DILEMMA OF POLITICAL CULTURE: CASE STUDY
OF PAKISTAN (1988-1997)

Ph.D. Dissertation

Submitted By:
Muhammad Javaid Akhter
Department of Pakistan Studies
Bahauddin Zakariya University
Multan

Supervised By:
Prof. Dr. Khawaja Alqama
Prof. Dr. Khurram Qadir
CONTENTS

Acknowledgement
Abstract
Glossary

CHAPTER- 1:  P.1

INTRODUCTION
1.1. Understanding of the Terminologies:
    1.1.1 Politics:
    1.1.2 Political:
    1.1.3 Culture:
    1.1.4 Dilemma:
    1.1.5 Political Culture:
        1.1.5.1. Political Culture and its Components:
            i. Cognitive Orientation;
            ii. Affective Orientation;
            iii. Evaluative Orientation;
        1.1.5.2. Types of Political Culture:
            i. Parochial Political Culture;
            ii. Subject Political Culture;
            iii. Participant Political Culture;

1.2. Genesis of the Problem:

1.3. Study of Sources:

1.4. Methodology:

1.5. The Scheme of Chapters:
    1.5.1. Political Parties’ Structure and Their Elections’ Manifestos:
    1.5.2. Electoral Politics of Pakistan:
    1.5.3. Electoral Politics in North West Frontier Province:
    1.5.4. Electoral Politics in Punjab:
1.5.5. Electoral Politics in Sindh:
1.5.6. Electoral Politics in Baluchistan:

Conclusion

CHAPTER- 2: P. 43

POLITICAL PARTIES’ STRUCTURE AND THEIR ELECTIONS’ MANIFESTOS

2.1. Conceptual Study of Political Party
2.2. Description of Political Milieu of Pakistan
2.3. Genesis of Pakistan Muslim League and its Alliance Islami Jamhoori Ittehad(IJI)
2.4. Pakistan Peoples Party/Peoples Democratic Alliance (PPP/PDA):
   2.4.1. Party’s Structure;
2.5. Muttahida Qaumi Movement/Haq Prast Group (MQM/HPG)
2.6. Genesis of Jammiat Ulamma-i-Islam- Fazal-ur-Rehman JUI(F):
   2.6.1. Party’s Structure;
2.7. Awami National Party (ANP):
   2.7.1. Party’s Structure;
   i. Central Council
   ii. Central Executive Committee
   iii. Quorum
   iv. Central Cabinet
2.8. Electoral Manifesto of Political Parties: Agenda of Enticement and Adjustment:
   2.8.1. Social Agenda;
   2.8.2. Gender Development and Their Representation;
   2.8.3. Good Governance;
   2.8.4. Foreign Policy Priorities;
   2.8.5. Islamic Social Order and Public Morality;

Conclusion
CHAPTER- 3:  P. 91

ELECTORAL POLITICS

3.1. Conceptual Explanation of Election
3.2. Elections and Their Political Discourse
3.3. A Study of Electoral Approaches:
   3.3.1. Observation on Pakistani Voter;

CHAPTER- 4:  P. 112

ELECTORAL POLITICS OF NORTH WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE (NWFP):

4.1. A Brief History of NWFP
4.2. Administration of the North West Frontier Province
4.3. Ethnic and Cultural Composition
4.4. Background of Electoral Politics of North West Frontier Province
4.5. Electoral Analysis of NWFP from 1988-1997:
   4.5.1. Independents’ Strength;
   4.5.2. Seat Adjustment: An Electoral Strategy;
   4.5.3. Role of Pakistan Islamic Front (PIF) in Electoral Politics of NWFP;
   4.5.4. Role of Awami National Party (ANP) in Electoral Politics of NWFP;
   4.5.5. Role of Islami Jamoori Ittehad / Pakistan Muslim League (N) in Electoral Politics of NWFP;
   4.5.6. Role of Jammiat Ulam-i-Islam (Fazal-ur-Rehman)/IJM in Electoral Politics of NWFP;
   4.5.7. Role of Pakistan Peoples Party in Electoral politics of NWFP;

Conclusion
ELECTORAL POLITICS OF PUNJAB

5.1. A Historical Review

5.2. Political Trends of Pre-Partition Punjab

5.3. General Features of Punjab

5.4. Electoral Analysis of the Punjab 1988-1997:
   5.4.1. Role of Religion in the Politics of Punjab;
   5.4.2. Role of Pakistan Islamic Front (PIF);
   5.4.3. Role of Other Religious Parties and Their Electoral Alliances;

5.5. Role of Smaller/Minor Parties in the Electoral Politics of Punjab

5.6. Role of Independent Candidates in the Electoral Politics of Punjab:
   5.6.1. Analysis of the Independent Candidates’ Electoral Performance in the Provincial Constituencies;

5.7. Seat Adjustment: An Electoral Strategy:
   5.7.1. Seat Adjustment of PPP with PML-J in 1993 Election: An Analysis of National Constituencies;
   5.7.2. Seat Adjustment of PPP with PML-J in 1993 Election: An Analysis of Provincial Constituencies;
   5.7.3. Seat Adjustment of PPP and PML-JC in 1997 National Election;
   5.7.4. Seat Adjustment of PPP and PML-JC in the Provincial Election 1997;
   5.7.5. No Seat Adjustment of PML-J and PPP in 1997 National and Provincial Elections;

5.8. Influence of Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz in the Electoral Politics of Punjab

5.9. Party-Candidate: the Preference of Choice

Conclusion
CHAPTER- 6:  P. 201

ELECTORAL POLITICS OF SINDH

6.1. A Historical Review of Sindh
6.2. Politics of Sindh
6.3. Analysis of Electoral Behavior of Sindh 1988-1997:
   6.3.1. Independents’ Vote Strength;
   6.3.2. Party’s Preference in the Politics of Sindh;
   6.3.3. Factional Politics in Sindh;
   6.3.4. Politics of MQM;
6.4. General Features of the Electoral Politics of Sindh
Conclusion

CHAPTER-7:  P. 234

ELECTORAL POLITICS OF BALUCHISTAN

7.1. History of Baluchistan:
   7.1.1. Behavioral Patterns of Baluchistan;
   7.1.2. A Sketch of Baluchistan’s Demography;
7.2. Electoral Politics of Baluchistan:
   7.2.1. The Role of National Parties in the Electoral Politics of Baluchistan;
   7.2.2. The Role of Religious Parties in the Electoral Politics of Baluchistan;
   7.2.3. The Role of Regional Parties in the Electoral Politics of Baluchistan;
7.3. Independents’ Stature
7.4. Influence of Families
Conclusion

CHAPTER- 8:  P. 270

CONCLUSION

Annexure-1
Annexure-2
Annexure-3
Annexure-4
Annexure-5

**QUESTIONNAIRE**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Descriptive Statistics of Questionnaire
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of this dissertation owes profound thanks to people and institutions which so eagerly cooperated with me during the course of this work.

First of all I express my heartfelt gratitude to Professor Dr. Khawja Alqama and Professor Dr. Khurram Qadir for their scholarly guidance. They have always been a source of inspiration to me. With their help, blessings and encouragements, I have been able to complete this dissertation. I always wished to express my thanks to be due to Professor. Dr. Asghar Ali, Professor. Dr. Azra Asghar Ali and Dr.Muhammad Shafiq for their valuable guidance and suggestions, particularly for selecting the modules and variables of research.

I am profoundly grateful to Fayyaz Ahmed Hussain, Dr.Muhammad Farooq, Sajid Mahmood Awan in evaluating the direction and nature of research by developing the questionnaire. I am again indebted to Professor Dr. Khurram Qadir and Professor Dr. Khawja Alqama for their time to time guidance and providing opportunities for academic discussion. They were a source of motivation and inspiration for research, teaching and other academically related activities.

My special thanks are due to Professor.Dr.Asghar Ali for helping me in arranging, cleansing, formatting and analyzing the questionnaire data. I highly appreciate the cooperation of my friends and colleagues, Mrs Khadeja Naheed, Mrs Lubna Shafiq, Rehan Iqbal, Sajjad Ahmed and Dr.Kaliani for formatting, composing and finally printing the dissertation.

I would like to pay my thanks to the staff of the libraries of election commission of Pakistan, central library of Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan.

Last but not the least, I wish to acknowledge the encouragement, consent and support of my mother, better half, Saima, without whom this work would certainly never had been done. I have been thankful to my children, Sarah Javed and Ali Salah whose presence animated me during the hard time of my research.
ABSTRACT

This research has explored the question of ‘political culture’ under the title of “Dilemma of Political Culture: Case Study of Pakistan (1988-1997). In this thesis it has been investigated that how far underlying propensities of a society affect the political values which are manifested in political institutions. The nature of values which work underneath for a broader understanding of the configuration of ‘political culture’, poses an important question: what counts for people’s political preferences. With in a group and society there are diverse strands of opinion and conflicting values which may check the political preferences and in this regard the term political culture will be used as shared values legitimating social practices. Theses shared values are referred as ‘political culture’.

All political systems tend to perpetuate certain patterns of behaviour by which systems are recognized and it was the question to know the nature of political values which in turn determine the nature of system. The true recognition of values can denominate the system as stable or instable and the political behaviour as mature or immature. The symbols and beliefs define the situation in which action takes place and determine the consensus based on social and political behaviour. Political culture produces controlling guidelines for effective political behaviour and for the collectivity it gives the systematic structure of values and rational considerations which ensures coherence in the performance of institutions and organizations.

The field of ‘psephology’ has been explored for the identification of political values in which peoples’ political preferences which worked on the level of party, issue and candidate. The political preferences of people of Pakistan had been explored through independent variables of party, issue and candidate and peoples’ collective response to these variables by their socio-psychological paraphernalia and rational paradigm determine the level of political culture. People of Pakistan’s mobilization by these variables in political process determine the level of their participation and which in turn describes about the level of political development.

In Pakistan, elected governments during 1988 to 1997 provided good opportunity to have the comparative study of four elections in which people political behaviour has been very
well explored. Elections in Pakistan manifested the political participation and
recruitment level of the people indicating their political alignments with semi religious
and secular political parties. Political elites and political parties are considered the main
agencies of political socialization and political participation in elections. Electoral
activity is considered the significant and meaningful act of the political system in which
political behaviour of four provinces of Pakistan has been evaluated. The analysis of
electoral data and questionnaire response of four provinces was more or less similar in
projecting the political ethos of these four regions.

People preferred for the national parties in their voting pattern for national and provincial
elections and also accepted the role of regional parties (having influence in some
particular constituencies of a region) in Sindh, Baluchistan and North West Frontier
Province. People leaned towards regional and religious parties in NWFP and Baluchistan
due to the different nature of issues. They secured a good chunk of vote in provincial
elections of Baluchistan and NWFP which manifested that people in provincial domain
have different priorities seemingly different from that of national ones. In Punjab and
Sindh national parties outclassed the regional and religious parties in provincial domain.
In Sindh MQM/HPG got its share of vote in urban constituencies but never got majority
of seats in the province. The positive aspect was that people voted for the parties which
they consider legitimate for their vote and in the process of elections people out-
maneuvered the smaller parties like Pakistan Tehreek Insaf, Pakistan Awami Tehreek,
National Peoples Party and most of the regional groups and parties’ claimant of
primordial associations for the mobilization of voters. People shed these attachments in
their voting decision and voted independently for the cause.

People showed their attachments with those leaders which were active in the constituency
and maintained an interactive network with the community. Community was the first
level of people interactions to share the information about the electoral dynamics of the
constituency and the country. Community was very well aware about the stance of
parties and their candidates over different issues and it provided a consensus based
decision as an input in the electoral process which increased its reliability in the eyes of
public.
Political culture which is based on shared political values and beliefs immersed as mature enough due to the rational approach of the people in deciding their political options. These political options were the choice of parties, priority of the issues, aligned with the candidates and the agenda of the parties. Political preferences of people of Pakistan were mature enough for these factors which inducted them into the political process. Political awareness of people of Pakistan seemed exuberant when they discarded those forces which were more idealistic in their appeal and less in their practical commitments. These were the forces led by Islamic religious parties which always had low electoral support for their cause and their vote percentage in national elections varied between 1 to 2 percent.
GLOSSARY:

AD- Annie Domino
ANP- Awami National Party
AT- Awami Tehreek
BNM- Baluchistan National Movement
BNM-M- Baluchistan National Movement (Mengal)
BNM-H- Baluchistan National Movement (Haye)
COP- Combined Opposition Party
DAC- Democratic Action Committee
DIP- Dehi Ittehad Party
EBDO- Elective Bodies Disqualification Act
FATA- Federally Administered Tribal Areas
HPG- Haq Prast Group
IJI- Islami Jamhoori Ittehad
IJM- Islami Jamhoori Mahaz
IND- Independents
JMP- Jammiat Masiakh Pakistan
JUI-F- Jammiat Ulama-i-Islam (Fazal-ur-Rehman)
JWP- Jamiuri Watan Party
MCA- Member Constituent Assembly
MDM- Muttahida Deeni Mahaz
MKP- Mazdoor Kisan Party
MRD- Movement for Restoration of Democracy
MQM- Muhajir Qaumi Movement/Muttahida Qaumi Movement
N.A- National Assembly
NAP-National Awami Party
NDF- National Democratic Front
NDP- National Democratic Party
NWFP- North West frontier Province
P.A- Provincial Assembly
PDA- Pakistan Democratic Alliance
PDM- Pakistan Democratic Movement
PIF- Pakistan Islamic Front
PKMAP- Pakhtoon Khwa Milli Awami Party
PML-N- Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PML-J- Pakistan Muslim League(Junejo)
PML-JC- Pakistan Muslim League (Junejo Chattha)
PNA- Pakistan National Alliance
PNP- Pakistan National Party
PPP- Pakistan Peoples Party
PPP-SB- Pakistan Peoples Party(Shaheed Bhutto)
SBC- Shaheed Bhutto Committee
SNA- Sindh National Alliance
CHAPTER- 1

INTRODUCTION

The first section of this chapter defines the terms ‘politics’, ‘political’, ‘culture’, ‘dilemma’ and ‘political culture’. It explores the relationship between these terms to explain the problem statement. In the second section, genesis of the problem has been discussed. It provides the rationale for the study by evaluating the sources presenting divergent views in their academic depth. The third section of this chapter deals with the sources of the study, while the fourth defines the methodology to carry out the research within the defined parameters. In the last section the related parts of the study which are presented in the form of subsequent chapters are highlighted.

Dilemma of political culture is being explored not only for its definite contours which had given shape to the political values in the democratic countries, rather it has been viewed in the perspective of its undefined nature, affecting the growth of the democratic values of a society like Pakistan. It is germane to know the nature of the values which are working underneath for a broader understanding of the configuration of political- culture which poses an important question: what counts for people’s political preferences?

It becomes mandatory that the concepts, definitions of the phrase and the words, constituting the problem statement have to be explained, so that term ‘political culture’ becomes concise and relevant in the context of the present study. The statement of problem mentions the terms dilemma and political culture which have to be studied and explained with reference to period 1988-1997. In this period Pakistan’s political system had to undergo political crisis due to dismissal of four elected governments in a sequence. In this period four general elections were held which provided opportunity to study the political behavior, determined by political values. So the question of political culture is expressively defined by the analysis of electoral data of national and provincial elections.

To proceed further it is expedient to explain various terms and phrases which constitute the problem statement. In the first section terms like ‘politics’, ‘political’ ‘culture’, ‘dilemma’ and ‘political culture’ need to be explained and defined. The combination of these terms and their
conceptual explanations shall facilitate the understanding of the dynamics of political behavior. These terms have been explained in their literal as well as sensual context, when put together constitute the problem statement.

1.1. Conceptual Understanding of Terms:

These terms have been explained to determine that in what sense they have been used in this study.

1.1.1. Politics:

The term ‘politics’ traces its origin in the word ‘polis’ the city state community of ancient Greece. To Plato and Aristotle, politics meant the understanding and participating in the affairs of the polis i.e., the city state. Politics is therefore only one of the several social activities of man. The essence of it lies in fundamental freedom of man in society to master his own fate by political means.¹ Politics is thus ‘the process through which man orders the society in which he lives according to his political ideas about the ends of man”. According to Harold D. Lass well politics means “who gets what, when and how”.² Karl Marx and his followers saw politics as nothing more than a reflection of prevailing economic conditions, especially of economic technology and the distribution of the ownership of capital.³ In short politics is an organized dispute about powers and its use, involving choice among competing values, ideas of persons, interests and demands. The study of politics is concerned with the description and analysis of the manner in which power is obtained, exercised and controlled, the purpose for which it is used, the manner in which decisions are made and the context in which those decisions take place.⁴ Since the selection of the significant and relevant subject matter of politics depends on changing goals and interests; the proper subjects for its study—whether institutions, behavior, power, decisions or interests—always require personal interpretation.

1.1.2. Political:

² Ibid.
³ Ibid., p.9.
Political is being taken as something pertaining to the behavioral aspect of social life i.e., participation in electoral process, political recruitment and active role in the process of policy and decision making of political system. Ever since Aristotle advanced the thesis that human beings are by nature political and have the tendency to fold the social into political. Thus people are social in nature and have shared meanings and purposes.\(^5\) The word ‘political’ has been defined in the compact edition of the Oxford English Dictionary as “belonging or pertaining to the state or body of citizens, its government and policy, especially in civil and secular affairs; or pertaining to the science or art of politics”.\(^6\)

### 1.1.3. Culture:

Culture is a broad term which is related to those aspects of life which have been established through a period of time and have adopted the shape of values and norms. Basically the term culture is used in the discipline of anthropology and sociology. For an anthropologist the concept of culture provides a total picture of life, action and beliefs of a community. E.B.Taylor introduced the concept of culture to anthropology in 1871 and defined it as ‘that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs, and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society’.\(^7\)

Culture in its anthropological perspective, is the man-made part of the human environment. Thus culture is the way of life which is specific for a group, community or a nation. Basically culture depicts what human beings do and what they refrain from doing — in-part, a consequence of being brought up in one group as distinguished from other. Members of the human species are trained in the family, and in their formal and informal education, to behave in ways that are conventional and fixed by tradition. Attitudes, values and beliefs of a nation that are sometimes collectively referred to as ‘culture’ play an unquestioned role in the development of human behaviour and progress. Max Weber has a strong notion that if we learn anything from history, it is culture which makes almost all the difference.\(^8\)

---

\(^5\) www.gwu.edu/~ccps/etzioni/a312, September 17, 2008
\(^7\) Raj Hans, Comparative Politics, Surjeet publications, New Delhi, 1985, p.92.
So culture is learned rather than transmitted through genes. From so many definitions of ‘culture’, here we quote the definition of Ralph Piddington which seems more suited to the context of present studies for the understanding of the phenomenon of ‘political culture’. According to Piddington “culture is the sum total of the material and intellectual equipment whereby people satisfy their biological and social needs and adapt themselves to their environment”.

1.1.4. Dilemma:

According to the concise oxford dictionary dilemma is defined as “argument forcing opponent to choose one of two alternatives both are unfavorable; position that leaves only a choice between equally unwelcomed possibilities”. In the context of this study ‘Dilemma’ is taken as a condition where it is difficult to define the situation in its entirety and that leads to a state of crisis. When actions are not justified on the basis of their moral principles and held beliefs, there will be a dilemma. It stands for more divisiveness and disintegration of a society. In this situation, general public, political leadership and the personnel of the bureaucratic channels make the choices regarding their beliefs which contradict each other, then state or the society is plunged into a chaos of identity, participation and, integration. If choices of these segments of society are in accordance with the collective will and an embodiment of the sentiments of public, then there is no crisis and dilemma. Here it can be surmised that dilemma exists all the time but its nature and intensity may vary. It is always regarded that organization of human being is essential for the general welfare of the public but its means can be different. A utility oriented polity based on the principle of maximum benefit for maximum number of people will emerge on the basis of the cultural values of the society because cultural patterns identify and determine the nature of the service. If the choices are at cross purposes then there will be dilemma which may be associated with any entity of the society.

1.1.5. Political Culture:

The term ‘political culture’ will be more assertive when it will be explained in the realm of politics. So it means that within a group and society there are diverse strands of opinion and

---

conflicting values which may check the political preferences and in this regard the term political culture will not only be used as shared values legitimizing social practices but as points of concern also.

Gabriel Almond has described political culture as underlying propensities and psychological dimension of a political system. It consists of attitudes, beliefs, values and skills which are current in an entire population, as well as those special propensities and patterns which may be found within separate parts of that population.\textsuperscript{11} Any political system requires knowing its underlying propensities as well as actual performance over a given period of time, so that nature of the system and patterns of behavior could be identified. All political systems tend to perpetuate their cultures and structures through the time, and they do this by means of socializing influences of the primary and secondary structures through which society may pass in the process of maturity.

According to Almond and Verba, ‘it is thus a process [political socialization] by which political cultures are maintained and changed’\textsuperscript{12}. Political socialization is concerned with the orientation of individuals towards political objects. So, in other words, political socialization is the process of induction into political culture and it promotes a set of attitudes among the members of the system. Each society, however, imparts its own set of norms and values of its people, and the people in turn have distinct sets of ideas about how the political system is supposed to function on process and policy levels, and about their own claims on the system and their obligations to it. The set of beliefs, symbols and values about the political system form the political culture of a society. The term ‘political culture’ has therefore been defined by Sidney Verba as …the system of empirical beliefs, expressive symbols and values which define the situation in which political action takes place\textsuperscript{13}. A ‘political culture’ can thus, be characterized by relative, empirically determinable levels of consensus in the sharing of beliefs, symbols and values. Vidya Bhushan has expressed the words of Dennis Kavanagh to define

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{11}Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba have pointed out that concept of ‘political culture’, was originated in the field of political science between two world wars. It was first introduced by Gabriel A. Almond in one of his paper titled “comparative political system” published in 1956. Gabriel A. Almond, G.Bingham Jr.Powell, \textit{Comparative Politics: A Development Approach}, Little Brown & Company,Toronto, 1966,p.23.
\item \textsuperscript{12}S.P. Verma, \textit{Modern Political Theory}, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1975, p.297.
\end{itemize}
the political culture that it is composed of the attitude, beliefs, emotions and values of a society”. In certain political community, it stands for the pattern of individual attitudes and orientation toward politics of that community among the measures of the polity. Lucian W. Pye viewed ‘political culture’ as providing an ordered subjective realm of politics, which is found on two levels—for the individual the political culture produces controlling guidelines for effective political behaviour, and for the collectivity it gives a systematic structure of values and rational considerations which ensures coherence in the performance of institutions and organizations.

1.1.5.1. Political Culture and its Components:

Political culture is the pattern of individual attitudes and orientations involving several components which are as under:

i. **Cognitive Orientation;** Cognitive orientation refers to peoples’ knowledge, accurate or otherwise, of political objects and beliefs. In other words cognitive orientation involves knowledge about political objects and familiarity with the way political system works. Thus an individual may have relatively high degree of accurate knowledge about how his political system works, who are the leading figures and what are the current problems faced by the country.

ii. **Affective Orientation;** Affective orientation combines with cognitive orientation to refer to emotional feelings of the people towards their political system. In other words it stands for subjective feelings of attachment to or alienation from the political system. It refers to the standard of criteria with the help of which the people judge their political system.

---

iii. **Evaluative Orientation:** It refers to judgment and opinions about political objects, which usually involve applying value standards to political objects and events.\(^{16}\)

These three orientations are closely interrelated and found in the psyche of an individual in different combinations.

