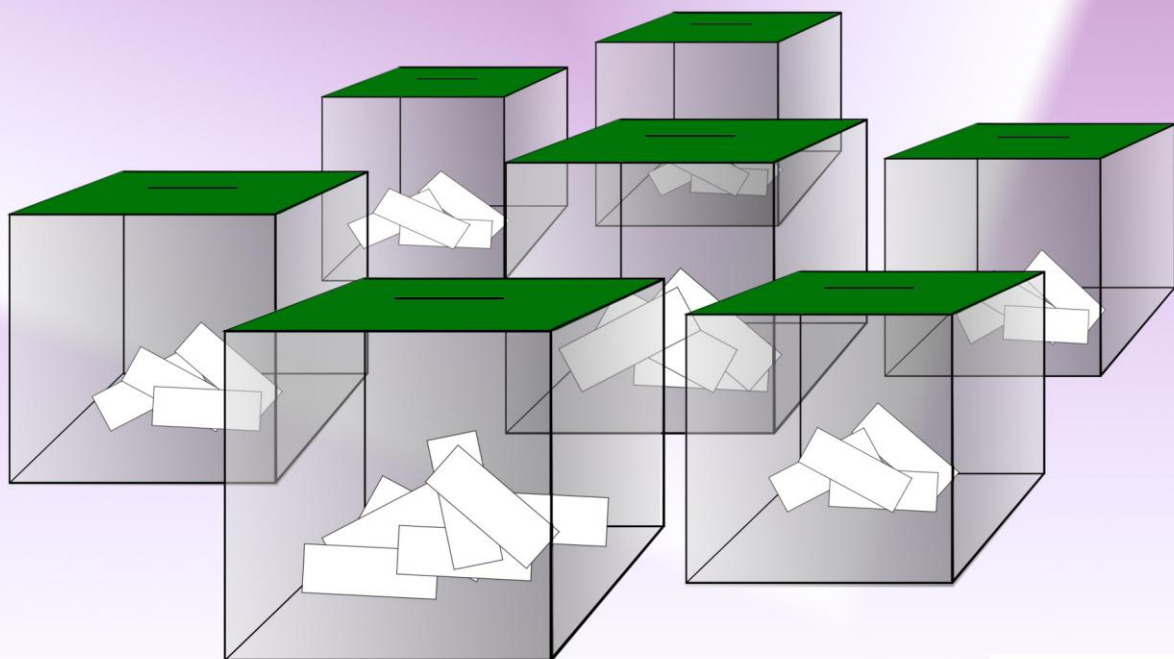


Observation Report of Women Contested Constituencies General Elections 2008 - Pakistan



Acknowledgements

The Researchers under its regional initiative Women and Politics in Asia Forum (WPAF) and its commitment for women equality and political empowerment designed the model for Observing Women Contested Constituencies. Women have been contesting General Elections not even in Pakistan but other countries of Asia; but due to unknown reasons there is very less research based documentation comparative research is available. With this background The Researchers undertook the task of Observing 65 Women Contested Constituencies in the General Elections 2008 in Pakistan and later go for the comparative research on common elements with the General Elections in other Asian Countries.

In this work The Researchers was supported by its local focal organizations by providing 400 field observers and constituency coordinators. We also appreciate the efforts and dedication of our research team specially Sahibzada Saud and Rabia Khaliq for putting up unlimited hours in making this report possible. Our team of control room coordinators and trainers did an excellent job of training and coordinating throughout the project with the field teams.

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Aazar Ayaz
Team Leader

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Executive Summary

The Researchers (TR) is a social governance research organization that has customized election observation of women contested constituencies from pre-poll to post-poll phase under its regional initiative “Women in Politics in Asia Forum”. Domestic observation is a critical factor to enhance the credibility of a country’s election. By adding a gender lens to the election observation, TR contributes to the regional drive aimed at highlight the ‘Gender Face of Politics’. In developing democracies, equal and equitable participation of all segments of society is cardinal for institutional strengthening and growth. Women in Asian region in general and Pakistan in particular, remain marginalized and under represented. The affirmative actions for political empowerment of women need to go beyond numbers and focus on sensitizing the masses as well as media for a more substantial progress on the issue of women empowerment.

The election observation of selected 65 (37%) of women contested constituencies across Pakistan is an effort to document procedural and perceptual gaps for streamlined solutions by all the stakeholders. The study started with establishment of baselines, which included constituency-based composite profile, women socio-political profile, election authorities and processes profile and political profile. There were a total of 96 Constituency Coordinators in 48 teams, each consisting of a male and female member. On Election Day, 797 polling stations (214 male, 172 female and 411 mixed) were observed in the selected constituencies. The Election Day fieldwork included feedback from 1491 Polling Agents, 1484 Polling Staff and 4206 voters through 7,181 structured survey forms.

In the 2008 elections, approximately 21% of the total constituencies, i.e. 179, were Women Contested Constituencies (WCC), i.e. 64 National Assembly (NA) and 115 Provincial Assemblies (PA) constituencies out of which 37 and 28 respectively were observed. There were 195 women contestants in total, 78 on party tickets and 117 were independents. In the WCC, the approximate ratio of contesting Male to Female contestants was 5:1. Over all, 37% contestants were observed i.e. 53% of NA and 28% of PA, with a mix of party ticket holders and independents. 7 women contested on more than one NA seat, 6 women on more than one PA seats and 13 women contested on both NA and PA seats. 2 female each contested at NA level in NWFP and Balochistan with 10 and 6, respectively at the PA level.

Approximately 50% of contesting women at NA level belonged to an established political household. In 50 of the observed WCC, contestants were married and their level of education ranged between 2 PhDs to 33 Graduates with 20 of them having a Master’s degree. These women contestants competed for 15.411 million registered voters in the observed WCC out of which 6.891 million were females.

Among women candidates, those hailing from the elite political families dominated the arena by representing party tickets. A common factor for their presentation was the education eligibility criteria that restricted the entry of the “men” of the house and opened vistas for these females. Barring few, most of the women contestants from the political families did not have a political career. The dynastic characteristic of the political culture facilitated them as the seats they contested were “family seats” inherited by the females under compulsion rather than choice. Election finances, among other factors, were not a problem. Men of the family managed all procedural steps and campaigned on their behalf. The social standing of these families could manage socio-cultural and socio-religio effects/constraints for these women contestants but the same could not be managed for female voters, polling staff, polling agents and independent contestants that faced numerous issues.

Socio-cultural practices, social taboos, misinterpretation of religion and stereotyping fostered under-representation of women in the electoral processes inspite of their equal legal rights. In the observed WCC, Punjab was better off with regard to women's access to basic social services, even though falling between moderate to low in absolute terms. Religious views were moderate as percentage of negative remarks in observed WCC remained low. People had medium response initially towards election, which was raised with the exiled leaders' return. However, post-Mrs. Benazir Bhutto's assassination, environment of fear, particularly for women, dampened their engagement as voters, polling agents and polling staff.

The most prominent female party switchers among the previously elected women were Hina Rabbani Khar, Firdous Ashiq Awan and Sughra Imam who switched from PML-Q to PPP, while Shehzadi Umerzadi Tiwana joined PML-N from PML-O. Ms. Abida Husain switched from independent to PPP and Dr. Saira Tariq, minority reserved seat, joined PML-Q leaving PPP.

The nomination paper of only 2 women candidates, 1 in Punjab of PML-Q and 1 in Sindh of an independent, in the observed WCC were rejected. A negligible number of 3 women contestants, in the observed WCC faced unpleasant incidences. Overall, women contestants' interaction with ECP functionaries, RO and DRO, at district/provincial/HQ level, the officials' attitude was categorized between pleasant to functional. The involvement of representatives of District governments and officials remained an open question.

Most of the party ticket holders had party support in election campaigning but then most were also from established political dynasties. In 85% of the observed WCC men were the campaign leaders and organizers with large majority having the picture of leader of the party and men of the house more visible in campaign material. Parties and contestants used local electronic media i.e. cable, for campaigning. Media coverage of women in News bulletins for selected channels remained on an average of 20% with highest belonging to Geo and lowest to PTV. The coverage of women's political empowerment as in issue in current affairs programme averaged 16% on Express TV while PTV ranked last did not give the issue any coverage.

At the National Assembly level, 15 women got elected out of 73 contestants. PPPP had 7 winners followed by 3 each belonging to PML-N and PML-Q. 1 each got elected on MQM and independent ticket. No women could make it to the National Assembly from NWFP and Balochistan on general seat. A total of 10 women got elected at Provincial level against 122 contestants i.e. 8 out of 73 in Punjab (5 PML-N, 1 each from PPPP, PML-Q and independent); In Sindh 1 out of 28 was elected of PPPP; In Balochistan 1 out of 8 of PML-Q was elected. In NWFP 11 women contested but none got elected. Out of the 15 women elected at NA level 14 were observed WCC as were 7 PA constituencies of the 10 that elected women at PA level.

There were 32 Independent Women Contestants at NA level and 85 at PA level. One each at both levels got elected i.e. Saima Akhtar Bharwana from NA-90 Jhang-V and Robina Shaheen Wattoo from PP-188 Okara-IV. 16 women got elected on both National and Provincial Assemblies' reserved seats, 10 belonged to PPPP and 6 to PML-N. 3 women contested both on reserved and open seats i.e. Ms. Tehmina Daultana PML-N, Sumera Malik- PML-Q and Khushbakh Shujaat MQM. They won general seats and vacated reserved seats. 9 women losing on general seat, at NA and PA level, made it to the house on reserved seat.

The issues of under represented women in electoral process was topped by non-availability of CNIC, access to mobility, distances of the polling station and relatively less female exclusive polling station and booths, low level of literacy and access to information and freedom to exercise their voting right irrespective of their family pressure. With reard to the political parties, the number of women at the decision-making level was negligible with disorganized women wings that are used merely as window dressing. The Manifestos of the major parties

also reflect the same trend. Electoral processes and rules are gender blind but on Election Day they become gender ineffective as other factor takeover. Female polling agents were used for harassing to being harassed due to non-availability of educated females. Female Polling staff was relatively less trained and was obstructed by non-provision of logistic, security and transport especially with ballot boxes. Female voters who were registered suffered due to lack of information and education. This was evident from the problems they faced in proper stamping of the ballot, finding their voter number and designated polling stations. Therefore, majority of women voters relied on candidates' pick and drop facilities and information slips.

The so-called mother of all elections, were held in an environment of fear and sadness following the traumatic death of Ms. Benazir Bhutto. However, the higher than expected turnout and the reasonably fair conduct of the elections is a testament to the thriving democratic culture in the country. This statement is more reflective of the polling-day processes. Amid fears of widespread rigging and violence, the polling day in the observed WCC went relatively smoothly. The data structure designed to highlight the difference in working of male and female polling stations did not register considerable gap on issues of vital importance. However, there were certain areas in which the performance of polling agents, polling staff and the facilities provided left more to desire in the women polling stations.

The major recommendations are: to ensure access to mandatory and free CNIC to women and updated voter roll; Deployment of free public transport for increased voter turnout; Political parties to have at least 20% women representation at decision making level and allocation of seats to women with party and/or State sponsored campaign finances for ordinary political worker/women to contest election; increased number of polling stations especially for women and higher number of female polling staff; Educated Youth to be enrolled as "Volunteers for ECP" to help polling staff and guide women voters; Annulment of elections where less than 10% or no women have casted vote; Manifestos of the parties should be specific of women issues rather than generalized statements to undo perceived stereotyping of their role; Media should report with social responsibility as opinion facilitator to project women issues as substantive than cosmetic; Civil society should continue its support for women political empowerment by including local language voter education in all activities to inculcate social responsibility and civic sense; and cooperation of all stakeholders as a bridge support to the cause and each other.

Chapter 1

Introduction

For a system to qualify as a democratic set up, it must ensure that every citizen has the right to vote and to contest election. For most women of the world, the right to vote came as late as the early and mid-20th Century. However, notwithstanding the legal framework that guarantee equal rights to women, the socio-cultural dynamics in many parts of the world have proved potent enough to keep the issue of gender equality pertinent even in the 21st century.

Gender disparity is the most persistent and chronic manifestation of inequality. In spite of continuous struggle for equal opportunities for women, they still constitute 70% of the world's poor and almost 2/3rd of its illiterates. This exclusion defies rationale and is an indictment of the modern development paradigms in place. Despite relentless efforts from the UN platform to address varied inequalities through conventions and global commitments, the fact remains that gender inequality is not a technocratic goal but a political commitment.

In democratic pursuits, the set of obstacles in women empowerment ranges from the electoral system to resolve of the political parties to support female candidates. In countries like Pakistan, which are at the lowest rung of GEM, these obstacles are to be interpreted as per the prevalent socio-cultural, socio-religious and socio-economic dynamics. Coupled with rising poverty and unemployment, Pakistan lags in terms of access to basic social services and education. The situation is even worse for women. As a marginalized group, women are affected by lack of equality based social standing, lack of access to financial resources to engage in politics as well as cultural-cum-religious misperceptions which stereotype women in non-public life roles. The situation is not helped in the absence of affirmative steps that are required from the government and political parties to establish and institutionalize women's participation in politics. The media in Pakistan is also yet to play its due role in confidence building among women to engage in politics through positive portrayal that will encourage women's political participation.

As per the Constitution of Pakistan 1973, there was 10% and 5% provision for reservation of seats for women in the National Assembly (NA) and Provincial Assemblies (PA) respectively. The provision expired before the 1990 elections and was not revived despite the democratic civil rule and being a priority item in the manifestos of the major political parties. The electoral reforms of 2002 under the military government of General Pervez Musharraf introduced quota reservation for women which included 33% at all tiers of Local Government and approximately 17% in Senate, National and Provincial Assemblies. This affirmative step translated in 73 elected women in National Assembly (NA) i.e. 13 on general seats and 60 on women quota reserved seats. In four Provincial Assemblies (PA) the figures were 140 in total out of which 12 were on general seats and 128 on reserved seats. The total strength of 73 women in NA constituted 21% of the house, a significant improvement comparing the approximately 4% of women members in the 1997 Assembly.

Despite the improvement in numbers and a host of other efforts, women's status in political career is not yet effectively established. This can largely be attributed to: (a) Discontinuation of democratic processes (b) informal and unorganized civil society (c) lack of gender equality and equity in the society (d) deteriorating law and order situation and (e) overall misperception of community on the issues of women in politics. Cultural and religious

1 Ayaz, Aazar. Article: Women in Parliament: Perils and Prospects Dated December 15, 2002

sensitivities, mobility, freedom of expression and independent opinion and awareness-cum-information about the politics, political process and social restrictions and responsibilities are cross cutting themes that further restrict women's active participation in political field. Pakistani politics has never had a culture of promoting women's political activism and leadership and therefore difficulties for women as voters, candidates and political activists remain.

1.1 Rationale for Observation of Women Contested Constituencies

Politics in Pakistan has been complex, controversial, emotional and violent which in and of itself is a barrier to women's political participation. The electoral reforms of 2002 was the first major affirmative action which forced even those political parties who do not support an active role of women in politics, such as MMA, to nominate women against reserved seats. Performance of these elected women has been better considering the all their disadvantaged position, especially, the infancy of their structured political journey. A lot has been reported but little has been documented about this process which needs perspective based analysis, research and feed back to the system and stakeholders.

Political landscape of the year 2007 was a roller coaster ride which ushered the politics and electoral system into a transition phase. A number of dynamics were added to the political milieu and elections of 2008 became the corner stone of anticipated change. This phenomena warranted analytical observation and detailed documentation of the electoral and political processes. On the other hand, the deteriorating law and order situation and political uncertainty raised many questions like: What would we gain out it? Would there be elections? Is there a need to observe elections? Is progression of women in elections a valid question? And why do we need to observe women constituencies separately? The academicians and practitioners are of the universal opinion that anything not recorded/documentated has the higher chance of being categorized as "never happened". Hence, it was concluded that loosing an opportunity would be denying an opportunity to create baselines, learn from our mistakes and draw upon achievements.

The Researchers (TR) is introducing its niche, nationally and regionally, of customized election observation of women contested constituencies from pre-poll to the post-poll phase. In generalized electoral and political observation, gender is "a question" rather than "the question", hence the women specific change and adjustment of focus in observation would result in the processes to be interpreted accordingly, to hold system and stakeholders accountable against their stated position and contribution to women's political empowerment.

This is part of TR's regional initiative "Women in Politics in Asia Forum (WPAF)" which has country chapters in Thailand and Korea. The priority for TR was to pursue research and follow international observation standards and a non-activist approach by not engaging in anything that involves or may involve taking any position(s) in the electoral processes.

Research on politics in general and from the perspective of gender and minorities in particular has been minimal. This is perhaps the first of its kind study in Pakistan. The rationale is to observe and interpret the electoral processes and political stakeholder dynamics from the perspective of political equity, equality and empowerment of the women. This research is to document observation, assessments and analysis on the electoral processes from the point of view of electoral systemic standards and comparability of actions of stakeholders against their stated and manifesto-based stance on women's political empowerment.

1.2 Goal and Objective of Project

In view of previously mentioned arguments, this research project has been conceived to achieve the following goal and objectives:

Goal: To empower and capacitate civil society and national institutions to promote and uphold principles of good governance, transparency, accountability and mainstream women in political and electoral processes

Objectives:

- Objective 1: Development of training material and training of local election observation teams
- Objective 2: Observation, monitoring of electoral process related activities of stakeholders, i.e. government, political parties, ECP, media and election projects
- Objective 3: Election Day observation of selected women-contested constituencies to observe and document the Election Day
- Objective 4: Compilation of data, related analysis and final report

Output: Final Report on Women in Politics in General Elections 2007/08:
Documentation of Journey and Processes

1.3 Hypothesis

The research element of the project required a hypothesis which is:

Elected women constituents continue to overcome socio political and socio-cultural obstacles and are predominantly loyal to their mentors because:

a). at personal level

- i. it leads to increased representation and opportunity
- ii. it is instrumental to strengthen political power houses

b). at political level

- i. it contributes to political image building i.e. enlightened moderation
- ii. it influences society through portrayal of women in media

1.4 Scope and Methodology

The election observation effort for this project was conceptualized to reflect a comprehensive picture of the electoral processes as understood and experienced by important stakeholders such as, voters, candidates via their polling agents and election commission via electoral staff. Keeping in view the enormous challenges of mobilization and capacity building of field teams and the logistical operations, 37 women contested National Assembly constituencies were selected across the country. In addition, these constituencies provided the opportunity to observe the working of electoral processes in 27 women contested Provincial Assembly constituencies that fall within the electoral map of the selected 37 National Assembly

constituencies. In addition, one stand-alone Provincial Assembly constituency was selected in NWFP.

A socio-political and economic profile of each constituency was designed to capture the environment and background for understanding the local power structure and operationalization of important qualitative variables that shape the electoral trends and traditions in each constituency. This information was necessary for contextualizing the findings of the information on pre-poll developments and to the data of quantitative surveys. In keeping with the comprehensive scope of the study, there were three parallel surveys designed to capture the opinions of 4608 voters, 1536 political agents and 1536 polling staff in 797 selected polling stations, out of which 214 were male, 172 female and 411 combined.

The criteria for selection of constituencies comprised several factors and strategic objectives with the aim to cover maximum constituencies where large number of women were contesting elections against open seats and were a political party's ticket holders. Independent contestants were also covered. Prominent among others were an attempt to capture the geographical, cultural and ethnic diversity of the national electoral field and to a lesser extent, security and logistical concerns.

Table 1.1 Women Contestants on General Seats						
Province	Total General Seats		Women Contested Seats		Observed Seats	
	NA Seats	PA Seats	NA Seats	PA Seats	NA Seats	PA Seats
Punjab	148	297	47	69	27	19
NWFP	35	99	2	10	1	3
Sindh	61	130	12	30	8	5
Balochistan	14	51	2	6	1	1
Islamabad	2	-	1	-	-	-
FATA	12	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	272	577	64	115	37	28

In the second step, 16 polling stations were strategically and randomly selected after categorization of areas where applicable, into urban, semi-urban/outskirts and rural, within the varying number of polling stations established across each constituency.

It is important to note that the field strategy was designed to cover the opening of four polling stations, closing of three polling stations, counting of votes at three polling stations, and accumulation and consolidation of the results for the constituency at the Returning Officers Office.

The third step involved selection of respondents for the three surveys aimed at voters, polling agents and polling staff. At each polling station, 6 voter interviews (3 male and 3 female voters), 2 polling agents' interviews (1 male and 1 female), and 2 polling staff's interviews (1 male and 1 female) were targeted. Since the idea was not to gauge the voter turnout or conducting an exit poll, the number of interviews at each polling station is reasonable to reflect on the conduct of electoral processes and perceptions of the targeted groups regarding the proceedings.

Last but not the least; the whole study was designed to account for information on the conduct of election processes with two broad and crosscutting themes. First was to explore the gender specific dynamics of the processes and operations of elections. Second, the study aimed to account for the gender-neutral aspects of the elections in the selected constituencies that were crucial in shaping the results. However this did not exclude women contesting independently. The selected constituencies were observed since November 2007.

1.5 Tools for Data Collection

Following tools were employed for data collection:

a. Primary data collection through:

- Field based 48 teams of 2 members each (1 male and 1 female) total of 96 constituency coordinators since November 2007; to observe Pre Elections. in 65 observed constituencies
- 65 Observed constituency-based composite constituency profile, women's socio-political profile, electoral authorities and processes profile and political profile through fact and perception based structured survey which served as baseline
- Structured weekly election activity reports to record procedural and campaigning developments from 65 constituencies
- Personal interviews with selected contestants
- Select electronic and print media observation i.e. 10 TV channels, 9 Newspapers, 2 Monthly Magazines and internet based reports
- Election day observers' team constituted of 396 male and female national and international observers. Observations were recorded on structured formats designed to capture voter, polling agents, polling staff responses and observer's observation of processes. 7,941 forms were generated by these teams out of 797 Polling stations

b. Secondary data collection through:

- Literature Review
- Pre election observation through Pakistan Governance Forum since January 2007, another TR initiative

The field based data collection was tabulated and analyzed on SPSS. In data tabulation, the percentage of NWFP and Balochistan appears to be higher but it needs to be read in conjunction with the fact that there were only 3 contestants each at NA level for NWFP and Balochistan and 11 and 8 respectively for PA. Out of which TR has observed 1 each at NA level and 3 and 1 respectively for NWFP and Balochistan.

Chapter 2

Contextualizing the 2008 General Elections: An Overview of Pakistan's Electoral History

Elections in Pakistan can hardly be postulated as an institutionalized process of legitimate and peaceful means of transfer of power. This observation is based on two important factors, i.e. non-regularity of the election exercise and the context and motive of the ones held. Since the first General Elections in 1970, the first in 23 years of independence, Pakistan has now hosted 8 more elections. All the elections including the 1970 election were either designed to provide the legal and constitutional framework for return to the civilian rule from a military regime or seeking a fresh mandate through early elections. This phenomenon is reflective of the highly volatile political environment of the country that is characterized by a lopsided civil-military relationship on the one hand and a highly polarized and fragmented political culture and traditions on the other. In such an environment, political struggle and campaigning has often been marred by violence, negative campaigning and accusations of rigging.

Wherein the factors mentioned above have been causative as well as symptomatic of the legitimacy deficient election results at the provincial and national levels, a more disturbing social dynamic is hardly analyzed in studies of elections in Pakistan, i.e. the blending and cooption of tribal, ethnic and biradri fissions in the election processes. The elections campaigns are not only a competition between rival parties and their programs but also a competition of biradaris and ethnic groups. The reliance on paternalistic social structures thus reinforces a political culture dominated by men. Against such a background, it is not surprising to find a smaller number of politically active women as local leaders and party workers.

Hurdles to women's participation in political processes in general notwithstanding, the history of elections in Pakistan have witnessed some exceptional women leaders and workers. From Fatima Jinnah's challenge to Gen. Ayub Khan for the slot of president in indirect elections of 1960 to Benazir's ascendance twice to the office of PM as the first women head of government in a Muslim country, a number of women have braved the bruising political environment for a successful career in politics. A brief historical survey is given below to highlight the issue of women representation in national elections.

2.1 Women Representation 1947-1969

Shaista Ikramullah and Jahanara Shahnawaz were only two women members on seats based on women suffrage in the Constituent Assembly under the 1935 Govt. of India Act that served as the provisional constitution of the country. The constitution of 1956, the first constitution of Pakistan, maintained women suffrage as the method for election of female member and improved the number of reserved seats for women to 15.

After abolishing the 1956 Constitution, Gen. Ayub Khan in his 1962 Constitution did away with women suffrage and introduced reserved seats women, i.e. 8 at the national level and 5 in each provincial assembly. However, the real hallmark of this phase was Ms. Fatima Jinnah's election bid for presidency as joint candidate of the combined opposition parties. It is import-

ant to note that these elections were not direct elections and were limited in its constituency and suffrage to members of the directly elected 'Basic Democracies' or local governments. Also important is the fact that Gen. Ayub established these local governments prior to the elections. It is not surprising that despite an overwhelming popular support, Ms. Fatima Jinnah was thus unable to win this election.

2.2 Women Representation in General Elections 1970-1997

2.2.1 1970 Elections

In the wake of yet another military takeover by Gen. Yahya Khan in 1969, the elections in 1970, hailed as the fairest elections in the history of the country, were held only to reflect a highly polarized electorate in both wings of the country. From the perspective of women representation, not a single woman was directly elected from either the West or East wing of Pakistan. However, 6 women were elected on reserved seats in West Pakistan [ECP Website].

After the separation of East Pakistan, a new constitution was drafted in 1973. Among other important features of the new constitution, such as reverting to parliamentary form of government, the number of reserved seats for women was fixed at 10 in national assembly and 5 each in the provincial assemblies. It is important to mention that three women members, Mrs. Ashraf Abbasi, Mrs. Qazi and Ms. Nasim Jahan contributed in the drafting of the 1973 Constitution as members of the Constitution Committee.

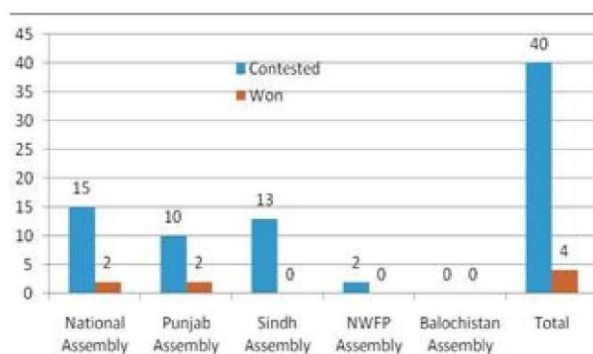
2.2.2 1977 Elections

The 1977 elections were a milestone in the history of women elections in that the first woman member was elected in direct elections to the National Assembly. Mrs. Nasim Wali Khan won election from two constituencies in NWFP. However, the 1977 assembly could not convene as the opposition started a movement against the PPP government alleging rigging in the elections. The women reserved seats were therefore not filled. The ensuing agitation culminated in the third military takeover by Gen. Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq. Fresh elections were announced within 90 days of the takeover but the promise did not materialize.

2.2.3 1985 Elections

After a break of almost 8 years, the Zia regime decided to hold elections in 1985. However, these elections were non-party based as political parties were banned and the country was still under the martial law. As a compromise for lifting the martial law, the 1985 assembly incorporated the 8th amendment that ensured clemency to Gen. Zia for the extra-constitutional military takeover in 1977. Another key aspect of the 8th amendment that became highly controversial was the adoption of article 58-2(b). The said article gave the president the power to dissolve the assemblies with or without the advice of the prime minister. Apart from the 1985 assembly itself, the said article was invoked thrice again to send three assemblies packing in the years to come.

Figure 1: Women's Participation in 1985 Elections



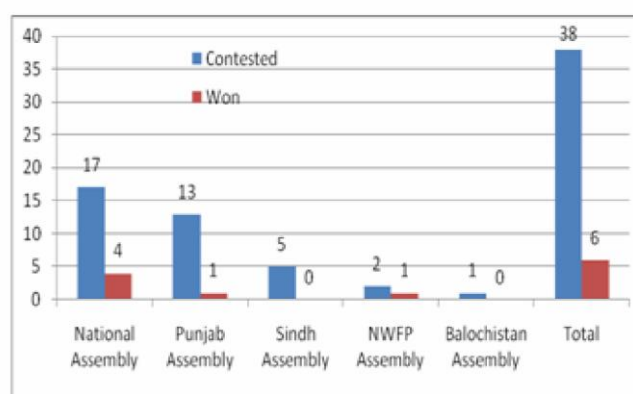
Source: UNDP Study, Political and Legislative Participation of Women in Pakistan: Issues and Perspectives

From the perspective of women participation, these elections showed some improvement as 40 women contested for national and provincial assembly seats. Of these, 15 contested for a place in the National Assembly, 10 for provincial assembly of Punjab, 13 for Sindh, and 2 for NWFP, of which 4 were successful with 1 being elected to the National Assembly and 2 to the Punjab Assembly and 1 more to the National Assembly in by-elections.

2.2.4 1988 Elections

After the dissolution of the 1985 assemblies by Gen. Zia, the 1988 elections were initially announced to hold on non-party based. However, after the death of Gen. Zia in a plane crash, the PPP led by Benazir Bhutto and revitalized opposition parties successfully challenged the announced non-party elections in the supreme court. In a direct competition with the resurgent PPP, Pakistan Muslim League joined hands with other parties to form the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) under the leadership of Nawaz Sharif. These elections were significant in that it brought to the fore leadership that were to dominate the political scene up to the present.

Figure 2: Women's Participation in 1988 Elections



Source: UNDP Study, Political and Legislative Participation of Women in Pakistan: Issues and Perspectives

The 1988 elections marked a significant milestone in women empowerment as it resulted in election of the first female prime minister of the country in Benazir Bhutto. In addition, these were the first party based elections after a gap of 11 years. Women participation in these elections recorded a slight decrease in that 38 national and provincial seats were contested by women, of which 6 were won. Of the 38, 17 were National Assembly seats, 13 Punjab Assembly, 5 Sindh Assembly, 2 NWFP Assembly and 1 were of Balochistan Assembly. Of the six

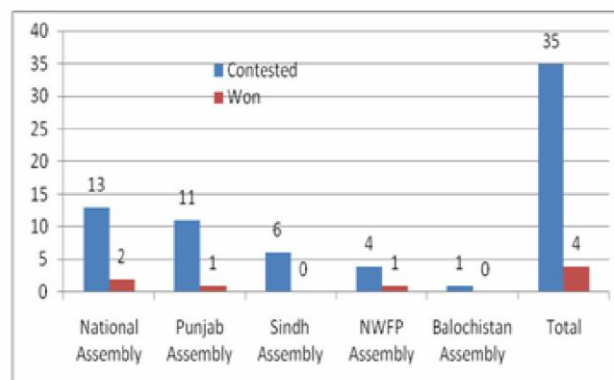
seats won, 4 were National Assembly seats, 1 Punjab Assembly and 1 NWFP Assembly seat.

2.2.5 1990 Elections

After the dismissal of the PPP led assemblies through the second use of the controversial 58-2(b) article of the constitution by president Ghulam Ishaq Khan, the 1990 elections were called. The PPP and IJI second face-off resulted in a considerable majority of the later.

However, the PPP accused large scale rigging in the elections and the assemblies continued to host a highly tense environment among the leading parties and alliances.

Figure 3: Women's Participation in 1990 Elections



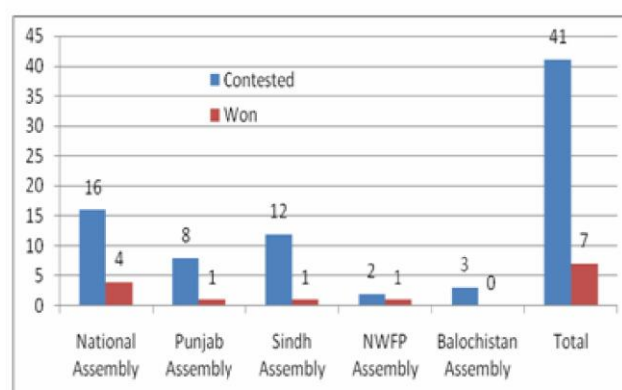
Source: UNDP Study, Political and Legislative Participation of Women in Pakistan: Issues and Perspectives

In the context of women representation, the total number of women contesting dropped from 38 in the previous elections to 35 in the 1990 elections, as did the number of those successful from 6 to 4. Women contestants out of the 13 seats that were contested won only two seats. In addition, 2 provincial assembly seats were won by women contestants, i.e. of the 11 Punjab Assembly seats contested, only one, none of the 6 contested Sindh Assembly seats, only 1 of the 4 contested NWFP Assembly seats, and failure on the single contested Balochistan Assembly seat.

