



Glevum Associates

**Afghanistan Presidential
Election
Second Ballot Poll Results**

June 2014

*Key Findings from a new face-to-face survey of 2,223
Afghans who are likely to vote in the June 14, 2014
Presidential election (the second ballot or runoff election)*

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Methodology

Glevum Associates has conducted a face-to-face survey of 2,223 Afghans who plan to vote in the June 14, 2014 Presidential runoff election.

From June 4-11th, 2014, interviewers from a Kabul-based polling company, used extensively by Glevum for more than 30 other similar surveys, spoke with 2,223 likely voters in Dari and Pashtu.

Respondents resided in the following cities:

	Number of interviews conducted
Balkh – Mazar-e-Shrif	250
Heart City	390
Kabul City	602
Kandahar Kandahar City	386
Khost	298
Nangarhar – Jalalabad City	297
Total	2223

Methodology, continued

Respondents were first asked if they intend to vote in the June 14, 2014 runoff Presidential election. If respondents answered that they did intend to vote, they were asked five additional questions. If respondents indicated that they did not intend to vote, the interview ended.

We limited this survey to five questions to ensure that the survey could be completed in time to be published before the election

The five additional questions were:

- Which candidate are you going to vote for?
- Which candidate do you think is more likely to bring peace to Afghanistan?
- Which candidate do you think will be better on corruption?
- Which candidate do you think will manage the economy better?
- Which candidate do you think will lead to a better relationship with America?

Methodology, continued

Our field team was asked to collect a specified number of interviews per city. *Nahias* or neighborhoods were randomly selected within each city. Approximately 20 interviews were conducted per *Nahia*.

The number of *Nahias* in the sample depended on the sample size. For example, in Kabul, 30 *Nahias* were randomly selected with about 20 interviews in each location for a total of 602 interviews.

After a *Nahia* was selected, a starting point within the *Nahia* was randomly chosen. The first house at each starting point was then randomly selected. Next, each third house was included in the sample. One eligible person was interviewed in each household.

The margin of error is 2.08% at a 95% level of confidence.

Methodology, continued

This survey was conducted separately but simultaneously with the telephone survey that Glevum released yesterday – June 10th 2014

The aim of sponsoring two surveys was to ensure that we were able to provide the most comprehensive coverage with the limited resources we have available for this effort

For the face-to-face survey, we were able to ask two more questions and more specific questions than for the telephone survey because of the trust factor between the interviewer and the interviewee

Despite using two entirely different methods for each of these polls, it is reassuring that the results are entirely consistent with each other



Summary of Key Findings

The primary finding of this face-to-face poll is that Ashraf Ghani has increased his level of support from the 31.5% that was announced in the first ballot, to **48% of likely voters** in this second Glevum poll. He is now the frontrunner for the second ballot.

The percentage of likely voters interviewed in this poll, who indicated that they would vote for Abdullah Abdullah, was 45%. This is the same percentage as his share of the vote from the first ballot.

Ghani receives overwhelming support in Khost with 94% of respondents choosing him compared to only 2% who support Abdullah. However, in Herat, 21% said they would vote for Ghani whereas a significant majority (79%) supported Abdullah. Interestingly in Pashtun dominated Kandahar City, Abdullah is at 48% to Ghani's 42%.

Summary of Key Findings

A plurality of respondents (46%) think Ghani is more likely to bring peace to Afghanistan compared to Abdullah who is at 43%. Eleven percent did not offer an opinion.

Most respondents in Khost and Nangarhar (87% and 82%, respectively) said Ghani is more likely to bring peace. In comparison, most respondents in Herat and Balkh (69% and 58%, respectively) indicated that Abdullah is more likely to bring peace.

When asked who will be better dealing with corruption, again, Ghani and Abdullah are close but Ghani has a slight lead (47% and 43%, respectively).

When asked who will manage the economy better, 48% favored Ghani compared to 42% who favored Abdullah.

