



## FREE AND FAIR ELECTION NETWORK

### ELECTION UPDATE – 8

#### Political Party Candidates: Election Campaign Strategies and Activities

January 26, 2008

The Free and Fair Election Network (FAFEN) has deployed coordinators in 264 National Assembly constituencies across the country to observe all aspects of the 2007/08 election process. These observers send weekly reports to the FAFEN Secretariat in Islamabad, which uses the information generated to raise issues with election stakeholders with a view to improving the quality of electoral processes. While these regular updates cover various aspects of the election process, this report emphasizes election campaign strategies being employed by political parties' candidates.

This report is based on information received from January 5 – 11, 2008, from 217 constituencies in the following 87 districts:

Sr. No.	Province	Number of Districts	Name of Districts
1.	Punjab	32	Gujrat, Narowal, Gujranwala, Chakwal, Khushab, Mandi Bahauddin, Hafizabad, Sargodha, Kasur, Jhang, Faisalabad, Toba Tek Singh, Okara, Pak Pattan, Sahiwal, Bahawalnagar, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Rajanpur, Multan, Attock, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lodhran, Lahore, Vehari, Layyah, Bhakkar, Jhelum and Mianwali
2.	NWFP	22	Kohistan, Swat, Charsadda, Mardan, Peshawar, Bannu, Haripur, Abbottabad, Khyber Agency (FATA), Dera Ismail Khan, Shangla, Chitral, Battagram, Swabi, Hangu, Lower Dir, Karak, Lakki Marwat, Malakand, Mansehra, Nowshera and Tank
3.	Sindh	21	Jacobabad, Dadu, Khairpur, Sukkur, Badin, Mirpurkhas, Sanghar, Hyderabad, Tharparkar, Karachi West, Karachi South, Karachi East, Karachi Central, Malir, Ghotki, Kashmore, Matiari, Nawabshah, Tando Allah Yar, Tando Mohammad Khan and Thatta
4.	Balochistan	12	Lasbela, Jaffarabad, Khuzdar, Qila Abdullah, Jhal Magsi, Naushki, Loralai, Gwadar, Kalat, Qila Saifullah, Kharan and Ziarat
	Total	87	

#### 1. Involvement of Local Government, Intimidation, and Inducements

##### 1.1. Involvement of Local Government Representatives

It is unlawful for Union Nazims and other local government councilors to offer any campaign-related services to political parties or their candidates. FAFEN observers have reported that political party candidates are mobilizing support through union Nazims in more than 30 percent of the constituencies where candidate strategies were observed, except for PML-Q candidates, who are doing so in 120 out of 165 constituencies (72%) where their candidates were observed, more than any other party candidates. These constituencies are situated in all provinces.

PML-N candidates are reaching out to voters through Union Nazims in 53 out of 150 constituencies where their candidates were observed, PML-Q in 120 of 165, PPP in 63 of 171, JUI-F in 21 of 60, MQM in 21 of 63, ANP in 17 of 43 and PPP-S in 10 of 35 constituencies.

Districts listed below show where parties' candidates are running campaigns with the help of Union Nazims and other local government representatives:

No.	Political Party	Districts
1	PML-N	Gujrat, Gujranwala, Chakwal, Hafizabad, Sargodha, Jhang, Faisalabad, Bahawalpur, Pak Pattan, Sahiwal, Rahim Yar Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Multan, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lodhran, Lahore, Vehari, Jhelum, Charsadda, Peshawar, Karak, Nowshera, Tank, Khairpur, Mirpurkhas and Karachi West
2	PPP	Gujrat, Gujranwala, Chakwal, Sargodha, Jhang, Faisalabad, Pak Pattan, Sahiwal, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Muzaffargarh, Multan, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lodhran, Lahore, Vehari, Jhelum, Charsadda, Peshawar, Abbottabad, Dera Ismail Khan, Shangla, Nowshera, Tank, Khairpur, Mirpurkhas, Sanghar, Karachi West, Malir, Tando Mohammad Khan, Gwadar, Qila Saifullah and Ziarat
3	PML-Q	Gujrat, Gujranwala, Chakwal, Mandi Bahauddin, Hafizabad, Sargodha, Kasur, Jhang, Faisalabad, Okara, Pak Pattan, Sahiwal, Bahawalnagar, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Multan, Attock, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lodhran, Lahore, Vehari, Layyah, Jhelum, Mianwali, Mardan, Peshawar, Haripur, Shangla, Chitral, Swabi, Lower Dir, Karak, Mansehra, Nowshera, Tank, Khairpur, Sukkur, Mirpurkhas, Karachi West, Karachi South, Nawabshah, Tando Mohammad Khan, Thatta, Lasbela, Khuzdar, Loralai, Gwadar, Kalat and Kharan
4	JUI-F	Gujranwala, Dera Ghazi Khan, Mardan, Peshawar, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan, Shangla, Swabi, Lower Dir, Karak, Nowshera, Tank, Khairpur, Qila Abdullah, Loralai, Kalat and Qila Saifullah
5	MQM	Gujranwala, Sahiwal, Muzaffargarh, Lahore, Khairpur, Mirpurkhas, Hyderabad, Karachi West, Karachi South, Karachi Central, Malir and Nawabshah
6	ANP	Charsadda, Mardan, Peshawar, Shangla, Swabi, Lower Dir, Nowshera, Tank, Karachi West and Qila Abdullah
7	PPP-S	Charsadda, Mardan, Peshawar, Chitral, Swabi, Lower Dir, Nowshera, Khairpur and Malir

## 1.2. Voter Intimidation

According to FAFEN observers, candidates have been found to be intimidating voters - primarily voters who are dependent for their livelihoods on landowners, employers, or others - in order to gain support. PML-N candidates are intimidating voters in 9 of 148 constituencies where their strategies were observed, PPP in 14 of 170, PML-Q in 35 of 157, JUI-F in three of 60, MQM in six of 62, ANP in two of 42, and PPP-S in three of 34 constituencies.