2.2.6 1993 Elections

The 1990 assemblies were sent packing by the third use of the controversial 58-2(b) by president Ghulam Ishaq Khan. Even though the Supreme Court in its landmark decision overturned the president's decision, the tension between Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and the presidency proved irreconcilable. The impasse resulted in both the president and prime minister leaving their offices to pave the way for the 1993 elections. In the run-up to the

Figure 4: Women's Participation in 1993 Elections



Source: UNDP Study, Political and Legislative Participation of Women in Pakistan: Issues and Perspectives

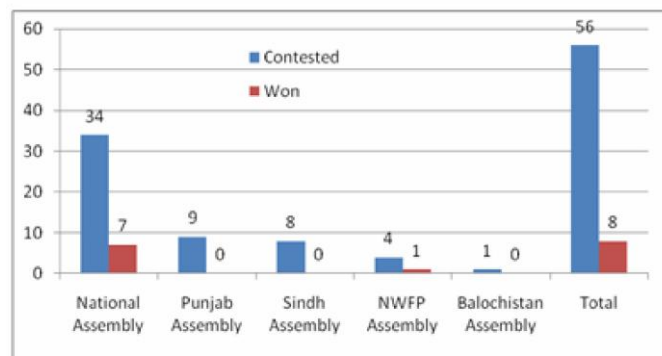
elections, the IJI had dismembered and the political realignment saw to the formation of PPP led Pakistan Democratic Alliance (PDA) on the one hand and emergence of Pakistan Islamic Front (PIF) as the electoral interface of Jamaat-e-Islami on the other. PML-N of Nawaz Sharif took part in the elections from the party platform for the first time.

From the women's representation perspective, the 1993 elections witnessed a slight increase in the number of general seats contested and won by women. In total, 41 NA and provincial assembly seats were contested by women resulting in success on 7. Of the 16 NA seats contested, women secured 4 seats as well as 1 seat each in Punjab, Sindh and NWFP assemblies out of the 8, 12 and 2 seats that were contested in those assemblies respectively.

2.2.7 1997 Elections

The 1993 assemblies just like the earlier assemblies since 1985 failed to complete their tenure. The president alleging corruption of the government and law and order situation, dissolved the assemblies using the powers bestowed on him by article 58-2(b) of the constitution. President Farooq Laghari, a former PPP stalwart thus sent his former party's government packing. Nawaz Sharif's PML-N emerged as the single largest party with more than two-third majority in the national assembly and in Punjab as well as coalition governments in NWFP, Sindh and Balochistan. Whereas the PPP contested the heavy electoral losses alleging rigging, the two parties joined hand to get rid of the controversial 58-2(b). Later, the PML-N government was successful in forcing president Farooq Laghari, Chief of Army Staff Gen. Jehangir Karamat and Chief Justice Syed Sajjad Ali Shah out of their respective offices in a bid to extend the government's control. However, Gen. Pervaiz Musharraf once again reaffirmed the military dominated civil-military relationship with the military takeover in 1999.

Figure 5: Women's Participation in 1997 Elections



Source: UNDP Study, Political and Legislative Participation of Women in Pakistan: Issues and Perspectives

The 1997 elections were significant from the perspective of women representation in that the number of women contested seats went up to 56. However, the number of successfully contest seats increased by a meager 1. The number of NA seats won increased to 7 whereas 1 seat was won by a woman contestant in the NWFP assembly. More encouraging from the women representation perspective was the significant climb in the number of women contestants for the NA seats, i.e. 34. In comparison, the provincial assemblies reflected a

more somber picture in that not only the number of contestants fell but also the number of those successful.

In the absence of women reserve seats, these numbers present a dismal picture of women participation in the elections since 1988. As will be discussed later, the situation improved in the 2002 elections when women reserved seats were restored and increased and the number of women contesting the General Elections continued to surge.

Chapter 3

A Precursor for Women Political Participation: General Elections 2002

Within the designated gender specified roles women have come a long way in all walks of life and field of politics is no different. The level of achievement would not be dependent on stakeholders contribution to the cause but would always be consequential to the level of input by the women themselves take charge of their destiny. Women of Pakistan are improvising their belief system to achieve the goal of holistic empowerment be it social, economic or political to step out of perceived stereotyping of their public and private role.

Electoral reforms 2002 provided the opportunity avenue to women to be politically seen and heard. The elected women in 2002, at national and provincial level, started their political tenure in a politically insulated environment with heavy responsibility for the cause of women's political empowerment i.e. to (a) promote and facilitate conducive environment for their sisterhood and (b) playing a positive role in national level issues and policies.

3.1 Women Contestants and their Performance

Elections of 2002 brought forward 73 women at National level both from the political party platform and in independent capacity

Table 3.1 Women Contestants on General Seats in National Assembly			
Political Parties	Women Contestants	Seats Won	Seats Lost
PPPP	10	05	05
PML-Q	08	04	04
INDEPENDENTS	20	02	18
NA	01	01	-
PML-JINNAH	01	01	-
PML-N	05	-	05
PML-Z	01	-	01
PML-F	01	-	01
PTI	03	-	03
MQM	05	-	05
ANP	01	-	01
TI	01	-	01
NPP-WG	01	-	01
Total	58	13	45

Source: Ayaz, Aazar. Article: Women in Parliament: Perils and Prospects Dated December 15, 2002

At National level the votes bagged by them ranged from a minimum of 43,670 by Ms. Zubeda Jalal (NA-272) to maximum of 74,461 by Dr. Azra Afzal (NA-213) (Table 3.2). At the Provincial level their votes ranged from 37,326 By Maria Tariq (PP-113) from Punjab to a minimum of 10,254 by Nasreen Rehman (PB-17) Balochistan (Table-3.4). In Balochistan and NWFP Provincial Assembly one woman each made it on general seat which is a remarkable effort. Sindh Provincial Assembly shared the office of Deputy Speaker with an elected female.

Women's nomination and election against general seats in General Elections 2002 can not be singularly attributed to any affirmative step alone taken by Government or Civil Society or their "Gender" or their personal effort but was heavily dependent on their association with a political family. For Independent women candidates 2 each won in both National and Provincial Assemblies against 20 and 67 contestants respectively.

Table 3.2 Women Elected on General Seats in National Assembly

Constituency	Name	Political Party	Province	Votes Secured
NA-59 Attock-III	Eman Waseem	PML-Q	Punjab	65,576
NA-69 Khushab-	Sumera Malik	NA	Punjab	71,874
NA-87 Jhang II	Ghulam Bibi Bharwana	PML-Q	Punjab	55,803
NA-90 Jhnag-V	Saima Akhtar Bharwana	Independent	Punjab	56,571
NA-117 Narowal III	Riffat Javed	PML-Q	Punjab	49,367
NA-130 Lahore-XIII	Samina Ghurki	PPPP	Punjab	46,095
NA-147 Okara-V	Robina Shaheen Watto	PML-Jinnah	Punjab	70,701
NA-176 Muzafargarh-I	Khalida Mohsin Ali	PPPP	Punjab	58,895
NA-177 Muzafargarh-II	Hina Rabbani Khar	PML-Q	Punjab	46,726
NA-213 Nawabshah-I	Dr.Azra Afzal	PPPP	Sindh	74,461
NA-223 Hyderabad-VI	Shamshad Sattar Bachani	PPPP	Sindh	50,624
NA-225 Badin-II	Dr. Fahmida Mirza	PPPP	Sindh	71,534
NA-272 Keech cum Gawadar	Zobieda Jalal	Independent	Balochistan	43,670

Source: Ayaz, Aazar. Article: Women in Parliament: Perils and Prospects Dated December 15, 2002

At provincial level 140 women were able to share the political space in all four provinces both from the political party platform and in independent capacity. Their details are:

Table 3.3 Women Contestants on General Seats in Provincial Assemblies							
Political Parties	Women Contestants					Seats Won	Seats Lost
	Punjab	Sindh	NWFP	Balochistan	Total		
PPPP	4	2	-	-	6	3	3
PML-Q	8	1	-	-	9	3	6
Independents	35	27	-	5	67	2	65
NA	-	-	1	-	1	-	1
Pakistan Freedom Party	-	1	-	-	1	-	1
PML-Z	1	1	-	-	2	-	2
PML-N	4	2	-	-	6	1	5
PAT	3	3	-	-	6	-	6
PTI	3	3	-	-	6	-	6
MQM	-	2	-	-	2	2	-
MQM Pak	-	1	-	-	1	-	1
BNP	-	-	-	1	1	-	1
Pakistan Democratic Party	2	-	-	-	2	-	2
Labour Party Pakistan	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
SURA	-	1	-	-	1	-	1
Sunni Tahreek	-	1	-	-	1	-	1
QJP	1	-	1	-	2	-	2
PPP-Sherpao	-	-	1	-	1	1	-
NPP-WG	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
Awami Qiyadat Party	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
Tameer Pakistan Party	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
Total	65	45	3	6	119	12	107

Source: Ayaz, Aazar. Article: Women in Parliament: Perils and Prospects Dated December 15, 2002

12 women got elected on general seats with a minimum of winning votes ranging between 10,254 to a maximum of 37,326 by Ms. Nasreen Rehman of Balochistan an independent candidate and Maria Tariq from Punjab of PML-Q, respectively. The details of winners are:

Table 3.4 Women Elected on General Seats in Provincial Assemblies				
Constituency	Name	Political Party	Province	Votes Secured
PF-57 Mansehra-V	Al Hajia Ghazala Habib	PPP-Sherpao	NWFP	11,324
PP-34 Sargodha-VII	Dr. Nadia Aziz	PPPP	Punjab	10,899
PP-76 Jhang-IV	Syeda Sughra Imam	PML-Q	Punjab	18,201
PP-88 Toba Tek Singh	Ashifa Riaz Fatiyana	Independent	Punjab	29,116
PP-113 Gujrat- VI	Maria Tariq	PML-Q	Punjab	37,326
PP-116 MandiBahuddin-I	Hameeda Waheeduddin	PML-Q	Punjab	33,090
PP-145 Lahore-IX	Begum Rehana Jamil	PML-N	Punjab	14,523
PS-74 Dadu-IV	Marvi Mazhar	PPPP	Sindh	22,040
PS-85 Thatta-II	Sassi Palijo	PPPP	Sindh	17,200
PS-101 Karachi-XIII	Bilquis Mukhtar	MQM	Sindh	21,480
PS-105 Karachi-XVII	Rehana Nasreen	MQM	Sindh	24,322
PB-17 Loralai-IV	Nasreen Rehman	Independent	Balochistan	10,254

Source: Ayaz, Aazar. Article: Women in Parliament: Perils and Prospects Dated December 15, 2002

3.2 Representation in Cabinet and Committees of the Parliament - 2002

The 1st Federal Cabinet had only one female minister and one advisor. Whereas, by the end of the Parliamentary tenure this number rose to 6 with 2 Federal Ministers and 4 Ministers of State. At National level 6 females were appointed parliamentary secretaries (18%). 2 women were Chairpersons of Standing Committees in National Assembly (5%) whereas in Senate it had 3 women as Chairpersons of Standing Committees (12%).

At the four provinces the status was:

Sindh: 2 ministers and 1 non-elected advisor

Punjab: 4 ministers, 10-parliamentary secretaries 2 chairman of standing committees

NWFP: No minister and 1 non- elected advisor

Balochistan: 2 ministers

There was one female Provincial Deputy Speaker in Sindh. These figures show a remarkable improvement as well as an indicator of inroads that elected women were able to make post General Elections 2002.

3.3 Performance of Women in Parliament 2002-2007

The 2002-2007 tenure of Parliament has been critically evaluated by political analysts. Those focusing on women's political achievements argue that in many cases, women politicians became 'just like other men' in their attitude, or that many have studiously avoided taking up issues particularly those faced by women. Reservation of women seats in Senate, National and Provincial Assemblies has been an affirmative action but certainly, it cannot and shall not be taken as the only and all encompassing option that can elevate women empowerment.

Following our hypothesis, the performance of women in 2002 also highlight that at personal level, majority of women members of assemblies openly showed allegiance to Gen. Pervez Musharraf for their presence in the Parliament but demonstrated lack of energy in the face of hurdles from and within the elected houses and at party politics level. The large number of women members however, placed Pakistan in front ranks of the parliaments in terms of women representation and contributed to the sought after enlightened image. The elected women at National Assembly level, all except Ms. Zobaida Jalal, belonged to political households whereas Ms. Jalal was caretaker Minister in Pervez Mushaffa's cabinet prior to her election on a general seat as an independent candidate. Several others remained were able to find seat in Cabinet and Parliamentary Committees. Most of the directly elected women were beneficiary of non-availability of male member of their political house as majority of them were unable to contest due to the eligibility clause requiring a bachelors degree. Hence, wives, daughters, nieces and daughters-in-law became members of assemblies. Most of these women remained a rubber stamp in the hands of their male relatives who became de-facto members as women were awarded ticket in place of their male family members who could not contest the elections..

Literature review and interviews bring forth the following factors that elected women categorized as impeding factors towards their effectiveness as pro-active members of the national and provincial assemblies:

1. Lack of capacity and inexperience regarding rules and procedure of the assemblies, especially those relating to legislation and formulation of bills and resolutions
2. Women members were marginalized with regard to allotment of time to speak by both the custodians of the houses and political parties in the house.
3. Women elected on reserved seats are weighted low in status compared to those directly elected both by political parties and male members of the assemblies
4. Working across party lines on common issues of women and other policies have been difficult as major strength of women was on reserved seat and they could not go against party advice.
5. Balancing personal, family and political commitments life was another issue that kept them occupied

Generally, women were expected to concentrate only on women specific issues. This was further enhanced when majority of civil society organizations related to them for the cause of women empowerment especially against discriminatory laws and practices. The patriarchal political structures were visible by way of nomination of women on reserved seats as family relations got priority over political activists or worker. It curtailed development of an independent voice for women politicians. Women were generally satisfied with reservation of

seat mechanism yet recognized it to be an adhoc arrangement which needs consolidation through structural mechanisms and commitment of political parties. They recognized that their performance and tenacity to stay focused on the cause of women empowerment are the key to success.

3.4 Responsiveness of Main Political Parties to Women's Political Participation – A Comparative Analysis of Elections 2002 to 2008

3.4.1 Allocation of Tickets to Women Contestants: 1993-2008 Elections

One way to gauge the responsiveness of political parties to mainstreaming women in politics is to assess the number of ticket allocated to them against the total number of allocated tickets. The literature review brings out, from available data for elections held in 1993, 1997, 2002 and 2008; that the maximum number of tickets allocated to women by mainstream political parties has been 5.5% by PPP in the 1997 election; whereas minimum is by PML-N which was 1.7% in 1993 election.

For the 2008 election among PPPP, PML-N, PML-Q the maximum has been 3% by PML-N. Whereas at the regional/provincial party's level MQM leads by 4% followed by 1 seat each by PPP-Sherpao and ANP. Following is the over detail of allocation of ticket to women candidates by the political parties:

Table 3.5 Tickets Allocated to Women Against Total Number of Allocated Tickets				
Political Party	1993	1997	2002	2008
PPP and PPPP	4/166 (2.4%)	9/163 (5.5%)	18/710 (2.5%)	23/789 (2.9%)
PML-N	3/173 (1.7%)	7/178 (3.9%)	11/546 (2.0%)	20/652 (3.0%)
PML-Q	-	-	18/646 (2.7%)	18/655 (2.7%)
MQM	2/33 (6.1%)*	-	6/182 (3.2%)	14/339 (4.1%)
PPP-SB	-	7/67 (10.4%)	-	1/24 (4.1%)
PML-J	-	1/17 (5.9%)	-	-
PTI	-	-	10/295 (3.3%)	-
Khaksar Threek	-	1/5 (20.0%)	-	-
PAT	-	-	8/218 (3.2%)	-
PML-Z	-	-	4/57 (7%)	-
ANP	-	-	-	1/149 (0.6%)
PPP-Sherpao	-	-	-	1/64 (1.6%)
PGP	-	-	-	1/ 2 (50.0%)
PAP	-	-	-	1/4 (25.0%)

* Later boycotted NA election

The data when assesses at the provincial level, party wise, shows that No political party awarded any seat to women in Balochistan in the elections of 2002; whereas PML-Q in 2008 was the only party which allocated one seat to a woman in Balochistan. NWFP in the elections

of 2002 remained most neglected for award of ticket to women but improved for 2008 elections with an average of 1.5% for mainstream political parties. Punjab remains on the top followed by Sindh. The province wise comparison for award of ticket for 2002 and 2008 election is as under:

Table 3.6 Comparison of Allocation of Ticket from NA to PA Level for 2002 and 2008 Elections										
	Elections 2002					Elections 2008				
Political Party	NA	PP	PS	PF	PB	NA	PP	PS	PF	PB
PPPP	10/232 (4.3%)	4/266 (1.5%)	4/128 (3.1%)	-	-	15/253 (5.92%)	5/281 (1.7%)	2/134 (1.4%)	1/80 (1.2%)	-
PML-N	4/171 (2.3%)	5/235 (2.1%)	2/75 (2.6%)	-	-	7/209 (3.3%)	10/279 (3.58%)	2/83 (2.4%)	1/62 (1.6%)	-
PML-Q	8/197 (4%)	8/278 (2.8%)	2/71 (2.7%)	-	-	9/204 (4.4%)	7/280 (2.5)	-	1/66 (1.5%)	1/44 (2.2%)
MQM	4/60 (6.6%)	-	2/109 (1.8%)	-	-	8/121 (6.6%)	2/62 (3.2%)	2/125 (1.6%)	2/15 (13.3%)	-
PPP-SB	-	-	-	-	-	1/9 (11.1%)	-	-	-	-
PTI	2/97 (2%)	4/86 (4.6%)	3/61 (4.9%)	1/40 (2.5)	-	-	-	-	-	-
PAT	3/66 (4.5%)	3/108 (2.7%)	2/28 (7.1%)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PML-Z	1/16 (62%)	1/23 (4.3%)	2/15 (13.3%)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ANP	-	-	-	-	-	1/40 (2.5%)	-	-	-	-
PPP-Sherpao	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1/1 (100%)	-	-
PGP	-	-	-	-	-	1 / 1 (100%)	-	-	-	-
PAP	-	-	-	-	-	1/ 2 (50%)	-	-	-	-

NA= National Assembly, PP=Punjab Assembly, PS=Sindh Assembly, PF=NWFP Assembly, PB= Balochistan Assembly

3.4.2 Political Parties Manifestos for General Elections 2008 and Women

All major political parties have given space to women issues in their manifestos by recognizing ongoing discrimination and their struggle for socio-political empowerment. Social evils in society and systemic disadvantages, on an overall basis are recognized to be critical against women equality which is compounded by denial of equal political rights. Economic empowerment remains under recognized by all the manifestos except for PML-N which hints at micro credit. Vocational educational comes out prominently for all.

The gist of women related reference of the major parties is as under:

ANP's manifesto is structured on women issues and recognizes social discrimination and taboos to be the core issues. It aspires to meet signed national and international conventions in letter and spirit and vows to ensure 33% reservation of quota at all political decision making levels. Legislation is stated as the corrective option.

MQM remains generic focusing on social discrimination and evils tainting the cause of equality for women. Education and women sectorally finds space in their manifesto along with appropriate awareness raising, administrative and legislation as corrective measures.

PML-N manifesto is summed in the acronym "RESTORE" as per which R stands for restoration of the judiciary, democracy and the 1973 Constitution, E for elimination of military's role in politics, S for security of life and property of the people, T for tolerant and pluralistic society, O for overall national reconciliation and institutional development, R for relief for the poor through poverty alleviation and finally E which stands for employment, education and health facility to the citizens.

It aims at ensuring rights of women as per Islamic instructions to ward discrimination and social evils. Effective representation of women in decision making bodies and reintroduction of reserved seats for women parliament after restoring 1973 constitution to pre October 1999 is their priority. Sectorally education and health care are the women focused sector. Recruitment of female teachers for primary education and micro credit for women will be their priority when in power.

PML-Q manifesto focuses 5 D's (Democracy, Development, Devolution, Diversity and Defence) Development and Diversity are two D's which touch upon women. It appears to be most generic when it comes to women. It votes against social evils and aims empowerment for women in light of respect and dignity as stated in Quran. Education appears to be the sector for women along with promotion of vocational and technical education.

PPPP manifesto is build around five "Es" which stand for employment, education, energy, environment and equality. Manifesto promises to work to empower women by raising employment quota to 20%, legislation to ensure ownership to assets and end social discrimination. It promises space in higher judiciary and Ministry of women to be the tool to ensure that gender priorities are reflected in all policy initiatives.

PTI has boycotted elections but their manifesto along with others focuses on social discrimination, more education and vocational training/ education along with other legislative measures for effective representations.

JUI-F manifesto remains elusive when it comes to women specific statement except for Mother and Child Healthcare centers and the establishment of district level nursing colleges.

The detail abstract of manifesto focusing women is Annex 1.

Chapter 4

Legal and Institutional Framework for General Elections 2008

The legal and institutional framework of an election is not only important for understanding its processes but also to help determine its validity and fairness. In scope, such a framework deals with the process of polling as well as the environment preceding and following the polls. The embedded principle for the pre-poll, polling day and post-poll phases is to ensure an even ground and a fair environment for all contestants to canvass and campaign, for the people to freely express their will through ballots and transparency in the processes from start to finish. The combination of laws and rules governing the conduct of important stakeholders as well as the governing body and tools responsible are therefore the focus of this chapter.

4.1 Electoral Laws and Regulations

A host of constitutional and legal measures and addicts provide the framework for the institutionalization of elections in Pakistan. Given below is a brief survey of these legal and constitutional tools relevant to the exercise of elections in the country.

4.1.1 The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan

The basic framework for establishment of Election Commission of Pakistan headed by a Chief Election Commissioner (CEC) is established in the constitution. Articles 213-217 deal with the question of eligibility and appointment of CEC, oath to the office, terms of office, and appointment of acting commissioner. Articles 218-221 calls for the establishment of a permanent election commission, fixes the number of its members and outlines their eligibility criteria, specifies duties of the CEC, and makes it binding on the federal and provincial executives to assist the CEC and ECP in discharge of their duties. In addition, the Constitution of Pakistan in its articles 222-226 provides the outline for enacting electoral laws; bars double membership, set the time frame of general and bye-elections, guidelines for election dispute and establishing the right of voter for secret ballot.

4.1.2 The Representation of the People Act 1976

As provided for in the constitution, several acts detail the processes of elections and the working of the public bodies concerned. Prominent among others is the Representation of the People Act 1976 lays down the framework for the conduct of elections to national and provincial assemblies, establishes mechanisms against corrupt and illegal practices and other offences relating to elections as well as for settlement of disputes pertaining to elections. Chapter II of the Act guides the working of the ECP; Chapter III spells out the rules applicable in appointment of Returning Officers, establishment of polling stations, appointment of presiding and polling officers and supply of electoral rolls. Chapter IV of the Act deals with the procedures to be followed in the conduct of elections from notification for elections to declaration of results. The chapter covers alteration in the election program, nomination for election, deposit, scrutiny of nomination papers, publication of the list of candidates, withdrawal of papers, retirement from elections, death of a candidate after nomination, as well as postponement of elections in certain circumstances. The chapter also details the pre-election-day processes such as allocation of symbols and appointment of election agent, and polling agent.

For the election-day processes, the Act reaffirms the principle of secret ballot, established a one-day poll, postal ballot, admission to the polling station, maintenance of order, voting procedures and results. Chapter V-A of the Act deals with election to reserved seats for minorities and women, Chapter VI with election expenses by the candidates, chapter VII with election disputes settlement through election tribunals, chapter VIII with offences, penalties and their procedures, and chapter IX with issues of disqualification of candidates.

Whereas most of the rules set out remained the same through most elections since 1976, this detailed Act was amended through a 2002 order, The Conduct of General Elections Order, 2002. Issued prior to the 2002 General Elections, the key features included the increase in the number of seats in the parliament and provincial assemblies. The number of general seats of NA was increased to 272, Senate's seats to 100, Punjab Assembly's general seats to 271, Sindh Assembly's to 130, NWFP Assembly's to 99, and Balochistan Assembly's to 51. In addition, this order established reserved seats for women, i.e. 60 in the National Assembly, 4 in Senate, 11 in Balochistan Assembly, 22 in NWFP Assembly, 66 in Punjab Assembly and 29 in Sindh Assembly. It also provided for non-Muslim reserved seats, i.e. 10 in NA, 3 each in Balochistan and NWFP Assemblies, 8 in Punjab Assembly and 9 in Sindh Assembly. The order established joint electorate, abolished the separate electorate system in place for the non-muslims, and fixed the voting age at 18. Last but not the least, the Order made graduate level education mandatory for candidates.

4.1.3 The Political Parties Order 2002

The Political Parties Order 2002 makes intraparty elections and submission of party constitution to ECP mandatory for the political parties. In addition, it made parties liable to dissolution if the office bearers were not eligible to contest elections. It was due to this order that PPP and PML-N had to shuffle the party leadership. While Nawaz Sharif of PML-N relinquished the office of president of PML-N, PPP registered its electoral interface in PPP-Parliamentarians with Makhdoom Ameen Fahim as its chairperson to avoid ban. It is also important to note that the said order made it mandatory for political parties to submit their financial statement to the ECP. Giving more oversight to the ECP, the Order allows for the scrutiny of political parties' constitution and information provided with the power to confiscate funds that are the ECP deems prohibited.

4.1.4 The Code of Conduct for Political Parties and Contesting Candidates 2007-2008

As per the requirement of Article 218 of the Constitution, the ECP issued the code of conduct for political parties and contesting candidates with a view to streamline the political activities in the run up to the elections. The code of conduct for the 2007-08 elections set the parameters for general conduct of the parties and contesting candidates with the objective of stemming violence, dissuading from maligning the competitors and disruption of their campaign activities. The general conduct also governs the use of banners, posters, hoardings and leaflets by prescribing the maximum size allowed for each. The code of conduct also outlines the principles that would guide the conduct of electioneering through public meetings and processions by making advanced approval from local authorities mandatory among other things.

However, as we have discussed in this report, the 2007-08 elections were among the most violent in the history of the country. Although not all the incidents of violence could be associated with the process of elections itself, violations of the code of conduct has been a common occurrence. Perhaps the most visibly abused of the code of conduct were the specification on the size of leaflets, hoardings, pamphlets, banners and posters.

4.2 Election Administration

From the perspective of election administration, the tools and structures in the shape of electoral rolls and constituencies as well as human and logistical resources for free and fair elections are important. This section looks at the issues related to electoral rolls, constituency delimitations, polling stations and polling staff during the 2008 elections.

4.2.1 Electoral Rolls

Electoral rolls form the bedrock of free and fair elections in that they guarantee the basic premise of this democratic exercise. First, the list ensures the rights of eligible citizens to vote based on the principle of equality. Second, the electoral rolls form the tool to check the malpractices of multiple voting as well as illegal or fake voting by acting as a countercheck referral for all concerned. It is not surprising that the issue of electoral rolls in the 2008 elections garnered significant importance. After the announcement of the ECP to formulate new computerized electoral rolls for the 2008 elections based on data from NADRA, the controversy over the numbers of total registered voters ended up in the supreme court. Based on the list of citizens registered with NADRA as holders of the Computerized National Identity Cards (CNIC), the number of voters shrank from the 72 million on the previous rolls to 54 million on the computerized rolls when in fact the over 18 section of the overall population had increased. In effect, the right to vote was thus reduced to a privilege of those having the new national ID card as against the general principle of adult suffrage as an inalienable right of the citizenry. Several of the political parties complained and the PPP took the case to the Supreme Court for a legal opinion.

Table 4.1 Registered Voters			
Province	Voters		
	Male	Female	Total
Punjab	24,479,668	20,006,958	44,486,626
Sindh	10,894,176	8,612,297	19,506,473
NWFP	6,324,182	4,337,030	10,661,212
Balochistan	2,358,971	2,004,639	4,363,610
FATA	985,994	424,332	1,410,326
Islamabad	261,697	221,104	482,801
Grand Total	45,304,688	35,606,360	80,911,048

Source: ECP Website

It was after the intervention of Supreme Court that the decision was made to revert to the old electoral rolls and to update those lists for the 2008 elections. The numbers displayed above reflects on those updated electoral rolls that show an increase of 8 million voters. However, an interesting anomaly that remains is smaller number of women registered voters even though women constitute more than 50% of the population. With an overall national difference of around 10 million, lesser numbers in the female column for each province and territory speaks volumes about the political participation of women in the elections. The numbers are disappointing, especially in the conservative regions of FATA and NWFP. The question of women political participation and empowerment needs to acknowledge this issue

as a fundamental issue of disenfranchisement that runs against the principle of gender equality and representation.

4.2.2 Constituency Delimitations

Since the General Elections 2002, a host of new and re-demarcated administrative units demanded a reexamination of the national and provincial constituency maps. For the 2002 elections, the increase in the number of national and provincial constituencies to 272 and 577 respectively necessitated the delimitation of the constituencies under the principle laid out in section 9 of the Delimitation of Constituencies Act 1974. The principle laid out provides for delimitation in cognizance of distribution of population in geographically compact areas, existing boundaries of administrative units, logistical operation and public convenience, and homogeneity in the constituencies.

Prior to the 2008 elections, 15 new districts and 55 tehsils/taluqas were carved out of the existing administrative units across the country and affected 68 national and 129 provincial assemblies' constituencies. The ECP decided to keep the constituencies intact and to only re-describe/ rename them in order to reflect their geographical position in terms of the administrative districts in which these constituencies fall. Hence, the ECP was able to avoid any controversy regarding the delimitation of the constituencies as was witnessed prior to the 2002 elections.

4.2.3 Polling Stations and Electoral Staff

The 2008 elections were the largest election related logistical operation to date. The key consideration in establishing polling stations was reach and convenience of the voters as well as neutrality of the premises used. For the electoral staff, the objective was the smooth running of the electoral processes from nomination to the announcement of results by ensuring placement of trained, impartial and efficient staff across all levels.

Table 4.2 Polling Stations and Electoral Staff					
Province	Polling Stations	Polling Booths	Presiding Officers	Asst. Presiding Officers	Polling Officers
Punjab	37,639	97,566	37,639	195,132	97,566
Sindh	13,405	39,275	13,405	78,550	39,275
NWFP	8,173	21,476	8,173	42,952	21,476
Balochistan	3,457	8,332	3,457	16,664	8,332
FATA	1,122	2,744	1,122	2,744	2,744
Islamabad	382	1,023	382	2,046	1,023
Grand Total	64,178	170,416	64,178	338,088	170,416

Source: ECP Website

A total of 64,178 polling stations were established across the country with a total of 170,16 polling booths to cater to the 80 million registered voters. These were staffed by a total of 572682 persons that were largely drawn from government departments. The breakdown of this number reflects the staffing formula for each polling station. There was one presiding officer at each polling station, one polling officer at each polling booth and nearly two assistant presiding officers at each polling booth. However, as we discuss later in this report, a significant number of voters were not satisfied with the time it took them to complete the

process of polling. One obvious conclusion could be the need for increasing the number of polling stations or a strategic rethinking in the establishment of polling stations to facilitate the voters on the polling day.

Chapter 5

Pre-Election Observation in Select Women Contested Constituencies

5.1 Contextualizing Empowerment

Obstacles to women's empowerment spring from cultural stereotypes and institutional barriers in the public sphere². Resilience of the gender stereotyping is a major barrier to women's participation in decision-making on equal footings with men. Such barriers convey misperception that women are unfit for leadership and on the other hand demand excessively from women who aspire to public positions of leadership. This creates invisible and dimensional barriers in public sphere for women's equal participation in decision-making and politics. These are compounded by lack of political will, lack of a critical mass of women in politics, misperception that politics is a men's domain and gender blind types of electoral system that tend to restrict facilitation of women in political arena.

Regionally and globally, the past decade has yielded opportunities for advancing women's political empowerment through concerted and networked action on common issues and using media to influence values and cultural systems. Secondly, advocacy for democratic governance has increased in Asian region which is facilitated by aid agencies which are supporting initiatives that intend to mainstream vulnerable groups such as women. Thirdly, in the region, political and leadership vacuum are creating space for a "gender face of politics" than men's only network.

With these opportunities, the trailing challenges to women's political empowerment remains to have an enabling environment and organized political strategy for women to gain power. Public institutional support, e.g. from government, political parties, media, educational set ups, etc, is required to improve political environment. Whereas, closer cooperation between organized civil societies groups, in collaboration with aid agencies, can help in organized strategization. Hence, commitment from both the government and social institutions is required to redefine political attributes and its social relationships to facilitate political equality.

In Pakistan, democratic institutions could not be strengthened due to repeated military takeovers. This has affected mainstreaming politics in general and of women's political participation in particular. Non-availability of conducive political environment led to political struggle, with physical hardship, predominantly led by men which further restricted their entry in to the political arena. Some illustrious women being political activist and politicians have been equally involved with men to pursue political struggle and underwent State violence and serve jail terms. The public at large in Pakistan is more streetwise when it comes to political analysis and appreciates these "men like women"; hence, the reference point for popular struggle remains to be "men".

