Afghanistan Election Polling

Presented at the annual conference of the
American Association for Public Opinion Research
Anaheim, California – May 15, 2014

Matt Warshaw, Samantha Chiu, Stacey Frank – D3 Systems/ACSOR-Surveys
Gary Langer, Gregory Holyk – Langer Research Associates

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- ACSOR-Surveys was founded in 2003 by D3 Systems to create Afghan market and opinion research capacity: www.acsor-surveys.com
- Langer Research Associates designs, manages and analyzes high-quality probability-based public opinion surveys. The firm has extensive experience in election and public policy polling: www.langerresearch.com

Afghan Futures

- Conceived and independently conducted since 2010 by ACSOR-Surveys and D3 Systems as a public service to document public attitudes in Afghanistan.
- The project includes five nationally representative studies to date between 2010 and 2014. To see more results from the Afghan Futures series, please visit:

www.acsor-surveys.com

or

www.d3systems.com

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Methodology

- F2F sample in all 34 provinces
- Area probability w/ urban/rural stratification; random walk from 540 starting points
- Within-household selection via Kish grid
- Interviews in Dari and Pashto
- Weighting to urban/rural status by province and gender by region per 2011 CSO projections
- Field work and DP by ACSOR-Surveys
- Analysis by Langer Research Associates

Methodology (cont.)

- Field work: March 10–18, 2014
- Election Day was April 5
- N=2,643, RR 81%
- MOE +/–2.5 for GP, +/–4 for LVs, inc. DEFF

Field Team

- Interviews conducted by ACSOR-trained, locally based professional interviewers
- In compliance with cultural norms, all interviews were gender-matched.

- Quality control measures included supervisor and telephone back-checks on appx. 18%, logic and patterning controls, double-entry on appx. 10%.

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Inaccessibility and Replacements

- One in 10 men, 26 percent of women live in areas inaccessible due to security conditions.
- Inaccessible districts were randomly replaced within the same province.

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Sample Ballot – Show Card (Dari)

کمیسیون مستقل انتخابات
انتخابات ریاست جمهوری سال ۱۳۹۳
فهرست نهایی کاندیدان

د تاکنو خپلواک کمیسیون
د ۱۳۹۳کال د جهوری ریاست تاکنی
د نومتدانو وروستنی فهرست

شماره کاندید	د نوماند نوم/اسم کاندید	اسم در ورقه رای دهی	تصویر	نشان انتخاباتی	نوع کاندیداتوری
1	داکتر عبدالله عبدالله	داکتر عبدالله عبدالله			ائتلاف ملی افغانستان
2	محمد داود سلطان زوی	محمد داود سلطان زوی		1542	خپلواک/مستقل
3	عبدالرحیم وردک	عبدالرحیم وردک			خپلواک/مستقل
4	عبدالقیوم کرزی	عبدالقیوم کرزی		1545	خپلواک/مستقل
5	محمد اشرف غنی احمدزی	محمد اشرف غنی احمدزی			خپلواک/مستقل
6	محمد نادر نعیم	محمد نادر نعیم		1267	خپلواک/مستقل

شماره کاندید	د نوماند نوم/اسم کاندید	اسم در ورقه رای دهی	تصویر	نشان انتخاباتی	نوع کاندیداتوری
7	زلمی رسول	زلمی رسول		1477	خپلواک/مستقل
8	انجینیر قطب الدین هلال	انجینیر قطب الدین هلال			خپلواک/مستقل
9	محمد شفیق گل آغا شیرزی	محمد شفیق گل آغا شیرزی			خپلواک/مستقل
10	پروفیسور عبدالرب الرسول سیاف	پروفیسور عبدالرب الرسول سیاف			خپلواک/مستقل
11	هدایت امین ارسلا	هدایت امین ارسلا			خپلواک/مستقل

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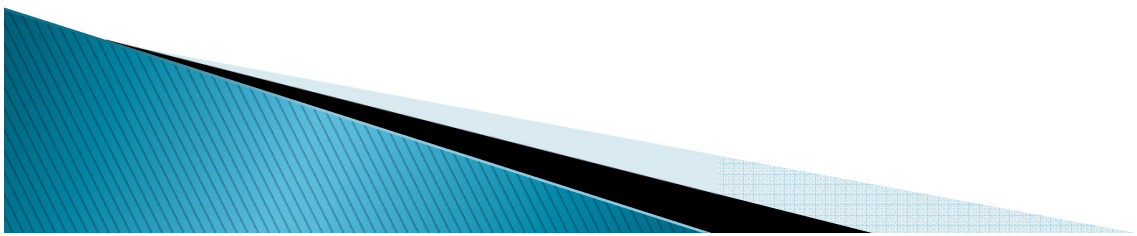
RVs and Vote Intention

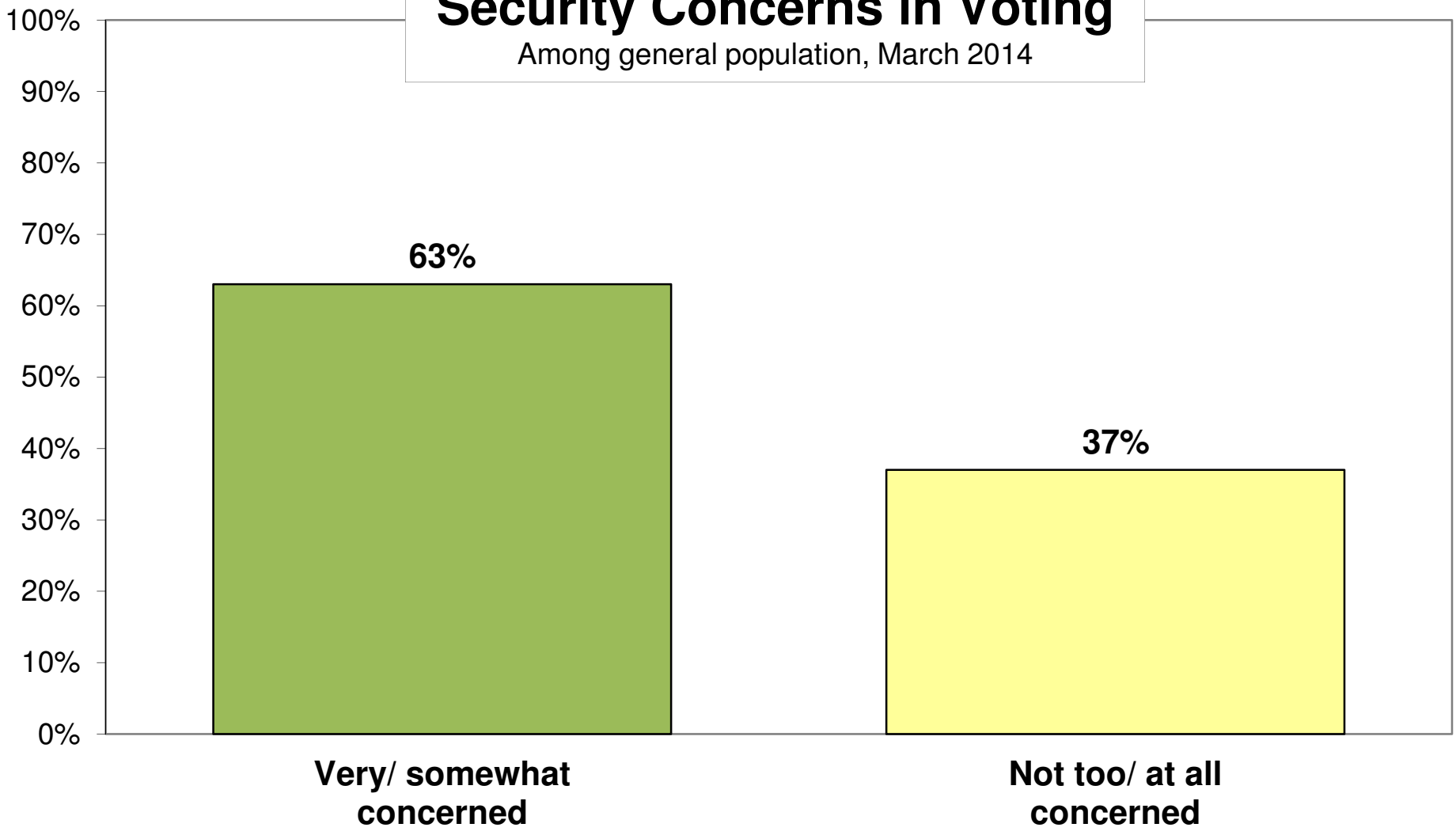
- 76% reported being registered to vote
- 13% “very likely” to register
- 75% said they would vote; 50% “definitely”

