


# ELECTION CAMPAIGN MONITOR

## General Election 2018



**Free and Fair Election Network (FAFEN)** has been conducting periodic assessments of the political environment and the implementation of election laws, rules and regulations since January 2018, as part of its multi-phase observation of General Election (GE) 2018. The purpose of the observation is to contribute to the evolution of an election process that is free, fair, transparent and accountable, in accordance with the requirements laid out in the Elections Act, 2017. FAFEN produces regular updates, information briefs and reports to provide objective, impartial and evidence-based information regarding the quality of electoral and political processes to the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP), political parties, the media, civil society organizations and citizens.



Following the announcement of the election program for GE 2018, FAFEN expanded the scope of its election observation from the district to the constituency level. This Election Campaign Monitor is based on the direct observation of election campaign activities and implementation of Code of Conduct for Political Parties and Contesting Candidates, media monitoring of electoral violence, and citizens' interviews on electioneering, voter freedom, women's enjoyment of voting rights and voter inducement.

As part of its election observation methodology, FAFEN randomly sampled 50 electoral areas in each National Assembly (NA) constituency. In each sampled electoral area, FAFEN interviewed three citizens, including women, to gauge citizen interest in participating in political gatherings and gather their views on the political environment, election campaign, and women's freedom to vote. FAFEN observers also conducted an assessment of campaigning activities and recorded violations of ECP's Code of Conduct in the sampled electoral areas.

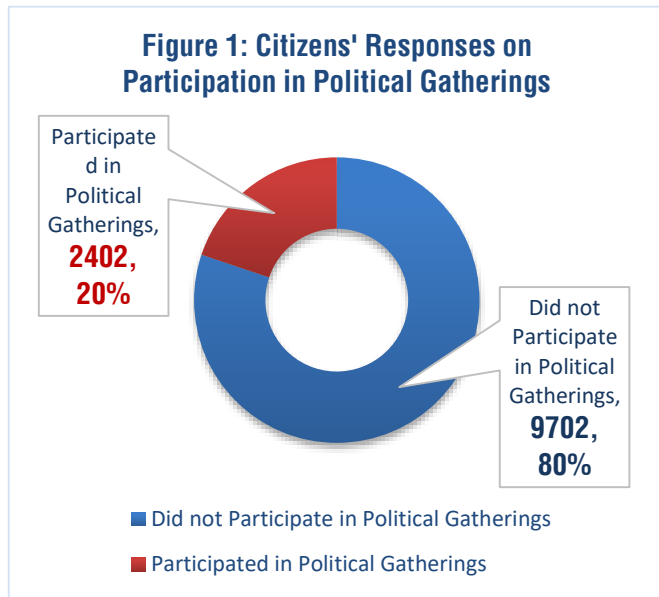
This Campaign Monitor incorporates observation reports received from 5,122 electoral areas between June 1 and July 15, 2018 – 2,959 in Punjab, 1,049 in Sindh, 699 in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), 407 in Balochistan and eight in Islamabad Capital Territory (ICT) – in 240 NA constituencies. These reports included direct observation and citizens' perceptions of election campaign activities and developments. FAFEN observers interviewed 12,104 citizens – 7,482 in Punjab, 2,467 in Sindh, 1,371 in KP, 764 in Balochistan and 20 in ICT. The interviews were conducted in 4,233 electoral areas in 228 NA constituencies. FAFEN also observed the adherence of campaign activities with the ECP's Code of Conduct in 3,331 of these electoral areas; campaign materials were seen in 1,760 electoral areas while none were noticed in the remaining 1,571.



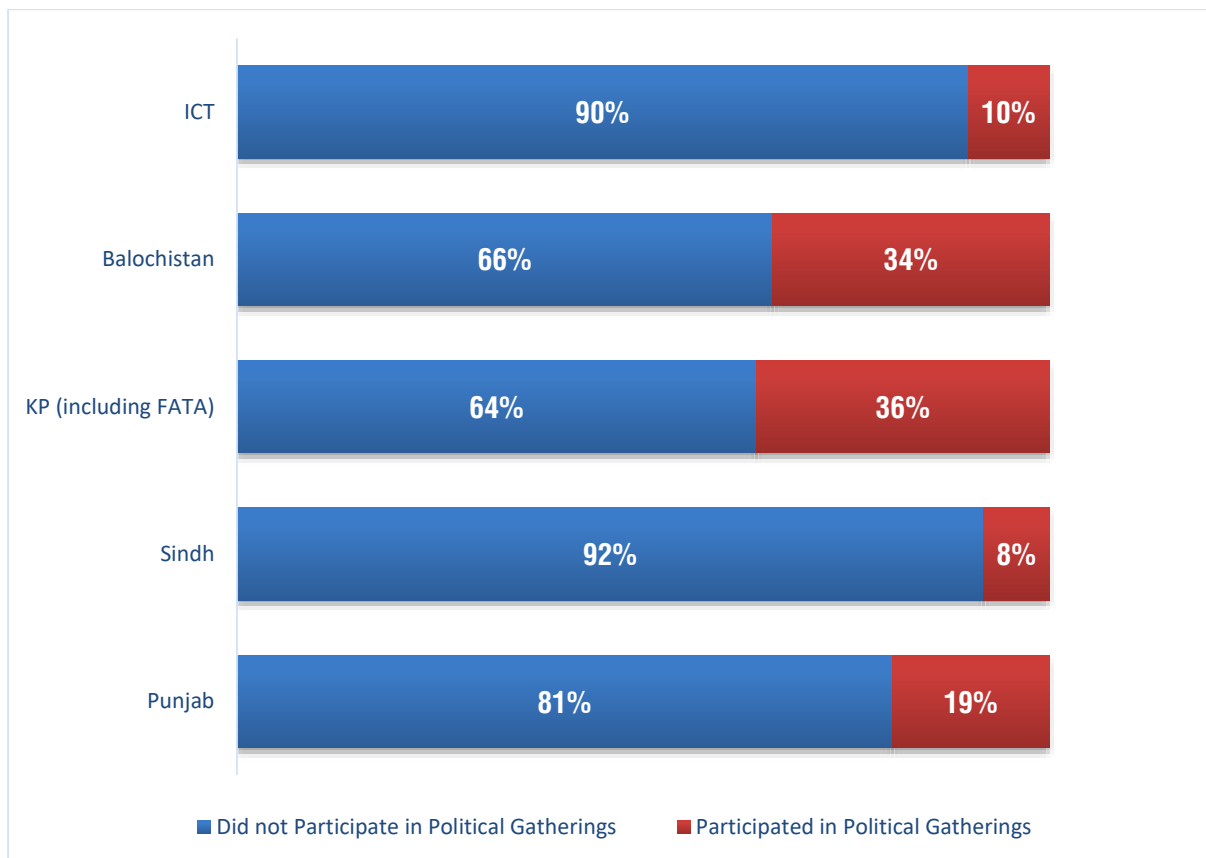
# 1. PUBLIC INTEREST IN ELECTIONEERING

## 1.1 Public Participation in Political Gatherings

Of 12,104 citizens interviewed in 4,233 sampled electoral areas of 228 NA constituencies, nearly one-fifth or 2,402 said that they participated in various types of political gatherings during the month preceding their interviews. The proportion of interviewed citizens who confirmed participating in political gatherings was considerably larger in KP (36%) and Balochistan (34%) than in Punjab (19%) and Sindh (8%). Figures 1 and 2 show overall citizens' responses and their regional distribution.



