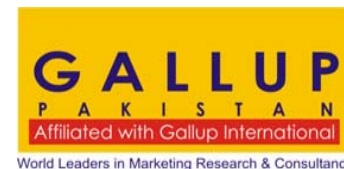


UNDERSTANDING ELECTIONS IN PAKISTAN

Dr. Ijaz Shafi Gilani
Chairman Gallup Pakistan

25 January, 2008



1

Prospects for Elections 2008

2

Electoral Behaviour and the History of Rigging

ELECTIONS 2008

PAKISTAN'S 8th NATIONAL ELECTIONS

Past History

1970	<input type="radio"/> Yahya <input type="radio"/> Bangladesh
1977	<input type="radio"/> Bhutto <input type="radio"/> PNA
1985	<input type="radio"/> Party less <input type="radio"/> Zia ul Haq
1988	<input type="radio"/> Benazir Tenure 1 <input type="radio"/> IJI/Nawaz
1990	<input type="radio"/> Nawaz Tenure 1
1993	<input type="radio"/> Benazir Tenure 2
1997	<input type="radio"/> Nawaz Tenure 2
2000	<input type="radio"/> Pervez Musharraf
2008	?

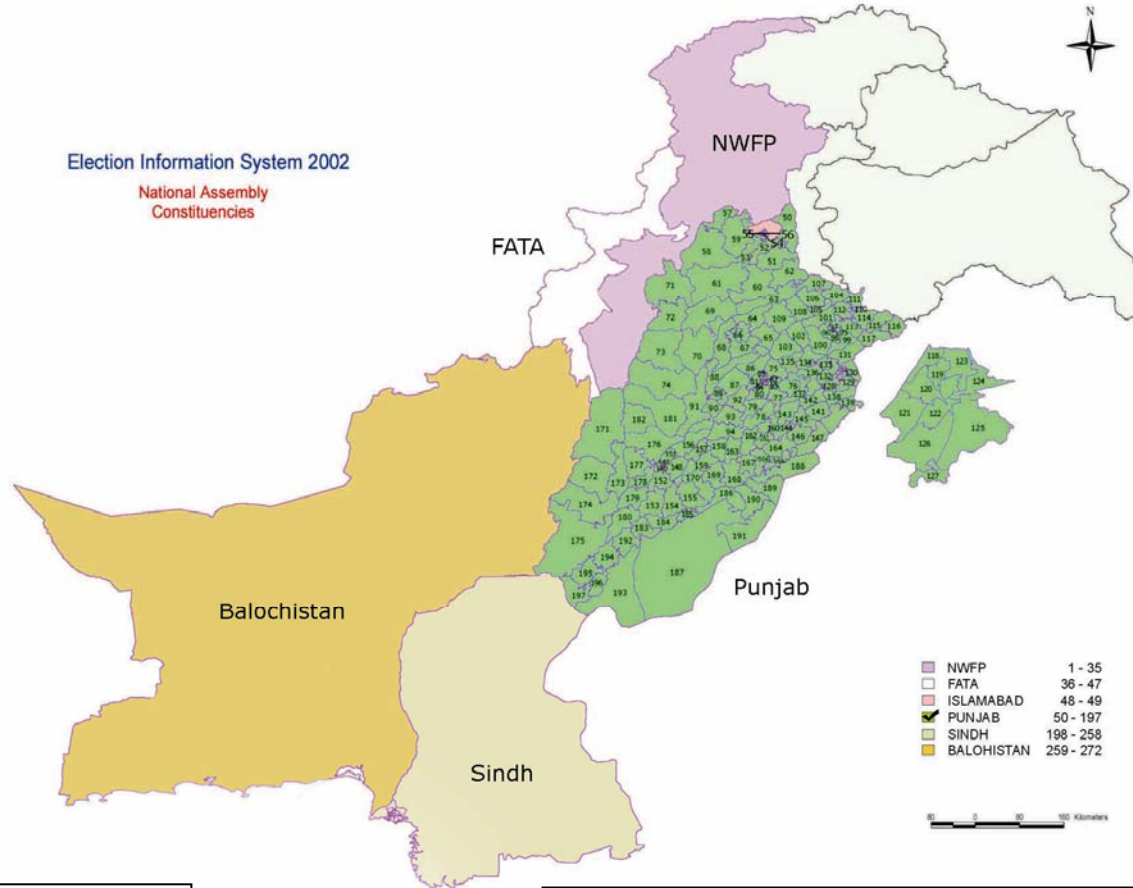
3 **DECISIVE FACTORS**

**Geography or Turf
Electoral Arenas**

**Behaviour Patterns
Voting Patterns**

**System Effects
Rules of the Electoral
Game**

GEOGRAPHY OR TURF



NA SEATS

272

+ ~ ~

PAKISTAN

Population:

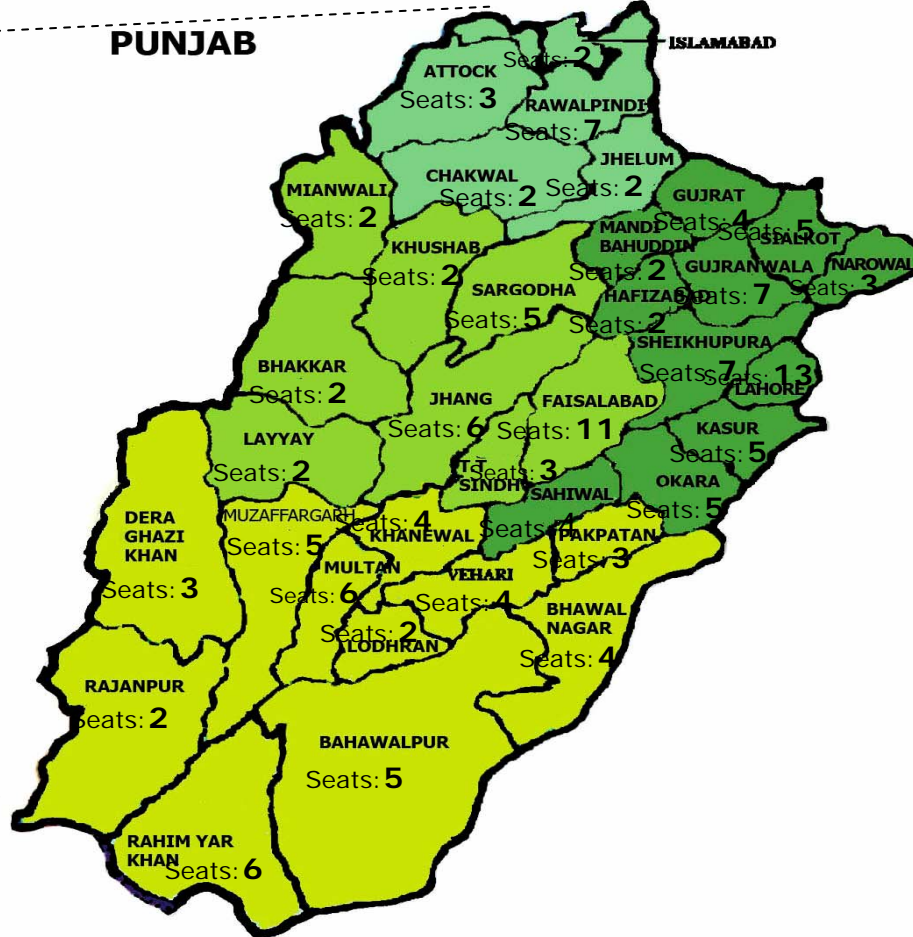
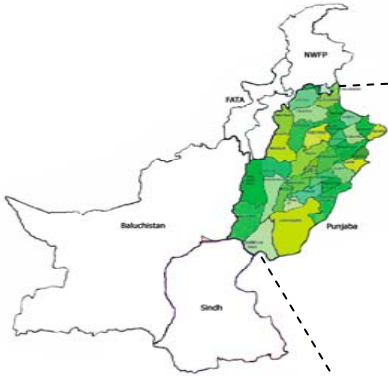
165 Million

Registered Voters:

≈ 80 Million

Continued...

Continued..... GEOGRAPHY OR TURF



PUNJAB	150
Southern Punjab	44
Bahawalpur	5
Multan	6
Rahimyar Khan	6
Muzaffargarh	5
Vehari	4
Khanewal	4
Bahawalnagar	4
Dera Ghazi Khan	3
Rajan Pur	2
Lodhran	2
Pakpattan	3
Central Punjab	57
Lahore	13
Gujranwala	7
Sheikhupura	7
Sialkot	5
Kasur	5
Okara	5
Gujrat	4
Sahiwal	4
Narowal	3
Mandi Bahauddin	2
Hafizabad	2
Western Punjab	33
Mianwali	2
Khushab	2
Bhakkar	2
Sargodha	5
Layyah	2
Jhang	6
Faisalabad	11
Toba Tek Singh	3
Northern Punjab	16
Rawalpindi	7
Islamabad	2
Attock	3
Jhelum	2
Chakwal	2

