



THE 2013 NATIONAL AND PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS IN PAKISTAN



FINAL REPORT

JOINT INTERNATIONAL ELECTION OBSERVATION MISSION
NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE AND THE ASIAN NETWORK FOR FREE ELECTIONS

The 2013 National and Provincial Assembly Elections in Pakistan

**Final Report
of the Joint International Election Observation Mission
of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs
and the Asian Network for Free Elections**



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The National Democratic Institute (NDI) is a nonprofit, nonpartisan, nongovernmental organization working to support and strengthen democratic institutions worldwide through citizen participation, openness and accountability in government. Since its founding in 1983, NDI has worked with local partners in 125 countries and territories, bringing together individuals and groups to share ideas, knowledge, experiences and expertise. Partners receive broad exposure to best practices in international democratic development that can be adapted to the needs of their own countries. NDI's multinational approach reinforces the message that while there is no single democratic model, certain core principles are shared by all democracies.

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NDI has been observing elections in Pakistan since 1988 and conducts ongoing programs in the country to strengthen political parties, increase political participation among women and youth, promote political reform in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), and support the electoral process.



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The Asian Network for Free Elections (ANFREL) was established in 1997, as Asia's first regional network of civil society organizations focused on elections and election monitoring. It strives to promote and support democratization at national and regional levels in Asia. Since it was founded, it has served towards strengthening the democratization of countries across Asia.

ANFREL is supported by a number of national organizations from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Cambodia, India, Indonesia, Japan, Mongolia, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, South Korea, Sri Lanka, Taiwan, Thailand, and Timor Leste.

From 1997 until today, ANFREL, has also been active in contributing its efforts to capacity building of member and non-member organizations on issues related to election observation, voter and civic education, electoral reform and public awareness for good democratic governance.

ANFREL observed Pakistan's general elections in 2002.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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The NDI-ANFREL international election observation mission was supported by 48 international observers from 18 countries and dozens of local staff members, who dedicated their time and expertise to the 2013 election monitoring effort. Building on the work of NDI's pre-election mission to Pakistan in December 2012, the joint mission's preliminary statement and final report were based on findings and information gathered by the mission's leadership delegation, core team, thematic analysts, and observers, who were deployed to 12 locations in Islamabad and three of the nation's four provinces.

The following report was developed jointly by NDI and ANFREL. David Kuennen, the Report Coordinator for the mission, and Johnny Barliyanta, ANFREL Election Observation Mission Coordinator, were the primary authors of this publication. The report also benefited from the supervision and direction of Peter Manikas, NDI Director for Asia Programs; Ichal Supriadi, ANFREL Executive Director; Raissa Tatad-Hazell, NDI Director for Afghanistan and Pakistan; Altafur Rahman, ANFREL Human Rights Expert, as well as support from Jumaina Siddiqui, NDI Senior Program Officer for Pakistan; Philip Brondyke, NDI Senior Program Assistant for Elections; and Sairah Zaidi, NDI Project Assistant for Pakistan.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANFREL	Asian Network for Free Elections
ARO	Assistant Returning Officer
BISP	Benazir Income Support Program
CEC	Chief Election Commissioner
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CNIC	Computerized National Identity Card
CPRW	Convention on the Political Rights of Women
CRPD	Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities
ECP	Election Commission of Pakistan
EOM	Election Observation Mission
EU	European Union
FAFEN	Free and Fair Election Network
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
FPTP	First past the post
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICERD	International Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination
MIB	Ministry of Information and Broadcasting
MOI	Ministry of Interior
NADRA	National Database and Registration Authority
NDI	National Democratic Institute
PBC	Radio Pakistan
PEMRA	Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority
PTV	Pakistan Television
PO	Presiding Officer
RMS	Results Management System
RO	Returning Officer
ROPA	The Representation of the People Act, 1976
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations

Political Parties

AJIP	Awami Jamhuri Ittehad Pakistan
AMLP	Awami Muslim League Pakistan
ANP	Awami National Party
APML	All Pakistan Muslim League
BNAP	Bahawalpur National Awami Party
BNP-M	Balochistan National Party—Mengal
CPP	Communist Party of Pakistan
DPC	Defense of Pakistan Council

JUI-F	Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam—Fazl-ur-Rehman
JI	Jamaat-e-Islami
JQM	Jamote Qaumi Movement
JWP	Jamhoori Watan Party
LPP	Labor Party Pakistan
MQM	Muttahida Quami Movement
MWMP	Majlis-e-Wahdat-e-Muslimeen Pakistan
NP	National Party
NPP	National People's Party
PAT	Pakistan Awami Tehreek
PDP	Pakistan Democratic Party
PkMAP	Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party
PML-F	Pakistan Muslim League—Functional
PML-N	Pakistan Muslim League—Nawaz
PML-Q	Pakistan Muslim League—Quaid-e-Azam
PML-Z	Pakistan Muslim League—Zia-ul-Haq Shaheed
PNML	Pakistan National Muslim League
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
PPPP	Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians
PTI	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf
SNF	Sindh National Front
QWP-S	Qaumi Watan Party—Sherpao

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report is offered by the joint international election observation mission of the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the Asian Network for Free Elections (ANFREL). The mission consisted of 48 observers from 18 countries. NDI-ANFREL observers arrived in Pakistan on April 26 and stayed in country through May 22. On election day, observers were deployed to 12 locations in Islamabad and three of the nation's four provinces, visiting more than 250 polling locations. Security concerns prevented direct observation in Balochistan and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). However, the mission was in frequent contact with candidates, parties and nongovernmental organizations in those areas to follow election-related developments that were not directly accessible to the delegation.

Pakistan's May 11th general elections consisted of 272 distinct contests in separate constituencies for general seats in the National Assembly and 577 contests for general seats in the Provincial Assemblies of Balochistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Punjab, and Sindh (as well as contests for 60 seats reserved for women and 10 seats reserved for non-Muslims in the National Assembly, and 128 seats reserved for women, and 23 seats reserved for non-Muslims in the Provincial Assemblies). These elections unfolded differently in various parts of the country.

The 2013 elections were a critical step in continuing the nation's return to democracy, which began five years ago. Millions of Pakistanis expressed their support for the democratic process by voting despite extremist attempts to disrupt the polls. According to the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP), more than 46 million citizens exercised their right to vote in the elections, constituting a voter turnout of around 55 percent. Voters' courage and resolve in casting their ballots despite the mounting violence was a victory for democracy and the people of Pakistan. The seating of the new National Assembly on June 1 and formation of a national government by the Pakistan Muslim League—Nawaz (PML-N) represented the first transfer of power from one democratically elected government to the next in Pakistan. The elections and subsequent transfer of power have set the stage for upcoming events that could have sizeable impacts on the country's continued democratic development, including indirect presidential elections and the retirement and replacement of the Chief of Army Staff and the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, all of which are scheduled to take place in 2013.

The 2013 elections benefited from a number of positive aspects, including an improved legal framework, increased competition among parties and candidates, high turnout and voter enthusiasm, and more effective and independent election administration. However, continued election reform efforts are needed in a number of areas, as the political violence negatively impacted the elections in several areas of the country, and shortcomings were observed in election day procedures, women's political participation, and the post-election environment. Upcoming by-elections present immediate opportunities to improve the administration and security of elections in Pakistan, and the subsequent local elections in the provinces offer further possibilities for election reform.

The main observations and findings of the NDI-ANFREL international election observation mission to Pakistan are detailed below. These items do not take into account certain developments in the post-election environment that occurred following the mission's departure from Pakistan on May 22, including ongoing challenges to election results, re-polling and recounting in certain

constituencies, and planning for by-elections in constituencies where the elections were not held or where winning candidates resigned seats due to victories in multiple constituencies.

- **Unprecedented levels of election-related violence created an unlevel playing field for some parties in certain areas of the country.** In the year leading up to the elections, political violence plagued several parts of the country, notably Balochistan, Karachi, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and FATA. While many parties and their candidates were victimized, the Pakistani Taliban specifically targeted three parties — the Awami National Party (ANP), the Muttahida Quami movement (MQM), and the Pakistan People’s Party Parliamentarians (PPPP) — all parties of the outgoing government. The violence curtailed voters in some areas from hearing the messages of these parties and could have adversely affected the integrity of the elections in certain constituencies in Balochistan, Karachi, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and FATA. Political violence continued in the post-election environment, including the killing of an elected provincial assembly member, though the level of violence decreased markedly.
- **The elections were characterized by active competition among several national and regionally-based parties, including newly prominent contestants and a number of parties that had boycotted the 2008 elections. The diversity of views and platforms presented by these parties and candidates offered voters distinct choices in the elections.** Thousands of citizens exercised their right to contest as candidates and the campaign was vigorous in most parts of the country, though campaign events were severely restricted in areas where political violence was prevalent. A number of political parties that boycotted in 2008 chose to contest the 2013 elections, including Balochistan National Party—Mengal (BNP-M), Jamaat-e-Islami (JI), National Party (NP), Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (PkMAP), and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI). Additionally, as a result of extending the Political Parties Order to FATA, political parties fielded candidates in the region for the first time.
- **The elections took place under an improved legal and regulatory framework, which resulted from high levels of cooperation among political parties and meaningful consultative outreach by the ECP, but further reform is needed.** The ambitious electoral reform process started after the 2008 elections resulted in three important amendments to the Constitution that bolstered the independence and neutrality of the Election Commission and established a framework for designating national and provincial caretaker governments. Reforms also led to the removal of education requirements for candidates and issuance of five separate administrative codes of conduct for political parties and candidates, observers, polling personnel, media, and security personnel. However, several important issues were insufficiently addressed, including the electoral dispute resolution system, candidate scrutiny process, gender equality measures, rules for observers, campaign finance, and results compilation and consolidation mechanisms, among others.
- **The elections represented a missed opportunity for increasing women’s representation in the National and Provincial Assemblies and meaningfully strengthening women’s political participation in Pakistan more broadly, though limited progress occurred in certain areas.** Women remain grossly underrepresented in all aspects of the electoral process, including as candidates, election administrators, and

voters. While more than twice as many women candidates contested the 2013 elections than in 2008, their numbers remained extremely low, representing only 2.9 percent of the total number of candidates contesting for general seats, and only 17 were elected, a decrease of 8 from 2008. No women serve on the Election Commission or as officers of the ECP, and less than 2 percent of its staff members and less than 2 percent of District Returning Officers (DROs), Returning Officers (ROs), and Assistant Returning Officers (AROs) are women. While some positive efforts to increase voter registration of women took place in advance of the 2013 elections, women represented only 44 percent of registered voters on the final electoral rolls. Regrettably, by the time of this report's publication, the ECP has yet to release turnout data disaggregated by gender, a key commitment it made in order to identify and address low levels of women's participation. Media and civic groups reported that the practice of local leaders colluding to prohibit women from voting continued to occur in the 2013 elections in a number of constituencies in FATA, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and Punjab. The ECP preliminarily reported that some 500 polling stations had zero women's turnout, and that women's turnout nationwide was around 44 percent.

- **The elections provided an opportunity for Pakistan's large youth population to engage in Pakistan's democratic process. Sizeable numbers of young Pakistanis took advantage of the opportunity and political contestants actively sought their support, in part through the extensive use of social media.** At the time of the 2013 elections, Pakistanis under the age of 35 made up approximately 60 percent of the entire population and represented 48 percent of those registered to vote — and these figures are expected to continue rising. Political parties and candidates actively sought to engage youth in their election campaigns and specifically targeted young voters in their electoral appeals and policy prescriptions, and through the extensive use of social media and text messaging. Representatives of political parties and youth-focused civic groups reported to NDI-ANFREL observers that opportunities for youth political participation were greater during the 2013 elections than at any other time in Pakistan's history.
- **Considerable improvements to the accuracy of the electoral rolls significantly enhanced the integrity of the elections, though voter registration among women remains disproportionately low.** In cooperation with the National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA), the ECP considerably improved the accuracy of the electoral rolls in advance of the 2013 elections by linking voter registration to the possession of a Computerized National Identity Card (CNIC). More than 37.2 million unverified voters were eliminated from the rolls and more than 36.7 million were added through the initial process. Building on the new system, the ECP established a program through which citizens could check their voting registration status, electoral area, and, as of May 6, polling station location, via text message using their CNIC numbers. The service was widely used in the pre-election period and on election day itself. While the CNIC-based system had many positive aspects, the possession of CNICs is disproportionately low among women, whose voter registration levels remain low, representing only 44 percent of voters on the electoral rolls.

- **Most aspects of election day were assessed positively by NDI-ANFREL observers, though administrative problems were noted in polling stations throughout the country and there were allegations of irregularities in several areas where NDI-ANFREL observers did not visit.** NDI-ANFREL observers reported a calm and peaceful environment at most polling stations, noting much enthusiasm among voters, as reflected in the 55 percent national turnout. This was a remarkable achievement in light of the frequent and well-publicized security threats in many parts of the country. Voting was generally well-conducted and the secrecy of the ballot was largely respected. The process benefited from greatly improved electoral rolls and the widespread use of a text message-based system that allowed voters to verify their polling locations. However, NDI-ANFREL observers reported a number of administrative problems, including inadequate facilities, long lines, and overcrowding; voters having difficulty finding their names on the electoral rolls; and partisan polling agents performing election administration duties. While these administrative problems did not seriously impair the integrity of the elections, they could be damaging in future elections if allowed to persist. Allegations of more egregious election day irregularities, such as ballot box stuffing, polling station capture, violence in polling stations, and manipulation of results, were prevalent in certain parts of the country and in some cases resulted in ECP-mandated re-polling.
- **The post-election period experienced shortcomings in a number of areas, including results management, transparency, and electoral dispute resolution. These shortcomings, coupled with allegations of election day irregularities, have weakened the credibility of the elections in the eyes of certain contestants and civic groups, as they have insufficient means to independently verify election results and seek redress for their grievances.** The ECP's new computerized Results Management System (RMS) was not fully utilized to process preliminary results, as ROs used diverging systems for reporting results to the ECP. The announcement of preliminary results from certain constituencies, including many in Balochistan, experienced significant delays. On June 11, responding to observers' and parties' requests, the ECP announced that it had instructed ROs to provide polling station- and constituency-level results information to interested individuals upon request. While a positive step that strengthened the transparency of the elections, polling agents and observers were unable to verify that the counting and reconciliation figures they received on election day were accurately reflected in preliminary and final results for an entire month after election day, and RO compliance with the ECP instructions remains unclear. Electoral dispute resolution in the post-election environment also suffered from inadequate transparency, as there is no centralized mechanism for tracking and publicizing complaints and decisions on complaints, and the delayed establishment of election tribunals, which were not established until June 3. Despite these shortcomings, election administrators appeared to work to address certain problems, as re-polling and re-counting was ordered in several constituencies, though the justifications for these decisions were unclear and the decision-making processes were not transparent.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In the lead up to the 2013 elections and during the immediate post-election period, the ECP and other participants made efforts to respond to recommendations presented earlier by domestic groups and international organizations such as NDI to help strengthen the electoral process. In the pre-election period, these efforts included measures to: increase voter education; mobilize ECP monitoring teams to enforce electoral regulations and the codes of conduct; and broaden the use of mobile phone and social media technology to promote voter engagement. In the immediate post-election period, these efforts included measures to: initiate a post-election review of challenges experienced during the elections; improve security planning for re-polling; release polling station-level results and reconciliation forms; and investigate reports of incidents where women were barred from voting and take corrective measures.

The NDI-ANFREL international election observation mission offers the following recommendations in the spirit of international cooperation and to promote credible elections and strengthen democratic institutions and practices in Pakistan. These recommendations seek to expand upon and update those included in the NDI-ANFREL mission's preliminary statement and NDI's pre-election delegation statement.

Political Violence and Security Environment

Political parties should stand together, with a unified voice, to address the issue of electoral violence. Similar to the spirit of cooperation with which the political parties selected the Chief Election Commissioner (CEC) and promoted important reforms in the years leading up to the elections, political parties should come together to mobilize public support to counter political violence. Their unity on this issue is essential to the advancement of the country's democratic reform process.

The ECP and relevant law enforcement bodies should develop electoral security plans in a more timely manner, with additional focus on developing reasonable and consistently applied policies and procedures for ensuring candidate security. The 2013 elections witnessed unprecedented levels of electoral violence, particularly in the pre-election period. Security planning cooperation among election administrators, law enforcement bodies, and the armed forces appeared to improve during re-polling in the post-election environment. Upcoming by-elections present another opportunity for the ECP to work with law enforcement agencies and the armed forces to develop and publicize security plans — particularly in high-risk areas — and help ensure a more level playing field for electoral contestants. In addition, voter education should include clear descriptions of the role and responsibilities of law enforcement and the armed forces in the electoral process.

Political Parties, Candidates, and Campaign Environment

The candidate scrutiny process should be strengthened to ensure consistent review of nomination papers against clear candidate eligibility criteria and to eliminate duplicative and lengthy appeals processes. The candidate scrutiny process in the 2013 elections was inconsistently administered across the country, as ROs used wide discretionary powers to assess the eligibility of prospective candidates, in part against certain loosely defined provisions in

Articles 62 and 63 of the Constitution. The process drew wide criticism from political parties, candidates, civil society, and the media. Many individuals appealed the decisions of the RO and tribunal-led scrutiny process to high courts, which in some cases disqualified previously accepted candidates and overturned the rejection of others, even into the final days of the campaign following the printing of ballots. Moreover, scrutiny of elected members of the National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies appears to have continued in the post-election environment as well, as the eligibility of several victorious candidates remains in question and high courts have invalidated the victories of at least two successful candidates.

Further political reforms are required to enable fair and transparent electoral processes in the FATA. Political parties, lawmakers, and election authorities should continue to collaborate on legislative and administrative measures to bring FATA into the mainstream of the nation's political life.

Voter education efforts should be expanded to include key rights and responsibilities of electoral participants, as well as include more information on the process of voting and the electoral system. Voter education for the 2013 elections mostly focused on increasing the voter turnout and informing the voters on their polling station. These efforts should be expanded to include key messages such as the secrecy of vote, voter identification process, role of polling officials and agents, and the electoral system. The ECP should identify potential partners to assist them in voter and civic education.

Guidelines on the responsibilities of party polling agents should be publicized by election authorities as early as possible in the pre-election period. The ECP developed a guidebook for polling agents for the 2013 elections, but it was not made available until late April. On election day, polling agents were observed in many parts of the country overstepping their roles as monitors and assisting in the administration of the elections. Earlier publication of polling agent guidelines would enable parties to prepare and train their polling agents properly, and foster a greater understanding among party supporters of the roles and limits of polling agents.

Parties, lawmakers, and the ECP should give renewed attention to the issue of campaign finance, to update existing laws and regulations to address the current situation, enhance transparency, and seek avenues for improved compliance and enforcement of campaign finance regulations. Campaign expenditure limits for national and provincial assemblies should be revised in consultation with political parties to introduce realistic limits that enable candidates to run an effective election campaign. The process for reporting campaign expenditures should be simplified and a system should be in place to follow up with those candidates who submit incomplete statements or fail to submit their statements on time. Publicizing the expenditure statements in an accessible format would enhance transparency and trust in the system. The ECP should also put effective monitoring mechanisms in place to ensure compliance with the legal provisions/limits and consider methods to better educate the political parties and candidates about the political finance regime in Pakistan. The development and publication of the Code of Conduct for Political Parties and Candidates for the 2013 elections was a step in the right direction.

Legal Framework and Election Administration

Election authorities and lawmakers should renew efforts to advance the electoral reform process. The ECP should complete its post-election review, consulting all relevant stakeholders,

and share its findings publicly in a timely manner. The review and like-minded efforts by observers and others should inform a renewed election reform agenda. In addition, the newly formed government should build on the collaborative efforts of the Senate and National Assembly committees focused on addressing election issues and reforms. The committees or other appropriate legislative bodies should continue to provide oversight of the election process during the post-election period. The ECP should continue to implement its five-year (2010-2014) Strategic Plan.

Renewed efforts at election reform should include strong consideration of establishing a harmonized and unified election law. The legal and regulatory framework for elections in Pakistan is governed by 22 legislative acts, orders, and rules, and subsequent amendments, as well as dozens of regulatory rules, directives, instructions, notifications, and codes of conduct developed by the ECP. Simplification and harmonization of this complex patchwork of laws and regulations into a unified election law would benefit election administrators, parties, candidates, observers, media representatives, judges, and other election participants, in that there would be one definitive piece of legislation to look to in order to understand the legal framework for elections in Pakistan.

The ECP should work with lawmakers to improve and expand the legal and regulatory framework for election dispute resolution. A transparent, efficient and effective system of complaints management is necessary to enhance trust in the electoral process. The ECP should establish detailed procedures for registration, review, decision-making, and tracking of election related complaints. The decisions for these complaints should be publicized in an accessible and timely manner. Adjudicatory mechanisms should be created to enable electoral participants — including voters, domestic monitors and political parties — to challenge the ECP’s administrative decision-making on candidate nominations, voter registration, campaign matters, voting, and results tabulation procedures.

The ECP should delimit constituencies for the National and Provincial Assemblies on the basis of a new national census prior to the next general elections to reduce differences in constituency population levels. The existing constituency boundaries, based on 1998 census data, fail to reflect demographic changes that have taken place since the 2002 and 2008 elections, and variance of population levels in the constituencies weakens the equality of the vote. While the Delimitation of Constituencies Act requires that constituencies have equal population “as far as may be” possible, wide variance existed for the constituencies used in the 2013 elections. To illustrate, the average constituency size for a National Assembly general seat had 316,874 registered voters, yet the smallest had only 92,719 (NA-41, Tribal Areas-VI) and the largest had 531,685 (NA-19, Haripur). The delimitation should take place through a genuinely consultative and transparent process.

Training for election personnel should be improved to address the inconsistent implementation of polling day procedures. To promote effective election administration and voter confidence in the electoral process, election personnel should be trained as early as possible, in a uniform manner, and through processes that support consistent application of election procedures, particularly for closing, counting, and filling out results and reconciliation forms, with special emphasis applied to counting and reconciliation procedures that bolster the integrity of results and allow for disaggregated turnout data by gender. In doing so, the ECP should take greater ownership in training election personnel.

Election procedures should incorporate additional measures to strengthen ballot security and the integrity of results. Improved accuracy of results, both at the polling station and the RO-level, is necessary to enhance public confidence in the elections outcome. The ECP should review the relevant forms used for counting, reconciliation, and result compilation and ensure proper training of all polling staff to minimize mistakes on the forms, particularly the Statement of Count (Form XIV) prepared at the polling station level. The reconciliation process that takes place during counting should be expanded to include counts of detached and unused counterfoils, as well as fingerprints on the voters list. Simple mathematical formulas should be added to the Ballot Paper Account (Form XV) to cross-check these figures with the ballot counts. The identification number of each ballot box seal should be recorded by polling personnel during opening procedures and again during reconciliation to ensure it has not been tampered with during voting. The ECP should review the ballot paper design to make it difficult to counterfeit the ballot. Ballot box seals should be considered sensitive materials and, as such, transferred to ROs along with ballots and other sensitive materials.

The ECP should publicly release polling station level results and reconciliation forms as soon as possible following elections. Early publication of all polling stations' Statement of the Count (Form XIV) and Ballot Paper Account (Form XV) would enable observers and polling agents to compare the results they observed on election day with preliminary and final results. This measure would foster transparency and help promote public confidence in the final election results as well as the electoral process as a whole. These forms were not made available to the public until June 11, 2013, a month after election day.

The ECP should enhance its communication system to allow for timely and effective dissemination of directives for a more harmonized implementation of those procedures and instructions, particularly directives communicated late in the process or on election day itself. The absence of a reliable system of communication could cause confusion and might lead to irregularities that significantly impact electoral conduct. The instruction about the extension of polling hours was issued fairly late on election day and did not reach all polling officials in time, which caused considerable confusion at polling stations and was not applied consistently at all polling stations.

NADRA and the ECP should maintain their collaboration to continue improving the electoral rolls. Election authorities should promote a system for continuous voter registration, as well as automatic updates to the electoral rolls, in tandem with civil registration drives. Public outreach should be conducted to disseminate information on how to validate and correct information on the electoral rolls. The text message-based system for verifying voter registration and polling station location should be continued.

The ECP should sort the electoral rolls by voter's name or CNIC number and issue lists by polling stations instead of the electoral area. This would improve the process of voter identification during voting and eliminate the need for "chits" (or *parchis*) issued by political parties. The ECP should also expand its voter education strategy to include specific messages and materials about voter registration and electoral rolls, identifying appropriate mechanisms for outreach to the less educated and accessible segments of society.

The ECP should release the final polling scheme used in the 2013 elections, and implement measures to ensure timely finalization and publication of the polling scheme for future elections. The Representation of the People's Act (ROPA) requires finalization and publication of the polling scheme 15 days prior to election day. In the 2013 elections, the final polling schemes for Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Punjab, and Sindh were not released until the last week before the elections, and election administrators continued to make changes to these final polling schemes in the last days of the campaign. The delayed publication of the final polling schemes and late changes caused confusion for voters and observers, and disenfranchised polling personnel who did not know their election day work location until after the postal voting deadline. The final polling scheme for Balochistan was not released before the election, and had still not been posted on the ECP's website at the time of this report's publication.

Election-day procedures and polling schemes should be designed to support greater participation of the disabled. Resources and practical measures, such as providing the option of using postal ballots, should be considered to support the disabled in exercising their right to vote.

Additional measures should be taken to strengthen enfranchisement of polling personnel, law enforcement officials, and members of the armed forces, who serve away from their voting registration location on election day. More than a million Pakistanis served as polling or security personnel in support of the elections on May 11, many of whom were required to serve in locations other than where they were registered to vote. The ECP should expand postal voting processes to enfranchise these individuals.

The legal and regulatory framework for elections in Pakistan should be expanded to include rights of domestic and international observers, and observer accreditation should be expanded beyond election-day to include all aspects of electoral processes. Despite positive steps taken by the ECP to develop and publish a Code of Conduct for Observers and allow domestic and international observation to take place during the 2013 elections, election laws in Pakistan currently do not include provisions outlining the rights and responsibilities of observers. The lack of legal guarantees and clear procedures have led to unequal access during the electoral process, delays in accreditation, and posed operational challenges for observation initiatives. Lack of clear accreditation procedures and the limitation of observer accreditation to election day itself added to the problems faced by the observers in the 2013 elections. Accreditation procedures should be formalized, with a reasonable timeline to allow for timely accreditation of observers.

Women's Participation

The ECP should continue to review complaints, reports, and evidence of incidents where women were barred from voting. Media and civic groups reported that the practice of local leaders colluding to prohibit women from voting continued to occur in the 2013 elections in a number of constituencies in FATA, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and Punjab. The ECP preliminarily reported that some 500 polling stations had zero women's turnout. The ECP informed NDI-ANFREL observers that it is investigating these reports, and in some instances has administered re-polling as a result. The ECP should continue to investigate such reports and continue to take corrective measures, up to and including declaring election results null and void in areas where women were prevented from voting. In addition, the ECP should impose penalties for offenses that involve acts that deliberately prevent women from exercising their right to vote.

The ECP should release all available gender disaggregated turnout data to identify areas of low women's participation in the elections, and take measures to improve data collection from polling personnel on this issue for future elections. At the time of this report's publication, the ECP had yet to release turnout data disaggregated by gender, a key commitment it had made in order to identify and address low levels of women's participation. On election day, polling personnel did not consistently follow counting procedures that required them to determine women's and men's ballot totals separately before mixing them together for the counting of results. As such, women's turnout data collected by the ECP is not likely to be comprehensive. Nevertheless, the ECP should release its incomplete women's turnout data in order to inform efforts to strengthen women's electoral participation. The ECP should consider revising the Statement of the Count (Form XIV) and Ballot Paper Account (Form XV) forms for future elections to minimize incorrectly followed counting procedures, and polling personnel training and training materials should include increased focus on accurately recording women's turnout figures.

The ECP, political parties, civil society groups, and the media should continue efforts to increase electoral participation of women. The ECP should address areas of low participation among women by cooperating with NADRA to increase the issuance of CNICs to women and ensure their inclusion on electoral rolls. Political parties, civil society groups and the media should continue campaigns urging women of all ages and regions to participate in the country's political and electoral processes.

Political parties should take active measures to recruit and nominate more women candidates to contest for general seats in future elections. While more than twice as many women candidates contested the 2013 elections than in 2008, their numbers remained extremely low, representing only 2.9 percent of the total number of candidates contesting for general seats. Political parties fielded nearly double the number of women candidates in 2013 than in 2008 for the National Assembly, though they fell well short of the goal by the Parliamentary Women's Caucus to field women candidates in 10 percent of general seat constituencies, and representation of women elected to general seats in the National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies decreased from 2.9 to 2.0 percent.

Youth Participation

Voter education programs should streamline the use of various media and incorporate tailored approaches to communicate with young voters, particularly young women. Election administrators and political parties should continue to actively encourage youth participation in elections, including through initiatives to educate young voters about the process and increase CNIC registration, particularly among young women in urban areas.

To support analysis of voter participation among youth and other demographic groups, the ECP should establish measures to centrally aggregate participation data collected at polling stations on election day. Centrally aggregated polling station level data on which voters took part in the elections could be cross referenced with NADRA data to provide valuable demographic information about the voting electorate, including percentages of voters by age group, gender, and other demographic categories. At present, participation data is being collected at the polling station level through the process of obtaining thumb prints on the electoral rolls, but no data entry takes place after the electoral rolls are physically delivered to the ROs and later

to the ECP. Centralized aggregation of the participation data would complement existing systems to collect geographic participation data (i.e., turnout). The data could then be used to better inform voter education efforts and initiatives aimed at increasing political participation among women, youth, minorities, and other groups. Similarly, the data could be utilized by policy makers and political parties to better address the needs and aspirations of various demographic segments of society, including youth and other underrepresented groups, in their electoral appeals and policy prescriptions.

Participation of Minorities and Marginalized Groups

All eligible voters of Pakistan should be included in the general electoral rolls. The requirement for separate registration of voters, including the Ahmadis, is inconsistent with the commitments provided under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Election authorities and political parties should implement additional measures, such as tailored voter education and outreach campaigns, to promote the electoral participation of minorities and marginalized groups.



The Mission's Leadership Delegation - (from left to right) Russ Carnahan, former U.S. Representative from Missouri; **Amina Rasul-Bernardo**, ANFREL Representative and former Presidential Adviser on Youth Affairs of the Philippines; **Kjell Magne Bondevik**, former Prime Minister of Norway; **Shari Bryan**, NDI Vice President; **Peter Manikas**, NDI Director for Asia Programs. (Photo by: SAC Consulting)

MISSION OVERVIEW

NDI and ANFREL's international election observation mission to Pakistan's 2013 general elections consisted of 48 international observers from 18 countries. The mission was led by Kjell Magne Bondevik, former Prime Minister of Norway; Russ Carnahan, former U.S. Representative from Missouri; Nora Owen, former Minister of Justice from Ireland; Amina Rasul-Bernardo, ANFREL representative and former Presidential Adviser on Youth Affairs of the

Philippines; Shari Bryan, NDI Vice President; and Peter Manikas, NDI Director for Asia Programs. The multinational mission included observers from the following countries: Australia, Bangladesh, Canada, Indonesia, Ireland, Macedonia, Malaysia, Nepal, Norway, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Serbia, Sri Lanka, Thailand, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The mission's leadership delegation held a press conference and released the mission's preliminary statement on May 13, 2013.

NDI-ANFREL observers began arriving in Pakistan on April 26 to observe aspects of the pre-election period, and departed on May 22 following observation of the immediate post-election period. On election day, observers were deployed to 12 locations in Islamabad and three of the nation's four provinces, visiting more than 250 polling locations in Attock, Chakwal, Faisalabad, Haripur, Hyderabad, Islamabad, Karachi, Lahore, Multan, Rawalpindi, Risalpur, and Sukkur. Security concerns prevented direct observation in Balochistan and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). However, the mission was in frequent contact with candidates, parties and nongovernmental organizations in those areas to follow election-related developments that were not directly accessible to the delegation.

