



# ELECTORAL ROLLS

## GENERAL ELECTIONS – 2024



**FREE & FAIR ELECTION NETWORK - FAFEN**

[electionpakistan.com](http://electionpakistan.com) [fafen.org](http://fafen.org) [/fafen.org](https://www.facebook.com/fafen.org) [\\_fafen](https://www.instagram.com/_fafen)





## Table of Contents

<b>Executive Summary</b> .....	<b>1</b>
<b>1. Electoral Rolls: Salient Features</b> .....	<b>3</b>
<b>1.1. Registered Voters: A Comparative Perspective</b> .....	<b>3</b>
<b>1.2. Registered Voters: Distribution by Age-group</b> .....	<b>4</b>
<b>1.3. Population and Registered Voters</b> .....	<b>4</b>
1.3.1. Voters in Population: District Level Variance .....	5
1.3.2. Voters in Population: Variance in National Assembly Constituencies.....	7
<b>1.4. Variance in Registered Voters of Constituencies</b> .....	<b>8</b>
<b>2. Gender Gap in Electoral Roll</b> .....	<b>9</b>
<b>2.1. Gender Gap: National and Regional Trends (2013 to 2024)</b> .....	<b>9</b>
<b>2.2. Gender Gap Variance Across Age Groups and Regions</b> .....	<b>11</b>
<b>2.3. Gender Gap Variance in Districts</b> .....	<b>12</b>
<b>2.4. Gender Gap Variance in Constituencies</b> .....	<b>14</b>
2.4.1. Gender Gap in National Assembly Constituencies .....	14
2.4.2. Gender Gap in Provincial Assembly Constituencies .....	15



## List of Tables

Table 1: GE-2024 Voter Statistics .....	3
Table 2: Percentage Change in Voters from 2013 to 2024.....	4
Table 3: Voters as Percentage of Population (2018 - 2024) .....	5
Table 4: Voters as Share of Population- Categories of Districts (2024) * .....	5
Table 5: Districts with the Highest and Lowest Shares of Population as Registered Voters .....	6
Table 6: Categorized National Assembly Constituencies by Voters as Share of Population* .....	7
Table 7: Constituencies with the Highest and Lowest Shares of Population as Registered Voters.....	7
Table 8: Largest and Smallest National Assembly Constituencies by Number of Voters .....	8
Table 9: Largest and Smallest Provincial Assembly Constituencies by Number of Voters .....	9
Table 10: Gender Gap (2013 - 2024) .....	10
Table 11: Districts with the Largest Gender Gap (2013 to 2024).....	13
Table 12: Districts with the Lowest Gender Gap (2013 to 2024) .....	14
Table 13: Provincial Assembly Constituencies with the Highest Gender Gap in 2024.....	16

## Executive Summary

A record 128 million people are listed on the electoral rolls for the upcoming 2024 General Election (GE). An analysis of the rolls reveals significant trends in women's voter registration, alongside regional disparities in both overall and women's registration. The key findings of FAFEN's assessment of the electoral rolls are as follows:

- Over the past decade, Pakistan has experienced a substantial increase in the number of registered voters, witnessing an additional 42.3 million individuals added to the electoral roll since GE-2013, bringing the total to 128,585,760 in 2024 compared to 106,000,239 in 2018, and 86,189,828 in 2013.
- For the first time since the implementation of electoral rolls based on computerized National Identity Cards (NICs), the number of registered voters now represents slightly more than half (53.2%) of the country's population, which stands at 241,499,431. In 2018, the proportion of registered voters in the population was 49.6 percent. However, the voter-to-population ratio is not consistent across all regions, districts, and constituencies.
  - Punjab (57%) and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (53%) have registered over half of their respective populations as voters. Meanwhile, Sindh and Islamabad have voter-to-population ratios close to 50 percent, whereas Balochistan lags with 36 percent of its population registered as voters.
  - At the district level, the discrepancy in voter proportions becomes more evident. Of the 136 districts for which population and voter numbers were available, 78 districts have more than half of their populations registered as voters. Among the remaining 58 districts, 49 have a registration rate of 30-50 percent, while in nine districts, less than 30 percent of the population is registered as voters.
  - A similar pattern emerges at the National Assembly constituency level. Of the 266 constituencies, 159 have registered over 50 percent of their population as voters. Meanwhile, in 57 constituencies where the registration rate falls below 50 percent, five constituencies stand out with less than 30 percent of their population registered as voters.
- Women's voter registration continues to lag behind their proportion in the population. However, the final electoral rolls for GE-2024 exhibit promising progress in women's voter registration and a narrowing gender gap. Since its adoption in 2017, Section 47 of the Elections Act, which calls for special measures for women's registration in constituencies with a gender gap exceeding 10 percent, has yielded dedicated efforts resulting in a significant increase in women's voter registration. This has consequently led to a substantial reduction in the gender gap, decreasing from 11.8 percent in 2018 to 7.7 percent in 2024.
  - Since 2018, women's registration has surpassed men's registration, with 2.5 million more women being registered than men. Out of the 22.5 million new voters added, 12.5 million are women and 10 million are men. This has contributed to an overall decrease in the gender gap. The reduction in the gender gap in the electoral rolls is almost universal across all regions, districts, and constituencies.



- The number of districts where the gender gap exceeds 10 percent has decreased from 85 in 2018 to 29 in 2024.
- The number of National Assembly constituencies with a gender gap above 10 percent has decreased from 173 in 2018 to 38 in 2024—12 constituencies are in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 11 in Balochistan, 10 in Sindh, and five in Punjab.
- The number of Provincial Assembly constituencies with a gender gap of over 10 percent has also declined from 398 in 2018 to 102 in 2024—Sindh has 31 constituencies, Balochistan 30, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa 24, and Punjab 17.
- The regional distribution of the 9.9 million gender gap demonstrates that the issue of gender disparity is a national rather than a regional issue.
  - More than half of the overall gender gap – five million – is in Punjab, followed by 2.2 million in Sindh, and 1.9 million in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In these provinces, the overall gender gap is below 10 percent.
  - Balochistan is the only remaining province where the gender gap in the provincial aggregate is above 10 percent. In absolute numbers, the province's gender gap is only 0.6 million—the lowest among the provinces.
- Considering the age dynamics of the gender gap, it is most pronounced among the younger age groups. Except for the 65+ age group, men are registered in greater numbers across all age groups. However, the younger age groups of 18-25 and 24-35, collectively, account for 7.2 million of the overall gap of 9.9 million.
  - In the 18-25 age group, the difference of 20 percentage points between men and women voters is the highest. This category contributes 4.8 million, which is almost half of the overall gender gap of 9.9 million in the electoral rolls.
  - In the 26-35 age group, men outnumber women by eight percentage points.

## 1. Electoral Rolls: Salient Features

### 1.1. Registered Voters: A Comparative Perspective

More than 128 million people in Pakistan are registered to vote in GE-2024 to elect members for 266 National and 593 Provincial Assemblies' seats.