Districts where party candidates were found to be intimidating voters are:

No.	Political Party	Districts
1	PML-N	Khanewal, Lodhran, Lahore, Vehari, Jhelum, Mansehra, Tank and Karachi West
2	PPP	Sahiwal, Rahim Yar Khan, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lodhran, Lahore, Vehari, Jhelum, Mansehra, Tank, Sanghar, Karachi West and Thatta
3	PML-Q	Gujranwala, Mandi Bahauddin, Jhang, Faisalabad, Okara, Pak Pattan, Bahawalnagar, Rahim Yar Khan, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lodhran, Lahore, Vehari, Jhelum, Mianwali, Mardan, Mansehra, Tank, Jhal Magsi, Loralai and Gwadar
4	JUI-F	Vehari, Mansehra and Loralai
5	MQM	Khanewal, Lahore, Mansehra, Karachi West, Karachi South and Malir
6	ANP	Mansehra and Karachi West
7	PPP-S	Mardan, Mansehra and Karachi West

## 1.3. Voter Inducements

Some political parties' candidates have been found inducing voters through payments or promises of payments or other reward. FAFEN observers reported that PML-N candidates were inducing voters in 47 out of 152 constituencies where their strategies were observed, PPP in 62 of 172, PML-Q in 91 of 165, JUI-F in 15 of 61, MQM in 15 of 63, ANP in 9 of 41, and PPP-S in 6 of 34 constituencies.

Districts where political party candidates are reportedly inducing voters are as follows:

No.	Political Party	Districts
1	PML-N	Gujrat, Gujranwala, Chakwal, Mandi Bahauddin, Faisalabad, Okara, Sahiwal, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Muzaffargarh, Multan, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lodhran, Lahore, Vehari, Layyah, Jhelum, Mianwali, Mardan, Peshawar, Lower Dir, Mansehra, Nowshera, Tank, Karachi West and Karachi South
2	PPP	Gujrat, Gujranwala, Chakwal, Mandi Bahauddin, Jhang, Faisalabad, Okara, Sahiwal, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Muzaffargarh, Rajanpur, Multan, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lodhran, Lahore, Vehari, Layyah, Jhelum, Charsadda, Mardan, Peshawar, Shangla, Lower Dir, Malakand, Mansehra, Nowshera, Tank, Sanghar, Karachi West, Thatta, Qila Abdullah and Loralai
3	PML-Q	Gujrat, Gujranwala, Chakwal, Mandi Bahauddin, Hafizabad, Sargodha, Kasur, Jhang, Faisalabad, Okara, Pak Pattan, Sahiwal, Bahawalnagar, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Rajanpur, Multan, Attock, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lodhran, Lahore, Vehari, Layyah, Jhelum, Mianwali, Mardan, Peshawar, Haripur, Shangla, Swabi, Lower Dir, Malakand, Mansehra, Nowshera, Tank, Mirpurkhas, Karachi South, Thatta, Qila Abdullah and Loralai
4	JUI-F	Sahiwal, Dera Ghazi Khan, Rajanpur, Rawalpindi, Vehari, Peshawar, Shangla, Battgram, Lower Dir, Mansehra, Nowshera, Tank, Qila Abdullah and Loralai
5	MQM	Gujranwala, Okara, Sahiwal, Lahore, Mardan, Mansehra, Mirpurkhas, Sanghar, Karachi West, Karachi South, Malir and Thatta
6	ANP	Mardan, Peshawar, Shangla, Lower Dir, Mansehra, Nowshera, Tank, Karachi West and Qila Abdullah
7	PPP-S	Mardan, Peshawar, Lower Dir, Mansehra and Karachi West

## 2. CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES

### 2.1. *Biradari* Vote Mobilization

All major political parties' candidates were found to be mobilizing voters through the influence of *biradari* leaders or through appeals to *biradari* affiliations in more than 68 percent of the constituencies where campaign strategies were observed. Party-wise candidate mobilization of the *biradari* vote in constituencies observed by FAFEN are: PML-N in 127 out of 161 constituencies where their candidates' strategies were observed, PPP in 151 of 183, PML-Q in 142 of 168, JUI-F in 43 of 61, MQM in 45 of 65, ANP in 31 of 43, and PPP-S in 24 of 35 constituencies.

Districts where political parties' candidates were found to be mobilizing the *biradari* vote are as follows:

No.	Political Party	Districts
1.	PML-N	Gujrat, Narowal, Gujranwala, Chakwal, Khushab, Mandi Bahauddin, Hafizabad, Sargodha, Kasur, Jhang, Faisalabad, Toba Tek Singh, Okara, Pak Pattan, Sahiwal, Bahawalnagar, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Multan, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lodhran, Lahore, Vehari, Layyah, Bhakkar, Jhelum, Mianwali, Swat, Charsadda, Mardan, Peshawar, Abbottabad, Dera Ismail Khan, Chitral, Swabi, Hangu, Lower Dir, Karak, Malakand, Mansehra, Tank, Khairpur, Sukkur, Mirpurkhas, Karachi West, Karachi South, Karachi Central, Malir, Tando Mohammad Khan, Jaffarabad, Khuzdar and Kalat
2.	PPP	Gujrat, Narowal, Gujranwala, Chakwal, Mandi Bahauddin, Hafizabad, Sargodha, Kasur, Jhang, Faisalabad, Toba Tek Singh, Okara, Pak Pattan, Sahiwal, Bahawalnagar, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Rajanpur, Multan, Attock, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lodhran, Lahore, Vehari, Layyah, Bhakkar, Jhelum, Swat, Charsadda, Mardan, Peshawar, Abbottabad, Khyber Agency, Shangla, Chitral, Swabi, Hangu, Lower Dir, Malakand, Mansehra, Nowshera, Tank, Khairpur, Sukkur, Mirpurkhas, Sanghar, Hyderabad, Karachi West, Karachi South, Karachi Central, Malir,

		Tando Mohammad Khan, Thatta, Lasbela, Jaffarabad, Khuzdar, Qila Abdullah, Loralai, Gwadar, Kalat, Kharan and Ziarat
3.	PML-Q	Gujrat, Narowal, Gujranwala, Chakwal, Khushab, Mandi Bahauddin, Hafizabad, Sargodha, Kasur, Jhang, Faisalabad, Toba Tek Singh, Okara, Pak Pattan, Sahiwal, Bahawalnagar, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Rajanpur, Multan, Attock, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lodhran, Lahore, Vehari, Layyah, Jhelum, Mianwali, Mardan, Peshawar, Abbottabad, Khyber Agency, Shangla, Chitral, Swabi, Lower Dir, Karak, Lakki Marwat, Malakand, Mansehra, Nowshera, Tank, Khairpur, Sukkur, Mirpurkhas, Karachi West, Malir, Nawabshah, Tando Mohammad Khan, Thatta, Lasbela, Khuzdar, Qila Abdullah, Jhal Magsi, Naushki, Kalat, Kharan and Ziarat
4.	JUI-F	Gujranwala, Sargodha, Sahiwal, Dera Ghazi Khan, Rajanpur, Vehari, Bhakkar, Swat, Charsadda, Mardan, Peshawar, Bannu, Khyber Agency, Shangla, Chitral, Swabi, Hangu, Lower Dir, Karak, Lakki Marwat, Malakand, Mansehra, Nowshera, Tank, Khairpur, Karachi West, Malir, Tando Mohammad Khan, Khuzdar, Qila Abdullah, Kalat, Kharan and Ziarat
5.	MQM	Gujranwala, Sargodha, Okara, Sahiwal, Bahawalnagar, Muzaffargarh, Khanewal, Lodhran, Lahore, Bhakkar, Mianwali, Swat, Mardan, Bannu, Karak, Mansehra, Khairpur, Sanghar, Hyderabad, Karachi West, Karachi South, Karachi Central, Malir and Nawabshah
6.	ANP	Swat, Charsadda, Mardan, Peshawar, Bannu, Khyber Agency, Shangla, Swabi, Hangu, Lower Dir, Karak, Malakand, Mansehra, Nowshera, Tank, Karachi West, Malir, Qila Abdullah and Ziarat
7.	PPP-S	Swat, Charsadda, Mardan, Peshawar, Bannu, Abbottabad, Shangla, Chitral, Swabi, Hangu, Lower Dir, Malakand, Mansehra, Nowshera, Khairpur, Karachi West and Malir

## 2.2. Ethnic Vote Mobilization

Fewer party candidates are mobilizing voters with appeals to ethnic affiliations or differences, as compared to those invoking the *biradari* vote. MQM and ANP are mobilizing the ethnic vote in more than 44 percent of constituencies where their campaign strategies were observed. The data collected shows that PML-N is mobilizing the ethnic vote in 58 out of 152 observed constituencies, PPP in 61 of 174, PML-Q in 63 of 160, JUI-F in 20 of 60, MQM in 28 of 63, ANP in 20 of 42, and PPP-S in 12 of 34 constituencies where their candidates were observed.

Districts where political parties' candidates have been found to be mobilizing voters along ethnic lines are as follows:

No.	Political Party	Districts
1.	PML-N	Gujranwala, Chakwal, Sargodha, Jhang, Toba Tek Singh, Okara, Sahiwal, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Multan, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lahore, Vehari, Layyah, Bhakkar, Jhelum, Mardan, Dera Ismail Khan, Swabi, Hangu, Lower Dir, Mansehra, Tank, Khairpur, Karachi West, Karachi South and Karachi Central
2.	PPP	Gujranwala, Chakwal, Sargodha, Jhang, Toba Tek Singh, Okara, Sahiwal, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Multan, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lahore, Vehari, Layyah, Jhelum, Charsadda, Mardan, Chitral, Hangu, Lower Dir, Mansehra, Tank, Khairpur, Sanghar, Karachi West, Karachi Central and Ziarat
3.	PML-Q	Gujranwala, Chakwal, Sargodha, Kasur, Jhang, Toba Tek Singh, Okara, Sahiwal, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Multan, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lahore, Vehari, Layyah, Jhelum, Mardan, Chitral, Lower Dir, Lakki Marwat, Mansehra, Tank, Khairpur, Mirpurkhas, Karachi West, Karachi South, Jhal Magsi and Ziarat
4.	JUI-F	Gujranwala, Dera Ghazi Khan, Vehari, Mardan, Bannu, Chitral, Hangu, Lower Dir, Lakki Marwat, Mansehra, Tank, Khairpur, Karachi West, Malir, Loralai, Kharan and Ziarat
5.	MQM	Gujranwala, Sargodha, Sahiwal, Muzaffargarh, Khanewal, Lodhran, Lahore, Mardan, Bannu, Mansehra, Mirpurkhas, Sanghar, Hyderabad, Karachi West, Karachi South and Karachi Central
6.	ANP	Mardan, Peshawar, Shangla, Swabi, Hangu, Lower Dir, Mansehra, Nowshera, Tank,