NDI-ANFREL observers held more than 300 meetings with election administration and government officials, as well as with candidates and representatives of political parties, civil society groups, and the media. Members of the group met with leaders and regional representatives, including women and youth leaders in the parties, of the Awami National Party (ANP), Balochistan National Party—Mangal (BNP-M), Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam—Fazl (JUI-F), Jamaat-e-Islami (JI), Jamhoori Watan Party (JWP), MQM, National Party (NP), Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (PkMAP), Pakistan Muslim League—Functional (PML-F), Pakistan Muslim League—Nawaz (PML-N), Pakistan Muslim League—Quaid-e-Azam (PML-Q), Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians (PPPP), Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), and Qaumi Watan Party (QWP), as well as several independent candidates.

The mission's observations have been made in the context of the legal framework of Pakistan as well as international standards for democratic elections. All NDI-ANFREL observers pledged to abide by the Election Commission of Pakistan's (ECP's) Code of Conduct for Observers and received accreditation from the ECP and



The Pre-Election Assessment Mission delegation discusses findings during a media briefing in Islamabad.
(Photo by: SAC Consulting)

NDI Pre-Election Assessment Mission. The NDI-ANFREL election observation mission built upon the work of NDI's December 2012 pre-election assessment mission to Pakistan. The pre-election assessment mission visited Pakistan from December 16 to 21, 2012, and reviewed the political environment and framework for the general elections. Members of the delegation included the Rt. Hon. Joe Clark, former prime minister of Canada; Xenia Dormandy, senior fellow at Chatham House and former director for South Asia at the U.S. National Security Council; Siti Nursanita Nasution, former member of the Indonesian House of Representatives; and Peter Manikas, NDI director of Asia programs. Recognizing the historic opportunity presented by the 2013 elections, the mission found cautious optimism among Pakistanis that progress toward democratic governance would continue, but cited serious challenges that, if unaddressed, could derail the reform momentum and impact the integrity of the elections. The [pre-election assessment report](#) is included in this report as Annex III.

Declaration of Principles for International Election Observation and Code of Conduct for International Election Observers

The Declaration of Principles and Code of Conduct were developed through a multi-year process involving more than 20 intergovernmental and international nongovernmental organizations concerned with election observation around the world. The process began informally in 2001 at the initiative of NDI and the United Nations Electoral Assistance Division and included an initial meeting at the UN in New York and a meeting in Washington co-hosted by the Organization of American States and NDI. The declaration was commemorated at the UN on October 27, 2005, and is now endorsed by 45 intergovernmental and international organizations, including ANFREL, which are engaged in the process of improving international election observation.

additional credentials from the Ministry of Interior. Moreover, NDI-ANFREL observers conducted their activities in accordance with the Declaration of Principles and Code of Conduct for International Election Observation, which has been recognized with appreciation by the United Nations General Assembly, and to which both NDI and ANFREL are signatories.

ANFREL maintains independence from its host countries' members when observing elections internationally. The Free and Fair Election Network (FAFEN) in Pakistan is an ANFREL member, but it was not formally involved in the NDI-ANFREL mission.

This report aims to summarize the mission's main findings, provide an

impartial assessment of the elections process, and demonstrate the international community's continued support for strengthening democratic institutions and practices in Pakistan. NDI and ANFREL recognize that, ultimately, it will be the people of Pakistan who will determine the credibility of their elections.



NDI-ANFREL observers speak with a Pakistan People's Party candidate at her home in Lahore.

(Photo by: Hina Zaidi)

BACKGROUND

Legal and Regulatory Framework

National Assembly and Provincial Assembly elections in Pakistan are governed by the Constitution of Pakistan and 22 legislative acts, orders, and rules, as well as numerous ECP regulatory rules, directives, instructions, notifications and codes of conduct.

Internationally, Pakistan has acceded to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Convention on the Political Rights of Women (CPRW), the International Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), the Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities (CRPD), and most recently, in 2010, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). Collectively, these international agreements outline Pakistan's commitments toward holding democratic elections.

Government Structure and Electoral System

Pakistan is a federal republic comprised of four provinces with an indirectly elected president as head of state and a prime minister as head of government. President Asif Ali Zardari, widower of the late Pakistan People's Party leader Benazir Bhutto, has led the executive branch of government since September 2008. The president of Pakistan is chosen by an electoral college that includes the combined membership of the national parliament and the four provincial assemblies. Pakistan's bicameral Parliament (*Majlis-e-Shoora*) includes an upper chamber, the Senate, and a lower chamber, the National Assembly.

General elections in Pakistan include elections to the National Assembly and the country's four Provincial Assemblies in Balochistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Punjab, and Sindh. General elections are overseen by a neutral caretaker government, which safeguards against the misuse of government resources in election campaigns.

The National Assembly is comprised of 342 members. 272 of these members are elected from single-mandate districts known as constituencies, whereas 70 seats are set aside for women (60) and non-Muslims (10). Candidates in single-mandate districts are elected through a simple majority (or first-past-the-post, FPTP) system, whereas the reserved seats are allocated to parties in proportion to the number of general seats the parties obtained by province, for women seats, and, nationally, for non-Muslim seats.

Main Electoral Legislation in Pakistan

- Delimitation of Constituencies Act, 1974
- Representation of the People Act, 1976
- Representation of the People Rules, 1977
- Electoral Rolls Act, 1977
- Election Commission Order, 2002
- Conduct of General Elections Order, 2002
- Political Parties Order, 2002
- Political Parties Rules, 2002
- Allocation of Symbols Order, 2002
- National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies Allocation of Reserved Seats for Women and Non-Muslims Rules, 2002

Pakistan's International Legal Commitments

- [Universal Declaration of Human Rights](#) (UDHR)
- [International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights](#) (ICCPR)
- [Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women](#) (CEDAW)
- [Convention on the Political Rights of Women](#) (CPRW)
- [International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination](#) (ICERD)
- [Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities](#) (CRPD)

National Assembly Seat Allocation							
	Punjab	Sindh	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Balochistan	FATA	ICT	Total
General	148	61	35	14	12	2	272
Reserved for Women	35	14	8	3	--	--	60
Reserved for non-Muslims	10						10
Total	183	75	43	17	12	2	342

Similar to the National Assembly, the four Provincial Assemblies' members are directly elected from single-mandate districts and include reserved seats for women and non-Muslim minorities, as detailed in the table below.

Provincial Assemblies Seat Allocation				
	Punjab	Sindh	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Balochistan
General	297	130	99	51
Reserved for Women	66	29	22	11
Reserved for non-Muslims	8	9	3	3
Total	371	168	124	65

Members of the National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies are elected for five-year terms. Candidates can contest the elections for general seats as independents or as political party nominees, though candidates for seats reserved for women and non-Muslims must be party nominees. Candidates may contest the elections in multiple constituencies at the same time; however, if a candidate wins in more than one constituency, the candidate must accept one seat and resign the others within 30 days of the announcement of official results. The vacated seats are then re-contested in by-elections 60 days later. If a candidate dies after being successfully registered, the contest is cancelled and rescheduled at the discretion of the ECP.



A polling station worker locates a voter's name on the electoral rolls in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

(Photo by: Yohanes Bosco Johny Barliyanta)

Following general elections, the Prime Minister is chosen by a majority vote of all members of the National Assembly, with the possibility of a run-off between the two nominees who receive the most votes if a majority is not received in the initial vote. The Prime Minister of the outgoing government prior to the 2013 general elections was Raja Pervaiz Ashraf of the Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians, who was succeeded by Mir Hazar Khan Khoso, the caretaker Prime Minister.

The Senate, the upper chamber of the bicameral Parliament of Pakistan, is elected

indirectly and separately from the National Assembly, with half its members selected every three years for six-year terms. There are 104 senators appointed or selected by the four provinces, FATA, and the Islamabad Capital Territory. There are additional reserved seats from each province for women and non-Muslims, as well as technocrats and the *ulema* (the body of Muslim scholars, jurists and religious leaders).

Political Background

General Pervez Musharraf's rule in Pakistan came to an end following the dramatic 2008 general elections. Musharraf had relinquished his military uniform and agreed to hold elections in an apparent attempt to retain power, yet transition from military to democratic rule. Former Prime Minister and exiled leader of the PPP Benazir Bhutto had been allowed to return to the country, but was assassinated in December 2007 at a political rally in Rawalpindi. Former Prime Minister and exiled PML-N leader Nawaz Sharif also returned to Pakistan to contest the elections. The February 2008 elections, held in the aftermath of Bhutto's assassination, resulted in a PPP-led ruling coalition with PML-N and ANP. The coalition's impeachment of Musharraf led to his resignation in August 2008 and Bhutto's widower, Asif Ali Zardari was elected president to replace him. Following Musharraf's resignation, PML-N withdrew from the governing coalition and remained in the opposition throughout the rest of the government's term.

The PPP-led government encountered many challenges during its five years in power, including: a mass uprising known as the "lawyers' movement," which resulted in the reinstatement of Supreme Court Chief Justice Iftikhar Chaudhry; failed negotiations, concessions, and subsequent military engagement against the Pakistani Taliban; heightened tensions with India over terrorist attacks in Mumbai, which were linked to the Pakistan-based militant group Lashkar-e-Tayyiba; an increasingly strained relationship with the United States over its ongoing "War on Terror" and the cross-border raid to kill Osama bin Laden; and a Supreme Court decision that ousted Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani.

Despite these challenges, the PPP-led government oversaw a number of political reforms during its tenure, including three major constitutional amendments, which resulted in the reduction of presidential powers, devolution of certain federal powers to the provinces, and called for the election of local government officials to manage these new responsibilities. Concurrently, lawmakers and election administrators undertook an ambitious election reform agenda to address problems highlighted by the 2008 elections.

On March 16, 2013, the PPP-led coalition government stepped down to pave the way for general elections, marking the first time in Pakistan's history that a civilian government had completed its full five-year term. An interim caretaker government was established, and



Election campaign banners line a street in Pakistan.

(Photo by: Ammad Ahmad Khan)

Pakistan's four Provincial Assemblies in Punjab, Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and Balochistan were dissolved shortly thereafter. General elections were announced to be held on May 11.

Ten prominent political parties held seats in the outgoing National and Provincial Assemblies: Pakistan People's Party (PPP); Pakistan Muslim League—Nawaz (PML-N); Pakistan Muslim League—Quaid (PML-Q); Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM); Awami National Party (ANP); Jamiat-Ulema-e-Islam—Fazl (JUI-F); Pakistan Muslim League—Functional (PML-F); Balochistan National Party—Awami (BNP-A); Qaumi Watan Party (QWP); and National Party (NP). As many as 75 additional smaller parties and splinter groups have various levels of prominence in the provinces and at local levels. These parties are described in greater detail in Annex I.

Key Election Reforms Since 2008

- **Three Constitutional Amendments**
 - The 18th Amendment (2010) required that members of the ECP be appointed at the recommendation of a parliamentary committee, comprising of members from the government and the opposition, in order to increase trust and credibility in the electoral process. Additionally, the amendment relieved the president of his power to unilaterally dissolve parliament, and became the first law in 35 years to decrease presidential power.
 - The 19th Amendment (2011) revised the process of the appointment of judges to the Supreme Court, High Courts, and the Federal Shariat Court of Pakistan, specifically, outlining the composition of the judicial commission and the parliamentary committee that nominates and confirms judges to the aforementioned courts.
 - The 20th Amendment (2012) provided guidelines for the appointment of an impartial Chief Election Commissioner (CEC) through a parliamentary committee and established five-year terms for all Election Commission members. Furthermore, the amendment established mechanisms for the creation of a neutral, caretaker government in the lead-up to national elections.
- **Political Parties Order to FATA** - As a result of extending the Political Parties Order to FATA in 2011, the 2013 elections marked the first time when candidates could contest the elections in the tribal areas as party nominees, whereas before candidates were required to contest as independents.
- **Improved Electoral Rolls** - Slightly more than 86 million citizens of Pakistan were registered to vote in the 2013 elections through a new computerized system, which was developed in cooperation with the civil registry authority, the National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA). The new electoral rolls were based on citizens' Computerized National Identity Cards (CNICs), possession of which was made mandatory for voter registration by lawmakers in April 2011. Linking voter registration to the possession of a CNIC has resulted in substantial improvements to the accuracy of electoral rolls.
- **Elimination of Education Requirement** - In 2008, the Supreme Court struck down a provision that required candidates to hold a university degree or Madrassa equivalent. The requirement excluded an estimated 96 percent of the population from contesting elections and was, therefore, viewed as unduly restrictive.
- **ECP's Five-Year Strategic Plan (2010-2014)** - In May 2010, the ECP announced its [five-year strategic plan](#), which was developed through a series of consultations with political parties, lawmakers, civil society organizations, and the international electoral assistance providers. The plan outlined fifteen major goals, divided into 129 sub-objectives, within the framework of eight guiding principles: independence, impartiality, transparency, integrity, inclusion of marginalized groups, professional excellence, conducive working conditions, and gender balance. Parts of the plan were implemented in advance of the 2013 elections.

Post-Election Context

In addition to the general elections and subsequent transfer of power, upcoming events in 2013 could have sizeable impacts on the Pakistan's continued democratic development. First, President Asif Ali Zardari is scheduled to finish his five-year term on September 8, 2013, and an indirect election will take place to determine his successor. The president of Pakistan is chosen by an electoral college that includes the combined membership of the Senate, National Assembly, and the four Provincial Assemblies.

Second, General Ashfaq Pervez Kayani's extended three-year term as Pakistan's Chief of Army Staff, which became effective from his earlier date of retirement, November 28, 2010, will end on November 27, 2013. The President, on advice of the Prime Minister, will appoint his replacement.

Third, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry must retire on December 12, 2013, when he turns 65 years of age. The President will appoint his successor.

Finally, local government elections are expected to begin in late 2013, in accordance with provisions of the 18th Amendment to the Constitution. The Amendment mandates that each province must establish a local government system and subsequently devolve political, administrative, and financial responsibility to officials elected through local elections. Furthermore, the Amendment grants the ECP the responsibility of administering these elections.



PTI supporters at a campaign rally.
(Photo by: Muhammad Umair)

KEY ASPECTS OF THE 2013 ELECTIONS

Election Administration

The ECP is a constitutionally mandated, independent central election management body, responsible for assisting the Election Commission in implementing its policies and decisions. The Election Commission consists of five commissioners, all retired members of a High Court: the Chief Election Commissioner (CEC) and four Election Commission Members, one representing each province. Appointments to the Election Commission are made by an inter-parliamentary committee from a list forwarded by the Prime Minister, and in the case of the four commissioners, in consultation with the CEC. The current CEC is the Honorable Fakhruddin G. Ibrahim.

The Election Commission holds the legal mandate to prepare and revise the electoral rolls; organize the election of the Senate and President; conduct any necessary by-elections; appoint Elections Tribunals; conduct National Assembly, Provincial Assembly, and Local Government elections; oversee referenda as necessary; and make rules for the appointment and management of election officials. While the Election Commission is responsible for developing the electoral rules, those rules are subject to the approval of the President, which limits the independence of the commission. Further, the ECP is not entirely financially autonomous and needs approval from various parts of government for matters impacting its budget.



A voter casts his ballot on election day in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. (Photo by: Yohanes Bosco Johnv Barlivanta)



An NDI-ANFREL observer speaks with a Returning Officer in Lahore. (Photo by: Ponosak Chan-On)

The Election Commission is supported by a Secretary and 1,800 permanent ECP staff members, which include Provincial Commissioners for each of the four provinces, four provincial offices, 28 regional offices, and 125 district and agency offices.

The ECP was supported in administering the 2013 general elections by 126 District Returning Officers (DROs) and 425 Returning Officers (ROs), drawn from the judiciary, whose primary roles were to scrutinize candidate nominations, approve the polling scheme, and consolidate and transmit election results to the ECP.

The National and Provincial Assembly elections were administered simultaneously at over 69,801 polling stations throughout Pakistan. Each polling station was staffed by one presiding officer, up to two assistant presiding officers, and up to four polling officers. According to the ECP, a total of 644,970 polling personnel were assigned to polling stations on election day. Authorized security officials, candidate and election agents, polling agents (one for each polling booth), and accredited monitors, observers, and media were also permitted to enter polling stations and booths.

Electoral Rolls - Citizens who were 18 years of age or older as of January 1, 2013, not disqualified by a competent court to be of unsound mind, and in possession of a Computerized National Identity Card (CNIC) were eligible to register for the 2013 general elections.

The Final Electoral Roll for the 2013 elections included 86.2 million registered voters, of which 56.5% were male and 43.5% were female. As the UN estimates Pakistan's population to comprise 88.5 million women and 91.4 million men (179.9 million in total), concerns persist that the electoral rolls do not include all eligible voters—of particular concern is that women's registration remains disproportionately low.

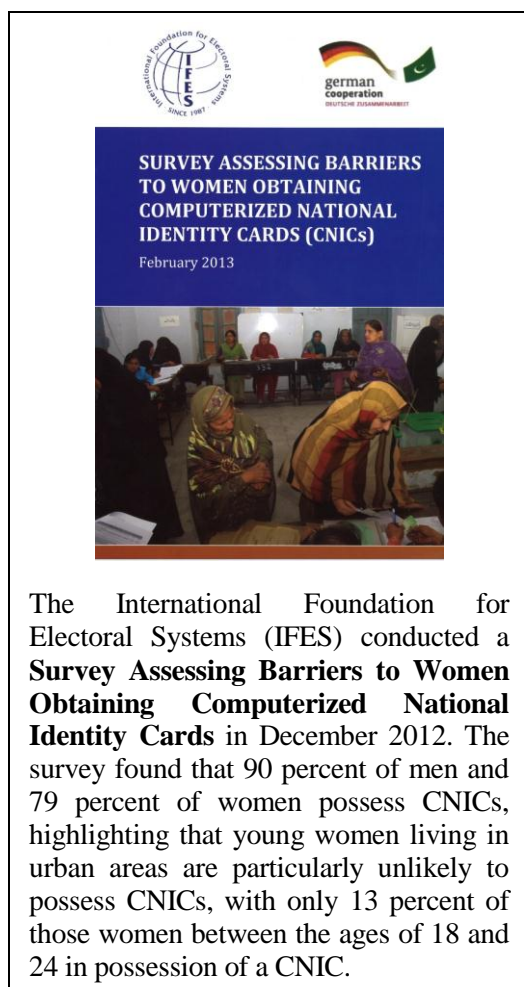


A voter presents a CNIC at a polling station in Islamabad. (Photo by: Sehar Raziuddin)

Voter Registration by Province and Gender			
Province/Area	Men Voters	Women Voters	Total Voters
Balochistan	1,915,388	1,421,271	3,336,659
FATA	1,142,234	596,079	1,738,313
Federal Area	337,900	288,064	625,964
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	7,008,533	5,257,624	12,266,157
Punjab	27,697,701	21,561,633	49,259,334
Sindh	10,490,631	8,472,744	18,963,375
Total	48,592,387	37,597,415	86,189,802

There is widespread agreement that the electoral rolls were substantially improved from previous elections. The electoral rolls used in the 2008 general elections contained widespread duplications, errors, and omissions which undermined confidence in their accuracy, presented opportunities for fraud, and generated concerns of large-scale disenfranchisement. The new electoral rolls were developed through a computerized system in cooperation with NADRA, the civil registry authority. Linking voter registration to the possession of a CNIC resulted in substantial improvements to the accuracy of electoral rolls, with more than 37.2 million unverified voters eliminated and more than 36.7 million new voters added through the initial process.

The ECP displayed the updated preliminary electoral rolls in more than 52,000 locations around the country for 21 days in early 2012 and established a program where citizens could check their voting registration status and electoral area, the census block to which their registration address belongs, via text message using their CNIC numbers. On May 6, the week before the elections,



the text message voter registration verification system was expanded to allow voters to check their polling station location in addition to the previously available information. The ECP reported that the system was accessed 55 million times in the final 10 days of the campaign, including 17 million times on election day itself. NDI-ANFREL observers in multiple regions of the country confirmed with dozens of voters that the system functioned properly.

However, some civil society groups and election administrators expressed concerns about the CNIC-based voter registration system: 1) as many as 10 percent of voters had their voting registration addresses changed through the initial transition to the new system; 2) those without birth certificates, a high percentage in Pakistan, face difficulties in acquiring CNICs, which is now required to register to vote;¹ and 3) CNIC possession among women is disproportionately low compared to men, and young women living in urban areas are particularly unlikely to possess CNICs.

Similarly, many political parties and civil society representatives expressed concerns to NDI-ANFREL observers about expected voter disenfranchisement of internally displaced persons (IDPs) from the conflict-affected areas of Balochistan, FATA, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. While election administrators took

measures to enable IDPs to vote, including setting up polling stations in IDP camps and other locations where IDPs live and in food distribution facilities, these measures were not expected to reach all IDPs. Notably, many who consider themselves IDPs are not registered as such by Pakistani authorities, and without official IDP registration, they could not vote at the polling stations set up for IDPs.

Codes of Conduct - In the lead up to the 2013 election, the ECP issued new administrative Codes of Conduct for political parties and candidates, observers, polling personnel, media, and security personnel. The codes reinforced many provisions already outlined by law and outlined new

- ECP's Five Codes of Conduct**
- [Code of Conduct for Political Parties and Candidates](#)
 - [Code of Conduct for Observers](#)
 - [Code of Conduct for Polling Personnel](#)
 - [Code of Conduct for Media](#)
 - [Code of Conduct for Security Personnel](#)

guidelines, for instance detailing roles and responsibilities for observers and forbidding the practice of entering into informal agreements to bar women from voting. The codes were developed through consultative processes, which included representatives of political parties, civil society, and the media, among other relevant electoral actors.

¹ UNICEF reported to NDI-ANFREL observers that birth registration levels remain very low in Pakistan, citing that only 27 percent of total births between 2000 and 2009 were registered.

Candidate Scrutiny - To be registered as a candidate for general elections in Pakistan, an individual must meet the following criteria: be 25 years of age or older; be a citizen of Pakistan without dual citizenship; be registered to vote in any area of Pakistan (for National Assembly general seats or seats reserved for non-Muslims) or in a specific province (for National Assembly seats reserved for women and Provincial Assembly seats); be “sagacious, righteous, non-profligate, honest, and ameen” (trustworthy); not having (nor one’s spouse or dependents) defaulted on a loan of two million rupees or more for more than one year; and not having defaulted on payment of utilities or government dues in excess of 10,000 rupees for more than six months. Additionally, Articles 62 and 63 of the Constitution require that Muslim candidates possess “adequate knowledge of Islamic teachings,” be “of good character,” and not be “commonly known as one who violates Islamic Injunctions.” Non-Muslims are required to possess “good moral reputation.”

According to the ECP, 8,059 people filed nomination papers to contest for general seats in the National Assembly, and 19,016 people filed nomination papers for general seats in the Provincial Assemblies. The determination by ROs of who met candidate eligibility requirements was inconsistently administered across the country, in part due their exercising broad latitude in asking personal questions to the candidates based on Articles 62 and 63. Certain high-profile candidates, including former President Pervez Musharraf and PML-N leader Chaudhry Nisar Ali Khan, were rejected in some constituencies but not in others. In certain constituencies, according to media reports, prospective candidates were asked to recite passages of the Koran and other questions to test the morality and religiosity of the candidates. These questions reportedly included whether candidates had watched an uncensored movie, eaten pork, or believed in honeymoons.

Domestic observers and media reported that nominees were rejected for several reasons, including incomplete documentation, being defaulters on loans, not paying required taxes or utilities, physical absence of the candidate, incorrect taxes or assets declarations, previous convictions in criminal cases, possessing dual nationality, having previously contested an election with a fake degree, and other criteria outlined by Articles 62 and 63.

The inconsistently implemented candidate scrutiny process drew widespread criticism from political parties, candidates, civil society, and media. Candidates and individual citizens filed 1,649 appeals to the decisions of ROs, of which 594 (36 percent) were accepted by Appellate Tribunals and overturned. Ultimately, following RO scrutiny, the appeals process, and large-scale withdrawals, 4,671 contestants were registered to compete for National Assembly general seats, and 10,958 contestants were registered to compete for Provincial Assembly general seats.² Including candidates for seats reserved for women and non-Muslims, a total of 16,692 contestants were registered for the elections.

Many individuals appealed the decisions of the RO- and Tribunal-led scrutiny process to high courts, which in some cases disqualified accepted candidates and overturned the rejection of others, even into the final days of the campaign following the printing of ballots. On May 4, one

² Candidate withdrawals are common in Pakistan in large part due to the nature of how party nominations are allocated. A candidate may receive a party nomination, which is known as being “awarded a party ticket,” following the candidate scrutiny process. Validly nominated candidates often withdraw when party tickets are awarded to other candidates. Withdrawals may also occur through negotiations among contestants known as “seat adjustments,” where a candidate or party agrees to help another candidate or party in a given constituency in exchange for help in another constituency, often through withdrawing candidates or fielding weak candidates.

week before the elections, the Lahore High Court intervened, stating, “The RO cannot embark upon a subjective inquisition by throwing a volley of self-styled questions, unrelated to the record before him.” The ROs were advised “to immediately refrain from asking random, intrusive, and inquisitive questions that have no nexus with the information supplied in the nomination papers or do not arise from objections raised by the other side.”

National Assembly Candidates for General Seats					
Province/ Area	Candidates Nominated	Percent Rejected (by RO-scrutiny and Appellate Tribunals)	Validly Nominated Candidates (after RO- scrutiny and appeals)	Percent Withdrawn (after being validly nominated)	Contesting Candidates
Islamabad	147	13%	128	40%	77
Punjab	4076	12%	3,569	34%	2,367
Sindh	2007	19%	1,635	34%	1,087
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	945	9%	861	40%	517
FATA	445	8%	408	17%	339
Balochistan	439	5%	419	32%	284
Total	8059	13%	7,020	33%	4,671

Provincial Assembly Candidates for General Seats					
Province/ Area	Candidates Nominated	Percent Rejected (by RO-scrutiny and Appellate Tribunals)	Validly Nominated Candidates (after RO- scrutiny and appeals)	Percent Withdrawn (after being validly nominated)	Contesting Candidates
Punjab	9,583	10%	8,610	33%	5,758
Sindh	5,213	20%	4,181	33%	2,809
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	2,572	9%	2,339	39%	1,438
Balochistan	1,648	17%	1,367	30%	953
Total	19,016	13%	16,497	34%	10,958

In addition, on April 14 the National Accountability Bureau announced plans to scrutinize all successful candidates following the elections, which could result in additional disqualifications and by-elections, as the body found its cooperation with the ECP in the scrutiny process and its implementation to be inadequate. Following the elections, high courts invalidated the victories of at least two successful candidates by the time of this report’s publication.³

Boundary delimitation - The process of determining the constituency boundaries is a responsibility of the ECP and is mandated to occur after each national census, which last took place in 1998. As such, existing constituency boundaries fail to reflect demographic changes that have taken place since the 2002 and 2008 elections, and variance of population levels in the

³ According to media reports, the Sindh High Court has moved to disqualify PPP’s winning candidate from PS-35, and the Supreme Court has moved to disqualify PML-N’s winning candidate from PB-29.

constituencies weakens the equality of the vote. While the Delimitation of Constituencies Act requires that constituencies have equal population “as far as practicable”, wide variance existed for the constituencies used in the 2013 elections. To illustrate, the average constituency size for National Assembly general seat had 316,874 registered voters, yet the smallest had only 92,719 (NA-41, Tribal Areas-VI) and the largest had 531,685 (NA-19, Haripur).

In Karachi, shifting demographic patterns

have brought additional political pressure, and at times violence, to the boundary delimitation process. In 2011, the Supreme Court ordered the ECP to re-investigate populations and boundaries in Karachi. Complying with the Supreme Court judgment, the ECP conducted door-to-door visits to confirm population size. The ECP issued a notification on March 22, 2013, announcing the new boundaries of three National Assembly and eight Provincial Assembly constituencies in Karachi. Leading parties objected to the neutrality and lateness of this delimitation process.



Voters line up to cast their ballots at a polling station in Karachi. (Photo by: Chompunut Chaliebun)



A poster outside a polling station in Rawalpindi on election day. (Photo by: Azura binti Mohd Noor and Shekh Mohammad Altafur Rahman)

Election Day - Polling was scheduled to take place in a total of 69,801 polling stations on May 11. Women and men voted separately, either in separate polling booths inside polling stations or through single-gender polling stations.

NDI-ANFREL observers visited more than 250 polling locations and followed opening, voting, closing, and counting procedures.

NDI-ANFREL observers noted a calm and peaceful environment in most polling stations. Voters demonstrated enthusiasm and dedication, sometimes patiently enduring long waiting times, harsh weather conditions, and overcrowding. Voter turnout, which observers generally assessed to be high, varied widely among polling stations visited. Opening, voting, and closing procedures were mostly followed, though some disorganization and lack of consistency was noted. Observers reported overcrowding in multiple locations across the country. Continuation of campaign activities on election day was observed in almost all polling locations visited by NDI-ANFREL observers. Instances of voters and polling personnel

experiencing difficulties finding voters' names on the electoral rolls were observed in the majority of observed areas.

Most polling stations observed opened on time or with less than half an hour of delay. Significant delays were reported in Hyderabad, Karachi, and Lahore because of the late arrival of essential election materials or polling personnel. Some of the delays were attributed to poll workers being late or disorganized, including in Haripur, Karachi, Lahore, and Rawalpindi. In Karachi, long queues outside the stations caused tension and resulted in extended voting hours.

During various stages of the election process, observers noted insufficient attention paid to ensuring that ballots and official forms and stamps were kept securely. In some places, ballot box seals were not affixed tightly enough to prevent tampering.

Campaign tents were closer than the prescribed 400 yards at almost all polling locations visited. Campaign materials were at times displayed on polling stations and voters and polling agents were widely reported to be wearing party insignia. NDI-ANFREL observers reported instances of polling agents instructing voters for whom to vote in Haripur, Islamabad, and Karachi. In addition, many voters entered polling stations carrying "chits" with party symbols and photographs of candidates or party leaders.



A voter holds an MQM party 'chit' on election day in Karachi. (Photo by: Chompunut Chaliebun)

the counterfoil, instructing voters how to vote or fold ballots, and applying indelible ink. The identity of veiled women was not always verified.

Observers generally reported being welcomed by polling personnel, who largely appeared organized and knowledgeable of procedures. A majority of observed polling officers conducted their duties in a professional and neutral manner. However, in some locations the high turnout seemed to overwhelm the staff. Having single Presiding Officers supervise the process in multiple booths at times resulted in lack of oversight and control. Observers also noted inconsistent application of procedures, particularly regarding the reading out of voters' names and

CNIC numbers, checking CNICs against the electoral rolls, recording voters' data on the

Relatively few problems were reported related to the electoral rolls. Most voters used chits that included all the necessary data to find their names on the rolls. However, some confusion remained when voters showed up at the wrong booths or stations, instances of which were observed in the majority of areas visited. A verification system that allowed voters to learn their polling location through text messages seemed to supplement, but not eliminate, the party-distributed chits and the active role of polling agents in assisting voters on election day.

Some NDI-ANFREL observers reported similar conditions and procedures in male and female booths, while others witnessed fewer polling booths for women, longer lines, and less effectively implemented procedures. In one instance, in a rural area of NA-125, observers reported that male polling booths were orderly, well organized, and fully staffed, while the female booths were



A polling station worker counts ballots on election day at a polling station in Islamabad. (Photo by: Kathy Gest)

unable to open by late morning due to the absence of necessary polling personnel.

Observers reported that the secrecy of the vote was generally respected, apart from several instances with group voting, inadequate room setup, and the positioning or absence of voting screens.

Security personnel were observed at all polling stations visited by NDI-ANFREL observers, who assessed that they generally adhered to their mandated roles, and contributed to the peaceful conduct of polls. Two instances were reported where security personnel performed duties assigned to polling officials. In another case, security officials

prevented observers from adequately viewing the voting process.

NDI-ANFREL observers reported few difficulties accessing the polling locations or obtaining necessary information, though several teams were asked to reduce their observation time or to leave or not enter certain polling stations because of tension and potential violence. In one instance, observers in Faisalabad were refused entry to a polling station by the Presiding Officer, who demanded a special authorization from the constituency's RO.

