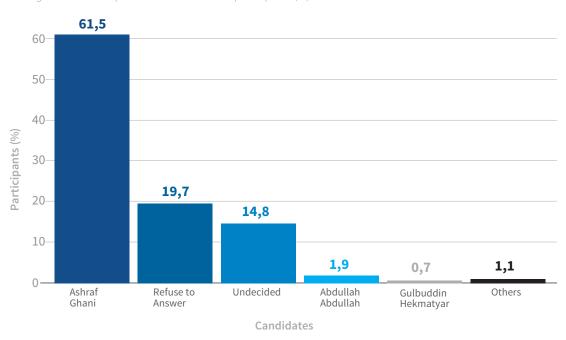
CANDIDATE PREFERENCE AND ETHNICITY

Of all Pashtun participants, 61.5% would vote for Ashraf Ghani, 1.9% said they would vote for Abdullah Abdullah, 19.7% refused to answer, and a further 14.8% remained undecided.

Of all Tajik participants 23.2% said they would vote for Ashraf Ghani, 12.3% said they would vote for Abdullah Abdullah, 34.4% refused to answer and a further 24.9% remained undecided.

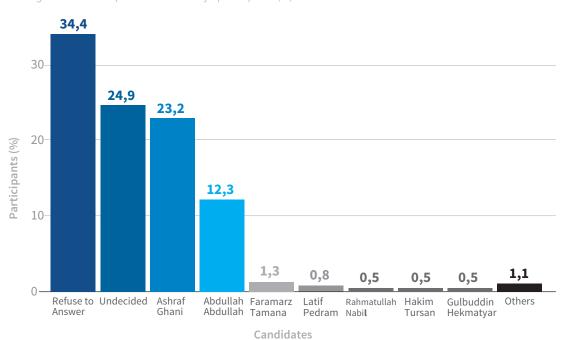
IF THE ELECTION WAS TOMORROW, WHICH CANDIDATE WILL YOU VOTE FOR (IN%)?

Fig. 61: Candidate preference of all Pashtun participants (%)



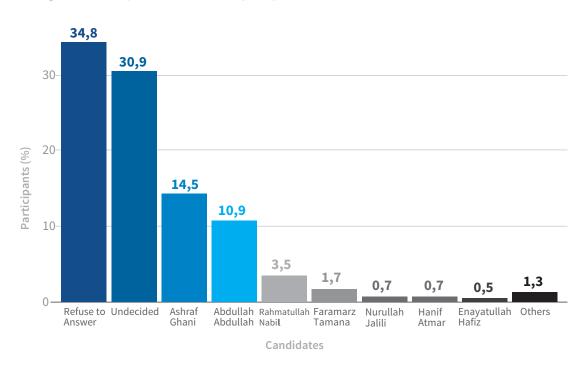
IF THE ELECTION WAS TOMORROW, WHICH CANDIDATE WILL YOU VOTE FOR (IN%)?

Fig. 62: Candidate preference of all Tajik participants (%)



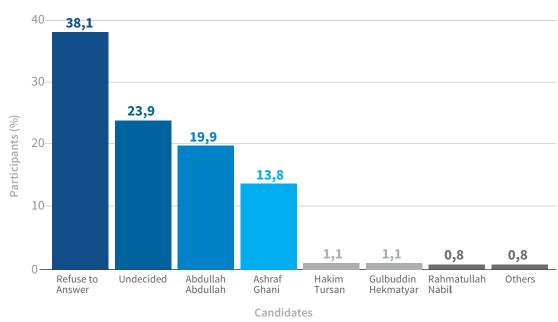
IF THE ELECTION WAS TOMORROW, WHICH CANDIDATE WILL YOU VOTE FOR (IN%)?

Fig. 63: Candidate preference of all Hazara participants (%)



IF THE ELECTION WAS TOMORROW, WHICH CANDIDATE WILL YOU VOTE FOR (IN%)?

Fig. 64: Candidate preference of all Uzbek participants (%))



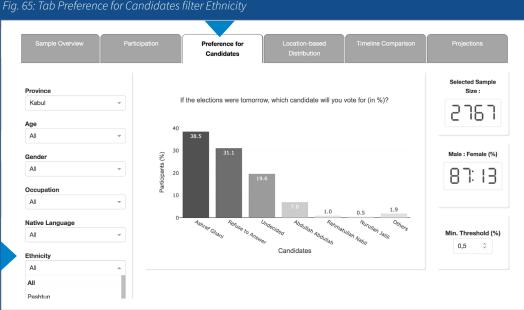
Of all Hazara participants, 14.5% would vote for Ashraf Ghani, 10.9% said they would vote for Abdullah Abdullah, 34.8% refused to answer, and a further 30.9% remained undecided.

Of all Uzbek participants, 19.9% would vote for Abdullah Abdullah 13.8% said they would vote for Ashraf Ghani, 38.1% refused to answer, and a further 23.9% remained undecided.

