

# LATEST NATIONAL OPINION POLL ON THE PANAMA CORRUPTION CASE, REPORT BY JIT AND THE CREDIBILITY OF NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Field Work Conducted by Gallup Pakistan across a Nationally Representative Survey of 1750 Men and Women Across Rural and Urban Pakistan covering all 4 Provinces. Survey Field work was conducted after JIT Report between 17<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> July 2017



*July 24, 2017*



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## Executive Summary

### Latest National Opinion Poll on Panama Corruption Case, Report by JIT and the credibility of National Institutions

**1. Awareness about JIT Report on Panama Leaks :**

73% claim they have heard or read about it

**2. In the aftermath of the JIT report should the PM resist or resign from politics? Views are sharply divided**

51% favour resigning from politics; while 49% favour resisting by contesting a case against the JIT decision

**3. Acceptability of Shahbaz Sharif as a replacement of Nawaz**

59% across various vote banks (those intending to vote for PML-N or any other party) say that if PML-N were to nominate him, they will accept Shahbaz Sharif as a replacement of Nawaz; 41% say they will oppose.

**4. Credibility of various national institutions, including the entity called ‘Average Pakistani Citizen’:**

Court, Army, Religious Leaders and Doctors score higher than the Average Citizen; police, Media and Lawyers score lower.

Interestingly, politicians are rated at exactly the same level as the ‘Average Pakistani Citizen’.

**5. Percentage which considers the following credible or trustworthy, either a lot or somewhat trustworthy**

Supreme Court (79%), Army (79%), Religious Leaders (68%), Doctors (64%), Politicians (61%), Average Pakistani Citizen (61%), Media (58%), Lawyers (52%), Police (38%)



## **TOPIC 1**

# **Perception about JIT Report and Post JIT Political Scenario in the country**

This Topic has 3 items. Key Findings and Statistical Analysis for each of them are provided ahead in this section



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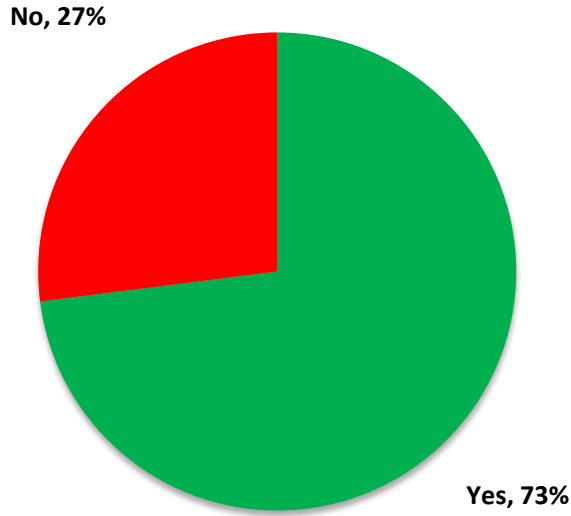


## Item 1.1

### AWARENESS ABOUT JIT REPORT ON PANAMA CASE

73% claim they have heard or read about it.

Question: **Recently a Joint Investigation Team ordered by Supreme Court submitted its report to Supreme Court about Nawaz Sharif and Family. Have you heard or read about it?**



Source: Gallup Pakistan, July 17 – July 20, 2017

Q. حال ہی میں سپریم کورٹ کے حکم پر JIT نے نواز شریف اور اس کی فیملی کے بارے میں کی جانے والی تحقیق کی رپورٹ سپریم کورٹ میں جمع کروانی ہے۔ کیا آپ نے اس کے بارے میں سنا یا پڑھا ہے؟

