Amendments in Electoral Laws and Its Effects on Female Participation in General Elections

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CERTIFICATE

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I dedicate this work to my Mother.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

The rational of this topic is to assess political emancipation of women in different socio-cultural aspects. It has been strived to find out as to whether electoral legal framework of the country accelerates or impedes political empowerment of women. Moreover, this study might be helpful to find out as to whether women are registered as voters as part to men. Moreover, this study also highlights voting patterns in different districts of the country that implicitly provides the power contribution in political decision making that women did have during general election 2018. Lastly, this study may also be helpful to highlight the districts where women are getting somewhat congenial atmosphere in order to be a part and parcel of political decision making.

Researcher followed the mix method research strategy and descriptive research design for the current research. Purposive sampling technique used to identify the difference between women registration and turnout before and after general elections. Researcher has used secondary data for this study which has been collected through different platforms.

It may be said that more efforts are required from ECP, NADRA and development sector to enhance female registration. Moreover, rigorous campaign is require to be run in Zhob division of Balochistan and Malakand division of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa for encouraging women to cast their votes. In Punjab female voting percentage in big cities of Punjab is relatively lower to rural areas. FATA still has to travel a long journey in electing women in direct elections.

An analysis of the data shows that hectic efforts are required by concerned stakeholders to improve female participation in political decision making. Moreover, province wise, and sometimes region wise, exclusive policies are required to be designed keeping in view the specific requirement. It is also appropriate to mention that policies aiming at urban women should be different from policies aiming at rural women.

The findings of this study show that there has been some connection of development with political empowerment, though this aspect is not the epicentre of the study. The findings can be expressed as that the most backward districts like Kohlu, Dera Bhugti and North Waziristan, South Waziristan and Mohmand Agency have a disparity of male and female registration up to 30%. Moreover, disparity between registration and casting of votes is higher than 15% in Kohlu, Musakhel and Sherani districts in Balochistan. Whereas, for Khyber Pakhtunkhwa districts of Swat, Buner, Batagram, Shangla and Khyber Agency it is more than 20%. In Sindh, Tando Mohammad khan district does also has a gap of more than 15%.

The highest number of women candidates who contested direct election in KPK was for Peshawar District where four female contested direct elections. However, no female candidate from the province could win elections. For Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) region only one female from Kuram Agency contested elections without success. In Punjab twelve women contested direct election from Lahore District that was the highest number among districts. However, two women from Vehari District won elections, so in terms of victory, Vehari stood first. A total number of three women won direct elections in Punjab. Six women contested election from Karachi East District with no success but one each women stood returned from the Badin, Sanghar, Khairpur and Thatha Districts.

From Balochistan eleven women contested election from Quetta district however one female candidate stood returned from Kech district. Last but not the least, general elections since 2008 are showing gradually negative impact on Gender Empowerment Measure that should be addressed.

ABBREVIATIONS

CEDAW   Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

ECP   Election Commission of Pakistan.

EMB   Electoral Management Body.

EPRS   European Parliamentary Research Service.

FAFEN   Free and Fair Election Network.

GAD   Gender and Development.

GEM   Gender Empowerment Measure.

GDP   Gross Domestic Product.

IDEA   Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance.

IFES   International Foundation for Electoral System.

NADRA   National Database and Registration Authority.

PILDAT   Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency.

UDHR   Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

UNDP   United Nation Development Program.

WAD   Women and Development.

WID   Women in Development.

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CHAPTER   I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

At the outset, it would be appropriate to cite the concept of development as enunciated by Amartya Sen that Gross Domestic Product (GDP) by itself should not be the ultimate goal of efforts to help poor countries. Rather:

> *What aid should hope to maximize are the freedoms associated with wealth, freedom to exchange goods and labour, freedom to make choices and influence one's life, freedom to live longer, freedom to get an education.* (Amartya Sen, 1999).

It is evident from the above that modern concept of development is all inclusive. It covers all and is applicable to all human beings. Hence, women cannot be kept at bay from the modern heralded freedoms cited above. This, perhaps, has been a raison d'être behind coining the term of Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM). The term has been widely used by the United Nations to access the freedoms available apropos of gender in different societies.

> *Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) deals with the concept that examines about women's participation in political and economic life. It uses information of women purchasing power for economic development and their presence in parliament for political participation* (United Nation Development Program, 1995).

Here it would be important to understand concept of empowerment as Kabeer (2001) explained empowerment as the expansion in people's ability to make strategic life choices in a context where this ability was previously denied to them. It is simply a process through which people gain control over their lives by their democratic participation in their community life (Rappaport, 1987).

Hitherto, the point has been made that the objective of development cannot be achieved unless almost half of the country's population which consists of women is empowered for decision making. Hence, efforts are being made worldwide to enhance women participation in decision making institutions, in general, and in parliaments, in particular.

Efforts for political empowerment of women are not new and its origin in modern history can be traced from New Zealand that was the first country to grant the right of vote to women on September 19, 1893. However, it has not been a piece of cake for European women to get right to vote and they struggled a lot for getting this right (European Parliamentary Research Service, 2012).

United Nations believes and promotes gender parity in political empowerment. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at its third session at the Palais de Chaillot in Paris, France is an epoch-making document for ensuring the right of everyone in decision making process. According to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (2015), every individual, either directly or through chosen representative by freewill, has the right to participate in making of his government. Similarly, he/she has equal rights for access to public service. Lastly, authority of the government shall be derived from the will of its people that would be expressed in periodic and genuine elections held by secret vote or equivalent procedure and based on equal and universal suffrage.

Pakistan is a member of United Nation and a signatory to the most of its human rights declarations aims at political empowerment of Gender. Notwithstanding the fact that first past the post electoral system seems disadvantageous with regard to gender parity but hectic efforts are being made to achieve the goal of at least 30 percent the presentation of women in parliament in Pakistan. By 2000, Pakistan was regarded among such countries where GEM indicators were disappointing, especially with regard to women participation in parliament. There was no privilege or assurance to include women in parliament through legislation. Similarly, some circles of society had also remained sceptic about female participation in the field of governance due to the one or other pretext.

18th amendment to the constitution proved to be a substantial effort by Pakistan for enhancing number of women in parliament and provincial assemblies. Through this amendment, number of seats for women were reserved that are required to be filled in each parliament through proportional representation system against the direct seats won by a political party during general elections.

Table 1.1: Seats reserved for women in the Constitution.

Assemblies	Total Number of Seats	Seats Reserved for Women
National Assembly	342	60
Punjab Assembly	371	66
Sindh Assembly	168	29
KPK Assembly	145	26
Balochistan Assembly	65	11
Total	1075	192

Source: Constitution of Pakistan, 2018.

The 18th amendment proved helpful in improving GEM indicator but women participation in electoral process regarding registration as voters, as candidate, as elected members and within Electoral Management Body (EMB) required further improvements.

A unified law was passed by the parliament unanimously apropos of electoral reforms. This act was promulgated on 3rd October 2017. Consequently, Election Commission of Pakistan framed the rules thereunder in the same month. Efforts have been made to bridge gender disparity through legislation and thorough study/analysis is required in this regard. A comparison may be made among the Representations of People Act, 1976, the Electoral Rolls Act, 1976, Political Parties Order, 2002 and the Election Act 2017 in order to find gender sensitivity in the new law. Similarly, such comparison may also be drawn among the election related previous rules and new rules.

Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP)'s first strategic plan has been epoch-making in ushering a new era for initiating substantial efforts for gender parity in the electoral process. Election Commission of Pakistan pledged to open its doors for women and a gender wing was established in election commission.

Enforcement and impact of laws may help us to assess our progress and provide an impetus to strive further. There is a need to scrutinise general election, 2018 in gender perspective. It might be helpful to assess our progress as a society for gender empowerment; to assess the betterments, if any. Let it timidly be said that this research may prove as a bedrock over which edifice of further efforts for gender parity in electoral arena may be erected.

1.2 Research Problem and its operationalization into research questions and objectives.

Change in electoral laws in Pakistan has provided legal mechanism for improvement in Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) however, analysis of general election 2018 shows that further efforts are required for encouraging Pakistani women in electoral arena. Hence, the following research questions may be framed.

1.3 Research questions.

1. What are the contributions of electoral legal framework to ensure gender parity regarding women empowerment for improvement of GEM indicator?
2. What has been the difference between women registration as voters, women as registered voters and women as polled voters before promulgation of the Elections Act, 2017 and after general elections, 2018?
3. What has been women candidature in general elections-2018 as compared to general elections-2013?

1.4 Objectives of the Research.

In the light of the previous discussion, the objectives of the study are as following:

1. To evaluate favourability of legal amendments for enhancement of GEM indicator apropos of political perspective.
2. To evaluate the impact of new electoral legal framework on women registration in voter lists and women turnout during general elections-2018.
3. To find out if new electoral dispensation/laws has resulted in increase of women candidature and elected members during General Elections-2018 or otherwise.

1.5 Limitation of research.

In Pakistan, few researchers have paid their attention to the aspect of gender and elections, or as the case may be political aspect of GEM indicator. Hence, a comprehensive document covering all aspects seems to be missing. Availability of data relating to gender and elections might also be a reason for little research work in this field as getting such data had been an uphill task in the past. The elections Act, 2017 has tried to encourage women in the field of governance and elections but no researcher, known to me, has yet studied the impact of the elections Act, 2017 on general election 2018. This research aims at finding if election 2018 has helped in increasing GEM indicator or the law has provided tangible basis for such increase in future on the basis of scrutiny of the law and data of general election 2018 officially published by Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP). The most important impediment or difficulty with regard to the objectives of the research might be the fact that this research in confined to political aspect of gender empowerment measure indicator (GEM) and it altogether excludes the economic aspect of gender empowerment measure. This research is limited to examine

political participation of women in Pakistan. Hence, it focuses on measuring the outcome of 2018 general elections on Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM).

1.6 Hypothesis.

There is a significant difference between participants before general elections 2018 and after general elections 2018 in terms of:

1. Women in voters lists.
2. Women as voters.
3. Women as candidates.

1.7 Significance of Research.

More presence of women in parliament helps to increase in GEM indicator. In Pakistan, there is a need to enhance female representation in decision making institutions up to international standards. This requirement is in the backdrop of different covenants of United Nations relating to women empowerment for which Pakistan is also a signatory. This research primarily focuses on the three indicators for finding impact apropos of Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), that is, women as Contesting Candidates, women as registered voters and women as voters. These indicators are helpful to find out if increase / decrease in the indicator has affected significantly in increase or decrease in political aspect of GEM indicator after general elections 2018 in Pakistan.

This research also aims at finding the impact of legal amendments reflected in the elections Act-2017 and their suitability for enhancing GEM indicator relating to political aspect. This research may also be helpful to explore further avenues for women empowerment in elections at gross root level.

This research at the first hand strives to find out impact of the Election Act 2017 and Election Rules 2017 regarding women empowerment in the field of governance. The research is trying to find out if the law provides special measures for enhancement of female registration, female voting and female candidature.

1.8 Organization.

First chapter of this research is introduction which includes research questions and objectives of the research. It also includes hypothesis and significance of research. Second chapter is literature review which includes different themes of literature. Third chapter is explaining the methodology of the research in which theoretical framework, sampling and units of data collection have been explained.

Fourth chapter deals with the electoral legal framework relating to political empowerment of gender in order to find out if it provides congenial atmosphere to women. Fifth chapter is dealing with district wise women registration in October 2017 and its comparison has been made with the statistics of October 2018 in order to find out impact of legal provisions in practical female registration. In the sixth chapter, district wise linkage between female registration and female turnout has been made in order to find if such differences are negligible or substantial. Seventh chapter is comply of two parts. In the first part the detailed analysis about female contesting candidates has been made district wise, where applicable province wise, in order to find out if legislation and political environment is promoting women in politics or otherwise. Part two of this chapter is helpful to trace the progress of Pakistan with regard to political aspect of Gender Empowerment Measure by evaluating its trend from 2008 to 2018 general election. Final chapter is conclusion based on statistical facts arrived at the previous chapter.

Firstly, this research may provide data for analysis of the impact of new electoral legal framework through examining general election 2018. This research may be helpful to find districts where gap between male and female registration is more than 10 percent or the districts where Election Commission of Pakistan showed efforts to reduce such gap after promulgation of the election act 2017.

This research might also be helpful to find out the areas for later researchers where women vote more or vote less in order to probe into reasons for such phenomena. This research might further be helpful for government departments, civil society and NGO's to identify areas where more efforts are required to encourage female voters.

Legal framework in Pakistan has made it mandatory for political parties to allocate a certain number of direct seats to women candidates. This research might be helpful in order to find out if such law has substantially increased women candidates in general election, 2018. Moreover, it may also be examined if such law has substantially affected GEM indicator or otherwise. In case general election 2018 do not show substantial increase in GEM indicator, future researchers might strive to find out plausible reasons for that. The research may prove pivotal in determining future course of action by the policy makers of Pakistan by many folds. Last but not the least, this research may unlock plethora of avenues relating to political behaviour and patterns of political parties and voters by and large.

CHAPTER   II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction.

Political empowerment of women is a universally recognized objective hence, emphasis is required to be made on the covenants and declarations passed by the United Nation in this context.

In the background study, researcher searched different events and researches held in respect of the changing identity of woman. From the word go, United Nations vociferously supported freedom and equality hence, women rights and empowerment may be dubbed as an inherent cause in United Nation charter. Extracts from Article 1 of the Charter is reproduced as under:

> *To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.*
>
> *To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends* (United Nation, 1945).

There is a need to enhance women participation in Parliaments and long term efforts are required for the same. Different plans, proposals and methods have been proposed by the experts of electoral design. Notwithstanding the fact, quotas are neither the goal nor ultimate objective for enhancing female participation in world parliaments; however, quotas have been adopted by many countries as a short term measure to increase number of women in parliaments and resultantly, gender empowerment through agency focussed[1] approach.

In Pakistan, there have been efforts for enhancement of women representation in parliament. Hence, quota has also been introduced in the constitution by reserving seats for women. Moreover, further efforts have been made recently to facilitate women in coming to parliament by introducing special provisions in legal framework. Election management bodies may also play a role for encouraging women in political arena.

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[1] Approach deals with the officially established figures.

2.2 Women and Empowerment.

Empowerment theories encompass both process and outcomes. Empowering process of individuals may include participation in community organization whereas, empowered outcomes usually denote to empowerment operationalization (Perkins and Zimmerman, 1995). Empowerment was explained by Cornell empowerment group as an intentional, unending process centered in the local community, involving mutual respect, critical reflection, caring, and group participation, due to which people who lack in equal share of valued resources gain greater opportunity to and control over those resources (Cornell Empowerment Group, 1989).

Women empowerment is quite murky and evolving concept that is still being defined and redefined, elaborated and clarified constantly. This concept is highly interlinked with gender equality. Women empowerment is a multidimensional concept covering social, economic, cultural, political, legal and psychological aspects (Malhotra et al. 2002). It requires methodological approaches in determining and investigating women's empowerment and development of indicators by which women empowerment could be measured. Decision-making by female explains concept of women empowerment to a great deal however, there are certain constraints in measuring women empowerment due to lack of standardized ways. Many researchers, at individual level, have tried to construct set of specific questions and indicators based on Population Based Primary Survey for measuring empowerment (Kishor and Subaiya 2008).

There are mainly three dimensions of empowerment that are social, economic and political. Social empowerment covers various aspects of the social wellbeing of women such as their literacy, health, equal opportunities and equal access to justice. The second dimension is economic empowerment that encompasses poverty reduction, access to credit, remunerated work and sustainable development. The third dimension is political empowerment of women. Current statistics reveal that women are among the less privileged segment of the society in Pakistan. Notwithstanding the fact that Article 25, 26, 27 and 32 of the Constitution of Pakistan guarantees non-discrimination against women and advocate full participation of women in all spheres of national life. Political freedom is an integral part of empowerment as it provides cogent basis for human development. Political empowerment of women would enhance their role and scope in decision-making as said that the most fundamental basic right is the freedom to make decision rather than hand it over to someone else (Mujahid et al. 2015).

2.3 Efforts made under the aegis of UN for political empowerment of women and international criteria.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights (2015), adopted by the United Nations General Assembly is among pivotal documents that ensure gender parity in efforts to attain public offices through elections. Moreover, women suffrage, participation in political life and right to public offices in guaranteed in the declaration. History of feminist movement is quite rich however, this movement got acceleration in 1970's. 1975 was declared as the International Women's Year by the General Assembly of United Nations and the first world conference relating to women empowerment was held in the same year in Mexico City. From 1976 to 1985, the decade was declared as the decade for women.

In 1979, General Assembly of United Nations adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). It is worth mentioning that this document goes beyond the concept of equality for all. Rather, it explicitly deals with women and pledges to ensure women participation in decision making institutions in good numbers. Hence, practical steps for women empowerment have also been ensured by United Nations. The United Nations General Assembly unanimously voted to create a single UN body tasked with accelerating progress in achieving gender equality and women's empowerment. The new UN entity for gender equality and the empowerment of women or UN women merged four of the world body's agencies and offices; the UN Development Fund for Women, the Division for the Advancement of Women, and the Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues, and the UN International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (United Nation, n.d.). 5th goal of SGD's aims at achieving gender equality and empowerment of women and girls is epitome of UN objectives for women rights. This goal could only be implemented through persistent dedication and follow up by United Nation as it required legal, legislative and structural changes for many countries. Out of 195 countries, 143 ensured gender equality in their Constitutions by 2014. However, gender disparities in economic and political arenas are yet to be addressed to a significant extent. United Nation efforts are producing results and still a long way has to be gone in achieving gender parity in work force income and women representation in parliaments. Women were earning 24 percent less than men and their representations in parliaments was 22 percent by 1995.

According to Inter-Parliamentary Union (2014), Beijing Platform for Action Signed unanimously by the delegates of fourth World Conference on Women in 1995 was dubbed as a new dawn for women empowerment. It pledged to remove all impediments to women for participation in public and private life. It was decided that women participation in decision making institutions shall

be enhanced by 30 percent though a gamut of activities, strategies, and trainings in a span of twenty years. The efforts made pursuant to Beijing platform gained significant success yet fell short of its target. Women participation in parliaments of countries was up to 22.1 percent in 2015. This enhancement of figures was observed in all regions however, American figures have been the most encouraging. The countries having highest numbers of women in lower houses in that year were Rwanda (59.5 points, achieving 63.8% by 2015), Andorra (46.4 points with 50% in 2015), and Bolivia (42.3 points with 53.1% in 2015). Asian region, however, remained somewhat behind the other regions of the world.

Women were granted voting rights as a result of political movement of the decades. In this regard, suffragette's movement is quite famous that started a new era for democracy in Britain. Like that of men, in many countries, limited women were initially granted right to vote on the basis of their education, income or social status. Similarly, this right to vote was granted gradually from local to national level. New Zealand and Australia were the first ones in granting right to vote to women in 1893 and 1902 respectively. In the same year, Elizabeth Yates became the first women Mayor of Onehungua in New Zealand. Australia was the first country to allow women for contesting election to the parliament and first women who presided over a parliament was also from Australia from 1927 to 1928. Aftermath of First World War appeared as beacon of life for women in governance due to global sensitization under United Nation (EPRS, 2012).

According to European Parliamentary Research Service (2012), Sirivamo Bandaranaike of Sri Lanka had the honor to become first female elected Prime Minister in 1960 and Isabel Peron of Argentina was the first President of a country elected in 1974. It is important to note that women activation in practical politics has deep roots in South Asia. The Five countries of the region, including Pakistan, have witnessed women at the helms of the affairs yet their participation at gross root level is somewhat dismal. As for as women participation in governance is concerned, Nordic countries have very good record. Nina bang was appointed education minister in 1924 in Denmark and Miina Sillanpaa got the coveted post in 1927 in Finland.

2.4 Importance of political power of women in Social Development.

Annie and Carrie (2007), raises the question as to what practical difference women empowerment may make in social development. In 1998, in west Bengal India, a study was made on the leadership of village councils and it was found that councils having women chairpersons invested more in infrastructure and councils having men as chairpersons invested more in education. It shows that

priorities of each gender originates from its practical requirements. Hence, gender balance in governance is imperative. Similarly, economic empowerment of women results in far reaching development of societies though there are few voices against it.

There has always been a debate as to whether introduction of quota for women really helps in women empowerment at gross root level. Some might argue that the quota system revolves around a few privileged ones rather than the all-inclusive. Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (2006), cited the views of International Parliamentary Union (IPU) that are explained in the following terms:

i)   Balanced participation of men and women is pivotal for a democracy in public affairs and management of public offices.

ii)   Achievement of democracy can be assessed from the fact how far in that society men and women work equally and complement each other banging on each other's experiences.

iii)   Increasing women participation in public life in politics requires measures and gradual change in society and quota does not seems is the best option.

iv)   In societies where progress is too slow quotas may be introduced as intermediately measures for going forward.

v)   Quotas are introduced only to cater huge men and women disparity in political life.

vi)   Quota should not promote undue imbalances in political life rather they should be introduce to ensure certain number of each gender in political life.

vii)   The concept gets its support from Article 4 of CEDAW.

2.5 Women in Parliament and Pakistan.

In the first constituent assembly, after creation of Pakistan, there were two elected women in the assembly namely Shaista Ikramullah and Jahanara Shahnawaz (Mumtaz and Shaheed, 1987). Women representation in the political process determines their political empowerment. In the parliament, 50% representation of women represents absolute gender equality. Women gained political strength since when the law mandated that the National Assembly reserved 60 seats out of its 342 for women. The women representation in the National Assembly was on 4 % in 1997, as compared to 21% in 2002 and it is 22.2% in 2012-13. Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency (2013), shows that during general elections of 2013, women showed substantial improvement in contesting direct elections and this elections witnessed an increase of 130% in women

candidature. The Senate and National Assembly have 17% seats reserved for women, while the local government has one third of the total seats.

Constitution of Pakistan (2018), pursuant to 18th amendment the following numbers of seats have been reserved for women in assemblies of Pakistan.

Table 2.1: Seats reserved for women in Constitution.

Assemblies	Total Number of Seats	Seats Reserved for Women
National Assembly	342	60
Punjab Assembly	371	66
Sindh Assembly	168	29
KPK Assembly	145	26
Balochistan Assembly	65	11
Total	1075	192

Source: Constitution of Pakistan, 2018.

Election report published by Election Commission of Pakistan shows that women filed 488 nomination paper against the reserved seats of National Assembly and 1230 Nomination papers against the reserved seats of Provincial assemblies (Election Commission of Pakistan, 2013).

Free and Fair Election Network (2018), shows less women turn out in general election 2018 than men. These stats are significant in two respects; the one is women participation in 2018 as compared to 2013 elections, the other is need or assessment of election laws dealing with gender.

Elections Act (2017), explains the section 9 and section 47 as under as a case in point to highlight gender sensitivity in the act:

Section 9

Section 9 empowers Election Commission of Pakistan for declaring a poll void where *prima facie* are after some inquiry Election Commission comes to the conclusion that grave illegalities have been committed in acting upon the election act or the rules that have materially affected the election results relating to one or more polling stations. Such illegality includes any pact for barring women to cast their votes. At one or more polling stations and if so, the commission may order re-polling in such

areas and explanation has also been added to further elaborate this provision according to which if women turnout is less than 10% in a constituency, it might a credible reason for presuming by the commission that some agreement might have been made to restrain women from casting their vote. Hence, ECP may order fresh polling in one or more polling station or in the whole constituency.

Section 47

This section of the election act 2017, makes it mandatory on ECP for taking special measures to ensure enrollment of female voters. Hence, it directs the following measures:

i)   Annual publications of gender disaggregate data of all national and provincial assemblies of constituencies.

ii)   To highlight annually difference of male and female voters of each constituency.

iii)   If variation of registration between men and women of a constituency is more than 10%, special measure shall be taken by the Commission to mitigate such difference.

iv)   Including other measures women national identity cards would also be ensured.

Election Rules (2017), also provide the concept of gender sensitivity and Rule 82 is a case in points. This rule makes it obligatory upon the presiding officers to provide gender segregated data in the result of the count so as to enable ECP to know male female turn out at each polling station.

The above references invite our attention to thoroughly study election laws relating to gender and its impact on elections 2018.

The question arises as to whether Electoral Management Body (EMB) of a country has the potential to impede or accelerate the progress of that country towards greater gender parity in governance. Similarly, level of gender sensitization in the folds of EMB is also required to be studied. In this regard, it would be appropriate to reproduce para number 122 of the International IDEA handbook on electoral management Design:

"EMBs have a responsibility to ensure that in their internal and external activities they reflect the gender composition of society. Elements of this responsibility may be defined in electoral laws, such as insuring that political parties nominated at least the specified levels of women candidates required by law (as in Argentina, Belgium, Iraq and Palestine). Some may be taken on by an EMB as a social campaign. For example, the EMB in Indonesia in 2004 returned party candidate lists for reconsideration where they did not meet the recommended

(but not enforceable) 30 percent women candidate quota. It is good practice for EMB's to promote including such measure I their own regulations or codes of conduct" (Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2006, p70).

2.6 Conclusion.

Significant efforts have been made worldwide for political empowerment of women and such efforts are highly coordinated under the supervision of United Nation. Different conventions have been approved to encourage countries for taking substantial measure in order to make their parliament more representative for women. Electoral experts have also tried women friendly electoral management design. Different options used to be proposed by the experts however, introduction of quota for women in parliament is mostly prevalent in third world countries like Pakistan.

Constitution of Pakistan seems to be cognizant from the obstacles to women in parliament since 1973 when seats for reserved for women in National Assembly. After eighteenth amendment of constitution of Pakistan does have highest number of reserved seats in National Assembly in any country of South Asia. Legislature in Pakistan and Electoral Management Body of Pakistan seem to be aware of the fact that true women representation can only be assured by increasing their chances to win direct elections. Hence, the electoral legal framework enforced in 2017 has certain provisions for encouraging women in direct elections.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Strategy and Methodology.

Distinct directions relating to procedures in a research design are based upon the types of inquiry within qualitative, quantitative and mixed method approaches (Creswell, 2014). This research relates to mixed method research in order to examine political empowerment of women.

3.2 Research Design.

Researcher selected descriptive research design for this research because of data required for this research is secondary and it is based on the figures of the voters published by the Election Commission of Pakistan. Moreover, reliance has been made on the figures officially published by the Election Commission of Pakistan either on its website or through notifications relating to general election 2018 and general election 2013. In this research, chapter 8 of the constitution and other relevant provisions of the constitution, and the election act 2017 and the election rules 2017 have also been examined.

As pointed out earlier, it is mixed method research with descriptive research design; facts and data has been produced and be explained; legal facts has been produced whereas, data relating to registration and election has been provided in tabular form.

Legal framework has been explained in order to find out if the law provides basis for political empowerment for women or otherwise. Data has been described in order to meet out the objectives of the research. Whereas, reliance has been made on the Constitution and Act officially published by the Ministry of Law and the Rules published by election commission of Pakistan.

3.3 Theoretical Framework.

Taking as baseline of Amartya Sen's concept of development that aims at maximizing freedoms relating to wealth, exchange of goods and labour, education and freedom relating to making choices; theoretical framework of this research is based on Gender and Development (GAD) approach. Gender and development approach deals with the issue of power which is related to gender and its strategies of women empowerment and these strategies are challenging the status quo (Parpart, 1993). This approach has been coined in 1980's in order to examine interaction between women and men with regard to their inclusion or exclusion from development process. This approach helps us to examine

and address disparities in the fields of labour, power relation and other socio-political identities. This approach is mainly influenced by writings of scholars like Oakley, Rubin and Amartya Sen.

Gender and Development approach has its roots in the approaches of Women in Development (WID) and Women and Development (WAD). Women in Development approach primarily deals with the concept of asserting the rights by women in developing countries through projecting their identity. This approach aims at making women visible in development process. Women and Development (WAD) approach was introduced as a response to the criticism of Women in Development (WID) approach. It is appropriate to mention that perspective of economy has progressed to political economy in this approach. This approach considers that women had always been a part of production process but there is a need to involve them in development process. Hence, this approach suggests strategies to increase social, political and economic structure of women.

Notwithstanding the fact that WID and WAD approaches provided the basis for GAD approach but there is a need to identify, as Mosse (1993), said WID approach failed to take into account gender relations. WAD approach took into account concept of Development and Women, however, aspect of gender was missing in it too that has been addressed in Gender and Development approach.

The final goal of Gender and Development approach is women empowerment. It aims that women could be provided such position so that they could fight for their own rights. Gender and Development approach identify that women are intensely damaged by patriarchal power system at every level in their life (Sen and Grown, 1987). This approach is all inclusive in order to provide women platform for having their say in achieving the goal of sustainable poverty alleviation.

Empowerment approach is relatively new and it believes that extent of power held by individuals or a group is proportionate to the kind of resources they can control and to the potential of shaping social, religious and political ideologies. This control is relative to decision making power and self-reliance. In 1979, General Assembly of United Nations adopted The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Article 7 of The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (2000), explains for eliminating discrimination against women in political and public life of a country, states parties would take all appropriate measures and shall particularly ensures that women have equal right to men with regard to the following:

i) Right to vote in election and referendum.
ii) Right to contest election to all public elected bodies.
iii) Right to participation in preparation in government policy and its execution.

iv) Right to hold public offices.

v) Right to perform duties at all level of government offices.

vi) Right to associate and participate in NGO's and associations working on political or public life of a country.

A commission has been constituted under the aegis of United Nation Women that is responsible for implementation and follow up of steps for women empowerment. In its fourth conference held at Beijing in 1995, the Commission reiterated its pledge to achieve the target of thirty percent women representation in decision making institutions. Efforts have been made worldwide to achieve this objective and academic research made, inter alia, by International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), International Foundation for Electoral System (IFES) and Electoral Knowledge Network (ACE) also helped in acceleration of women participation in the arena of elections and governance. Electoral systems have also been minutely studied to find ways and means to empowering women in electoral fields.

United Nation Development Programme (UNDP) have coined the term Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) in its development programs in order to examine gender empowerment inequalities. This approach of measuring gender empowerment is based on agency focused. Moreover, it is determined by basic indicators; the proportion of seats held by women in parliament whereas, the second is percentage of women in economic decision making positions. United Nation Development Program (UNDP) explained GEM as a term that examines women participation in political and economic life by using information of women's purchasing power for economic development and their presence in parliament for political participation.

3.4 Pictorial Explanation of Theoretical framework.

Figure: 3.1 Pictorial representation of Theoretical framework 1.


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                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │   Gender and        │
                    │   Development       │
                    │   (GAD)             │
                    └─────────────────────┘
    ┌──────────────┐          │          ┌──────────────┐
    │ Women in     │          ▼          │ Women and    │
    │ Development  │  ┌─────────────────┐ │ Development  │
    │ (WID)        │  │ Convention on   │ │ (WAD)        │
    └──────────────┘  │ the Elimination │ └──────────────┘
                      │ of All Forms of │
                      │ Discrimination  │
                      │ against Women   │
                      │ (CEDAW)         │
                      └─────────────────┘
                             │
                             ▼
                      ┌─────────────────┐
                      │ Objectives set  │
                      │ in 4th          │
                      │ conference of   │
                      │ UN women in     │
                      │ 1995.           │
                      └─────────────────┘
                             │
                             ▼
  ┌──────────┐  ┌─────────────────┐  ┌──────────────┐
  │Potential │◄─┤ Gender          ├─►│ Actual       │
  │impact of │  │ Empowerment     │  │ Outcome in   │
  │Election  │  │ Measure         │  │ General      │
  │Laws      │  │ (GEM)           │  │ Election 2018│
  └──────────┘  └─────────────────┘  └──────────────┘
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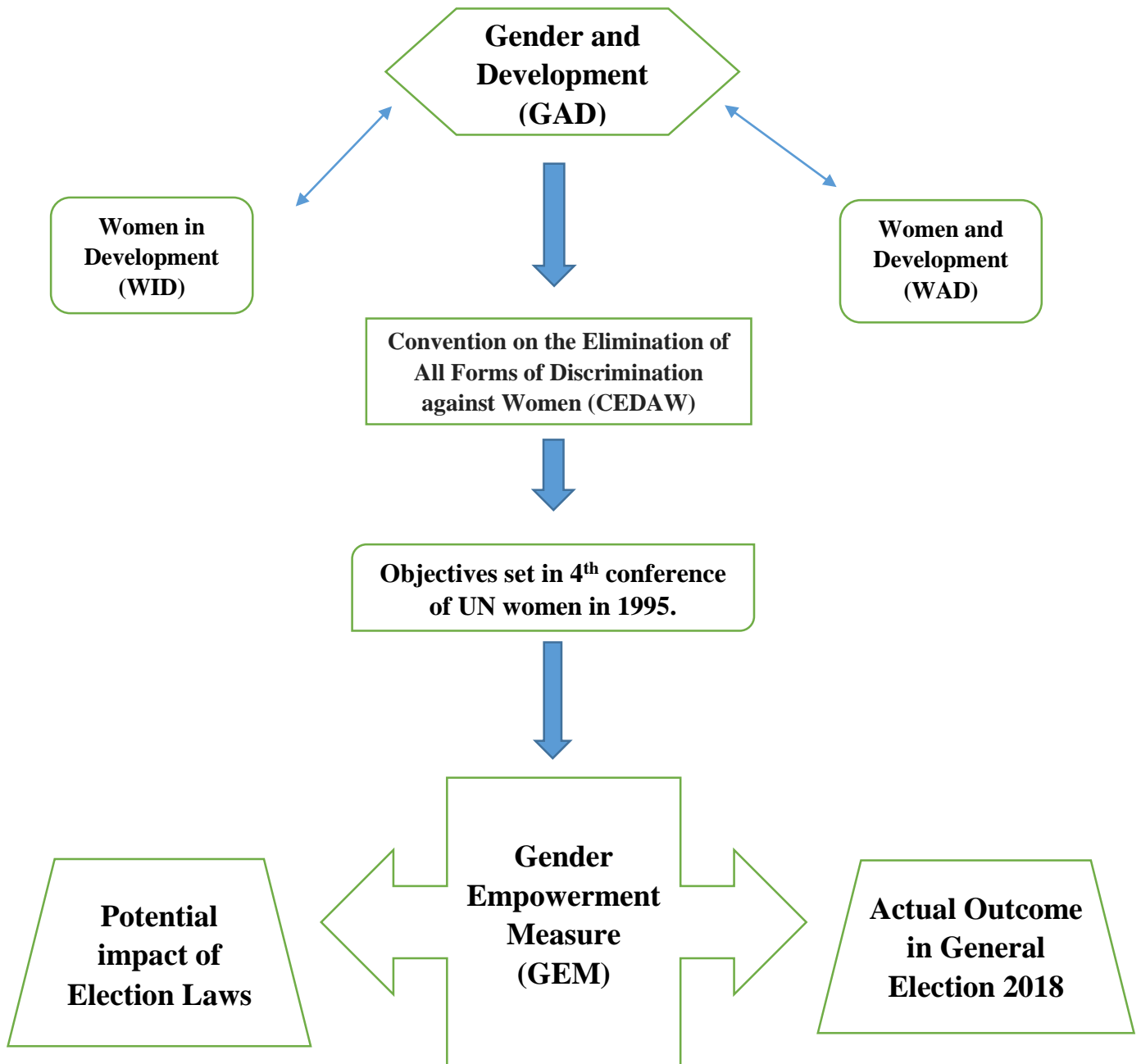
Note: Please also refer to figure 3.2 for explanation and better understanding.

The above theoretical framework of this research leads to the following specific research inquiries.

Figure: 3.2 Pictorial representation of Theoretical framework 2.
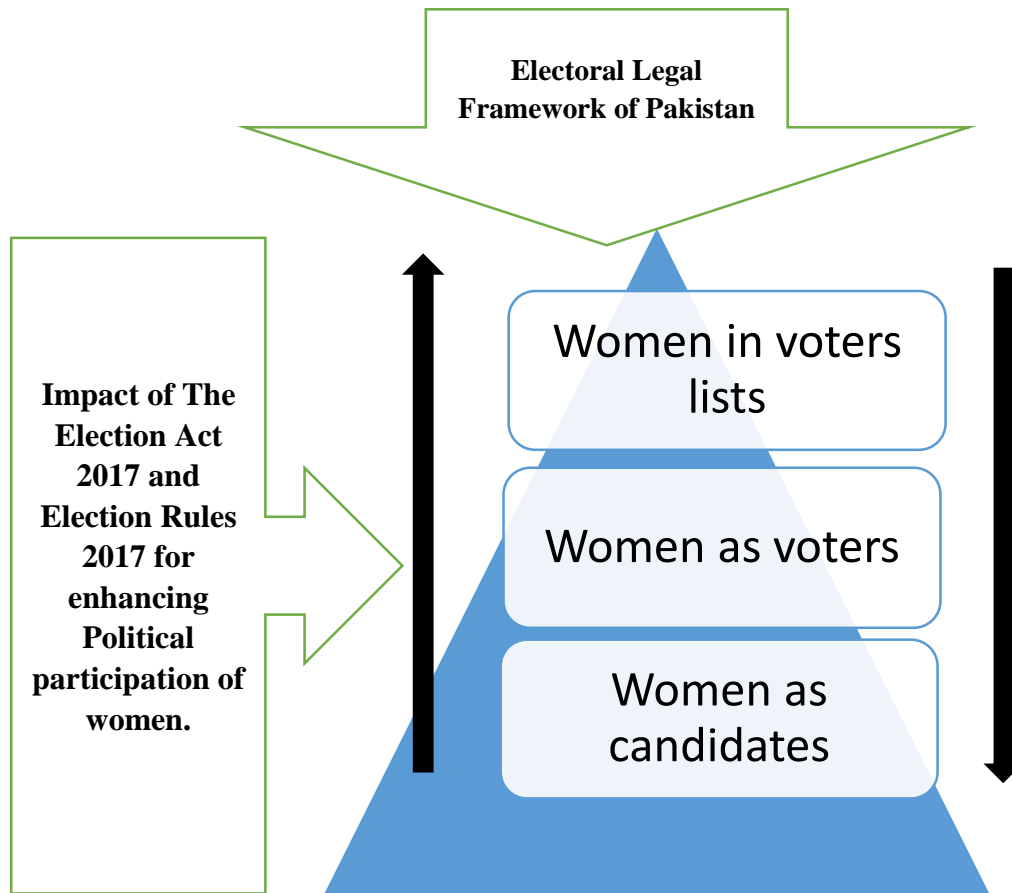
It is pertinent to justify relevance of research inquiries with its theoretical framework. Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) is helpful to know numerical strength of women. However, it is also argued that numerical increase in numbers do not necessarily ensure actual enhancement in political empowerment of women. Hence, there is a need to evaluate if legal framework facilitates actual political empowerment of women (discussed in chapter 4 at length) or otherwise. Moreover, data relating to registration and general elections 2018 is required to be scrutinised (as per the above figures) in order to make a better understanding of efforts that by now have been made for political empowerment of women.