Pre-election attitudes



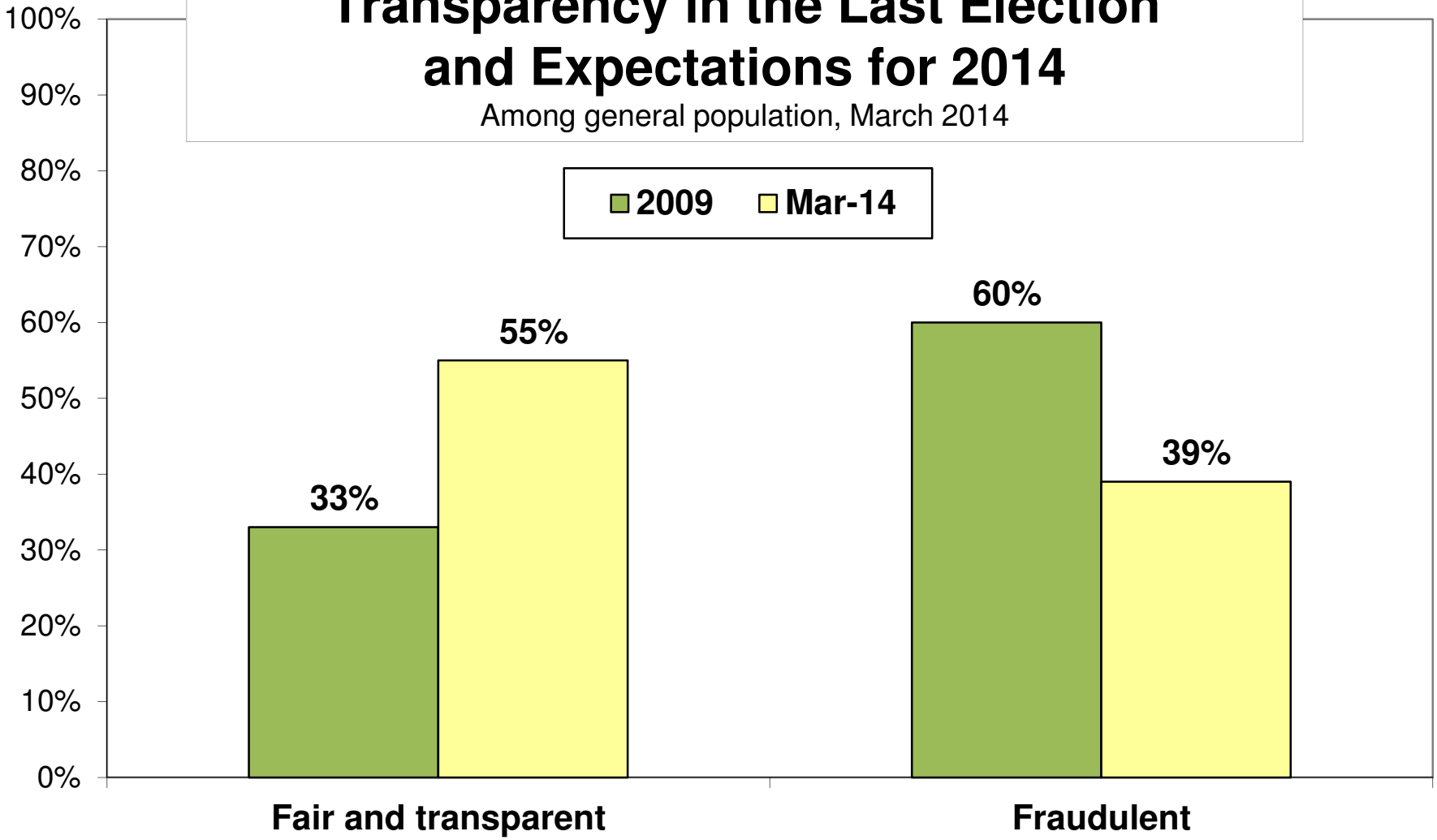
Security Concerns in Voting

Among general population, March 2014



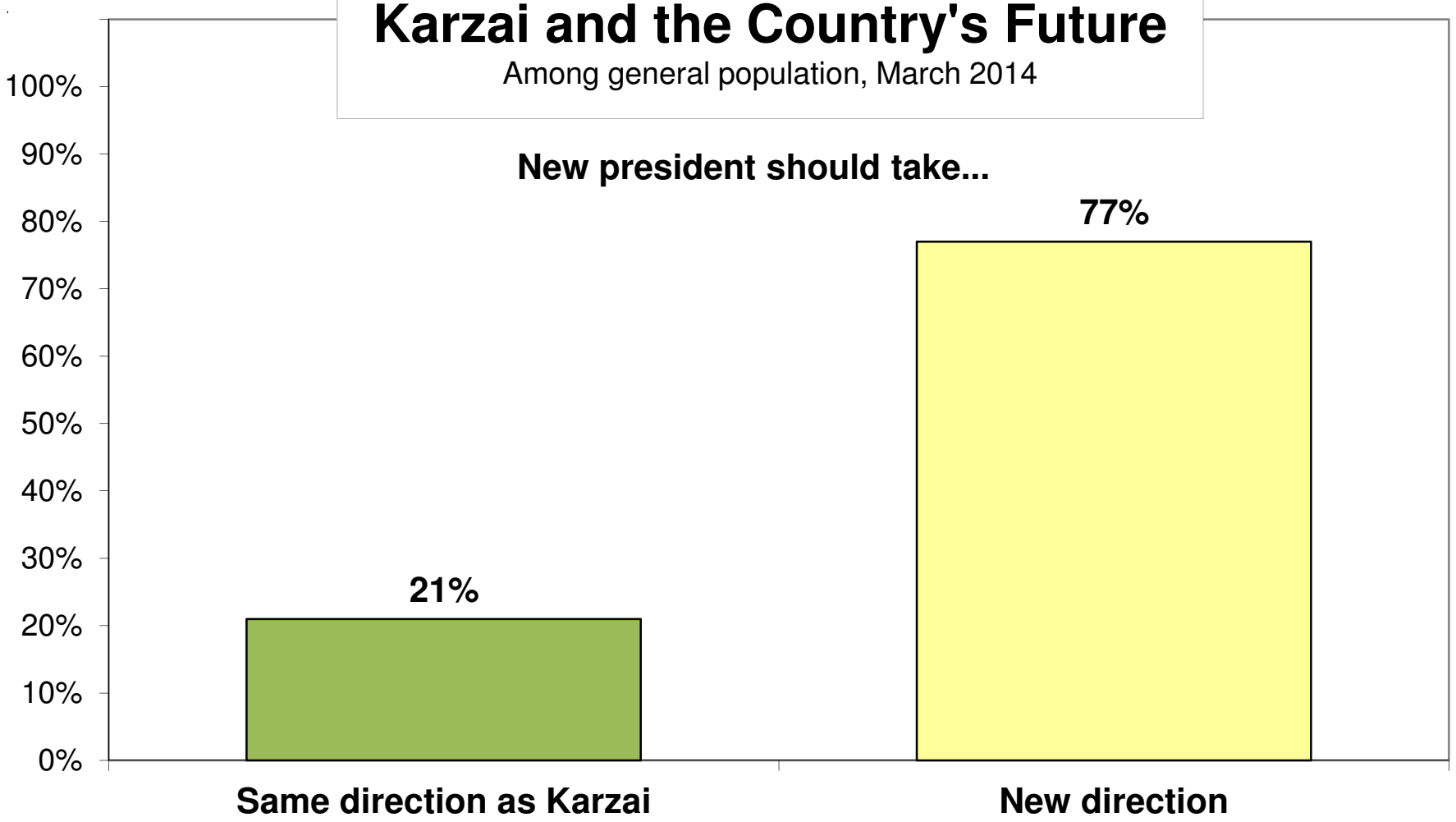
Transparency in the Last Election and Expectations for 2014

