# FAFEN ANALYSIS ${ }^{\circ}$ VOTER TURNOUT 

--- February 14, 2024 ---

As many as 60.6 million voters exercised their right to vote in Pakistan's 12th general elections (GE) on February 8, 2024. Nearly 5.8 million more people voted in GE-2024 as compared to 2018 when 54.8 million had cast their votes. Despite the increase in the absolute number of voters, the turnout dipped from 52.1 percent in 2018 to 47.6 percent in 2024, primarily due to an increase in the number of registered voters from 106 million in 2018 to 128.6 million in 2024 following a record addition of 22.6 million between the two elections. In addition, the harsh winter in parts of the country, fears of violence and terrorism in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan as well as an uncertainty about the
conduct of elections may have also adversely affected the turnout.

This report by Free and Fair Election Network (FAFEN) is based on the analysis of Form 47 (Provisional Consolidated Statement of Results of the Count) of 264 National Assembly constituencies acquired from the official website of the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP). The gender analysis of voter turnout, however, needs further refinement as Form 47 from 10 National Assembly constituencies and as many Provincial Assemblies constituencies did not include the gender disaggregation of votes polled.

## 1 KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA RECORDS LOWEST TURNOUT

The regional disaggregation of voter turnout for National Assembly constituencies shows a varied pattern with the lowest turnout in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and the highest in Islamabad Capital Territory (ICT). The turnout in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa declined from 44 percent in 2018 to 39.5 percent in 2024, in ICT from 58.3 percent to 54.2 percent, in Punjab from 56.8 percent to 51.6 percent, in Sindh
from 47.2 percent to 43.7 percent and in Balochistan from 45.3 percent to 42.9 percent. While overall turnout declined by 4.5 percentage points, the highest decline was in Punjab where turnout dropped by 5.2 percentage points, followed by Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (4.5), ICT (4.1), Sindh (3.5) and Balochistan (2.4).

COMPARATIVE TURNOUT - NATIONAL ASSEMBLY


## 2 GENDER GAP IN VOTER TURNOUT SHRINKS AS COMPARED TO 2018

The gender-disaggregated statistics of polled votes indicate a male voter turnout of 51.6 percent and a female voter turnout of 42.6 percent. According to the available data, as many as 24.05 women cast their votes in 254 NA constituencies as compared to 34.02 men in the same constituencies.

Interestingly, increase in the number of women turning out to vote in 2024 as compared to 2018 is greater than the increase in the number of men who cast their votes in 2024 as compared to the previous
general election. As many 2.3 million more women turned out to vote in 2024 as compared to 2018 when 21.7 million women had cast their votes. On the other hand, as many 1.09 million more men turned out to vote in 2024 as compared to 2018 when 32.9 million men had cast their votes. The number of votes polled by men and women will slightly increase when the ECP makes available the gender disaggregated data of the 10 National Assembly constituencies where the Returning Officers did not separately record the votes polled by men and women.

GENDER DISAGGREGARED COMPARATIVE TURNOUT BY REGION ■E-2018 ■GE-2024


## 3 ALL MAJOR CITIES RECORD DECLINE IN TURNOUT

The decline in turnout as compared to 2018 was a ubiquitous phenomenon across major cities including the provincial capitals Lahore, Quetta, Peshawar and Karachi. Although the cumulative turnout of all 22 Karachi constituencies saw a declining trend, three Karachi districts namely

Korangi, Karachi West (including newly carved out district Kemari) and Karachi Central registered a slight increase in the turnout while Malir, Karachi South and Karachi East recorded a decline. The following table shows the voter turnout recorded in 22 major districts across four provinces.