1

ہاں

2

نہیں

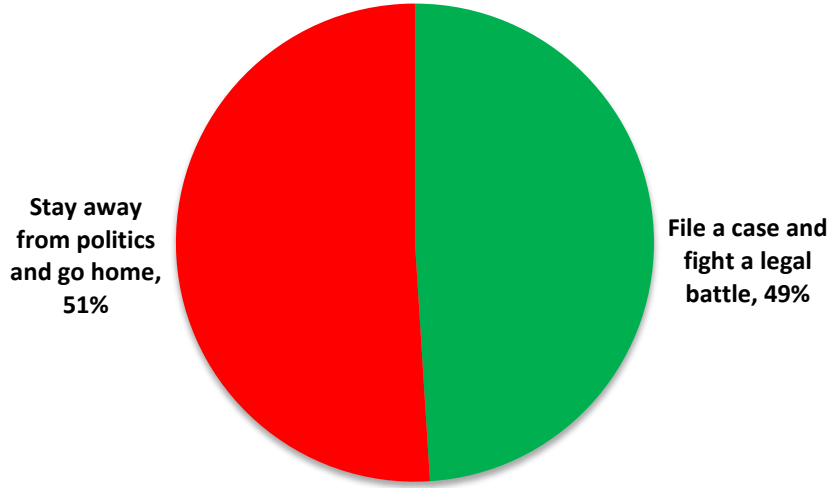


## Item 1.2

### In the Aftermath of JIT Report, SHOULD THE PM RESIST OR RESIGN FROM POLITICS? Views are sharply divided.

51% favor resigning from politics; while 49% favor resisting by contesting a case against the JIT decision.

Question: **Some people argue that PM Nawaz and PML N should file a case against JIT and its findings whereas others think that PM Nawaz should not fight a case and should accept the report and stay away from politics. If you were to advise PM Nawaz and PML N what would you advise?**



Source: Gallup Pakistan, July 17 – July 20, 2017

Q. بعض لوگ اس بات پر زور دے رہے ہیں کہ وزیراعظم نواز شریف اور پاکستان مسلم لیگ (ن) کو JIT اور اس کی تحقیق کے خلاف کیس دائر کرنا چاہیے۔ جبکہ بعض دوسرے کہتے ہیں کہ نہیں وزیر اعظم نواز شریف کو کیس نہیں کرنا چاہیے بلکہ رپورٹ کو تسلیم کرتے ہوئے سیاست سے علیحدہ ہوجانا چاہیے۔ اگر آپ کو وزیر اعظم نواز شریف اور پاکستان مسلم لیگ کو مشورہ دینا ہو تو آپ کیا مشورہ دیں گے؟

1

2

کیس دائر کر کے قانونی جنگ لڑنی چاہیے  
سیاست سے علیحدہ ہو کر گھر چلے جانا چاہیے

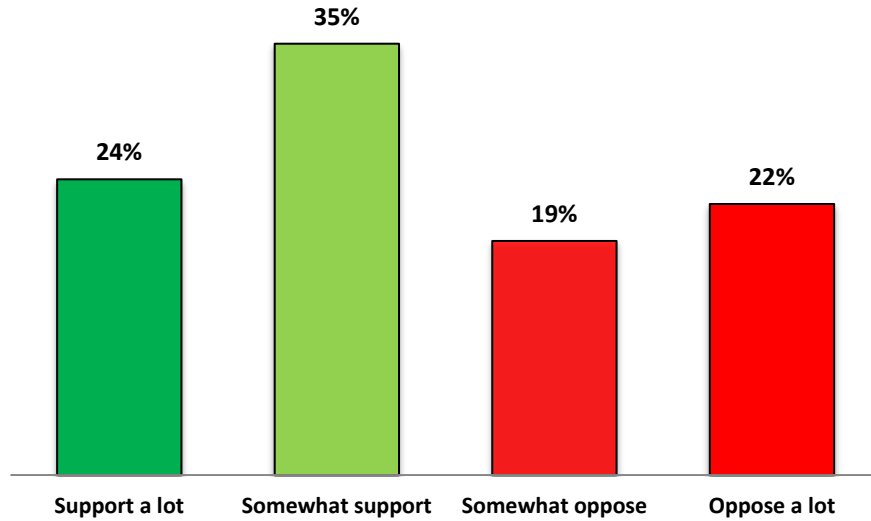


### Item 1.3

#### ACCEPTABILITY OF SHAHBAZ SHARIF AS A REPLACEMENT OF NAWAZ

59% across various vote banks (those intending to vote for PML-N or any other party) say that if PML-N were to nominate him, they will accept Shahbaz Sharif as a replacement of Nawaz; 41% say they will oppose.