3.5 Variables of interest.

Primarily three variables used in order to find out and examine the data and to reach at the conclusion that have been mentioned in the objectives of this research.

Table 3.3: Variables of Interest.

Variables	Data before promulgation of The Elections Act, 2017	Data after General Elections-2018
Women in voters lists	Availability of stat by October 2017	Percentage of women in voter lists by October, 2018 after general elections.
Women as voters	Availability of stats of women percentage as voters in voters lists before general election 2018	Percentage of women who polled votes during general election 2018.
Women as Candidates	Availability of stats of women contesting and returned candidates in general election 2013	Number of women contesting and returned candidates during general election 2018.

The first variable is helpful to examine if enactment of the election act 2017 has substantially increase women registration in voter lists or otherwise in one year. This variable gives us the clue is that women do have the prerequisite for political empowerment. Whereas, the second variable is helpful to know if women are empowered to take part in making political choices. This variable provides an insight about the percentage of women participation in political decision making in different districts of Pakistan. The third indicator is the direct prerequisite of enhancement of GEM indicator. Women can only be elected in more numbers if they contest in more numbers. Moreover, this indicator has also provided an insight if political atmosphere at different districts is helpful in promoting them to political decision making institutions.

It is also be appropriate to point out that these variables are self-explanatory with regard to their analysis. They have generate significant analytical debate for future researchers as the same is beyond the scope of this research.

3.6 Sampling and Data.

Researcher used Purposive sampling in this research which consist of the following:

- District wise (including FATA) statistics of women enrolment by October 2017 and by July 2018.
- District wise statistics of women voters who polled their vote.
- District wise (including reserved seats) female contesting candidates and female returned candidates on the basis of National Assembly candidature. (Wherever it is possible, on the basis of Provincial Assembly candidature)

All the above referred data has been taken from the officially published figures of Election Commission of Pakistan.

3.7 Units of data collection.

Document analysis is a type of qualitative research in which documents are interpreted by the researcher to give meaning to the topic (Bowen, 2009). UDC 1 and UDC 2 are the extracts from the documents. UDC 1 is the relevant provisions of the Election Act and Election Rules 2017. UDC 2 is chapter 8 and other relevant provisions of the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan. UDC 3 consists of figures officially published by Election Commission of Pakistan.

Data is secondary for this research which is published by government official documents and elections results.

UDC's for this research are following:

UDC1: The relevant provisions of The Election Act and Election Rules 2017.

This UDC consist of documents of election act 2017 and election rules.

UDC2: Chapter 8 and other relevant provisions of the constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

Analysis of relevant provisions of constitutions of Islamic republic of Pakistan.

UDC3: Figures officially published by Election Commission of Pakistan.

Election results of general elections 2018. Some figures from general election 2013 and 2017 with comparison figures of general election 2018.

3.8 Conclusion.

This is descriptive research for which data has been collected from the officially published figures of Election Commission of Pakistan. Moreover, provisions in legal framework relating to gender perspective has also been examined. The research is based upon the three variables for determining if statistics relating to General Elections-2018 show an improvement of GEM indicator or otherwise. Last but not the least; statistics relating to National Assembly's constituencies throughout Pakistan has been locale of this project along with the district wise statistics of registered voters.

CHAPTER IV

ELECTORAL LEGAL FRAMEWORK IN PAKISTAN

4.1 Introduction.

This chapter aims at tracing the impact of gender in the laws relating to conduct of election. Constitution, in any country, is considered as the mother of all laws that provide a bed rock to the edifice of all governing laws of the country. The constitution provides priorities and sensitivities that a society gives to different aspects in its governance. It is collective conscious to the society through which it resolves for the betterment.

In this chapter constitutional provisions, the election act and the rules framed their under have been gone through in order to observe as to whether they have elements of gender sensitivity or otherwise.

4.2 The Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

Constitution of Islamic republic of Pakistan promulgated on 14th August 1973 can duly be declared as gender sensitive constitution besides providing gender parity. Article 34 of the constitution makes it obligatory upon the state to take all necessary measures for ensuring full participation of women in all spheres of national life. The constitution envisages the country as a society of equals where everyone has to take part for betterment of the country. Political participation of women at grass root level has been ensured in article 32. This article makes it the responsibility of the state to encourage local government institutions comprising of the members there from. This article further direct that representation of peasant's workers and women shall be ensured in local government institutions. Hence, it can rightly be said that the constitution makers had been vigilant to the fact that strong women representation in social and political life is a pre-requisite for a strong nation. The constitution realized and appreciated the role of women in national life, through its article 34. Women participation in political sphere is not just restricted to grass root level, rather the constitution ensures presence of women in higher fora. Seats have been reserved for women in national assembly and senate. At the time of promulgation of the constitution, then 10 seats reserved for women in national assembly for ten years so as to encourage and provide women level playing field in the arena politics. Thereafter the constitution remained abrogated for some time and protection could not be provided to such seats. However, there had always been public demand from different segments of society to ensure and promote women participation on national assembly. In the start of 21st century Pakistan

was, witnessing another political transition under the leadership of General Pervez Musharraf. Legal framework order passed by General Musharraf and introduced 60 reserved seats for women in national assembly that was later on given constitutional protection through 18th amendment. Article 51 was amended to provide the following number of seats reserved for women province wise:

Table 4.1: Seats reserved for women province wise in National assembly.

Province	Seats Reserved for Women in National Assembly	Percentage as compared to general Seats
Balochistan	3	21.42%
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	8	22.85%
Punjab	35	23.64%
Sindh	14	22.95%

Source: Constitution of Pakistan 2018.

Seats for women were also reserved in provincial assemblies during the regime of General Parvez Musharaf and the same was later protected through 18th constitutional amendment by incorporating the same in article 106 of the constitution.

Table 4.2: Seats reserved for women province wise in Provincial assemblies.

Province	Seats Reserved for women in Provincial Assembly	Percentage as compared to general Seats
Balochistan	11	21.56%
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	22	22.22%
Punjab	66	22.22%
Sindh	29	22.30%

Source: Constitution of Pakistan 2018.

Seats have also been reserved in the constitution in the upper house that is senate. Article 59 of constitution provides 4 reserved seats of women for each province and 1 reserved seats for federal capital. It is pertinent to mention that percentage of seats reserved for women in senate from provinces are 28.57% in comparison to general seats allocated to that province.

Like many other constitutions, constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan also provides basis for electoral laws. Part 8 of the constitution exclusively deals with the matters relating to conduct of

elections in the country. This part comprises of two chapters one of which deals with Election Laws and conduct of elections whereas the other deals with appointments for conduct of elections. Article 222 of the constitution provides basis for different electoral laws like allocation of seats, delimitation of constituencies, preparation of electoral rolls, solution of election campaigns and other such matters. On account of the above discussion it might be fair to presume that electoral laws in Pakistan would also be reflecting the same gender sensitivity as its constitution does have.

4.3 Electoral Legal Framework.

From time to time parliament promulgated a number of acts and orders relating to conduct of election. The detail of which is as under:

1) The constitutional provisions relating to elections.
2) The Election Commission order, 2002 (Chief Executive's order No. 1 of 2002) Dated 14th January, 2002.
3) The Conduct of General Election Order, 2002 (Chief Executive's Order No. 7 of 2002).
4) The Political Parties Order, 2002 (Chief Executive's Order No. 18 of 2002).
5) The Allocation of Symbols Order, 2002.
6) Procedure of Trial of Election Petitions relating to General Elections.
7) The Representation of People Act, 1976 (LXXXV of 1996).
8) The Representation of the People Act, 1976 as made applicable to the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA).
9) The Electoral Rolls Act, 1974 (Act No. XXI of 1974).
10) The Delimitation of Constituencies Act, 1974 (Act No. XXXIV of 1974).

It is pertinent to mention that procedure for the conduct of presidential election has been provided in second schedule of the constitutions. It is noteworthy that a number of laws applicable at the same time governing conduct of election had the potential to create perplexity. Hence, the 13th National Assembly created a special parliamentary committee under the chairmanship of Senator Jahangir Badar for reforming election laws where ECP introduced the idea of unified election laws and presented a draft before the committee. The committee held more than 50 meetings for extensive deliberation on the subject however, it could not come up with a law in the tenure of the assembly. The next assembly that is 14th National Assembly constituted a committee under the chairmanship of Senator Ishaq Dar to accomplish the left task. The committee introduced a draft unified law before the parliament that was passed by it and was enacted on 3 October 2017 after presidential assent.

4.4 Electoral Laws and Gender Sensitivity

It has earlier been arrived at that constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan is gender sensitive. However, electoral laws of the country had been criticized in the past as being gender blind. It is interesting to note that it would be hard to find a document covering all previously existed electoral laws in gender perspective and comprehensive recommendations for their improvement. Notwithstanding the fact isolated work is available from different quarters. Different covenants, women rights NGOs and electoral experts used to prep agate the need for improving women participation in decision making institutions. However, electoral laws enacted under the constitution were devoid of the kind of gender sensitivity shown in the constitution. There had been a demand from different segments of Pakistan for taking measures to enhance women participation in decision making.

Election Commission of Pakistan, the election management body of the country, may be considered as among the pioneers for taking concrete steps for increasing women participation in decision making institutions. The first strategic plan of ECP was made public in 2009 where a pledge was made to address the issue of gender and goal and different objectives set in this regard. ECP established a gender wing in its organization that helped ECP in accelerating its efforts towards gender sensitivity.

The draft of the unified law presented by ECP before the parliamentary committee had different gender sensitive provisions. It would also be appropriate to recognize the contribution of parliamentary committees and the parliament for the cognizes to gender sensitivity. It would be appropriate to analyse newly promulgated election laws in comparison with the previously existed legislation under the constitution. Such analysis might be helpful to know the level of gender sensitivity in the election Act 2017. Such study might be helpful in pointing at such provisions that were considered gender blind. Besides, introducing new gender sensitive provisions.

Election Commission of Pakistan has been constitutionally mandated to conduct elections, honestly, justly, fairly and accordance to law. The honourable supreme court of Pakistan, in its several judgments, held ECP responsible for holding and conducting elections. Previously honest, just and fair conduct did not explicitly have the aspect of gender and section 103AA of the Representation of People Act 1976 described that in case ECP is satisfied that grave illegalities to the election act or rules have been committed. It could declare the election void. Election Commission of Pakistan used this power to set aside the election of PK 93 Shangla where women turnout was dismally low. However, decision

of ECP was declared as void by the Honourable Peshawar High Court Peshawar due to lack of explicit provision relating to gender.

The short coming highlighted above has been addressed in section 9 of the Election Act 2017. This section provides the powers to ECP as that of powers previously existed in section 103AA. Moreover, this section empowers ECP to declare the result of poll as void in one or more polling stations or the entire constituency if there is an agreement to restrain women from casting their vote. It is needless to mention that such agreements have their roots in local taboos and they cannot be find on papers. So in order to make the provision effected, and an explanation was also added in section 9. It was clarified in the explanation that if women turnout in a constituency is less that 10 percent of the total vote polled, election commission of Pakistan may presume that women voters have been restrain from casting their vote through an agreement and may declare the result of the poll of or a few or all polling stations of the constituencies or void.

Introduction of the above provision not only makes the elections act 2017 as gender sensitive rather it compels to break the social taboos barring women to take part in electoral process. This provision has a far reaching impact in political empowerment of women in Pakistan.

A number of measure have been introduced in election act 2017 for political empowerment of women and section 12 a case in points. This section has the caption of measures for training and public awareness and this aim has been introduced first time in the law. The provision makes it obligatory upon the commission to conduct training programs for election officials, to take measures for promotion of knowledge relation to electoral laws and to conduct public awareness programs regarding importance of electoral process and voter enrolment with special emphasis on women. Hence, it can be deduced that the law has provided a vibrant approach to inform and motivate women in taking part the electoral process. It is an activity that has to remain continue throughout the year. It is an activity that lays emphasis on consistence efforts for enhancing women political participation.

The Election Act 2017, does not merely emphasis upon public awareness for enhancing female enrolment rather it provides a practical mechanism in section 47 which provides that election Commission shall publish gender disaggregated data relating to registration of votes in each and national assembly constituency annually. The data shall highlight the difference between men and women registration in a constituency. The provision further states that in case the variation of registration among men and women of a constituency is more than ten percent, special measures shall be taken by the election commission to reduce such gap in the constituency. The provision further suggests the plausible measures required to be taken to mitigate the gap between male and female

registration and they include special efforts for ensuring the provision of national identity cards to women. It is important to note that the Election Act 2017 not only provides substantial impetus to women for participation in political life but it is also revolutionary in helping women to get their recognition as national by virtue of having the identity cards.

Section 9 of the act has already been discussed and the section requires data from its execution. It has previously been pointed out that there has been little research in the field of gender and election of Pakistan. One of the major reasons behind that has been unavailability of gender disaggregated data relating to elections. Section 47 ensures the availability of such data relating to registration whereas section 91 provides gender segregated data relating to elections. This section has made it obligatory upon the presiding officer to prepare gender segregated statement of voters at polling station in terms of total votes and poll votes by each gender. Moreover, the presiding officer is responsible to provide such statements to the returning officer and the election commission while submitting his results. This section empowers the presiding officers for furnishing a special report to the returning officer and to the commission if he has reason to presume that women have been barred to poll their vote at his polling station.

Hitherto we have discussed the provisions relating to encourage female registration and participation in poll and roll of the commission in non-participation of women in casting vote, the election act makes it an offense to restrain women for being a contestant or a voter. Section 81 of the Representation of the People Act 1976, provided the penalty for such offense however, the concept of gender was not explicitly provided in that. Whereas section 170 of the Election Act 2017, explicitly covers this aspect. Point 7 of the section having the caption of "Undue Influence" provides that a person shall be guilty of committing the offense of undue influence if he prevents any women from contesting election or casting her vote.

Institutional efforts seem insufficient for inculcating, deep rooted social reformation. It requires efforts from all and sundry. Political parties are harbinger of social change. Hence, the Election Act 2017, also appreciates this act for inclusiveness of women in political mainstream. Section 203 of the Act recognizes the right of a citizen to associate himself with political activities if he is not in a service of Pakistan. Subsection 4 of this section makes it obligatory upon political parties to encourage women for becoming the member of the political party. Section 206 of the Act further binds political parties with regard to political empowerment of women and it makes obligatory upon political parties that they shall a lot at least 5 percent tickets against general seats to women candidates.

4.5 Electoral Rules and Gender Sensitivity.

Prior promulgation of the election rules 2017, the following different rules were applicable relating to elections:

1) The Political Parties Rules, 2002.
2) The National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies Allocation of Reserved seats for women and non-Muslims (Procedure) Rules, 2002.
3) The Presidential Election Rules, 1988.
4) The Representation of People (Conduct of Election) Rules, 1977.
5) The Electoral Rolls Rules, 1974.

After enactment of The Election Act 2017, unified rules were framed thereunder with the name of *'The Election Rules 2017'*, by the Election commission of Pakistan. The rules do have the elements of gender sensitivity as that of the election act 2017. Rule 39 makes it obligatory upon NADRA to provide monthly data or and when directed by the commission including gender disaggregated data and this data is baseline for enrolment of voters. The elections act makes it obligatory upon the presiding officer to provide data about female voters at the polling station. Hence, rule 82 of the Rules further elaborated the provision of the act. This rule states that number of male and female votes polled at a polling station or as the case may be polling booth shall be counted from the entries scored out from the electoral rolls of that polling booth. Moreover, this rule introduces form 45 to ensure gender segregated stamen of voters.

Chapter 6 of the Rules exclusively deals with the election to the reserved seats and it is needless to mention that the seats have been reserved for women and non-Muslims. It would also be appropriate to mention rule 162 of the rules where a chart of symbols have been provided for allocation of symbols to the contesting candidate. The symbols that were available in the previous rule but were gender offensive have been excluded from rule 162. In this regard efforts of gender wing of ECP (to be discussed in the preceding chapter) are worth mentioning.

From the above discussion we may conclude that the election act 2017, is epoch making with regard to gender sensitivity. This law, if acted upon in letter and spirit, has the potential to transform society in Pakistan with regard to gender. The law makes it binding to provide awareness for importance in participation to political life to each gender. The law further ensures registration of women as voters and in doing so national identity cards have also been provided to women that is the basis of all data in Pakistan. The law further compels to enhance women turn out in order to increase women say in political life. Women are not the mere spectator in the political landscape of the country,

rather they have to actively participate in its making through their presence in assemblies that has been insured through reserved seats. Last but not the least the law provides the acceleration to the culture of political change. It provides a political culture where political parties have to strive for women participation in their folds. It compels political parties to strengthen women in practical politics as there is a minimum quota to allot party tickets to women candidate. The numbers remain always debatable, the numbers may always be improved but it is significant that the new law has made binding at least some numbers to political parties for ensuring female participation in political life.

CHAPTER   V

IMPACT OF ELECTORAL LAWS IN REDUCING GAP BETWEEN MALE AND FEMALE IN THE VOTER'S LISTS.

5.1 Introduction

Voter registration is the bad rock over which edifice of political empowerment of women can be erected. The electoral rolls act 1974 did not provide any mechanism for civil registry data base voter registration. Section 18 of the referred act made it mandatory upon the voter to get himself enrolled in the electoral rolls. However, section 25 of the election act 2017 is a departure of previous procedure. Previously women had to visit the offices of registration officers for getting enrolled as voter and such visiting of public offices is not within reach of most women in Pakistan. According to section 25, data of every citizen to gets his national identity card is to be transmitted to the election commission on monthly basis for registration of vote. This procedure might be helpful for increasing women registration as voters as every woman enrolled in civil registry gets the right to be enrolled in electoral laws, besides having the previous facility of visiting the office of registration officer concerned for enrolment of her name in electoral rolls.

Section 47 of the election act 2017 is another important feature of the law for enhancing women registration as voters. This section makes it obligatory for election commission to annually publish gender disaggregated data for each constituency highlighting the difference in male and female registered voters. Moreover, wherever the difference between male and female voters is more than 10%, ECP has to take steps for mitigating such difference including to expedite issuance of national identity card to women in such constituencies.

In this chapter, province wise registration data male and female voters has been examined before and after promulgation of the election act 2017 in order to find out areas where women registration is quite lower. Moreover, statistics provided in this chapter may also be helpful to examine if the election act 2017 has made significant impact on women registration or otherwise. The first data of voters has been taken from the statistics published by ECP on 13 September 2017 whereas the second data is based upon the statistics published by ECP on 7 September 2018. The data referred has been categorized into the following categories:

- Category A: Low women registration (Less than 40% women registration).
- Category B: Less women registration (More than 40% but less than 45% women registration).

- Category C: Minimum required women registration (45% and above women registration).

On the basis of above categorization, the figures has been analysed in order to make province wise understanding of registration data before and after promulgation of the election act 2017.

5.2 Balochistan.

Total number of districts falling in the data are 32.

5.2.1 Data before Promulgation of Election Act, 2017.

Table 5.1: Balochistan before Election Act 2017 (September 2017).

Province	District	Male	Female	Total	Male %	Female%
	AWARAN	41,079	27,228	68,307	60.14%	39.86%
	BARKHAN	34,288	26,829	61,117	56.10%	43.90%
	CHAGAI	45,418	30,868	76,286	59.54%	40.46%
	DERA BUGTI	50,861	27,601	78,462	64.82%	35.18%
	GWADAR	57,587	47,166	104,753	54.97%	45.03%
	HARNAI	19,873	15,960	35,833	55.46%	44.54%
	JAFFARABAD	100,737	87,940	188,677	53.39%	46.61%
	JHAL MAGSI	29,621	21,328	50,949	58.14%	41.86%
	KACHHI	53,227	34,354	87,581	60.77%	39.23%
	KALAT	67,137	49,251	116,388	57.68%	42.32%
	KECH	109,208	86,576	195,784	55.78%	44.22%
Balochistan	KHARAN	27,764	22,394	50,158	55.35%	44.65%
	KHUZDAR	111,386	80,280	191,666	58.11%	41.89%
	KILLA ABDULLAH	125,114	72,982	198,096	63.16%	36.84%
	KILLA SAIFULLAH	54,380	42,059	96,439	56.39%	43.61%
	KOHLU	31,247	15,630	46,877	66.66%	33.34%
	LASBELA	122,261	90,877	213,138	57.36%	42.64%
	LEHRI	28,626	20,110	48,736	58.74%	41.26%
	LORALAI	68,047	51,921	119,968	56.72%	43.28%
	MASTUNG	51,824	36,108	87,932	58.94%	41.06%
	MUSAKHEL	33,589	24,503	58,092	57.82%	42.18%
	NASIRABAD	97,845	76,829	174,674	56.02%	43.98%
	NUSHKI	42,141	29,813	71,954	58.57%	41.43%
	PANJGUR	48,627	36,444	85,071	57.16%	42.84%

	PISHIN	125,670	92,201	217,871	57.68%	42.32%
	QUETTA	343,849	244,957	588,806	58.40%	41.60%
	SHERANI	20,171	15,264	35,435	56.92%	43.08%
	SIBI	36,489	26,465	62,954	57.96%	42.04%
	SOHBATPUR	39,313	37,288	76,601	51.32%	48.68%
	WASHUK	23,957	20,870	44,827	53.44%	46.56%
	ZHOB	63,317	45,874	109,191	57.99%	42.01%
	ZIARAT	32,407	27,323	59,730	54.26%	45.74%

Taking into account the categorization mentioned at para 3 (introduction of this chapter), the following category wise table has been made of the above data. The table given below explains that at the time of promulgation of the election act 2017, there were only four districts in Balochistan Province where ratio of female registration was satisfactory as per law.

5.2.2 Districts falling under Categories.

Table 5.2: Balochistan categorization wise (September 2017).

Category A			Category B			Category C		
Sr. No	Name of District	Women percentage of Registration	Sr. No	Name of District	Women percentage of Registration	Sr. No	Name of District	Women percentage of Registration
1	KOHLU	33.34%	1	CHAGAI	40.46%	1	GWADAR	45.03%
2	DERA BUGTI	35.18%	2	MASTUNG	41.06%	2	ZIARAT	45.74%
3	KILLA ABDULLAH	36.84	3	LEHRI	41.26%	3	WASHUK	46.56%
4	KACHHI	39.23%	4	NUSHKI	41.43%	4	JAFARABAD	46.61%
5	AWARAN	39.86%	5	QUETTA	41.60%	5	SOHBATPUR	48.68%
			6	JHAL MAGSI	41.86%			
			7	KHUZDAR	41.89%			
			8	ZHOB	42.01%			
			9	SIBI	42.04%			
			10	MUSAKHEL	42.18%			
			11	KALAT	42.32%			
			12	PISHIN	42.32%			
			13	LASBELA	42.64%			
			14	PANJGUR	42.84%			
			15	SHERANI	43.08%			
			16	LORALAI	43.28%			

		17	KILLA SAIFULLAH	43.61%			
		18	BARKHAN	43.90%			
		19	NASIR ABAD	43.98%			
		20	KECH	44.22%			
		21	HARNAI	44.54%			
		22	KHARAN	44.65%			

5.2.3 Data after promulgation of Election Act 2017.

Table: 5.3 Balochistan after Election Act, 2017 (September 2018).

Province	District	Male	Female	Total	Male %	Female %
	AWARAN	45,561	31,616	77,177	59.03%	40.97%
	BARKHAN	38,515	29,955	68,470	56.25%	43.75%
	JAFFARABAD	119,604	100,907	220,511	54.24%	45.76%
	JHAL MAGSI	34,792	24,314	59,106	58.86%	41.14%
	KHARAN	31,850	25,911	57,761	55.14%	44.86%
	KHUZDAR	132,686	96,484	229,170	57.90%	42.10%
	ZIARAT	36,847	29,856	66,703	55.24%	44.76%
	SIBI	41,639	30,911	72,550	57.39%	42.61%
	SHERANI	22,715	17,038	39,753	57.14%	42.86%
	SOHBATPUR	46,986	43,285	90,271	52.05%	47.95%
	KALAT	77,750	56,447	134,197	57.94%	42.06%
	KILLA SAIFULLAH	60,503	46,249	106,752	56.68%	43.32%
	KILLA ABDULLAH	148,722	83,891	232,613	63.94%	36.06%
	LASBELA	136,941	99,597	236,538	57.89%	42.11%
	LORALAI	81843	60,496	142,339	57.50%	42.50%
Balochistan	LEHRI	32,790	22,882	55,672	58.90%	41.10%
	MASTUNG	62,403	44,785	107,188	58.22%	41.78%
	MUSAKHEL	37,808	27,254	65,062	58.11%	41.89%
	NASIRABAD	113,908	92,655	206,563	55.14%	44.86%
	NUSHKI	49,445	36,520	85,965	57.52%	42.48%
	WASHUK	28,654	24,502	53,156	53.91%	46.09%
	PISHIN	148,281	106,089	254,370	58.29%	41.71%
	PANJGUR	57,789	43,467	101,256	57.07%	42.93%
	CHAGAI	53,383	37,182	90,565	58.94%	41.06%
	DERA BUGTI	61,682	38,237	99,919	61.73%	38.27%
	ZHOB	71,334	51,736	123,070	57.96%	42.04%
	QUETTA	39,313	284,833	683,953	58.35%	41.65%
	KOHLU	38793	20,237	59,030	65.72%	34.28%
	KACHHI	60301	39,564	99,865	60.38%	39.62%
	KECH	125995	96,636	222,631	56.59%	43.41%

GWADAR	66527	53,814	120,341	55.28%	44.72%
HARNAI	22303	17,484	39,787	56.06%	43.94%

Taking into account the categorization mentioned in para 3 (introduction of this chapter), the following category wise table has been made of the above data. The table given below explains that after one year of promulgation of the election act 2017, there remained only three districts in Balochistan Province where ratio of female registration was satisfactory as per law.

5.2.4 Districts falling under Categories.

Table 5.4: Balochistan categorization wise (September 2018).

Category A			Category B			Category C		
Sr. No	Name of District	Women percentage of Registration	Sr. No	Name of District	Women percentage of Registration	Sr. No	Name of District	Women percentage of Registration
1.	KOHLU	34.28%	1.	AWARAN	40.97%	1.	JAFFARABAD	45.76%
2.	KILLA ABDULLAH	36.06%	2.	CHAGAI	41.06%	2.	WASHUK	46.09%
3.	DERA BUGTI	38.27%	3.	LEHRI	41.10%	3.	SOHBATPUR	47.95%
4.	KACHI	39.62%	4.	JHAL MAGSI	41.14%			
			5.	QUETTA	41.65%			
			6.	PISHIN	41.71%			
			7.	MASTUNG	41.78%			
			8.	MUSAKHEL	41.89%			
			9.	ZHOB	42.04%			
			10.	KALAT	42.06%			
			11.	KHUZDAR	42.10%			
			12.	LASBELA	42.11%			
			13.	NUSHKI	42.48%			
			14.	LORALAI	42.50%			
			15.	SIBI	42.61%			
			16.	SHERANI	42.84%			
			17.	PANJGUR	42.93%			
			18.	KILLA SAIFULLAH	43.32%			
			19.	KECH	43.41%			
			20.	BARKHAN	43.75%			
			21.	HARNAI	43.94%			
			22.	GWADAR	44.72%			
			23.	ZIARAT	44.76%			
			24.	KHARAN	44.86%			
			25.	NASIRABAD	44.86%			

5.2.5 Graphical Analysis.

Figure 5.5: Balochistan Analysis before Election Act 2017 (September 2017).
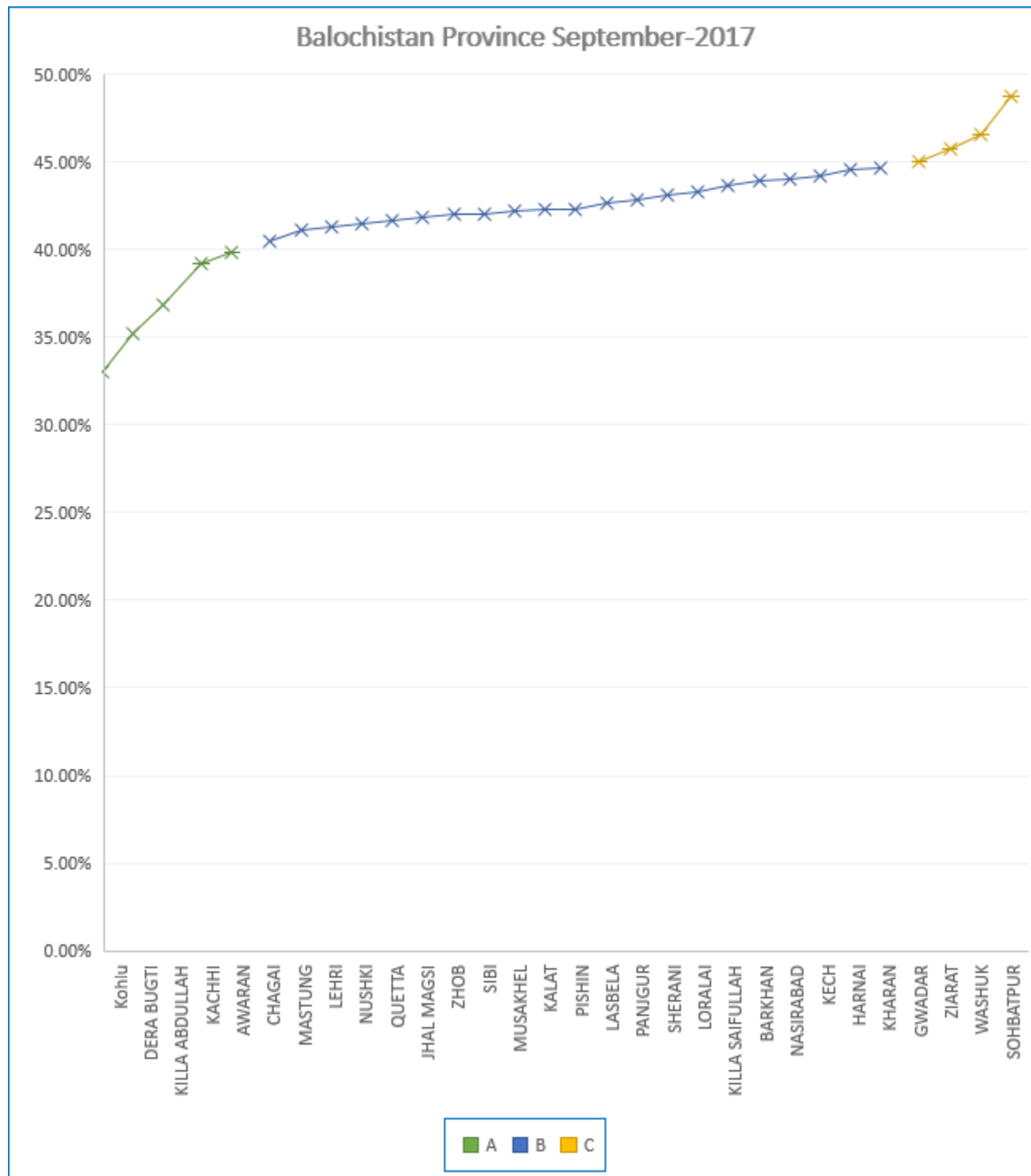
A, B, C are categories mentioned in the introduction of this chapter.

In September, 2017, five districts of Balochistan Province namely, Kohlu, Dera Bugti, Killa Abdullah, Kachhi and Awaran had women registration less than 40% in the Electoral Rolls. Whereas, 22 Districts had women registration between 40 to 45 percent. Moreover, Gawadar, Ziarat, Washuk, Jaffarabad and Sohbatpur had the only four districts where women and men registration gap was less than ten percent but none from them was up to fifty percent.

Figure 5.6: Balochistan analysis after Election Act 2017(September 2018).
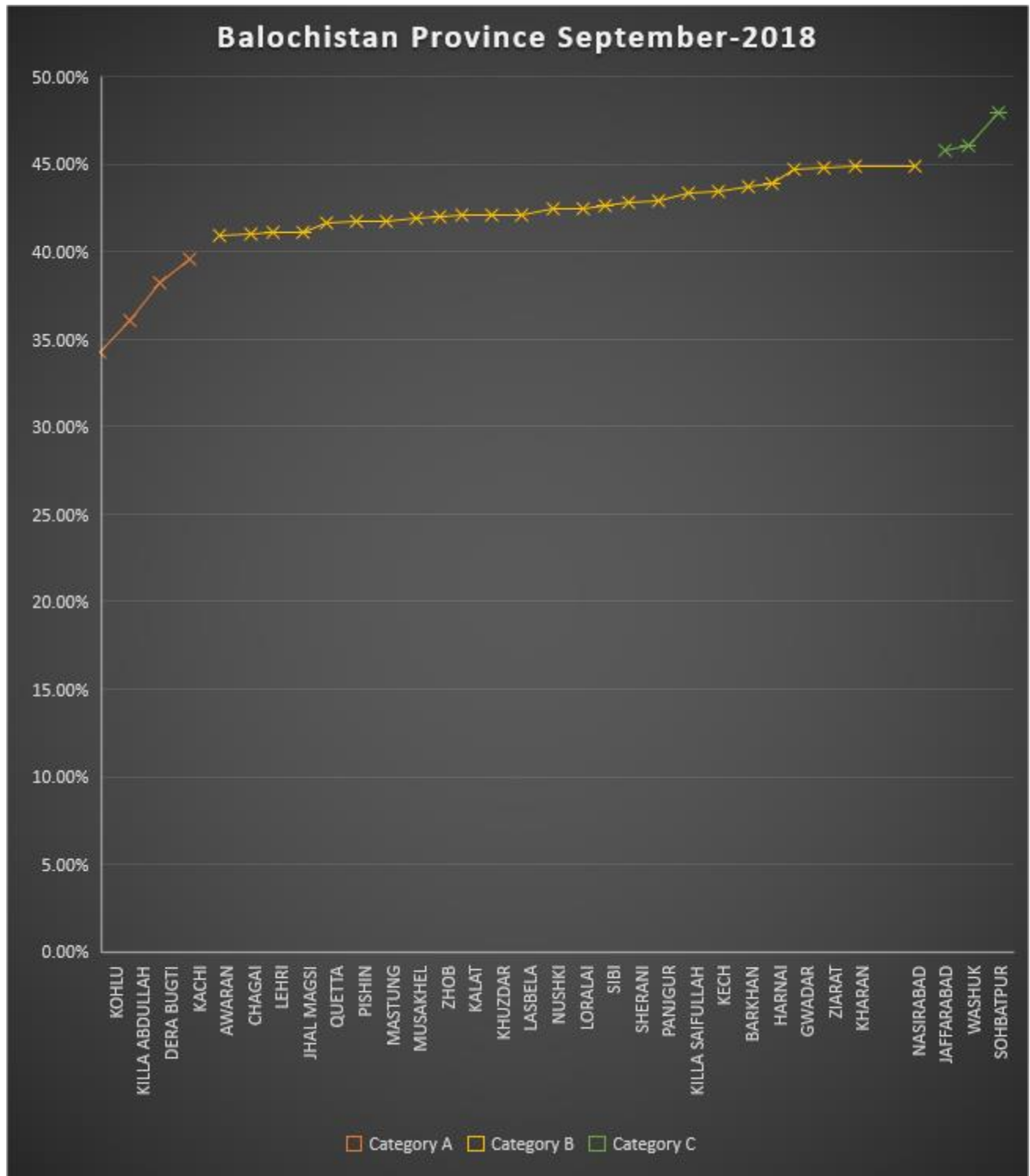
In September,2018 Awaran district improved its category and four districts namely, kohlu, Dera Bugti, Killa Abdullah and Kachhi remained in the category of less than 40 percent registration. However, women registration gap increased for more than 10 percent to men in Gawadar and Ziarat Districts. Jaffarabad district reduced in registration gap ratio to less than 10 percent in the period along with already falling Washuk and Sohbatpur districts in the category.

