



# Glevum Associates Social Science Research & Analysis (SSRA)



# AFGHANISTAN ELECTION SURVEY

*Key findings from a survey  
of 3,566 Afghans ages 18+  
conducted July 8-17, 2009*



# METHODOLOGY

# METHODOLOGY

Glevum Associates is pleased to present the key findings of a survey conducted among 3,556 Afghans age 18+. The survey was conducted July 8-17, 2009 and has an overall margin of error of  $\pm 1.64\%$  in 19 out of 20 cases. Data shown among the 2,823 registered voters interviewed has a margin of error of  $\pm 1.84\%$  in 19 out of 20 cases.

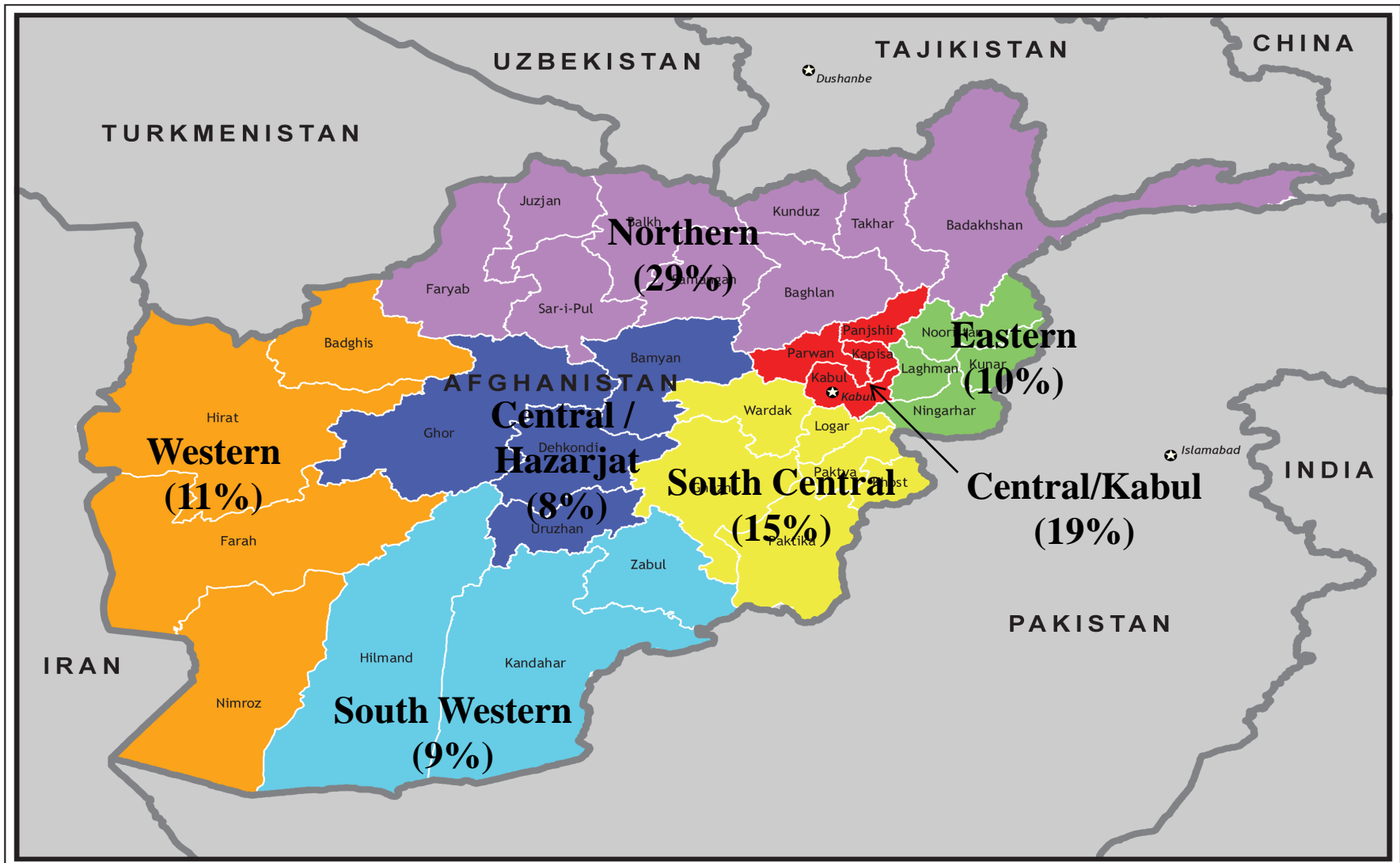
The surveys were conducted in person across all provinces, using a multi-staged stratified sampling procedure in all of Afghanistan's provinces. Within each sampling point, a random selection of households were chosen and within each household a random respondent was selected using the Kish grid method. For sampling points that were not able to be reached because of security or transportation problems, another sampling point within that province was selected to make up those interviews. Responses are weighted to adjust for allocation of interviews across provinces and rural/urban distribution within the population.

Due to rounding, not all data will add up to 100% and some figures may be higher or lower by less than one-half of one percent.

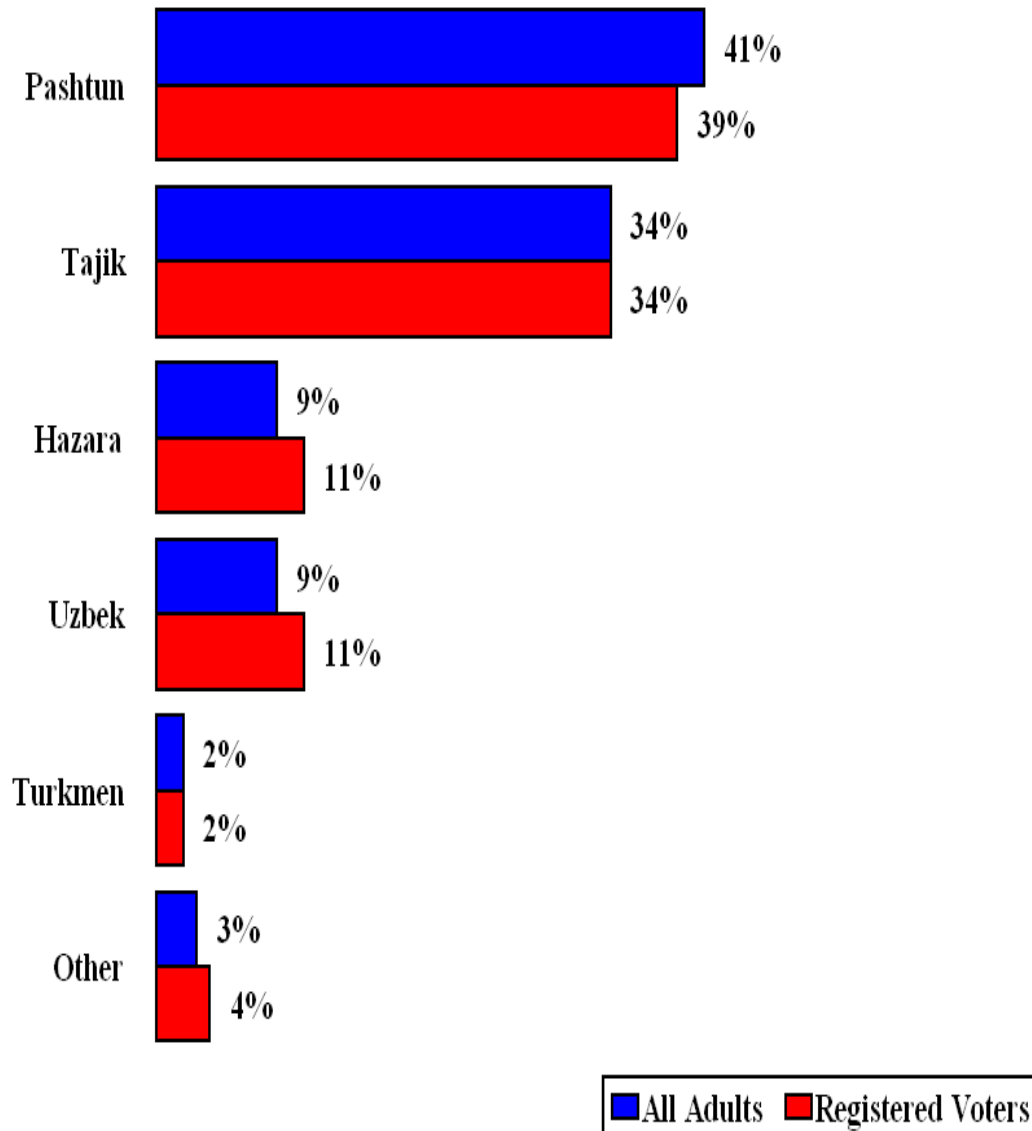


# Survey Demographics and Voter Registration

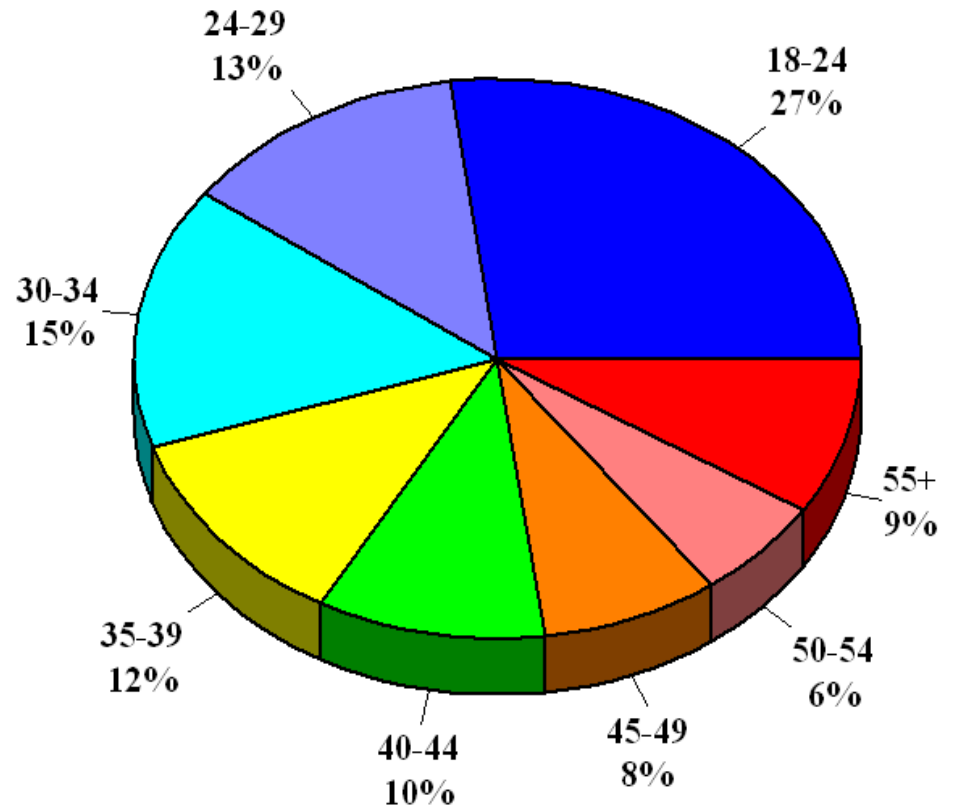
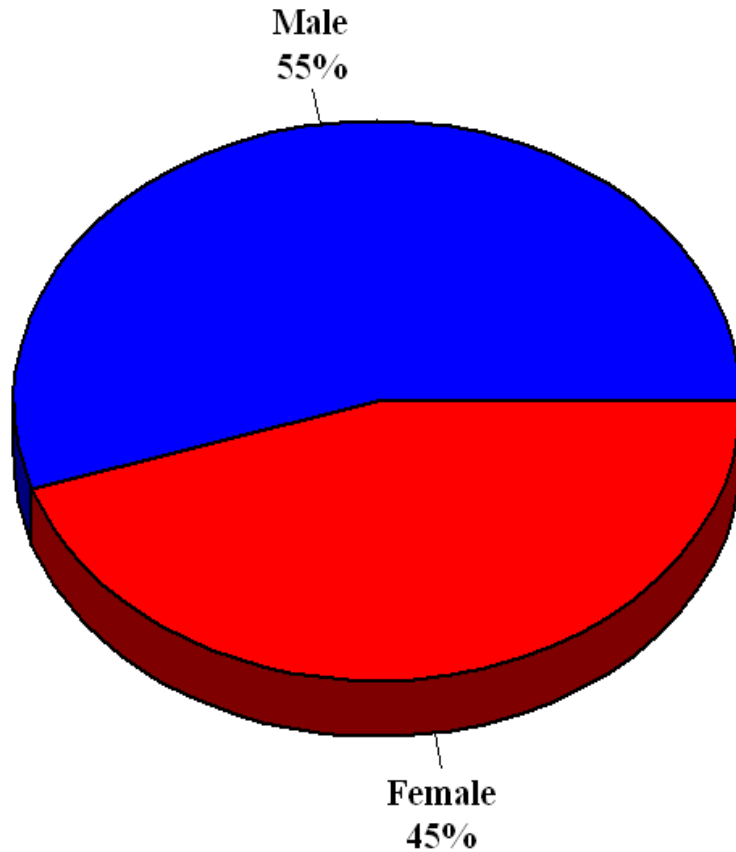
# Afghanistan Regions (Adult Population Percent of Effort)



# Ethnicity of Those Surveyed



# Gender and Age

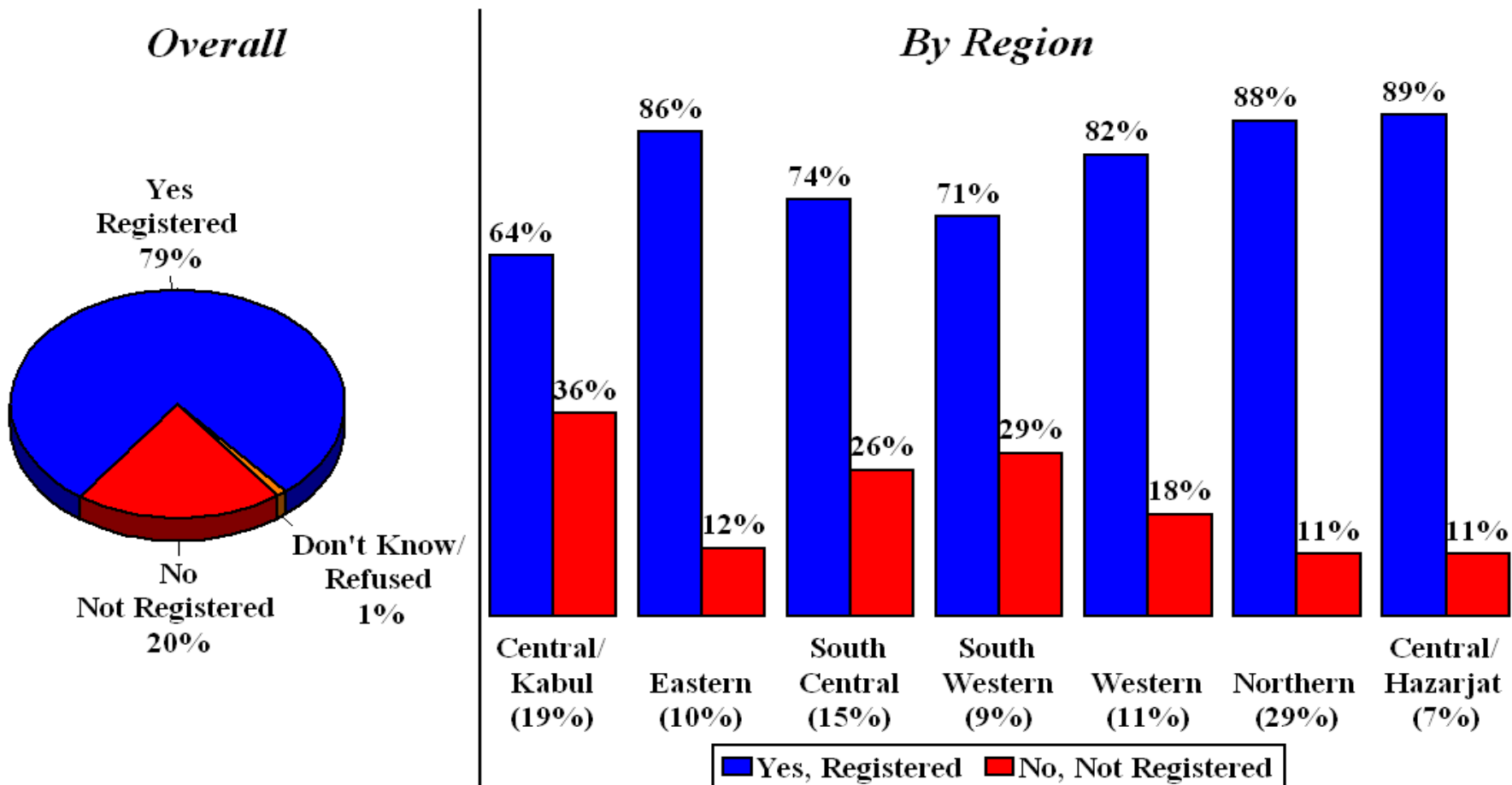


**Among registered voters, the gender split is 59% male / 41% female.**



# Nearly four out of five Afghans say they are registered, but that number is surprisingly lower in the Central/Kabul area.