Question: **If PML N was to elect Shahbaz Sharif as its leader and Shahbaz Sharif becomes the PM of the country, to what extent would you support this decision of PML N. Would you support a lot, somewhat, oppose or oppose a lot?**



Source: Gallup Pakistan, July 17 – July 20, 2017

Q. فرض کریں کہ اگر پاکستان مسلم لیگ (ن) شہباز شریف کو وزیر اعظم منتخب کرنے کا فیصلہ کرتی ہے اور شہباز شریف ملک کے وزیر اعظم بن جاتے ہیں تو آپ پاکستان مسلم لیگ (ن) کے اس فیصلے کی کس حد تک حمایت یا مخالفت کریں گے؟

- |   |                  |
|---|------------------|
| 1 | مکمل حمایت       |
| 2 | کسی حد تک حمایت  |
| 3 | کسی حد تک مخالفت |
| 4 | مکمل مخالفت      |





## TOPIC 2

# Trust on people of different institution

This Topic has 1 item. Key Findings and Statistical Analysis for each of them are provided ahead in this section



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## Item 2.1

### CREDIBILITY OF VARIOUS NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS INCLUDING THE ENTITY CALLED 'AVERAGE PAKISTANI CITIZEN':

Supreme Court, Army, Religious Leaders and Doctors score higher than the Average Citizen; Media, Police, and Lawyers score lower. Interestingly Politicians are rated at exactly the same level as the 'Average Pakistani Citizen'.

Percentage which considers the following credible or trust-worthy, either a lot or somewhat trust-worthy:

|                                  |            |
|----------------------------------|------------|
| Supreme Court                    | 79%        |
| Army                             | 79%        |
| Religious Leaders                | 68%        |
| Doctors                          | 64%        |
| Politicians                      | 61%        |
| <b>AVERAGE PAKISTANI CITIZEN</b> | <b>61%</b> |
| Media                            | 58%        |
| Lawyers                          | 52%        |
| Police                           | 38%        |