Compared to the first general election in 1970, when modern-day Pakistan accounted for 25,730,280 of the 56,941,500 voters registered to vote, about 100 million more individuals are registered to vote now. In GE-1977, this number rose to 30,899,152 voters.

Table 1: GE-2024 Voter Statistics

Regions	GE-2013	GE-2018	GE-2024
<b>Khyber Pakhtunkhwa</b>	14,004,470	17,839,845	21,928,119
<b>Islamabad</b>	625,964	766,460	1,083,029
<b>Punjab</b>	49,259,334	60,697,418	73,207,896
<b>Sindh</b>	18,963,375	22,394,212	26,994,769
<b>Balochistan</b>	3,336,659	4,302,304	5,371,947
<b>Total</b>	86,189,828	106,000,239	128,585,760

Between the last two general elections, the number of registered voters increased by 27.4 percent, from 86,189,828 in 2013 to 106,000,239 in 2018. Since then, the number of registered voters has increased by 22 million (21.7%), reaching 128,585,760.

In 2024, Punjab continues to have the largest percentage of voters (57%), followed by Sindh (21%), Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (17%), Balochistan (4%), and Islamabad (1%). Since 1977, the proportion of Punjab's voters has declined but has remained above 50 percent. Its share was 61 percent in the party-less general elections of 1985, 60 percent in 1988, 58 percent in 1990, 59 percent in 1993, 57 percent in 1997, 55 percent in 2002 and 2008, 51 percent in 2013, and 56 percent in 2018.

The comparative figures of registered voters since the 2013 elections are encouraging in terms of women's voter registration. The number of women voters increased by 24.4 percent from 37,597,415 to 46,756,350 between 2013 and 2018, while the number of men voters increased by 21.9 percent from 48,592,387 to 59,243,889. Over the past five years, women's voter registration has accelerated further. From 46,756,350 in 2018 to 59,322,056 in 2024, the number of women voters climbed by 27 percent, while the number of men voters increased by 17 percent, from 59,243,889 to 69,263,704.

#### Articles 51(2) and 106 (2) of the constitution of Pakistan

- (2) A person shall be entitled to vote if-
- (a) he is a citizen of Pakistan;
  - (b) he is not less than eighteen years of age;
  - (c) his name appears on the electoral roll; and
  - (d) he is not declared by a competent court to be of unsound mind.

#### Section 23 of the Elections Act of 2017

Preparation and computerization of electoral rolls. — (1) The Commission shall prepare the electoral rolls for election to the National Assembly, Provincial Assemblies and local governments and shall revise such rolls periodically in the prescribed manner.

(2) The Commission shall make arrangements for the computerization of the electoral rolls in such manner as it may determine and any printout from the database maintained by or with the authority of the Commission, shall be deemed to be an electoral roll published



Table 2: Percentage Change in Voters from 2013 to 2024

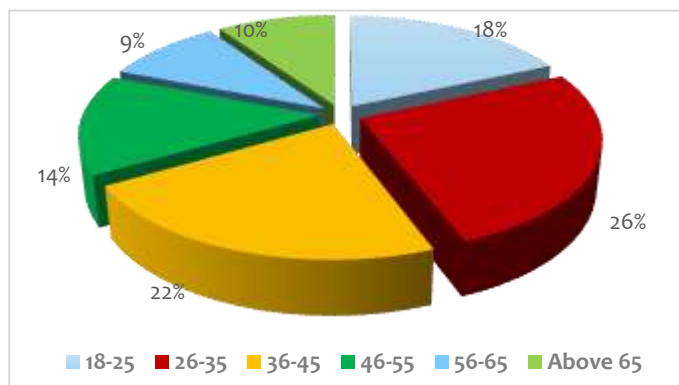
Regions	Registered Voters 2013 to 2018			Registered Voters 2018 to 2024		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	25.4%	30.2%	27.4%	16.9%	31.0%	22.9%
ICT	20.7%	24.5%	22.4%	39.4%	43.5%	41.3%
Punjab	21.6%	25.3%	23.2%	16.1%	26.2%	20.6%
Sindh	18.6%	17.5%	18.1%	17.5%	24.4%	20.5%
Balochistan	29.9%	27.7%	28.9%	21.3%	29.8%	24.9%
Overall	21.9%	24.4%	23.0%	16.9%	26.9%	21.3%

The trend of increased women voter registration can also be observed in the provinces. In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, for instance, more women have registered as voters in the last two general elections. From 2018 to 2024, the overall registered voters in Islamabad increased by a significant 41.3 percent. Moreover, the number of women voters increased by 43.5 percent, while the number of men voters increased by 39.4 percent. Similarly, in Punjab, Sindh, and Balochistan, women registered at a higher rate compared to men voters between 2018 and 2024.

### 1.2. Registered Voters: Distribution by Age-group

Figure 1: Composition of Voters by Age-groups

The distribution of voters across age groups demonstrates that voters under the age of 35 constitute 44 percent of the total electorate. Within the age brackets, the largest proportion of voters falls within the 26-35 range. In the younger category of 18-25, the proportion of voters is notably lower at 18 percent. These figures may indicate a combination of factors such as under-registration and a decline in population growth rates over time.



Subsequently, the 36-45 age group comprises 22 percent of the registered voters. The 46-55 age category has 14 percent of voters, while a mere nine percent fall into the 56-65 age group. Lastly, individuals aged 65 and above account for 10 percent of voters.

### 1.3. Population and Registered Voters

The total number of registered voters, amounting to 128,585,760, represents 53.2 percent of the country's total population (241,499,431). This indicates an increase in the proportion of voters within the population, rising from 49.6 percent in 2018 to 53.2 percent in 2024.

The increase in the voter-to-population ratio is evident across all regions. Particularly noteworthy is Islamabad, which has witnessed the most significant increase in voter registration, surging from 36.5 percent of the population in 2018 to 45.8 percent in 2024. Similarly, in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the proportion of voters within the overall population rose from 48.9 percent in 2018 to 53.7 percent in 2024.



Table 3: Voters as Percentage of Population (2018 - 2024)

Regions	Est. Population 2018	Population 2023 (PBS Data)	No. of Voters GE-2018	No. of Voters GE-2024	Population Registered as Voters 2018	Population Registered as Voters 2024
<b>Khyber Pakhtunkhwa</b>	36,518,528	40,856,097	17,839,845	21,928,119	48.9%	53.7%
<b>Islamabad</b>	2,101,814	2,363,863	766,460	1,083,029	36.5%	45.8%
<b>Punjab</b>	112,360,390	127,688,922	60,697,418	73,207,896	54.0%	57.3%
<b>Sindh</b>	49,035,636	55,696,147	22,394,212	26,994,769	45.7%	48.5%
<b>Balochistan</b>	13,585,760	14,894,402	4,302,304	5,371,947	31.7%	36.1%
<b>Total</b>	213,602,127	241,499,431	106,000,239	128,585,760	49.6%	53.2%

In Punjab, the proportion of registered voters in the total population increased from 54 percent in 2018 to 57.3 percent in 2024, marking a three-percentage point increase. As for Sindh, 48.5 percent of its population is now registered as voters, which also represents a three-percentage point increase. Balochistan, on the other hand, experienced a significant increase of over five percent, with the proportion of voters in the population rising from 31.7 to 36 percent. However, Balochistan still has the lowest proportion of voters in the population compared to other provinces.