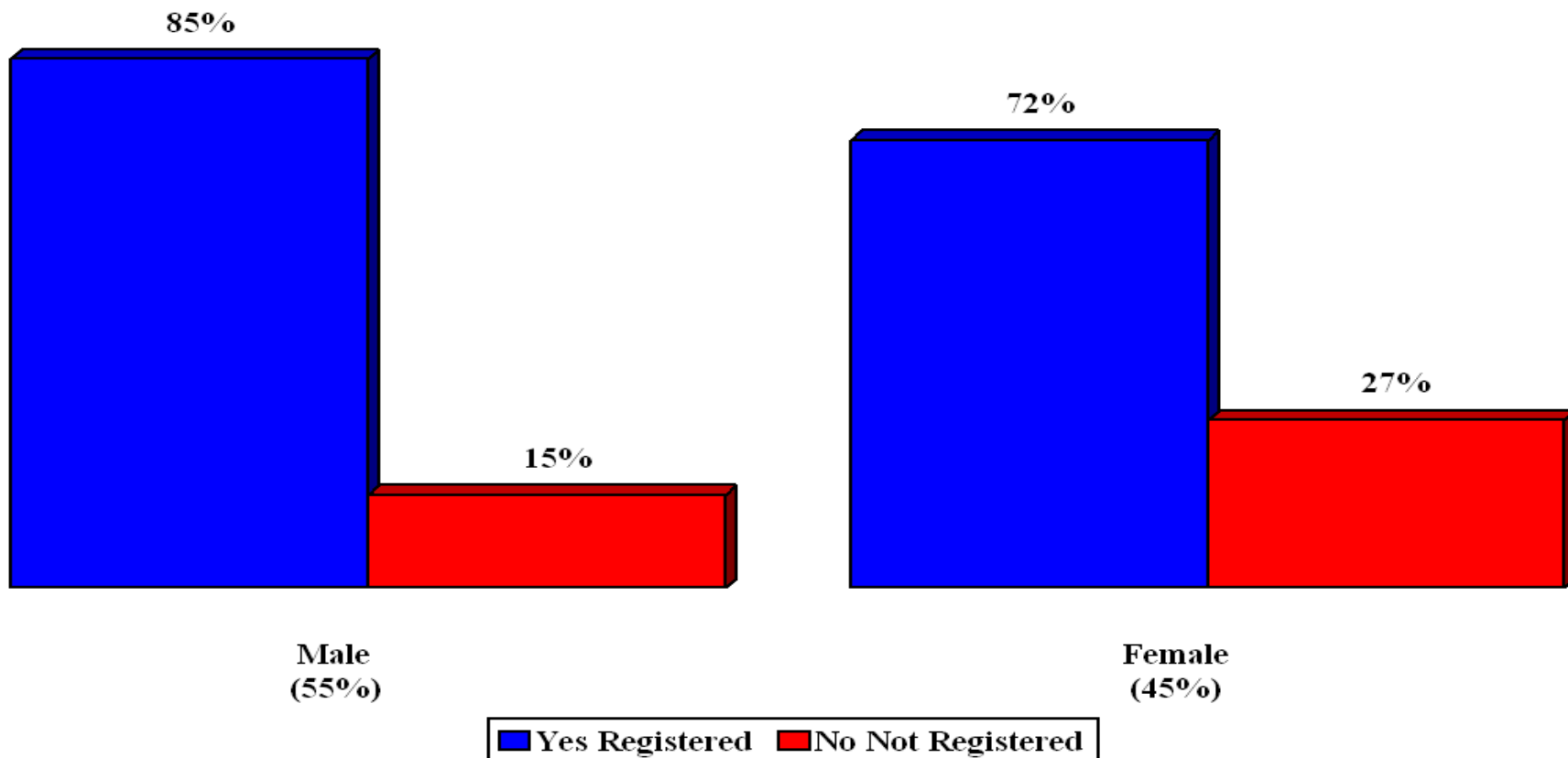
*"As you may know, there are Presidential and Provincial Council elections on August 20th. Are you currently registered to vote, or are you not registered to vote?"*



# Though one-in-four women in Afghanistan still say they are not registered to vote.

*"As you may know, there are Presidential and Provincial Council elections on August 20th. Are you currently registered to vote, or are you not registered to vote?"*

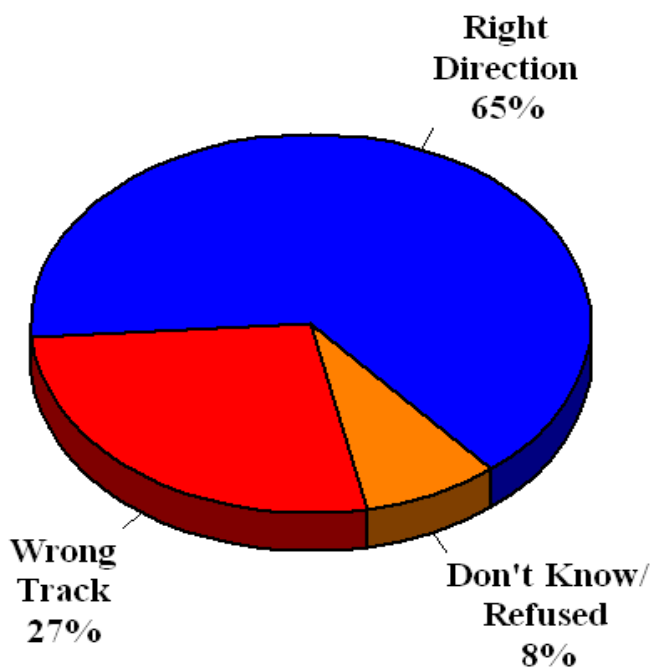
*By Gender*



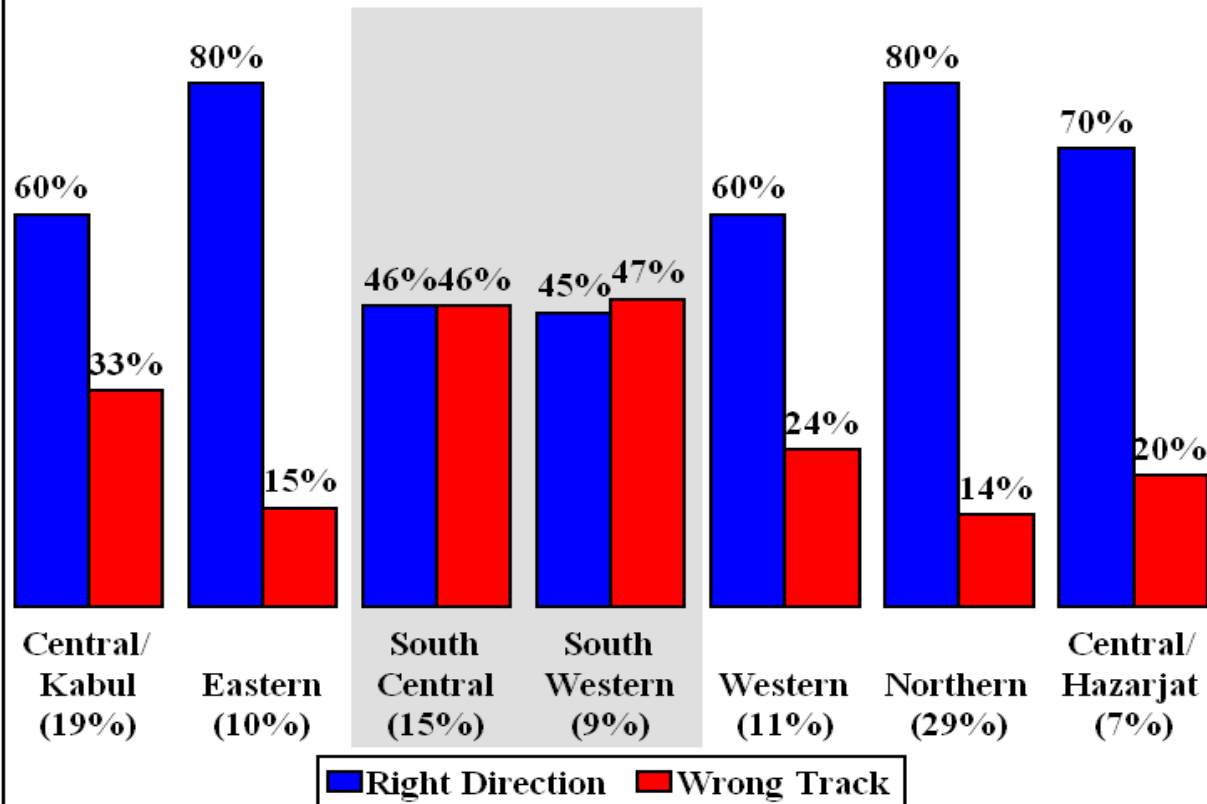
# While overall two-thirds of Afghans think the country is heading in the right direction, opinion in the South is more mixed.

*"Generally speaking, do you think that things in this country are going in the right direction, or do you feel things have gotten off on the wrong track?"*

*Overall*

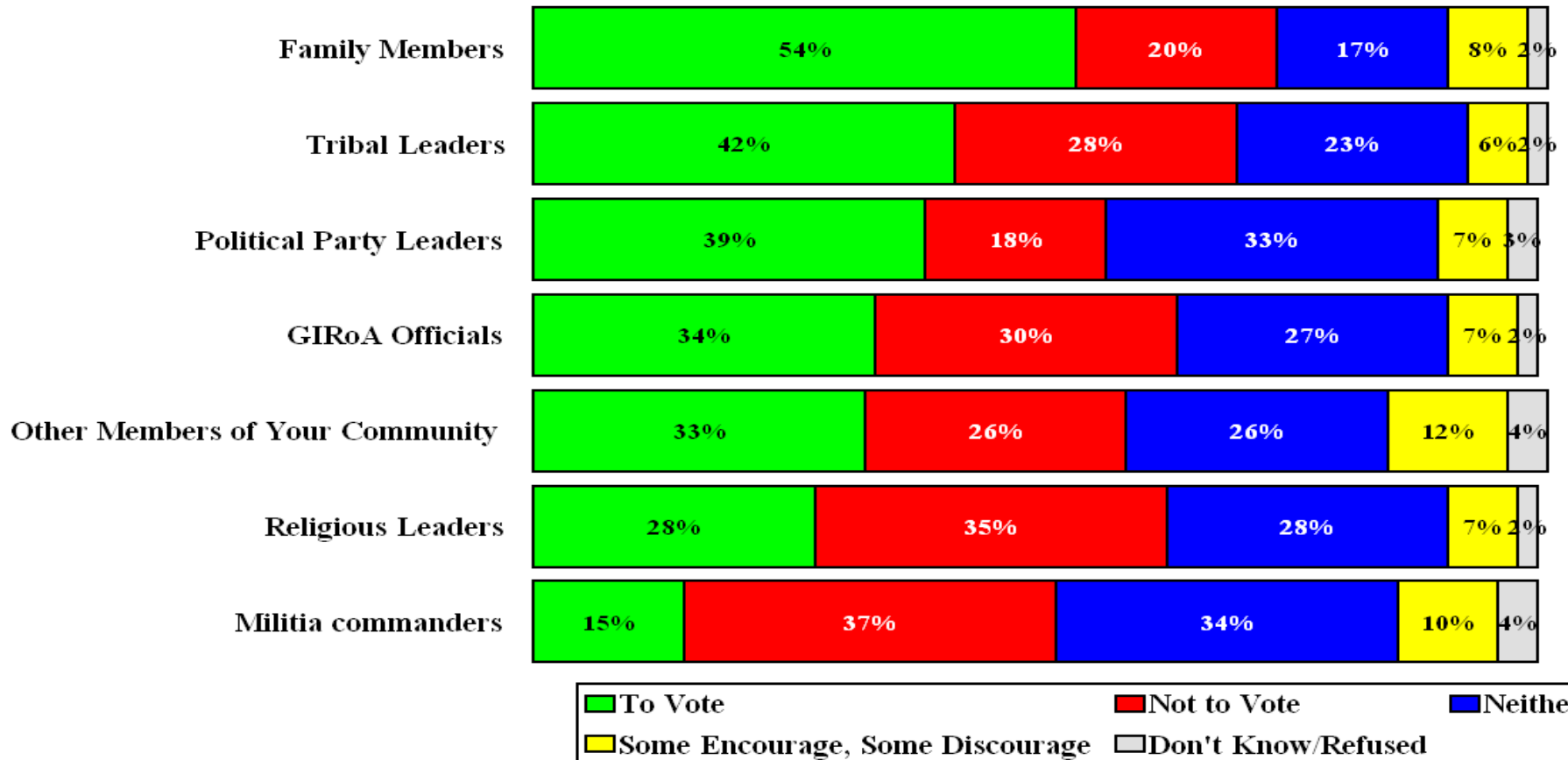


*By Region*



# Family members and tribal leaders are the groups that are most likely to encourage Afghans to vote, while religious leaders and militia commanders are more likely to be discouraging people from voting.