For additional queries regarding candidate preference and ethnicity visit the link

→ https://ropp.osra.af

Click on the tab "Preference for Candidates", and choose any ethnicity of the dropdown filter "Ethnicity".



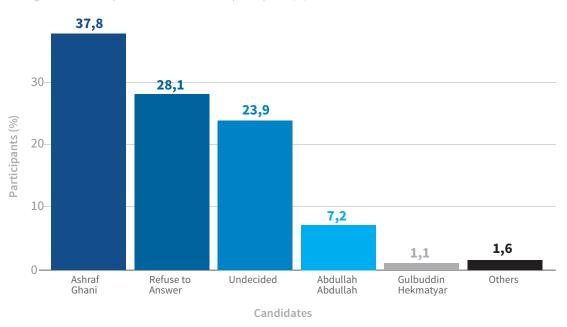
CANDIDATE PREFERENCE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION

All participants that stated they were illiterate, 37.8% would vote for Ashraf Ghani, 7.2% would vote for Abdullah Abdullah, 28.1% refused to answer, and a further 23.9% remained undecided if the election was held tomorrow.

Of all participants with primary education, 41.8% would vote for Ashraf Ghani, 7.6% would vote for Abdullah Abdullah, 25.2% refused to answer, and a further 22.4% remained undecided if the election was held tomorrow.

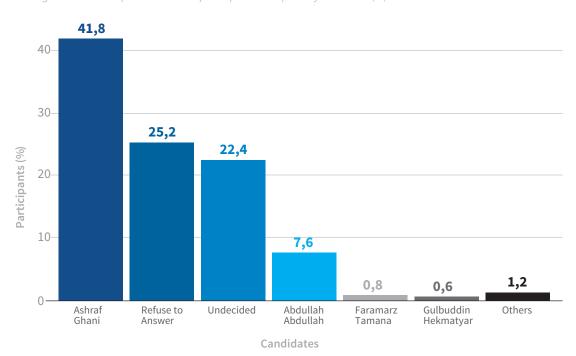
IF THE ELECTION WAS TOMORROW, WHICH CANDIDATE WILL YOU VOTE FOR (IN%)?

Fig. 66: Candidate preference of all illiterate participants (%)



IF THE ELECTION WAS TOMORROW, WHICH CANDIDATE WILL YOU VOTE FOR (IN%)?

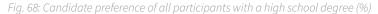
Fig. 67: Candidate preference of all participants with primary education (%)



Of all participants with a high school degree, 43.6% would vote for Ashraf Ghani, 7.5% would vote for Abdullah Abdullah, 25.9% refused to answer, and a further 18.7% remained undecided if the election was held tomorrow.

Of all participants with a bachelor's degree, 38.4% would vote for Ashraf Ghani, 5.6% would vote for Abdullah Abdullah, 33.5% refused to answer, and a further 18% remained undecided if the election was held tomorrow.

IF THE ELECTION WAS TOMORROW, WHICH CANDIDATE WILL YOU VOTE FOR (IN%)?



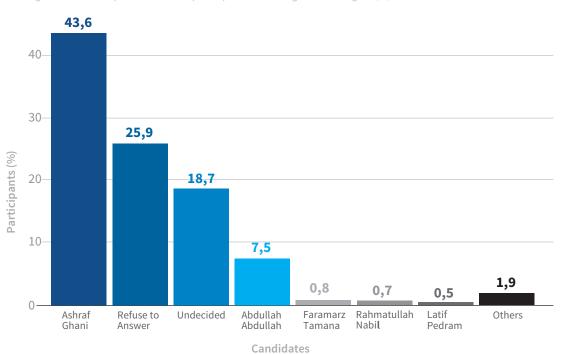
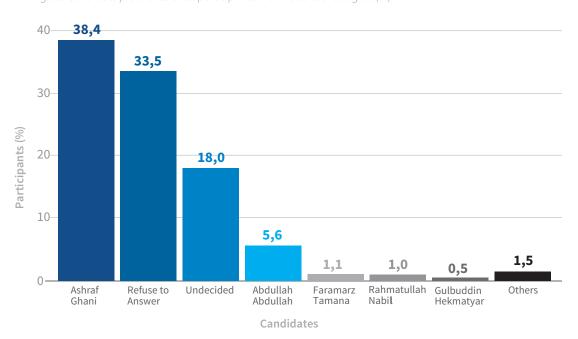


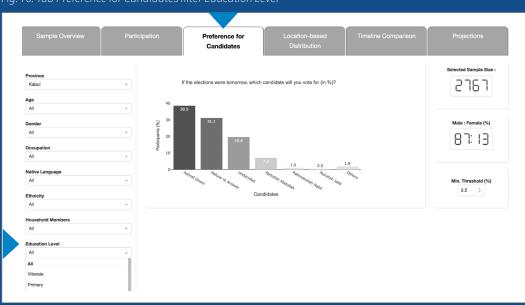
Fig. 69: Candidate preference of all participants with a bachelor's degree (%)



For additional queries regarding participation related to the respondents' level of education, visit the link

$\rightarrow https://ropp.osra.af$

Click on the tab "Preference for Candidates", and choose from the drop-down filter "Education Level".