		Karachi West and Ziarat
7.	PPP-S	Charsadda, Mardan, Bannu, Chitral, Swabi, Hangu, Lower Dir, Mansehra, Karachi West and Malir

### 2.3. Religious Vote Mobilization

JUI-F candidates are mobilizing voters through appeals to religious themes or affiliations in 50 out of 67 constituencies (74%) where their campaign strategies were observed. In comparison, PML-N candidates are mobilizing the religious vote in 66 out of 155 constituencies observed, PPP in 68 of 177, PML-Q in 69 of 160, MQM in 21 of 63, ANP in 13 of 42, and PPP-S candidates are mobilizing the religious vote in 9 out of 34 constituencies where their strategies were observed.

Districts where political parties' candidates are mobilizing the religious vote are as follows:

No.	Political Party	Districts
1	PML-N	Gujrat, Gujranwala, Mandi Bahauddin, Hafizabad, Sargodha, Kasur, Jhang, Toba Tek Singh, Okara, Sahiwal, Bahawalpur, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Multan, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lahore, Vehari, Layyah, Bhakkar, Jhelum, Mianwali, Charsadda, Mardan, Mansehra, Tank, Karachi West, Karachi South, Karachi Central and Malir
2	PPP	Gujrat, Gujranwala, Mandi Bahauddin, Hafizabad, Sargodha, Kasur, Jhang, Toba Tek Singh, Okara, Sahiwal, Bahawalpur, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Rajanpur, Multan, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lahore, Vehari, Layyah, Bhakkar, Jhelum, Mardan, Khyber Agency, Mansehra, Tank, Sanghar, Karachi West, Karachi South, Karachi Central, Malir and Ghotki
3	PML-Q	Gujrat, Gujranwala, Mandi Bahauddin, Hafizabad, Sargodha, Kasur, Jhang, Toba Tek Singh, Okara, Sahiwal, Bahawalpur, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Rajanpur, Multan, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lahore, Vehari, Layyah, Jhelum, Mianwali, Mardan, Mansehra, Tank, Sukkur, Karachi West, Karachi South and Malir
4	JUI-F	Gujranwala, Sargodha, Dera Ghazi Khan, Rajanpur, Multan, Vehari, Bhakkar, Swat, Charsadda, Mardan, Peshawar, Bannu, Haripur, Abbottabad, Khyber Agency, Dera Ismail Khan, Shangla, Chitral, Battgram, Swabi, Hangu, Lower Dir, Karak, Lakki Marwat, Mansehra, Nowshera, Tank, Khairpur, Hyderabad, Karachi West, Karachi South, Malir, Tando Mohammad Khan, Jaffarabad, Khuzdar, Jhal Magsi, Loralai, Kalat, Qila Saifullah, Kharan and Ziarat
5	MQM	Sargodha, Sahiwal, Lahore, Bhakkar, Mardan, Bannu, Mansehra, Sanghar, Karachi West, Karachi South, Karachi Central and Malir
6	ANP	Mardan, Bannu, Khyber Agency, Swabi, Mansehra, Tank, Karachi West and Malir
7	PPP-S	Mardan, Bannu, Chitral, Mansehra, Karachi West and Malir

Likewise, JUI-F candidates are soliciting support of mosque leaders in 47 out of 65 constituencies (72%) of the observed constituencies, while PML-N candidates are doing so in 59 out of 154 constituencies, PPP in 67 of 176, PML-Q in 71 of 160, MQM in 21 of 62, ANP in 14 of 42, and PPP-S in 10 of 34 constituencies.

Districts where political party candidates are seeking support of mosque leaders are as follows:

No.	Political Party	Districts
1	PML-N	Gujrat, Gujranwala, Chakwal, Mandi Bahauddin, Sargodha, Kasur, Toba Tek Singh, Sahiwal, Bahawalpur, Muzaffargarh, Multan, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lahore, Vehari, Layyah, Bhakkar, Jhelum, Mianwali, Charsadda, Mardan, Lower Dir, Mansehra, Tank, Khairpur, Mirpurkhas, Karachi West, Karachi South, Malir and Kalat
2	PPP	Gujrat, Gujranwala, Chakwal, Mandi Bahauddin, Sargodha, Kasur, Toba Tek Singh, Okara, Sahiwal, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Rajanpur, Multan, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lahore, Vehari, Layyah, Bhakkar, Jhelum, Mianwali, Charsadda, Mardan, Dera Ismail Khan, Chitral, Lower Dir, Mansehra, Nowshera, Tank, Khairpur, Mirpurkhas, Sanghar, Karachi West, Malir, Ghotki, Tando Mohammad Khan, Lasbela, Qila Abdullah, Gwadar and Kalat
3	PML-Q	Gujrat, Gujranwala, Chakwal, Khushab, Mandi Bahauddin, Hafizabad, Sargodha,