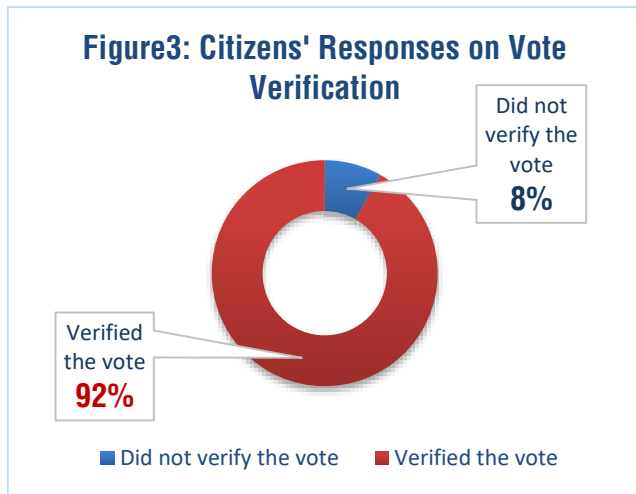
**Figure 2 Regional Distribution of Citizen Participation in Political Gatherings**



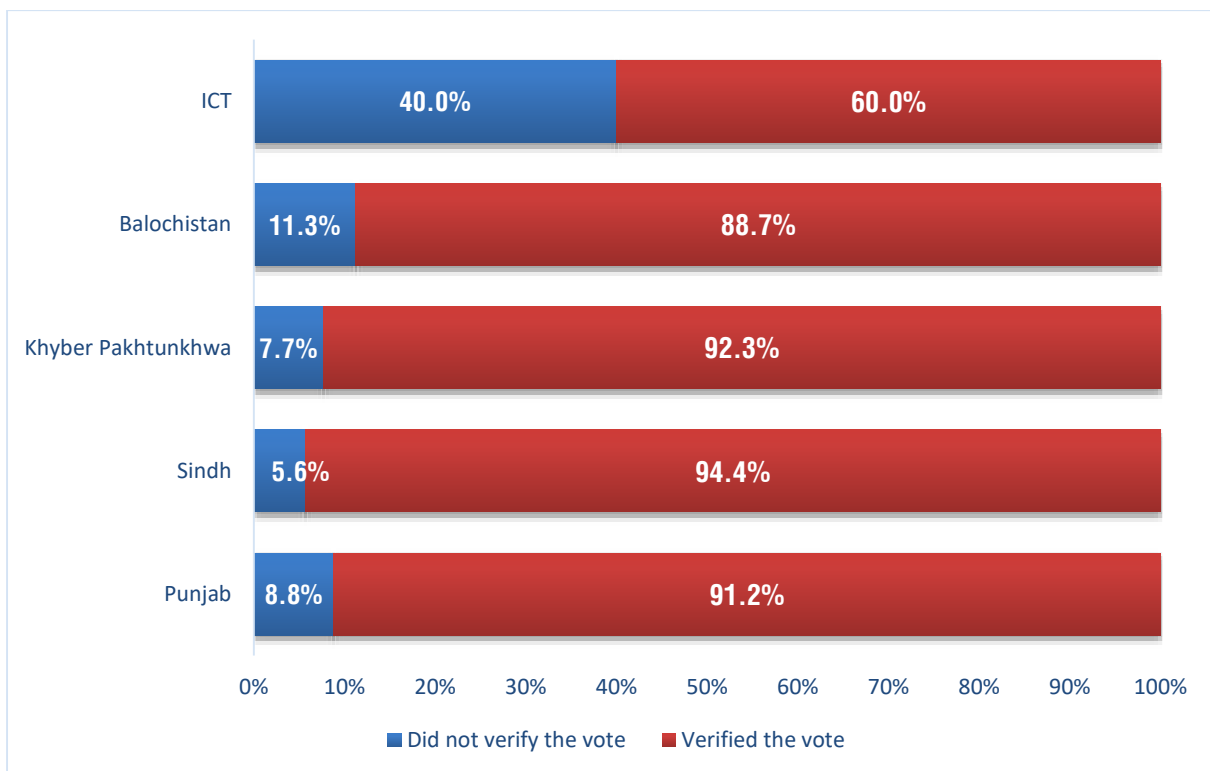


## 1.2 Verification of Voter Registration Details

An overwhelming majority (92%) of interviewed citizens said that they had confirmed the status and details of their vote registration via the ECP's vote verification services, including Display Centers and the 8300 Voter SMS Service. Except in Balochistan and ICT, more than 90% of the interviewed citizens in each province had reportedly verified their voting details. Figures 3 and 4 respectively show the overall and regional distribution of citizens' responses on vote verification.