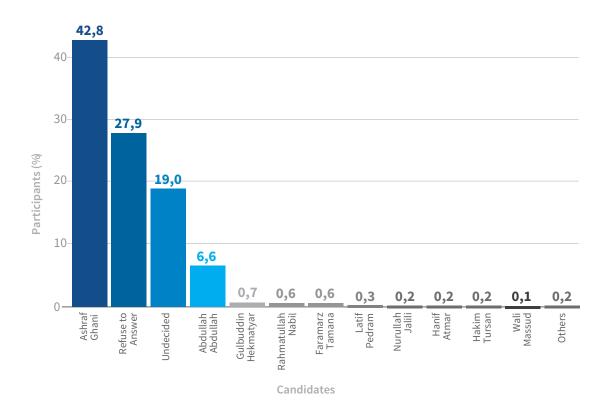


CANDIDATE PREFERENCE AND GENDER

Of all male participants, 42.8% would vote for Ashraf Ghani, 6.6% would vote for Abdullah Abdullah, 27.9% refused to answer, and a further 19% remained undecided if the election was held tomorrow.

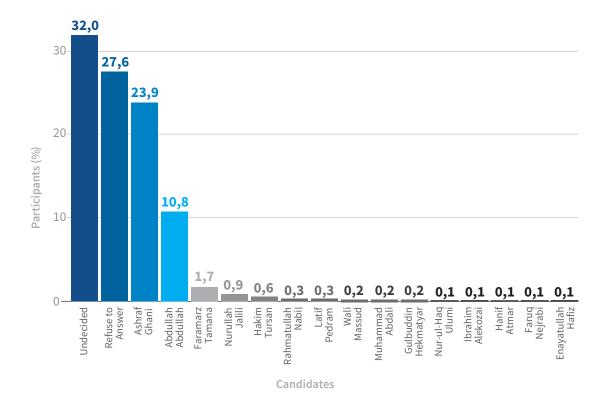
IF THE ELECTION WAS TOMORROW, WHICH CANDIDATE WILL YOU VOTE FOR (IN%)?

Fig. 71: Candidate preference of all male participants (%)



Of all female participants, 23.9% would vote for Ashraf Ghani, 10.8% said they would vote for Abdullah Abdullah, 32% remained undecided, and a further 27.6% refused to answer if the election was held tomorow.

Fig. 72: Candidate preference of all female participants (%)



06

CANDIDATES SUPPORT BASE TIMELINE

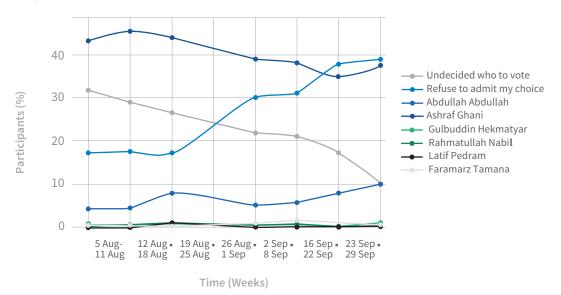


CANDIDATES SUPPORT BASE TIMELINE

The below graph compares each presidential candidate's support base over a course of eight weeks, from 5 August till 28 September 2019. The collected data shows a rather consistent support base for all candidates. While Ashraf Ghani's support base decreased from 43% in the first week to 38% by week eight, Abdullah Abdullah's support base increased from 4% in the first week to 10% by week eight. The trend further shows that over the course of eight weeks, the number of undecided participants declined drastically from 32% to 10% while, simultaneously, the number of participants who refused to share their choice of candidate increased from 17% to 39%.

TIMELINE COMPARISON

Fig. 73: Candidates Support Base Timeline (%)



07

PROJECTIONS



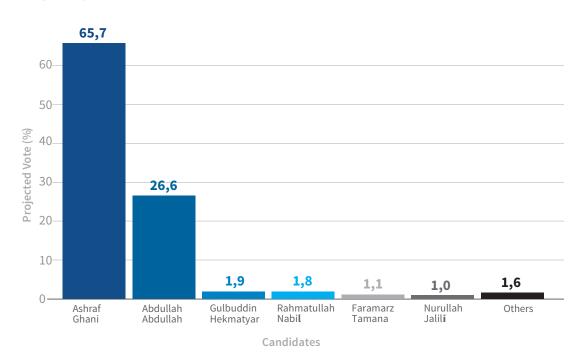
PROJECTIONS

Projection is the process of resolving the 'Undecided' and the 'Refuse to Answer' responses. These responses are projected over the candidate's voter bases. For the current projection, 'ethnicity-based preference' is used as the basis for calculating the proportionality ratio. The 'Undecided' and the 'Refuse to Answer' within each ethnicity is divided in proportion to their respective candidates' preference. Then, each candidates' different ethnic numbers are added together to get the most probable final projected result for that specific candidate.