### 1.3.1. Voters in Population: District Level Variance

The voter-population assessment provides a broader understanding of the proportion of voters residing at their registered addresses, which indicates potential issues with registration.<sup>1</sup> In this analysis, FAFEN examined the distribution of registered voters across 136 districts in Pakistan from 2018 to 2024.

Table 4 below provides an overview of voter distribution across districts in Pakistan as of 2024. A total of 136 districts could be assessed.<sup>2</sup> Out of these, nine districts have less than 30 percent of the population registered to vote, 49 districts have between 30-50 percent, 58 districts have between 51-60 percent, and 20 districts have more than 60 percent of their population registered to vote.

Table 4: Voters as Share of Population- Categories of Districts (2024) \*

Regions	Less than 30%	30-50%	51-60%	Above 60%	Total
<b>Khyber Pakhtunkhwa</b>	3	4	20	8	35
<b>Islamabad</b>	0	1	0	0	1
<b>Punjab</b>	0	2	22	12	36
<b>Sindh</b>	0	17	13	0	30
<b>Balochistan</b>	6	25	3	0	34
<b>Total</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>136</b>

<sup>1</sup> FAFEN's electoral assessment survey in 2023 showed that an estimated 13 percent of registered voters did not reside at their registration address.

<sup>2</sup> ECP shared district wise voters (as on December 13, 2023) data of 143 districts and age wise voters (as on Jan 11, 2024) data of 144 districts. Taunsa was added in age wise data. Population of seven districts (Talagang, Wazirabad, Kot Addu, Taunsa Murree, Hub and Usta Muhammad) are not available in the 2023 census. ECP also divided South Waziristan into two districts as upper and lower however, Population is not available for two separate districts; it is counted as one.



*\*Population figures are available for 136 districts only. Population assessment therefore pertains to those districts only.*

In 2018, the proportion of registered voters in the population was less than 30 percent in seven districts - one in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and six in Balochistan. In 74 districts, this proportion ranged from 30 to 50 percent. Of these districts, in addition to Islamabad, 26 were in Sindh, 23 in Balochistan, 16 in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and eight in Punjab.

In 33 districts, registered voters accounted for 51 to 60 percent of the population - 20 in Punjab, 12 in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and one in Sindh. By 2024, the number of such districts had increased to 58, with 22 in Punjab, 20 in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 13 in Sindh, and three in Balochistan.

In 16 districts, registered voters constituted more than 60 percent of the population in 2018 - nine in Punjab, three in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and two each in Sindh and Balochistan. This number increased to 20 districts in 2024 - 12 in Punjab and eight in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Among the provinces, Jhelum district in Punjab (76%), Karachi West in Sindh (69%), Abbottabad in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (67%), and Nushki in Balochistan (52%) had the highest proportion of the population registered as voters. On the other hand, Kohistan in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Surab and Washuk in Balochistan, Malir in Sindh, and Rajanpur in Punjab had the lowest proportion of the population registered as voters. Overall, Jhelum and Kohistan have the highest and the lowest percentage of the population registered as voters, respectively.

*Table 5: Districts with the Highest and Lowest Shares of Population as Registered Voters*

Regions	Largest				Lowest			
	District	Population	Voters	Percent	District	Population	Voters	Percent
<b>Khyber Pakhtunkhwa</b>	Abbottabad	1,419,072	952,621	67%	Kohistan	1,043,126	196,125	19%
<b>Punjab</b>	Jhelum	1,382,308	1,056,480	76%	Rajanpur	2,381,049	1,146,304	48%
<b>Sindh</b>	Karachi West	2,679,380	954,828	69%	Malir	2,403,959	824,873	34%
<b>Balochistan</b>	Nushki	207,834	107,948	52%	Surab Washuk	278,092 302,623	62,351 66,841	22%

In 2018, 76 percent of the population in Jhelum was registered as voters. However, in Rajanpur, despite an increase in the percentage of registered voters from 43 percent in 2018 to 48 percent in 2024, the district still has the lowest share of registered voters in Punjab.

In Abbottabad, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the proportion of registered voters in the population increased from 62 percent in 2018 to 67 percent in 2024. Kohistan remained the district with the lowest percentage of population registered as voters in both 2018 and 2024.

In Sindh, despite decreasing from 77 percent in 2018 to 69 percent in 2024, Karachi West has the largest voters in population proportion among the districts in the province. Malir has the lowest voters in population proportion amongst the province's districts. The district's proportion of registered voters from 38 percent in 2018 to 34 percent in 2024.

In Balochistan, Nushki saw an increase from 47 percent in 2018 to 52 percent in 2024. However, Surab and Washuk have the lowest percentage of registered voters in their populations, both at 22 percent.

### 1.3.2. Voters in Population: Variance in National Assembly Constituencies

Significant disparities in voter-to-population ratios can be observed at the constituency level. In five National Assembly constituencies – one in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and two each in Sindh and Balochistan – the proportion of registered voters relative to the total population is below 30 percent. In 114 constituencies, the registered voter share falls between 51 and 60 percent of the overall population. Nearly half of these constituencies are located in Punjab, with 29 in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and 28 in Sindh.

Table 6: Categorized National Assembly Constituencies by Voters as Share of Population\*

Regions	Less than 30%	30-50%	51-60%	Above 60%	Total
<b>Khyber Pakhtunkhwa</b>	1	6	29	9	45
<b>Islamabad</b>	0	2	1	0	3
<b>Punjab</b>	0	13	56	35	104
<b>Sindh</b>	2	19	28	1	50
<b>Balochistan</b>	2	12	0	0	14
<b>Total</b>	5	52	114	45	216

\*The population of 216 of the 266 constituencies is determined after the final delimitation.

In the 52 constituencies, the proportion of registered voters in the population ranges between 30 and 50 percent. Among these, 19 are in Sindh, 13 in Punjab, 12 in Balochistan, six in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and two in Islamabad. Of the 45 constituencies where registered voters exceed 60 percent of the population, 35 are in Punjab, nine in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and one in Sindh.