Near the scheduled time for the closure of polling stations at 5:00 p.m., the ECP announced extended voting for one additional hour for the entire country and three additional hours for specific constituencies in Karachi. A number of polling stations observed in Islamabad were notified of the extension after they had already started closing and counting ballots.

The ECP announced on election day that it would conduct re-polling at 43 out of 180 polling stations in NA-250 in Karachi because of delayed openings, threats to polling personnel, and stolen election materials.

In some cases, the closing and counting procedures were described as chaotic and lacking transparency. Procedures for reconciliation generally were not followed and ballots were not always screened for validating stamps and signatures. Observers reported that, in some cases, polling personnel experienced difficulties filling out counting forms.

Allegations of irregularities were prevalent in certain areas of the country where NDI-ANFREL observers were unable to visit, particularly Balochistan and parts of Karachi. These allegations included more egregious election day irregularities than those directly observed by NDI-ANFREL observers, such as ballot box stuffing, polling station capture, violence in polling stations, and manipulation of results. In certain cases, irregularities resulted in ECP-mandated re-polling.

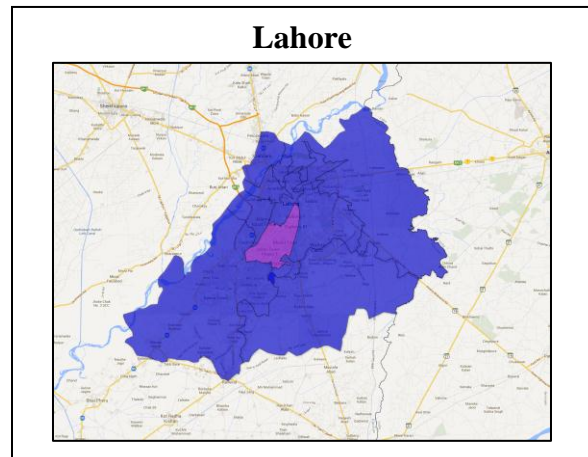
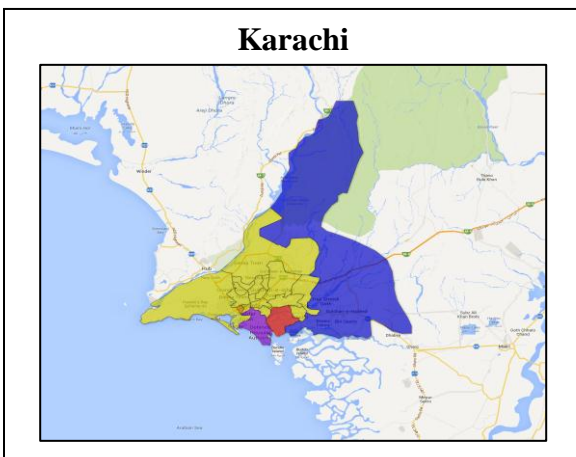
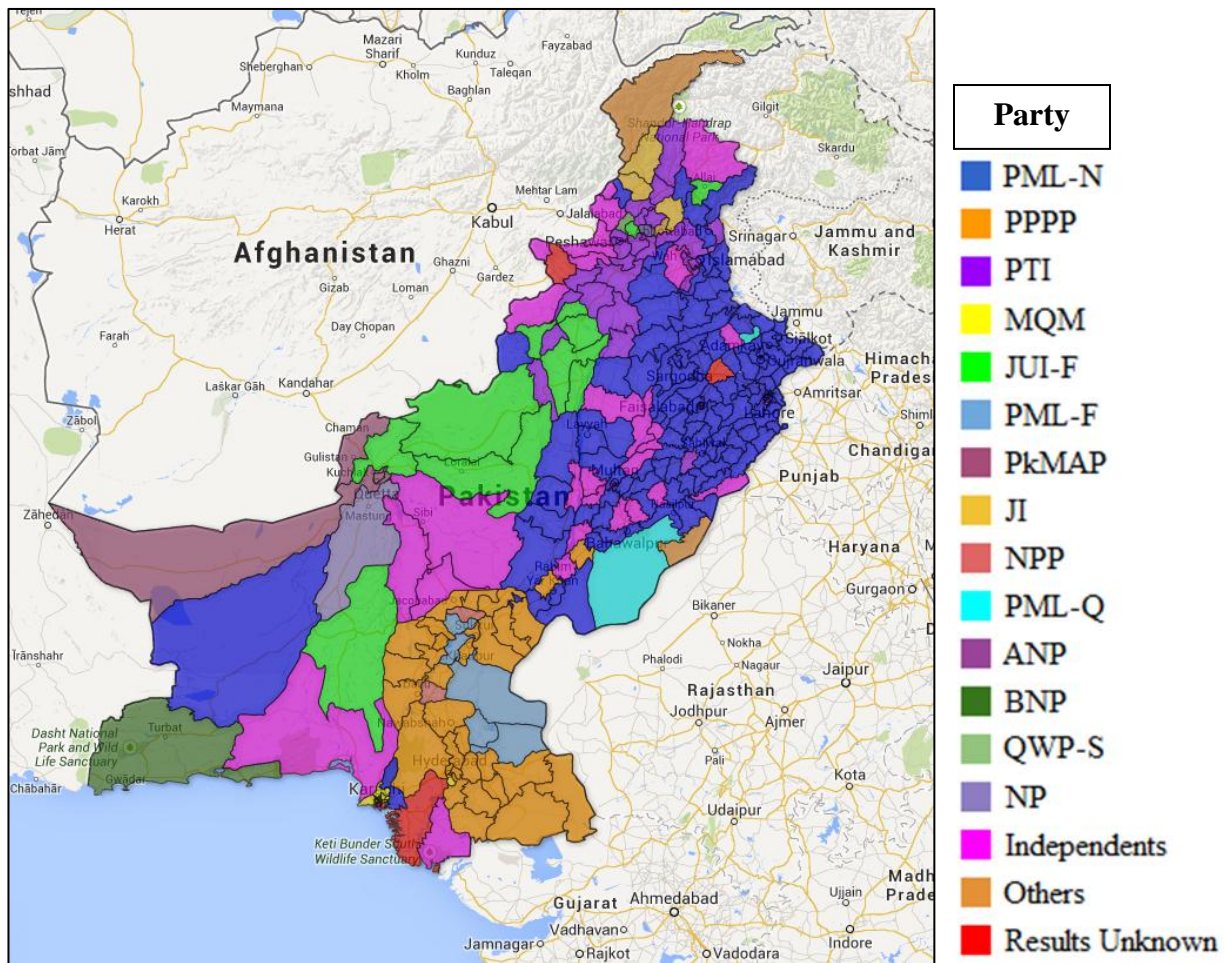


A candidate delivers a speech at a campaign rally in FATA.
(Photo by: Alamgir Khan)

Re-polling - The ECP has conducted partial and complete re-polling in several constituencies to address problems encountered on election day, including women being barred from voting, as well as unspecified “rigging” and “law and order” issues. The justifications for these decisions were unclear and the decision-making processes were not transparent. At the time of publication, re-polling had been ordered in at least seven National Assembly constituencies in Balochistan, FATA, Punjab, and Sindh, as well as seven Provincial Assembly constituencies in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Sindh.

Results - The ECP began announcing preliminary results on the evening of election day, though preliminary results continued to be reported and revised over the following days, due in part to slow compilation and consolidation of results in certain areas and inconsistent utilization of the ECP’s new computerized Results Management System (RMS), as ROs used diverging systems for reporting results to the ECP. Delays in announcing preliminary results for some constituencies, particularly in Balochistan, led to decreased trust in the election results in the eyes of certain contestants. The ECP certified the election results from most National and Provincial Assembly constituencies on May 22, 2013, through the publication of its “gazette notification.” The information presented on the following pages includes official results data collected through July 1, 2013.

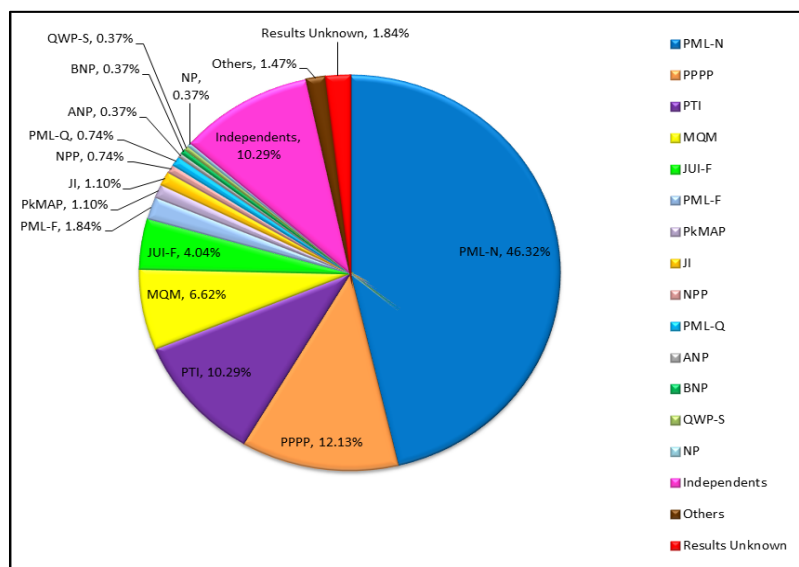
Results - National Assembly General Seats



Pakistan National Assembly – 2013 General Election Results by Party^{4 5}

	Punjab (183 out of 342)		Sindh (75 out of 342)		Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (43 out of 342)		Balochistan (15 out of 342)		FATA	Islamabad Capital Territory	Total General Seats	Reserved for non- Muslims	Total Reserved for Women	Total Party Seats
Party	General	Reserved for Women	General	Reserved for Women	General	Reserved for Women	General	Reserved for Women	General	General				
PML-N	117	32	1	1	4	1	1	1	2	1	126	6	35	167
PPPP	2	1	31	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	33	1	8	42
PTI	8	2	1	0	17	4	0	0	1	1	28	1	6	35
MQM	0	0	18	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	1	4	23
JUI-F	0	0	0	0	6	2	4	1	1	0	11	1	3	15
PML-F	0	0	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	1	6
PkMAP	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	3	0	1	4
JI	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	4
NPP	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	3
PML-Q	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
ANP	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
BNP	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
QWP-S	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
NP	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Other Parties	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	4
Independents	15	-	1	-	1	-	4	-	7	0	28	-	-	28
Results Unknown	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	5	-	-	5
Total Allotted Seats	148	35	61	14	35	8	14	3	12	2	272	10	60	342

General Seats



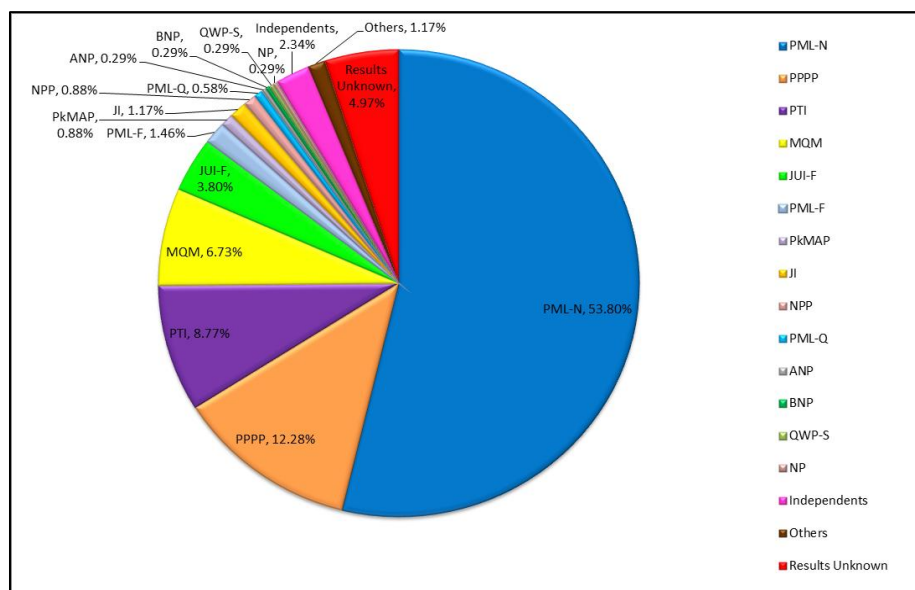
⁴ Totals for general seats and reserved seats for non-Muslims are calculated according to the party position tables posted on the ECP website as of June 13, 2013. Source: Party Position (National Assembly). ECP Website, Accessed June 13, 2013: <<http://www.ecp.gov.pk/overallpartypositionPA13062013.pdf>>. Reserved seat allocations for women are calculated according to reserved seat notifications posted on the ECP website as of June 13, 2013. Source: Seats Reserved for Women – National Assembly. ECP Website, Accessed June 13, 2013: <<http://ecp.gov.pk/Misc/Reserved/01-Reserved%20Seats%20in%20NA%20Women%2004-06-2013-0345.pdf>>. Election day results tables for the National and Provincial Assemblies reflect the winner in each constituency as of June 13, 2013. Changes that occurred in the composition of each assembly for various reasons including candidates vacating seats after winning in multiple constituencies, successful independent candidates joining other parties following the announcement of results, and any other changes in results that occurred after June 13, 2013 are not reflected in the results tables.

⁵ Parties listed by name include the top 10 parties by seat allocation in the National Assembly as of July 1, 2013, as well as any additional parties that were in the top 10 positions by seat allocation in the Provincial Assemblies overall as of July 1, 2013, or the outgoing National Assembly elected in 2008 as of December 15, 2012. All other parties are counted in the ‘Other parties’ category and include the PML-Z, the AMLP, AJIP, and APML.

Pakistan National Assembly – Final Composition^{6 7}

	Punjab (183 out of 342)		Sindh (75 out of 342)		Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (43 out of 342)		Balochistan (15 out of 342)		FATA	Islamabad Capital Territory	Total General Seats	Reserved for non- Muslims	Total Reserved for Women	Total Party Seats
Party	General	Reserved for Women	General	Reserved for Women	General	Reserved for Women	General	Reserved for Women	General	General				
PML-N	127	32	2	1	5	1	5	1	3	1	143	6	35	184
PPPP	2	1	31	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	33	1	8	42
PTI	7	2	1	0	14	4	0	0	1	0	23	1	6	30
MQM	0	0	18	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	1	4	23
JUI-F	0	0	0	0	4	2	4	1	1	0	9	1	3	13
PML-F	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	1	5
JI	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	4
PkMAP	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	2	0	1	3
NPP	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	3
PML-Q	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
ANP	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
BNP	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
QWP-S	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
NP	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Other Parties	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	4
Independents	2	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	6	0	8	-	-	8
Results Unknown	6	-	3	-	5	-	1	-	1	1	17	-	-	17
Total Allotted Seats	148	35	61	14	35	8	14	3	12	2	272	10	60	342

All Seats



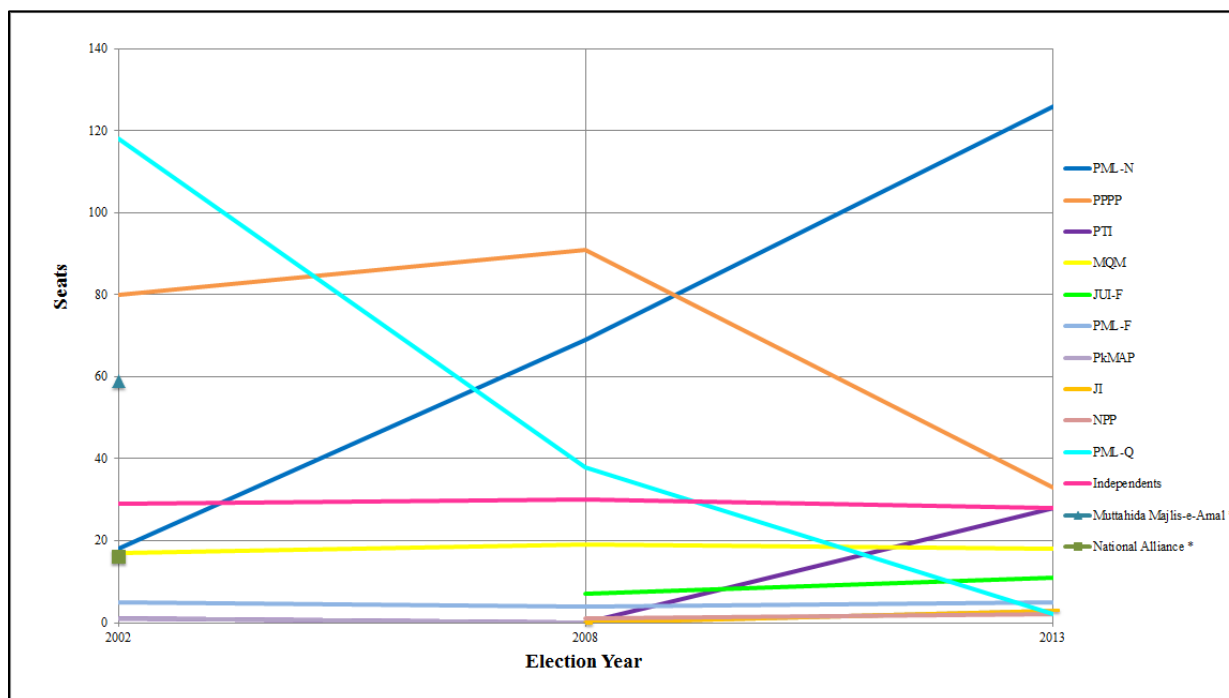
⁶ Totals for general seats and reserved seats for non-Muslims are calculated according to the party position tables posted on the ECP website as of June 23, 2013. Source: Party Position (National Assembly). ECP Website, Accessed June 26, 2013: <<http://www.ecp.gov.pk/overallpartypositionNA23062013.pdf>>. Reserved seat allocations for women are calculated according to reserved seat notifications posted on the ECP website for each as of July 24, 2013. Source: Seats Reserved for Women - National Assembly. ECP Website, Accessed July 24, 2013: <<http://ecp.gov.pk/Misc/Reserved/01-Reserved%20Seats%20in%20NA%20Women24072013.pdf>>. Final composition tables for the National and Provincial Assemblies reflect all changes that occurred in the composition of each assembly as of June 26, 2013 for various reasons including candidates vacating seats after winning in multiple constituencies, successful independent candidates joining other parties following the announcement of results, and any other changes in results.

⁷ Parties listed by name include the top 10 parties by seat allocation in the National Assembly as of July 1, 2013, as well as any additional parties that were in the top 10 positions by seat allocation in the Provincial Assemblies overall as of July 1, 2013, or the outgoing National Assembly elected in 2008 as of December 15, 2012. All other parties are counted in the 'Other parties' category and include the PML-Z, the AMLP, AJIP, and APML.

Formation of the National Government

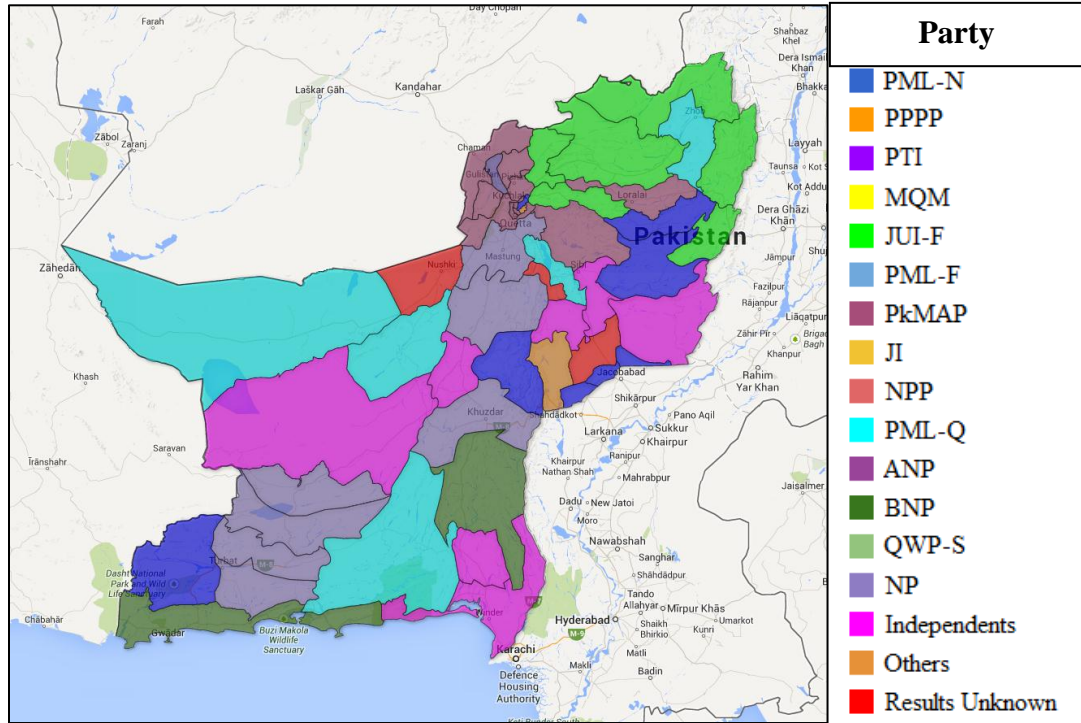
A party or coalition must hold 137 out of the 272 general seats in the National Assembly to attain the simple majority required to form the central government. The PML-N won 126 seats and was able to exceed the simple majority threshold after 19 independents joined the party during the immediate post-election period. To date, PML-F, JUI-F, PkMAP, and NP have joined the ruling government. The National People's Party (NPP), which contested the general elections separately, formally merged into the PML-N following the announcement of results and has ceased to exist as an individual party. All other parties with seats in the National Assembly, including PTI, PPPP, MQM, and ANP are part of the opposition. Nawaz Sharif, PML-N President and former Prime Minister, was elected as Prime Minister on June 5, 2013, with 244 votes. PPPP's Syed Khursheed Ahmad Shah has been confirmed as the opposition leader.

Results – National Assembly Comparison to 2002 and 2008⁸



⁸ JUI-F and JI contested the 2002 general elections under the Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal alliance along with several other parties. The alliance won 59 seats in the National Assembly. In 2008, the MMA alliance collapsed prior to the election after JI decided to boycott the polls; JUI-F contested the elections under the MMA banner because it was too late to register under a different name. While JUI-F is accordingly listed as MMA under official record for the outgoing 2008 National Assembly, the party is listed by name here for clarification purposes. The NPP contested the 2002 elections under the National Alliance, which won 16 seats in the National Assembly.

Balochistan Provincial Assembly – Results by Party



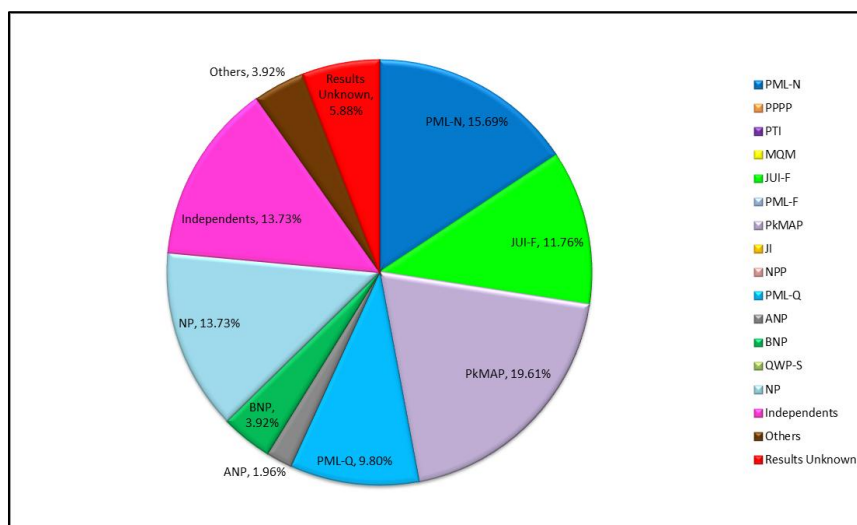
Government Formation – Balochistan

PML-N, PkMAP, NP, PML-Q, Wahdatul Muslimeen, and Jamote Qaumi Movement, along with several independents, formed a coalition government. NP President Dr. Abdul Malik Baloch was elected as Chief Minister. JUI-F, ANP, and BNP are in the opposition. The opposition leader is JUI-F's Maulana Abdul Wasay.

Balochistan Provincial Assembly – Results by Party^{9 10}

Party	General	Reserved for Women	Reserved for non-Muslims	Total Party Seats
PkMAP	10	3	1	14
PML-N	8	3	1	12
NP	7	2	1	10
JUI-F	6	2	0	8
PML-Q	5	1	0	6
BNP	2	0	0	2
ANP	1	0	0	1
PPPP	0	0	0	0
PTI	0	0	0	0
MQM	0	0	0	0
PML-F	0	0	0	0
JI	0	0	0	0
NPP	0	0	0	0
QWP-S	0	0	0	0
Other Parties	2	0	0	3
Independents	7	-	-	7
Results Unknown	3	-	-	3
Total Allotted Seats	51	11	3	66

General Seats



⁹ Totals for general seats are calculated according to the party position tables posted on the ECP website as of June 13, 2013. Source: Party Position (Provincial Assemblies). ECP Website, Accessed June 13, 2013: <<http://www.ecp.gov.pk/overallpartypositionPA13062013.pdf>>. Reserved seat allocations are calculated according to reserved

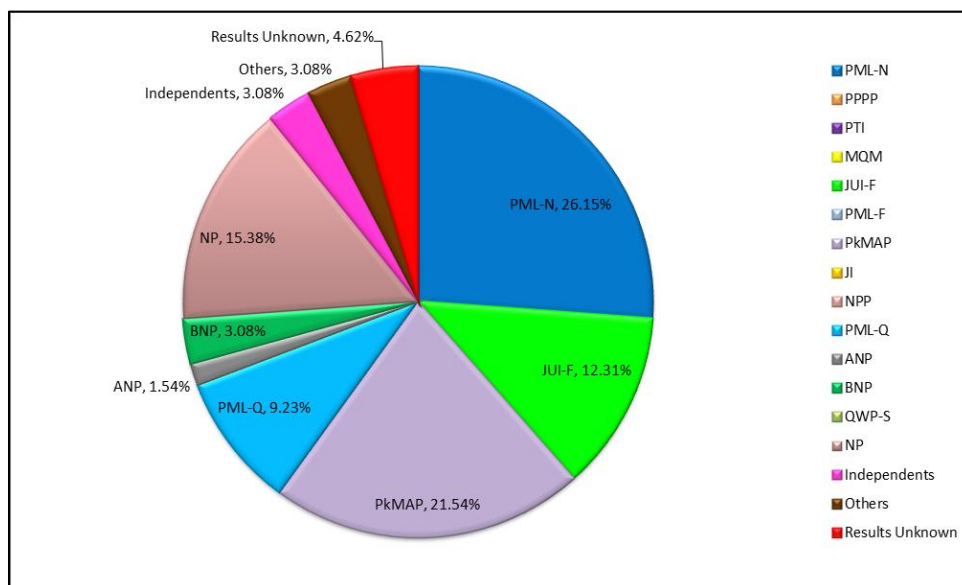
seat notifications posted on the ECP website as of June 13, 2013. Source: Reserved Seat Notifications for Balochistan Provincial Assembly. ECP Website, Accessed June 13, 2013: <<http://ecp.gov.pk/Misc/Reserved/03-ReservedSeatsinBalochistanFinal28-05-2013.pdf>>. Election day results tables for the National and Provincial Assemblies reflect the winner in each constituency as of June 13, 2013. Changes that occurred in the composition of each assembly for various reasons including candidates vacating seats after winning in multiple constituencies, successful independent candidates joining other parties following the announcement of results, and any other changes in results that occurred after June 13, 2013 are not reflected in the results tables.

¹⁰ Parties listed by name include the top 10 parties by seat allocation in the National Assembly as of July 1, 2013, as well as any additional parties that were in the top 10 positions by seat allocation in the Provincial Assemblies overall as of July 1, 2013, or the outgoing National Assembly elected in 2008 as of December 15, 2012. All other parties who won seats in the Provincial Assemblies are counted in the 'Other parties' category and include the AJIP, PML-Z, JQM, PNML, APML, BNAP and MWMP.

Balochistan Provincial Assembly – Final Composition¹¹

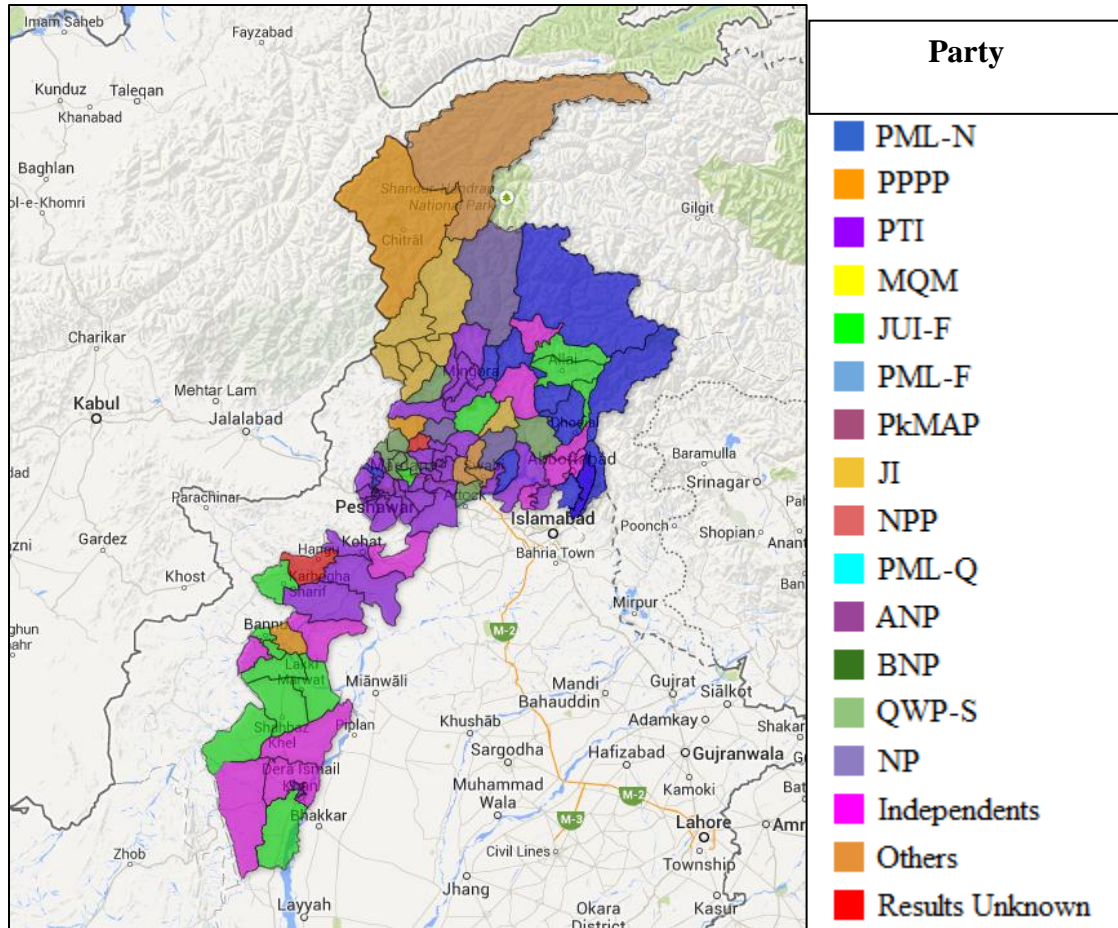
Party	General	Reserved for Women	Reserved for non-Muslims	Total Party Seats
PML-N	13	3	1	17
PkMAP	10	3	1	14
NP	7	2	1	10
JUI-F	6	2	0	8
PML-Q	5	1	0	6
BNP	2	0	0	2
ANP	1	0	0	1
PPPP	0	0	0	0
PTI	0	0	0	0
MQM	0	0	0	0
PML-F	0	0	0	0
JI	0	0	0	0
NPP	0	0	0	0
QWP-S	0	0	0	0
Other Parties	2	0	0	2
Independents	2	-	-	2
Results Unknown	3	-	-	3
Total Allotted Seats	51	11	3	65

All Seats



¹¹ Totals for general seats are calculated according to the party position tables posted on the ECP website as of June 23, 2013. Source: Party Position (Provincial Assemblies). ECP Website, Accessed June 26, 2013: <<http://www.ecp.gov.pk/overallpartypositionPA23062013.pdf>>. Reserved seat allocations are calculated according to reserved seat notifications posted on the ECP website for each as of July 24, 2013. Source: Reserved Seat Notifications for Balochistan Provincial Assembly. ECP Website, Accessed July 24, 2013: <<http://ecp.gov.pk/Misc/Reserved/03-Reserved%20Seats%20in%20Balochistan%20Final24072013.pdf>>. Final composition tables for the National and Provincial Assemblies reflect all changes that occurred in the composition of each assembly as of June 26, 2013 for various reasons including candidates vacating seats after winning in multiple constituencies, successful independent candidates joining other parties following the announcement of results, and any other changes in results.