Electoral reform of 2002 introduced education as eligibility criteria that shook the strong hold of the "men" of the political dynasties that lacked the required education level. This resulted in "educationally qualified women" of these political household to be introduced into the political arena. This step was to save the political dynasties from a weakening position.

² Issues In Women's Political Empowerment By Center For Asia-Pacific Women In Politics

Nationally Assembly had women on general seats which were all representative of these political dynasties. The same was seen for nominated women candidates for 2008 both on general and reserved seats. These qualified women have been seen to be controlled by “politics of men of the family” and could find seats in the cabinet as weight and priority to a particular political house hold.

The analysis reveals that “Quotas” have been the entry ticket for women for increased representation and an opportunity avenue to create influence to be mainstreamed. The prominent mainstream women politicians owe their presence to their family relationships with political households. The 2002 onwards numeric strength of the reservation is not due to the women’s political performance or political parties support but due to an unelected government which pursued electoral reform. Without indulging in the quality and effect of the reform, the fact remains that political parties have been shifting positions on the issue since the expiry of Constitution based reservation in 1988. Women in Parliament were a negligible number of 3-4 on general seats courtesy political lineage. Affirmative steps of the government in 2002, for General Elections and devolution, led to a substantive number of women’s entry in mainstream politics creating a critical mass which was an ode to women and civil society’s struggle.

5.2 Profile of Observed Women Contested Constituencies

Pakistan’s administrative division is into four provinces, 124 districts with Northern Areas, 7 Federally Administered Tribal Agencies (FATA), Provincially Administered Tribal Agencies (PATA) and Islamabad Capital Territory (ICT). Political division is categorized as Constituencies; there are 272 National and 577 Provincial Constituencies (297 Punjab, 130 Sindh, 51 Balochistan and 99 NWFP) (Excluding reserved seats). 2008 elections were held on the basis of joint electorate, on the same day for National and Provincial Assemblies.

Pakistan’s population is estimated at 16.3 million³ out of which the number of registered voters are approximately 82 million with 35 million (35,606,360) Female voters. The total number of women contested constituencies were 179. Out of this, 64 belonged to National Assembly (NA) and 115 to Provincial Assemblies (PA). TR selected 65 Women Contested Constituencies (WCC) the Province wise bifurcation of same is:

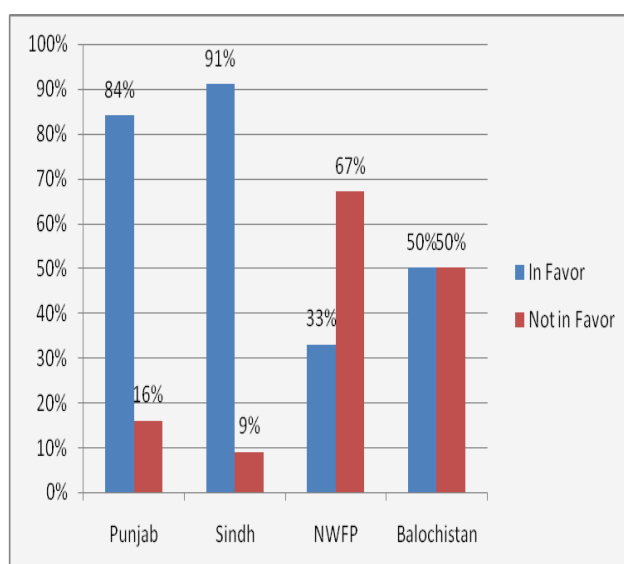
Table 5.1 Total Number of Observed Women Contested Constituencies (WCC)				
Province	Total Number of WCC		Total Number of TR Observed WCC	
	NA	PA	NA	PA
Punjab	47	69	27	19
Sindh	12	30	08	05
NWFP	02	10	01	03
Balochistan	02	06	01	01
ICT	01	0	0	0
Total	64	115	37	28

³ www.pakistan.gov.pk

TR has observed 58% of women contested constituencies at National level and 25% at Provincial level which becomes 37% on an overall basis. In these 179 constituencies 195 women candidates filed their nomination papers to contest on NA and PA seats. The bifurcation is:

Table 5.2 Total Number of Observed Women Contestants				
Province	Number of Women Contestants		Number of TR Observed Women Contestants	
	NA	PA	NA	PA
Punjab	49	74	32	22
Sindh	15	29	11	06
NWFP	03	11	01	03
Balochistan	03	08	01	01
ICT	02	-	-	-
Total	73	122	45	32

The interesting element to note is that in the WCC the approximate ratio of contesting Male to Female contestants is 5:1. TR observed 61% of nationally and 26% of provincially contesting female candidate belonging to political parties as well as those contesting independently. On an overall basis TR observed 39% contestants as well. Annex 2 and 3 has the complete list of women contested and observed constituencies along with their name and party affiliation.



Communally the trend was found to be favorable towards women and politics in the observed constituencies. In the pre election phase, TR has been observing the political processes throughout the year 2007 under its parallel initiative of Pakistan Governance Forum whose findings have also fed into this observation of WCC. TR used different lens for pre election phase observation which were composite constituency profile, women's socio-political profile, electoral authorities and processes profile and political profile.

5.2.1 Religious and Cultural Profile of Observed Women Contested Constituencies

Each province has its own religio-social interplays which hinder and/or facilitate mainstreaming of women in society in general and politics in particular which extend to cultural norm, traditions and ethos. These interplays are visible in their social to personal to political attributes. Language and religious belief in each Province are the main source of

socio-cultural and socio-political strength. Religious practices also vary from being conservative to moderate in each province.

Religious schools of thoughts have expanded their outreach to political arena as well to capitalize their follower as voters for their political strength and resourcefulness. The religio-political leaders use their position for vote swings and for decreeing women. Religio-cultural traditions mostly have been merged into societal practices which has stronger obligation. This also affects general public behavior towards political processes.

Culturally each province has its own specification when it comes to women. Balochistan and NWFP do not promote public role for women and some of its areas have high level of conservatism where “taking name of male” is a taboo and when it comes to non-family male its worse. This analogy is then applied as contestants and voters where name of a woman would be on ballot paper and any one can take the name of those women in front of the family and/or women being voters have to know and take name of male candidate to vote. This is an example of extreme conservatism where as in Sindh and Punjab these taboos get relaxed. However, issue of mobility remains equally sensitive and unsafe. Respect for women ends up in extreme protection regimens as women equate honor for the family.

In observed 65 WCC, the Brailevy, Deobandi, Shia and Ahl-e-Hadis were the predominant religious schools of thoughts. The profiling brings out:

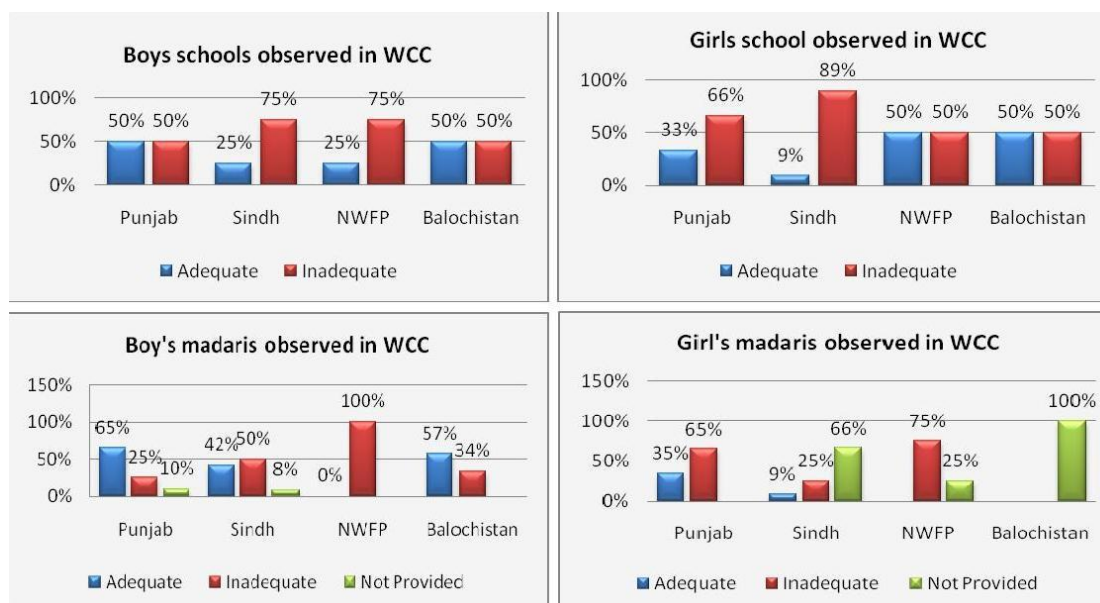
- Only 2% of the observed WCC reported any negative remark or attribution towards women candidates from religious faction or otherwise and that too in Punjab
- 45 constituencies had positive perception towards women casting their vote
- 39 and 25 constituencies, respectively, had positive perception towards women’s role as voter and candidates against mixed response. Similarly general perception for their families also ranged between positive to mix.
- The availability of Madaris for schooling was 10% of boys and 8% for girls
- The communal perception for joint religious activity in 53% of the observed WCC was not a norm

5.2.2 Socio-Economic Profile of the Observed Women Contested Constituencies

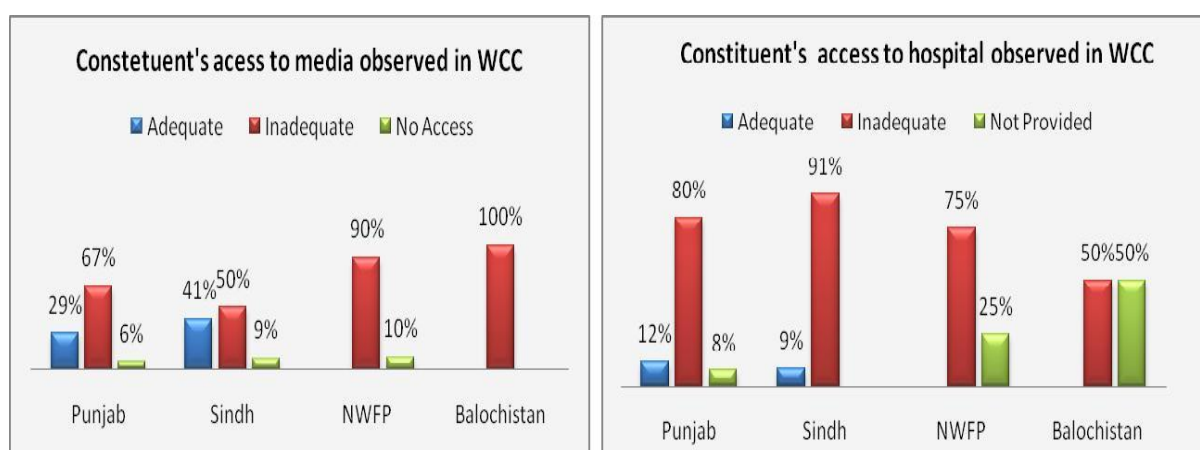
The political fervor in observed constituencies ranged at medium level, from being emotional to cold to disinterested. The return of Benazir Bhutto charged the political landscape especially in Sindh which post her death turned violent.

In terms of access to and availability of social services like schools, electricity, media, health, for men and women, the observed constituencies falling in Punjab has much better situation where range of availability/access is at medium level as compare to indicators ranging between medium and low for other provinces.

In observed constituencies the constituents’ engagement in economic activity was mostly in agriculture followed by governmental employment and self employed. The availability of boys’ schools was 43% as compared to 24% for girls. Madaris on the other hand were 10% for boys v.v.8% for girls.



The availability of basics health services was BHU 17% and 11% hospitals, whereas Media access and availability was 29% in the observed WCC.



Role of women in observed constituencies can be stated as politically and socially active i.e. 50% and 63%, respectively. Women are engaged in economic activities and preferred employer for women remains to be government. In observed constituencies, men and women jointly take part in social and economic activities i.e. 68% and 55%, respectively. However, the same is not preferred for religious and political activities i.e. by 57% and 53%.

5.2.3 Political Profile of the Women Contested Constituencies Stratified

Political Dynasties Factor i.e. Biradari System/Qabeela (Clan/Tribe):

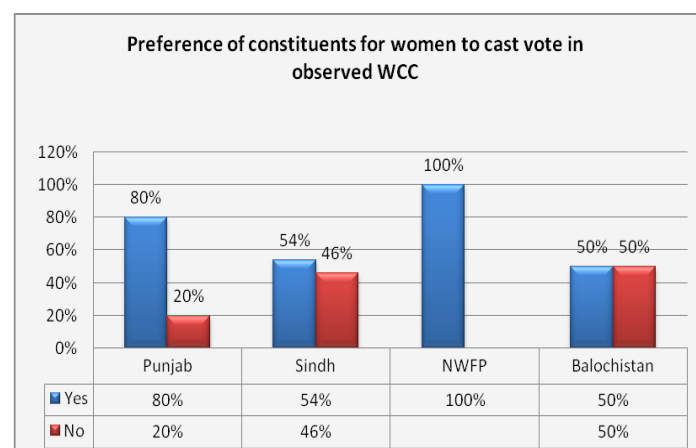
More than 70% Pakistani population lives in the rural areas which relates to social categorization of 'Biradari'⁴ and "Tribes" predominant in social system. These trends over the years have created political house hold/dynasties whose influence is strengthened with

⁴ Clustering of biradaries leads to establishment of feudal strongholds, in terms of area and households. In political context bigger the biradari – larger the votes for the candidate. Biradari system is more visible in Punjab and Sindh,⁴ and tribes in NWFP and Balochistan

financial resources and allegiance/custodian to/of religious seat in that area. Their influence in political landscape means vote swing from announcing a candidate to supporting a nomination which is guarantee for success. The communal allegiance to the leadership is consolidated by bartering of their vote for employment, shelter and food security. High rate of illiteracy and lack of information add to the population's blind voting pattern for the candidate from a political household. Seats at national and provincial level are distributed among the family and are taken as family inheritance than as a democratic choice of the people.

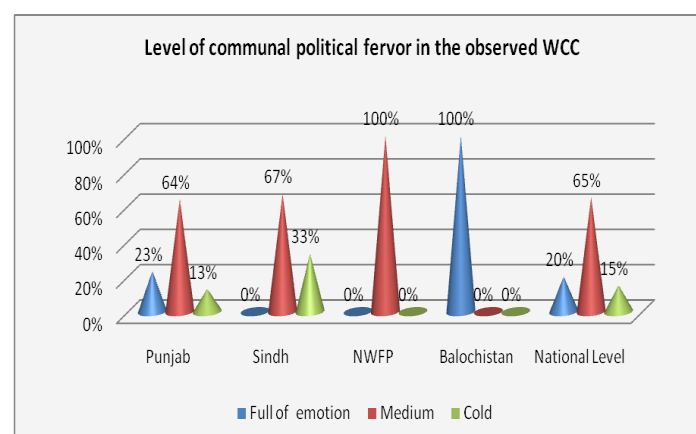
In this social set up women are not socio-culturally accepted in the role of public leadership as it demands inhabited social access and interaction. Throughout the electoral history, numbers of tribes/biradaries have arbitrarily barred women's involvement into political activities as political activist, voter and candidate. In NWFP these reactions have been socially violent and ostracizing by having written pacts, life threats and warning to the Election Commission not to set up polling stations for women in their areas. This has resulted in loss of lives for women as well. 57% of the observed constituencies do not accept joint political activity between men and women to be an acceptable norm.

Political Activism and Participation: Women, generally, have remained socio-politically active



in the provinces of Punjab and Sindh as compared to Balochistan and NWFP. A predominant reason for the same is the agricultural base of Punjab and Sindh where their communal interaction at social and economic level is relatively acceptable. A similar type of interaction in NWFP and Balochistan has been more at informal social/ family level. Access to basic social services, economic assets and level of

literacy in the respective provinces has also been defining factors for women's socio-political activism.



Observation brings out that majority of women who opted to contest, independently and on party platform, were from Punjab and Sindh with almost negligible in remaining provinces. In Balochistan 3 women contested independently on NA seats as there was no party ticket for them. Whereas at Provincial Assembly level only 1 woman could manage a party ticket while rest contested as

independents. In NWFP, at similar analogy, the number of women contestants for NA on party ticket was 2 with 1 independent.

The number of registered women voters were 10,953,192 (NA) and 4,457,684 (PA) in the observed constituencies. Observation of the selected constituencies bring out that women were largely missing from the voter rolls as compare to men. Non-availability of female enumerator led to lower registration of women voters. Secondly, it requires them to give their full name which is not a socio-cultural preference in NWFP resulting in non registration. During the voter roll display period as well women could not go alone to check their name as it was not priority. This was further compounded by non-availability of National Identity Cards (NIC) which was mandatory to be registered as voter and to cast vote.

Long, tedious and relatively expensive process is required for obtaining NIC which not only require time but visits to the relative offices which at places are hours away. Fee (PKR 50) and limited mobility along with requirement of a male to accompany are the major hurdles for women. Most of poor were hit by double jeopardy as it meant fee and loss of a day's remuneration for male which was not an attractive option. In most of the cases, NIC for women is generally perceived as a low priority. The socio-cultural-religious constraint that is more visible in NWFP and Balochistan is that of requirement of a photo. The lack of systemic support hindered women's political participation.

Representation of Political Parties: PPP, PML-Q, PML-N, MMA, MQM and ANP were considered by the constituent of the observed WCC to be the important parties. These political parties have their women wings at district level with PPP in lead in this coverage. Most of the parties prefer women to contest on reserved seats rather than General Seats for the prime reason that a women candidate has less chances of winning. Women's representation at the decision making tier and/or central executive body level has been negligible in almost all political parties.

Table 5.3 Constituents' Preference for the Political Parties and Their District Presence in Observed WCC								
Preferred Political Parties					Political Parties at District level			
Political Parties	Punjab	Sindh	NWFP	Balochistan	Punjab	Sindh	NWFP	Balochistan
PPP	24%	29%	20%	20%	26%	26%	25	0%
PML-Q	24%	24%	20%	20%	25%	25%	17%	50
PML-N	24%	8%	20%	20%	24%	8%	17%	0%
MMA	15%	10%	20%	0%	13%	13%	8%	0%
MQM	4%	21%	0%	0%	4%	23%	8%	0%
ANP	0%	0%	13%	0%	1%	0%	17%	0%
Other Parties/ Ind.	9%	8%	7%	40%	7%	5	8%	50%

Comparison of Political party's ticket holders vs independent women contestant brings out the following:

Table 5.4 Comparison of Political Party's Ticket Holders and Independent Women Contestants				
	Total Women Contestants		Women Contestants in Observed WCC	
	NA	PA	NA	PA
Political party's ticket	41	37	30	18
Independents	32	85	15	14

Overall, 7 women contested on more than one NA and 6 women on more than one PA constituency respectively, whereas, 13 women contested on both NA and PA seats.

5.2.4 Profile of Local Government and Local Government Officials in Observed WCC

Role of district government officials and local government remained critical in the pre-election phase. Compared to General Elections 2002, this time presence of local government compounded this contextualization of influence. Local government though elected on non-political party affiliation bases had clear preferences for a political party or the other which was equally available to male and female contestants. The ruling party – PML-Q had the most linkages at that level. Appointment and transfer of District Coordination Officers, judiciary and police officials play a critical role.

Table 5.5 Constituents' Perceived Political affiliation of District Governments in Observed WCC				
Political Parties	Punjab	Sindh	NWFP	Balochistan
PPPP	13%	35%	33%	0%
PML-Q	66%	50%	67%	50%
MQM	0%	10%	0%	0%
PML-N	14%	0%	0%	0%
Other Parties	7%	5%	%	50%

In the observed constituencies 65% women representation and participation was noted at the Local Government level. In the observed WCC the role of district administration and government has been noted to have political affiliation, whereas, the same for Police has been observed as negative. The level of transfers from the observed WCC for district administration, judiciary and education has also been recorded as low. On an overall basis the police and district administration's attitude towards women candidate remained normal i.e. 80%, with 10% preferential and 6% stating it to be negative. The reasons for such an attitude, 75%, are due to the candidate's affiliation to a particular political party, and 12% each due to their relation with District Nazim and political household.

5.2.5 Profile of Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) in Observed WCC

ECP is an autonomous body responsible for the conduct of elections in the country. It has provincial headquarters with head office in Islamabad. In the observed constituencies, almost 90%, ECP staffs including Returning and District Returning Officers were perceived to be neutral and not having any political affiliation. The transfers in ECP offices at district and provincial level offices were also observed to be low.

ECP issued electoral code of conduct, interestingly in the observed constituencies, they did not receive any substantive complaints regarding its violation, and hence the ECP district staff perceives that code was followed almost by 80%.

On the other hand, field observation report code of conduct violations as under:

- local government interference were by 25%
- permissible election expenditure by 21%
- campaign material by 22%
- Over all district administration's affiliation 14%

- use of official sources by 11%.

ECP staff was imparted orientation/refresher training for the conduct of elections as per new election material which was supported/ collaborated by different donor agencies. 60% of ECP staff in observed constituencies underwent different training sessions. Major share of these trainings were organized under the auspices of ECP i.e. 62%, whereas local NGOs also shared their training/information material with them. ECP undertook voter mobilization/information campaign as well through its NGO network.

General Elections 2008 were conducted with new election material including transparent ballot boxes and voting screens. ECP disseminated information to the public to introduce new election materials and for voter mobilization. The medium used by ECP for this primarily was advertisement in the newspapers and information leaflet in ECP offices. They also used banner/posters and local cable set ups to further this campaign. Their NGO network also assisted them.

5.2.6 Civil Society Organizations Activity Profile in the Observed WCC

Civil society played an active role in voter mobilization and information sharing for the election. In the 90% of the observed constituencies there were actively pursuing their work. They used range of mediums to disseminate information which ranged from posters, banners, leaflets, seminars, focus Group, door to door campaign, drama, etc. These NGOs further focused on increase of women's participation in electoral process. The role of the active NGOs was seen to be neutral and facilitative by all stakeholders. ECP also liaised with NGOs network for voter awareness raising. NGOs network FAFEN fielded the largest domestic monitoring of election contingent. The detail of active NGOs in the observed WCC and their major activities is at Annex 4.

5.2.7 Media's Profile and Its Utilization in Observed WCC

Availability of range of media and its improved access through cable networks was well utilized by all stakeholders. PPP, PML-N, PML-Q were in the lead in use of electronic and print medium nationally. MQM, ANP and PKMAP were using them more for their respective province. On an overall basis, utilization of media for dissemination of information in the observed WCC was high, i.e. 77%. None of the newspapers, cable networks issued public service messages. Few electronic media houses did broadcast public service messages focusing importance of vote as national responsibility for a representative candidate to strengthen democracy but none focused exclusively on women.

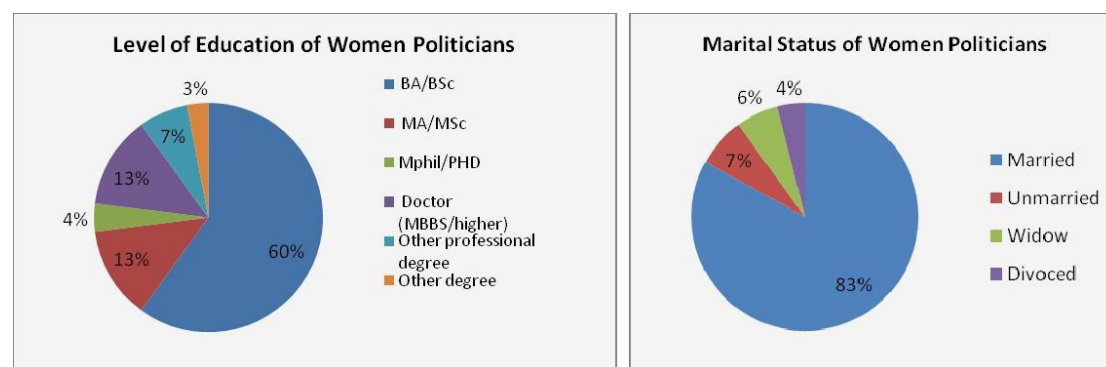
Generally, space in news print and electronic media was shared between PPP, PML-N and PML-Q. Cable network was used more being a relatively cheaper, wider and constituency-based option. In the observed constituencies dissemination in Urdu language were more popular i.e. 82%, followed by local language i.e. 14%, with a negligible focus on English language. Local newspapers did not report by the way of exclusively favoring a specific candidate or political party. Media covered the women contestants largely, 75%, in observed constituencies which can be attributed largely to their affiliation to political party, political household and position in previous government.

The detail of utilization of local media in observed constituencies by Political parties and Candidates is at Annex 5. This includes list of local newspaper, cable network, Radio, magazine etc.

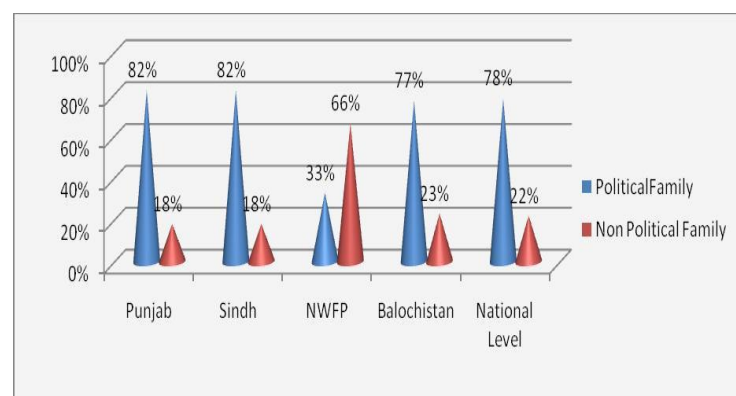
5.3 Profile of Observed Women Contestants - Personal to Political

For the Election 2008, there were 195 women contestants, out of which, 78 could obtain a political party ticket, i.e. 41 at NA and 37 at PA level. On an average 50% of contesting women at NA level belonged to an established political household. In 50 of the observed constituencies, women contestants were married. Education level of the observed contestants ranged between 2 PhDs to 33 Graduates. However, 20 of them were Masters and/or professional degree holders.

Majority of observed contestants contested election in 2002 as well on PPP and PML-Q ticket followed by independent contestants. The party ticket holders were winners of 2002 elections who had held election meetings. Political families of these contestants like 2002 elections were able to obtain a party ticket due to their party affiliation.



In 45 of the observed constituencies, women contestants were representing a political household. Majority were either wife or daughter in terms of their relationship to the family. Interestingly, the social and economic status of the contesting candidates, in the observed constituencies, was perceived as high or of upper class. The perceived key reason for the candidature of the women candidates was their and family's socio-political status i.e. 45%, followed by 21% due to non-availability of a male candidate. Economic status of family and desire to cover more seats by the political household were the other supporting reasons for women to be brought forward as candidates.



Adequate media coverage was given to women contestants with 55% due to their political party and household followed by 23% due to their political activity and 21% for just being women. Women did not face any substantial discrimination being "women" mainly due to their/family status. ECP's rules and regulations were

gender blind but ECP staff was accommodating to them.

5.3.1 Switching of Political Party by Women Contestants in Observed WCC

37 legislators', overall, switched parties from 2002 and women candidates preferred politics of pragmatism over party loyalty. The most prominent party switchers among the previously elected women were Hina Rabbani Khar, Firdous Ashiq Awan and Sughra Imam who switched from PML-Q to PPP, whereas Shehzadi Umerzadi Tiwana joined PML-N from PML-O. Ms. Abida Husain switched from independent party to PPP and Dr. Saira Tariq, minority reserved seat, joined PML-Q from PPP.

In observed constituencies 2 women contestant switched party namely Hina Rabbani Khar NA 177 from PML-Q to PPP and Huma Batool, PP 52, from PML-N to PML- Q. The stated reason for both is denial of party ticket from their original parties. The detail of party switchers in observed constituencies is as follows:

Table 5.6 Party Switchers in Observed WCC Constituencies			
Constituency Name and No.	Name of Party Switcher	Switched To	Switched From
NA 57 Attok III	Malik Amin , Shuja Khnizada, Sardar Muhammad Ali,Mumtaz Khan,Shokat Mazari, Ammanullah, Zahid Hussain, Main Shaid Hussian,Dr Wasim Ahmad Siddiqui	PMLN (all) and PMLQ	PMLQ
NA-66 Sargodha III	Haji Aslam Kachela	PMLN	MMA
NA-69 Khushab I	Shakir Bahsir Awan	PLMN	PMLQ
NA-78 Faisalabad IV	Pirzada M Ashraf Zia	PMLQ	PMLN
NA-92 TTS –I	Muhamaad Saifullh Cheema	PMLN	PPP
NA 111 Sialkot	Mian Naeem Jeved	PMLN	PMLQ
NA 117 Narowal III	Rana Lal Badsha	NPP	PTI
NA 177 Muzafargrah- II	Hina Rabbani Khar	PPP	PMLQ
NA 185 Bhawalpur III	Malik Farooq	PPP	PMP
NA-189 Bhawalnagar II	Mumtaz Alam Gillani	PPP-	PMLQ
NA 204 Larkana I	Pir Shah Bukhari	PPP	PMLQ
NA223 Tando Allahyar cum Matiari	Mir Muhammad Khokhar	PPP	PMLQ
NA 225 Badin cum TMK II	Ashfaq Memon	PPP	PMLQ
NA232-Dadu –I	Dr Atta Chandio and Mehbood Jhand	PPP	PMLQ
PP-34 Sargodha VII	Haji Muhammad Aslam –Main Mir	PMLN (both)	MMA -PPP
PF 50 Haripur –II	Qazi Muhammad Asad	INDP	PMLQ
PS 74 Dadu I	Mehbbob Khan - Atta Chandio	PPP	PMLQ
PP-130 Sialkot X	Main Naeem Javed	PMLN	PMLQ
PP 136 Narowal V	Rana Lal Badsha	NPP	PTI

5.3.2 Political Alliances in the Observed WCC

Political alliances were formed in 15 of the observed WCC. Out of these 15 constituencies 7 belonged to Punjab, 6 in Sindh and 2 in NWFP. In Punjab, alliance formation was mostly between PML-N, PPP and Independents. In Sindh, it was PML-Q and PML-F and MQM whereas in NWFP it was PPP- PML-N. The related details are:

Table 5.7 Political Alliance Formation in Observed WCC

Constituency Name and No.	Alliance Forming Parties	Alliance Makers	Women Contestant
NA-57 Attcok III	PMLQ-MMA	Shuja Khanzada –Malik Amin Aslam	Eman Waseem - (Independent)
NA-66 Sarghodha III	MMA-PML-N and PPP-IND	Aslam Katchela, Mohd. Hamid Hameed, Tasneem Ahmed Qureshi	Begum Malik Shoaib Awan (PML-Q)
NA-93 TTS II	INDP-PPP	Hafizull Ishaq	Neelam Jabbar Chaudhary (Independent)
NA-90 Jhang V	PPP-IND	Mehr Iqbal Hussain -Saima Akhtar Bahrwana	Saima Akhtar Bahrwana (Independent)
NA-92 TTS –I	PPP-PML-N	Muhammad Khalid Bashir Tarnsporter, Muhamad Saifullh Cheema	Farkhanda Amjad Warraich (PML-Q)
NA-139 Kasur II	PPP-INDP	Chaudhry Manzoor	Niloufer Qasim Mahdi (PML-Q), Uzma Waseem (Independent)
NA-204 Larkana I	NMP- AS-ST-JUP		Ghanwa Bhutto (PPP-SB)
NA-213 Nawabshah I	PMLF-PMLQ	Syed Zahid Hussain Shah	Azra Fazal Pecheho (PPP)
NA -225 Badin cum TMK II	PML-Q and MQM	Bibi Yasmeen Shah, Asghar Ali Parhiar Advocate	Bibi Yasmeen Shah (PML-Q), De. Fehmida Mirza (PPP)
NA-232-Dadu –I	PML-Q and MQM – PML-F	Liquat Ali Khan, Ghulam Murtza Solangi, Jatoi Khurram Muhammad Qamar	Rasheeda Akhtar Panhwar (Independent)
NA -250 Karachi XII	PPPP- PML-N	Mirza Ikhtiar Baig	Begum Salma Ahmed (Independent), Khush Bakhat Shujaat (MQM)
PP-33 Sargodha VI	MMA-PML-N and PPP-IND	Irfan Ullah Sanai, Ch.Abdul Razzaq Dhillon, Muhammad Afzal Mirza Advocate	Begum Malik Shoaib Awan (PML-Q)
PP-34 Sargodha VII	MMA-PMLN and PPP-IND	Aslam Katchela , Rizwan Nowaiz Gill, Dr. Nadia Aziz	Dr. Nadia Aziz (PPP)
PF-50 Haripur –II	PML-N- PPP and PMLQ-INDP	Dr. Faiza Bibi Rashid	Dr. Faiza Bibi Rashid (PPP)
PS-74 Dadu I	PML-F-PML-Q	Syed Muhammad Shah	Kalsoom Akhtar Chandio (Independent)

5.4 Women Contestants and Electoral Processes in Observed WCC

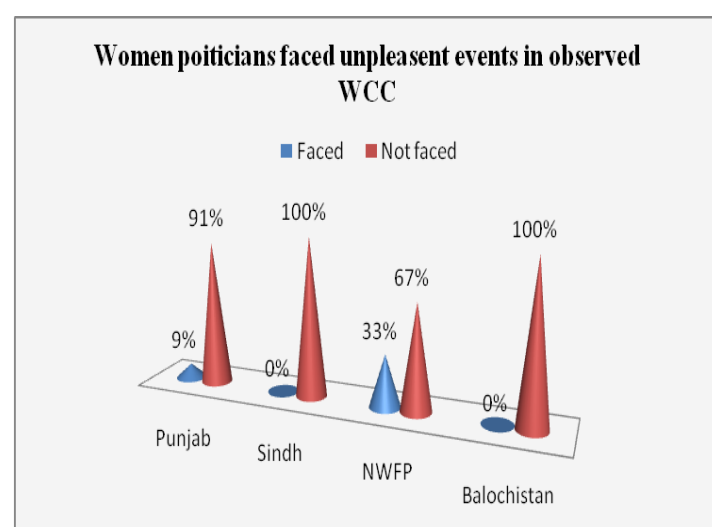
5.4.1 Filing of Candidature

ECP announced the election schedule on November 20, 2007 with following deadlines:

Table 5.8 Election Schedule 2007/8		
S. No.	Events	Dates
1.	Dates for filing of nomination papers with the Returning Officers by the candidates	21-11-2007 to 26-11-2007
2.	Dates for Scrutiny of nomination papers by the Returning Officers	27-11-2007 to 03-12-2007
3.	Last date for filing of appeals against decisions of the Returning Officers rejecting/accepting nomination papers	07-12-2007
4.	Last date for deciding appeals by the Tribunals	14-12-2007
5.	Last date for withdrawal of candidature	15-12-2007
6.	Publication of revised list of candidates	16-12-2007
7.	Polling Day	08-01-2008*

Elections were postponed for 40 days due to the death of an icon of Pakistani Politics i.e. Ms. Benazir Bhutto and the new date announced for election was February 18, 2008.