Table 7: Constituencies with the Highest and Lowest Shares of Population as Registered Voters

Regions	Largest Constituency				Smallest Constituency			
	Constituency	Pop.	Voters	%	Constituency	Pop.	Voters	%
<b>Khyber Pakhtunkhwa</b>	NA-16 Abbottabad-I	699,311	554,426	79.3%	NA-12 Kohistan Upper-cum-Kohistan Lower-Cum-Kolai Pallas Kohistan	1,043,126	196,125	18.8%
<b>Islamabad</b>	NA-47 ICT-II	800,692	433,202	54.1%	NA-48 ICT-III	780,610	292,380	37.5%
<b>Punjab</b>	NA-51 Rawalpindi-cum-Murree	853,499	719,514	84.3%	NA-125 Lahore-IX	899,803	340,655	37.9%
<b>Sindh</b>	NA-241 Karachi South-III	761,882	462,512	60.7%	NA-235 Karachi East-I	1,024,024	170,176	16.6%
					NA-244 Karachi West-I	944,027	155,824	16.5%
<b>Balochistan</b>	NA-263 Quetta-II	886,181	415,802	46.9%	NA-264 Quetta-III	909,425	196,752	21.6%

An assessment of voters as a proportion of the constituency population shows a significant variance between across constituencies. As shown in the figure above. In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa's NA-16 Abbottabad-I, 79.3 percent population is registered as voters, while in NA-12 Kohistan Upper-cum-Kohistan Lower-Cum-Kolai Pallas Kohistan, only 18.8 percent of the population is registered as voters.

Similarly, in Punjab, the registered voters in NA-51 Rawalpindi-cum-Murree are 84.3 percent of the constituency's population, which is the highest across Pakistan. While in NA-125 Lahore-IX, the share of registered voters in the constituency's population is only 37.9 percent.



In two constituencies in Karachi, NA-235 East I and NA-244 West-I, the share of voters in the population is only 16.6 percent and 16.5 percent, respectively. The constituency with the highest share of registered voters in the population is also in Karachi – NA-241 South-III.

In Balochistan, the constituencies with the highest and lowest share of registered voters are in Quetta. In NA-263, Quetta-II, nearly half of the population (46.9%) is registered as voters. However, in the adjacent NA-274, Quetta III, a little more than one-fifth of the population (21.6%) is registered as voters.

#### 1.4. Variance in Registered Voters of Constituencies

One clear outcome of the disparity in the voter-to-population ratio can be observed through the significant variation in the number of registered voters among constituencies. Constituencies are delineated according to population, with all individuals counted based on their place of residence during the census. However, not all eligible voters within the respective populations are registered at their residential addresses. Additionally, the reliance on district-level quotas rather than legally prescribed provincial quotas for the demarcation of constituencies, combined with the lack of consistent and regular efforts to update voters' registration information at their current residential addresses, results in a significant imbalance in the number of registered voters across constituencies.

Table 8: Largest and Smallest National Assembly Constituencies by Number of Voters

Regions	Largest		Smallest	
	Constituency	Voters	Constituency	Voters
<b>Khyber Pakhtunkhwa</b>	NA-18 Haripur	724,915	NA-12 Kohistan Upper-cum-Kohistan Lower-Cum-Kolai Pallas Kohistan	196,125
<b>Islamabad</b>	NA-47 ICT-II	433,202	NA-48 ICT-III	292,380
<b>Punjab</b>	NA-67 Hafizabad	810,723	NA-124 Lahore-VIII	310,116
<b>Sindh</b>	NA-209 Sanghar-I	607,638	NA-244 Karachi West-I	155,824
<b>Balochistan</b>	NA-255 Sohbatpur-cum-Jaffarabad-cum-Usta Mohammad-cum-Nasirabad	532,537	NA-264 Quetta-III	196,752

For instance, NA-67 Hafizabad, with 810,723 registered voters, is the largest constituency in Punjab, while NA-124 Lahore-VIII is the smallest, with less than half of NA-67's voters (310,116). In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, NA-18 Haripur is the largest constituency in terms of registered voters (724,915), while NA-12 Kohistan Upper-cum-Kohistan Lower-Cum-Kolai Pallas Kohistan is the smallest, with less than a third of NA-12's voters (196,125).

In Sindh, the largest National Assembly constituency is NA-209 Sanghar-I, which has a total of 607,638 registered voters. On the other hand, NA-244 Karachi West-I has significantly fewer voters, accounting for less than a third of NA-209's population.

In Balochistan, the largest constituency is NA-255 Sohbatpur-cum-Jaffarabad-cum-Usta Mohammad-cum-Nasirabad, with a total of 532,537 registered voters. Conversely, NA-264 Quetta-III is the smallest constituency in terms of voter count, with 196,752 voters.

Among the three National Assembly constituencies in Islamabad, NA-47 ICT II has the highest number of voters, with a total of 433,202. Its neighboring constituency, NA-48 ICT III, has 292,380 voters.

Similar to National Assembly constituencies, the significant disparity in voters among provincial constituencies cannot be overlooked. Constituencies of their respective provincial assemblies exhibit

substantial variability when compared. The smallest constituency of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Assembly, PK-33 Kolai Palas Kohistan, has less than one-sixth of the voters of the largest constituency, PK-39 Hangu. The variance is nearly identical in the smallest and largest constituencies of the Sindh Assembly. In Punjab, the smallest constituency, PP-11 Rawalpindi-V, has less than one-third of the voters of the largest constituency, PP-7 Rawalpindi-I. In Balochistan, the PB-45 Quetta-VIII, the smallest constituency has slightly more than one-fourth of the voters of the largest constituency, PB-51 Chaman.

Table 9: Largest and Smallest Provincial Assembly Constituencies by Number of Voters

Regions	Largest		Smallest	
	Constituency	Voters	Constituency	Voters
<b>Khyber Pakhtunkhwa</b>	PK-93 Hangu	325,951	PK-33 Kolai Palas Kohistan	43,481
<b>Punjab</b>	PP-7 Rawalpindi-I	386,073	PP-11 Rawalpindi-V	125,852
<b>Sindh</b>	PS-110 Karachi South-V	315,655	PS-116 Karachi West-I	43,045
<b>Balochistan</b>	PB-51 Chaman	194,081	PB-45 Quetta-VIII	50,160

The level of variance in the number of registered voters in some cases is so high that a provincial assembly constituency has more voters than some National Assembly constituencies within the same province. For instance, in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the largest Provincial Assembly constituency, PK-39 Hangu, has more voters than the smallest National Assembly constituency in the province, NA-12 Kohistan Upper-cum-Kohistan Lower-Cum-Kolai Pallas Kohistan.

Similarly, in the Sindh Assembly, the largest constituency, PS-110, has more registered voters than the smallest National Assembly constituency in the province, NA-244.

Likewise, in the Punjab Assembly, PP-7 has more registered voters than the smallest National Assembly constituency in the province, NA-124.

In the Balochistan Assembly, the largest constituency, PB-51, has slightly fewer registered voters than the smallest National Assembly constituency in the province, NA-264.

## 2. Gender Gap in Electoral Roll

The electoral rolls for the 2024 elections highlight a decreasing disparity in voter registration between women and men. However, the persistent gender gap in the electoral roll remains from the perspective of inclusivity. This section examines gender gap trends at regional, district, and constituency levels, and also includes an analysis of various age groups.