Results – Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Assembly



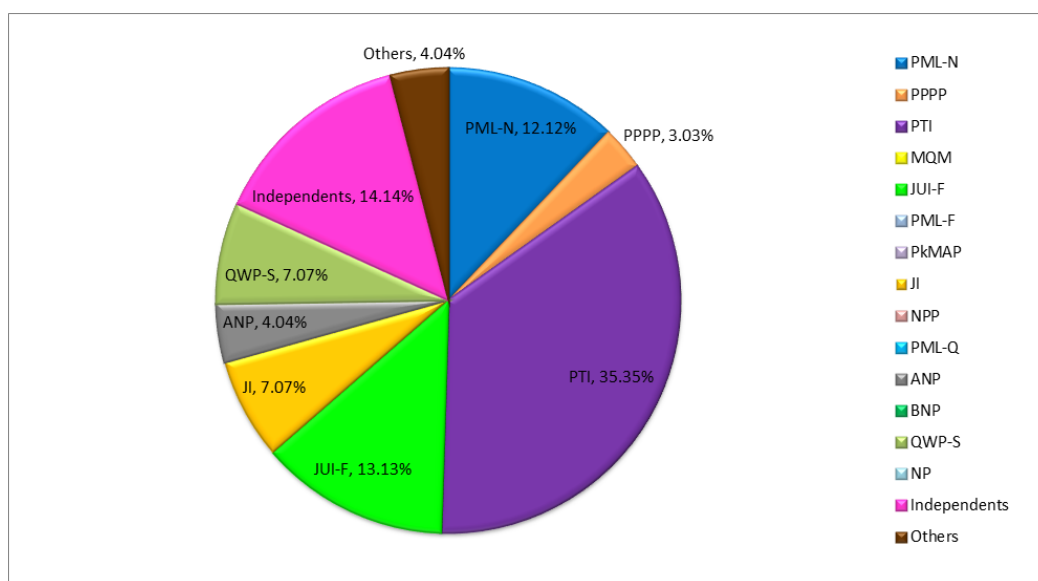
Government Formation – Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

PTI, JI, QWP, the Awami Jamhoori Ittehad Pakistan party, and a handful of independents formed a coalition government. Pervaiz Khattak, PTI Central Secretary General was elected Chief Minister. The APML, ANP, JUI-F, PML-N, PPPP, and several independents are in the opposition. The opposition leader is PML-N's Sardar Mehtab Ahmed Khan.

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Assembly – Results by Province¹²

Party	General	Reserved for Women	Reserved for non-Muslims	Total Party Seats
PTI	35	10	1	46
JUI-F	13	3	1	17
PML-N	12	3	1	16
QWP-S	7	2	0	9
JI	7	1	0	8
ANP	4	1	0	5
PPPP	3	1	0	4
MQM	0	0	0	0
PML-F	0	0	0	0
PkMAP	0	0	0	0
NPP	0	0	0	0
PML-Q	0	0	0	0
BNP	0	0	0	0
NP	0	0	0	0
Other Parties	4	1	0	5
Independents	14	-	-	14
Results Unknown	-	-	-	0
Total Allotted Seats	99	22	3	124

General Seats

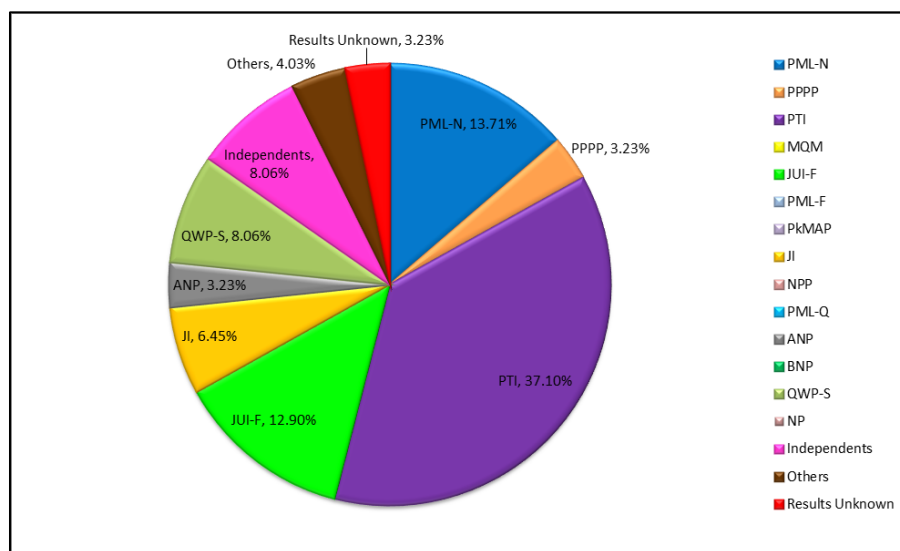


¹² Totals for general seats are calculated according to the party position tables posted on the ECP website as of June 13, 2013. Source: Party Position (Provincial Assemblies). ECP Website, Accessed June 13, 2013: <<http://www.ecp.gov.pk/overallpartypositionPA13062013.pdf>>. Reserved seat allocations are calculated according to reserved seat notifications posted on the ECP website as of June 13, 2013. Source: Reserved Seat Notifications for Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Assembly. ECP Website, Accessed June 13, 2013: <<http://ecp.gov.pk/Misc/Reserved/03-ReservedSeatsinKPKFinal28-05-2013.pdf>>. Election day results tables for the National and Provincial Assemblies reflect the winner in each constituency as of June 13, 2013. Changes that occurred in the composition of each assembly for various reasons including candidates vacating seats after winning in multiple constituencies, successful independent candidates joining other parties following the announcement of results, and any other changes in results that occurred after June 13, 2013 are not reflected in the results tables.

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Assembly – Final Composition¹³

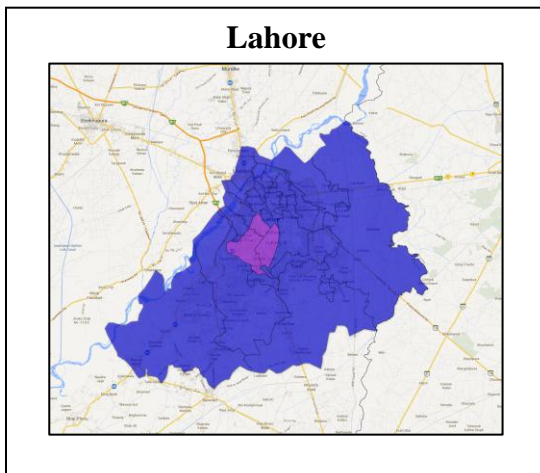
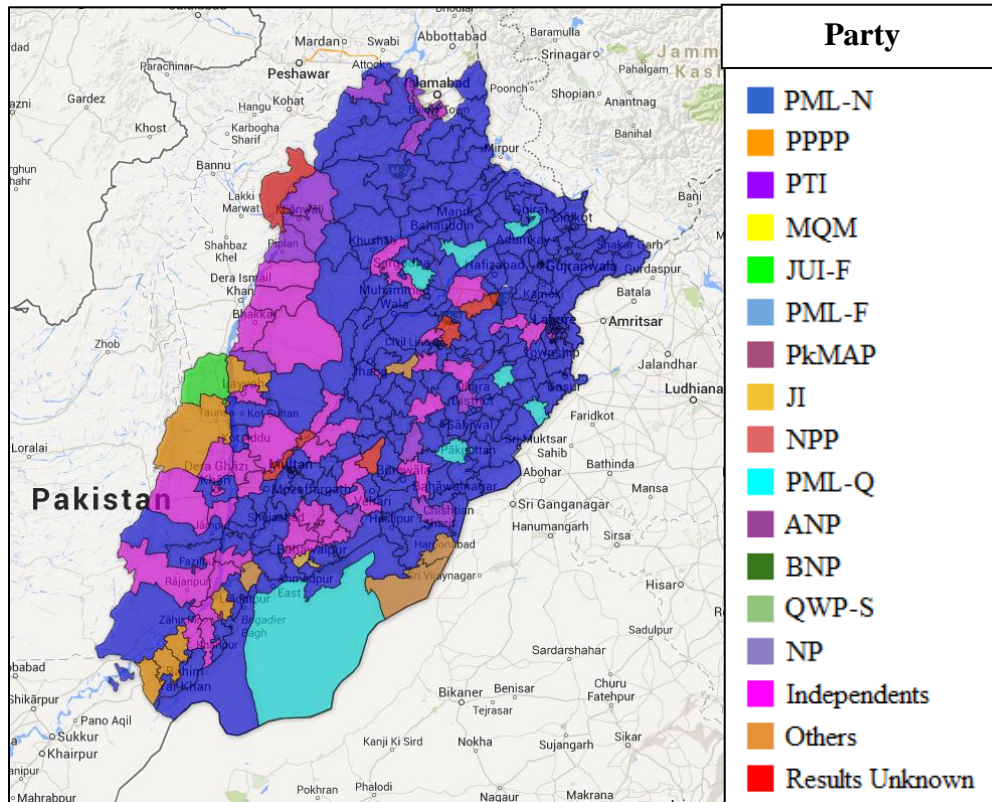
Party	General	Reserved for Women	Reserved for non-Muslims	Total Party Seats
PTI	35	10	1	46
JUI-F	12	3	1	16
PML-N	13	3	1	17
QWP-S	8	2	0	10
JI	7	1	0	8
ANP	3	1	0	4
PPPP	3	1	0	4
MQM	0	0	0	0
PML-F	0	0	0	0
PkMAP	0	0	0	0
NPP	0	0	0	0
PML-Q	0	0	0	0
BNP	0	0	0	0
NP	0	0	0	0
Other Parties	4	1	0	5
Independents	10	-	-	10
Results Unknown	4	-	-	4
Total Allotted Seats	99	22	3	124

All Seats



¹³ Totals for general seats are calculated according to the party position tables posted on the ECP website as of June 23, 2013. Source: Party Position (Provincial Assemblies). ECP Website, Accessed June 26, 2013: < <http://www.ecp.gov.pk/overallpartypositionPA23062013.pdf>>. Reserved seat allocations are calculated according to reserved seat notifications posted on the ECP website as of July 24, 2013. Source: Reserved Seat Notifications for Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Assembly. ECP Website, Accessed July 24, 2013: < <http://ecp.gov.pk/Misc/Reserved/03-Reserved%20Seats%20in%20KPK%20Final24072013.pdf>>. Final composition tables for the National and Provincial Assemblies reflect all changes that occurred in the composition of each assembly as of June 26, 2013 for various reasons including candidates vacating seats after winning in multiple constituencies, successful independent candidates joining other parties following the announcement of results, and any other changes in results.

Results – Punjab Provincial Assembly



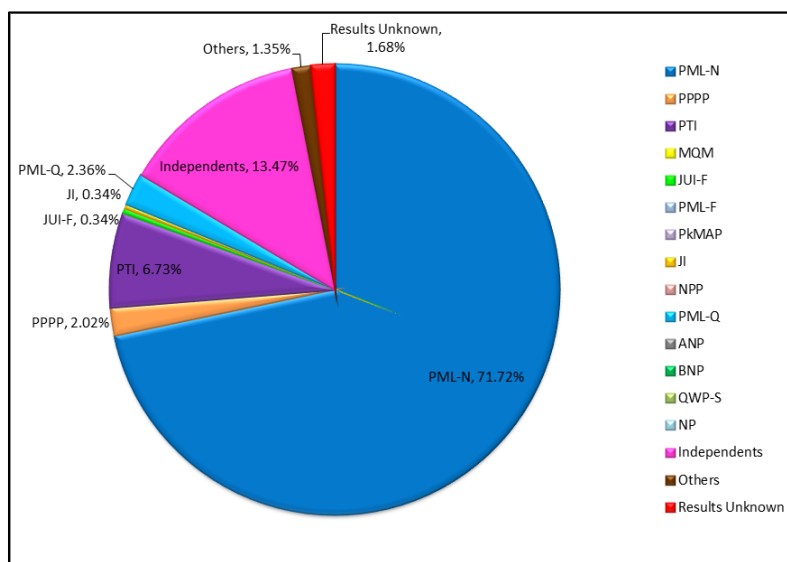
Government Formation – Punjab

PML-N attained enough seats to exceed the simple majority threshold and form its own government. PML-N's Mian Muhammad Shahbaz Sharif was elected Chief Minister. PTI, PML, PML-Z, PPPP, JUI-F, JI, the Pakistan National Muslim League, the Bahawalpur National Awami Party, and several independents are in the opposition. The opposition leader is PTI's Mian Mehmood ur Rasheed.

Punjab Provincial Assembly – Results by Party¹⁴

Party	General	Reserved for Women	Reserved for non-Muslims	Total Party Seats
PML-N	213	50	7	270
PTI	20	5	1	26
PML-Q	7	2	0	9
PPPP	6	1	0	7
JUI-F	1	0	0	1
JI	1	0	0	1
MQM	0	0	0	0
PML-F	0	0	0	0
PkMAP	0	0	0	0
NPP	0	0	0	0
ANP	0	0	0	0
BNP	0	0	0	0
QWP-S	0	0	0	0
NP	0	0	0	0
Other Parties	4	0	0	4
Independents	40	-	-	40
Results Unknown	5	8	-	13
Total Allotted Seats	297	66	8	371

General Seats

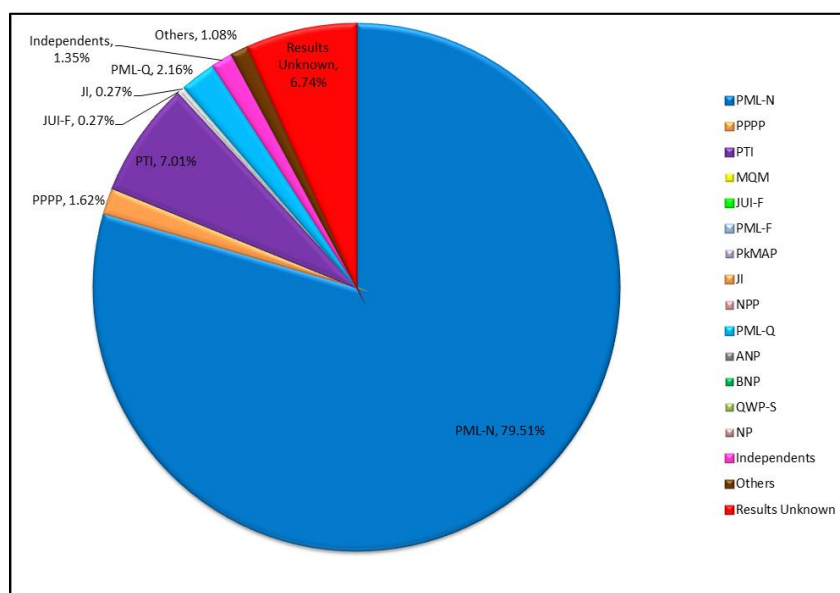


¹⁴ Totals for general seats are calculated according to the party position tables posted on the ECP website as of June 13, 2013. Source: Party Position (Provincial Assemblies). ECP Website, Accessed June 13, 2013: <<http://www.ecp.gov.pk/overallpartypositionPA13062013.pdf>>. Reserved seat allocations are calculated according to reserved seat notifications posted on the ECP website as of June 13, 2013. Source: Reserved Seat Notifications for Punjab Provincial Assembly. ECP Website, Accessed June 13, 2013: <<http://ecp.gov.pk/Misc/Reserved/03-ReservedSeatsinPunjabFinal28-05-2013.pdf>>. Election day results tables for the National and Provincial Assemblies reflect the winner in each constituency as of June 13, 2013. Changes that occurred in the composition of each assembly for various reasons including candidates vacating seats after winning in multiple constituencies, successful independent candidates joining other parties following the announcement of results, and any other changes in results that occurred after June 13, 2013 are not reflected in the results tables.

Punjab Provincial Assembly – Final Composition¹⁵

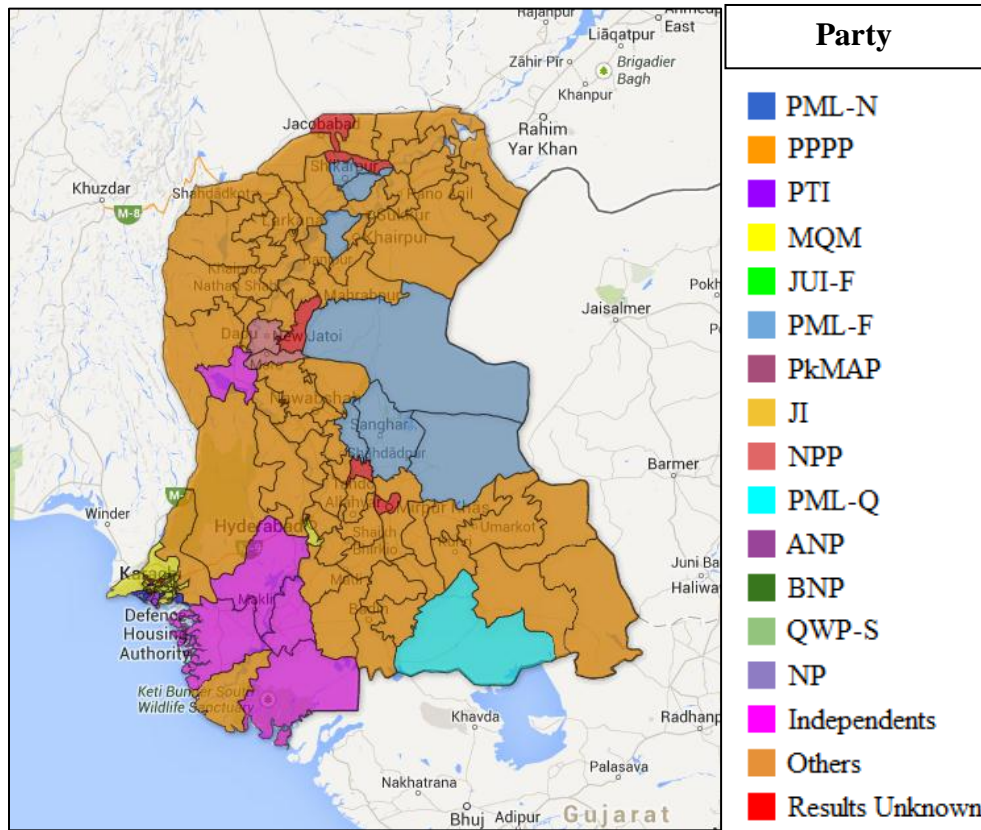
Party	General	Reserved for Women	Reserved for non-Muslims	Total Party Seats
PML-N	238	50	7	295
PTI	20	5	1	26
PML-Q	6	2	0	8
PPPP	5	1	0	6
JUI-F	1	0	0	1
JI	1	0	0	1
MQM	0	0	0	0
PML-F	0	0	0	0
PkMAP	0	0	0	0
NPP	0	0	0	0
ANP	0	0	0	0
BNP	0	0	0	0
QWP-S	0	0	0	0
NP	0	0	0	0
Other Parties	4	0	0	4
Independents	5	-	-	5
Results Unknown	17	8	-	25
Total Allotted Seats	297	66	8	371

All Seats

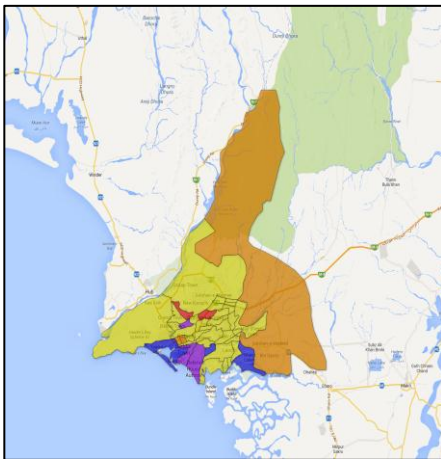


¹⁵ Totals for general seats are calculated according to the party position tables posted on the ECP website as of June 23, 2013. Source: Party Position (Provincial Assemblies). ECP Website, Accessed June 26, 2013: <<http://www.ecp.gov.pk/overallpartypositionPA23062013.pdf>>. Reserved seat allocations are calculated according to reserved seat notifications posted on the ECP website as of July 24, 2013. Source: Reserved Seat Notifications for Punjab Provincial Assembly. ECP Website, Accessed July 24, 2013: <<http://ecp.gov.pk/Misc/Reserved/03-Reserved%20Seats%20in%20Punjab%20Final24072013.pdf>>. Final composition tables for the National and Provincial Assemblies reflect all changes that occurred in the composition of each assembly as of June 26, 2013, for various reasons including candidates vacating seats after winning in multiple constituencies, successful independent candidates joining other parties following the announcement of results, and any other changes in results.

Results – Sindh Provincial Assembly



Karachi



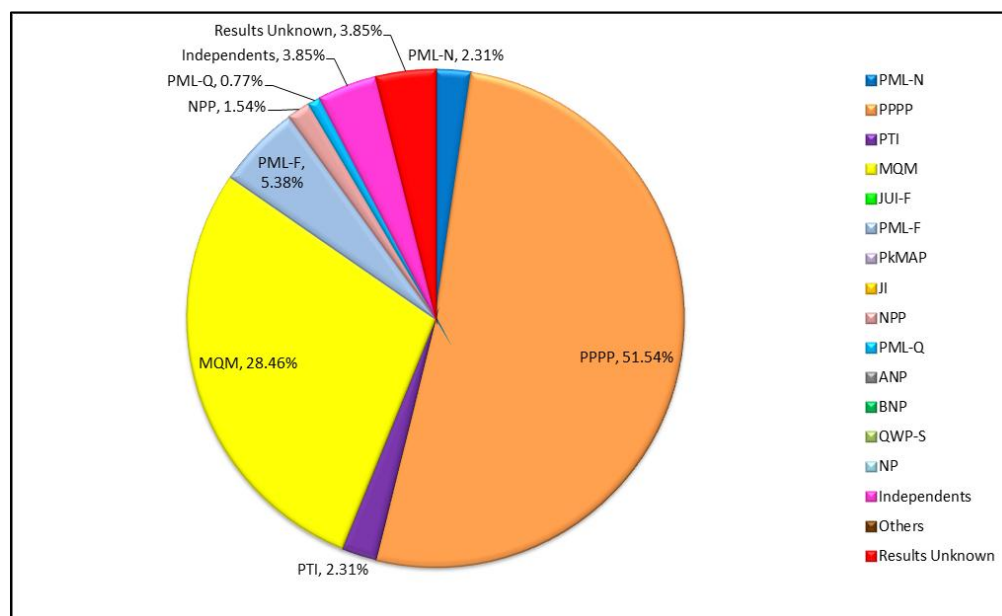
Government Formation – Sindh

PPPP attained enough seats to form its own government with a simple majority and no parties have joined in a coalition government as of this report's publication. Talks with the MQM, which was a coalition partner with the outgoing PPPP-led provincial and central governments for most of its five-year tenure, recently collapsed. PPPP's Syed Qaim Ali Shah was elected Chief Minister. MQM, NPP, PML-F, PML-N, and PTI are in the opposition. The opposition leader is MQM's Syed Faisal Ali Subzwari.

Sindh Provincial Assembly – Results by Party¹⁶

Party	General	Reserved for Women	Reserved for non-Muslims	Total Party Seats
PPPP	67	16	5	88
MQM	37	9	3	49
PML-F	7	2	1	10
PML-N	3	1	0	4
PTI	3	1	0	4
NPP	2	0	0	2
PML-Q	1	0	0	1
JUI-F	0	0	0	0
PkMAP	0	0	0	0
JI	0	0	0	0
ANP	0	0	0	0
BNP	0	0	0	0
QWP-S	0	0	0	0
NP	0	0	0	0
Other Parties	0	0	0	0
Independents	5	-	-	5
Results Unknown	5	-	-	5
Total Allotted Seats	130	29	9	168

General Seats

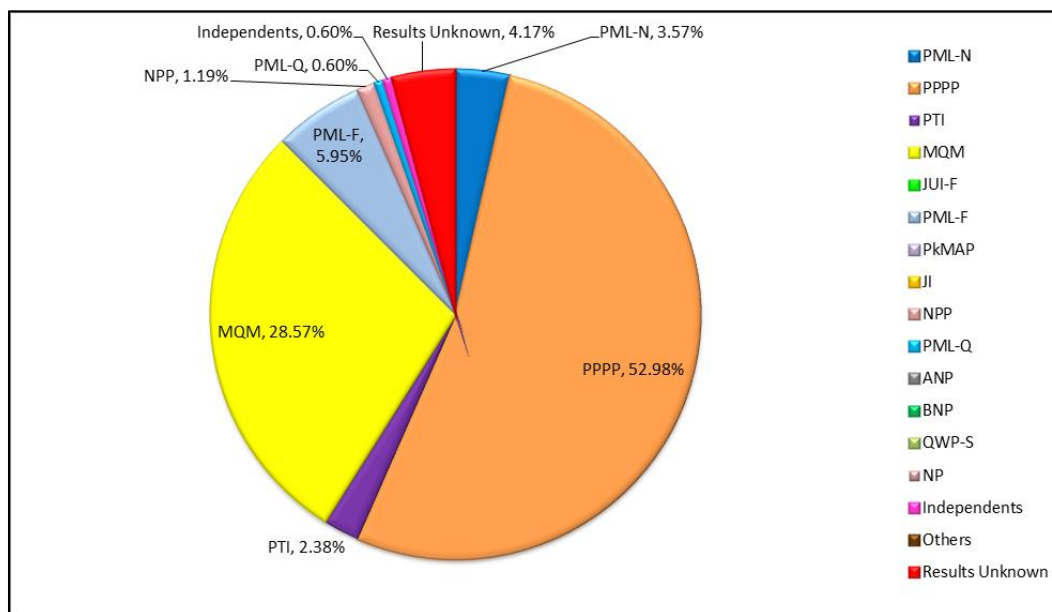


¹⁶ Totals for general seats are calculated according to the party position tables posted on the ECP website as of June 13, 2013. Source: Party Position (Provincial Assemblies). ECP Website, Accessed June 13, 2013: <<http://www.ecp.gov.pk/overallpartypositionPA13062013.pdf>>. Reserved seat allocations are calculated according to reserved seat notifications posted on the ECP website as of June 13, 2013. Source: Reserved Seat Notifications for Sindh Provincial Assembly. ECP Website, Accessed June 13, 2013: <<http://ecp.gov.pk/Misc/Reserved/03-ReservedSeatsinSindhFinal28-05-2013.pdf>>. Election day results tables for the National and Provincial Assemblies reflect the winner in each constituency as of June 13, 2013. Changes that occurred in the composition of each assembly for various reasons including candidates vacating seats after winning in multiple constituencies, successful independent candidates joining other parties following the announcement of results, and any other changes in results that occurred after June 13, 2013 are not reflected in the results tables.

Sindh Provincial Assembly – Final Composition¹⁷

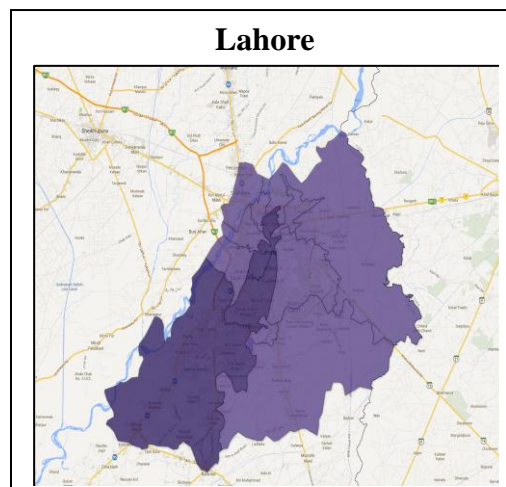
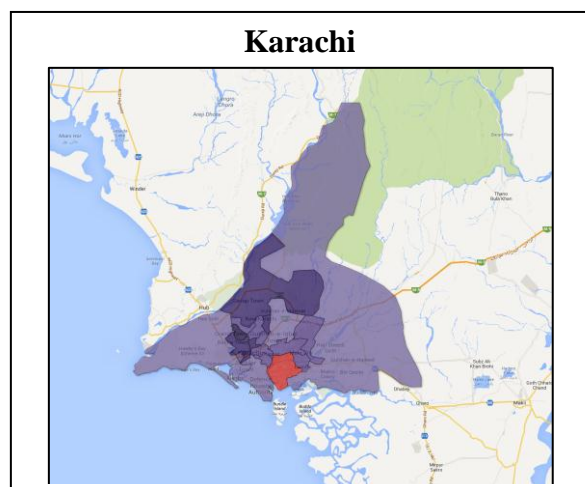
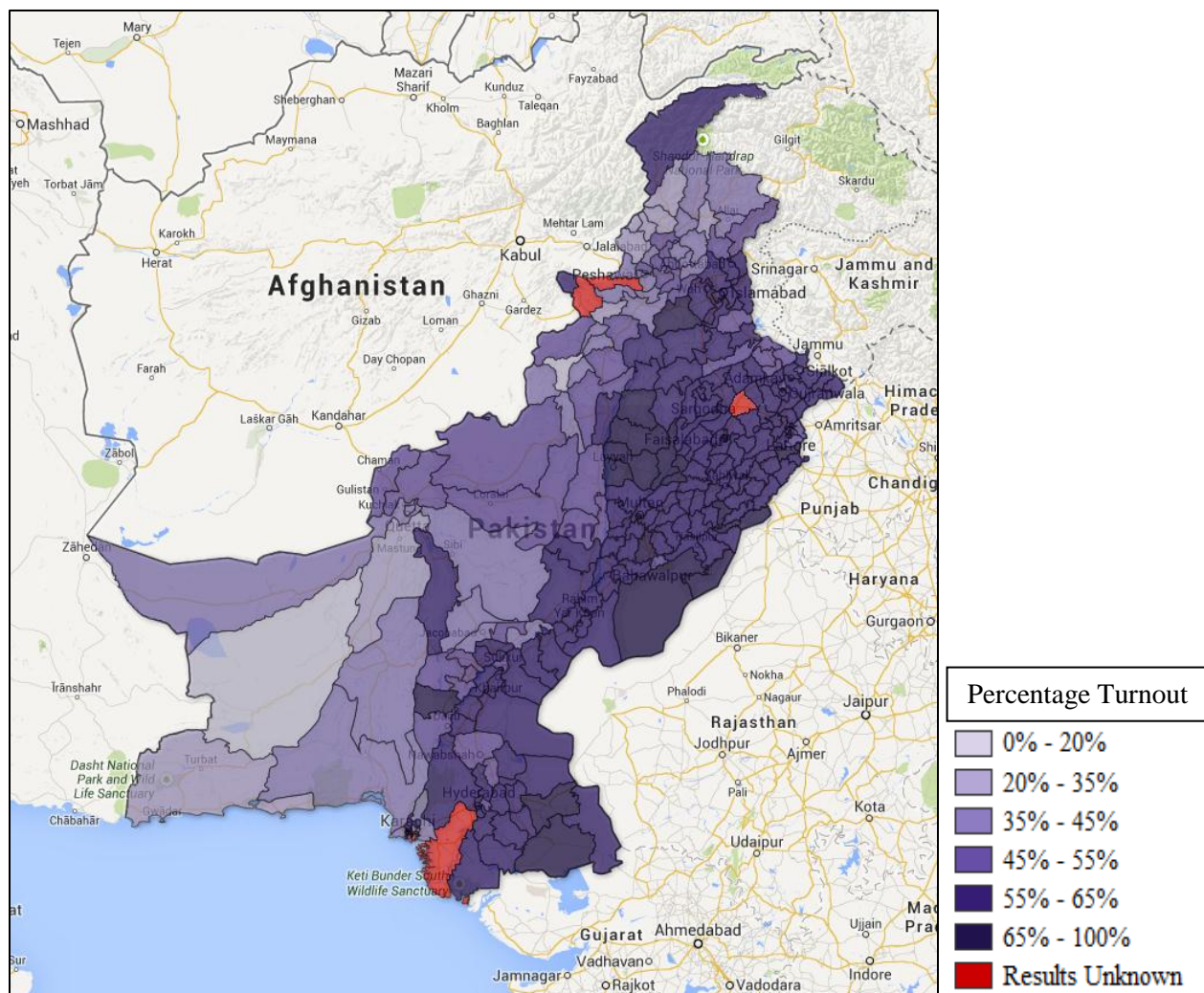
Party	General	Reserved for Women	Reserved for non-Muslims	Total Party Seats
PPPP	68	16	5	89
MQM	36	9	3	48
PML-F	7	2	1	10
PML-N	5	1	0	6
PTI	3	1	0	4
NPP	2	0	0	2
PML-Q	1	0	0	1
JUI-F	0	0	0	0
PkMAP	0	0	0	0
JI	0	0	0	0
ANP	0	0	0	0
BNP	0	0	0	0
QWP-S	0	0	0	0
NP	0	0	0	0
Other Parties	0	0	0	0
Independents	1	-	-	1
Results Unknown	7	-	-	7
Total Allotted Seats	130	29	9	168

All Seats



¹⁷ Totals for general seats are calculated according to the party position tables posted on the ECP website as of June 23, 2013. Source: Party Position (Provincial Assemblies). ECP Website, Accessed June 26, 2013: <<http://www.ecp.gov.pk/overallpartypositionPA23062013.pdf>>. Reserved seat allocations are calculated according to reserved seat notifications posted on the ECP website as of July 24, 2013. Source: Reserved Seat Notifications for Sindh Provincial Assembly. ECP Website, Accessed July 24, 2013: <<http://ecp.gov.pk/Misc/Reserved/03-Reserved%20Seats%20in%20Sindh%20Final24072013.pdf>>. Final composition tables for the National and Provincial Assemblies reflect all changes that occurred in the composition of each assembly as of June 26, 2013 for various reasons including candidates vacating seats after winning in multiple constituencies, successful independent candidates joining other parties following the announcement of results, and any other changes in results.