As per the perception survey in the observed constituencies, constituents of 46 did not hold the opinion that nominated women candidates are mere covering candidates. The candidature related paperwork and processes were mostly handled by the men of the family and women accompanied them to submit papers only, which was mandatory ECP requirement.



The nomination paper of only 2 candidates, 1 each in Punjab of PML-Q and Sindh of an independent, in the observed WCC were rejected. A negligible number, 3, in observed WCC faced unpleasant incidence. On an overall basis during women contestants' interaction with ECP functionaries, RO and DRO, at district/provincial/HQ level, the officials' attitude was categorized between pleasant to functional, 49 and 16 respectively. The negligible incidences were not reported

by these women to relevant authorities or media but their political parties were duly informed.

5.4.2 Allocation of Tickets and Nomination of Candidates by Political Parties

As per the ECP data, 78 women could win party nomination against 117 Independents at NA and PA level. Party wise bifurcation is as under:

Table 5.9 Ticket Allocation and Nomination of Candidates				
S. No.	Political Party	National Assembly	Provincial Assembly	Total
1	PPP	15	08	23
2	PML-N	06*	12**	18
3	PML-Q	09	09	18
4	MQM	08	06	14
5	ANP	01	-	01
6	PGP	01	-	01
7	PPP-SB	01	-	01
8	PPP-Sherpao	-	01	01
9	PAP	-	01	01
	Subtotal	41	37	78
10	Independents	32	85	117
	Grand Total	73	122	195

*At national level PML-N allotted two tickets to Tehmina Daultana.

** At provincial level Mrs. Umer Farooq was allotted two tickets by PML-N.

None of the political party came up with a criterion for allocation of party tickets for either male or female candidates. Being a registered member of the political party was a mandated requirement but instances were seen where last minute joining/ switching of political party also managed a party ticket. The only criteria of obtaining a party ticket through this modality was being part of political household with a track record of securing the seat.

The observation highlights that even for weak/soft seats ordinary women of the rank were not considered by any political party as a candidate. 31 women contestants, out of total number of 78, were able to obtain party tickets based on the strong “pull string of family relationships”. This is reflective of the fact that despite affirmative action in electoral reform, it is not easy for women to become part of mainstreamed politics by simply joining party.

5.4.3 Allocation of Party Ticket to Women to Strengthen Political Households

Following is a table bringing out the relationships of women contestants which were allocated party ticket at NA and PA level:

Table 5.10 Women Contestants on General Seats		
Women Contestants	Party	Family Affiliations
Hina Rabbani Khar	PPP	Hina Rabbani Khar is daughter of Ghulam Noor Rabbani Khar and niece of Ghulam Mustafa Khar.
Azra Fazal Pecheho	PPP	Sister of Asif Ali Zardari and sister-in-law of late Benazir Bhutto
Dr. Fehmida Mirza	PPP	Wife of Dr Zulfiqar Ali Mirza, a close friend of PPP Co-chairman Asif Ali Zardari. Her grandfather Qazi Abdul Qayyum was the first Muslim President of Hyderabad Municipality. Uncle Qazi Muhammad Akbar was MPA. Her father Qazi Abid was Chairman Hyderabad Division Council, later served as Federal Minister for Education. Her brother Qazi Asad is APNS secretary-general and was also a PPP MNA.
Syeda Abida Hussain	PPP	Daughter of Syed Abid Hussain
Syeda Sughra Imam	PPP	Daughter of Syed Fakhar Imam, Abida Hussain
Shamshad Sattar Bachani	PPP	Wife of Ex-MNA Abdul Sattar Bachani
Ms. Sassui Palijo	PPP	Her father has been twice PPP MPA in Sindh
Samina Khalid Ghurki	PPP	Daughter-in-law of late Haji Muhammed Asghar Ghurki and Wife of Khalid Gurkhi - both twice elected MNA
Asma Shahnawaz Cheema	PPP	Daughter of ex-MPA Shah Nawaz Cheema
Shamaila Liaquat	PPP	Daughter-in-law of slain PPP MNA Arshad Warriach
Sumaira Malik	PML-Q	Niece of former President Farooq Leghari, Granddaughter of Nawab of Kalabagh
Tehmina Daultana	PML-N	father Muhammad Riaz Daultana, thrice MNA. Uncle Mumtaz Daultana was the CM of Punjab
Saira Afzal Tarar	PML-N	Daughter-in-law of former President Rafiq Tarar
Sadia Shabir	PML-N	Niece of Shaukat Dogara, famous local politician
Shazia Ashfaq Mattu	PML-N	Wife of Ashfaq Ahmed Mattu
Shahzadi Umerzadi Tiwana	PML-N	Granddaughter of Malik Khizar Hayat Tiwana Former Prime Minister of united Punjab
Mrs. Umer Farooq	PML-N	Wife of Haji Malik Umer Farooq former MPA
Iffat Liaquat	PML-N	Wife of Liaquat Ali Khan was 5 time MPA from the same constituency
Samina Wasim Butt	PML-N	Wife of Narowal tehsel nazim Muhammad Wasim Butt
Mrs. Adeeba Gul Magsi	PML-Q	Daughter of Raees Allah Bakhsh Magsi, and sister of District Nazim Tando Allah Yar, Rahilla Magsi
Shahida Sattar Lalika	PML-Q	Widow of former Federal Minister Abdul Sattar Lalika
Farkhanda Amjad Warraich	PML-Q	Wife of Amjad Ali Warriach Former MNA and Special Assistant to Chief Minister Punjab
Bibi Yasmeen Shah	PML-Q	Wife of ex-Sindh Minister Syed Ali Bux Shah Alias Pappu Shah
Ghulam Bibi Bharwana	PML-Q	Granddaughter of late Ghulam Haider Bharwana
Nasreen Rehman Khetran	PML-Q	Wife of the chieftain of Khetran tribe, Sardar Abdul Rahman Khetran, thrice MPA of the family held the seat
Begum Tehmina Dasti	PML-Q	Daughter of veteran politician Sardar Amjad Hameed Dasti
Ashifa Riaz Fatyana	PML-Q	Wife of Riaz Fatyana elected MNA and thrice MPA
Hameeda Waheed-ud-Din	PML-Q	Daughter of ex-MPA Mian Waheeduddin
Razia Begum	PML-Q	Daughter of District Nazim Malik Ghulam Haider Thind
Nadya Gabol	MQM	Niece of former PPP MPA Nabil Gabol
Mrs. Khush Bakhsh Shujaat	MQM	Her Husband was caretaker Minister in Sindh cabinet

As per ECP, 1000 women filed papers for 188 reserved sets for women. Papers of 582 contestants were accepted whereas 46 withdrew leaving it to be 482. The rejection percentage of nomination papers was high for NA around 43.3%. For provinces highest was for Sindh -48%, Punjab- 44.5%, NWFP- 41.7% and Balochistan 22.7%.

In Provincial Assemblies' case, 700 candidates' submitted papers out of which 342 i.e. 48.8% were rejected. Punjab had highest rejection rate of 58.6%, followed by Sind 38%, NWFP 36 % and 30% for Balochistan.

However, nomination for women on reserved seats also was done to further strengthen the political dynasty; a glimpse of the same is as follows:

Table 5.11 Seats Reserved For Women		
Name	Party	Family Association
Begum Ishrat Ashraf	PML-N	Wife of Chaudhary Jaffar Iqbal- Former NA Deputy Speaker
Mamoona Hashmi	PML-N	Daughter of Javed Hashmi
Palwasha Muhammad Zai		Niece of Fauzia Behram (Parliamentarian)
Mehreen Anwar Raja	PPP	Raja Mohammad Anwar (Veteran Politician and Lawyer)
Farzana Raja	PPP	Sister-in-law of Pir Mazhar-ul-Haq (Parliamentary Leader in Sindh Assembly) and Wife of Pir Mukaram Ali
Mrs. Shakeela Khanum Rasheed	PPP	Wife of Late Sheikh Rasheed (Ex-PPP Secertary)
Mrs. Yasmeen Rehman	PPP	Wife of Mian Misbah ur Rehman and sister of Attorney General Malik Mohammad Qayyum
Samina Mushtaq Pagganwala	PPP	Sister-in-law of Mushtaq Pagganwala (Former MNA)
Marvi Memon	PML-Q	Daughter of Nisar Memon, Ex Federal Information Minister
Ms. Nafisa Shah	PPP	Daughter of Qaim Ali Shah (Chief Minister of Sindh)
Mrs. Farah Naz Ispahani	PPP	Wife of Hussain Haqqani, Advisor to PPP and ex- Ambassador
Ms. Kaneez Fiza Junejo	PML-Q	Daughter of Muhammad Khan Junejo , Former PM
Asma Arbab Alamgir	PPP	Wife of Dr. Arbab Alamgir and daughter-in-law of late Arbab Jahangir
Ghazala Saad Rafique	PML-N	Wife of Khawaja Saad Rafique (MNA, PML-N)
Nargis Parveen Awan	PPP	Wife of Malik Mukhtar Ahmad Awan (Former Minister)
Safina Saima Khar	PPP	Wife of Malik Gulham Arbi Khar (Former MNA)
Mrs. Nargis N.D.Khan	PPP	Daughter of N.D. Khan (Former Law Minister)
Mrs. Shama Parveen Magsi	PML-Q	Wife of Zulfiqar Magsi (Balochistan Governor)

5.4.4 Complaints Filed by Women Contestants in Observed WCC

As per ECP data, the contesting candidates filed 44 complaints in observed constituencies. Out of those, 4 in Sindh and 6 in Punjab were filed by women contestants. In NWFP and Balochistan, no complaint was filed. The detail of the same is as under:

Table 5.12 Pre-Poll Complaints Filed by Women Contestants in Observed WCC for NA and PA					
S #	Constituency	Nature of Complaint	Submitted by	Filed By	Action Taken
Sindh					
1	NA-232-Dadu	Transfer of Civil Servant	Chief Secretary	Fareeda Begum	Necessary Action taken
2	NA-223-Tandoallayar	District Nazim	DRO/RO	Shamshad Sattar Bachani	Necessary Action taken
3	PS-85-Thatta	Electoral Rolls	Provincial Election Commissioner	Sassui Palijo	Forwarded out side
4	PS-85-Thatta	District Nazim	Chief Secretary	Sassui Palijo	Forwarded out side
Punjab					
5	NA-88-Jhang	Violation of Code of Conduct	Chief Secretary	Syeda Abida Hussain	Necessary Action taken
6	PP-86-Toba Tek Singh	Civil Servant	Chief Secretary	Neelam Jabbar Chaudhary	Necessary Action taken
7	NA-146-Okara	Violation of Code of Conduct	Chief Secretary	Dr. Lala Rukh Mustafa	Necessary Action taken
8	NA-111-Sialkot	Civil Servant	Chief Secretary	Sr. Firdus Ashiq Awan	Inquiry and Report
9	PP-34-Sargodha	Electoral Rolls	Provincial Election Commissioner	Dr. Nadia Aziz	Necessary Action taken
10	NA-163-Sahiwal	Civil Servant	DRO/RO	Begum Shahnaz Javed	Necessary Action taken

Source: www.ecp.org.pk

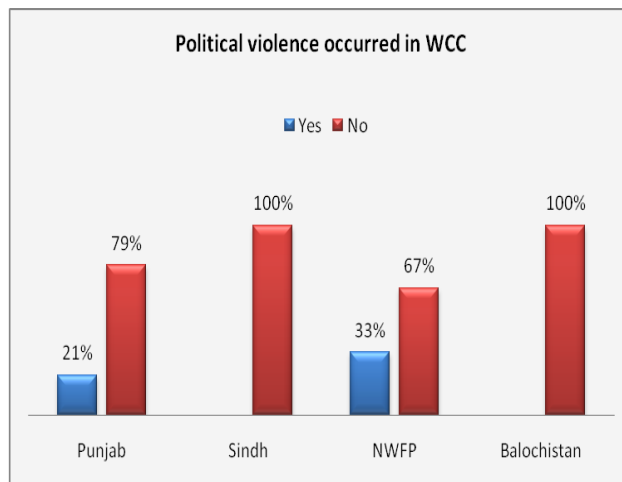
5.4.5 Incidence of Security Violation and Violence in Observed WCC

The electoral violence in the observed constituencies remained low and was reported only in 11 of observed constituencies at a low level. Women candidates complained, in observed WCC, against the police and other agencies for filing false FIRs and harassing the workers and to be polling agents to switch sides, the pressure was most in the cases of opposition but also on the PML-Q candidates.

Elections 2008 were held under an extreme sense of insecurity especially after the assassination of Ms. Benazir Bhutto prompting mob violence that was reported in the observed WCC. Before Benazir's death, political violence occurred in 21% WCC in Punjab and

33% in the N.W.F.P. faced political violence whereas no political violence had been reported in Sindh and Balochistan among the WCC.

In the observed WCC, incidences of violence, pre Benazir Bhutto's death, can be summarized as follows:



The death of Ms. Benazir Bhutto was the epitome of electoral violence in Pakistan which not only affected the electoral process but changed the political discourse for the country as well. Sporadic violence erupted across country which resulted in loss of lives for over 50 and loss of assets in monetary terms scaling up to PKR 22 billion.

After the assassination, there were initially a number of riots resulting in approximately 20 deaths, of which three were police officers. Around 250

cars were burnt; angry and upset supporters of Bhutto threw rocks outside the hospital where she was being held. Through December 29, 2007, the Pakistani government said rioters had wrecked 9 election offices, 176 banks, 34 gas stations, 72 train cars, 18 rail stations, and hundreds of cars and shops.

5.5 Campaigning and Canvassing by Women Contestants in Observed WCC

5.5.1 Support of Political Parties to Women in Observed WCC

In 49 of the observed constituencies women contestants stated to have support from their political parties for managing their election campaign and canvassing. This support was available from being part of the political activity to all out help in arranging the same. The political activities included corner meetings, visit of constituency, Public rally, political dialogue, etc. MQM was the most facilitative in organizing political activities for women where candidate did not had to do anything monetarily or physically and everything was taken care by the party. Women were escorted to and from these activities.

In 57 of the observed constituencies, women candidates themselves got involved in election campaigning and canvassing like corner meetings, visit of constituency, Public rally, political dialogue, household visit etc.

5.5.2 Role of Male Relatives in Observed WCC

In more than 85% of the observed WCC, male relatives accompanied women candidates in these political activities. In 50% cases, women of the family were also observed to be accompanying them. The accompanying male members were also observed to make speeches and in certain cases were representing females in their absence in their own election canvassing/campaigning activities.

In this respect its pertinent to mention that men of the family were very clear that its because of them the women have become a candidate, so the voters are also aware of it. They were clear that they will look after everything as the women once elected will go to the session only when needed the most. Male were aware of their future duty to accompany women and take all political decisions on their behalf.

The field team observed that some women contestants in observed WCC avoided running their election campaign but also avoided meeting them by stating that “they are housewives and if a meeting is required then the father, father-in-law or brothers were available for meeting”. The interviewers were told that non-availability of degree and/ or cases in NAB did not permit men to contest and compelled them to bring out their women as contestants.

5.5.3 Campaign Material and Canvassing Mode in Observed WCC

In 88% of the observed WCC women contestant’s election campaigning material in shape of poster, banner, wall chalking were on display. These materials predominantly had party symbol and picture of Party’s national leader. However, in Punjab, picture of President Mosharraf could also find place on some of them. Name and picture of the husband/male of family were mostly visible in 50% of observed constituencies. The constituents’ reaction to these materials was noted between mixed to good.

In the observed constituencies, women contestants used all available mediums of communication to promote their campaigns in which local cable networks and loudspeaker on mobile van were the most preferred, by 37% and 34% respectively, whereas 27% used TV and radio.

The nature of messages in canvassing were 43% political, 26% personal to public messages and 22% messages from/of male members of the family of the contestants. However, 70% had women contestants name on it as well. The most positive thing was that 76% male opponents did not use any discriminatory and/or derogatory language against women contestants.

Table 5.13 Political Parties Also Used Media in Election Canvassing, Detail of Which is:

Use Analysis of the Media for Political Campaigning in Observed WCC by Political Parties										
Province	Medium	PPP	PML-Q	MMA	MQM	ANP	PMLF	PML_N	PKMAP	Others
Punjab	TV	14%	11%	13%	0%	0%	0%	11%		17%
	Radio	0%	11%	0%	0%	50	0%	0%		0%
	Cable	17%	16%	7%	25	0%	0%	20%		25%
	Newspaper	58%	54%	60%	75	50	100%	60%		42%
	Other	11%	8%	20%	0%	0%	0%	9%		16%
Sindh	Radio	9%	0%	0%	0%	0%		0%	0%	0%
	Newspaper	9%	100%	100%	100%	100%		100%	100%	100%
NWFP	Newspaper	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%		100%		
Balochistan	Newspaper	100%	100%	100%				100%		100%

5.6 Political Media Coverage and Women in Observed WCC

Freedom of Media in Pakistan has resulted in numerous Pakistani TV channels which allocate prime time of their programme for debates focusing political developments in Pakistan. Various Pakistani news channels before and during the Elections 2008 started focused programs as well as news analysis.

TR undertook an observation of TV channels to document the level and content of media coverage focusing women and politics from the broadcasted programmes to assess that what is being highlighted, discussed in these programs and does media highlights, if at all, hurdles to women politicians due to their gender. Programmes identified for the monitoring included one main prime-time news bulletin i.e. 20:00-23:00 PST, current affairs programmes, special election coverage and reports. In the news bulletins, the focus has been on national news. Indicators include women representation in panel and programmes related to the subject i.e. women in politics.

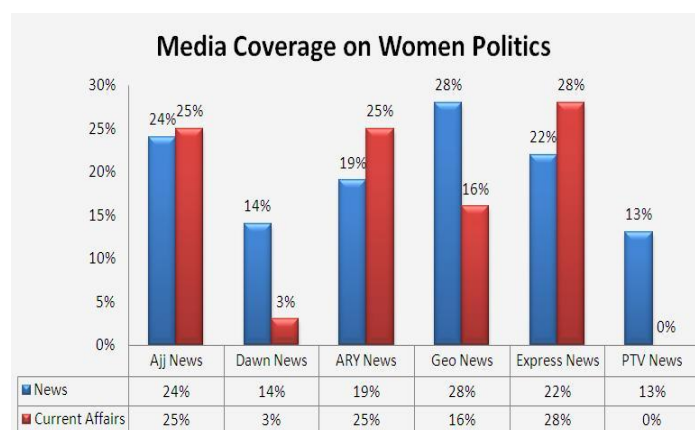
TR selected a sample of these TV channels for observation with the objective to observe the amount and nature of coverage given to women in politics. The period of media coverage is from December till Election Day. One State channel (PTV) and nine private channels were identified out of which five were in Urdu, one Sindhi, one Pushto, one Punjabi and one in English. The following channels have been identified for the study:

1. AAJ TV (Urdu)
2. Apna News (Punjabi)
3. ARY One World (Urdu)
4. Dawn TV (English)
5. Express News (Urdu)
6. GEO News (Urdu)
7. HUM TV (Urdu)
8. Khyber News(Pushto)
9. KTN (Sindhi)
10. PTV News (Urdu and English)

Print Media:

Print Media observation on the topic was also done in this period. The focused Newspapers were:

1. The News
2. The Daily Times
3. The Post
4. The Nation
5. Dawn
6. Khabrain
7. Jang
8. Express
9. Kavish (Sindhi)



Besides Herald and News line, monthly magazine, were also observed. As per the electronic media programme analysis, above are the coverage percentages.

The Key Observations Are:

- In the days preceding the elections, the coverage was completely overshadowed by Ms. Benazir Bhutto's death. Women politicians/ issues were not priority and discussions revolved around her traumatic death and the political void. Women politicians of the PPP shared their grief and views.
- In most political rallies and campaigning activities, 'women were seen, not heard'. In major party rallies, women were at center stage and covered through visuals/pictures but rarely were their speech and views either covered or reported.
- Among regional channels, KTN and Khyber lacked focus on women as a negligible number of women were contesting. However, GEO and DAWN did focus on women. GEO had focused programs, DAWN showed news reports about women candidates and minorities. AAJ TV and ARY aired occasional reports and programmes on or including women politicians.
- Print media covered women on range of issues in detail and more focused in highlighting related issues. Most of the newspapers started constituency wise information dissemination which included socio-political information of the major political party contestant with reference to their political households and party.
- Electronic media also repeatedly raised the point that women politicians in Pakistan are because of being wives or daughters of politicians and from dynastic political households.
- Government sponsored advertisements particularly requested women voters to exercise their right to vote. Need of security was also highlighted for peaceful voting in view riots post Ms. Bhutto death. The political party advertisements were more party focused. Same was the case in print media where government sponsored advertisements were more informative.
- Print media also organized different discussion forums for reporting. Women Pages from November onwards focused on women and politics and post Ms. Benazir Bhutto's death role of female politicians was enhanced in reporting in perspective reporting.
- Derogatory reporting did not become an issue. Monthly magazines like Herald and news line reported women in politics from policy and academic level which was more for urbanized audience. Overall, information on women politicians' was more contextually reported along with their shifting political loyalties and linkage to political household.
- Lower number of women in voter roll and incidences where pacts were made to bar women from reporting were extensively covered. Reasons cited were it was against the cultural norms of the Pushtoon region which is completely patriarchal and women have no rights of expression. In Pushto there is a saying "Khazi la koor day ya goor", which means women are suited for only two places, within the walls of her home or her grave
- Minorities were completely sidelined and not reported about during the elections. DAWN showed two reports on Christian women politicians.
- Women focused political violence was also adequately covered in print and electronic media.

Chapter 6

Election-Day Observation in Observed Women Contested Constituencies

The objective of election-day observation was based on several considerations. As a reflection on the experience of the previous elections, the polling-day study had to be comprehensive not only in terms of the subject matter of the observation effort but also with respect to opinions of key stakeholders in the polling process. The study identified three important groups who were participating in the election process directly, i.e. voters, electoral staff and polling agents, to get a first hand impression from these groups. It is important to mention that one of the key observations from the previous elections pointed out in a number of studies is the difference in the functioning of male and female polling booths. In lieu with such an experience, the study was designed to proportionally sample the number of women and male polling booths.

Of the 1536 polling staff sampled, 1484 were interviewed in total. Of those interviewed, 12 were stationed at mixed polling stations (with both male and female booths), 648 were stationed at female only polling stations and 824 at male polling stations.

Table 6.1 Number of Respondents				
Respondent Category	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Polling Staff	12	648	824	1484
Polling Agents	9	683	799	1491
Voters	21	2026	2159	4206

Similarly, of the 1536 polling agents sampled, 1491 were interviewed with 9 from mixed polling stations, 683 from female polling station and 799 from male polling stations. The number of voters sampled was 4608 of which, 4206 were interviewed.

Table 6.2 Status of Polling Staff Interviewed				
Respondent Category	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know		3.24	2.79	2.96
Presiding officer	50.00	39.81	65.53	54.18
APO	33.33	43.67	25.97	33.76
Polling Officer	16.67	13.27	5.70	9.10
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

The breakdown of the polling staff reveals the percentage of the respondents from the three different categories in which they were posted. A majority, 54% of the polling staff

interviewed worked in the capacity of presiding officer of their respective polling stations, around 34% worked as assistant presiding officer while 9 percent worked as polling officers.

A question of significance in looking at the polling staff is regarding their host institutions, employment agencies and occupation. In the 2008 elections just as in the previous elections, a majority of the polling staff belonged to education and health departments in the public sector. As evident from the breakdown below, more than 88% of the staff hailed from these two sectors with marginal recruitment from other sectors.

Table 6.3 Occupation of Polling Staff				
Occupation	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't know		1.92	2.24	2.08
Education	91.67	90.38	80.35	84.79
Health	8.33	3.21	4.35	3.89
Bank		0.48	2.86	1.81
Other		4.01	10.20	7.43
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

For the polling agents of candidates interviewed, the breakdown given in table 6.4 represents the presence of political affiliation of those interviewed in this category in the selected constituencies.

Table 6.4 Political Affiliation of Polling Agents Interviewed				
Political Affiliation	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't know		5.3	2.0	3.5
PPPP	33.3	32.4	34.5	33.5
PML-Q	33.3	24.6	26.9	25.9
MMA		0.1	0.9	0.5
MQM		2.5	2.8	2.6
ANP		0.6	0.5	0.5
PML_F			0.1	0.1
PML_N	11.1	19.2	20.4	19.8
Independent/Other parties	22.2	15.4	11.9	13.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The largest number of polling agents, i.e. 33.5% belongs to PPPP, representing the number of candidates from parties who awarded ticket to women candidates. PPP is closely followed by PML-Q with almost 30% while PML-N at almost 20%.

Among the voter respondents, leaving aside a marginal percentage of the 4206, a predominant majority 95.5% had gone through the process of voting. It is interesting to note that voters unable to vote were higher on the female side.

Table 6.5 Did You Vote?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Yes	100.0	94.6	96.2	95.5
No		5.4	3.8	4.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Even though the number of voters who could not cast their votes at the polling stations is small, it is important to know the reason behind their inability to cast their votes.

Table 6.6 Reasons For Not Casting Vote?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Name was not in electoral list		48.0	41.1	45.1
Someone had cast my vote		15.0	15.1	15.0
I came to the wrong polling station		23.0	21.9	22.5
Any other reason		14.0	21.9	17.3
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0

With a considerable variation across gender lines, a majority, 45% could not vote because they were not registered. The number of women who were unable to vote is 7% higher than male voters that highlight the issue of low voter registration among women. Equally, important issue is the number of voters who were not able to vote because someone else already cast their votes. Of the 4.5% of voters who could not cast their vote, 15% claimed their votes were rigged. Even though this number is small, it nonetheless highlights and draws attention to the persistence of the issue of proxy voting.

6.1 Training and Capacity of Polling Staff and Polling Agents

The importance of able, efficient and trained staff in ensuring smooth running of the elections cannot be overstated. The public face of election management relies heavily on the conduct of the election staff and hence the importance of well-trained and well-versed personnel provides the starting point for the election-day observation. Going into the elections, a predominant majority, i.e. 88% of the electoral staff interviewed went through training. Even though the numbers in the table below suggest commendation for the ECP and all other organizations involved in the staff's training, one can hope for increase in the number of those trained.

Table 6.7 Did You Get Any Training in Order to Carry Out Your Duties?				
Polling Staff	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Yes	91.67	86.57	89.56	88.27
No	8.33	12.81	10.07	11.25
Did not answer		0.62	0.36	0.47
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

On the quality of the training, those who were trained overwhelmingly felt satisfied with the training in preparing them for job on the election-day. Leaving aside the 4%, the rest of those who received training expressed their approval of the training content. From the perspective of gender, as shown in the table below, the number of unsatisfied staff is more than double the number of their female counterparts.

Table 6.8 Satisfaction With Training (Polling Staff)				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Satisfied	100.00	97.49	94.78	95.99
Not satisfied		2.51	5.22	4.01
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

The ECP was also successful in providing the necessary backup to its training of the polling staff as more than 90% of the personnel employed were provided with the official handbook for reference to rules and procedures of managing and organizing their duties.

Table 6.9 Were You Given the Official Election Handbook?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know	8.33	4.78	3.52	4.11
Yes	91.67	89.35	91.75	90.70
No		5.86	4.73	5.19
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Another key constituency for smooth and transparent functioning of the polling station is that of polling agents. Trained polling agents are not only important for safeguarding the interest of the candidates they are representing but their knowledge of the procedures and rules help manage even controversies well within legal and peaceful way. In response to the same question on training, the number of polling agents trained as evident from the table below is clearly lower than expected.

Table 6.10. Were You Trained for Your Role as Polling Agent by Your Candidate?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know		2.5	1.5	1.9
Yes	88.9	63.5	65.2	64.6
No	11.1	34.0	33.3	33.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

As shown in the table above, the number of polling agents trained was around 65% with 33.5% stationed were without training. The number of those trained was much lower for the exclusively male and female polling stations. However, the level of satisfaction with training for those who got training was much higher as compared to the ECP staff that was trained. As carried in the table below, the number of those satisfied with their training was 97.5% with minimal difference across genders.

Table 6.11 Satisfaction With Training (Polling Agents)				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Satisfied	100.0	97.7	97.3	97.5
not satisfied		2.3	2.7	2.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

However, their satisfactions with the training notwithstanding, the polling agents were asked about their understanding of several key issues pertaining to their role. The results as evident from the tables below were not as reassuring. Only 70% of the polling agents knew that they were entitled to an official copy of the vote count on their respective polling station.

Table 6.12 Do You Know That the Polling Staff is Bound to Furnish You With a Copy of Official Result for This Polling Station?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know		4.7	2.6	3.6
Yes	88.9	72.5	82.5	77.9
No	11.1	22.8	14.9	18.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Regarding their role to observe and report any non-compliance with electoral laws and procedures, the number of polling agents knowing about the process dropped further to around 64% as against 32 percent who had no knowledge. The difference across the gender divide on this issue though small is still considerable. As shown in the table below, almost 40% of the female polling agents either did not know or did not answer the question as against 33.7% of male polling agents who did not know or did not respond.

Table 6.13 Do You Know Where to File any Complaints Regarding Non-Compliance of Electoral Laws And Procedures?

	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer		6.1	2.9	4.4
Yes	100.0	59.9	66.3	63.6
No		34.0	30.8	32.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

6.2 Equipment and Facilities

The second element of smooth functioning of the polling process is the availability of the required equipment and facilities for meeting the standards of free and fair election. Perhaps the most important element for ensuring free and fair voting is availability of complete electoral rolls to the polling staff. In answering the question on this subject, almost 97% of polling staff said they have the complete list. However, as shown in the table below, the rest of the polling staff either acknowledged not having the complete electoral rolls or did not answer the question.

Table 6.14 Do You Have the Complete Electoral List for This Polling Station?

	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know		1.86	1.34	1.56
Yes	100.00	96.28	97.08	96.75
No		1.86	1.58	1.69
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

On the subject of availability of sufficient ballot papers, the number of those responding in affirmative remained the same, i.e. 97%. However, a bit over 3% either did not answer the question or expressed the shortage of ballot papers. Interestingly, the number of polling staff at mixed polling stations was relatively higher than the exclusively female and male polling stations. Also important is the fact that the number of mixed polling stations was considerably small and the 8.33% does not reflect much on the issue.

Table 6.15 Do You Have Sufficient Ballot Papers Available to You for This Polling Station?

	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know		2.31	2.31	2.29
Yes	91.67	96.91	96.48	96.63
No	8.33	0.77	1.21	1.08
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Of relatively lesser importance in ensuring a transparent, free and fair elections are other equipments such as transparent ballot boxes, plastic seals, voting screens, indelible ink etc. Asked about these equipments, the majority of almost 96% responded that the equipment provided was new.