NA SEATS

150

+ ~ ~

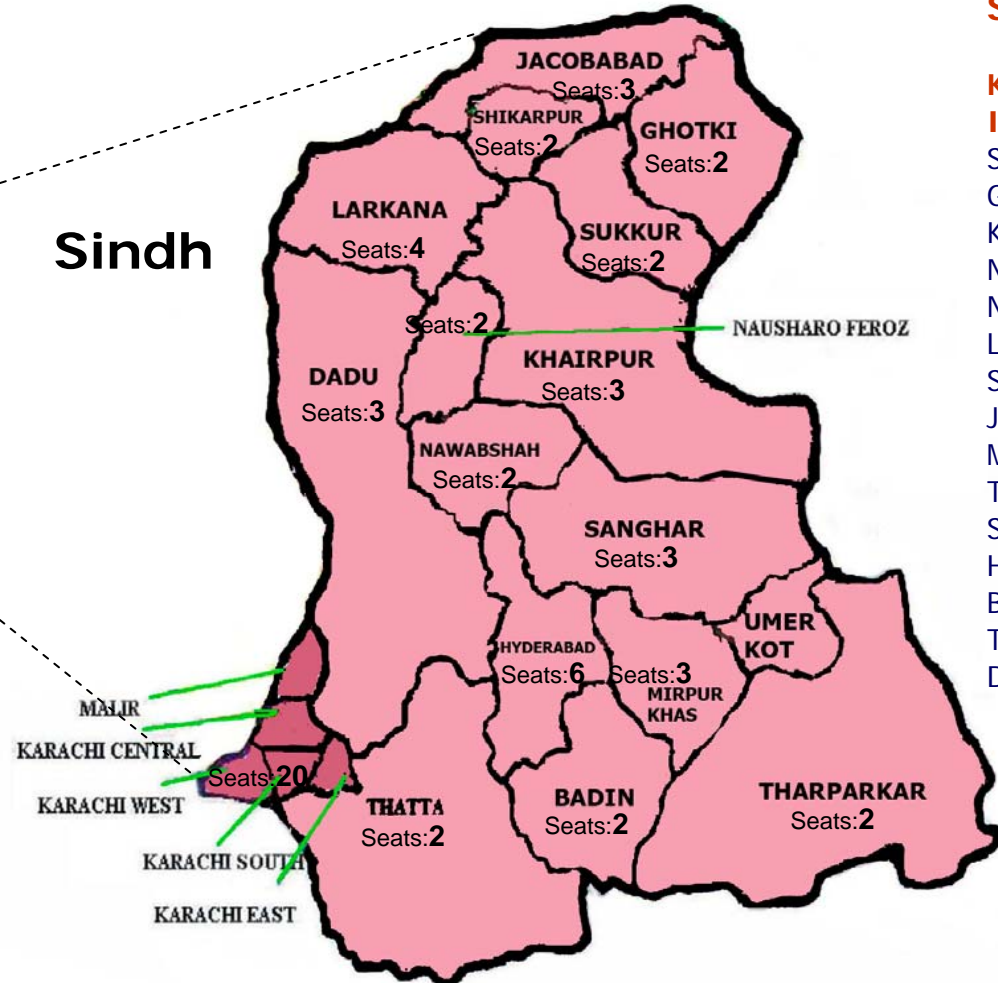
PUNJAB Population: **55%**

Continued...

Continued..... GEOGRAPHY OR TURF



Sindh



SINDH 61

Karachi City 20
Interior Sindh 41

- Sakkur 2
- Ghotki 2
- Khairpur 3
- Nawabshah 2
- Naushero Feroz 2
- Larkana 4
- Shikarpur 2
- Jacobabad 3
- Mirpur Khas 3
- Tharparkar 2
- Sanghar 3
- Hyderabad 6
- Badin 2
- Thatha 2
- Dadu 3

NA SEATS

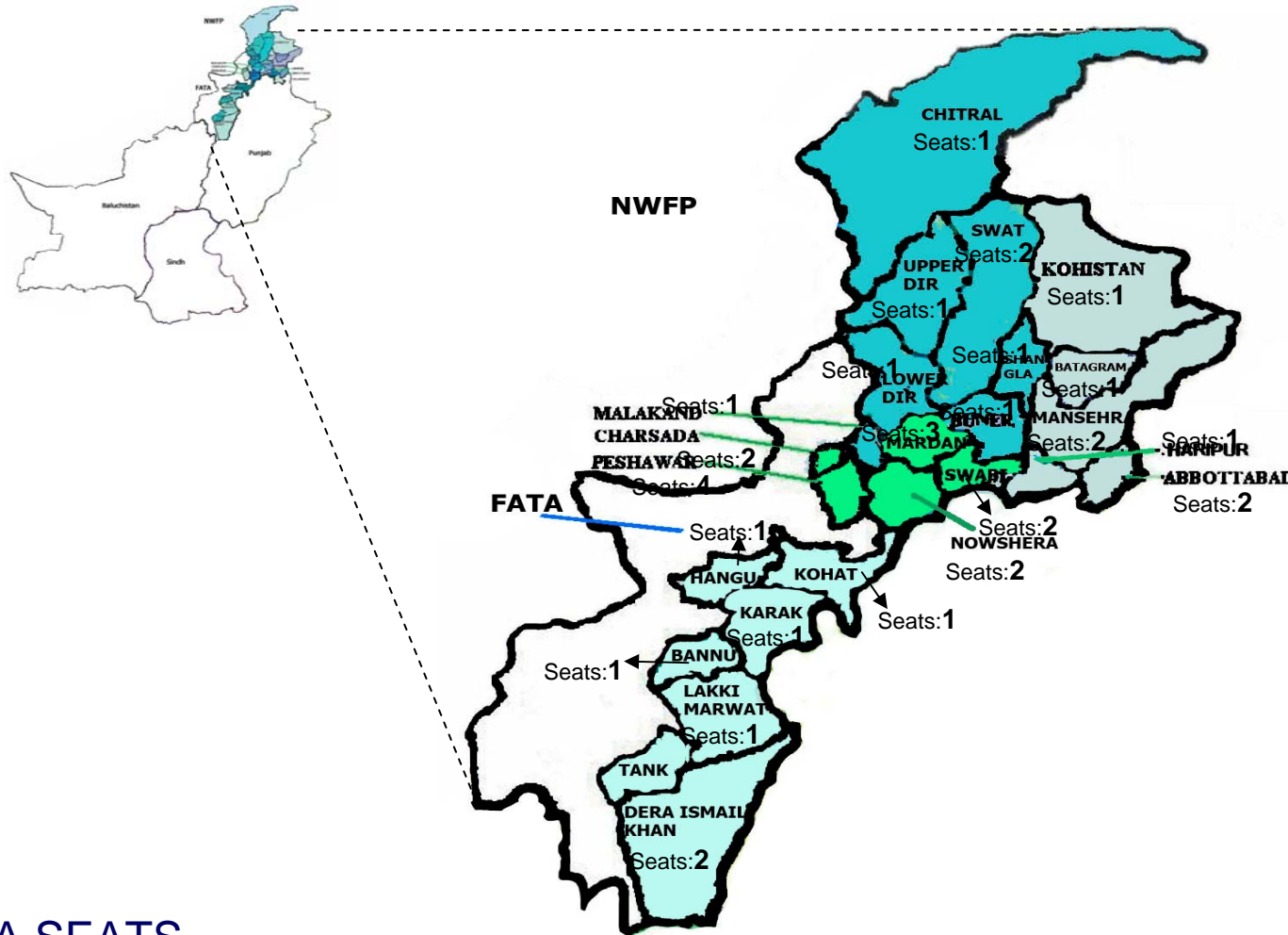
61

+ ~ ~

SINDH Population: **25%**

Continued...

Continued..... GEOGRAPHY OR TURF



NWFP 35

Peshawar (Valley Region) 13

Peshawar	4
Nowshera	2
Charsadda	2
Mardan	3
Swabi	2

Southern NWFP 7

Kohat	1
Karak	1
Bannu	1
Hangu	1
Lakki Marwat	1
D. I. Khan	2

Malakand 8

Malakand	1
Shangla	1
Swat	2
Upper Dir	1
Lower Dir	1
Chitral	1
Buner	1

Hazara Division 7

Abbottabad	2
Mansehra	2
Haripur	1
Kohistan	1
Batagram	1

NA SEATS

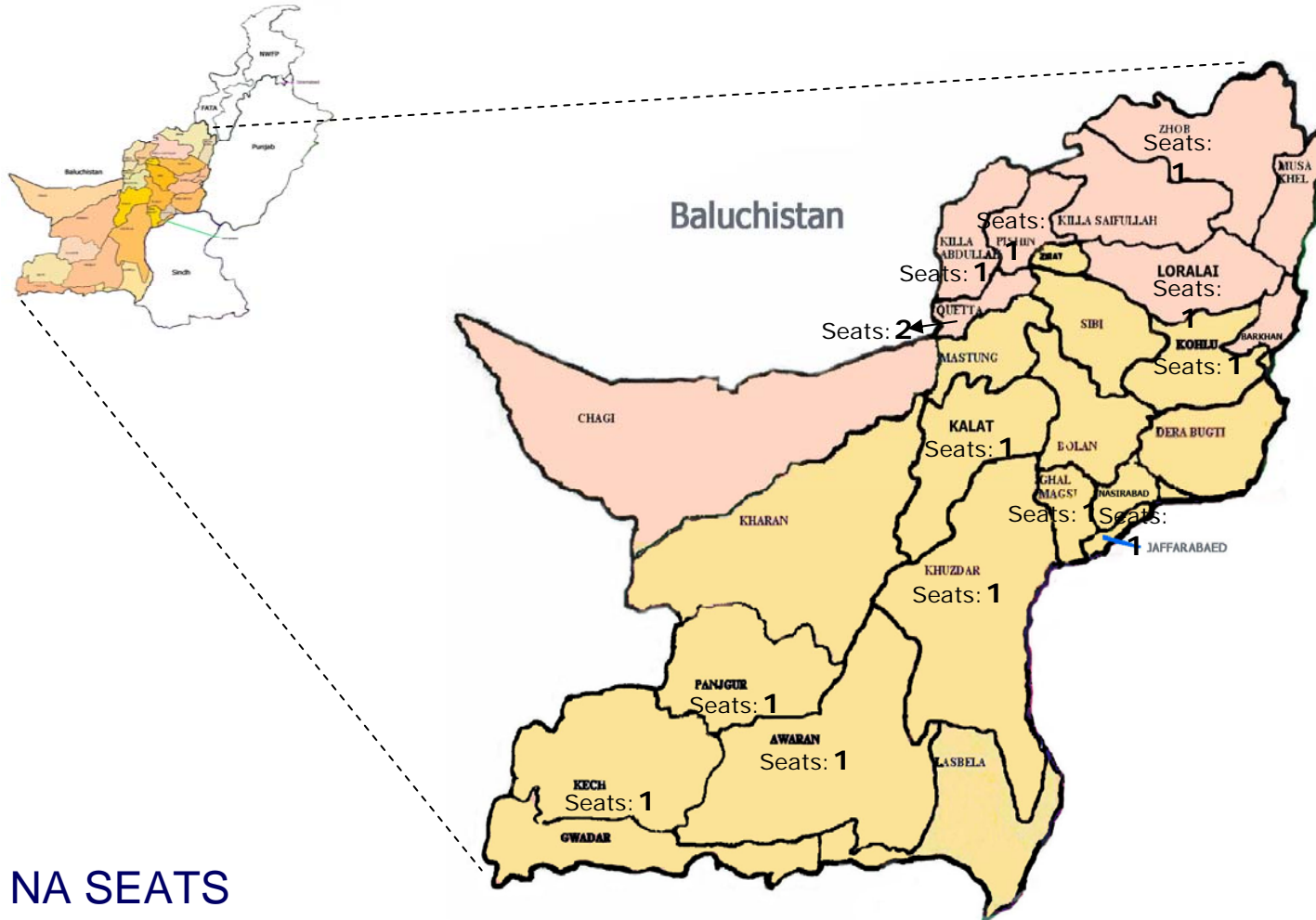
35

+ ~ ~

NWFP Population: **15%**

Continued...