Among general population, March 2014



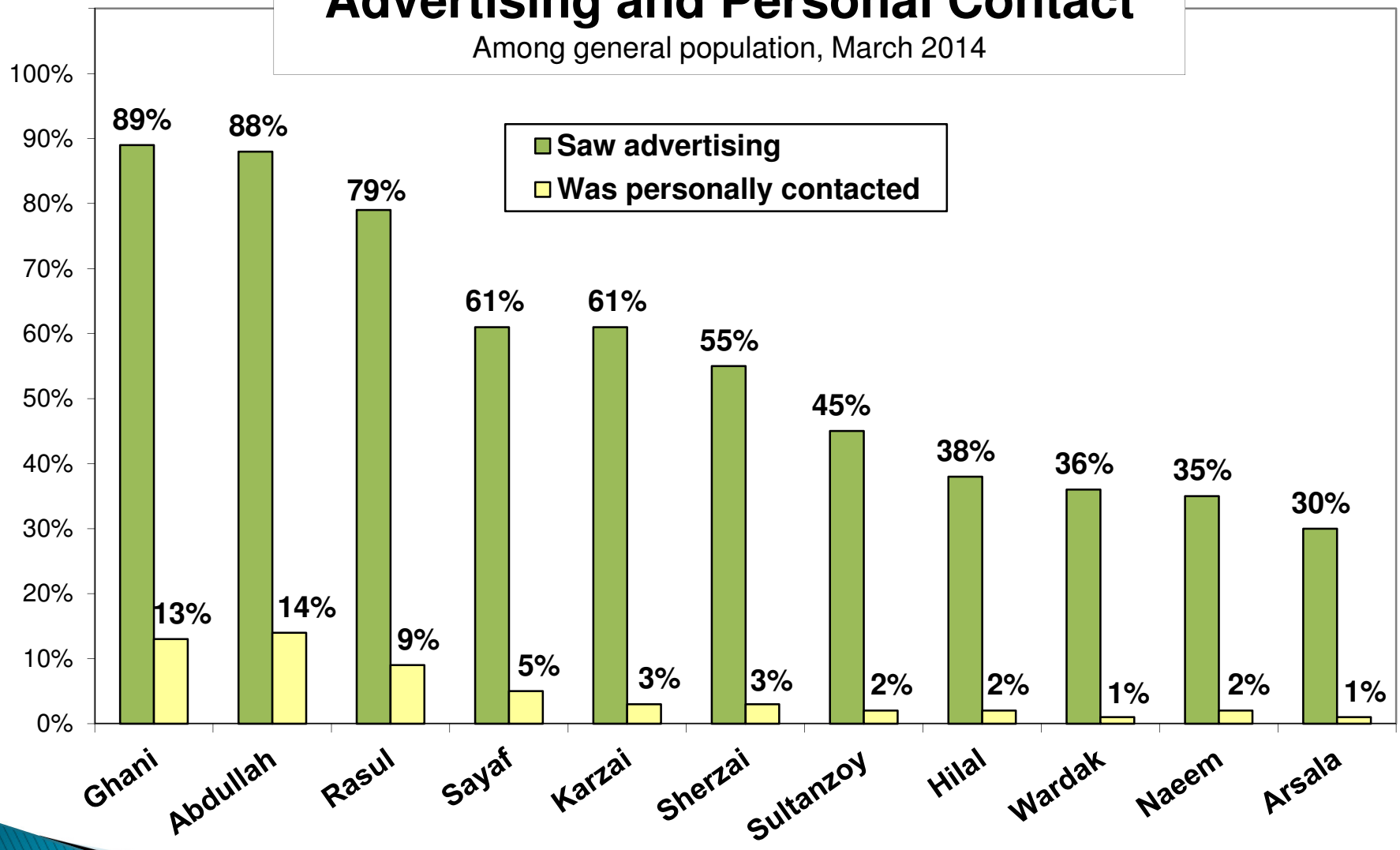
Karzai and the Country's Future

Among general population, March 2014



Advertising and Personal Contact

Among general population, March 2014



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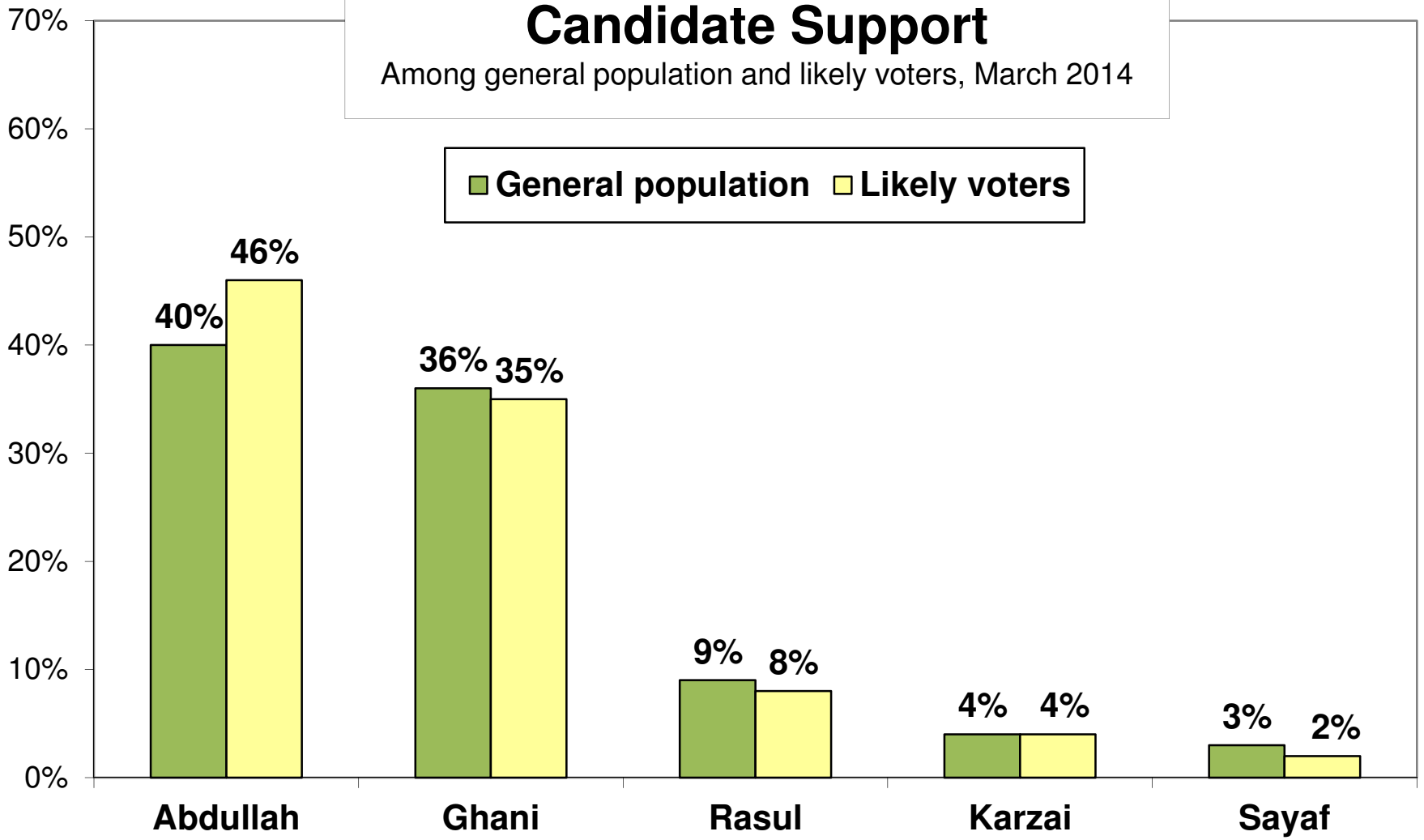
Candidate Support