**Figure 4** Regional Distribution of Citizens' Responses on Vote Verification





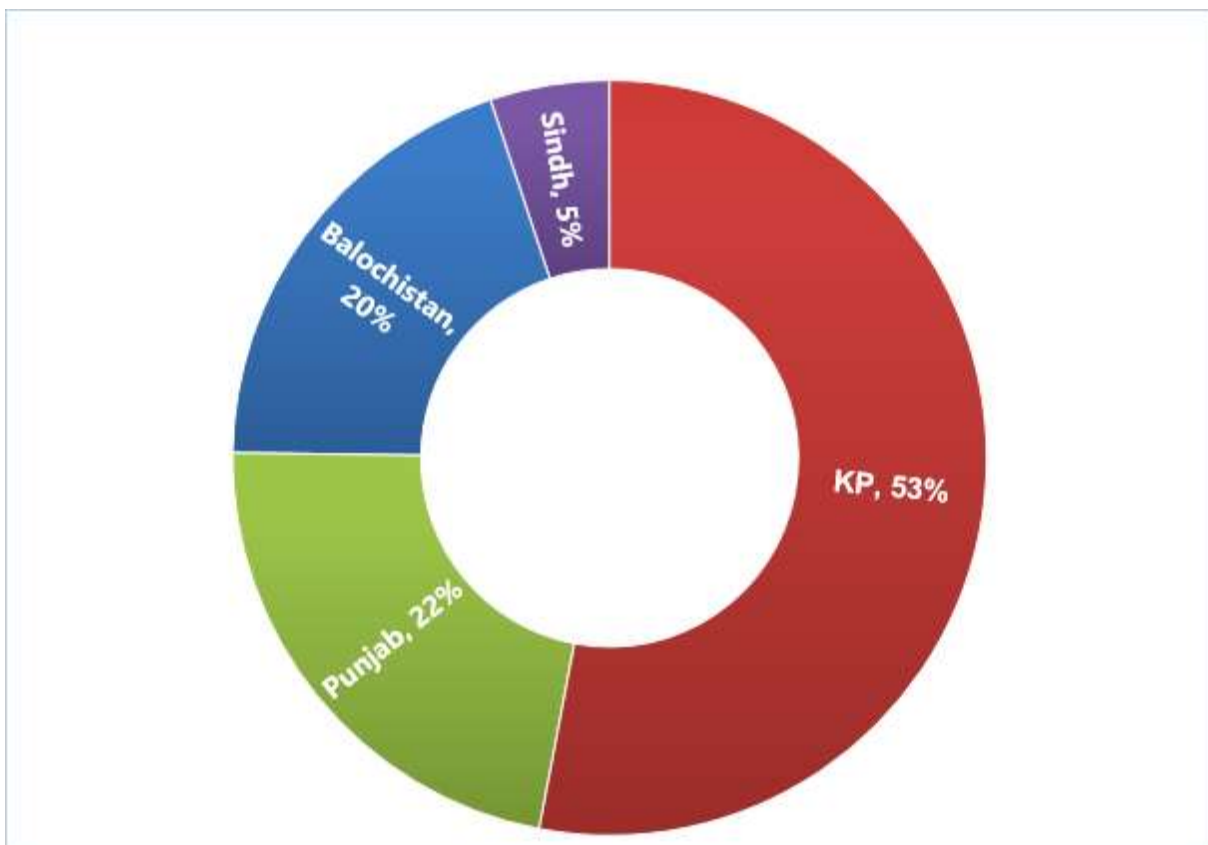
## 2. RESTRICTIONS ON WOMEN'S ELECTORAL PARTICIPATION AS VOTERS

During interviews with FAFEN observers, nearly one percent of the interviewed citizens of 64 electoral areas situated in 22 NA constituencies reported that the women in their areas typically did not vote in elections (see Figure 5). More than half (53%) of the citizens who reported restrictions on women belonged to KP (including the FATA region); these included 62 citizens in 36 electoral areas located in eight NA constituencies. Citizens also reported restrictions on women in 13 electoral areas in Punjab, 11 in Balochistan and four in Sindh. The major barriers to women's exercise of voting rights reported by citizens include socio-cultural norms, excessive distances to polling stations, and agreements between local influencers (parties, village/tribal elders, etc.) on barring women from voting. A list of electoral areas where citizens reported voting restrictions on women is provided in Annexure-I.

*Preventing any woman from contesting an election or exercising her right to vote is a corrupt practice punishable with an imprisonment of up to three years, a fine of up to PKR 100,000 or with both. Commission may also file court cases against persons entering into agreements restraining women from voting.*

**Sections 9, 170(a)(vii) and 174 of the Elections Act, 2017**

**Figure 5** Regional Distribution of Citizens Reporting Restrictions on Women's Voting





### 3. VOTER INTIMIDATION

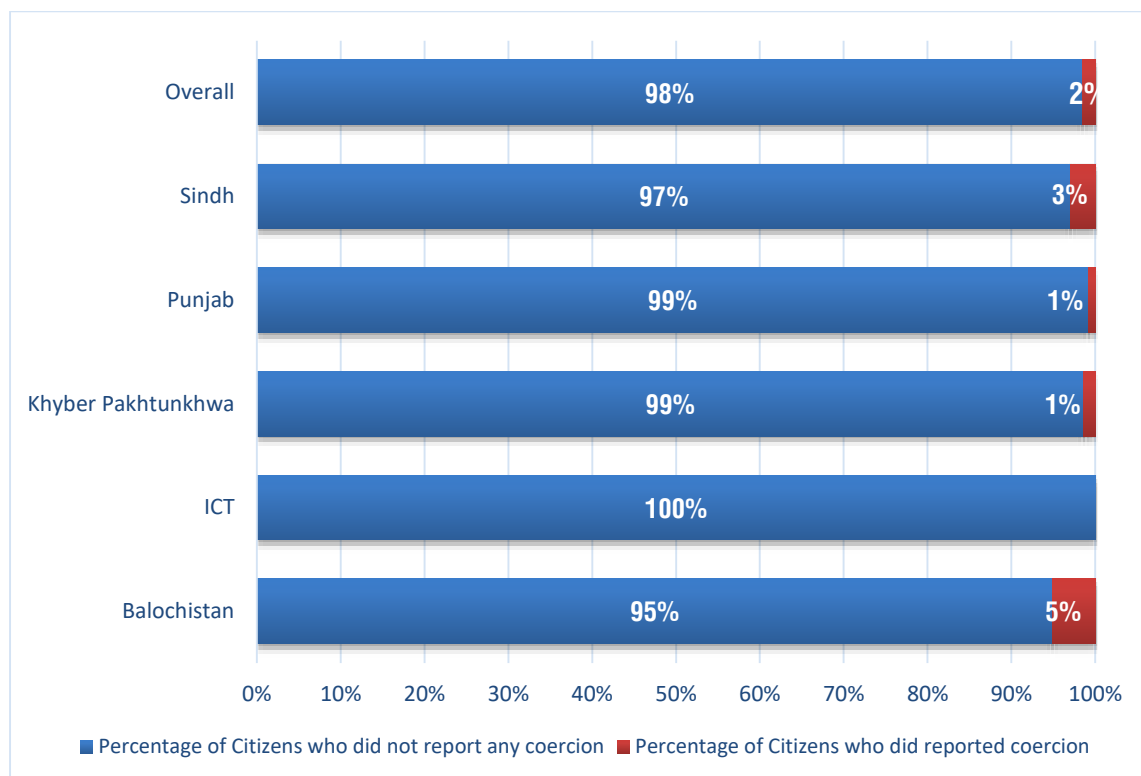
FAFEN observers inquired citizens of any pressures to support or oppose specific parties or candidates. Nearly 1.6% of the interviewed citizens, over two-thirds of whom belonged to Sindh and Punjab, claimed that they were intimidated or coerced to support or oppose specific candidates or parties. As many as 42 citizens reported being forcefully compelled to support certain parties/candidates, while 29 reported being pressured to oppose certain parties/candidates and 119 reported both.

*Exercising undue influence to induce, compel or refrain any person from voting or contesting election is a corrupt practice punishable with imprisonment up to three years or with fine up to PKR 100,000 or with both.*

**Sections 167, 170 and 174 of the Elections Act 2017**

Regional distributions of citizen responses are shown in Figure 6 below:

**Figure 6** Regional Distribution of Citizens Claims about Intimidation/Coercion to Form or Change Political Affiliations



Around 0.3% or 38 respondents also reported incidences of electoral violence in their areas. In KP, two citizens residing in two NA constituencies reported clashes between political activists in their respective electoral areas. In Punjab, 12 citizens reported violence in 10 electoral areas located in six NA constituencies. In Sindh, 24 citizens belonging to 11 electoral areas of one constituency in Karachi (NA-254) reported frequent clashes between political workers.



| Region             | No. of Citizens Reporting Electoral Violence | No. of Electoral Areas where violence took place | Conflicting Parties      |
|--------------------|--|--|--------------------------|
| PUNJAB             | 12   | 10   | PTI, PML-N, Independents |
| SINDH              | 24   | 11   | PSP, MQM, PTI            |
| KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA | 2  | 2  | PTI, ANP, QWP            |
| <b>TOTAL</b>       | <b>38</b>                                    | <b>23</b>  |                          |

FAFEN media monitor also recorded 51 incidents of political and electoral violence that occurred during the first fortnight of July 2018. The press reported 32 incidents of violence in Punjab, nine in KP, six in Sindh, three in Balochistan and one in ICT.