		Kasur, Jhang, Toba Tek Singh, Okara, Sahiwal, Bahawalnagar, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Rajanpur, Multan, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lahore, Vehari, Jhelum, Mianwali, Mardan, Shangla, Swabi, Lower Dir, Lakki Marwat, Mansehra, Tank, Khairpur, Sukkur, Mirpurkhas, Karachi West, Karachi South, Nawabshah, Tando Mohammad Khan, Lasbela, Qila Abdullah and Kalat
4	JUI-F	Gujranwala, Sargodha, Sahiwal, Dera Ghazi Khan, Rajanpur, Multan, Rawalpindi, Vehari, Bhakkar, Charsadda, Mardan, Peshawar, Bannu, Khyber Agency, Dera Ismail Khan, Shangla, Chitral, Swabi, Hangu, Lower Dir, Lakki Marwat, Mansehra, Nowshera, Tank, Khairpur, Hyderabad, Karachi West, Karachi South, Malir, Thatta, Jaffarabad, Khuzdar, Qila Abdullah, Naushki, Loralai, Gwadar, Kalat, Qila Saifullah, Kharan and Ziarat
5	MQM	Okara, Sahiwal, Lahore, Bhakkar, Mardan, Bannu, Mansehra, Sanghar, Karachi West, Karachi South, Malir, Nawabshah and Thatta
6	ANP	Mardan, Bannu, Khyber Agency, Swabi, Lower Dir, Mansehra, Nowshera, Tank, Karachi West, Malir and Qila Abdullah
7	PPP-S	Mardan, Bannu, Lower Dir, Mansehra, Nowshera, Khairpur, Karachi West and Malir

## 2.4. Other Voter Outreach Strategies

### 2.4.1. Worker Unions Mobilization

Political party candidates are soliciting support within worker unions in 42 percent of the constituencies where their campaign strategies have been observed. PML-N candidates are reaching out to voters through workers unions in 92 out of 157 constituencies where their strategies were observed, PPP in 119 out of 182, PML-Q in 110 of 165, JUI-F in 40 of 64, MQM in 50 of 64, ANP in 23 of 44, and PPP-S in 15 of 35 constituencies.

### 2.4.2. Minority Voters Mobilization

Political party candidates are mobilizing minority voters in 44 percent of observed constituencies. PML-N candidates are doing so in 87 out of 156 constituencies, PPP in 108 of 178, PML-Q in 104 of 163, JUI-F in 27 of 59, MQM in 33 of 62, ANP in 19 of 41, and PPP-S in 15 of 34 constituencies where their campaign strategies were observed.

### 2.4.3. Women Voters Mobilization

Party candidates also were observed mobilizing women voters in at least half (50%) of the constituencies where they are campaigning, including PML-N in 99 out of 159, PPP in 124 of 183, PML-Q in 115 of 166, JUI-F in 31 of 62, MQM in 34 of 62, ANP in 26 of 43, and PPP-S in 15 of 34 constituencies where their strategies were observed.

## 3. CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES

### 3.1. Public Rallies/Meetings

FAFEN observers' reports show that political party candidates were not holding many public rallies or large-scale meetings during the week of January 5-11, 2008. PML-N candidates were observed hosting public rallies or large-scale meetings in 33 constituencies, PPP in 48, PML-Q in 46, JUI-F in 15, MQM in 8, ANP in 11, and PPP-S in 6 constituencies in these districts:

No.	Political Party	Districts
1	PML-N	Gujrat, Narowal, Gujranwala, Toba Tek Singh, Okara, Sahiwal, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Muzaffargarh, Multan, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lahore, Vehari, Jhelum, Mianwali, Mardan, Peshawar, Mansehra, Sukkur, Karachi South, Malir, Jaffarabad and Loralai
2	PPP	Gujrat, Gujranwala, Jhang, Toba Tek Singh, Okara, Sahiwal, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Muzaffargarh, Multan, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lahore, Vehari, Jhelum, Mianwali, Mardan, Peshawar, Khyber Agency, Shangla, Chitral, Mansehra, Sukkur, Hyderabad, Karachi Central, Malir, Ghotki, Lasbela, Jaffarabad, Qila Abdullah and Loralai
3	PML-Q	Gujrat, Narowal, Gujranwala, Jhang, Toba Tek Singh, Okara, Sahiwal, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Muzaffargarh, Rajanpur, Multan, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lahore, Vehari, Jhelum, Mianwali, Mardan, Peshawar, Shangla, Chitral, Lakki Marwat, Mansehra, Sukkur, Karachi South, Malir, Lasbela, Qila Abdullah, Loralai and Ziarat

4	JUI-F	Sahiwal, Peshawar, Khyber Agency, Shangla, Chitral, Lakki Marwat, Karachi South, Jaffarabad, Qila Abdullah, Loralai and Ziarat
5	MQM	Okara, Sahiwal, Lahore, Mardan, Hyderabad, Karachi South, Karachi Central and Malir
6	ANP	Mardan, Peshawar, Khyber Agency, Shangla, Karachi West, Karachi South and Qila Abdullah
7	PPP-S	Peshawar, Shangla, Chitral and Karachi South

### 3.2. Corner Meetings

According to FAFEN observers, PML-N candidates were hosting corner meetings in 147 constituencies, PPP in 166, PML-Q in 150, JUI-F in 53, MQM in 51, ANP in 34, and PPP-S in 23 constituencies of the following districts:

No.	Political Party	Districts
1	PML-N	Gujrat, Narowal, Gujranwala, Chakwal, Khushab, Mandi Bahauddin, Sargodha, Kasur, Jhang, Faisalabad, Toba Tek Singh, Okara, Pak Pattan, Sahiwal, Bahawalnagar, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Multan, Attock, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lodhran, Lahore, Vehari, Layyah, Bhakkar, Jhelum, Mianwali, Swat, Charsadda, Mardan, Peshawar, Haripur, Abbottabad, Khyber Agency, Dera Ismail Khan, Battgram, Swabi, Hangu, Lower Dir, Karak, Malakand, Mansehra, Nowshera, Tank, Khairpur, Sukkur, Mirpurkhas, Sanghar, Hyderabad, Karachi West, Karachi South, Karachi Central, Malir, Matiari, Nawabshah, Jaffarabad, Kalat and Qila Saifullah
2	PPP	Gujrat, Narowal, Gujranwala, Chakwal, Khushab, Mandi Bahauddin, Sargodha, Kasur, Jhang, Faisalabad, Toba Tek Singh, Okara, Pak Pattan, Sahiwal, Bahawalnagar, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Rajanpur, Multan, Attock, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lodhran, Lahore, Vehari, Layyah, Bhakkar, Jhelum, Mianwali, Kohistan, Swat, Charsadda, Mardan, Peshawar, Abbottabad, Khyber Agency, Dera Ismail Khan, Chitral, Battgram, Swabi, Hangu, Lower Dir, Malakand, Mansehra, Nowshera, Tank, Khairpur, Sukkur, Mirpurkhas, Hyderabad, Karachi West, Karachi South, Karachi Central, Malir, Ghotki, Matiari, Tando Mohammad Khan, Lasbela, Jaffarabad, Qila Abdullah, Naushki, Gwadar, Kalat, Qila Saifullah, Kharan and Ziarat
3	PML-Q	Gujrat, Narowal, Gujranwala, Khushab, Mandi Bahauddin, Sargodha, Kasur, Jhang, Faisalabad, Toba Tek Singh, Okara, Pak Pattan, Sahiwal, Bahawalnagar, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Rajanpur, Multan, Attock, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lodhran, Lahore, Vehari, Layyah, Jhelum, Mianwali, Mardan, Peshawar, Haripur, Abbottabad, Khyber Agency, Chitral, Battgram, Swabi, Lower Dir, Karak, Lakki Marwat, Malakand, Mansehra, Nowshera, Tank, Khairpur, Sukkur, Mirpurkhas, Hyderabad, Karachi West, Karachi South, Malir, Ghotki, Nawabshah, Lasbela, Qila Abdullah, Jhal Magsi, Naushki, Kalat, Qila Saifullah, Kharan and Ziarat
4	JUI-F	Gujranwala, Sargodha, Sahiwal, Dera Ghazi Khan, Rajanpur, Vehari, Bhakkar, Swat, Charsadda, Mardan, Peshawar, Bannu, Abbottabad, Khyber Agency, Dera Ismail Khan, Chitral, Battgram, Swabi, Hangu, Lower Dir, Karak, Lakki Marwat, Malakand, Mansehra, Nowshera, Tank, Khairpur, Hyderabad, Karachi West, Karachi South, Malir, Ghotki, Tando Mohammad Khan, Jaffarabad, Qila Abdullah, Jhal Magsi, Naushki, Kalat, Qila Saifullah, Kharan and Ziarat
5	MQM	Gujranwala, Sargodha, Faisalabad, Okara, Sahiwal, Bahawalnagar, Muzaffargarh, Khanewal, Lodhran, Lahore, Bhakkar, Mianwali, Kohistan, Swat, Mardan, Bannu, Abbottabad, Karak, Mansehra, Nowshera, Khairpur, Hyderabad, Karachi West, Karachi South, Karachi Central, Malir, Nawabshah, Tando Mohammad Khan and Loralai
6	ANP	Swat, Charsadda, Mardan, Peshawar, Bannu, Khyber Agency, Dera Ismail Khan, Battgram, Swabi, Hangu, Lower Dir, Karak, Malakand, Nowshera, Tank, Hyderabad, Tharparkar, Karachi West, Malir, Qila Abdullah, Qila Saifullah and Ziarat
7	PPP-S	Charsadda, Mardan, Peshawar, Bannu, Abbottabad, Shangla, Chitral, Swabi, Hangu, Lower Dir, Malakand, Nowshera, Khairpur, Karachi West, Malir, Matiari and Nawabshah

### 3.3. Door-to-Door Campaigning

PML-N candidates are running their campaign through door-to-door contact in 106 constituencies, PPP in 132, PML-Q in 117, JUI-F in 44, MQM in 37, ANP in 29 and PPP-S in 19 constituencies in the following districts:

No.	Political Party	Districts
1	PML-N	Gujrat, Narowal, Gujranwala, Chakwal, Khushab, Mandi Bahauddin, Sargodha, Kasur, Jhang, Faisalabad, Toba Tek Singh, Okara, Pak Pattan, Sahiwal, Bahawalnagar, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Multan, Attock, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lodhran, Lahore, Vehari, Layyah, Bhakkar, Jhelum, Mianwali, Kohistan, Swat, Charsadda, Mardan, Peshawar, Haripur, Abbottabad, Dera Ismail Khan, Shangla, Chitral, Battgram, Swabi, Hangu, Karak, Malakand, Mansehra, Nowshera, Tank, Khairpur, Sukkur, Mirpurkhas, Karachi West, Karachi South, Karachi Central, Malir, Jaffarabad, Khuzdar and Kalat
2	PPP	Gujrat, Gujranwala, Chakwal, Khushab, Mandi Bahauddin, Sargodha, Kasur, Jhang, Faisalabad, Toba Tek Singh, Okara, Pak Pattan, Sahiwal, Bahawalnagar, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Rajanpur, Multan, Attock, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lodhran, Lahore, Vehari, Layyah, Bhakkar, Jhelum, Mianwali, Kohistan, Swat, Charsadda, Mardan, Peshawar, Abbottabad, Khyber Agency, Dera Ismail Khan, Shangla, Chitral, Swabi, Hangu, Lower Dir, Malakand, Mansehra, Nowshera, Tank, Khairpur, Sukkur, Mirpurkhas, Karachi West, Karachi South, Karachi Central, Malir, Ghotki, Lasbela, Jaffarabad, Khuzdar, Qila Abdullah, Naushki, Kalat, Kharan and Ziarat
3	PML-Q	Gujrat, Gujranwala, Chakwal, Mandi Bahauddin, Sargodha, Kasur, Jhang, Faisalabad, Toba Tek Singh, Okara, Pak Pattan, Sahiwal, Bahawalnagar, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Rajanpur, Multan, Attock, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lodhran, Lahore, Vehari, Layyah, Jhelum, Mianwali, Kohistan, Mardan, Peshawar, Haripur, Abbottabad, Khyber Agency, Shangla, Swabi, Lower Dir, Karak, Lakki Marwat, Malakand, Mansehra, Nowshera, Tank, Khairpur, Sukkur, Mirpurkhas, Karachi West, Malir, Nawabshah, Lasbela, Khuzdar, Qila Abdullah, Jhal Magsi, Gwadar, Kalat, Qila Saifullah, Kharan and Ziarat
4	JUI-F	Gujranwala, Sahiwal, Dera Ghazi Khan, Rajanpur, Vehari, Bhakkar, Kohistan, Swat, Charsadda, Mardan, Peshawar, Bannu, Khyber Agency, Dera Ismail Khan, Shangla, Chitral, Swabi, Hangu, Lower Dir, Karak, Lakki Marwat, Malakand, Mansehra, Nowshera, Tank, Khairpur, Karachi West, Malir, Qila Abdullah, Jhal Magsi, Kalat, Qila Saifullah, Kharan and Ziarat
5	MQM	Gujranwala, Faisalabad, Okara, Sahiwal, Khanewal, Lodhran, Lahore, Bhakkar, Mianwali, Mardan, Bannu, Abbottabad, Mansehra, Nowshera, Khairpur, Mirpurkhas, Hyderabad, Karachi West, Karachi South, Karachi Central, Malir, Nawabshah and Khuzdar
6	ANP	Swat, Charsadda, Mardan, Peshawar, Bannu, Khyber Agency, Dera Ismail Khan, Shangla, Swabi, Hangu, Lower Dir, Karak, Malakand, Nowshera, Tank, Karachi West, Malir, Qila Abdullah, Qila Saifullah and Ziarat
7	PPP-S	Charsadda, Mardan, Peshawar, Bannu, Haripur, Abbottabad, Shangla, Chitral, Swabi, Hangu, Lower Dir, Malakand, Nowshera, Karachi West and Malir

### 3.4. Newspaper Advertisements

FAFEN observers reported that candidates of almost all political parties are using advertisements in local newspapers as a medium of campaigning. FAFEN observers found that PML -N had given advertisements to newspapers in 75 constituencies, PPP in 86, PML-Q in 89, JUI-F in 19, MQM in 16, ANP in 15 and PPP-S in 9 constituencies in the following districts:

No.	Political Party	Districts
1	PML-N	Gujrat, Narowal, Gujranwala, Chakwal, Khushab, Mandi Bahauddin, Hafizabad, Sargodha, Faisalabad, Okara, Pak Pattan, Sahiwal, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Muzaffargarh, Multan, Attock, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lodhran, Lahore, Vehari, Layyah, Bhakkar, Jhelum, Mianwali, Swat, Mardan, Peshawar, Abbottabad, Swabi,

		Hangu, Mansehra, Nowshera, Tank, Hyderabad, Karachi West, Karachi South, Jaffarabad and Khuzdar
2	PPP	Gujrat, Narowal, Gujranwala, Chakwal, Khushab, Mandi Bahauddin, Hafizabad, Sargodha, Faisalabad, Okara, Pak Pattan, Sahiwal, Bahawalnagar, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Multan, Attock, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lodhran, Lahore, Vehari, Layyah, Jhelum, Mianwali, Swat, Mardan, Peshawar, Abbottabad, Khyber Agency, Dera Ismail Khan, Shangla, Chitral, Swabi, Mansehra, Hangu, Tank, Hyderabad, Karachi West, Karachi South, Ghotki, Jaffarabad, Khuzdar, Naushki and Gwadar
3	PML-Q	Gujrat, Narowal, Gujranwala, Chakwal, Khushab, Mandi Bahauddin, Hafizabad, Sargodha, Jhang, Faisalabad, Okara, Pak Pattan, Sahiwal, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Muzaffargarh, Multan, Attock, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lodhran, Lahore, Vehari, Layyah, Jhelum, Mianwali, Mardan, Peshawar, Abbottabad, Khyber Agency, Shangla, Chitral, Battgram, Swabi, Lakki Marwat, Mansehra, Tank, Jacobabad, Hyderabad, Karachi South, Malir, Lasbela, Khuzdar, Gwadar and Ziarat
4	JUI-F	Gujranwala, Sargodha, Swat, Mardan, Peshawar, Abbottabad, Khyber Agency, Shangla, Hangu, Lakki Marwat, Mansehra, Tank, Hyderabad, Malir and Ziarat
5	MQM	Faisalabad, Okara, Sahiwal, Lahore, Bhakkar, Swat, Mardan, Abbottabad, Mansehra, Hyderabad, Karachi West and Karachi South
6	ANP	Mardan, Peshawar, Khyber Agency, Shangla, Hangu, Tank and Ziarat
7	PPP-S	Mardan, Peshawar, Shangla, Chitral, Swabi and Hangu