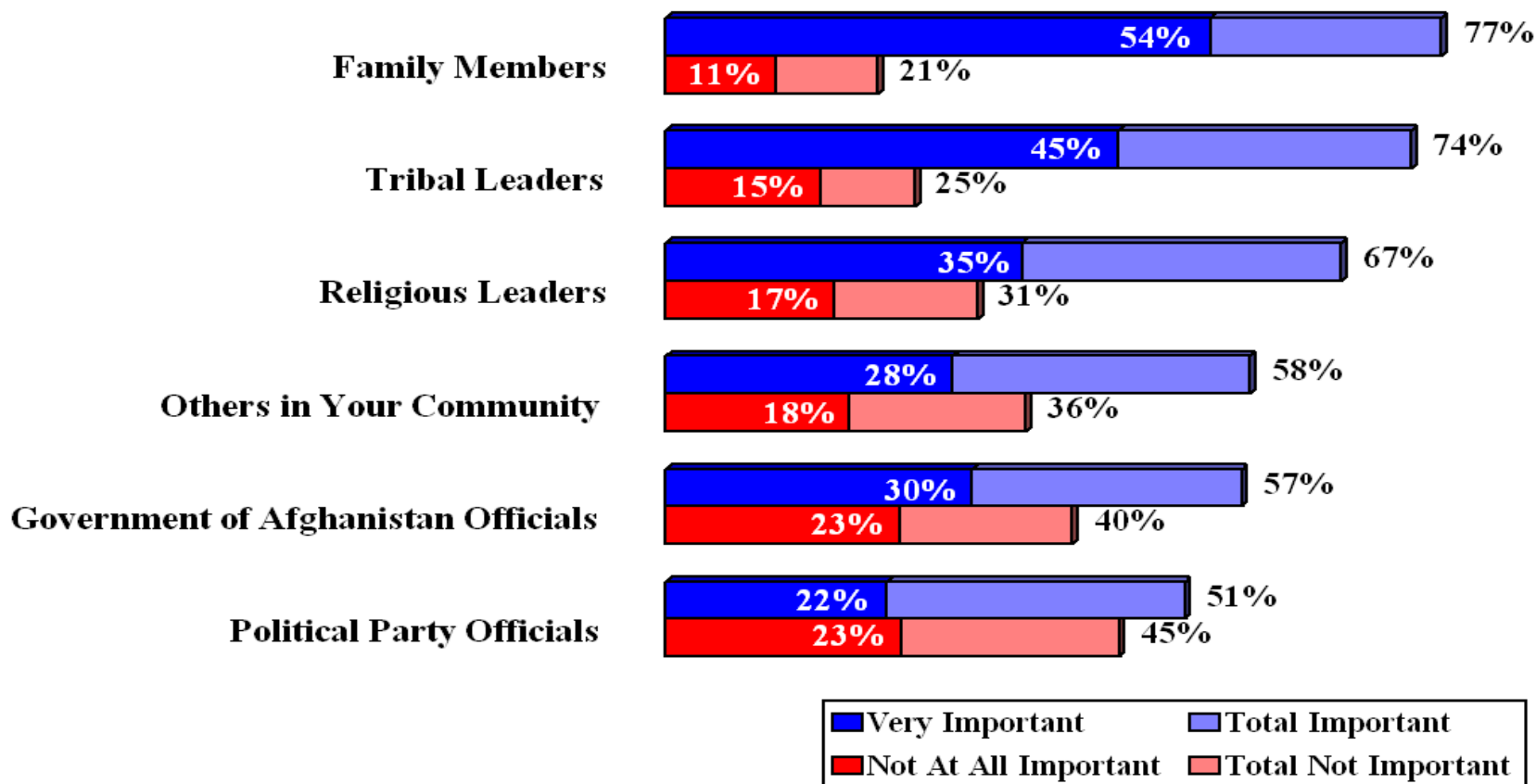
*"Have [INSERT GROUP] encouraged you to vote, told you not to vote in the upcoming Presidential election, or were not giving you either message?"  
Ranked by %Encouraged To Vote*



# Family members, tribal leaders, and religious leaders have the most influence on Afghans in who they decide to vote for.

*"Are the opinions of [INSERT GROUP] very important, somewhat important, not very important, or not important at all when deciding the candidate for whom you will vote?"*

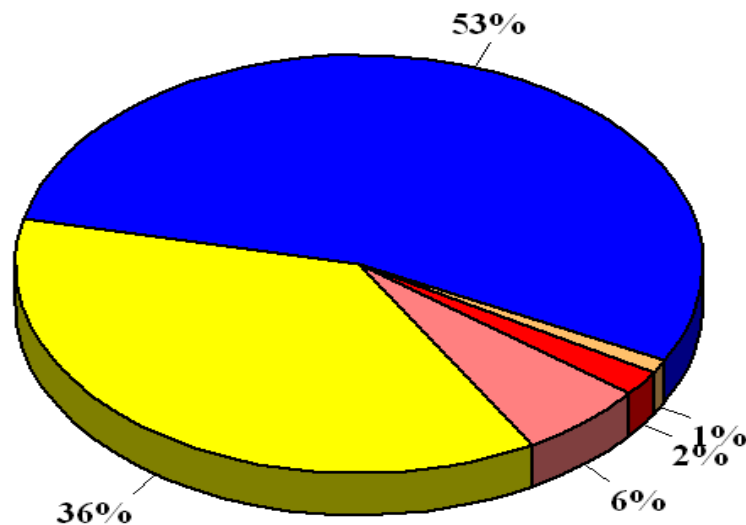
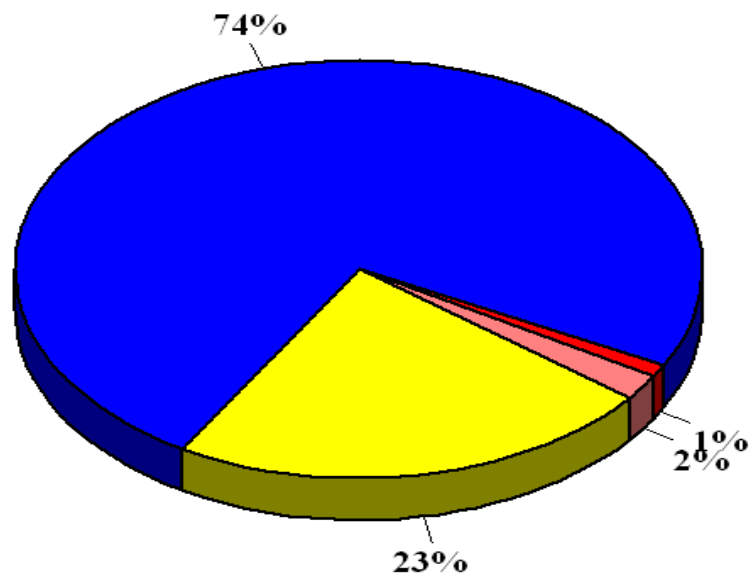
*Ranked by %Total Important*



# Among registered voters, nearly three-fourths say they will vote in the Presidential election, though there is some drop-off when it comes to voting for the Provincial Council.

*"What are the chances of your voting in the upcoming election for President on August 20th? Are you certain to vote, will probably vote, probably not vote, or will certainly not vote?"*

*"What are the chances of your voting in the upcoming election for the Provincial Council on August 20th? Are you certain to vote, will probably vote, probably not vote, or will certainly not vote?"*



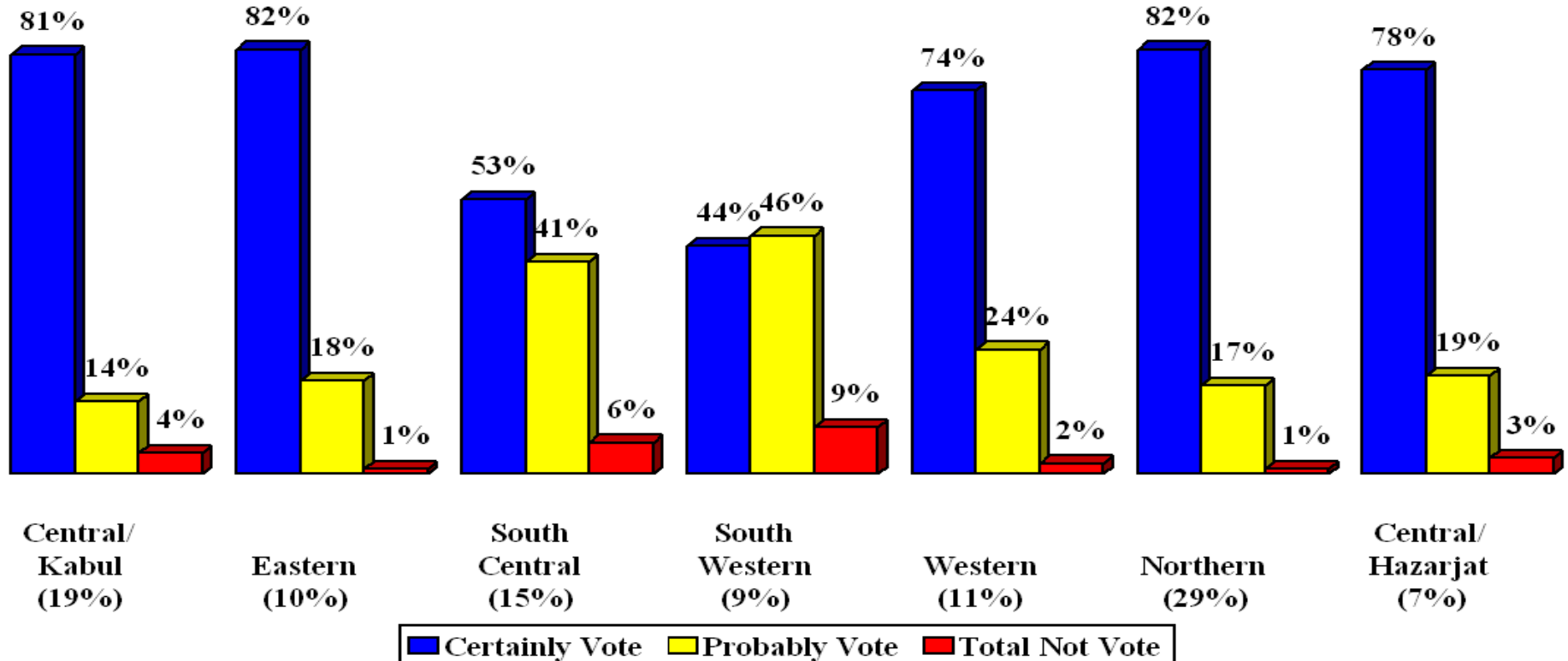
■ Certainly Vote  
 ■ Probably Vote  
 ■ Probably Not Vote  
 ■ Certainly Not Vote  
 ■ Don't Know/Refused

*Data shown among Registered Voters only*

# Southern Afghan voters say they are less certain to vote, but say they will still probably vote.

*"What are the chances of your voting in the upcoming election for President on August 20th? Are you certain to vote, will probably vote, probably not vote, or will certainly not vote?"*

*By Region*

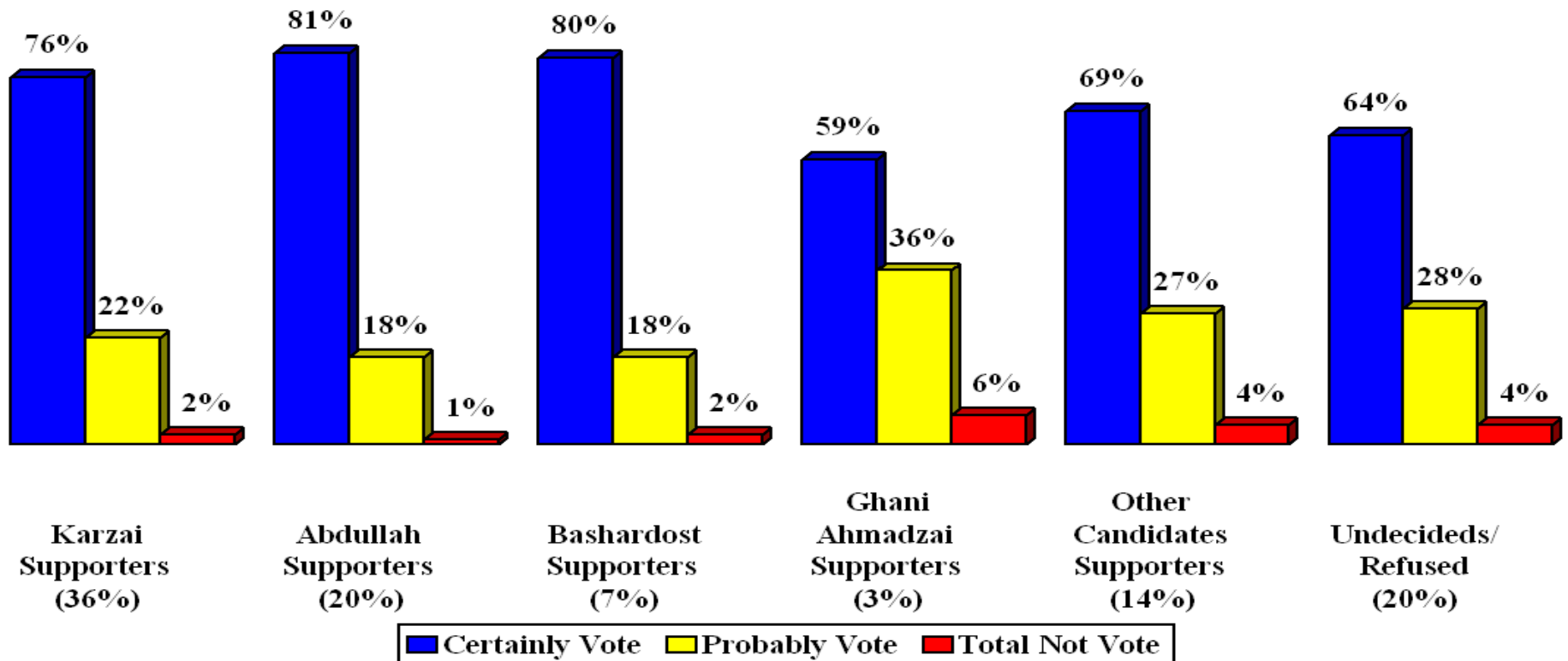


*Data shown among Registered Voters only*

# Two-thirds of undecideds and those who refuse to answer who they are voting for President say they are certain to vote, so it looks as though undecideds will turn out and not stay home on election day.