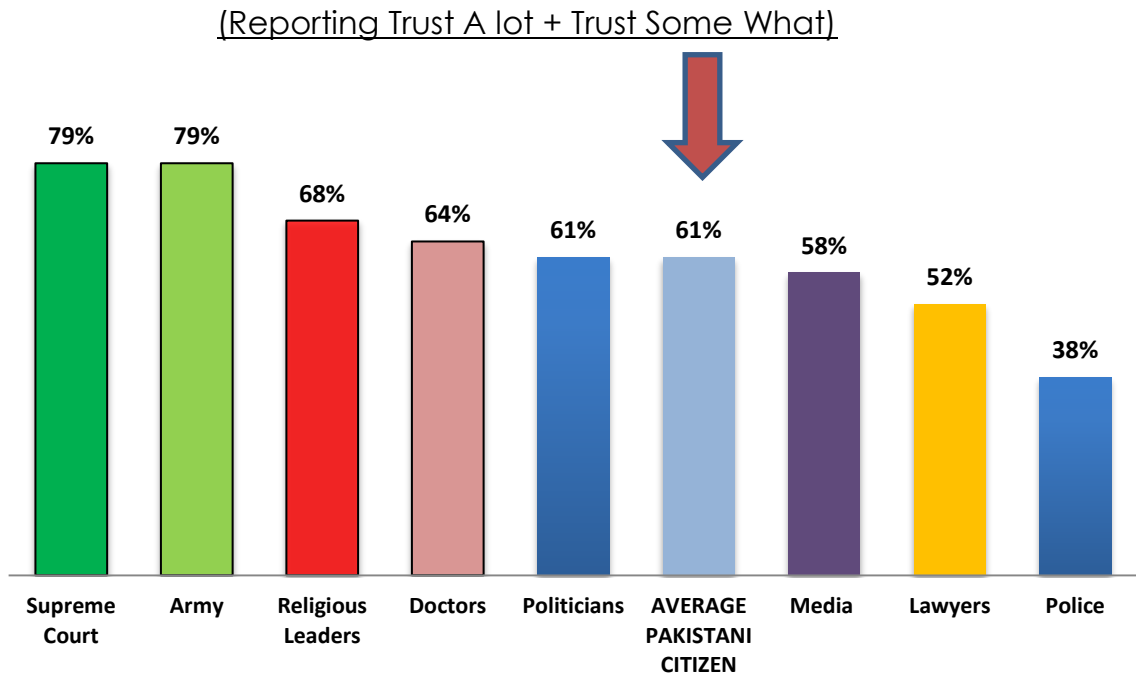


## Item 2.1

### CREDIBILITY OF VARIOUS NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS INCLUDING THE ENTITY CALLED 'AVERAGE PAKISTANI CITIZEN':

Supreme Court, Army, Religious Leaders and Doctors score higher than the Average Citizen; Media, Police, and Lawyers score lower. Interestingly Politicians are rated at exactly the same level as the 'Average Pakistani Citizen'.

Question: **People have different opinion about honesty and integrity of different people within different institutions. To what extent do you trust the people in the following institutions? Do you Trust a lot, somewhat trust, do not trust or do not trust at all people in following institutions?**



Source: Gallup Pakistan, July 17 – July 20, 2017

Q. لوگ مختلف اداروں میں کام کرنے والے لوگوں کی ایمان داری اور سالمیت کے بارے میں مختلف رائے رکھتے ہیں۔ برائے مہربانی مندرجہ ذیل اداروں میں کام کرنے والے لوگوں کے بارے میں بتائیں کہ ان اداروں میں موجود لوگوں پر آپ کس حد تک اعتماد کرتے ہیں؟ کیا آپ مکمل اعتماد، کسی حد تک اعتماد، کسی حد تک اعتماد نہیں یا بالکل بھی اعتماد نہیں کرتے؟

- 1 مکمل اعتماد
- 2 کسی حد تک اعتماد
- 3 کسی حد تک اعتماد نہیں
- 4 بالکل بھی اعتماد نہیں



## **TOPIC 3**

# **Commentary by Dr. Ijaz Shafi Gilani**



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**Commentary by Dr Ijaz Shafi Gilani**  
**Chairman, Gallup Pakistan**

*(The commentary has been written in my personal capacity. Any of the institutions with which I am affiliated do not necessarily hold the same views, nor are responsible for my personal commentary shared below)*

My commentary and observations are based on the poll findings reported here as well as any other available in the public domain. As one would expect it is also informed by what I read in the media and exchange of ideas with colleagues and friends.

Here are my observations on the current political climate in the country:

The credibility of PML-N and PM Nawaz Sharif has been severely damaged by the Panama leaks corruption case and its high profile investigation by the JIT (Joint Investigation Team) appointed by a Supreme Court bench. Even if the investigations are about concealment of facts regarding family business and property, and not about kick-backs or corruption in the business of the state, the Sharif family has been deeply tainted in the public eye by the 'corruption charge'.

In the eyes of the critics the Sharif family is increasingly clubbed with Mr. Zardari on the corruption issue. In contrast, Imran Khan is seen as an honest person, despite a number of other flaws enumerated by his critics.

Apparently, and this is supported by poll findings, a large majority of the Pakistani public followed the JIT proceedings in the media and their views about the Sharif family were affected by the details of the proceedings brought to them by a wide array of media channels currently available to the Pakistani public.