**Types of Incidents:** The reported incidents included attacks on 14 election candidates, nine instances of attacks on political activists, eight instances of clashes between supporters of various parties or candidates, and six incidents of clashes between security officials and political workers. Moreover, attacks on party offices/camps, political gatherings, government officials, media, and general public were also reported.

**Victims of Violence:** The incidents of violence claimed 159 lives and injured 272 people. Seven of the reported incidents were perpetrated against PTI's candidates, workers and offices/camps. PML-N affiliates were the victims in six incidents, independent candidates or their supporters in five incidents and PPP in three incidents. The remaining incidents were perpetrated against MMA, BAP, ANP, TLP, JI, BNP and MQM. Other victims included media, general public and government officials.

**Perpetrators of Violence:** In most of the attacks on political leaders, workers and properties, the assailants were unknown. PML-N supporters were described as perpetrators in five incidents, PTI supporters in four incidents, ANP supporters in two incidents while PPP supporters and security officials were alleged to be the perpetrators in one incident each.

**Clashing Parties:** Clashes among political workers largely involved supporters of PTI and PML-N, while TLP workers and candidates also clashed in one incident. The press also reported six incidents of clashes between PML-N workers and police on the day former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif returned to the country to face a ten-year sentence awarded to him by an Accountability Court.

**Tactics of Violence:** Bombing was used as tactic of violence in six incidents, two of which were suicide bombings and four involved improvised explosive devices. Gunfire and arms were used in 14 incidents, while victims were physically assaulted in 10 incidents. Blunt objects, such as stones, bricks and sticks, were used in eight incidents while one incident involved the use of sharp objects. In four incidents, verbal abuses and threats were used to intimidate victims. One incident reported on social media involved the impersonation of a candidate. The nature of violence could not be determined in the remaining seven incidents.



## 4. VOTER INDUCEMENT

### 4.1 Development Schemes

In interviews with FAFEN observers, nearly two percent or 245 citizens belonging to 127 electoral areas identified 142 development schemes being carried out in their areas during a month preceding their interviews. As these interviews were conducted in the latter half of June 2018 and first half of July, several of these schemes may have been illegally announced, initiated or inaugurated after the announcement of the Election Program. More than half of these schemes (74) were identified in Punjab. Further regional breakdown of citizens, electoral areas and development schemes is provided in Figure 7 below:

*Announcement of development schemes by government officials or elected representatives for a constituency after the issuance of the Election Programme for that constituency is prohibited and is an illegal practice punishable with an imprisonment for up to two years, or a fine of up to PKR 100,000, or with both.*

**Sections 181 and 183 of the Elections Act, 2017**

**Figure 7** Regional Distribution of Citizen’s Electoral Areas and Claims about Development Schemes

| Region             | No. of Citizen who Identified Development Schemes | No. of Electoral Areas where DS were identified | No. of Development Schemes |
|--------------------|---|---|----------------------------|
| PUNJAB             | 123   | 71  | 74                         |
| SINDH              | 95  | 39  | 47                         |
| KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA | 24  | 16  | 20                         |
| BALOCHISTAN        | 3   | 1   | 1                          |
| <b>TOTAL</b>       | <b>245</b>  | <b>127</b>                                      | <b>142</b>                 |

According to respondents, local government representatives inaugurated or announced almost half of the identified schemes (68) whereas contesting candidates announced or inaugurated 41 schemes. The remaining 33 schemes were initiated by various other notables including government officials and political figures.



**Figure 8** Regional Distribution of Development Scheme Initiators

| Region             | Contesting Candidates | Local Government Representatives | Any Other | Total      |
|--------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|-----------|------------|
| KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA | 7                     | 10                               | 3         | 20         |
| BALUCHISTAN        |                       | 1                                |           | 1          |
| PUNJAB             | 25                    | 31                               | 18        | 74         |
| SINDH              | 9                     | 26                               | 12        | 47         |
| <b>TOTAL</b>       | <b>41</b>             | <b>68</b>                        | <b>33</b> | <b>142</b> |

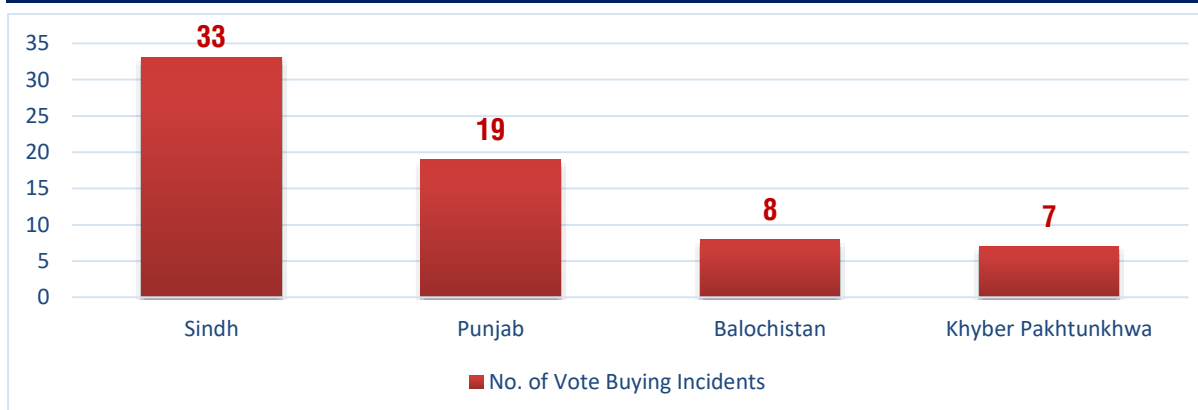
**4.2 Reward or Gratification to Voters**

Nearly 0.6% (81) respondents reported 67 incidents of vote-buying in which candidates or their supporters allegedly distributed cash, food and other gifts among citizens in order to secure votes on Polling Day. The incidence of vote-buying reports was more frequently reported in Sindh than in other regions, whereas PTI was the most frequently cited political party using this tactic.

Figure 9 shows the regional distribution of reported incidents of vote-buying. A party-wise list of reported incidents is also provided below.