Among general population and likely voters, March 2014



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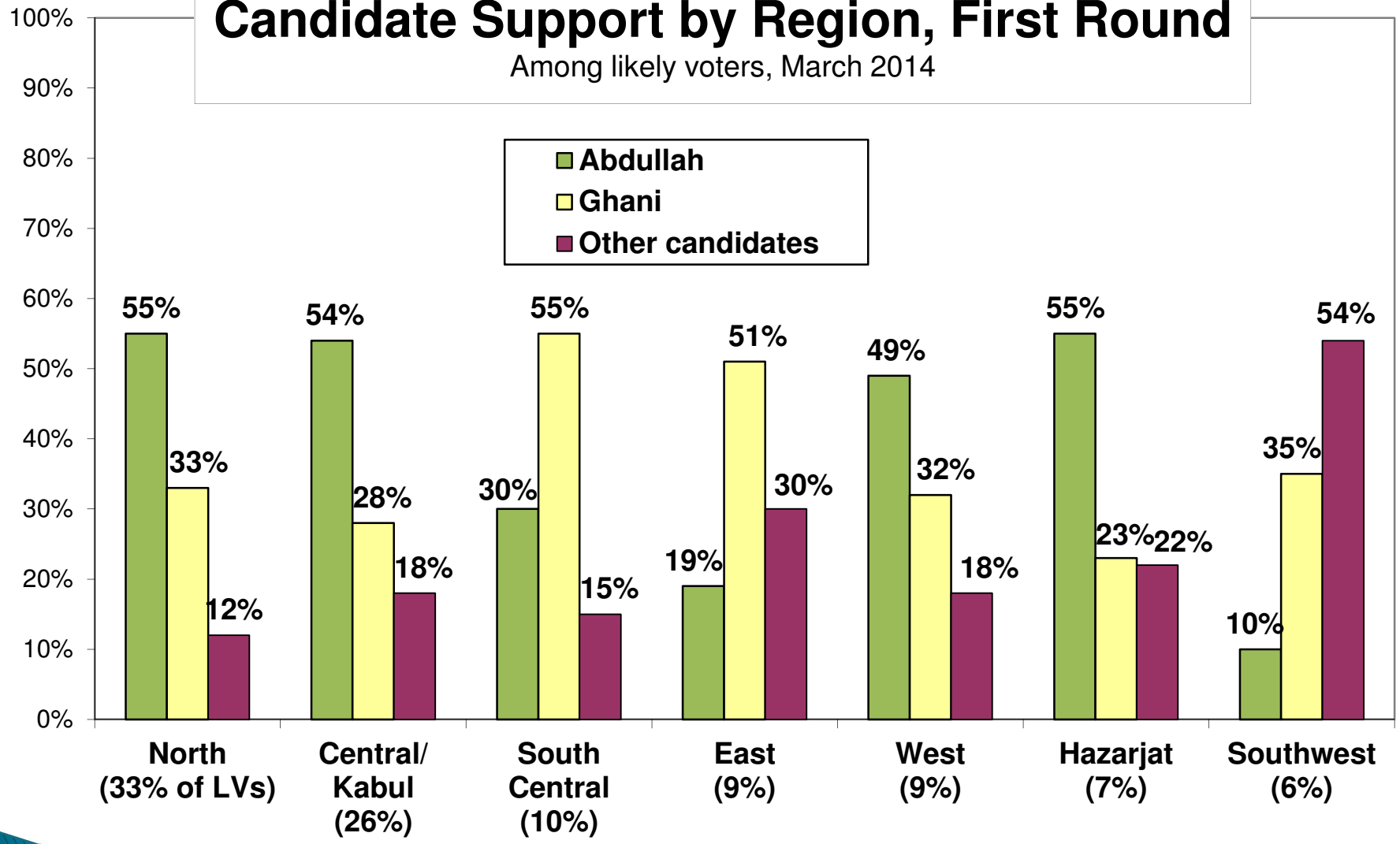
Candidate Support by Region, First Round

Among likely voters, March 2014



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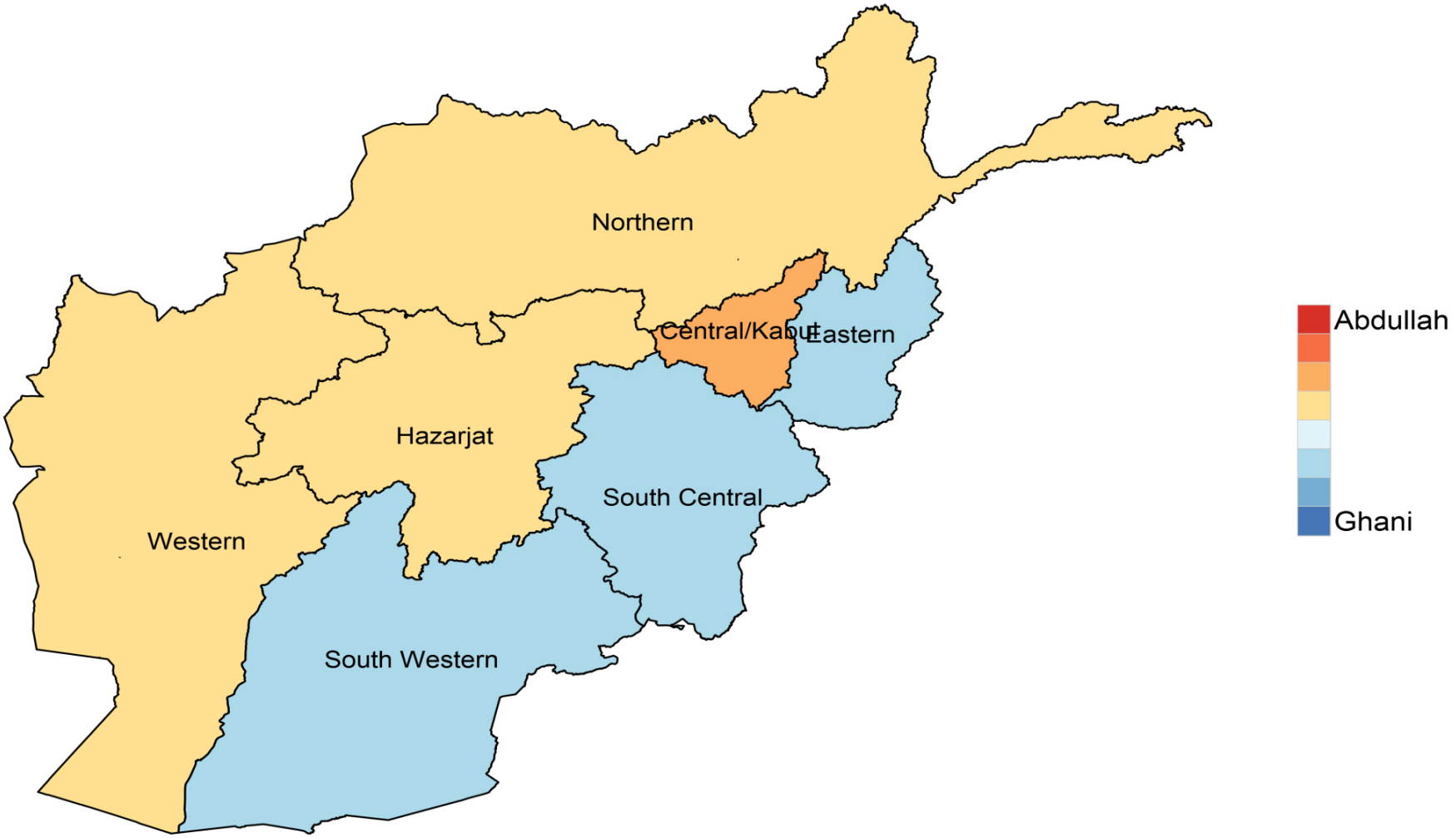
Top Two by Region

Among likely voters, March 2014



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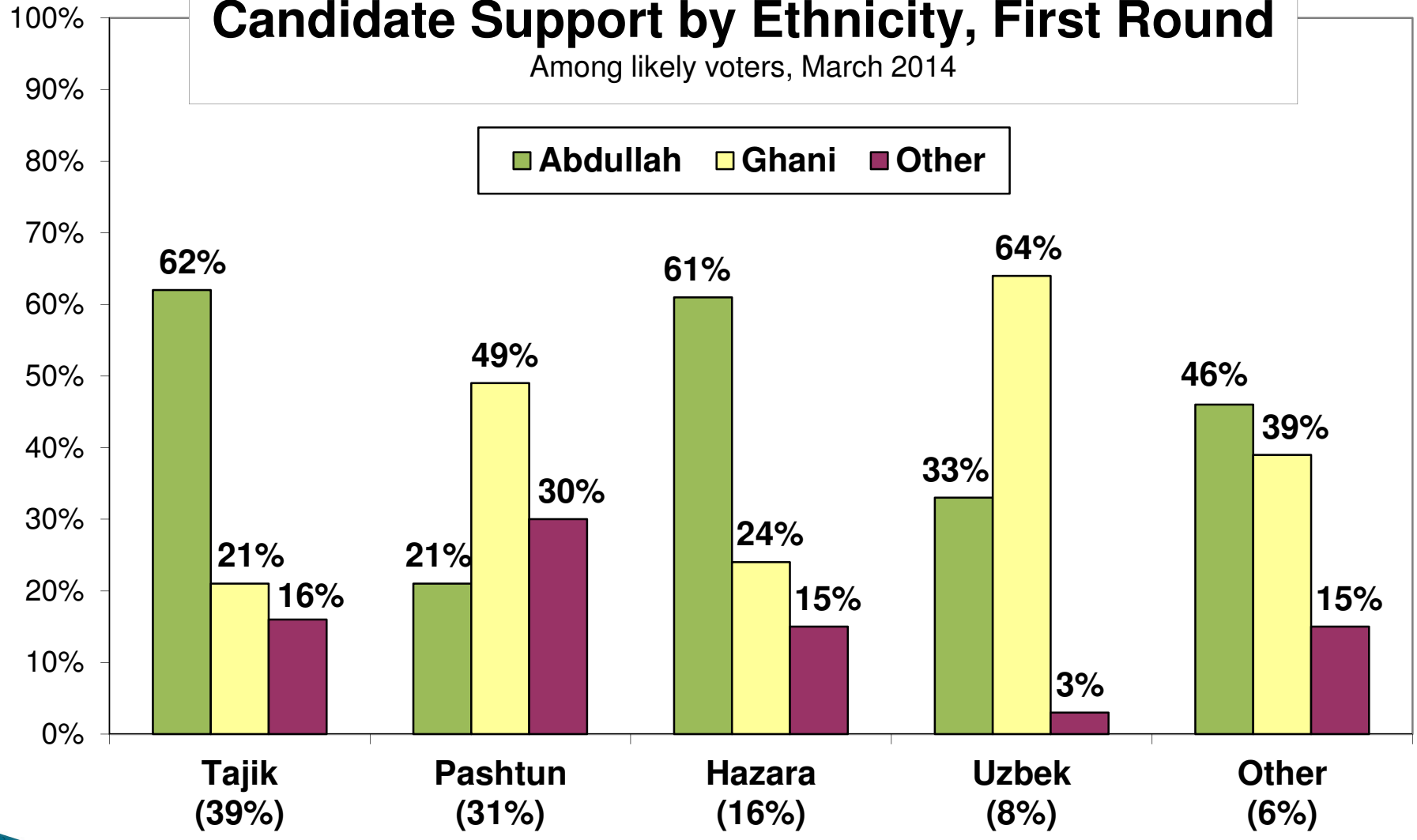
Candidate Support by Ethnicity, First Round