One would normally expect that the deep damages to the credibility of Sharif family on corruption issue should result in damaging the prospects of their 'electability'; and raise questions about the credibility of all politicians as a class or institutional group. My observation, supported by



polling data, is that neither of the two has happened. I am keen to engage with my colleagues on both the validity of my observations and my explanations of the underlying dynamics, which I offer below.

**Firstly**, why has the loss of credibility not translated into a damage to electability? Indeed the electoral support base of PML-N in Punjab has been reduced by nearly 10% points in the aftermath of the Panama case. The beneficiaries have been both PTI and PPP, each to the tune of around 3% points. Since PML-N electoral base, as exhibited in the 2013 elections, is heavily concentrated in the Punjab province, any loss in the other three provinces are less relevant because PML-N enjoys its claim to federal government mainly by being a dominant party in Punjab and by allying with smaller parties or vote banks elsewhere. Its small support base in provinces other than Punjab has apparently been less vulnerable to further decline due to credibility damage.

The electoral chess-board in Punjab, which constitutes 148 electoral seats out of the total 272 electoral seats contested in the federal elections is very heavily tilted in favor of PML-N. During the recent most elections in 2013 it bagged 117 out of the 148 electoral seats in the province. Its key rivals, PTI bagged 17 while PPP bagged only 1. Its vote score edge over PTI was 28% (46:18) and 31% against PPP (46:15). **In short the margins of PML-N domination over runner ups are so wide that up to 10% point vote loss due to credibility loss, or any other change attributable to electoral fraud charges, does not appear sufficient to change the status quo concerning electability in the Punjab province.**

PML-N claimed its right to premiership in 2013 because it won 124 out of the 261 electoral seats contested and announced in May 2013. Of those only 7 were in provinces other than Punjab. Furthermore the two runner ups in the federal parliament scored only 26 (PTI) and 31 (PPP) in those 261 contests. On the basis of any insight I have gained from my study of Pakistanis ten national elections since 1970, my observation is that PML-N has emerged as a dominant party in Punjab, and given that the other three provinces are run by several runner ups, PTI in KPK; PPP in Interior Sindh and local parties in Balochistan and Karachi, PML-N's numerical majority in the federal government is too large to be affected by the credibility damage amongst its voter base. Any developments related to





turfs other than the voter base is not my area of expertise, nor a subject of these observations.

**Secondly**, as for the second subject; Why has the credibility of Politicians as a class not been damaged by the damage caused to the Sharif family by JIT investigations?

Poll findings have revealed an interesting phenomenon: Pakistani public considers 'politicians' as a class to be just as trustworthy as the 'citizens' as a class: Each has scored a rating of 61% in the latest poll. They consider Media, Police and Lawyers to be less trustworthy than their own class, that is, the average citizen. However they believe that doctors, religious leaders, Army and the Supreme Court merit a trust level higher than their own class of 'citizens'.

Interestingly, for most of the polling history in Pakistan, dating back to 1980, politicians as a class has rubbed shoulders with police at the bottom of the ladder. But polls have indicated a steady improvement in their image over the last ten years. So, the current finding is not an isolated feature. For my observations today, I only flag the subject for further reflection and possible discourse on a later date. What lies behind some respect accorded by national opinion to the class of 'politicians', despite their mutual muck-racking during the JIT investigations saga?



## **Survey Methodology**

### **Field Work Dates**

The poll was conducted during 17<sup>th</sup> July to 20<sup>th</sup> July 2017,

### **Sample Size**

1750 men and women across the rural and urban areas of the four provinces of Pakistan.

### **Error Margin**

Error margin is estimated to be  $\pm$  3-5% at 95% confidence level.

### **Interviewing Method**

Field work was conducted Face to Face. In Home Methodology using Computer Assisted Interviews (CAPI) was used for interviewing respondents.

### **Weighting**

Weighting has been used for projecting results to Nationally representative numbers.



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