| \# | District | No. of NA Constituencies | GE-2024 |  |  | GE-2018 |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | Male | Female | Overall | Male | Female | Overall |
| 1 | Abbottabad | 2 | 47.5\% | 41.5\% | 44.6\% | 52.5\% | 47.5\% | 50.3\% |
| 2 | Mardan | 3 | 49.6\% | 33.3\% | 42.2\% | 55.6\% | 36.1\% | 47.4\% |
| 3 | Swat | 3 | 46.33\% | 19.78\% | 34.22\% | 55.58\% | 21.34\% | 40.91\% |


| \# | District | No. of NA Constituencies | GE-2024 |  |  | GE-2018 |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | Male | Female | Overall | Male | Female | Overall |
| 4 | Peshawar | 5 | 51.6\% | 29.7\% | 41.8\% | 53.9\% | 27.6\% | 42.8\% |
| 5 | Dera Ismail Khan/Tank | 3 | 56.6\% | 41.3\% | 49.6\% | 58.1\% | 42.1\% | 51.1\% |
| 6 | Rawalpindi | 7 | 51.3\% | 43.8\% | 47.7\% | 51.3\% | 45.4\% | 48.5\% |
| 7 | Faisalabad | 10 | 56.2\% | 45.1\% | 51.1\% | 56.2\% | 45.7\% | 51.5\% |
| 8 | Lahore | 14 | 48.3\% | 38.4\% | 43.7\% | 58.4\% | 45.8\% | 52.9\% |
| 9 | Multan | 6 | 52.9\% | 44.9\% | 49.1\% | 58.8\% | 48.7\% | 54.2\% |
| 10 | Bahawalpur | 5 | 56.3\% | 52.4\% | 54.5\% | 59.1\% | 54.4\% | 57.0\% |
| 11 | Larkana | 2 | 45.9\% | 42.5\% | 44.3\% | 51.9\% | 49.0\% | 50.6\% |
| 12 | Sukkur | 2 | 48.9\% | 39.0\% | 44.3\% | 57.7\% | 44.3\% | 51.6\% |
| 13 | Malir | 3 | 45.1\% | 36.3\% | 41.3\% | 49.7\% | 39.2\% | 45.3\% |
| 14 | Karachi Korangi | 3 | 50.1\% | 39.3\% | 45.2\% | 44.2\% | 32.6\% | 39.1\% |
| 15 | Karachi East | 4 | 36.4\% | 24.9\% | 31.0\% | 43.8\% | 35.3\% | 39.9\% |
| 16 | Karachi South | 3 | 32.4\% | 23.0\% | 28.1\% | 44.2\% | 33.3\% | 39.4\% |
| 17 | Karachi Keamari | 2 | 45.3\% | 33.9\% | 40.5\% |  |  |  |
| 18 | Karachi West | 3 | 47.0\% | 37.5\% | 43.0\% | 45.9\% | 32.0\% | 40.4\% |
| 20 | Karachi Central | 4 | 43.2\% | 35.4\% | 39.6\% | 43.5\% | 33.9\% | 39.2\% |
| 21 | Khuzdar | 1 | 50.0\% | 46.2\% | 48.3\% | 55.6\% | 52.6\% | 54.3\% |
| 22 | Quetta | 3 | 35.2\% | 22.0\% | 29.5\% | 42.5\% | 29.0\% | 36.9\% |
| 23 | Pishin | 1 | 43.1\% | 37.9\% | 40.9\% | 50.0\% | 44.9\% | 47.9\% |

## 4 HIGHEST TURNOUT IN THARPARKAR, LOWEST IN SOUTH WAZIRISTAN

Amông 264 constituencies, the highest turnout was 70.9 percent recorded in NA-214 Tharparkar-I while the lowest was 16.3 percent in NA-42 South Waziristan -Upper-cum-South Waziristan Lower. Nearly 97\% constituencies of Punjab, 70 percent of Sindh, 56 percent of Balochistan and 41 percent of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa have an above 40 percent turnout. Overall, 13 constituencies had a turnout above 60 percent including nine constituencies in Punjab, two in Sindh and one in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and ICT each. As many as 103 constituencies had a turnout -between 50.1 percent and 60 percent including 87 in - Punjab, eight in Sindh, four in Balochistan, three in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and one in ICT. As many as 93
constituencies had a turnout between 40.1 percent and 50 percent with 40 such constituencies in Punjab, 33 in Sindh, 14 in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, five in Balochistan and one in ICT. As many as 45 constituencies had a turnout between 30.1 percent and 40 percent including 21 in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 16 in Sindh, four in Balochistan and four in Punjab. The remaining 10 constituencies had a turnout below 30 percent and included five in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, three in Balochistan and two in Sindh. The following table shows the region-wise number of constituencies disaggregated by the ranges of voter turnout.