Summary of Key Findings

Respondents in Kabul and Kandahar tend to be more unsure about who will better manage the economy. Two in ten (21%) of respondents in Kabul said they do not know or declined to answer who would better manage the economy; in Kandahar, 13 percent gave those answers.

Overall, voters are similarly divided about which candidate will lead to a better relationship with America, although Ghani has a slight lead here also, with 48% indicating Ghani and 42% choosing Abdullah. One in ten (10%) either did not know or refused to answer.

For the most part, candidates receive nearly the same percentages for the “vote” question as for policy questions. However, support for Abdullah appears to slightly soften when policy questions are asked.



Comments On Key Findings

This 48-45 split supports the Glevum assessment that Ghani has consolidated the Pashtun vote (Pashtun are a plurality in Afghanistan) and that the Ghani/Dostum ticket has maintained their high level of support with ethnic Uzbeks.

Ghani also seems to have the momentum going into the second round having substantially increased his likely share of the vote, which is now up 16.5 points since the official first round results were announced.

The Glevum telephone poll of 2,804 likely voters released yesterday (June 11th 2014), had Ghani on 49% and Abdullah on 42%.

The consistency of these polls (Ghani 48/49 and Abdullah 45/43), which used different methods and were executed over the same time period, suggests that Ashraf Ghani is now the frontrunner in this election.

Comments On Key Findings

The two Glevum polls have Abdullah at 45% (Face-to-Face) or 43% (Telephone). Based on these findings it seems likely that he has more or less maintained his share of the vote from the first round.

However, he does not appear to have gained any momentum from the elimination of the other candidates and his campaign does not seem to have secured any additional voter support. If anything he may have fallen back a little since the announcement of the official first round results.

Clearly, Abdullah is likely maintaining his share of the Tajik vote and that of other minorities but this poll suggests that he has not added to the limited Pashtun support that he enjoyed in the first ballot.

The results for Kandahar City do suggest Abdullah enjoys limited support with some likely Pashtun voters, which Ghani will probably need to erode to win.

Comments On Key Findings

In a fair election, however, unless Abdullah can secure a late and substantial surge in Pashtun and Uzbek support, this poll and the other Glevum telephone poll suggests that he cannot reach the 50.1% of the vote needed to win.

Ghani's apparent success in picking up the support of voters who had previously supported eliminated candidates is not a surprise. This finding is consistent with a poll undertaken by ASCOR in March 2014, which suggested that Ghani was favored 57-34% over Abdullah by those who intended to vote for a different candidate in the first ballot.

The huge differences in support by city is another indication that this election is likely to be decided along ethnic lines. An election that splits the electorate down ethnic lines should favor Ghani/Dostum as the strongly Pashtun/Uzbek ticket. However, that is dependent on a high turnout of Pashtun voters in particular, and Ghani will also need to erode the limited Pashtun support enjoyed by his rival.