### 1.1.5.2. Types of Political Culture:

According to Alan R. Ball ‘political culture can be classified according to whether members of society take an active role in the political process and expect benefits from governmental activity, or whether there is a passive relationship in which individuals know very little about governmental activity and do not expect to share in the decision making processes’.\(^{17}\) Almond and Verba in order to characterize political culture in terms of distribution of general attitudes toward the political system and toward the input and output processes have classified political culture into following three types:

i. **Parochial Political Culture:** people who exhibit little or no awareness of the political system, fall in this category. It includes people who have no inclination to participate in input process and are not aware of the output process. According to Michael Curtis a parochial orientation is that when individual is not aware of nor has opinions about the system as a whole, but only of the local community.\(^{18}\) This type is overwhelmingly found which by and large is traditional in its structure.

ii. **Subject Political Culture:** people who have relatively higher level of orientation towards a differentiated political system and toward the output aspects of the system than possessed by the people of first type but their orientations towards input objects and active participation are still on somewhat low level. People are not oriented to take part in output structure as they do not have clear knowledge of the process by which they can influence the political system. According to Michael Curtis a

\(^{16}\) Gabriel A. Almond, *op.cit.*, p.50.


subject orientation is that when individual is aware of the system but is essentially passive and accepts decisions.\textsuperscript{19}

iii. **Participant Political Culture**; it is that category in which members of society obtain fairly higher level of orientation to the system as a whole i.e. to both political and administrative structures and processes. Members of society are fully aware to the input and output functions of the system. They are oriented towards an activist role of self in the polity and are able to articulate their interests, using manifest, particular, specific and instrumental styles while understanding the preferential process where some of their articulated interests are aggregated and taken as policy alternatives while others are dropped. However their feelings and evaluations of such roles may vary from acceptance to rejection. They are always engaged in interest articulation and put demands on the political system.\textsuperscript{20}

The manifestos of political parties are culmination of aggregation of divergent and variant interests articulated by various groups and they play an intervening role between the masses and the decision making structure. This is how a minimum level of consensus is obtained among the rival groups in a democratic political system. Philosophers down the ages have vexed themselves with the question of the nature of the polity—either utilitarian or the coercive one for the good of the society or the individual. The age of enlightenment developed the concept of individual liberty, and Utilitarian believed that the greater good justifies all actions. Thus Immanuel Kant swore by an unswerving moral code with no regard for consequences. Max Weber expressed in a same way ‘no ethic in the world can dodge the fact that in numerous

\textsuperscript{19} Ibid.
instances the attainment of good ends is bound to the fact that one must be willing to pay the price of using morally dubious means’.

Here it is essential to mention that any part of an activity is needed to be exploring within the broader perspective where it is occurring, like the domain of politics. In this domain it is convenient to identify the relationship between the above mentioned concepts. Knowing of them provides the premises from which different aspects of ‘dilemma of political culture’ are exposed and the question of its maturity and immaturity is judged in its socio-politico milieu.

1.2. Genesis of the Problem:

Pakistan as a nation-state got its membership of the United Nations in 1948 when its geographical area was of 364,737 square miles. It consisted of two separate zones which had no physical contiguity, making the task of state building and nation building somewhat difficult if not impossible. Consequently one of its zones—East Pakistan became an independent country, named Bangladesh in 1971. The remarks of Rupert Emerson for the new states of Asia and Africa that ‘they are not yet nations in being but only nations in hope’ clearly depicted the condition of Pakistan. The creation of Pakistan was characterized by multidimensional crisis and is still facing the crisis of political stability. Pakistan faced the crises of leadership, participation and of integration from the very beginning. These crises could be avoided if the governments could obtain and sustain legitimacy. Robert d. Campbell carefully suggested that ‘whatever the mode of governance an authority possesses, it could run its affairs effectively only if in a very basic sense the government must be a product of the entire attitude-behavior pattern of the people’.

The period which has been taken for study is interesting in the sense that in this era, Pakistan, after a long spell of military rule witnessed the frequent dismissal of the controlled representative governments working under the hegemony of state as well as non-state actors using constitutional and extra constitutional means. The governments of this period had

---


legitimacy because they captured power through participation of masses in the electoral process. In this period four national elections were held which indicate the political behavior of the people, leaders and the political parties. The study of these elections did help in evaluating performance of each component in the perspective of their adequate role played for proper understanding of the dynamics of political system.

It is evident that research is more concerned with the behavior of the people of Pakistan who had their own traditions to create their identity on the basis of different historical symbols and by which they have cherished the dream of their future. Traditions have developed their relation with the past and have acquired a continuity to enter into the future where they are reconciling with different emerging political needs for the transformation into a modern democratic polity. Dilemma could happen at the level of public when its cultural values may hinder its transformation due to the conflicting perceptions of modern democratic values. It could happen at the level of government when policies come out after their long process due to the delay in Assemblies’ legislative procedure or due to the difference of priorities of leaders and parties. The study of politics and political system will provide an insight to judge the nature of the question and it will also unfold the dynamics of political culture of Pakistan.

Politics is considered an aspect of general phenomena of human life that provides an insight to see the role of political objects in the socialization of the behavior of people of a particular society. Its working is seemingly more striking in the realm of governmental functioning as well. Lucian W. Pye stated the words of Bernard Crick to explain the politics—“the activity by which differing interests within a given unit of rule are conciliated by giving them a share in power in proportion to their importance to the welfare and survival of the whole community”24. So any general phenomenon will make a social or political sense only when it will be analyzed in its cultural traditions. Political actions happen not in a vacuum but in a spatial environment where their validity makes them palatable. This research concerns to the political actions which are depended upon the application of the social motives behind those actions. Thus political culture is a manifestation of political behavior which will be analyzed in the socio-political

---

context. The analytical thinking will determine the nature of political behavior and the level of maturity of political culture.

Why the dilemma of political culture has been visualized in the body politic of Pakistan? Is it the result of the chequered political history of Pakistan—in the wake of military intervention in political process; making and breaking of political governments in Pakistan in brief span of time due to the use of constitutional authority vested in the office of the president? The second reference is that either it has been judged by the least participatory trends of the majority of the people of Pakistan in the political process? This research is more investigative into the second reference to explore the dilemma of political culture of Pakistan.

There is a common opinion that institutional imbalance in the body politic of Pakistan has aggravated the trends of an authoritarian culture, which hindered the growth of democratic-ethos. Pakistan has its existence for more than half a century, appeared on the map of the world on 14th of August 1947. There was the dream of social justice, equity and equality that propelled the idea of the creation of this state. It is a geographical reality among the comity of nations, and has experienced different forms of government viz., parliamentary and presidential through the execution of three constitutions—1956, 1962 and 1973. It inherited its political system from the British imperial rule in India based on western tradition. The western tradition meant what the British had experienced for themselves after the Glorious Revolution of 1688 when the authority of the king was placed under the authority of the parliament, and what they had evolved as a system in the sub-continent. The slogan was that people are the sovereign not the king. Therefore, the first dilemma which Pakistan had to face was the blend of western and its own traditions which cut across at different levels of political organizations.

Pakistan’s early experience of running the parliamentary system was not healthy when different Provincial and Central Ministries were changed and the Assemblies were dissolved without their mandatory appeal to the members of the respected Assemblies. The elected assemblies of the centre and the provinces were at the whims of the Governor-General and the Governors of the respected provinces for their functioning. The change of the heads of the central and the provincial ministries was not through the voting of the assemblies. The elected assemblies were not given space to adopt the procedural mechanism for the change of the ministries. The
Governors of the provinces exercised the powers of the dismissal which were mandatory under the instructions of the Governor General in the adapted Act 1935.

The first provincial ministry of the NWFP was dismissed by the Governor Sir George Cunningham on August 22, 1947 through the use of sub-section(5) of section 51 of the adapted Act 1935. Section 51(5) clearly lays down:

> In the exercise of his functions under this section with respect to the choosing and summoning and the dismissal of ministers the Governor shall be under the general control of, and comply with such particular directions, if any, as may from time to time, be given to him by the Governor General.\(^{25}\)

Khan Sahib’s Ministry was dismissed by the Governor on the clear instruction from Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan. Before the partition Jinnah himself desired to Mountbatten for the dissolution of the NWFP ministry which was not in principal suitable for the democratization of the polity. Khalid Bin Sayeed described this event which shed the impression of non-democratization by that person who himself was the supreme arbiter between the center and the provinces. Sayeed pointed:

> It seemed Mountbatten had promised Jinnah that he would dismiss the Congress ministry in the N.W.F.P., but was overruled by His Majesty’s Government on the ground that such an action would not be proper as it would mean dismissal without any choice of dissolution when the Ministry still had a majority in the Assembly.\(^{26}\)

The Governor of the province did not let the parliamentary procedure to take place in the removal of the N.W. F. P. ministry with the new one while the lord Mountbatten, the last Governor-General of India, was very smart in his political acts by letting the parliamentary traditions to take their due course. Another case of dismissal was that of M.Ayub Khuro, the Chief Minister of Sindh on April 26,1948 when he was dismissed by the Governor Ghulam


\(^{26}\)Ibid.
Hussain Hidayatullah through the exercise of section 51(5) of the Government of India Act, as amended by the Pakistan (Provisional Constitutional) Order, 1947, under the directions from the Governor-General. More or less the same kind of political behavior was visible in the dismissal of Ministries and in the dissolution of the Assemblies in the Center and in other Provinces. These kinds of political acts by the political leadership at the helm of the affairs set the example of an authoritarian rule in Pakistan. It also showed that in Pakistan’s early years political leadership of the Pakistan Muslim League did not show much of the openness to accommodate those political elements, residing within the state, which have different ideological exposition like the Bengali and *Pushton* elements. Bengalis were demanding their representation in the new evolving constitution on the basis of their population and as well the status of the Bengali language equal to that of Urdu which was a cultural symbol for them. On the other hand *Pushton* element was represented by the red shirts, led by Ghaffar Khan to evolve commonness between the *Pushtons* residing on both sides of the Pak-Afghan border, and has had an ideological association with the congress. Their collaboration was evident in the coalition ministries which had been formed after the provincial elections 1937 and 1945-46 in NWFP.

---

27 Ibid., 266-67.
28 In Punjab a conflict appeared between Nawab Iftikhar of Mamdot, Chief Minister of Punjab and Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana over the decisions of the cabinet. The conflict simmered down for some time due to Quaid’s involvement but it flared up later when Liaqut Ali persuaded the Chief Minister to take Daultana back into the cabinet. The final victory for Daultana came in January 1949 when the Governor under the instructions of the Governor-General dissolved both the Punjab Ministry and the Legislature under section 92A of the Provisional Constitution Act in 1949. Under section 92A the initiative was given to the Governor-General, that is, it was the Governor-General and not the Governor, who, when satisfied that the Government of a Province could not be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the adapted Act, might by proclamation, direct the Governor of a province to assume on behalf of the Governor-General all or any of the powers vested in or exercisable by any provincial body or authority. Likewise, the unidirectional attitude of the Muslim league led to its defeat in the East Bengal election 1954 by the United Front and later the Government of Fazul-i-Haq was dismissed on the plea that he has given a statement in his visit to west Bengal in favour of united Bengal that was again a un-parliamentary practice in the dismissal of his government. At the central level Khawaja Nazimuddin Ministry which recently passed its budget statement was dismissed in 1953 by Governor General Ghulam Muhammad by applying section 10 of the Government of India Act 1935. In 1954 Muhammad Ali Bogra’s Ministry and Assembly was dissolved when he tried to curtail the powers of the Governor-General to dissolve the Ministry and the Assembly. So these were the traditions which were set by the leaders of the Pakistan which were undemocratic in their nature pushed the Pakistan into throes of authoritarian rule. see Rafiq Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*, Vol.1, National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad, 1986; K.K.Aziz, *Party Politics in Pakistan 1947-1958*, National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad, 1976; Mushtaq Ahmed, *Government and Politics in Pakistan*, Fourth Print, Royal Book Company, Karachi, 1988; Keith Callard, *Pakistan: A Political Study*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London, 1968.
Pakistan’s existence demanded coherence of all political forces by accepting their legitimate participation in the political process but it could not happen. However, in the post-independence period, personalized politics and a total disregard for constitutionalism have often sunk the country into ‘political paralysis’, which emphasized the ‘immaturity of Pakistan’s democracy’. In 1949 the working committee of the Pakistan Muslim League (PML) banned its members from enrolling in anyone of nineteen other political organizations, operating in the politics of Pakistan, and as well it did not open its membership to the other communities of Pakistan except Muslims. This kind of political behavior of Muslim League’s leadership turned the organization into a communal body.

The early politics of Pakistan, particularly from 1947 to 1958, seems more opportunistic, and its political dispensation was in the mode of patron-client relationship rather than observing the rules of meritocracy. One of such event is being reported when Ayub Khuro, the Chief Minister of Sindh was investigated by the Court under the charges of misconduct and corruption. He said: …the Ministers have to satisfy the members of their party and the latter do not realize that the grant of their unlawful or unusual requests does affect the administration of the province.

It was the role of the political leadership which had created a rot in the system due to their vested interests. Those who controlled the reins of power mutilated the political opponents, muzzled the press, thwarted the judiciary, and the manipulation of power all combined to hinder the evolution of an acceptable Pakistani political culture. In 1949 Awami League—Bengal based political party—was formed by Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy which incurred the Muslim League’s suspicion and wrath. Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy was the Chief Minister of the united Bengal before the partition, found that after repatriation to his newly adopted country(Pakistan) his seat in the constituent assembly had been revoked and as a well-known attorney, he was not allowed to practice in any major city in Pakistan and eventually went to Sahiwal, a small town in the Punjab to continue his law practice.

---


31 Iftikhar H. Malik, *State and Civil Society in Pakistan*, Macmillan Press, UK, 1997, pp.30-31; Suhrawardy had been a leading member of the Muslim League in Bengal from 1936, and had been the last Chief Minister of the United Bengal. After partition he remained on the Indian side of the border working for communal harmony. However, he
Finally the state was plunged into an authoritarian rule in 1958 when Ayub Khan, Commander in Chief of Pakistan’s Army, imposed the martial law. From the beginning to onward the state was confronting the challenges of the settlement of different issues like the role of religion in Pakistan, status of minorities, provincial autonomy and the nature of the federation. The agenda of the state-building and nation-building was to be fulfilled by the state authorities with the help of political forces. These political forces were mainly from landed aristocracy which extended its matrimonial relations with non-feudal powerful families of industrialists, trans-regional feudals and pirs of different gaddis(sajjada nishins). They were non-ideological and their politics, irrespective of their ethno-regional background, was simply self-preservation. They after the death of Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan controlled the different bodies of Pakistan Muslim League to legitimize the rule of civil-military bureaucrats who provided largesse to them. The league aligned itself with the non-representative ruling elites who used its name and cadres ever since for their own interests and failed to provide a national program.

In democracy political parties are considered the main force to carry forward public desires to be a part of the political process to legitimize the rule. It happened contrary to the established views in the early years of Pakistan due to unorganized political parties that have to take up the task of aggregating the interests of the faction ridden polity. Political parties could not succeed to provide the communicative channel between the party and the public to articulate their opinion over the issues of importance. Keith Callard pointed to this state of affairs in the words that

"Ultimately a successful democratic system depends upon an informed public opinion capable of weighing men and issues and deciding in favour of a policy that can be made to work. Public opinion in Pakistan is to be found in the urban middle classes, the land owners and some of the religious leaders."

had been elected to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. He visited Karachi to take seat and to take part in the last session of the Muslim League in December 1947. He was present to register a protest when the Assembly established a rule which, by requiring residence in Pakistan as a condition of membership, deprived him of his seat. Keith Callard, *Pakistan: A Political Study*, 3rd Impression, George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London, 1968, pp.68-69.
This is a small and unstable base on which to found a durable and efficient state.\textsuperscript{32}

Pakistan was visualized by the creators and supporters that it would be an ideal piece of land where an egalitarian society will be established on behalf of the public will. It would have been possible if the masses get the chance to participate in the political process to change the incumbents through the direct elections. The role of the people of Pakistan was limited in the election of the members of the central legislature. They elected the members of the provincial assemblies in the early phase of the 1950s, and as well the Basic Democrats in the period of Ayub Khan which functioned as an electoral college for the election of the members of the central assembly. In Pakistan’s political history first direct elections on the basis of adult franchise were held in the period of 1970 in which issues were the main driving force which mobilized the masses to challenge the forces of status quo. Before that only provincial and local (Basic Democrats) elections were held to constitute the Central Legislative Assembly which were comprised of members of old dynastic families, and politics revolved around the agenda of dispensation of political favours.

The task of political forces had to absorb the masses by giving them opportunity to participate in the elections and in other relevant political process to sail the democracy smoothly rather than alienating them by the coercive or any other legal mechanism. It had been observed that the early regimes adopted the legal measures in the form of PRODA (Public and Representative Offices Disqualification Act) and EBDO (Elective Bodies Disqualification Order) in 1949 and 1959 respectively to curb the activities of the politicians.\textsuperscript{33} Political parties or the factions of influential personnel rendered their support to a regime, quasi democratic or whether military to exact favours through ministerial positions, loans and property allocations. This state of affair was the consequence of either weak party structure or the absence of the extension of national

\textsuperscript{32}Ibid.,p.50.
\textsuperscript{33}Under the PRODA the central and provincial government could dismiss a minister found guilty of corruption or misconduct by a tribunal of federal or High Court judges set up by the government. The premier of Sind was dismissed on charges of corruption and misconduct in April, 1948, and the West Punjab ministry was dismissed in January, 1949. There were several dismissals and ministerial changes in Sind during 1948-51. See Khalid Bin Sayeed, Ibid, 1966, p.63
parties’ program to all parts of the country which had to provide the consensus-based political culture. In the early phase of Pakistan’s politics, Keith Callard observed:

The system of political parties in Pakistan bears little resemblance to that of most other democratic countries. Politics has begun at the top. …Politics is made up of a large number of leading persons who, with their political dependents, form loose agreements to achieve power and to maintain it’.\(^{34}\)

It was the shifting alliances of the political parties to form the governments of their own choices in the provinces without giving any serious attention to the issues of constitutional importance i.e. status of the Urdu and regional languages, nature of the electorate, settlement of the refugees and the status of Islam. In Bengal after the provincial elections 1954 the United Front got the explicit majority, resultantly formed the government which was alternately changed within the front coalitional partners due to the changing allegiance of the front constituent parties with each other. The United Front was the coalition of Awami League, Nizam-i-Islam, Krishak Sramik Party, Ganatantri Dal, the Congress, the Scheduled Caste Federation and the United Progressive Party. After Fazlul Haq dismissal from the East Bengal ministry, new entrant was Abu Hussain Sarkar who ran the ministry with the support of all the constituent parties of the Front except Awami League. Major disagreements on both local and national issues cause four of the minor parties to announce their withdrawal from the coalition and it was later formed by the Awami League under the Attaur Rehman. Keith Callard generally remarked over this situation that ‘a coalition such as this could have no conceivable common policy, but it was in a position to maintain a government…’.\(^{35}\) In NWFP, ministry of Congress and Red shirts was changed with the Muslim league in 1948. Dr. Khan Sahib was removed and Khan Qayum Khan took over the charge of the government with the support of fifteen Muslim League members and seven of the deserters of the supporter of the Congress in previous ministry.\(^{36}\) So it was the reflection of the pursuit of personal ambitions. Keith Callard also pointed over this situation that ‘for a politician who wants to survive, when the leaders

---


\(^{35}\) Ibid., p.60.

\(^{36}\) Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan in the Twentieth Century: A Political History*, 3\(^{rd}\) Impression, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 2001, p.86.
change, loyalties change too\textsuperscript{37}. At the centre same kind of situation appeared in 1956 when Muhammad Ali resigned as Prime Minister, the Muslim League-Republican understanding came to an end. A coalition of the Awami League and the Republican Party formed the new administration.\textsuperscript{38} Speedy replacements in the office of the Prime Minister in these early years, witnessed seven Prime Ministers. It showed the trends of weak democratic norms and elevated the prospectus of undemocratic forces to control the charge of the representative offices.\textsuperscript{39} Richard Symonds reflected this situation: ‘the opportunism that was so embedded in Pakistani political culture was a feature of a history that pre-dated the state’.\textsuperscript{40} Appeals to a higher loyalty, to patriotism and love of country, were not unanswered, but the response could only be measured by conditions prevailing at that time. Some remarks as that of Richard Symonds, given by Lawrence Ziring in his observations on Ayub’s period, reflected diverse strands of loyalty which checked the process of national integration.

‘The issue of ethos and political culture burdened Ayub, and he struggled to come to grips with a country whose human condition was demonstrably Muslim, but whose life force reflected so many diverse representations of the human psyche. Ayub was charged with creating a nation from peoples whose identities were rooted in regional and ethnic circumstances, a people who, until Pakistan, were never asked to give expression to an expanded community. Having experienced little, if any, physical mobility, the vast majority of Pakistanis lived out their lives in relatively secluded environments, and seldom were of their number energized to consider the circumstances of those far from their kith and kin. … Colonial policy gave specificity to each human order, and sustained separation was the centerpiece of imperial control and administration’.\textsuperscript{41}

\textsuperscript{38} Ibid.,66.
The chaos of the period from 1951-1958 was also an outcome of the interference of the non-representative actors. The façade of parliamentary politics permitted the civilian and military bureaucrats to rule without being accountable for their actions. There was conflict of ideas and interests between the politicians and bureaucrats because one has to deliver the patronage for his political survival while others have to preserve their administrative neutrality along with the perception of better protector of rules of business. Charles Burton Marshall, who was the advisor of the different Prime Minister of Pakistan during 1955-57 remarked:

"Failure of the legislative principle in Pakistan has been too obvious to be denied. With it the idea of constitutional government and, of democratic processes have come into disrepute. I [Charles Burton Marshall] was often told by Pakistanis from president Mirza down, of the prematurity and impracticability of democracy in Pakistan…".

People were not responsible for the follies of the leaders. They have made their contribution by taking part in the electoral process to make the system functional. Pakistan rushed into independence and representative responsibilities fell on those shoulders that were already in control of the political life of the nation. In the main the so-called representatives of the people were the aristocrats, landlords and their sycophants, but especially the patriarchs who dominated the land as well as the people dependent upon that land for their sustenance and survival.

The political structure of the state had undergone a new phase of social transformation with the development of education and industry. The indices of modernization brought a change in the thinking of the people of the most populous cities of Pakistan. People in the urbanity got employment opportunities due to industrialization and the pattern of social life which

---

42 There was head on clash between the political ambitious Hamid-ul-Haq Chaudhry, Minister of Finance, Commerce and Industries in the government of East Bengal and the dyed-in-the-wool bureaucrat, Aziz Ahmad, the Chief Secretary, who wanted to maintain the best traditions of the Indian Civil service. During the inquiry conducted against Hamid-ul-Haq Chaudhry, it was alleged that the chief secretary had appointed the commissioner of sales tax without consulting the Finance Minister and that several other secretaries were appointed without the approval of the ministers concerned. Another allegation was that the chief secretary had taken over the accommodation board which allocated houses to officials and non-officials in the province under his jurisdiction when it should have been the responsibility of the minister of revenue, at that time Hamid-ul-Haq Chaudhry. K.B. Sayeed, *The Political System of Pakistan*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1967, p.64.

emerged was more individual rather than collective. This individual pattern strengthened with the passage of time due to the stability in the consumption habits and due to the division of labour. It led to more economic independence which burdened them off from the strings of their masters and they participated in the electioneering with their independent thinking. The election results of 1971 manifested the thinking pattern of the people in which they voted for the Awami League in the East wing and for the Pakistan Peoples Party in the West wing of the country on the bases of the issue of emancipation from the forces of the status quo. Land reforms introduced by Ayub Khan and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto brought some of the changes in the economic patterns of the rural life which increased the level of social awareness of rural community. Bhutto introduced the politics at grass roots level with maximum massive participation in which people identified themselves more with the political parties than with the other sources of traditional power i.e., religion, language, biradri (closed family network based on common ancestor and blood relationship) and others. Bhutto, educated in western tradition, tried to build the society which was demoralized after the dismemberment of East Pakistan in 1971. He practically dreamed of a society based on the principle of social justice by introducing the socialist pattern of life to eliminate the exploitation of the people by the capitalist through state power. He introduced the new modules of leading life but did not prepare the people to absorb all. He nationalized the economy of private sector to reduce the gap between the ‘haves’ and ‘have-nots’. He had to face the challenges of social reform which he inherited from the previous regimes. He had to make some structural adjustments in the society to boast and regain the confidence of demoralized society.