Figure 5.7: Balochistan one year comparison between 2017 and 2018.
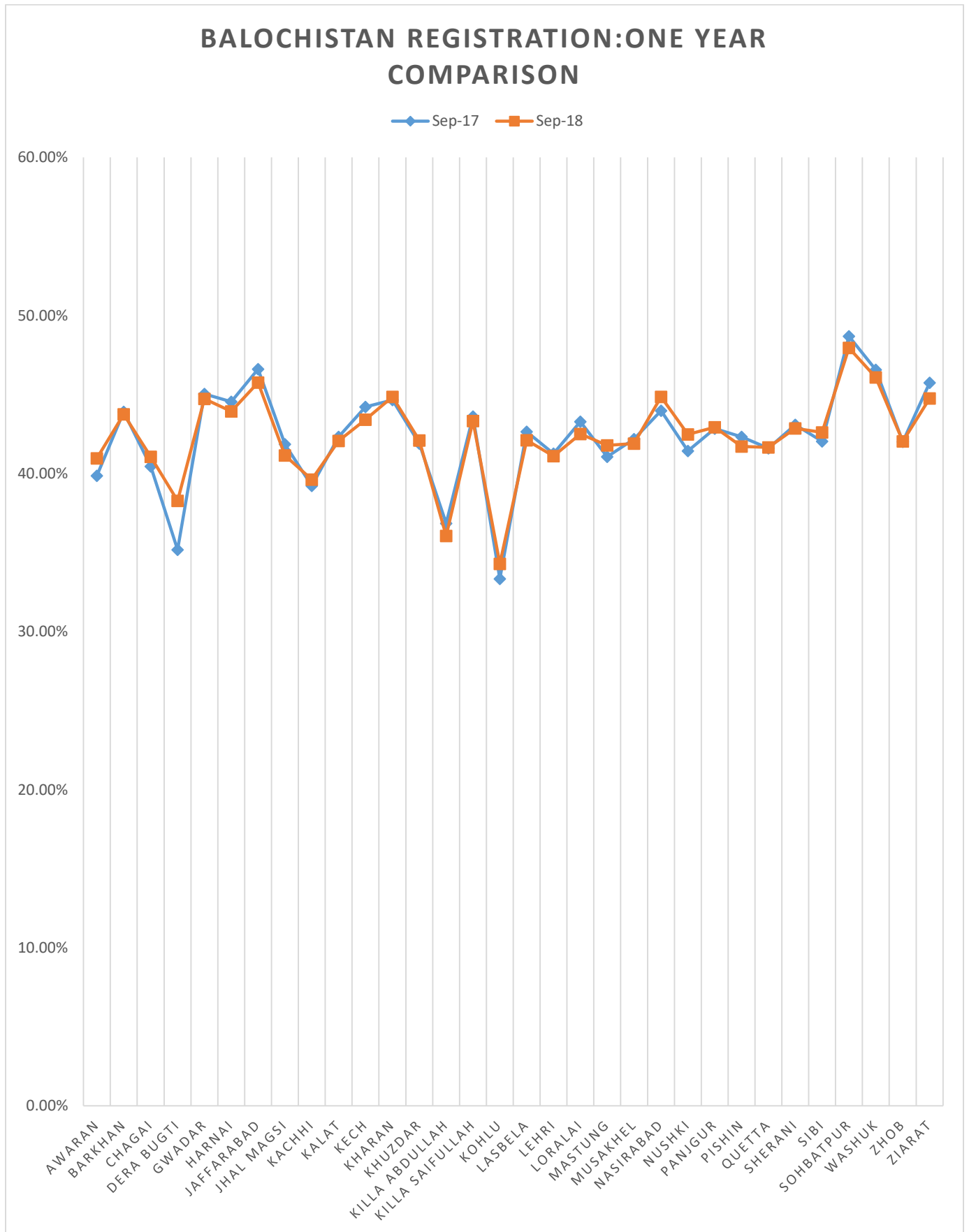
The above table may be summarized as:

i)   In 14 districts, gap between male and female registration decreased in the one year.

ii)   In 18 districts, gap between male and female registration increased in the one year.

iii)   In Dera Bugti, the decrease in gap remained the highest that is 3.09 %.

iv)   In Zairat, the increase in gap remained the highest that is -.98 %.

v)   The highest increase and decrease in the gap has been in Sibi Division.

Kalat Division showed significant progress in reducing the male/female registration gap.

5.3 Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

Total number of districts falling in the data are 25.

5.3.1 Data before promulgation Election Act 2017.

Table 5.8: KPK before Election Act 2017 (September 2017).

Province	District	Male	Female	Total	Male %	Female %
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	ABBOTTABAD	429,567	344,567	774,134	55.49%	44.51%
	BANNU	301,070	219,586	520,656	57.83%	42.17%
	BATAGRAM	137,951	96,163	234,114	58.92%	41.08%
	BUNER	228,666	181,064	409,730	55.81%	44.19%
	CHARSADDA	461,345	341,386	802,731	57.47%	42.53%
	CHITRAL	139,281	103,764	243,045	57.31%	42.69%
	D. I. KHAN	375,140	298,447	673,587	55.69%	44.31%
	HANGU	145,850	104,205	250,055	58.33%	41.67%
	HARIPUR	331,591	272,792	604,383	54.86%	45.14%
	KARAK	207,515	164,361	371,876	55.80%	44.20%
	KOHAT	267,405	205,720	473,125	56.52%	43.48%
	KOHISTAN	80,613	59,410	140,023	57.57%	42.43%
	LAKKI MARWAT	216,448	166,889	383,337	56.46%	43.54%
	LOWER DIR	370,710	252,119	622,829	59.52%	40.48%
	MALAKAND PROTECTED AREA	202,279	153,108	355,387	56.92%	43.08%
	MANSEHRA	487,857	371,448	859,305	56.77%	43.23%
	MARDAN	664,563	471,997	1,136,560	58.47%	41.53%
	NOWSHERA	391,973	307,122	699,095	56.07%	43.93%
	PESHAWAR	896,385	651,285	1,547,670	57.92%	42.08%
	SHANGLA	192,365	147,792	340,157	56.55%	43.45%
	SWABI	474,706	355,505	830,211	57.18%	42.82%
	SWAT	622,592	475,410	1,098,002	56.70%	43.30%
	TANK	96,493	72,812	169,305	56.99%	43.01%
	TOR GHAR	43,639	33,172	76,811	56.81%	43.19%
	UPPER DIR	241,201	159,097	400,298	60.26%	39.74%

Taking into account the categorization mentioned at para 3 (introduction of this chapter), the following category wise table has been made of the above data. The table given below explains that at the time of promulgation of the election act 2017, there was only one district in KPK Province where ratio of female registration was satisfactory as per law.

5.3.2 Districts falling under Categories.

Table 5.9: KPK districts categorization wise (September 2017).

Category A			Category B			Category C		
Sr. No	Name of District	Women percentage of Registration	Sr. No	Name of District	Women percentage of Registration	Sr. No	Name of District	Women percentage of Registration
1.	UPPER DIR	39.74%	1.	LOWER DIR	40.48%	1.	HARIPUR	45.14%
			2.	BATAGRAM	41.08%			
			3.	MARDAN	41.53%			
			4.	HANGU	41.67%			
			5.	PESHAWAR	42.08%			
			6.	BANNU	42.17%			
			7.	KOHISTAN	42.43%			
			8.	CHARSADDA	42.53%			
			9.	CHITRAL	42.69%			
			10.	SWABI	42.82%			
			11.	TANK	43.01%			
			12.	MALAKAND PROTECTED AREA	43.08%			
			13.	TOR GHAR	43.19%			
			14.	MANSEHRA	43.23%			
			15.	SWAT	43.30%			
			16.	SHANGLA	43.45%			
			17.	KOHAT	43.48%			
			18.	LAKKI MARWAT	43.54%			
			19.	NOWSHERA	43.93%			
			20.	BUNER	44.19%			
			21.	KARAK	44.20%			
			22.	D.I KHAN	44.31%			
			23.	ABBOTTABAD	44.51%			

5.3.3 Data after promulgation Election Act 2017.

Table 5.10: KPK after Election Act 2017 (September 2018).

Province	District	Male	Female	Total	Male %	Female %
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	UPPER DIR	268,134	179,280	447,414	59.93%	40.07%
	ABOTTABAD	457,219	381,505	838,724	54.51%	45.49%
	BANNU	330,525	252,260	582,785	56.71%	43.29%
	BUNER	250,303	195,171	445,474	56.19%	43.81%
	BATAGRAM	152,295	105,858	258,153	58.99%	41.01%
	TOR GHAR	51,592	38,820	90,412	57.06%	42.94%
	SWAT	682,813	512,612	1,195,425	57.12%	42.88%
	SHANGLA	212,292	162,049	374,341	56.71%	43.29%
	SAWABI	515,157	398,742	913,899	56.37%	43.63%
	LOWER DIR	403,755	278,086	681,841	59.22%	40.78%
	LAKKI MARWAT	236,162	185,062	421,224	56.07%	43.93%
	MALAKAND PROTECTED AREA	218,057	168,391	386,448	56.43%	43.57%
	MANSEHRA	531,096	415,961	947,057	56.08%	43.92%
	MARDAN	720,332	520,633	1,240,965	58.05%	41.95%
	NOWSHERA	425,062	332,633	757,695	56.10%	43.90%
	TANK	103,498	77,374	180,872	57.22%	42.78%
	PESHAWAR	979,547	713,693	1,693,240	57.85%	42.15%
	CHARSADDA	501,004	379,810	880,814	56.88%	43.12%
	CHITRAL	151,219	118,360	269,579	56.09%	43.91%
	D.I KHAN	406,704	315,149	721,853	56.34%	43.66%
	KARAK	225,956	178,518	404,474	55.86%	44.14%
	KOHAT	284,678	222,021	506,699	56.18%	43.82%
	KOHISTAN	89,170	65,449	154,619	57.67%	42.33%
	HARIPUR	354,128	303,518	657,646	53.85%	46.15%
	HANGU	160,297	115,650	275,947	58.09%	41.91%

Taking into account the categorization mentioned in para 3 (introduction of this chapter), the following category wise table has been made of the above data. The table given below explains that after one year of promulgation of the election act 2017, another district showed satisfactory figure.

5.3.4 Districts falling under Categories.

Table 5.11: KPK districts categorization wise (September 2018).

Category A			Category B			Category C		
Sr. No	Name of District	Women percentage of Registration	Sr. No	Name of District	Women percentage of Registration	Sr. No	Name of District	Women percentage of Registration
			1.	UPPER DIR	40.07%	1.	ABBOTTABAD	45.49%
			2.	LOWER DIR	40.78%	2.	HARIPUR	46.15%
			3.	BATAGRAM	41.01%			
			4.	HANGU	41.91%			
			5.	MARDAN	41.95%			
			6.	PESHAWAR	42.15%			
			7.	KOHISTAN	42.33%			
			8.	TANK	42.78%			
			9.	SWAT	42.88%			
			10.	TOR GHAR	42.94%			
			11.	CHARSADDA	43.12%			
			12.	SHANGLA	43.29%			
			13.	BANNU	43.29%			
			14.	MALAKAND PROTECTED AREA	43.57%			
			15.	SAWABI	43.63%			
			16.	D.I KHAN	43.66%			
			17.	BUNER	43.81%			
			18.	KOHAT	43.82%			
			19.	NOWSHERA	43.90%			
			20.	CHITRAL	43.91%			
			21.	MANSEHRA	43.92%			
			22.	LAKKI MARWAT	43.93%			
			23.	KARAK	44.14%			

5.3.5 Graphical Analysis.

Figure 5.12: KPK analysis before Election Act 2017 (September 2017).
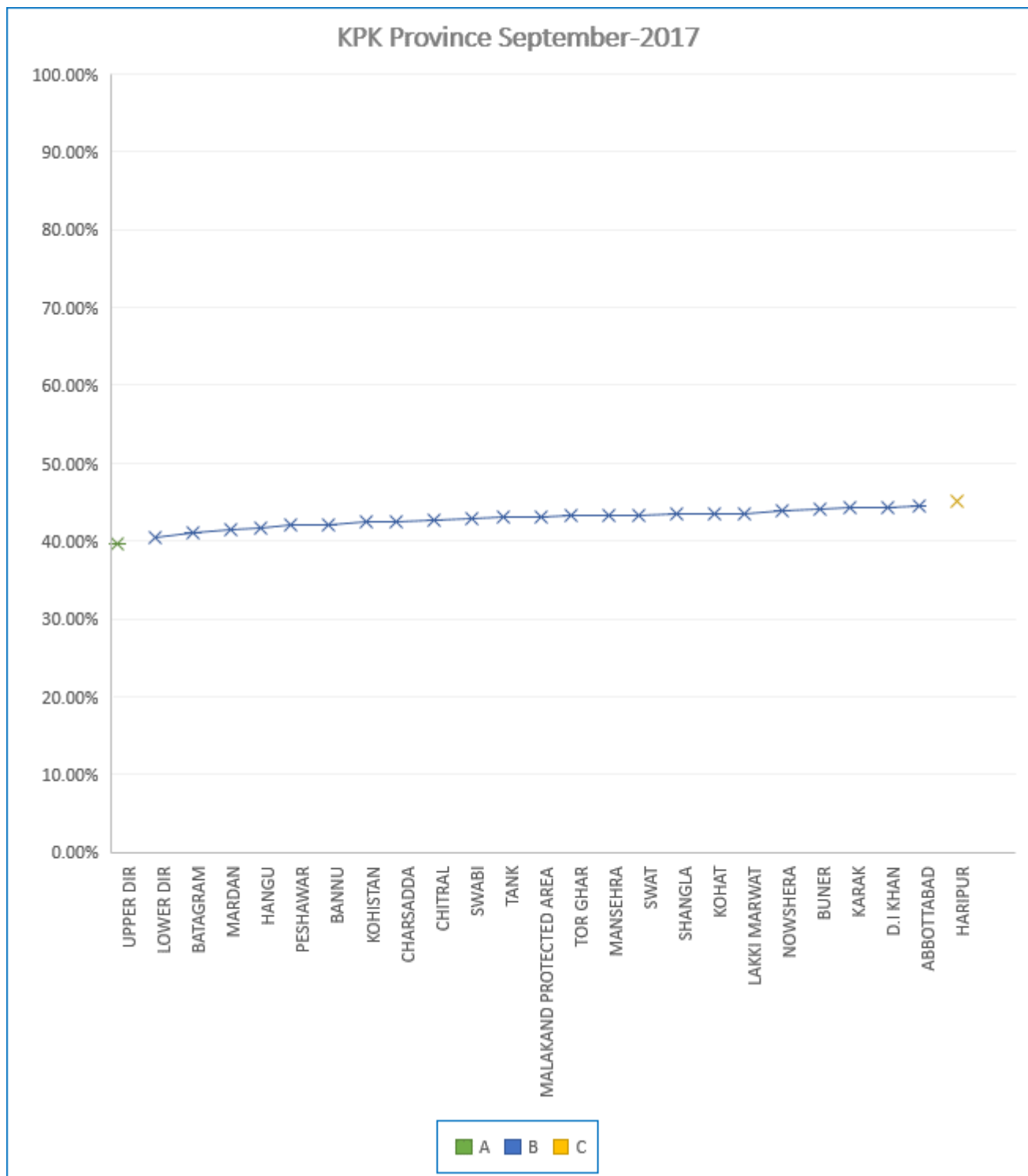
In September, 2017, Upper Dir district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa had women registration less than 40% in the Electoral Rolls whereas, Haripur district had women registration more than 45 %. Moreover,

except for Haripur district, all other districts of the province required special measures to enhance women registration as per the law.

Figure 5.13: KPK analysis after Election Act 2017 (September 2018).
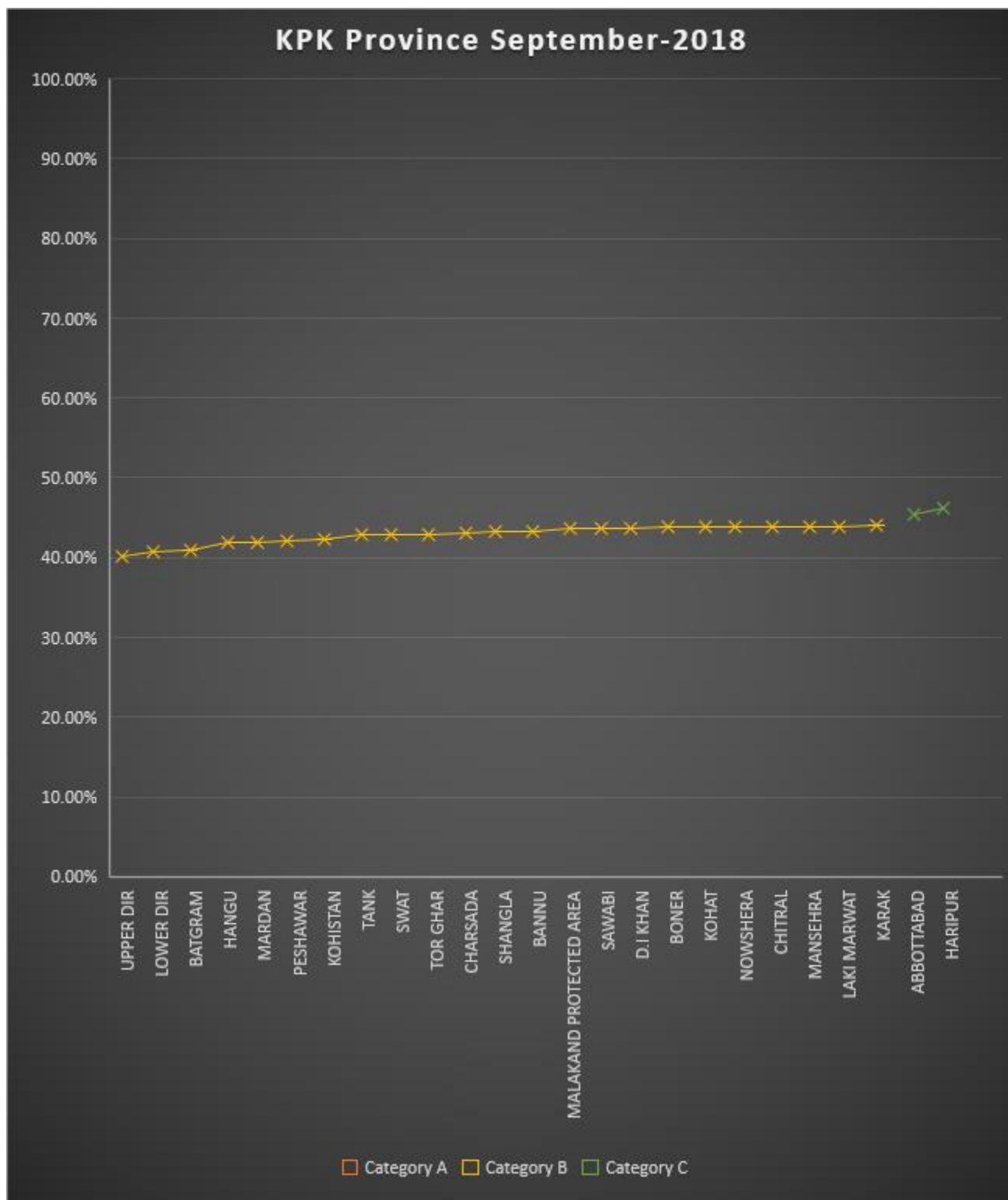
In September, 2018 Upper Dir district improved its category and no district of the province remained in the category of less than 40 percent registration. Moreover, Abbotabad district also categorized in

C category along with Haripur whereas, status for other districts of KPK province remained unchanged.

Figure: 5.14 KPK one year analysis comparison between 2017 and 2018.
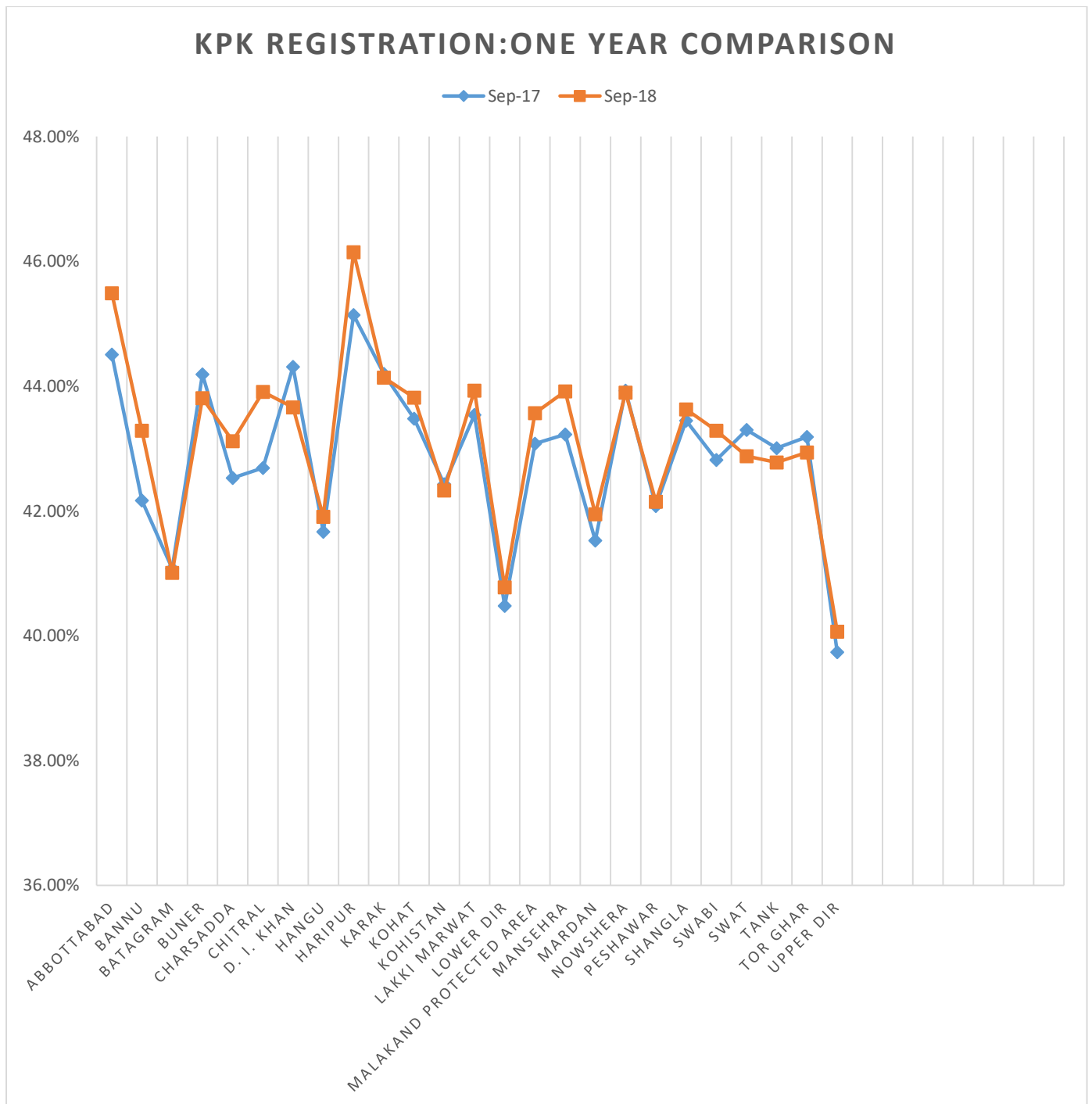
The above table may be summarized as:

i.   In 16 districts, gap between male and female registration decreased in the one year.

ii.   In 9 districts, gap between male and female registration increased in the one year.

iii.   In Chitral, the decrease in gap remained the highest that is 1.22 %.

iv.　　In D.I. Khan, the increase in gap remained the highest that is -.65 %.

v.　　Hazara Division showed achievement as its two districts got the place in category C.

5.4 FATA

Total number of districts falling in the data are 13.

5.4.1 Data before promulgation of Election Act 2017.

Table: 5.15 FATA before Election Act 2017 (September 2017)

Province	District	Male	Female	Total	Male %	Female %
FATA	BAJAUR AGENCY	258,529	176,270	434,799	59.46%	40.54%
	F.R. BANNU	7,895	2,602	10,497	75.21%	24.79%
	F.R. D. I. KHAN	15,630	10,517	26,147	59.78%	40.22%
	F.R. KOHAT	32,514	18,198	50,712	64.12%	35.88%
	F.R. LAKKI MARWAT	6,203	4,685	10,888	56.97%	43.03%
	F.R. PESHAWAR	15,654	11,907	27,561	56.80%	43.20%
	F.R. TANK	11,054	7,443	18,497	59.76%	40.24%
	KHYBER AGENCY	245,989	177,285	423,274	58.12%	41.88%
	KURRAM AGENCY	174,801	129,250	304,051	57.49%	42.51%
	MOHMAND AGENCY	137,014	76,362	213,376	64.21%	35.79%
	NORTH WAZIRISTAN AGENCY	179,241	45,244	224,485	79.85%	20.15%
	ORAKZAI AGENCY	83,928	60,079	144,007	58.28%	41.72%
	SOUTH WAZIRISTAN AGENCY	164,508	89,803	254,311	64.69%	35.31%

Taking into account the categorization mentioned at para 3 (introduction of this chapter), the following category wise table has been made of the above data. The table given below explains that at the time of promulgation of the election act 2017, there was no districts in FATA where ratio of female registration was satisfactory as per law.

5.4.2 Districts falling under Categories.

Table 5.16: FATA districts categorization wise (September 2017).

Category A			Category B			Category C		
Sr. No	Name of District	Women percentage of Registration	Sr. No	Name of District	Women percentage of Registration	Sr. No	Name of District	Women percentage of Registration
1	NORTH WAZIRISTAN AGENCY	20.15%	1	F.R.D.I KHAN	40.22%	Nil		
2	F.R BANNU	24.79%	2	F.R TANK	40.24%			
3	SOUTH WAZIRISTAN AGENCY	35.31%	3	BAJAUR AGENCY	40.54%			
4	MOHMAND AGENCY	35.79%	4	ORAKZAI AGENCY	41.72%			
5	F.R KOHAT	35.88%	5	KHYBER AGENCY	41.88%			
			6	KURRAM AGENCY	42.51%			
			7	F.R LAKKI MARWAT	43.03%			
			8	F.R PESHAWAR	43.20%			

5.4.3 Data after promulgation Election Act 2017.

Table 5.17: FATA after Election Act 2017 (September 2018).

Province	District	Male	Female	Total	Male %	Female%
FATA	ORAKZAI AGENCY	94,279	72,927	167,206	56.38%	43.62%
	BAJAUR AGENCY	288,957	203,774	492,731	58.64%	41.36%
	F.R BANNU	8,788	36,58	12,446	70.61%	29.39%
	SOUTH WAZIRISTAN AGENCY	198,067	126,065	324,132	61.11%	38.89%
	KHYBER AGENCY	277,528	214,313	491,841	56.43%	43.57%
	NORTH WAZIRISTAN AGENCY	196,668	77,537	274,205	71.72%	28.28%
	F.R. LAKKI MARWAT	7,065	54,29	12,494	56.55%	43.45%
	MOHMAND AGENCY	160,078	97,573	257,651	62.13%	37.87%
	F.R TANK	12,159	8,777	20,936	58.08%	41.92%
	F.R PESHAWAR	18,310	14,627	32,937	55.59%	44.41%
	F.R D.I KHAN	17,290	11,474	28,764	60.11%	39.89%
	KURRAM AGENCY	193,244	144621	337,865	57.20%	42.80%
	F.R KOHAT	36,675	22,362	59,037	62.12%	37.88%

Taking into account the categorization mentioned in para 3 (introduction of this chapter), the following category wise table has been made of the above data. The table given below explains that after one year of promulgation of the election act 2017, there is no district in FATA where ratio of female registration was satisfactory as per law.

5.4.4 Districts falling under Categories.

Table 5.18: FATA categorization wise (September 2018).

Category A			Category B			Category C		
Sr. No	Name of District	Women percentage of Registration	Sr. No	Name of District	Women percentage of Registration	Sr. No	Name of District	Women percentage of Registration
1	NORTH WAZIRISTAN AGENCY	28.28%	1	BAJAUR AGENCY	41.36%	Nil		
2	F.R BANNU	29.39%	2	F.R TANK	41.92%			
3	MOHMAND AGENCY	37.87%	3	KURRAM AGENCY	42.80%			
4	F.R KOHAT	37.88%	4	F.R LAKKI MARWAT	43.45%			
5	SOUTH WAZIRISTAN AGENCY	38.89%	5	KHYBER AGENCY	43.57%			
6	F.R D.I KHAN	39.89%	6	ORAKZAI AGENCY	43.62%			
			7	F.R PESHAWAR	44.41%			

5.4.5 Graphical Analysis.

Figure 5.19: FATA analysis before Election Act 2017 (September 2017).
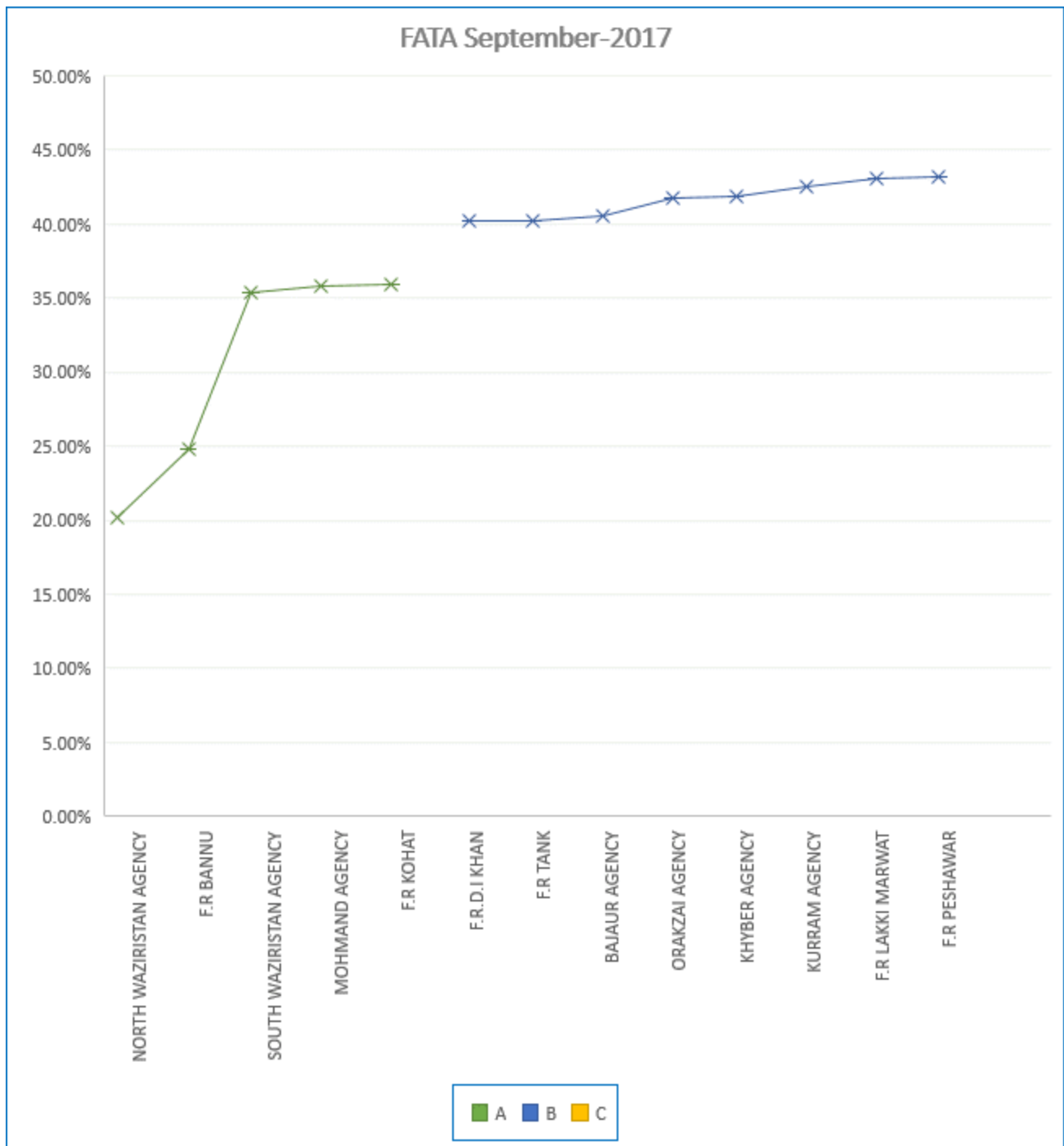
In September, 2017, five units of FATA namely, North Waziristan Agency, F.R. Bannu, South Waziristan Agency, Mohmand Agency and F. R Kohat had women registration less than 40% in the

Electoral Rolls. Whereas, remaining eight units had women registration between 40 to 45 percent. However, none from FATA units had women registration more than 45 %.

Figure 5.20: FATA analysis after Election Act 2017 (September 2018).
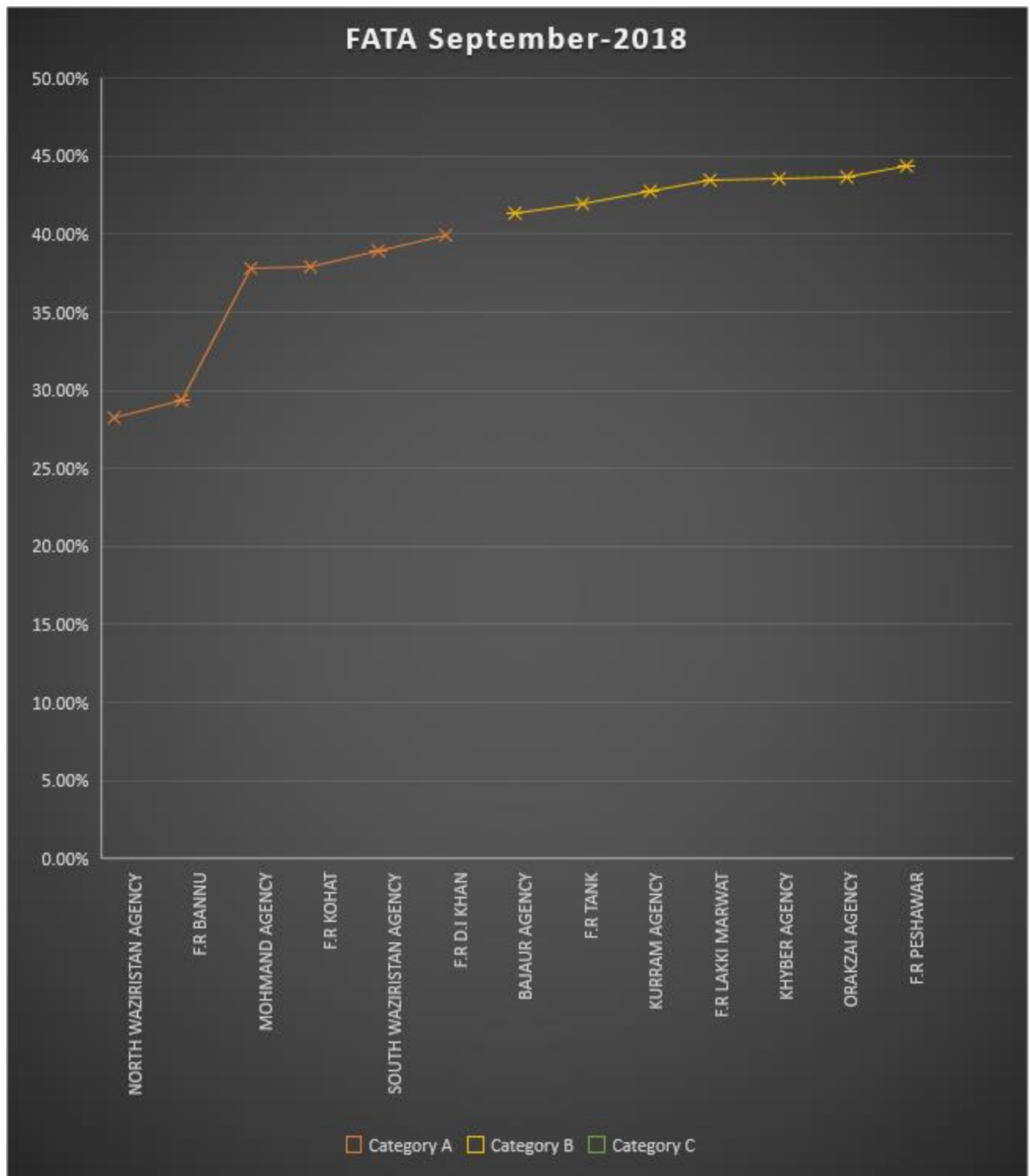
In September, 2018 situation further deteriorated as F. R. D I Khan also dropped its category from B to A. However, North and South Waziristan Agencies showed some progress within the same category.

Figure 5.21: FATA one year comparison between 2017 and 2018.
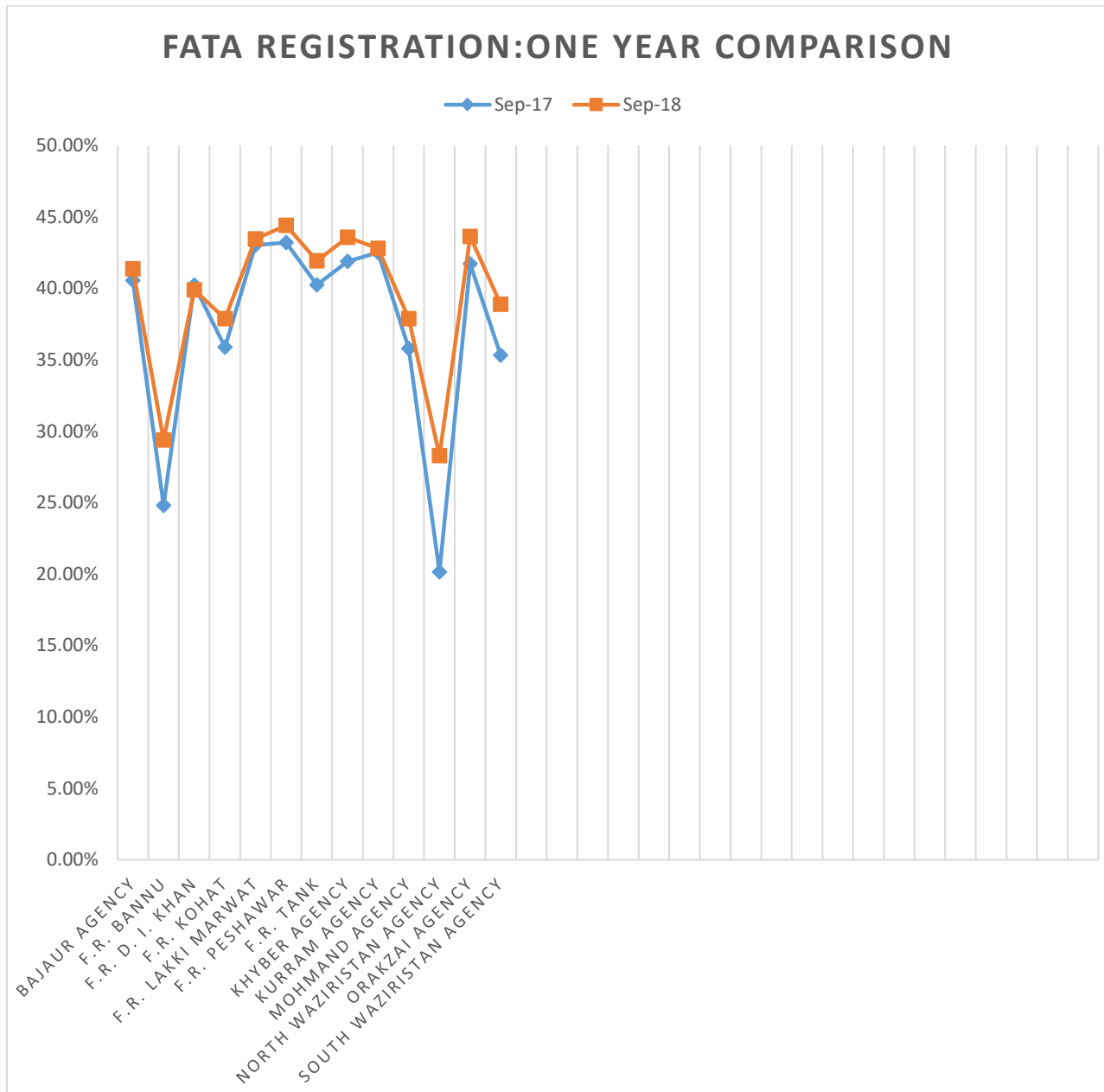
The above table shows that except for F. R D.I. Khan, rest of the units falling under FATA showed improvement in reducing male/female gap in voter registration however, consistent efforts would be required for substantial improvement.