Turnout- National Assembly



National Assembly Turnout – 2013 General Elections¹⁸						
	Punjab	Sindh	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Balochistan	FATA	ICT
Registered Voters	48,890,007	17,862,681	12,268,406	3,173,819	1,386,228	626,383
Votes Polled	28,760,265	9,782,599	5,476,001	1,300,628	508,013	389,976
Turnout %	58.82%	54.77%	44.63%	40.98%	36.65%	62.26%

According to the ECP, 46,217,482 citizens exercised their right to vote in the 2013 general elections for National Assembly contests, constituting a voter turnout of 55.2 percent.¹⁹ Turnout rates varied widely throughout the country, with the Islamabad Capital Territory experiencing the highest at 62 percent and FATA experiencing the lowest at 37 percent. Certain constituencies experienced extremely low turnout, such as PB-41 (Awaran), Balochistan, where turnout was only 1.18 percent and NA-42 (Tribal Areas-VII) in South Waziristan, FATA, where turnout was 11.6 percent.

Electoral Dispute Resolution

The legal framework for electoral dispute resolution in Pakistan allows for and outlines mechanisms to adjudicate election-related complaints regarding candidate eligibility, challenges to election results, and violations of citizens' fundamental rights, such as the right to vote and to contest elections. Challenges and appeals regarding ROs' candidate scrutiny decisions are adjudicated by Appellate Tribunals established solely for that purpose, as described above. Similarly, Election Tribunals are established in the post-election period to adjudicate challenges to election results, though these challenge petitions may only be submitted by candidates. The Constitution also allows citizens to seek redress in high courts regarding violations of their fundamental rights through a mechanism known as a "writ petition." However, the legal framework does not include provisions for other key aspects of the election process, including the campaign, voter registration, and the delimitation of constituency boundaries. In addition to the electoral dispute resolution provisions outlined by law, the ECP has the power to establish regulations and systems to adjudicate election-related complaints as well during the pre- and post-election periods.

For the 2013 elections, the ECP did not issue regulations or establish uniform systems to adjudicate complaints. As a result, complaints were received in an ad hoc manner at multiple levels of the election administration, including by ROs, ECP provincial offices, and the ECP centrally in Islamabad. No instructions were provided on how these bodies should receive, investigate, or resolve complaints, and the ECP did not establish a centralized registry to track complaints information and decisions. Despite these shortcomings, election administrators appeared to work to address certain problems highlighted by election-day complaints, as re-polling and re-counting were ordered in several constituencies, though the justifications for these decisions were unclear and the decision-making processes were not transparent. Due to the lack

¹⁸ Source: General Elections – 2013: National Assembly Turnout. ECP Website, Accessed July 1, 2013.

<http://ecp.gov.pk/Misc/GE-2013-Graphs/05_national_assembly_turnout.jpg>

¹⁹ [footnote: Turnout figures for Provincial Assembly contests are slightly different. See http://ecp.gov.pk/Misc/GE-2013-Graphs/05_provincial_assembly_turnout.jpg for ECP-released figures.]

of transparency in the electoral dispute resolution process and its decentralized and ad hoc nature, observers and electoral participants were unable to assess the fairness or consistency of decisions.

In the post-election period, Election Tribunals serve as the primary mechanism responsible for hearing and adjudicating challenges to election results after the official publication of results by the ECP. Election Tribunals are composed of one judge appointed by the ECP. According to ROPA, candidates must file petitions challenging results on the basis of “corrupt practice, illegal practice, or illegal act” with the ECP and must do so within 45 days of the official publication of results. Election Tribunals are required by law to resolve disputes within 120 days of receiving each petition. Election Tribunals have the legal authority to void results, declare a new winner based on already released results, or void the entire election and trigger full re-polling or a by-election. Election Tribunal decisions can only be overturned by the Supreme Court of Pakistan.

The ECP established 14 Election Tribunals on June 3 (three in Balochistan, three in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and FATA, five in Punjab, and three in Sindh). The establishment of Election Tribunals was delayed due to a ruling of the Sindh High Court, which canceled the ECP’s earlier appointment of Election Tribunal judges, citing a lack of consultation. Retired judges were appointed to the Election Tribunals in 2013 in order to reduce delays experienced in past elections, which resulted in part from the use of sitting High Court judges who would continue to preside over their regular caseloads for the duration of their appointments.

By-Elections - The Constitution mandates that by-elections be held for general seats in the National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies when a seat is vacated due to the death, resignation, or disqualification of a seat-holder. More than 30 by-elections for seats in the National Assembly and more than 80 by-elections for seats in the Provincial Assemblies took place between the 2008 and 2013 general elections.

High numbers of by-elections tend to occur after general elections in Pakistan because candidates are permitted to contest elections in multiple constituencies, yet can only serve in one seat if elected to multiple. As of this report’s publication, the ECP had scheduled by-elections to be held on August 22, 2013, in 16 National Assembly and 25 Provincial Assembly constituencies where seats have been vacated since the May elections. Of these, 12 National Assembly by-elections and 15 Provincial Assembly by-elections were due to candidates winning multiple seats. Prominent candidates who vacated seats after winning multiple electoral contests during the 2013 general elections included Nawaz Sharif, Imran Khan, Shahbaz Sharif, and Maulana Fazl-ur-Rehman.



A child carries a PML-N flag in Rawalpindi.
(Photo by: Azura binti Mohd Noor and
Shekh Mohammad Altafur Rahman)

Political Violence and Security Environment

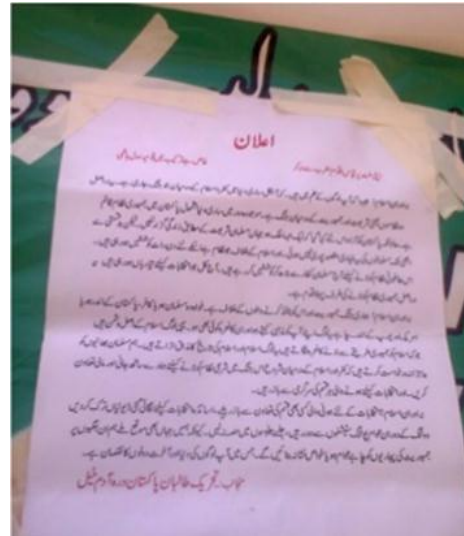
In past elections in Pakistan, the sources of violence have largely been the contesting parties. In the 2013 elections, non-state actors have been the primary perpetrators of the violence that plagued the electoral process.

In the pre-election period, the ability of candidates and political parties to engage voters freely was sharply undermined in certain areas of the country because of the grave level of violence and threats of violence. Violence and threats were targeted primarily at three parties: the ANP, MQM, and PPP. The Pakistani Taliban claimed responsibility for dozens of attacks against election administrators, candidates, campaign staff, and their supporters. On April 28, the situation escalated when the group announced its intention to end the democratic system altogether and began targeting additional parties. Some parties in Balochistan, FATA, Karachi and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa were prevented from holding outdoor rallies, requiring them to mobilize supporters and communicate campaign messages through social and other media. This resulted in an unlevel playing field for those parties in certain areas of the country.

According to the United Nations (UN), 196 people were killed and 645 were injured as a result of more than 300 recorded incidents of election-related violence from March 16, when the National Assembly was dissolved, to May 7, a few days before the elections. Domestic observers and media reported that more than a thousand people had died as a result of election-related violence since the beginning of the year. Dozens more people were killed on election day. Areas of Balochistan, FATA, Karachi, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa suffered the highest number of incidents. According to news reports, fatalities included at least seven candidates, and another candidate was kidnapped during the pre-election period. As required by the Representation of the People Act, the ECP suspended elections in three National Assembly constituencies and six Provincial Assembly constituencies because of the deaths of registered candidates. The ECP suspended at least one additional election in the tribal areas, NA-38, because of an unspecified “law and order” situation.

The threats and violence discouraged citizens from freely attending campaign events and more broadly participating in the elections as candidates, campaign staff, election administrators, observers, and simply as voters. Attacks and threats against election officials and election facilities also impeded the effective administration of the elections. According to the European

Letter from Pakistani Taliban Threatening Candidates and Voters



Translation (selected text) – “...*Our war is against democracy and its implementers... Refrain from any kind of cooperation in elections. Teachers should give up duties assigned to them, people should stay away from polling stations during voting, people should not take part in public gatherings. Because wherever we get an opportunity, we will target the worshippers of democracy at those places...*”

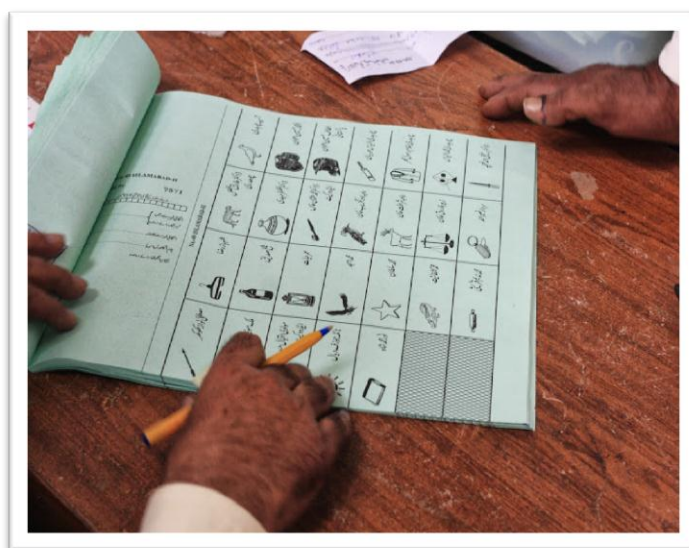
Union Election Observation Mission (EUEOM), 64 people were killed and 225 were injured as a result of at least 62 incidents of election-related violence on election day itself.



Members of the Pakistani army guard a storage facility for ballot papers in Multan, Punjab.
(Photo by: Pipit Apriani and Pongsak Chan-On)

As a result of escalating violence, the Ministry of Interior (MOI) issued instructions on April 15th to provincial governments and law enforcement agencies to increase security measures and provide security personnel to protect all candidates. While party representatives have reported to NDI-ANFREL observers that several party leaders, high-profile candidates, and others have received security personnel, many have reported that not all candidates have received such support and some felt the personnel provided was inadequate. The MOI could not provide NDI-ANFREL observers with specific details about the criteria used to decide which candidates were provided personnel and the level of support provided. Many candidates and party representatives reported and were observed to be using private security guards.

The ECP developed three security designations for polling stations: “highly sensitive,” “sensitive,” and “normal.” The ECP designated 22 percent of the approximately 69,801 polling stations in the country as highly sensitive, another 22 percent as sensitive, and the remaining 56 percent as normal. Balochistan possessed the highest percentage of polling stations designated as highly sensitive at 48 percent, followed by Khyber Pakhtunkhwa at 23 percent. According to the ECP and MOI security plan, the police and other security services were to deploy seven to eight personnel to each “highly sensitive” station, five to six personnel to each “sensitive” station, and two to four to each normal station, but maintained flexibility to change deployments according to needs on the ground. Additionally, the army announced plans to deploy some 70,000 troops in support of election security, including “Rapid Response Forces” sent to each constituency to respond to incidents as they occur. On May 10, the army announced it had modified its election security plan at the request of the CEC to deploy troops at “prioritized” polling stations among those categorized as most sensitive.



A polling station worker shows a ballot to a voter on election day in Islamabad. (Photo by: Sehar Raziuddin)

Political Parties, Candidates and Campaign Environment

Despite the unprecedented level of election-related violence, the pre-election political environment was characterized by active competition among several national and regionally-based parties, including newly prominent contestants. A number of political parties that boycotted in 2008 chose to contest the 2013 elections, including BNP, JI, NP, PkMAP, and PTI. The campaign was vigorous in most parts of the country, though campaign events were severely restricted in areas where political violence was prevalent.

The elections were highly competitive and thousands of citizens exercised their right to contest as candidates. An average of 17 candidates contested each National Assembly constituency for general seats, and an average of 19 candidates contested for general seats in the Provincial Assemblies. Notably, the 2013 elections included the participation of the first woman candidate in FATA, as well as the first ever transgender candidates. Despite the unfavorable political environment for non-Muslims, multiple Christian political parties fielded candidates for general seats.

As seen through the media and observation of campaign activities, the campaign discourse was dominated by discussion of the economy, peace and security, energy, law and order, corruption, and social development. Opinion surveys conducted in the lead-up to the elections indicated that these were generally the issues of greatest importance to voters. The diversity of views and platforms presented by the parties and candidates offered voters distinct choices in the elections.

In most parts of the country, political parties and candidates utilized conventional methods of campaigning, including rallies, processions, corner meetings, indoor events, distribution of printed materials, door-to-door activities, persuasion and mobilization calls, print and broadcast media, as well as newer methods such as social media, internet, e-mails, and text messaging to reach Pakistan's estimated 29 million internet users and 120 million mobile phone subscribers. Most prominent political parties utilized Facebook pages and Twitter accounts, in part to reach out to young voters, who represent almost half of the registered electorate. One party organized its internal party elections largely through the use of a text message-based voting system.

As a result of extending the Political Parties Order to FATA, political parties were able to field candidates for general seats in the National Assembly in the tribal areas for the first time. Previously, only independents could contest these seats. Representatives of political parties and civil society organizations working in FATA, as well as individual candidates, told NDI-ANFREL observers that the elections in FATA were characterized by a greatly increased

Former President Musharraf Returns

After a four-year self-imposed exile, former President Pervez Musharraf returned to Pakistan on March 24, 2013, to contest the general elections. Musharraf submitted nomination papers to contest the elections in four constituencies, but was rejected in all cases—three times by ROs and once by the Appellate Tribunal. On April 19, Musharraf was subsequently arrested on charges related to his decision to dismiss top judges in November 2007 during emergency rule. Musharraf also faces charges related to the murders of Benazir Bhutto and Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti, a nationalist leader in Balochistan. At the time of this report's publication, former President Musharraf remained under house arrest and investigations into the aforementioned charges as well as others were ongoing. Former President Musharraf's party, the All Pakistan Muslim League (APML), won two seats in the 2013 elections: one seat in the National Assembly and a second in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Assembly.

atmosphere of political competition, as most prominent parties fielded candidates in the tribal areas for general seats in the National Assembly. The extension of the Political Parties Order was an important step in an incomplete process of bringing FATA into the political and legal structures enjoyed by the rest of Pakistan. It remains problematic that Political Agents in FATA hold unchecked administrative, judicial, and election administration powers.²⁰ Moreover, as Article 247 of the Constitution grants all administrative and legislative powers for FATA directly to the President of Pakistan, the elected members of the National Assembly from constituencies in the tribal areas will have limited legislative power to address issues related to the tribal areas.



A candidate delivers a speech during a campaign rally.
(Photo by: Rizwan Bhattani)

An individual candidate's campaign expenditures are limited to 1.5 million rupees (~15,000 USD) for National Assembly contests, and 1 million rupees (~10,000 USD) for Provincial Assembly contests. While there is a limit on candidates' campaign expenditures, there is no such limit on expenditures by political parties. All candidates are required to submit campaign expenditure reports after

the elections within a prescribed timeframe: 10 days for winning candidates and 30 days from declaration of results for other candidates. The unrealistic expenditure limits and unchecked party-spending contribute to non-compliance, which is exacerbated by the lack of sufficient monitoring and follow-up by the ECP. Furthermore, the post-election and non-transparent nature of campaign expenditure reporting deprives voters from using this information in their electoral decision-making process.

Women's Participation

Some positive steps were taken to improve women's ability to exercise their political and civic rights in the 2013 elections. Women represented 44 percent of registered voters on the final electoral rolls. A comparison of the electoral rolls from 2008 with 2013 reveals an increase of around 7 percent in registered men and 5 percent in registered women. The Benazir Income Support Program (BISP) and other efforts which provided relief to flood victims required recipients to possess a CNIC. NADRA set up mobile teams to register women voters in target districts with very low



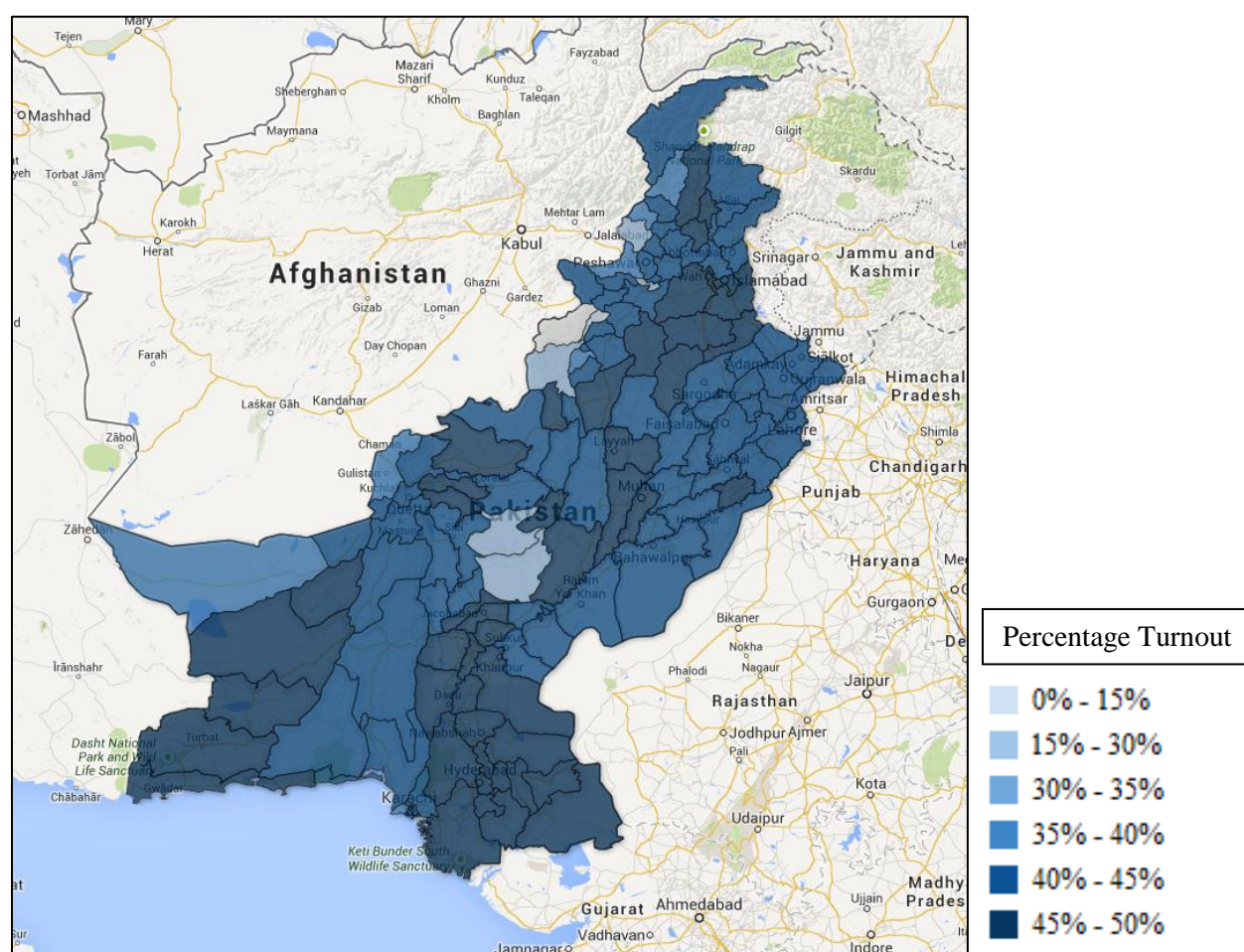
Women queue up to vote outside a polling station in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa on election day.
(Photo by: Yohanes Bosco Johny Barliyanta)

²⁰ A Political Agent is the main administrator for a given Agency in FATA, not to be confused with election-specific terms in Pakistan like election agent or polling agent.

percentages of women who possessed CNICs. These initiatives resulted in significant numbers of women added to the electoral rolls.

Several political parties sought to promote women's involvement in party activities through various mechanisms, such as: encouraging women's wings of the party; including women in higher-level decision-making; and providing women activists with training in campaigning skills. All parties currently represented in the National Assembly and other prominent parties included specific language about women in their platforms, which varied from brief acknowledgements to detailed policy proposals, and some used advertisements targeted at women, promoting women as leaders and role models. It is also a positive development that these elections saw the first woman candidate contest a general election in FATA.

Women's Voter Registration



The ECP's decision to track voter turnout data, disaggregated by gender, is a further positive step towards supporting women's political participation in Pakistan. This data will prove invaluable to better understanding and supporting women's political participation in the country, as well as helping candidates, political parties, and policy-makers to better address their concerns. However, at the time of this report's publication, the ECP had yet to release turnout data

disaggregated by gender, due in part to poor implementation of counting procedures at polling stations on election day and incompletely filled in Statements of the Count (Form XIV).

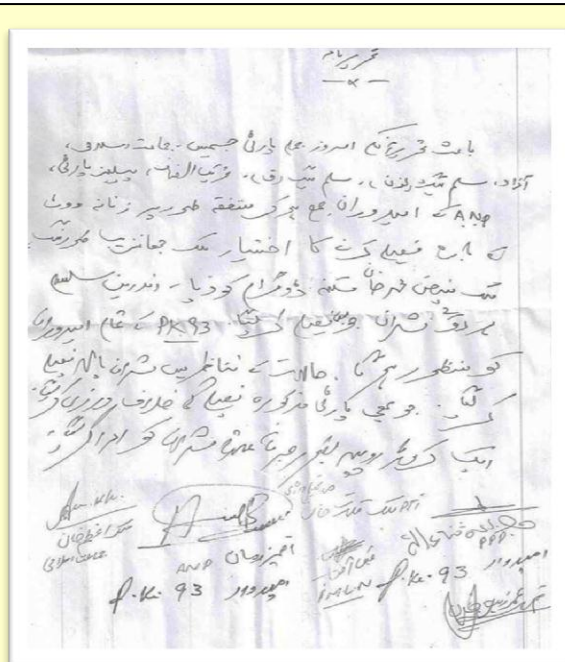
Women remain grossly underrepresented in all aspects of the electoral process, including as candidates, election administrators, and voters. According to UN Women, women candidates represented only 2.9 percent (456 candidates) of the 15,629 total contestants registered to compete for general seats in the elections. There were 158 women contestants registered to compete for National Assembly general seats and 298 registered for Provincial Assembly general seats. These figures constitute increases of 119 percent (86 additional candidates) and 156 percent (182 additional candidates), respectively, from the 2008 general elections. However, a total of only 17 women were elected to general seats in the National Assembly (6) and Provincial Assemblies (11) during the 2013 elections, representing a decrease of eight women from 2008.

A total of 255 women contested for the 60 seats reserved for women in the National Assembly, and 557 women contested for the 128 seats reserved for women in the Provincial Assemblies.

Civil society representatives and individual candidates told NDI-ANFREL observers that women candidates faced considerable challenges in the elections. These included threats from militants, harassment, pressure from employers and local leaders, as well as difficulty resourcing their campaigns. A woman candidate in Balochistan told NDI-ANFREL observers that she withdrew from her contest for a Provincial Assembly seat due to feeling threatened. A candidate in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa reported to NDI-ANFREL observers that she had been fired from her job as a result of becoming a candidate in the elections.

Women also remain severely underrepresented in Pakistan's election administration bodies. No women serve on the Election Commission, and the officers of the ECP, including its directors and provincial commissioners, are all men. The ECP further reported that less than 2 percent of its staff members and less than 2 percent of DROs, ROs, and Assistant Returning Officers (AROs) are women.

As voters, women also faced significant challenges to political participation. During



Agreement Barring Women from Voting

Translation - Written Agreement: The reason for writing this agreement is that the candidates of Jamat-i-Islami, Independent Candidate, Muslim League (N), Muslim League (Q), Tehreek-i-Insaaf, People's Party and ANP have unanimously agreed that regarding female voting the authority has been given to Malik Jahanzeb Kalorang, Malik Faiz Muhammad Khan resident of Dogram. Whatever decision shall be taken by the abovementioned 2 Elders, it shall be binding upon all the candidates of PK-93. In the light of the current situation, the Elders will take the decision and whichever party violates the said decision, it shall pay a fine of ten million Rupees to the Elders.

the 2008 general elections, political and local leaders in some areas of the country conspired to restrict women from voting. According to FAFEN, no votes were cast in 2008 in 564 women-only polling stations, 84 percent of which were located in the Northwest Frontier Province, now known as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The ECP Code of Conduct for Political Parties and Candidates expressly forbade the practice of colluding to bar women from voting in the 2013 elections. NDI-ANFREL observers were told by political parties, candidates, and civil society representatives that the Pakistan Ulema Council's decree, or *fatwa*, from April 25, which declared that Islamic law does not prohibit women from voting, would discourage this practice and facilitate increased voting by women in the elections. Religious parties, which in previous elections discouraged women from voting, have explicitly supported women casting ballots in the 2013 elections. Despite these positive developments, domestic observers and media reported that women were barred from voting on election day in multiple areas in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Punjab, and FATA. The ECP preliminarily reported that some 500 polling stations had zero women's turnout, and that women's turnout nationwide was around 44 percent.

Women Elected to General Seats			
Party	Name	Constituency	Province
PML-N	Sumaira Malik	NA-69 (Khushab-I)	Punjab
PML-N	Ghulam Bibi Bharwana	NA-88 (Jhan-Cum-Chiniot)	Punjab
PML-N	Saira Afzal Tarar	NA-102 (Hafizabad-I)	Punjab
PPPP	Faryal Talpur	NA-207 (Shikarpur-I)	Sindh
PPPP	Dr. Azra Fazal Pechuho	NA-213 (Nawabshah-I)	Sindh
PPPP	Dr. Fehmida Mirza	NA-225 (Badin-II)	Sindh
PML-N	Dr. Nadia Aziz	PP-34 (Sargodha-VII)	Punjab
PML-N	Iffat Maraj Awan	PP-53 (Faisalabad-III)	Punjab
PML-N	Rashida Yaqoob	PP-78 (Jhang-II)	Punjab
PML-N	Nazia Raheel	PP-88 (Toba Tek Singh-V)	Punjab
PML-N	Mohterma Riaz Amanat Ali Virk	PP-101 (Gujranwala-XI)	Punjab
PML-N	Hameeda Waheed ud Din	PP-116 (Mandi Bahauddin-I)	Punjab
PML-N	Sameena Noor	PP-185 (Okara-I)	Punjab
PML-N	Naghma Mushtaq	PP-206 (Multan-XIII)	Punjab
PPPP	Parveen Aziz Jonejo	PP-76 (Dadu-III)	Sindh
PPPP	Saniya Naz	PS-109 (Karachi-XXI)	Sindh
PML-N	Rahat Jamali	PB-26 (Jaffarabad-II)	Balochistan

Youth Participation

Although a census has not been conducted since 1998, it is estimated that approximately 60 percent of Pakistan's entire population is under the age of 35, and Pakistan's "youth bulge" is expected to continue increasing in size well into the foreseeable future. According to NADRA, 48 percent of those registered to vote are under the age of 35, vividly demonstrating the potential of youth to have an outsized impact on the 2013 elections.

Political parties and candidates actively sought to engage youth in their election campaigns and developed electoral appeals specifically targeted at young voters. Many parties engaged youth as campaign staff, volunteers, and polling agents. Some parties worked to recruit young candidates to contest the elections, though specific statistics on youth candidates are currently unavailable on the ECP website, as posted candidate application documents do not contain data on candidates' ages. At least 11 incoming Members of the National Assembly are 35 years old or younger.

Most parties included specific youth-focused policy prescriptions in their platforms, addressing the issues of unemployment, education, skills training, and youth civic forums, among others. In addition to more traditional campaign methods, parties and candidates also employed campaign tactics that sought to engage young voters, among others, including extensive use of social media and text messaging.

In addition to political parties, dozens of national and regional civil society groups implemented programs seeking to encourage youth participation in the election, including voter mobilization campaigns, election observation activities, and ECP-supported voter education campaigns for first-time voters. Representatives of political parties and youth-focused civic groups reported to NDI-ANFREL observers that opportunities for youth political participation were greater during the 2013 elections than at any time before in Pakistan's history.



Party campaign banners and posters in downtown Lahore.
(Photo by: Pipit Apriani and Pongsak Chan-On)

Participation of Minorities and Marginalized Groups

Pakistan is home to many religious, ethnic, and linguistic minorities and otherwise marginalized or under-represented groups. According to the most recent national census conducted in 1998, non-Muslim religious minorities, including Christians, Hindus, Buddhists, Sikhs, Zoroastrians (Parsis), and others, comprised nearly 4 percent of the population. According to NADRA and the ECP, non-Muslims represent approximately 3.2 percent of all registered voters. These figures also include Ahmadis, who have been categorized as non-Muslims by a Constitutional Amendment in 1974 despite viewing themselves as Muslims. There is no official census or voter registration data on other minority Muslim sects. Shia Muslims are the largest Muslim minority and constitute an estimated 20 percent of the population.

Although Pakistan has high levels of ethnic and linguistic diversity, there is similarly no official census data on the ethno-linguistic composition of the population, and ethnic groups are not treated as minorities. Large ethnic minority groups include Pashtuns (~15 percent), Sindhis (14 percent), Mohajirs (~8 percent), Seraikis (~8 percent), and Baloch (~4 percent). Other marginalized groups in Pakistan include persons with disabilities, who comprised some 2.5 percent of the population in the 1998 census, and the transgender community, for whom there is no official data but is estimated to number around 500,000.

