

PATTAN’s election team has discovered 163 means of rigging in Pakistan. These means are used to achieve “positive” results in elections. These illegal and unethical means could be divided four categories:

- 1, Inter-election period: nature of rigging having cascading affect and likely to determine the fate of elections as it could affect rest of the three categories of rigging. So far, we have found 26 means of rigging in this category.
- 2, Pre-poll rigging: many of the means of rigging mentioned under this category appear to have direct impact in consolidating the ‘gains’ of the category 1. It covers roughly 60-90 days prior to the polling. This category consists of 51 means of rigging.
- 3, Polling Day rigging: consists of 75 different means of rigging.
- 4, Post poll rigging consists of 11 means of rigging.

Period of rigging	Number of means of rigging
Inter-election period	26
Pre-poll	51
Polling day	75
Post poll	11
Total	163

Gerrymandering and rigging take place at the following four levels.

- (A) Political:** parties are damaged/fragmented by establishment through manipulating loyalties of electable dynasties.
- (B) Administrative:** state officials are transferred and posted to help the pliant electable dynasties (PEDs).
- (C) Societal:** state officials assist the PEDs to exploit inequalities through incentives, benefits, coercion, and persuasion.
- (D) Media/civil society:** news is fabricated, distorted and presented as truth/fact through media outlets.

(A) Inter-election rigging having cascading effects. (Perpetual rigging)

1. Appointment of pliant ECP chief & members.
2. Appointment of pliant caretaker PM & CMs.
3. Plan/conspiracy to achieve “positive results”. Remember financial & logistic support provided to IJI.
4. Transfers/promotions/ posting of compliant officials at higher level.
5. Transfers/promotions/ posting of compliant officials at district level.
6. Provision of benefits to local factional leaders through dev projects, contracts & induction in govt committees.
7. Media: govt sponsored adds, talk shows, spinning of facts, use of social media platforms to spread fake news & half truths etc.
8. Sponsored and flawed opinion polls.
9. Legislation: amendments in laws (for instance NAB law & the Elections Act, end of the use of EVM & I-voting facility to overseas Pakistanis).
10. Delimitation: gerrymandering (electoral boundaries are drawn without considering legal standards).
11. Violation of equality of vote principle across constituencies.
12. Split or exclusion of certain communities from certain constituencies.
13. Electoral rolls: changes in & breaking of census blocks.
14. Splitting of HHs, transfers of voters without consent etc.
15. Population census: not to count fully unwanted communities properly i.e. women, trans-gender & minorities.

16. None or selective scrutiny of political party accounts.
17. Internal party elections: none or discriminatory implementation of the Section XI (Political Parties) of the Elections Act 2017.
18. Issuance of tickets: none or selective enforcement of Elections Act 2017.
19. Not making voters' aware of polling process & their rights as unaware voter is vulnerable to manipulation.
20. Not punishing election officials for negligence and offences.
21. MPS' driven development schemes negatively impact level playing field to all contesting candidates.
22. Alternative to power outage is not provided to PSs. Power outage could be used to tamper record.
23. Differential access to ECP Short Code 8300 deprives pre-paid [poor] users of SMS packages.
24. Social protection/safety projects are launched to consolidate and enhance vote bank.
25. Discriminatory practices in allocation of development funds to MPs.
26. Discriminatory spending of development funds by MPs in his/her constituency.

(B). Pre-poll rigging (60-90 days prior to polling)