Among likely voters, March 2014



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Support Profile

	Abdullah	Ghani	Other cands.
Tajik	53%	24%	33%
Pashtun	14%	43%	48%
Hazara	21%	11%	13%
Uzbek	6%	15%	1%
Other ethnicity	6%	6%	5%
North	40%	31%	21%
Central/Kabul	30%	20%	24%
West	10%	9%	9%
Hazarjat	9%	5%	8%
South Central	7%	16%	8%
East	4%	13%	14%
Southwest	1%	6%	16%

Note: Low Ns, "other" ethnicity and Southwest

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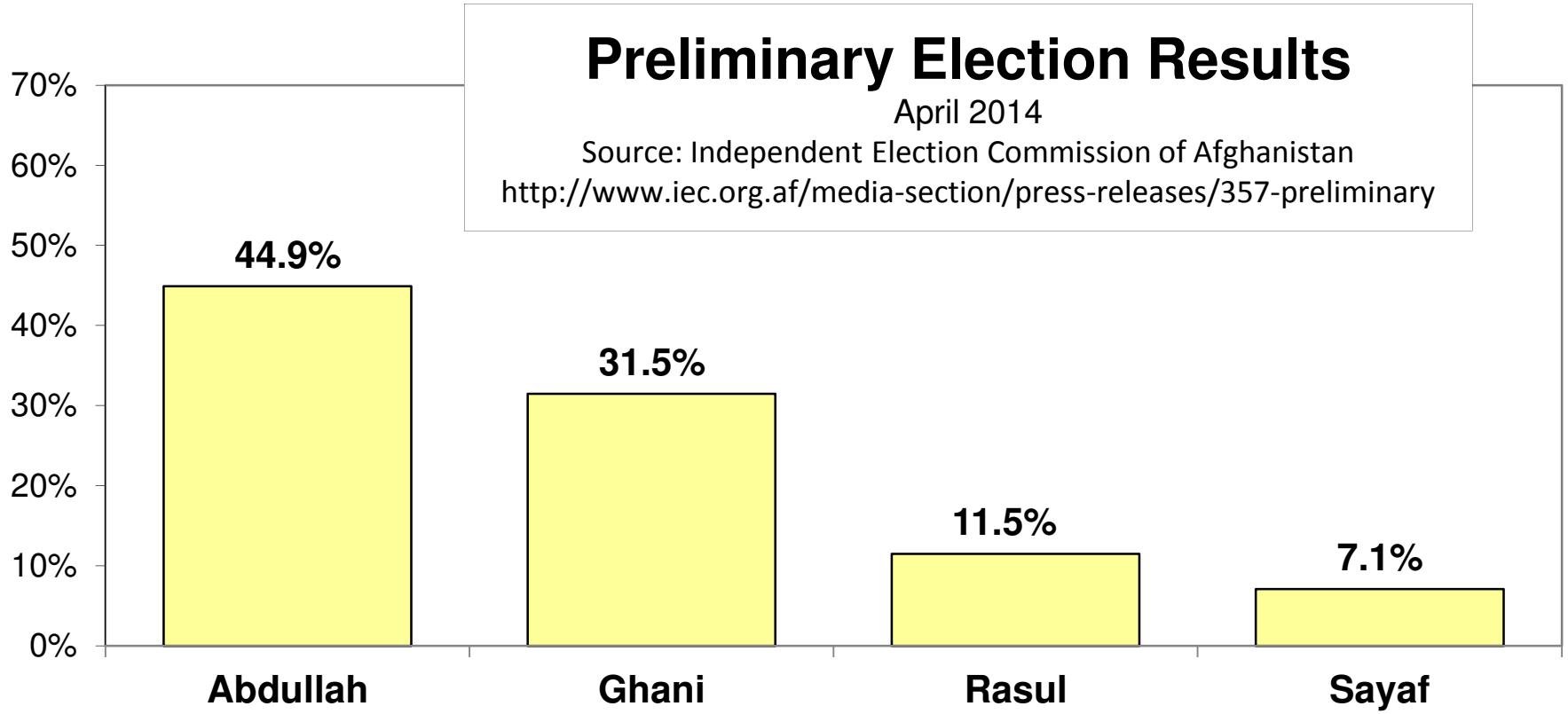
Prevalence of Groups

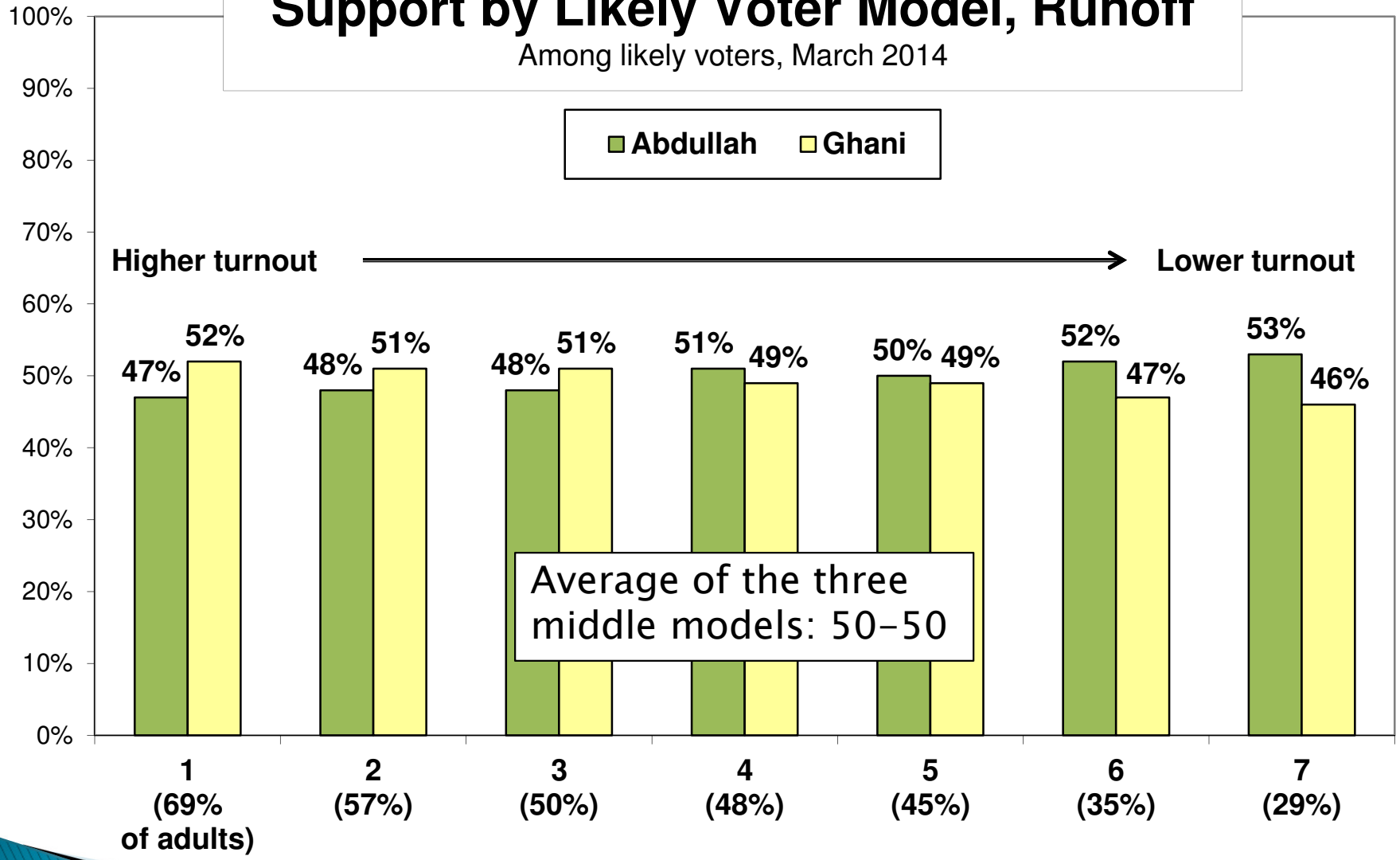
	All resps.	RVs	LVs
Pashtun	40%	37%	31%
Tajik	34%	34%	39%
Hazara	11%	12%	16%
Uzbek	9%	9%	8%
Other ethnicity	7%	7%	6%
North	29%	31%	33%
Central/Kabul	20%	19%	26%
West	11%	11%	9%
South Central	14%	13%	10%
East	10%	10%	9%
Southwest	9%	8%	6%
Hazarjat	7%	7%	7%