Continued..... **GEOGRAPHY OR TURF**



BALUCHISTAN 14

Quetta Sub Region 6

- Quetta 1
- Quetta, Chagi, Matsang 1
- Pishin, Ziarat 1
- Loralai 1
- Zhob, Killa Saifullah 1
- Killa Abdullah 1

Kalat Mekran Sub Region 8

- Kohlu, Sibi, Dera Bugti 1
- Nasirabad 1
- Kachhi 1
- Kalat, Mastung 1
- Khuzdar 1
- Awaran, Lasbela 1
- Panjgur, Kharan 1
- Kech, Gwadar 1

NA SEATS

14

+ ~ ~

BALUCHISTAN Population: **5%**

Continued...

Significant Points

- 1- Provinces are vastly different in Size
- 2- Each Province has its unique **DIVERSITY** in Voting Behaviour

- **Sindh:** Urban-Rural
- **Balochistan:** Pashtun-Baloch
- **NWFP:** Peshawar Valley
Hazara Division
Southern Divisions
Malakand Division
- **PUNJAB:** North
Central
South
West

Significant Points

3- Political Competitors Vary from Province to Province

Vote Bank

All Pakistan Voting Pattern

Major Political Parties		1970	1988	1990	1993	1997	2002
PML and PML-led Alliances	<i>% of votes</i>	23%	30%	37%	40%	45%	39%
	<i>No. of seats</i>	18	54	106	72	134	99*
PPP and PPP-led Alliances	<i>% of votes</i>	39%	38%	37%	38%	21%	26%
	<i>No. of seats</i>	81	93	44	86	18	61
Others	<i>% of votes</i>	38%	30%	26%	22%	32%	35%
	<i>No. of seats</i>	39	57	57	58	52	109**

Continued..... **Vote Bank**

Sindh Voting Pattern

Major Political Parties		1970	1988	1990	1993	1997	2002
PPP and PPP-led Alliances	% of votes	45%	47%	42%	51%	32%	37%
	No. of seats	18	31	24	33	18	27
MQM	% of votes	NA	25%	27%	Boycott	18%	15%
	No. of seats		13	15		12	13
Others	% of votes	55%	28%	31%	48%	50%	48%
	No. of seats	9	2	7	13	16	21

Continued..... **Vote Bank**

Urban Sindh Voting Pattern

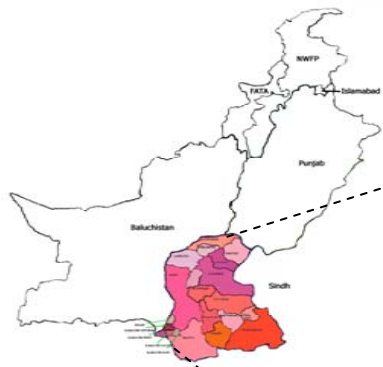
Major Political Parties		1970	1988	1990	1993	1997	2002
PPP and PPP-led Alliances	% of votes	27%	18%	18%	41%	13%	18%
	<i>No. of seats</i>	2	3	2	10	2	3
MQM	% of votes	NA	56%	65%	Boycott	48%	38%
	<i>No. of seats</i>		13	14		12	13
Others	% of votes	73%*	26%	17%	59%	26%	44%
	<i>No. of seats</i>	5	0	0	8	2	6

Continued..... **Vote Bank**

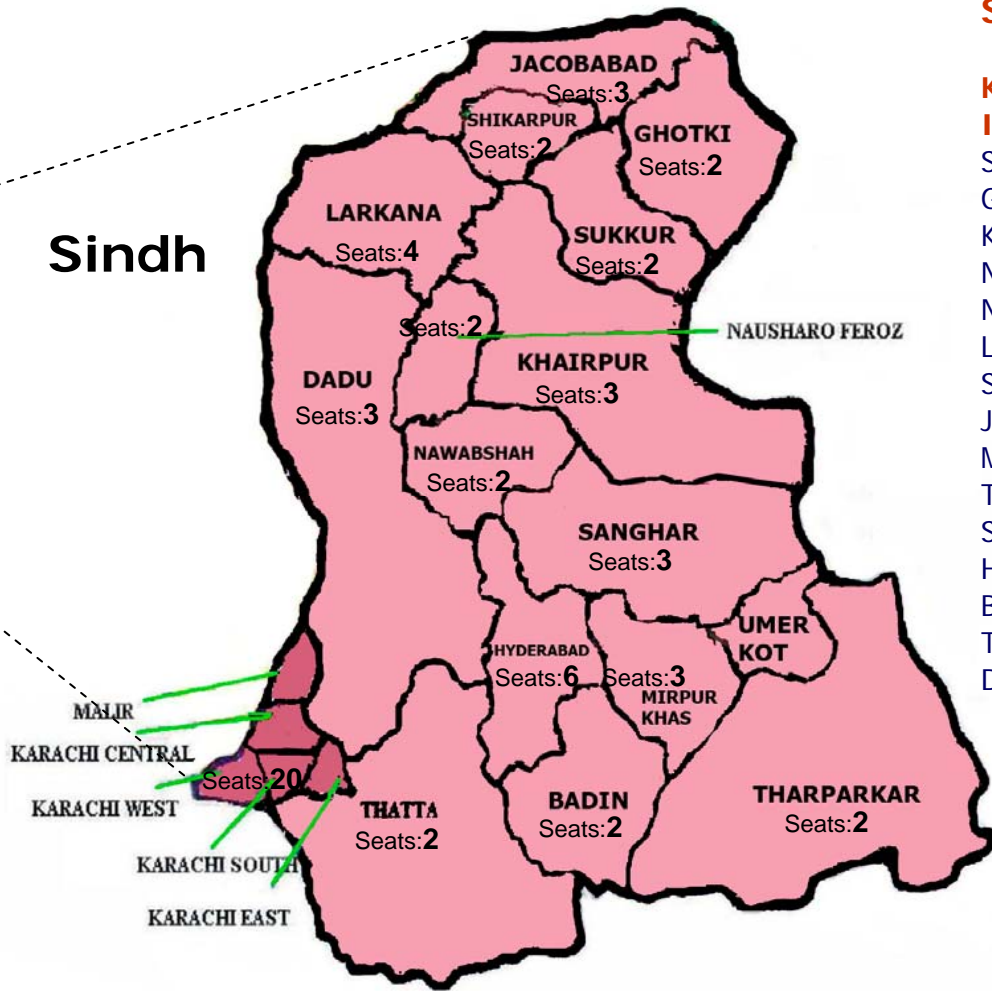
Interior Sindh Voting Pattern

Major Political Parties		1970	1988	1990	1993	1997	2002
PPP and PPP-led Alliances	% of votes	51%	68%	58%	57%	42%	45%
	<i>No. of seats</i>	16	28	22	25	16	24
MQM	% of votes	NA	3%	3%	Boycott	0%	5%
	<i>No. of seats</i>		0	1		0	0
Others	% of votes	49%*	29%	40%	43%	58%	49%
	<i>No. of seats</i>	4	0	7	3	12	15

Continued..... Vote Bank



Sindh



SINDH 61

Karachi City 20

Interior Sindh 41

Sakkur	2
Ghotki	2
Khairpur	3
Nawabshah	2
Naushero Feroz	2
Larkana	4
Shikarpur	2
Jacobabad	3
Mirpur Khas	3
Tharparkar	2
Sanghar	3
Hyderabad	6
Badin	2
Thatha	2
Dadu	3