The National and Provincial Assemblies include reserved seats for non-Muslims which are filled through party nominations in proportion to the number of general seats won by each party. Candidates for these reserved seats are nominated by parties during the initial candidate nomination process. In the 2013 elections, PML-N won six of the ten reserved seats in the National Assembly, while PPPP, PTI, MQM, and JUI-F won one seat each. The reserved seat holders include six Hindus, three Christians, and one Zoroastrian (Parsi). Despite the unfavorable

political environment for non-Muslims in general seats, multiple Christian political parties fielded candidates, though none were reported to have won any seats.

Pakistan's electoral system poses particular barriers to political participation to the Ahmadi community. Ahmadis are one of the largest religious minorities in Pakistan, with high estimates placing their numbers at four million. Ahmadis are listed on separate electoral rolls, defined as non-Muslims in the Constitution, and barred from openly practicing their faith owing to a host of anti-Ahmadi laws in Pakistan's penal code. The Ahmadi community has boycotted Pakistan's elections since 1985, when a separate electorate system was established for Muslims and non-Muslims. The 2002 reinstatement of a joint electorate system was amended by an Executive Order which placed Ahmadis on separate electoral rolls and established requirements for Muslim voter registrants to pledge that Muhammad is the last prophet, which is contrary to a central tenet of the Ahmadi faith. Most Ahmadis accordingly continued to boycott local, provincial, and national polls, including the 2013 general elections.

Despite these ongoing challenges, a number of positive developments have occurred since the 2008 elections. The outgoing government strengthened Pakistan's commitments to international standards for the protection of civil and political rights by ratifying the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the UN Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities (CRPD) during its tenure. The 18th Amendment to the Constitution, passed in 2010, created reserved seats for non-Muslims in the Senate. Members of Pakistan's transgender community were granted the right to vote and contest elections in 2013 under a "third gender" classification issued by the Supreme Court in 2011. NADRA also implemented targeted initiatives to facilitate CNIC registration among non-Muslims in order to increase their representation on the electoral rolls.

Observers

The May 11 elections were observed by a number of domestic and international observer groups. Among domestic observers, FAFEN, which serves as an umbrella organization for 42 civil society organizations, fielded nearly 42,000 observers, the largest number by a wide margin. Other domestic observation groups included the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP), the Pakistan Bar Council, the South Asia Free Media Association (SAFMA), the Special Talent Exchange Programme (STEP), and the Aurat Foundation, which was joined by Gender Concerns International. The ECP reported that 42,922 domestic observers were accredited for the 2013 elections. Most of the organizations which monitored the elections are signatories of the Declaration of Global Principles for Non-Partisan Election Observation and Monitoring by Citizen Organizations.

In addition to the NDI-ANFREL mission, international observers included the European Union (EU) as the



A poster display at FAFEN headquarters in Islamabad. (Photo by: Kathy Gest)

largest international observer group, and the Commonwealth, as well as observers from Australia, Hungary, Italy, Malaysia, the Maldives, Mauritius, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The ECP reported that 542 international observers were accredited for the 2013 elections.

Select Statements and Reports from Observers

European Union (EUEOM)

- [Preliminary Statement](#), May 13, 2013
- [Media Monitoring Results](#)
- [Final Report](#), July 10, 2013

Free and Fair Elections Network (FAFEN)

- [Key Findings and Recommendations](#), May 22, 2013

Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP)

- [Preliminary Report](#), May 12, 2013

Commonwealth

- [Interim Statement](#), May 13, 2013

Gender Election Monitoring Mission (GEM, comprised of observers from the Aurat Foundation and Gender Concerns International)

- [Preliminary Statement](#), May 13, 2013

Despite positive steps taken by the ECP to develop and publish a Code of Conduct for Observers and allow domestic and international observation to take place during the 2013 elections, election laws in Pakistan currently do not include provisions outlining the rights and responsibilities of observers. The lack of legal guarantees and clear procedures led to unequal access during the electoral process, delays in accreditation, and operational challenges for observation initiatives. Lack of clear accreditation procedures and the limitation of observer accreditation to election day itself added to the problems faced by the observers in the 2013 elections.

Media

Since liberalization in 2002, the Pakistani media market has boomed. There are presently close to 90 television channels and more than 160 radio stations operating in the country, and some 250 privately owned newspapers are published daily across Pakistan. Despite consistently being ranked as one of the most dangerous countries in the world for journalists to work, the journalist profession has swelled in Pakistan, with the number of journalists having grown tenfold since 2002, with as many as 20,000 journalists working in Pakistan in 2012. Most Pakistanis obtain information through broadcast media — while television dominates in the urban centers, radio is particularly popular in rural areas. Accordingly, the media landscape reflects the country's multi-linguistic, multi-ethnic, and socially stratified society.

The country's electronic media are regulated by two official bodies, the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (MIB) and the Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA), which are responsible for state-owned television and radio, and for private broadcasters, respectively. Print media are in turn governed by the 2002 Press, Newspapers, New Agencies, and Books Registration Ordinance and regulated by the Press Council of Pakistan (PCP). Working together with state institutions and several media organizations, the ECP issued a Code of Conduct for the Media in April 2013, which among others called for balanced coverage of the election campaign, with equal and equitable access for candidates, both in terms of editorial content and paid advertising. Although the Code stipulates that the ECP "will evolve suitable mechanism for the implementation of Media Code of Ethics," no efficient or transparent enforcement measures have been established, with PEMRA and PCP responding to complaints,

rather than proactively monitoring the media's performance during the pre-election period. Media representatives told NDI-ANFREL observers that they lacked confidence in the independence of the two bodies and their capacity to effectively process complaints. No official body monitored the media for compliance with campaign finance regulations.

Media monitoring organizations reported to NDI-ANFREL observers that electoral issues received a high level of media attention in the 2013 elections, but noted that paid advertising enjoyed significantly more airtime than editorial content, and pointed to a shortage of election-related content in Balochistan, FATA, and parts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. There is some disparity, however, in the monitors' assessment of media bias. The EUEOM concluded that while only a quarter of political parties participating in the elections received coverage, the primetime and news programming of public Pakistan Television (PTV) and Radio Pakistan (PBC) were relatively equitably allotted to the major political players. The Society for Alternative Media and Research, a domestic observer group, meanwhile asserted that "the allocation of broadcast media airtime was extremely selective," with PTI and PML-N enjoying unwarranted advantage. According to media monitors, domestic newspapers, which are privately owned, generally provided a more balanced coverage of elections and the contestants.

The threats and violence directed at the certain political parties restricted their ability to campaign freely in certain parts of the country, and thereby further augmented the role of media in informing voters. Militant groups also made threats and used violent means to intimidate journalists during the elections, as well as blackmailed several media outlets into broadcasting the groups' anti-election messages. Courts and PEMRA subsequently moved to fine broadcasters for airing illegal content. Several media representatives reported concerns to NDI-ANFREL observers that insufficient measures were taken by the government to protect media outlets and journalists against threats and targeted attacks by militants during the elections.

The ECP provided accreditation to 4,053 domestic and 275 international media representatives, which granted them access to polling stations on election day.

ANNEXES

ANNEX I

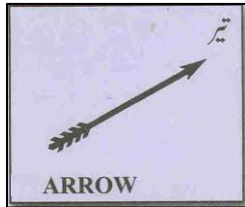
POLITICAL PARTIES IN PAKISTAN

The following section provides a brief overview of prominent political parties in Pakistan. Parties are listed in order of representation in the outgoing National Assembly. Two parties which did not hold seats in the outgoing National Assembly are also included due to their prominence in the 2013 elections: Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI) and Jamaat-e-Islami (JI). Official party flags and electoral symbols are provided for each political party. Party flags and symbols are strongly tied to party identity and voter recognition in Pakistan. ECP-approved electoral symbols are allotted to each party and are included on the ballot papers next to the names of candidates.

Political Party Names in Pakistan

A number of parties have very similar names or there may be more than one name to represent a single party. For instance, when referring to its members in the Senate and National Assembly the PPP goes by the name Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians (PPPP), a special wing created for the sole purpose of complying with a new political party law prior to the 2002 elections. There are several smaller factions that have broken away to form smaller parties with their leader's names often appended to "PPP," including most notably the former Sherpao faction, PPP-S (now the Qaumi Watan Party). Several parties claim to be the rightful successor to the original Pakistan Muslim League, a party led by Pakistan's founder, Muhammad Ali Jinnah (the Quaid-e-Azam or "Great Leader") that fought for and won independence in 1947. The PML appended "Quaid-e-Azam" to its name distinguishing itself from the PML-N, whose leader is Nawaz Sharif. PML and PML-Q are used interchangeably today and refer to the same party; for instance, in the Senate, the party is simply PML, yet in the National Assembly it is PML-Q. Finally, the Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal refers to an alliance of religious parties that contested the 2008 elections, including Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam—Fazl (JUI-F). JUI-F and other members are listed under this alliance in representation in the outgoing national and provincial assemblies.

Pakistan People's Party (PPP or PPPP)



The PPP was founded in 1967 by former President and Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in opposition to General Ayub Khan's military government. It is the largest party in Pakistan and led the most recent outgoing federal governing coalition. The PPP presents itself as a secular, center-left party. The PPP held a plurality in the Sindh provincial assembly and was a part of coalition governments in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

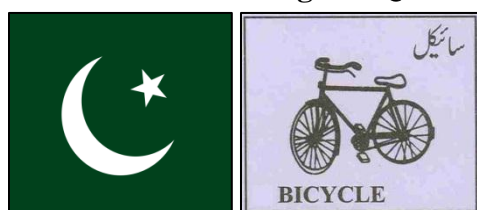
and Balochistan provincial assemblies. It served in the opposition in Punjab's provincial assembly. The PPP chairmanship is currently held by Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, son of former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. President Asif Ali Zardari was co-chairman of the party until late March 2013, when he resigned due to challenges over the legality of simultaneously holding public office and a party post. Although its center of gravity lies in the province of Sindh, the PPP also maintains support in the more densely populated province of Punjab, particularly in the southern region, as well as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Balochistan, Kashmir, and Gilgit-Baltistan. Senior leadership of PPP includes **Bilawal Bhutto Zardari** (Chairman), **Asif Ali Zardari** (Co-Chairman until March 2013), and **Sardar Muhammad Laif Khan Khosa** (Secretary General).

Pakistan Muslim League—Nawaz (PML-N)



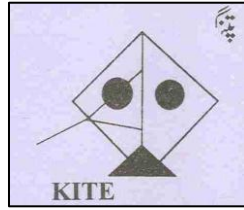
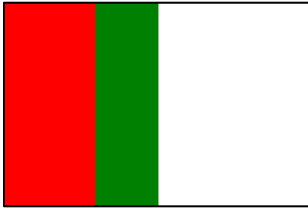
The PML-N was the leading opposition party in the most recent outgoing federal government. The PML-N is led by former two-time Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, who founded the party in 1992. PML-N presents itself as a center-right political party with a pro-business, conservative economic agenda accompanied by Islamic religious ideology. The party's base of support is centered in Punjab, particularly in its urban constituencies, with additional support in the eastern region of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province. The PML-N also maintains electoral bases of support in certain areas of Sindh, Balochistan, Azad Kashmir, and Gilgit-Baltistan. The PML-N is the only party in the history of Pakistan to have obtained a two-thirds majority in parliament, through elections in 1997. Senior leadership of PML-N includes **Nawaz Sharif** (President), **Mian Shahbaz Sharif** (Provincial President, Punjab), **Iqbal Zafar Jhagra** (Secretary General), and **Ahsan Iqbal** (Deputy General Secretary).

Pakistan Muslim League—Quaid-e-Azam (PML or PML-Q)



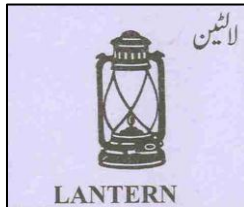
The PML-Q was established by former President Pervez Musharraf in 2001. PML-Q presents itself as a right-of-center party. Deemed the “king’s party” for its affiliation with Musharraf, it served as a counterweight to the opposition parties of PPP and PML-N, from whom the PML-Q co-opted its name. The party was originally composed of defectors from PPP and PML-N, with approximately two-thirds of PML-Q candidates in 2002 being former PPP or PML-N legislators. Today the party claims no affiliation with former President Musharraf and is led by Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain. The PML-Q enjoyed electoral support in all four provinces in 2002 elections. In the 2008 elections, PML-Q lost some of its share of the electorate except in some areas of Punjab and Balochistan. The PML-Q served in the PPP-led ruling coalition in the outgoing federal government. Senior leadership of PML-Q includes **Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain** (President), **Mushahid Hussain Syed** (Secretary General), and **Chaudhry Pervaiz Elahi** (Provincial President of Punjab).

Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM)



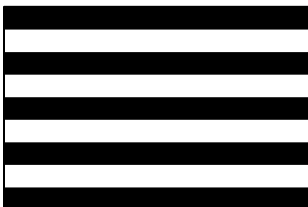
The MQM was originally formed as a student organization in the late 1970s. The party was created to represent the interests of the Mohajir community, Urdu-speaking Muslims who migrated from India during partition, a demographic that continues to form the bulk of the party's support. The MQM presents itself as a secular party. The MQM's base is concentrated in urban areas of Sindh, particularly among the Urdu-speaking population in Karachi and Hyderabad. The party is led by deputy convener and party spokesperson Farooq Sattar in Pakistan, while its core leader, Altaf Hussain, remains in self-imposed exile in London. MQM was a member of the federal government coalition for most of the outgoing government's five-year tenure. Senior leadership of MQM includes **Altaf Hussain** (President) and **Muhammad Farooq Sattar** (Deputy Convener).

Awami National Party (ANP)



The ANP is based in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and draws most of its support from ethnic Pashtuns in the province; it also retains pockets of support in Pashtun-inhabited areas in Balochistan and Karachi. The party was founded by the family of current party president Asfandiyar Wali Khan in 1986. The ANP presents itself as a secular, left-of-center party. In the 2008 elections, the ANP defeated the conservative Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA) coalition in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and was able to elect the first ANP Chief Minister in the province since 1948. The party operated in coalition with the Pakistan People's Party at both the provincial and national level during the outgoing government's five-year tenure. Senior leadership of ANP includes **Asfandiyar Wali Khan** (President), **Haji Adeel** (Senior Vice President), **Afrisiab Khattak** (Provincial Party President, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), **Bushra Gohar** (Senior Vice President), and **Arbab Tahir** (General Secretary).

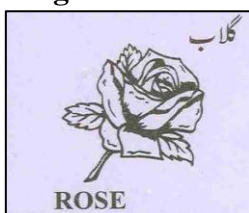
Jamiat Ulema-i-Islami—Fazl (JUI-F)



JUI-F's predecessor, the Jamiat Ulema-i-Islami (JUI) was established in 1927 in opposition to the British colonial regime. JUI later splintered and in 1980 it became JUI-F when the leadership was taken over by Maulana Fazl-ur-Rehman, son of Maulana Mufti Mahmud, an Islamic scholar and activist who fought in the Indian independence movement and was an initial opponent of the creation of Pakistan. JUI-F continues to employ anti-imperialist appeals to motivate its main bases of support in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan. JUI-F appeals to conservative and religious voters and has been known to advocate for the establishment of Islamic Sharia law in Pakistan, and maintains an extensive network of

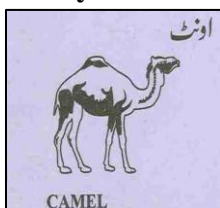
madrassas and mosques in its constituent bases. JUI-F won only a small number of seats in the 2008 elections under the Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA) coalition of religious parties of which it was a member. JUI-F was also a major opposition party in the outgoing Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Assembly and held the opposition leader's seat. Senior leadership of JUI-F includes **Maulana Fazl-ur-Rehman**, (President), **Maulana Abdul Ghafoor Haidery** (Secretary General), and **Maulana Atta Ur Rehman** (Vice President, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa).

Pakistan Muslim League—Functional (PML-F)



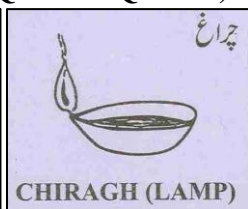
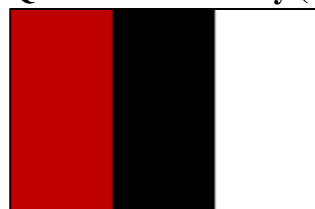
The PML-F is one of several factions of the original Pakistan Muslim League and is primarily associated with the late Sindhi spiritual leader Pir Pagara. PML-F was formed in 1985 when the General Zia-led military government decided to create a united Muslim League to support the military government. PML-F strongholds are concentrated within the Hur community in Sindh and the southeastern districts of Punjab. Widely viewed as a surprising move given historical disputes between Pir Pagara and the Bhutto family, the PML-F joined the PPP-led coalition government in Sindh following the 2008 elections. Senior leadership of PML-F includes **Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah Rashidi** (President, Pir Pagara the Eighth) and **Kasif Khan Nizamani** (Chief Organizer).

Balochistan National Party—Awami (BNP-A)



The BNP-A is a breakaway faction of the Balochistan National Party (BNP). Founded in 1998, BNP-A is led by Senator Mir Israr Ullah Khan Zehri. The BNP-A advocates for the rights of the Baloch people and for increased provincial autonomy in Balochistan. BNP-A was a coalition partner of the pro-Musharraf PML-Q political party in the federal and Balochistan governments from 2002 to 2007. The party was also a member of the outgoing federal government coalition led by the Pakistan People's Party (PPP). Senior leadership of BNP-A includes **Nawabzada Mir Israr Ullah Khan Zehri** (President) and **Mir Asad Baloch** (General Secretary).

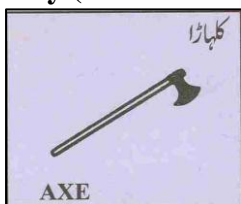
Qaumi Watan Party (QWP or QWP-S)



The QWP, formerly known as Pakistan People's Party—Sherpao (PPP-S), split from the Pakistan People's Party led by Benazir Bhutto immediately prior to the 2002 general elections. QWP espouses an ideology based on social democracy and provincial autonomy, promotes Pashtun nationalism, and supports FATA political reforms. The QWP's main support base is in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, including the home

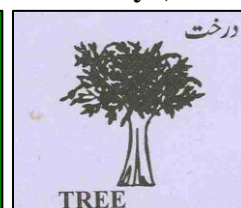
constituency of its leader Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao in Charsadda District. The party has recently revamped its image and launched a renewed effort to attract support from Pashtun voters and compete with larger parties who have similar constituencies, particularly the ANP. Senior leadership of QWP includes **Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao** (Chairman), **Anisa Zeb Tahirkheli** (Secretary General), and **Sikandar Hayat Sherpao** (President, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa).

Balochistan National Party (BNP or BNP-M)



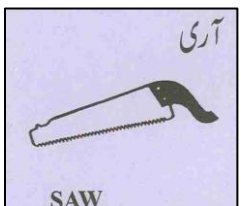
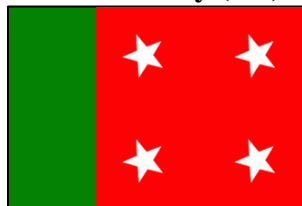
The BNP was founded by Sardar Attaullah Mengal in 1996 after he returned from exile in England. Mengal had been the first chief minister of Balochistan (as part of the National Awami Party, or NAP) in 1972, but was removed from power and imprisoned based on allegations that Mengal's government wanted Balochistan to secede from Pakistan. The BNP advocates for self-determination and control of natural resources in Balochistan, the party's primary support base. Attaullah's son Sardar Akhtar Mengal, chief minister of Balochistan under Nawaz Sharif's second term as Prime Minister, was arrested in 2006 and released in 2008. The BNP boycotted the 2008 general elections. Mengal returned to Pakistan in March 2013 after a self-imposed four-year exile and announced that the BNP would contest the elections. Senior leadership of BNP includes **Sardar Akhtar Mengal** (President).

Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (PkMAP)



The PkMAP was founded in 1986 as the Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Ittehad party. The PkMAP supports a strong Pashtun nationalist platform and counts the Pashtun population of Balochistan as its main support base, though it retains a marginal presence in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The PkMAP presents itself as a left-leaning, secular, and democratic party. PkMAP boycotted the 2008 elections and accordingly was not represented in the outgoing National or Provincial Assemblies. Senior leadership of PkMAP includes **Mehmood Khan Achakzai** (Chairman), **Abdul Raheem Mandokhail** (Senior Deputy Chairman), **Mukhtar Khan Yousafzai** (Deputy Chairman), and **Akram Shah Khan** (Secretary General).

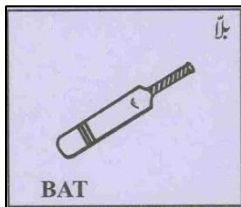
National Party (NP)



The NP was founded in 2003 after a merger between two Baloch nationalist parties is the most widely recognized political party advocating for the Baloch people and provincial autonomy. The NP presents itself as a left-leaning, secular party. NP membership primarily includes middle class Baloch nationalists and its leadership is dominated by former

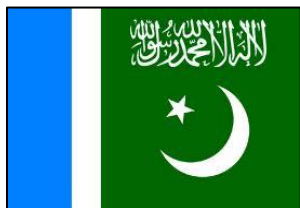
student activists from the Baloch Student Organization. NP boycotted the 2008 elections along with Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) and other member parties of the All Parties Democratic Movement (APDM). As a result, NP was not represented in the outgoing National Assembly. Senior leadership of NP includes **Dr. Abdul Malik Baloch** (President), **Mir Hasil Khan Bizenjo** (Senior Vice President), **Dr. Ishaque Baloch** (Vice President), and **Mir Tahir Bizenjo** (Secretary General).

Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI)



Founded by former Pakistani cricket star and philanthropist Imran Khan in 1996, PTI has risen to prominence on Pakistan's political stage, in part due to massive rallies held by Khan in the cities of Lahore and Karachi in late 2011. PTI presents itself as a centrist, progressive political party. Although the PTI had never won more than a single seat in the National Assembly, the party saw a surge in growth in 2012 and 2013. PTI is known for its popularity among young urban voters the 2013 general elections represented the first real test of the party's electability. Senior leadership of PTI includes **Imran Khan** (Chairman), **Shah Mehmood Qureshi** (Vice Chairman), and **Javed Hashmi** (President).

Jamaat-e-Islami (JI)



JI was founded in pre-partition British India 1941 by Syed Abul Ala Maududi, a prominent Muslim theologian and advocate of political Islam. Currently JI is among the prominent Islamic parties in Pakistan. JI boycotted the 2008 elections, citing concerns that the polls would not be fair and transparent under Musharraf's rule. JI contested the 2002 elections under the Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA) alliance, a group of several religious parties that won 59 general seats in the National Assembly. JI presents itself as a socially conservative and Islamic political party that aims to establish Islamic Sharia law throughout Pakistan. The party's primary base of support is in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and it also maintains a following in Karachi and certain parts of Punjab province. Senior leadership of JI includes **Syed Munawar Hassan** (President), **Prof. Ghafoor Ahmad** (Vice President), **Siraj-ul-Haq** (Vice President), **Liaqat Baloch** (General Secretary) and **Prof. Muhammad Ibrahim** (President, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa).

Other Parties and Alliances

In addition to the parties described above, there are a number of additional parties and offshoots that are generally too small to have a sizeable impact at the national level. Many, however, have an influence at the provincial or local level, including the Awami Muslim League Pakistan (AMLP), Awami Jamhuri Ittehad Pakistan (AJIP), Bahawalpur National Awami Party (BNAP),

Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP), Jamhoori Wattan Party (JWP), Jamote Qaumi Movement (JQM), Labor Party Pakistan (LPP), Majlis-e-Wahdat-e-Muslimeen Pakistan (MWMP), Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP), Pakistan Muslim League—Zia-ul-Haq Shaheed (PML-Z), Pakistan National Muslim League (PNML), and Sindh National Front (SNF).

The conservative Defense of Pakistan Council (DPC), a coalition of several political parties and religious groups, emerged in the aftermath of the May 2011 raid on Osama bin Laden's compound in Abbottabad and a November 2011 cross-border attack in which a joint U.S.-Afghan force killed 24 Pakistani soldiers.

Tahir-ul-Qadri's Pakistan Awami Tehreek (PAT) party also attained greater visibility after his return to Pakistan and 2013 protest in Islamabad, but, in light of Qadri's unsuccessful demands for various reforms and concessions, the party announced that it would boycott the 2013 polls.

The March 2013 return of former president Pervez Musharraf to Pakistan fueled speculation of a possible revival of the former president's All Pakistan Muslim League (APML) party, but Musharraf's candidacy was rejected in all constituencies for which he applied to contest.

ANNEX II



FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

December 21, 2012

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NDI DELEGATION FINDS BOTH CAUTIOUS OPTIMISM AND SERIOUS CHALLENGES FOR 2013 PAKISTAN ELECTIONS

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan – Noting the importance of Pakistan’s 2013 elections to the direction the country will take in the years ahead, an assessment mission by the National Democratic Institute (NDI) found cautious optimism among Pakistanis that progress toward democratic governance will continue. But the delegation also cited serious challenges that, if unaddressed, “could derail the reform momentum and impact the integrity of the elections.”

The NDI mission visited Pakistan from Dec. 16 to 21 and reviewed the political environment and framework for elections for the national and provincial assemblies, which are expected to take place between March and May of next year. The group met with election authorities and government officials, political party leaders, media representatives, civil society and citizen monitoring groups, and international organizations. It released a report on its findings at a news conference here today.

Members of the delegation were the Rt. Hon. Joe Clark, former prime minister of Canada; Xenia Dormandy, senior fellow at Chatham House and former director for South Asia at the U.S. National Security Council; Siti Nursanita Nasution, former member of the Indonesian House of Representatives; and Peter Manikas, NDI director of Asia programs.

“The 2013 elections present an opportunity for Pakistan to continue its reform momentum and advance its democratic transition,” the delegation said, pointing out that the polls could mark the first time in Pakistan’s history that elected civilian government transferred power through a democratic process.

Positive developments cited by the delegation included the adoption of constitutional amendments that have strengthened the institutional role of parliament and increased the independence and transparency of the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP), and “rarely seen” cooperation among political parties on the adoption of electoral rules and measures to bring the Federally Administered Tribal Areas into the mainstream of political life.

“As one political activist told this delegation, ‘this is the first time there is hope about an election in Pakistan,’” the report said.

But the delegation also cited a number of serious challenges, including increasing political violence that threatens to prevent some political parties from openly campaigning in parts of the country; the low level of participation by women who are “considerably underrepresented on the national electoral rolls”; questions about the impartiality of local ECP staff; potential problems with the voters’ list; and lengthy delays in resolving electoral disputes that raise concerns about the fairness of the elections.

“It is imperative that the new government has the legitimacy that comes from being elected through a credible election process,” the mission said.

The delegation also mentioned the nation’s “unprecedented youth bulge.” Nearly half of the 85 million registered voters to date are under 35 and a significant percentage will be voting for the first time. “This youthful cohort presents a challenge to government, political parties and civil society because the continuation of democratic development will depend, in large part, on their inclusion in the political process,” the delegation said.

At the conclusion of its report, the delegation offered a number of recommendations. They included:

- Carrying out robust voter education in multiple languages using various media;
- Greater accessibility to the voters list;
- Publicizing security plans and training members of the armed forces on the roles and responsibilities in the electoral process;
- Protecting the right of women to vote;
- Measures to ensure election monitoring;
- Enforcement of electoral regulations and codes of conduct;
- Review of the regulations concerning transport of voters to the polls;
- Using social media to broaden voter engagement;
- Measures to improve the timing and transparency of the electoral complaints process;
- Monitoring adherence to codes of conduct;
- Adjusting locations and improving accessibility to polling stations;
- Improving civic awareness through the airing of public service issues and voter education on radio stations in local languages; and
- Support for timely legislative action to address electoral reforms.

The National Democratic Institute is a nonprofit, nonpartisan nongovernmental organization working to support and strengthen democratic institutions worldwide through citizen participation, openness and accountability in government. More information is available at www.ndi.org.

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ANNEX III

STATEMENT OF THE NDI PRE-ELECTION DELEGATION TO PAKISTAN

Islamabad, December 21, 2012

This statement is offered by an international delegation organized by the National Democratic Institute (NDI) that visited Pakistan from December 16 to 21, 2012. The delegation reviewed the political environment and the framework for the upcoming elections for the national and provincial assemblies. At the time of this mission, the election date had yet to be announced. As the delegation learned, many political observers in Pakistan anticipate that the elections would be held between March and May 2013.

The delegation included Rt. Hon. Joe Clark (Canada), former prime minister of Canada; Xenia Dormandy (United States), Senior Fellow at Chatham House and former Director for South Asia at the U.S. National Security Council; Siti Nursanita Nasution (Indonesia), former member of parliament of the House of Representatives of Indonesia; and Peter Manikas (United States), NDI Director of Asia Programs. Sandra Houston, NDI's Country Director for Pakistan, served as an advisor to the delegation. The delegation was assisted by Raissa Tatad-Hazell, NDI Washington DC-based Director for Afghanistan and Pakistan Programs; Jumaina Siddiqui, NDI Washington DC-based Senior Program Officer for Pakistan; Sehrish Naseem, NDI Pakistan Program Officer; and Faisal Sultan, NDI Pakistan Operations consultant.

The multinational delegation met with Pakistan's election authorities and government officials, political party leaders, media representatives, civil society and citizen monitoring groups, and international organizations. The delegation offers its findings and observations based on the Declaration of Principles for International Election Observation and in the spirit of international cooperation. The delegation recognizes that it is the people of Pakistan who will ultimately determine the legitimacy of the upcoming elections.

The delegation would like to express its appreciation to everyone with whom it met. Without their taking time and sharing their knowledge and insights, the delegation would not have been able to accomplish its mission. NDI has been observing elections in Pakistan since 1988 and conducts ongoing programs in the country. It appreciates the cooperation it consistently receives from government, political parties and civil society organizations.

OVERVIEW

The 2013 national elections present a unique opportunity for Pakistan to continue its reform momentum and advance its democratic transition. The elections are poised to be the first since 1977 to see a democratically elected government complete a full term. They also could mark the first time in the nation's history that an elected civilian government transferred power through a democratic process.

There are other positive developments, as well. The adoption of the 18th, 19th and 20th amendments to the Constitution have strengthened the institutional role of parliament, established a consultative framework for selecting the Chief Election Commissioner and Caretaker Prime Minister and increased the independence and transparency of the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP). In addition, political parties have been cooperating with one another in a manner rarely seen. They have reached agreement on selecting the Chief Election Commissioner and engaged in consultation with the election commission on the adoption of electoral rules. The major political parties also collaborated on measures to bring the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) into the mainstream of the nation's political life. A step in that direction was taken when the president signed an executive order extending the political parties act to the tribal areas.

Together, these reforms have brought about a cautious optimism among many political actors that progress toward democratic governance will continue. As one political activist told this delegation, for many Pakistanis, "this is the first time there is hope about an election in Pakistan."

Serious challenges, however, remain and if unaddressed, could derail the reform momentum and impact the integrity of the elections. Political violence has increased and threatens to prevent some political parties from openly campaigning in parts of the country. The low level of women's participation remains a critical issue. As recently as the by-elections held earlier this year, women in many parts of the country have been denied the right to vote, sometimes as a result of collusion between local political leaders and electoral officials, and they remain considerably underrepresented on the national electoral rolls. Furthermore, questions about the impartiality of local ECP staff, potential problems with the voters' list, and lengthy delays in resolving electoral disputes could raise concerns about the fairness of the elections.

A defining characteristic of the upcoming elections is that they will be held while the nation experiences an unprecedented youth bulge. As nearly half of the 85 million voters registered to date are under the age of 35, a significant percentage of the electorate is composed of persons who would be voting for the first time. This youthful cohort presents a challenge to government, political parties and civil society because the continuation of democratic development will depend, in large part, on their inclusion in the political process.