*Offering, giving or receiving any reward or gratification for voting or refraining to vote in an election is defined as bribery which is a corrupt practice punishable with an imprisonment up to three years or with fine up to one hundred thousand rupees or with both.*  
**Sections 168 and 174 of the Elections Act, 2017**

**Figure 9** Regional Distribution of Reported Vote-Buying Incidents







| <b>Reported Incidents of Reward or Gratification to Voters by Parties</b> |  |   | Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf<br><b>21</b>               |
|---|--|---|---|
| Pak Sarzameen Party<br><b>8</b>   | Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)<br><b>7</b> | Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam (Fazal)<br><b>6</b>            | Mohajar Qaumi Movement Pakistan<br><b>5</b>         |
| Muttahidda Qaumi Movement<br><b>4</b>                                     | Independent<br><b>3</b>                    | Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians<br><b>3</b> | Balochistan National Party (Awami)<br><b>2</b>      |
| Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf Nazriati<br><b>2</b>                             | Grand Democratic Alliance<br><b>1</b>      | Pakistan Muslim League<br><b>1</b>                  | Pakistan Peoples Party (Shaheed Bhutto)<br><b>1</b> |
| Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf-Gulalai<br><b>1</b>                              | Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaniat<br><b>1</b>    | Tehreek-e-Labaik Pakistan<br><b>1</b>               | <b>Total</b><br><b>67</b>                           |



## 5. CAMPAIGNING AND CANVASSING

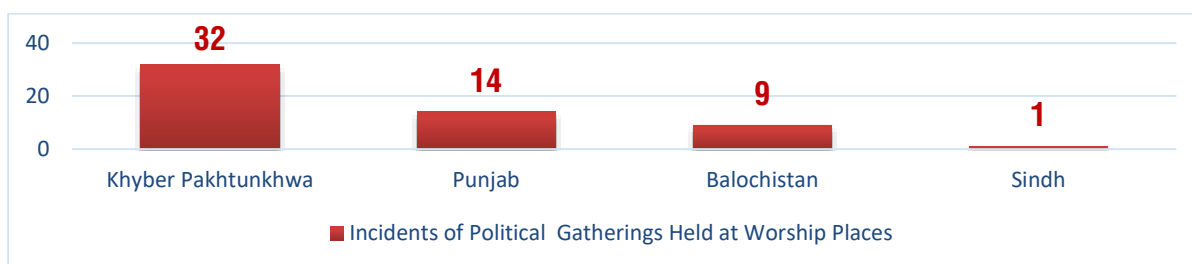
### 5.1 Campaigning in Places of Worship

Nearly 0.5% (67) respondents reported 56 incidents of political gatherings held at places of worship. The majority of these gatherings (32) were reported in KP. Mainly, independent candidates and Mutahida Majlis-e-Amal were the most frequently cited electoral actors using places of worship for campaigning purposes. Figure 10 shows the regional distribution of reported campaign activities held in places of worship. A party-wise list of incidents is also provided below.

*Using any place of religious worship for the purpose of canvassing for the votes or not to vote at an election amounts to exerting undue influence which is a corrupt practice punishable with an imprisonment up to three years or with fine up to one hundred thousand rupees or with both.*

**Sections 170(c)(1) and 174 of the Elections Act, 2017**

**Figure 10** No. of Reported Political Gatherings held at Places of Worship

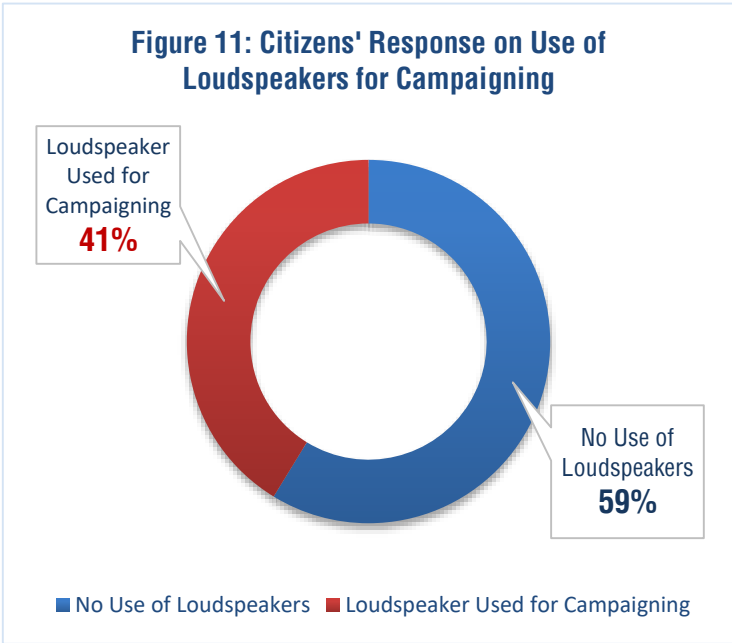


| Number of Reported Party Gatherings at Places of Worship |   |   | Independents                          |
|--|---|---|---------------------------------------|
| Pak Sarzameen Party                                      | Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)          | Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam (Fazal)            | Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf<br><b>21</b> |
| <b>11</b>  | <b>6</b>                                | <b>5</b>                                | <b>3</b>                              |
| Tehreek-e-Labaik Pakistan                                | Tehreek-e-Labbaik Islam                 | Hazara Democratic Party                 | Majlis-e-Wahdat-e-Muslimeen Pakistan  |
| <b>3</b>   | <b>2</b>                                | <b>1</b>                                | <b>1</b>                              |
| Mohajar Qaumi Movement Pakistan                          | Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians | Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians | <b>Total</b>                          |
| <b>1</b>   | <b>1</b>                                | <b>1</b>                                | <b>56</b>                             |



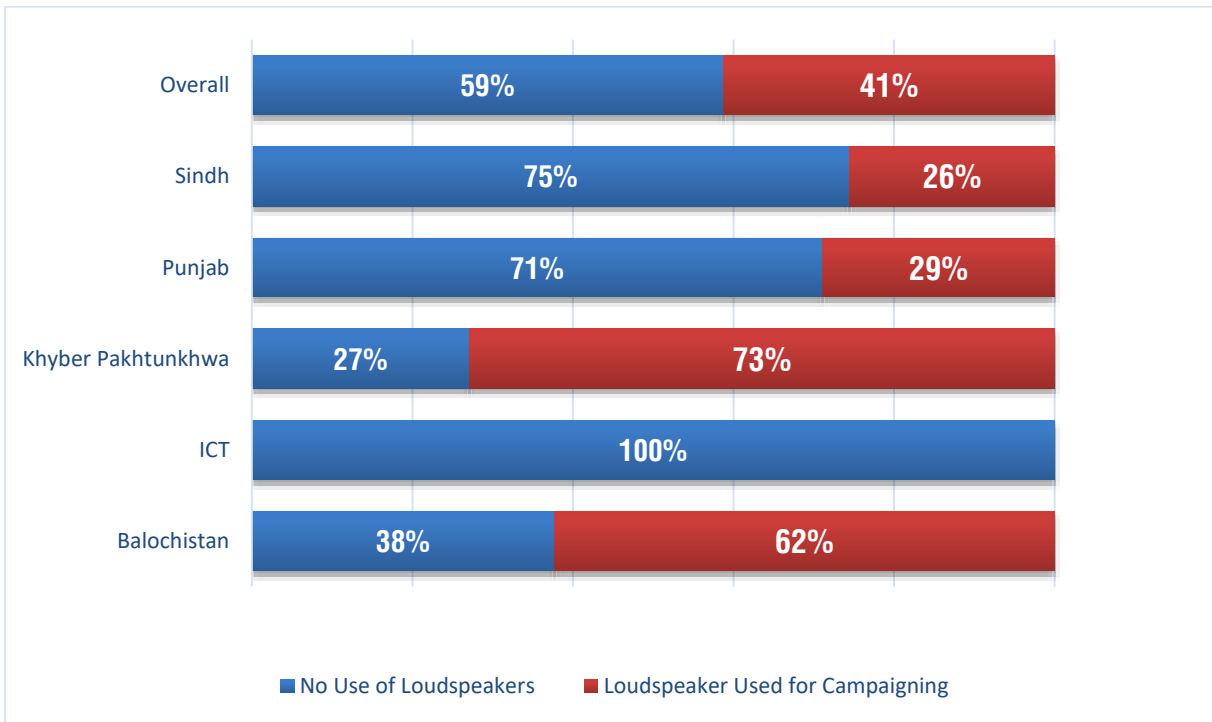
**5.2 Use of Loudspeakers**

*No person or a political party shall use loudspeaker for canvassing except at election meetings.*  
**Section 180(3)(f) of the Elections Act, 2017**