NA SEATS

61

+ ~ ~

SINDH Population: **25%**

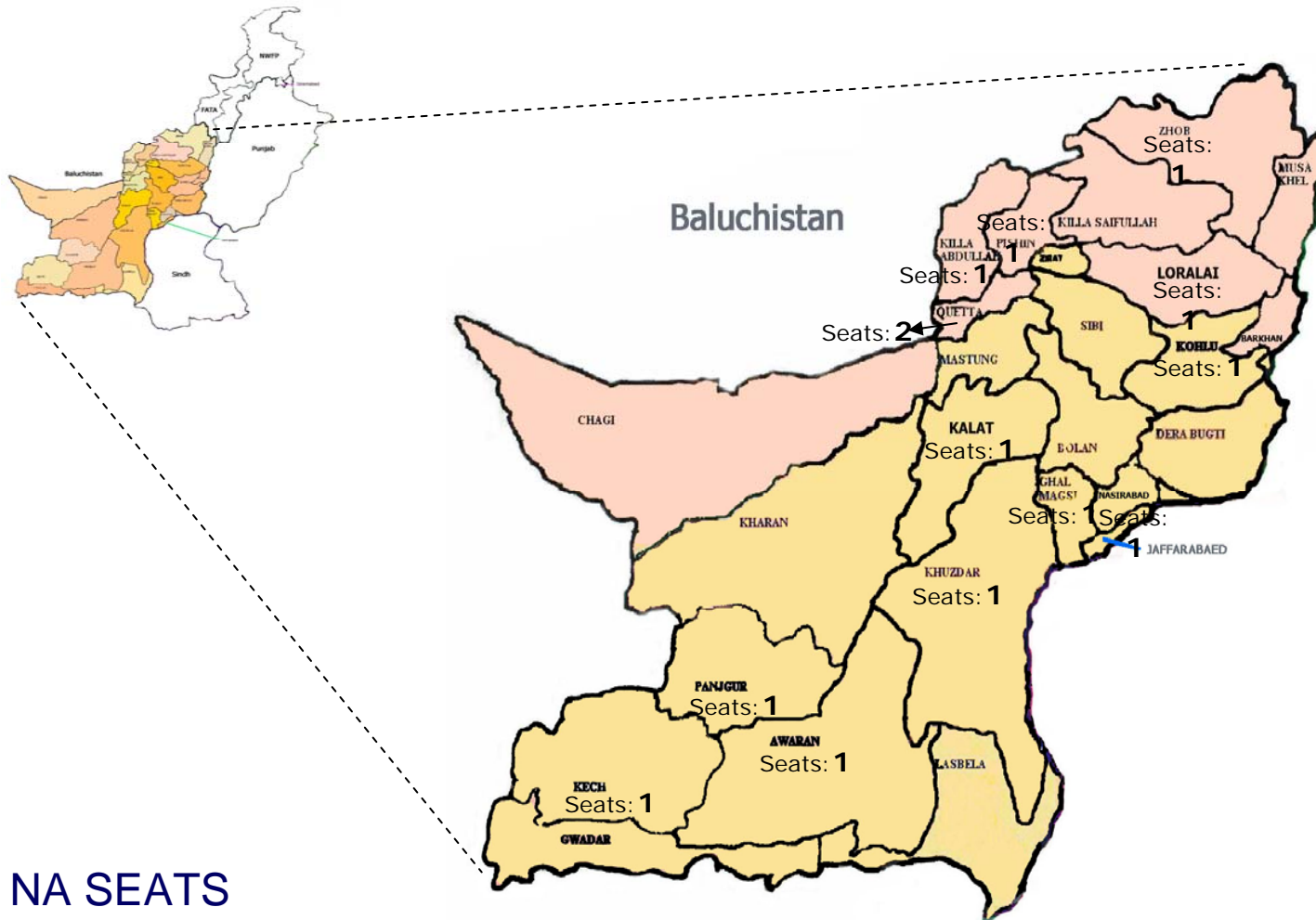
Continued...

Continued..... **Vote Bank**

Balochistan Voting Pattern

Major Political Parties		1970	1988	1990	1993	1997	2002
PML and PML-led Alliances	% of votes	22%	21%	12%	7%	NA	17%
	<i>No. of seats</i>	0	2	2	0	3	3*
PPP and PPP-led Alliances	% of votes	2%	7%	15%	18%	NA	10%
	<i>No. of seats</i>	0	1	2	1	0	0
Religious Parties (Primarily JUI)	% of votes	21%	17%	19%	10%	NA	19%
	<i>No. of seats</i>	1	4	2	2	2	6
Regional Parties (Balochistan)	% of votes	45%	19%	29%	22%	NA	33%
	<i>No. of seats</i>	3	2	3	4	2	3
Others	% of votes	10%	35%	25%	42%	NA	22%
	<i>No. of seats</i>	0	2	2	4	1	2

Continued..... **Vote Bank**



BALUCHISTAN 14

Quetta Sub Region 6

- Quetta 1
- Quetta, Chagi, Matsang 1
- Pishin, Ziarat 1
- Loralai 1
- Zhob, Killa Saifullah 1
- Killa Abdullah 1

Kalat Mekran Sub Region 8

- Kohlu, Sibi, Dera Bugti 1
- Nasirabad 1
- Kachhi 1
- Kalat, Mastung 1
- Khuzdar 1
- Awaran, Lasbela 1
- Panjgur, Kharan 1
- Kech, Gwadar 1

NA SEATS

14

+ ~~

BALOCHISTAN Population: **5%**

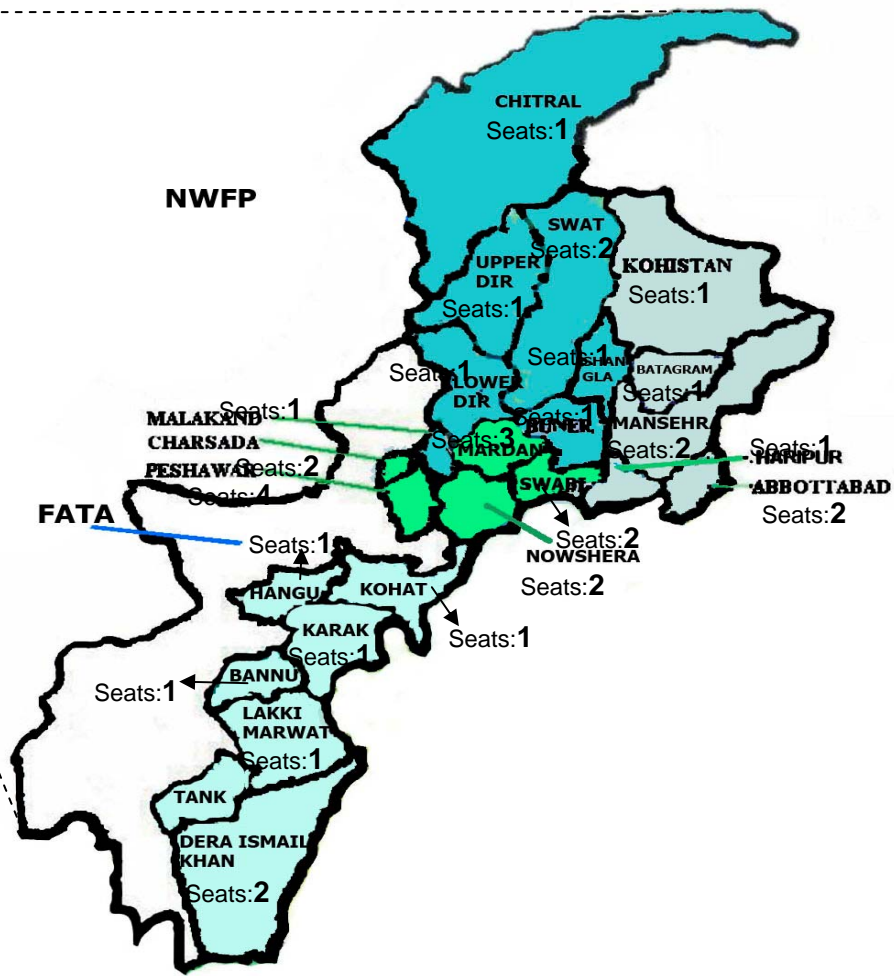
Continued...

Continued..... **Vote Bank**

NWFP Voting Pattern

Major Political Parties		1970	1988	1990	1993	1997	2002
PPP and PPP-led Alliances	% of votes	14%	23%	23%	16%	10%	12%
	<i>No. of seats</i>	1	8	5	5	0	2*
PML and PML-led Alliances	% of votes	27%	27%	24%	32%	37%	18%
	<i>No. of seats</i>	7	8	8	10	15	4**
Religious Parties (Primarily JUI, JI and MMA in 2002)	% of votes	33%	JUI-F: 11%	JUI-F: 20 %	PIF: 11% MDM: 2% IJM: 11%	JUI-F: 8% JI Boycott	MMA: 45%
	<i>No. of seats</i>	6	4	JUI-F (4)	PIF (2) MDM (1) IJM (2)	0	MMA (29)
ANP***	% of votes	19%	18%	15%	15%	19%	9%
	<i>No. of seats</i>	3	2	6	3	9	0
Others	% of votes	7%	21%	18%	13%	26%	16%
	<i>No. of seats</i>	8	3	3	2	1	12

Continued..... Vote Bank



NWFP	35
Peshawar (Valley Region)	13
Peshawar	4
Nowshera	2
Charsadda	2
Mardan	3
Swabi	2
Southern NWFP	7
Kohat	1
Karak	1
Bannu	1
Hangu	1
Lakki Marwat	1
D. I. Khan	2
Malakand	8
Malakand	1
Shangla	1
Swat	2
Upper Dir	1
Lower Dir	1
Chitral	1
Buner	1
Hazara Division	7
Abbottabad	2
Mansehra	2
Haripur	1
Kohistan	1
Batagram	1

NA SEATS

35

+ ~ ~

NWFP Population: **15%**

Continued...

Continued..... **Vote Bank**

Punjab Voting Pattern

Major Political Parties		1970	1988	1990	1993	1997	2002
PML and PML-led Alliances	% of votes	23%	38%	49%	45%	59%	52%
	<i>No. of seats</i>	10	45	92	52	107	85*
PPP and PPP-led Alliances	% of votes	42%	40%	39%	39%	22%	27%
	<i>No. of seats</i>	62	53	14	47	0	33
Others	% of votes	35%	22%	12%	16%	19%	13%
	<i>No. of seats</i>	10	17	9	13	7	20

Continued..... Vote Bank



PUNJAB	150
Southern Punjab	44
Bahawalpur	5
Multan	6
Rahimyar Khan	6
Muzaffargarh	5
Vehari	4
Khanewal	4
Bahawalnagar	4
Dera Ghazi Khan	3
Rajan Pur	2
Lodhran	2
Pakpattan	3
Central Punjab	57
Lahore	13
Gujranwala	7
Sheikhupura	7
Sialkot	5
Kasur	5
Okara	5
Gujrat	4
Sahiwal	4
Narowal	3
Mandi Bahauddin	2
Hafizabad	2
Western Punjab	33
Mianwali	2
Khushab	2
Bhakkar	2
Sargodha	5
Layyah	2
Jhang	6
Faisalabad	11
Toba Tek Singh	3
Northern Punjab	16
Rawalpindi	7
Islamabad	2
Attock	3
Jhelum	2
Chakwal	2