Figure 74 displays a probable projected vote for each of the candidates. The projection is specified by the "Time Period Filter", i.e. the numer of participants polled within that time interval. In figure 74 the time interval is set from 19 to 28 September 2019. The default projection is based on the last 10 days up to the election-as these days tend to be more representative of what the election results could be.

PROJECTION

Fig. 74: Projections Tab with the default Time Period (19 Sep - 28 Sep)



POST-ELECTION POLL OF THE AFGHAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION 2019

01

INTRODUCTION



INTRODUCTION

A post-election poll was conducted in order to estimate the likely results of the Afghan presidential election 2019. It was carried out to measure the change in public opinion and attitude towards the candidates compared to the pre-election poll. The poll was conducted from 1 to 20 October 2019, with a total of 4,424 adult participants. Of the 4,424 participants in the post-election poll, 48.7% (2,158) said they voted for one of the candidates.

From a majority of 51.3% (2,266) that did not vote, 23.5% stated "security concerns" as their reason not to have voted; 20.9%

stated "lack of documents", while 17.2% stated "lack of trust in the election process" for not having cast their vote. A remaining 31% did not give any specific reason.

The male/female ratio was 85:15, which resulted in a disproportionate low representation of possible female voters.⁴ The collected data was broken down and analysed by province, age, gender, occupation, ethnicity, level of education, monthly income, mother language and more, in order to identify possible inclinations pertaining to the candidates.

⁴ The reason for this skewness are manyfold: if a household can afford only one mobile phone, it is more likely that the male head of the household will have primary access to that mobile phone and therefore be more likely to be sampled. Furthermore, women are less likely to answer the phone if the caller is unknown. Hence, they are less likely to be sampled.

02

METHODOLOGY



METHOLODGY

DATA COLLECTION

OSRA polled 4,424 adult participants from all 34 provinces of Afghanistan. The poll interviewed a random and representative sample of men and women aged 18 and over by phone.

Random telephone numbers were generated using SuMSy's intelligent 'valid phone number generator' module. To ensure inclusive and non-discriminatory coverage, numbers from all Afghan telecommunication providers (including but not limited to Roshan, Etisalat, Afghan Wireless, MTN, and Salaam) were used. The data gathering was conducted by experienced operators who contacted participants in order to capture their views. The operators were fluent in all the official languages of Afghanistan including Dari, Pashto, Uzbaki, and Turkmani. Female operators were specifically trained to ease the interview process for female participants, who tendentially feel more comfortable and willing to talk to women.

After gaining the consent of each participant, the interviews were recorded and digitally stored in the SuMSy. The interview questions are provided in Annex II

DATA QUALITY

To ensure consistency and validity of the data, we adopted a two-layer quality assurance check. First, SuMSy has an integrated data validity and consistency check which prevents the entry of invalid and inconsistent data. Second, after the data is entered into the system by the interviewers, it is checked by the data quality control team. They listen to the voice recording and make sure that the entered data is consistent with the recording. After passing these two stages, the data is released to be published on ROPP.

MARGIN OF ERROR

The margin of error in this poll is +/- 3 % resulting from an estimated proportion of p=0.5 and a confidence interval of 95%.

DATA PRESENTATION

Real-time Opinion Polling Platform (ROPP) was specially developed and tailored to the context and requirements of this poll. ROPP is a web-based real-time opinion polling, data analysis, and data visualization platform. It offers a very user-friendly and intuitive data analysis and visualization functionality. The user can see the data in different categories and filter it according to demographic attributes; enabling users to infer varying correlations with the help of multiple concurrent filters. This provides and allows for a wide range of hypotheses to be drawn, and possible conclusions to be made.

03

POST-ELECTION POLL RESULTS

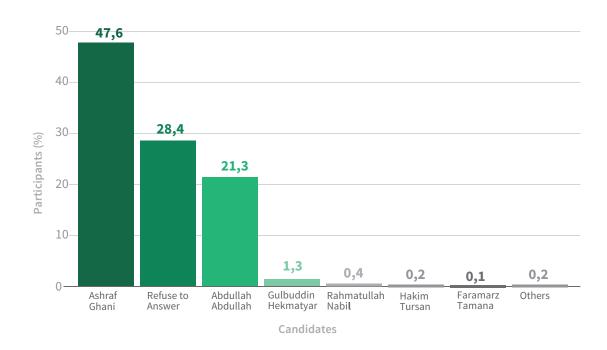


POST-ELECTION POLL RESULTS

Of all the participants who had cast their vote, 47.6 % had voted for Ashraf Ghani, 21.3% for Abdullah Abdullah, 1.3% for Gulbudin Hekmatyar, and 0.4% for Rahmatullah Nabil. 28.4 % % of participants who had voted refused to share which candidate they had voted for.