The upcoming elections will determine the direction of the country in the years ahead. It is imperative that the new government has the legitimacy that comes from being elected through a credible election process. The delegation hopes that its recommendations and the efforts of the broader international community will help Pakistan accomplish that goal.

OBSERVATIONS AND FINDINGS

Election Commission of Pakistan

The Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) is an independent agency of the federal government responsible for overseeing elections to the National Assembly and provincial assemblies. The

Commission is composed of four judges – one each from the High Courts of the country’s four provinces – and the Chief Election Commissioner who serves as chairman.

The 18th Amendment to the Constitution, passed in 2010, relieved the president of the power to unilaterally dissolve parliament and appoint the members of the ECP. With the aim of increasing public trust in the electoral process, the amendment provides that ECP commissioners be appointed at the recommendation of a parliamentary committee made up of members from the government and the opposition. The 19th Amendment, while focusing mainly on judicial appointments, also amends the Constitution to increase the number of members of the Parliamentary Committee tasked with selecting a new Chief Election Commission from eight to 12 members. The 20th Amendment to the Constitution, passed in February 2012, provides for the establishment of an independent election commission, the appointment of an impartial Chief Election Commissioner and the installation of five-year terms for all commission members. The ECP is legally and financially autonomous from the rest of the government and is bound by law to not act at the direction of either the president or parliament.

Since the last general election, the ECP held a series of consultative sessions with representatives of civil society, media, and political parties that culminated in the development of a five-year 2010-2014 Strategic Plan – the first of its kind – to address pressing electoral reform objectives. The Plan included 15 goals, further subdivided into 129 objectives, each with a timeline for completion. As 2012 marks the mid-point of the strategic plan, some of these goals have been met while others require legislative action and monitoring of implementation by the parliament.

The appointment of Justice Fakhruddin Ibrahim as Chief Election Commissioner in July 2012 was the result of a unanimous agreement between the government and opposition. All the parties and civil society groups with which the delegation met expressed a high degree of confidence that the Chief Election Commissioner would act impartially and seek to conduct an electoral process that is fair to all contestants.

The ECP is invested with sweeping powers to mobilize the resources of every branch of government as well as the armed forces for the planning and conduct of the elections. As directed by the Supreme Court of Pakistan in Constitutional Petition No. 87 of 2011 (order dated June 8, 2012), polling stations should not be “at a distance of more than two kilometers from the place of residence of voters”. Currently, the ECP plans to prepare for the operations of 80,000 polling stations and train more than 630,000 election personnel for the 2013 polls.

Federal, provincial and local government employees are seconded to serve as temporary staff during elections. Civic and political groups expressed concern that having temporary staff assigned to work in their home districts could make them vulnerable to political forces in their respective areas. To address this concern, the ECP is considering randomizing the appointments of electoral staff, a measure conducted in other countries to address the same issue. In addition, the ECP would only inform key electoral staff of the location of their assignment just before election day.

In November 2012, the National Judicial Policy Making Committee (NJPMC) agreed to allow judicial officers to serve as election officials (ECP returning officers and district returning officers) in the upcoming general elections. Previously, these positions were filled by civil servants. The

ECP has requested the parliament to grant it the authority to fill the positions of returning officers from the ranks of the judiciary. The leadership of political leaders in FATA have welcomed this decision, believing that judicial officers would be more impartial than civil servants. Because there are no judicial officers in FATA, they have asked that officers from adjacent districts be assigned to FATA to serve in these roles. However, some civil society organizations are opposed to this decision by the ECP, arguing that judicial officers may not be responsive to the instructions of the election commission.

The ECP has proposed several changes to the codes of conduct being developed for this election cycle. Consultations have been held with various stakeholders, including civil society, political parties and parliamentary committees, on the enforceability of these codes. Previous elections had not involved meaningful consultations.

Existing laws restrict parties from undertaking practices such as transporting voters to the polls and impose campaign expenditure limits that were set in the 1970s. Currently, caps are set at 1 million rupees (approximately USD \$10,000) for provincial assembly candidates and 1.5 million rupees (approximately USD\$15,000) for National Assembly candidates. In October 2012, the ECP proposed legislation to increase these limits, stating that unreasonable caps may lead several candidates to submit false statements about their respective campaign finances. In meetings with the delegation, some parties expressed the view that the current caps were adequate while others mentioned that the limits were insufficient to conduct effective campaigns that cover broad and remote areas.

The ECP has undertaken numerous and important reform initiatives, and has committed itself to enforcing electoral regulations. The Commission's ongoing efforts reflect its expressed commitment to conduct a fair election. This is a welcome development, as previous electoral cycles involved election authorities who were seen as unwilling to undertake reforms and enforce regulations.

Voter Registration

The ECP's responsibilities including assembling and displaying a list of registered voters prior to an election. The Commission has released Pakistan's most up-to-date electronic electoral rolls ever produced, based on the ECP's collaboration with the National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA). This is a key improvement from the last general election in 2008, when millions of dollars were spent in the construction of a voters list that omitted tens of millions of eligible voters.

Voter registration is ongoing and will close upon the announcement of an election date. Eligible voters are able to check their registration status by SMS at a nominal cost. To date, of the 85 million voters on the list, approximately 12 million have checked their registration status via SMS. NADRA continues to work with the ECP to ensure all citizens in possession of a Computerized National Identity Card (CNIC) are included and properly documented on the voter list.

While electoral stakeholders consider the electoral rolls to be the most accurate to date, political parties and civil society groups have raised issues – such as inaccurate addresses at which voters are registered, a lack of clarity on procedures for making corrections to the voters list, and

difficulties in implementing these procedures – which could lead to voter disenfranchisement. NADRA has estimated that approximately 10 percent of eligible voters have a different address from their ancestral or ‘permanent’ address; in the event that a current address could not be verified, a voter’s ancestral address was entered by default into the voters list. This has resulted in several inaccuracies.

In connection to an October 2011 case on the law and order situation in Karachi, the Supreme Court called for delimitation of constituencies within Karachi. Specifically the judgment notes that the “boundaries of administrative units like police stations, revenue estates, etc., ought to be altered so that the members of different communities may live together in peace and harmony, instead of allowing various groups to claim that particular areas belong to them and declaring certain areas as ‘no go’ areas under their fearful influence.” In its December 5, 2012 judgment on the voter rolls, the Supreme Court directed the ECP “to carry out proper and complete door-to-door re-verification in Karachi so as to ensure that no voter is disenfranchised or dislocated and all other discrepancies are rectified as early as possible.”

According to the Delimitation of Constituencies Act of 1974, electoral constituencies for the National and Provincial Assemblies are to be delimited after every census. However, the last census took place in 1998, and the last delimitation was conducted in 2002. As instructed by the Court, the ECP is moving forward with the door-to-door verification of voters and subsequent delimitation of constituencies in Karachi. The assistance of the Army and Frontier Corps has been enlisted to provide security during this process which the ECP plans to complete in 65 days. Political parties and civic groups question whether the re-verification and delimitation processes can be completed in that timeframe.

The issue of re-drafting constituency boundaries in Karachi is a sensitive one because of its implications for the city’s ethnic groups and the political parties that represent them. Violent clashes between the *mohajirs* (descendants of people who immigrated from what is now India during the 1947 Partition) who are largely represented by Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM) and the growing Pashtun population represented largely by Awami National Party (ANP) have long been part of the city’s landscape. Redrawing the constituency boundaries could advantage one party at the expense of the other and can alter the balance of political power within the city.

Security and Political Violence

The level of political violence in Pakistan is greater than ever before and continues to escalate. The nation has long contained pockets of violence which, during election periods, were considered “no go” areas for some political parties because of the threat of violence and intimidation. Today, large portions of the country are considered too unsafe for open political activity. While incidents of political violence have affected the entire country, they have been particularly pronounced in Balochistan, FATA and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK).

Despite the recent reforms in FATA, the threat of extremist violence is pervasive. While political parties can now contest for seats in the National Assembly in the tribal areas, secular political parties cannot openly campaign. This also is true in large parts of KPK. Secular parties have curtailed many of their political activities and no longer hold outdoor rallies and processions.

Instead they are holding small meetings and travelling door to door to meet with their supporters. They are also using FM radio to broadcast their political messages into the region. In both FATA and KPK, this has led to a severe imbalance in the electoral playing field since political parties tolerated by militants can freely conduct their political activities.

Balochistan has experienced a simmering insurrection since the nation's founding in 1947. Separatist violence, however, has substantially increased in recent years as the province has struggled to gain a greater share of the revenue derived from its natural resources, such as copper, iron and natural gas. Pakistan's military has conducted operations in the province for the past several years, viewing the insurrection there as a threat to the country's territorial integrity. The United Nations' Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights (OHCHR) Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, reports that the number of persons who have disappeared in connection with the conflict could be in the thousands. As the elections approach, however, nationalist political party leaders who seek greater autonomy rather than independence have been the target of violence directed against their candidates and party workers. Political and sectarian violence has also flared among the Taliban, nationalists, major secular parties and others which compete for political power within the province. A provincial political leader told the delegation that severe security problems affected 20 of the province's 30 districts.

Electoral Complaints

Under Pakistan's election law, electoral tribunals are established by the ECP and tasked with addressing petitions related to electoral complaints within four months. In previous elections, this process experienced significant delays. In some cases, complaints filed at the end of one election remain unresolved into the next election. There are many underlying causes for such delays, including complications within the complaints process and the immense workload of the judges selected to sit on electoral tribunals. To remedy this, the ECP is establishing 14 new election tribunals, each with a term of one year with the possibility of extending another year.

The ECP has also recently pressed the government to grant the commission the authority to transfer or suspend officers whose performance is in question. Civil society organizations have suggested that the tracking system for electoral complaints needs to be made public, accessible particularly at the district and provincial level, to promote transparency and enable citizens to be informed of how many complaints have been filed as well as the progress of each case.

Caretaker Government

The 20th Amendment of the Constitution of Pakistan, signed into law in February 2012, calls for the establishment of a neutral, caretaker government in the lead up to national elections. Prior to this amendment, the Constitution provided that the appointment of the caretaker government would be made by the President and concerned Governors in consultation with the Prime Minister, Chief Ministers and Leaders of the Opposition in the outgoing National and Provincial Assemblies. 'Consultation' was not defined.

The 20th Amendment eliminates this ambiguity. It states that if the outgoing Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition do not agree on a candidate for the post of Caretaker Prime Minister within three days of the dissolution of the National Assembly, each will provide two

names to a Parliamentary Committee that will be established by the Speaker of the National Assembly. The Committee will have three days to decide on a Caretaker Prime Minister. If the Committee is unable to decide within that period, the proposed candidates will then be referred to the ECP which will make the final decision within two days of receiving the candidates' names. A parallel process at the provincial level would be employed to determine the Caretaker Chief Ministers.

Unusual factors could affect the selection and the neutrality of the caretaker government in Balochistan and KPK. In Balochistan, all of the parliamentary parties are represented in the provincial government. As there is no party-based official opposition, this could lead to hollow consultations on the selection of a caretaker. In KPK, where the issue of security is paramount, there is concern that a caretaker government could dilute security arrangements currently in place in the province.

Engagement of the Youth

Approximately 60 percent of Pakistan's entire population is under the age of 35. Although two thirds of Pakistanis still live in rural areas, urbanization is increasing rapidly. More than 60 million people are expected to be added to the population in the next 15 years. By conservative estimates, the population is expected to rise to 335 million by 2050.

Opportunities for youth to participate in politics have been limited, alienating or marginalizing a base of support that is essential to the long term viability of parties and the democratic system in Pakistan. It is estimated that 47 percent of the 85 million on the voter rolls are between the ages of 18 and 35, with 19 percent between ages of 18 and 24. The ability of parties to capitalize on the hopes and frustrations of young people, and gain their votes in the 2013 elections, will be an important test of their continued legitimacy and influence.

The 2013 electoral process is an opportunity for young Pakistanis to influence the direction of the country in a positive way. It provides them with a path to channel their political energy and initiate long-term support for the country's democratic process. All stakeholders have identified the need to engage young people in the electoral process; however, despite much rhetoric, it is not clear whether there are sufficient plans in place from the ECP, civil society groups, the media and many political parties to draw this substantial demographic into the process.

Protecting the Rights of Women to Vote

As in previous elections, concerns about the right of women to vote have been raised by civil society groups and political parties. Particularly in areas of high security risk such as Balochistan, FATA, KPK and some areas of Karachi, women have not had the opportunity to cast their vote without fear or intimidation. The country's political and electoral observers have reported that, of the 85 million registered voters to date, only 37 million are women. In light of the near equal gender balance within the population, it is estimated that approximately 10 million women who are eligible to vote have not been registered. There also are concerns about whether polling stations for women would be available in keeping with the 'two kilometer provision', be sufficiently staffed, and have measures in place to ensure the secrecy of their ballot. Several civil society organizations working to promote women's political participation and electoral

accountability have recommended that electoral results should not be included and that by-elections should not be conducted in constituencies where women were prevented from voting.

Although FATA residents were granted the right to vote in 1997, thousands of women in FATA have since been denied access to voter registration, harassed for standing as candidates, threatened with violence for going to the polls, and been forbidden by local leaders from exercising their right to vote. While Pakistan's 342-member National Assembly has 60 seats reserved for female representatives, none of these have been allocated for FATA.

The ECP should exercise the authority to take punitive action on persons who prevent women from exercising their right to vote. The Commission has asked the parliament for the authority to cancel the elections when collusive agreements between political leaders have prevented women from voting. The ECP also asked the parliament for the authority to nullify elections in polling areas where less than 10 percent of registered women have voted.

Election Monitoring

Pakistani civil society organizations (CSOs) are increasingly visible in the political arena and have emerged as a significant participant in the electoral process in the run-up to the 2013 elections. Several groups are working on various issues including election monitoring, electoral transparency, voter awareness, and the participation of women, youth and minority groups in the election process. Many CSOs are working in collaboration with one another and international organizations to convey concerns to relevant government bodies including the ECP, political parties and parliamentary committees formed to address electoral issues.

The Free and Fair Election Network (FAFEN), a network of 42 civil society organizations, will be deploying approximately 43,000 non-partisan election monitors across the country. This mobilization target is more than double the number of monitors that FAFEN deployed for the 2008 polls. Given the size of the planned operation, FAFEN is engaging the ECP on preparations to accredit their monitors and to ensure access to polling stations on election day. Similar to the priorities raised by political parties, FAFEN has asked the ECP to improve the capacity of election officers and monitoring teams, and reiterate the role of domestic and international monitors in the electoral process.

The European Union and the National Democratic Institute, in collaboration with the Asian Network for Free Elections, are developing plans to mobilize international observers for the upcoming elections. The groups plan to carry out observation missions in keeping with the Declaration of Principles for International Election Observation. The delegation strongly encourages international observers to coordinate their efforts with domestic election monitors.

Media

Pakistan experienced a renaissance in independent media beginning in 2002, when President Musharraf reformed broadcast laws and liberalized media licensing. Since then, electronic and print media has grown dramatically – in 2002, Pakistan had only one state-run news channel, whereas today there are approximately 90 privately owned stations. By some estimates, the number of Pakistani journalists has grown from 2,000 to 20,000, and independent radio has also

flourished. The media has become a major actor on the national stage, playing an integral role in its coverage of national politics.

Despite the tremendous growth in independent news media and its role in strengthening democracy and promoting civic activism, significant challenges remain. In a December 2012 report issued by Reporters without Borders, Pakistan is the third most dangerous country in the world for journalists, with 10 killed so far this year. In particular, journalists are targeted for coverage of sensitive issues of politics, corruption, and security that implicate powerful actors.

The Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) has mandated that all licensed media outlets must adhere to the ECP's Code of Conduct for Media and ensure that at least five percent of airtime is allotted for public interest broadcasts. The delegation urges that this rule is followed.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The delegation offers the following recommendations in the spirit of international cooperation and with the hope that they will be helpful in promoting inclusive, transparent and credible elections.

Voter Education. To increase voter engagement, robust voter education is needed in multiple languages. Voter education should involve the use of various media – including social media – to reach rural voters, and should incorporate tailored approaches to communicate with young voters and women.

Greater Accessibility to the Voters List. Efforts should be increased to enable citizens and political parties to access the voters list. The list should be made available in a format that allows stakeholders such as political parties and civil society groups to verify information readily. To broaden the utility of the ECP's website, information on the site should be available in Urdu as well as English.

Electoral Security and the Role of the Armed Forces. Members of the armed forces who will be providing security for the electoral process should receive specific training on their roles and responsibilities. The ECP should publicize security plans for each district of the country. Security plans for Balochistan, FATA, KPK and Karachi are especially important and should be given priority. Voter education campaigns should include clear descriptions of the roles and responsibilities of the armed forces in the electoral process as well as the security plans for areas of high security risk.

Protection of the Right of Women to Vote. The ECP should consider canceling and re-conducting elections in areas where it is found that there is an agreement to prevent women from voting. The ECP should impose penalties for offenses that involve acts that deliberately prevent women from exercising their right to vote.

Measures to Ensure Election Monitoring. The ECP should ensure that district and constituency level staff are informed about the procedures needed to accredit monitors and receive credentials in a timely manner. The ECP and domestic monitoring groups should discuss how to engage provincial election authorities and enable monitoring activities. The training of ECP personnel, particularly at the district level, should include a specific orientation on the role of party pollwatchers as well as domestic and international monitors.

Enforcement of Electoral Regulations and Codes of Conduct. The ECP, parliamentarians, political parties, media, domestic monitoring groups and civil society organizations should work together urgently to adopt concrete measures to enforce electoral regulations and codes of conduct at the district, provincial and national level. These measures should be publicized through various media to inform the electorate.

Use of Social Media to Broaden Voter Engagement. All electoral stakeholders, including the ECP and political parties, should consider the use of social media to increase participation in the political process, particularly among young voters. For example, the ECP and political parties could implement campaigns using Facebook and Twitter to connect with young male and female voters and encourage them to exercise their right to vote.

Timing and Transparency of the Electoral Complaints Process. The ECP should develop and publicize measures that enable the electoral complaints process to be conducted in a timely fashion. In addition, the ECP should consider adopting tools such as a website that allows voters, candidates and political parties to follow a complaint from filing to final disposition.

Monitoring Adherence to the Codes of Conduct. The ECP and CSOs have roles in monitoring the adherence of political parties to the Code of Conduct. The ECP, in consultation with the civil society organizations should consider developing a tool with accompanying monitoring criteria, to register violations of the code of conduct for political parties. Additionally, in collaboration with PEMRA, the ECP and civil society organizations could develop a monitoring tool, with accompanying criteria, to register violations of the code of conduct for the media.

Location of and Access to Polling Stations. In developing plans for increasing the number of polling stations for the upcoming elections, the ECP should consider establishing polling stations in larger, more accessible communities in addition to ones previously established in smaller areas. In addition, the ECP should consider establishing polling stations for women in areas near male polling stations to assure accessibility by women who must travel to the polling stations with male relatives.

Promotion of Greater Civic Awareness. PEMRA should effectively implement, in a balanced and impartial manner, its rule for private stations to devote at least five percent of airtime for public service issues and broadcast programming and announcements related to voter education, especially in local languages.

Support for Timely Legislative Action to Implement Electoral Reforms. The incoming government should continue to support the collaborative efforts of the Senate and National Assembly committees focused on addressing election issues and reforms. The committees or other appropriate legislative bodies should continue to provide oversight of the election process during the post-election period.

Review the Provision on the Transport of Voters to the Polls. There is a question whether the ECP could mobilize adequate resources to enable the transport of voters across the country to their respective polling stations. Should it not be possible to carry out this task effectively, the ECP, parliamentarians and any other relevant parties should develop alternative plans.

ANNEX IV



FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

May 13, 2013

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**PAKISTANI ELECTIONS ARE VICTORY FOR DEMOCRACY
AS MILLIONS CAST BALLOTS DESPITE THREATS OF VIOLENCE**

ISLAMABAD – Showing courage and resolve in the face of deadly challenges, Pakistanis went to the polls May 11 to elect a new government that will be a critical step in the country’s return to democracy, the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the Asian Network for Free Elections (ANFREL) said today.

“Millions of Pakistanis expressed their support for the democratic process by voting despite extremist attempts to disrupt the polls,” the groups said in a statement. Casting their ballots in the face of mounting violence “was a victory for democracy and the people of Pakistan. The stage has been set for the country’s first transfer of power from one democratically elected government to the next.”

NDI and ANFREL fielded an international election observation mission with 48 observers from 18 countries. They deployed to 12 locations in three of the country’s four provinces and Islamabad, visiting more than 250 polling locations. For areas where security concerns prevented direct observation – Balochistan and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) – the mission was in frequent contact with candidates, parties and nongovernmental organizations in those regions to collect information.

Leading the mission were Kjell Magne Bondevik, former prime minister of Norway; former member of the U.S. House of Representatives Russ Carnahan, D-Mo.; Nora Owen, former minister of justice of Ireland; Amina Rasul-Bernardo, former cabinet minister of the Philippines; Shari Bryan, NDI vice president; and Peter Manikas, NDI regional director for Asia. Others in the delegation were former parliamentarians, election specialists, congressional staff, political party leaders, representatives of nongovernmental organizations and regional specialists.

Their report commented on the elections’ central paradox. “While there were many improvements in the electoral process,” the delegation said, “the May elections were perhaps the nation’s most violent,” resulting in an unlevel playing field for certain political parties in several areas of the country.

The delegation reported much enthusiasm among voters on election day, with many saying the polls would lead to a better future. But the observers also pointed out a number of administrative problems that could impact the integrity of future polls if left unchecked.

On the positive side, the delegation cited many improvements in the electoral process, such as: more parties and candidates competed than in the last polls in 2008; there were more than twice as many women running for general seats in the National Assembly, though their numbers remained very low; parties that boycotted the 2008 elections reentered the political process; parties cooperated as never before on the creation of an improved electoral system; the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) enjoyed a high level of public confidence and constructed the most complete and accurate voter list in the nation's history; and print and electronic media reported extensively on the campaign and issues of concern to voters.

All of this came in the face of the mounting violence and threats of violence that sharply undermined the ability of candidates and political parties in certain areas of the country to freely engage with voters. "The violence and threats discouraged citizens from freely attending campaign events and more broadly participating in the elections as candidates, campaign staff, election administrators, observers, and simply as voters," the delegation said.

The NDI-ANFREL observers also identified administrative problems in the conduct of the polls, including long lines and overcrowding at some women's polling stations because of inadequate facilities to accommodate the large number of voters, problems at some polling stations when voters could not find their names on the rolls and relied on polling agents to help them, and, at some polling stations, the viewing of polling agents as an extension of the polling staff, allowing them to perform duties that were the responsibility of election officials.

"While these problems did not seriously impair the integrity of the election, they could be damaging in future polls if allowed to persist," the delegation said.

The report contained a number of recommendations intended to promote transparency and strengthen democratic institutions and practices in Pakistan. They included:

- Political parties should stand together to address the issue of electoral violence, and the ECP and law enforcement bodies should develop electoral security plans in a more timely manner.
- Guidelines on the responsibilities of party polling agents should be publicized by election authorities as early as possible in the pre-election period.
- Further reforms are needed to enable fair and transparent electoral processes in FATA.
- Election authorities and lawmakers should renew efforts to advance electoral reforms.
- The ECP should work with lawmakers to improve election dispute resolution.
- Training for election personnel should be improved to address polling day procedures.

- Election procedures should incorporate measures to increase ballot security.
- The ECP should publicly release polling station level results as soon as possible after elections.
- Efforts should continue to improve the electoral rolls.
- Election-day procedures should support greater participation of the disabled.
- The ECP should review complaints, reports, and evidence of incidents where women were barred from voting.
- The ECP, political parties, civil society groups, and the media should continue efforts to increase electoral participation of women.
- Voter education programs should streamline the use of various media and incorporate tailored approaches to communicate with young voters, particularly young women.
- Election authorities and political parties should implement additional measures, such as tailored voter education and outreach campaigns, to promote the electoral participation of minorities and marginalized groups.

The delegation drew on the findings of an NDI [pre-election mission](#) that visited Pakistan in December to assess the political environment and election preparations.

The mission conducted its activities in a nonpartisan, professional manner in accordance with Pakistani law and the [Declaration of Principles for International Election Observation](#).

NDI is a nonprofit organization working to strengthen and support democracy worldwide through citizen participation, openness and accountability in government. The Institute has been observing elections in Pakistan since 1988 and conducts ongoing programs in the country to strengthen political parties and increase political participation among women and youth. For more information about NDI, please visit www.ndi.org.

ANFREL is a network of 21 citizen election observation organizations from 15 countries across Asia. Since 1997, it has worked to advance electoral democracy in Asia through election observation, civil society development, and election-related advocacy and campaign work. ANFREL observed Pakistan's general elections in 2002. For more information about ANFREL, please visit www.anfrel.org.

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ANNEX V



**PRELIMINARY STATEMENT OF THE
NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE-ASIAN NETWORK FOR FREE ELECTIONS
INTERNATIONAL ELECTION OBSERVATION MISSION TO PAKISTAN**

Islamabad, Pakistan

May 13, 2013

OVERVIEW

This preliminary statement is offered by the joint election observation mission of the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the Asian Network for Free Elections (ANFREL). The mission consists of 48 observers from 18 countries. Observers were deployed to 12 locations in Islamabad and three of the nation's four provinces, visiting more than 250 polling locations. Security concerns prevented direct observation in Balochistan and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). However, the mission was in frequent contact with candidates, parties and nongovernmental organizations in those areas to follow election-related developments that were not accessible to the delegation.

Pakistan's May 11th general elections consisted of 272 distinct contests in separate constituencies for general seats in the National Assembly and 577 contests for general seats in the Provincial Assemblies of Balochistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Punjab, and Sindh (as well as contests for 60 seats reserved for women, and ten seats reserved for non-Muslims in the National Assembly and 128 seats reserved for women, and 23 seats reserved for non-Muslims in the Provincial Assemblies). These elections unfolded differently in various parts of the country.

The 2013 elections were a critical step in continuing the nation's return to democracy, which began five years ago. Millions of Pakistanis expressed their support for the democratic process by voting despite extremist attempt to disrupt the polls. The Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) estimated voter turnout around 60 percent. Voters' courage and resolve in casting their ballots despite the mounting violence was a victory for democracy and the people of Pakistan. The stage has been set for the country's first transfer of power from one democratically elected government to the next.

The campaign period saw the political parties compete vigorously where it was safe to do so. Print and electronic media provided extensive coverage of the candidates and the issues of greatest concern to voters, such as economic growth, energy, high prices, unemployment, education, and security.

The elections saw 456 women candidates contest for general seats in the National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies, which is more than twice as many women candidates that contested in the 2008 general elections. However, their numbers remain extremely low, representing only 2.9

percent of the total number of candidates contesting for general seats. More parties and candidates participated in these elections than in the previous general elections. In Balochistan, parties that boycotted the 2008 elections reentered the electoral process and, for the first time in the nation's history, political parties fielded candidates in FATA.

Over the last few years, political parties cooperated as never before in developing an improved legal framework for the elections. Their efforts resulted in the selection of a Chief Election Commissioner (CEC) by unanimous consent and establishment of a framework for designating national and provincial caretaker governments. The ECP appears to enjoy a high-level of public confidence and constructed the most complete and accurate voters list in the nation's history. In addition, the ECP cooperated with political parties, media representatives and civil society to negotiate five separate codes of conduct for political parties and candidates, observers, polling personnel, media, and security personnel.

NDI-ANFREL observers were generally welcomed by polling personnel on election day and noted a calm and peaceful environment at most polling stations, reporting much enthusiasm among voters. Many of those casting ballots remarked that the polls would lead to a better future. Voting was generally well-conducted and the secrecy of the ballot was largely respected. The process benefited from greatly improved electoral rolls and the widespread use of a text message-based system that allowed voters to verify their polling locations. While information is still incomplete, it appears that voter turnout nationally will be high compared to previous polls. This is a remarkable achievement in light of the frequent and well-publicized security threats in many parts of the country.

NDI-ANFREL observers identified several administrative problems in the conduct of the polls. These included: inadequate facilities at some women's polling stations to process the large number of voters, resulting in long lines and overcrowding; problems at several polling stations when voters could not find their names on the roll and relied on partisan polling agents to help them; and, at some polling stations, polling agents being viewed as an extension of the polling staff and being permitted to perform duties that were the responsibility of election officials, such as assisting disabled voters, checking voters' identities, and locating voters on the lists. While these administrative problems did not seriously impair the integrity of the election, they could be damaging in future elections if allowed to persist.

The elections contained a central paradox. While there were many improvements in the electoral process, the May elections were perhaps the nation's most violent. In the year leading up to the polls, political violence, especially by non-state actors, plagued several parts of the country, notably Balochistan, Karachi, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and the tribal areas. While many parties and their candidates were victimized, the Pakistani Taliban specifically targeted three parties — the Awami National Party (ANP), the Muttahida Quami movement (MQM), and the Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians (PPPP) — all parties of the outgoing government. The violence curtailed voters in some areas from hearing the messages of these parties and could have adversely affected the integrity of the elections in certain constituencies in Balochistan, Karachi, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and the tribal areas.

In the closing days of the campaign, the Pakistani Taliban announced its intentions to disrupt the elections, stating that "our war is against democracy." Nevertheless, political parties and candidates in the most threatened parts courageously continued their campaigns. On election day,

political violence reportedly resulted in dozens of deaths. From March 16, when the National Assembly was dissolved, until May 7, the United Nations (UN) recorded 196 deaths due to election-related violence. Campaign fatalities included at least seven candidates.

In recent years, the Pakistani people have done much to build a more democratic society. There is a robust and independent print and electronic media, the capacity of civil society is increasing, there is an independent and assertive judiciary, and political parties are maturing, as seen by their willingness to cooperate on establishing an improved legal framework. The May 11th elections illustrated the resolve of the people of Pakistan to build on the progress that they have made in developing their democratic institutions. We encourage that the international community to continue its support for these efforts to advance the democratic process.

OBSERVATIONS AND FINDINGS

Mission Overview

Building on the work of NDI's December 2012 pre-election assessment mission, the NDI-ANFREL mission arrived in Pakistan on April 26, 2013 to observe the pre-election period. The mission, comprised of 48 international observers, is led by Kjell Magne Bondevik, former Prime Minister of Norway; Russ Carnahan, former U.S. Representative from Missouri; Nora Owen, former Minister of Justice from Ireland; Amina Rasul-Bernardo, ANFREL representative and former Presidential Adviser on Youth Affairs of the Philippines; Shari Bryan, NDI Vice President; and Peter Manikas, NDI Director for Asia Programs. For polling day, the mission deployed observers to Attock, Chakwal, Faisalabad, Haripur, Hyderabad, Islamabad, Karachi, Lahore, Multan, Rawalpindi, Risalpur, and Sukkur.

NDI-ANFREL observers held approximately 300 meetings with election administration and government officials, as well as with candidates and representatives of political parties, civil society groups, and the media. Members of the group met with leaders and regional representatives, including women and youth leaders in the parties, of the ANP, Balochistan National Party--Mangal (BNP-M), Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam--F (JUI-F), Jamaat-e-Islami (JI), Jamhoori Watan Party (JWP), MQM, National Party (NP), Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (PkMAP), Pakistan Muslim League--Functional (PML-F), Pakistan Muslim League--Nawaz (PML-N), Pakistan Muslim League--Quaid-e-Azam (PML-Q), PPPP, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), and Qaumi Watan Party, as well as several independent candidates.

The NDI-ANFREL mission will continue to observe the post-election period and issue a final report on the elections in the coming months.

The mission's observations have been made in the context of the legal framework of Pakistan as well as international standards for democratic elections. All NDI-ANFREL observers pledged to abide by the Election Commission of Pakistan's (ECP's) Code of Conduct for Observers and received accreditation from the ECP and additional credentials from the Ministry of Interior. Moreover, NDI-ANFREL observers conducted their activities in accordance with the Declaration of Principles and Code of Conduct for International Election Observation, which has been recognized with appreciation by the United Nations General Assembly, and to which both

NDI and ANFREL are signatories. NDI and ANFREL recognize that, ultimately, it will be the people of Pakistan who will determine the credibility of their elections.