Of 2,402 citizens who informed FAFEN observers that they had attended a political gathering during the month preceding the interview, nearly 41% (991) – most of whom belonged to KP and Balochistan – reported the use of loudspeakers in campaigning activities<sup>1</sup>. Figure 12 shows the regional distribution of citizens' responses on the use of loudspeakers.

**Figure 12 Regional Distribution of Citizens' Responses on the Use of Loudspeakers in Political Gatherings**



<sup>1</sup> Note that 'political gatherings' may include election meetings in which the use of loudspeakers is lawful. The frequency of illegal loudspeaker use, therefore, cannot be ascertained.



### 5.3 Oversized and Banned Campaign Advertisements

FAFEN observers witnessed the presence of both oversized and banned campaign advertisement materials in 1,675 (95%) of the 1,760 electoral areas where campaigning advertisements were observed.

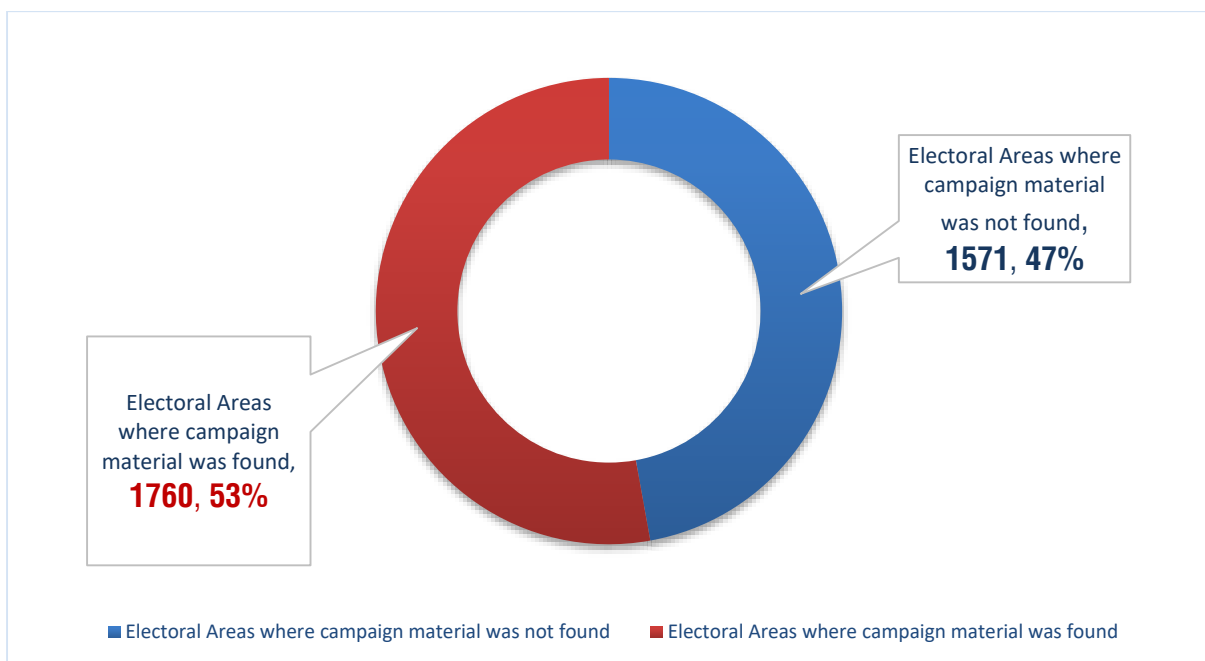
Campaign advertisement materials (portraits, banners, pamphlets and posters) exceeding the prescribed sizes were observed in 11% or 332 of 3,000 cases in 1,162 electoral areas. The oversized campaign materials were noted to be more rampant in Sindh than in other regions. More than a quarter (26%) of the observed materials in Sindh were oversized, while in Balochistan the percentage was down to 18 and in both Punjab and KP to eight. Refer to Figure 14.

*No person or a political party shall affix posters, banners or portraits larger than the sizes prescribed by ECP; print posters, handbills or pamphlet without the names of publisher and printer; affix hoardings or panaflexes of any size; do wall chalking for election canvassing; hoist party flags at public property.*  
**Section 180(3) of the Elections Act, 2017**

Observers also noted 1,014 instances of code violations where candidates or political parties had displayed banned campaign materials (wall-chalking, bill boards, and panaflexes). Figures 15 to 17 show the number of each of these ads observed across the country.

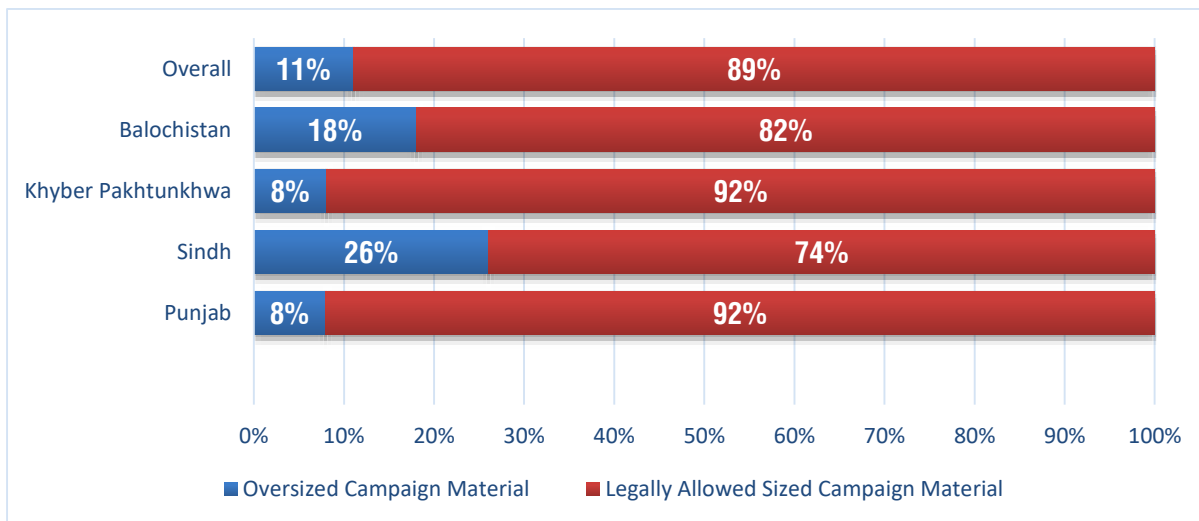
The following Figure shows the geographical scope of observation.