Table 6.16 Is the Equipment (Transparent Ballot Box, Plastic Seals, Voting Screens Etc) Provided New, Old or Some Old & Some New?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know		2.62	1.82	2.16
New	100.00	95.52	95.75	95.69
Old		0.77	0.85	0.81
Mixed		1.08	1.58	1.35
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Opinion of the polling staff was also sought regarding the space available for carrying out the polling activities. A larger number of those responding, i.e. 12% expressed their dissatisfaction with the space available. With a small difference across the gender divide, the number of those satisfied with the premises of their polling station remained around 85%. However, the number was higher for the polling staff working on mixed polling stations. Due to the small number of mixed polling stations in the sample, the difference with the other two categories remains inconsequential.

Table 6.17 In Your Opinion; Does the Space Available at This Polling Station Meet the Requirements of Smooth Polling Processes?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know		2.47	2.43	2.43
Yes	91.67	84.10	86.04	85.24
No	8.33	13.43	11.53	12.33
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

6.3 Polling Processes

The importance of material and capacity level of the polling staff and polling agents cannot be denied. However, what is of equal or perhaps more importance to free and fair election are issues related to the polling processes. In this section, majority of the questions were put to voters and polling agents to get their opinion on the working of the observed polling stations. We start by looking at the voting processes from the beginning, i.e. placement and usage of transparent and sealed ballot boxes. Put to the polling agents responsible for ensuring on behalf of their candidates that only transparent and sealed ballot boxes are used, almost 97% answered in affirmative. The numbers of those who did not answer or held that transparent and sealed ballot boxes were not used remain negligible as shown in the table below.

Table 6. 18 Are Transparent & Sealed Ballot Boxes Being Used?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know		3.5	2.4	2.9
Yes	100.0	95.9	97.1	96.6
No		0.6	0.5	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Asked if they themselves have ensured that the ballot boxes were empty and sealed, 94% of the polling agents answered in affirmative while a small number of 2.5% answered in negative. From the gender perspective, the number of women who answered in negative was twice as much as their male counterparts, i.e. 3.5% compared to 1.6%.

Table 6.19 Did You Confirm That the Ballot Boxes Were Empty And Properly Sealed Prior to Voting?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know		4.1	3.0	3.5
Yes	100.0	92.4	95.4	94.0
No		3.5	1.6	2.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

An important tool to stop double and or fake voting is the application of indelible ink on the thumb of voters in clear view of the polling agents. The ink because of its permanence differentiates those who have already voted even if their name is registered at various polling stations and or hold multiple national identity cards. When asked about application of indelible ink, the polling agents, 95% of them, observing the process on behalf of their candidates acknowledged that the process was followed. The difference across genders as given in the table below was again minimal.

Table 6.20 Is the Polling Staff Marking the Thumbs of Voters With Indelible Ink After Handing Them the Ballot Papers?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know		4.8	3.1	3.9
Yes	100.0	94.1	96.0	95.2
No		1.0	0.9	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Since the elections are based on the principle of secret ballot, screens or partitions are a norm for providing sufficient privacy to the voters for stamping and casting their ballots. The issue garners more importance if viewed in the context of Pakistan. As has been reported and observed in previous elections, cases of voters been accompanied by supporters of candidates, taking the ballots out for reassuring the supporters of candidates about choice of

the voters and presence of polling staff and agents to guide the voters about a certain choice reinforces the need for privacy.

Table 6.21 Are the Voters Provided Sufficient Secrecy for Stamping & Casting Their Ballots?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know		5.9	3.4	4.5
Yes	77.8	86.7	92.1	89.5
No	22.2	7.5	4.5	6.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

As the table above suggests, there is a considerable room for improvement on the issue of provision of privacy to voters. Not only in the mixed polling stations, 22.2%, but also in the female polling stations, 7.5%, a larger number of polling agents were of the view that sufficient privacy was not made available to voters.

On the same issue, the opinion of the voters was not much different from the polling agents. The numbers of those satisfied was almost identical in that 88% of the voters expressed their satisfaction with the privacy provided. Similarly, the difference between genders remained minimal as shown in the table below. However, a more significant number of women voters, i.e. 10% did not or were unable to answer this question.

Table 6.22 Are You Satisfied With the Privacy Provided to Voters for Stamping & Casting Votes?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know	4.8	10.1	6.4	8.2
Yes	95.2	86.2	90.0	88.2
No		3.8	3.6	3.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The voters were also asked about each step of the voting process. Responding to the question about being asked to show their ID cards, almost 92% of the voters answered in affirmative. However, given the fact that production of ID card is mandatory for voting, the number of voters who said they were not asked to show their ID cards reflects on a serious lapse in the voting process. The number of women and men, who said they were not asked, constitutes a significant 5% of the voters. Another 3% did not answer the question.

Table 6.23 Were You Asked to Produce Your National ID Card Before Ballot Papers Were Issued to You?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know		3.7	3.0	3.3
Yes	100.0	91.3	92.3	91.9
No		5.0	4.7	4.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Yet another issue that has been highlighted as an attempt at rigging is the previous elections relates to provision of ballot papers for both national and provincial assembly elections. 96% of the voters said they were provided the separate ballots for both the elections, while 3.5% did not answer the question and 0.2% said they were not given separate ballots papers. As shown in the table below, the number of women voters, and voters on mixed polling stations who said they were provided separate ballot papers, i.e. 95.3% and 95.2 % respectively, are slightly less than the male voters, i.e. 97.1%.

Table 6.24 Were You Issued Two Separate Ballot Papers for Voting in National & Provincial Assembly Elections?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know	4.8	4.4	2.7	3.5
Yes	95.2	95.3	97.1	96.2
No		0.3	0.1	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

As observed earlier, indelible ink has been used as a tool for checking multiple voting. When asked, 93.6% of voters said their thumbs were marked with indelible ink while 2.6% said theirs were not. In addition, almost 4% did not answer the question.

Table 6.25 Was Your Thumb Marked With Indelible Ink?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know		4.2	3.4	3.8
Yes	100.0	93.4	93.7	93.6
No		2.4	2.8	2.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

In order to vote for the intended candidate, the issue of clear and distinctive electoral symbols gains importance, especially in the context of Pakistan. The increased significance of electoral symbols is well grounded in the fact that most of the voting age population is illiterate and relies on symbols to cast their votes. When asked if they could differentiate between electoral symbols of candidates, a clear majority of 86.7% answered in the affirmative. However, the number of those who said they could not clearly differentiate is reasonably high, i.e. 8.6%. The number is even higher for women voters, i.e. 9%.

Table 6.26 Were You Able to Differentiate Between Electoral Symbols of the Candidates?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know		5.7	3.8	4.7
Yes	95.2	85.2	87.9	86.7
No	4.8	9.1	8.2	8.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Another of the issue that has contributed to lower turnouts is the lack of knowledge and information regarding the number of vote and the designated polling station. Less than half, i.e. 40% of the voters interviewed said they got the information themselves while the rest of them relied on information about their vote number and polling station from the leaflet sent by the candidates (39%), workers of candidates on election day (10%), NGOs (2%) and other means (2.5%). It is interesting to note that women voters relied more heavily on the two methods employed by the candidates compared to with males.

Table 6.27 How Did You Get Information About Your Vote Number & Polling Station?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know	4.8	5.8	4.3	5.0
Candidate sent leaflet	57.1	38.9	39.7	39.4
Candidate sent representative on election day	4.8	12.8	8.6	10.6
NGO		2.4	2.1	2.2
By myself	28.6	37.7	42.9	40.3
Any other	4.8	2.4	2.5	2.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Gauging the overall satisfaction of voters with the efforts for organized voting, it is interesting to note that the while the overall number of those satisfied remained as high as 80%, there is a slight difference across the gender divide. More men, i.e. 82.5% expressed their satisfaction compared to 77.6% of women as shown in the table below. It is a common observation from the yester elections that voting at women polling stations has been less organized and these numbers tend to reinforce that trend.

Table 6.28 Are You Satisfied With the Arrangements Put in Place for Organized Voting?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know	19.0	17.0	13.2	15.0
Yes	81.0	77.6	82.5	80.1
No		5.4	4.3	4.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The number of voters satisfied with the assistance of the polling staff remained impressive (86.8%). However, the number is slightly lower among the women voters (84%) with 3% expressing their outright dissatisfaction and 13% not answering the question.

Table 6.29 Are You Satisfied With the Assistance Provided by the Polling Staff?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know	4.8	13.1	8.2	10.6
Yes	95.2	84.0	89.3	86.8
No		3.0	2.5	2.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

On the issue of the time it took to cast votes, the satisfaction level was generally low at 44%. The dissatisfaction among male voters was slightly higher than female voters, i.e. 44% to 42%. Yet, the highest dissatisfaction level was recorded for the mixed polling stations (52%). Concerns with the amount of time required to vote thus needs to be addressed as it can precipitate lower turnouts in the coming elections. As observed earlier, increasing the number or more strategic settlement of polling stations can help assuage these concerns.

Table 6.30 Are You Satisfied With the Time it Took You to Cast Your Vote?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know	9.5	14.8	10.9	12.7
Yes	38.1	43.4	45.3	44.4
No	52.4	41.9	43.8	42.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

6.4 Security, Logistics and Transportation

Having already characterized as the most violent elections in the history of the country, security has been one of the most important concerns that surrounded the 2008 elections. We asked the opinions of both the polling staff as well as the voters on this issue. The polling staff overwhelmingly expressed their satisfaction at the security arrangements at the polling station (89%). However, it is important to note that a higher number of polling staff at male only polling stations answered in negative (10%) as compared to the polling staff at female polling stations (5%).

Table 6.31 Do You Think the Security Arrangements at the Polling Station are Satisfactory?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know		3.24	1.82	2.43
Yes	100.00	91.36	87.74	89.42
No		5.40	10.44	8.15
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Even more interesting are the voter opinions as shown in the table below. While a majority expressed their satisfaction over security arrangements (92%), the reverse trend to polling staff was evident in that male voters were more satisfied (93%) as compared to female voters (90%).

Table 6.32 Are You Satisfied With the Security Arrangements at the Polling Station?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know		6.0	4.2	5.0
Yes	95.2	90.3	93.1	91.8
No	4.8	3.7	2.7	3.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

An important aspect of the polling day security relates to the secure handling of the ballot boxes. Disappearance and changing of ballot boxes has long been decried as a potent tool of rigging. When asked about the transportation facilities made available for moving the ballot boxes, 75% of the polling staff interviewed said there were such facilities while 15.6% said such facility was not available to them. Another important dimension of the answers to this question is the considerably wider differences between the answers of the polling staff at women polling stations as compared to male polling stations. Whereas, 50% of the polling staff at mixed polling stations said that facilities to transport ballot boxes were available, the number of women polling staff was 70.5% and that of males was 79.4%. The number of those who said there were no facility was higher for the women polling staff at 18.7%, 16.6% for mixed polling station and 13.3% for male polling station as shown in the table below.

Table 6.33 Is There Any Facility Provided to Move the Ballot Boxes to And From the Polling Station?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know	33.33	10.80	7.16	8.96
Yes	50.00	70.52	79.49	75.34
No	16.67	18.67	13.35	15.70
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Of those who answered that facility was available to them for transportation of ballot boxes, 37% said through public transport, 2 percent said private transport, 9% named official transport while 51% did not elaborate.

Table 6.34 If Facility to Transport Ballot Boxes is Available, What is the Kind of That Facility?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Public Transport	25.00	32.56	40.78	37.06
Private Transport	8.33	1.39	3.28	2.49
Official Transport	0.00	8.18	9.71	8.96
Did not answer/Don't Know	66.67	57.87	46.24	51.48
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Regardless of the mode of transportation, more important is the question regarding the security of ballot boxes. The majority of the polling staff (77%) when asked about security arrangements during transportation of ballot boxes to the polling station said they were provided security. The affirmative answers were lesser for the polling staff from the mixed polling stations (58%) but as already observed, the number independently is of little consequence owing to the small number of mixed polling stations observed.

Table 6.35 Were You Provided With Security During Transportation of the Ballot Boxes to the Polling Station?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know	16.67	6.02	5.34	5.73
Yes	58.33	75.77	78.52	77.16
No	25.00	18.21	16.14	17.12
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Perhaps more important is the provision of security to filled ballot boxes that are transported from the polling stations. Since the ballots are the only way to recount in case of any controversy, ballot boxes at the end of the polling process are taken to the district returning officer. Interestingly enough, the number of polling staff saying they will be provided security while transporting the filled ballot boxes declined to 68.8%. As shown in the table below, a smaller number of female polling staff (64.8%) said they will have security escort as compared to 70% of male polling staff.

Table 6.36 Will You be Provided With Security While Transporting the Ballot Boxes From the Polling Station?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know	16.67	23.61	19.90	21.50
Yes	58.33	64.81	70.39	67.86
No	25.00	11.57	9.71	10.65
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

We also asked the polling staff if they were provided with transportation facilities to ensure the timely opening and closing of polling. Overall, 58% said they have been provided transportation while a significant 26.6% answered in negative. A more interesting aspect is the difference across genders as shown in the table below. Whereas 66% of male polling staff said they were provided transportation, the number of female polling staff was much lower at 48.92%. The rest of the respondents said they were not given transportation facility, i.e. 33.6% of female polling staff, 20.8% male polling staff and 41.6% of staff at mixed polling station, or did not answer.

Table 6.37 Has the ECP Provided you Transportation Facilities in Order to Ensure the Polling as Scheduled?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know	8.33	17.44	13.11	14.96
Yes	50.00	48.92	66.02	58.42
No	41.67	33.64	20.87	26.62
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

A major chunk of the huge logistical operation on the polling day comprises the movement of voters to and from the polling stations. Over the last several elections, especially since the 1990s, the candidates have taken upon themselves the responsibility to facilitate voters' access to polling stations. The 2008 elections were no different. As tabulated under, the responses of voters reflects on the mean of transportation used in the 2008 elections. While the largest section of those who came to vote said that they used their own transportation (26.6%), the group of people relying on transportation provided by candidates came a close second (24%). From the gender perspective, it is important to note that there is a significant difference between male and female voters with respect to the mode of transportation used. For the female voters, the means provided by the candidates was the preferred means (27%) as against 21% of male voters. In addition, the personal means showed considerable difference across the gender divide as more men (32%) used their own transportation as against 20.6% of female voter from the same category.

Table 6.38 What Means of Transportation Did You Use to Reach the Polling Station?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know	4.8	6.2	4.8	5.5
Candidate provide transport	47.6	27.1	21.2	24.2
Own transport	23.8	20.6	32.3	26.6
With family	14.3	21.0	15.0	17.9
With neighbors	9.5	21.4	19.4	20.3
Any other		3.7	7.2	5.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

6.5 Perceptions and Issues of Fairness

As with all elections, perceptions, not necessarily stemming from a general pattern of events define the fairness of the effort in the mind of people concerned. This section brings together the responses of all the three categories of respondents to questions relating to perceptions and some of the known issues related with fairness of the election processes.

Table 6.39 Has Any Party or Candidate Tried to Unduly Influence the Electoral Process?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know		2.93	2.67	2.76
Yes	25.00	12.35	10.80	11.59
No	75.00	84.72	86.53	85.65
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

The table above summarizes the experience of polling staff on the question of influence from political parties or candidates on the electoral process. It is interesting to note that almost 12% of those interviewed answered in the affirmative while the predominant majority of almost 85% answered in negative. Even though the numbers in the affirmative column for the mixed polling station is higher, it is again reminded that the overall number is not influenced much because of the smaller number of mixed polling stations that were observed.

The issue of undue influence of the electoral process by government officials shows even lesser number of polling staff respondents answering in the affirmative. As evident from the numbers in the table below, more than 88% said that no government official has tried to influence the electoral process unduly, with slightly over 8% of responding positively to the question. The figures on undue influence efforts by parties and government officials though appear small, are no less significant and continue to pose a challenge to unhindered exercise of voting in a free and fair environment.

Table 6.40 Has Any Government Official Tried to Unduly Influence the Electoral Process?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know		3.86	3.40	3.57
Yes	8.33	8.95	7.65	8.22
No	91.67	87.19	88.96	88.21
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

For the polling agents to weigh in on the subject of irregularity in the polling process, we inquired if they had registered any complaints. Only 12 percent said they have registered complaints against irregularities in the polling process with insignificant difference across the gender divide.

Table 6.41 Have You Registered Any Complaint Against Any Irregularity in Polling Process Today?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know	33.3	34.1	33.8	33.9
Yes	11.1	13.5	11.0	12.1
No	55.6	52.4	55.2	53.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

With a follow up question on satisfaction with the responses, their complaints engendered, only 10.4% said they were satisfied with the actions taken on their complaints. However, a predominant majority (87.7%) did not answer the question. One major factor is the short time frame as not much time had passed at the time of their interviews since those complaints were made.

Table 6.42 If Yes, Are You Satisfied With the Response You Got?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know	88.9	86.4	88.9	87.7
Yes	11.1	11.6	9.4	10.4
No		2.0	1.8	1.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

On the impartiality of the polling staff, the polling agents were predominantly satisfied, i.e. 84.9%. With a slight variance across the type of polling station, less than 10% showed their dissatisfaction with the polling staff with respect to the staff's impartiality.

Table 6.43 In Your Opinion, is the Polling Staff Carrying Out Their Duties Impartially?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know		6.7	4.1	5.3
Yes	88.9	82.1	87.2	84.9
No	11.1	9.4	8.1	8.7
Do not know		1.8	0.5	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The voters were also asked several questions regarding some well-documented standard practices of undue influence on voting. In response to campaigning or asking to vote for a particular candidate within the polling station that is not legal, the number of voters who answered in affirmative is considerably high at 18.9%. Also important is a considerable increase in the higher frequency of the affirmatives for the female polling stations (21.7%) as against male polling stations (16.2%).

Table 6.44 Were You Asked Within the Polling Station to Vote for a Certain Candidate?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know	9.5	5.5	4.4	5.0
Yes	19.0	21.7	16.2	18.9
No	71.4	72.8	79.4	76.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Yet another tactic employed by candidates that have been observed is the use of favor and promises by the candidates to win over the votes on Election Day. As the table below shows, the 2008 elections were no exception as 5% of the voters said they have been promised favors in return for their vote. The number of voters at mixed polling station is higher (9.5%) than the almost equal numbers for the male and female polling stations (5% for both)

Table 6.45 Were You Promised Any Personal Favor or Promise in Return for Your Vote By Anyone?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know	4.8	7.9	5.3	6.6
Yes	9.5	5.1	5.0	5.0
No	85.7	87.0	89.7	88.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Of those who said they were offered favors by candidates in return for their votes, 59.5% cited promise of personal work, 28.1% did not disclose, 5.7% said they were offered cash while 6.7% said they were offered food ration. While promise of personal work topped among all voters across the three types of polling stations, it is important to note that money in cash

and food ration was named by the female voters more than twice and many times (7.8% and 9.8% respectively) as male voters (3.8% for both options).

Table 6.46 If Yes, What is the Nature of That Promise/Favour?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Cash		7.8	3.8	5.7
Food Ration		9.8	3.8	6.7
Promise of personal work	50.0	56.9	62.3	59.5
Any other/did not disclose	50.0	25.5	30.2	28.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

As a culmination point of the election campaign, opinion of the voter regarding gender of the female candidates provides a summary conclusion on fairness of elections with regard to gender. With a majority 68% expressing that gender of the female candidate did not figure in their decision to vote, 13% said they felt more inclined to vote for female candidates and 7.6% opined that it made them less inclined. However, as can be seen in the table below, the number of women more inclined to vote for a female candidate was higher (14.6%) than male voters (11.5%) while those voting at mixed polling stations were more inclined to do so (23.8%).

Table 6.47 How Does Gender of the Female Candidates Influence Your Decision to Vote?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know	14.3	10.7	11.9	11.3
More inclined to vote for her being a female	23.8	14.6	11.5	13.0
Less inclined because of her being a female		6.7	8.5	7.6
No effect on decision	61.9	68.1	68.1	68.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The voter perception about the fairness of the election was summed up in their opinion on representation of their will in the electoral results.

Table 6.48 In Your Opinion, Will the Result of This Polling Station Truly Reflect the Will of the Voters?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Refused		5.3	3.5	4.3
Yes	100.0	71.7	80.2	76.5
No		5.0	3.6	4.2
Did not answer/ Don't know		18.0	12.6	15.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

As shown in the table above, a majority (76.5%) of voters thought that the results at their respective polling station would truly reflect their will. It is important to note that there is a considerable lack of confidence among women voters (71.7%) as compared to male voters (80.2%).

Table 6.48 Overall, Are You Satisfied or Dissatisfied With the Polling Process Today?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know		6.1	3.9	4.9
Satisfied	100.0	88.0	91.6	90.0
Not satisfied		5.9	4.5	5.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

From the perspective of the polling agents, a clear majority of 90% expressed their overall satisfaction with the polling process as shown in the table above. There were only slight variations of the satisfaction level across male and female polling stations (91.6% and 88% respectively) as compared to mixed polling stations where the satisfaction level was recorded at 100%.

Last but not the least, the level of satisfaction of polling staff with the polling process was also high at 86.79% expressing their approval. However, it is interesting to note that polling agents overall were more satisfied than the polling agents. As carried in the table below, the numbers for the three types of polling stations show little variation.

Table 6. A Overall, Are You Satisfied or Dissatisfied With the Polling Process Today?				
	Polling Station Type			Total
	Mixed	Female	Male	
Did not answer/Don't Know		3.40	3.64	3.50
Satisfied	91.67	85.80	87.50	86.79
Not satisfied		4.01	3.52	3.71
Till now	8.33	6.79	5.34	6.00
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

The study of 2008 elections in the observed women constituencies offer little variation in the perception and opinion of voters, polling agents and polling staff on several issues across the gender divide, except for a few. On issues of critical importance to fairness and lawful execution of the electoral processes, a clear majority of respondents in all categories were found in agreement. Gender of the respondents as a factor was highlighted in a number of issues, though on most the difference in responses across the gender divide remained largely insignificant.

6.6 Perception of Fairness Versus Incidences at Polling Stations: Voting to Counting

On the day of Election, voters are the deciding factor. In the observed constituencies, the field team collected their responses to bring out that 5% of female voters could not vote, as they

could not show NIC. 22% remained unsatisfied with the status of privacy provided to vote. 9% women had difficulty in differentiating the election symbols. Women polling stations were observed to be more disorganized in management and women voters used more time to vote as compare to all male and/or mixed polling stations. Voters remained heavily dependent on candidates from provision of transport to them, 24% along with information about vote number and name of polling station.

Lack of Education, access of information and training affected performance of female polling agents affected their performance because a substantial number could not check the Ballot boxes before being sealed and being there on time.

Female Polling staff had most difficulties and had to seek family's help more than required especially for logistics both while collecting the Ballot Box and transportation of the filled boxes. They could resort to utilizing public transport while collecting them i.e. 37% but majority avoided to answer or just smiled when the similar question were asked for taking back Ballot boxes and provision of security i.e. 51%.

Some incidences on different polling station, as observed by the field teams, were:

NWFP:

PF-13 Nowshera-II

PS # 82 Kurvi 2: Polling station was at distance from the town. The elders of the area decided not to allow their females to cast votes. Till noon no female voter came to cast vote. On almost all the polling station there was no polling agent for female candidate of PML-N Sobia Nosheen.

PF-50 Haripur-II: It was generally observed that the polling staff of the both male and female stations assisted the old and invalid voters to affix the stamp on the ballot papers and putting those into the ballot boxes. The prescribed distance of 400 yards for the set up of party camps was not followed in all the polling stations. Camps were set up just outside the boundary wall of the premises.

PS # 89 Government High School Central Jail: On one of the registration table the officer in charge did never put indelible ink on the thumb of the voters.

NA-21 Mansehra II

PS # 80 GPS Malooqa: Presiding officers were observed doing signatures and stamping ballot papers before starting polling process.

PS #176 GGPS Bharkund: First female voter arrived at 12:00 noon because people of the area did not allow females to cast votes.

PS # 183 BHU Bharkund: At female polling station, in voter's roll NIC numbers were not mentioned against the names of the voters.

PS # 281 Bahu Bandi: At the female polling station a male friend of PO was working unofficially with polling staff.

PUNJAB:

NA-92 Toba Tek Singh-I

PS # 198 BES Chak # 306 JB: The poster to guide voters at the polling station had a political party symbol (PML-N) on it. Some polling agents were putting ballot paper in the ballot box on behalf of the voters. Polling process was stopped numerous times on pretext of attempted fake vote and fight between polling agents. At one point polling was stopped for 2 hours. Upon contacting DRO police came and controlled the situation.

NA-93 Toba Tek Singh-II

PS # 163 BPS 291/JB: On the claim of Mr. Faiz-ul-Hasan a polling agent of PML-Q that fake votes are being casted by blaming the polling staff, polling agent started quarrelling and bullets were fired at the polling station.

PS # 208 BPS 383/JB: Fight between the group of Naib Nazim and Mr. Asif and an independent candidate Mr. Tahir Anjum resulted in a fight with firing from both sides. The polling had to stop at 1:00 noon and police covered the polling station.

PP-85 Toba Tek Singh II under NA-94 Toba Tek Singh-II: It was reported by the voters in the interviews that on the night of 17 February, wheat flour and ghee was distributed in the area by a candidate Mr. Tariq Mehmood to win voters support

PP-86 Toba Tek Singh-III PS # 232 GPS 298/GB: Polling staff training was not sure as to which thumb of voter, right or left, should get the mark of indelible ink. Polling agents were canvassing voters to vote for their parties with in polling stations.

NA-130 Lahore-XIII: There was physical violence at Polling Station #141-GPS Ganja Sandhu at the time of counting; the observation team could not observe the counting process.

NA-101 Gujranwala-VII and PP-103 Gujranwala XIII: Incident of firing at the polling station # 36-GBPS-Wayanwali at the time of counting was observed. At the Polling Station #115 GBHS Ahmed Nagar polling staff was observed to be less trained as polling agents were casting multiple votes.

NA-134 Sheikhpura-IV and PP-169 Sheikhpura-VII: At PS # 45 GGPS Der Gujjaran Butter 2, there was severe fighting between the rival groups which led to suspension of polling along-with other 7 polling station, repolling was done on 25th February 2008.

NA-78 Faisalabad IV: At Polling Station # 188 GGPS Chak 491/GB; voters complained that PML (Q) polling agent was stamping ballot papers of voters and dropping them in the ballot boxes. Other polling agents also protested but the security and polling staff did not took any action. At Polling Station # 156/2 GGPS 509 Mamoon kanjan during the fight between the PPPP and PML-Q polling agents 2- copies of provincial assembly ballot papers was found missing and polling was stopped for almost 2 hours.

SINDH

NA-208 Jacobabad-I: It was generally observed that polling staff was not properly trained specially the female staff who could not even seal the ballot boxes properly and in most of the cases did not announce the serial numbers of the ballot papers being used at the polling booths. The polling agents were not trained and could not perform there duties properly. At one polling station a male person assisted the female voter to affix the stamp on the ballot.

PS # 154 GPS Soomra Mohalla: It was observed that in the polling booth the posters of PML-Q candidates were affixed.

NA 250 Karachi- XII PS # 23 D.J Science College: A female voter could not cast her vote as it was casted already. Half an hour before poll closing time political party members captured the booth and casted votes illegally. Fake voters could cast vote fearlessly as polling staff preferred to ignore them.

NA-238 Thatta-II and PS-86 Thatta-III PS # 114 Laiqpur: There was fight between the polling agents and voters on which the polling was stopped for 20 minutes after which PML-Q candidate arrived and threatened the Presiding officer to do as he is told by their people. The PPPP polling agent complained that he is being threatened. The number of votes casted by 3:30 pm was 390.

NA-204 Larkana-I

PS # 186 GPS ShahYaro: the Presiding officer Nazakat Ali Bhutto complained to the observation team that the voter lists are missing in the election material given to him the lists which were available with the polling agents had lot of mistakes in NIC numbers and names. The polling Officer was enquiring from the voters about their preference of candidate they are going to vote.

PS# 127 GPS Baharpur: It was observed by the team in the female polling booth polling officer and assistant polling officer were affixing stamps on the ballot papers on behalf of the voters. When the team inquired from Ms. Gul Saima Polling Agent of PPP (SB) she responded that we have full confidence in the polling staff and since the female voters are illiterate they cannot affix stamp in the right manner so the votes are wasted.

BALUCHISTAN

NA-272 Kech Cum Gawadar: There was extra ordinary security measures taken at all the polling stations and Rangers were deployed. As most of the polling stations were combined for male and female voters the staff was only male which hampered the female voting process. At PS #43 GPS Kallag security personnel and Presiding Officer did not allow the team to enter the polling station until the coordinator from the control room spoke to him at length and explained that the team is accredited by ECP.

PB-17 Barakhan: Generally the polling was peaceful and the security arrangements were adequate however at Polling Station # 3 Primary School Nakhari Dahimini the

counting process double stamped and thumb stamped 9 ballot papers were not rejected but counted in for different candidates.

6.7 Vote Count Process – An Overall Comment

The results are consolidated at two stages but are announced at three stages i.e. at polling station by Presiding Officer (total votes casted at different booths are counted), at constituency level by Returning Officer (polling station results are consolidated by RO) and later at ECP level. Interestingly these results are unofficial which are announced immediately. While at a later date, as determined by RO, there is consolidation of official results by assessing the doubtful and postal ballots; which are then notified by the Election Commission. There was no access to the polling station wise consolidation sheet, which is prepared by the RO, at the constituency level. This did not allow the teams to counter check the accuracy of results announced by RO by comparing the counting observed at the polling station level.

The TR observation teams observed the counting process at both at Polling station and at RO levels and their overall observations are:

Observation of Counting at Polling Station: The polling at most of the stations was completed between 5 to 5.30 pm as some of the voters which were inside the polling station were allowed to cast the votes. In most of the cases, the counting started at 5.30 pm in the presence of most of the polling agents. It was interesting to note that majority of the female polling agents in the combined polling stations left and counting was observed by the male polling agents. In the observed WCC and at observed polling stations, vote count was largely intimidation free, transparent and cooperative. The results were compiled on the prescribed forms (Form XIV) by the presiding officers and copies were distributed to the polling agents and were also provided to the observation team (TR observation team received 93% copies of results from the counting's observed). The process on average took 3-4 hours completing by 9pm. After the completion the record and materials were transported to the RO offices, it was observed that although security arrangements were adequate in most of the cases for transportation but the means for transportation were not proper and in some cases the transport was provided by the supporters/polling agents or by public transport.

Tabulation and Announcement of Results by RO: The observation team could observe 89% consolidation of results at the RO level. The consolidated results were prepared on prescribed Form XVII and copies were provided in most of the cases to polling agents and observing teams. There were instances where RO were not clear as to who should be allowed to be present. This led to confusion and mayhem. In approximately 20% of the RO offices, where consolidation was observed, the premises were over crowded and observers and polling agents were denied access to observe the process. There was large contingent of security in and around the RO offices. At 7 places even the observation teams were denied access to the compilation process and post control room hectic consultations only 3 teams were allowed observe. The lack of provision of results on Form XVI (polling station wise results consolidation sheet) did not allow the political parties to counter check the results.

6.8 Incidences of Violence in Observed WCC

The incidences of violence on Election Day as observed by the observation teams are:

Physical Violence: Firing and Clashes	PUNJAB: Attock, Sheikhupura, Sargodha, Toba Tek Singh, Muzaffargarh, Jhang, Sialkot, Narowal, Gujranwala, Lahore NWFP: Nowshera SINDH: Badin, Dadu, Larkana, Jacobabad, Nawabshah
Murder	PUNJAB NA-93 Toba Tek Singh-II Polling Station# 208 Boys Primary School-383/JB: Naib Nazim Asif Saeed Ahmed (PML-N Supporter) murdered. Another person got seriously injured. Polling stopped at 1pm and security forces took over the polling station
Theft of Ballot Paper	SINDH: Badin NA-224, Rajo Kharari: 1100 ballot paper stolen Jacobabad: NA-208, Polling Station #109 GBPS Mehrabpur: 700 ballot papers lost
Bogus Voting	Punjab: Toba Tek Singh, Narowal, Attock, Sheikhupura, Sargodha, Muzaffargarh, Jhang, Sialkot, Gujranwala, Lahore Sindh: Jacobabad, Larkana, Karachi, Nawabshah NWFP: Haripur Due to fake NICs

Chapter 7

Post Election Observation: Results of Observed Women Contested Constituencies

7.1 Results for Directly Elected Women for National Assembly

At the level of **National Assembly**, 15 women were elected through direct elections against 73 women contestants. PPPP had highest number of female winners followed by 3 each from PML-N and PML-Q. 1 woman returned on MQM ticket whereas another on independent ticket. NWFP and Balochistan did not vote to enable any women to the National Assembly on general seat. Out of the 15 constituencies that elected women 14 were observed by TR.