*"What are the chances of your voting in the upcoming election for President on August 20th? Are you certain to vote, will probably vote, probably not vote, or will certainly not vote?"*

*By Presidential Ballot*

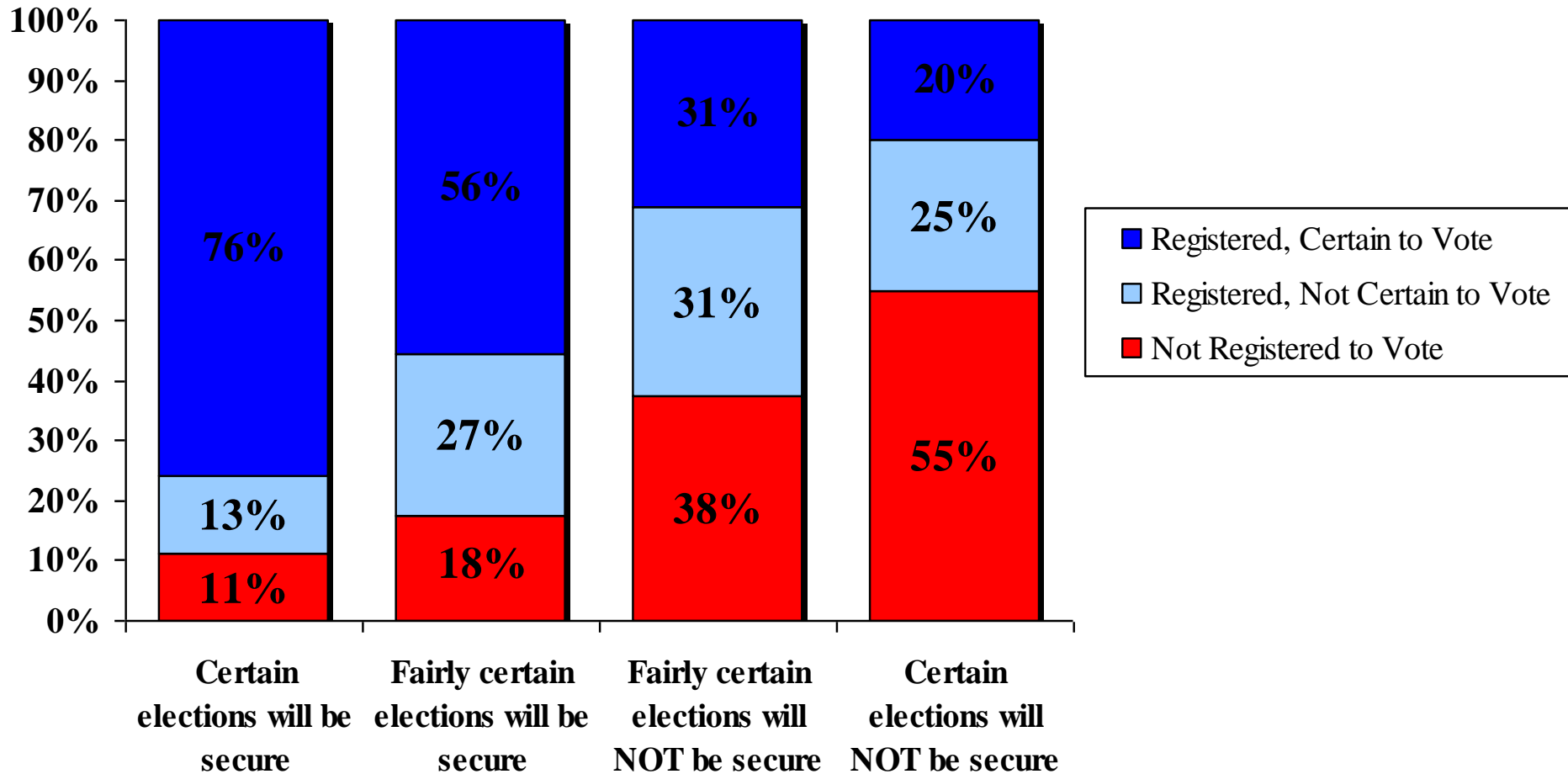


*Data shown among Registered Voters only*



## Voter Registration and Voter Confidence by Perceived Security

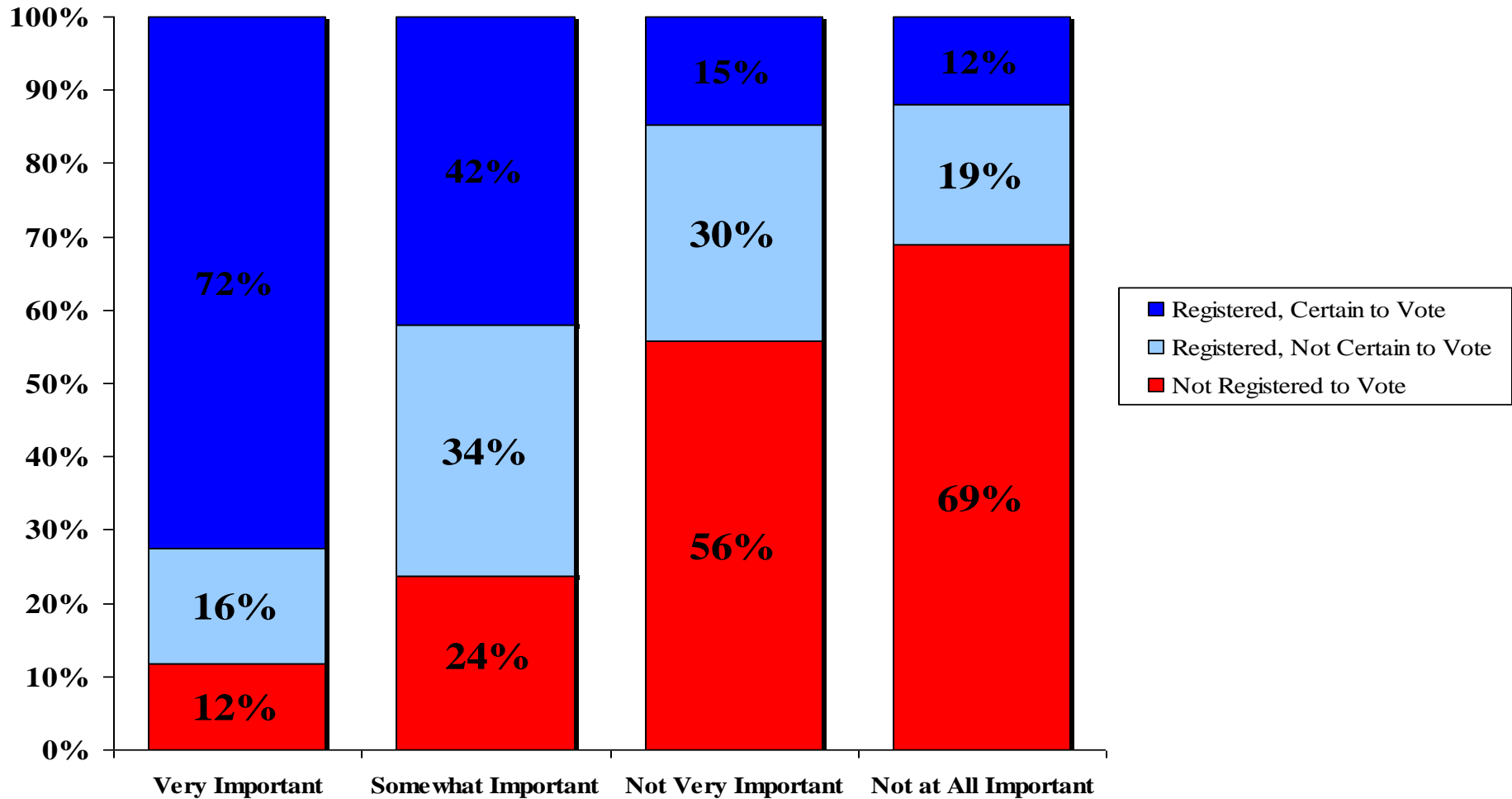
*"Are you currently registered to vote?" AND "What are the chances of your voting in the upcoming election for President on August 20th?"*



*"How certain are you that the elections will be secure?"*

## Voter Registration and Voter Confidence by Perceived Importance

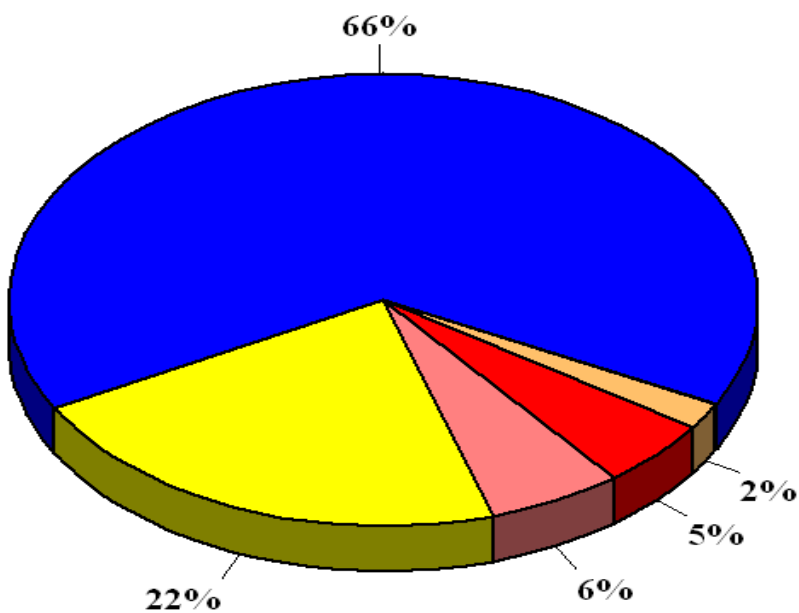
*"Are you currently registered to vote?" AND "What are the chances of your voting in the upcoming election for President on August 20th?"*



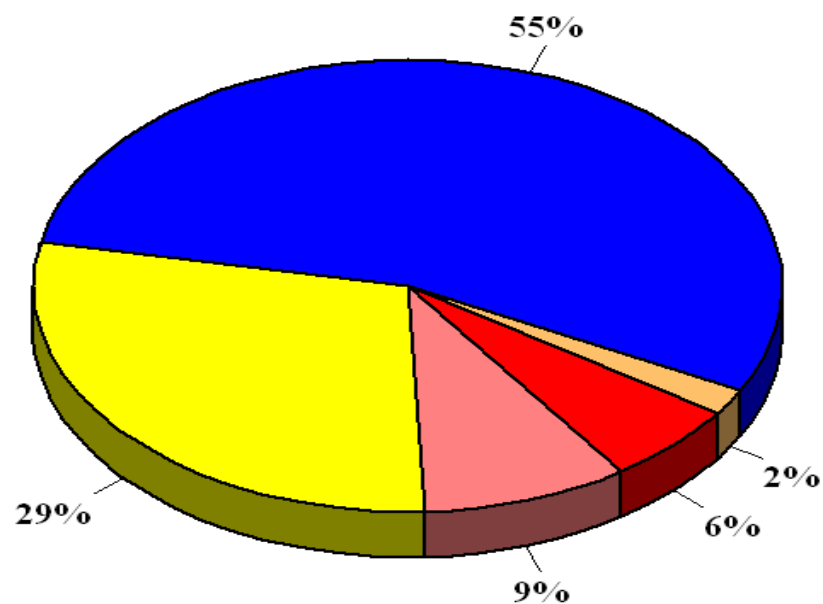
*"How important is the upcoming Presidential election for you and your family?"*

# More than 80% consider the Presidential and Provincial Council elections to be either very important or somewhat important to them and their family.

*"How important is the upcoming Presidential election for you and your family?"*



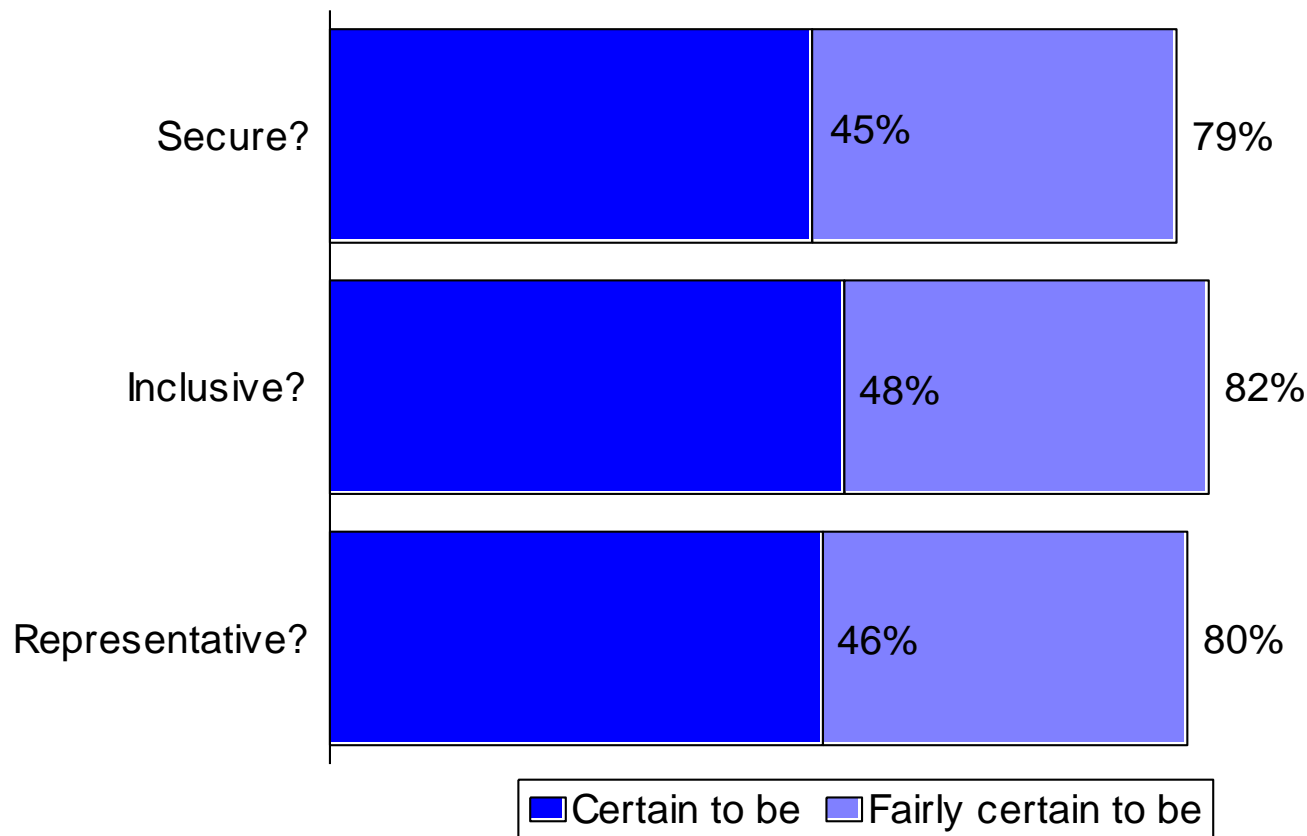
*"How important is the upcoming election of your Provincial Council representatives to you and your family?"*



Very Important Somewhat Important Not Very Important Not At All Important Don't Know/Refused

# Afghans approach the upcoming elections with considerable optimism about the electoral process.

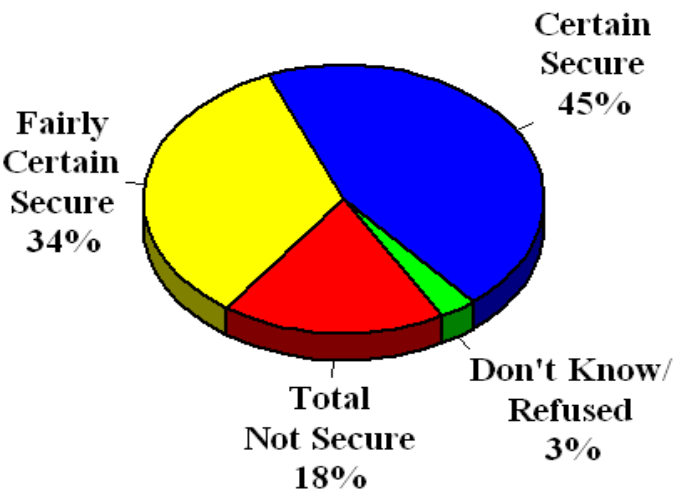
*Do you expect the upcoming elections to be...*