### 2.1. Gender Gap: National and Regional Trends (2013 to 2024)

Despite an increase in the number of women voters over the past decade, they remain under-represented as voters, legislators, and political leaders. However, efforts to include women in the democratic process by registering them as voters have resulted in a narrowing of the overall gender gap – from 12.8 percent in 2013 to 7.7 percent in 2024. This decrease has been particularly significant over the last five years, from 11.8 percent to 7.7 percent. Nonetheless, a gender gap of 9.9 million persists. More than half of them – 5,036,268 - are in Punjab. Sindh has 2.23 million, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has 1.9 million.



Table 10: Gender Gap (2013 - 2024)

Regions	Absolute			Percent		
	GE-2013	GE-2018	GE-2024	GE-2013	GE-2018	GE-2024
<b>Khyber Pakhtunkhwa</b>	2,297,064	2,600,361	1,960,675	16.4%	14.6%	8.9%
<b>Islamabad</b>	49,836	49,142	53,783	8.0%	6.4%	5.0%
<b>Punjab</b>	6,136,068	6,682,862	5,036,268	12.5%	11.0%	6.9%
<b>Sindh</b>	2,017,887	2,482,538	2,230,541	10.6%	11.1%	8.3%
<b>Balochistan</b>	494,117	672,636	660,381	14.8%	15.6%	12.3%
<b>Total</b>	10,994,972	12,487,539	9,941,648	12.8%	11.8%	7.7%

The narrowing gender gap is observable across all regions. Among the provinces, in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the gender gap has seen the most significant decrease, from 16.4 percent in 2013 to 8.9 percent in 2024. Punjab has also witnessed a decrease from 12.5 percent in 2013 to 6.9 percent in 2024. On the other hand, in Sindh and Balochistan, there was an increase in the gender gap from 2013 to 2018 before registering a decrease in 2024.

Historically, gender disparities in electoral rolls have been a consistent issue in areas that currently make up Pakistan. In the first general elections held in 1970, the women-to-men ratio was 86.6 women voters for every 100 men voters.<sup>3</sup> This was mainly because of 94.7 women voters for every 100 men voters in East Pakistan. In West Pakistan provinces, there were only 77.8 women voters for every 100 men voters. Subsequent general elections have shown minimal change. In the general elections of 1977, 1985, 1988, 1990, 1993, 2002, 2008, 2013, and 2018<sup>4</sup>, the ratio of women voters to men voters in Pakistan was 82, 81.1, 86.9, 85.6, 83.5, 85.6, 78.5, 78.5, and 78.6 women voters for every 100 men voters, respectively.<sup>5</sup> In 2024, with 85.6 women for every 100 men voters, the overall men-to-women ratio is the highest since the adoption of computerized NIC-based electoral rolls in 2008.

Gender disparities in the electoral roll vary across regions and age groups. The most significant disparity can be observed among different age groups, with the majority of the gender gap attributed to the under-registration of younger women.

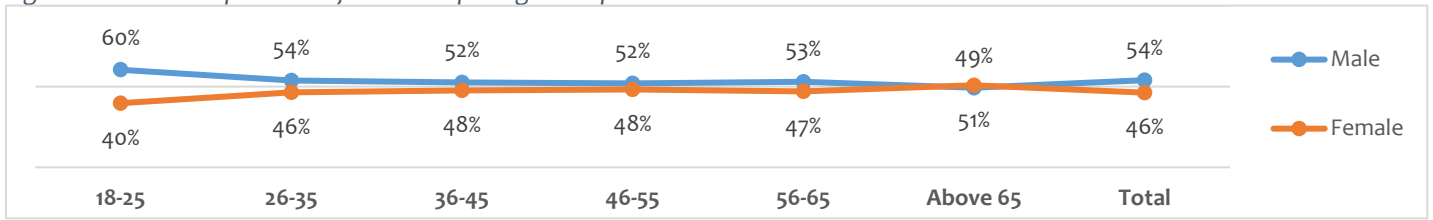
---

<sup>3</sup> ibid

<sup>4</sup> In 1977 general elections, ECP did not issue gender wise data of voters.

<sup>5</sup> Mehdi, Tahir, et al. *The Pakistan Election Compendium: A Compendium of Data on Elections to the National and Provincial Assemblies of Pakistan*. Church World Service-Pakistan/Afghanistan, 2012.

Figure 2: Gender Proportions of Voters as per Age Group



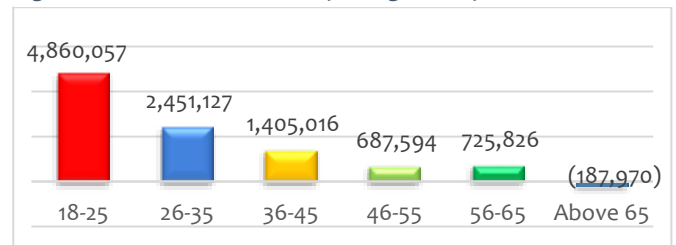
As shown in Figure 2 above, the gender gap is most significant among the 18-25 and 26-35 age groups. In the 18-25 age group, men make up 60 percent of the voters, resulting in a 20-percentage point gap. In the 26-35 age group, men account for 54 percent of the voters, while women represent 46 percent.

The significant variation in category composition is not the only concern. When assessed in proportion to the 9.9 million gender gap, the cumulative gender gap of 7.3 million in the 18-25 and 26-35 age groups constitutes almost three-fourths of the total.

In the higher age brackets, the gap between men and women voters becomes smaller. In the 36-45 age

group, 52 percent of the voters are men, while 48 percent are women. Above the age of 65, women voters outnumber men, making it the only category where this occurs. Specifically, women comprise a larger proportion of voters, accounting for 51 percent, while men account for 49 percent.

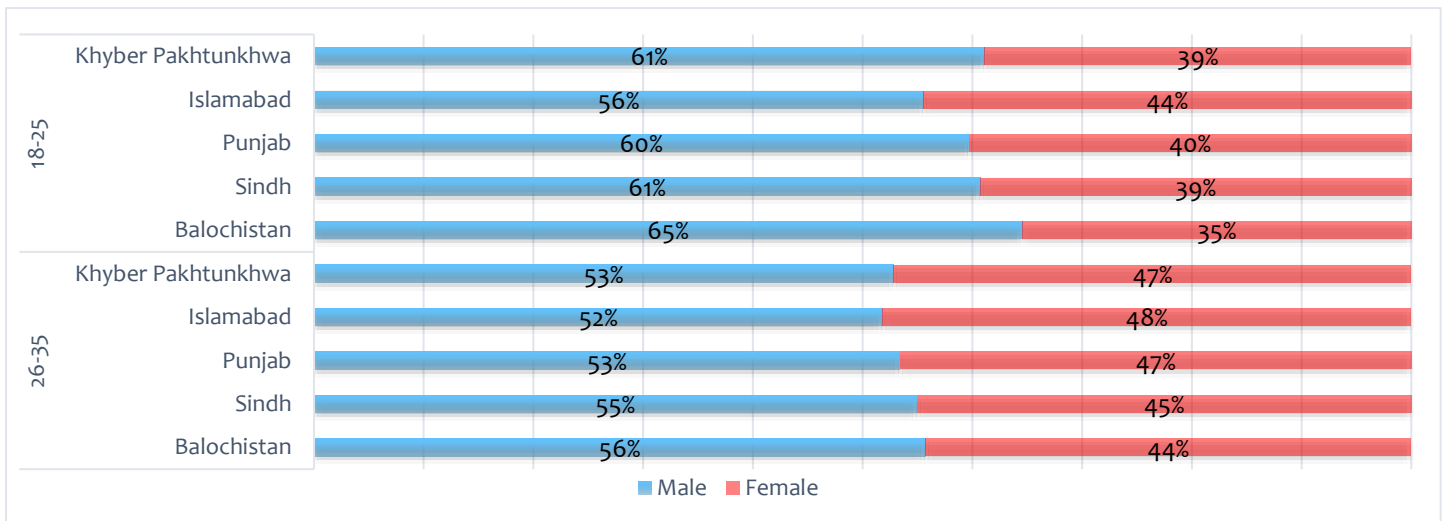
Figure 3: Absolute Gender Gap in Age Groups