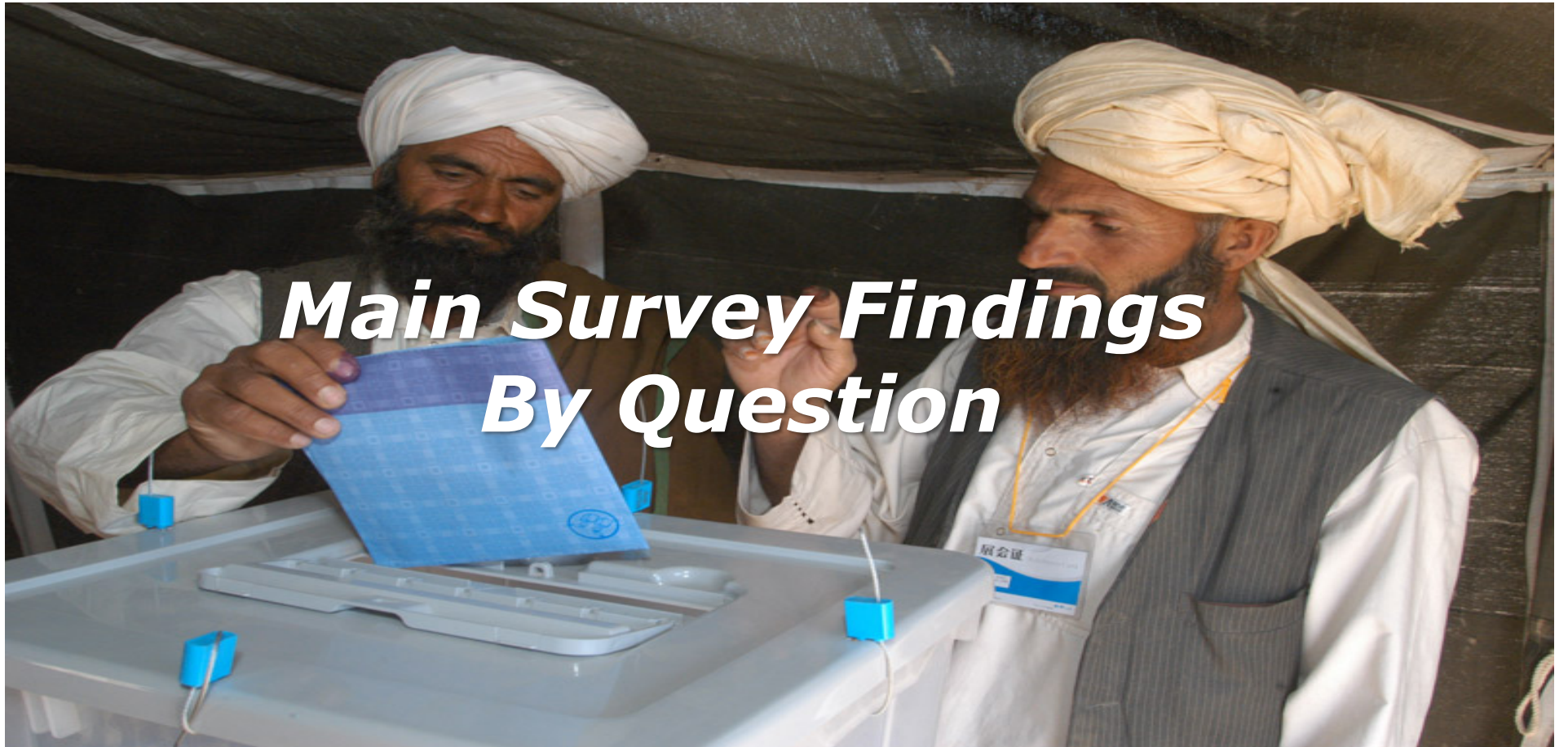
Comments On Key Findings

With between 7% (this poll) and 9% (telephone poll) of likely voters still undecided, this election could still go either way but both Glevum polls do strongly suggest that Ashraf Ghani is now the frontrunner.

But he still has work to do in the last days of campaigning to turn out and boost his core vote and get over the 50.1% barrier.

With such a close election, the impact of fraud could be decisive for either candidate, and it is therefore vital that this election is more closely monitored than ever.

Afghanistan cannot afford another disputed and contested election.



Main Survey Findings By Question

Presidential Vote (Second Ballot)

Almost half of respondents (48%) indicated they will vote for Ashraf Ghani on June 14th compared to 45% who said they would vote for Abdullah Abdullah. Ghani receives overwhelming support in Khost with 94% of respondents choosing him compared to only 2% who support Abdullah. However, in Herat, 21% said they would vote for Ghani whereas a significant majority (79%) expressed support for Abdullah.