5.5 FEDERAL AREA

Total number of districts falling in the data are 1.

5.5.1 Data before promulgation Election Act 2017.

Table 5.22: Federal Area before Election Act 2017 (September 2017).

Province	District	Male	Female	Total	Male %	Female%
FEDERAL AREA	ISLAMABAD	373,733	321,296	695,029	53.77%	46.23%

The above table show that female registration in Islamabad is in accordance with law. However, that is less than 50%.

5.5.2 Data after promulgation of Election Act 2017.

Table: 5.23 Federal Area after Election Act 2017 (September 2018).

Province	District	Male	Female	Total	Male %	Female%
FEDERAL AREA	ISLAMABAD	407,801	358,659	766,460	53.21%	46.79%

The above table show that female registration in Islamabad is in accordance with law. However, that is less than 50%.

5.5.3 Graphical Analysis.

Figure 5.24: Federal Area before Election Act 2017 (September 2017).
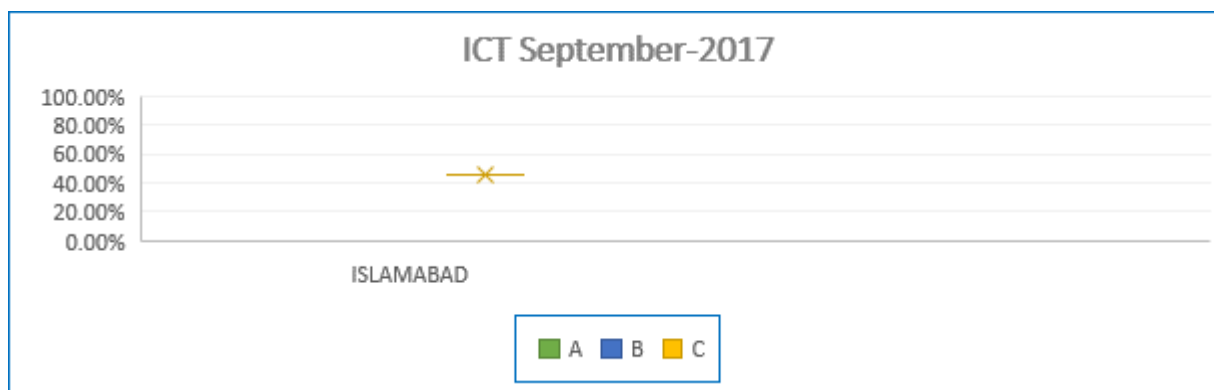
Figure 5.25: Federal Area analysis after Election Act 2017 (September 2018).
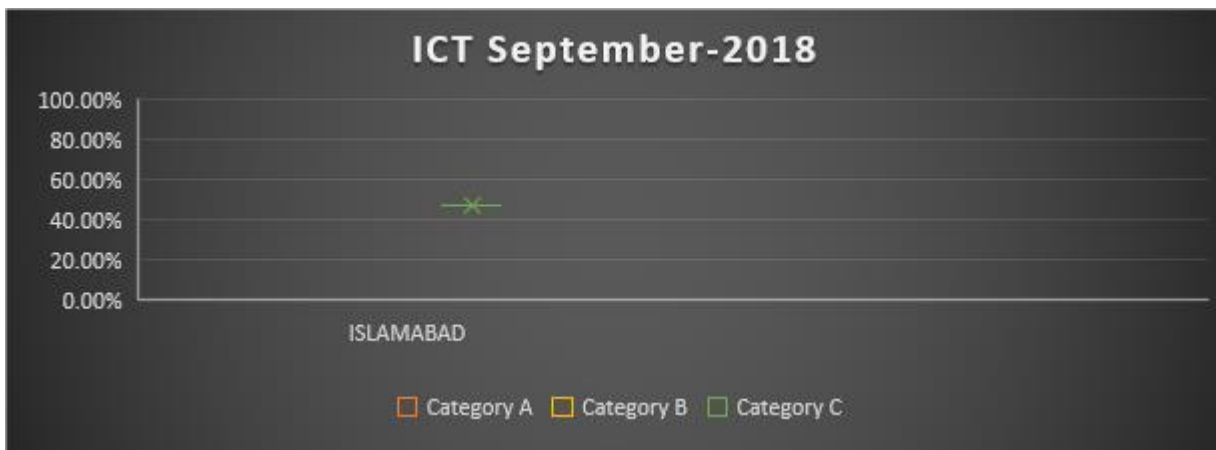
Islamabad capital territory showed little improvement in reducing gap between male and female registration but that yet remained well short of 50%.

Figure 5.26: Federal Area one year comparison between 2017 and 2018.
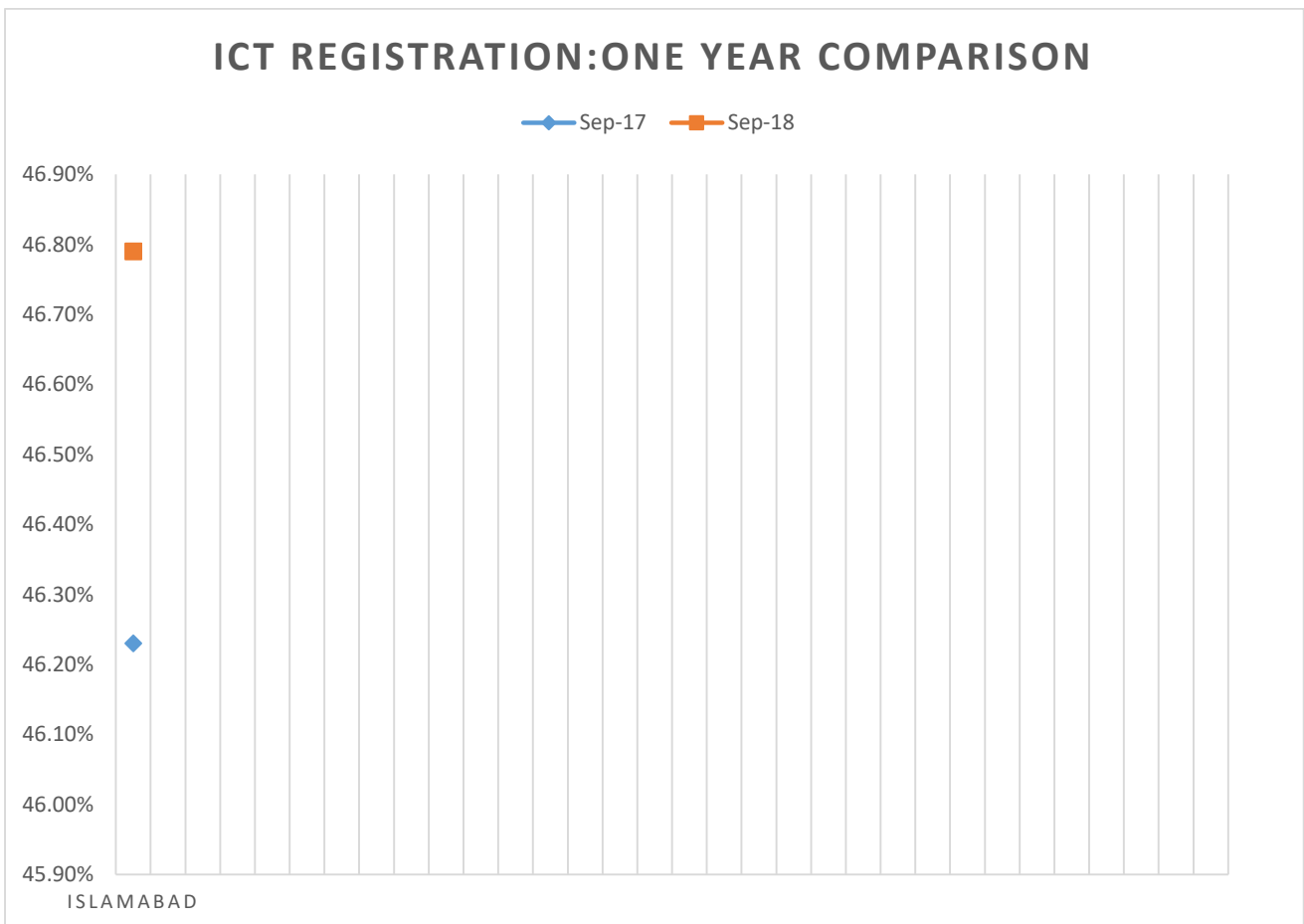
5.6 Punjab

Total number of districts falling in the data are 36.

5.6.1 Data before promulgation of Election Act 2017.

Table 5.27: Punjab before Election Act 2017 (September 2017).

Province	District	Male	Female	Total	Male %	Female%
	ATTOCK	615,720	530,968	1,146,688	53.70%	46.30%
	BAHAWALNAGAR	824,648	615,645	1,440,293	57.26%	42.74%
	BAHAWALPUR	967,794	770,641	1,738,435	55.67%	44.33%
	BHAKKAR	449,905	351,061	800,966	56.17%	43.83%
	CHAKWAL	543,766	498,054	1,041,820	52.19%	47.81%
	CHINIOT	381,517	300,138	681,655	55.97%	44.03%
	DERA GHAZI KHAN	695,395	528,747	1,224,142	56.81%	43.19%
	FAISALABAD	2,294,999	1,786,987	4,081,986	56.22%	43.78%
	GUJRANWALA	1,468,179	1,094,847	2,563,026	57.28%	42.72%
	GUJRAT	990,989	803,555	1,794,544	55.22%	44.78%
	HAFIZABAD	354,831	262,424	617,255	57.49%	42.51%
	JHANG	746,233	557,240	1,303,473	57.25%	42.75%
	JHELUM	472,347	418,049	890,396	53.05%	46.95%
	KASUR	974,482	712,310	1,686,792	57.77%	42.23%
	KHANEWAL	835,127	646,248	1,481,375	56.38%	43.62%
	KHUSHAB	414,409	356,786	771,195	53.74%	46.26%
	LAHORE	2,776,126	2,127,683	4,903,809	56.61%	43.39%
	LAYYAH	467,647	368,305	835,952	55.94%	44.06%
PUNJAB	LODHRAN	469,743	373,104	842,847	55.73%	44.27%
	MANDI BAHAUDDIN	541,393	399,429	940,822	57.54%	42.46%
	MIANWALI	469,375	385,638	855,013	54.90%	45.10%
	MULTAN	1,275,742	1,075,666	2,351,408	54.25%	45.75%
	MUZAFFARGARH	1,031,105	844,318	1,875,423	54.98%	45.02%
	NANKANA SAHIB	406,462	300,336	706,798	57.51%	42.49%
	NAROWAL	538,435	380,746	919,181	58.58%	41.42%
	OKARA	893,071	692,417	1,585,488	56.33%	43.67%
	PAKPATTAN	517,965	415,056	933,021	55.51%	44.49%
	RAHIM YAR KHAN	1,252,624	939,395	2,192,019	57.14%	42.86%
	RAJANPUR	450,692	362,884	813,576	55.40%	44.60%
	RAWALPINDI	1,572,709	1,374,384	2,947,093	53.36%	46.64%
	SAHIWAL	763,095	599,135	1,362,230	56.02%	43.98%
	SARGODHA	1,177,141	931,752	2,108,893	55.82%	44.18%
	SHEIKHUPURA	909,971	638,901	1,548,872	58.75%	41.25%
	SIALKOT	1,220,676	902,619	2,123,295	57.49%	42.51%
	TOBA TEK SINGH	698,788	538,440	1,237,228	56.48%	43.52%
	VEHARI	838,797	634,824	1,473,621	56.92%	43.08%

Taking into account the categorization mentioned at para 3 (introduction of this chapter), the following category wise table has been made of the above data. The table given below explains that at the time of promulgation of the election act 2017, there eight districts in Punjab Province where ratio of female registration was satisfactory as per law.

5.6.2 Districts falling under Categories.

Table 5.28: Punjab districts categorization wise (September 2017).

Category A			Category B			Category C		
Sr. No	Name of District	Women percentage of Registration	Sr. No	Name of District	Women percentage of Registration	Sr. No	Name of District	Women percentage of Registration
Nil			1.	SHEIKHUPURA	41.25%	1.	MUZAFFARGARH	45.02%
			2.	NAROWAL	41.42%	2.	MIANWALI	45.10%
			3.	KASUR	42.23%	3.	MULTAN	45.75%
			4.	MANDI BAHAUDDIN	42.46%	4.	KHUSHAB	46.26%
			5.	NANKANA SAHIB	42.49%	5.	ATTOCK	46.30%
			6.	SIALKOT	42.51%	6.	RAWALPINDI	46.64%
			7.	HAFIZABAD	42.51%	7.	JHELUM	46.95%
			8.	GUJRANWALA	42.72%	8.	CHAKWAL	47.81%
			9.	BAHAWALNAGAR	42.74%			
			10.	JHANG	42.75%			
			11.	RAHIM YAR KHAN	42.86%			
			12.	VEHARI	43.08%			
			13.	DERA GHAZI KHAN	43.19%			
			14.	LAHORE	43.39%			
			15.	TOBA TEK SINGH	43.52%			
			16.	KHANEWAL	43.62%			
			17.	OKARA	43.67%			
			18.	FAISALABAD	43.78%			
			19.	BHAKKAR	43.83%			
			20.	SAHIWAL	43.98%			
			21.	CHINIOT	44.03%			
			22.	LAYYAH	44.06%			
			23.	SARGODHA	44.18%			
			24.	LODHRAN	44.27%			
			25.	BAHAWALPUR	44.33%			
			26.	PAKPATAN	44.49%			
			27.	RAJANPUR	44.60%			
			28.	GUJRAT	44.78%			

5.6.3 Data after promulgation of Election Act 2017.

Table 5.29: Punjab after Election Act 2017 (September 2018).

Province	District	Male	Female	Total	Male%	Female%
PUNJAB	OKARA	973,772	765,326	1,739,098	55.99%	44.01%
	ATTOCK	639,963	572,304	1,212,267	52.79%	47.21%
	BHAKKAR	481,500	390,156	871,656	55.24%	44.76%
	BAHAWALNAGAR	886,643	662,824	1,549,467	57.22%	42.78%
	BAHAWALPUR	1,044,499	836,892	1,881,391	55.52%	44.48%
	JHANG	804,536	621,265	1,425,801	56.43%	43.57%
	JHELUM	495,058	451,134	946,192	52.32%	47.68%
	HAFIZABAD	384,762	299,685	684,447	56.22%	43.78%
	KHANEWAL	897,252	700,467	1,597,719	56.16%	43.84%
	KHUSHAB	438,507	390,022	828,529	52.93%	47.07%
	RAJANPUR	500,380	390,173	890,553	56.19%	43.81%
	RAWALPINDI	1,647,990	1,479,166	3,127,156	52.70%	47.30%
	RAHIM YAR KHAN	1,385,685	1,042,731	2,428,416	57.06%	42.94%
	SAHIWAL	823,091	648,406	1,471,497	55.94%	44.06%
	SARGODHA	1,253,163	1,029,742	2,282,905	54.89%	45.11%
	SIALKOT	1,303,401	1,031,098	2,334,499	55.83%	44.17%
	SHEIKHUPURA	986,709	714,720	1,701,429	57.99%	42.01%
	FAISALABAD	2,479,472	2,000,404	4,479,876	55.35%	44.65%
	KASUR	1,054,162	793,547	1,847,709	57.05%	42.95%
	LAHORE	3,013,796	2,389,457	5,403,253	55.78%	44.22%
	LODHERAN	509,740	403,211	912,951	55.83%	44.17%
	LAYYAH	504,224	402,394	906,618	55.62%	44.38%
	MUZAFFARGARH	1,130,971	901,140	2,032,111	55.65%	44.35%
	MULTAN	1,388,408	1,169,522	2,557,930	54.28%	45.72%
	MANDI BAHAUDDIN	571,716	451,159	1,022,875	55.89%	44.11%
	MIANWALI	497,116	420,154	917,270	54.20%	45.80%
	NAROWAL	584,265	439,979	1,024,244	57.04%	42.96%
	NANKANA SAHIB	443,130	340,087	783,217	56.58%	43.42%
	VEHARI	904,071	691,822	1,595,893	56.65%	43.35%
	TOBA TEK SINGH	749,412	599,669	1,349,081	55.55%	44.45%
	PAKPATAN	561,240	456,219	1,017,459	55.16%	44.84%
	CHINIOT	412,361	335,689	748,050	55.12%	44.88%
	CHAKWAL	568,514	535,784	1,104,298	51.48%	48.52%
	DERA GHAZI KHAN	755,237	574,025	1,329,262	56.82%	43.18%
	GUJRAT	1,042,588	872,863	1,915,451	54.43%	45.57%
	GUJRANWALA	1,572,806	1,204,042	2,776,848	56.64%	43.36%

Taking into account the categorization mentioned in para 3 (introduction of this chapter), the following category wise table has been made of the above data. The table given below explains that after one

year of promulgation of the election act 2017, there remained nine districts in Punjab Province where ratio of female registration was satisfactory as per law.

5.6.4 Districts falling under Categories.

Table 5.30: Punjab categorization wise (September 2018).

Category A			Category B			Category C		
Sr. No	Name of District	Women percentage of Registration	Sr. No	Name of District	Women percentage of Registration	Sr. No	Name of District	Women percentage of Registration
Nil			1.	SHEIKHUPURA	42.01%	1.	SARGODHA	45.11%
			2.	BAHAWALNAGAR	42.78%	2.	GUJRAT	45.57%
			3.	RAHIM YAR KHAN	42.94%	3.	MULTAN	45.72%
			4.	KASUR	42.95%	4.	MIANWALI	45.80%
			5.	NAROWAL	42.96%	5.	KHUSHAB	47.07%
			6.	DERA GHAZI KHAN	43.18%	6.	ATTOCk	47.21%
			7.	VEHARI	43.35%	7.	RAWALPINDI	47.30%
			8.	GUJRANWALA	43.36%	8.	JEHLUM	47.68%
			9.	NANKANA SAHIB	43.42%	9.	CHAKWAL	48.52%
			10.	JHANG	43.57%			
			11.	HAFIZABAD	43.78%			
			12.	RAJANPUR	43.81%			
			13.	KHANEWAL	43.84%			
			14.	OKARA	43.67%			
			15.	SAHIWAL	44.06%			
			16.	MANDI BAHAUDDIN	44.11%			
			17.	SIALKOT	44.17%			
			18.	LODHRAN	44.17%			
			19.	LAHORE	44.22%			
			20.	MUZAFFARGARH	44.35%			
			21.	LAYYAH	44.38%			
			22.	BAHAWALPUR	44.48%			
			23.	BHAKKAR	44.78%			
			24.	TOBA TEK SINGH	44.45%			
			25.	PAKPATAN	44.84%			
			26.	CHINIOT	44.88%			
			27.	RAJANPUR	44.60%			

5.6.5 Graphical Analysis.

Figure: 5.31 Punjab analysis before Election Act 2017 (September 2017).
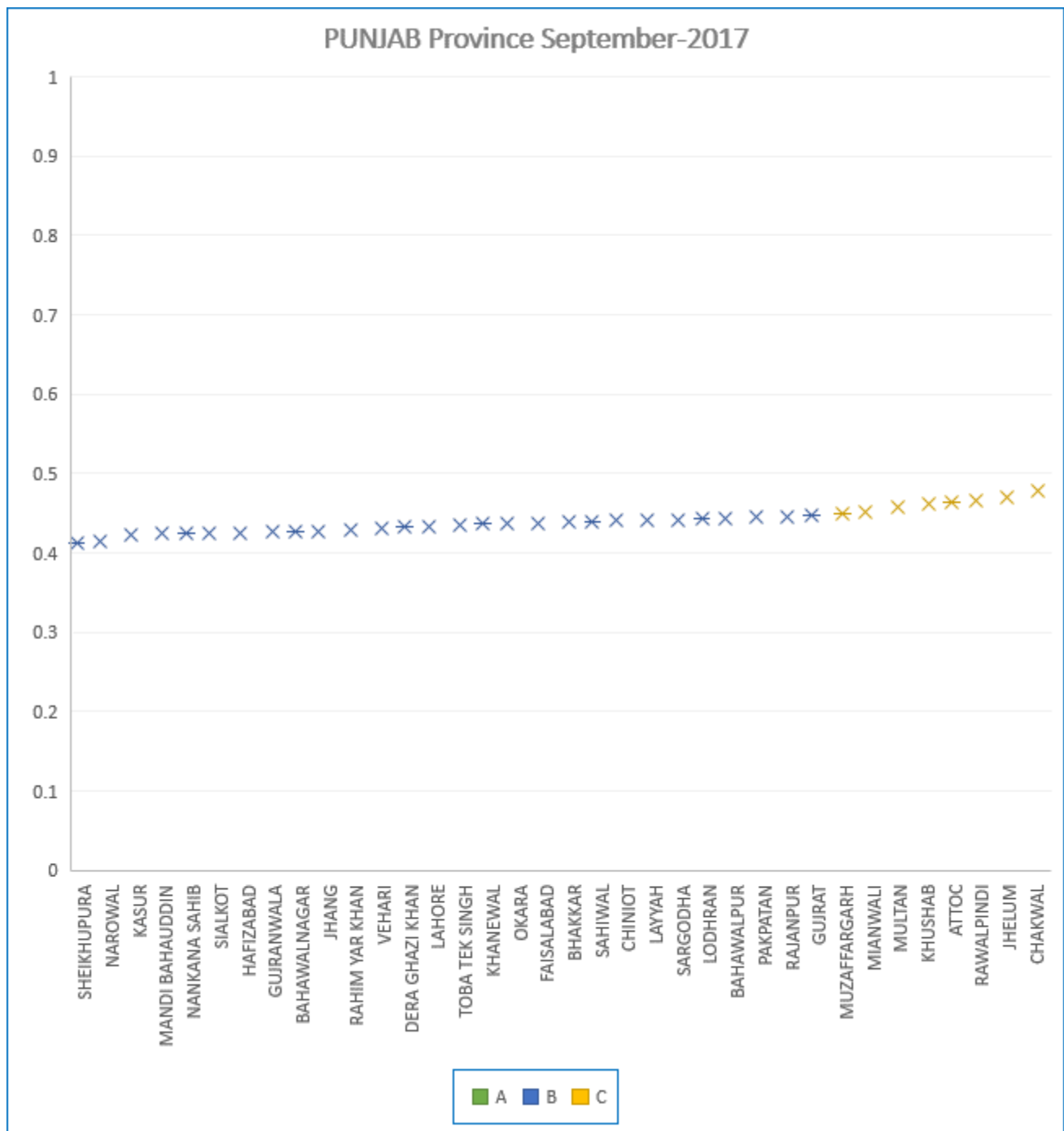
In September, 2017, Punjab was the only province with no district having women registration less than 40% in the Electoral Rolls. Whereas, Chakwal, Jehlum, Rawalpindi, Attock, Khushab, Multan, Mianwali and Muzaffargarh districts had women and men registration gap less than ten percent but none from them was up to fifty percent.

Figure 5.32: Punjab analysis after Election Act 2017 (September 2018).
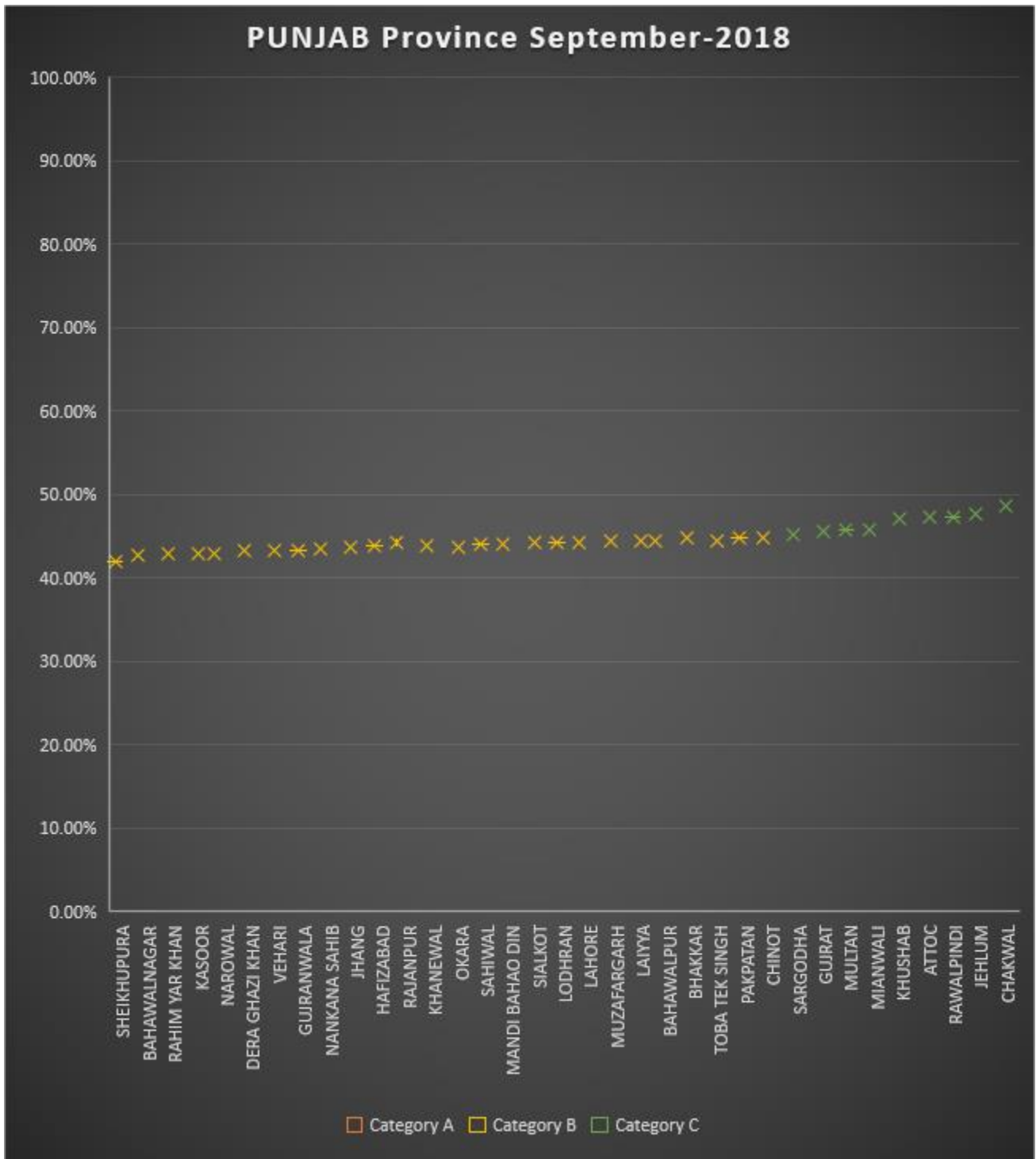
In September, 2018 Chakwal, Jehlum, Rawalpindi, Attock, Khushab, Multan, Mianwali, Multan and Gujrat were falling in Category C. District Gujrat improved its category whereas, district Muzaffargarh slipped from category C to category B.

Figure 5.33: Punjab one year comparison between 2017 and 2018.

PUNJAB REGISTRATION:ONE YEAR COMPARISON
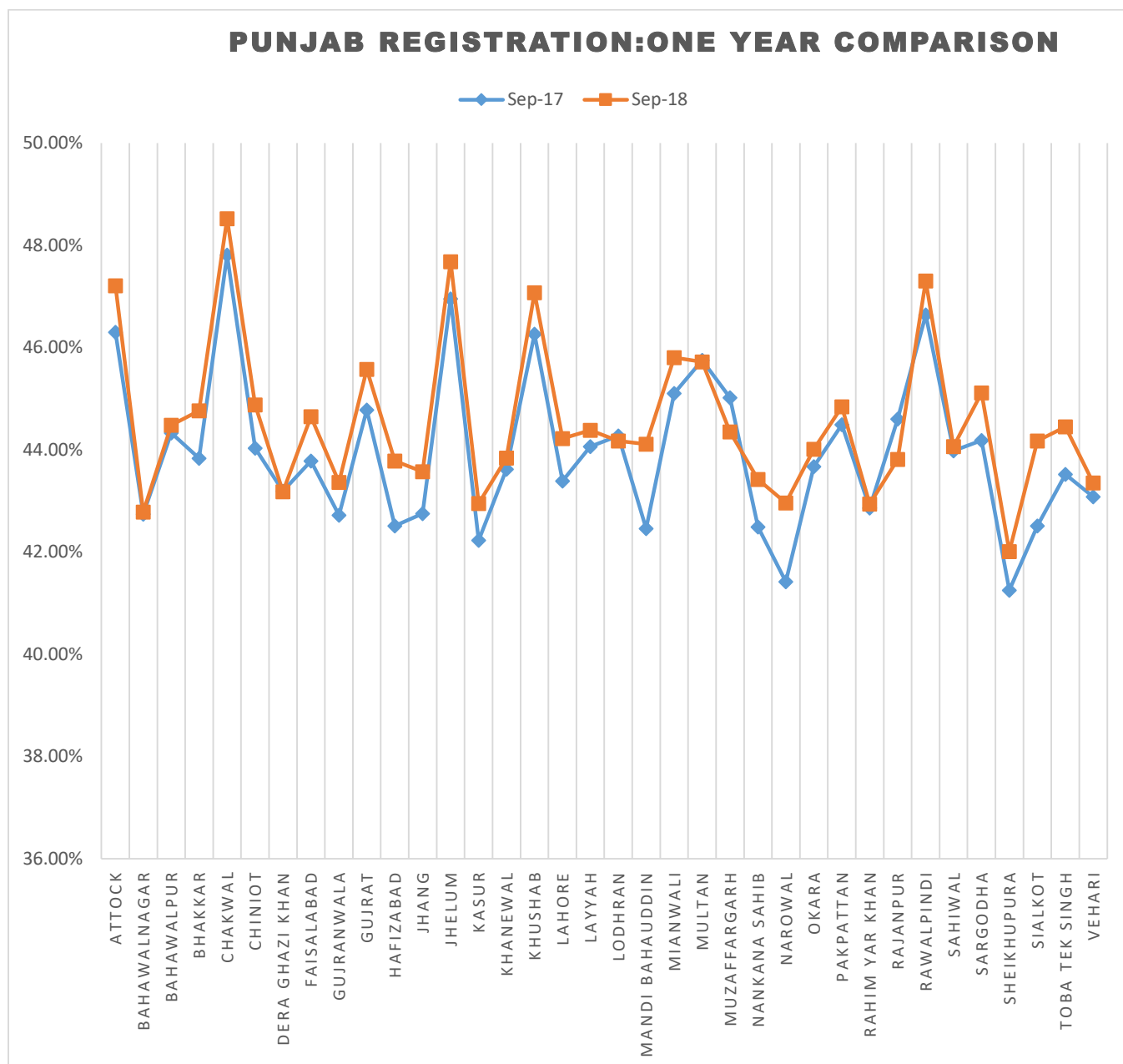
The above table may be summarized as:

i. In 32 districts, gap between male and female registration decreased in the one year.

ii. In 04 districts, gap between male and female registration increased in the one year.

iii. In Sialkot, the decrease in gap remained the highest that is 1.66 %.

iv. In Rajanpur, the increase in gap remained the highest that is -.79 %.

v. The highest decrease in the gap has been in Gujranwala Division where top four highest reduction in the gap has been noted.

vi. D.G. Khan and Multan Division required efforts to reduce gap between male and female registration.

5.7 Sindh

Total number of districts falling in the data are 29.

5.7.1 Data before promulgation of Election Act 2017.

Table: 5.34 Sindh before Election Act 2017 (September 2017).

Province	District	Male	Female	Total	Male %	Female%
Sindh	BADIN	375,661	324,331	699,992	53.67%	46.33%
	DADU	364,756	302,408	667,164	54.67%	45.33%
	GHOTKI	360,835	277,530	638,365	56.52%	43.48%
	HYDERABAD	546,842	442,730	989,572	55.26%	44.74%
	JACOBABAD	232,731	201,944	434,675	53.54%	46.46%
	JAMSHORO	217,961	180,191	398,152	54.74%	45.26%
	KAMBER SHAHDAD KOT	313,479	254,531	568,010	55.19%	44.81%
	KARACHI CENTRAL	964,695	777,877	1,742,572	55.36%	44.64%
	KARACHI EAST	747,441	612,214	1,359,655	54.97%	45.03%
	KARACHI SOUTH	565,567	442,903	1,008,470	56.08%	43.92%
	KARACHI WEST	943,799	610,666	1,554,465	60.72%	39.28%
	KASHMORE	229,299	177,725	407,024	56.34%	43.66%
	KHAIRPUR	531,755	437,701	969,456	54.85%	45.15%
	KORANGI KARACHI	687,447	519,026	1,206,473	56.98%	43.02%
	LARKANA	346,774	295,075	641,849	54.03%	45.97%
	MALIR	424,255	298,611	722,866	58.69%	41.31%
	MATIARI	166,903	149,485	316,388	52.75%	47.25%
	MIRPUR KHAS	347,038	293,160	640,198	54.21%	45.79%
	NAUSHAHRO FEROZE	377,490	311,487	688,977	54.79%	45.21%
	SAJAWAL	171,583	144,930	316,513	54.21%	45.79%
	SANGHAR	469,937	398,184	868,121	54.13%	45.87%
	SHAHEED BENAZIRABAD	387,695	330,546	718,241	53.98%	46.02%
	SHIKARPUR	290,566	252,604	543,170	53.49%	46.51%
	SUKKUR	330,940	268,102	599,042	55.24%	44.76%
	TANDO ALLAHYAR	175,336	154,419	329,755	53.17%	46.83%
	TANDO MUHAMMAD KHAN	137,954	115,252	253,206	54.48%	45.52%
	THARPARKAR	289,539	237,212	526,751	54.97%	45.03%
	THATTA	222,347	188,416	410,763	54.13%	45.87%
	UMER KOT	224,481	200,145	424,626	52.87%	47.13%

Taking into account the categorization mentioned at para 3 (introduction of this chapter), the following category wise table has been made of the above data. The table given below explains that at the time of promulgation of the election act 2017, there were seventeen districts in Sindh Province where ratio of female registration was satisfactory as per law.

5.7.2 Districts falling under Categories.

Table 5.35: Sindh districts categorization wise (September 2017).

Category A			Category B			Category C		
Sr. No	Name of District	Women percentage of Registration	Sr. No	Name of District	Women percentage of Registration	Sr. No	Name of District	Women percentage of Registration
1.	KARACHI WEST	39.28%	1.	MALIR	41.31%	1.	KARACHI EAST	45.03%
			2.	KORANGI KARACHI	43.02%	2.	THARPARKAR	45.03%
			3.	GHOTKI	43.48%	3.	KHAIRPUR	45.15%
			4.	KASHMORE	43.66%	4.	NAUSHEHRO FEROZE	45.21%
			5.	KARACHI SOUTH	43.92%	5.	JAMSHORO	45.26%
			6.	KARACHI CENTRAL	44.64%	6.	SAJAWAL	45.79%
			7.	HYDERABAD	44.74%	7.	MIRPUR KHAS	47.79%
			8.	SUKKAR	44.76%	8.	SANGHAR	47.87%
			9.	KABMER SHAHDAD KOT	44.81%	9.	THATHA	48.87%
						10.	LARKANA	45.97%
						11.	SHAHEED BENAZIRABAD	46.02%
						12.	BADIN	46.33%
						13.	JACOBABAD	46.46%
						14.	SHIKARPUR	46.51%
						15.	TANDO ALLAHYAR	46.83%
						16.	UMER KOT	45.87%
						17.	MATIARI	47.25%

5.7.3 Data after promulgation of Election Act 2017.

Table 5.36: Sindh after Election Act 2017 (September 2018).

Province	District	Male	Female	Total	Male %	Female%
	BADIN	411,903	344,126	756,029	54.48%	45.52%
	THARPARKAR	319,811	254,522	574,333	55.68%	44.32%
	JAMSHORO	235,430	191,036	426,466	55.20%	44.80%
	JACOBABAD	260,108	225,956	486,064	53.51%	46.49%
	HYDERABAD	579,371	470,214	1,049,585	55.20%	44.80%
	KHAIRPUR	591,319	484,935	1,076,254	54.94%	45.06%
	DADU	406,443	326,908	733,351	55.42%	44.58%
	SANGHAR	521,238	430,087	951,325	54.79%	45.21%
	SAJAWAL	192,272	156,592	348,864	55.11%	44.89%
	SAKKUR	367,055	303,105	670,160	54.77%	45.23%
	SHIKARPUR	321,473	275,503	596,976	53.85%	46.15%
	SHAHEED BENAZIRABAD	424,499	351,128	775,627	54.73%	45.27%
	UMER KOT	248,468	213,400	461,868	53.80%	46.20%
	KAMBER SHEHDAD KOT	355,060	282,983	638,043	55.65%	44.35%
Sindh	LARKANA	384,549	318,706	703,255	54.68%	45.32%
	MALIR	439,590	312,715	752,305	58.43%	41.57%
	MATIARI	182,892	160,012	342,904	53.34%	46.66%
	MIRPUR KHAS	382,903	312,901	695,804	55.03%	44.97%
	NAUSHAHRO FEROZE	418,392	338,441	756,833	55.28%	44.72%
	TANDO ALLAHYAR	195,906	169,275	365,181	53.65%	46.35%
	TANDO MUHAMMAD KHAN	150,984	123,957	274,941	54.92%	45.08%
	THATHA	242,132	198,195	440,327	54.99%	45.01%
	KARACHI SOUTH	600,650	479,996	1,080,646	55.58%	44.42%
	KARACHI CENTRAL	1,022,157	838,083	1,860,240	54.95%	45.05%
	KARACHI EAST	782,790	654,207	1,436,997	54.47%	45.53%
	KARACHI WEST	1,000,384	659,666	1,660,050	60.26%	39.74%
	KASHMORE	257,759	196,782	454,541	56.71%	43.29%
	KORANGI KARACHI	743,489	575,213	1,318,702	56.38%	43.62%
	GHOTKI	399,348	307,193	706,541	56.52%	43.48%

Taking into account the categorization mentioned in para 3 (introduction of this chapter), the following category wise table has been made of the above data. The table given below explains that after one year of promulgation of the election act 2017, there remained fifteen districts in Sindh Province where ratio of female registration was satisfactory as per law.