Table 7.1 Winning Women Candidates (National Assembly)			
S. No.	Constituencies	Name	Votes Taken
PPPP			
1	NA-78 Faisalabad-IV	Rahila Parveen	79,114
2	NA-111 Sialkot-II	Dr. Fardos Ashiq Awan	78,925
3	NA-130 Lahore-XIII	Saima Khalid Ghurki	44,692
4	NA-177 Muzaffargarh-II	Hina Rabbani Khar	84,914
5	NA-213 Nawabshah-I	Azra Fazal Pechcho	108,096
6	NA-223 Tando Allahyar-C-Matiari	Shamshad Sattar Bachani	84,630
7	NA-225 Badin-C-Tando Muhammad Khan-II	Dr. Fahmida Mirza	88,983
PML-Q			
8	NA-69 Khushab-I	Sumaira Malik	61,076
9	NA-87 Jhang-II	Ghulam Bibi Bharwana	63,506
10	NA-92 T.T. Singh-I	Farkhanda Amjad Warraich	69,298
PML-N			
11	NA-102 Hafizabad-I*	Saira Afzal Tarar	56,313
12	NA-115 Narowal-I	Sumaira Naz	59,678
13	NA-169 Vehari-III	Tehmina Daultana	48,998
MQM			
14	NA-250 Karachi-XII	Khush Bakhat Shujaat	52,045
Independent			
15	NA-90 Jhang-V	Saima Akhtar Bharwana	64,619

* Only 1 candidate was not under the TR observed WCC

There were 32 **Independent Women Contestants at NA level** i.e. 1 from NWFP, 2 from ICT, 22 from Punjab, 4 from Sindh and 3 from Balochistan. Out of this unprecedented high number of women only 1 could get elected i.e. Saima Akhtar Bharwana from NA-90 Jhang-V by securing 64,759 votes.

7.2 Results for Directly Elected Women for Provincial Assemblies

At Provincial level only 10 women could get elected at out of 120 contestants. 7 winning constituencies out of 10 were observed by TR. The Punjab Provincial Assembly had the highest number of elected women i.e. 8 against 73 contestants. Except an independent candidate rest of them were party ticket holder i.e. 5 belonged to PML-N, 1 each to PPPP, PML-Q.

The Sindh Provincial Assembly had only one woman i.e. Sussui Palijo of PPPP out of 28 contestants. The Balochistan Assembly also had one i.e. Mrs. Nasreen Rehman Khetran of PML-Q, out of 8 contestants. In NWFP 11 women contested but none could get enough votes to be elected.

Table 7.2 Winning Women Candidates (Provincial Assembly)			
S. No.	Constituencies	Name	Votes Taken
PPPP			
1	PS-85 Thatta-II	Sassui Palijo	28,915
2	PP-86 Toba Tek Singh-III	Neelam Jabbar Chaudhary	22,850
PML-Q			
3	PB-17 Barkhan	Mrs. Nasreen Rehman Khetran	12,409
4	PP-206 Multan-XIII*	Naghma Mushtaq Lang	28,104
PML-N			
5	PP-8 Rawalpindi-VIII*	Mrs. Umar Farooq	30,679
6	PP-20 Chakwal-I*	Iffat Liaqat Ali Khan	50,039
7	PP-38 Sargodha-XI	Shahzadi Umerzadi Tiwana	56,659
8	PP-88 Toba Tek Singh-V	Nazia Raheel	23,472
9	PP-135 Narowal-IV	Samina Wasim Butt	42,787
Independent			
10	PP-188 Okara-IV	Robina Shaheen Wattoo	29,252

* Only 3 candidates were not under the TR observed WCC

At provincial level there were 85 **independent women candidates** i.e. 6 from NWFP, 50 from Punjab, 22 from Sindh and 7 from Balochistan. Again this unprecedented number only 1 was elected i.e. Robina Shaheen Wattoo from PP-188 Okara-IV by securing 29,252 votes.

7.3 Women Elected on Reserved Seats

The Proportional Representation System is used for allocation of reserved seats for women. The political parties submit the closed list of the candidates to ECP and seats are allocated to a political party on the basis of total number of General Seats secured by each in the National and Provincial Assembly. Each Province is a single constituency for the reserved seats for women. Only Political parties are entitled to reserved seats.

Table 7.3 Party-Wise Position of Women on Reserved Seats at NA and PA level										
Political Parties	Punjab		Sindh		NWFP		Balochistan		Total	
	NA	PA	NA	PA	NA	PA	NA	PA	NA	PA
PPPP	12	19	7	16	3	6	1	2	23	43
PML-N	16	30	0	0	1	2	0	0	17	32
PML-Q	7	16	1	2	0	1	1	4	9	23
ANP	0	0	0	0	3	9	0	1	3	10
MQM	-	-	5	9	-	-	-	-	5	9
PML-F	-	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	3
MMA	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	2	-	5
PPP-SP	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	3
BNP-A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
Total	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

The name and party wise detail of women elected on reserved seats are at Annex 6.

7.4 Women Elected on both NA and PA Reserved Seats

16 women got elected on both National and Provincial Assemblies reserved seats, they are:

PPPP	Farzana Raja Justice (R) Fakhar-un-Nisa Kokhar Ms. Fauzia Habib Mrs. Shakeela Khanum Rasheed Mrs. Yasmeen Rehman Samina Mushtaq Pagganwala Mrs. Farah Naz Ispahani Dr. Mahreen Razaque Bhutto Jillani Asma Arbab Alamgir Mehrunnisa Afridi
PML-N	Mrs. Farhat Begum Tahira Aurangzeb Nighat Parveen Mir Khalida Mansoor Shahnaz Saleem Parveen Masood Bhatti

7.5 Women Contestants on Both General and Reserved Seats

Three women contested elections on general seats and were also nominated by their political parties on reserved seats which is an indicator of their support in the political party. They are:

1. Mrs. Tehmina Daultana PML-N belong to political family of Dalutana's but has her own political struggle and work for the party
2. Mrs. Sumaira Malik PML-Q belong to political family of Legharis and was a federal Minister in the last Government
3. Mrs. Khush Bakhat Shujat MQM who is a new entrant to political arena from the world of TV. Her husband was a Minister of Education in the Caretaker Cabinet of Sindh

All of them opted for general seat and resigned from their nomination of reserved seat.

Besides above, 9 women contestants of general seats, upon losing their election could still make it to the Assemblies as their name was on political party's list for women on reserved seats. They are:

Table 7.4 Lost Contestants Who Made It to the House on Reserved Seats			
	Contestants	General seat of	Reserved Seat of
1	Ms. Nafisa Shah	Independent	PPPP
2	Dr. Mahreen Razaque Bhutto Jillani	Independent	PPPP
3	Ms. Zubaida Jalal	Independent	PML-Q
4	Zaib Jaffar (contested from 3 constituencies)	PML-N from NA-193 and PP-293, Independent from NA 196	PML-N
5	Mrs. Laila Muqadas	Independent	PML-N
6	Ms. Fouzia Behram	PPPP	PPPP
7	Ms. Nadia Gabol	MQM	MQM
8	Ms. Heer Soho (contested from 2 constituencies)	Independent from PS-85 MQM from PS-86	MQM
9	Mrs. Kalsoom Akhtar Chandio	Independent	PPPP

The PPPP used it as an election observation technique because their reserved seats designate women filed nomination as independent and cover candidates. This allowed these women, and their political parties, unhindered access to all polling stations in that constituency being a candidate at the cost of few hundred votes only.

Chapter 8

Elected Women in Post Election Scenario

8.1 Role of Women in Government Formation

The Elections of 2008 are dedicated to the struggle of a woman who has changed the course and would affect the destiny of politics in Pakistan – Mrs. Benazir Bhutto Zardari. She remains the only role model across party lines to all women. Her contribution to the restoration and redefinition of democracy in Pakistan are an inspiration to the region as well.

The twist and surprises remained the flavor of elections 2008 even after the Election Day. PPPP and PML-N made a political come back pushing PML-Q out of power at the national and provincial level. Politics of MMA was also rejected to prefer ANP as Regional parties were prominent in NWFP and Balochistan. MQM managed its strength in Sindh.

Women from pre election phase were at the pronounced helm of affairs for political parties with Mrs. Benazir Bhutto in lead. Post her death and elections certain women from eminent political house holds and/or association remained visible. At National level from PPPP side role of Dr. Azra Afzal Pecho, Faryal Talpur, Fehmida Mirza, Sherry Rehman, Shahnaz Wazir Ali, Sassi Paliyo and Farzana Raja remained visible in government formation. Out of PML-N ranks, Mrs. Tehmina Daultana has been the longest flag bearer. Mrs. Khush Bakht Shujaat gained visibility from the MQM side. Women from PML-Q though remained in news i.e. Mehnaz Rafi, Kashmala Tariq and Sumera Malik, etc but not as party of political dialogue.

8.2 Women Members of the Cabinet and Speakers

Dr. Fehmida Mirza of PPPP made history after obtaining 249 votes, more than two-third, in the National Assembly (NA) to be elected as its first female Speaker. She is the first female speaker of a house in the Muslim world. Dr. Fehmida Mirza is politically affiliated with the PPPP and belongs to a leading political household in Sindh and was an elected MNA in 2002 as well.

At Provincial Level, Sindh Assembly repeated the history by again having a female Deputy Speaker i.e. Mrs. Shehla Raza.

Women could also manage considerable representation in the Federal and Provincial Cabinets as some have been allocated important portfolios. The details are:

Table 8.1 Federal Cabinet		
Ministers	Party	Portfolios
Sherry Rehman	PPPP	Information and Broadcasting with additional portfolios of Health and Women Development)
Hina Rabbani Khar	PPPP	Special Assistant to PM on Finance and Economic Affairs
Shahnaz Wazir Ali	PPPP	Special Assistant to PM on Social Sector

Ms. Tehmina Daultana was given the portfolio of Science & Technology but she resigned as PML-N withdrew their Ministers from coalition at Federal level

Table 8.2 Provincial Cabinets		
Ministers	Party	Portfolios
Punjab		
Neelam Jabbar	PPPP	Population Welfare
Sindh		
Sassui Palijo	PPPP	Culture and Tourism
Shazia Mari	PPPP	Information
Nargis N.D. Khan	PPPP	Social Welfare
Tauqeer Fatima Bhutto	PPPP	Women Development
Nadia Gabol	MQM	Human Rights
NWFP		
Sitara Ayaz	ANP	Social Welfare and Women Development
Balochistan		
Ghazala Gola	PPPP	Minorities Affairs/Women Development
Rubina Irfan	PML-Q	Law and Parliamentary Affairs
Shama Perveen Magsi	PML-Q	Information Technology and Provincial Coordination on NGOs Program (National/International) and Universities
Nasreen Kethran	PML-Q	Portfolio not assigned
Rukiya Saeed Hashmi	PML-Q	Inter Provincial Coordination
Rahila Hameed Khan Durrani	PML-Q	Prosecution
Uzma Piralizai	ANP	Advisor to CM on Education, Health and Social Welfare

8.3 Parliamentary Standing Committees and Women

Women could also manage considerable representation in the standing committees of the National Assembly. The most women representatives were in Committees of Women Development (14), Education (12), Health (8), Finance and Revenue (8) and Culture (7). While the Chairpersons of the committees of Social Welfare and Special Education, Tourism and Finance Committee of National Assembly are women.

There is not even a single woman in the committees of Food, Agriculture and Livestock, Labour, Manpower and Overseas Pakistanis, Petroleum and Natural Resources and Water and Power Other least women representing committees include: Communications (1), Defence Production (2), Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas (2), Narcotics Control (1), Ports and Shipping (2), Public Accounts (1), Rules of Procedure and Privileges (1).

The detail of women with their names and standing committee are at Annex 7.

8.4 Government's 100-Day Plan and Women

Although there were number of important initiatives put forth in the first 100-days programme of Prime Minister by Yousaf Raza Gillani which focused on long awaited

democratic demands to addresses issues like the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR), Madrasa Welfare Authority, abolition of National Accountability Bureau (NAB), abolition of concurrent list, revival of judiciary and of trade and student unions, etc. There is nothing which particularly focuses on women per se, however new and ongoing initiatives out of the ministry of Health and Women are being dedicated to Mrs. Benazir Bhutto.

8.5 Aspiration and Expectations of Elected Women on General Seats

In a Focus Group discussion elected women shared their experiences in politics from the level of personal to political struggle. They talked about their own political journey and predicaments faced during the process from all stakeholders. They did not shy away from demanding corrective measures from their own political parties and could also share the thinking of their respective political party.

Personal Experiences:

Dr. Azra Fazal Phecho belongs to **PPPP** and comes from political family of Sindh being sister of Mr. Asif Ali Zardari. While sharing her experiences, she opined that women contesting the election have to oblige the moral standards set by the society otherwise the society doesn't accept them. Having a strong political background facilitated her political struggle which could have been difficult, as per her own estimation. In her views, she also benefited by her age factor, as it is easier for a women with older age to campaign and socially manage the same as compared to a young female contestant.

Saira Afzal Tarar belongs to **PML-N** and is daughter in law of Ex-president Justice (R) Raifq Tarar. Her father is also an active politician from Hafizabad. She is of the view that religion does not and has not restricted women's political participation but it provides a code of conduct for men and women. While sharing her campaigning experiences, she says: "I never addressed men directly other than on one occasion when Mian Nawaz Sharif was visiting my constituency. People did not care about gender differences but they wanted competent and honest representatives capable of solving their problems." She also corrects the impression that it is not easy for even women of political households to contest election because mostly it is not by choice but by family's political compulsion which mostly has been non availability of educated males since 2002. Balancing home and work is more demanding along with keeping up with required decorum of particular social family practices and traditions which is a constant vigil and even smallest of slip is personified.

Shamshad Sattar Bachani, PPPP, has been contesting on her husband's seat since 2002. Concurring to others she adds that lack of education is the biggest social ill and disadvantage for women. She aims to focus on adult literacy among women so that they could at least read a newspaper and be aware of the happenings. Her political family background kept her insulated from procedural pressures.

Naghma Mushtaq Lhang, MPA from PML-Q, entered politics to reclaim family seat of the father-in-law. To her political journey has been anguishing as her husband and young son died and she had to claim this seat of family. In her area women are not even allowed to go out alone in day time and lawlessness is the norm with no security or mobility provision for women. Her area lacks basic amenities like health, education, drinking water; being one of the most undeveloped in the Punjab province warrants attention and that would be her focus. She wishes that instead of blame game all elected representative should work for the welfare of the people irrespective of their party.

Independent MPA Robina Shaheen Wattoo is the daughter of Manzoor Ahmad Wattoo Ex Chief Minister of Punjab. Sharing her experiences and says that “In the beginning I was advised not to undertake election campaign because people would vote in any case for me due to of my father but her father supported her to run her campaign. People respected me and reposed their trust in me. This dispels the perception that people are against women’s participation in politics.” She observes in political journey that generally people do not make it easy for women to take this route and a 24 hour watch is on them from their dress to conduct to what they say.

Mrs. Umar Farooq, a **PML-N MPA** from Wah, contested her father-in-law’s seat. She highlighted that her constituency has the highest literacy ratio in the country but even highly-educated girls face unemployment. She says, “I did not go out for election campaigning except to submit my papers”.

Table 8.3 Political Aspirations:		
Aspiration	Issues	Recommendations
More women to be registered as voters.	Provision of CNIC is an issue as it is expensive, takes time, need mobility and escort and generally people in rural area don’t think it is required for women.	1. CNICs should be provided free of cost. 2. Party workers should ensure and mobilize constituents to obtain CNIC
Facilitate women to access polling stations to cast votes.	Mobility is a big issue as it is difficult for women to reach to the polling stations.	1. Government should provide deploy special transport for voters to access polling stations. 2. Number of polling stations be increased and located at short distances where people can walk.
Provision of conducive socio-cultural environment for women candidates for election campaigning.	Female candidates have limited outreach to the constituent due to logistic and socio-cultural and socio-religio factors.	Government provide security to all female candidates during election campaigning.
Advocacy to ensure that women to cast vote according to their wishes instead of family’s choice.	Women were forced to cast votes according to family will.	Social awareness and ensuring that women have privacy at polling station to cast vote in favour of any particular candidate.
Society to have positive attitude towards women.	Role stereo-typing hinders young women candidates to be part of political process and campaign as it entails her to work with number of men till late hours.	Men need to be educated to be more courteous and accommodating towards women.
Trained female polling agents	It is difficult to find female polling agents due to reluctance of self and family due to security constraint and being uneducated	Educated women should be trained as polling agents
Women from non political households be encouraged to contest elections on general seats.	It is easier for women having strong political family background to campaign as people already know about their family affiliations and tickets are allocated to these women.	1. Women on reserved seats should be encouraged to contest on opens seats. 2. Media should encourage women 3. Political Parties should allocate %age of seats to women.
Legislation for socio, economic, political and legal empowerment of Women	1. Women are uneducated and lack access to information. 2. Women lack access to economic assets and means to be independent 3. Socio-cultural norms and practices are perceived as religious instruction which leads to women stereotyping and social ostracization.	1. Social, legal, educational Reforms focusing women to eliminate discrimination 2. Initiation of women economic empowerment programs 3. Political reforms to mainstream women by progressing from quota system.

Chapter 9

Conclusion and Recommendations

Empowerment of all types has two impacting levels i.e. personal and societal. Political empowerment is sum of all as it prolific and has the ability to not only change but effect and affects the dynamics of stakeholders from personal to societal level. In Pakistan, the road to political empowerment demands overcoming socio-cultural constraints and working within socio-religious norms, availability of considerable financial resources and a political family. Hence, it is not a journey cut for a lone traveler but demands a holistic support mechanism.

Our observations led to our conclusion which has validated our research hypothesis. The elections for 2008 in general and observed WCC in particular establishes that loyalty to political mentor remain to be the driving principle from personal to political level for women contestants. The closer the alignment to the power base – individual and/or institutional – higher the chances of personified political visibility and success.

The elected women in Parliament of 2002 expressed open appreciation for the President Musharraf beside their party – PML Q - for providing them window of political opportunity. During the tenure of the Parliament this loyalty remained valid till the political realities took a change for institutional strengthening. Hence, elections of 2008 saw pledge of allegiance to the leader of political party then party itself. The example of allegiance to Ms. Benazir Bhutto to Mr. Asif Ali Zardari is an evident example of pre and post election allegiance to political mentors.

The analysis brings out that status of a woman with in the political party is determined not by the contribution of women as a party worker over a period of time but from which family one belongs to and/or whose protégé one is perceived to be. Examples of Sherry Rehman, Farah Naz Isphani, Nilofer Bakhtiar, Kashmala Tariq, Sumaira Malik and Hina Rabbani Khar would support the argument who have not been per se party workers, with relative exception of Ms. Bakhtiar, but rose to political visibility and managed front seats of mainstream politics by virtue of being close to leadership and/or belonging to strong political house hold. Hence their loyalty to respective mentors remained beyond question.

The loyalty factor and association of a political house hold is a critical combination which has the potential to over come all types of socio-cultural-religious obstacles by having the “influence factor” at personal and family level. The constituency and contestants profiling in pre election phase, upon analyzed with field observation, brings out that in observed constituencies the public opinion about the women contestants and their families was favorable with considerable level of social acceptance because of “who they are”. Despite strong religious factions, negative opinion from them was negligible to women contestants’ public role.

The observation of process of allocation of party ticket also concludes to strengthen the hypothesis based argument that to get a mainstream party ticket at NA or PA level one has to belong to a political household. The allocation of ticket itself is reflective of the political weight of the political dynasty. This influence was also used for political bargaining by few women contestants who preferred to switch parties and loyalties. Some political houses, including female contestants, raised their political worth by contesting elections as

“independents” and later joining a political party in exchange of seat in Cabinet/Advisory status, etc.

The same phenomenon is visible even when reserved seat are being decided. No political party has any criteria or strategy to gradually mainstream women in their political cadres and Parliaments. The eligibility clause facilitated women’s entry in mainstream politics and reservation clause strengthened it. There are incidences where more than one woman from the same household could also make it to the NA and PA level. The large number of women hence increased opportunity to be able to raise their own voice at the decision making level and becomes instrumental in consolidating political strong holds.

These political power houses have been brokering themselves so well that they are political dynasties of varied sizes. They have family seat(s) which becomes a family right on the strength of their Biradari/clan and is passed on as political inheritance. Women of such households have contested election to protect the “family seat” which is more to protect this family based political setup then to satisfy personal pursuit. Such is the pull factor that it makes “socially high stature families” to bring forth women of their families whose name and face is not only unheard. Such are these families who follow strict separate male – female social interaction levels; and where a male over “12 years” is not allowed to enter into female side of the house hold set up; and where female are even escorted by female house maids. So women from such background also contested and won with some not having their picture and/or name on the poster, not campaigning and would only go to the House when absolutely required.

The election day is more reflective of strength of the household on ground in terms of biradari support as electoral processes are gender blind at all stages of elections. The standard operating procedures, codes, regulation and processes of Election Commission of Pakistan do not merit being women friendly but its staff has generally been complemented for being facilitative. The Election Day procedures to certain extent also become gender ineffective as dependency of women for mobility and logistics from a contestants and voters point of view takes over. The women polling station were more a place of disorganization and violations predominantly because of lack of information and education to these women as polling agents and voters. The number of invalid votes has also observed to be relatively high at female polling stations.

The political dynasties create as well as align with power axis and nexus in the race for political visibility was launched. This all was managed and negotiated by men of the household for women to ensure a seat in the Cabinet and Parliamentary Committees for the political house then for the elected women. The reserves seats women at this level, generally, are treated as extras and are not preferred for accommodations but expected to rotate around party instructions.

The interplay of media at all stages of political and electoral process was observed to be more of “statement of positions” then being a facilitator for “informed opinion making”. The media exposure added to the accountability and transparency factor but Channels were observed to be over dependent on handful of anchors-cum-analyst which preferred to keep the panelist close to their personal opinion, with a touch of cynicism, which was more complicating then facilitative for public. Women and electoral political issue did not merit substantive discussions but remained ornamental. Women politicians are used more as “political object” then “political substance” that they bring to the discussion. It generally contributed to project women of power bases and those who could equate men in aggressive behavior and generate sensational arguments and counter arguments. The media did not contribute to the projection of political novices or first timers but used them more to bring out position of political household.

On an over all basis the observation brings out, that at personal level it remains an uphill struggle for elected women. They are in mainstream not by choice hence feel tremendous pressure within their own family setups which demands them to deliver as per instruction, abide by the socio-cultural traditions in social interaction and dress code. Political independence is not a choice still available to them. Certain traits are expected by them to be adopted once political which range from inaccessibility to constituent to covering of their head post elected; mostly in pursuance of following of role model i.e. Benazir Bhutto but also to win societal approval of decorum and family values along with an enlightened moderation image building.

At institutional level both country and political party collects recognition for affirmative steps but do not support capacity building of women in political cadres to obtain a level of personal influence to motivate the electorate. It will need more time and real time test would be when the next elections are held without education as an eligibility criteria. The number of women nominated then would be the account statement of their personal political dividends and political party's commitment to the cause. Presently women are managing to steer prominent portfolios which will also contribute to their personal strength and influencing the concepts of political empowerment for the people at large.

The exclusive observation of WCC is also an important contribution to observe and documents the women in politics beyond numbers by establishing range of baselines and projection of trends for policy and legislative reforms. It identifies the gaps at personal, political, electoral and societal level but with an opportunity to plug the same by way of mainstreaming and not pushing it further under exclusivity of "women only." The efforts that contribute to credible observation, comparison and documentation are a structured feedback not only for policy formulation but for an influencing mechanism to ensure that stakeholders stay true to their commitments.

Recommendations for:

Government:

1. Mandatory provision of free of cost CNIC to women
2. Ensure linkage of NADRA data base and ECP voter list
3. Undertake scientific comprehensive updation of voter list by linking up with the Census 2009 data collection
4. Deployment of special free public transport on election day to increase voter turnout especially for women
5. Provision of security to all women contestants for election campaigning
6. Through legislation, make it mandatory for Political Parties to allocate at least 20% of general seats to women
7. Initiate Electoral legislative reforms with an additional gender lens
8. Ensure autonomy of ECP by having the Chief Election Commissioner appointed by political party's consensus
9. ECP members should have at least one woman member at National and Provincial level
10. Option of State financial support for women opting to contest from "non political households"
11. Credible and neutral advocacy and awareness raising campaign for voter turn out especially for women

Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP)

1. Voter lists must be cleaned and updated to remove duplicate entries before LG 2009 elections
2. Voter lists be linked with NADRA data base so that each new person receiving a CNIC is automatically added
3. Number of polling station be increased substantially to overcome mobility problem and increase women voter turn out
4. Polling station scheme should be prepared more scientifically with the involvement of stake holders and must be made public along with the announcement of election schedule
5. Number of female polling stations and female booths be increased
6. Regular Corp of polling staff should be prepared by involving educated youth from Universities.
7. Colleges and University youth should be enrolled as “Volunteers for ECP” to help polling staff and guide voters on election day
8. Female polling staff should be designated sufficiently in advance, at least 6 months before election, to avoid last minute appointments and lapse of trainings
9. Female polling staff must be facilitated by provision of security, logistic and transport on the election day to ensure attendance and fearless execution of duties
10. ECP should offer short training sessions for female polling agents
11. ECP should take action where agreements are reached in advance to not allow women to cast vote and declare polling as null where less then 10% or no women have casted vote.
12. ECP should induct women in its ranks and as Presiding Officers, DROs and ROs
13. Polling Station should generate disaggregated data of vote cast by maintaining a simple sheet that will have two columns, for male and female, with numeric boxes of total number votes. Polling staff can tick the number as male or female as a ballot is issued
14. All ROs and DROs should be placed under the management of ECP for election duty
15. Polling station wise breakup of data must be provided at final tabulation stage to enhance transparency
16. ECP should utilize technical expertise to have electoral process, rules and regulations gender sensitized than working as gender blind and/or gender ineffective
17. ECP should revise the Code of Conduct for Political Parties and Contesting Candidates making it more realistic so that its enforcement and violation is monitored for action against non-compliance.
18. ECP should further encourage civil society interaction for mutual benefit of feed back, exchange of innovative ideas and support CSOs as observers and monitors
19. The process of accreditation as observers and its related rights and responsibilities should be standardized. DROs, ROs and polling staff should be sensitized about the role of observers and monitors.
20. Adoption of credible and neutral mechanism to ensure conducive and secure voting environment and increased voter turn out for women through public service messages

Political Parties

1. Political parties should facilitate women to get CNIC
2. Political parties should mainstream women by voluntary allocation of at least 20% seats to women
3. Criteria for allocation of party ticket be adopted especially for women on reserved seats to balance political elites with party workers
4. Women should be given representation at all decision making levels within the party by at least 20%
5. Women wings of the parties be democratically organized and structured to develop cadre of women politicians
6. Women workers should be given regular orientation and refresher by party to be better trained to work as polling agents, election agents and election observers
7. Manifestos of the parties should be made more inclusive and be specific on women issues rather than generalized statements strengthening perceived stereotyping of their role in society
8. Political parties should financially and other wise contribute to election campaigning of women to encourage women from “non political households” to contest election
9. Political workers must ensure trouble free polling stations for women by adding extra vigil
10. Women caucuses shall be considered on formal footing by elected women for cross-fertilization of ideas and coordination, both at inter and intra-party levels.

Media

1. Media should exercise their duties with social responsibility of being neutral and credible opinion facilitator as per professional standards
2. Women and political empowerment should be projected as substantive issue in its reporting and broadcasting
3. Views of women Parliamentarians, especially fresh entrants, be promoted on all issues rather than projecting a few
4. A balanced view should be projected by having broad range of panelist from academia and civil society to project diversity of opinion on women issues
5. All current affairs programme should mainstream questions about effects and affects on women of a particular political event, policy and or societal issue and their feedback

Civil Society

1. Civil society should continue its support and advocacy for repeal of discriminatory laws, rules and practices against women
2. Voter education be added as an integral part of all their grass root activities to inculcate social responsibility and civic sense
3. Advocacy and awareness raising material be in Urdu language with focus on pictorial communication especially for rural areas and women

4. Policy recommendations focusing women should be encouraged as dialogue mechanism with political stakeholders and government
5. Religious scholars should be co-opted and involved by CSO in their grass root activities to improve socio-religious and socio-cultural misperceptions about women and their stereotyped role in society

Annexures

Annex 1

Manifestoes of Major Political Parties Commitments towards Women's Empowerment

ANP

Women's Rights and Empowerment

Pakistani women are trapped in a web of dependency and subordination due to their low social and political status. The majority of women suffer from all forms of poverty, discrimination and violence. There are inherent structural impediments that prevent and discourage women from participating in the decision making process and this perpetuates their disadvantaged status. Although Pakistan has made commitments at the national and international levels to ensure women's rights, there is a wide gap between commitment and implementation.

The ANP is committed to gender equality. In light of its vision, constitution and policies, the party will work towards ensuring women's rights and empowerment through the following:

Women's Participation in Decision Making

The party will strive for the following:

- Repeal of all discriminatory laws and policies that infringe on the equal rights of women and their participation in decision making within the family, community and society.
- Promulgate legislation on domestic violence, honour killings and trafficking of women sexual harassment and assault.
- Comply with existing international conventions/instruments ratified by Pakistan addressing violence against women and ratify the Optional Protocol of the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights and other relevant instruments relating to trafficking of women and children and violence against women.
- Ensure a minimum of 33% quota for women at all levels of political policy and decision making positions and provide meaningful and necessary technical and financial support to enable them to participate.
- Ensure direct elections for women in all elected positions including reserved seats/quota as the party believes that there is no substitute to direct elections.
- Ensure that no Laws, Regulations, Policy and Code of Conduct prescribed and adopted by the State exclude and/or discriminate against women.
- Review and revise identification policies to ensure that citizens are identified by parentage and not spouse so that their national identity cards do not change with a change in marital status. Remove the need for male guardian for adult women when applying for National Identity Cards.
- Awareness will be created about the importance of gender equality through education and media.
- ANP will work for improving access to employment opportunities for women at all levels.

MQM

WOMEN

- Social ailments like gender discrimination, sexual harassment, domestic violence, child abuse, rape in vengeance and forcing the opponent's womenfolk to march on public streets naked, honour killings, child marriage, Karo Kari, Vinee, Marriage to the Holy Quran, Bonded Labour and Child Labour will have to be dealt with by public awareness campaign in collaboration with community participation and stringent legislative measures.
- All the discriminatory laws against women and religious minorities would be repealed.
- Rampant gender discrimination both in urban and rural areas, the discouragement of female education and their full participation in society as equal citizen would be addressed through persistent teaching, public awareness and appropriate administrative and legislative measures

PML-N

Good Governance

- The crisis of governance in Pakistan is extensive. We have to revitalize the Pakistani society, as envisaged by the founding fathers, so that it successfully integrates itself with the international community; a society in which there is mutual respect, **protection of the rights of women**, minorities and under-privileged.

Tolerant and Pluralistic Society

- The 1973 Constitution as on 12 October 1999 before the military coup shall be restored with the provisions of joint electorates, minorities, and **women reserved seats**.
- The **reserved seats for women** in the national and provincial assemblies will be allocated to the parties on the basis of the number of votes polled in the General Elections by each party.

Women

In Islam, women enjoy place of honor and dignity that is unparalleled in history. The talents of both men and women are acknowledged equally in Islam. It is for the same reason that acquiring knowledge has been ordained for both equally. PML-N shall:

- Ensure respect, dignity, and protection granted by Islam to women.
- Promote participation of women in national development and their social, political and economic empowerment.
- Give preference to women teachers in primary education.
- Promote female education and health care programs to overcome gender gaps.
- Effective representation of women in all key policy/decision making bodies shall be ensured.
- Special legislation on violence against women and child abuse shall be enacted.
- Micro credit for female borrowers will be expanded substantially as a part of the process of their empowerment.

PML-Q

Development

Education, PML's Number One Prior

The existing educational institutions will be improved and upgraded from primary to secondary, from secondary to higher secondary and from schools to colleges. This would specially be provided in the case of education for girls and women as well as institutions in rural and backward areas. Vocational and technical education would be encouraged so that education is linked to enhancement of skills.

Diversity

Empowerment of Women

- Empowerment of women will be pursued with vigour since no country can progress unless and until it gives over 50% of its population equal rights in the country's political, social, economic and cultural life.
- The Pakistan Movement would not have been a success had there not been contributions by women, especially the sister of the Quaid-i-Azam, Madar-i-Millat Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah. The PML will promote the Madar-i-Millat as a role model for Pakistani women, so that they can be inspired to contribute to society equally with men.
- Women's rights would be protected, restored, strengthened and promoted on every level. The PML strongly believes that no meaningful national development can be achieved without the full participation of women in nation building. Empowerment of women has a multiplier effect on the family and the whole nation.
- Fundamental human rights and dignity of women would be guaranteed and justice provided, including legal prosecution against acts of physical and domestic violence and honour killings.
- The Pakistan Muslim League will also ensure the end of such unjust and unacceptable practices like Wanni, Karokari, honour killings, marriage with Quran, etc. and ensure that women are not deprived of their due property rights by their more powerful male relatives.