27. Shifting of loyalties of electable dynasties.
28. Appointment of pliant election staff (DROs, ROs, POs, APOs, DECs etc.)
29. Appointment of unqualified and pliant DROs, ROs and AROs.
30. Transfers, posting of DPOs, DCs, Acs, SHOs etc. to hotly contested districts.
31. Load shedding and provision of utilities improved in bye-election constituencies at the cost of other areas.
32. Formation of tribunals & benches, which helps certain candidates.
33. Withdrawal of cases & resolution of disputes between factional leaders through officials' influence.
34. Cases are registered against local influential who refused to support certain party or candidate.
35. Road works, street pavements, gas, water, & electricity connections.
36. Improving utility services in bye-election constituencies.
37. Filing cases against unwanted candidates and their supporters.
38. The law to fill the vacated reserved seats is not applied according to the law.
39. Bugging and recording unwanted candidates' activities and releasing them through social media.
40. Loans written off and outstanding utility bills cleared.
41. Distribution of districts on different phases of local election is done to provide benefit to a certain party.
42. To suppress turn out of certain communities, distance to polling stations is increased.
43. Unannounced changes in polling scheme including the following.
44. Numbering of PSs changed without informing all parties/voters.
45. Disqualification of unwanted candidates on frivolous grounds.
46. Polling stations are merged without informing candidates and voters.
47. New & ghost PSs are created.
48. Unannounced transfer of votes to new areas without consent of voters.
49. To suppress turn out, family votes are split across polling stations.
50. Fixing date or day of polling which could benefit to a certain party.
51. Proxy & dummy candidates fielded by administration to confuse voters and split the support of certain candidates.
52. Jobs and contracts are promised.
53. Allocation of similar electoral symbols to dummy candidates/parties.
54. Not applying disqualification laws to all candidates judiciously.
55. Not providing rigorous training & not imparting ethical values to polling staff.
56. Change of electoral rolls for polling stations without informing anyone.
57. Voters of rival party barred from casting vote by buying or confiscating of their CNICs.
58. Votes are bought and voters are forced to take oath on holy books.

59. Employees and subordinates are influenced, pressured, and coerced.
60. ECP's monitors willingly accept hospitality of certain candidates.
61. Polling staff willingly accept hospitality of certain candidates as ECP doesn't provide accommodation to them, which paves the way to oblige the polling staff for favour.
62. Selective enforcement of code of conduct (sizes of billboards, banners, posters, leaflets, timing of rallies, display of arms etc.).
63. Selective enforcement of law on corrupt practices (vote suppression, harassment, filing of false FIRs against rivals, barring & pressuring women etc.)
64. Delaying or denying issuance of accreditation cards to reports/observers by ECP.
65. Misuse of religion, sect and ethnicity by taking oath on holy books.
66. Free provision of food during election campaign.
67. Distribution of goods i.e. cycles, rent, sewing machines, cell phones, paying utility bills etc.
68. Cash paid to rival party candidates or their supporters not to campaign effectively.
69. Cash payments are made to hold religious events (milads/majlis).
70. Polling agents of rivals are bribed not to raise objections against malpractices and fraud.
71. Free provision of petrol/diesel coupons.
72. Funding to charitable organisations, community-based organisations and NGOs.
73. Distribution of dowry items to [would be] brides.
74. Cash paid to local influential to set up election offices/camps.
75. Not recording election expenses of certain candidates during election campaign.
76. Flawed opinion polls published and widely circulated.
77. Coverage of certain parties on TV channels, especially on PTV/radio and newspapers is manipulated and amplified and suppressed of others.

(C). Polling day rigging (polling, counting, result preparation and result announcement).

78. Selective enforcement of code of conduct (sizes of billboards, banners, posters, leaflets, timing of rallies, display of arms etc.)
79. Selective enforcement of law on corrupt practices (vote suppression, harassment, filing of false FIRs against rivals, barring & pressuring women etc.)
80. Inadequate security arrangements.
81. Delayed response or action is not taken against certain culprits.
82. Certain candidates are allowed to serve food, water, refreshment to polling staff on polling day.
83. Polling lay out charts are not displayed at prominent places.
84. Polling booths are not set up according to the ECP instructions.
85. Polling agents are forced to sit outside of polling booths or to a corner.
86. Impact: polling agents are literally deprived of their role – violation of election law & rules.
87. Privacy screens for stamping the ballots are not placed according to the ECP instructions.
88. Polling agents of certain candidates/parties are not allowed to enter polling booths in the early hours of polling.
89. Allowing some parties to canvass near or inside polling stations.
90. Allowing many voters to enter polling booths simultaneously which leads to chaos & helps to commit fraud.