5.7.4 Districts falling under Categories.

Table 5.37: Sindh categorization wise (September 2018).

Category A			Category B			Category C		
Sr. No	Name of District	Women percentage of Registration	Sr. No	Name of District	Women percentage of Registration	Sr. No	Name of District	Women percentage of Registration
1.	KARACHI WEST	39.74%	1.	MALIR	41.57%	1.	THATHA	45.01%
			2.	KASHMORE	43.29%	2.	KARACHI CENTRAL	45.05%
			3.	GHOTKI	43.48%	3.	KHAIRPUR	45.06%
			4.	KORANGI KARACHI	43.62%	4.	TANDO MUHAMMAD KHAN	45.08%
			5.	THARPARKAR	44.32%	5.	SANGHAR	45.21%
			6.	KAMBER SHEHDAD KOT	44.35%	6.	SAKKUR	45.23%
			7.	KARACHI SOUTH	44.42%	7.	SHAHEED BENAZIRABAD	45.27%
			8.	DADU	44.58%	8.	LARKANA	45.32%
			9.	NAUSHAHRO FEROZE	44.72%	9.	BADIN	45.52%
			10	JAMSHORO	44.80%	10.	KARACHI EAST	45.53%
			11	HYDERABAD	44.80%	11.	SHIKARPUR	46.15%
			12	SAJAWAL	44.89%	12.	UMER KOT	46.20%
			13	MIRPUR KHAS	44.97%	13.	TANDO ALLAHYAR	46.35%
						14.	JACOBABAD	46.49%
						15.	MATIARI	46.66%

5.7.5 Graphical Analysis.

Figure 5.38: Sindh analysis before Election Act 2017 (September 2017).
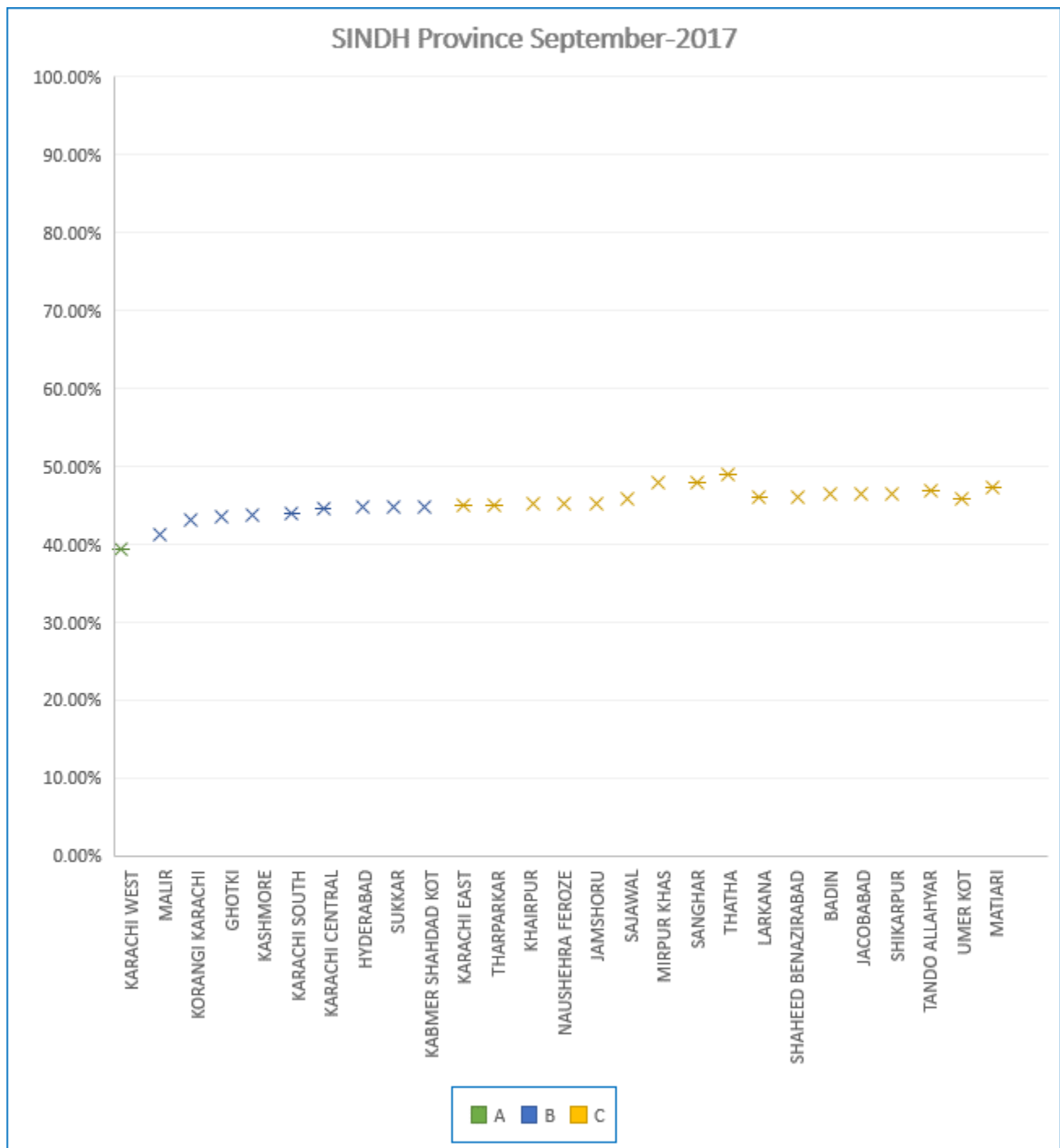
In September, 2017, Karachi West District had women registration less than 40% in the Electoral Rolls. Whereas, 9 Districts had women registration between 40 to 45 percent. Moreover, 17 districts had women and men registration gap less than ten percent and in terms of districts, Sindh province was on the top.

Figure 5.39: Sindh analysis after Election Act 2017 (September 2018).
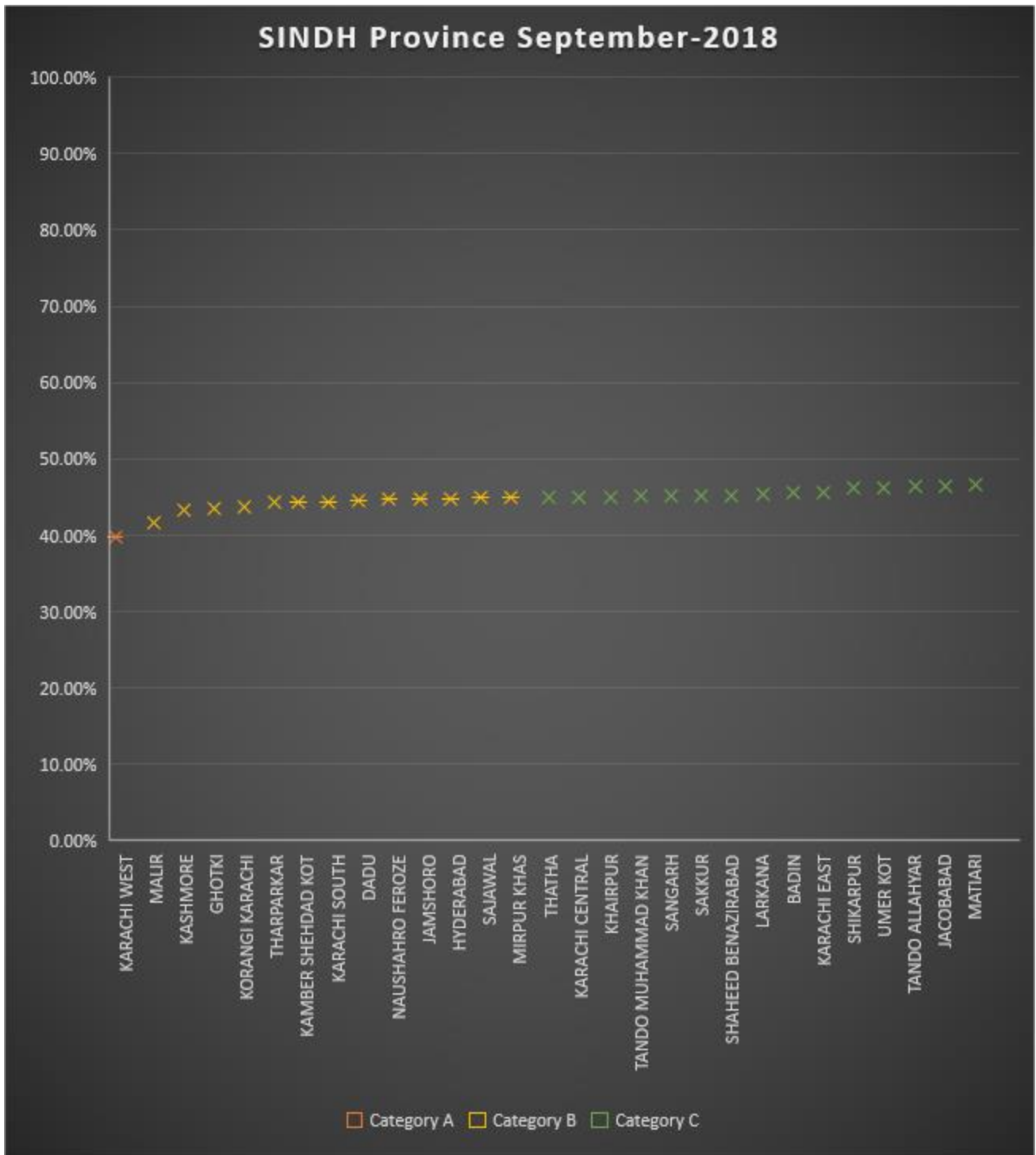
In September, 2018 Mirpur khas, Sajawal, Jamshoro and Naushahro Feroze districts slipped from category C to Category B.

Figure 5.40: Sindh one year comparison between 2017 and 2018.
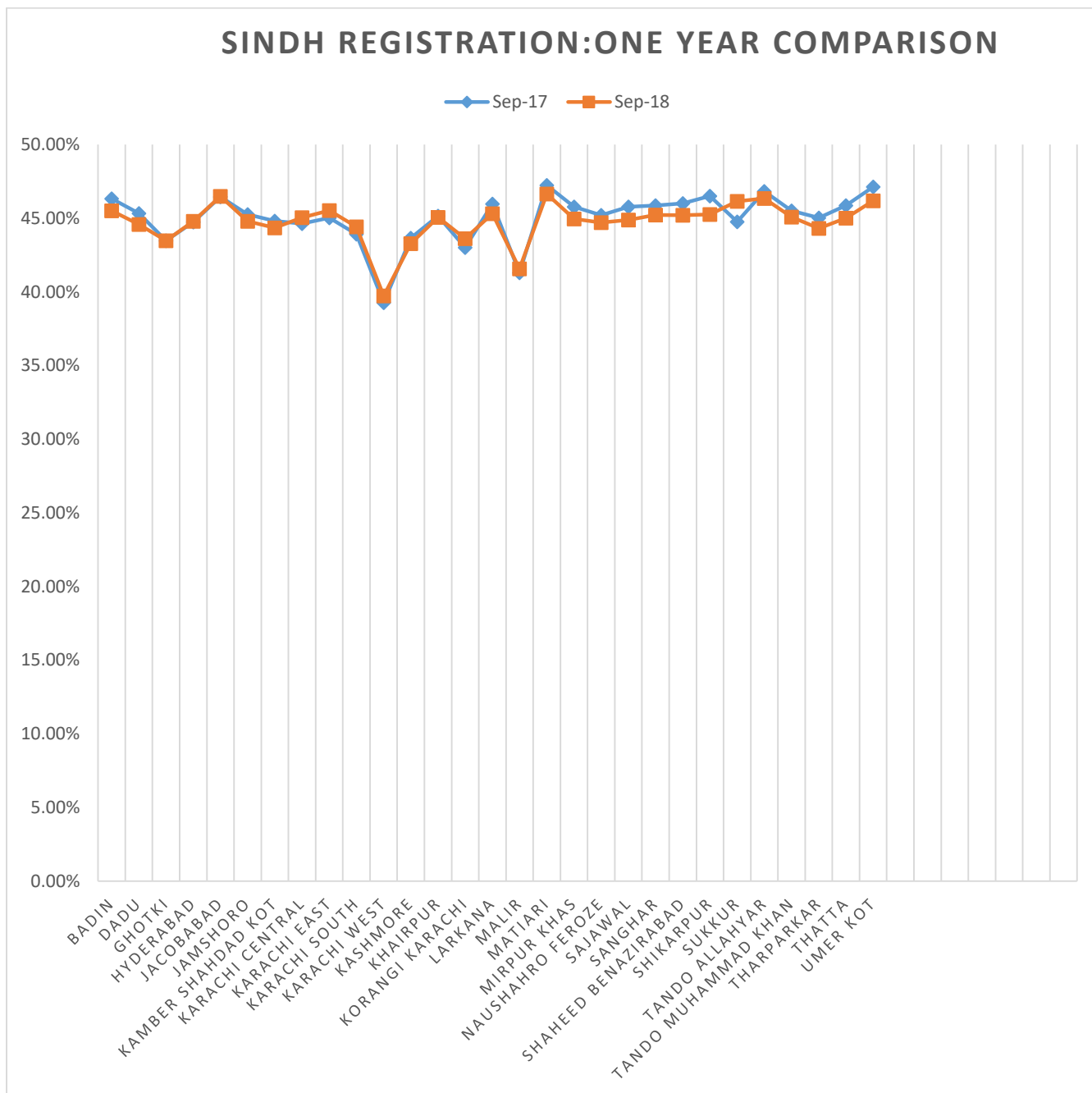
The above table may be summarized as:

i.   In 10 districts, gap between male and female registration decreased in the one year.

ii.   In 19 districts, gap between male and female registration increased in the one year.

iii. In Sukkur, the decrease in gap remained the highest that is 1.39 %.

iv.   In Shikarpur, the increase in gap remained the highest that is -1.24 %.

v.   All the districts under Karachi Division showed improvement in reducing gap between male/female registrations in Electoral Rolls.

CHAPTER VI

FEMALE VOTING DURING GENERAL ELECTION 2018 IN COMPARISON TO PERCENTAGE OF THEIR REGISTRATION AS VOTERS.

6.1 Introduction.

Electoral laws have provided a mechanism of female registration by connecting it with civil registry of NADRA. Hence, all such women who have their national identity cards have enrolled as voters. It has already been discussed in previous chapters that there are some regions where women do not even have their national identity cards. In this chapter a comparison has been drawn between the percentage of female registration in voter lists and female voters during elections in order to find out the patterns their about.

Like previous chapters, province wise data of provinces has been examined as per the following categories:

- Group 1: Five percent or more percentage gap between women registration and turnout.
- Group 2: More than two percent but less than five percent gap between women registration and turnout.
- Group 3: Less than two percent gap between women registration and turnout.

On the basis of above categorization, the figures has been analysed in order to make province wise understanding of female voting.

6.2 BALOCHISTAN

6.2.1 Registered Voters.

Table 6.1: Balochistan registered voters during general Election 2018.

Sr. No	District	District Wise Registered Voters during General Elections-2018				
		Male	Female	Total	Male %	Female%
1	PISHIN	148,279	106,087	254,366	58.29%	41.71%
2	KILLA ABDULLAH	148,722	83,891	232,613	63.94%	36.06%
3	QUETTA	399,315	285,085	684,400	58.82%	41.17%
4	KHUZDAR	132,337	96,210	228,547	57.90%	42.10%
5	KECH	125,995	96,636	222,631	56.59%	43.41%
6	MUSAKHEL AND SHERANI	60,523	44,292	104,815	57.74%	42.25%
7	ZHOB	71,334	51,736	123,070	57.96%	42.03%
8	KILLA SAIFULLAH	60,503	46,249	106,752	56.68%	43.32%
9	ZIARAT AND HARNAI	59,151	47,340	106,491	55.54%	44.45%
10	SIBI AND LEHRI	74,205	53,691	127,896	58.02%	41.98%
11	BARKHAN	38,515	29,955	68,470	56.25%	43.74%
12	KOHLU	38,793	20,238	59,031	65.71%	34.28%
13	DERA BUGTI	61,682	38,237	99,919	61.73%	38.26%
14	NUSHKI	49,445	36,520	85,965	57.51%	42.48%
15	CHAGAI	53,383	37,182	90,565	58.94%	41.05%
16	KALAT AND SHAHEED SIKANDARABAD	77,696	56,401	134,097	57.79%	42.21%
17	SOHBATPUR	46,986	43,285	90,271	52.05%	47.95%
18	LORALAI	81,843	60,496	142,339	57.42%	42.57%
19	NASIRABAD	114,134	92,756	206,890	55.16%	44.83%
20	JAFFARABAD	119,604	100,907	220,511	54.22%	45.77%
21	AWARAN AND PANJGUR	61,791	42,420	104,211	59.29%	40.70%
22	KHARAN	31,850	25,911	57,761	55.14%	44.86%
23	LASBELA	136,941	99,597	236,538	58.01%	41.99%
24	WASHUK	28,654	24,502	53,156	53.90%	46.10%
25	JHAL MAGSI AND KACHHI AND MASTUNG	95,093	63,878	158,971	59.62%	40.38%
26	GWADAR	66,527	53,814	120,341	55.28%	44.72%

6.2.2 Voter Turnout.

Table: 6.2 Balochistan voters turnout during general Election 2018.

Sr. No	District	District Wise Voter turnout during General Elections-2018				
		Male	Female	Total	Male %	Female%
1	PISHIN	74,122	47,650	121,772	60.87%	39.13%
2	KILLA ABDULLAH	64,218	31,232	95,450	67.28%	32.72%
3	QUETTA	169,760	82600	252,360	67.89%	32.10%
4	KHUZDAR	73,596	50,559	124,155	59.28%	40.72%
5	KECH	46,702	42,163	88,865	52.55%	47.45%
6	MUSAKHEL AND SHERANI	30,759	8,509	39,268	78.30%	21.67%
7	ZHOB	37,780	15,986	53,766	70.30%	29.70%
8	KILLA SAIFULLAH	39,987	18,423	58,410	68.50%	32.50%
9	ZIARAT AND HARNAI	40,201	24,955	65,156	61.70%	38.30%
10	SIBI AND LEHRI	31,292	15,326	46,618	67.10%	32.88%
11	BARKHAN	25,875	18,728	44,603	58.00%	41.99%
12	KOHLU	13,784	3,113	16,897	81.60%	18.42%
13	DERA BUGTI	35,090	18,154	53,244	65.90%	34.10%
14	NUSHKI	27,744	20,568	48,312	57.40%	42.57%
15	CHAGAI	29,979	20,488	50,463	59.40%	40.60%
16	KALAT AND SHAHEED SIKANDARABAD	43,836	29,669	73,505	59.60%	40.40%
17	SOHBATPUR	22,690	17,874	40,564	55.90%	44.10%
18	LORALAI	49,933	26,315	76,248	64.95%	35.05%
19	NASIRABAD	49,329	32,288	81,617	60.45%	39.56%
20	JAFFARABAD	49,068	31,029	80,097	61.60%	38.40%
21	AWARAN AND PANJGUR	22,125	13,598	35,723	61.90%	38.07%
22	KHARAN	19,376	15,301	34,677	55.90%	44.10%
23	LASBELA	82,221	54,422	136,643	60.45%	39.55%
24	WASHUK	15,380	13,900	29,280	52.50%	47.50%
25	JHAL MAGSI AND KACHHI AND MASTUNG	39,750	21,450	61,200	64.55%	35.45%
26	GWADAR	35,438	28,854	64,292	55.10%	44.90%

Taking into account the categorization mentioned in para 2 (introduction of this chapter), the following group wise table has been made based upon the above two tables. The table given below explains that

four districts of Balochistan Province have positive correlation of women turnout with regard to their percentage registration.

6.2.3 Categorization of linkage between women registration and women turnout.

Table 6.3: Balochistan categorisation linkage between registration and turnout during general Election 2018.

GROUP 1			GROUP 2			GROUP 3		
Sr. No	Name of District	%age gap between women registration and turnout	Sr. No	Name of District	%age gap between women registration and turnout	Sr. No	Name of District	%age gap between women registration and turnout
1	MUSAKHEL AND SHERANI	-20.58%	1	JHAL MAGSI AND KACHHI AND MASTUNG	-4.93%	1	KALAT AND SHAHEED SIKANDAR ABAD	-1.81%
2	KOHLU	-15.86%	2	DERA BUGTI	-4.16%	2	BARKHAN	-1.75%
3	ZHOB	-12.33%	3	SOHBATPUR	-3.85%	3	KHUZDAR	-1.38%
4	KILLA SAIFULLAH	-10.82%	4	KILLA ABDULLAH	-3.34%	4	KHARAN	-0.76%
5	SIBI AND LEHRI	-9.10%	5	AWARAN AND PANJGUR	-2.63%	5	CHAGAI	-0.45%
6	QUETTA	-9.07%	6	PISHIN	-2.58%	6	NUSHKI	0.09%
7	LORALAI	-7.52%	7	LASBELA	-2.44%	7	GWADAR	0.18%
8	JAFFAR ABAD	-7.37%				8	WASHUK	1.40%
9	ZIARAT AND HARNAI	-6.15%				9	KECH	4.04%
10	NASIRABAD	-5.27%						

6.2.4 Analysis
Finding of the above data may be summarized as under:

i)   10 units/districts had a gap between women registration and turnout for more than five percent.

ii)   Musakhel, Sherani, Kohlu Zhob and Killa Saifullah had an unusually high gap of more than ten percent.

iii)   Nushuki, Gawadar, Washuk and Kech districts showed better female turnout in comparison to women registration.

iv)   Provincial capital, Quetta requires attention for enhancement of female turnout.

Findings have been illustrated in the graphs given below.

Figure 6.4: Balochistan graphical comparison between registration and turnout.
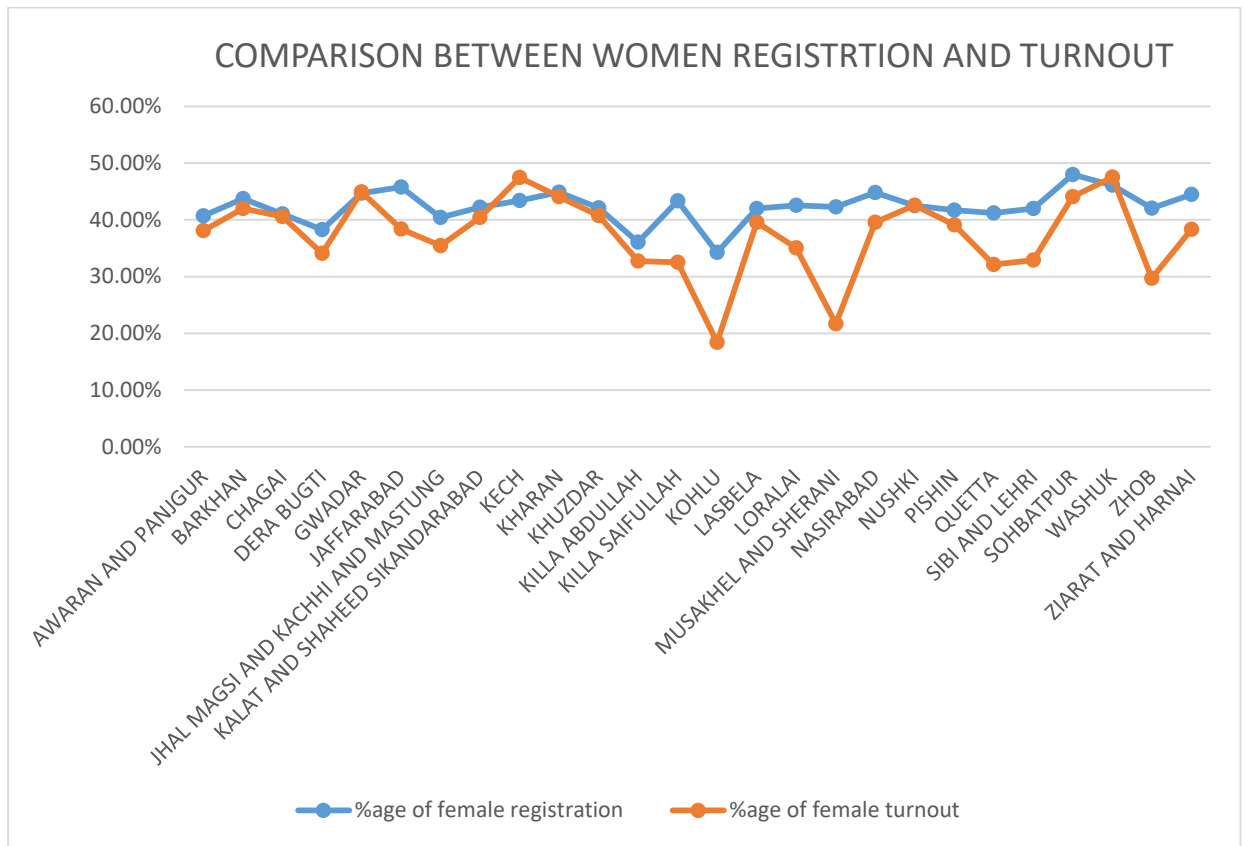
Figure 6.5: Balochistan categorised wise percentage gap between registration and turnout.
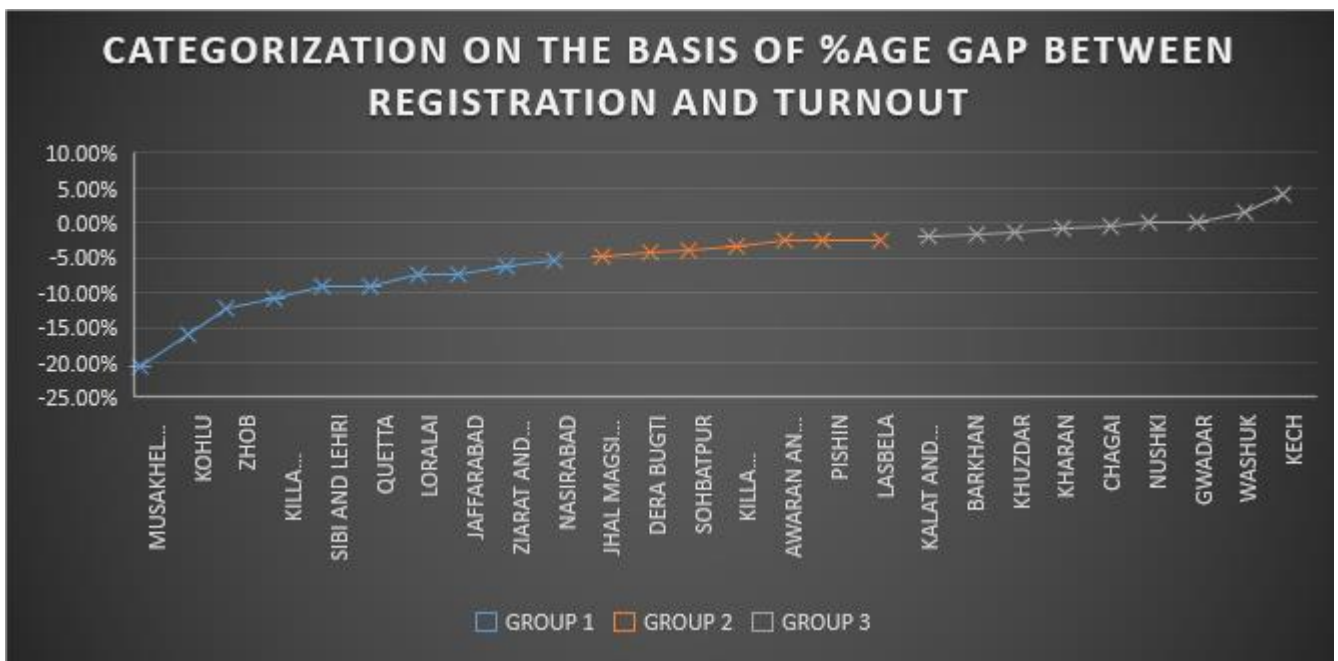
6.3 KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA

6.3.1 Registered voters.

Table 6.6: KPK registered voters during general Election 2018.

Sr. No	District	District Wise Registered Voters during General Elections-2018				
		Male	Female	Total	Male %	Female%
1	CHITRAL	151,219	118,360	269,579	56.09%	43.91%
2	SAWAT	681,834	511,276	1,193,110	57.14%	42.85%
3	UPPER DIR	268,134	179,280	447,414	59.93%	40.07%
4	LOWER DIR	403,754	278,083	681,837	59.23%	40.76%
5	MALAKAND PROTECTED AREA	218,057	168,392	386,449	56.48%	43.57%
6	BUNER	350,303	195,171	445,475	56.19%	43.81%
7	SHANGLA	212,294	162,049	374,343	56.71%	43.29%
8	KOHISTAN AND LOWER KALAI PALLAS KOHISTAN	89,171	65,449	154,620	57.56%	42.33%
9	BATTAGRAM	152,297	105,858	258,155	58.99%	41.01%
10	MANSEHRA	531,120	416,371	947,491	55.96%	44.03%
11	TORGHAR	51,593	38,821	90,414	57.06%	42.94%
12	ABBOTTABAD	457,222	381,506	838,728	54.44%	45.55%
13	HARIPUR	354,130	303,518	657,648	53.85%	46.15%
14	SAWABI	514,633	398,000	912,633	56.39%	43.61%
15	MARDAN	719,872	520,067	1,239,939	58.06%	41.93%
16	CHARSADDA	501,127	379,699	880,826	56.93%	43.07%
17	NOWSHERA	424,302	331,947	756,249	56.10%	43.89%
18	PESHAWAR	979,771	713,615	1,693,386	57.86%	42.13%
19	KOHAT	284,678	222,021	506,699	56.18%	43.82%
20	HANGU	160,297	115,650	275,947	58.09%	41.91%
21	KARAK	225,953	178,505	404,458	55.87%	44.13%
22	BANNU	328,817	250,055	578,872	56.80%	43.20%
23	LAKKI MARWAT	236,162	185,062	421,224	56.07%	43.93%
24	TANK	103,498	77,374	180,872	57.22%	42.78%
25	D.I. KHAN	405,520	314,465	719,985	56.40%	43.60%

6.3.2 Voter Turnout.

Table 6.7: KPK voter's turnout during general Election 2018.

Sr. No	District	District Wise Voter turnout during General Elections-2018				
		Male	Female	Total	Male %	Female%
1	CHITRAL	91,475	72,880	164,355	55.66%	44.34%
2	SAWAT	378,972	109,112	488,084	77,66%	22.33%
3	UPPER DIR	147,925	67,995	215,920	68.51%	31.49%
4	LOWER DIR	224,917	93,036	317,953	70.81%	29.19%
5	MALAKAND PROTECTED AREA	121,972	64,457	186,429	65.43%	34.57%
6	BUNER	139,279	41,689	180968	76.96%	23.04%
7	SHANGLA	115,639	12,663	128,302	90.13%	9.87%
8	KOHISTAN AND LOWER KALAI PALLAS KOHISTAN	44,943	18,286	63,229	71.08%	28.92%
9	BATTAGRAM	77,372	14,271	91,643	84.43%	15.57%
10	MANSEHRA	236,271	14,566	382,347	61.50%	38.49%
11	TORGHAR	18,746	13,997	32,743	57.25%	42.75%
12	ABBOTTABAD	240,107	181,366	421,473	57.04%	42.95%
13	HARIPUR	191,458	151,984	343,442	55.75%	44.25%
14	SAWABI	272,340	134,218	406,558	66.92%	33.07%
15	MARDAN	400,156	187,923	588,079	68.08%	31.92%
16	CHARSADDA	270,958	115,016	385,974	70.27%	29.72%
17	NOWSHERA	241,327	131,729	373,056	64.69%	35.31%
18	PESHAWAR	528,429	197,041	725,470	72.85%	27.14%
19	KOHAT	123,848	73,495	197,343	62.76%	37.24%
20	HANGU	59,254	22,061	81,315	72.87%	27.13%
21	KARAK	116,662	84,313	200,975	58.05%	41.95%
22	BANNU	174,209	72,109	246,318	70.73%	29.27%
23	LAKKI MARWAT	139,010	71,856	210,866	65.92%	34.08%
24	TANK	50,448	29,519	79,967	63.09%	36.91%
25	D.I. KHAN	139,590	86,366	225,956	62,23%	37.76%

Taking into account the categorization mentioned in para 2 (introduction of this chapter), the following group wise table has been made based upon the above two tables. The table given below explains that only one district of KPK Province have positive correlation of women turnout with regard to their percentage registration.

6.3.3 Categorization of linkage between women registration and women turnout.

Table: 6.8 KPK categorization linkage between registration and turnout during general Election 2018.

GROUP 1			GROUP 2			GROUP 3		
Sr. No	Name of District	%age gap between women registration and turnout	Sr. No	Name of District	%age gap between women registration and turnout	Sr. No	Name of District	%age gap between women registration and turnout
1.	SHANGLA	-33.42%	1.	ABBOTTABAD	-2.60%	1.	HARIPUR	-1.90%
2.	BATTAGRAM	-25.44%	2.	KARAK	-2.18%	2.	TORGHAR	-0.19%
3.	BUNER	-20.77%				3.	CHITRAL	0.43%
4.	SAWAT	-20.52%						
5.	PESHAWAR	-14.99%						
6.	HANGU	-14.78%						
7.	BANNU	-13.93%						
8.	KOHISTAN AND LOWER KALAI PALLAS KOHISTAN	-13.41%						
9.	CHARSADDA	-13.35%						
10.	LOWER DIR	-11.57%						
11.	SAWABI	-10.54%						
12.	MARDAN	-10.01%						
13.	LAKKI MARWAT	-9.85%						
14.	MALAKAND PROTECTED AREA	-9.00%						
15.	NOWSHERA	-8.58%						
16.	UPPER DIR	-8.58%						
17.	KOHAT	-6.58%						
18.	TANK	-5.87%						
19.	D.I. KHAN	-5.84%						
20.	MANSEHRA	-5.54%						

6.3.4 Analysis
Finding of the above data may be summarized as under:

i.   20 units/districts had a gap between women registration and turnout for more than five percent.

ii.   12 districts had an unusually high gap of more than ten percent whereas, Shangla, Battagram, Buner and Swat districts had alarmingly high gap in percentage of female registration and turnout.

iii.   Chitral is the only district that showed better female turnout in comparison to women registration.

iv.   Provincial capital, Peshawar requires attention for enhancement of female turnout as the gap of the district is almost fifteen percent that is unusually high.

Findings have been illustrated in the graphs given below.

Figure: 6.9 KPK graphical comparison between registration and turnout.
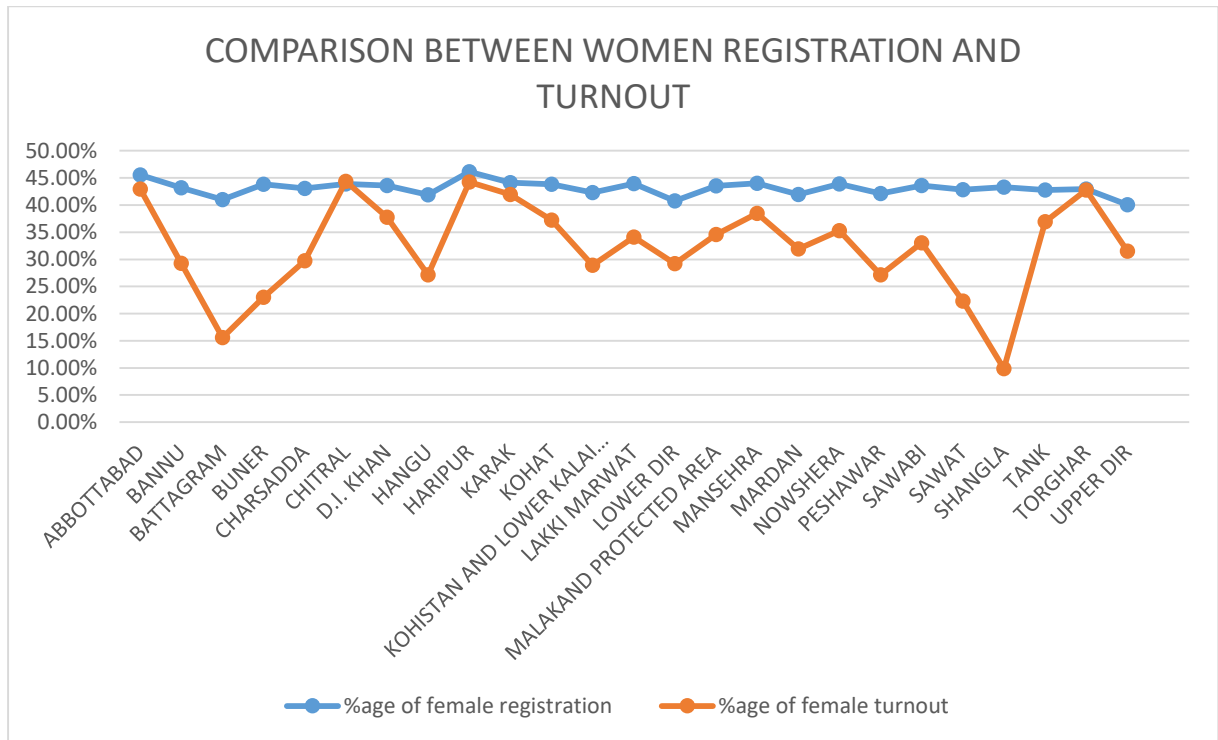
Figure: 6.10 KPK percentage gap between registration and turnout.
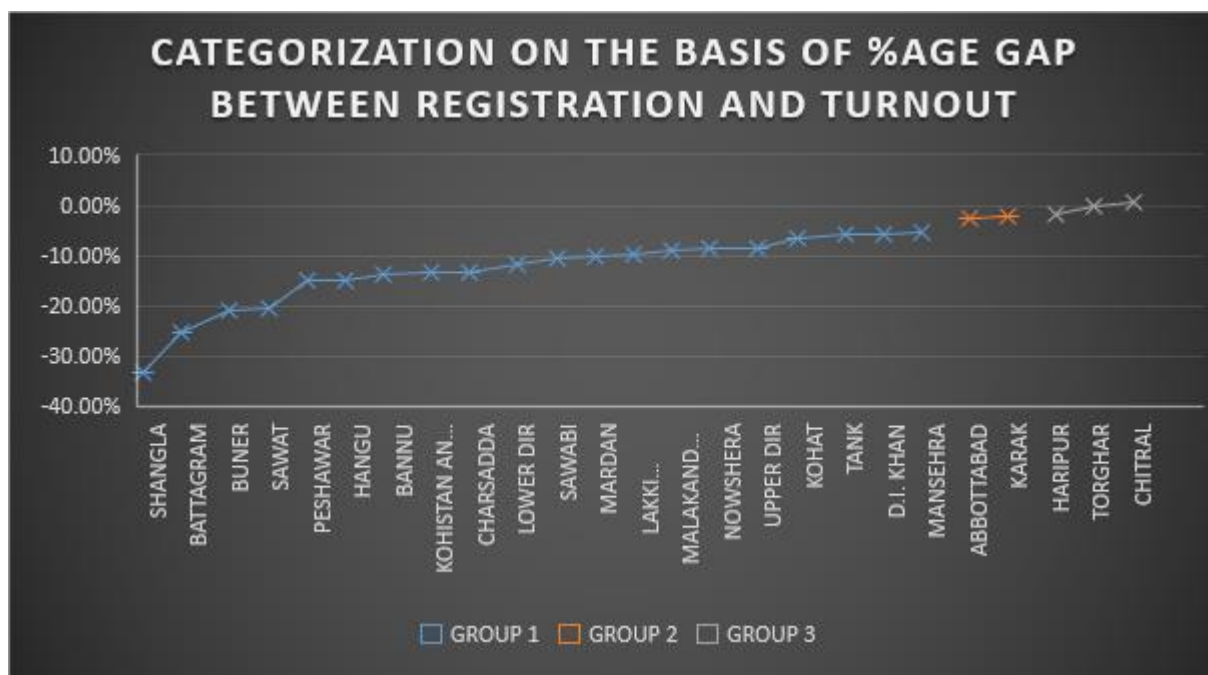
6.4 FATA

6.4.1 Registered Voters.

Table 6.11: FATA registered voters during general Election 2018.