PPP

We Promise to give **high priority to empowerment of women** and ensure their equal rights.

Empowerment of Women

The Pakistan People's Party has an unflinching commitment to the cause of Gender Equality ever since it was founded in 1967. It is also the only Party in Pakistan that is headed by a Woman. Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto was the first elected Woman Head of Government in the Muslim World.

- The Party shall enunciate a national employment policy for Women, facilitating job creation and Women's participation in the economy. The 10% affirmative action job quota for Women in public service initiated by Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto's government will be increased to 20%.
- Effective legislation to enable legal ownership of assets and resources for Women will be enacted to facilitate their financial independence.

- The Party will take institutional initiatives to prevent crimes against Women in the name of tribalism, such as honour-killings and forced marriages.
- Family Courts will be presided by Women Judges to hear Family Law Cases. Right of
- Maintenance and child custody according to law will be implemented.
- Women will be appointed to the superior judiciary.
- Ministry of Women Development will be part of important policy-making bodies to ensure that gender priorities are reflected in all policy initiatives.

Magna Carta of Pakistan

The 1973 Constitution as on 12 October 1999 shall be restored save for the provisions of Joint Electorates, reserved seats for Minorities and Women, lowering of the voting age to 18, and increase in seats in Parliament.

Women, Minorities and under-privileged will be provided equality of opportunity.

Police Reforms

In the previous PPP Government, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto instituted a revolutionary programme of Women's Police Stations headed by Women Police Officers to encourage Women to report crimes of domestic abuse. This highly successful programme was dismantled by subsequent administrations. It will be immediately reconstituted under the PPP government.

PTI

Our Ideology

Our family values bind our society. Despite the grinding poverty and injustice that beset us today, it is the *structure of the family that provides the net that keeps the social fabric intact. The present dismal state of women and children in terms of their access to health care, nutrition, and education cannot be ignored. Investment in women and children would ensure that the family structure remains intact and future generations are brought up in a healthy and secure environment.*

Population Welfare

- Introduce modern family planning methods that allow women increased options on family planning services

Empowerment of Women

The PTI is determined to introduce and implement new laws, policies, and programmes to provide a level playing field for the social, political, and economic growth of women. Empowerment of women is directly linked to their greater economic role, which is dependent on increased access to education and skill development. The PTI will bring women in the mainstream of national social and economic development. It aims to:

- Provide free education to girls up to Matric;
- Introduce scholarships for graduation in pursuit of higher education in computer sciences, medicine, management, and engineering;
- Create social awareness against un-Islamic customs and cruel practices such as Sawarra in NWFP and Karo Kari in Sindh and enforce laws to eradicate such practices;

- Provide housing and child care assistance to working women;
- Encourage the active involvement of women in the management of community based rural development initiatives;
- Develop a national programme for vocational and skill-based training for income generation;
- Design and implement special functional literacy programmes for women;
- Legislate and enforce laws for in-camera trial of molestation and rape cases;
- Establish separate "women support cells" in each police station at tehsil level which are managed and run by women to support and process criminal cases in which women are the accused; and
- Legislate and enforce a special law on violence against women.

Annex 2

List of National Assembly Women Candidates		
Constituency	Candidate's Name	Political Party
NWFP		
NA-21 Mansehra-II	Shaheen Zameer	PPP
NA-29 Swat-I	Maryam Bibi	MQM
	Rizwana Latif	Independent
ICT		
NA-48 Islamabad-I	Naila Joseph Dayal	Independent
	Noreen Khan Advocate	Independent
Punjab		
NA-52 Rawalpindi-III	Nabeela Inam	Independent
NA-54 Rawalpindi-V	Mst. Sumera Gul	Independent
NA-57 Attock-I	Eman Waseem	Independent
NA-60 Chakwal-I	Fozia Behram	PPPP
	Shaheen Baig	Independent
NA-66 Sargodha-III	Begam Malik Shoaib Awan	PML-Q
NA-69 Khushab-I	Sumaira Malik	PPPP
NA-78 Faisalabad-IV	Rahila Parveen	PPPP
NA-84 Faisalabad-X	Miss Mehwish Chaudhary Advocate	PGP
NA-87 Jhang-II	Syeda Sughra Imam	PPPP
	Ghulam Bibi Bharwana	PML-Q
NA-88 Jhnag-III	Syeda Abida Hussain	PPPP
NA-90 Jhang-V	Saima Akhtar Bharwana	Independent
NA-92 T.T. Singh-I	Farkhanda Amjad Warraich	PML-Q
NA-93 T.T. Singh-II	Neelam Jabbar Chaudhary	Independent
NA-94 T.T. Singh-III	Doctor Sadia Mumtaz Doltana	Independent
NA-96 Gujranwala-II	Shazia Arif Bhutta	Independent
NA-97 Gujranwala-III	Kokab Bukhari	MQM
NA-101 Gujranwala-VIII	Asma Shahnawaz Cheema	PPPP
NA-102 Hafizabad-I	Saira Afzal Tarar	PML-N
NA-111 Sialkot-II	Dr. Fardos Ashiq Awan	PPPP
NA-115 Narowal-I	Sumaira Naz	PML-N
NA-116 Narowal-II	Surraya Asghar	Independent
NA-117 Narowal-III	Rifat Javed Kahloon	PML-Q
NA-121 Lahore - IV	Munaza Abdul Razzaq	Independent
NA-126 Lahore-IX	Begam Tahira Asif	MQM
NA-127 Lahore-X	Aneeqa Meerai Akhtar	Independent
NA-129 Lahore-XII	Naila Joseph Dayal	Independent
NA-130 Lahore-XIII	Samina Khalid Ghurki	PPPP
	Sadia Shabir	PML-N
NA-131 Sheikhpura-I	Saeeda Nazar	Independent
NA-132 Shiekhpura-cum-Nankana Sahib-I	Saeeda Nazar	Independent
NA-134 Sheikhpura-cum-Nankana Sahib-II	Noor ul Ain Rai	PPPP
NA-135 Nankana Sahib-I	Noor Ul Ain Rai Saeed	Independent
NA-139 Kasur-II	Niloufer Qasim Mahdi	PML-Q
	Uzma Waseem	Independent
NA-142 Kasur-V	Nasira Arshad	PPPP

Annex 2

Constituency	Candidate's Name	Political Party
Punjab		
NA-146 Okara-IV	Dr. Lala Rukh Mustafa	MQM
	Rubina Shaheen Watto	Independent
NA- 147 Okara-V	Asiya Javed	Independent
	Rubina Shaheen Watto	Independent
NA-152 Multan-V	Farkhanda Khalid	MQM
NA-163 Sahiwal-IV	Begum Shehnaz Javed	PPPP
NA-168 Vehari-II	Tehmina Daultana	PML-N
	Shaghuftha Perveen Chaudhary	Independent
NA-169 Vehari-III	Tehmina Daultana	PML-N
NA-171 DG Khan-I	Shamoon Umbreen Qaisrani	Independent
NA-173 DG Khan-III	Meena Ahsan Leghari	Independent
NA-174 Rajanpur-I	Meena Ahsan Leghari	Independent
NA-177 Muzaffargarh-II	Hina Rabbani Khar	PPPP
NA-185 Bahwalpur-III	Sahibzadi Saira Abbasi Adv.	Independent
NA-189 Bahalnagar-II	Shahida Sattar Laleka	PML-Q
	Saima Naveed	Independent
NA-193 R.Y.Khan-II	Zaib Jafar	PML-N
NA-196 R.Y.Khan-V	Zaib Jafar	Independent
Sindh		
NA-204 Larkana	Muhtarma Ghanwa Bhutto	PPP-SB
NA-208 Jacobabad	Maliha Malik	Independent
NA-213 Nawabshah-I	Azra Fazal Pecheho	PPPP
NA-217 Khairpur III	Irshad Bano	MQM
NA-223 Tando Allahyar-C-Matiari	Shamshad Sattar Bachani	PPPP
	Adeeba Gul Magsi	PML-Q
NA-225 Badin-C-Tando Muhammad Khan-II	Dr. Fahmida Mirza	PPPP
	Bibi Yasmeen Shah	PML-Q
NA-232 Dadu-I	Rasheedan Akhtar Panhwar	Independent
NA-238 Thatta-II	Heer Soho	MQM
NA-243 Karachi-V	Farah Awan Advocate	PML-N
NA-250 Karachi-XII	Khush Bakhat Shujaat	MQM
	Begam Salma Ahmed	Independent
NA-253 Karachi-XV	Durre Shahwar Parvez	Independent
NA-256 Karachi-XVIII	Shazia Batul	ANP
Balochistan		
NA-259 Quetta	Rubina Babar	Independent
	Shaheeda Parveen	Independent
NA-272 Kech-cum-Gawadar	Zubeda Jalal	Independent
* Blue colored are TR observed WCC		

Annex 3

List of Provincial Assembly Women Candidates		
Constituency	Name	Party
NWFP		
PF-1 Peshawar-I	Ghaliba Khurshid	Independent
PF-3 Peshawar-III	Ghaliba Khurshid	Independent
PF-4 Peshawar-IV	Dr. Simin Mohmood Jan	PML-Q
	Khalida Nasreen Adv.	MQM
	Shazia Asif Khan	Independent
PF-5 Peshawar-V	Kalsoom Ghani	Independent
PF-13 Nowshera-II	Sobia Nosheen	PML-N
PF-35 Sawabi-V	Asma Shaheen	Independent
PF-45 Abbottabad-II	Nagina Afzal	Independent
PF-50 Haripur-II	Dr. Faiza Bibi Rashid	PPPP
PF-53 Mansehra I	Gulnaz Shah Gillani	MQM
PF-54 Mansehra-II	Bibi Nargis Ali	Independent
Sindh		
PS-1 Sukkur-I	Naheed Begum	Independent
PS-28 Nawabshah-V	Dr. Azra Begum	Independent
PS-29 Khairpur-I	Nafeesa Shah Jilani	Independent
PS-32 Khairpur-IV	Dr. Mahreen Bhutto	Independent
PS-35 Larkana-I	Mohtarma Irshad Begum Kalhoro	Independent
PS-36 Larkana-II (Old Larkana)	Mst. Farzana Soomro	Independent
PS-42 Kambar-Shahdadkot III	Asia Sodhar	Independent
PS-46 Hyderabad-II	Badarunnisa Qazi	Independent
PS- 57 Badin-I (Old Badin-III)	Dr. Fahmida Mirza	PPPP
PS-58-Badin II	Dr. Khalida Sikandar	Independent
PS-59 Badin -C-TMK III	Dr. Fahmida Mirza	Independent
PS-64 Mirpurkhas-I	Mehwish Rasheed	Independent
PS-66 Mirpurkhas III	Mrs. Riffat Qadir Kolachi	PML-N
PS-68 Umerkot I	Dr. Farzana	Independent
PS-71 Jamshoro-I (Old Dadu-I)	Arsala	Independent
PS-74 Dadu-I (Old Dadu-IV)	Kalsoom Akhtar Chandio	Independent
PS-78 Sanghar-I	Ameen Nasira Chaudhary	Independent
PS-85 Thatta-II	Sassui Palijo	PPPP
	Heer Soho	Independent
PS-86 Thatta-III	Heer Soho	MQM
PS-90 Karachi-II	Shagufta	Independent
PS-97 Karachi-IX	Aisha Jabbar	Independent
PS-98 Karachi-X	Urooj Mushtaq	Independent
PS-102 Karachi-XIV	Azra Magsi	Independent
PS-108 Karachi-XX	Afshan Imran	Independent
PS-109 Karachi XXI	Nadya Gabol	MQM
PS-110 Karachi-XXII	Rasheeda Khan*	PPP-Sherpao
PS-115 Karach XXVII	Zahida Syed	Independent
PS-121 Karachi-XXXIII	Robana Arif	Independent
PS-129 karachi XLI	Dr. Shahnaz Akhtar	PML-N
PS-130 Karachi-XXLII	Noreen Naz Advocate	Independent

Annex 3

Constituency	Name	Party
Balochistan		
PB-1 Quetta-I	Robina Jabeen Butt	Independent
PB-4 Quetta-I	Mrs. Munnawar Munir	Independent
PB-5 Quetta-V	Gul Nur Bugti	Independent
PB-6 Quetta-VI	Abida Kakar	Independent
	Fareeda Kakar	Independent
	Miss Rubina Jabeen Butt	Independent
PB-17 Barkhan	Mrs. Nasreen Rehman Khetran	PML-Q
PB-48 Kechi-I	Rahima Jalal	Independent
	Zubaida Jalal	Independent
Punjab		
PP-1 Rawalpindi-I	Mst. Sumaira Satti	Independent
PP-3 Rawalpindi-III	Saeedain Khan Advocate	PAP
PP-5 Rawalpindi-V	Nabeela Inam	Independent
PP-6 Rawalpindi-VI	Robina Tehseen	Independent
PP-7 Rawalpindi-VII	Mrs. Umar Farooq	PML-N
PP-8 Rawalpindi-VIII	Mrs. Umar Farooq	PML-N
PP-10 Rawalpindi-X	Shazia Nasim Malik	Independent
PP-19 Attock-V	Sadia Ahmed	Independent
PP-20 Chakwal-I	Iffat Liaquat Ali Khan	PML-N
	Shaheen Baig	Independent
PP-33 Sargodha VI	Beggum Malik Shoaib Awan	PML-Q
PP-34 Sargodha-VII	Dr. Nadia Aziz	PPPP
	Shehnaz Ashraf	Independent
PP-38 Sargodha-XI	Shahzadi Umerzadi Tiwana	PML-N
PP-42 Kuhshab IV	Gohar Jamal	PPPP
PP-52 Faisalabad-II	Huma Batool	Independent
PP-59 Faisalabad-IX	Sadia Azmat	Independent
PP-61 Faisalabad-XI	Nazia Ghafar Wahla	MQM
PP-77 Jhang-V	Rashda Yaqub	Independent
PP-86 Toba Tek Singh-III	Neelam Jabbar Chaudhary	PPPP
PP-88 Toba Tek Singh-V	Ashifa Riaz Fatyana	PML-Q
	Nazia Raheel	PML-N
PP-91 Gujranwala-I	Sobia But	Independent
PP-93 Gujranwala-III	Robina Kausar	Independent
PP-94 Gujranwala-IV	Khawer Nasreen Raja	Independent
PP-95 Gujranwala-V	Shazia Ashfaq Mattu	PML-N
PP-97 Gujranwala-VII	Shamaila Liaquat	PPPP
PP-99 Gujranwala-IX	Saweeda Safar Cheema	Independent
PP-102 Gujranwala-XII	Fahmia Shehbaz	Independent
PP-103 Gujranwala-XIII	Gohar Fatima Chatha	Independent
PP- 105 Hafizabad-I	Laila Muqaddas	Independent
PP-107 Hafizabad-III	Mst. Sobia Bhatti	Independent
PP-111 Gujrat-IV	Imrana Khalid	Independent
PP-114 Gujrat-VII	Sumaira Khalid Chaudry Dhoria	Independent
PP-116 Mandi Bahaiddin-I	Hameeda Waheed-Ud-Din	PML-Q
	Faiza Mushtaq	PML-N
PP-117 Mandi Bahaiddin-II	Basma Chaudry	PML-Q

Annex 3

Constituency	Name	Party
Punjab		
PP-118 Mandi Bahauddin-III	Fouzia Waqar	Independent
	Raisa	Independent
PP-126 Sialkot-VI	Sajeela Ansar Bajwa	Independent
	Musarrat Mansoor Khan	Independent
PP-127 Sialkot-VII	Naseem Akhtar Rana	PPPP
PP-130 Sialkot-X	Shabina Waieen	Independent
PP-135 Narowal-IV	Samina Wasim Butt	PML-N
PP-136 Narowal-V	Abida Raza Saqlain Bukhari	PML-N
PP-140 Lahore-IV	Yasmeen Saeed	Independent
PP-141 Lahore-V	Shehnaz Ch.	Independent
PP-145 Lahore-IX	Begum Rukhsana Shakil	Independent
PP-149 Lahore	Munazza Abdul Razzaq	Independent
PP-150 Lahore	Naheed Sultan	Independent
PP-155 Lahore-XIX	Rukhsana Yasmin	Independent
PP-158 Lahore-XXII	Sadia Shabir	Independent
PP-159 Lahore-XXIII	Shaheena Yousaf	Independent
PP-169 Sheikhpura-C-N.S	Zobaria Waheed	Independent
PP-171 Nankana Sahib-II	Aqeela Ashraf	Independent
PP-188 Okara-IV	Robina Shaheen Wattoo	Independent
PP-192 Okara -VIII	Dr. Lala Rukh Mustafa	MQM
PP-194 Multan-I	Amna Siyal Advocate	Independent
PP-198 Multan-V	Farzana Kauser	Independent
PP-206 Multan-XIII	Naghma Mushtaq Lang	PML-Q
PP-217 Khanewal-VI	Kausar Bashir	Independent
PP-223 SWL-IV	Asma Afzal	Independent
PP-225 SWL-VI	Miss Catherine Nazir	PML-N
PP-226 SWL-VII	Aamna Naveed	Independent
PP-228 Pakpattan-II	Fozia Dewan Bakhtiar Chishti	Independent
PP-236 Vehari-V	Nafeesa Rasheed	Independent
PP-240 DG Khan-I	Shamoon Ambreen Qaisrani	Independent
PP-243 D.G. Khan-IV	Meena Ahsan Laghari	Independent
PP-244 D.G.Khan-V	Zareen Aleem Shah	Independent
	Samaira Ansari	Independent
	Meena Ahsan Laghari	Independent
PP-247 Rajanpur-I	Meena Ahsan Laghari	Independent
PP-254 M.Garh-IV	Begum Tehmina Dasti	PML-Q
PP-264 Layyah-III	Farrah Nazir Rindhwana	Independent
PP-266 Layyah-V	Razia Begum	PML-Q
PP-271 Bahawalpur-V	Sahibzadi Saira Abbasi Advocate	Independent
PP-293 R.Y.Khan-IX	Zaib Jafar	Independent
* Blue are TR observed WCC		

Annex 4

Active Civil Society Organizations in Observed WCC		
S.No.	Organization	Activities
1	Al-Asar Welfare Society	Awareness Raising
2	Al-Fateh Development	Women's vote in Political Process
3	Al-Kusar Organization	Voter Education
4	Anjuman-e-Itehad-e-Nowjawan Barakhan	Voter Education
5	Aurat Foundation	Women's Political Participation
6	Awaz Foundation	Youth Forums, Voter Education
7	Bahawalnagar Welfare Society	Voter Education and Mobilization
8	BARGATH	Voter Education
9	Citizens Commission for Human Development (CCHD)	Voter Education
10	Community Development Network Organization (CDNO)	Voter Education
11	Citizens Action Committee	Women's Vote in Political Process
12	Community Development Network	Voter Education
13	Community Development Foundation	Training for Polling Staff
14	Dehat Dost Foundation	Voter Education
15	Dehat Dosst Tanzeem	Seminars
16	EYE FACE	Trainings
17	FAIZ Vehari	Election Observation and Voters Education
18	Ghazi Civil Society Network	Voter Education
19	Ghot Sudahan	Voter Education
20	Good Thinkers	Election Observation
21	Gorakh Development	Voter Education
22	Indus Resource Center	Monitoring of Election Process
23	Inter Media	Training Workshop for ECP Staff
24	Islah Foundation Fort Abbas	Voter Education and Mobilization
25	Jacobabad Welfare Associaton	Voter Education
26	Kainat Welfare Association	Political Education and trainings of womens
27	KOSHISH	Trainings of Election Commission Staff
28	Librel Forum	Voter Education
29	Lok Sanjh	Voter Education and Awarness Raising
30	Mahani Women Welfare Association	Voter Association
31	Masoomen Welfare Organization	Awareness Raising
32	Narowal Rural Development Program (NRDP)	Voter Education
33	Pakistan Coalition for Free and Fair Democratic Elections (PACFREL) (PECFREL)	Election Monitoring and Observation
34	PAIMAN	Voter Education
35	PATTAN Developemnt Organization	Training for ECP Staff
36	Pakistan Workers' Federation (PWF)	Election Monitoring

Annex 4

S.No.	Organization	Activities
37	Markaz Braa e Aman-o-Tareqiati Iqdamat	Seminars for Candidates
38	SAIBAN	Voter Education
39	SANGAT Welfare	Voter Education
40	SAVED Chishtian	Voter Education
41	Shah Sachal Sami	Election Observation
42	Sindh Graduation Associaton	Voter Education
43	Sargodha Participatory Development Network (SPDN)	Seminar, Forums, Union level Public Meetings, Voter Mobilization
44	Strengthening Participatory Organization (SPO)	Voter Education and Mobilization
45	SUNGI Development Foundation	Voters Education and Awarnes Raising
46	Sindh Development Society (SDS)	To Educate Staff Abont the Importance of Vote
47	Rural Development Organziation	Awareness Raising
48	SEKA Mission	Voter Education
49	Shama Welfare	Voter Education
50	Takhleeq Foundation	Voters Education
51	The Researchers (TR)	Voter Education, Election Observation and Training Workshop on Election Observation
52	United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)	Training of Polling Staff
53	Women Social Organization	Awareness Raising
54	Youth Welfare Organization	Awareness Raising

Annex 5

Use of Local Media in Observed Constituencies by Political Parties and Candidates in Observed WCC				
Constituency Name and No.	Cable Network	Local Newspaper	Local Chanel	Local Magazine
NA-21 Manshera-II	-	-	-	-
NA-57 Attcok-I	-	RoznamaTaseer	-	Kala Chita
NA-66 Sarghodha III	Garrison Network	Tijarat, Pakistan	-	-
NA-69 Khushab-I	Moon Cable	Johar Times and Nawa -e Khushab	-	-
NA-78 Faisalabad-IV	-	Shelter, Awam	-	-
NA-87 Jhang-II	Master Cable	Urooj, Fresh News	-	-
NA-88 Jhang-III	-	Urooj, Fresh News	-	-
NA-92 TTS -I	Poli-Pak Cable	Nawa-e-Gojra	-	-
NA-90 Jhang-V	City Cable	Urooj, Fresh News	-	-
NA 93 TTS-II	ZYZ Cable Network	Roznama Teeku, Roznama Mateeh	-	-
NA-94 TTS-III	-	-	-	-
NA-101 Gugranwala-VIII	Arsalan Cable Network	Rachna, Free Press	-	-
NA-111 Sailkot-II	-	-	-	-
NA-115 Narowal -I	-	Awaz-e-Narowal, Nawa-e Narowal	-	-
NA-117 Narowal-III	-	Awaz-e-Narowal, Nawa-e Narowal	-	-
NA- 130 Lahore XIII	-	Awaz, Jang, Pakistan, Express	-	-
NA-134 Sheikhpura-Cum-Nankana Sahib-II	Arsalan Cable Network	Din, Waqt, Ausaf, Express	-	-
NA-139 Kasur-II	Bila Network	Gulistan	-	-
NA-142 Kasur-V	-	Gulistan	-	-
NA-146 Okara-IV	King Cable	Nawa -e-Depalpur	-	-
NA-147 Okara-V	Fast Cable	-	-	-
NA-169 Vehri-III	Khan Cables	Khuli Adalat, Karnama	-	-
NA-173 DG Khan-III	Friends Cable Network	Naya Daur, Almanzoor. Altamas	-	-
NA-177 Muzafargrah- II	Rang Cable	Awaz, Islam		-
NA-185 Bhawalpur-III	Pasha Cable	Kianat. Rehber, Sada-e-Pakistan, Nada-e-Waqt	Dhoom	Haqeeqat
NA-189 Bhawalnagar-II	City Cable	Bahwalnagar Point, Citizen Front	-	Monthly Welldone
NA-204 Larkana-I	Universal Cabel	Weekly Adalat, Rabail	KTN, Sindh TV	-
NA-208 Jacobabad-I	Raja Cable	Sitra-e-Sindh, Ghareeb Nawaz, Nojwan	-	-
NA-213 Nawabshah-I	Irfan Cable	Manda Kren	FM Radio, FM 105	Kawish, Ibrat

Annex 5

Constituency Name and No.	Cable Network	Local Newspaper	Local Chanel	Local Magazine
NA-223 Tando Allahyar-cum-Matiari (Old Hyderabad-VI)	-	-	-	-
NA-225 Badin cum TMK-II	Cable Network	Kawish, Awami Awaz, Sham	Sindh TV, KTN	-
NA-232-Dadu -I	World Cables	-	Sindh TV, KTN	-
NA-238 Thatta-II	-	Ibrat, Kawaish, Koshish	-	-
NA-250 Karachi-XII	-	Aag, Nawa-e-Waqt , Aghaz	-	-
NA-272 Kech cum Gawadar	Makran Cable Network	Aasap , Eagle	-	-
PF-45 Abaotabad -II	Cable Net	Aaj, Shumal, Sarhad News, Nawa-e-Hazara	-	-
PF-50 Haripure -II	-	Aaj, Shumal, Pine, Express	-	-
PP-33 Sarghodha-VI	Garrison Cable	Nawar-e-Shrer, Raffaqt, Nawa-e-Jamnaoon	-	-
PP-34 sarghodha-VII	Garrison Cable	Express, Tijarat	-	-
PP-38 Sarghoda-XI	Garrison Cable	Nawar-e-Shrer, Raffaqt, Nawa-e-Jamnaoon	-	-
PP-42 Khushab-IV	Moon	Nawa-e- Johar and Dawat-e-Amal	-	-
PP-52 Faisalbad-II	-	Express, Daily Business report, Aman	-	-
PP-86 TTS-III	ZYZ Cable Network	Roznama Teeku, Roznama Mateeh	-	-
PP-88 TTS-V	-	-	-	-
PP-130 Sialkot-X	-	-	-	-
PP-135 Narowal -IV	-	Awaz-e-Narowal, Nawa-e Narowal	-	-
PP-136 Naroawal V	-	Awaz-e-Narowal, Nawa-e Narowal	-	-
PP-158 Lahore-XXII	WOL (subdistribution)	All National newspapers	-	-
PP-169 Sheikhupura-Cum-Nankana Sahib-II	Farooq Cable	-	-	-
PP-188 Okara -IV	Fast Cable	-	-	-
PP-192 Okara-VIII	King Cable	Nawa-e-Debalpur	-	-
PP-226 Shiwal -VII	Voltas Glaxy	Jamuristan Pagahm and Tawaqal	-	-
PP-236 Vehari-V	Khan Cable	Khuli Adalat, Karnama	-	-
PP-244 DG Khan-V	DG Cable Network	Lehar-e-Sahil, Altamas, Salahiat	-	Ishtraq -- Women Concillors Newsletter, World Interview
PP-254 Muzafargrah -IV	Global Thutta	Dasti, Kakar,Sada-e-Makhdoom	Ali Baba	-
PP-271 Bhawalpur-V	Pasha Cable	Kainat, Rehber, Saadat, Sada-e-Pakistan	Dhoom	Haqeeqat
PS-57 Badin-I	Cable Network	Kawish, Awami-e-Awaz, Shamm	KTN, Sindh TV	-
PS-74 Dadu-I	World Cable Network	-	KTN, Sindh TV	-

Annex 5

Constituency Name and No.	Cable Network	Local Newspaper	Local Chanel	Local Magazine
PS-85 Thatta-II	KTN	Ibrat, Kawaish, Koshish	-	-
PS-86 Thatta-III	-	Hilal Pakistan, Ibrat	Kawish, Sindh TV	-
PS-109 Karachi-XXI	-	Jang, Nawa-e-Waqt, Express	-	-
PB-17 Barkhan	City Cable	Taaqub, Jang Quetta, Mushriq	-	-

Annex 6

Seats Reserved For Women (National Assembly)			
Punjab			
S. No.	Name	S. No.	Name
PPPP		PML-N	
1	Rukhsana Bangash	1	Begum Ishrat Ashraf
2	Shahnaz Wazir Ali	2	Mamoon Hashmi
3	Palwasha Muhammad Zai	3	Tahira Aurangzeb
4	Mrs. Beelum Hasnain Khan	4	Begum Nuzhat Sadiq
5	Mehreen Anwar Raja	5	Nighat Parveen Mir
6	Farzana Raja	6	Khalida Mansoor
7	Justice (R) Fakhar-un-Nisa Kokhar	7	Shahnaz Saleem
8	Miss. Fauzia Habib	8	Parveen Masood Bhatti
9	Mrs. Shakeela Khanum Rasheed	9	Sabeen Rizvi
10	Mrs. Yasmeen Rehman	10	Shireen Arshad
11	Samina Mushtaq Pagganwala	11	Surriya Ashgar
12	Begum Nasim Akhtar Ch.	12	Tasneem Siddiquee
PML-Q		13	Mrs. Nisar Tanveer
1	Kashmala Tariq	14	Shaheen Ashfaq
2	Begum Shahnaz Sheikh	15	Anusha Rehman Khan
3	Dr. Donya Aziz	16	Mrs. Qudsia Arshad
4	Mrs. Attiya Inayatullah		
5	Bushra Rehman		
6	Marvi Memon		
7	Nosheen Saeed		
SINDH			
PPPP		MQM	
1	Sherry Rehman (Minister - Information and Broadcasting)	1	Ms. Kishwer Zehra
2	Ms. Nafisa Shah	2	Mrs. Fauzia Ejaz Mohammad Khan
3	Mrs. Farah Naz Ispahani	3	Mrs. Imrana Saeed Jamil
4	Mrs. Rubina Saadat Qaimkhani	4	Mrs. Shagufta Sadiq
5	Mrs. Fauzia Wahab	5	Dr. Naheed Shahid Ali
6	Ms. Shagufta Jumani	PML-Q	
7	Dr. Mahreen Razaque Bhutto Jillani	1	Ms. Kaneez Fiza Junejo
PML-F			
1	Ms. Reena Kumari		

Annex 6

Seats Reserved For Women (National Assembly)			
NWFP			
ANP		PPPP	
1	Bushra Gohar	1	Asma Arbab Alamgir
2	Jamila Gailani	2	Mehrunnisa Afridi
3	Khurshid Begum	3	Mrs. Farhat Begum
PML-N		PML-Q	
1	Dr. Imtiaz Sultan Bukhari	1	Farzana Mushtaq
Balochistan			
PML-Q		PPPP	
1	Mrs. Zubaida Jalal	1	Dr. Zil-e-Huma
MMA			
1	Mrs. Asiya Nasir		

Annex 6

Seats Reserved For Women (Punjab Assembly)			
S. No.	Name	S. No.	Name
PPPP		PML-N	
1	Nargis Faiz Malik	1	Zaib Jaffar
2	Asifa Farooqi	2	Tayyaba Zameer
3	Mrs. Kishwar Qayyum	3	Ghazala Saad Rafique
4	Sahibzadi Nargis Zafar	4	Nafisa Amin
5	Najmi Saleem	5	Afshan Farooq
6	Fouzia Behram	6	Farah Deebea
7	Mrs. Nazma Jawad Hashmi	7	Anjum Safdar
8	Tallat Yaqoob	8	Arifa Khalid Pervez
9	Sajida Mir	9	Yasmeen Khan
10	Nargis Parveen Awan	10	Shumaila Rana
11	Safina Saima Khar	11	Mrs. Shameela Aslam
12	Amna Buttar	12	Fariha Nayab
13	Rifat Sultana	13	Maiza Hameed
14	Saghira Islam	14	Saima Aziz (Mohy-ud-Din)
15	Uzma Bokhari	15	Kiran Dar
16	Faiza Ahmed Malik	16	Mehmooda Cheema
17	Shabina Riaz	17	Nasim Nasir Khawaja
18	Dr. Mussarat Hassan	18	Raheela Khadim Hussain
19	Samina Naveed	19	Dr. Ghazala Raza Rana
PML-Q		20	Dr. Zamurad Yasmin Rana
1	Nasim Lodhi	21	Deeba Mirza
2	Mrs. Saba Sadiq	22	Shamsa Gohar
3	Farhana Afzal	23	Aneela Akhtar
4	Khadija Umar	24	Sakina Shaheen Khan
5	Dr. Faiza Asghar	25	Mrs. Laila Muqadas
6	Syeda Bushra Nawaz Gardezi	26	Shagufta Sheikh
7	Majida Zaidi	27	Rehana Ijaz
8	Samina Khawar Hayat	28	Nighat Nasir Sheikh
9	Ayehsa Javed	29	Rahat Ajmal
10	Amna Ulfat	30	Rehana Hadees
60	Dr. Samia Amjad	PML-F	
61	Mrs. Qamar Aamir Ch.	1	Dr. Asma Mamdoot
62	Imbsat Hamid		
63	Zobia Rubab Malik		
64	Amina Jehangir		
65	Ghazala Farhat		