After Bhutto’s era, Pakistan was again plunged into the rule of martial law, imposed by Zia ul Haq in 1977. Zia ul Haq ruled for eleven years (1977 to 1988) without any moral, legal or constitutional restraint. In Nusrat Bhutto’s case the Supreme Court of Pakistan provided Zia a blank cheque to rule the country according to his discretion to the extent that he could amend the constitution of 1973 up to his convenience albeit subject to the authentication by the Supreme Court. Zia, in 1982, promulgated the Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO), depriving the

---

Supreme Court of its superior role which required the judges of the Higher Courts to take a fresh oath under the PCO and confine themselves to a curtailed and limited jurisdiction. He discouraged all political forces and banned the political parties. He legitimized his rule by the symbolic politics of Islamisation. Islam and political democracy were the two forces set in motion. In this way, he sought to structure the interface between these two major claimants of the attention of the Pakistani masses. He could not understand the difference between Islam as a social process and a legal theory. In this regard he got the support of that segment of society viz., Jamm’at Islami which had a little political following in terms of electoral strength. This policy of Zia promoted religious extremism which was further strengthened due to Afghan jihad as a consequence of the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan by the forces of the erstwhile Soviet Union (1979-1988). The election 1985, held on non-party basis, retrograded and de-accelerated the political process. He declared all the political parties ‘defunct’ and later Council of Islamic ideology declared that parties are un-Islamic. This election once again pushed the masses to cast their vote on non-issue bases like that of religion, cast, clan, tribe and language. Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM) was the product of this fragmented polity. It was formed in 1986 with the slogan of introducing the fifth nationality, ‘the mohajir’ in Pakistan. However the significance of the political parties in the political process was fully realized by Muhammad Khan Junejo who reorganized not only the Pakistan Muslim League but also persuaded Zia to allow the political parties to revive and become part of the political process. Muhammad Khan Junejo knew that the real strength of democracy was rested with the support of the political parties, not in the support and blessing of the president. So for this purpose special committees were appointed in both houses of Parliament to consider the necessary conditions for the revival of political parties. The resultant Political Parties Bill was introduced in November which provided the detail requirements for any political party wishing to participate within the system.

---

discourse and that is why he allowed the Political activities to take place which gained momentum when some of the exiled leadership was allowed to come back in Pakistan.

In 1986 Benazir Bhutto returned home after a spell of exile which provided fresh blood and new life to the political process and gradually the political parties started gaining some of the ground which they had lost during martial law (1977-1985). Strength and power gained by the political parties outside the parliament further strengthened the Prime Minister Junejo vis a vis Zia as president and chief of army staff. Junejo, by that time, had learnt to assert the authorities of the prime minister refusing to follow the line of the president in the performance of his job. It can be very well ascertained by the fact that the Geneva Accord of 1988 was signed by Zain Noorani instead of foreign minister of Pakistan, Mr Sahibzada Yaqoob Khan, a nominee of Zia. Another encounter between Zia and Junejo came to the forefront when Junejo asserted himself in monitoring the probe into the incident of Ojri Camp on 10th of August 1988 near Rawalpindi, and decided to take those top military officers to the tasks who were involved in the incident. Consequently in the end of May 1988, Junejo was dismissed by Zia and a date for holding of fresh elections was announced. In the meanwhile Zia was killed in an air crash near Bahawalpur on 17th of August 1988 leaving all the stakeholders and competitors for securing power in a vacuum to resettle their respective positions.

After that Pakistan entered into a new phase of her political life. Election date was announced by the judiciary and political parties were allowed to take part in the coming elections. In the wake of elections, democracy revived in Pakistan after a long spell of military rule when Benazir Bhutto, daughter of Zulifqar Ali Bhutto, a former Prime Minister, assumed the office of the Prime Minister of Pakistan as the first lady of the Muslim world to be the head of the government. The period from 1988 to 1997 witnessed four political governments in which Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharief headed the government alternately.

The importance of this period lies in the revival of democratic process in Pakistan. Political parties with their programs appealed to the electorate who responded to their calls, and greased the political process to work on. Constitution of Pakistan clearly defined the time span of an Assembly that is five years but none of the Government completed its term due to
the controversies between the political forces controlling authority at federal and provincial levels. Such controversies pushed the country into the state of crisis that led to the invocation of Article 58(2b) which had tilted the balance of power in favour of the president, since its insertion in the Constitution of 1973 through the 8th Amendment in 1985.

This hampered political process met its nemesis without getting a spacious time to flourish and establish political ethos. The struggle to establish a parliamentary democracy in a federal setting had to face the problems of inter-ethnic strife, religious obscurantism, fragmented elites, praetorian rule and the influences of the external powers. Country was plunged into the crisis of governance. Instead of letting the political process to take its shape along the patterns of social life, it was hampered by the military, again. Military intervened in 1999 and clamped against the political process. Political process once again was derailed and political forces were declared responsible for their ineptitude towards the political ethos. It took the rule in the name of order and stability, and justified its rule in the name of economic development. The dictator stated it peoples’ rule through ‘devolution plan’ of governmental power by introducing the local government institutions. This was the stated view of the establishment not of the people of Pakistan. The people of Pakistan did not approve the one point agenda of the military as the referendum of Zia held in 1984 and of Parvaiz Musharraf in 2002.

It raises some of the questions, which need attention to comprehend the nature of the system. How far the people of Pakistan had been committed to the system to let it function according to the democratic rules? Why the political governments had been dissolved prematurely, and to what an extant did they fulfill their agenda which they exposed in their election programs? How far the social complexities eroded the writ of the government? These are the questions which had been answered with the help of evidence, presented by most of the authors produced in their work on the politics of Pakistan. These questions can also be answered by evaluating the working of different political parties and their attendant leadership which by their narrowed vision plunged the Pakistan into a crises state. It would be more appropriate to know the working of the political institutions which in one way or other pushed Pakistan into the state of instability due to their vested interests. Could it be the result of dissatisfaction
among the public with the political process which had not met their expectations or was it the imbalanced growth of the units of the political system? The questions and their related premises increased the urge of query to know about those traditions, norms, values and propensities which not only constitute the behaviour but also have force to determine its directions. The aim of the present study is to know the cross currents of cultural values in the process of electioneering, and also to seek their impact on the political behaviour of the people of Pakistan.

The question of political culture is being explored in the realm of democratic political system. Its particular functioning in the state of Pakistan will categorize the behavior of the people to facilitate to understand the level of indoctrination of this political value. Democracy is widely accepted norm of the modern world and one has to judge and see how far the people of Pakistan participated in maintaining this norm? The basic premise of this value is the participation of public in political decisions and the most important one of all these decisions is the activity of election. Our concern is to investigate the electoral behavior, which is an activity formulated in a system and gives trademark to that system. By participating in this activity people become the part of mechanism which is required for political change. It not only widens the base of participation but also infuses the sense of affiliation among the masses. This research will not only analyze the patterns of behavior and their interactions, but also those subjective propensities which are located in the political system as a whole and have exuberant influence over the psyche of the voters. The properties of political culture are the outcome of political socialization and, through this process, attitudes and values are inculcated. So the aftereffects of any such political activity in the structure help us to make sense the nature of the social process.

Political activity is the part of political system which could be defined as an authoritative allocation of values but it could not be assumed as an articulate premise for research. Indeed electoral activity will be analyzed in a system, but the nature of system is contingent upon the operative framework of the political behavior by which it would be declared as democratic or

---

48 In David Easton’s model the construct of the political system was based on the quantitative aspect of political life to understand it as a systemic activity that clearly separates the political life from the rest of the social activity. David Easton, An Approach to the Analysis of Political Systems, *World Politics*, April, 1957, p.384, pp.383-400.
authoritative. So in this study political system is being taken as a functional unit to analyze the political behavior of the people of Pakistan.

The research on ‘Dilemma of Political Culture’ has taken its hypothetical sense from the analysis of the electoral data from 1988 to 1997, which grasped the social disposition of the masses as real source of authority. This study is an attempt to know the level of maturity, demonstrated by the people of Pakistan while reaching their political decisions during the elections. Most of the studies, available in the form of secondary sources, have focused on the different political trends of Pakistan. But the paucity of research is also visible when we have encountered a very few sources which dealt with the issue of election and electoral behavior. Their review sharpened the understanding to grasp the sense of the issue which had been put under investigation. The study of the sources also provided the ambit of the research to explore the theoretical considerations for the ratification or the falsification of the assumptions.

1.3. Study of Sources:

More has been penned down on the general political dynamics and trends of Pakistan but less has been produced in the field of electoral politics. The writings of different authors on Pakistan can be categorized in terms of their ideological predispositions and as well by their embedded intellectual tendency which had been developed in due course of their academic learning. A very few social scientists and researchers have taken the interests to investigate the electoral politics of Pakistan, while most of them have written ubiquitously on the democratic and political trends of Pakistan. All of them are trained in western tradition—liberal secular political thought—which has developed impact on the intellectual content of their work. Here the names of some writers are being mentioned for their intellectual input on the issues of elections, and they also explored the impact of these elections on the body-politic of Pakistan. The names are the followings: K.B.Sayeed, Sharief al Mujahid, Shahid Javed Burki, Norman D. Palmer, M.G.Weinbaum, Muhammad Waseem, Andrew R. Wilder, Anwar H. Sayed, Craig Baxter, Lawrence Ziring, Rasul Bux Rais and Charles H.Kennedy.

Professor Sharief al Mujahid in his research articles on the ‘Pakistan’s First Presidential Elections’; ‘The Assembly Elections in Pakistan’ and ‘Pakistan: First General Elections’ took up
the traditional approach to address the issue of elections by giving more attention to the politico-administrative institutions rather than identifying the impact of socio-political factors on voters’ decisions in elections. He is seemingly idealistic in his approach to judge the voters’ decision by calculating the influence of ecological factors concerning to the issues of national or ideological importance rather than impinging on the subjective considerations.  

Sharief al Mujahid while writing over this issue had come to know that masses know very well the outcome of their political decision which had been matured enough by the process of electioneering. On the elections of 1970 Sharief al Mujahid writes:

‘…[The] elections have proved beyond doubt that the people are mature enough politically to participate in the democratic process thereby refuting the dictum that democracy is not suited to the particular genius of Pakistan.’

Professor Sharief al Mujahid in his article ‘The 1977 Pakistani Elections: An Analysis’ in the book *Contemporary Pakistan* by Manzooruddin Ahmed in 1982 described the general patterns of elections, not of voting behaviour. In this article no particular methodology had been hired by which voters voting decision could be identified in some of its patterns to recognize the systemic structures and value patterns of Pakistan’s society. He took the paraphernalia in his analysis of elections 1977 and gave more importance to the administrative setup as the machinery of election administration and its networking in the regions; the number of contestants against the seat of national and provincial assemblies; parties manifestos and the issues of national concerns without evaluating its connectivity with the voters; and general context of the political circumstances in which election was conducted. He indeed talked about the importance of election in the form of collective decision in the political process. He also talked about the role of election to bring into focus the nature of political culture, the cross currents of nationalism and sub-nationalisms and the continued impact of pressure and interest associational groups.  


seemingly he failed to manifest any methodological relationship between or among these factors to identify the position of the voters in the ambit of his/her voting decision.

Shahid Javed Burki and Craig Baxter in their research Article on ‘Socio-Economic Indicators of the People’s Party Vote in the Punjab: A Study at the Tehsil Level’ sought the effects of genic-coefficients on the voters’ voting decision and with this approach they analyzed the impact of socio-economic development over the voter’s psyche at the unit of tehsil. They visualized that higher the level of development of socio-economic indicators there is more tendency of voters’ inclination toward political party. In their opinion political objects played the positive role in mobilizing the masses. They noticed that issues of public concern projected by the political parties enticed the masses and so it was the Pakistan Peoples Party which was on voters’ choice list. On the basis of their model they noted that voter is very much sensitive to the issues of utility. Their model of modernization have had three characteristics viz., urbanization, industrialization, and education which were considered socio-economic determinants to analyse the voting trends but their analysis of voting behaviour lacked the influence of political determinants. They also observed a decline in the influence of traditional structures like the biradri and feudalism. But they could not get the qualitative and quantitative evidence to endorse their findings.

Norman D. Palmer in his book *Elections and Political Development: The South Asian Experience* described normatively about the elections of Pakistan in the seventh and eighth chapters of the book. He discussed the issue of elections with its past legacy and with the influence of modern indicators of change which had clearly changed the mood of electioneering in 1970 when voters were more inclined towards those parties which had exposed the social bases of differences between the masses. He gave some of the general features of the electoral politics in which the involvement of voter in electoral process is based upon the level of his/her attachment with the different political entities. The influence of some of the ecological factors was also identified in the building up the opinion of the voters about voting. He talked about the various levels of political participation by the voters classified as—Apathetic, spectator activities, transitional

---

activities and gladiatorial activities in his description of the elections and the electoral behavior. The hierarchical chart of classification has been presented below. He gave the primacy to the political objects which exposed the voters towards political values. He also evaluated the rate of political participation of voters in the political system on behalf of the role of political objects like political parties, their electoral manifesto and the role of their leadership. This model of political involvement was first presented by Lester W Milbrath in his book *political participation* but Norman D. Palmer seemingly did not employ such kind of tools to observe and analyze the political behaviour of the voters of Pakistan.

**Hierarchy of Political Involvement:**

Apathetic; Spectator Activities; Transitional Activities; Gladiatorial Activities

---

**Gladiatorial Activities:** Holding public or party office; being candidate for office; soliciting political funds; attending caucus or a strategy meeting; being an active member in a political party; contributing time in a political campaign

**Transitional Activities:** Attending a political meeting and rally; making a monetary contributing to a party or candidate; contacting a political leadership

**Spectator Activities:** Putting a sticker on a car; attempting to talk another into voting a certain way; initiating a political discussion voting

**Apathetic:** Exposing oneself to Political Stimuli

M.G.Weinbaum in his article ‘The March 1977 Elections in Pakistan: Where Everyone Lost’ gave the analysis of election in which the role of political parties had been visualized in the context of political bargaining for their survival rather than for the strengthening of the political values. He described that in the elections, political parties relied more on the weaknesses of each other’s political axis, formed before and after the elections, to gain their benefits. These alignments were developed before the election to muster the support of the voters rather than the

---


result of any ideological underpinnings. Pakistan Peoples Party relied on the support of traditional rural families to counter the strategy of opposition which had constituted an alliance of nine parties in the name of Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). He also described that Pakistan Peoples Party in its election campaign relied on its past gains which it tried to deliver the masses through effective structural changes while opposition stressed on the Islamic revivalism. In this description author realized that the voters had the political consciousness but they had been mobilized in the electoral activity by the socially stigmatized variables. So he appreciated the level of political consciousness in which political variables and media had played their role but he could not count on it for his analysis of the election 1977. Another social scientist, Rasul Baksh Rais, commented upon the elections 1985 which were conducted by Zia regime on non-party basis in not very different way. In his article “Elections in Pakistan: Is Democracy Winning’ he provided the interplay of traditional forces which had an overawed influence in determining the electoral decisions. He said that…party-less nature of elections and the ban on traditional means of electioneering prevented debate on national issues…for that reason, the election campaign in rural areas was dominated by local issues, the personal influence of the candidate, the ties to clan, tribe or biradri(family) and the feudal social bases in particular, largely determined the outcome of elections.55 His analysis was lacked in empirical evidence. So his interpretation was more normative in essence.

The other names in the field of social science research are Muhammad Waseem and Andrew R.Wilder who have given their thorough study on the electoral politics of Pakistan with the difference of methodology in interpreting the dynamics and trends of this phenomenon. Muhammad Waseem has described some of the reasons for the paucity of the research on the electoral politics of Pakistan. The most striking reason which he has cited is that, in Pakistan, there is a decline of social sciences and dearth of intellectual depth in conducting research in this sphere.56 He has taken the election as a legitimizing factor in governance and transfer of authority because it carries the mass mandate. His two exclusive works on elections provide better description of the historical and institutional factors in determining the fate of democracy. He observes: ‘…out of the two components [military & bureaucracy] of the British heritage of

‘tutelary democracy’, the constitutional tradition based on the rule of public representatives was put in abeyance. He has concluded that people of Pakistan participate actively in electoral activity due to their increasing sense of knowing the importance of the delivery system. He judged the importance of political mobilization due to rapid transformation of society and gave his explanatory details regarding the formation and functioning of the government in the wake of election. He made his observation about the issue of elections on the basis of traditionally demarcated constituencies, role of parties, the electoral strength of political parties and the role of local leadership. Yet, he did not analyze the impact of the indices of modernization and the role of primordial associations on voting. Much of his study is based on the antecedents of elections—focused on legal and constitutional issues rather than on sociological analysis of the people’s political, cultural and sociological attitudes relating to their electoral choices.

He concluded in his book *The 1993 Elections in Pakistan* that “Pakistani voter is passive not only because he was confused about the party profiles but also because he remained immobilized”. Here some of the questions are raised about the above cited propositions regarding the behavior of voters. It can be questioned why a healthy proportion of voter is ready to go for vote which is visible from the turn out of four general elections (1988-1997) of the national and provincial assemblies and it stood between 36 to 46%. The other question is that why did the voters prefer to vote for parties rather than for the independent candidates?

Andrew R. Wilder also pointed out the paucity of the material on the electoral politics of Pakistan. He assessed the available material to meet the requirement of his research design, and has developed a strong framework by which he analyzed the electoral data available in the form of electoral reports published by the Election Commission of Pakistan. He also conducted the interview to collect the qualitative data to substantiate the argument of his research. His generalizations show that political determinants of voting behaviour such as identification with the party in urban areas and patronage orientation in rural areas are growing in importance relative to social determinants. He seems to be right in his second argument where he is convinced about the trend of paternalistic kind of politics due to the role of influential personals

---

57 Ibid., p.13.
58 Ibid., p.239.
in their constituencies. The frame-work of the study of the problem of ‘political culture’ differs from the perception of Andrew wilder to make a strong reference to the party variable in the rural as well as in the urban areas. Andrew Wilder in his research while analyzing the Provincial and National Assembly Elections (1988-1990-1993) demonstrated convincingly that voters voted for those candidates or the parties which pledged to provide with the tangible benefits or delivered when they assumed the charge of the government rather than cushioned the people with empty slogans.60

In the section below major part of the analysis is related to the functioning of the political system of Pakistan, and it has also accounted the process of democratization with its attendant colonial legacy. The names of some of the renowned scholars are being mentioned for their scholarly contribution over the subject of politics, democracy and political development of Pakistan. Lawrence Ziring, Robert Laporte Jr, Charles H Kennedy, Wayne Wilcox and Craig Baxter have written a lot on the politics of Pakistan. They with their American intellectual tradition visualized the society of Pakistan as traditional and less prone to the modern developments and still stew in the legacy of past which it inherited after the partition of the subcontinent in 1947. Robert Laporte Jr. remarks on the early two decades of Pakistan’s political history which characterized that:

History has influenced perceptions of present day Pakistan. The more recent colonial period and the actualities of British rule have contributed to the present inequities that exist in the political and economic systems of Pakistan. Colonial strategy, tactics and ethics initiated and inculcated by the British established the precedents for political and economic exploitation in Pakistan. Indeed one might maintain that British taught too well their concepts of colonial governance, control and exploitation to the elites of Pakistan and that these legacies rather than English notions of democracy and popular government have been the more effectively maintained.61

---

They also come across with some of the trends which were healthy signs for the grooming of democratic values in Pakistan.

Wayne Wilcox standardized the liberal political traditions as a guarantee for a state if it has to be a modern welfare state. In respect to Pakistan he regretted that new emerging state from colonial rule has to rearrange its relationships with its constituent units instead of carrying on the burden of past imperial rule which was administrative in nature and style. He described that

…if Pakistan is to become one nation, it requires years of common history and experience under gifted leaders, who, while maintaining consensus within their own circles, recognize their obligations to the broader public.62

He has written a lot on the politics of Pakistan, particularly on the decade of Ayub. The seeming trend in his writing is that Pakistan’s politicians are in the phase of learning political ethos, and people of Pakistan worked only an agent to support the system which has been delved into autocratic form. He cited the remarks of Percival Spear to mention the psychological and social character of people of Pakistan that ‘modernized Pakistani resembles the Frenchman in his abstract belief in democracy and practical preference for authority’63.

Craig Baxter in his article ‘Pakistan Vote:1970’ expressed that in the decade of Ayub Khan the people of Pakistan disenchanted with the system of Ayub due to their political awareness and they rejected most of the old guards.64 But on the other hand some have the opinion that Pakistan is still facing the crisis of governance due to not adapting herself to the modern developments. Charles H. Kennedy who in one of his articles ‘The Politics of Ethnicity in Sindh’ gave his view over the patterns of electoral voting in 1988 that it was more pliant to ethnic biases due to its divide between Muajhir Quami Movement(MQM), having strength in the urban areas of Karachi and Hyderabad, and Pakistan Peoples Party(PPP) which is the voice of rural Sindh.65 So people are more prone to their traditional biases and attachments instead of relieving themselves from the undue burden of malign tendencies which hinder the growth of free liberal

ideas and institutions. Kennedy seemingly failed to taking into account the importance of non-political factors which might be influenced the voting pattern. He also could not account for the voting decision under the pursuit of interests. On the other hand Lawrence Ziring weighed the political behavior in the cross currents of the development of parallel power institutions. He expressed his concerns that the juxtaposition of the civil-military bureaucracy and the politicians was the inevitable consequence of the colonial era[and] Pakistani political life was consumed by the forces of necessity, not by the promise of democratic development.66

Lawrence Ziring also discussed the issue of election in his different research articles. His approach to discussing the election is not very much different from other scholars. He gave considerable weight to the political objects like political parties, leaders of the parties and their programs in his analysis of the politics of Pakistan. He gave his remarks over the election 1977 of Pakistan that were more prone to the influence of any of the above said factors without fixing the importance of other socio-economic determiners, as a parallel force, in the nature of the political system. He talked about the role of political elements in the democratization of the polity of Pakistan, where, they had not been flourished according to the demands of the time to project the image of the state as a stable democracy. In the article “Pakistan: The Campaign Before the Storm”67 he evaluated the role of the political parties in the event of the election campaign, indicated more of the wrangling and the conflict between the last office bearer party and the coalition of opposition forces on the other side of the spectrum. They tried to let down each other’s agenda without weighing the issues with their local and national importance. His explanation seemingly failed to count the influence of traditional and modern values over the decision of voters, and in this explanation he could not provide an empirical evidence to support his generalization about the role of parties in mobilizing the masses over the issues of different importance. His study of elections is also a descriptive one, not different as cited by Craig Baxter and Sharief al Mujahid.