## 2.2. Gender Gap Variance Across Age Groups and Regions

In every region and age category except one, men have a higher voter count than women. The gender gap does decrease in older age groups, but the difference is staggering among younger individuals. Specifically, in the 18-25 age group, only Punjab has women accounting for 40 percent of the total. In all other regions, the proportion of women in this category is even lower. Notably, Balochistan exhibits the most significant gender gap in this age group, with women comprising a mere 35 percent of the voters.

Figure 4: Voters by Age group, Gender, and Region (18-35 years)



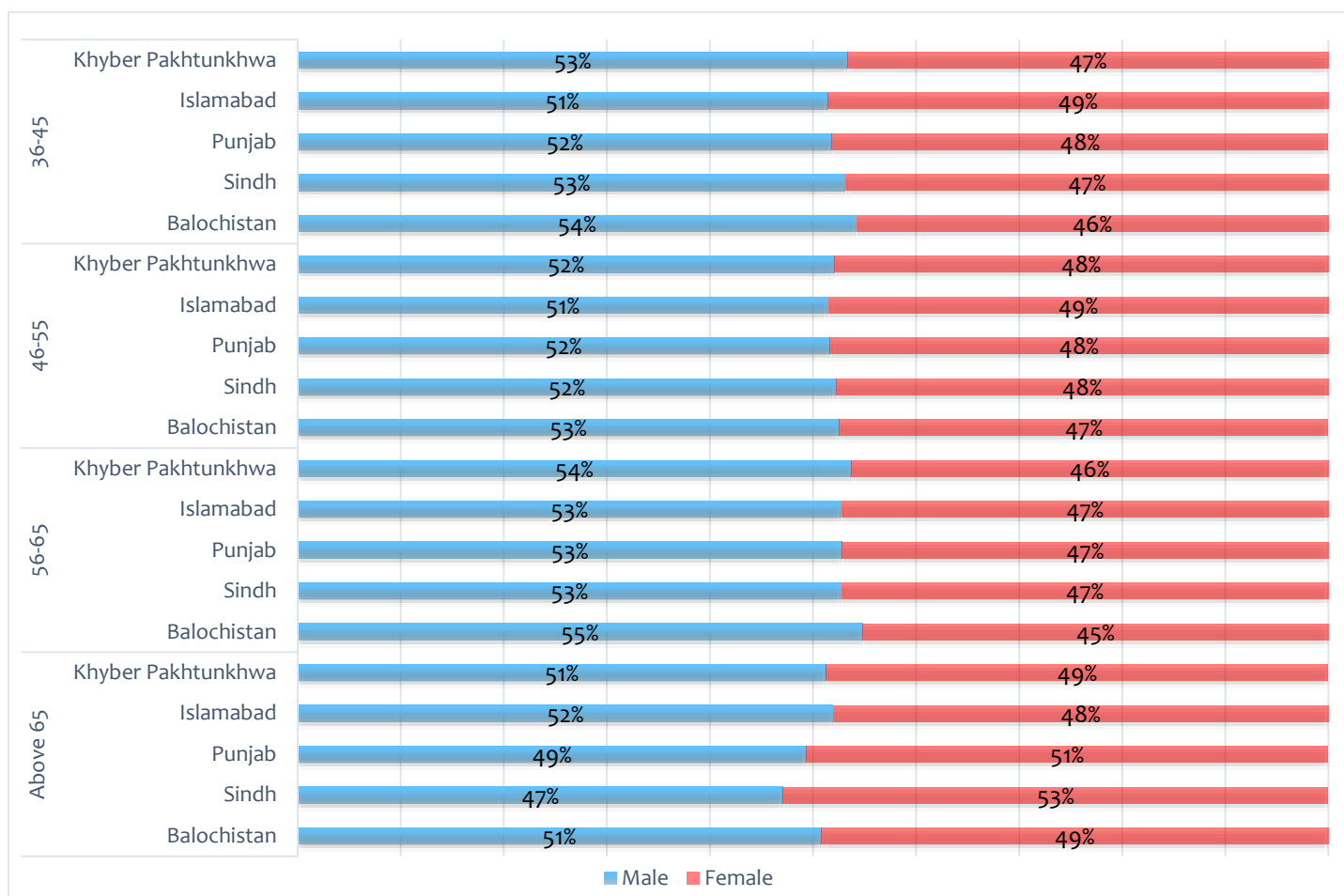


In Sindh and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the gender gap in the 18-25 age category is 22 percentage points each. In Punjab, the gap is 20 percentage points, with men making up 60 percent of the voters in this category and women accounting for the remaining 40 percent. With 56 percent men and 44 percent women, Islamabad has the lowest gender gap in this category.

The gender gap in the age groups of 26-35 and 36-45, although varying across different regions, is significantly lower compared to the 18-25 category. Figures 4 and 5 demonstrate a gradual reduction in the gender gap as age increases.

In the higher age groups of 46-55 and 55-65, the gender gap is negligible and reflects the overall population proportions of the two genders.

Figure 5: Voters by Age Group, Gender, and Region (36-65+ years)



Only within the demographic of voters aged 65 and above do women surpass men in terms of registration. While this trend may not be uniform across all regions, the greater proportion of female voters within this group - 51 percent in Sindh and 53 percent in Punjab - accounts for the overall majority of women voters in this particular category.