Election Day

Polling was scheduled to take place in a total of 69,801 polling stations on May 11. Women and men voted separately, either in separate polling booths inside polling stations or through single-gender polling stations.

NDI-ANFREL observers visited more than 250 polling locations and followed opening, voting, closing, and counting procedures.

NDI-ANFREL observers noted a calm and peaceful environment in most polling stations. Voters demonstrated enthusiasm and dedication, sometimes patiently enduring long waiting times, harsh weather conditions, and overcrowding. Voter turnout, which observers generally assessed to be high, varied widely among polling stations visited. Opening, voting and closing procedures were mostly followed, though some disorganization and lack of consistency was noted. Observers reported overcrowding in multiple locations across the country. Continuation of campaign activities on election day was observed in almost all polling locations visited by NDI-ANFREL observers. Instances of voters and polling personnel experiencing difficulties finding voters' names on the electoral rolls was observed in the majority of observed areas.

Most polling stations observed opened on time or with less than half an hour delay. Significant delays were reported in Hyderabad, Karachi, and Lahore because of the late arrival of essential election materials or polling personnel. Some of the delays were attributed to poll workers being late or disorganized, including Haripur, Karachi, Lahore, and Rawalpindi. In Karachi, long queues outside the stations caused tension and resulted in extended voting hours.

During various stages of the election process, observers noted insufficient attention paid to ensuring that ballots and official forms and stamps were kept securely. In some places, ballot box seals were not affixed tightly enough to prevent tampering.

Campaign tents were closer than the prescribed 400 yards at almost all polling locations visited. Campaign materials were at times displayed on polling stations and voters and polling agents were widely reported to be wearing party insignia. NDI-ANFREL observers reported instances of polling agents instructing voters for whom to vote in Haripur, Islamabad, and Karachi. In addition, many voters entered polling stations carrying "chits" with party symbols and photographs of candidates or party leaders.

Observers generally reported being welcomed by polling personnel, who largely appeared organized and knowledgeable of procedures. A majority of observed polling officers conducted their duties in a professional and neutral manner. However, in some locations the high turnout seemed to overwhelm the staff. Having single Presiding Officers supervise the process in multiple booths at times resulted in lack of oversight and control. Observers also noted inconsistent application of procedures, particularly regarding the reading out of voters' names and Computerized National Identity Card (CNIC) numbers, checking CNICs against the electoral rolls, recording voters' data on the counterfoil, instructing voters how to vote or fold ballots, and applying indelible ink. The identity of veiled women was not always verified.

Relatively few problems were reported related to the electoral rolls. Most voters used chits that included all the necessary data to find their names on the rolls. However, some confusion remained, when voters showed up at the wrong booths or stations, instances of which were observed in the majority of areas visited. A verification system that allowed voters to learn their polling location through text messages seemed to supplement, but not eliminate the party-distributed chits and the active role of polling agents in assisting voters on election day.

Some NDI-ANFREL observers reported similar conditions and procedures in male and female booths, while others witnessed fewer polling booths for women, longer lines, and less effectively implemented procedures. In one instance, in a rural area of NA-125, observers reported that male polling booths were orderly, well organized, and fully staffed, while the female booths were unable to open by late morning due to the absence of necessary polling personnel.

Observers reported that the secrecy of the vote was generally respected, apart from several instances with group voting, inadequate room setup, and the positioning or absence of voting screens.

Security personnel were observed at all polling stations visited by NDI-ANFREL observers, who assessed that they generally adhered to their mandated roles, and contributed to peaceful conduct of polls. Two instances were reported where security personnel performed duties assigned to polling officials. In another case, security officials prevented observers from adequately viewing the voting process.

NDI-ANFREL observers reported few difficulties accessing the polling locations or obtaining necessary information, though several teams were asked to reduce their observation time, leave or not enter certain polling stations because of tension and potential violence. In one instance, observers in Faisalabad were refused entry to a polling station the Presiding Officer (PO), who demanded a special authorization from the constituency's Returning Officer (RO).

Near the scheduled time for the closure of polling stations at 5:00 p.m., the ECP announced extended voting for one additional hour for the entire country and three additional hours for specific constituencies in Karachi. A number of polling stations observed in Islamabad notified of the extension after they had already started closing and counting ballots.

The ECP announced that it currently plans to conduct re-polling at 43 out of 180 polling stations in NA-250 in Karachi because of delayed openings, threats to polling personnel, and stolen election materials. In some cases, the closing and counting procedures were described as chaotic and lacking transparency. Procedures for reconciliation generally were not followed and ballots were not always screened for validating stamps and signatures. Observers reported that, in some cases, polling personnel experienced difficulties filling out counting forms.

The consolidation and compilation of results has not yet been completed. The NDI-ANFREL mission will comment on this process in its final report.

Political Environment

Political Violence and Security Environment

In past elections in Pakistan, the sources of violence have largely been the contesting parties. In the 2013 elections, non-state actors have been the primary perpetrators of the violence that plagued the electoral process.

In the pre-election period, the ability of candidates and political parties to engage voters freely was sharply undermined in certain areas of the country because of the grave level of violence and threats of violence. Violence and threats were targeted primarily at three parties: the ANP, MQM, and PPP. The Pakistani Taliban claimed responsibility for dozens of attacks against election administrators, candidates, campaign staff, and their supporters. On April 28, the situation escalated when the group announced its intention to end the democratic system altogether and began targeting additional parties. Some parties in Balochistan, FATA, Karachi and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa were prevented from holding outdoor rallies, requiring them to mobilize supporters and communicate campaign messages through social and other media. This resulted in an unlevel playing field for those parties in certain areas of the country.

According to the UN, 196 people were killed and 645 were injured as a result of more than 300 recorded incidents of election-related violence from March 16, when the National Assembly was dissolved, to May 7, a few days before the elections. Domestic observers and media reported that more than a thousand people had died as a result of election-related violence since the beginning of the year. Dozens more people were killed on election day. Areas of Balochistan, FATA, Karachi, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa suffered the highest number of incidents. According to news reports, fatalities included at least seven candidates; another candidate was kidnapped during the pre-election period. As required by the Representation of the People Act, the ECP suspended elections in three National Assembly constituencies and six Provincial Assembly constituencies because of the deaths of registered candidates. The ECP suspended at least one additional election in the tribal areas, NA-38, because of an unspecified “law and order” situation.

The violence and threats discouraged citizens from freely attending campaign events and more broadly participating in the elections as candidates, campaign staff, election administrators, observers, and simply as voters. Attacks and threats against election officials and election facilities also impeded the effective administration of the elections.

As a result of escalating violence, the Ministry of Interior (MOI) issued instructions on April 15th to provincial governments and law enforcement agencies to increase security measures and provide security personnel to protect all candidates. While party representatives have reported to NDI-ANFREL observers that several party leaders, high-profile candidates, and others have received security personnel, many have reported that not all candidates have received such support and some felt the personnel provided was inadequate. The MOI could not provide NDI-ANFREL observers with specific details about the criteria used to decide which candidates were provided personnel and the level of support provided. Many candidates and party representatives reported and were observed to be using private security guards.

The ECP developed three security designations for polling stations: “highly sensitive,” “sensitive,” and “normal.” The ECP designated 22 percent of the approximately 69,801 polling

stations in the country as highly sensitive, another 22 percent as sensitive, and the remaining 56 percent as normal. Balochistan possessed the highest percentage of polling stations designated as highly sensitive at 48 percent, followed by Khyber Pakhtunkhwa at 23 percent. According to the ECP and MOI security plan, the police and other security services were to deploy seven to eight personnel to each “highly sensitive” station, five to six personnel to each “sensitive” station, and two to four to each normal station, but maintained flexibility to change deployments according to needs on the ground. Additionally, the army announced plans to deploy some 70,000 troops in support of election security, including “Rapid Response Forces” sent to each constituency to respond to incidents as they occur. On May 10, the army announced it had modified its election security plan at the request of the CEC to deploy troops at “prioritized” polling stations among those categorized as most sensitive.

Political Parties, Candidates and Campaign Environment

Despite the unprecedented level of election-related violence, the pre-election political environment was characterized by active competition among several national and regionally-based parties, including newly prominent contestants. A number of political parties that boycotted in 2008 chose to contest the 2013 elections, including BNP, JI, NP, PkMAP, and PTI. The campaign was vigorous in most parts of the country, though campaign events were severely restricted in areas where political violence was prevalent.

The elections were highly competitive and thousands of citizens exercised their right to contest as candidates. An average of 17 candidates contested each National Assembly constituency for general seats, and an average of 19 candidates contested for general seats in the Provincial Assemblies. Notably, the 2013 elections included the participation of the first woman candidate in FATA, as well as the first ever transgender candidates. Despite the unfavorable political environment for non-Muslims, multiple Christian political parties fielded candidates for general seats.

As seen through the media and observation of campaign activities, the campaign discourse was dominated by discussion of the economy, peace and security, energy, law and order, corruption, and social development. Opinion surveys conducted in the lead-up to the elections indicated that these were generally the issues of greatest importance to voters. The diversity of views and platforms presented by the parties and candidates offered voters distinct choices in the elections.

In most parts of the country, political parties and candidates utilized conventional methods of campaigning, including rallies, processions, corner meetings, indoor events, distribution of printed materials, door-to-door activities, persuasion and mobilization calls, print and broadcast media, as well as newer methods such as social media, internet, e-mails, and text messaging to reach Pakistan’s estimated 29 million internet users and 120 million mobile phone subscribers. Most prominent political parties utilized Facebook pages and Twitter accounts, in part to reach out to young voters, who represent almost half of the registered electorate. One party organized its internal party elections largely through the use of a text message-based voting system.

As a result of extending the Political Parties Order to FATA, political parties were able to field candidates for general seats in the National Assembly in the tribal areas for the first time. Previously, only independents could contest these seats. Representatives of political parties and civil society organizations working in FATA, as well as individual candidates, told NDI-ANFREL observers that the elections in FATA were characterized by a greatly increased

atmosphere of political competition, as most prominent parties fielded candidates in the tribal areas for general seats in the National Assembly. The extension of the Political Parties Order was an important step in an incomplete process of bringing FATA into the political and legal structures enjoyed by the rest of Pakistan. It remains problematic that political agents in FATA hold unchecked administrative, judicial, and election administration powers. Moreover, as Article 247 of the Constitution grants all administrative and legislative powers for FATA directly to the President of Pakistan, the elected members of the National Assembly from constituencies in the tribal areas will have limited legislative power to address issues related to the tribal areas.

Media and Domestic Observers

The media offered widespread coverage of the 2013 campaign throughout the country in multiple languages and provided a broad diversity of views to voters through multiple media outlets. Despite its designation as one of the most dangerous places in the world for journalists, Pakistan has an active media environment that has grown exponentially over the last decade to include approximately 90 television stations, 67 radio stations, hundreds of newspapers, supported by the work of an estimated 17,000 journalists.

FAFEN, a coalition of 42 domestic civil society organizations, deployed almost 400 constituency-focused long-term observers and approximately 41,000 short-term observers on election day. FAFEN conducted an audit of the electoral rolls, produced dozens of reports on political violence, candidate scrutiny, code of conduct monitoring, and other topics during the pre-election period, and implemented a parallel vote tabulation on election day, sampling 9,000 polling stations. Other domestic observer groups focused on women's participation, campaign finance, and tracking incidents of election-related violence and campaign violations.

Both the media and domestic observer groups played an important role in the 2013 elections in educating voters on the electoral process and holding election administrators, political parties, and candidates accountable for their actions.

Legal Framework and Election Administration

Legal Framework

National Assembly and Provincial Assembly elections in Pakistan are governed by the Constitution of Pakistan and numerous acts, orders, and rules, including the Delimitation of Constituencies Act of 1974, the Representation of the People Act of 1976, Electoral Rolls Act of 1977, the Conduct of General Elections Order, and the Political Parties Order of 2002, as well as ECP regulations.

Internationally, Pakistan has acceded to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), and most recently, in 2010, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). Collectively, these international agreements outline Pakistan's commitments toward holding democratic elections.

Election Reform Since 2008

Following the 2008 general elections, ECP officials and lawmakers began an ambitious election reform process in cooperation with political parties and civil society. The ECP developed and

partially implemented a five-year 2010-2014 Strategic Plan, and lawmakers sought constitutional and legal reform, in part through the establishment of special committees. Notable progress was made through the reform process, including three important amendments to the Constitution that bolstered the independence and neutrality of the Election Commission, considerably improved accuracy of the electoral rolls, and the removal of education requirements for candidates, which were viewed as unduly restrictive. Lawmakers also extended the Political Parties Order to FATA, which allows party-nominated candidates to contest for National Assembly general seats in the region. Further, the ECP issued new administrative Codes of Conduct for political parties and candidates, observers, polling personnel, media, and security personnel. The codes reinforced many provisions already outlined by law and outlined new guidelines, for instance, detailing roles and responsibilities for observers and forbidding the practice of entering informal agreements to bar women from voting. These reform measures were developed through consultative processes, which included representatives of political parties, civil society, and the media, among other relevant electoral actors.

However, the reform process remains incomplete, as several important issues have been insufficiently addressed, including the electoral dispute resolution system, candidate scrutiny process, gender equality measures, rules for observers, and results compilation and consolidation mechanisms, among others. Efforts to address these issues and establish a unified election code were not successfully completed prior to the 2013 elections.

2013 General Elections

The ECP is a constitutionally mandated, independent central election management, responsible for assisting the Election Commission in implementing its policies and decisions. The Election Commission consists of five commissioners: the CEC and four Election Commission Members, one representing each province.

In discussions with NDI-ANFREL observers, most political party and civil society representatives expressed confidence in the impartiality and independence of the ECP. Many felt that the 2013 elections were more competently and uniformly administered than previous elections. Many political parties, journalists, and civil society representatives told NDI-ANFREL observers that the elections were generally conducted in a more transparent atmosphere, and several commended the ECP on its commitment to consultative outreach to interested parties during the reform process.

Electoral Rolls

There is widespread agreement that the electoral rolls have been substantially improved from previous elections. Slightly more than 86 million citizens of Pakistan were registered to vote in the May 11th elections through a list developed in cooperation with the civil registry authority, the National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA), which is based on citizens' Computerized National Identity Cards (CNICs). Linking voter registration to the possession of a CNIC has resulted in substantial improvements to the accuracy of electoral rolls, with more than 37.2 million unverified voters eliminated and more than 36.7 million new voters added through the initial process.

The ECP displayed the updated preliminary electoral rolls in more than 52,000 locations around the country for 21 days in early 2012 and established a program where citizens could check their

voting registration status and electoral area, the census block to which their registration address belongs, via text message using their CNIC numbers. On May 6th, the week before the elections, the text message voter registration verification system was expanded to allow voters to check their polling station location in addition to the previously provided information. The ECP said the system was accessed 55 million times in the final 10 days of campaign, including 17 million times on election day itself. NDI-ANFREL observers in multiple regions of the country confirmed with dozens of voters that the system functioned properly.

However, some civil society groups and election administrators expressed concerns about the CNIC-based voter registration system: 1) as many as 10 percent of voters had their voting registration addresses changed through the initial transition to the new system; 2) those without birth certificates, a high percentage in Pakistan, face difficulties in acquiring CNICs, which is now required to register to vote; and 3) CNIC possession among women is disproportionately low compared to men, and young women living in urban areas are particularly unlikely to possess CNICs.

Similarly, many political parties and civil society representatives expressed concerns to NDI-ANFREL observers about expected voter disenfranchisement of internally displaced persons (IDPs) from the conflict-affected areas of Balochistan, FATA, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. While election administrators took measures to enable IDPs to vote, including setting up polling stations in IDP camps and other locations where IDPs live and in food distribution facilities, these measures were not expected to reach all IDPs. Notably, many who consider themselves IDPs are not registered as such by Pakistani authorities, and without official IDP registration, they could not vote at the polling stations set up for IDPs.

Candidate Scrutiny

In order to be registered as a candidate for general elections in Pakistan, an individual must meet the following criteria: be 25 years of age or older; be a citizen of Pakistan without dual citizenship; be registered to vote in any area of Pakistan (for National Assembly general seats or seats reserved for non-Muslims) or in a specific province (for National Assembly seats reserved for women and Provincial Assembly seats); be “sagacious, righteous, non-profligate, honest, and ameen” (trustworthy); not having (nor one’s spouse or dependents) defaulted on a loan of two million rupees or more for more than one year; not having defaulted on payment of utilities or government dues in excess of 10,000 rupees for more than six months. Additionally, Articles 62 and 63 of the Constitution require that Muslim candidates possess “adequate knowledge of Islamic teachings,” be “of good character,” and not be “commonly known as one who violates Islamic Injunctions.” Non-Muslims are required to possess “good moral reputation.”

According to the ECP, 8,059 people filed nomination papers to contest for general seats in the National Assembly, and 19,016 people filed nomination papers for general seats in the Provincial Assemblies. The determination by ROs of who met candidate eligibility requirements was inconsistently administered across the country, in part due their exercising broad latitude in asking personal questions to the candidates based on Articles 62 and 63. Certain high-profile candidates, including former President Pervez Musharraf and PML-N leader Chaudhry Nisar Ali Khan, were rejected in some constituencies but not in others. In certain constituencies, according to media reports, prospective candidates were asked to recite passages of the Koran and other questions to test the morality and religiosity of the candidates. These questions reportedly

included whether candidates had watched an uncensored movie, eaten pork, or believed in honeymoons.

Domestic observers and media reported that nominees were rejected for several reasons, including incomplete documentation, being defaulters on loans, not paying required taxes or utilities, physical absence of the candidate, incorrect taxes or assets declarations, previous convictions in criminal cases, possessing dual nationality, having previously contested an election with a fake degree, and other criteria outlined by Articles 62 and 63.

The inconsistently implemented candidate scrutiny process drew wide criticism from political parties, candidates, civil society, and media. Candidates and individual citizens filed 1,649 appeals to the decisions of ROs, of which 594 (36 percent) were accepted by Appellate Tribunals and overturned. Ultimately, following RO scrutiny, the appeals process, and large-scale withdrawals, 4,671 contestants were registered to compete for National Assembly general seats, and 10,958 contestants were registered to compete for Provincial Assembly general seats. Including candidates for seats reserved for women and non-Muslims, a total of 16,692 contestants were registered for the elections.

Many individuals have appealed the decisions of the RO and Tribunal-led scrutiny process to high courts, which in some cases disqualified accepted candidates and overturned the rejection of others, even into the final days of the campaign following the printing of ballots. On May 4, one week before the elections, the Lahore High Court intervened, stating, “The RO cannot embark upon a subjective inquisition by throwing a volley of self-styled questions, unrelated to the record before him.” The ROs were advised “to immediately refrain from asking random, intrusive, and inquisitive questions that have no nexus with the information supplied in the nomination papers or do not arise from objections raised by the other side.”

Women’s Participation

Some positive steps were taken to improve women’s ability to exercise their political and civic rights in the 2013 elections. Women represent 44 percent of registered voters on the electoral rolls. A comparison of the electoral rolls from 2008 with 2013 reveals an increase of around 7 percent in registered men and 5 percent registered women. The Benazir Income Support Program (BISP) and other efforts which provided relief to flood victims required recipients to possess a CNIC. NADRA set up mobile teams to register women voters in target districts with very low percentages of women who possessed CNICs. These initiatives resulted in significant numbers of women added to the electoral rolls.

Several political parties sought to promote women’s involvement in party activities through various mechanisms, such as: encouraging women’s wings of the party; including women in higher-level decision-making; and providing women activists with training in campaigning skills. All parties currently represented in the National Assembly and other prominent parties included specific language about women in their platforms, which varied from brief acknowledgements to detailed policy proposals, and some used advertisements targeted at women, promoting women as leaders and role models. It is also a positive development that these elections saw the first women candidate contest the elections in FATA.

The ECP’s decision to track voter turnout data, disaggregated by gender, is a further positive step towards supporting women’s political participation in Pakistan. This data will prove invaluable

to better understanding and supporting women's political participation in the country, as well as helping candidates, political parties, and policy-makers to better address their concerns.

Nevertheless, women remain grossly underrepresented in all aspects of the electoral process, including as candidates, election administrators, and voters. According to UN Women, women candidates represented only 2.9 percent (456 candidates) of the 15,629 total contestants registered to compete for general seats in the elections. There were 158 women contestants registered to compete for National Assembly general seats and 298 registered for Provincial Assembly general seats. These figures constitute increases of 119 percent (86 additional candidates) and 156 percent (182 additional candidates), respectively, from the 2008 general elections. There were 255 women that contested for the 60 seats reserved for women in the National Assembly, and 557 women that contested for the 128 seats reserved for women in the Provincial Assemblies.

Civil society representatives and individual candidates told NDI-ANFREL observers that women candidates faced considerable challenges in the elections. These included threats from militants, harassment, pressure from employers and local leaders, as well as difficulty resourcing their campaigns. A woman candidate in Balochistan told NDI-ANFREL observers that she withdrew from her contest for a Provincial Assembly seat due to feeling threatened. A candidate in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa reported to NDI-ANFREL observers that she had been fired from her job as a result of becoming a candidate in the elections.

Women also remain severely underrepresented in Pakistan's election administration bodies. No women serve on the Election Commission, and the officers of the ECP, including its directors and provincial commissioners, are all men. The ECP further reported that less than 2 percent of its staff members and less than 2 percent of District Returning Officers (DROs), ROs and Assistant Returning Officers (AROs).

As voters, women also faced significant challenges to political participation. During the 2008 general elections, political and local leaders in some areas of the country conspired to restrict women from voting. According to FAFEN, no votes were cast in 564 women-only polling stations, 84 percent of which were located in the Northwest Frontier Province, now known as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The ECP Code of Conduct for Political Parties and Candidates expressly forbade the practice of colluding to bar women from voting in the 2013 elections. NDI-ANFREL observers were told by political parties, candidates, and civil society representatives that the Pakistan Ulema Council's decree, or *fatwa*, from April 25th, which declared that Islamic law does not prohibit women from voting, would discourage this practice and facilitate increased voting by women in the elections. Religious parties, which in previous elections discouraged women from voting, have explicitly supported women casting ballots in the 2013 elections. Despite these positive developments, domestic observers and media reported that women were barred from voting on election day in multiple areas in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Punjab, and FATA.

Youth Participation

Although a census has not been conducted since 1998, it is estimated that approximately 60 percent of Pakistan's entire population is under the age of 35, and Pakistan's "youth bulge" is expected to continue increasing in size well into the foreseeable future. According to NADRA,

48 percent of those registered to vote are under the age of 35, vividly demonstrating the potential of youth to have an outsized impact on the 2013 elections.

Political parties and candidates actively sought to engage youth in their election campaigns and developed electoral appeals specifically targeted at young voters. Many parties engaged youth as campaign staff, volunteers, and polling agents. Some parties worked to recruit young candidates to contest the elections, though specific statistics on youth candidates are currently unavailable on the ECP website, as posted candidate application documents do not contain data on candidates' ages.

Most parties included specific youth-focused policy prescriptions in their platforms, addressing the issues of unemployment, education, skills training, and youth civic forums, among others. In addition to more traditional campaign methods, parties and candidates also employed campaign tactics that sought to engage young voters, among others, including extensive use of social media and text messaging.

In addition to political parties, dozens of national and regional civil society groups implemented programs seeking to encourage youth participation in the election, including voter mobilization campaigns, election observation activities, and ECP-supported voter education campaigns for first-time voters. Representatives of political parties and youth-focused civic groups reported to NDI-ANFREL observers that opportunities for youth political participation were greater during the 2013 elections than any time before in Pakistan's history.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In the lead up to the 2013 elections, the ECP and other participants made efforts to respond to recommendations presented earlier by domestic groups and international organizations such as NDI to help strengthen the electoral process. These included measures to: increase voter education; mobilize ECP monitoring teams to enforce electoral regulations and codes of conduct; and broaden the use of mobile phone technology and social media to promote voter engagement.

The NDI-ANFREL international election observation mission offers the following recommendations in the spirit of international cooperation and to promote transparency in the immediate post-election environment and broader strengthening of democratic institutions and practices in Pakistan.

Political Violence and Security Environment

- 1. Political parties should stand together, with a unified voice, to address the issue of electoral violence.** Similar to the spirit of cooperation with which the political parties selected the Chief Election Commissioner and promoted important reforms in the years leading up to the elections, political parties should come together to mobilize public support to counter political violence. Their unity on this issue is essential to the advancement of the country's democratic reform process.

2. **The Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) and relevant law enforcement bodies should develop electoral security plans in a more timely manner.** The 2013 elections witnessed unprecedented levels of electoral violence, particularly in the pre-election period. Expected re-polling and by-elections following the May 11th polls present an immediate opportunity for the ECP to work with law enforcement agencies and the armed forces to develop and publicize security plans — particularly in high risk areas — and help ensure a more level playing field for electoral contestants. In addition, voter education should include clear descriptions of the role and responsibilities of law enforcement and the armed forces in the electoral process.

Political Parties, Candidates and Campaign Environment

3. **Guidelines on the responsibilities of party polling agents should be publicized by election authorities as early as possible in the pre-election period.** This would enable parties to prepare and train their polling agents properly, and foster a greater understanding among party supporters of the roles and limits of polling agents.
4. **Further political reforms are required to enable fair and transparent electoral processes in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA).** Political parties, parliamentarians and election authorities should continue to collaborate on legislative and administrative measures to bring FATA into the mainstream of the nation's political life.

Legal Framework and Election Administration

5. **Election authorities and lawmakers should renew efforts to advance the electoral reform process.** A post-election review could be conducted by the ECP and measures should be taken to address issues such as: the establishment of a unified election code, gender equality measures, observer rights and rules, and results compilation and consolidation mechanisms, should continue to be addressed in the post-election period. In addition, the incoming government should build on the collaborative efforts of the Senate and National Assembly committees focused on addressing election issues and reforms. The committees or other appropriate legislative bodies should continue to provide oversight of the election process during the post-election period.
6. **The ECP should work with lawmakers to improve and expand the legal and regulatory framework for election dispute resolution.** Adjudicatory mechanisms should be created to enable electoral participants — including voters, domestic monitors and political parties — to challenge the ECP's administrative decision-making on candidate nominations, voter registration, and campaign, voting and results tabulation procedures. In addition, the ECP should use its rule-making powers and work with lawmakers to clarify and expand the legal framework for election dispute resolution to include the management of complaints in the pre-election period.
7. **Training for election personnel should be improved to address the inconsistent implementation of polling day procedures.** To promote proper election administration and voter confidence in the electoral process, election personnel should be trained as

early as possible, in a uniform manner, and through processes that support consistent application of election procedures, particularly for closing and counting.

8. **Election procedures should incorporate measures to increase ballot security.** These include steps to conduct ballot reconciliation and account for ballot box seals.
9. **The ECP should publicly release polling station level results as soon as possible following elections.** This would enable domestic monitors and polling agents to compare the results they observed on election day to final results. This measure would foster transparency and help promote public confidence in the final electoral results as well as the electoral process as a whole.
10. **NADRA and the ECP should maintain their collaboration to improve the electoral rolls.** Election authorities should promote a system for continuous voter registration, as well as automatic updates to the electoral rolls, in tandem with civil registration drives. Public outreach should be conducted to disseminate information on how to validate and correct information on the electoral rolls.
11. **Election-day procedures and polling schemes should be designed to support greater participation of the disabled.** Resources and practical measures, such as providing the option of using postal ballots, should be considered to support the disabled to exercise their right to vote.

Women's Participation

12. **The ECP should review complaints, reports, and evidence of incidents where women were barred from voting.** The ECP should exercise its authority up to and including declaring election results null and void in areas where women were prevented from voting. In addition, the ECP should impose penalties for offenses that involve acts that deliberately prevent women from exercising their right to vote.
13. **The ECP, political parties, civil society groups, and the media should continue efforts to increase electoral participation of women.** The ECP should address areas of low participation among women by cooperating with NADRA to increase the issuance of CNICs among women and ensure their inclusion on electoral rolls. Political parties, civil society groups and the media should continue campaigns among women of all ages and regions to be active in the country's political and electoral processes.

Youth Participation

14. **Voter education programs should streamline the use of various media and incorporate tailored approaches to communicate with young voters, particularly young women.** Election administrators and political parties should continue to actively encourage youth participation in elections, including through initiatives to educate young voters about the process and increase CNIC registration, particularly among young women in urban areas.

Participation of Minorities and Marginalized Groups

- 15. All eligible voters of Pakistan should be included in the general electoral rolls.** The requirement for separate registration of voters, including the Ahmadis, is inconsistent with the commitments provided under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- 16. Election authorities and political parties should implement additional measures, such as tailored voter education and outreach campaigns, to promote the electoral participation of minorities and marginalized groups.**

NDI is a nonpartisan, nongovernmental organization that supports and strengthens democratic institutions worldwide through citizen participation, openness and accountability in government. NDI has been observing elections in Pakistan since 1988 and conducts ongoing programs in the country to strengthen political parties and increase political participation among women and youth. For more information about NDI please visit our website, www.ndi.org.

ANFREL is a network of 21 citizen election observation organizations from 15 countries across Asia. Since 1997, ANFREL has worked to advance the cause of electoral democracy in Asia through election observation, civil society development, and election-related advocacy and campaign work. ANFREL observed Pakistan's general elections in 2002. ANFREL maintains independence from its host countries' members when observing elections internationally. The Free and Fair Election Network (FAFEN) in Pakistan is an ANFREL member, but it is not formally involved in the NDI-ANFREL mission. For more information about ANFREL please visit its website, www.anfrel.org.

Both NDI and ANFREL are signatories of the Declaration of Principles for International Election Observation.

ANNEX VI

MISSION PARTICIPANTS

Leadership Delegation	
<p>Kjell Magne Bondevik, Norway - Former Prime Minister Russ Carnahan, United States - Former U.S. Representative from Missouri Nora Owen, Ireland - Former Minister of Justice Amina Rasul-Bernardo, Philippines - ANFREL Representative and former Presidential Adviser on Youth Affairs of the Philippines Shari Bryan, United States - NDI Vice President Peter Manikas, United States - NDI Director for Asia Programs</p>	
Core Team and Thematic Analysts	
<p>Peter Lepsch, United States - Election Observation Mission Director Marija Babic, Serbia - Short-Term Observer Coordinator Angela Cromwell, United States - Finance and Administrative Support David Kuennen, United States - Report Coordinator and Political Analyst Faisal Sultan, United States - Operations Manager Stefan Szwed, Poland - Long-Term Observer Coordinator Zachary Alpern, United States - Thematic Analyst on Election Administration Gaby Senay, Canada - Thematic Analyst on Youth Participation Jess Turk-Browne, Canada - Thematic Analyst on Women's Participation</p>	
Observers	
<p>Pipit Apriani, Indonesia Patricia Atkinson, Canada Yohanes Bosco Johny Barliyanta, Indonesia Chompunut Chalieobun, Thailand Pongsak Chan-On, Thailand Aysha Chowdhry, United States Jumana Dalal, United States Diana Chavez Davila, Peru C. Christine Fair, United States Thudugala Mudalige Leoni Upekshi Fernando, Sri Lanka Shobha Gautam, Nepal Kathy Gest, United States Hristijan Gjorgievski, Macedonia Luis Maria Duarte Gonzalez, Paraguay Sandra Houston, Canada Mathieu Jacques, Canada Brian Joseph, United States Ryan Keenan, United States</p>	<p>Luc Lapointe, Canada James Littleton, United Kingdom Anja Manuel, United States Scott Mastic, United States Siti Nursanita Nasution, Indonesia Azura binti Mohd Noor, Malaysia Shekh Mohammad Altafur Rahman, Bangladesh Sehar Raziuddin, United States Daniel Reilly, United States Jumaina Siddiqui, United States Matthew Sternenberger, United States Robert Stromberg, United States Tadzrul Adha Tahir, Malaysia Raissa Tatad-Hazell, Philippines Daniel Twining, United States Bjarte Tora, Norway Peter Yates, Australia</p>

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