Syed Wali Raza Nasir’s explanation about the nature of Pakistan’s politics is not different from that of others whose description has been cited above. His study maintained that the legacy of

---

Zia’s Era did not favor the Pakistan People’s Party due to the serialization of the national political discourse. Pakistan Peoples Party emphasized more on secular politics, and the polemic of democracy, restricted its maneuverability in a religiously charged polity. It could be said that Wali Raza Nasir had ignored the role of other social bases, over the psyche of the masses, which had been transformed during this period due to the earnings of the Pakistani labour force, working abroad, sending it into the Pakistan’s economy as a remittances. He failed to notice that symbolic approach of politics in Zia’s Era worked ineffectively in mobilizing the masses to achieve any major political objective. This aspect of Zia’s regime was overtly stated by him. Some of these authors described that in Pakistan, forces of state building and nation building, were working at cross purposes. In their study they failed to appreciate the participatory attitude of the people of Pakistan in sustaining the democratic institutions—procedural it may be.

Ayesha Jalal while defining the dialectical nature of Pakistan’s politics has referred to democracy as an exercise of citizen’s voting rights in election, and elections are only the political manifestation of democratization in social sphere. What she said about Pakistan’s democracy that due to the weak negotiating and resisting power of the democratic institutions, authoritative structures retained their power of bargaining. While leveling criticism over her description about the politics of Pakistan, it was judged that she ignored the democratization’s normative or substantive appeal derived from the empowerment of the people in the form of refusing to cast the vote in the presidential referendum. It gave the impression that people of Pakistan were very much aware about the role played by the non-political institutions. Same was the observation of the Ian Talbot about the contours of the state of Pakistan in which political forces had been compelled to work in harmony with those which supported the agenda of the state rather than the society for the seeking of their vested interests. Ian Talbot in Pakistan: A Modern History had given the opinion over the nature and the role of the social structures of Pakistan, operating in the rural side which had an overawed influence over the people of Pakistan in their decision of political importance. He described that unequal rural power relationship, inherent in the feudal system, has been more influential in shaping Pakistani politics. But he did not appreciate the role played by the people to take part in the activity of the elections, whenever it had been offered, to

---

provide the legitimacy to the democratic rule for the changing of the political office, and as well also rejected the image about their apolitical behavior. Remarks of Louis D.Hayes were also not different from others while stating the ideals of state building which remained at odd with those acts which were more autocratic rather than democratic. Louis D. Hayes in *The Struggle for Legitimacy in Pakistan* describes the failure of the political system of Pakistan due to the lack of relationship between foundation of the state and the requirements of modernization by any institutional arrangements. He described the failure of Pakistan’s political system on different grounds; most clear of them is incompatibility among the concepts of authority that lead to legitimacy.

Authors such as Tariq Ali, Selig Harrison, and Lawrence Ziring, while discussing the politics of Pakistan have prophesied an eventual gloomy future of the country. However their neglect of the strides forward in the economic and social arena, largely due to the efforts of its people, is quite noteworthy. From the back waters of the British Empire, Pakistan has not only succeeded in repudiating the apprehensions and expectations but has also reached the threshold of a middle-income status; communication revolution and the rise of associational and interest groups politics. The absence of strong party organization has slowed the swing in the balance of power from the landowners to the emergent middle classes. This thesis is not fully supported by the rise of MQM as a middle class party in Karachi and Hyderabad. So it means that people of Pakistan responded to that call which they think might be most suitable with in their socio-political context.

Some of the literature has been produced on the structural formation of the political parties and their role in the politics of Pakistan. K.K.Aziz and Rafiq Afzal has done some of the primary work to evaluate the performance of the leadership of the political parties in conducting the affairs of the democratic institutions of Pakistan. Political party is considered an important variable in channeling the opinion of the public from lower rung of the ladder to the echelons of higher authority. It has been observed that both these authors have not mentioned the role of the parties particularly in determining the political behaviour of the people of Pakistan in the activity

---

of elections.\textsuperscript{71} The manifestos of the parties have not been analyzed in influencing the decisions of the voters and as well as mobilizing them in the process of electioneering.

Pakistan has become a dynamic society after sixty years of its existence and its study with reference to political culture will create an interface between the public and the government to understand their combined role in the projection of nature of polity. This research is based on the perception of generalities derived through the study of existing stock of knowledge and from the analysis of electoral data. The findings of the investigation will be further supported by empirical evidence, provided through the analysis of the questionnaire data.

1.4. Methodology:

Epistemological understanding of the problem of social sciences facilitates the conduct of research and the logic of inquiry. The production of scientific knowledge goes through the process of legitimization based on: the methods that have been adopted in accordance with the research problem; how competently this method will be applied e.g., reliability and validity of data etc.

The nature of the questions regarding the perception of people about their socio-political milieu in which they interact with the societal institutions for leading the life, and the role of leadership in managing the problems of the people of Pakistan have been answered by inductive and deductive methods in the case study. Election statistics/data have been analysed inductively for the understanding of electoral behavior of the voter which in turn has helped to judge the political values of the people of Pakistan that how far they are matured enough. This exercise identifies three indicators to know and judge the voter’s response in electoral process:

\begin{enumerate}
  \item Factor of political party;
  \item Role of candidates in each constituency;
  \item Role of issues in determining the voter’s response.
\end{enumerate}

These variables have had the influence on the voter’s voting decision with their social-psychological paraphernalia. Electoral dynamics and local patterns of influence have been evaluated deductively, and in response to that an inductive analysis of electoral results and

questionnaire data correspondingly generalized the political behavior of the people of Pakistan. The turnout comparison of the national and provincial elections of the four regions of Pakistan along with their variations in registered vote, depicted the peoples response of each area along with the role of political objects in the realm of electoral activity. Qualitative and quantitative aspects of this research came to fore which manifested the underlying patterns of studied phenomenon. The turnout of each constituency has been analyzed not only to get the rate of participation of the masses in the electoral activity but it also depicted the reliability of the political system. In the analysis of each constituency some of the factors like party, candidate, issue and registered vote constructed the model in which interplay of the above said variables affected the voters’ voting decision. In the four consecutive elections from 1988 to 1997 no unusual pattern in registered votes had been observed in the constituencies. So this non-political variable had not affected the overall outcome of the electioneering.

The generalizations of this research were empirically tested by the questionnaire which in turn helped to build the theoretical model. The data generated through questionnaire helped as an additional verifying source for theoretical propositions. Other theories, presented by Columbia school, Michigan school, Rational Model and Rudolph-Weiner model in the domain of electoral politics seemed helpful in recognizing the general political behavior of a society and to denominate the nature of its political culture. They were also tested by the explanation of the electoral activity. Questionnaire was close ended and measured the level of participation in relation to attachment with party’s program, candidate/leader’s influence and issues’ impact on voters’ decision. Questionnaire in its qualitative mode generated quantitative data which has been analyzed inductively. Interpretations of findings of questionnaire were comparatively applied on the results of electoral data for their verification. Questionnaire was distributed randomly on the basis of registered vote in 1997 election in all the four regions of Pakistan.

Punjab was a proposed base in terms of more votes as compared to other regions of Pakistan for general distribution of 300 questionnaires in all the four regions of Pakistan— Punjab has 57.17% registered vote; Sindh- 21.91% registered vote; NWFP- 12.07% registered vote and Balochistan-5.52% registered vote while rest of the registered vote is included in FATA which
is not part of our study. In that scheme the share of Punjab in questionnaire was 171, for Sindhi-65 (60 gave response), NWFP-36 and Balochistan-16 (15 gave response).

SES (Socio-Economic Statistic) factor has been kept constant in observing the impact of different variables on voters’ decision. In this research main focus has been laid on the analysis of electoral data for empirical evidence and questionnaire sample was used only for evaluating the opinion of people for their correlation with identified variables and as well to corroborate and supplement the findings of electoral data. Statistical program, minitab\textsuperscript{72} has been used for the analysis of generated data. Its’ one section of ‘mean’ has been used for analysis. This statistical program has been used because it provided the accommodating language and liberty to the users to do what they want to see.

It laid the path for the explanation of the phenomenon of ‘political culture’. Therefore emphasis has been placed on the determinants of the voting behaviour which is a dependent phenomenon. The underlying determinants act as independent variables on voter’s choice, viz.,

i. Voting behaviour of a voter is determined by the impulse of the political parties;
ii. Voting behaviour of a voter is determined by the influence of the community;
iii. Voting behaviour of a voter is determined by the necessity of any issue which could be local, national or international;
iv. Voting behaviour of a voter is determined by the charisma of a leadership and by the influence and character of the candidate.

The analysis of electoral data has identified the impact of these variables on voters’ choice and, the endorsing effect of the questionnaire findings, has well defined the political response of the people of Pakistan in electoral activity. Political Culture has been measured through the exposition of the political behavior in the electoral activity to term it mature or immature. The above said scheme has been evaluated in the four provinces of

\textsuperscript{72} Minitab is a traditional statistics package and appropriate for interactive work and it provides freedom to researcher to use it what he/she wants to see. Paul F. Velleman; Roy E. Welsch, Efficient Computing of Regression Diagnostic, \textit{The American Statistician}, Vol.35,No.4, November,1981,p.239,pp.234-242.
Pakistan and it has been exposed in the part of chapters by which a comparative model of four provinces of Pakistan has been developed.

1.5. The Scheme of Chapters:

All above description has been made the part of first chapter which provided the foundation for further carrying the research with identifiable framework; and for understanding the political behaviour, the role of political parties seemed very important in political socialization of masses to political objects. So the psychological predisposition of the people has been measured first by the role of the political parties in mobilizing them. Their structures and manifestos depict their public posture by which they can attract them to be the part of mainstream politics.

1.5.1. Political Parties’ Structure and Their Elections’ Manifestos

Political parties play an important role in the electoral activity of a democratic setup in which space has been provided for the freedom of association and expression. In the political system, parties play an important role in the articulation and aggregation of the interests of the community. Political party works as an intervening variable as a linkage between the masses and the government. While in determining the rationale choice of the voters, it acts as an independent variable. Different political parties get involved in different electoral alliances to mobilize the masses for their agenda and issue the manifestos which are more or less similar in their contents. Electoral manifestos of the parties set the environment of competition in which people are involved indirectly to share their views on the issues of international, national, and local concerns. Pros and cons of the programs are evaluated at each level which in turn creates a common opinion on different issues. Party organization in itself depicts the strength of the democratic institution by enrolling the members for the each cadre of the party. Parties’ program and their organizational strength make them effective which entice the candidates to run the elections from the platform of the parties. In this chapter five parties have been taken for their electoral role due to their electoral strength in the four elections of Pakistan form 1988 to 1997. It has been observed that parties’ programs are more or less similar in their content,
and they also try to achieve their targets with the modalities, not very different from each other’s tenor.

1.5.2. Electoral Politics of Pakistan

This portion deals with the study of elections in their historical importance and as a formal act of collective decisions. Here political trends of the four regions of Pakistan will come to notice and voters’ political understanding will be simmered out. This section is consisted of theoretical debate on election, and conceptual understanding of election has been given by citing the different electoral theories. It also explains the trends of electoral behaviour in South Asia. Basically this chapter is useful in determining the role of elections as a measure of electoral behavior which will be subsequently explained in the light of political experiences of the four provinces of Pakistan.

1.5.3. Electoral Politics of North West Frontier Province

In the study of elections of NWFP, the influence of different variables—role of political parties, community situation (family, ethnic and class influences), sociological concerns (Issue priorities) and economic stakes (Development concerns), charisma of party’s leadership and candidate’s personality—has been counted on the decisions of the voters. These variables are the part of socio-political milieu from which they get their life force to influence the voters in their decision of voting. The identifying patterns of political behavior of this region are more or less similar with other parts of Pakistan except a little bit variation in some of the constituencies which are inclined towards the traditional patterns. The working and inter relationship of these factors individually and collectively can be segregated with their output effects. It will identify the importance of political party which will carry the burden of societal disposition into the system of election to churn it out as out-put response, and it has effectively changed the political outlook of this region.

1.5.4. Electoral Politics of Punjab

Here again in this chapter the role of different political variables evaluated to judge the political behavior of the voters of the Punjab. This province is generally in advantageous position due to better infrastructural development as compared to other provinces which absorbed the masses
into a socio-economic structure relatively more autonomous. The patterns of electoral behaviour are more or less similar as in other provinces with seemingly variation in the rate of mobilization and participation in the activities of election. Therefore the turnout of this region is comparatively better as compared to other regions of Pakistan. One of the most cited references in the politics of Pakistan is the role of religion which has not very cardinal influence in determining the activity of voters in the elections as compared to NWFP and Baluchistan.

In this chapter Punjab pre-partition’s political trends have been evaluated and some of the generalizations have been put under test in the analysis of electoral activity after partition particularly in the period of 1988 to 1997. In this province role of smaller parties consigned as the part of factional politics which are relying more on the electoral partnership with national party for their electoral existence. With the decreasing role of the smaller parties and of the independent candidates, the stature and the effectiveness of the national parties like PPP and PML-N had broadened.

1.5.5. Electoral Politics of Sindh

In this chapter history and political growth of institutions of Sind has been reviewed. It has been observed that after 1988 the political consciousness of Sindh raised more comparatively to other regions of Pakistan due to the emerging of nationalist trends in this province. The emergence of nationalist parties mobilized the voters of this region but failed to convert their opinion for the support of their program due to their weak organizational structure and narrow electoral appeal. They were the claimant of the voice of the people of Sindh but never acquired a substantial support in terms of vote. So the emerging of such nationalist parties or other factions of major party, claimant of Bhutto legacy, have not obtained the legitimate character within the masses.

This chapter highlights the rising image of MQM/HPG in some of the areas of Sindh and, visualized in the politics of MQM the rising of the middle class, a sign of social transformation. This political organization garnered the support of the voters in majority from Karachi and Hyderabad, most populous and urbanized centres of Sindh. Their electoral appeal is limited to those sections of society which are attached to each other on the one common ground of ‘Muhajir’ denomination. In this section it has been dilated on the performance of the national
party—PPP—for its popular agenda. In the rest of the province, role of Pakistan Peoples Party is overawed as compared to other national parties. It amassed the support of public on the charismatic appeal of the Bhutto’s personality which is considered one of legitimized factors of peoples association. So parties with wider agenda of representation have more electoral support as compared to others, and the people of this region have preferred to vote to those parties which had popular appeal.

1.5.6. Electoral Politics of Baluchistan

In this chapter cultural manifestation of the people of Baluchistan has been explored to see their adaptation to the values of modern political system. It has been evaluated that how far they had been inducted into the political system by the political means of modern democracy. Their parochial attachments have been put under test by judging the role of modern political idioms and symbols used by the candidates, political parties and the leadership of the parties. It has also been analyzed that how far the voters were influenced in their voting decisions by giving preference to the regional and Islamic parties as compared to national ones or the vice versa. All these assumptions have been investigated through the analysis of elections and with the response of answers from questionnaire.

Conclusion

This scheme of study concludes that the people of Pakistan are mature enough to take their decisions regarding their political fate independently. People of Pakistan know very well the nature of political dynamics working at local level and they respond accordingly. The study also shows that parties play a very active role in mobilizing the masses through their programs. This Chapter presents the findings of each chapter in the collective form to project the general features of Pakistani voters in the realm of politics and denominates the political culture of Pakistan as ‘mature’ or ‘immature’.
Chapter- 2

Political Parties’ Structure and Their Elections’ Manifestos

Political parties reflect public will in the state institutions and are responded in the elections by the masses on the basis of their agenda which manifests the desires and needs of the society. Most of the parties of Pakistan have common approach to the problems of the masses except some of the regional parties which address the masses of particular regions instead of the whole area of Pakistan. Political Parties on most of the issues of national importance seem united in their political approach but may be differ in their modalities of approaching the issues. This has been analyzed in the below stated sections which depict underlying predisposition of the structures and manifestos of the parties to understand their political sociology. The study of parties’ manifestos and their organizational structure seemed important to know how they targeted the voters for mobilizing them in electoral activity and in this way ensured their participation in electoral process. Parties seemingly had convergence on most of the issues but they deal them in their own ideological perspectives.

However the ensuing discussion on parties’ programme and their structure provided evidence about the political thinking of parties’ leadership with respect to masses. It also highlighted how people are made part of organizational structure in taking decision of their welfare. These indicators depicted how the political parties responded to the needs of the society. Peoples’ mobilization for the electoral activity on the basis of parties’ programme highlighted the interactive mechanism which helped to integrate the values into the political system. This concurrence and responsiveness of the parties and the public to each other determine the nature of political culture. If parties represent the preferences and objectives of the masses then it is one dimension of recuperating the values of masses, and which in turn render legitimacy to the electoral activity. In the underlying sections the conceptual study of political party has been made to get the working definition of the political party, and the forerunning environment of Pakistan’s politics has also been discussed to evaluate the proper functioning of the political parties’ emergence and their role in the electoral politics. The representative character of parties through the structure and manifestos has been described to draw the opinion on their democratic posture.
2.1. Conceptual Study of Political Party

Political party is the creature of modern political system and is considered the main instrument in the socio-political transformation of the society. Political parties perform the functions of social, political and economic development in a society which is governed under democracy or totalitarian regime. Samuel P. Huntington noted the importance of political party in the democratic process. He referred to political modernization and development with the observation that organization not only opened the road to political power but provided the pre-conditions of political stability and liberty.\(^1\) It has also been observed that institutional development of this nature does not keep pace in the democracies under transition with the expanding demand for political participation. So there is eventually a political instability, mass movement and violence, along with bureaucratic and military interventions may be expected in the domain of politics.

The study of the science of the political party is called ‘stasiology’. The term ‘stasiology’ derived from the Greek word *stasis*, meaning faction.\(^2\) Party systems are the product of many complex factors, some peculiar to individual countries, others general. Amongst the first may be cited tradition and history, social economic structure, religious beliefs, racial composition and national rivalries. Among the factors of general application the electoral regime is studied.\(^3\) Political parties have to be analyzed on their terms. They are the part of the pattern of a large society in which they are implicated. There could certainly be no guarantee that the pattern of each society would not turn out to be unique. Such a conclusion might suggest that political parties need to be studied not according to their apparent forms but according to the particular conditions in which they have been formed. Political party implies that masses must be taken into account by the political elite, either out of commitment to the ideological notion or selection of the leadership to participate in the public policy.

Some of the work done on political parties before the 1950s is considered to be of a primary significance in which the names of Ostrogorski, Robert Michel and Neumann are highly

Esteemed. Ostrogorski does not claim to present us with any law that governs political parties but he generalizes that parties are vehicle to draw the public into political process and assign to the party a role as a vehicle of rapid democratization. Michel described the ‘iron law of oligarch’ which is applied to all democratic political parties: parties everywhere run by a small group in their own interests, and parties are doomed as instrument of democratic government. Every government by nature is oligarch but the origin and training of the oligarchs may be very different and this determines their actions. Political party by its definition comes to the mark of the party if it has a disciplined voting. According to Ranney and Kendell, political parties are autonomous organized groups that make nominations and contest elections in the hope of eventually gaining and exercising control of the personnel and policies of government. These theoretical descriptions are useful in identifying the role of political parties in the political process. They are helpful to judge the political sociology of the masses. Here the definition of Ostrogorski appears more appropriate in evaluating the role of political parties in the political environment of Pakistan.

2.2. Description of Political Milieu of Pakistan

After the introduction of the democratic system of government in the subcontinent by the British, the role of the parties became inevitable for the transformation of the general will into political will that is represented through state institutions. Political party’s role is very cardinal in interests articulation, aggregation and to channel them in the political system for policies and decisions. Different political parties used the ideological abstractions, cultural symbols and historical references to create the political awareness among the masses. They mobilized the masses along these lines as well as with the social realities of the time through their election manifestos.

In the Democratic system of Pakistan political parties were allowed to take part in the political process except in the phases of military coup. As Ayub Khan banned the political parties from 1958 till the time of the promulgation of the second constitution of Pakistan and like wise Zia-ul-Haq also did the same from 1977 to 1988. The presence of political parties had been observed in the political system of Pakistan from the time of its creation and onward. It was also realized that

---

4 Frederick C. Engelmann, op. cit., p. 428.
5 Ibid, p. 429.
the degree of development of a party system served as a useful indicator of the relative level of general political and social development. Pakistan is a state which had experienced a long tenure of military rule that mechanically served the people of Pakistan by the policy of cooption and containment. Ayub khan introduced the legislation of EBDO(Elective Bodies Disqualification Order) in 1959 by which he tried to contain the activities of different politicians whom he considered as a threat to his authority. Under this law politicians were had to be disqualified till the year of 1966 or they had to retire voluntarily from the public life. Politicians like Suhrawardy, Qayyum Khan and Ayub Khuro were disqualified. Zia banned the political parties, and the introduced administrative setup was mostly comprised of the men’s of junta. Ziring explained this action of the Zia in the context of his planned format for the political discourse in which he stated that ‘Zia’s principal concern on the political front appeared to be the history of Pakistan’s political parties. An Islamic country, he would assert, had no need for political parties. The different organizations, with their conflicting philosophies and petty competition, caused unnecessary divisions within society, and obviated efforts at building national unity parties , he contended, lacked national purpose, denigrated discipline, and encouraged outlandish and reprehensible behaviour. The application of the law was not above the personal grudges, score setting and victimization. It was their own philosophy to rule the people by designing the new modes of governance, suited to the genius of the people-apparent gesture- by the process of cooption and containment. This aberration in the general principle of governing the state has been described as ‘norm’ by Ayesha Jalal due to the unbalancing growth of the state pillars. All this did not mean that there was not any space for political activities. Political process was in operation but it had to take the shape according to the volition of the head of the regime.

First martial law was imposed throughout the country in 1958 under the authority of President Sikinder Mirza, who declared that General Muhammad Ayub Khan had been made Chief Martial Law Administrator. Skinder Mirza stated in his 1400-word statement that “for two years he had been watching a ruthless struggle for power, corruption and shameful exploitation of the simple

---


honest masses that led to a dictatorship of lowest order”.

With the imposition of this order political activities were ceased and parties were banned. Ayub Khan introduced a political order in which politicians reflected loyalties with the regime. Same kind of political ethos was engineered after 1977 when Pakistan experienced third martial law of its history in the wake of disposition of populist government of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto by General Zia-ul-Haq. Later Ayub himself patronized the Pakistan Muslim League (Convention) for creating the civilian façade of democracy in the country, and laid the blame on the shoulders of the politicians for the disruption of the democratic process for their vested interests. Lawrence Ziring made same kind of observation over the political matters of the country where politicians showed their weaknesses to control them. He remarked that ‘the legitimacy of the Pakistan experience was made dependant on the day-to-day manipulation of political forces. Ayub knew instinctively that millions of sub-continental inhabitants who had overnight become Pakistanis would not fully grasp the logic of the existence. Only their leaders could interpret its meaning, and hence it was they who were called upon to articulate the significance of belonging to a place called Pakistan.

…it was neither the constitution nor the politicians separately, but their collective chemistry that proved troubling. The politicians were not honest with the people…. Ziring also stated the position of Zia over the political discourse of the country which was more or less similar to that of Ayub Khan in justifying the army’s action in terms that echoed the past. He remarked that ‘Zia cited the inability of any of the political coalitions to manage the country’s affairs’.