Sr. No	District	District Wise Registered Voters during General Elections-2018				
		Male	Female	Total	Male %	Female%
1.	BAJAUR AGENCY	288,958	203,774	492,729	58.66%	41.34%
2.	MOHMAND AGENCY	160,079	97,573	257,652	62.13%	37.87%
3.	KHYBER AGENCY	277,530	214,314	491,844	56.38%	43.62%
4.	KURRAM AGENCY	193,244	144,621	337,865	57.21%	42.79%
5.	ORAKZAI AGENCY	94,279	72,927	167,206	56.38%	43.62%
6.	NORTH WAZIRISTAN AGENCY	196,668	77,537	274,205	71.72%	28.28%
7.	SOUTH WAZIRISTAN AGENCY	198,093	126,072	324,165	61.84%	38.16%
8.	F.R	100,625	66,007	166,632	60.39%	39.61%

6.4.2 Voter Turnout.

Table 6.12: FATA voter's turnout during general Election 2018.

Sr. No	District	District Wise Voter turnout during General Elections-2018				
		Male	Female	Total	Male %	Female%
1.	BAJAUR AGENCY	142,118	52,926	195,044	72.82%	27.18%
2.	MOHMAND AGENCY	69,245	23,610	92,855	74.57%	25.43%
3.	KHYBER AGENCY	116,010	37,026	153,036	76.68%	23.32%
4.	KURRAM AGENCY	77,412	54,953	132,365	58.87%	41.13%
5.	ORAKZAI AGENCY	35,146	19,820	54,966	63.94%	36.06%
6.	NORTH WAZIRISTAN AGENCY	57,600	6,354	63,954	90.06%	9.94%
7.	SOUTH WAZIRISTAN AGENCY	65,554	19,518	85,072	75.94%	24.06%
8.	F.R	45,590	24,213	69,803	65.31%	34.69%

Taking into account the categorization mentioned in para 2 (introduction of this chapter), the following group wise table has been made based upon the above two tables. The table given below explains that no district of FATA have positive correlation of women turnout with regard to their percentage registration.

6.4.3 Categorization of linkage between women registration and women turnout.

Table 6.13: FATA categorization linkage between registration and turnout during general Election 2018.

GROUP 1			GROUP 2			GROUP 3		
Sr. No	Name of District	%age gap between women registration and turnout	Sr. No	Name of District	%age gap between women registration and turnout	Sr. No	Name of District	%age gap between women registration and turnout
1.	KHYBER AGENCY	-20.30%	1.	F.R	-4.92%	1.	KURRAM AGENCY	-1.66%
2.	NORTH WAZIRISTAN AGENCY	-18.34%						
3.	BAJAUR AGENCY	-14.16%						

4.	MOHMAND AGENCY	-12.44%					
5.	ORAKZAI AGENCY	-7.56%					

6.4.5 Analysis

Finding of the above data may be summarized as under:

i.   5 units/agencies had a gap between women registration and turnout for more than five percent.

ii.   4 agencies had an unusually high gap of more than ten percent whereas, Khyber and North Waziristan Agency had alarmingly high gap in percentage of female registration and turnout.

iii.   Kurram is the only Agency that showed reasonable female turnout in comparison to women registration.

Findings have been illustrated in the graphs given below.

Figure 6.14: FATA graphical comparison between registration and turnout.
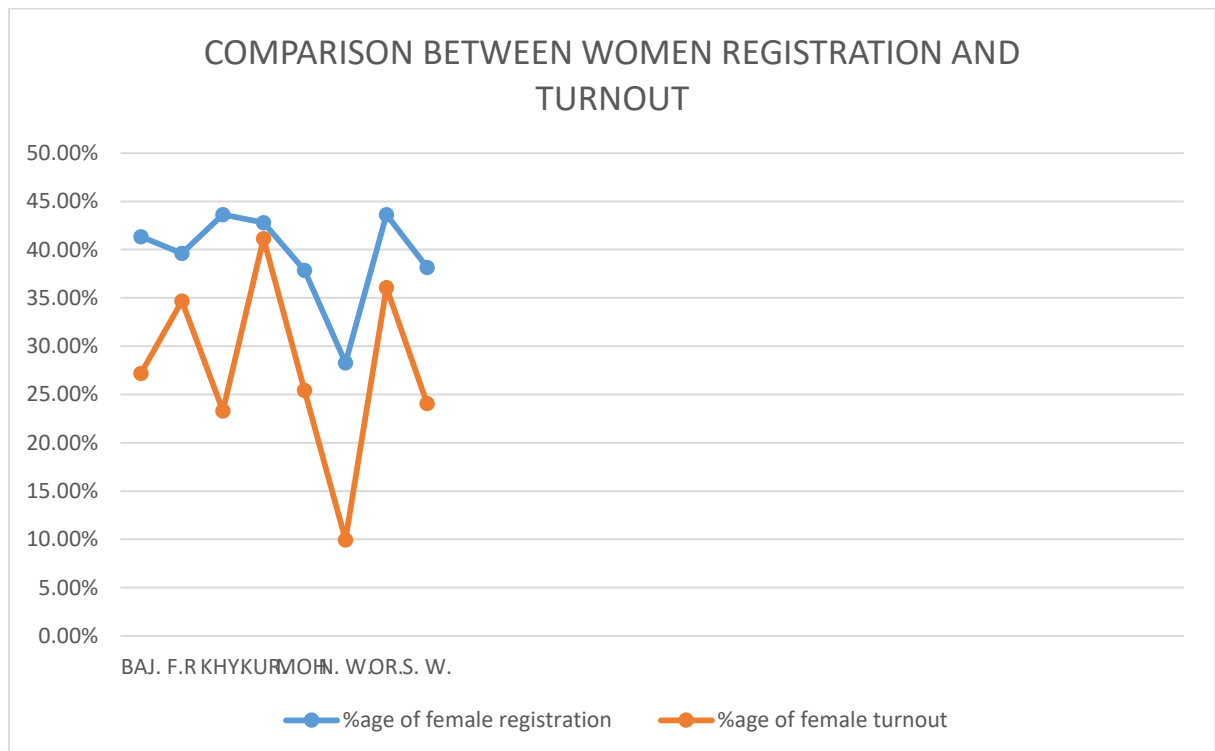
Figure 6.15: FATA percentage gap between registration and turnout.
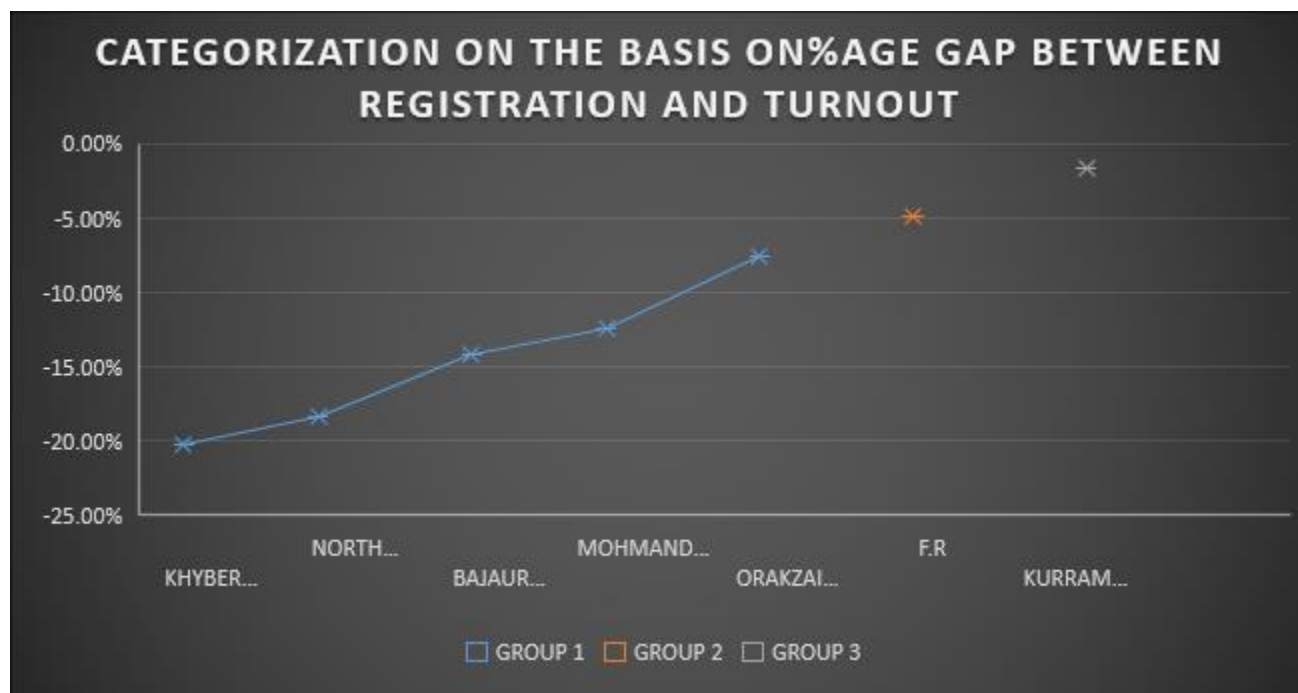
6.5 FEDERAL CAPITAL

6.5.1 Registered voters and turnout.

Table 6.16: Federal Capital registered voters during general Election 2018.

Sr. No	District	District Wise Registered Voters during General Elections-2018				
		Male	Female	Total	Male %	Female%
1.	ISLAMABAD	407,492	358,953	765,440	53.40%	46.76%
		District Wise Voter turnout during General Elections-2018				
		Male	Female	Total	Male %	Female%
		253,430	192,397	445,828	56.84%	43.16%

6.5.2 Analysis.

Figure 6.17: Federal Capital graphical comparison between registration and turnout.
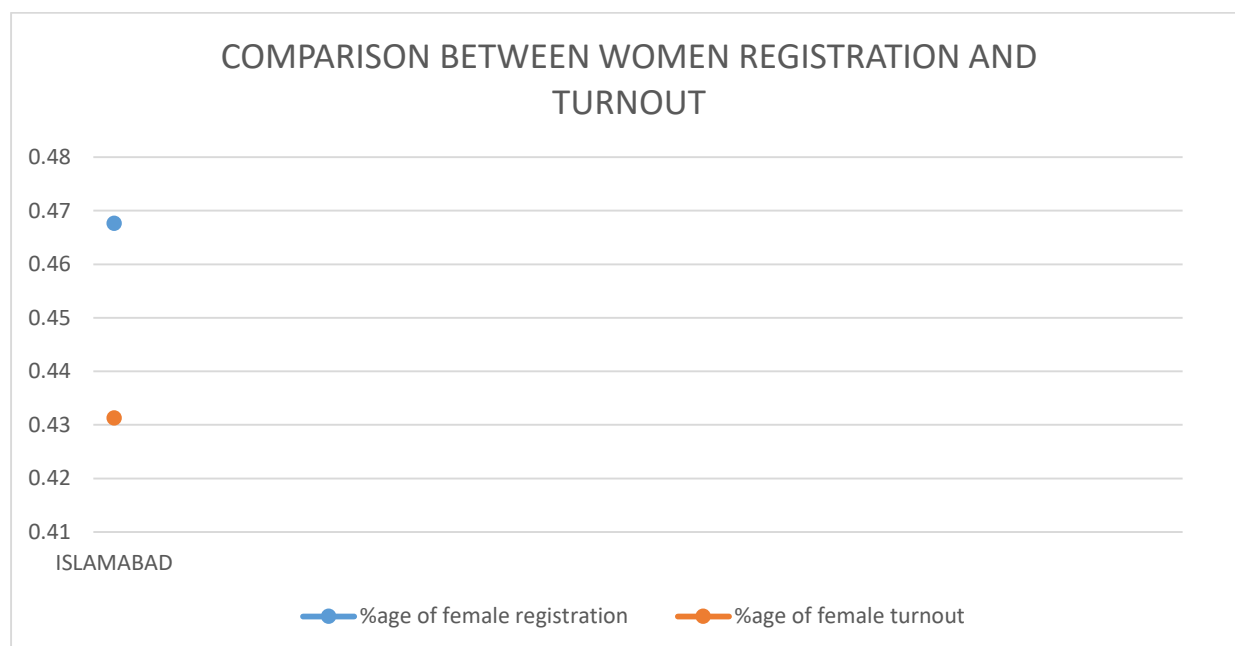
There had been 3.6 percent downward difference between female registration and turnout in Federal Capital, Islamabad that falls under Group 2 and requires efforts to mitigate.

6.6 PUNJAB PROVINCE.

6.6.1 Registered voters.

Table 6.18: Punjab registered voters during general Election 2018.

Sr. No	District	District Wise Registered Voters during General Elections-2018				
		Male	Female	Total	Male %	Female%
1.	ATTOCK	639,642	571,099	12,10,741	52.84%	47.15%
2.	RAWALPINDI	1,360,516	1,221,960	2,582,476	52.72%	47.28%
3.	CHAKWAL	568,409	535,125	11,03,534	51.50%	48.49%
4.	JHELUM	944,901	450,607	455,508	52.41%	47.59%
5.	GUJRAT	1,042,114	471,534	1,913,648	54.47%	45.52%
6.	SIALKOT	1,303,401	1,031,097	2,334,498	55.85%	44.15%
7.	NAROWAL	584,265	439,989	1,024,244	57.05%	42.95%
8.	GUJRANWALA	1,572,807	1,204,044	2,776,851	56.69%	43.30%
9.	M.B.DIN	571,718	451,160	1,022,878	55.89%	44.11%
10.	HAFIZABAD	384,762	299,685	684,447	56.22%	43.78%
11.	SARGODHA	1,253,168	1,029,745	2,282,913	54.87%	45.12%
12.	KHUSHAB	438,507	390,023	828,530	52.93%	47.06%

13.	MIANWALI	496,876	419,605	916,481	54.22%	45.78%
14.	BHAKKAR	481,501	390,156	871,657	55.24%	44.76%
15.	CHINIOT	412,361	335,689	748,050	55.12%	44.87%
16.	FAISALABAD	22,30,557	18,11,850	40,42,407	55.17%	44.82%
17.	TOBA TEK SINGH	748,968	599,098	1,348,066	55.57%	44.43%
18.	JHANG	804,536	621,265	1,425,801	56.39%	43.60%
19.	NANKANA SAHIB	443,122	340,077	783,199	56.61%	43.39%
20.	SHEIKHUPURA	986,709	714,320	1,701,429	57.98%	42.01%
21.	LAHORE	3,012,260	2,386,364	5,398,624	55.96%	44.03%
22.	KASUR	1,052,162	793,550	1,847,712	57.06%	42.93%
23.	OKARA	973,772	765,326	1739098	55.99%	44.01%
24.	PAKPATAN	561,240	456,219	1017459	55.17%	44.83%
25.	SAHIWAL	822,537	647,793	1,470,330	55.94%	44.06%
26.	KHANEWAL	897,252	700,467	1,597,719	56.16%	43.83%
27.	MULTAN	1,387,408	1,168,732	2,556,140	54.29%	45.70%
28.	LODHRAN	509,740	403,211	912,951	55.83%	44.16%
29.	VEHARI	904,071	691,822	1,595,893	56.66%	43.35%
30.	BAHAWALNAGAR	886,644	662,824	1,549,468	57.24%	42.75%
31.	BAHAWALPUR	1,044,500	836,965	1,881,465	55.50%	44.50%
32.	RAHIM YAR KHAN	1,384,574	1,041,424	2,425,998	57.10%	42.89%
33.	MUZAFFARGARH	1,130,208	900,683	2,030,891	55.65%	44.34%
34.	LAYYAH	504,227	402,396	906,623	55.60%	44.40%
35.	D.G. KHAN	755,082	573,997	1,329,079	56.87%	43.12%
36.	RAJANPUR	498,903	389,087	887,990	56.19%	43.81%

6.6.2 Voters Turnout.

Table 6.19: Punjab voter's turnout during general Election 2018.

Sr. No	District	District Wise Voter turnout during General Elections-2018				
		Male	Female	Total	Male %	Female%
1.	ATTOCK	385,602	320,074	705,676	55.01%	44.98%
2.	RAWALPINDI	772,300	616,898	1,399,198	55.54%	44.45%
3.	CHAKWAL	316,878	320,398	637,276	49.72%	50.27%
4.	JHELUM	254,316	236,514	490,830	51.94%	48.06%
5.	GUJRAT	510,311	447,325	957,636	53.38%	46.61%
6.	SIALKOT	731,796	569,658	1,301,454	56.24%	43.75%
7.	NAROWAL	321,304	241,656	562,960	57.07%	42.93%
8.	GUJRANWALA	910,898	584,448	1,495,346	61.09%	38.91%
9.	M.B.DIN	318,209	236,720	554,929	57.31%	42.68%
10.	HAFIZABAD	240,195	164,528	404,723	59.35%	40.65%
11.	SARGODHA	7,545,828	548,993	1,303,811	57.98%	42.04%
12.	KHUSHAB	265,856	220,081	856,937	54.72%	45.28%

13.	MIANWALI	296,288	217,773	514,061	57.61%	42.38%
14.	BHAKKAR	341,399	242,347	583,746	58.48%	41.51%
15.	CHINIOT	258,273	179,530	437,803	58.98%	41.01%
16.	FAISALABAD	13,92,190	914349	23,06,539	60.39%	39.60%
17.	TOBA TEK SINGH	457,074	340,263	797,337	57.35%	42.65%
18.	JHANG	513,622	352,171	865,793	59.30%	40.69%
19.	NANKANA SAHIB	274,912	183,353	458,265	60.04%	39.96%
20.	SHEIKHUPURA	611,300	363,571	974,871	62.73%	37.26%
21.	LAHORE	1,760,264	1,093,984	2,854,248	61.76%	38.23%
22.	KASUR	682,939	433,828	1,116,767	61.16%	38.83%
23.	OKARA	598,741	413,425	1,012,166	59.16%	40.83%
24.	PAKPATAN	345,703	250,514	596,217	58.01%	41.98%
25.	SAHIWAL	488,472	340,171	828,643	58.96%	41.03%
26.	KHANEWAL	554,042	398,296	952,388	58.22%	41.78%
27.	MULTAN	816,150	569,550	1,385,700	58.93%	41.06%
28.	LODHRAN	309,339	228,952	538,291	57.46%	42.54%
29.	VEHARI	537,220	371,102	908,323	59.14%	40.85%
30.	BAHAWALNAGAR	553,686	365,702	919,388	60.29%	30.70%
31.	BAHAWALPUR	617,402	455,643	1,073,045	57.54%	42.46%
32.	RAHIM YAR KHAN	811,154	556,945	1,368,099	59.36%	40.63%
33.	MUZAFFARGARH	704,279	524,835	1,229,114	57.30%	42.70%
34.	LAYYAH	238,045	238,045	5,777,781	58.79%	41.21%
35.	D.G. KHAN	415,366	279,025	694,391	59.83%	40.16%
36.	RAJANPUR	312,371	216,392	528,763	59.07%	40.93%

Taking into account the categorization mentioned in para 2 (introduction of this chapter), the following group wise table has been made based upon the above two tables. The table given below explains that three districts of Punjab Province have positive correlation of women turnout with regard to their percentage registration.

6.6.3 Categorization of linkage between women registration and women turnout.

Table 6.20: Punjab categorization linkage between registration and turnout during general Election 2018.

GROUP 1			GROUP 2			GROUP 3		
Sr. No	Name of District	%age gap between women registration and turnout	Sr. No	Name of District	%age gap between women registration and turnout	Sr. No	Name of District	%age gap between women registration and turnout
1.	BAHAWAL NAGAR	-12.05%	1.	SHEIKHUPURA	-4.75%	1.	KHUSHAB	-1.78%
2.	LAHORE	-5.80%	2.	MULTAN	-4.64%	2.	TOBA TEK SINGH	-1.78%
3.	FAISAL ABAD	-5.22%	3.	GUJRANWALA	-4.39%	3.	MUZAFFARGARH	-1.64%
			4.	KASUR	-4.10%	4.	LODHRAN	-1.62%
			5.	CHINIOT	-3.86%	5.	M.B.DIN	-1.43%
			6.	NANKANA SAHIB	-3.43%	6.	SIALKOT	-0.40%
			7.	MIANWALI	-3.40%	7.	NAROWAL	-0.02%
			8.	BHAKKAR	-3.25%	8.	JHELUM	0.47%
			9.	LAYYAH	-3.19%	9.	GUJRAT	1.09%
			10.	OKARA	-3.18%	10.	CHAKWAL	1.78%
			11.	HAFIZABAD	-3.13%			
			12.	SARGODHA	-3.08%			
			13.	SAHIWAL	-3.03%			
			14.	D.G. KHAN	-2.96%			
			15.	JHANG	-2.91%			
			16.	RAJANPUR	-2.88%			
			17.	PAKPATAN	-2.85%			
			18.	RAWALPINDI	-2.83%			
			19.	VEHARI	-2.50%			
			20.	RAHIM YAR KHAN	-2.26%			
			21.	ATTOCK	-2.17%			
			22.	KHANEWAL	-2.05%			
			23.	BAHAWALPUR	-2.04%			

6.6.4 Analysis

i. 13 districts had a gap between women registration and turnout for more than five percent.

ii. Tando Muhammad Khan and Sajawal districts had an unusually high gap of more than ten percent in comparison with female registration and turnout.

iii. Tharparkar and Shikarpur districts showed better female turnout in comparison to women registration.

iv.   Provincial capital, Karachi requires attention for enhancement of female turnout as gap of all the districts falling in the city is more than five percent.

v.   3 districts had a gap between women registration and turnout for more than five percent.

vi.   Bahawalnagar district had an unusually high gap of more than twelve percent in comparison with female registration and turnout.

vii.   Jehlum, Gujrat and Chakwal districts showed better female turnout in comparison to women registration.

viii.   Provincial capital, Lahore requires attention for enhancement of female turnout as the gap of the district is the second last in the province.

Findings have been illustrated in the graphs given below.

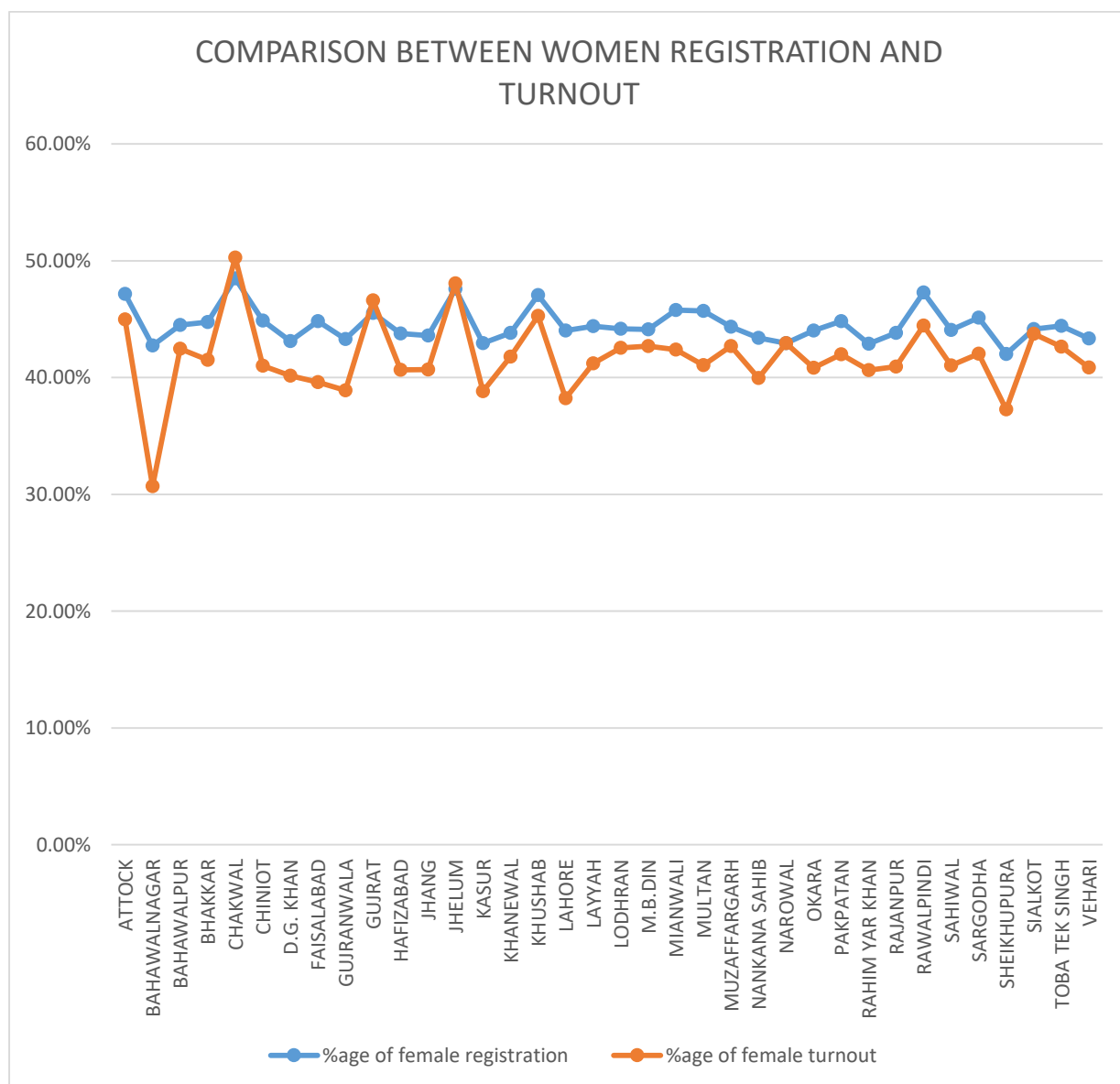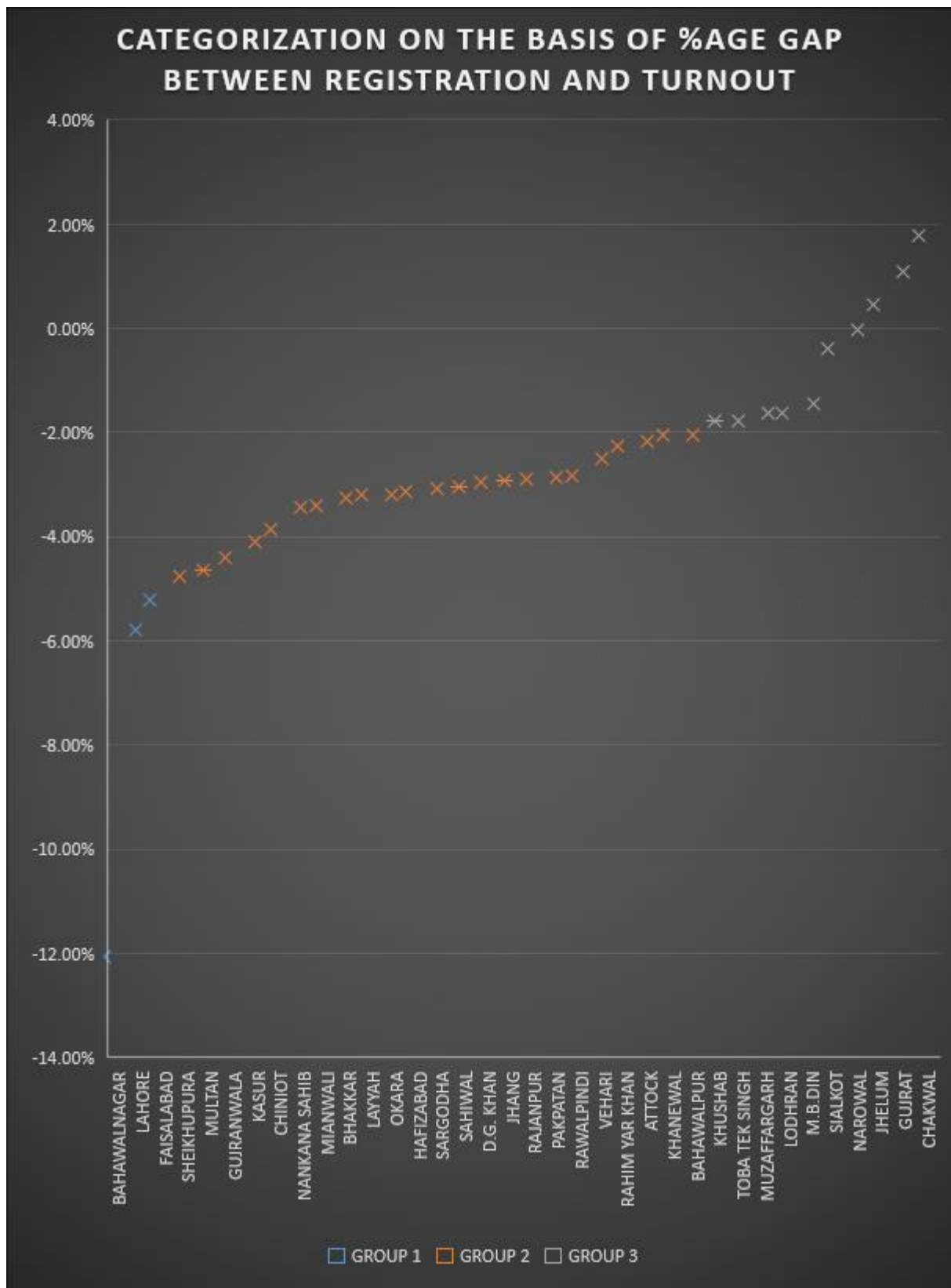Figure 6.21: Punjab graphical comparison between registration and turnout.

Figure 6.22: Punjab percentage gap between registration and turnout.

CATEGORIZATION ON THE BASIS OF %AGE GAP BETWEEN REGISTRATION AND TURNOUT

6.7 SINDH PROVINCE.

6.7.1 Registered Voters.

Table 6.23: Sindh registered voters during general Election 2018.

Sr. No	District	District Wise Registered Voters during General Elections-2018				
		Male	Female	Total	Male %	Female%
1.	JACOBABAD	260,109	225,955	486,064	53.51%	46.49%
2.	KASHMORE	257,760	196,782	454,542	56.71%	43.29%
3.	SHIKARPUR	321,473	275,504	96,977	53.85%	41.15%
4.	LARKANA	844,549	318,706	703,255	54.66%	45.44%
5.	Kamber Shahdadkot	355,061	282,985	638,046	55.66%	44.34%
6.	GHOTKI	399,348	307,193	706,541	56.52%	43.48%
7.	SUKKUR	367,056	303,105	670,161	54.84%	45.16%
8.	KHAIRPUR	590,702	484,432	1,075,134	54.96%	45.03%
9.	NAUSHERO FEROZE	418,392	338,442	756,835	55.29%	44.71%
10.	SHAHEED BENAZIRABAD	424,488	351,125	775,613	54.71%	45.29%
11.	SANGHAR	521,239	430,088	951,327	54.81%	45.19%
12.	MIRPURKHAS	282,904	313,434	696,338	54.98%	45.01%
13.	UMERKOT	248,467	213,400	461,867	53.80%	46.20%
14.	THARPARKAR	319,811	254,519	474,330	55.69%	44.30%
15.	MATIARI	182,894	160,012	342,906	53.34%	46.66%
16.	TANDO ALLAHYAR	195,947	169,235	365,182	53.66%	46.34%
17.	HYDERABAD	579,372	470,214	1,049,586	55.08%	44.92%
18.	TANDO MUHAMMAD KHAN	150,984	123,957	274,941	54.92%	45.08%
19.	BADIN	411,903	344,126	756,029	54.48%	45.51%
20.	SAJAWAL	192,272	156,592	348,864	55.11%	44.89%
21.	THATHA	242,133	198,196	440,329	54.99%	45.01%
22.	JAMSHORO	235,433	191,036	426,469	55.21%	44.79%
23.	DADU	406,443	326,908	733,351	55.42%	44.57%
24.	MALIR	439,166	312,360	751,526	58.52%	41.48%
25.	KORANGI KARACHI	743,490	575,215	1,318,705	56.78%	43.21%
26.	KARACHI EAST	782,457	653,652	1,436,109	55.25%	44.74%
27.	KARACHI SOUTH	600,653	479,999	1,080,652	55.59%	44.40%
28.	KARACHI WEST	1,000,387	659,670	1,660,057	60.32%	39.68%
29.	KARACHI CENTRAL	1,022,648	838,618	1,861,266	55.06%	44.94%

6.7.2 Voters turnout.

Table: 6.24 Sindh voters turnout during general Election 2018.

Sr. No	District	District Wise Voter turnout during General Elections-2018				
		Male	Female	Total	Male %	Female%
1.	JACOBABAD	126,944	89,782	216,726	58.57%	41.43%
2.	KASHMORE	106,144	59,189	165,333	64.20%	35.80%
3.	SHIKARPUR	167,866	130,290	298,156	56.29%	43.72%
4.	LARKANA	199,532	156,164	255,696	56.14%	43.86%
5.	Kamber Shahdadkot	142,356	108,954	251,310	56.72%	43.28%
6.	GHOTKI	231,667	153,550	385,217	60.13%	39.87%
7.	SUKKUR	311,853	134,127	345,980	61.22%	38.78%
8.	KHAIRPUR	317,667	243,689	561,356	56.58%	43.41%
9.	NAUSHERO FEROZE	235,599	181,380	416,979	56.15%	43.85%
10.	SHAHEED BENAZIRABAD	231,238	164,098	395,336	58.50%	41.50%
11.	SANGHAR	292,577	213,207	505,784	57.86%	42.14%
12.	MIRPURKHAS	212,044	150,080	362,124	58.58%	41.42%
13.	UMERKOT	155,323	130,836	286,159	54.28%	45.72%
14.	THARPARKAR	218,587	183,280	401,867	54.20%	45.79%
15.	MATIARI	105,088	80,291	185,379	56.69%	43.31%
16.	TANDO ALLAHYAR	112,558	84,810	197,368	57.03%	42.97%
17.	HYDERABAD	282,215	160,248	442,463	67.75%	36.24%
18.	TANDO MUHAMMAD KHAN	90,035	57,079	147,114	61.20%	28.80%
19.	BADIN	249,630	170,132	419,762	59.45%	40.54%
20.	SAJAWAL	106,259	53,850	160,109	66.37%	33.63%
21.	THATHA	123,301	67,865	191,166	64.50%	35.50%
22.	JAMSHORO	139,971	100,352	240,323	58.24%	41.76%
23.	DADU	208,940	158,090	367,030	56.92%	43.07%
24.	MALIR	218,110	122,420	340,530	64.21%	35.79%
25.	KORANGI KARACHI	328,347	187,702	516,049	64.38%	35.62%
26.	KARACHI EAST	346,976	230,612	573,588	60.73%	39.27%
27.	KARACHI SOUTH	265,722	159,892	425,614	42.49%	37.51%
28.	KARACHI WEST	458,783	211,413	670,196	68.51%	31.49%
29.	KARACHI CENTRAL	455,163	284,140	729,303	61.28%	38.72%

Taking into account the categorization mentioned in para 2 (introduction of this chapter), the following group wise table has been made based upon the above two tables. The table given below explains that

two districts of Sindh Province have positive correlation of women turnout with regard to their percentage registration.

6.7.3 Categorization of linkage between women registration and women turnout.

Table 6.25: Sindh categorization linkage between registration and turnout during general Election 2018.