**Figure 13** Observation of Campaign Materials

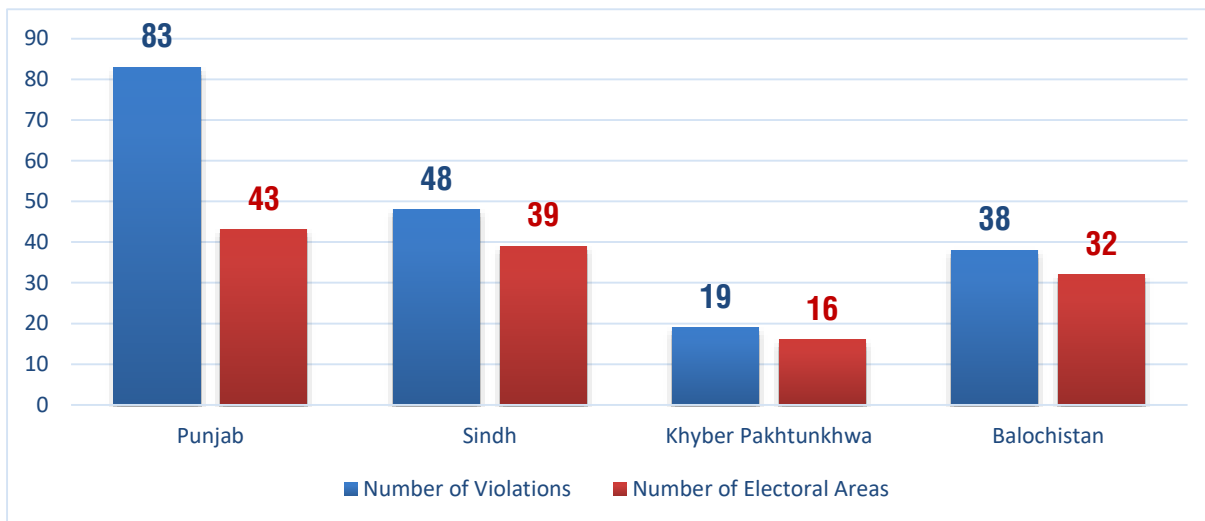




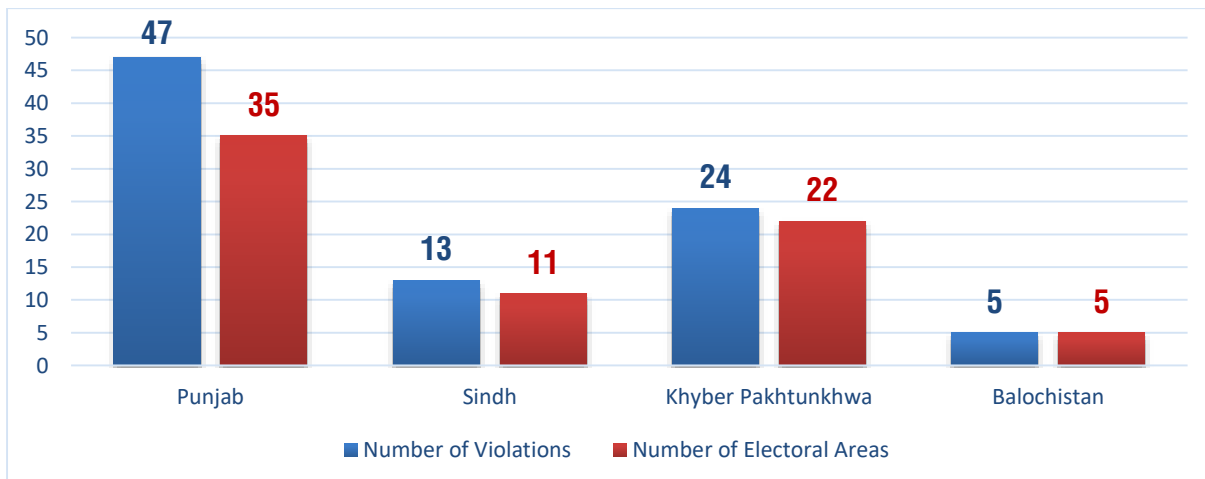
**Figure 14** Regional Distribution of Observed Oversized Campaign Material