Keith Callard generalized such kind of observation in his *Political Study of Pakistan* that “…if representative government collapses it will be because its legs are not strong enough to sustain its own body”.

In the era of dictatorial rule political parties were banned for the temporary phase to avoid the further divisiveness in the polity. It caused the people to seek their primordial influences and attachment for carving out their identities and country was plunged into multi-faceted crisis of legitimacy, participation and representation. Society was further polarized by conducting the local bodies’ elections in 1959 by Ayub, and by Zia in 1979, in the name of popular participation.

---

12 Ibid., pp. 423-424.
without identifying its repercussions on the polarized society. Ziring commented over the Ayub’s period that ‘Ayub conceived of a political order without political parties, one in which politicians reflected loyalties that were not compromised by special and particularly personal interests’. Even Zia was not different in his perception from the Ayub, to construct the political order with the same design. Ziring also presented the Zia’s version over the state of parliamentary democracy, which is controlled by demagogic personalities who with their pervasive gullibility offset the efforts at constructing the state of Pakistan. Ziring remarked that

Zia was not one to talk about ‘Basic Democracy’, nor was he eager to reinvent the parliamentary experience. He truly believed that political parties were anathema in the Pakistan milieu and that little value of was produced in the parliamentary setting. Pakistani politics had developed from the beginning as negative expression, and political activity was too often conducted in the streets, rather than in the halls of the legislatures. In Zia’s opinion, Pakistani politics had become the art of disarming your opponent, not doing the people’s business.

In this perspective Zia always tried to control the political initiative in his own hands. To accomplish this objective, Zia conducted the national and provincial elections on non party basis in 1985. But on the other end of this political conduit, simmering views had the thrust of providing political freedom in expression and association. In the backdrop of this political process, a movement was started by the members of some political parties for the restoration of democracy in the country. Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD) was a ray of hope for the political figures who had been ousted from the mainstream politics since 1977. Finally blow of the fate eased the way for the return of democratic rule in the country in 1988, when Zia-ul-Haq died in air crash. Assemblies and government of 1985 were already been dissolved and dismissed by the Zia due to some internal rifts of the President with the Prime Minister over the issue of Ojri Camp. Later Higher Judiciary declared the act of presidency as ultra vires and challenged its legality. Government of the Junejo could not restore because a schedule for the

---

14 Lawrence Ziring, op.cit., p.249.
15 Ibid., p.442.
election was announced. Later in November 1988 party based elections of national and provincial assemblies were conducted in Pakistan.

Here the political party is being analyzed as a unit of study for its democratic disposition. Political party is also considered a major element in the dispensation of political values among the masses. Its importance in the political set-up is being determined by its organizational structure and, as well by its ideological predisposition towards the social life. In Pakistan the working of the political parties in the realm of politics is always projected with high fervor by the political leadership. Their role, in projecting the interests of the masses and formulate them in policy initiatives, made their entity valuable. Their place in the political discourse was also established by the decisions of the higher judiciary. Supreme Court that upheld the decision of the Lahore High Court regarding the dissolution of the Assemblies under the article 58(2b) of the 1973 constitution by the President of Pakistan on May 29, 1988 as illegal and without any concrete reason. The Supreme Court of Pakistan declared that ‘political parties are essential for the smooth running of parliamentary and representative democracy’.16

Some of the political parties or their alliances performed well in the national and provincial elections held from 1988 to 1997. The political importance of the activity of elections became very expressive by the participation of the political parties. In 1988 election, political parties were twenty nine in numbers; in 1990 they were thirty; in 1993 they were fifty two, and in 1997 they were sixty four.17 Among these parties nine parties in 1988, 1990; fourteen parties in 1993; and nine parties in 1997 achieved their tally in the National Assembly elections of Pakistan.18

The political parties or their electoral alliances were the unit of analysis in this research, which had their vote share in the provincial and national elections, and strategically important in the formation and influencing the public opinion. Their structure, electoral strategy and election program had been analyzed and interpreted due to their extension into the masses, in order to realize them to be the part of the political system. Those parties which influenced public opinion and got majority of votes and seats in elections, have been taken as preferential entities in our research, and they were the followings: PPP/PDA(Pakistan Peoples Party/Peoples Democratic

18 Ibid, pp. 685-691.
Alliance), IJI/ PML(N) (Islami Jamoori Ittehad/Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz), JUI(F) (Jamiyat Ulema-i-Islam Fazal ur Rehman/Islami Jamhoori Mahaz, ANP(Awami National Party) and MQM(Mutfahida Quami Movement). Some of these parties like Awami National Party and Mutfahida Quami Movement and Jamiyat Ulema-i-Islam Fazal-ur-Rehman had the concentration of their vote bank in some of the particular areas and regions of Pakistan. The performance of all these five parties has been evaluated across the board in all the four elections, 1988, 1990, 1993 and 1997, and in these elections they had showed their electoral strength. It is visible in below given tables:

**Table: 1.** Percentage of Vote Taken By the Parties in the National Election 1988.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROVINCE</th>
<th>IJI</th>
<th>PPP</th>
<th>JUI-F</th>
<th>ANP</th>
<th>MQM/HPG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NWFP</td>
<td>27.28%</td>
<td>22.54%</td>
<td>8.85%</td>
<td>18.40%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUNJAB</td>
<td>37.50%</td>
<td>39.80%</td>
<td>0.45%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SINDH</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>47.0%</td>
<td>0.62%</td>
<td>0.75%</td>
<td>25.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BALOCHISTAN</td>
<td>21.01%</td>
<td>7.19%</td>
<td>17.22%</td>
<td>2.71%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: The Herald Special Issue, Nov/Dec, 1993; The Herald, March 1997. (ANP in Punjab is non existent; MQM/HPG is non existent in Punjab, NWFP and Baluchistan but in Sindh it took independent stature and its vote is counted by the researcher; vote percentage of ANP and JUI-F in Sindh and Baluchistan has been counted by researcher)*

**Table: 2.** Percentage of Vote Taken By the Parties in the National Election 1990.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROVINCE</th>
<th>IJI</th>
<th>PDA</th>
<th>JUI-F</th>
<th>ANP</th>
<th>MQM/HPG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NWFP</td>
<td>23.74%</td>
<td>22.51%</td>
<td>20.57%</td>
<td>15.00%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUNJAB</td>
<td>49.33%</td>
<td>38.21%</td>
<td>0.10%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SINDH</td>
<td>8.74%</td>
<td>41.23%</td>
<td>0.59%</td>
<td>0.43%</td>
<td>27.09%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BALOCHISTAN</td>
<td>11.99%</td>
<td>14.92%</td>
<td>18.82%</td>
<td>2.58%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: The Herald Special Issue, Nov/Dec, 1993; The Herald, March 1997. (ANP in Punjab is non existent; MQM/HPG is non existent in Punjab, NWFP and Baluchistan; Vote percentage of ANP and JUI-F in Sindh and Baluchistan has been counted by researcher)*
Table: 3. Percentage of Vote Taken By the Parties in the National Election 1993.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROVINCE</th>
<th>PML (N)</th>
<th>PPP</th>
<th>JUI-F/IJM</th>
<th>ANP</th>
<th>MQM/HPG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NWFP</td>
<td>22.66%</td>
<td>10.73%</td>
<td>10.75%</td>
<td>14.19%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUNJAB</td>
<td>45.3%</td>
<td>38.9%</td>
<td>0.37%</td>
<td>0.21%</td>
<td>Boycott the election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SINDH</td>
<td>27.6%</td>
<td>56.3%</td>
<td>1.10%</td>
<td>0.21%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BALOCHISTAN</td>
<td>7.45%</td>
<td>18.24%</td>
<td>10.01%</td>
<td>2.02%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *The Herald* Special Issue, Nov/Dec, 1993; *The Herald*, March 1997. (ANP in Punjab is non existent; MQM/HPG is non existent in Punjab, NWFP and Baluchistan; Vote percentage of ANP and JUI-F in Sindh and Baluchistan has been counted by researcher)

Table: 4. Percentage of Vote Taken By the Parties in the National Election 1997:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROVINCE</th>
<th>PML (N)</th>
<th>PPP</th>
<th>JUI-F</th>
<th>ANP</th>
<th>MQM/HPG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NWFP</td>
<td>37.18%</td>
<td>10.13%</td>
<td>7.99%</td>
<td>19.12%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUNJAB</td>
<td>59.16%</td>
<td>20.99%</td>
<td>0.37%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SINDH</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>0.98%</td>
<td>0.13%</td>
<td>17.91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BALOCHISTAN</td>
<td>27.27%</td>
<td>7.38%</td>
<td>14.69%</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Khabrain*, (Daily Urdu), 13th February, 1997; *The Herald*, March 1997. (ANP in Punjab is non existent; MQM/HPG is non existent in Punjab, NWFP and Baluchistan; Vote percentage of ANP and JUI-F in Sindh and Baluchistan has been counted by researcher)
### Table: 5. Percentage of Vote Polled by the Parties in the National Elections:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML(N)</td>
<td>30.60%</td>
<td>37.37%</td>
<td>39.9%</td>
<td>45.95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>38.70%</td>
<td>36.83%</td>
<td>37.9%</td>
<td>21.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MQM/HPG</td>
<td>5.20%</td>
<td>5.60%</td>
<td>00*</td>
<td>3.97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI(F)</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>2.93%</td>
<td>2.40%</td>
<td>1.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>2.80%</td>
<td>1.68%</td>
<td>1.64%</td>
<td>1.99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>13.40%</td>
<td>10.61%</td>
<td>7.30%</td>
<td>14.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
<td>4.98%</td>
<td>10.86%</td>
<td>9.59%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

00* MQM/HPG boycotted the 1993 National Election.


Parties’ electoral strength in terms of their poll vote in the four elections has given primacy to Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz/IJI in order and, then PPP/PDA, MQM/HPG, JUI-F and ANP are placed in the analysis.

### 2.3. Genesis of Pakistan Muslim League and Islami Jamhoori Ittehad(IJI)

Pakistan Muslim League came into existence in December 1947 after the bifurcation of All India Muslim League into two factions; one was to serve in India, while the other faction was for Pakistan in the name of Pakistan Muslim League. Chaudhry Khaliq ul-Zamman became its first president and Yousaf Khattak, general secretary.\(^{19}\) In the period of Ayub Khan, Pakistan Muslim League was bifurcated into two factions—one was called Pakistan Muslim League (Council) and other was called Pakistan Muslim League (Convention). Convention Muslim League was organized under the patronage of Ayub Khan to accomplish his political agenda and, lent the

---

legitimacy to his dictatorial rule. In the election 1988 Pakistan Muslim League was the part of IJI, simultaneously it was also the partner of three party alliance formed in the name of Pakistan People’s Alliance (PPA).

Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) was formed by the machination of the agencies to stall the sole victory of Pakistan Peoples Party in the elections 1988 and 1990. It was the coalition of Pakistan Muslim League, Jama’at-i-Islami, Jatoi’s National Peoples Party, Jammiat Ulama-i-Islam (Darkhwasty Group), the Markazi Jammiat-i-Ahle Hadith (Lakhvi Group), Jama’at-ul-Mashaikh (Shahbazada Fazle Haq Group), the Hizbe Jihad of Agha Murtaza Poya, editor of the Daily Muslim, and Fkhar Imam’s Azad Group.

The main ally of IJI was PML which was factionalized into two groups, of which one was lead by Ex-Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo, while the other faction was led by Fida Muhammad khan-Ex Governor of NWFP-had the support of Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. Both these groups of Muslim League reunited in October 1988 after 60 days dialogue between its two major factions. Muhammad Khan Junejo was nominated as the president of PML and Iqbal Ahmed khan was to officiate as its Secretary General. Muhammad Khan Junejo served as Prime Minister of Pakistan during Zia period from 1985 to 1988. He served the country for three and a half years and his government was dissolved by Zia in May 1988. The Alliance of IJI contested the elections 1988 and 1990 and got substantial vote but after that it dissipated. There was no philosophical rationale in the formation of alliance except to block the rising tide of Pakistan Peoples Party. So its disintegration was natural in the elections 1993 when Pakistan Muslim League incarnated in the name of Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz asserted its potential to contest the election from its own platform.

Nawaz Sharief became the head of Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) and Professor Ghaffar Ahmed of Jama’at-i-Islami was designated as its general secretary. Nawaz Sharief had dual responsibility at one time. He had to tackle the affairs of the Punjab Muslim League also as its president, while Ghulam Hyder Wyne assisted him as the secretary general of the party in the province. Same was the composition on the eve of 1990 elections. The component parts of IJI

---

20 PPA was the alliance of JUP(Noorani), Tehreek-i-Istaqlal and PML, The Herald, October 1990,p.19; The Herald, Election Special 1988, p.10-11.
21 Ibid., p.10.
differ in their political perspectives. Muhammad Khan Junejo who headed the Pakistan Muslim League, the IJI’s major component, felt that it was the Muslim League which mattered, not the IJI because seventy percent of tickets were allocated to the candidates of Pakistan Muslim League (PML). One of the major reasons for which the alliance was kept intact, was its opposition towards Pakistan Peoples Party. The alliance neither formed its secretariat at the centre and nor established itself at provincial level. Alliance leadership remained confined to the province of Punjab and suffered a setback in the frontier, where Fazle Haq and Arbab Jegangir tussle deprived it a sure chance of forming government after the elections 1990. In NWFP Mr.Junejo dissolved all organizations on February 9, 1990. The result of this was that Fazle Haq ceased to be the provincial president of PML. Later Mr.Fida Muhammad Khan was appointed the new head of the provincial PML and Javed Khan was appointed its secretary general.\(^\text{22}\)

Before the 1990 elections, Islami Jamhoori Ittehad’s secretary general professor Ghafoor Ahmed announced the provincial bodies of IJI. Each provincial body was consisting of president and secretary general. In Punjab, Qazi Hussain Ahmed was president and Iqbal Ahmed was its secretary general; in Sindh Syed Ghous Ali Shah was its president and Fakhar Imam was appointed its secretary general; in Baluchistan Naseeruddin Jogeza was its president and Maulana Haq was its secretary general; in NWFP Mir Afzal Khan, caretaker Chief Minister of the province at that time was made the president of provincial IJI.\(^\text{23}\)

The alliance faced serious threat when Nawaz Sharief unilaterally decided not to contest the election against the MQM and announced the decision to withdraw the candidates from Karachi and Hyderabad. The Jama’at-i-Islami reacted sharply and threatened to quit the alliance. It was promptly supported by candidates of other parties of the IJI’s coalition who contested election from these two cities. It was through the intervention of supreme council that matter was resolved.\(^\text{24}\) In 1990 two other factions of Muslim League existed in the name of Qasim Muslim League and non-functional Pagaro group. In 1993 Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz group was the latest avatar of the party. It was born on the day when Nawaz Sharief government was dismissed by Ghulam Ishaq Khan, president of Pakistan, in April 1993. This new party was

\(^{22}\) In Sindh PML chief was Akhter Ali Qazi. *Dawn*, August 28,1990.


\(^{24}\) *The Herald*, Election Special, October 1990, p.20.
carved out of the united PML, founded by former Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo. Junejo’s death in March 1993 provided Nawaz Sharief with the opportunity to accelerate his efforts in organizing the party. Since his previous attempts to become president of united party had failed. He and his supporters bade farewell to the official PML secretariat, held a separate council meeting at the Islamabad residence of the former Deputy Speaker Nawaz Khokhar and laid the foundation of Nawaz League. Nawaz Sharief became the president of his faction, PML-N; Sartaj Aziz was appointed the secretary general of PML-N and Mushad Hussain was the information secretary.25 Ghulam Hyder Wyne was made the president of PML Punjab in 1993 and senior vice president of Punjab was Choudhry Pervaiz Elahi. Later in September 1993, near to elections Ghulam Hyder Wyne was assassinated. In Punjab after the assassination of Ghulam Hyder Wyne in 1993, Chaudhry Shujjat Hussain was made the president of Punjab Muslim League, Vice President was Inamullah Khan and its joint secretary was Mian Imran Masood.26

On the other hand Junejo’s loyalists under the leadership of Hamid Nasir Chattha and party secretary general, Iqbal Ahmed Khan, wasted little time in declaring the entire process illegal. The fact was that none of the PML groups was qualified to call themselves the original league. The Junejo Muslim League was the by-product of party-less election of 1985 held under General Zia-ul-Haq’s military rule and it participated in the election 1993. There was another faction in the name of Junejo-Chattha league appeared in the election 1997. At the time of 1997 elections there was not any change in the structure of Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz at the central level. Mian Nawaz Sharief was the president of PML-N, its general secretary was Sartaj Aziz, senior vice president was Muhammad Ijaz-ul-Haq, central joint secretary was Khawaja Muhammad Asif and secretary information was Mushaid Hussain.27

PML-N projected itself as a centrist party but not a social democratic party. The upper echelons of this party were comprised of industrialists or former bureaucrats who claimed that it was radically different and distinct from other traditional feudal dominated political parties of the country. The best and appreciable strategy was that party projected its image as a national party not bound only in Punjab. It made seat adjustment in NWFP with Awami National Party which had clearly distinct ideological stance form that of PML-N. This kind of electoral strategy of the

25 *The Herald*, Election Special, 1993, pp.16-17.
political parties showed that they can compromise over their ideological stance to gain the public support. In Baluchistan it showed good gesture of adjustment with those parties which always talked about for a particular segment of society and were parochial in their approach. These parties are termed as regional parties due to their sphere of influence and association of voters. These regional parties like Pukhtankhaw Milli Awami Party of Mahmud Khan Achakzai, Jamhoori Watan Party of Nawab Akbar Bugti, Baluchistan National Movement Mengal and Baluchistan National Movement Haye were once regarded by the central forces as inherently anti Pakistan. In Sindh PML-N showed its flexibility to take on board former Jiye Sindh stalwarts and associates, Dr Hamida Khuro and Qamar Bhatti, Abdul Hamid Jatoi, Liaquit Jatoi and Ejaz Jatoi.

2.4. Pakistan Peoples Party/Peoples Democratic Alliance (PPP/PDA):

Pakistan Peoples Party was formed in 1967. It was headed by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and J.A Raheem was appointed its secretary general. Its first deputy secretary general was K.H Meer. Before organizing PPP, Bhutto was the secretary general of convention Muslim League when the parties were revived after the promulgation of political party’s act 1962. Due to the differences with the Ayub Khan on the issues of foreign policy, he decided to launch his own party. Makhdoom Talib ul Maula and Mian Mahmud Ali Kasuri were made the vice-chairmen of the party. Maulana Kausar Niazi was appointed propaganda secretary. Some of the leading progressive personalities participated in organizing the people’s party who had their experience in different political groups and parties. Sheikh Muhammad Rashid, advocate of Supreme Court was one of them who participated in organizing the Azad Pakistan Party and later formed Awami Jamhori Party, attached with PPP. Begum Abad Khan spent her time with Mohtramma Fatima Jinnah in her struggle with begum Raana Liaquat Ali Khan over the founding of the all Pakistan women’s association. She joined the Jinnah Awami Muslim League, moved on to the Suharwardy Awami League. After that exposure and experience she joined the PPP. Malik Aslam Hayat was a constitutionalist pluralist and represented in the pre partition league also joined the PPP. Mubashir Hassan, Dr Kaniz Fatima, Hanif Ramay, Begum Shaheen Hanif Ramay and Miraj Muhammad khan were the backbone of the Peoples Party. They were associated with different social groups before joining the PPP. Hanif Ramay organized the weekly *Nusrat* which was the mouth piece of the political opinion of Pakistan Peoples Party. Pakistan Peoples Party did the politics on four principles: Democracy is our polity; Socialism is
our economy; Islam is our religion and all power to people. In 1988 Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) was chaired by Nusrat Bhutto. Its co-chairperson was Benazir Bhutto while its secretary general was Mr. Rafiq Ahmed Sheikh. Sheikh Rafiq remained the secretary general of the party till the time of 1990 and 1993 elections. Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) leadership boasted an array of political heavyweights in all four provinces of Pakistan. They were the followings: Makhdoom Talib ul Maula and his two offspring - Amin Faheem and Khaliquzzaman, professor N.D Khan, Sayed Zafar Ali Shah, Qaim Ali Shah, Qazi Abad and Pir of Rani pur from Sind; Sheikh Rsaheed, Farooq Leghari, Jehangir Badar, Faisal Salah Hayat, Gen (Retd ) Tikka Khan and veteran Miraj Khalid from Punjab; Aftab Sherpao and Iftikhar Gillani from NWFP and finally Yahya Bakhtiar and Amanullah Gichki in Balochistan. In 1990 Pakistan Peoples Party made an electoral alliance with a faction of Muslim League, headed by Malik Qasim, Tehreek Nafaz-i-Fiqa Jaffaria Pakistan of Allama Sajid Naqvi and Tehreek-i-Istaqlal of Asghar Khan to counter the electoral strategy of IJI. This electoral alliance was given the name of Peoples Democratic Alliance (PDA). Peoples Democratic Alliance (PDA) nominated Khursheed Mehmood Kasuri as the general secretary of the alliance with a supreme council comprising the heads of the component parties to look after its affairs.

In 1990 the top offices of PPP were shared by the Nusrat Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto. Sheikh Rafiq was the secretary general of PPP. Professor ND Khan was the Deputy Secretary General and Qayum Nizami was the information secretary. Nusrat Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto acted as chairperson and co-chairperson of PPP and they controlled this office till the elections 1997. Senior vice chairman of PPP was Mukhdoom Talib-ul-Maula and its deputy secretary general was professor N.D.Khan. In Punjab Fakhar Zaman was PPP president and Pervaiz Saleh was vice president in 1990, while in 1993 PPP Punjab president was Jehangir Badr. In Sindh PPP chief was Qaim Ali Shah; in Baluchistan its president was Fateh Muhammad Hasni; in NWFP

29 The Herald, Election Special, October, 1990, p.17.
30 Ibid.
31 In 1968 first president of Pakistan Peoples Party in Punjab was sheikh Rashid and he remained for four years. After him Afzal wattoo remained the president of Punjab PPP from 1972 to 1977; after him Sheikh Rafiq Ahmed became president and he remained in office from 1977 to 1985 and then Jehangir Badar assumed this office. He first served the party as president from 1985 to 1989 and then 1991 to 1995. From 1989 to 1991 Fakhar Zaman served the party as president in Punjab. Rao Skinder Iqbal, Malik Mushtaq Awan, Shah Mahmood Qureshi, and Qasim Zia also served as president of the party while in 2010 Rana Aftab Ahmed Khan controlled this office of the party, but after loosing his MPA by-election from Faisalabad he resigned from the party presidentship.

Daily Express (Urdu), June 8, 2010.
Aftab Sherpao was party’s president in 1990 and 1993 while Jamal Khattak was provincial vice president in 1993. In 1997, Pakistan Peoples Party’s Chairperson was Benazir Bhutto and its general secretary was Rafiq Ahmed. In Punjab, Pakistan Peoples Party’s president was Malik Mushtaq Awan and its secretary information was Tikka Iqbal Khan. In Sindh president of Pakistan Peoples Party was Qaim Ali Shah and its vice president was Pervaiz Ali Shah.