Annex 6

Seats Reserved For Women (Sindh Assembly)			
S. No.	Name	S. No.	Name
PPPP		MQM	
1	Ms. Shazia Mari	1	Ms. Bilqees Mukhtar
2	Mrs. Firdous Hameed Farheen Mughal	2	Ms. Nadia Gabol (Minister - Human Rights)
3	Mrs. Humera Alwani	3	Mst. Heer Soho
4	Mrs. Farzana Hanif	4	Mrs. Zareen Majeed
5	Mrs. Rukia Khanum Soomro	5	Ms. Husna Aftab
6	Mrs. Shama Arif Mithani	6	Mrs. Mussarat Bano Warsi
7	Mrs. Rainaz Bozdar	7	Mrs. Naheed Begum
8	Mrs. Kalsoom Akhtar Chandio	8	Ms. Sabra Khatoon
9	Syeda Shehla Raza (Deputy Speaker)	9	Ms. Shahnaz
10	Mrs. Nargis N.D.Khan (Minister - Social Welfare)	PML-Q	
11	Mrs. Rukhsana Parveen Alias Rukhsana Shah	1	Dr. Sajeela Laghari
12	Mrs. Tauqeer Fatima Bhutto (Minister - Women Development)	2	Mrs. Nuzhat Pathan
13	Mrs. Rashida Akhtar Panhwar	PML-F	
14	Aisha Khosa	1	Syeda Marvi Rashdi
15	Shamim Ara Panwhar	2	Mrs. Nusrat Bano Seher Abbasi
16	Najma Saeed Chawla		

Seats Reserved For Women (NWFP Assembly)			
S. No.	Name	S. No.	Name
ANP		PPPP	
1	Yasmin Pir Muhammad Khan	1	Shazia Tehmas Khan
2	Sitara Ayaz (Minister - Social Welfare and Women Development))	2	Dr. Faiza Rasheed
3	Shagufta Malik	3	Sanjeeda Yousaf
4	Yasmin Zia	4	Noorus Sahar
5	Tabassum Younis Katozai	5	Naeema Nisar
6	Mussarat Shafi	6	Sajida Tabassum Advocate
7	Dr. Yasmin Jaseem	PPP-S	
8	Munawar Farman	1	Begum Nargis Saimin Jan
9	Zubaida Ihsan	PML-N	
MMA		1	Shazia Aurangzeb
1	Uzma Khan	2	Mehr Sultana Advocate
2	Zarqa	PML-Q	
3	Saeed Batool Nasra	1	Mrs. Nighat Yasmin Orakzai

Annex 6

Seats Reserved For Women (Balochistan Assembly)			
S. No.	Name	S. No.	Name
PML-Q		MMA	
1	Mrs. Shama Parveen Magsib (Minister)	1	Mrs. Shahida Rauf
2	Mst. Rahila Hameed Khan Durrani	2	Mst. Husun Bano
3	Dr. Ruqayya Saeed Hashmi (Special Assistant to CM)	BNP (A)	
4	Mrs. Rubina Irfan (Minister)	1	Dr. Fozia Nazeer Marri
PPPP		2	Bibi Zarina
5	Mrs. Samina Raziq	ANP	
6	Mrs. Ghazala Gola Begum (Minister - Minorities Affairs)	1	Mrs. Uzma Ahad

Annex 7

Detail of Women in the Standing Committees of the National Assembly

Cabinet Secretariat: Mrs. Sumaira Malik, Mrs. Ghulam Bibi Bharwana, Dr. Mahreen Razaque Bhutto, Ms. Tahira Aurangzeb

Commerce: Dr. Firdous Ashiq Awan, Mrs. Yasmeen Rehman, Ms. Tahira Aurangzeb, Mrs. Shireen Arshad Khan, Mrs. Kashmala Tariq, Mrs. Jamila

Communications: Ms. Farzana Raja

Culture: Mrs. Sumaira Malik, Mrs. Ghulam Bibi Bharwana, Mrs. Khush Bakht Shujaat, Miss Shagufta Jumani, Mrs. Sabeen Rizvi, Mrs. Mamoona Hashmi, Mrs. Shireen Arshad Khan

Defence: Dr. Firdous Ashiq Awan, Mrs. Rubina Saadat Qaim Khani, Begum Ishrat Ashraf

Defence Production: Mrs. Belum Hasnain, Ms. Fiza Junejo

Economic Affairs and Statistics: Ms. Hina Rabbani Khar, Ms. Shahnaz Wazir Ali, Ms. Nafisa Shah

Education: Dr. Azra Fazal Pechuho, Mrs. Shamshad Sattar Bachani, Justice (R) Fakhar-un-Nisa Khokher, Mrs. Samina Mushtaq Pugganwala, Mrs. Shakeela Khanam Rashid, Mrs. Rubina Saadat Qaim Khani, Dr. Imtiaz Sultan Bukhari, Mrs. Nisar Tanveer, Ms. Surriya Asghar, Begum Nuzhat Sadiq, Mrs. Zubaida Jalal, Mrs. Farzana Mushtaq

Environment: Mrs. Saira Afzal Tarar, Mrs. Palwasha Muhammad Zai Khan, Mrs. Qudsia Arshad, Mrs. Nosheen Saeed, Ms. Marvi Memon, Ms. Bushra Gohar

Finance and Revenue: Shehnaz Wazir Ali, Hina Rabbani Khar, Fauzia Wahab, Nafisa Shah, Khalida Mansoor, Kashmala Tariq, Zubaida Jalal, Bushra Gohar

Finance Committee of the National Assembly: Chairperson is Dr. Fehmida Mirza. Women members are Mrs. Fauzia Wahab, Mrs. Asma Arbab Alamgir, Ms. Nafisa Shah, Begum Ishrat Ashraf, Mrs. Nosheen Saeed

Food, Agriculture and Livestock: No women

Foreign Affairs: Ms. Palwasha Muhammad Zai Khan, Mrs. Farah Naz Ispahani, Ms. Fauzia Habib

Government Assurances: Mrs. Sumaira Yasir Rasheed, Begum Shahnaz Sheikh, Dr. Zil-e-Huma

Health: Dr. Azra Fazal Pechuho, Mrs. Yasmeen Rehman, Dr. Zil-e-Huma, Dr. Mahreen Razaque Bhutto, Mrs. Belum Hasnain, Begum Shahnaz Sheikh, Dr. Donya Aziz, Ms. Reena Kumari

Members of House and Library: Mrs. Saira Afzal Tarar, Miss Shagufta Jumani, Mrs. Belum Hasnain, Mrs. Mehreen Anwar Raja Advocate, Ms. Bushra Gohar, Mrs. Asiya Nasir

Housing and Works: Ms. Saima Akhtar Bharwana, Ms. Tahira Aurangzeb, Mrs. Nosheen Saeed, Mrs. Imrana Saeed Jamil

Industries and Production: Ms. Samina Khalid Ghurki, Ms. Hina Rabbani Khar, Mrs. Sabeen Rizvi, Mrs. Farzana Mushtaq

Information and Broadcasting: Farah Naz Isphani, Shakeela Khanum Rashid, Begum Nuzhat Sadiq, Shireen Arshad Khan, Bushra Rehman.

Information Technology and Telecommunications: Mrs. Farhat Khan. Mrs. Anusha Rahman Khan Advocate, Mrs. Khalida Mansoor, Miss Marvi Memon

Interior: Dr. Firdous Ashiq Awan, Mrs. Rukhsana Bangash, Ms. Bushra Gohar

Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas: Marvi Memon, Reena Kumari

Labour, Manpower and Overseas Pakistanis: No women

Law, Justice and Human Rights: Justice (Retd) Fakharunisa Khokhar, Mehreen Anwar Raja, Anusha Rehman Advocate

Local Government and Rural Development: Mrs. Saira Afzal Tarar, Mrs. Samina Khalid Ghurki, Mrs. Shamshad Sattar Bachani, Mrs. Samina Mushtaq Pugganwala, Mrs. Kashmala Tariq

Minorities: Malik Mehrunnisa Afridi, Mrs. Shagufta Sadiq, Mrs. Jamila, Mrs. Asiya Nasir

Narcotics Control: Ms. Fauzia Habib

Parliamentary Affairs: Mrs. Sumaira Yasir Rasheed, Malik Mehrunnisa Afridi, Ms. Surriya Asghar

Petroleum and Natural Resources: No woman member

Planning and Development: Mrs. Farkhanda Amjad Warraich, Ms. Shahnaz Wazir Ali, Mrs. Rukhsana Bangash, Mrs. Farzana Mushtaq, Ms. Khurshid Begum

Population Welfare: Mrs. Farkhanda Amjad Warraich, Ms. Farzana Raja, Begum Nasim Akhter Chaudhry, Dr. Imtiaz Sultan Bukhari, Mrs. Qudsia Arshad, Ms. Fiza Junejo, Dr. Nahid Shahid Ali, Mrs. Shaheen Ishfaq

Ports and Shipping: Mrs. Fauzia Wahab, Mrs. Nosheen Saeed

Privatization and Investment: Fauzia Habib, Rubina Sadat Kaim Khani, Dr Donia Aziz, Khush Bakht Shujaat, Mrs. Mamoona Hashmi

Public Accounts: Prof. Aasiya Azeem

Railways: Mrs. Raheela Baloch, Begum Nasim Akhtar Chaudhry, Ms. Nighat Parveen Mir

Religious Affairs, Zakat and Usher: Ms. Shagufta Jumani, Mrs. Farhat Khan, Ms. Nighat Parveen Mir

Rules of Procedure and Privileges: Farzana Raja

Science and Technology: Justice (Retd) Fakharunissa Khokahr, Anusha Rehman Khan, Dr Attiya Inayatullah, Shahnaz Sheikh.

Social Welfare and Special Education: Chairperson of the Committee is Ms. Bushra Rehman and female members include Madam Khurshid Afghan,

Sports: Mrs. Mehreen Anwar Raja Advocate, Mrs. Parveen Masood Bhatti, Miss Tasneem Siddiqui

States and Frontier Region: Samina Mushtaq Pugganwala, Mrs. Asma Arbab Alamgir

Textile Industry: Mrs. Asiya Nasir

Tourism: Chairperson of the Committee is Mrs. Meena Ehsan Leghari. Other female members of the committee include Madam Khurshid Afghan, Mst. Rubina Shaheen Watto, Ms. Inyat Begum,

Water and Power: No woman

Women Development: Mrs. Sumaira Malik, Mrs. Saira Afzal Tarar, Dr. Firdous Ashiq Awan, Mrs. Kushbakht Shujjat, Mrs. Shakeela Khanum Rashid, Dr. Zil-e-Huma, Malik Mehrunnisa Afridi, Begum Ishrat Ashraf, Mrs. Nisar Tanveer, Mrs. Shaheen Ishfaq, Dr. Attiya Inayatullah, Mrs. Zubaida Jalal, Mrs. Fouzia Ejaz Khan, Ms. Khurshid Begum

Youth Affairs: Farah Naz Ispahani, Samina Mushtaq Pugganwala, Asma Arbab Alamgir Khan, Palwasha Muhammad Zai Khan, Nosheen Saeed, Mrs Jamila

Annex 8

List of Abbreviations

ANP	Awami National Party
APO	Assistant Presiding Officer
BNP	Balochistan National Party
CEC	Chief Election Commissioner
CNIC	Computerized National Identity Cards
DRO	District Returning Officer
ECP	Election Commission of Pakistan
FAFEN	Free And Fair Election Network
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
FIR	First Information Report
HQ	Headquarter
ID	Identity
ICT	Islamabad Capital Territory
JUI-F	Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (Fazal ur Rehman)
LG	Local Government
MMA	Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal
MNA	Member National Assembly
MPA	Member Provincial Assembly
MQM	Muttahida Quami Movement
NA	National Assembly
NAB	National Accountability Bureau
NADRA	National Database and Registration Authority
NIC	National Identity Card
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NPP-WG	National Peoples' Party (Worker Group)
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
PA	Provincial Assembly
PAP	Pakistan Aman Party
PAT	Pakistan Awami Tehreek
PATA	Provincially Administered Tribal Areas
PGP	Pakistan Gharib Party
PKMAP	Pakhtun Khwa Milli Awami Party
PKR	Pakistani Rupees
PML-F	Pakistan Muslim League (Functional)
PML-J	Pakistan Muslim League (Jinnah)
PML-N	Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PML-Q	Pakistan Muslim League (Quaid-e-Azam)
PML-Z	Pakistan Muslim League (Zia-ul-Haq)
PO	Presiding Officer
PPP	Pakistan Peoples Party
PPPP	Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians
PPP-S	Pakistan Peoples Party (Sherpao)
PPP-SB	Pakistan Peoples Party (Shaheed Bhutto)
PTI	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf
QJP	Qaumi Jamhoori Party
RO	Returning Officer

**SURA
TR
TTS
WCC
WPAF**

**Sindh Urban Rural Alliance
The Researchers
Toba Tek Singh
Women Contested Constituencies
Women and Politics in Asia Forum**

Annex 9

List of TR Local Focal Organizations as Field Observers		
S. No.	PUNJAB	
1	Districts	Name of Organization
2	Attock	The Volunteers
3	Sargodha	Welcome Welfare Society
4	Khushab	Al -Falah Welfare Society
5	Faisalabad	Institute of Policy Research and Development
6	Jhang	Institute of Policy Research and Development
7	Toba Tek Singh	The Researchers
8	Gujranwala	Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP)
9	Sialkot	Sufana Foundation
10	Narowal	Public Welfare foundation
11	Lahore	Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP)
12	Sheikhupura	Mutual Advancement And Reconciliation In Society
13	Kasur	Good Thinkers Organization
14	Okara	Ehsas Welfare Society
15	Sahiwal	Insan Dost Association
16	Vehari	Young Man Society
17	Dera Ghazi Khan	Al-Asar Development Organization
18	Narowal	Anjuman Fallah-o- Behbood
19	Bhawalpur	Al-Fahteh Organization
20	Bhawalnagar	Saibann
N.W.F.P		
	Districts	Name of Organization
1	Haripur	Falcon Educational Society
2	Abbottabad	Falcon Educational Society
3	Manshera	Falcon Educational Society
4	Nowshera	Initiative For Development And Empowerment Axis (IDEA)
SINDH		
	Districts	Name of Organization
1	Larkana	Sindh Development Society
2	Jacobabad	Kianat Welfare Association
3	Nawabshah	Shah Sachal Sami Welfare Association
4	Tando Allah Yar	Sindh Development Society
5	Badin	Badin Rural Development Society
6	Dadu	Sindh Development Society
7	Thatta	Human Rights Defenders OF Karachi
8	Karachi	Human Rights Defenders Of Karachi
BALOCHSITAN		
	Districts	Name of Organization
1	District Kech	Baam Development Organization
2	Barakhan	Voice of Nation

Questionnaires

Questionnaire - A

Women Contested Constituency Pre-election Profile

Encircle the appropriate answer code

Q-1 What are the main political parties of the constituency?

PPP	1	PML-Q	2	PML-N	3	MQM	4	MMA	5	ANP	6	PKMAP	7	Others	8
-----	---	-------	---	-------	---	-----	---	-----	---	-----	---	-------	---	--------	---

Q-2 What political parties have district offices and their representatives?

PPP	1	PML-Q	2	PML-N	3	MQM	4	MMA	5	ANP	6	PKMAP	7	Others	8
-----	---	-------	---	-------	---	-----	---	-----	---	-----	---	-------	---	--------	---

Q-3 Which of the following political parties has the women political wing and representation at the district level?

PPP	1	PML-Q	2	PML-N	3	MQM	4	MMA	5	ANP	6	PKMAP	7	Others	8
-----	---	-------	---	-------	---	-----	---	-----	---	-----	---	-------	---	--------	---

Q-4 With which political party do the district representatives have strong political affiliation in the constituency?

PPP	1	PML-Q	2	PML-N	3	MQM	4	MMA	5	ANP	6	PKMAP	7	Others	8
-----	---	-------	---	-------	---	-----	---	-----	---	-----	---	-------	---	--------	---

Q-5 Which political parties are utilizing the following means of communication?

PPP	1	TV	1	Radio	2	Cable	3	Newspaper	4	Other	5
PML-Q	2	TV	1	Radio	2	Cable	3	Newspaper	4	Other	5
PML-N	3	TV	1	Radio	2	Cable	3	Newspaper	4	Other	5
MQM	4	TV	1	Radio	2	Cable	3	Newspaper	4	Other	5
ANP	5	TV	1	Radio	2	Cable	3	Newspaper	4	Other	5
MMA	6	TV	1	Radio	2	Cable	3	Newspaper	4	Other	5
PKMAP	7	TV	1	Radio	2	Cable	3	Newspaper	4	Other	5
Others	8	TV	1	Radio	2	Cable	3	Newspaper	4	Other	5

Q-6 What is the general attitude of the constituents towards the political process?

Full of emotions	1	Medium	2	Cold	3
------------------	---	--------	---	------	---

Q-7 What is the level of the basic available social services in the constituency?

Basic Services	Adequate	Inadequate	Not Provided
Boys Schools	1	I	A
Girls Schools	2	II	B
Boys Madaris	3	III	C
Girls Madaris	4	IV	D
Mediums	5	V	E
Hospitals	6	VI	F
Basic Health Units	7	VII	G

Q-8 What are the important means of earning of the constituent's?

Agriculture	Industry	Trade	Self Employed	Govt. Employed	Private Job	Daily Wage
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Q-9 Have the political parties made any political alliance in the constituency?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

A-9 Mention the names of alliance making political parties _____

Q-10 Has any training been provided to the representatives of the Election Commission of Pakistan?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Q-11 Who has provided the training?

Election Commission of Pakistan	1	National NGO	2	International NGO	3
---------------------------------	---	--------------	---	-------------------	---

Q-12 Are the political parties obeying the election code of conduct?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

If not what are the observed violations (tick as many):

Code of conduct	1
Campaigning materials	2
Political rally /meeting	3
Use of mosques	4
Govt. prescribed expense limitations	5
District nazims and councilors affiliations	6
District administration's discriminatory attitude	7
Over expenditure of electoral expenses	8

Q-13 Is the media providing the election information to the general public?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

If yes then select below:

Vote casting method	1
Selection of right candidate	2
Vote for country	3
Vote for democracy	4
Others	5
Others	6

Q-14 Is the attitude of local newspapers biased towards any of the political candidate?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

If yes then write details bellow:

Name of the newspaper _____

Name of the candidate who favored _____

Name of the candidate who victimized _____

Q-15 Did the important members change their political party and joined another political party?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

If yes then write details:

Name of the candidate who changed the political party _____

Name of the previous political party _____

Name of the new political party _____

Questionnaire - B

Women Contested Constituency Pre-election Profile

Constituency Number _____ Constituency location _____

Q-1 Total registered voter _____

Q-2 Total women registered voter _____

Q-3 How many political parties are maintaining their women political wing at district level and also define their role?

Political party		Active role=Yes	Inactive role=No
PPP	1		
PML-Q	2		
PML-N	3		
MQM	4		
ANP	5		
MMA	6		
PKMAP	7		
Others	8		

Q-4 Explain the general role of women in the constituency?

Women's role		Active=Yes	Inactive=No
1	Political participatory role		
2	Social participatory role		
3	Participation in govt. service		
4	Participation in private jobs		
5	Participation in NGOs		
6	Others		

Q-5 Do men and women participate jointly in:

Joint participation	Yes=1	No=2
Political programs		
Social programs		
Religious programs		
Economic programs		

Q-6 Are the NGOs or other social projects working for women political awareness and trainings in the constituency?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

If yes then write details below:

Name of the NGO_____

Details of political awareness programs_____

Q-7 Give details of means of communication available to the constituents?

Names of cable network providers_____

Names of the local newspapers_____

Names of local TV networks _____

Names of local magazines _____

Q-8 Can a woman cast her vote alone?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Q-9 Did any political or religious party pass negative remarks on women politicians or women vote casting?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Q-10 Are the women allowed to go to joint polling stations or booths?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Q-11 What is the general opinion of the constituent's on women's participation in politics?

Positive	1	Negative	2
----------	---	----------	---

Q-12 Did any of the political parties nominate the election observer in the constituency?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

If yes then write name of the observer and political party

Name of the observer and political party_____

Questionnaire - C

Women Contested Constituency Pre-election Profile

Constituency Number _____ Constituency location _____

Q-1 Give details of women candidates that have submitted their nomination papers from this constituency?

Name of candidates	Name of political party/independent

Q-2(a) Is there a perception that women candidates have submitted their nomination as a covering candidate?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Q-2 (b) Give details of other candidates belonging to the contesting women's political party in the same constituency?

Name of all contesting candidates	Name of the political party/independent

Q-2(c) Is there any male candidate of the same party in the constituency?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Q-3 Does any political party have more than one candidate belonging to same family?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Q-4 Were the nomination papers of any contesting women rejected?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

If rejected then write details below:

Name of women contesting candidate	Name of political party/independent	Rejection reason	Appeal filled	
			Yes=1	No=2

A-Q-4 The decision of appeal was:

In favor	1	Not in favor	2
----------	---	--------------	---

Q-5 Did any woman candidate face any unpleasant event while on political campaigns?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Q-5 (a) Is media providing the appropriate coverage to the women politicians?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Q-6 Do the nominated women candidates belong to political families?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

If yes then write details below:

Women candidate's relationship	Code	Political affiliation	Code	Social status	Code	Economic status	Code
Mother	1	Election 2002	1	Upper class	1	Rich	1
Daughter	2	Election 2008	2	Middle class	2	Moderate	2
Sister	3			Lower class	3	Poor	3
Mother in law	4						
Daughter in law	5						
Niece	6						

Q-6 (a) Give reasons of nomination of women politician?

Reasons of women nomination	
Own political status	1
Own social status	2
Own economic status	3
Absence of male member in family	4
Lower level of education of male members	5
Under aged or over aged male members	6
Multiple constituencies already occupied by males	7

Q-7 Mention the age, marital status and level of education of the nominated women candidates?

A-7 Age _____ years, marital status _____ level of education _____

Q-8 Have the women politicians started their political campaigns?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

If yes then enter code:

Women candidates started their political campaigns by	Code	Relatives attitude	code
Corner meetings	1	Participatory	1
Political processions	2	Representing women's	2
Rallies	3	Making speeches	3
Constituency visits	4	Other	
House held meetings	5		

Q-9 Encircle the perceived perception of local administration and the police towards women politicians?

Priority based	1	Normal	2	Negative	3
----------------	---	--------	---	----------	---

Q-10 What is the reason of favoring attitude?

Reasons	Code
Political family background	1
Strong political party	2
Relations with district representatives	3

Q-11 Has any political violence occurred in the constituency?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

If yes then enter code and write details bellow:

Violence occurred	Yes	No
Women faced violence	1	2
Men faced violence	1	2

Q-12 Has any political alliance formed in the constituency?

Yes	1	No	2	Already exists	3
-----	---	----	---	----------------	---

Q-13 Did the political alliance influence the women candidates?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Q-14 Is there any wall chalking, pamphlets, banners and posters of women candidates in the constituency?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Q-15 What is the slogan on posters, wall chalking, pamphlets and banners?

Type of slogan	Code
Including the party symbol	1
Name of the male family member of women candidate	2
Picture of the male family member of women candidate	3
Picture of the political party leader	4
Picture of Pervez Musharraf	5

Q-16 People's reaction on such types of slogans?

People's reaction	Yes	No
Good	1	2
Moderate	1	2
Bad	1	2

Q-17 What means of communication are women candidates using?

Means of communication	Code	Type of slogans	code
Cable TV	1	Personal slogans	1
PTV	2	Political slogans	2
Private TV	3	Public message	3
Radio	4	Election songs	4
Private Radio	5	General political awareness	5
Van carrying loudspeakers	6	Name of male member	6
		Message of male member	7

Q-18 Are the women candidates using their names in these slogans?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Q- 19 Is media reporting the women participation in politics?

Coverage to the women politics	Code
Due to their political agenda	1
Due to women	2
Due to their political affiliation	3
Due to their political family background	4
Due to their performance in 2002 elections	5

Q-20 What was the political performance of the women in 2002 election?

Political performance of women	Code	Write the name of political party
Participated in election 2002	1	
Won the election	2	
Participated in political process	3	
Got leading turn out	4	

Q-21 Did the constituency have women polling stations in 2002 elections?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Q-22 Were the poling stations approachable for women?

Q-23 Is the govt. transport available on Election Day?

The Researchers
Election Day Observation Form-A
Questionnaire for Polling Staff

(PSO will fill the form during visit to each polling station)

Observer's Name: _____ Constituency: _____
Date of observation: _____ District: _____
Name of Polling Station: _____ Number of Polling Stations: _____

Encircle the appropriate code

Q-1 Have you been given any training to conduct election?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

 (If yes then move to Q-2 If not then move to Q-3)

Q-2 Are you satisfied with the provided training or not?

Satisfied	1	Not satisfied	2
-----------	---	---------------	---

Q-3 Were you provided with the copy of relevant instructions for the conduct of elections?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Q-4 Do you have completed election rolls for this polling station?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Q-5 Do you have enough ballot papers on the polling station?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Q-6 Do you think that there are appropriate security arrangements on the polling station?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Q-7 Do you think that there is enough space on the polling station as per the requirement of electoral process and voting demands?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Q-8 Has any political party or candidate pressurized you to influence election results?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Q-9 Has any government official tried to influence electoral process any way?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Q-10 Can you immediately contact DRO in case of any negative situation?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Q-11 If yes then how

Q-12 Have you been provided new election material (Transparent Ballot Box, Plastic Seals, Voting Screens) or old material?

New	1	Old	2	Mixed	3
-----	---	-----	---	-------	---

Q-13 Are you satisfied with today's electoral process overall or not?

Satisfied	1	Not satisfied	2	Till now	3
-----------	---	---------------	---	----------	---

Q-14 Which Department of Government are you associated with?

Q-15 In what capacity are you working at the polling station?

Presiding officer	1	Assistant presiding officer	2	Other polling staff	3
-------------------	---	-----------------------------	---	---------------------	---

Q-16 Are you a resident of this Union Council?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Q-17 Have the ECP facilitated you inappropriate accommodation or transportation in order to reach polling station at time?

Accommodation	1	Transport	2
---------------	---	-----------	---

Q-18 Is there any facility provided to bring in and take out ballot box from the polling station?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

If yes then what (write detail)

Q-19 While bringing in and taking out ballot boxes, were you provided sufficient security?

Bring in				Take out			
Yes	1	No	2	Yes	1	No	2

The Researchers
Election Day Observation Form-B
Questionnaire for Polling Agent

(PSO will fill the form during visit to each polling station)

Observer's Name: _____ Constituency: _____
Date of observation: _____ District: _____
Name of Polling Station: _____ Number of Polling Stations: _____

Encircle the appropriate code

Introductory sketch of interviewed polling agent and political party:

Agent's Name _____ Party's Name _____

Political status of the party

Central	1	Secondary	2	Any other	3
---------	---	-----------	---	-----------	---

Q-1 Being an agent, have you been given any training or instructions by your candidate?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

 (If yes then go to Q- 2 if no then go to Q-3)

Q-2 Are you satisfied with this training and instructions?

Satisfied	1	Not satisfied	2
-----------	---	---------------	---

Q-3 Do you think that the results from this polling station will represents voter's choice correctly?

Yes	1	No	2	Don't Know	3
-----	---	----	---	------------	---

Q-4 Do you know that at the end of polling the polling staff is bound to give you the copy of official results?

Yes, I know	1	No, I don't know	3
-------------	---	------------------	---

Q-5 Have you faced any difficulty in becoming a polling agent for this polling station?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

If yes give details

Q6- Do you know whom to complaint to regarding the issues in electoral process and procedures?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Q-7 Have you filed ant complaint today?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

 (If yes then go to Q-8 If no then go to Q-9)

Q-8 Are you satisfied or not with the action taken against your complaint?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Q-9 Have you examined the ballot box before polling to confirm that it was empty?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Q-10 Were transparent and sealed ballot boxes used for polling?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Q-11 Are all the voters being marked on their thumbs upon given the ballot papers?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Q12 Are the voters casting their vote in privacy?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Q-13 Do you think that the polling staff is performing its duty in a non partisan way?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Q-14 Are you satisfied with today's polling process or not?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Q-15 Do you know that the presiding officer is a resident of this union council?

Yes	1	No	2	Don't Know	3
-----	---	----	---	------------	---

The Researchers
Election Day Observation Form-C
Questionnaire for Voters

(PSO will fill the form during visit to each polling station)

Observer's Name: _____ Constituency: _____
 Date of observation: _____ District: _____
 Name of Polling Station: _____ Number of Polling Stations: _____

Encircle the appropriate code

Q-1 Did you cast your vote today?

Yes 1 No 2 (If yes then go to Q-3 If no then switch to Q-2)

Q-2 Why did you not cast your vote?

My name is not in the voter's list	1	My vote has already been cast	2
I went to the wrong polling station			3

Any other _____ (end interview)

Q-3 Have you been asked to show CNIC while casting your vote?

Yes 1 No 2

Q-4 Have you been given separate ballot papers for National and Provincial Assembly?

Yes 1 No 2

Q-5 Were you marked with indelible ink on your thumb?

Yes 1 No 2

Q-6 Did anyone inside the polling station force you to cast vote for any candidate?

Yes 1 No 2

Q-7 Was any candidate's name or electoral sign misprinted on your ballot paper?

Candidate's details	Yes	No
Name of the candidate		
Electoral sign		

Q-8 Could you differentiate between the electoral signs of different candidates?

Yes 1 No 2

Q-9 Did you put your ballot papers in the boxes by yourself or you gave them to someone else?

Personally cast	1
Gave to some one else	2
Didn't answer	3

Q-10 Are you satisfied with the following arrangements?

Security arrangements	Yes	No
Security	1	2
Disciplined Voting	1	2
Privacy to cast the vote	1	2
Cooperation from the polling staff	1	2
Waiting time to cast the vote	1	2

Q-11 Do you think that the results announced from this polling station will be in accordance to the votes cast?

Yes	1	No	2	Don't Know	3
-----	---	----	---	------------	---

Q-12 Have you faced any other difficulty which we haven't mentioned here?

Yes	1	No	2	Didn't answer	3
-----	---	----	---	---------------	---

If yes then what?

Q13 How did a candidate's gender (female candidate) effect your decision of casting vote?

You are more intended to vote for a candidate for her being a women	1
Your more intended not to vote for a candidate for her being a women	2
The gender of the candidate does not effect on your decision of casting vote	3

Q-14 How did you reach the polling station for casting your vote?

On transport provided by candidate	1
With your neighbors	2
On your own transport	3
Together with your family members	4
Any other	5

Q-15 How did you know about your vote number and polling station?

Representative of the candidate sent a slip to you	1
Some NGO gave the information	2
Candidate sent a representative to me on election day	3
I figured out personally	4
Any other	5

Q-16 Have You been promised or given any personal benefit from someone for voting?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

(If yes then go to Q-17 If no then end the interview)

Q-17 If yes then

Gave money	1
Given groceries	2
Promise for some personal matter	3
Any other	4

The Researchers
Election Day Observation Form-D
(PSO will fill in the form during visit to each polling station)

Observer's Name: _____ Constituency Details: _____
Date of observation: _____ District: _____
Name of Polling Station: _____

Encircle the appropriate code

Q-1 Are there female polling agents?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Q-2 Are there female polling staff?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

If yes it?

Polling officer	1
Assistant polling officer	2
Presiding officer	3

Q-2(a) How many ballot papers have been used up till now?

Q-2(b) Are the counterfoil of used ballot papers intact?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Q-3 Was the female polling booth or station closed?

Polling booth

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Polling station

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Q-3(a) If yes why?

Election violence	1
Candidates intimidation	2
Influence	3
Others	4

Q-3(b) Is there any such news from other polling booths or polling stations?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Q-4 Is any polling staff looking behind voting screen and voter to cast vote for someone or stamping ballot for them in a way that is against transparency?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

Picture Gallery

Security, Logistics and Transportation



Rangers Guarding a Polling Station



Security Personnel Checking a Voter



Rangers Checking Vehicles near a Polling Station



Polling Staff Transporting Election Material



Military Personnel outside a Polling Station in Sindh



Security Personnel Present inside a Polling Booth

Polling Process



Female Polling Staff Waiting for Voters



Female Casting Votes



Female Voters Lining up for Checking of their Names



A person affixing Stamp on Ballot Paper in Open



Ballot Boxes Being Sealed



Polling Officer Issuing Ballot Paper

Polling Process



ID Cards Being Checked



Polling at an Open Polling Station in Punjab



Voters lined up outside a Polling Station in Barakhan-Balochistan



Voters Gathered Outside a Mixed Polling Station



Women Booth



Women Waiting to Cast Votes

Polling Process



IDs Being Checked



Women Gathered at a Polling Station



Issuing Ballot Paper to Voters



Women Casting Ballot



Female Polling Agents Checking Names in the List



Polling Agents at a Polling Station

Vote Count Process





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