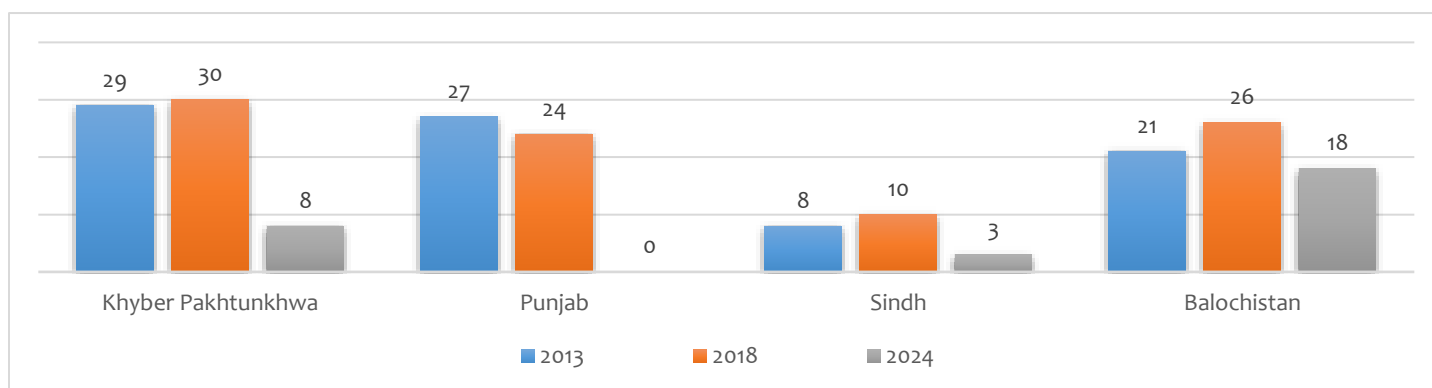
### 2.3. Gender Gap Variance in Districts

Over the years, there has been a significant decrease in the gender gap across districts. In particular, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab have made remarkable strides in narrowing the gender gap. This progress is evident in the decreasing number of districts where the gender gap exceeds 10 percent.



Overall, the number of districts with such a gap has decreased from 90 in 2013 to 85 in 2018 and currently stands at 29 districts. None of the districts in Punjab have a gender gap exceeding 10 percent, while in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the number of such districts has decreased from 30 in 2018 to eight. In Balochistan, the number of districts with a gender gap exceeding 10 percent has dropped from 28 in 2018 to 18 in 2024. Although the progress is significant, Balochistan still has the highest number of districts with persisting gender gap.

Figure 6: Number of Districts with Over 10% Gender Gap by Region



Compared to Balochistan, Sindh has made relatively better progress in addressing the gender gap issue. In 2018, Sindh had 10 districts with a gender gap of more than 10 percent. However, this number has now been reduced to only three districts.

Table 11: Districts with the Largest Gender Gap (2013 to 2024)

District	GE-2013		GE-2018		GE-2024	
	Absolute	Percent	Absolute	Percent	Absolute	Percent
North Waziristan	137,258	85.40%	119,131	43.4%	68,102	15.8%
Kohlu	13,336	34.50%	18,556	31.4%	14,018	18.2%
Karachi West	324,087	21.70%	340,718	20.5%	147,052	15.4%
Sheikhupura	236,281	17.60%	271,989	16.0%	212,843	10.1%

Even in the districts that currently have the highest gender gap in their respective region, the proportion of women voters has increased since the 2013 elections. North Waziristan which has the largest gender gap of all districts in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, has a gender gap of 85.4 percent in 2013. The gap decreased to 43.4 percent in 2018 and is currently 15.8 percent. Similarly, Kohlu in Balochistan witnessed a decline in unregistered women voters from 34.5 percent in 2013 to 31.4 percent in 2018. The district still has 18.2 percent fewer women voters. Two urban districts – Karachi West and Sheikhupura – have witnessed a decrease in the gender gap over the last ten years, from 21.7 percent and 17.6 percent in 2013 to 15.4 percent and 10.1 percent in 2024, respectively. However, the gap in these four districts in 2024 is still more than 10 percent.

Among the districts with the lowest gender gap in their respective regions, Chakwal in Punjab, Haripur in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Khairpur in Sindh, and Islamabad as the only district in ICT, have successfully reduced their gender gaps to less than five percent.



Table 12: Districts with the Lowest Gender Gap (2013 to 2024)

District	GE-2013		GE-2018		GE-2024	
	Absolute	Percent	Absolute	Percent	Absolute	Percent
Chakwal	50,655	5.4%	32,730	3.0%	8,914	1.2%
Haripur	60,324	11.3%	50,610	7.7%	34,085	4.7%
Khairpur	87,612	10.4%	106,384	9.9%	72,393	5.3%
Sohbatpur	-	-	3,701	4.1%	2,980	2.6%
Islamabad	49,836	8.0%	49,142	6.4%	53,783	5.0%

Overall, the gender gap in Chakwal in Punjab remains the lowest – 1.2 percent - with only 8,914 fewer women voters. Sohbatpur, which became a district in May 2013, in Balochistan has only 2,980 or 2.6 percent fewer women voters. Haripur in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Khairpur in Sindh, and Islamabad have gender gaps of 4.7 percent, 5.3 percent, and 5 percent, respectively.

#### 2.4. Gender Gap Variance in Constituencies

The progress in women's registration nationwide is evident in the declining number of constituencies where the gender gap exceeds 10 percent of registered voters. Out of 266 National Assembly constituencies, the gender gap is over 10 percent in 38 constituencies. In the Provincial Assembly, the gender gap remains above 10 percent in 102 out of 593 constituencies. In the 2018 general elections, the number of National and Provincial Assembly constituencies with a gender gap above 10 percent was 173 and 398, respectively.

The significant decrease in the number of such constituencies indicates substantial improvements in women's registration over the last five years. This reduction in numbers is a testament to the remarkable coordinated efforts made by the ECP, NADRA, and civil society.

##### 2.4.1. Gender Gap in National Assembly Constituencies

Overall, out of the 266 National Assembly constituencies, there exists a gender gap of more than 10 percent in 38 of them. The number of such constituencies was 99 in 2018 and 181 in 2013. Compared to 2018, the number of constituencies where the gender gap is up to 10 percent has increased by

#### Section 47 of the Elections Act of 2017

##### Special measures for enrolment of women voters.

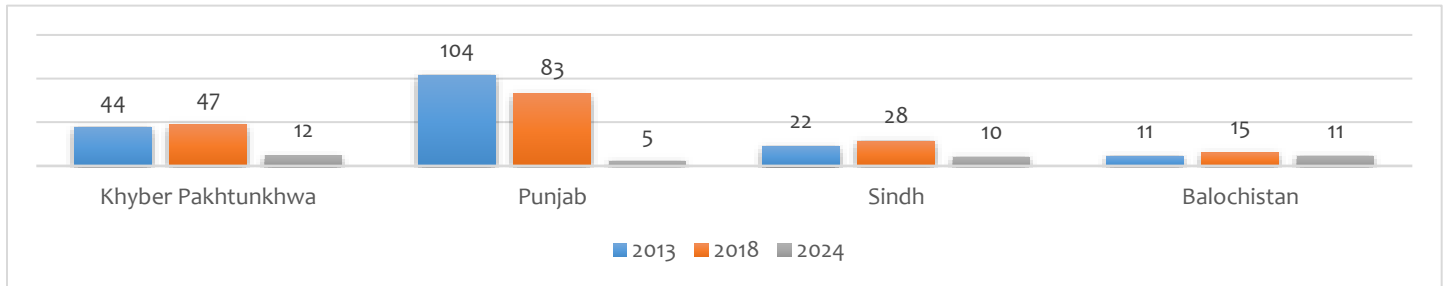
— (1) The Commission shall annually publish disaggregated data of registered men and women voters in each National Assembly and Provincial Assembly constituency highlighting the difference in number of registered men and women voters.