| Region | Below 30 <br> percent | 30.1 percent <br> to 40 percent | 40.1 percent <br> to 50 percent | 50.1 percent <br> to 60 percent | Above 60 <br> percent | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | 5 | 21 | 14 | 3 | 1 | 44 |
| Islamabad |  |  | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| Punjab |  | 4 | 40 | 87 | 9 | 140 |
| Sindh | 2 | 16 | 33 | 8 | 2 | 61 |
| Balochistan | 3 | 4 | 5 | 4 |  | 16 |
| Total | 10 | 45 | 93 | 103 | 13 | 264 |

## 5 NO CONSTITUENCY WITH FEMALE VOTES LESS THAN 10 PERCENT OF POLLED VOTES

Unlike GE-2018, none of the National or Provincial Assemblies' constituencies recorded female turnout that was less than 10 percent of the total polled votes. Section 9(1) empowers the Commission to declare polling at one or more polling stations or election in the whole constituency void if the turnout of women voters in the constituency is less than ten percent of the total votes polled. In GE-2018, two National Assembly and one Provincial Assembly constituency of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa had a female turnout less than 10 percent of the polled votes. In GE-2024, The lowest vote share of women among total polled votes
was 18.8 percent recorded in NA-13 Battagram. The highest women vote share was 49.5 percent in NA-1 Chitral Upper-cum-Chitral Lower. Of 254 National Assembly constituencies where genderdisaggregation of polled votes is available, six constituencies in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa had women votes that were less than 25 percent of the total votes. Women share in polled votes was between 25.1 percent and 35 percent in 24 constituencies, between 35.1 percent and 45 percent in 197 constituencies and above 45 percent in 27 constituencies.

| Region | Below 25 <br> percent | 25.1 percent to <br> $\mathbf{3 5}$ percent | $\mathbf{3 5 . 1}$ percent to <br> $\mathbf{4 5}$ percent | Above 45 <br> percent | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | 6 | 15 | 21 | 1 | 43 |
| Islamabad | - |  |  | 1 | 1 |
| Punjab |  | 2 | 112 | 20 | 134 |
| Sindh |  | 3 | 54 | 4 | 61 |
| Balochistan |  | 4 | 10 | 1 | 15 |
| Total | 6 | 24 | 197 | 27 | 254 |

Below is the list of the 20 National and Provincial Assemblies' constituencies where the Returning Officers did not document gender-disaggregated polled votes as required under Rule 84(1) of the Election Rules, 2017. The ECP must take cognizance of the issue and proceed against the negligent officials under Section 55 of the Elections Act, 2017.

| \# | Region | Constituency Name |
| :---: | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | NA-19 Swabi-I |
| 2 | Islamabad | NA-46 Islamabad-I |
| 3 | Islamabad | NA-47 Islamabad-II |
| 4 | Punjab | NA-50 Attock-II |
| 5 | Punjab | NA-64 Gujrat-III |
| 6 | Punjab | NA-74 Sialkot-V |
| 7 | Punjab | NA-78 Gujranwala-II |
| 8 | Punjab | NA-87 Khushab-I |
| 9 | Punjab | NA-154 Lodhran-I |
| 10 | Punjab | PP-25 Jhelum-II |
| 11 | Punjab | PP-31 Gujrat-V |


| \# | Region | Constituency Name |
| :---: | :--- | :--- |
| 12 | Punjab | PP-32 Gujrat-VI |
| 13 | Punjab | PP-81 Khushab-I |
| 14 | Punjab | PP-84 Khushab-III |
| 15 | Punjab | PP-185 Okara-I |
| 16 | Punjab | PP-226 Lodhran-II |
| 17 | Punjab | NA-266 Killa Abdullah <br> -cum-Chaman |
| 18 | Balochistan | PB-46 Quetta-IX |
| 19 | Balochistan | PB-51 Chaman |
| 20 | Balochistan |  |