NA SEATS

150

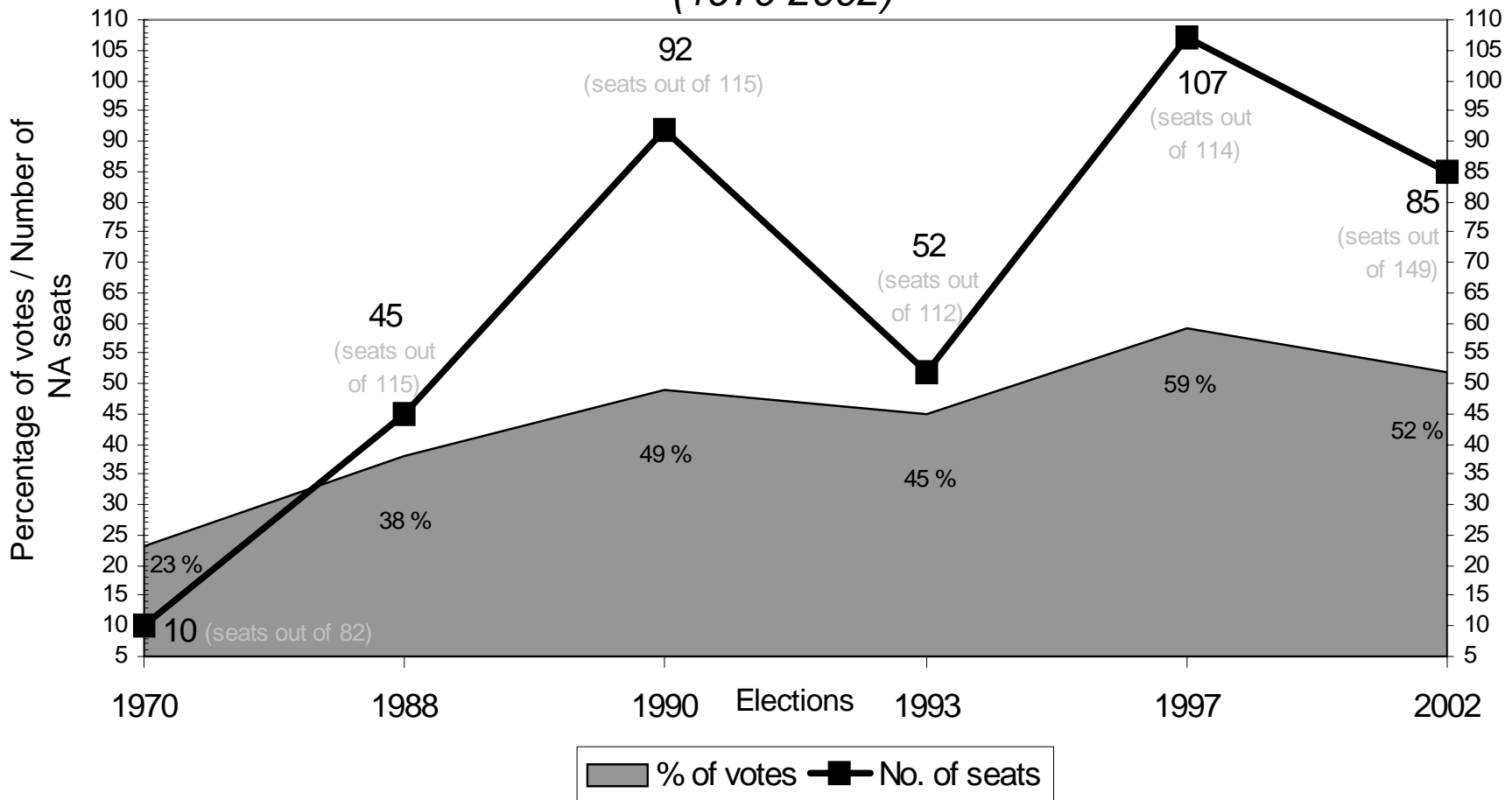
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PUNJAB Population: **55%**

Continued...

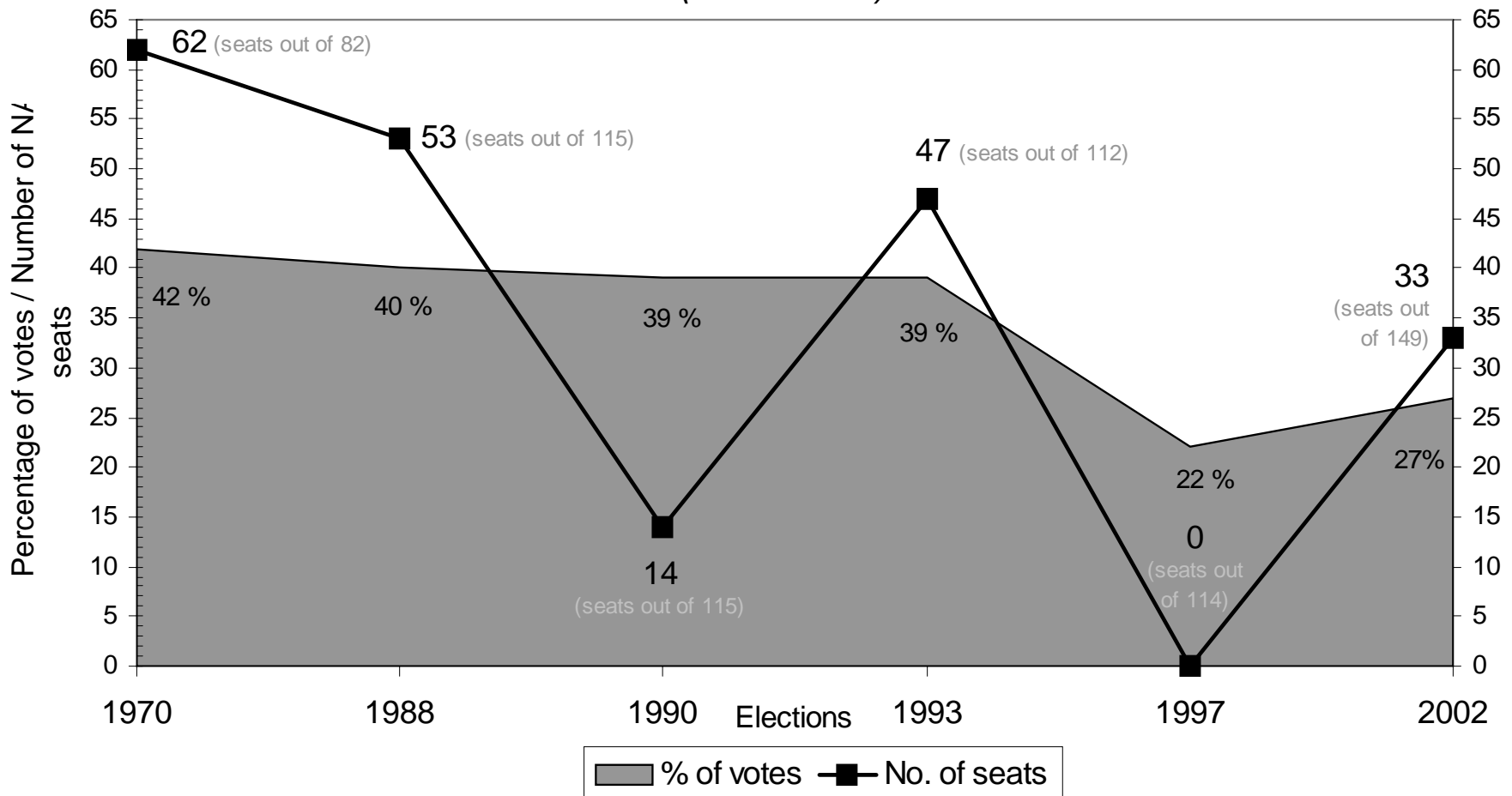
The Decisive Contest in Punjab

Punjab
Electoral Performance of Muslim League(s)
(1970-2002)