2.4.1. Party’s Structure;

The formal organization of the party was mandated by its interim constitution. The interim constitution was a simple document of some twenty three articles. The founding convention passed executive authority in the party onto the chairman it would elect, who would then act to constitute the committees. The first two of these, the organizing and principles committees were to be constituted by the chairman in consultation with the steering committee of the founding convention. Their functions were to undertake the organization of the party in the country. The third committee, the central committee would be the highest authority of the party. The central committee would elect the other national offices of the party: Vice Chairman, Secretary General, Treasurer, etc. It was competent to effect amendments in the constitution subject to ratification by the national conference. Under the guidance of the chairman, the organizing committees established at provincial, district and city levels. The chairman of the party shall in consultation with the organizing committee of the party, accredit chairmen of the organizing committees in the provinces, districts and cities. These chairmen would be in consultation with the next higher chairman, constitute their own organizing committee, which they in turn would consult before accrediting the chairmen of organizing committees at the next lower level, a process that would continue down through the sub divisional and ward level to the primary units. Once party units had been created at all levels, the party chairman in consultation with the organizing committee and with the provincial chairmen could permit the holding of party conferences at the provincial, district and city levels. These conferences would be competent to replace the original chairmen and party organizing committees for their levels through elections.

33 Daily Jang, January 3, 4, 12, 1997.
2.5. Muttahida Qaumi Movement/Haq Prast Group (MQM/HPG)

It was formed in 1985 by a student leader Altaf Hussain. First it was a student organization in the name of All Pakistan Muhajir Student Organization (APMSO) in 1979. Following Zia’s ban on student organizations in 1984, Altaf Hussain founded the Muahjir Qaumi Mahaz. Its purpose was to counter the other Sindhi ethnic group led by Jiye Sind Mahaz and Sindh Awami Tehreek.\footnote{Jiye Sindh Mahaz was formerly Sindh National Front led by G.M. Syed and Sindh Awami Tehreek was in control of Rasool Baksh Palejo. Both these parties have taken hard stance over the Sindh nationalist question. Charles H. Kennedy, The Politics of Ethnicity in Sindh, \textit{Asian Survey}, Vol.31, Oct., 1991, p.947, pp.938-955.} It was introduced in the name of Muhajir Qaumi Movement in 1988. It was headed by Azeem Ahmed Khan as its chairman and Tariq Javed as senior vice chairman. Dr. Imran Farooq worked as its Secretary General. Mr Badar Iqbal worked as senior joint secretary and Mr. Aminul Haq worked as information secretary. In 1992 its denomination was changed in the name of Muttahida Quami Movement. In the elections 1990 and 1997, it appeared in the name of Haq Prast Group (HPG).

MQM split into three factions: Haqiqi faction before the election 1993, headed by Afaq Ahmed and Badar Iqbal; the other faction led by Azim Tariq group and the third one led by the Altaf Hussain which is considered most popular group. Altaf was exiled in London due to deteriorating law and order situation in Sindh. Azim Tariq was later murdered in May 1994. Haqiqi faction did not show impressive performance in the election 1993. It failed to win a single seat despite the MQM’s absence in national election at that time. Haqiqi subsequently boycotted the provincial election which was contested by the Altaf Hussain faction known as MQM.\footnote{The Herald, Election Special, February 1997, p.50.}

MQM issued its charter of resolution in early 1987. This resolution clearly depicted the fears and biases of the \textit{muhajir} community in Sindh. The resolutions included the following points:

- Only “real” Sindhis (Muhajir and Sindhis) should have the right to vote in Sindh; Business licenses and permits should not be given to those who do not have the franchise to vote;
- Stranded Pakistanis (Pakistani living in Bangladesh—Biharis) should be allowed to settle and become citizens of Pakistan;

• Afghans should be restricted to their official refugees camps in the NWFP and Baluchistan and not be allowed to buy property or reside in Sindh;
• Local bus service should be taken over by the Karachi Municipal Corporation and bus drivers must be literate before being given driver’s licenses;
• Non-Sindhis and non-Muahjir should not be allowed to buy property in Sindh;
• A fresh census should be held in Sindh province and the Muahjir share of the federal quota should be revised upward to reflect the true population of the Muahjirs;
• The basis for Sindh domicile, for purposes of the federal quota, should be 20 years continuous residence in the province;
• Police officers implicated in atrocities against Muahjirs should be tried before special tribunals.37

From 1988 to 1997 MQM has found it extremely difficult to adjust itself in any political alliance. In 1988, the party entered into a coalition with Pakistan Peoples Party but it did not go far. In 1990 it joined the Nawaz Sharief’s government in the centre and in the province of Sindh it joined the Jam Sadiq Ali’s cabinet. That coalition worked smoothly for more than two years but army operation which was launched in May 1992 finally led to coalition’s demise. It was then establishment began to perceive the party and its leaders as terrorists and a threat to national security. The army operation brought the division with in the organization to the fore. However operation failed to break the hold of MQM in Karachi. MQM went on to lose much of its bargaining position when it boycotted the national assembly election in 1993, though it emerged the second largest party in the Sindh assembly by securing the 27 seats in the provincial election. The PPP, which had not good terms with the MQM in the first tenure of its government, supported the operation of the army against the MQM in the second tenure of its government from 1993 to 1996. In the second tenure of Nawaz Sharief, MQM had strong reservation about the presence of ranger and army in Karachi. The Prime Minister Nawaz Sharief assured the leadership of MQM that army has no problem with MQM.38 In its thirteen year of existence, its most of founding members abandoned the party or fallen victim to the bullets of their own comrades. If one were to compare the MQM

38 In the second Nawaz Sharief’s government from 1997 to 1999, MQM made a deal with PML-N, in which government promised to pay 420 million rupee to MQM as compensation to its workers who have been killed in operation or in police custody. Newsline, May 1997, p.27.
command with that of All Pakistan Muahjir Student Organization days, the only familiar faces would be that of Altaf Hussain. He and his other colleagues went underground due to the operation clean-up by army in 1992. MQM’s chairman Azeem Ahmed Tariq and finance secretary, S.M. Tariq were both assassinated while legendary founding leaders such as Sheikh Majeed, Shamoone Ibrar, Tariq Muahjir, Dr Saleem Haider, Aminul Haq, Ahmed Saleem and Zareem Majeed left the party.  

In February 1997 Altaf Hussain set up a six member committee to organize the party and conducted elections for area committees. It was seemingly expected at that time that hardliners will dominate the committees and who will get the nod of the leadership to be the member of these committees. It was expected that election in these committees will not bring any change in the leadership. The last central committee was disbanded by Altaf Hussain after the defection of Azeem Ahmed Tariq in 1993. Since then Altaf Hussin ran party affairs through ad-hoc committees with frequent changes of members. The MQM did not have executive committee any longer. Party affairs were run directly from London through a coordination committee headed by the new entrants. This indicated that the party was very much centralized in its organization. It took the decisions at the whims of one person in spite of the often repeated claims of its leadership that it is more consensus oriented party where respect is given to the opinion of ordinary workers, but it was being run contrary to its proclaimed claims.

2.6. Genesis of Jammiat Ulamma-i-Islam Fazalur Rehman JUI (F) /Islami Jamhoori Mahaz (IJM):

The origin of Jammiat Ulamma-i-Islam can be traced to its mother party known as Jammiat Ulema-i-Hind, formed in 1919. Later in 1945 some of the ulema formed Jammiat Ulama-i-Islam due to the dissatisfaction with the pro-congress policy of the mother party. Jammiat-al Ulama-i-Islam was led by Shabbir Ahmed Usmani and it backed the Muslim League candidates in the

---

39 Azeem Ahmed Tariq was shot dead while he was sleeping in his federal br area house on May 1, 1994. Ibid., p.29.
40 The old guards trace the history of defection since 1984, when MQM was founded. Shamoone Ibrar and Sheikh Majeed were critical of all powers being vested in one man and were opposed to plan that elections would be held for all party posts except that of the quaid-e-tehreek. When Majeed and Ibrar raised objections, Altaf Hussain began crying and accusing them of suspecting his motives. Eventually both men left the party. Ibid., p.30.
1945-46 elections. Jamiyat Ulama-i-Islam of West Pakistan was formed in 1952. Maulana Ahmed Ali became its first ‘amir’ along with Maulana Athesham ul Haq Thanvi who assumed the charge of its ‘nazim’. In 1954 Maulana Mufti Muhammad Hasan was elected its ‘amir’, while later on Maulana Ahmed Ali was again in the office of ‘amir’ in 1956 along with Maulana Ghulam Ghaus Hazarvi who acted as ‘nazim-i-ala’.

The reorganized JUI elected Maulana Abdullah Darkhawasti as its ‘amir’ and Maulana Ghulam Ghaus Hazarvi as its ‘nazim-i-ala’. Two of its members Maulana Mufti Mahmood and Ghulam Ghaus Hazarvi contested the April-May 1962 elections. Mufti Mahmood became the member of the National Assembly (MNA) and Ghulam Ghaus elected as member of the Provincial Assembly (MPA) from West Pakistan. Henceforth most of the political affairs of the party were run by these two persons. JUI remained active in socio-political affairs and always demanded the reformation of the polity on the Islamic principles. The party made it the part of its manifesto in the election 1970. JUI with the collaboration of NAP (National Awami Party) formed the Baluchistan and NWFP Governments after the election 1970. In this election JUI and NAP got 4 and 13 seats in the NWFP respectively and they got 2 and 8 seats in Baluchistan. After the death of Mufti Mahmood in 1980, his son Fazalur Rehman took the responsibility of JUI as ‘nazim’, and henceforth this organization had become faction ridden. One was called JUI(Fazalur Rehman) and other was JUI(Darkhwasti). One was pro Zia faction which was headed by Darkhwasti while anti Zia was led by Maulana Fazalur Rehman. JUI’s anti imperialist and nationalist character during Mufti Mahmood’s period endeared the party to progressive and nationalist elements. Jamiyat-al Ulama-i-Islam(JUI) manifesto first released in Sargodha in 1969. It was a popular document which laid stress on an Islamic system.

Leadership of Jamiyat-al Ulama-i-Islam always projected that their party is not being sectarian. Jamiyat-al Ulama-i-Islam(Fazal-ur-Rehman) latter joined the Movement for Restoration of Democracy in which PPP was the main component. The feud weakened the party and Maulana

---

41 Jamiyat Ulama-i-Islam was organized by Mahmud Hassan-a third head of Deoband institution- during the phase of First World War and the time of Khilafat movement which enhanced the political sense of theological class to organize themselves within the modern political system to air their views. Later it was divided into two factions one was led by Hussain Ahmed Madni and the other was led by Shabbir Ahmed Usmani who dissociated from the main party and organized the Jamiat al Ulama-i-Islam in 1945. Rafiq Afzal, Political Parties in Pakistan, vol.1, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad, 1986, pp.30-33.


Dinpuri’s sudden decision to join the PPP leaving the JUI without relief for sometime, followed by the death of JUI Sindh chapter’s chief Maulana Shah Muhammad Amrothi, made the matter worse and contributed to the decline of the party’s political fortunes. But Maulana Fazalur Rehman’s consistent opposition to General Zia’s regime increased his political stature.

The party again reunited after the election 1990. The new composition of its offices was as followed: in the centre, Maulana Abdullah Darkhawasti was the Amir of the party, senator Sami-ul-Haq nominated as first Vice-President of the party, Maulana Muhammad Ajmal Khan was acting Amir and Maulana Fazalur Rehman was the General Secretary. In 1990 Baluchistan secretary general was Hafiz Hussain Ahmed; in Punjab provincial president of JUI-F was Amir Hussain Gilani, Rashid Ahmed Ludhani was its secretary general, Abdul Malik Shah was its joint secretary and Abdul Rehman was its information secretary. In NWFP provincial secretary general was Amir Nawaz.

In 1993 election Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam of Maulana Fazalur Rehman and Jamiat Ulema Pakistan of Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani formed an electoral alliance in the name of Islami Jamoori Mahaz to contest the election 1993. Both parties were significant religio-political forces in their own right. After that election they were departed again. In 1997 the chief patron of Jamiat ulamma-i-islam was Maulana Muhammad Ajmal Khan while in Punjab its amir was Maulana Muhammad Abdullah, its general secretary was Rashid Ahmed Ludhianvy and secretary information was Riaz Durrani.

2.6.1. Party’s Structure;

In 1956 party constitution was adopted with minor amendments and it provided for two central organizations, one for the West Pakistan and second for the East Pakistan. It laid down party structure in which district Jammiats were at the lower rung besides the voluntary organization called Tanzim-i-Ansar al Islam. The central and provincial organizations had eight office bearerers: an ‘amir’, two ‘naib amirs’, a ‘nazim-i-ala’, two ‘nazims’, a ‘khazin’ and a ‘salar-i-razakars’ (chief of volunteers). There was ‘majlis-i ummumi’ (general council) for the central

---

44 The Muslim, January 16, 1991.
47 Daily Jang, January 9, 1997.
JUI of West Pakistan, consisting of representatives of the provincial branches (one representative for every fifteen provincial members) plus twenty-five nominees of the central amir, provided their number was not more than one-tenth of the total number of elected members. The general council excluding the nominated members had to elect the ‘amir’ and the ‘treasurer’. The ‘amir’ had to nominate the two ‘naib amirs’ and the ‘nazim-i ala’ who will have to select his two ‘nazims’. The ‘amir’ was assisted by a twenty-eight member ‘majlis-i-shura’ (consultative committee) consisting of all office bearers except the ‘salar’ and the nominees of the ‘amir’. Two third members of the ‘majlis’ were required to be ‘ulama’. The quorum for both the ‘majlis-i-shura’ and ‘majlis-i-ummumi’ was one third of the total membership of each. Each of the various bodies and offices had a term of three years.48

2.7. Awami National Party (ANP):

Awami National Party headed by the veteran Pushtun leader, Khan Abdul Wali Khan, stood at the left of the centre in the Pakistani political spectrum. The ANP as it is recognized today was formed in July 1986. After a lengthy round of negotiations, four left wing political organizations decided to formally merge into one entity. These were Wali Khan’s National Democratic Party (NDP), Rasool Bux Palejo’s Awami Tehrik, major factions from the Pakistan National Party (PNP) and the Mazdoor Kisan Party (MKP). However the heads of PNP and MKP subsequently decided to pull out of the ANP and kept the factions of their original parties intact.

Pakistan National Party headed by Mer Ghaus Bux Bizenjo, a veteran politician from Baluchistan and its Secretary General was Sayed Muhammad Kaswar Gardezi. Its manifesto declared that there will be no legislation against the laws of Quran and Sunnah while it stressed on the secular state where all kind of freedom for all communities would be given with out any discrimination. Mazdoor Kisan Party was organized by Major Ishaq and Afzal Bungish and it was very popular in some of the areas of NWFP and Punjab. Later Afzal Bungish left it and got the membership of ANP.49

The leaders of the ANP remained associated with left wing politics in the country since 1957 when its mother party—National Awami Party (NAP)—was formed. In December 1957, a group

of leftists under the leadership of Mulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bashani broke with the Awami League, formed the NAP and the west Pakistan elements, namely Ghaffar Khan, G.M.Syed and Khan Abdus Samad Khan Achakzai joined it. It was banned in 1975 due to the bomb explosion in Peshawar University and resultantlly the killing of Hayat Sherpao, the president of NWFP Pakistan Peoples Party. National Awami Party headed by Maulana Bashani and its secretary general was Mahmud Ali Uthmani. Later National Awami Party (NAP) bifurcated into two factions, one was led by Bashani, a pro-China, and the other was led by Wali Khan,a pro-Moscow faction. A formal split occurred in December 1967, when the pro-Moscow faction set up a separate NAP in East Pakistan under the leadership of Professor Muzaffar Ahmed. In April 1968 at a national level meeting of pro-Moscow group elected Khan Abdul Wali Khan as its all Pakistan president. Both the NAPs were faction ridden. A dissident group of the NAP(pro-Moscow) led by major Muhammad Ishaq and Afzal Bungish established Mazdoor Kishan party. After that National Democratic Party was formed and its first convener was Sardar Sher Baz Mazari. Its manifesto declared that all kind of exploitation against the poor will be ended, and it was more or less same in its content and tenor as was projected by the above said parties. The other prominent leaders of Awami National Party(ANP) were Rasool Bux Palejo, Begum Nasim Wali Khan, Ghulam Ahmed Bilour and Lateef Afridi. Awami National Party(ANP) gave its manifesto based on four principles: establishment of democracy; eradication of inequality; freedom from autocracy; prevailing of social justice. In 1991 party was headed by Ajmal Khattak and its senior vice president was Ghulam Ahmed Bilour. This formation remained same till the time of 1997 election.

2.7.1. Party’s Structure;

The structure of the party shall consist of the following institutions:

1. Central Council
2. Central Executive Council

---

51The Pakistan National Party(PNP) was formed in mid 1979,following a split in the National Democratic Party on policy matters which included differences on the Saur revolution in Kabul. A section of the NDP headed by Mir Ghaus Bux Bizenjo supported the fledgling afghan government while Sardar Sher Baz Mazari, leading the other faction included Wali Khan opposed to the changes in Kabul. The Herald, Election Special,88, November 1988, P.19; See Muhammad Usman,opcit.,Lahore,2004; Rafiq Afzal, Political Parties in Pakistan 1958-69,Vol.li, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research,Islamabad,1998,pp.174-185.
The Central Council is the supreme and sovereign body of the Party. The formation of the Central Council is following:

- The Central Council consists of 600 members, fifty percent (300) of which are distributed amongst the National Units on the basis of membership forms while the remaining 50 percent shall be equally distributed amongst the National Units.
- The election commission of each Unit shall send Membership Forms Report to the Central Election Commission in writing for formation of the Central Council. The Central Election Commission shall record the report of membership forms in a prescribed register and shall allocate the number of members for the Central Council on the basis of membership forms and shall inform the each Election Commission in the National Units about this in written form.
- The Central President has the power to nominate 25 members in addition to the 600 members Central Council. The members National and Provincial Assemblies, the Senators and President and General Secretary of each National Unit shall be members of the Central Council by virtue of their designations.

The next tier is Central Executive Council. It is the supreme executive body of the Party. Formation of the Central Executive Council is following:

- The Central Executive Council consists of 15 elected members from each Unit, besides members of the Central Cabinet. In addition, every President and Secretary General of each Unit and members of Parliament of the Party are ex-officio members of the Central Executive Council. In addition to the above, the Central President, in his discretion, shall nominate 10 members from the Central Council to the Central Executive Council.
- No office-bearer can be re-elected for the third time for the same office, after serving in it for two consecutive terms. However, the Central Council, by adopting the procedure for...
amendment/ abrogation of the constitution, can exempt a person from this clause to take part in election for the same office for the third time.

The Central Executive Committee shall hold, at least, three meetings in a year i.e once after every four months. The Secretary General shall circulate notices and agenda of the meeting to the members. In case of emergency meeting, a five days notice shall be compulsory. 1/4th members of the Central Executive Council shall constitute the quorum for its meetings. The next tier is the Central Cabinet which is comprised of the following office-bearers: President, Senior Vice President, 3 Vice Presidents, Secretary General, Deputy Secretary General, 3 Joint Secretaries, Secretary Finance, Secretary Information, Secretary Foreign Affairs, Secretary Labour and Student Affairs, Central Chief Commander. 52

2.8. Election Manifestos of Political Parties: An Agenda of Enticement and Adjustment:

Manifestos of the parties designate them as liberal, conservative and moderate and depict the country’s socio-political environment. Parties which adjust themselves with the requirements of the age and present their programme accordingly, they are considered vibrant, and contrary to it are moribund. Parties’ change their position on behalf of the programmes. Programmes are presented in the light of their ideologies, through which they want to change the lot of masses. Ideology places the parties in one or the other category—left or right (liberal or conservative). According to Matthew J. Gabel and John D. Huber

…ideology is conceived as a constraint on policy positions, such that positions on a broad range of issues are related to each other in consistent and identifiable ways. Ideology therefore reduces differences in party positions over many policies to differences in party positions on a single dimension.53

In contrast to clear cut alternatives presented in the elections, there was marked similarity in the programme of the various parties, although the emphasis on various points differed according to

their orientation. It was observed that almost all parties pledged not to make any law repugnant to the injunctions of the Quran and Sunnah. There was also general consensus for an open foreign policy and normalization of relations with India and other neighbour countries. Some of the religious parties *viz.*, Jamma’at Islami and Jammiat Ulamm-i-Islam Fazal-ur-Rehman had religious overtone in their agenda stressed more on the Islamic context of Pakistan’s origin and assertive on the solutions of the problems between the India and Pakistan with force if solutions are not available in negotiations. Their diehard position on some of these issues reduced their bargaining chip with the moderate voters. Religious parties wanted to enforce the Islamic agenda without creating the consensus over it. They had also a similar approach in the issues of national importance. Public support to their agenda has been measured through electoral strength which remained abysmally very poor and oscillated between 2 to 3 percent in national elections.

All parties stood for liquidating the inter-regional disparities and economic inequities by offering a fair deal to the tillers and industrial workers. They suggested programme in their electoral plank for ensuring greater measure of distributive justice. Manifestos were more charming in their contents to entice the public, but there remained a gap in its implementation due to resource constraints and a short period of government functioning. Financial constraints, law and order situation in the country and mid term polls resultantly checked the implementation of political programmes which the parties projected during elections. It also checked political process and hindered the growth of political institutions. Such chasm in forming and executing the policies beleaguered the voter’s perception about the party at the helm of affairs. It directly benefited the other major party in the next election and such situation has been observed in these four elections when Pakistan Peoples Party and IJI/PML-N alternatively assumed the charge of the government.

Five issues were taken-up in this study, over which parties’ positions were evaluated. It was also noticed in respondents’ response over structured questionnaire questions 5 to 8 in which respondents overwhelmingly supported the agenda of development and need. It reflected that parties were flexible over the issues which emerged in the four national elections. The strong networking of party’s candidate at local level and their delivering capacity made the prospects of party and candidate’s success more explicit. The issues of social agenda, status of women, good governance, foreign policy concerns and Islamic social order were observed for judging the
parties’ positions and voters’ response because these issues provided better insight to judge the effectiveness of political culture and nature of parties. The flexibility and change of party’s position over these issues determined the party’s strength in terms of its influence in that particular election. These issue variables influenced the party’s position in electoral arena and provided the sense of peoples’ priorities in their voting decisions.

2.8.1. Social Agenda;

Parties pledged in their electoral manifestos that supremacy of democratic values will be maintained. Political forces operating in the country through institutional mechanism always desired to pursue democratic values by generating public consciousness through media campaign. Each political party tried to touch this threshold by presenting their agenda in the form of electoral manifesto. Election manifesto of Pakistan Peoples Party in 1988 expressed such feelings in the prologue:

we believe in the freedom, dignity and economic development, an end to discrimination, domination and exploitation, an end to poverty, slums, illiteracy and ill wealth, economic and social injustice, uniting a nation bitterly divided by ethnic and sectarian difference, creating an identity which gives the sense of pride and glory to all citizens irrespective of the province they belong to.54

In 1988 Pakistan Peoples Party declared that rights of citizens of Pakistan will be protected against exploitation and oppression. Contract labour will be substituted by permanent employment and minimum wage will be increased. Workers equity participation fund will be established as a trust which will provide funds to widows of the deceased workers, interest free housing loans for houses and marriages and free education to two dependents of each worker up to university level. Workers participation will be ensured in the management of public sector enterprises.55 Here it looked that PPP laid more stress over the welfare of labours and worker class by considering them as first rank of its party’s beneficiaries and stake holders. It tried to mobilize them by presenting the agenda of their choice and liking.