91. Providing free transport to voters is illegal, yet it is not stopped. It gives extra ordinary advantage to richer candidates.
92. Use of violence to suppress turnout at certain polling stations.
93. Setting up election camps near polling stations.
94. Stamped and signed ballot papers smuggled out of PS & handed over to favorite candidates.
95. Not keeping ballot boxes in front of APO desk.
96. Allowing unauthorized persons inside polling booths.
97. Allowing certain polling agents to interfere in polling.
98. Not showing empty ballot boxes to polling agents and not getting signatures of polling agents on Form 42.
99. Not sealing the ballot boxes properly.
100. Not breaking the seals of ballot boxes in front of polling agents.
101. Not informing & showing polling agents about series & number of ballot papers, all kinds of forms available for polling, counting and result preparation etc.
102. Influencing voters inside polling booths.
103. Unauthorized persons are allowed inside polling booths.
104. Polling agents of unwanted parties/candidates are ejected from polling booths.
105. Partisan response to objections of polling agents regarding voters' eligibility/identity.
106. Asking voters about their candidate's choice.
107. Issuing ballot papers without checking CNICs.
108. Not marking inedible ink on thumbs of certain voters.
109. Not calling name loudly of certain voters before issuance of ballot papers.
110. Not allowing differently able persons to have assistance of his/her choice.
111. Not striking of voters' details on rolls after the issuance of ballot paper.
112. POs don't stamp backside of ballot papers, with official mark and sign them.
113. POs don't record on the counterfoil of the ballot paper, the electoral roll number of the voter, CNIC number, and don't stamp them with official mark and thumb impression of the voters.
114. POs don't get thumb impression of voters on electoral rolls.
115. Not allowing voters to poll tendered ballot.
116. Not putting tendered ballots in separate bags.
117. Allowing people to enter polling stations and to vote after expiry of voting hours.
118. Not allowing voters to poll challenged ballots.
119. Issuance of extra ballot papers to voters of 'favorite' candidates.
120. Ballots of unwanted candidates are spoiled by marking extra marks/stamps.
121. Polling agents not shown back of ballots during counting to check stamps/signs.
122. Before opening of ballots, seals are not shown to polling agents.
123. Ballot boxes of all booths not carried to one place in the presence of agents.
124. Counting & sorting of all ballots not done diligently.
125. Rejected ballots not separated from valid.
126. Counting, recording of tendered & challenged ballots on relevant forms not done.
127. Extra stamp/mark are made on ballots of unwanted candidates.
128. Packets for excluded ballots not prepared diligently and not sealed.
129. Separate packets for each candidate are not prepared diligently.
130. Ballot Papers Account Forms are not prepared or not prepared properly.
131. Form 45 are not prepared diligently.
132. Form 45 not issued to all polling agents.
133. Form 45 are not pasted on the outside walls of PS.

134.Counting of each candidate’s votes are not done twice.
135.Requests of double counting are ignored if made by unwanted candidate’s agent.
136.During the counting backside of ballot papers are not checked.
137.Not examining excluded ballots diligently.
138. Intentionally switching of lights.
139.Stuffing of ballot boxes.
140.Not counting postal ballots.
141.Not recording excluded ballots properly.
142.Rejecting requests of recounting if margin of victory is narrow.
143.Procedure of recounting requests is selectively applied.
144.Not getting signatures of polling/election agents on packets & forms before resealing them.
145.Not issuing attested copies of final consolidated statement of results (Form 49)
146.Inventory of sealed polling bags not prepared diligently.
147.Forms 42 (checking ballot boxes before polling) is not done and prepared.
148.Form 43 (tendered voters list) are not prepared diligently.
149.Form 44 (challenged voters list) are not prepared diligently.
150.Number of ballot paper books (Form 36 – record of ballot papers) are not prepared diligently.
151.Record of postal ballots (Form 37-41) are not kept and counted diligently.
152.Announcement of election results are delayed intentionally.

(D). Post-poll rigging

153. Unnecessary delays in making election result forms available on ECP website.
154. Election material & record are not scrutinized before uploading on website and not kept properly.
155. Action against code violators is taken selectively.
156. Audit of parties’ accounts & action against violators not taken indiscriminately.
157. Audit of candidates’ expenses (accounts) & action against violators not taken indiscriminately.
158. All election petitions are not treated equally and judiciously.
159. Unnecessary delays & partisan scrutiny of prohibited funds.
160. Election material of all constituencies and polling stations is not audited before storing.
161. Record of postal ballots (Form 37-41) are not kept and counted diligently.
162. Higher courts take long time to decide electoral disputes/petitions.
163.Cases are registered against voters and factional leaders who had refused to support certain candidates.