GROUP 1			GROUP 2			GROUP 3		
Sr. No	Name of District	%age gap between women registration and turnout	Sr. No	Name of District	%age gap between women registration and turnout	Sr. No	Name of District	%age gap between women registration and turnout
1.	TANDO MUHAMMAD KHAN	-16.28%	1.	BADIN	-4.97%	1.	KHAIRPUR	-1.62%
2.	SAJAWAL	-11.26%	2.	SHAHEED BENAZIRABAD	-3.79%	2.	LARKANA	-1.58%
3.	THATHA	-9.51%	3.	GHOTKI	-3.61%	3.	DADU	-1.50%
4.	HYDERABAD	-8.68%	4.	MIRPURKHAS	-3.59%	4.	Kamber Shahdadkot	-1.06%
5.	KARACHI WEST	-8.19%	5.	TANDO ALLAHYAR	-3.37%	5.	NAUSHERO FEROZE	-0.86%
6.	KORANGI KARACHI	-7.59%	6.	MATIARI	-3.35%	6.	UMERKOT	-0.48%
7.	KASHMORE	-7.49%	7.	SANGHAR	-3.05%	7.	THARPARKAR	1.49%
8.	KARACHI SOUTH	-6.89%	8.	JAMSHORO	-3.03%	8.	SHIKARPUR	2.57%
9.	SUKKUR	-6.38%						
10.	KARACHI CENTRAL	-6.22%						
11.	MALIR	-5.69%						
12.	KARACHI EAST	-5.47%						
13.	JACOBABAD	-5.06%						

6.7.4 Analysis

i. 13 districts had a gap between women registration and turnout for more than five percent.

ii. Tando Muhammad Khan and Sajawal districts had an unusually high gap of more than ten percent in comparison with female registration and turnout.

iii. Tharparkar and Shikarpur districts showed better female turnout in comparison to women registration.

iv.   Provincial capital, Karachi requires attention for enhancement of female turnout as gap of all the districts falling in the city is more than five percent.

Findings have been illustrated in the graphs given below.

Figure 6.26: Sindh graphical comparison between registration and turnout.
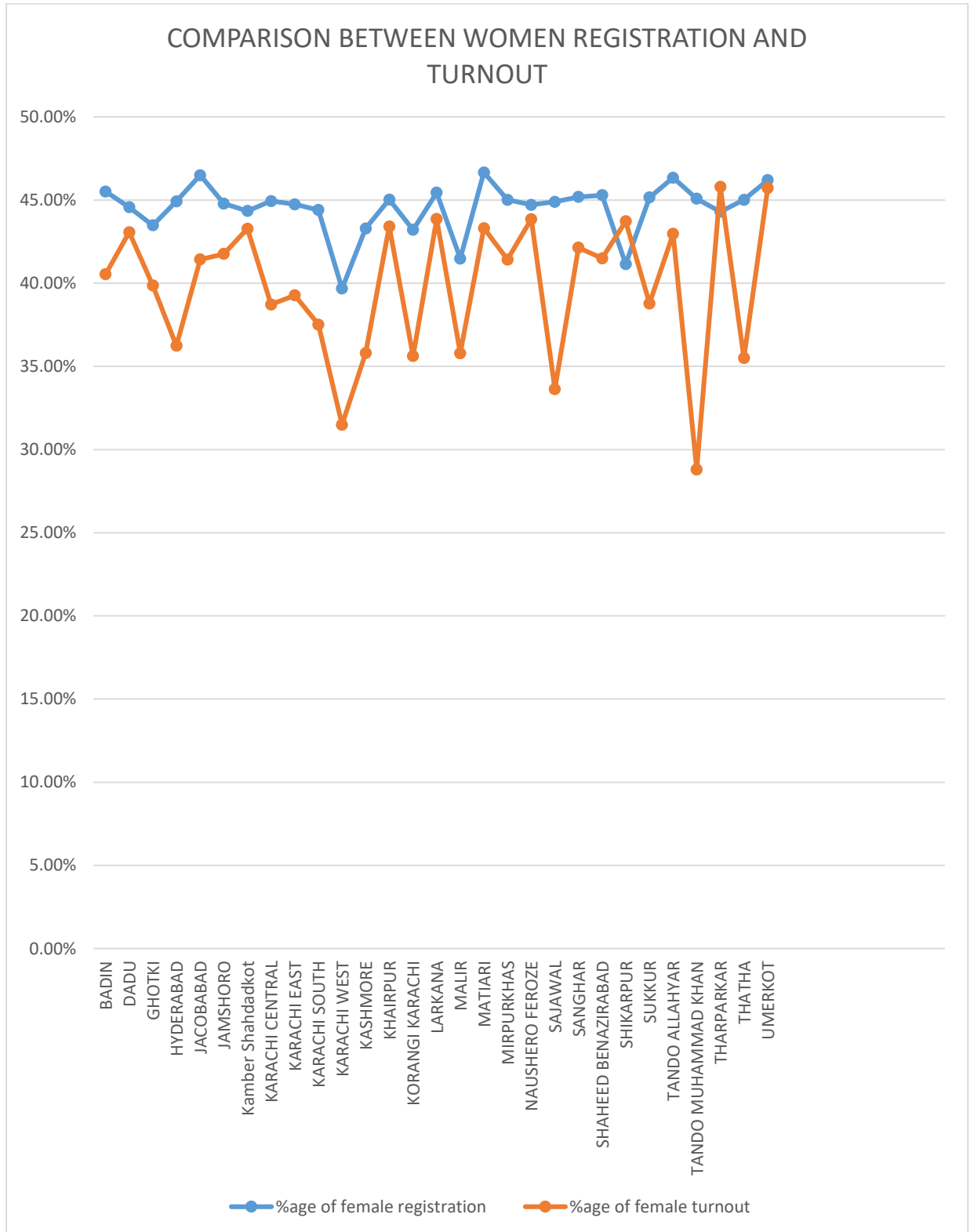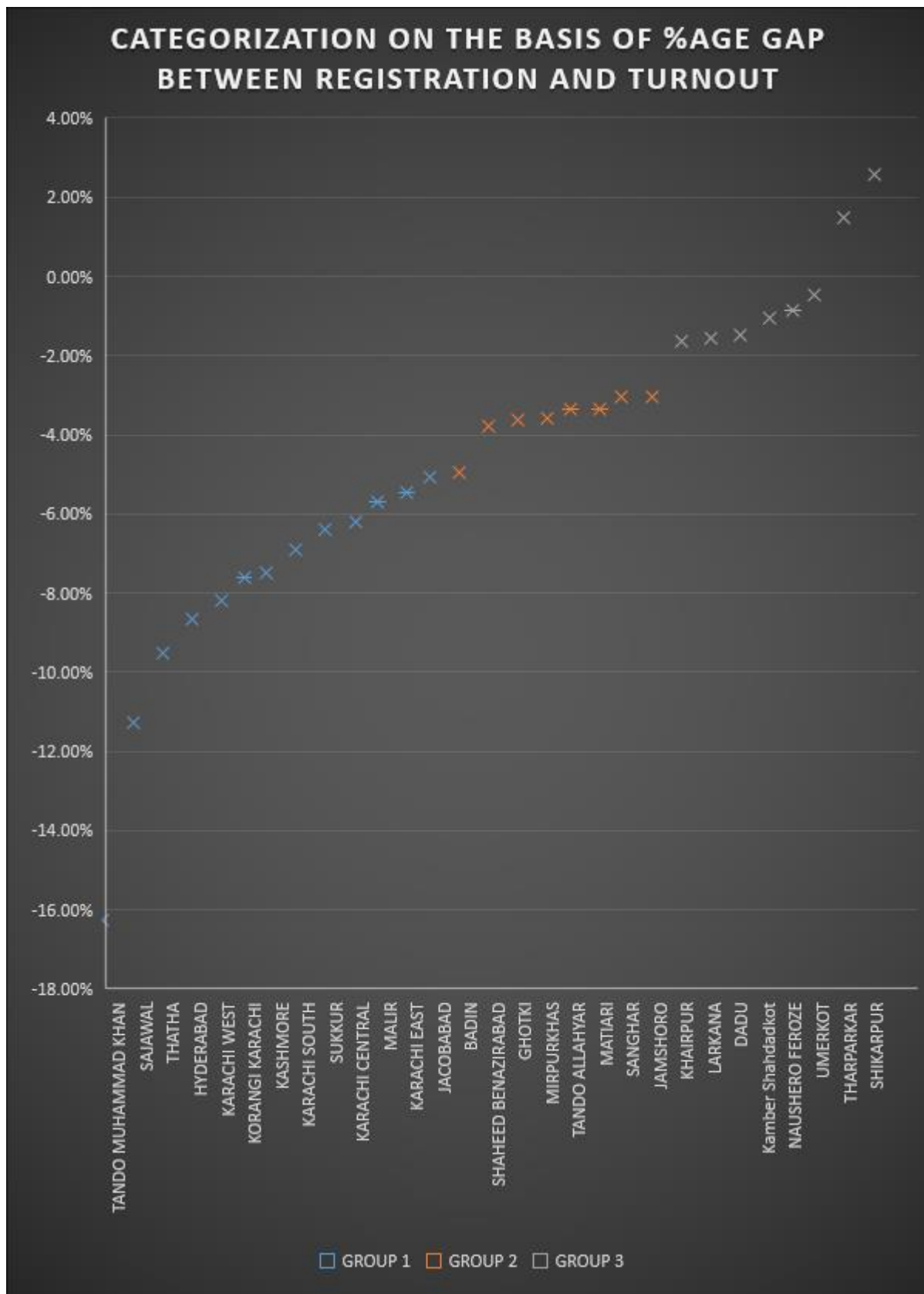

COMPARISON BETWEEN WOMEN REGISTRATION AND TURNOUT

Figure 6.27: Sindh percentage gap between registration and turnout.

CATEGORIZATION ON THE BASIS OF %AGE GAP BETWEEN REGISTRATION AND TURNOUT

GROUP 1   GROUP 2   GROUP 3

CHAPTER   VII

WOMEN CANDIDATURE AND IMPACT OF GENERAL ELECTION 2018 ON GEM INDICATOR.

7.1 Introduction.

GEM indicator deals with presence of women in parliament. However, contesting elections is a pre-requisite for becoming a member of parliament. This chapter might be helpful to know district wise number of female candidates who contested direct elections. Moreover, their position in elections would also be noted so as to prove a glimpse of favourability of atmosphere for women to contest direct elections. It is needless to mention that the data relates to general election 2018 national assembly candidature.

Part 2 of this chapter might be helpful to understand the impact of election results on GEM indicator. Hence, a comparison has been made between the elections held in 2008 and 2013 and 2018. This comparison might be helpful to know how the country has performed regarding GEM indicator in particular and the districts in general. Percentage of female contesting candidates out of total contesting candidates has been taken as baseline.

7.2 KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA.

Table 7.1: KPK district wise number of female candidates who contested direct Elections in 2018.

Sr. No	Name of District	Number of Female Candidate in Direct Election to National Assembly	In Top Two Positions	Third to Fifth Positions	Total Number of Candidates
1.	CHITRAL	1	0	0	11
2.	SAWAT	0	0	0	29
3.	UPPER DIR	0	0	0	10
4.	LOWER DIR	1	0	0	16
5.	MALAKAND PROTECTED AREA	0	0	0	13
6.	BUNER	0	0	0	7
7.	SHANGLA	0	0	0	9
8.	KOHISTAN AND LOWER KALAI PALLAS KOHISTAN	0	0	0	17
9.	BATTAGRAM	0	0	0	8
10.	MANSEHRA AND TORGHAR	3	0	0	25
12.	ABBOTTABAD	1	0	0	31
13.	HARIPUR	2	0	0	14
14.	SAWABI	0	0	0	22
15.	MARDAN	0	0	0	18
16.	CHARSADDA	1	0	0	15
17.	NOWSHERA	1	0	0	18
18.	PESHAWAR	4	0	2	42
19.	KOHAT	1	0	0	10
20.	HANGU	0	0	0	13
21.	KARAK	0	0	0	19
22.	BANNU	1	0	1	12
23.	LAKKI MARWAT	0	0	0	18
24.	TANK	0	0	0	13
25.	D.I. KHAN	0	0	0	30

The above table shows in fourteen districts not a single female candidate contested direct election.

7.3 FATA.

Table 7.2: FATA district wise number of female candidates who contested direct elections in 2018.

Sr. No	Name of Districts	Number of Female Candidate in Direct Election to National Assembly	In Top Two Positions	Third to Fifth Positions	Total Number of Candidates
1.	BAJAUR AGENCY	0	0	0	26
2.	MOHMAND AGENCY	0	0	0	18
3.	KHYBER AGENCY	0	0	0	44
4.	KURRAM AGENCY	1	0	0	63
5.	ORAKZAI AGENCY	0	0	0	31
6.	NORTH WAZIRISTAN	0	0	0	35
7.	SOUTH WAZIRISTAN	0	0	0	53
8.	F.R	0	0	0	19

The above table shows in seven districts not a single female candidate contested direct election.

7.3 ISLAMABAD.

Table 7.3: Islamabad female candidates who contested direct Elections in 2018.

Sr. No	Name of Districts	Number of Female Candidate in Direct Election to National Assembly	In Top Two Positions	Third to Fifth Positions	Total Number of Candidates
1.	ISLAMABAD	7	0	0	73

The above table shows seven women contested direct election in Islamabad.

7.4 PUNJAB.

Table 7.4: Punjab district wise number of female candidates who contested direct Elections in 2018.

Sr. No	Name of Districts	Number of Female Candidate in Direct Election to National Assembly	In Top Two Positions	Third to Fifth Positions	Total Number of Candidates
1.	ATTOCK	0	0	0	15
2.	RAWALPINDI	4	0	2	75
3.	CHAKWAL	0	0	0	21
4.	JHELUM	1	0	0	24
5.	GUJRAT	1	0	1	47
6.	SIALKOT	3	1	0	50
7.	NAROWAL	3	1	0	24
8.	GUJRANWALA	2	0	0	85
9.	M.B.DIN	1	0	0	21
10.	HAFIZABAD	4	1	0	15
11.	SARGODHA	5	1	1	51
12.	KHUSHAB	1	1	0	16
13.	MIANWALI	0	0	0	17
14.	BHAKKAR	0	0	0	19
15.	CHINIOT	1	0	0	23
16.	FAISALABAD	3	0	1	112
17.	TOBA TEK SINGH	3	0	1	43
18.	JHANG	5	1	2	33
19.	NANKANA SAHIB	1	1	0	21
20.	SHEIKHUPURA	0	0	0	51
21.	LAHORE	12	1	6	163
22.	KASUR	4	0	1	62
23.	OKARA	4	0	2	48
24.	PAKPATAN	1	0	0	35
25.	SAHIWAL	1	0	0	38
26.	KHANEWAL	0	0	0	28
27.	MULTAN	5	0	0	70
28.	LODHRAN	2	0	0	20
29.	VEHARI	5	2	2	41
30.	BAHAWALNAGAR	5	1	0	41
31.	BAHAWALPUR	7	0	2	41
32.	RAHIM YAR KHAN	3	0	1	61
33.	MUZAFFARGARH	7	0	2	72
34.	LAYYAH	2	0	0	21
35.	D.G. KHAN	4	1	1	40
36.	RAJANPUR	2	0	2	23

The above table shows in six districts not a single female candidate contested direct election in Punjab.

7.5 SINDH.

Table 7.5: Sindh district wise number of female candidates who contested direct Elections in 2018.

Sr. No	Name of Districts	Number of Female Candidate in Direct Election to National Assembly	In Top Two Positions	Third to Fifth Positions	Total Number of Candidates
1.	JACOBABAD	0	0	0	11
2.	KASHMORE	0	0	0	19
3.	SHIKARPUR	0	0	0	21
4.	LARKANA	2	0	2	26
5.	Kamber Shahdadkot	1	0	1	24
6.	GHOTKI	0	0	0	19
7.	SUKKUR	3	0	0	32
8.	KHAIRPUR	2	1	0	30
9.	NAUSHERO FEROZE	3	0	1	36
10.	SHAHEED BENAZIRABAD	2	0	0	34
11.	SANGHAR	2	1	1	36
12.	MIRPURKHAS	0	0	0	25
13.	UMERKOT	2	0	1	7
14.	THARPARKAR	1	0	0	20
15.	MATIARI	2	0	1	14
16.	TANDO ALLAHYAR	0	0	0	16
17.	HYDERABAD	1	0	1	33
18.	TANDO MUHAMMAD KHAN	1	0	1	8
19.	BADIN	1	1	0	14
20.	SAJAWAL	1	0	0	8
21.	THATHA	2	1	1	7
22.	JAMSHORO	0	0	0	10
23.	DADU	3	0	2	16
24.	MALIR	2	0	2	50
25.	KORANGI KARACHI	1	0	0	50
26.	KARACHI EAST	6	0	2	71
27.	KARACHI SOUTH	5	0	0	39
28.	KARACHI WEST	4	0	0	69
29.	KARACHI CENTRAL	3	0	0	67

The above table shows in seven districts not a single female candidate contested direct election in Sindh.

7.6 BALOCHISTAN.

Table 7.6: Balochistan district wise number of female candidates who contested direct Elections in 2018.

| Sr. No	Name of Districts	Number of Female Candidate in Direct Election to National Assembly	In Top Two Positions	Third to Fifth Positions	Total Number of Candidates
1.	PISHIN	2	0	0	54
2.	KILLA ABDULLAH	0	0	0	52
3.	QUETTA	11	0	0	234
4.	KHUZDAR	1	0	0	35
5.	KECH	3	0	0	52
6.	MUSAKHEL AND SHERANI	0	0	0	15
7.	ZHOB	1	0	0	23
8.	KILLA SAIFULLAH	0	0	0	12
9.	ZIARAT AND HARNAI	0	0	0	18
10.	SIBI AND LEHRI	3	0	1	31
11.	BARKHAN	2	0	0	13
12.	KOHLU	0	0	0	31
13.	DERA BUGTI	0	0	0	14
14.	NUSHKI	0	0	0	23
15.	CHAGAI	0	0	0	13
16.	KALAT AND SHAHEED SIKANDARABAD	0	0	0	35
17.	SOHBATPUR	0	0	0	13
18.	LORALAI	0	0	0	54
19.	NASIRABAD	3	0	1	47
20.	JAFFARABAD	3	1	1	32
21.	AWARAN AND PANJGUR	0	0	0	33
22.	KHARAN	0	0	0	23
23.	LASBELA	1	0	1	26
24.	WASHUK	0	0	0	15
25.	JHAL MAGSI AND KACHHI AND MASTUNG	0	0	0	35
26.	GWADAR	1	0	0	14

The above table shows in fifteen districts not a single female candidate contested direct election in Balochistan.

7.7 Graphical Analysis.

The following illustration shows province wise percentage of female contesting candidates in each district on the basis of National Assembly Constituencies (except Balochistan).
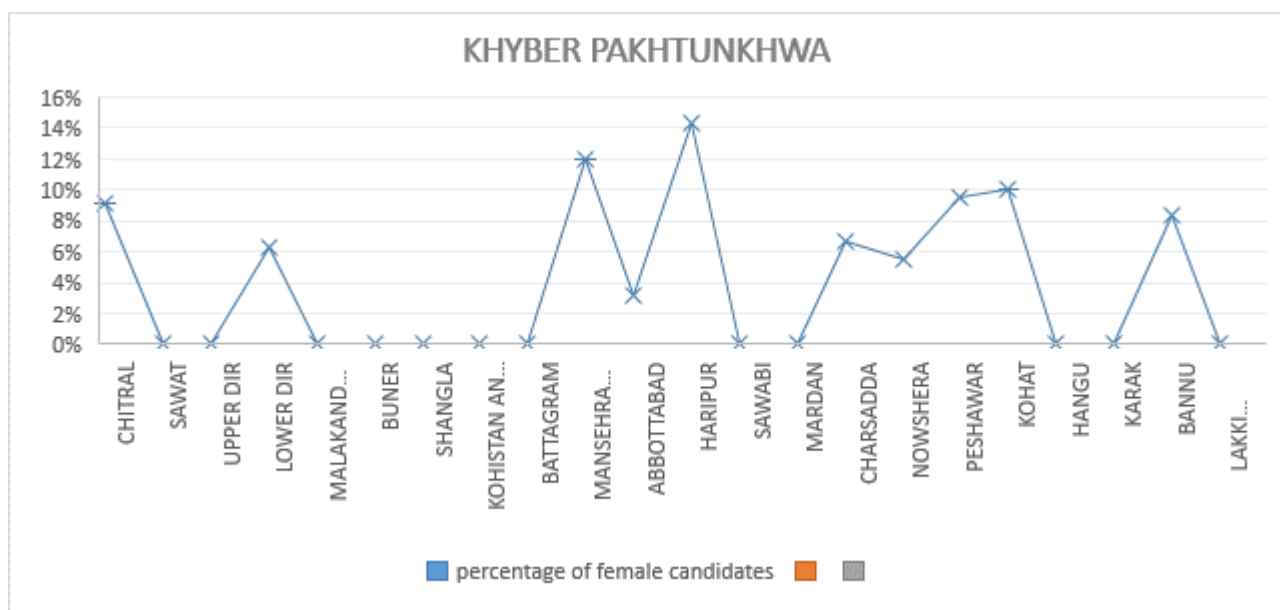
Balochistan.

Figure 7.7: Balochistan percentage of female contesting candidates in each district.
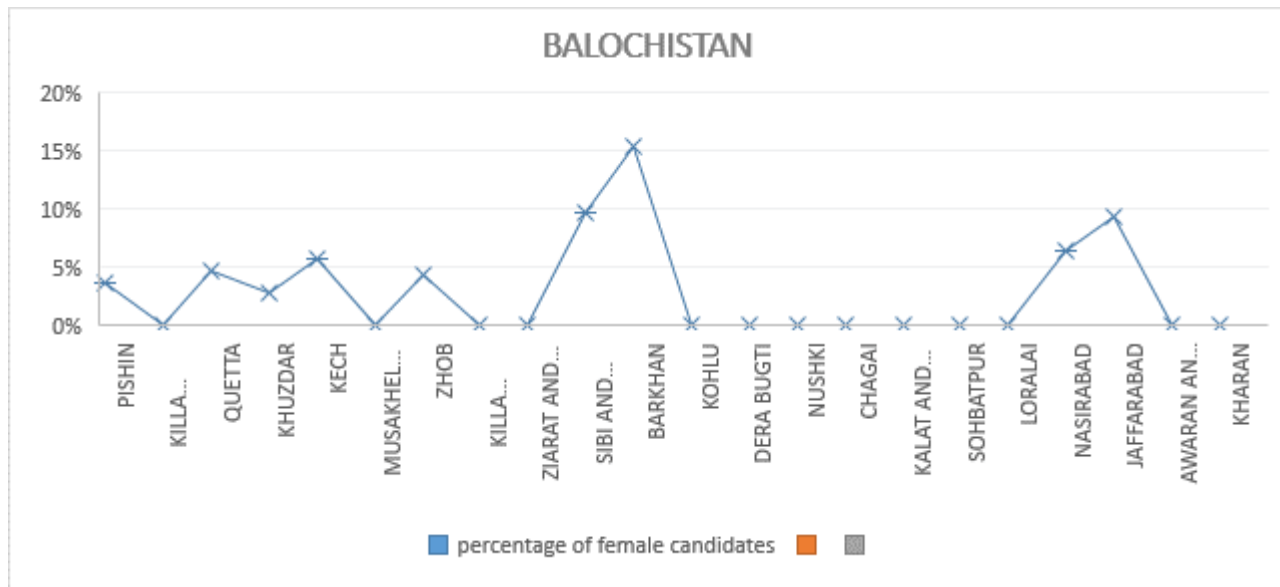
The above graph shows that the most women contested direct elections from Barkhan district.
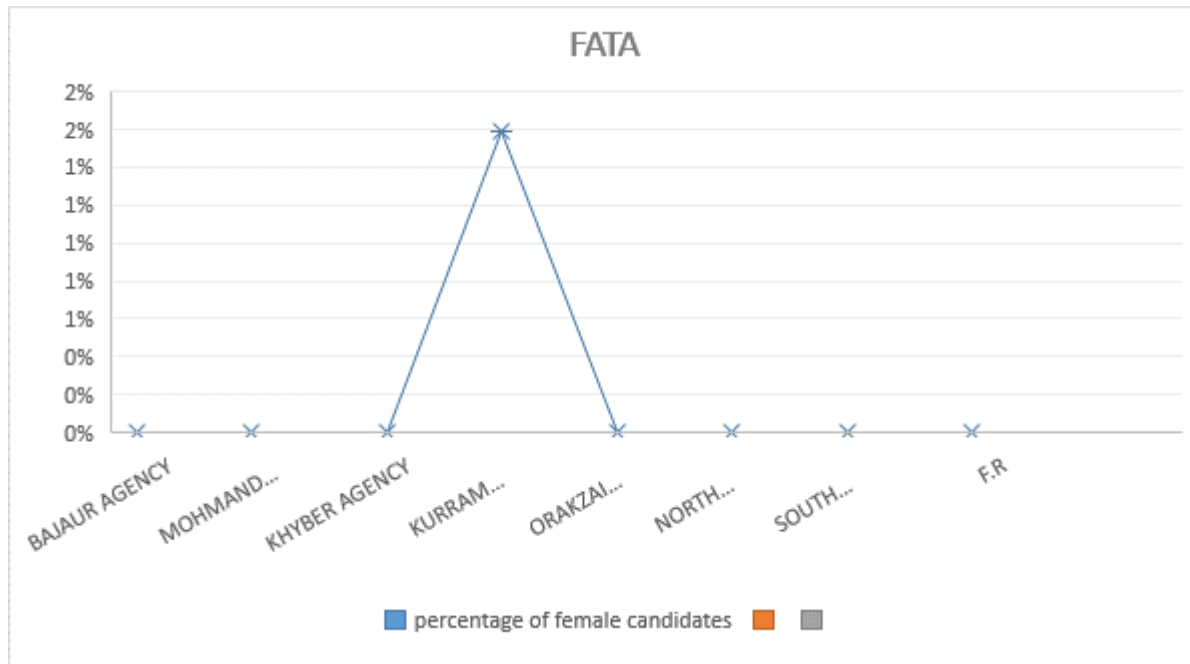
KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA.

Figure 7.8: KPK percentage of female contesting candidates in each district.

The above graph shows that the most women contested direct elections from Haripur district.
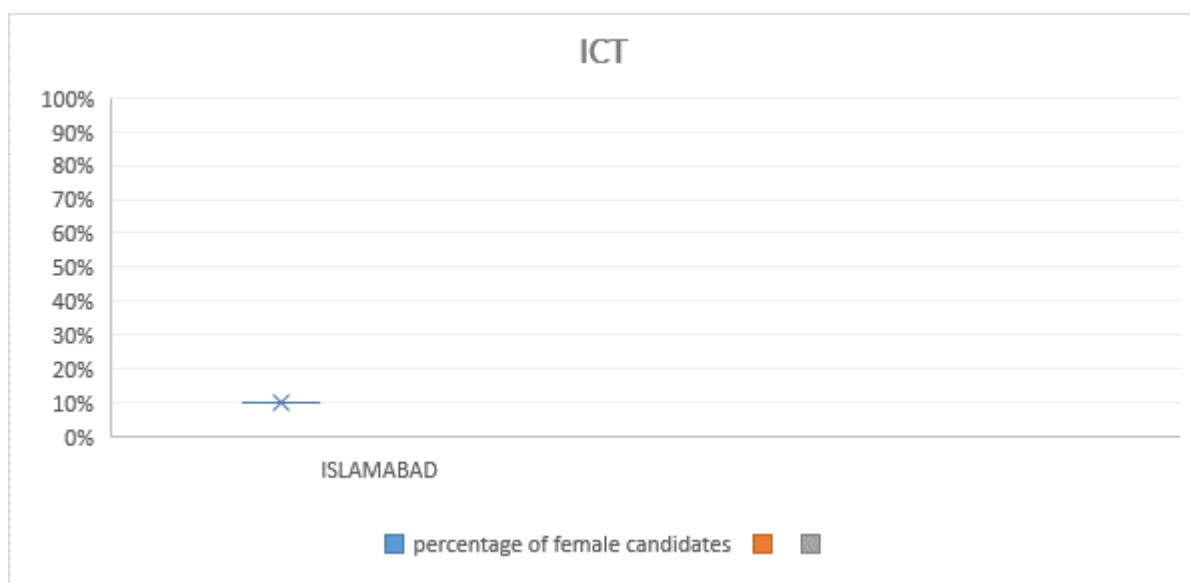
FATA.

Figure 7.9: FATA percentage of female contesting candidates in each district.

The above graph shows that the most women contested direct elections from Kurram Agency.
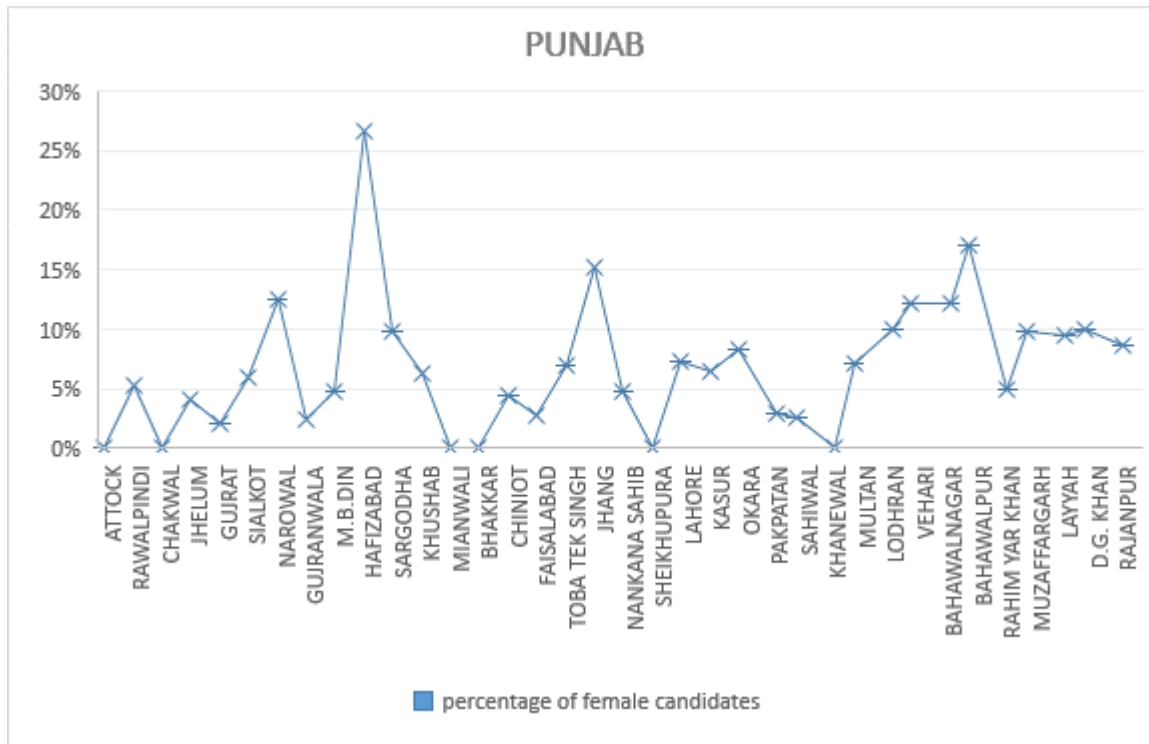
ISLAMABAD.

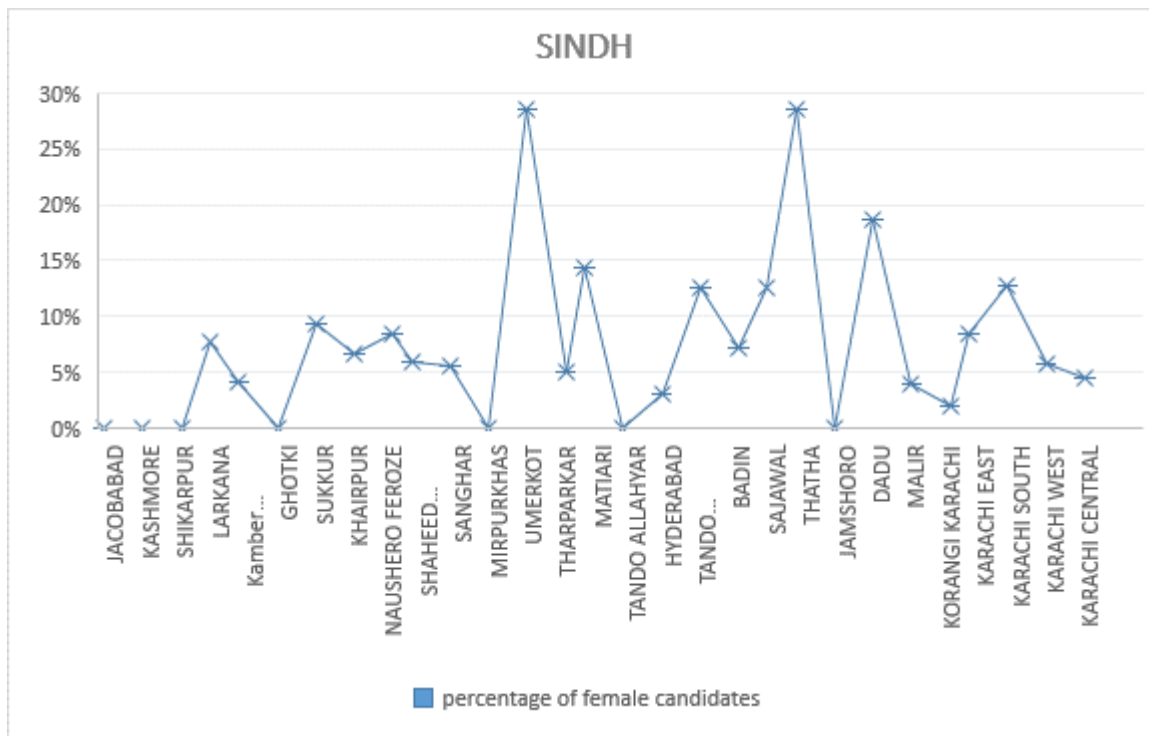Figure 7.10: Islamabad percentage of female contesting candidates.

PUNJAB.

Figure 7.11: Punjab percentage of female contesting candidates in each district.

The above graph shows that the most women contested direct elections from Hafizabad District.

SINDH.

Figure 7.12: Sindh percentage of female contesting candidates in each district.

The above graph shows that the most women contested direct elections from Umerkot and Thatta Districts.

7.8 Province wise female contesting candidates in direct elections to National assembly: A comparison of 2008, 2013 and 2018 general elections.

Table 7.13: Province wise comparison of 2008, 2013 and 2018 in direct general Elections.

PROVINCE	2008	2013	2018
PUNJAB	54	82	102
SINDH	14	30	50
KPK	3	18	16
BALOCHISTAN	3	3	31
FEDERAL CAPITAL	2	2	7
FATA	0	0	1

7.8.1 Graphical Analysis.

Figure 7.14: Province wise comparison of 2008, 2013 and 2018 in direct general Elections.
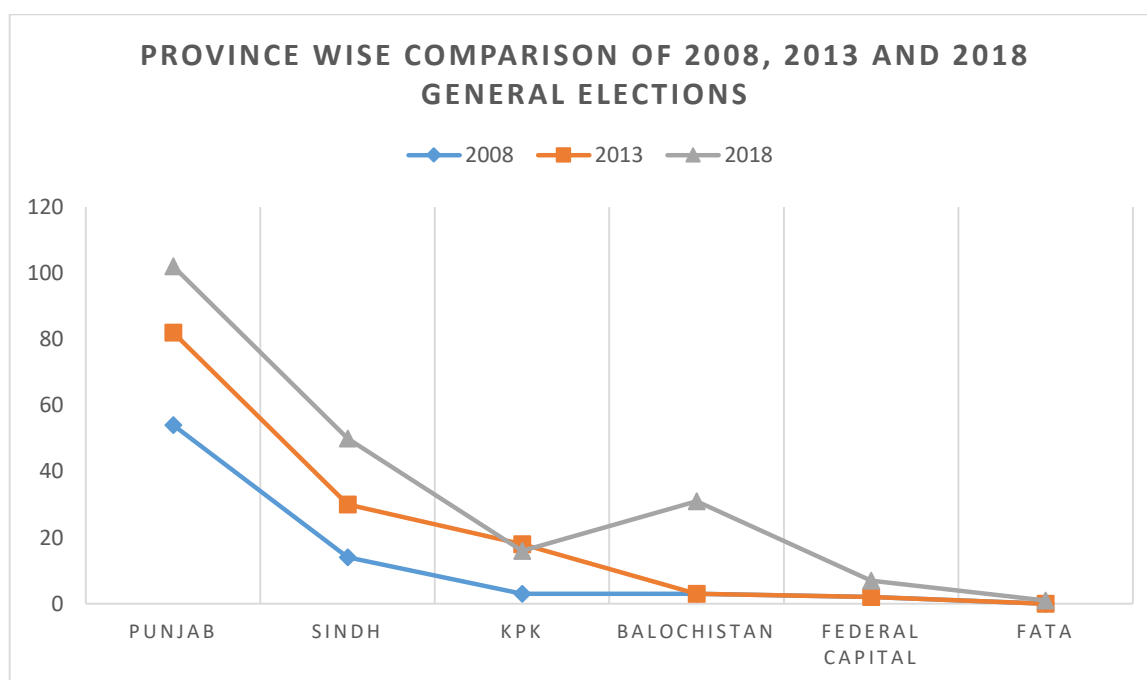
The above table and graph show that number of female candidates contested direct elections to National Assembly have been increased in last ten years all but KPK Province where there have been

lesser number of female candidates of 2018 as compared to 2013. The table helpful to understand that numerical strength relating to returned candidates does not provide sufficient information.
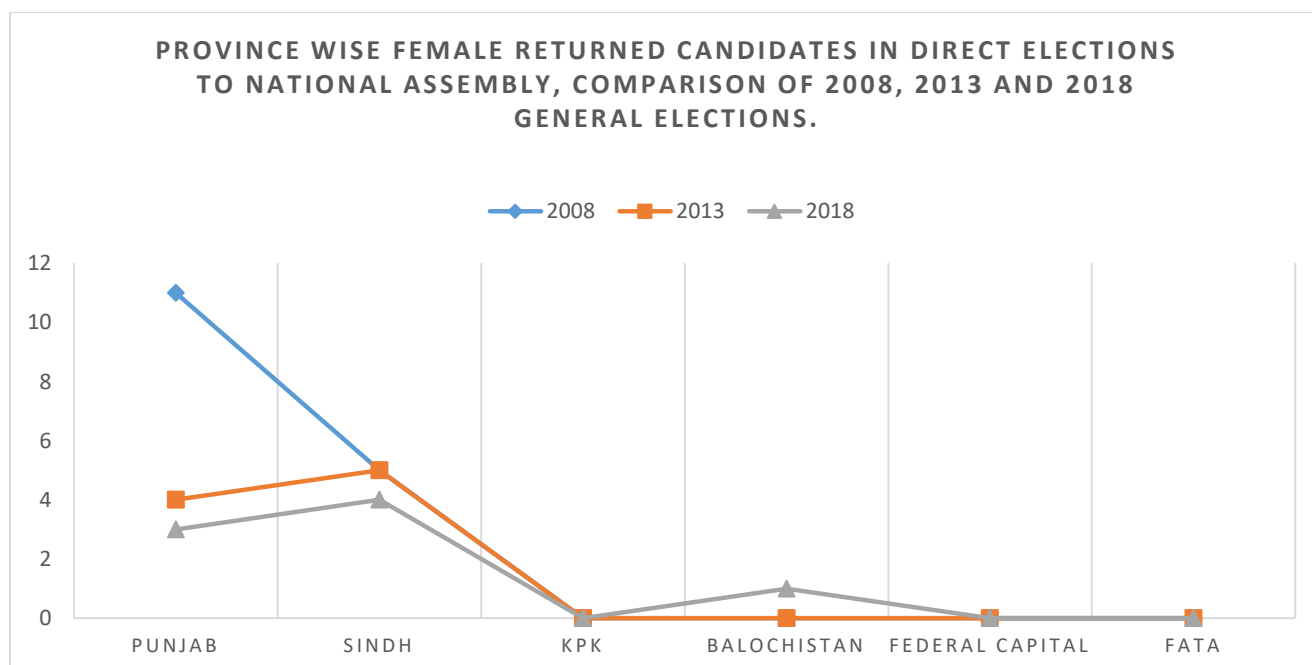
7.9 Province wise female returned candidates in direct elections to National assembly: A comparison of 2008, 2013 and 2018 general Elections.