IF YOU PARTICIPATED IN THE ELECTION, WHICH CANDIDATE DID YOU VOTE FOR?

Fig. 75: Candidate preference of participants (%)



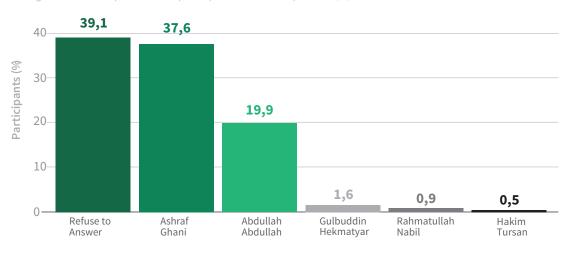
POST-ELECTION POLL **RESULTS AND PROVINCES**

Of all participants from Kabul province who voted, 37.6% had voted for Ashraf Ghani, 19.9% for Abdullah Abdullah, 1.6% for Gulbuddin Hekmatya and 39.1% refused to answer.



IF YOU PARTICIPATED IN THE ELECTION, WHICH CANDIDATE DID YOU VOTE FOR?

Fig. 76: Candidate preference of participants from Kabul province (%)

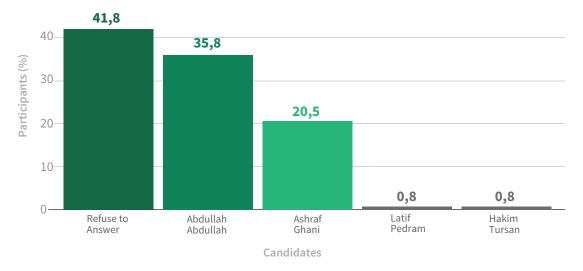


Candidates



Of all participants from Balkh province who voted, 20.6% had voted for Ashraf Ghani, 35.3% for Abdullah Abdullah, 0.8% for Latif Bedram, and 42.2% refused to answer.

Fig. 77: Candidate preference of participants from Balkh province (%)



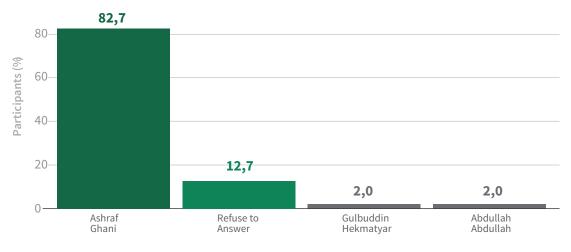
POST-ELECTION POLL

Of all participants from Nangarhar province who voted, 82.7% had voted for Ashraf Ghani, 2% for Abdullah Abdullah, 2% for Gulbuddin Hekmatya and 12,7% refused to answer.



IF YOU PARTICIPATED IN THE ELECTION, WHICH CANDIDATE DID YOU VOTE FOR?

Fig. 78: Candidate preference of participants from Nangarhar province (%)

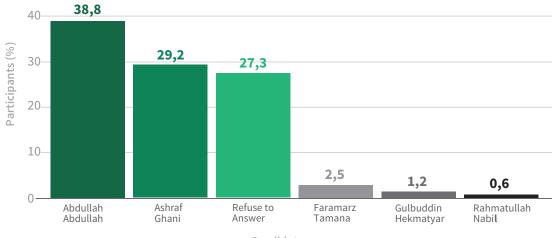


Candidates



Of all participants from Herat province who voted, 29.2% had voted for Ashraf Ghani, 38.8% for Abdullah Abdullah, 2.5% for Faramarz Tamana and 27.3% refused to answer.





For additional queries regarding post-election poll results regarding province, age, gender, occupation, ethnicity, level of education, monthly income, mother language, and more, visit this link

→ https://post-election.osra.af Click on any drop-down filter separately or in combination.

Post-Election Poll If you participated in the election, which candidate did you vote for? All 2 158 50 All Male : Female (%) Participants (%) Gender 30 All 89: | | 20 Native Language Min. Threshold (%) All 0,5 Candidates

Household Members

POST-ELECTION POLL **RESULTS AND ETHNICITY**

Of all Pashtun participants who voted, 75.1% said they had voted for Ashraf Ghani, 3.8% for Abdullah Abdullah, 2.4% for GulbuddinHekmatyar and 17.9% refused to answer.

Of all Tajik participants who voted, 39.2% said they had voted for Abdullah Abdullah, 21.6% voted for Ashraf Ghani, and 37.1% refused to answer.

IF YOU PARTICIPATED IN THE ELECTION, WHICH CANDIDATE DID YOU VOTE FOR?