- Our estimate was 46-35%
- Appx. 6.6m votes cast
- Abdullah and Ghani go to runoff

Support by Likely Voter Model, Runoff

Among likely voters, March 2014



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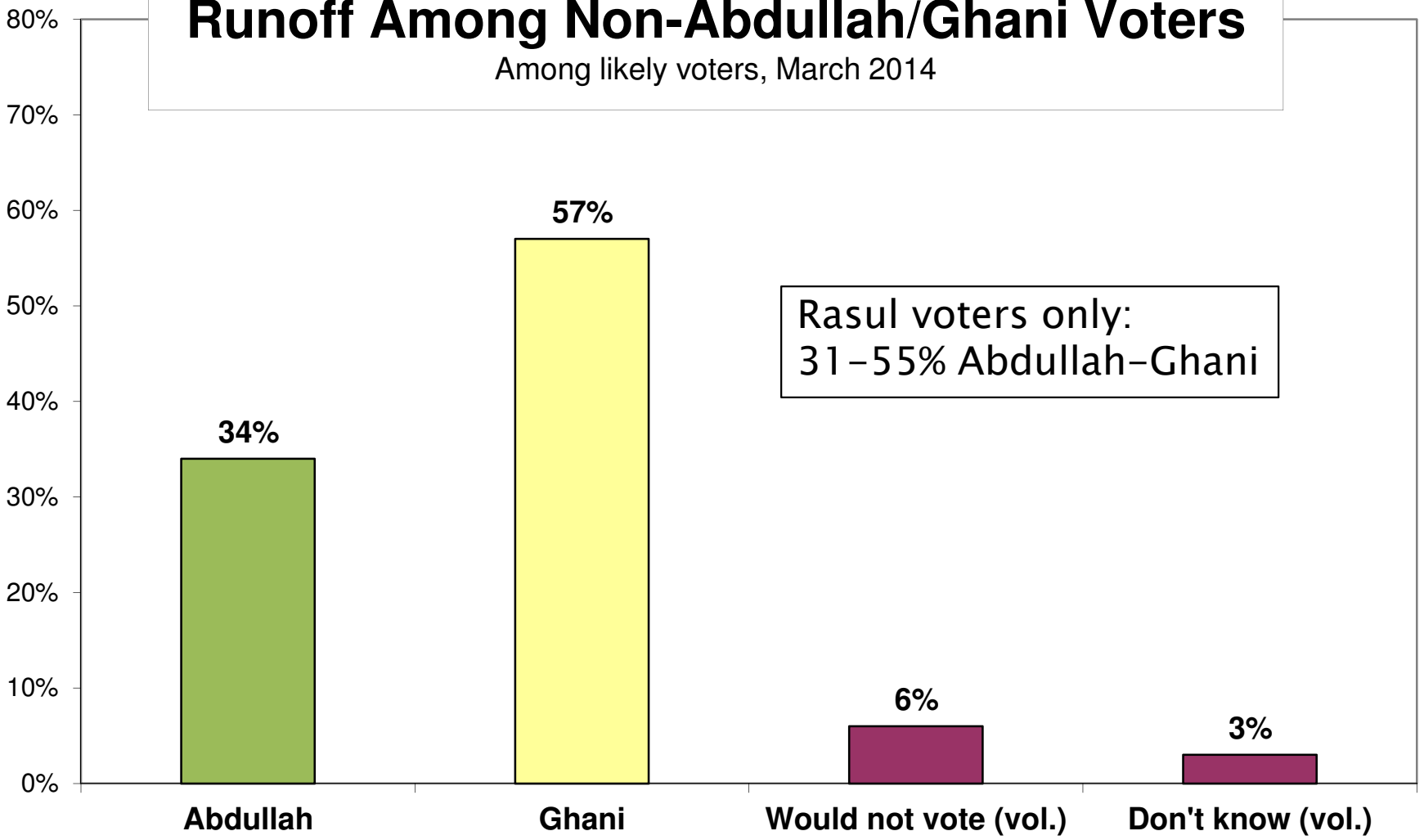
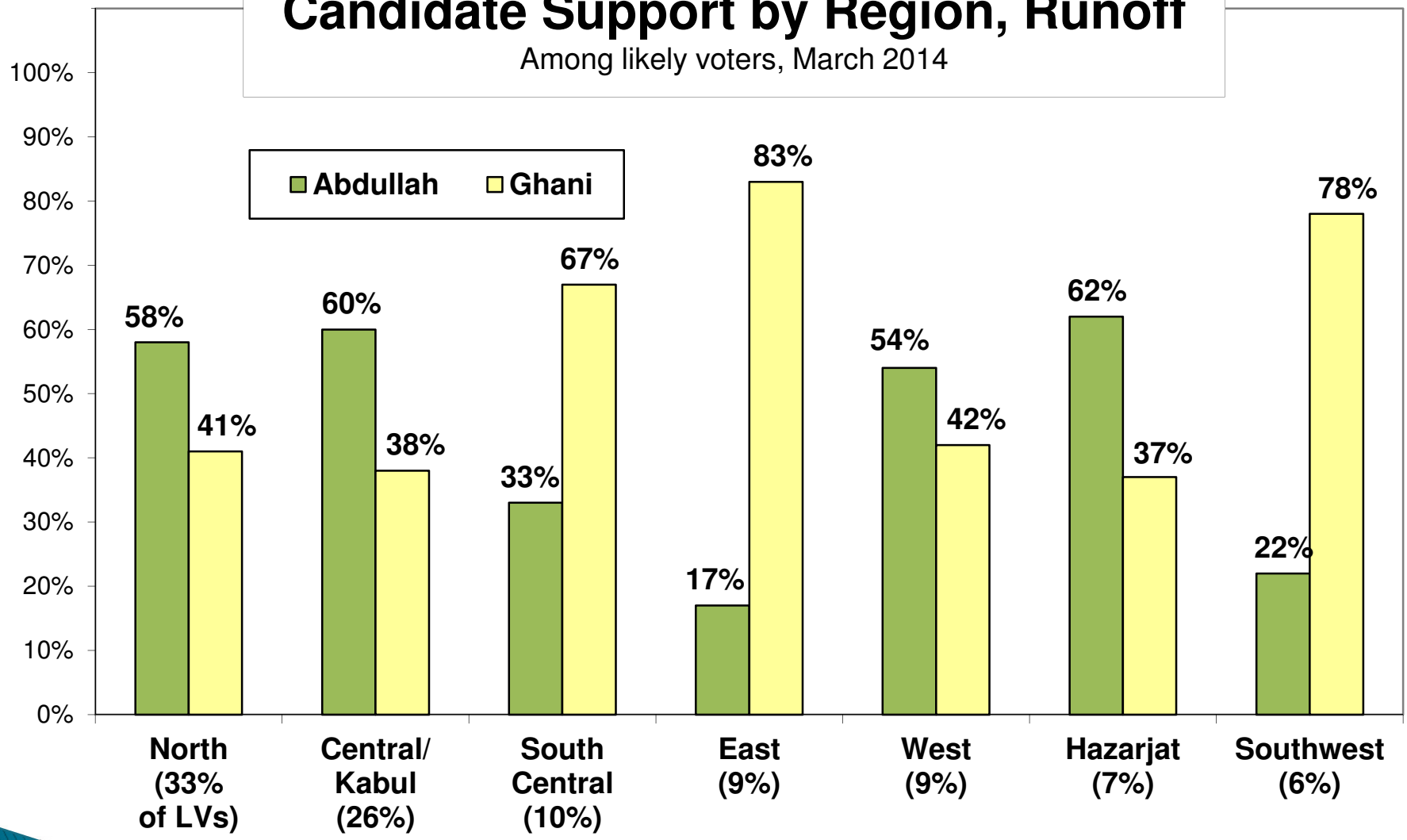
Runoff Among Non-Abdullah/Ghani Voters