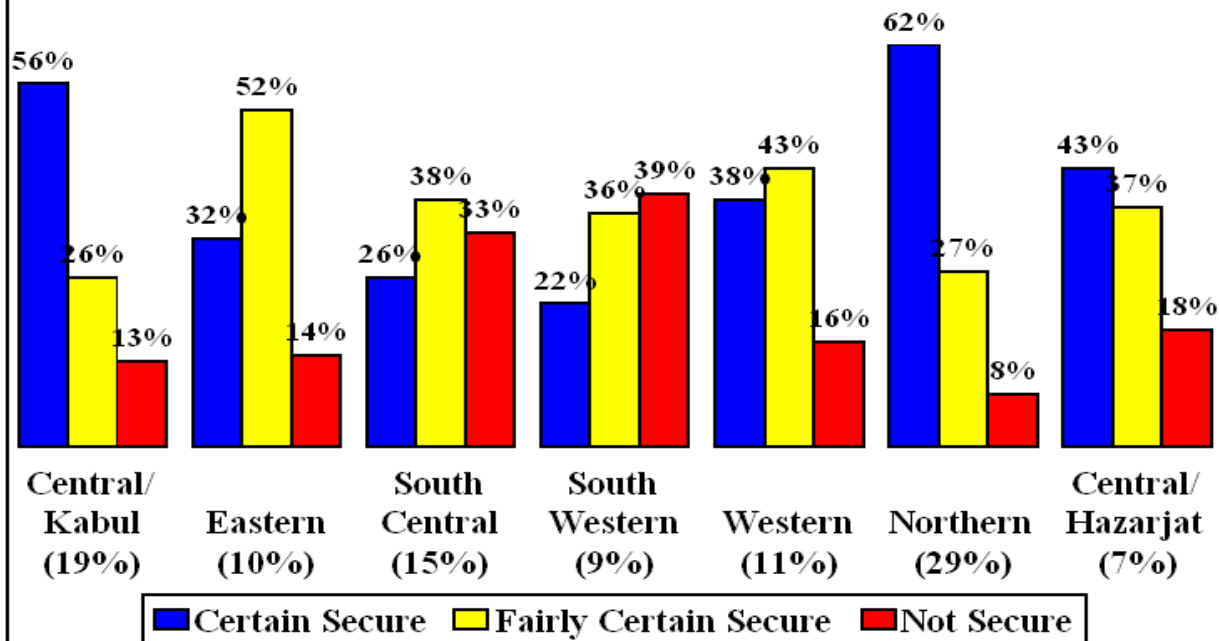
# Most Afghans think the August elections will be secure, but Southern Afghans are not as sure.

*"Do you expect the upcoming Presidential and Provincial Council elections to be secure, meaning that voters who choose to participate will be safe from harm when they go to the polls, or do you think the elections will not be secure?"*

*Overall*



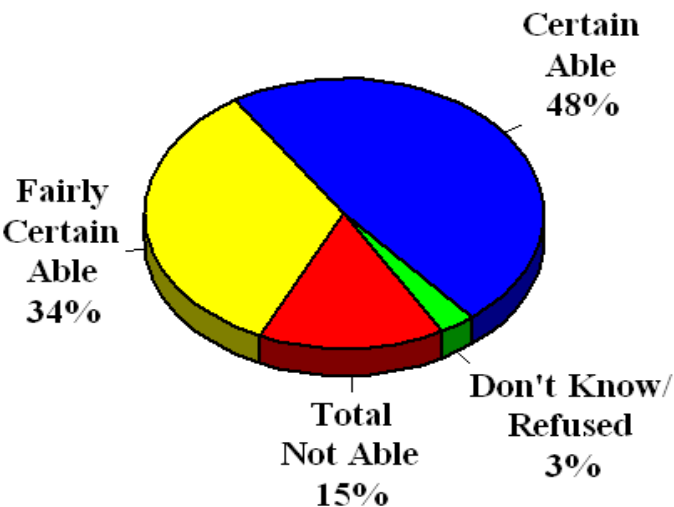
*By Region*



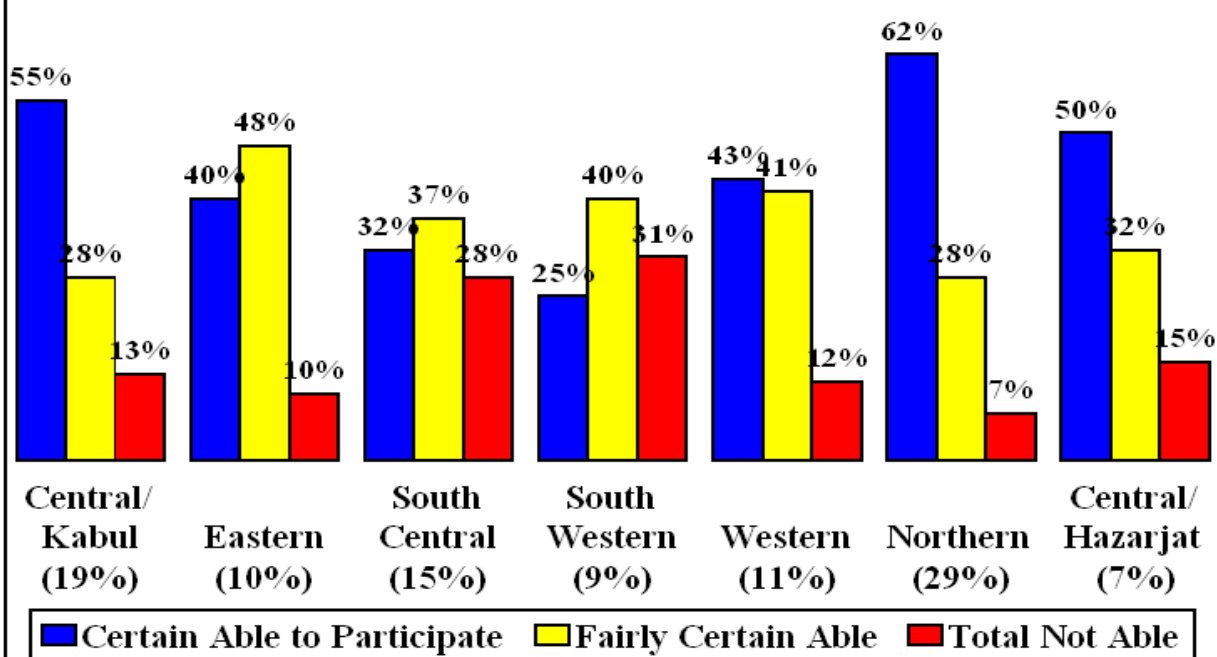
# Southern Afghans are also less certain that everyone will be able to participate in the election.

*"Do you expect the upcoming Presidential and Provincial Council elections to be inclusive and broadly participatory, or do you think that the elections will not be inclusive, that voters and candidates will not be able to participate?"*

*Overall*



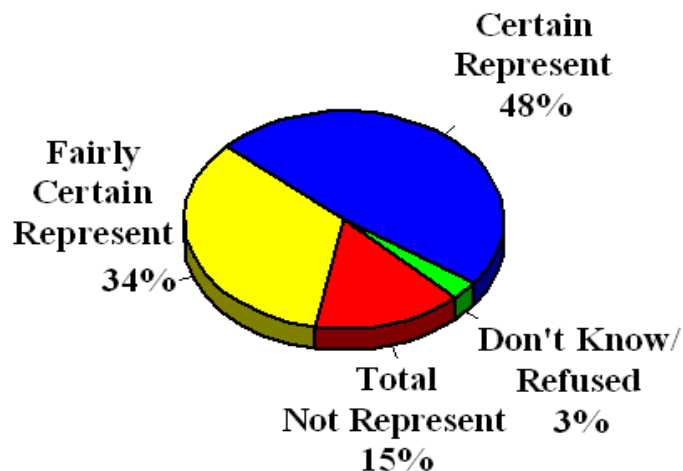
*By Region*



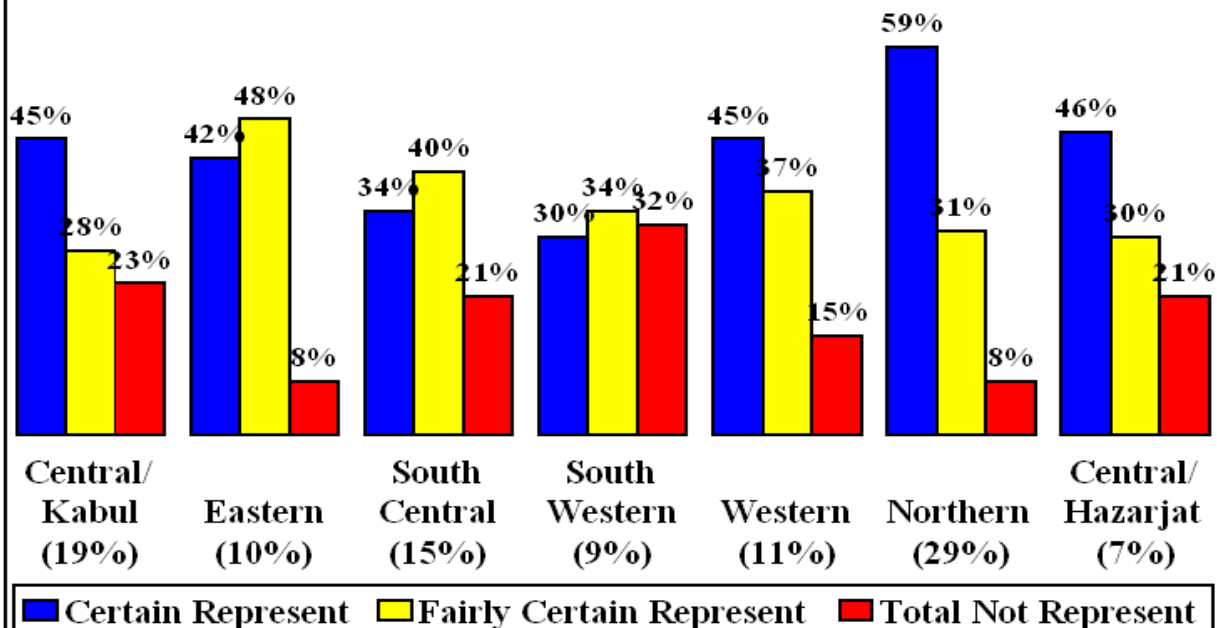
# Most Afghans are either certain or fairly certain that the elections will be credible and represent the will of the people of Afghanistan.

*"Do you expect the upcoming Presidential and Provincial Council Elections to be credible; this means, do you believe the elections will represent the will of the people of Afghanistan?"*

*Overall*



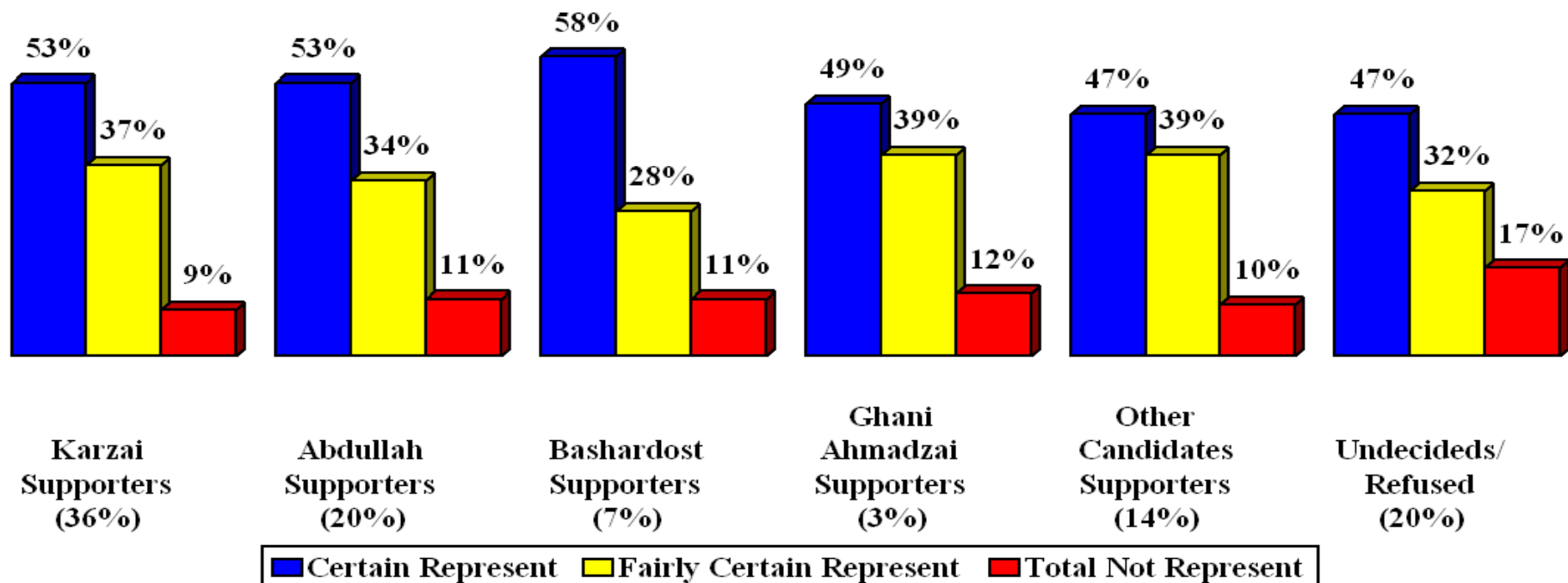
*By Region*



# Right now, regardless of which candidate Afghans support, the election are seen as credible and representing the will of the people.