Table 7.15: Province wise female returned candidates in direct elections to National assembly, comparison of 2008, 2013 and 2018 general Elections.

PROVINCE	2008	2013	2018
PUNJAB	11	4	3
SINDH	5	5	4
KPK	0	0	0
BALOCHISTAN	0	0	1
FEDERAL CAPITAL	0	0	0
FATA	0	0	0

7.9.1 Graphical Analysis.

Figure 7.16: Province wise female returned candidates in direct elections to National assembly: A comparison of 2008, 2013 and 2018 general Elections.

Notwithstanding the fact that female participation in direct elections has increased in ten years but their number in winning elections is at downward trend which shows that situation is not satisfactory at all. Hence, GEM indicator is showing negative trend.
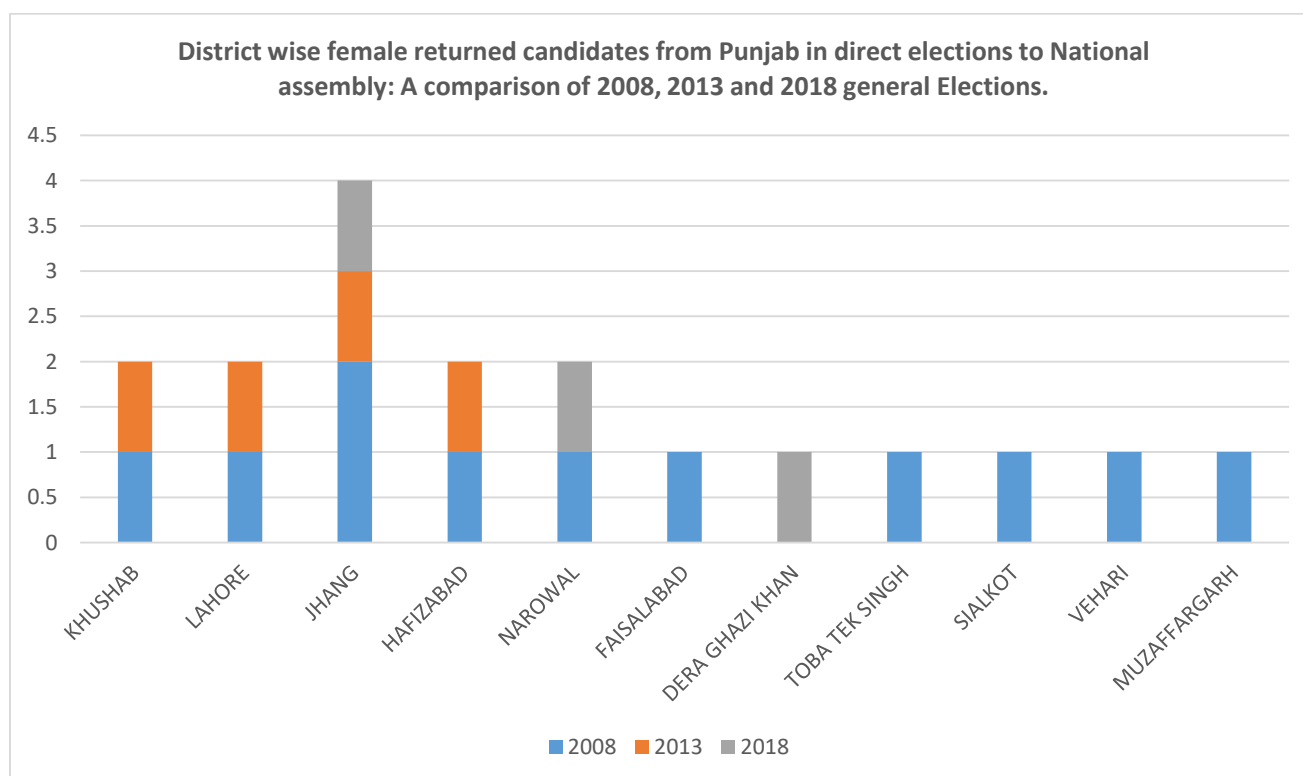
7.10 District wise female returned candidates from Punjab in direct elections to National assembly: A comparison of 2008, 2013 and 2018 general Elections.

Table: 7.17 District wise female returned candidates from Punjab in direct elections to National assembly: A comparison of 2008, 2013 and 2018 general Elections.

	PUNJAB	2008	2013	2018	TOTAL
1.	KHUSHAB	1	1	0	2
2.	LAHORE	1	1	0	2
3.	JHANG	2	1	1	4
4.	HAFIZABAD	1	1	0	2
5.	NAROWAL	1	0	1	2
6.	FAISALABAD	1	0	0	1
7.	DERA GHAZI KHAN	0	0	1	1
8.	TOBA TEK SINGH	1	0	0	1
9.	SIALKOT	1	0	0	1
10.	VEHARI	1	0	0	1
11.	MUZAFFARGARH	1	0	0	1

7.10.1 Graphical Analysis.

Figure 7.18: Graphical analysis of District wise female returned candidates from Punjab in direct elections to National assembly: A comparison of 2008, 2013 and 2018 general Elections.

The above table and graph show that women could never won direct elections from twenty five districts

in last three general elections to the National Assembly and Jhang is the only district having a ratio of more than one seat per election.
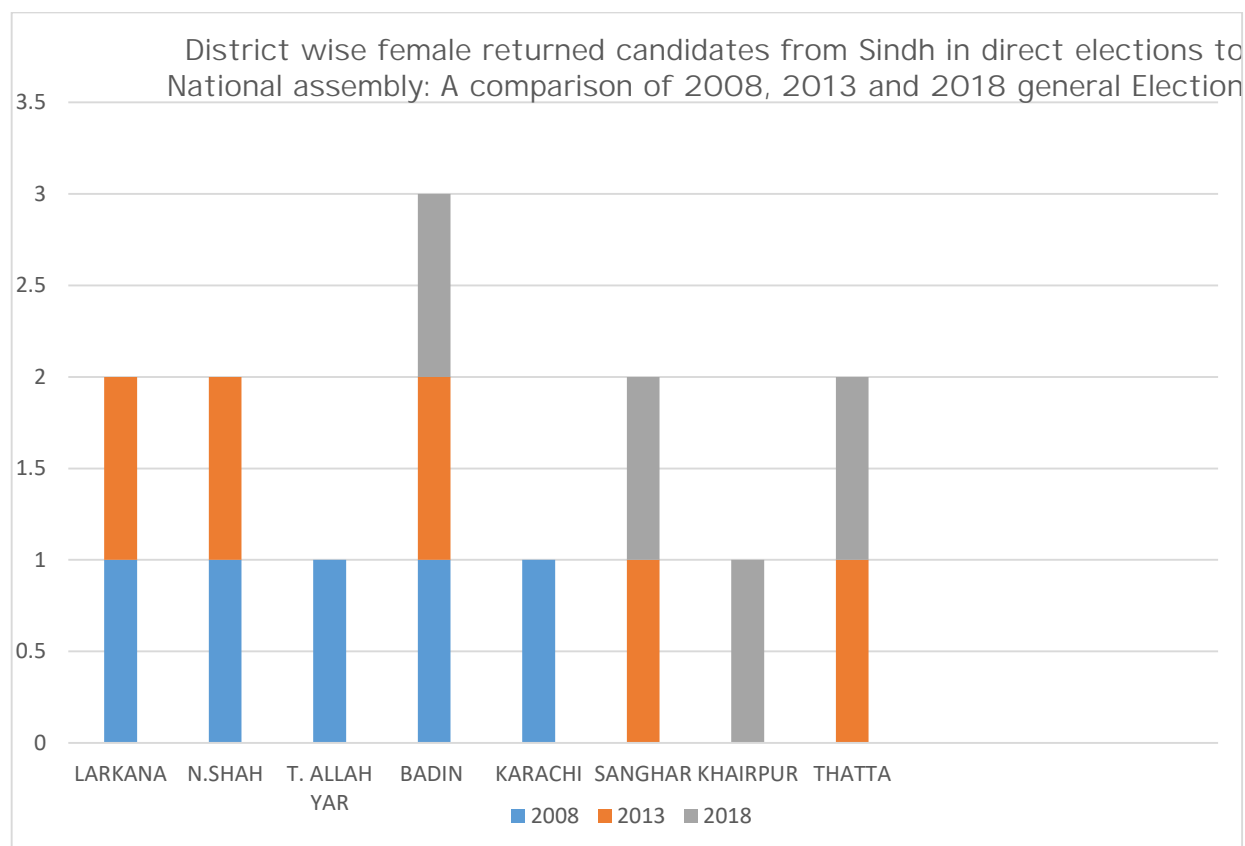
7.11 District wise female returned candidates from Sindh in direct elections to National assembly: A comparison of 2008, 2013 and 2018 general Elections.

Table 7.19: District wise female returned candidates from Sindh in direct elections to National assembly: A comparison of 2008, 2013 and 2018 general Elections.

	SINDH	2008	2013	2018
1.	LARKANA	1	1	0
2.	NAWABSHAH	1	1	0
3.	TANDO ALLAH YAR	1	0	0
4.	BADIN	1	1	1
5.	KARACHI	1	0	0
6.	SANGHAR	0	1	1
7.	KHAIRPUR	0	0	1
8.	THATHA	0	1	1

7.11.1 Graphical Analysis.

Figure 7.20: District wise female returned candidates from Sindh in direct elections to National assembly: A comparison of 2008, 2013 and 2018 general Elections.

The above table and graph show that Badin is the only district in Sindh where a women candidate won the direct election for last ten years and there are only eight districts where women ever won direct election in last ten years.

7.12 District wise female returned candidates from Balochistan in direct elections to National assembly: A comparison of 2008, 2013 and 2018 general Elections.

Table 7.21: District wise female returned candidates from Balochistan in direct elections to National assembly: A comparison of 2008, 2013 and 2018 general Elections.

| Sr. No	BALOCHISTAN	2008	2013	2018	TOTAL
1.	KECH	0	0	1	1

7.13 Women Returned candidates: Province wise percentage (Districts base).

Table 7.22: Women Returned candidates: Province wise percentage (Districts base).

Sr. No	PROVINCE	PERCENTAGE
1.	PUNJAB	31%
2.	SINDH	28%
3.	BALOCHISTAN	4%
4.	KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA	0%
5.	FATA	0%
6.	ICT	0%

7.13.1 Graphical Analysis.

Figure 7.23: Graphically Women Returned candidates: Province wise percentage (Districts Base).
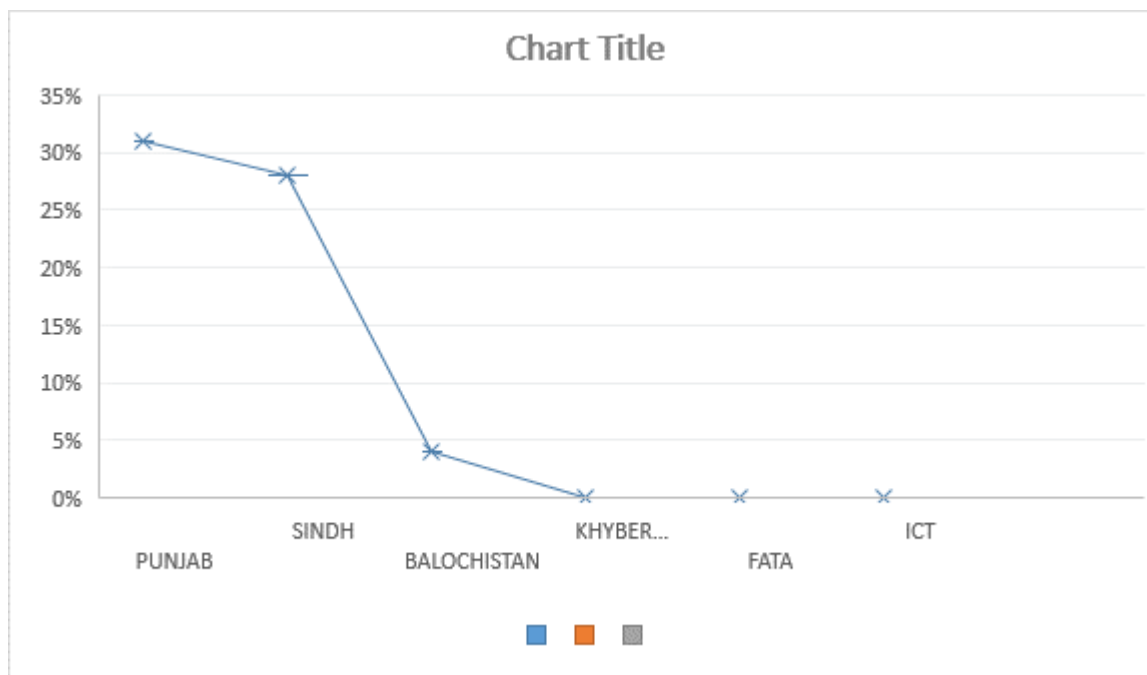
The above table graph show that Sindh and Punjab are provinces where women have at least won direct elections in more than twenty five districts in last ten years.

PART 2

Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) indicator in political perspective (relating to National assembly) and General Elections 2018.

In this part, women presence in National Assembly have been studied in order to assess if elections 2018 have actually improved GEM indicator relating to political perspective or otherwise. Moreover, districts that have contributed to substantially affect GEM indicator (through direct elections) have been noted and assessed regarding women indicators in registration, turnout and candidature.

Women candidature in direct elections have also been studied to see if *The Elections Act-2017* has provided substantial to enhance GEM indicator in future or otherwise.

7.14 National Assembly data relating to 2018 Elections.

Table 7.24: National assembly data relating to Elections 2018.

| Sr. No	Category	Number of Women Returned Candidates
1.	Direct Seats	08
2.	Seats Reserved for Women	60
3.	Seats Reserved for Non-Muslims	01
4.	Grand Total	69
Percentage of women in National Assembly		20.17%

7.15 National Assembly data relating to 2013 Elections.

Table 7.25: National assembly data relating to Elections 2013.

Sr. No	Category	Number of Women Returned Candidates
1.	Direct Seats	09
2.	Seats Reserved for Women	60
3.	Seats Reserved for Non-Muslims	01
4.	Grand Total	70
Percentage of women in National Assembly		20.46%

7.16 National Assembly data relating to 2008 Elections.

Table 7.26: National assembly data relating to Elections 2008.

Sr. No	Category	Number of Women Returned Candidates
1.	Direct Seats	16
2.	Seats Reserved for Women	60
3.	Seats Reserved for Non-Muslims	00
4.	Grand Total	76
Percentage of women in National Assembly		22.22%

7.17 Impact of National Assembly Results 2008, 2013 and 2018 on GEM indicator.

Figure 7.27: Impact of National Assembly results of 2008, 2013 and 2018 on GEM indicator.
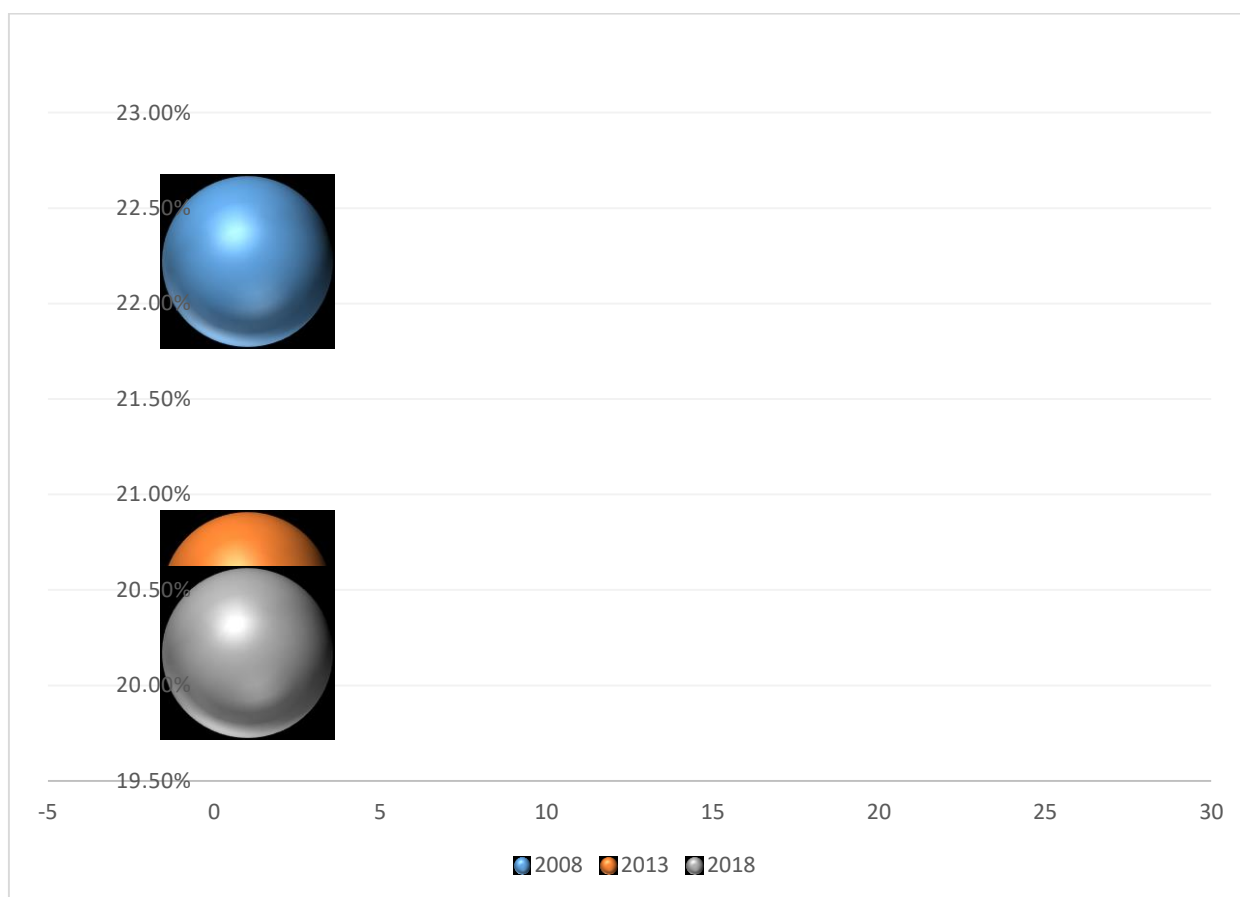
The above graph shows the graphic impact of three table given above and it may be noted that there is a consistent negative impact of last three National Assembly results on GEM indicator. It showed that according to this indicator political empowerment of women is gradually decreasing for last ten years.

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Women candidature has potential impact on GEM indicator as more candidature provides more chances to enhance GEM indicator. Let us examine if new legislation has resulted in potential enhancement of GEM indicator or otherwise.

7.18 Female contesting candidates in direct elections to National Assembly: A comparison of 2008, 2013 and 2018 Elections.

Table 7.28: Female contesting candidates in direct elections to National Assembly: A comparison of 2008, 2013 and 2018 Elections.

Number of women who contested direct elections	2008	2013	2018
	76	135	207

7.18.1 Graphical Analysis.

Figure 7.29: Graphically female contesting candidates in direct elections to National Assembly: A comparison of 2008, 2013 and 2018 Elections.
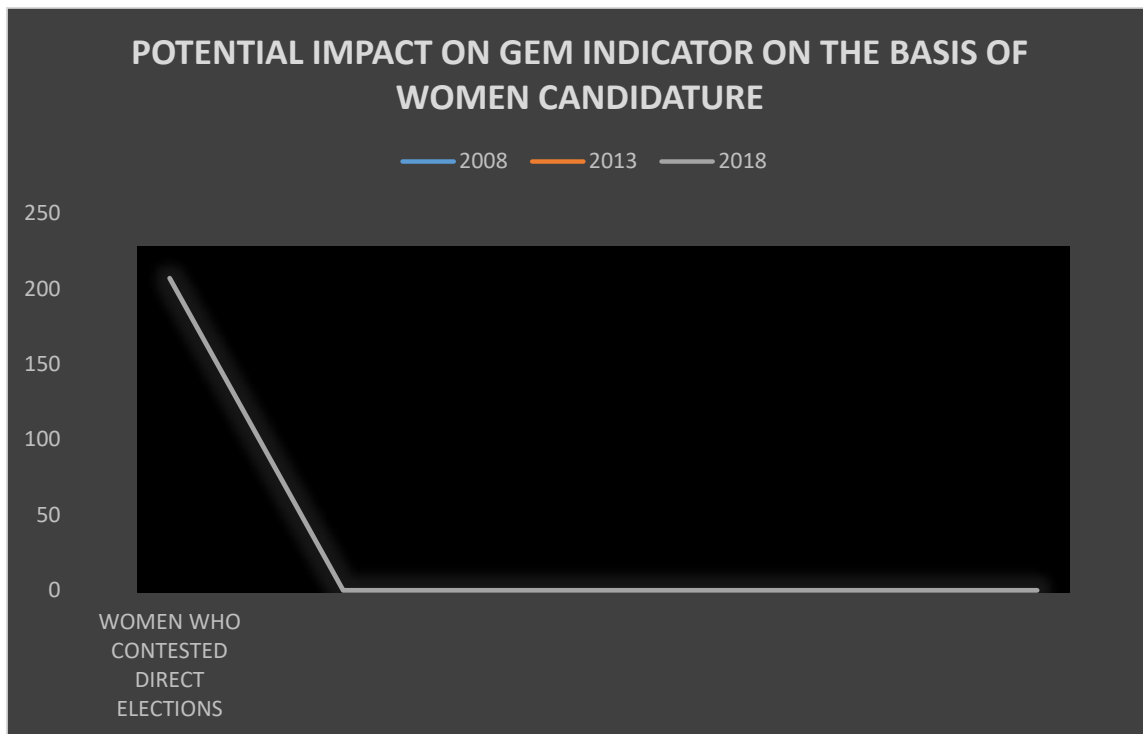
It has been arrived at political empowerment of women decreasing gradually. However, the above data shows that potentially political participation of women in election has increased in last ten years.

There are eight districts in Pakistan that have significantly contributed to enhance GEM indicator in political perspective by electing a woman in direct elections and that are:

Punjab

i)   Narowal

ii)   Jhang

iii)   Dera Ghazi Khan

7.19 Districts from Punjab: National Assembly-2018.

Table 7.30: Punjab significantly contributed to enhance GEM indicator in political perspective by electing a woman in direct Elections.

Sr. No	Name of District	No. of women directly elected to National Assembly	%age of women in direct candidature to NA	%age of gap between male & female Registration	%age of gap between female Registration & turnout
1.	Narowal	1	13%	-14.08%	-0.02%
2.	Jhang	1	15%	-13.64%	-2.91%
3.	Dera Ghazi Khan	1	10%	-12.86%	-2.96%

Sindh

  i)   Khairpur

  ii) Sanghar

  iii) Badin

  iv) Thatta.

7.20 Districts from Sindh: National Assembly-2018.

Table 7.31: Sindh significantly contributed to enhance GEM indicator in political perspective by electing a woman in direct Elections.

Sr. No	Name of District	No. of women directly elected to National Assembly	%age of women in direct candidature to NA	%age of gap between male & female Registration	%age of gap between female Registration & turnout
1.	Khairpur	1	7%	-17.16%	-9.88%
2.	Sanghar	1	6%	-14.15%	-9.58%
3.	Badin	1	7%	-13.62%	-8.96%
4.	Thatta	1	29%	-9.51%	-9.98%

Balochistan

  i)   Kech

7.21 Districts from Balochistan: National Assembly-2018.

Table 7.32: Balochistan significantly contributed to enhance GEM indicator in political perspective by electing a woman in direct Elections.

Sr. No	Name of District	No. of women directly elected to National Assembly	%age of women in direct candidature to NA	%age of gap between male & female Registration	%age of gap between female Registration & turnout
1.	Kech	1	6%	-13.18%	-4.04%

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Conclusion.

This study reveals that electoral legal dispensation currently in vogue in Pakistan is gender sensitive. Linkage of voters list with civil registry, NADRA, is a significant step to ensure registration of all such Pakistani nationals who possess national identity card. Moreover, Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) is bound to take special measures for enhancing female registration in all such districts/constituencies where difference of male and female registration is 10% or more.

The elections act 2017 makes it mandatory that there should at least be 10% or more female voting in an election and gender segregated data of polling wise results has been made compulsory for the purpose. This obligation was not previously there in the elections act and can provide impetus for political empowerment of women in leaps and bound. Moreover, the law has made it obligatory upon political parties to allocate at least 5% of direct seats to women candidate. Last but not the least there are seats reserved for women in each assembly so as to ensure their inclusion in decision making institutions.

Notwithstanding the fact that theoretical framework (legislation) for enhancement of political empowerment of women has been strengthened substantially in the recent past. However, its practical outcome in numerical is yet discouraging. It is noteworthy that GEM indicator is showing a gradual downward trend which shows that women participation in highest decision making body (Parliament) is decreasing. This aspect would require further in depth analysis for future researchers relating to social sciences.

Let us analyse province wise findings:

8.2 BALOCHISTAN.

GEM indicator for Balochistan Province has shown improvement, one, however the figure is far from encouraging. At the time of promulgation of election act 2017 there was 4 districts of Balochistan province, Gwadar, Ziarat, Washak and Sohbat Pur, where difference between male and female registration was less than 10%. Besides, there were 5 districts namely, Kohlu, dera Bhugti, Pachi and Awaran, where difference between male and female was 20% or more. After one year of the

promulgation of the act Ziarat district was also slipped from the category of districts where registration ratio was less than 10%. However, Awaran district marginally improved its status.

Proceeding para shows that despite of stronger registration legislation, political participation of women as voters has practically deteriorated from Balochistan Province. As far as comparison between registration and voting percentage concern, women in Kech, Washak, Gwadar and Noshki districts voted more in percentage as compared to their proportion in the voter lists. However, Musa Khel, Sherani, Kohlu, Zhob and Qila Saifullah districts require special attention in this regard. Record of women as contesting candidates from province of Balochistan cannot be declare as encouraging as just 31 candidates contested election in general election 2018. Notwithstanding the fact there has been significant increase in their numbers in comparison with previous elections.

It may be said that more efforts are required from ECP, National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA) and development sector to enhance female registration in Balochistan. Moreover, rigorous campaign is require to be run in Zhob division for encouraging women to cast their votes.

8.3 KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA.

Data from KPK shows the most dismal position relating to political empowerment of women. Although, the province showed improvement in female registration. However, their number in casting votes and contesting direct elections are extremely disappointing. It is also noteworthy that KPK is the only province that has witnessed a decrease in women contesting candidates. Last but not the least, statistics about Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province reveal that a lot much effort is required in Malakand region, in particular, and other regions, in general, for encouraging women to cast their votes. The province requires special initiative keeping in view indigenous requirements.

8.4 FEDERALLY ADMINISTERED TRIBAL AREAS (FATA).

All regions of FATA required substantial efforts for enhancing female registration in 2017 and the data shows that the position is more disappointing after one year of promulgation of election act 2017. Same is the case with female voting pattern where, except from Kurram Agency, a gap between female registration and female turn out is substantially high. It is needless to mention that FATA still has to travel a long journey in electing women in direct elections.

8.5 PUNJAB AND FEDERAL AREA.

Data shows that performance of Punjab Province regarding GEM indicator is more dismal than other provinces as the province is witnessing gradual sharp decrease over years. Moreover, legislation relating to female registration has not significantly improved the figures of the province, except form the Rawalpindi and Sargodha divisions. It is also noteworthy that number of female voters are lessor in big cities than rural areas. Notwithstanding the fact number of female contesting candidates has increased. However, their probability to win more seats is ambiguous.

In 2017 there was 8 districts of Punjab where gap between male and female registration was less than 10% and in 2018 the province witnessed an increase of the 1 district. Rawalpindi and Sargodha division have encouraging statistics in this regard. As far as female voting pattern in comparison with their registration is concerned 10 districts have significant progress whereas 3 districts require more efforts for enhancing female turnout. It is noteworthy that female voting percentage in big cities of Punjab is relatively lower to rural areas. The most female candidates contested direct elections from the Punjab province and they were more than a 100. However, it is pertinent to mention that number of female returned candidates against direct seats is gradually decreasing in the province in 2008.

8.6 SINDH.

Sindh Province has also witnessed a decrease in GEM indicator. However, their overall position in last ten years remain somewhat constant. Though, the number of returned candidates are not encouraging however, the number of female contesting candidates have increased reasonably.

In 2017 Sindh had the best performance with regard to female registration where about 63% districts had a female registration gap of less than 10% to men and Karachi west was the only district where this gap was more than 10%. Though the province stood first in 2018 too but the percentage slipped from 63% to 56%.

8.6.1 In a Nutshell

It may be said that an analysis of the above data shows that hectic efforts are required by concerned stakeholders to improve female participation in political decision making. Moreover, province wise, and sometimes region wise, exclusive policies are required to be designed keeping in view the specific

requirement. It is also appropriate to mention that policies aiming at urban women should be different from policies aiming at rural women.

8.7 Poverty Intensity in those areas where special improvement required in women registration and turnout.
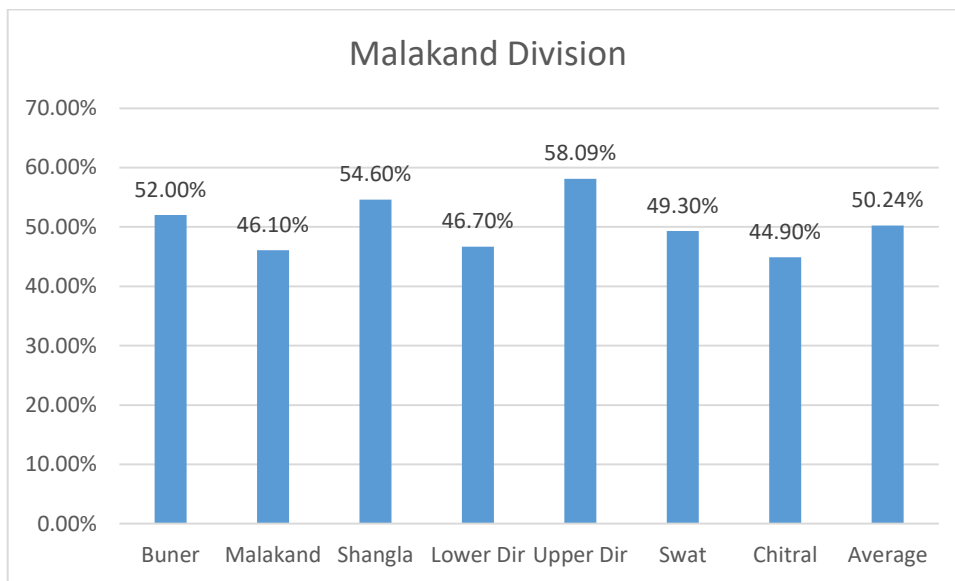
Balochistan

Figure: 8.1 Poverty intensity in Zhob division
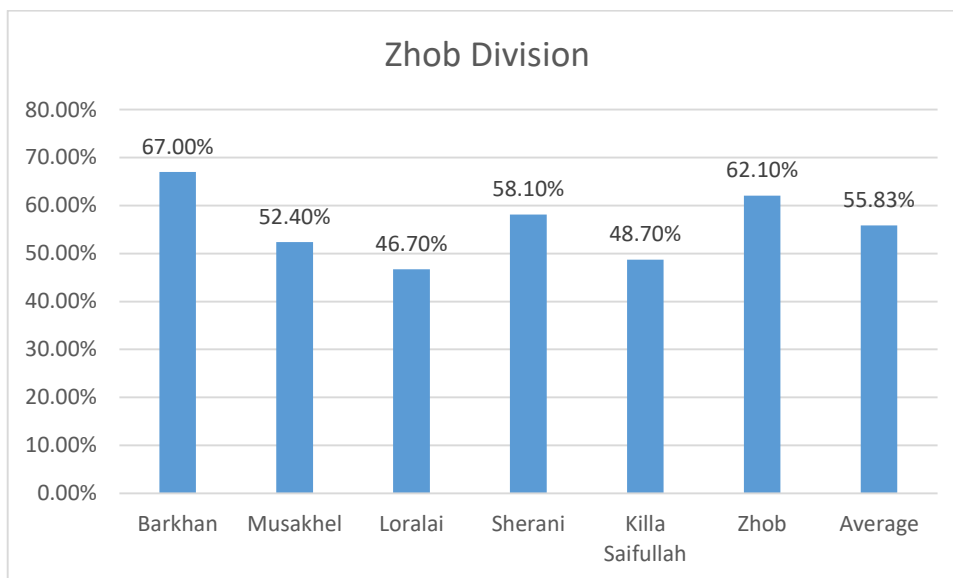
The above graph explains that average poverty at Zhob division is 55.83%. However, a direct correlation between poverty and gender empowerment is difficult to establish.
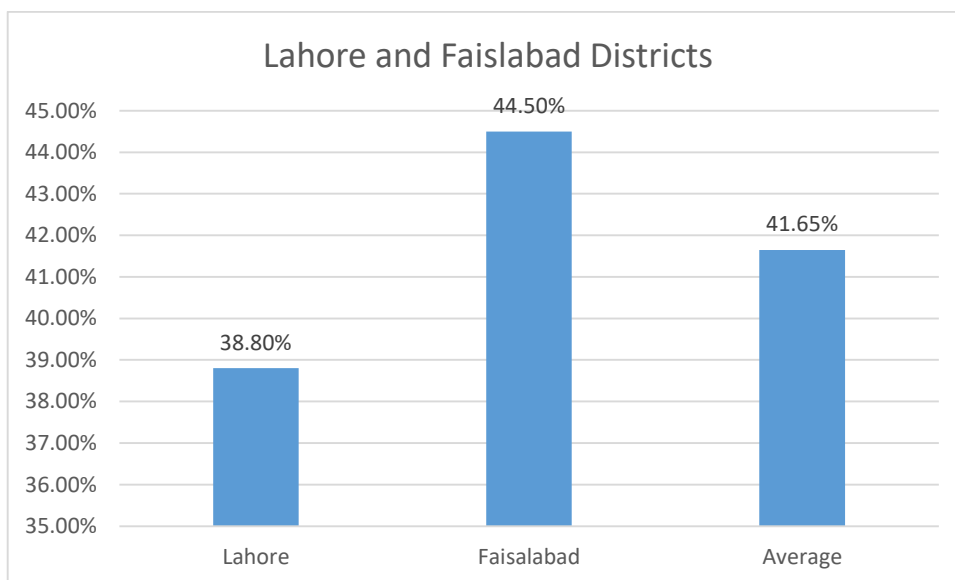
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

Figure: 8.2 Poverty intensity in Malakand division

The above graph explains that average poverty at Malakand division is 50.24%. However, a direct correlation between poverty and gender empowerment is difficult to establish.
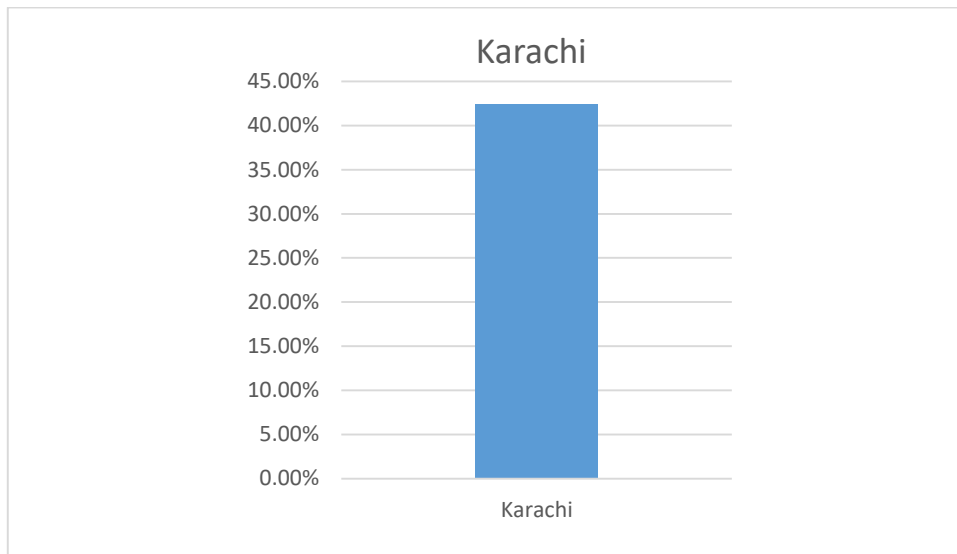
Punjab

Figure: 8.3 Poverty intensity in Lahore and Faisalabad districts.

The above graph explains that average poverty in Lahore and Faisalabad division is 41.65%. However, a direct correlation between poverty and gender empowerment is difficult to establish.

Sindh

Figure: 8.4 Poverty intensity in Karachi district.

The above graph explains that average poverty in Karachi is 42.40%. However, a direct correlation between poverty and gender empowerment is difficult to establish.

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