Among likely voters, March 2014



Candidate Support by Region, Runoff

Among likely voters, March 2014



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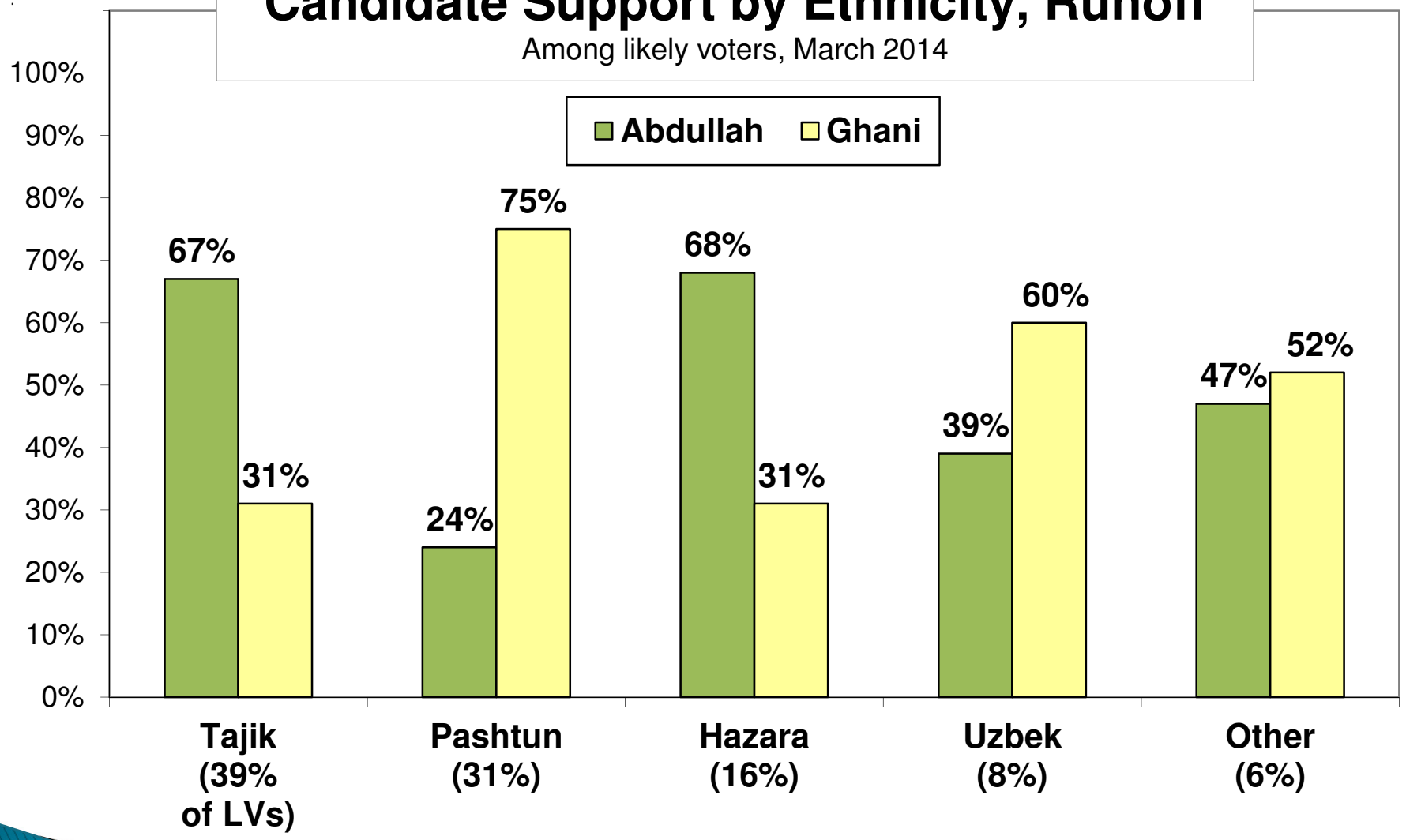
Candidate Support by Ethnicity, Runoff

Among likely voters, March 2014



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Change for Ghani by Group

	First round	Runoff	Diff.
Tajik	21%	31%	+10
Pashtun	49%	75%	+26
Hazara	24%	31%	+7
Uzbek	64%	60%	-4
Other ethnicity	39%	52%	+13
North	33%	41%	+8
Central/Kabul	28%	38%	+10
South Central	55%	67%	+12
East	51%	83%	+32
West	32%	42%	+10
Hazarjat	23%	37%	+14
Southwest	35%	78%	+43

Change for Abdullah by Group

	First round	Runoff	Diff.
Tajik	62%	67%	+5
Pashtun	21%	24%	+3
Hazara	61%	68%	+7
Uzbek	33%	39%	+6
Other ethnicity	46%	47%	+1
North	55%	58%	+3
Central/Kabul	54%	60%	+6
South Central	30%	33%	+3
East	19%	17%	-2
West	49%	54%	+5
Hazarjat	55%	62%	+7
Southwest	10%	22%	+12

Support Profile

	Abdullah	Ghani
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Pashtun	15%	48%
Hazara	21%	10%
Uzbek	6%	10%
Other ethnicity	5%	6%
North	39%	29%
Central/Kabul	31%	20%
South Central	7%	14%
East	3%	15%
West	10%	8%
Hazarjat	9%	6%
Southwest	2%	9%

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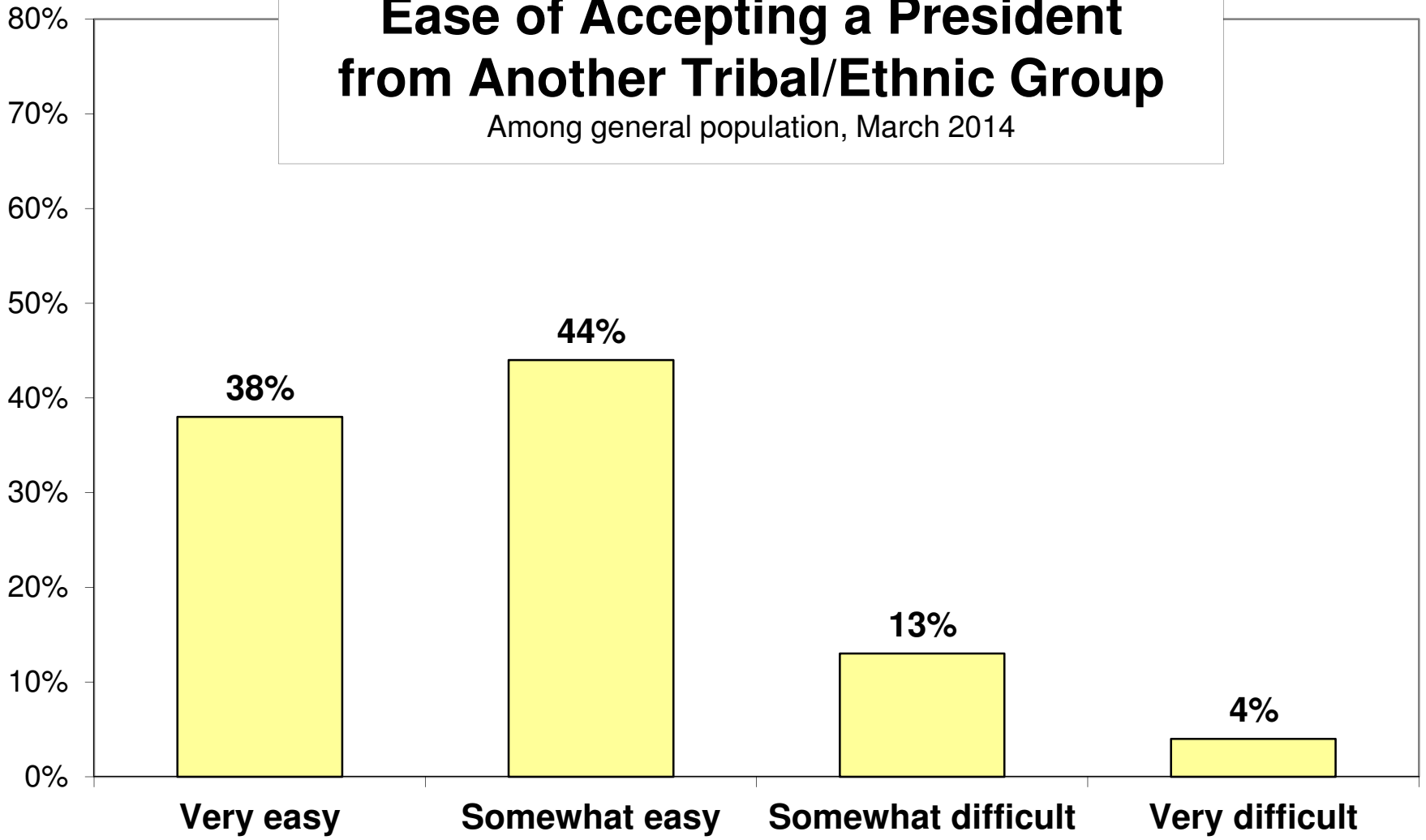
Regression: Abdullah-Ghani Vote