Fig. 81: Candidate preference of all Pashtun participants (%)

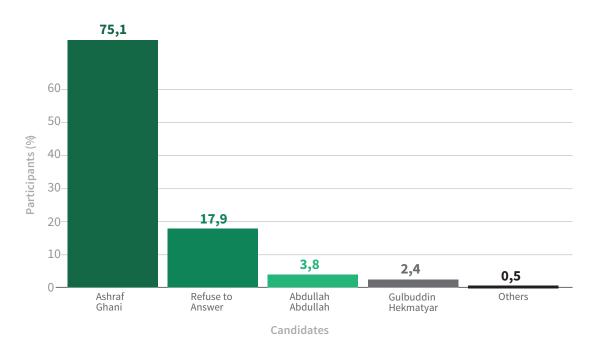
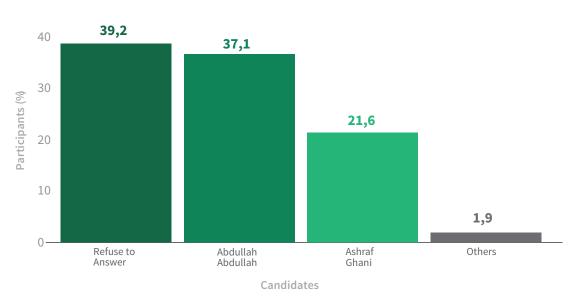


Fig. 82: Candidate preference of all Tajik participants (%)



Of all Hazara participants, 41.6% said they voted for Abdullah Abdullah, 15.1% for Ashraf Ghani, 2.4% for Rahmatullah Nabil, and 39.7% refused to answer.

Of all Uzbek participants who had voted, 61.2% said they voted for Abdullah Abdullah, 7.7% voted for Ashraf Ghani, and 30.1% refused to answer.

IF YOU PARTICIPATED IN THE ELECTION, WHICH CANDIDATE DID YOU VOTE FOR?

Fig. 83: Candidate preference of all Hazara participants (%)

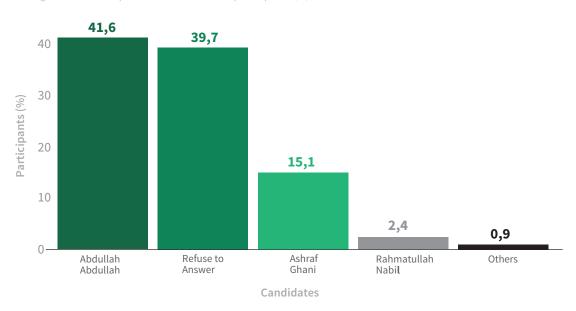
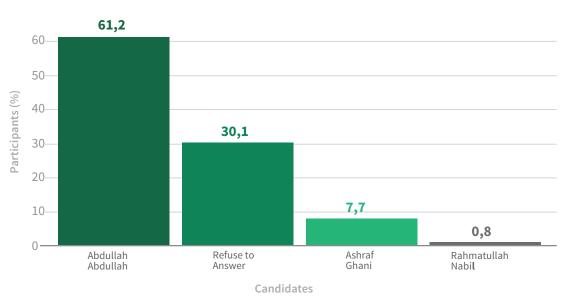
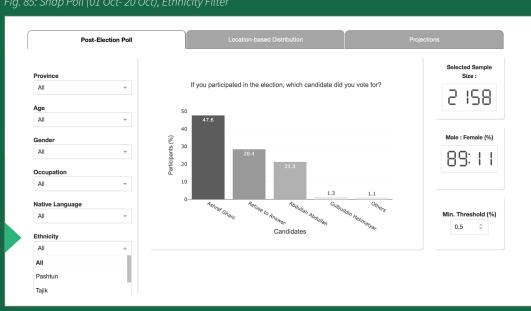


Fig. 84: Candidate preference of all Uzbek participants (%)



For additional queries regarding candidate preference and ethnicity visit this link → <u>https://post-election.osra.af</u> Choose any ethnicity from the drop-down filter "Ethnicity".



POST-ELECTION POLL RESULTS AND EDUCATION

Of all participants that stated they were illiterate and had cast their vote, 51.1% had voted for Ashraf Ghani, 26.3% for Abdullah Abdullah, and 20.4% refused to answer.

Of all participants with primary education who had voted, 50.7% said they voted for Ashraf Ghani, 25.3% for Abdullah Abdullah, and 21.3% refused to answer.

IF YOU PARTICIPATED IN THE ELECTION, WHICH CANDIDATE DID YOU VOTE FOR?