*"Do you expect the upcoming Presidential and Provincial Council Elections to be credible; this means, do you believe the elections will represent the will of the people of Afghanistan?"*

*By Presidential Ballot*



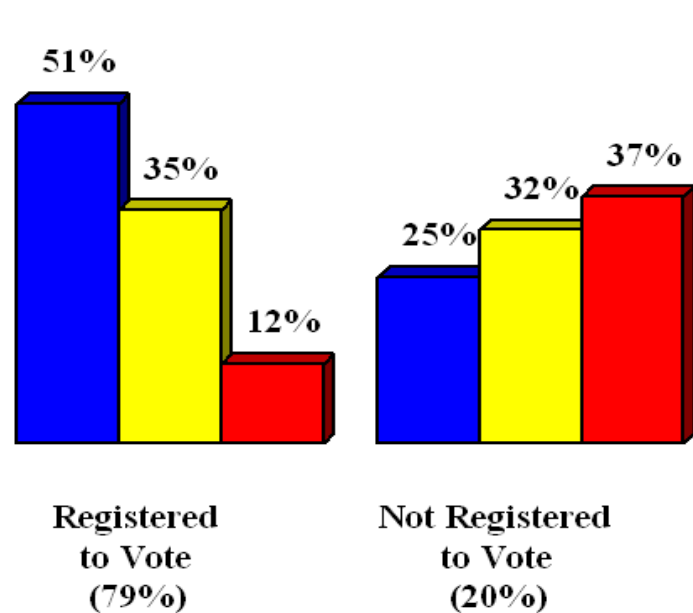
*Data shown among Registered Voters only*



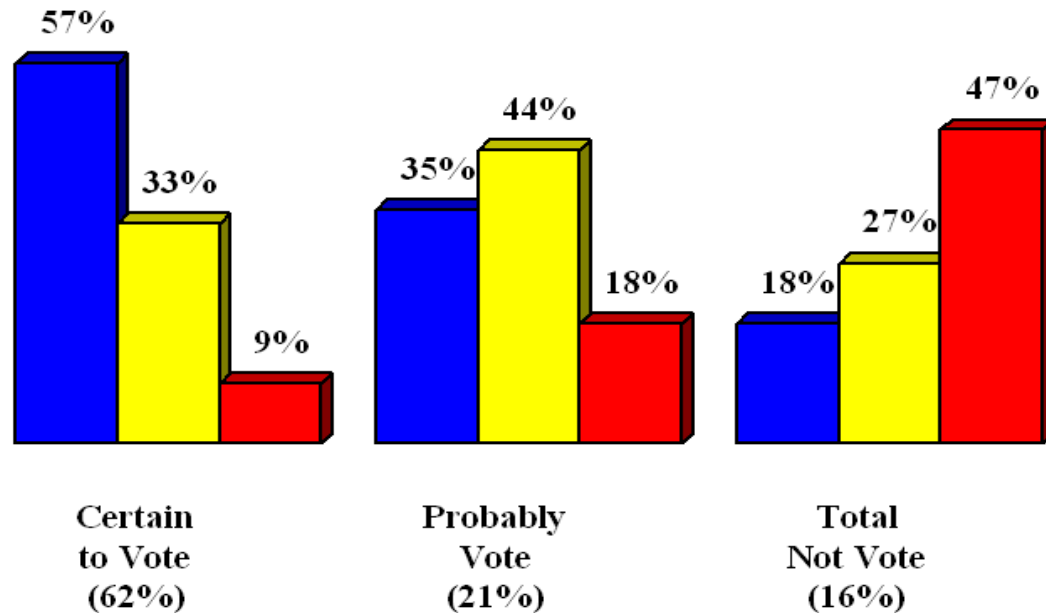
# While most Afghans think the elections will be credible, those who are not participating do not see the elections as credible.

*"Do you expect the upcoming Presidential and Provincial Council Elections to be credible; this means, do you believe the elections will represent the will of the people of Afghanistan?"*

*By Voter Registration Status*



*By Likelihood to Vote*



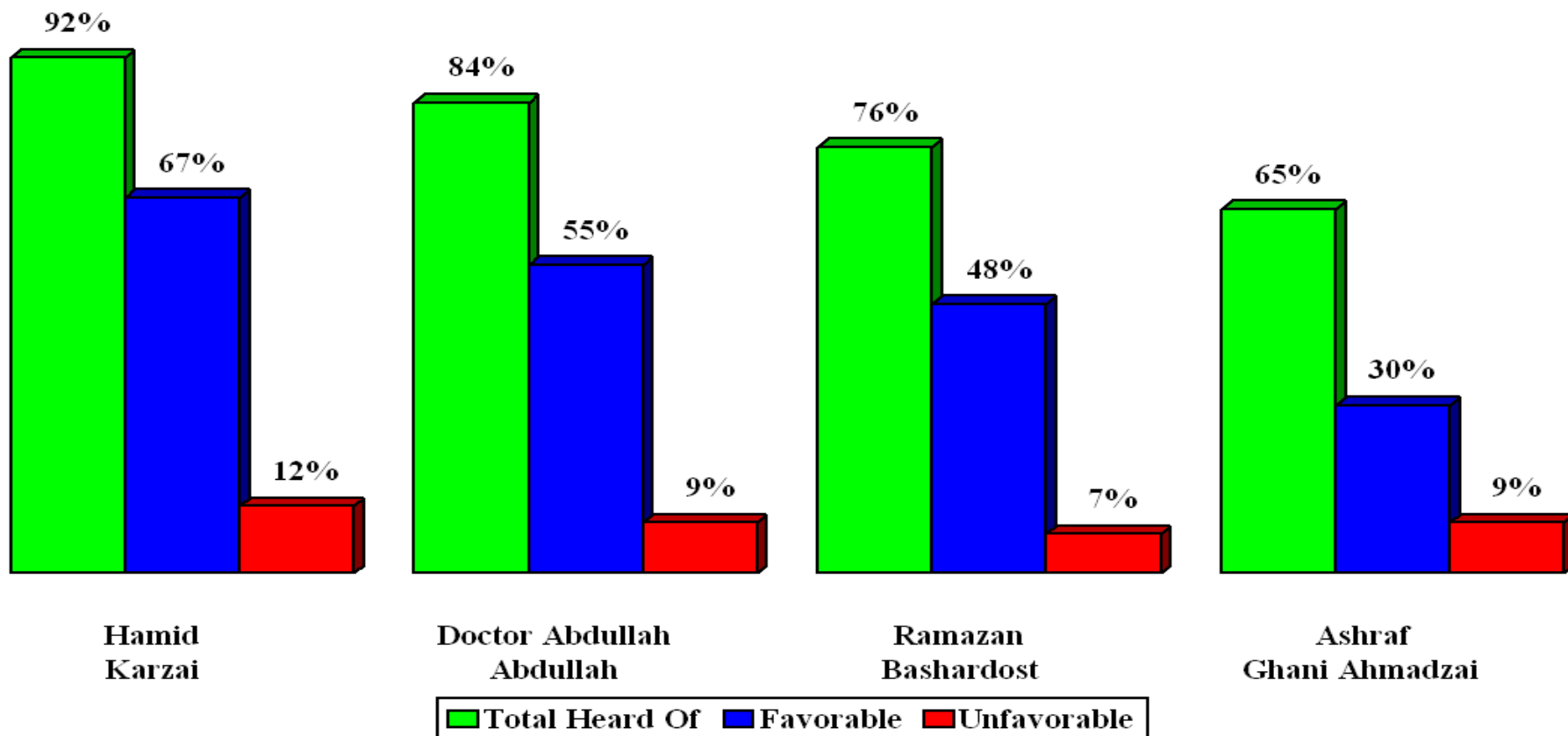
■ Certain Represent 
 ■ Fairly Certain Represent 
 ■ Total Not Represent



# ELECTIONS FINDINGS

# Name ID / Favorability / Unfavorability of Leading Candidates

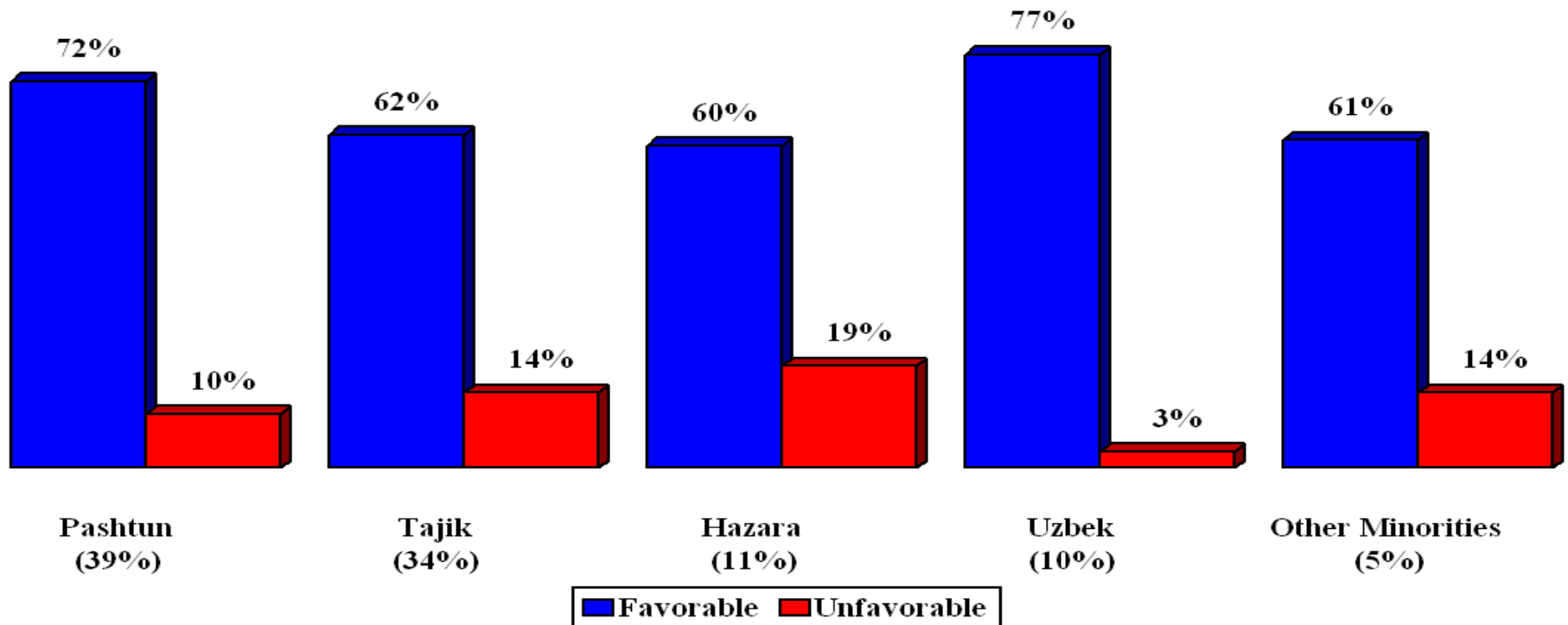
*"Still looking at this list of candidates, could you please tell me for each candidate whether you feel favorably about the candidate or you feel unfavorably. Please give your feeling toward each candidate in the order of appearance in the list. If you have no opinion about that person or if you have never heard of them, please say so."*



*Data shown among Registered Voters only*

# Karzai is above 60% favorable across all ethnic groups.

*Karzai Image by Ethnicity*

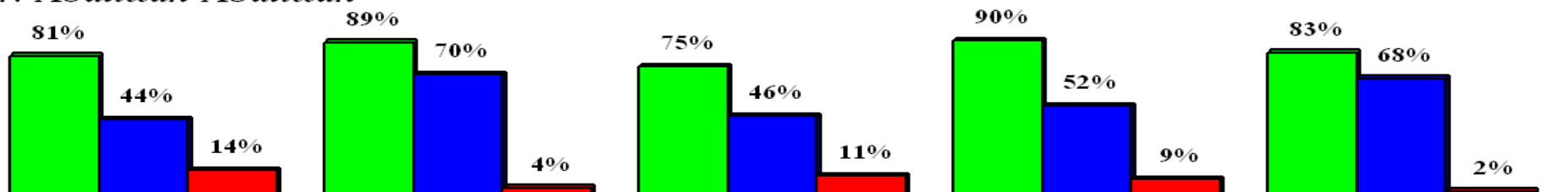


*Data shown among Registered Voters only*

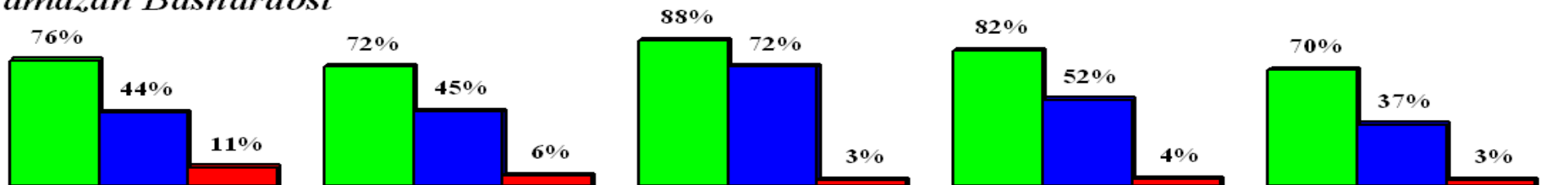
**Abdullah is most popular with Tajiks and ethnic minorities, while Bashardost is most popular among Hazara. Except for Pashtuns, Ghani remains undefined with other ethnic groups.**

*Candidate Images by Ethnicity*

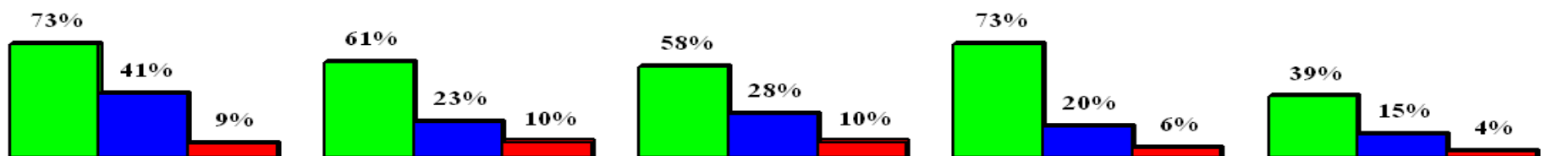
*Dr. Abdullah Abdullah*



*Ramazan Bashardost*



*Ashraf Ghani Ahmadzai*



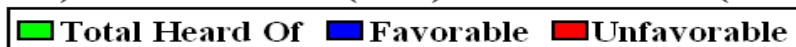
Pashtun  
(39%)

Tajik  
(34%)

Hazara  
(11%)

Uzbek  
(10%)

Other Minorities  
(5%)

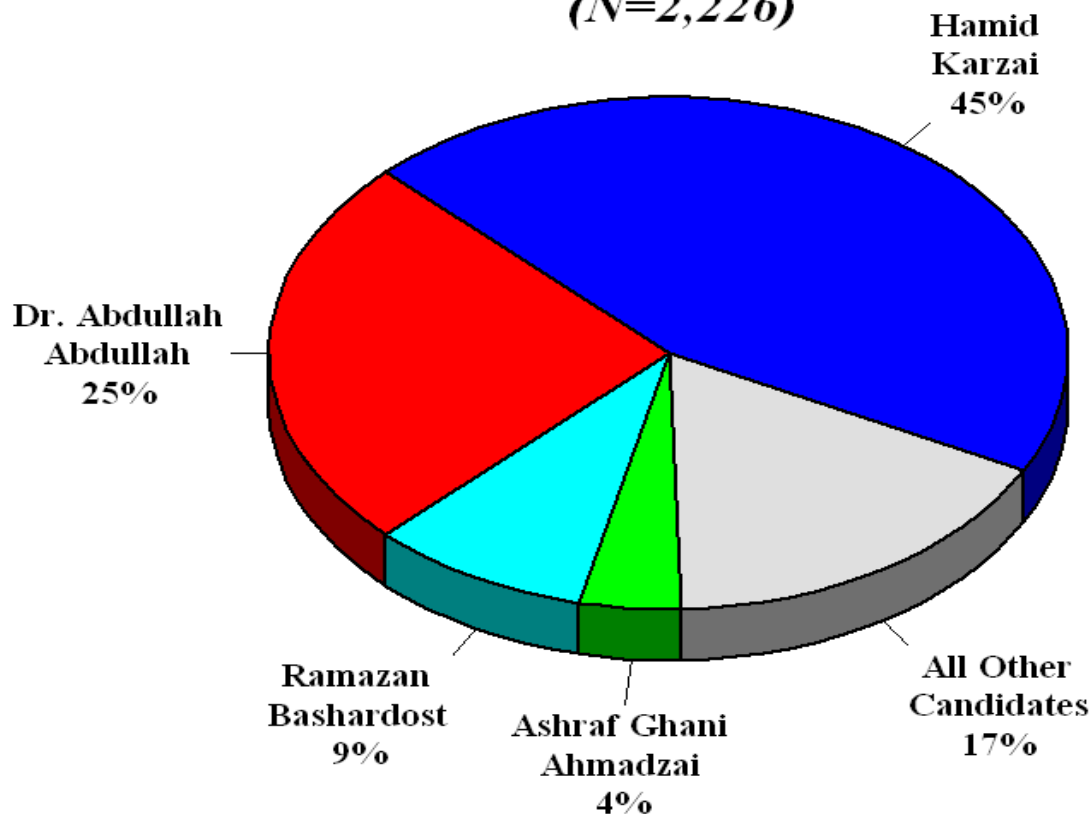


*Data shown among Registered Voters only*

# Among decided registered voters, Karzai is in the lead but is under 50%.

*"If the election for President were being held today and you had to decide right now, could you please point to the candidate [ON LIST] for whom you would vote for President?"*