Which candidate are you going to vote for?	City						
	Total	Mazar-e-Sharif Balkh	Herat City	Kabul City	Kandahar City	Khost (Provincial Center)	Jalalabad City Nangarhar
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Mohammad Ashraf Ghani Ahmadzay	48	34	21	38	41	94	83
Doctor Abdullah Abdullah	45	58	79	50	48	2	14
Don't know	*	0	0	*	*	0	*
Decline to answer	7	8	*	12	11	4	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

*=Less than .5%

Comparison of all questions

For the most part, candidates receive nearly the same percentages for the “vote” question as for policy questions (who will bring peace, who is better on corruption, etc.) However, support for Abdullah appears to slightly soften when policy questions are asked. For example, 45% of respondents said they would vote for Abdullah but 41% said he would manage the economy best.

Candidate	Total				
	Vote	Peace	Corruption	Economy	America
	%	%	%	%	%
Mohammad Ashraf Ghani Ahmadzay	48	46	47	48	48
Doctor Abdullah Abdullah	45	43	43	41	42
Don't know	*	7	6	8	8
Decline to answer	7	4	4	3	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Who Will Bring Peace?

A plurality of respondents (46%) believe that Ghani is more likely to bring peace to Afghanistan compared to the 43% who said Abdullah is more likely to bring peace. Eleven percent did not offer an opinion. Most respondents in Khost and Nangarhar (87% and 82%, respectively) said Ghani is more likely to bring peace. In comparison, most respondents in Herat and Balkh (69% and 58%, respectively) indicated that Abdullah is more likely to bring peace.

<i>Which candidate do you think is more likely to bring peace to Afghanistan?</i>	Total	Mazar-e-Sharif Balkh	Herat City	Kabul City	Kandahar City	Khost (Provincial Center)	Jalalabad City Nangarhar
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Mohammad Ashraf Ghani Ahmadzay	46	33	20	36	37	87	82
Doctor Abdullah Abdullah	43	58	69	49	50	2	16
Don't know	7	6	9	9	9	7	2
Decline to answer	4	3	2	6	4	4	*
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Who Will Be Better on Corruption?

Again, Ghani and Abdullah are close but Ghani has a slight lead (47% and 43%, respectively).

<i>Which candidate do you think will be better on corruption?</i>	Total	Mazar-e-Sharif Balkh	Herat City	Kabul City	Kandahar City	Khost (Provincial Center)	Jalalabad City Nangarhar
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Mohammad Ashraf Ghani Ahmadzay	47	33	20	38	37	92	81
Doctor Abdullah Abdullah	43	61	71	50	46	2	14
Don't know	6	4	5	9	9	4	4
Decline to answer	4	2	4	3	8	2	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Who Will Manage the Economy Better?

More likely voters think Ghani (48% will manage the economy better compared to 42% who favor Abdullah. Respondents in Kabul and Kandahar tend to be more unsure about who will better manage the economy. Two in ten (21%) of respondents in Kabul said they do not know or declined to answer who would better manage the economy; in Kandahar, 13 percent gave those answers.

<i>Which candidate do you think will manage the economy better?</i>	Total	Mazar-e-Sharif Balkh	Herat City	Kabul City	Kandahar City	Khost (Provincial Center)	Jalalabad City Nangarhar
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Mohammad Ashraf Ghani Ahmadzay	48	33	23	37	39	93	81
Doctor Abdullah Abdullah	42	61	68	42	48	2	15
Don't know	8	4	6	15	9	3	3
Decline to answer	2	2	3	6	4	2	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Who Will Lead to a Better Relationship with America?

Overall, voters are similarly divided about which candidate will lead to a better relationship with America, although Ghani retains a slight lead here also, with 48% indicating Ghani and 42% choosing Abdullah. One in ten (10%) either did not know or refused to answer.

<i>Which candidate do you think will lead to a better relationship with America?</i>	Total	Mazar-e-Shrif Balkh	Herat City	Kabul City	Kandahar City	Khost (Provincial Center)	Jalalabad City Nangarhar
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Mohammad Ashraf Ghani Ahmadzay	48	38	20	41	39	90	75
Doctor Abdullah Abdullah	42	61	71	46	50	2	16
Don't know	8	1	8	10	9	6	8
Decline to answer	2	0	1	3	3	2	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100