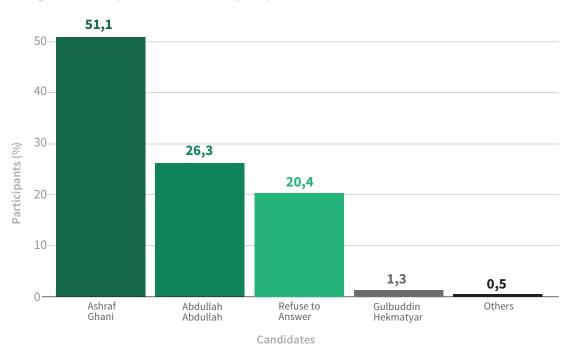
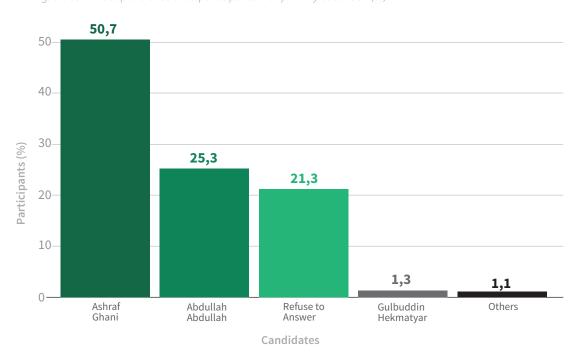


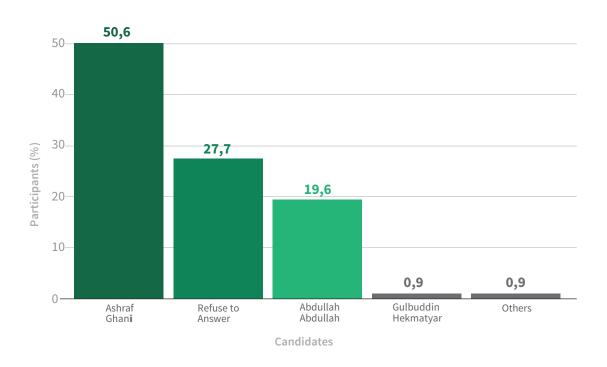
Fig. 87: Candidate preference of all participants with primary education (%)



POST-ELECTION OPINION POLL

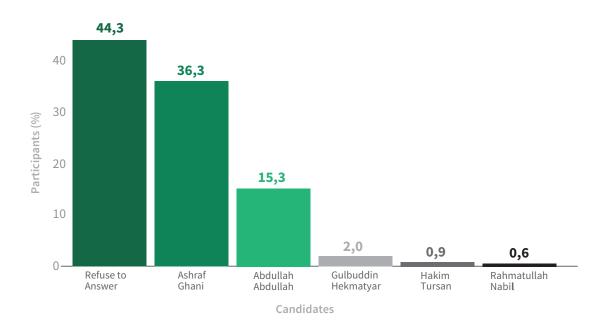
IF YOU PARTICIPATED IN THE ELECTION, WHICH CANDIDATE DID YOU VOTE FOR?

Fig. 88: Candidate preference of all participants with a high school degree (%)



IF YOU PARTICIPATED IN THE ELECTION, WHICH CANDIDATE DID YOU VOTE FOR?

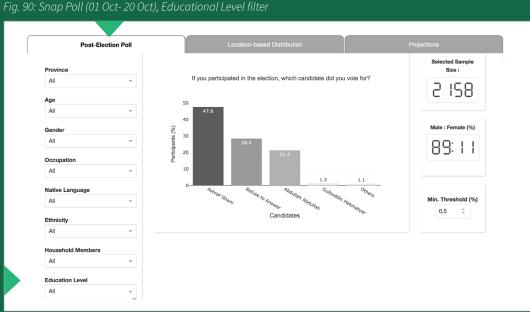
Fig. 89: Candidate preference of all participants with a bachelor's degree (%)



Of all participants with a high school degree who had cast their vote, 50.6% said they voted for Ashraf Ghani, 19.6% for Abdullah Abdullah, and 27.7% refused to answer.

Of all participants with a bachelor's degree who had voted, 44.3% refused to answer, while 36.3% said they had voted for Ashraf Ghani, 15.3% for Abdullah Abdullah and 2% for Gulbuddin Hekmatyar.

For additional queries regarding candidate preference and education level visit this link *→ https://post-election.osra.af* Choose the drop-down filter "Education Level".



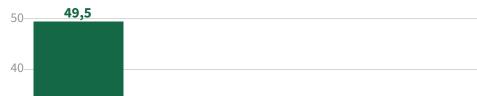
POST-ELECTION POLL **RESULTS AND GENDER**

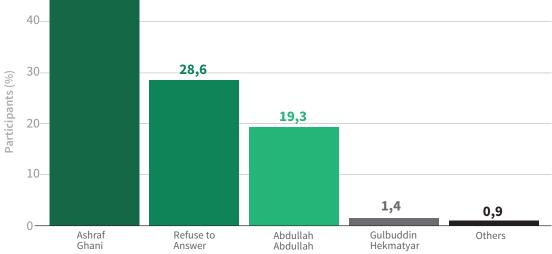
Of all male participants who had voted, 49.5% had voted for Ashraf Ghani, 19.3% for Abdullah Abdullah, and 28.6% refused to answer.