Variable	Beta
Hazara	.20***
Tajik	.19***
East	-.11**
South Central	-.11**
Importance of candidate's views on dealing with the Taliban	-.10**
Importance of candidate's empathy	-.08*
Rate living conditions positively	.07**
Rural	.07*

*** < .001, ** < .01, < .05; R^2=.21

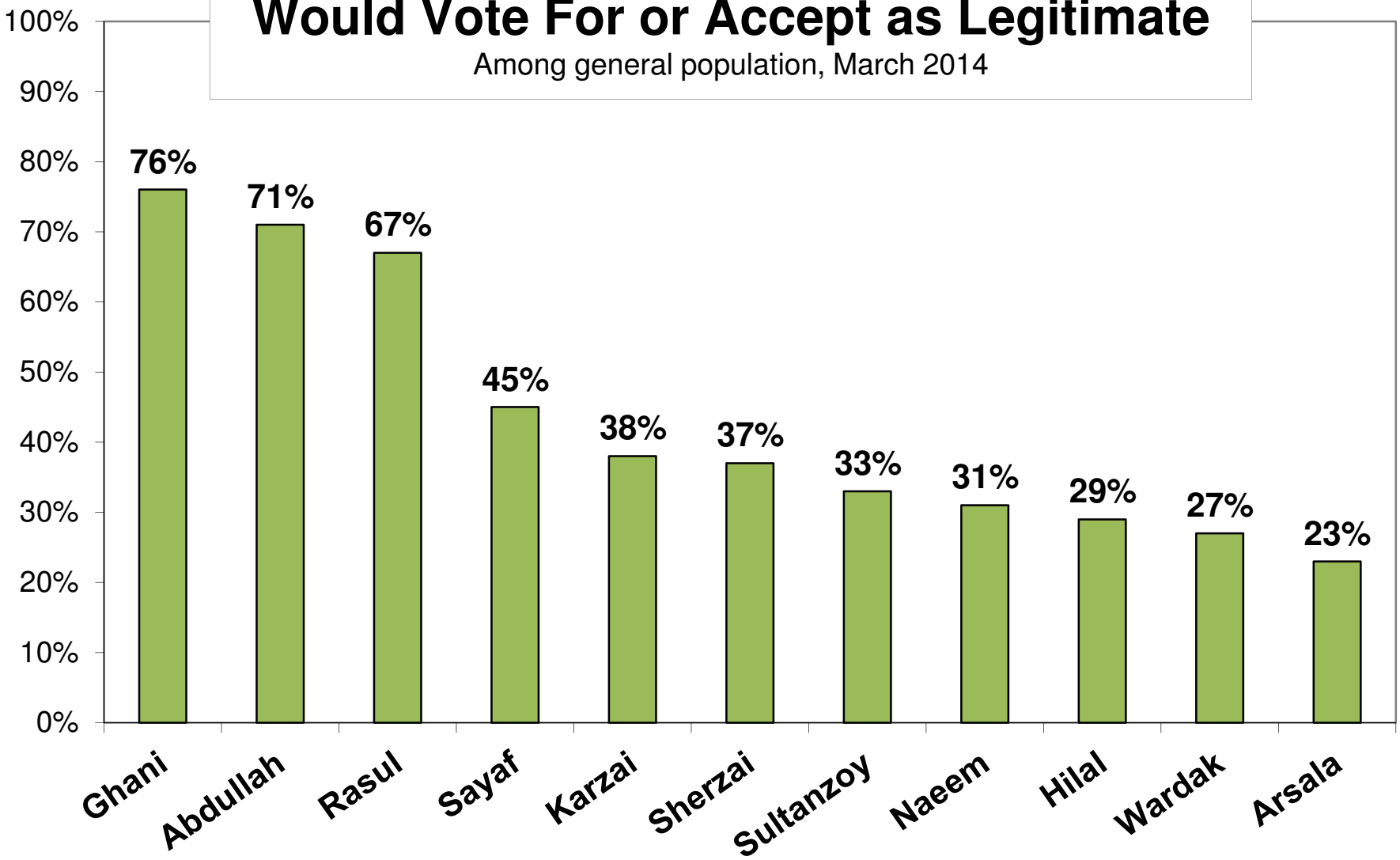
Ease of Accepting a President from Another Tribal/Ethnic Group

Among general population, March 2014



Would Vote For or Accept as Legitimate

Among general population, March 2014



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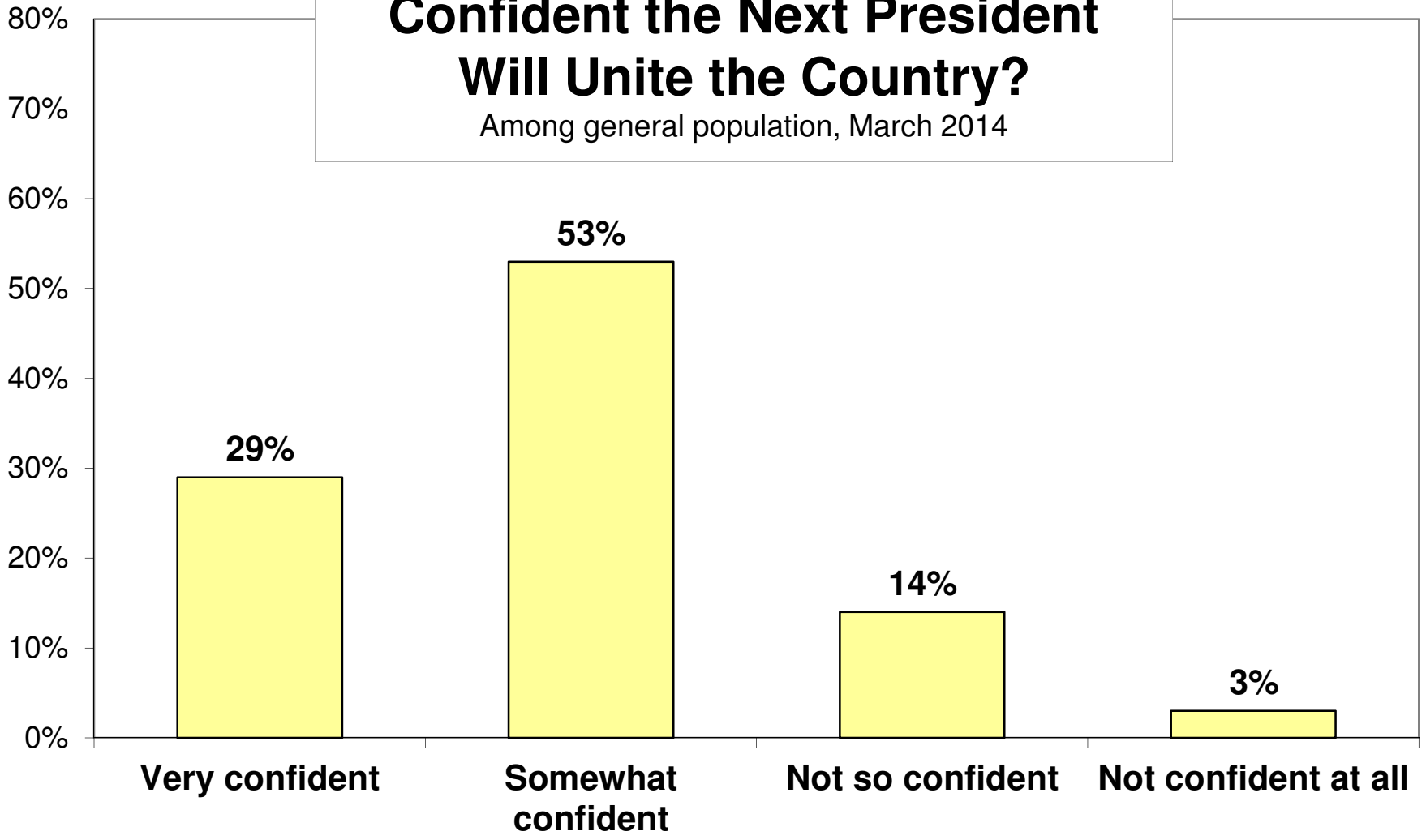
Confident the Next President Will Unite the Country?

Among general population, March 2014



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Thank you!

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