Manifesto of Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) in 1988 have also the same kind of objectives for the welfare of the people of Pakistan without any discrimination. It promised to hold the supremacy of law.\textsuperscript{56} Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) stressed more on the egalitarian agenda as the religious parties. It advocated the land reforms on practical grounds, so that feudalism should be broken down for the relief of ordinary peasants, tillers and workers. Awami National Party had the same views for the breaking of concentration of land for creating the base of socialist economy. It seemed more aligned with socialist pattern of Soviet Russia as compared to the stance of national parties which were eulogizing the agenda of mixed economy. This was a good sign that parties whatever they had ideological position, were very much concerned with the lot of poor. They in their programme stressed on the reformation of social and economic patterns of life for the alleviating the differences between the have and have not. For an egalitarian and just society all parties were more or less had the same tone but some parties used it as rhetoric to entice the voters. To complete their agenda of social equality all parties presented their programme of land reforms with different modalities. PPP and IJI with its main component like PML, supported the land reforms but PPP stressed more on the completion of the previous reforms. ANP advocated the land ceiling of 50 acres while it was not clear on the issue of agriculture tax.\textsuperscript{57} For the provision of utilities of life, IJI, PPP and ANP were united in their stand. PPP and IJI supported the mixed economy while ANP was demanding the nationalization of all major industries. JUI-F relied over the refurbishing of Pakistan’s social structure by seeking readjustment in Pakistan’s overall economic system. So this kind of approach which had been manifested in their manifesto for the amelioration of the lot of the poor people of Pakistan is similar and less at odd with each other. MQM talked in terms of class differentiation. Its leader Altaf Hussain said that “struggling in the country is between the privileged ruling elite, which are merely two percent and the deprived ninety eight percent”\textsuperscript{58}. MQM repeatedly made this slogan as a part of its electoral manifestos which were issued in the elections 1993 and 1997. MQM/HPG boycotted the national election in 1993 while it contested the provincial election. In 1997 MQM announced that “Pakistan can not make progress till that time this minority of two percent will be elected to sit in the assemblies and make legislation to alter the institutional

\textsuperscript{56} Daily Jang (Lahore), Electoral Manifesto of IJI, November 7, 1988.
\textsuperscript{57} The Herald, Election Special, November 1988, p.28.
\textsuperscript{58} The Herald, October, 1990, p.25.
formation in which civil-military bureaucracy, feudal and capitalists have all out control\textsuperscript{59}. It was stressed that MQM do not support socialism and capitalism but have faith in realism. It wants a free market economy, harmonized with democratic and Islamic principles. It seemed that MQM wanted to protect the business tycoons of Karachi and Hyderabad and gave them a sense of protection by talking about the free market economy. This meant that MQM used political jargons to entice the voters and did not take a clear stance to alter the forces of status-quo in any practical programme in-spite of being part in the coalition governments, formed after each election either in province or in centre. It was also reiterated in the programme of MQM in 1997 that ‘exploitation of any kind should be eliminated to create a sense of equal justice for all. It was in favour of social justice and elimination of all kinds of discrimination in the name of religion, belief, cast, clan, class and language\textsuperscript{60}.

Same was the happening in the programme of PDA in 1990 elections. Mian Khursheed Mahmood Kasuri, Secretary-General of PDA gave the social agenda of Peoples Democratic Alliance (PDA) on 15\textsuperscript{th} October 1990 through manifesto. In manifesto it was declared that

\[\ldots\text{Under the devolution of authority, the village police will be established to work under the union council. Local courts will be set up for hearing selected cases which would be answerable to the union councils. Deputy Commissioner and police officers would also be made answerable to the elected institutions. Through reforming the Zakat Ordinance unemployment allowance will be given to each unemployed. Besides stipends loans will be given to 60,000 to 80,000 persons of having various professional skills. Land records in the villages would be made available in the office of the union council to alleviate the suffering caused to the people by the patwaris. Ownership rights will be given to Landless occupants of the houses in the Abadi Deh. Job opportunities will be generated for rural women. Pattern of local rural courts would be established in the cities to adjudicate upon specified civil, criminal and revenue cases. Administration of government educational and health institutions would also be democratized and decentralized in rural and urban areas. Minimum wages will be raised annually according to the rate}\]

\textsuperscript{59} Muhammad Usman and Masood Ashar, op. cit., p.471.
\textsuperscript{60} \textit{Daily Jang}, January 2,1997.
of inflation. Rights protected by the International Labour Organization (ILO) would be adhered to all workers.\textsuperscript{61}

In 1990 IJI floated same kind of agenda. In its electoral manifesto it promised to raise the level of national income to ameliorate the poor conditions of public, living below the poverty line. Promises of launching a massive programme of rural and urban development were made in that electioneering. It was conveyed to the public that ‘a programme of environmental protection to be initiated to conserve the country’s land, water and forests; all major industrial ventures will be denationalized and public sector corporations will be made accountable before peoples representatives; a million job will be provided to the people within next five years; a minimum gross employment will be raised to three thousand per month’\textsuperscript{62}.

The agenda of Awami National Party was also same in kind. It projected that lot of poor people could be improved only if Pakistan tried to delink itself from the imperial powers. Its economy has been under stress due to its reliance on foreign loans and has become parasite. Awami National Party pledged to improve the social conditions of people of Pakistan through radical reforms by abolishing all kinds of imperial adage of sardars and landlords. It laid down upon the wages of workers and labours which should be equal to the price of ten gram gold.

Pakistan Peoples Party in its 1993 manifesto reiterated same pledges to public in the form of ‘new social contract’. It ensured that

…balance will be created in the powers and functions of federal, provincial and local governments. It was said that privatization policy will be geared to achieve full participation of the forces of production to end the monopolies. It was declared that equal rights for women, minorities, children and senior citizens will be protected. Peasants and labour will be protected from all kind of exploitation. Honourable role of government servants will be secured, which will aim at to end the corruption. It was pledged that landless peasants and tenants will be given secure ownership of land. Peoples Party’ leadership claimed that as in the past they have successfully run the peoples programme to ameliorate the lot of poor, this

\textsuperscript{61} The Nation, October 16, 1990.
\textsuperscript{62} The Nation, October 21, 1990.
time again more funding will be allocated for this programme to make sure the full participation of community in their social work.63

PML-N in its manifesto of 1993 declared that

It will ameliorate the poor conditions of life and introduced such policies by which each person will become independent to earn his income. Pakistan as a country and people of Pakistan as a nation will proudly enter into twenty first century. All sectors of economy will be reformed to bring them at par with each other to support their linked policies for getting the desired objectives of social welfare. PML-N more or less was same in its tenor as PPP but this time it concentrated more on its past performance and counted its successes like the infrastructure development and starting of yellow cab scheme.64

Similarly in 1997, PML-N in its manifesto exposed the same social agenda that

It will protect the rights of labour and for this purpose policy initiative was unfolded in which it was said that good relationships will be established between the employer and employee; minimum and maximum time hours will be forty eight hours in a week. Legislation will be done for the eradication of bonded and child labour. Technical institutions will be established for the training of labours.65

Pakistan Peoples Party was also same in its tenor in 1997 over the agenda of social development where it again relied on the public and private partnership to carry forward Pakistan in the twenty first century. In this election PPP was more concerned with the revival of democratic values and developing of consensus of political forces over the agenda of national integration and development. It reiterated that political forces should work jointly to check the vested interested of individuals and authoritarian institutions by enhancing the vigour of political institutions through cooperation and tolerance.

64 IJI government was prematurely dissolved by president of Pakistan and later it was restored by higher judiciary. Due to conflict between the president of Pakistan and prime minister, it was later mediated by Army and Nawaz Sharif, Prime Minister of Pakistan had to resign. Muhammad Usman and Masood Ashar, op. cit., pp.651,53-55.
65 The labour wage was set at 3000, 3500 and 4000 for non skilled, semi skilled and skilled respectively. Muhammad Usman and Masood Ashar, opcit., p.674.
In 1997 MQM said in its manifesto that ‘it believes in basic human rights and before the law all citizens are equal. Jobs are the right of citizens and should be provided on merit. Judiciary should be given more powers to probe into those matters and institutions where human rights are being violated. Child labour should be finished and labour should be made the partner of industrial units by giving shares. Their salary should be raised according to inflationary trends of economy. Health facilities and residences should be given to the labour on priority basis’66.

In 1990 election JUI-F announced that ‘it will create Islamic social system where poor and destitute will be looked after by providing them guzara (living)allowance. Landless farmers will be given that land which was reformed by them and taccavi loans without interest will be provided to them to improve their agriculture. For labours and workers Minimum wage level will be two thousand rupees and their dependents will be looked after freely’67. In 1993 the JUI-F was the part of IJM and its programme tenor was not different from that of previous. It stressed that ‘Islam would be the guiding principle in every walk of life and in the system of government. Utilities of life will be provided at every cost and hoarding will be eliminated. Difference in the wages will be reduced to the level of one and ten’68. In 1997 elections JUI-F was same as in previous elections in its rhetoric of social uplifting of public within the broader idealistic framework of Islam. It condemned the capitalistic economy for its exploitative mood and socialistic economy for its atheist nature without realizing any benchmarks of these economies in the world. It uttered the same words which had been aired on the platform of ANP for the wages of labour and workers that it should be equal to the price of one gram of gold.69

So it has been felt that political parties on many fronts were similar in their social agenda. The difference among the national, smaller and religious parties had been on policy options to do the social work. Smaller and religious parties had more stress on radical agenda for social reform but had no policy options for practical outcomes. It has been reflected in the performance of political parties that interests and welfare agenda are looked after in a better way by political parties instead of by any class or a faction. In the age of modern communication they are

66Muhammad Usman and Masood Ashar, op.cit., p.482.
presented by the legitimate political structure and informal interactive mechanism which is seemingly effective to reach the voters.

2.8.2. Gender Development and Their Representation;

All the political parties of the national stature talked about raising the status of women by ameliorating their social bondages. The manifesto of above mentioned parties had no differences in getting the rights of women in the society of Pakistan except JUI-F. PML, part of IJI spoke of equal rights for women as guaranteed by Islam. PPP clearly advocated in 1988 the repeal of all laws discriminating against women particularly Hudood Ordinance as an example. The ANP and MQM had views similar to the PPP, but JUI (F) commented on women’s rights with severity ‘freedom not avargi (hooligan)’.

One such challenge appeared in the lapsing of the reserved seats of the women in the National Assembly which were to be restored after 1988 through the legislation by the political forces representing the people in the National Assembly. Pakistan Peoples Party presented its commitment in its electoral manifesto 1988 that all kinds of discrimination and exploitation against women will be abolished. For this cause Pakistan was a signatory of United Nations convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women. Pakistan Peoples Party eulogized international convention over the rights of women to project the image of state as progressive one. It stressed that ‘discriminatory laws will be repealed, personal law will be reformed and brought in line with the demands of contemporary socio-economic realities; special measures will be taken to promote the literacy of women; dowry laws will be enacted’. There was seemingly consensus on the equal rights of women, as guaranteed by Islam, between the PPP and the PML, the constituent element of IJI, in 1988. Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) was no eloquent in presenting the cause of women as PPP because Jama’at-i-Islami, another constituent element of IJI, had some reservation about the equality of women and men. While ANP on the

71 Election to the 20 seats reserved of women in article 51(4) of the 1973 constitution, stipulates that it will be in operation from the day of the commencing of this constitution until the expiration of the period of ten years or the holding of the third general election to the National Assembly. See The Nation, November 24,1988.
left had views similar to the PPP. It also demanded the amendment of law of evidence which had relegated the legal status of women in society.\textsuperscript{73}

Pakistan Democratic Alliance (PDA) in its election manifesto 1990 again addressed the issues of women.\textsuperscript{74} It denoted that most of the national parties had the same agenda to follow except a difference in their modalities in approaching the problems. MQM in her electoral manifesto of 1990 firmly asserted that ‘it will protect the rights of the women because they form the backbone of the society’\textsuperscript{75}. Awami National Party in its 1990 manifesto touched this issue minutely. There was explicit diversion of priorities in national and nationalist parties by examining their dealing with the issues. Awami National Party talked about women in the portion of equal rights for all citizen of Pakistan and not allocated separate head for the rights of women. It said that ‘women will be given equal rights to man in socio-political fields and any citizen has the right to chair any office of the state without any gender and belief discrimination’\textsuperscript{76}. This point also indicated that Awami National Party had not attached any religious importance to chair the office of head of state or other offices and had a belief on the openness of society where each individual has a right to question the established view for the better growth and understanding of societal issues. On the other hand resemblance seemed among the parties on those issues which were important in their view for the mobilization of the voters.

Pakistan Peoples Party in its manifesto 1993 asserted the rights of women in a way to make them equal partner of development. It was said that

…women education core and rural helping centres will be established which will provide modern and technical education to women. All ordinances and laws will be reviewed in the light of Quran and Sunnah, which partially ignore the women status as equal partner of social development. Special quota will be allocated to women in all governments and autonomous organizations. Hudood ordinances will be amended. United Nation’s protocol will be signed which is against the exploitation of women. A special women police force will be established and a group will be

\textsuperscript{73} The Herald, Election Special, 1988, p. 29.
\textsuperscript{74} The Nation, November 8,1990.
\textsuperscript{75} Altaf Hussain leader of the MQM after election in one of his speech referred to the manifesto of her party in which he said that “we stood firmly to the rights of the women”, The Nation, November 2,1990.
\textsuperscript{76} Daily Imroz(urdu),Election 1990 Manshoor, October 16,1990.
constituted which will consist of parliamentary women of all Islamic countries to share the experiences for the uplifting of women rights. Laws related to family matters will be used equally and without any discrimination. Residential hostels will be established for working ladies in all big cities. Peasant women will be given agri-loaning facilities at their homes.\(^77\)

Same kind of language was used by PML-N in its 1993 manifesto for the rights of women. It was said that ‘women are the half of Pakistan’s population but they are devoid of basic social, economic and legal rights’\(^78\). PML-N in its manifesto 1997 declared that it will do utmost for the equal representation of women in every walk of life. Party enumerated that it will do following works: In cities residence, security will be provided to working women; more resources will be earmarked for the women education; Cooperative societies will be formed for the household industry; law of inheritance will be effectively executed for the protection of women’s rights.\(^79\)

Pakistan Peoples Party ensured the participation of women in representative institutions through the reservation of seats at the time of election 1997. It demanded the

Restoration of reserve seats for women in the National Assembly; establishment of permanent commission on the status of women as an autonomous statutory body comprising government representatives, NGOs, human rights organizations; ensure minimum 20% women’s participation in local government institutions. It was also stressed on the government to formulate a well defined policy for women’s development include the MoWD(Minister of Women Development) as a permanent member of important policy making forum like the National Economic Council(NEC), Executive Committee of NEC and Central Development Working Party.\(^80\)


\(^78\) It was demanded that for the introduction of reserve seats in Assembly there is need of amendment in Article 51-A of the constitution. For the protection of women against the oppression there will be “Saiban Houses”. Women police force will be increased and legal centres will be established for the free advice to jailed ladies. Muhammad Usman and Masood Ashar, op.cit., p.655-56.

\(^79\) Ibid., pp.674-75.

\(^80\) http://www.ppp.org.pk/manifesto/1997/contents.htm
Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) was also very much in touch about the equal rights for women and to see their representation in every spheres of life for the development of country. They should be enriched educationally and get vocational training to meet their expenses. MQM in its electoral manifesto of 1997 declared that ‘it wanted a constitutional amendment to have the special reserved seats for women in senate, national & provincial assemblies and local bodies’ institutions’81. Jamiat Ulama-i-Islam Fazal-ur-Rehman (JUI-F) showed slight concerns over the issues of gender development. It seemed that this party was very much convinced about the biological differences between the man and women, and were convinced by the Sharia interpretation of women’s role and status. JUI-F was not convinced of social construction of gender’s role. It stressed on the separate education for man and women in its election manifesto 1990, 1993 and 1997.82 It sanctified the role of women which it thought could be damaged by its working equally with men in the social spheres of life.

2.8.3. Good Governance;

The issue of good governance had attained a considerable attention in the policy debates of the political parties and in the circles of the government. It was felt that the good governance went into jeopardy in Pakistan due to the mishandling of the material and human resources. These resources were not used effectively and resultantly affairs of the administration were beyond the manageable limit. So without the proper and effective use of the available potential of the resources, no policy outcome was possible. This issue gained primary importance in the political agenda of the political parties. All political parties talked about the parliamentary sovereignty. They wanted to see a balance of power between the offices of Prime Minister and the President, and the balance of authority between the provinces and the centre. In the election 1988, provincial autonomy was a burning issue and all parties have well defined response to this issue, although there were the areas of deliberate vagueness.

After the 8th amendment of 1985, the balance of power tilted in favour of president instead of Prime Minister who had been the executive head of the people’s will. Pakistan Peoples Party in its electoral manifesto of 1988 declared that:

81 Ibid., pp.485-86.
It will restore the 1973 constitution. It will adopt a new dynamic approach in the
centre–province relations for smooth functioning of governments at both levels. It
asserted that party believes in the devolution of powers not on transfer of power.
Party will adopt an effective system of economic distribution between the
provinces on the basis of accepted norms, viz.: needs; tax mobilization effort;
population and rural-urban ratios. Abolish the concurrent list of structural
adjustment for the devolution of authority and revise the federal legislative list.83

Pakistan Muslim League, the constituent element of IJI had taken the stance of amending the
constitution 1973 in its election manifesto of 1988. Once it was the main author of the eighth
constitutional amendment bill and this time its spokesman cleared its position by describing that
“we favoured the Eighth Amendment. Had there been no Eighth Amendment, the Muslim
League could not restore civil liberties, nor would the transfer of power have taken place
after…..”84 This reflected an apology for past and showed the response in removing the lacunae
from the constitution. The stance of MQM was not very explicit and it took the position of least
concerning over this issue due to its regional character. It laid stress on the new amendment in
the constitution for the issue of regional importance instead for the balance in the institutional
growth. It aired that only permanent residents of Sindh would be able to cast their votes in the
province and not migrants.85 In this context, the stance of regional or smaller parties was not very
assertive and their commitment to this kind of issue was seemingly indifferent.

Awami National Party with its regionalist moorings advocated the setting up of a Constituent
Assembly with equal members from all the provinces to frame the new constitution. So the
regionalists had their views that were of regional leanings rather than concerning with the
national ones. Their confinement in different regions determined their electoral maneuvering.
Jammiat Ulamma-i-Islam (JUI-F) unreservedly propagated the idea of repealing the 8th
amendment and the restoration of the 1973 constitution in its place with the proviso that all laws
against the Shariah would immediately, after the new constitution comes in, stand repealed.86
Seemingly its interest was in the issue of the Shariah rather than with the new socio-political

84 The Herald, Election Special, 1988, p.31.
85 Ibid., p.31.
86 Ibid., p.31.
contract. Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) pledged in its electoral manifesto of 1990 for the dispensation of social justice to the people of Pakistan. It was reiterated that ‘entire system of justice should be remodeled. Criminal cases should be decided within six months while civil cases will take a year for decision. Promises were made for decentralization of powers to the elected local bodies and municipal corporations. Further, manifesto promised to overhaul the police system which will eradicate the corruption and dishonesty. It was explicitly pronounced that jail reforms will be done and ombudsman office will be established at provincial level.\(^{87}\) IJI/PML-N had the consideration of reforming the institutions of the state for better dispensation of the justice and social services to the people without any discrimination. It had the pledge to do so for developing the trust of the public over the institutions of the state.

Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) in its manifesto 1997 again reiterated this pledge that ‘it will support of any move and legislation in which this constitutional lacunae[8th amendment] will be removed. It does not want to have the concentration of power in any office. Power should be devolved to the lower rung of the power ladder.\(^{88}\) Jammiat Ulamma-i-Islam-Fazal-ur-Rehman (JUI-F) was very brief over this issue because it talked in one way that implementation of Islamic principles is a panacea of all ills in society. In its 1990 manifesto it gave the reference of Quranic verse ‘those people whom we give the power on earth they will establish prayer and zakat(charity) system and prohibit the evil’\(^{89}\). In 1993 manifesto its voice regarding Islamic system was same as in 1990. For the settlement of problems it talked about the establishment of high consensus body and if matters are not solved here then it will be presented in presidential council.\(^{90}\) Here it seemed that by talking about these institutions, JUI-F wanted to create a caucus of religious clergy which had the cardinal role in deciding the fate of country and people. In 1997 manifesto JUI-F reiterated its pledge that Quran and Sunnah will be the supreme law of the land and all aspects of life will be guided by them.\(^{91}\)

The issue of restructuring the institutions of the state had been the prime task of all the political parties to take up and therefore they gave importance to this issue in their election manifestoes. It seemed by the study of their manifestoes that these five parties had the realization of the

\(^{87}\) *The Nation*, October 21, 1990.
\(^{88}\) Muhammad Usman and Masood Ashar, *opcit.*, p.482.
\(^{89}\) *Daily Imroz* (urdu), Election 1990 Manshoor JUI-F, October 23, 1990.
importance of the issues which had been discussed above but they had their different strategies to implement them. It was so because they had to satisfy the supporters of their constituencies. The national parties were creating a link in the voters of the four regions of Pakistan by their coherent program and ideologies. The regionalists and Islamic parties were also doing to do so but the content of their program was partly supported by a particular segment of the society. The other good thing was that all these political parties tried to solicit and mould the opinion of the voters.

2.8.4. Foreign Policy Priorities;

Foreign policy of any country depicts the national and international stature of a country in respect of its ideological stance and of its sovereign character. It encapsulates those issues which are more cardinal and relevant for a country. Varying positions of the political parties over the different issues had their socio-political bases and the issues of external affairs were followed by keeping in view the necessities of the internal setup. Political Parties were backed by public support which had explicit stance over the issues of public welfare and development and foreign policy was also devised to keep in view these concerns. Here foreign policy issues are being described which had been presented by the above said parties according to the priorities. It was observed that one public slogan was equal for all parties that our foreign policy should be independent and non-aligned. The tough stance of religious party over the issues of normalizations of relations with India and bilateral relationships with United States of America on mutual interests had squeezed its option to go ahead in the comity of nations and that was the reason it had a narrow support in Punjab and Sindh as compared to North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan. In 1990, JUI-F stressed on the relationships with Muslim countries and primacy was given to the maintenance of Islamic ideals and morals in relationships with other countries.\(^{92}\) It reiterated its spiritual affiliation with all Muslims of the world and seemingly it instigated the trans-territorial relationships which were less appealing for the majority voters of Pakistan.

In 1993, it contested the election in the name of Islami Jamhoori Mahaz of which Jammiat Ulama-i-Islam-Fazal-ur-Rehman(JUI-F) and Jammait Ulama-i-Pakistan-Noorani(JUP-N) were the partners. It voiced over the rights of Palestinian and Kashmiri people and rejected the new world order of America which unilaterally trounced the weaker states.\(^{93}\) Its approach in this

---

\(^{92}\) *Daily Imroz*, October 23, 1990.

\(^{93}\) *Daily Jang*, September 21, 1993
affair of the state was not different from that of other ones because its philosophy did not make any differentiation in the body politic of the state. Here it seemed more idealistic rather than pragmatic. So that is why it had very narrow support among the voters of Pakistan.