(2) Where the variation in the disaggregated data under sub-section (1) is more than ten percent in a constituency, the Commission shall take special measures to reduce such variation.

(3) The measures referred to in sub-section (2) shall include action to expedite the issuance of National Identity Cards for women of such constituency by National Database and Registration Authority and for their enrolment as voters in the relevant electoral rolls by the Commission.

121—from 99 in 2018 to 228 in 2024.<sup>6</sup> Among the 38 constituencies where the gender gap is above 10 percent, 12 are situated in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 11 in Balochistan, 10 in Sindh, and five in Punjab.

Figure 7: Number of National Assembly Constituencies with Over 10% Gender Gap by Region



Within the respective regions, the table below identifies the constituencies exhibiting the highest gender gap in absolute numbers. Notably, NA-67 in Hafizabad emerges as having the largest gender gap in terms of absolute numbers of women, despite the gender gap percentage being a mere eight percent. In other provinces, constituencies with the highest number of unregistered women also surpass the 10 percent benchmark for the gender gap.

Table 12: National Assembly Constituencies with the Highest Gender Gap in 2024

Regions	Highest Gender Gap	
	Constituency	Gender Gap
<b>Khyber Pakhtunkhwa</b>	NA-42 South Waziristan Upper-cum-South Waziristan Lower	85,560 (18%)
<b>Punjab</b>	NA-67 Hafizabad	68,817 (8%)
<b>Sindh</b>	NA-242 Karachi Kemari-I	74,556 (17%)
<b>Balochistan</b>	NA-266 Killa Abdullah-cum-Chaman	102,778 (29%)

In Balochistan, the NA-266 Killa Abdullah-cum-Chaman constituency exhibits a significant disparity, with 102,778 or 29 percent fewer women voters than men. In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, NA-42 South Waziristan Upper-cum-South Waziristan Lower constituency demonstrates the largest numerical gap in women's voter registration, with a difference of 85,560. Lastly, in Sindh, the NA-242 Kemari constituency records the highest count of unregistered women among all National Assembly constituencies.

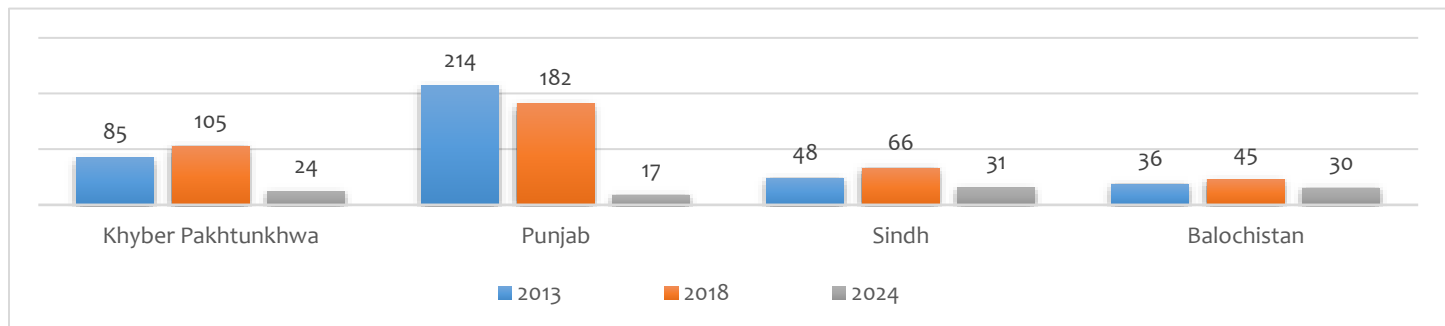
### 2.4.2. Gender Gap in Provincial Assembly Constituencies

Out of the 593 Provincial Assembly constituencies, the gender gap is more than 10 percent in 102 of them, while in 491 it is up to 10 percent. Among these 102 constituencies, 24 are in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 31 are in Sindh, 30 are in Balochistan, and 17 are in Punjab.

<sup>6</sup> The total number of National Assembly constituencies in 2018 were 272, which have been reduced to 266 after the merger of FATA into Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.



Figure 8: Number of Provincial Assembly Constituencies with Over 10% Gender Gap by Region



In 2013, a gender gap of over 10 percent was observed in a total of 383 constituencies. By 2018, this number slightly increased to 398 constituencies before experiencing a sharp decline to just 102 constituencies in 2024. It is worth noting that Punjab demonstrated the most consistent progress. In 2013, 214 constituencies of the Punjab Assembly had a gender gap of over 10 percent, which reduced to 182 in 2018 and further decreased to a mere 17 constituencies in 2024.

On the other hand, Balochistan exhibited the least progress in narrowing the gender gap. In 2013, there were 36 constituencies with a gender gap of over 10 percent, which increased to 45 constituencies in 2018 and then decreased to 30 constituencies in 2024.

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Sindh experienced a temporary surge in 2018 before effectively reducing the gender gap. In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the number of constituencies with a gender gap of over 10 percent dropped from 85 in 2013 to 105 in 2018 and further to 24 in 2024. In Sindh, the Provincial Assembly constituencies with a gender gap of over ten percent was 48 in 2013. The number of such constituencies increased to 66 in 2018 before declining by more than half to the current number of 31 constituencies.

A quick look at the Provincial Assembly constituencies with the most significant gender gaps in different regions exemplifies the challenge of alleviating gender deficit in the electoral rolls, more so in some areas than others. For instance, in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, PK-110 South Waziristan Lower constituency has 53,963 or 31 percent fewer women voters. In Balochistan, PB-51 Chaman has 58,209 or 30 percent fewer women voters.

Table 13: Provincial Assembly Constituencies with the Highest Gender Gap in 2024

Region	Constituency Name	Gender Gap	Gender Gap%
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	PK-110 South Waziristan Lower	53,963	31%
Punjab	PP-136 Sheikhpura-I	30,536	13%
Sindh	PS-119 Karachi West-IV	38,786	16%
Balochistan	PB-51 Chaman	58,209	30%

While in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan, the significant gender gap in these constituencies may be attributed to their traditional and tribal communities, the issue of under-registration of women in Sindh and Punjab goes beyond tribal and demographic boundaries. For instance, in the urban PS-119 Karachi-West-IV constituency in Sindh, there is a gender gap of 38,786, meaning there are 16 percent fewer women voters. Similarly, in Punjab's PP-136 Sheikhpura-I constituency, there are 30,536, or 13 percent fewer women voters.



## FREE AND FAIR ELECTION NETWORK - FAFEN

[electionpakistan.com](http://electionpakistan.com) [fafen.org](http://fafen.org) [/fafen.org](https://www.facebook.com/fafen.org) [@\\_fafen](https://twitter.com/_fafen)