**Figure 15** Observation of Banned Campaign Materials: Wall Chalkings

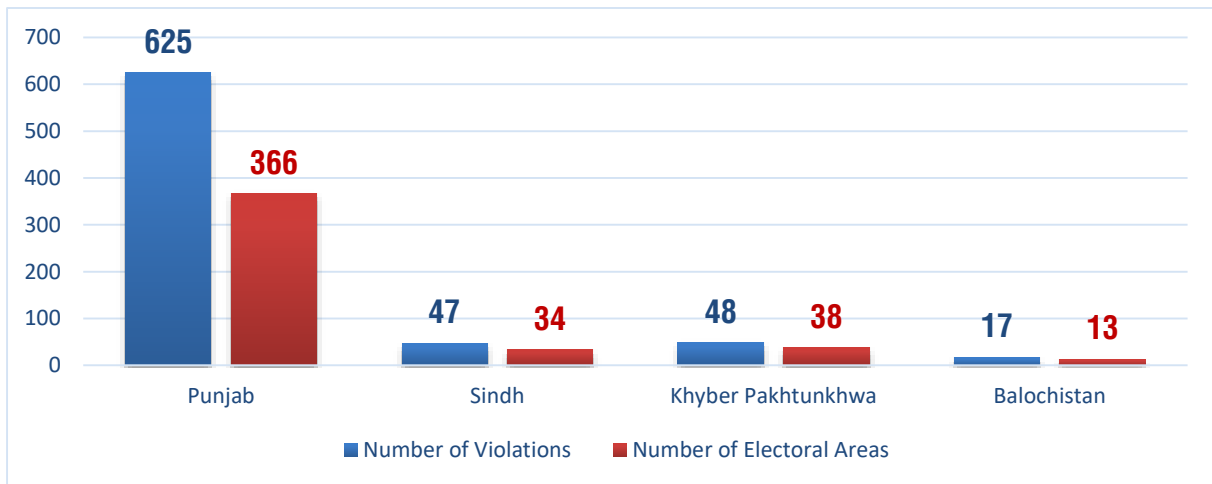


**Figure 16** Observation of Banned Campaign Materials: Panflexes





**Figure 17** Observation of Banned Campaign Materials: Billboards





## Annexure-I

## List of electoral areas where women are reportedly restricted from voting

| #  | Province           | Constituency  | Electoral Area               | Reported Cause of Restriction                         |
|----|--------------------|---|------------------------------|---|
| 1  | Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | NA-11 Kohistan-cum-Lower Kohistan-Cum-Kolai Pallas Kohistan | Sagoo Bair                   | Seasonal Migration, Long Distance to Polling Stations |
| 2  |                    |   | Kuz Jalkot                   | Seasonal Migration, Long Distance to Polling Stations |
| 3  |                    |   | Koop Nala                    | Long and Difficult Access to Polling Station          |
| 4  |                    |   | Kail                         | Cultural Reasons                                      |
| 5  |                    |   | Bariyar                      | Seasonal Migration, Long Distance to Polling Stations |
| 6  |                    |   | Dco Colony                   | Cultural Reasons                                      |
| 7  |                    |   | Kando Kar                    | Long Distance to Polling Stations                     |
| 8  |                    | NA-12 Battagram   | Chappargram                  | Cultural Barriers                                     |
| 9  |                    |   | Shingli Payeen               | Cultural Barriers                                     |
| 10 |                    |   | Gijbori                      | Cultural Barriers, Long Distance to Polling Stations  |
| 11 |                    |   | Pirhari                      | Cultural Barriers                                     |
| 12 |                    |   | Ajmera Kuz Pao               | Long Distance to Polling Stations                     |
| 13 |                    |   | Phagora                      | Cultural Barriers                                     |
| 14 |                    |   | Jesol Bazar                  | Fear of Electoral Violence                            |
| 15 |                    | Rajmera   | Cultural Barriers            |   |
| 16 |                    | NA-20 Mardan-I  | Dheri                        | Cultural Barriers                                     |
| 17 |                    | NA-26 Nowshera-II   | Katti Khel                   | Cultural Barriers                                     |
| 18 |                    | NA-36 Lakki Marwat  | Kot Kashmir                  | Agreement among Local Influentials                    |
| 19 |                    |   | Bhattani Pai Kasht           | Restrictions by Candidates                            |
| 20 |                    |   | Tari Khel                    | Agreement among Local Influentials                    |
| 21 |                    |   | Bega Taja Zai                | Cultural Barriers                                     |
| 22 |                    | NA-40 Bajaur Agency-I Tribal Area-I                         | Asghar Kandaro               | Cultural Barriers                                     |
| 23 |                    | NA-41 Bajaur Agency-II Tribal Area-II                       | Irab-2                       | Cultural Barriers                                     |
| 24 |                    |   | Narai Tangai                 | Cultural Barriers                                     |
| 25 |                    |   | Damadola-4                   | Cultural Barriers                                     |
| 26 |                    |   | Chajo Badan-1                | Cultural Barriers                                     |
| 27 |                    |   | Ghanam Shah                  | Cultural Barriers                                     |
| 28 |                    |   | Inamkhauro Chinagai-2        | Cultural Barriers                                     |
| 29 |                    |   | Khararai Tauheed Abad Dabbar | Cultural Barriers                                     |
| 30 |                    |   | Tondai                       | Cultural Barriers                                     |
| 31 |                    |   | Chinagai                     | Cultural Barriers                                     |
| 32 |                    |   | Hanga                        | Cultural Barriers                                     |
| 33 |                    |   | Bara Banda                   | Cultural Barriers, Long Distance to Polling Stations  |
| 34 |                    |   | Bar Malasaid 2               | Cultural Barriers                                     |
| 35 |                    |   | Patang Dehrai-2              | Cultural Barriers                                     |



| #  | Province                 | Constituency  | Electoral Area   | Reported Cause of Restriction      |   |
|----|--------------------------|---|--|------------------------------------|---|
| 36 |                          | NA-43 Khyber Agency-I Tribal Area-IV                          | Shah Kass  | Cultural Barriers                  |   |
| 37 |                          | NA-257 Killa Saifullah-cum-Zhob-cum-Sherani                   | Municipal Committee  | Lack of Political Awareness        |   |
| 38 |                          | NA-258 Loralai-cum-Musa Khail-cum-Ziarat-cum-Dukki-cum-Harnai | Cham Zarri   | Cultural Barriers                  |   |
| 39 |                          |   | Wah Hassan Khail   | Cultural Barriers                  |   |
| 40 |                          |   | Burkoi Khajji  | Cultural Barriers                  |   |
| 41 |                          |   | Zam  | Cultural Barriers                  |   |
| 42 |                          |   | NA-261   | Noor Pur-1                         | Cultural Barriers   |
| 43 |                          |   | Jafarabad-cum-Sohbatpur  | Khairani                           | Cultural Barriers   |
| 44 | <b>Balochistan</b>       | NA-266 Quetta-III   | Killi Haji Gulab Sabzal Road Gali No.2 Killi Mubarak Spiny Road.Sasooli Chowk Sabzal Rd,Afghan Chowk   | Cultural Barriers                  |   |
| 45 |                          |   | Bashir Chowk Killi , Killi Bangulzai,Irrigation Colony Karimabad, Killi Menglabad Kirani Rd,Killi Poodgali,Bolantown, Kashmirabad New Abad Ahmed Khanzai Abbabaki Street | Cultural Barriers                  |   |
| 46 |                          |   | Afghania Rd,Muslim Itehad Colony Takhtani Bypass, Jattak Stop  | NIC Blocking                       |   |
| 47 |                          |   | NA-268 Chagai-cum-Nushki-cum-Kharan  | Airi Kallag                        | Mistrust on Political Leadership, Long Distance to Polling Station, Cultural Barriers |
| 48 | <b>Punjab</b>            | NA-117 Nankana Sahib-I  | Chak No.167 Katain Wala  | Lack of Political Awareness        |   |
| 49 |                          |   | Chak No.574/Gb Sangian Wala  | Lack of Political Awareness        |   |
| 50 |                          |   | Marar Chak No.45 Rb  | Fear of Electoral Violence         |   |
| 51 |                          | NA-118 Nankana Sahib-II                                       | Kud Lathi  | Cultural Barriers                  |   |
| 52 |                          |   | Mohallah Sheikhan Syed Wala  | Cultural Barriers                  |   |
| 53 |                          | NA-57 Rawalpindi-I  | Anwali   | Long Distance to Polling Stations  |   |
| 54 |                          |   | Chahjna  | Long Distance to Polling Stations  |   |
| 55 |                          | NA-65 Chakwal-II  | Dhurnal(Jaswal/M Adina Colony)   | Agreement among Local Influentials |   |
| 56 |                          | NA-70 Gujrat-III  | Bijeran  | Cultural Barriers                  |   |
| 57 |                          |   | Chak Mehmood   | Cultural Barriers                  |   |
| 58 | NA-86 Mandi Bahauddin-II | Sahibwal  | Agreement among Local Influentials   |                                    |   |
| 59 | NA-89 Sargodha-II        | Lilliani (Rural Part)   | Agreement among Local Influentials, Cultural Barriers  |                                    |   |
| 60 |                          | Muzamabad   | Cultural Barriers  |                                    |   |
| 61 | <b>Sindh</b>             | NA-214 Shaheed Benazirabad-II                                 | Deh Padd   | Cultural Barriers                  |   |





| #  | Province | Constituency              | Electoral Area                                       | Reported Cause of Restriction |
|----|----------|---------------------------|--|-------------------------------|
| 62 |          | NA-254 Karachi Central-II | Block 7 Federal B Area, Shertun Center Farah Center, | Fear of Electoral Violence    |
| 63 |          |                           | Block 5 Federal B Area,                              | Fear of Electoral Violence    |
| 64 |          |                           | Block 3 Karimabad Fadral B Area,                     | Fear of Electoral Violence    |