Fig. 91: Candidate preference of all male participants (%)

Of all female participants who had voted, 36.3% said they voted for Abdullah Abdullah, 33.4% for Ashraf Ghani, and 27.3% refused to answer.

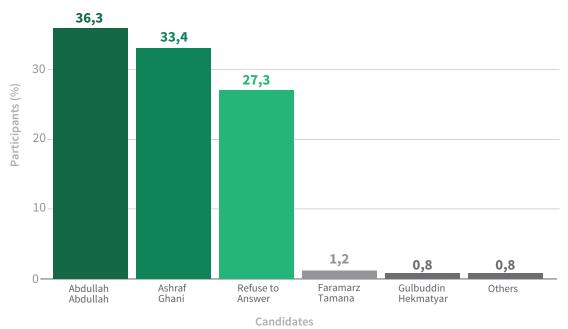
IF YOU PARTICIPATED IN THE ELECTION, WHICH CANDIDATE DID YOU VOTE FOR?





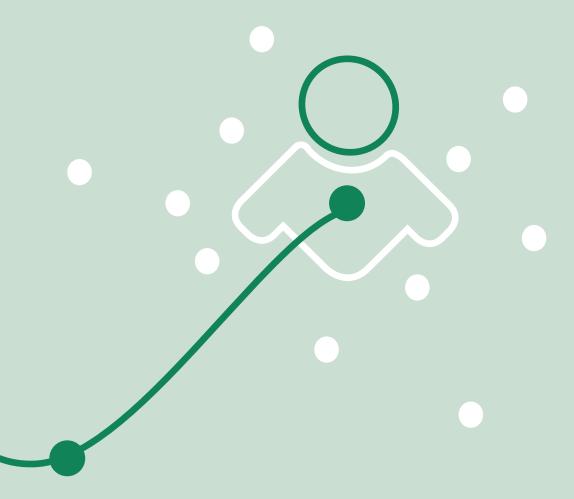
Candidates





07

POST-ELECTION PROJECTION



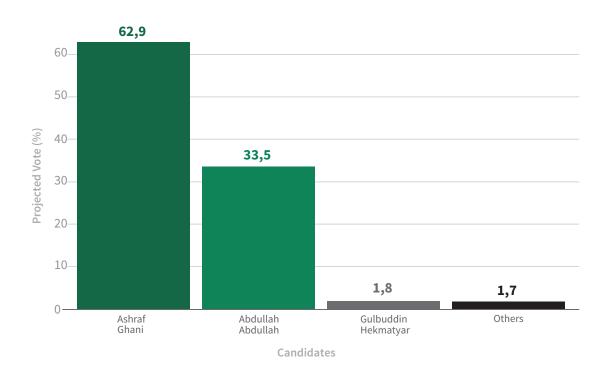
POST-ELECTION PROJECTION

Based on the total number of participants polled after the election, the projection shows the likelihood of what the final results could be. The post-election projection is more reliable, since it is based on actual voting behavior rather than the intention to vote or even to participate. This poll predicts a vote share of approxi-

mately 62.9% for Ashraf Ghani and 33.5% for Abdullah Abdullah. In comparision to the pre-election poll, the resul shows a slight decrese of 2.8% percent for Ashraf Ghani from 65.7% to 62.9%. Abdullah Abdullah's voter base shows an increase of 6.9% from 26.6% to 33.5 in the post-election poll.

PROJECTION

Fig. 93: Post-election Projections with the default Time Period (01 Oct - 20 Oct)



ANNEX I: PRE-ELECTION POLL QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTION 1: What is your age?
QUESTION 2: What is your marital status?
QUESTION 3: Which ethnic group do you belong to?
QUESTION 4: What is your mother tongue?
QUESTION 5: In which province do you live?
QUESTION 6: In which district do you live?
QUESTION 7: In which village/area do you live?
QUESTION 8: What is your level of education?
QUESTION 9: What is your occupation?
QUESTION 10: How much is your monthly income?
QUESTION 11: Did you participate in the previous presidential election in 2014?
QUESTION 12: Will you participate in the upcoming presidential election on 28. September 2019?
QUESTION 13: If No: What is the reason?
QUESTION 14: If yes: Which candidate will you vote for?

ANNEX II: POST-ELECTION POLLS QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTION 1: What is your age?	
QUESTION 2: What is your marital status?	
QUESTION 3: Which ethnic group do you belong to?	
QUESTION 4: What is your mother tongue?	
QUESTION 5: In which province do you live?	
QUESTION 6: In which district do you live?	
QUESTION 7: In which village/area do you live?	
QUESTION 8: What is your level of education?	
QUESTION 9: What is your occupation?	
QUESTION 10: How much is your monthly income?	
QUESTION 11: Did you participate in the Afghan presidential election on 28 September 2019?	
QUESTION 12: If you participated in the election, which candidate did you vote for?	
QUESTION 13: If you did not participate in the election, what was your reason?	