*Presidential Ballot Decided Vote among All Registered Voters  
(Factoring Out Undecided/Refused)  
(N=2,226)*

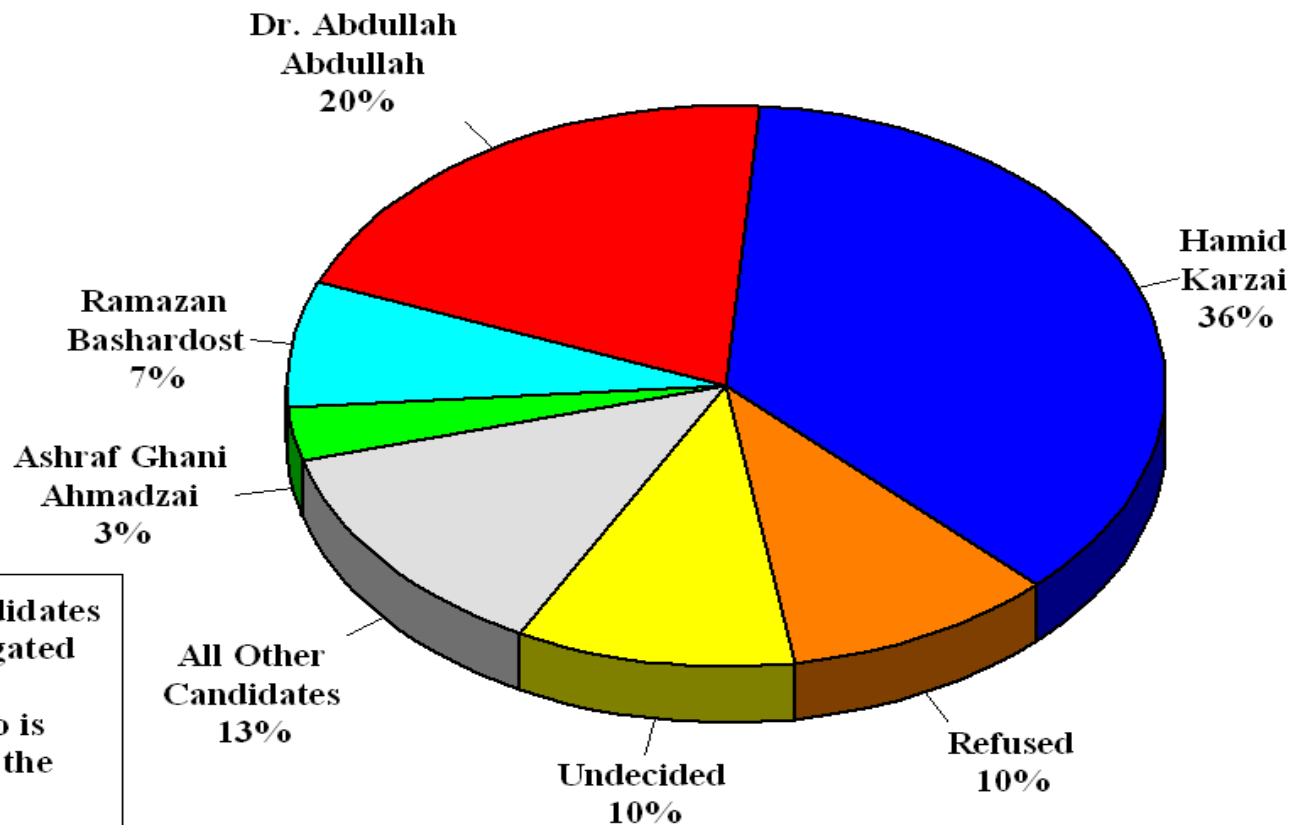


All other candidates are the aggregated totals of each candidate who is getting 1% of the vote or less.

# Among all registered voters, who are certain to vote Karzai is in the lead but with less than 50% of the vote.

*"If the election for President were being held today and you had to decide right now, could you please point to the candidate [ON LIST] for whom you would vote for President?"*

***Presidential Ballot Among All Registered Voters  
(N=2,823)***



All other candidates are the aggregated totals of each candidate who is getting 1% of the vote or less.

# The various turnout models all show Karzai below 50%, even among Afghans who say they are certain to vote.

*"If the election for President were being held today and you had to decide right now, could you please point to the candidate [ON LIST] for whom you would vote for President?"*

	Karzai	Abdullah	Bashardost	Ghani Ahmadzai	All Other Candidates	Undecideds/ Refusals
All Registered Voters (N=2,823)	36%	20%	7%	3%	13%	20%
Decided Registered Voters (No Undecideds/ Refusals) (N=2,266)	45%	25%	9%	4%	17%	n/a
Registered Voters who say they are "Certain to Vote" (N=2,074)	37%	22%	8%	3%	13%	17%
Decided Certain Voters (No Undecideds/ Refusals) (N=1,718)	45%	27%	10%	3%	15%	n/a

*Data shown among Registered Voters only*



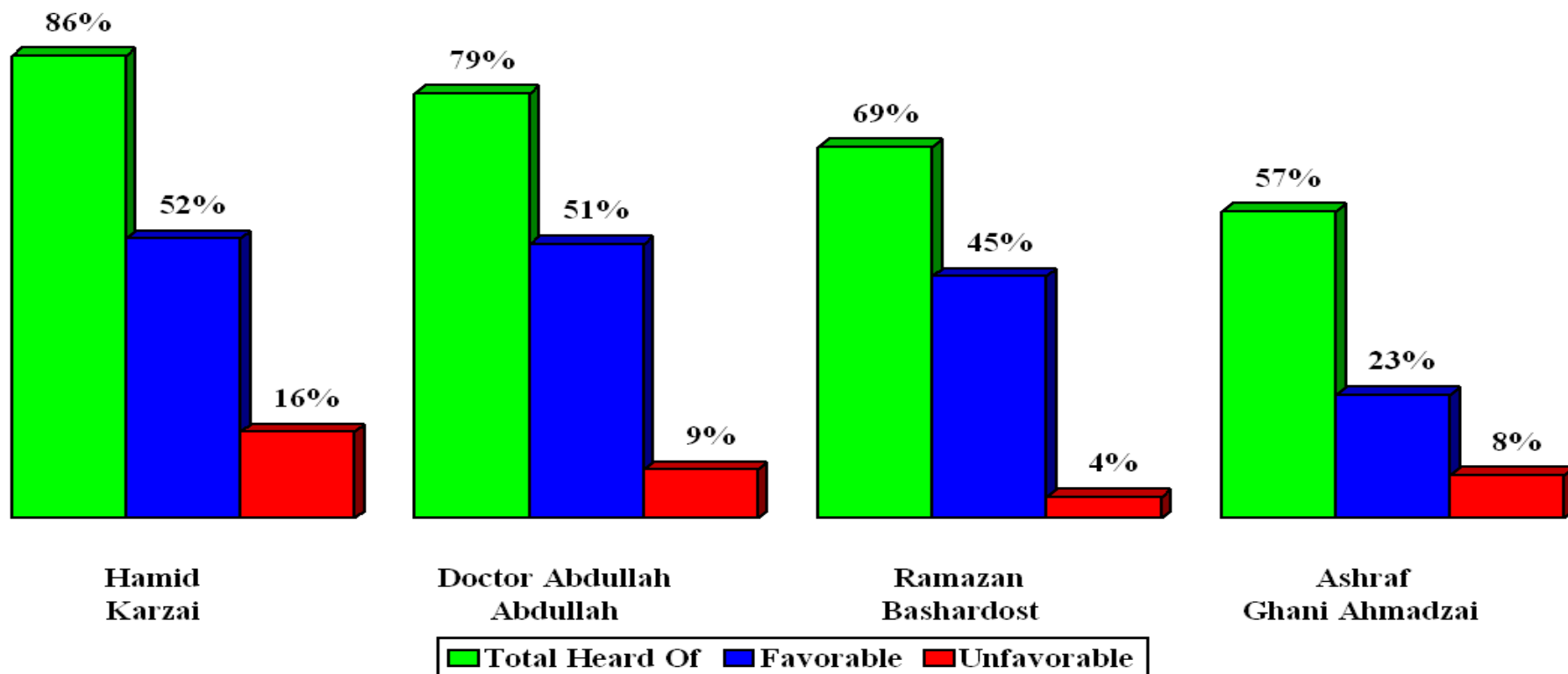
# Undecided voters are more likely to be from Western and Northern Afghanistan and are less likely to be ethnic Pashtuns.

## *Demographic Profile of Undecideds/Refusals*

<i>Region</i>	All Adults (N=3,566)	All Registered Voters (N=2,823)	Undecideds/ Refusals (N=557)
Central/Kabul	19%	15%	18%
Eastern	10%	11%	12%
South Central	15%	14%	7%
South Western	9%	8%	3%
Western	11%	12%	16%
Northern	29%	32%	38%
Central/Hazarjat	8%	8%	7%
<i>Ethnicity</i>			
Pashtun	41%	39%	33%
Tajik	34%	34%	32%
Hazara	10%	11%	11%
Uzbek	9%	11%	12%
Other Minorities	5%	5%	12%

# Undecideds are facing a difficult choice because they like all three major candidates.

*Candidate Images among Undecided Voters/Refusals (20%)*

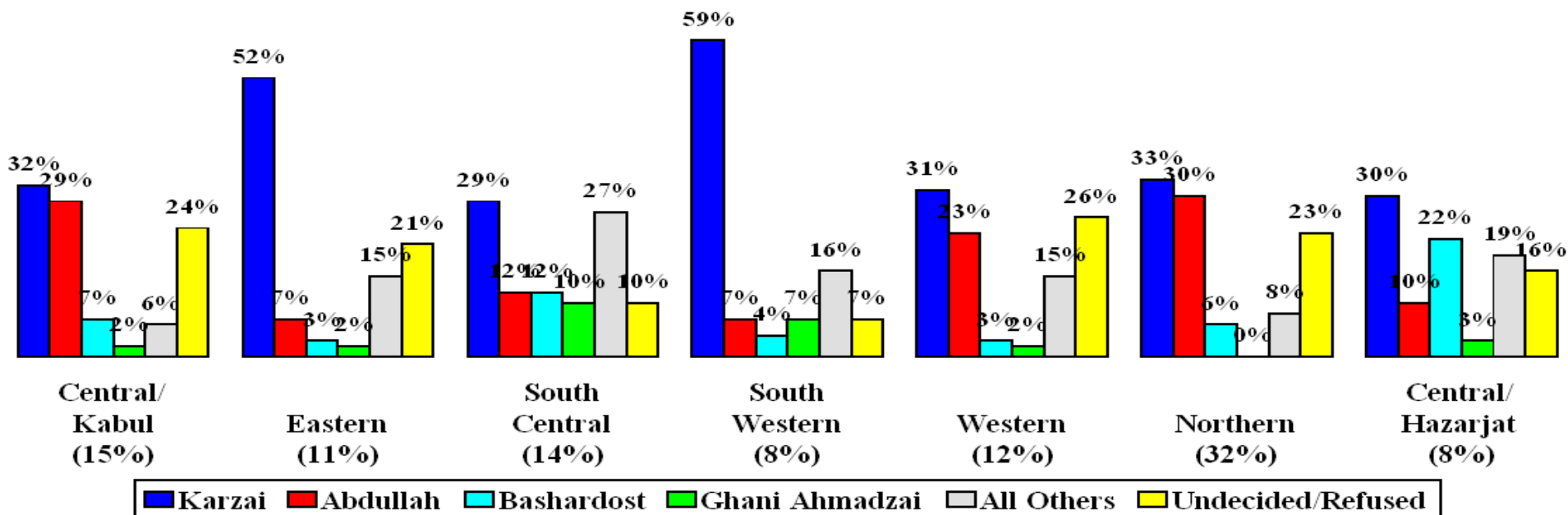


*Data shown among Registered Voters only*

# Karzai has big leads in the East and the Southwest, while the race is closest in the central, western and northern parts of Afghanistan.

*"If the election for President were being held today and you had to decide right now, could you please point to the candidate [ON LIST] for whom you would vote for President?"*

*By Region*

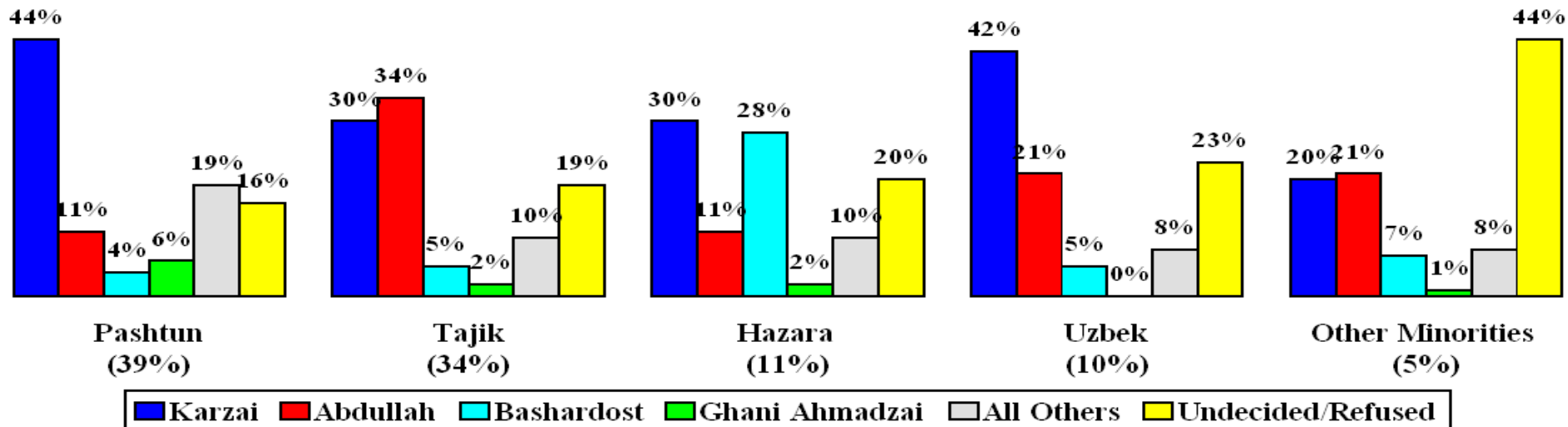


*Data shown among Registered Voters only*

# Abdullah is slightly ahead with Tajik voters, while Karzai and Bashardost split the Hazara vote.

*"If the election for President were being held today and you had to decide right now, could you please point to the candidate [ON LIST] for whom you would vote for President?"*