### 3.5. Local Radio Advertisements

According to FAFEN observers, very few parties opted for campaigning through advertisements on local radio channels. PML-N candidates opted for this method in 18 constituencies, PPP in 25, PML-Q in 32, JUI-F in 5, MQM in 9, ANP in 3 and PPP-S in only one constituency, in the following districts:

No.	Political Party	Districts
1	PML-N	Gujranwala, Chakwal, Mandi Bahauddin, Faisalabad, Pak Pattan, Sahiwal, Rahim Yar Khan, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lahore, Vehari, Jhelum, Mardan, Abbottabad, Mirpurkhas and Karachi South
2	PPP	Gujrat, Gujranwala, Chakwal, Mandi Bahauddin, Faisalabad, Pak Pattan, Sahiwal, Bahawalnagar, Rahim Yar Khan, Khanewal, Lahore, Jhelum, Mardan, Abbottabad, Khyber Agency, Chitral, Mirpurkhas, Karachi South and Ghotki
3	PML-Q	Gujrat, Gujranwala, Chakwal, Mandi Bahauddin, Jhang, Pak Pattan, Sahiwal, Bahawalnagar, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Muzaffargarh, Multan, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lahore, Vehari, Jhelum, Mardan, Abbottabad, Chitral, Lakki Marwat and Gwadar
4	JUI-F	Abbottabad, Khyber Agency, Chitral and Lakki Marwat
5	MQM	Faisalabad, Sahiwal, Lahore, Mardan, Abbottabad, Karachi West and Karachi South
6	ANP	Mardan and Khyber Agency
7	PPP-S	Chitral

### 3.6. Local Cable Television Advertisements

FAFEN observers reported that political parties' candidates are broadcasting their advertisements on local cable television networks in several constituencies. Advertisements seeking votes for the PML-N candidates are being broadcast on local cable networks in 31 constituencies as well as on state television, PPP in 39 constituencies, PML-Q in 52, JUI-F in 6, MQM in 10, ANP in five and PPP-S in two constituencies in the following districts:

No.	Political Party	Districts
1	PML-N	Gujrat, Narowal, Gujranwala, Jhang, Faisalabad, Okara, Sahiwal, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Multan, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lahore, Vehari, Bhakkar, Jhelum, Swat, Mardan, Peshawar, Mirpurkhas and Karachi West
2	PPP	Gujrat, Narowal, Gujranwala, Jhang, Faisalabad, Okara, Sahiwal, Bahawalnagar, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Multan, Rawalpindi,

		Khanewal, Lahore, Vehari, Jhelum, Swat, Mardan, Peshawar, Khyber Agency, Mirpurkhas, Hyderabad, Karachi West, Karachi South and Ghotki
3	PML-Q	Gujrat, Narowal, Gujranwala, Hafizabad, Jhang, Okara, Sahiwal, Bahawalnagar, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Rajanpur, Multan, Attock, Rawalpindi, Khanewal, Lahore, Vehari, Jhelum, Mardan, Peshawar, Lakki Marwat, Hyderabad, Malir, Nawabshah, Lasbela and Gwadar
4	JUI-F	Dera Ghazi Khan, Peshawar, Khyber Agency, Dera Ismail Khan and Lakki Marwat
5	MQM	Faisalabad, Sahiwal, Lahore, Mardan, Karachi West, Karachi South and Malir
6	ANP	Mardan, Peshawar, Khyber Agency and Karachi West
7	PPP-S	Peshawar and Karachi West

### 3.7. Wall Chalking, Posters, Banners, Handbills, Billboards, and Distribution of Party Manifestos

Wall chalking, poster displays, banners and distribution of handbills are the most frequent and common strategies being adopted by contesting candidates running their election campaigns. Almost all the candidates have been observed wall chalking throughout the country. Posters and banners of the candidates also can be seen at public places in cities and rural areas around the country. However, very few candidates were found distributing handbills among the people highlighting their achievements and future programs.

PML-N candidates have done wall chalking in 102 constituencies where their activities were observed, PPP in 122, PML-Q in 110, JUI-F in 32, MQM in 10, ANP in 27, and PPP-S in 9 constituencies. PML-N candidates' posters have been observed in 132 constituencies, PPP in 153, PML-Q in 141, JUI-F in 41, MQM in 41, ANP in 29, and PPP-S in 18 constituencies. Similarly, PML-N candidates' banners are displayed in 135 observed constituencies, PPP in 146, PML-Q in 138, JUI-F in 37, MQM in 40, ANP in 27 and PPP-S in 17 constituencies.

PML-N candidates were observed distributing handbills in 72 constituencies, PPP in 84, PML-Q in 79, JUI-F in 18, MQM in 18, ANP in 15 and PPP-S in 7 constituencies. Candidates are also using billboards of different sizes; PML-N has erected billboards in 82 constituencies, PPP in 97, PML-Q in 96, JUI-F in 22, MQM in 15, ANP in 19 and PPP-S in 11 constituencies.

Finally, FAFEN reports indicate that PML-N candidates are distributing party election manifestos in 72 of 168 observed constituencies, PPP in 105 of 192, PML-Q in 87 of 175, JUI-F in 38 of 73, MQM in 36 of 73, ANP in 21 of 47 and PPP-S in 11 of 37 constituencies.

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