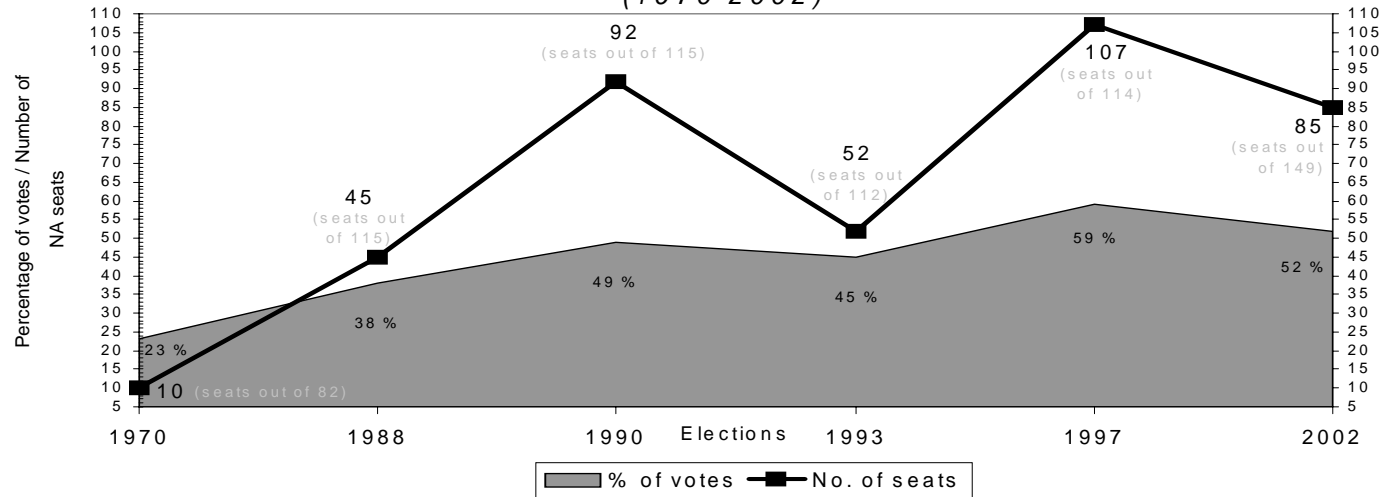


The Decisive Contest in Punjab

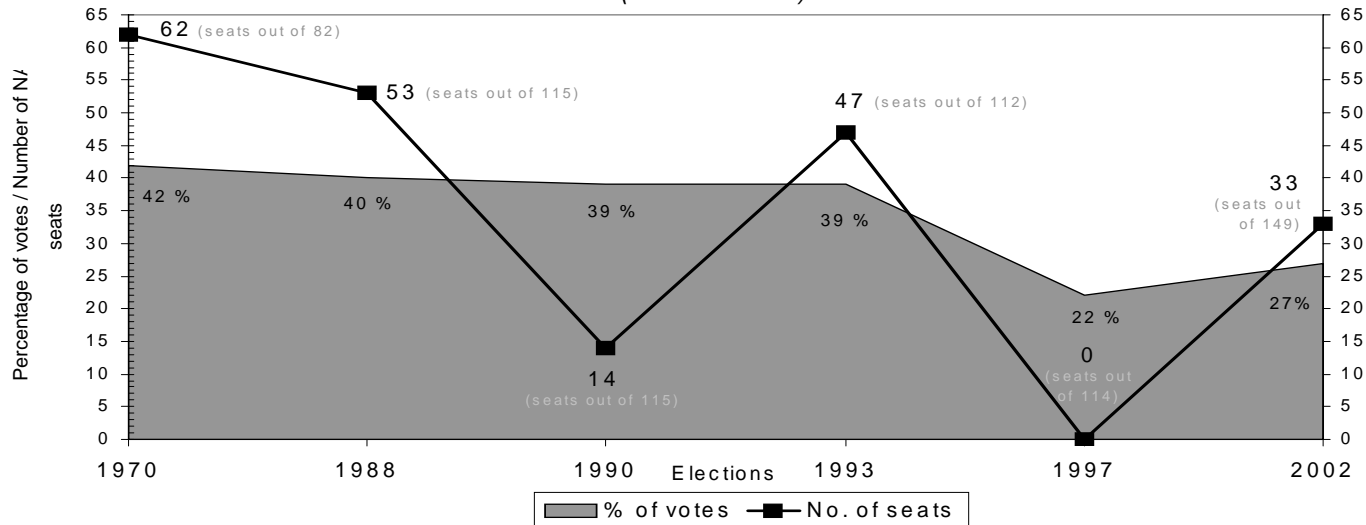
Punjab
Electoral Performance of Pakistan People's Party
(1970-2002)



Punjab
Electoral Performance of Muslim League(s)
(1970-2002)



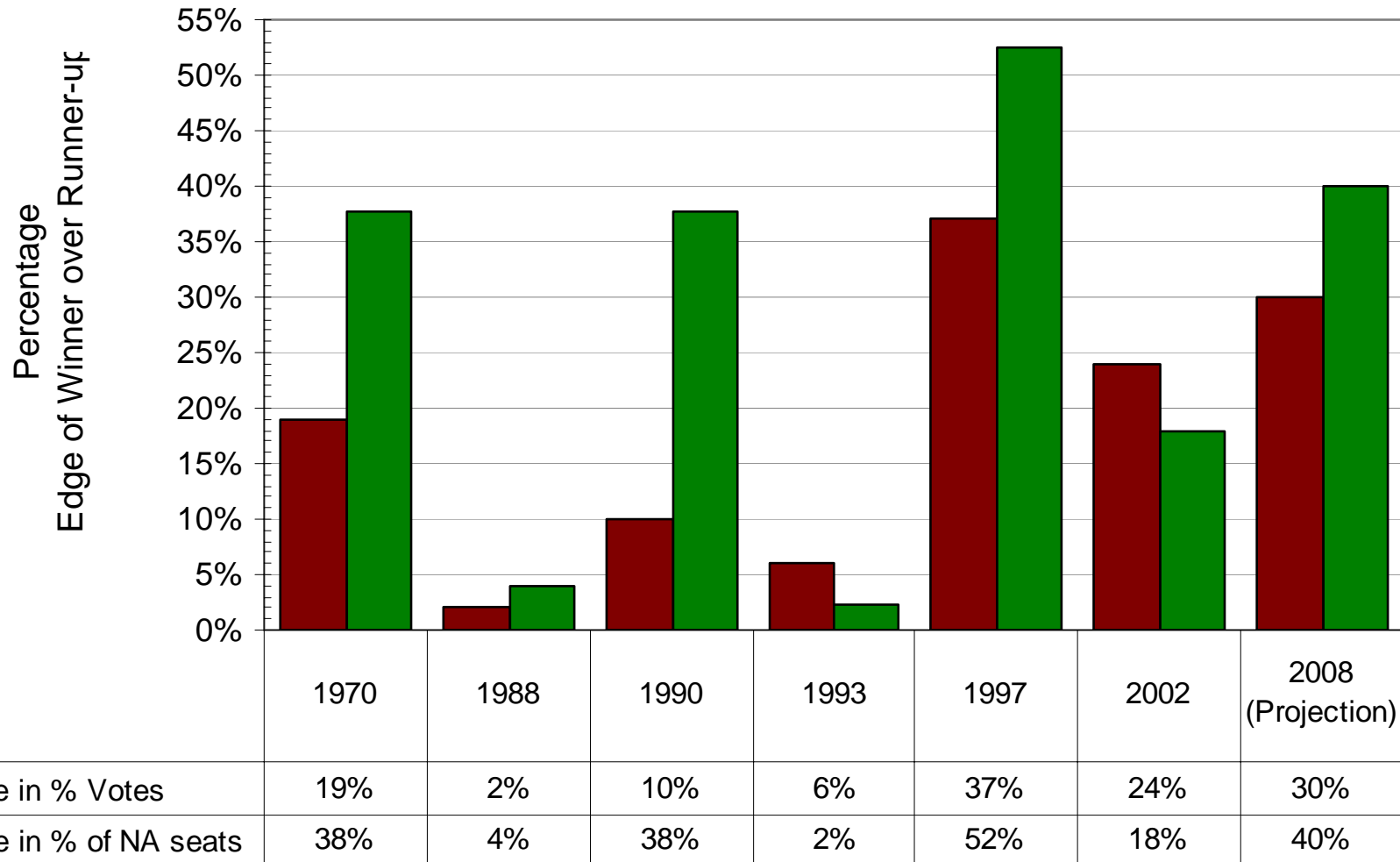
Punjab
Electoral Performance of Pakistan People's Party
(1970-2002)



The Dramatic 5% Swing Factor in Punjab

National Assembly Elections	All Pakistan winner in National Assembly	Voting Ratio: ML and PPP in Punjab	Edge of National Assembly Seats in Punjab
1970	PPP <i>(Winner gets 37% vote nationally)</i>	PPP ahead by 19% (42:23%)	PPP ahead by 52 seats (62:10 [*]) seats for ML(s)
1988	PPP <i>(Winner gets 39% vote nationally)</i>	PPP ahead by 2% (40:38%)	PPP ahead by 8 seats (53:45) seats
1990	ML <i>(Winner gets 37% vote nationally)</i>	ML ahead by 10% (49:39%)	ML ahead by 78 seats (92:14) seats
1993	PPP <i>(Winner gets 38% vote nationally)</i>	ML ahead by 6% (45:39%)	ML ahead by 5 seats (52:47) seats
1997	ML <i>(Winner gets 46% vote nationally)</i>	ML ahead by 37% (59:22%)	ML ahead by 107 seats (107:zero) seats
2002	No clear winner PPP (26%), PML-Q (24%), PML-N (11%)	ML(s) ahead by 24% PML(Q) (35%), PML(N) (16%), PPP (27%)	ML(s) ahead by 48 seats PML(Q) (67), PML(N) (16); PPP (34) seats

The Dramatic 5% Swing Factor in Punjab



FPTP System and HUNG PARLIAMENT THESIS

FPTP works against producing Hung
Parliaments

Hence despite spoken and unspoken
wishes to obtain Hung Parliaments the
outcome in most elections has been to
the contrary

Hung Parliament

1970	Party	Share in Votes (%)	Number of Seats in NA	% of Seats
Winner	AL	39%	160	53%
Runner-up	PPP	19%	81	27%

1988	Party	Share in Votes (%)	Number of Seats in NA	% of Seats
Winner	PPP	39%	93	47%
Runner-up	IJI	32%	54	27%
Runner-up	MQM	5%	13	7%

1990	Party	Share in Votes (%)	Number of Seats in NA	% of Seats
Winner	IJI	37%	105	53%
Runner-up	PDA	37%	45	23%
Runner-up	MQM	6%	15	8%

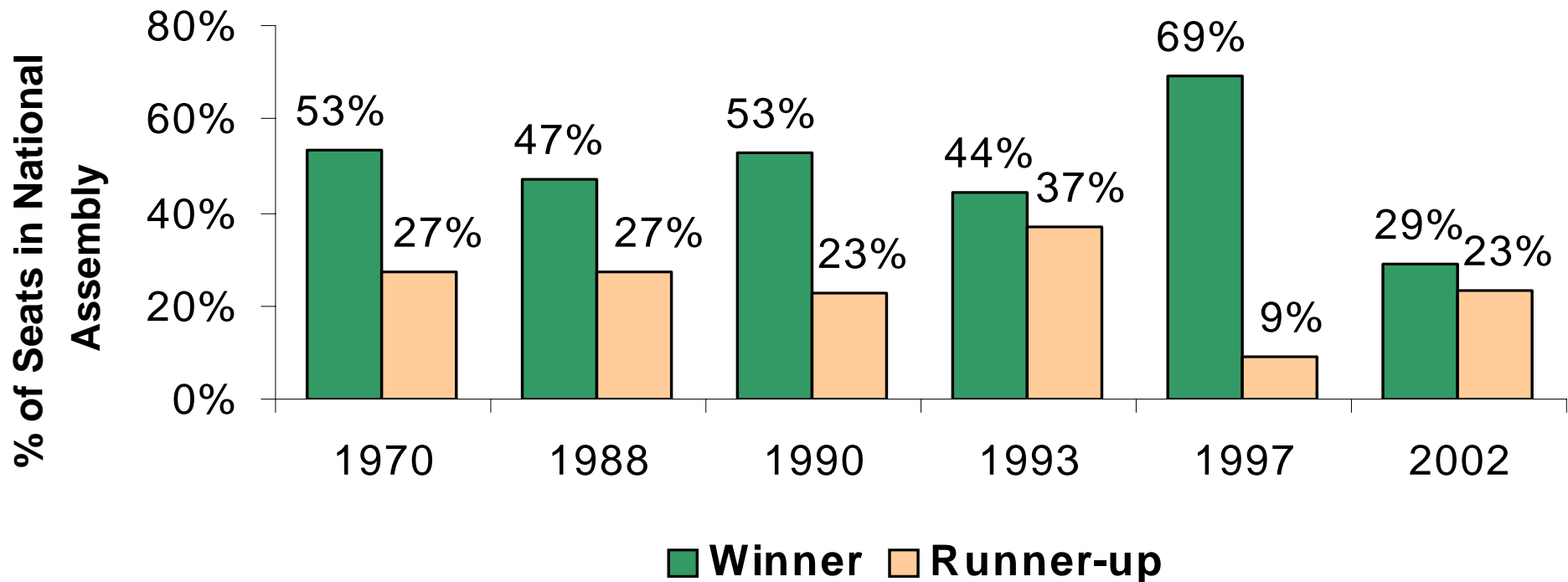
Continued..... Hung Parliament

1993	Party	Share in Votes (%)	Number of Seats in NA	% of Seats
Winner	PPP	38%	86	44%
Runner-up	PML-J	4%	6	3%
Runner-up	IJM	2%	4	2%
Runner-up	PML-N	40%	72	37%
Runner-up	PIF	3%	3	2%