*By Ethnicity*

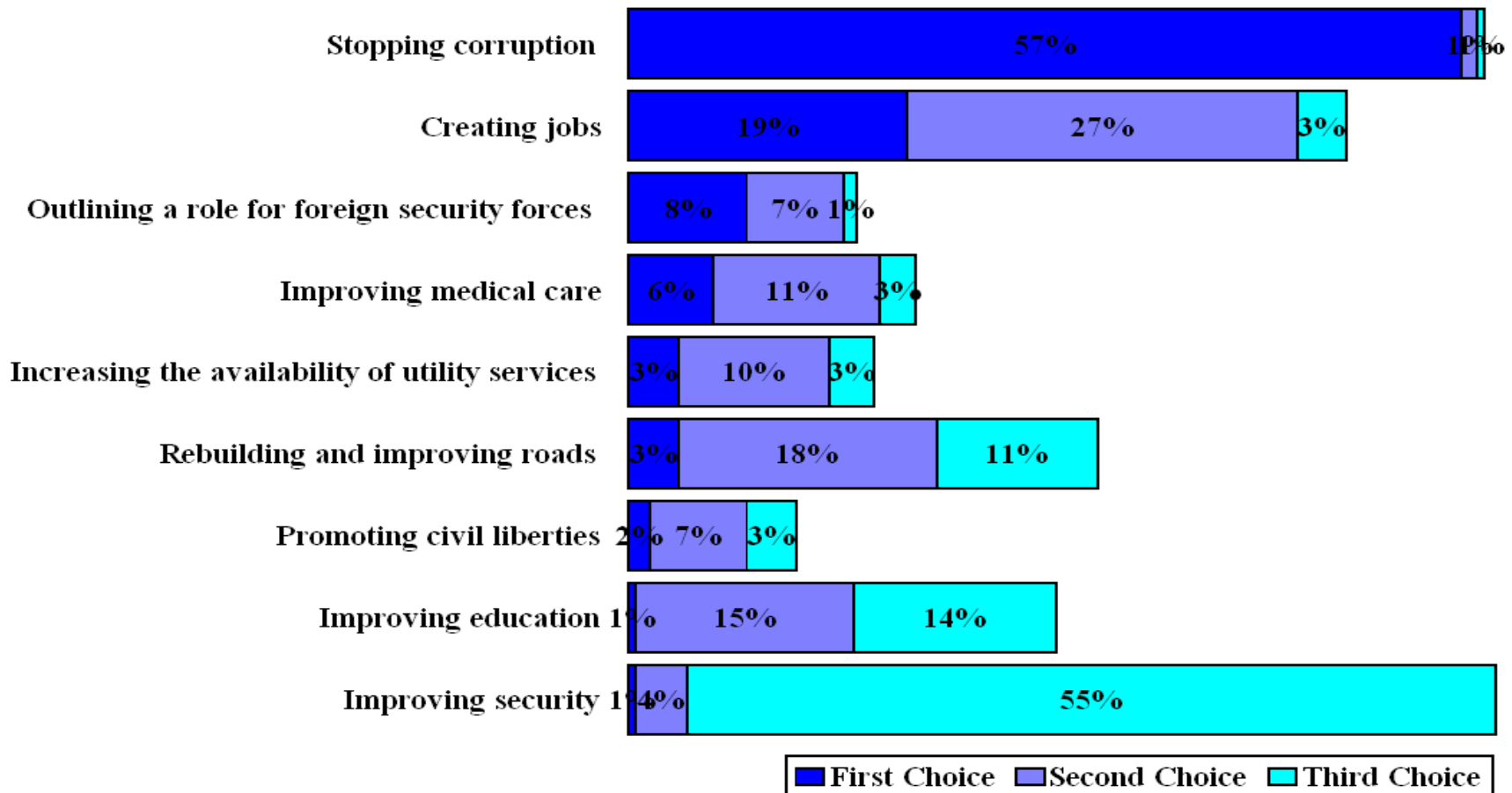


*Data shown among Registered Voters only*

# The top issues facing Afghans are corruption and lack of jobs. Security remains important to Afghans but it is not considered to be the top priority.

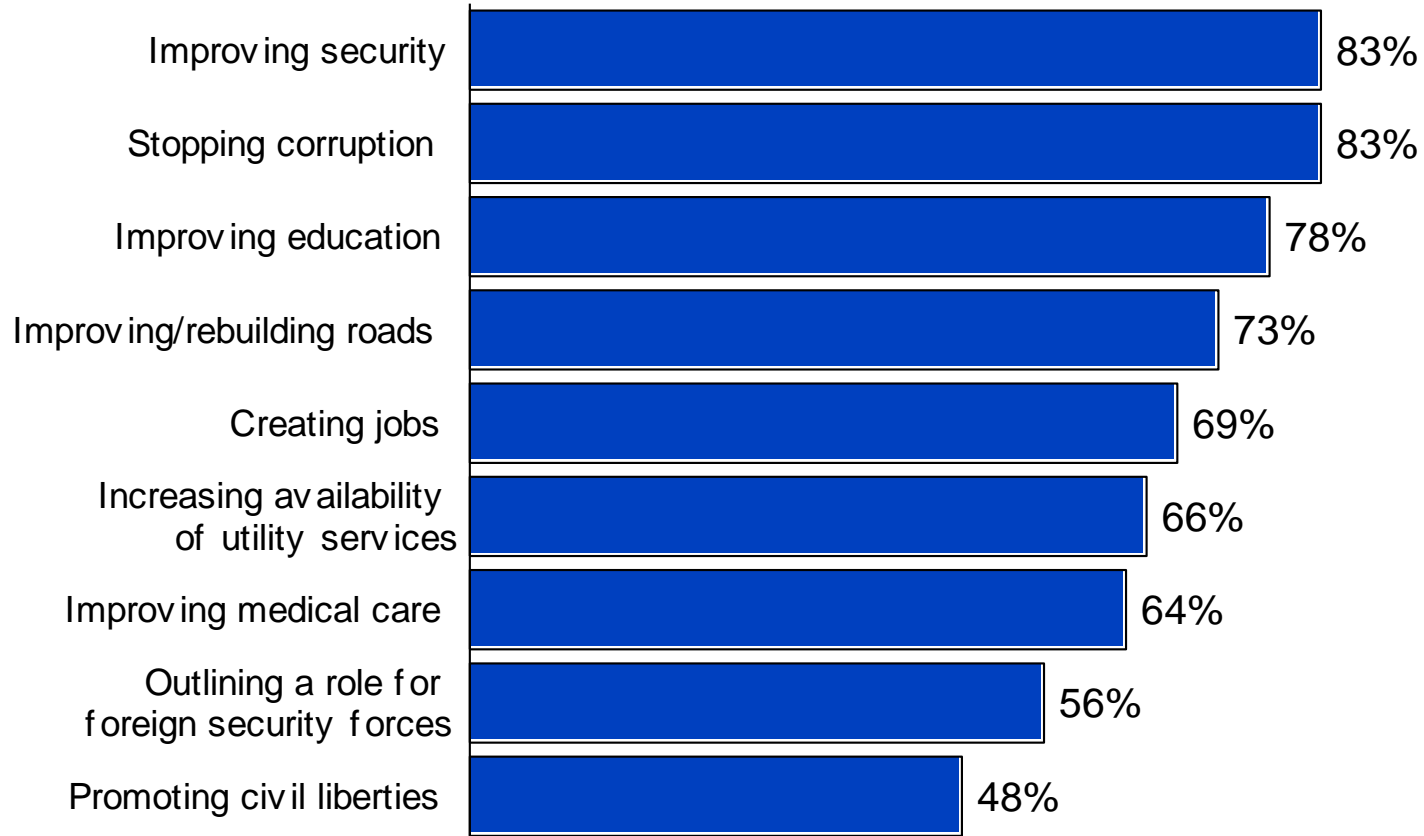
*"Thinking about the ways the Government might improve conditions for you and your family:  
Which three of the following issues are most important to you?"*

*Ranked by First Choice*



# Afghans have a variety of issues they believe it is important for the next President to address.

*How important is it for the President to have a plan for...  
(% rated "Very Important")*



**Karzai is seen having the best plan on the key issues over Abdullah, but his advantage on issues is generally smaller (between 6 – 11 points) than his lead on the ballot over Abdullah. on the ballot.**

*“I want you to look one more time at this list of Presidential candidates. Could you pick from this list which Presidential candidate would do the best job in each of the following fields? Again, if you think that no candidate would do a good job, please say so.”*

	Stopping Corruption	Outlining a role for foreign forces	Creating jobs	Improving medical care	Increasing the availability of utility services	Promoting civil liberties	Rebuilding and improving roads	Improving education	Improving security
Karzai	29%	27%	27%	29%	30%	28%	34%	34%	28%
Abdullah	23%	20%	21%	19%	19%	19%	20%	21%	22%
Bashardost	12%	10%	12%	8%	10%	9%	9%	9%	8%
Ghani Ahmadzai	3%	4%	4%	3%	4%	4%	3%	3%	3%
All Other Candidates	21%	19%	19%	21%	19%	19%	18%	19%	20%
None of Them	8%	12%	10%	10%	11%	12%	9%	8%	11%
Don't Know/ Refused	5%	8%	7%	9%	8%	10%	8%	7%	8%

*Data shown among Registered Voters only*

**But among undecideds/refusals, just roughly 20% think Karzai has the best plan to deal with these issues. In fact, by 3-7 points, undecideds think Abdullah has the better plan to deal with these issues.**

*"I want you to look one more time at this list of Presidential candidates. Could you pick from this list which Presidential candidate has the best plan for each of the following issues? Again, if you have not heard any candidate talk about these issues or if you think that no candidate has a good plan, please say so."*

*Among Undecideds/Refusals (20%)*

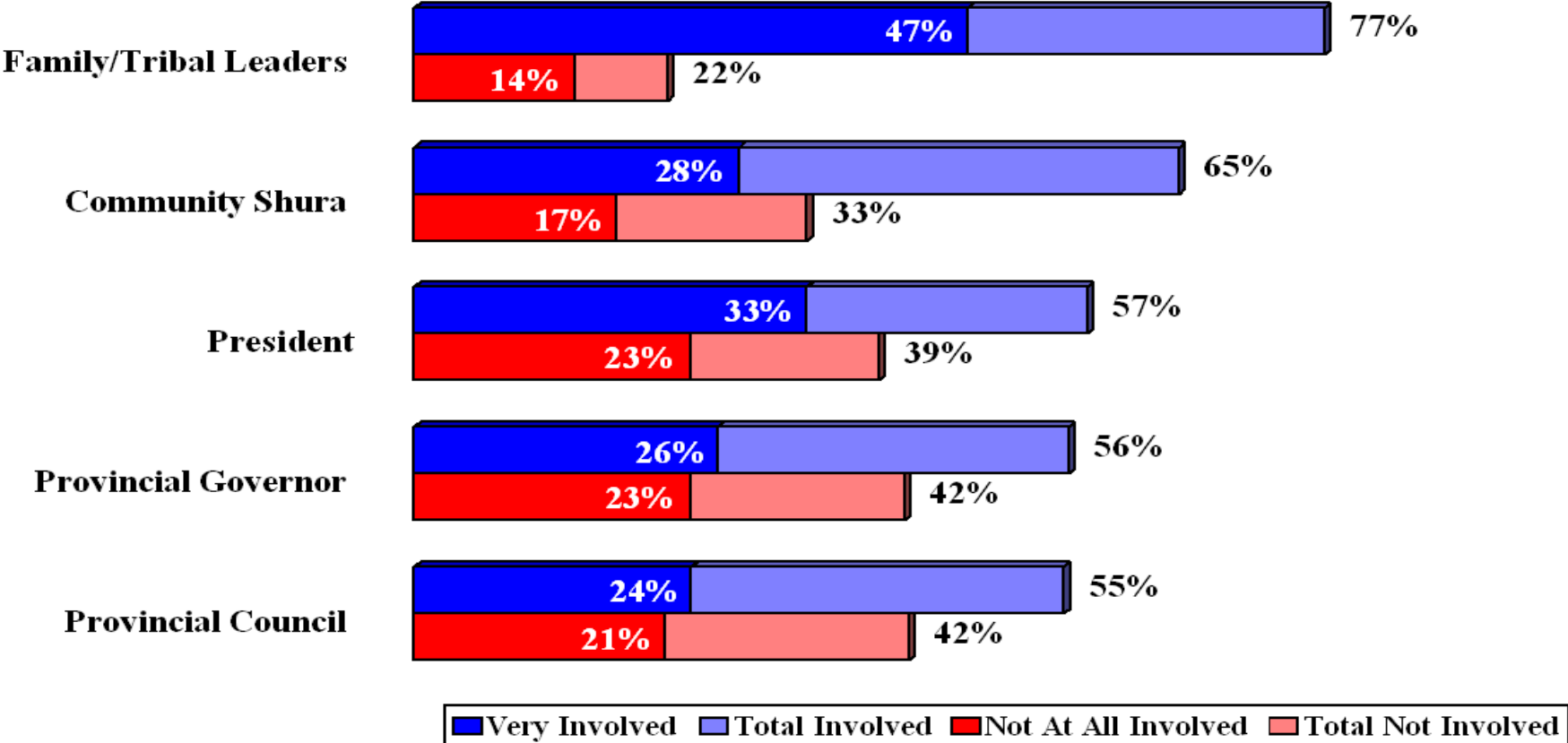
	Stopping Corruption	Outlining a role for foreign forces	Creating jobs	Improving medical care	Increasing the availability of utility services	Promoting civil liberties	Rebuilding and improving roads	Improving education	Improving security
Karzai	21%	19%	18%	18%	19%	19%	21%	21%	19%
Abdullah	26%	24%	25%	24%	22%	22%	24%	25%	26%
Bashardost	11%	8%	11%	8%	10%	7%	8%	9%	7%
Ghani Ahmadzai	1%	2%	1%	2%	1%	1%	2%	2%	2%
All Other Candidates	15%	14%	13%	14%	15%	14%	14%	13%	14%
None of Them	14%	16%	17%	17%	17%	19%	16%	15%	17%
Don't Know/Refused	13%	17%	16%	18%	17%	18%	15%	14%	15%

*Data shown among Registered Voters only*



# Family/tribal leaders and community shuras are seen as the most involved in improving conditions, more than elected officials like the President, Provincial Governors and Provincial Councils.

*"Would you say that the [INSERT GROUP] is very involved, somewhat involved, not very involved, or not at all involved in improving conditions for you and your family?"*  
*Ranked by %Total Involved*





**For more information, please contact:**

**Dr. Milan Sturgis**  
**Glevum Associates**  
**Vice President Operations & Survey Director**  
[milan.sturgis@glevumusa.com](mailto:milan.sturgis@glevumusa.com)  
**202-429-5255**

**Alicia Boyd**  
**Glevum Associates**  
**Vice President for Research**  
[alicia.boyd@glevumusa.com](mailto:alicia.boyd@glevumusa.com)  
**202 361 0615**  
**0790 655 3891**

**Andrew Garfield**  
**Glevum Associates**  
**President**  
[andrew.garfield@glevumusa.com](mailto:andrew.garfield@glevumusa.com)  
**410-980-0438**  
**571-228-4813**