1997	Party	Share in Votes (%)	Number of Seats in NA	% of Seats
Winner	PML-N	46%	136	69%
Runner-up	PPP	21%	18	9%

2002	Party	Share in Votes (%)	Number of Seats in NA	% of Seats
Winner	PML-Q	26%	78	29%
Runner-up	MMA	11%	45	17%
Runner-up	NA	5%	12	4%
Runner-up	PPP-P	26%	63	23%
Runner-up	PML-N	12%	15	6%

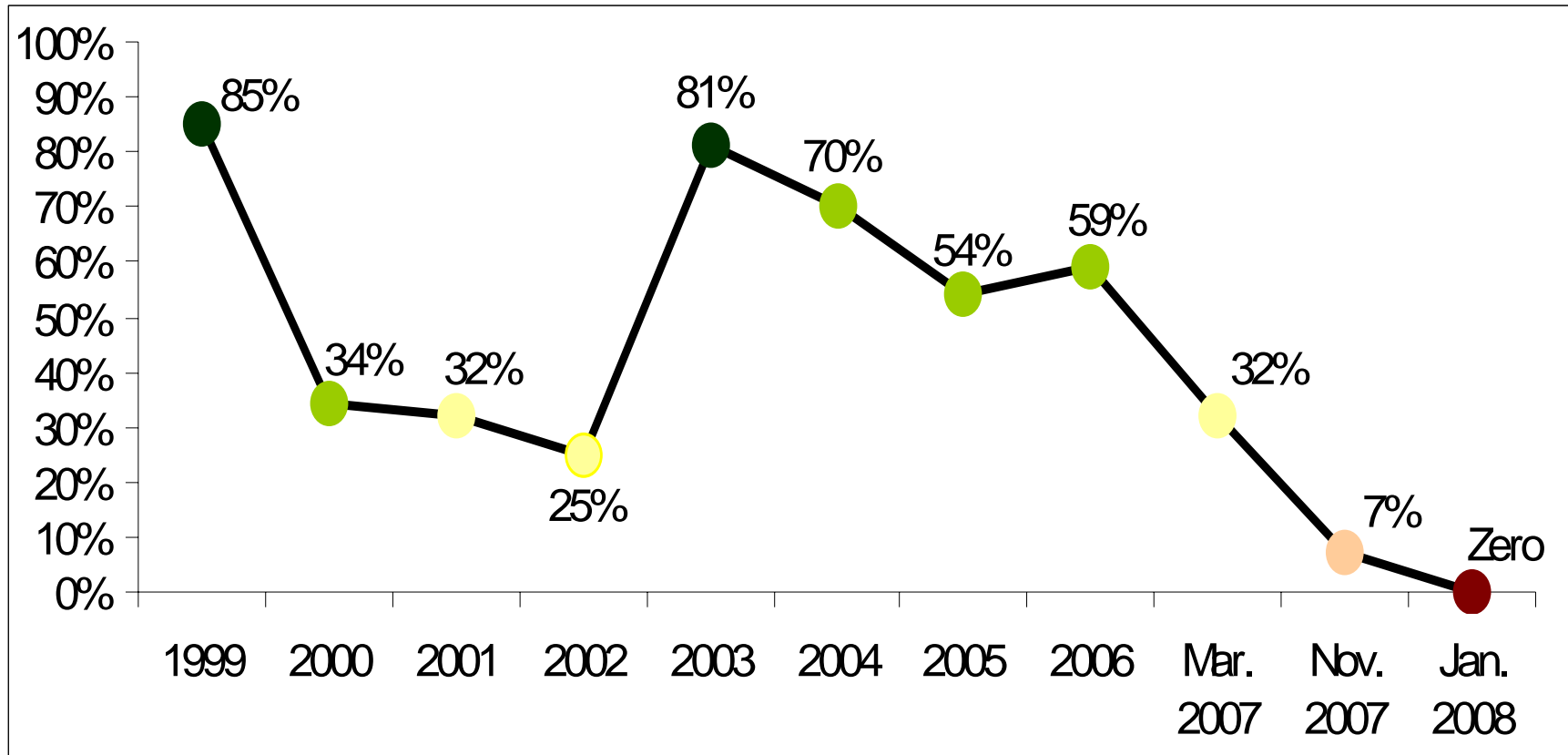
Hung Parliament?



Trends in Musharraf's Net Approval Ratings

Year	Net Approval Rating: (Approval minus Disapproval)	Surrounding Events
1999	85%	Honeymoon
2000	34%	Honeymoon is over
2001	32%	A New Phase is about to start
2002	25%	2002 Elections
2003	81%	Post Election Government
2004	70%	The Post Election Government continues
2005	54%	
2006	59%	
2007	32%	Moves on to hold next Elections, Seeking Third Term Presidency
	7%	Judicial Crisis takes its toll
2008	Zero	Benazir Bhutto Assassinated

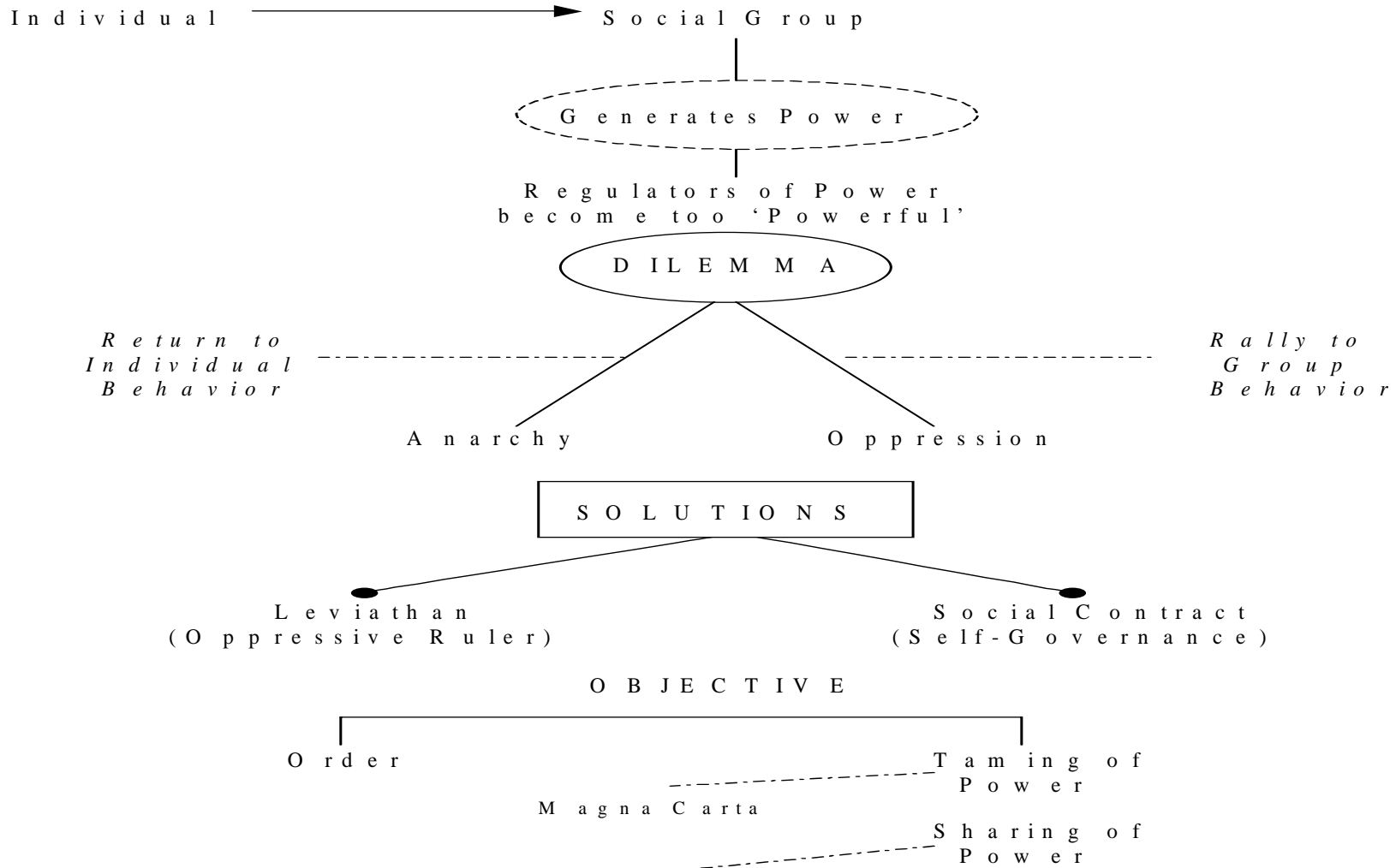
Net Performance Rating of Pervez Musharraf (1999-2008)



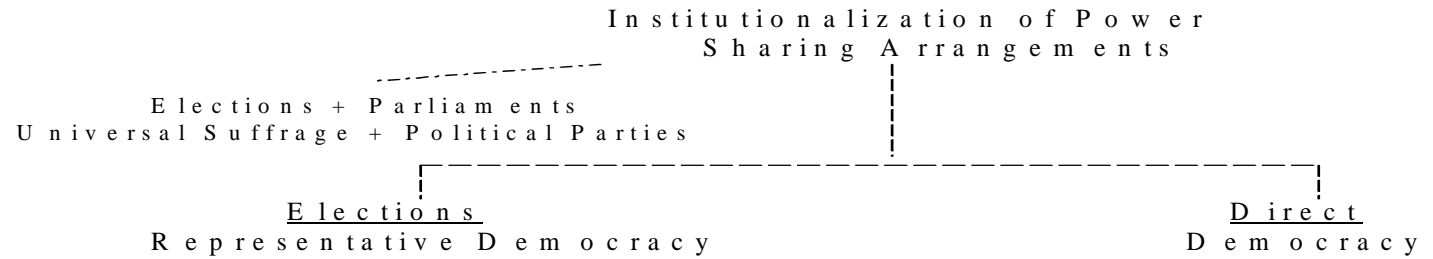
Method to Calculate: The performance Ratings were sought in a 5 Point Scale. The score above is calculated by the following tabulation: - $Score = (Very\ Good + Good) - (Bad + Very\ Bad)$

S T O R Y O F D E M O C R A C Y
(F r o m A n t i q u i t y t o 2 1 ^{s t} C e n t u r y)

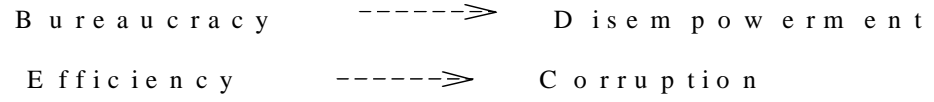
D E M O C R A C Y - - - - - O R I G I N S



Early Parliaments of the Elite



INSTITUTIONALIZATION
DILEMMAS



SOCIAL
CHANGES

Continuity

Changes

Outdated
Form - Yes
Substance - No

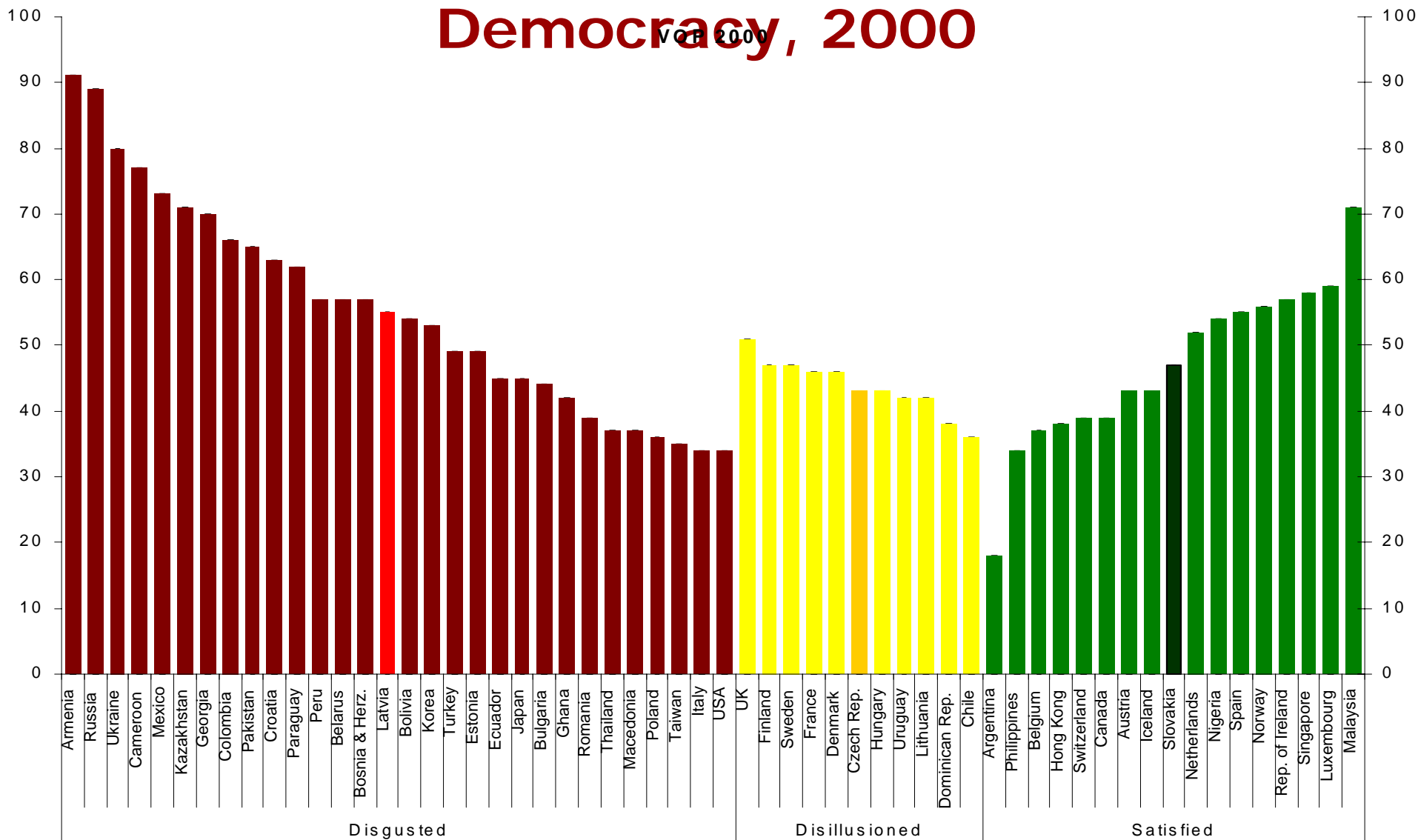
Habits
are powerful
Self Adaptation

Changes in
the Space of
Democracy
which is the
Nation-State

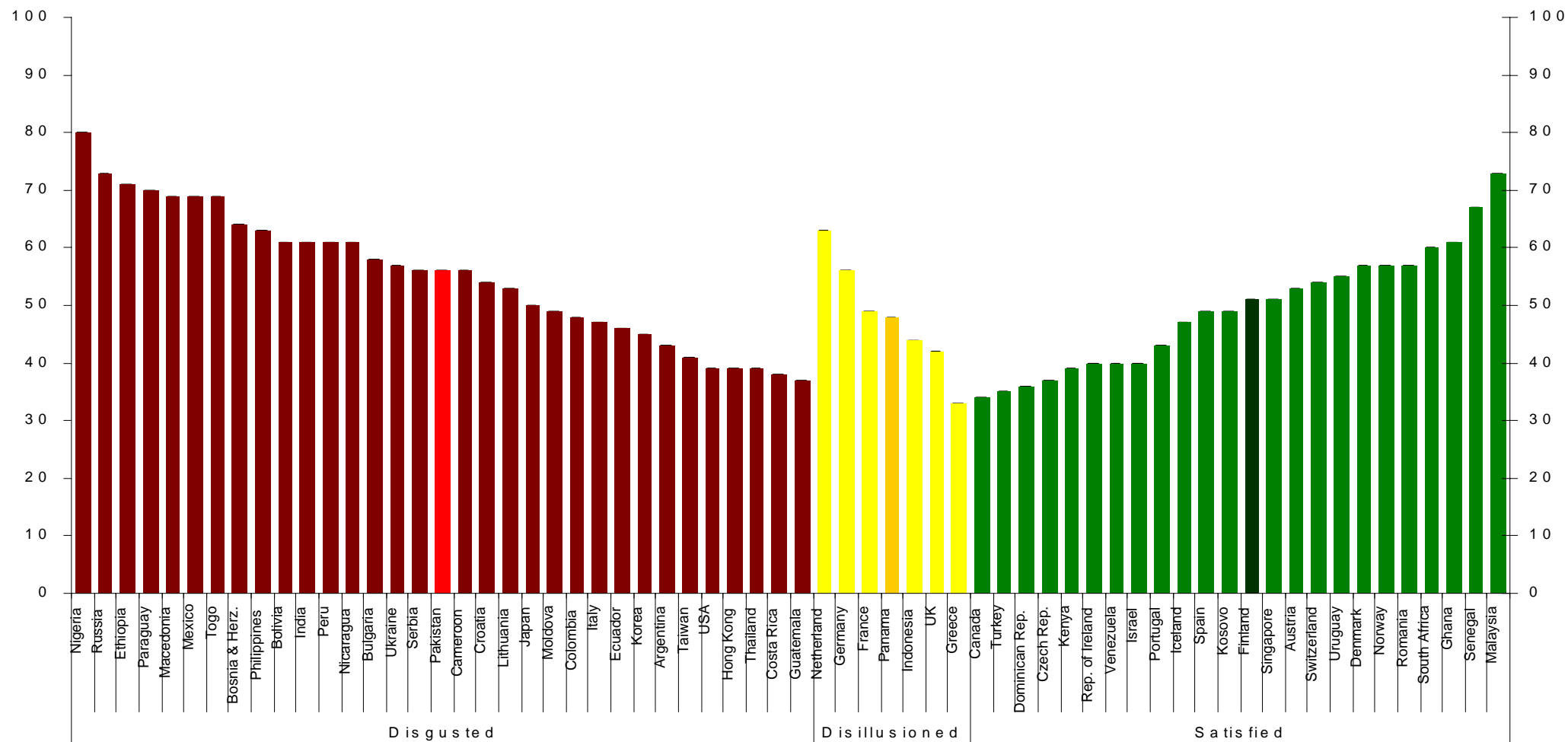
Information
Technology which
outdates aspects of
the Intermediation
by Representatives
of the
Representative
Democracy

- Globalization and Regionalization
- Complexity of Governance (requiring Technocratic Solution)

Satisfied, Disillusioned OR Disgusted with Democracy, 2000



Satisfied, Disillusioned OR Disgusted with Democracy, 2005



Satisfied, Disillusioned OR Disgusted with Democracy, 2007