The stance of national parties was very competitive one in directing the foreign policy over the issues of economic wellbeing and security. They always kept in view the trends of modern development and challenges of world order while devising the manifestoes. Pakistan Peoples Party announced in its electoral manifesto of 1988 that

...our role in the world would be based on equality, friendship and peace. It announced that party will tread the path set by founder of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam, to have peace with neighbours, play constructive role in the world in maintaining friendly relations with all super powers. Party will provide the form to the vision of Quaid. It will assert its role as an independent and sovereign country. Pakistan Peoples Party stressed on the non aligned role of Pakistan in her foreign relations. Party sought peaceful relations with India and stressed on the Simla Accord for the solution of Kashmir problem. It stressed on the friendly relations with Soviet Union and withdrawal of its forces from Afghanistan through Geneva Accord.94

Foreign policy was a crucial issue in the election 1988. It was not only a question of addressing the issue of non-alignment, or supporting the struggle of oppressed people across the world but there was also the concern over the activities of big powers in Afghanistan. The Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) revealed a schizophrenic view on Afghanistan due to the hyper considerations of its components like Jamma’at-i-Islami which was all out to support the Mujahideen. IJI announced that policy over Afghanistan will be reviewed and its components like Pakistan Muslim League supported Geneva Accord for the solution of Afghanistan’s problem.95 Pakistan Muslim League as part of the IJI desired normal relations with India but also required the solution of the Kashmir issue on the basis of UN resolutions (as opposed to the bilateralism enshrined in the Simla Agreement) and finally declared that it considers the problem in East Punjab to be India’s internal problem, but, nevertheless, supports the ‘right of self determination for all oppressed

Both national parties—PPP and PML(Component of IJI)—had a similar approach over the implementation of Geneva Accord; smooth transition of government in Afghanistan and normalization of relations with India. While position took by JUI-F in 1990 was near to Jamma’at-i-Islami, since it believed that non participation of the mujahedeen in the Geneva talks nullifies the Accord. Both these religious parties had a similar approach over the issue of Afghanistan that was seemingly evoked ideologically, and cross border affiliation was also sought with mujahedeen on the basis of Muslim brotherhood. JUI-F had the hawkish pronouncement about the relationships with India. It said that ‘India is the country’s main enemy and the liberation of Kashmir is the cornerstone of our policy’.

It showed that religious parties were very staunch in propagating their ideas on the issues of normalization of relations with their neighbouring states. Such hard-line posture of religious parties could not evoke the public response in their favour due to their illogical argument and extremist point of view. Similarly Awami National Party (ANP) also had cross border affiliations on the basis of language affinities that were more concrete as compared to ideological appeal of religious parties. It supported the Saur revolution and demanded an immediate end to Pakistan’s undeclared war and interference in Afghanistan’s internal affairs. That is why ANP had some favour over the issue of Afghanistan in some pockets of NWFP where it showed its electoral strength in national and provincial elections. On the other hand it also favoured the move of good relationship with India without mentioning the charter, resolutions and any framework.

The response of public was visible to the approach of JUI-F and the Awami National Party(ANP) in the elections results, presented in annexure 1-4. There was no highly response towards the religious and regional parties in voting as compared to national parties. The general public of Pakistan considered the intervention of Soviet Russia in Afghanistan as an aggressive design to reach the warm waters of Pakistan’s south west coast. So they never upheld the argument of ANP. The approach of MQM over the issue of Afghanistan was different from all other parties because of its indirect link with the issue. Due to the non-proximity of the area of Sindh, particularly Karachi and Hyderabad where it has electoral strength, it showed indifferent

---

96 The Herald, Election Special, 1988, p.27
97 Ibid., p.27.
99 Infra Chapt., 4.
posture over this issue. It was un-committed on the intervention issue and on the withdrawal of Soviet troops. It demanded the confinement of Afghan refugees to camps near the border areas.\textsuperscript{100}

In 1990 all these parties have adopted same kind of agenda for the relationship with neighboring countries and solutions of international and bilateral problems. Awami National Party pledged for the independent foreign policy and linked with non-aligned agenda for foreign relations. It also stressed on the peaceful solutions of all international problems. Here it also showed its inclination toward the socialist solutions of all international problems. Here it also showed its inclination toward the socialist block by projecting the non-interference of world powers in the internal problems of any country and furthering links between the countries on the basis of equal and sovereign powers.\textsuperscript{101}

Pakistan Peoples Party/Peoples Democratic Alliance (PPP/PDA) in its election manifesto 1990 relied on projecting Pakistan’s national interest in carving out its relationship with other countries. It stressed on the peaceful relationships with the neighbour countries and pledged its support on the issues of Ummah’s concern. It talked more about the affiliations and grouping of democratic countries in the world to support the forces of freedom and liberty. Here it was clear contrast with the religious party which relied on the forces of Islamic block without thinking of its realization. In 1997 election, Pakistan Peoples Party(PPP) again put the weight behind the liberal forces in the country to evolve the consensual based foreign policy which could serve the national interest of the country instead of those values which were to convert the world into two water tight compartments—Muslim and Non-Muslim.\textsuperscript{102}

Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz in its 1993 manifesto reiterated that it wants good relationship with all and no enmity. It stressed on the efforts of the people of Kashmir and Palestine for rights of self-determination.\textsuperscript{103} PML-N in 1997 election convincingly argued for independent foreign policy due to internal and external political changes, particularly Middle East crisis and American’s sanctions on Pakistan in response to its nuclear programme. Pakistan Muslim

\textsuperscript{100} The Herald, Election Special,1988,p.26.
\textsuperscript{101} Daily Imroz(urdu), October 16,1990.
\textsuperscript{103} In its manifesto of 1993, PML-N upheld the principles of independent Pakistan’s foreign policy. It linked the friendship of Pakistan with People Republic of China as cardinal for Pakistan’s development and security. It projected a similar stance over the nuclear development as the other parties particular PPP. Muhammad Usman and Masood Ashar, op. cit., pp.657-58.
League-Nawaz, declared itself a mother party of Pakistan, projected that it will strive for such universal system in which each state’s sovereign status will be accepted; there will be friendship to all; belief in peaceful nuclear programme; good and peaceful relationship with India; no compromise over the right of self determination of Kashmiris and friendship with the China will be regarded the cornerstone of Pakistan’s foreign policy.\textsuperscript{104}

Muttahida Qaumi Movement(MQM) in its 1997 manifesto did not talk in detail over foreign policy priorities. It was stated in the manifesto that ‘MQM believes in a free and non-aligned foreign policy and wants to have good terms with the neighbour and other countries of the world’\textsuperscript{105}. This slight noticing of the foreign policy issues by MQM in its electoral plank showed that it was more concerned with the problems of a particular area, and has no priority for those issues which were beyond its political influence. Same remained the attitude of JUI-F in talking about the agenda of foreign relations of Pakistan in1990,1993 and 1997. It slightly touched over the modalities of institutions, involved in building foreign relations but gave overtones on the issuers of Kashmir, Palestine and cordial relationships with Muslim Ummaha. It talked about its relations with other countries to be developed in that way that there is no damage to Islamic values.\textsuperscript{106}

These foreign policy considerations of all parties were differed on the point of their ideological linkage and anchoring. Awami National Party and JUI-F showed their preference to those blocks with which they had their ideological affiliations. National parties had a more pragmatic approach to deal the issues of high national concerns and they were not overtones in dealing the issues of Ummaha.

2.8.5. Islamic Social Order and Public Morality;

Different smaller parties, whether Islamic, national or regional, constantly appealed to the government for the settlement of the issues which they considered sacrosanct for the Pakistani polity. JUI-F wanted in her political manifesto 1988 that Sharia be made supreme law of the land and suggestions of the Islamic Advisory Council should be accepted while making the

\textsuperscript{104} Ibid., pp.675-76.
\textsuperscript{105} Ibid., p.477.
laws.\textsuperscript{107} IJI secretary general Ghafoor Ahmed stated in the light of IJI manifesto that issue of the 8\textsuperscript{th} amendment can be settled if PPP helped in building up Pakistan into a truly Islamic state.\textsuperscript{108} IJI gave more stress in her electoral manifesto 1988 on the implementation of Islamic way of life in the country. It took up position due to the influence of Jamma’at-i-Islami in IJI. IJI stated that banking will be free of usury, ‘amar bil marauf wa nahi anil munkr’ (forbidding the vices and directing the virtues), every kind of discrepancies, discrimination and injustice will be eliminated, and deprived will be given their due status within the fold of Islam.\textsuperscript{109} IJI due to this kind of exposition had been considered a rightist party in the country and its major party PML had to compromise over some of its liberal posture due to the influence of Jama’at-i-Islami within the IJI.

In all its manifestos, JUI-F in this domain seemed very sensitive as compared to other parties and it segregated the society on the basis of Muslims and non Muslims. It categorically took the position over the form of government. It stated that for ideal Islamic state, reigns of government should be in the hands of righteous, pious and intelligent Muslims. Supreme law of the land will be Quran and Sunnah.\textsuperscript{110} It seemed that how contrary it was in the approach of dealing the issue of state-society formation as compared to other national and regional parties. It relied upon Islamic ideals which it deemed can encompass all life, and remedy lies in treading the path of prophet and his companions. It seemed that it always had a wishful thinking to revive the past structure of Islamic society without realizing the challenges of socio-political and economic system of the modern world.

Pakistan Peoples Party in its 1988 manifesto declared that ‘it upholds the high ideals of Islam that were based on the concept of brotherhood, harmony, tolerance and egalitarianism’\textsuperscript{111}. In 1990,1993 and 1997 electoral manifestoes, Pakistan Peoples Party/PDA talked about of some principles which could guide the life of people according to Quran and Sunnah, but powers of legislation was to lay with the elected representatives of people. There was seemingly the

\textsuperscript{107} The Nation, February 3, 1989.
\textsuperscript{108} The Nation, February 11, 1989. IJI stands for the Islami Jamoori Ittehad (Islamic Democratic Alliance). It is the alliance of nine parties which are ideological different with each other but political considerations put them together. See The Nation, October 17, 1988.
\textsuperscript{109} Daily Jang (Lahore), IJI Manifesto, November 7,1989.
\textsuperscript{111} http://www.ppp.org.pk/manifesto/1988.htm
marked contrast in the approach of national, regional and religious parties. Religious party stated that Quran and Sunnah are the supreme law of land and there is requiring interpretation which is the right of specific people. Pakistan Peoples Party did not stress strongly over the Islamic mode of life as the Islamic /religious parties has had in their manifestos. It took soft stand over the issue of islamisation by knowing the social contours of life, and decided to leave the responsibility of its formation over the institutions of state and society. It showed that how the national party—PPP—was lenient in its view of Islamic social order but it laid stress on its practical approach of creating an egalitarian society based on justice. This way of approaching the issue had made its more acceptable party to public, contrary to religious parties or their alliance which had taken hard stance over the issue of Islamic social order. The results of elections showed that how much the national parties had been supported by the voters as compared to religious parties over these issues.\textsuperscript{112} (see annexure 1-4)

The stance over these issues also put the parties in the category of left and right. Awami National Party was declared a leftist party due to its policy stance over the issues of Islamic social order and the formation of state-society structure in the light of socialist philosophy. It advocated the abolition of symbolic islamisation and stressed on the role of Islam to be “a personal matter” unconnected with the business of polity.\textsuperscript{113} It was the reflection of its pre-partition heritage.

PML-N in the manifesto of 1997 declared that Pakistan is an Islamic state and it is an important pillar of state. It will try to implement Islamic way of life and eradicate every kind of exploitation.\textsuperscript{114} The brief indication and description about the Islamic system by PML-N showed that party was not involving itself in theoretical abstraction and have stressed on practical aspects of social life. That is why PML-N had no policy formula to expose its Islamic ideology and its practical execution. On the other hand Awami National Party, a left oriented organization due to its secular agenda, stressed for state society construction without any religious leanings in its electoral manifestos. It always talked about equal rights for all citizens of Pakistan without any discrimination. It talked about the rejection of exploitative social order and evolved the new one according to the wishes of the people of Pakistan.\textsuperscript{115} This perception of ANP for Islamic mood

\textsuperscript{112} See Annexure 1,2,3,4.
\textsuperscript{113} The Herald, Election Special, 1988, p.28.
\textsuperscript{114} Muhammad Usman and Masood Ashar, op.cit., p.659.
of state and society was not religiously motivated. It left this work on the social forces which were to be represented in the assemblies by the support of the public. Here it was a clear divide between the ANP and religious party JUI-F in constructing the state and society. Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) was also very much like that of national and regional parties in the approach of building state-society on the basis of social determinants. It talked about the elimination of all kinds of discrimination and stressed on the creation of equal opportunities where all nationalities and people could utilize their energies for the development of their life and cultural values.\footnote{Daily Jang, MQM ka Manshoor Bray Intkhatab 1997, January 1,1997.}

**Conclusion:**

In the analysis it was simmered out that political parties’ structure were hierarchical in nature and rational in character to deal with the party’s matter at different levels. It was observed that political parties in Pakistan are less democratic in their recruitment and membership policy except a religious party—Jama’at Islami. In their membership policy all the above described parties have no formal registration process at the union council/ward level. There was no formal recruitment at city level where its office bearers exist but it was all symbolic. Decisions on the different issues and policy matters were not evolved through consensus but imposed from the higher executive authority of the party. Political parties of all kinds remained victorious in the four elections at national and provincial levels which showed that people vote for parties on the basis of the agenda that varies from personal needs/desires to national interests. Political parties’ programme was seemingly very cardinal in maximizing votes and it seemed that national parties’ preferences were near to the people and vice versa. National parties’ manifestoes were very elaborative, functional and people oriented. That is why they were successful in all the regions of Pakistan as compared to the other parties. The response of the questionnaire over the issues of the utility of the parties’ manifestos and to change them according to the necessities of the time was very encouraging. It was felt that people were more inclined to the national parties or to those which were near to their vision to accomplish the agenda of development. On both these issues the response in the NWFP was 50 and 71 percent; in Punjab it was 68 and 71 percent; in Sindh it was 95 and 56 percent while in Baluchistan it was 78 and 93 percent (respondents of questionnaire in Baluchistan were mostly the political workers of different parties). Programmes
of Islamic and smaller parties in the area of specific economic reforms were seemingly weak due to their rhetoric appeal rather than to execute it with emerging economic principals. Therefore they could not muster the support of voters over their agenda and their electoral strength remained always weak which varied from 1 to 3 percent at national level. National parties did well as compared to regional and religious parties in national and provincial elections. The voting strength of IJI/PML-N varied from 30 to 45 percent in the national elections; and in the provincial elections of NWFP, it stood at 24.90 to 30.88 percent; in Punjab 34.98 to 52.08 percent; in Sindh from 12.5 to 20 percent and in Baluchistan from 21.01 to 27.27 percent from 1988 to 1997. The other national party—Pakistan Peoples Party—did well in national and provincial polls. It secured 38.70 to 21.90 percent vote in national elections while in provincial polls it got 20.03 to 10.69 percent in NWFP; in Punjab 33.33 to 19.49 percent ; in Sindh 47.0 to 40.0 percent while in Baluchistan it got 7.19 to 7.38 percent vote from 1988 to 1997(mentioned in tables 1-5).

It was found that those political parties were successful in the wooing of voters’ sympathy which had a vibrant program, candidature and charismatic leadership. It was also found that parties’ operational mechanism was helpful in creating the base for the parties’ success in the elections if the leadership of the parties identifies the strength of the local patterns. Voters and parties relationship was seemingly based on spatial model in which parties and voters interacted with each other on behalf of the proximity of their objectives and preferences. It was found that religious parties were moralists in their appeal and had relatively modest program which was related to the good and bad of the society rather than to judge the human actions in the realm of right and wrong. So they had been poorly responded by the voters in the elections in terms of seats and votes except in some of the constituencies of NWFP and Baluchistan. On the other hand regionalist’s parties also bid to register the claim of the rights of the people of a particular area which had ethnic moorings. ANP stressed on the rights of the Pukhton of the NWFP and of the some areas of the Baluchistan to get the support of the voters. Political parties were seemingly successful in mobilizing the masses and they had presented such manifestos which affected the political behaviour of the voters. It was found that national parties slightly differed

\[117\] There is a strategy to target the voters in which voters support parties which are closest to their issue position. Robert Rohrschneider, Mobilizing versus Chasing: How do Parties Target Voters in Election Campaigns?, Electoral Studies, Vol. 21, 2002,p.369, pp.367-82.
with each other on the issues of national concerns, but the stances of the regional and religious parties were widely different from national ones on all the issues of national concerns. So this kind of conflict in their orientation and approach had further polarized the society but increased the level of awareness of the masses by inducting them into the channel of political discourse. It appeared that parties in Pakistan are weak in their organizational structure but they have kept their presence in the social circles through the means of communication. It has been observed that political parties have been used by the political leaders to awaken a wider national sense of community and to create ties of communication and cooperation across territorial and ethnic populations. At the time of election most of political parties not only projected their agenda but also mobilized the masses through media, public meetings of party leadership and by the candidates’ local networking with the community.

Peoples’ affiliations with the political parties were based on the content of their political programme, reflected through their manifestos, character of leadership and effectiveness of electoral campaign. Parties of national stature or their alliances have garnered the support of the masses during the elections due to their widest influence by putting the candidate throughout country. Parties of regional and religious outlook are counted as smaller parties due to their less and squeezed area of influence. It has also been observed in the response of questionnaire that relatively people have their liking for national parties. All this observation and analysis depicted that people of Pakistan had a political sense in making their political decisions which had been infiltrated through social-psychological environment. By their participation in the elections, people had maintained the systemic exchange and made the system functional by supporting the political parties as the legitimate organ to transfer their general will.
CHAPTER- 3

ELECTORAL POLITICS

3.1. Conceptual Explanation of Election

Elections are considered the main stage from which the edifice of modern democracy has been erected. Some of the electoral studies have been conducted in America and Britain in 1940s and 50s, and after that it is a field of specialization in social science.¹ The study of ‘elections’ has been described as ‘psephology’.² Elections are complicated political processes which are analysed within the context of political and social systems of a given country. Many are the definitions of election which describe it in one way or the other as an aspect of political process. V.O.Key,Jr wrote that ‘election is a formal act of collective decision that occurs in a stream of connected antecedents and subsequent behaviour’.³ Elections are the justified ways and means for the transfer of government from one set up to other. It has the function of representing the political choice of the masses, and creates the connectivity between the public and the government through policy structure.

Political culture requires the study of the electoral activity in the domain of political system for its definitional exploration, and as well to determine the nature of the system also. The participation of the public in an activity of political importance by their formal act of collective decisions reflects the level of political understanding of that particular community. So their response to political objects in the elections make sure the indoctrination of political values in the masses and helpful in describing the nature of political culture of that particular community. The people of Pakistan have taken part in direct and indirect elections as electors and electorates, conducted in the different phases of history, to be socialized in their political orientation. But the question is that how far their socialization has been helpful in dictating their political decisions, declared to be a rational one. So this rationality among the different factors also contributes in the emergence of a stable democracy. So the orientation of this

political behavior with reference to election is explored in this chapter by having the analysis of different electoral approaches and the data of national and provincial elections of the four provinces of Pakistan.

In the debate of political behaviour we come across the study and the models, evolved in the west, and which had been applied on the studies of the South Asia to know the nature of the political behaviour. James N. Rosenau suggestively advanced the role of election in a model that explained the strength of political parties in their varying positions likely from dependent variable to independent variable. Robert E. Lane has also developed a useful paradigm for the study of electoral behaviour which calls attention to the broader dimensions of the electoral process and as well to a variety of attributes and factors which may be considered as socio-economic bases of the political behaviour. The types of political behaviour under responses represent the collectively and individually, the dependent variables. The psychological attributes of the individual listed under organism (Human Being) and the social or environmental factors listed under stimuli represent the independent variables.

**Paradigm for the Study of Electoral Behavior**

**Influences:** Social, Political and Economic Determinants

**Social Determinants:** Tribe, Clan, Family, Culture, Values, Traditions, Race, Language (Independent Variables)

(Stimuli) **Political Determinants:**
- Party, Party Leadership
- Party Electoral Manifesto
- Candidate, Issue

(Stimuli) **Economic Determinants:**
- Utility Concerns

**Responses:** Voting and Electioneering, Contacting politicians, contributing to parties and Interests groups, Attentive to media content, attend mass gatherings, discussing politics, joining political groups, Activation in local communicative channels. (Dependent Variables)

(Model’s variable are same which has been described by the Robert E.Lane but the figure has been altered to make the understanding convenient)

---

There is another model which seems more suitable in evaluating the electoral behaviour of an area. It rests on the utility concerns of voters and defined as proximity model. Anthony Down described that “…[the voter] knows that no party will be able to do everything that it says it will do. Hence, he cannot merely compare platforms; instead he must estimate in his own mind what the parties would actually do were they in power.” Proximity models and directional models will be more suitable to establish a baseline to judge the electoral behaviour. Anthony Downs was the pioneer of this spatial and proximity models in which he described that interdependence is judged between the decisions made by parties and those made by the voters. So elections play important role in evaluating the roles of these different variables on voter’s choice and the study of elections is cardinal in understanding the exchange mechanism between the voters and the variables. Professor Mackenzie rightly said that question of elections is at the centre of politics everywhere [from which nature of the system and attitude of the people are explained]. This chapter explains the historical review of electoral politics in Pakistan; electoral approaches and their identification with different schools; voting behaviour of Pakistani voter and the turn out ratio of the four general elections to depict the value oriented nature of the behavior of the voter of Pakistan.

3.2. Elections and Their Political Discourse

Review of elections provides an insight into historical evolution of modern democracy and about the working of the first past the post system in the sub-continent, established by the British progressively. After establishing their rule British introduced the responsible government in the form of local system as a first base in the political pyramid with the intention to dispense the political education to the people of the sub-continent. British introduced the principle of election in 1884 in local bodies at limited scale, and later in 1909 and 1919 reforms a responsible government was introduced at province level. Pakistan after its creation, experienced the first general elections on the basis of adult franchise in 1970, but before that it has gone through the indirect elections of National and Provincial Assemblies in 1965. It has also seen the provincial elections in 1951 in Punjab and NWFP; in Sindh 1953 and in Bengal 1954. The first Legislative Assembly which was to act as a Constituent Assembly also, was indirectly elected by the members of the Provincial Assemblies. So direct election to the Legislative Assembly would not

---

have been possible due to the delay in the making of the constitution of Pakistan in which all the procedures relating to the election were to be determined. The date of first general election was announced after the promulgation of the first constitution of Pakistan in 1956. But it was aborted when Ayub Khan proclaimed the martial law in 1958.

Before the partition of the sub-continent in 1947, the regions of Punjab, Sindh and NWFP have gone through the activity of elections in 1937 and in 1946. Elections in these regions have aroused the political consciousness of the people, and they were mobilized in the electoral arena by the political parties to attain the goals which they have set for them. The parliamentary bodies, which governed Pakistan following independence in August 1947, derived from the provincial elections held in British India in late 1945 and early 1946. These elections were held under the restricted franchise and separate electorate provisions of the Government of India Act of 1935. These assemblies were called upon to elect members of Constituent Assembly (MCA) of India in July 1946. The MCA's were thus elected by an indirect method according to a formula of separate representation for each of the major religious communities. The Muslim League MCA's boycotted the sessions which began in New Delhi on December 9, 1946. It was not until the partition of subcontinent had taken place and the Constituent Assembly itself divided that the active work of drafting a constitution for the two independent successor states began in earnest. Those members remaining in India met in New Delhi and completed a constitution in about two and a half years. Those members opting for Pakistan convened in the new nation's capital, and began a longer quest for a constitutional document.\(^8\) It took nine years to make a constitutional schema.

In 1954 a basic law was formulated which called for a bicameral legislature, with the lower house directly elected on a universal franchise giving East Bengal (East Pakistan) a majority of the seats-and an upper house elected indirectly to represent the provinces of Pakistan in such a way as to give West Pakistan a sufficient majority in the upper house so that in joint sessions the representation of the two wings would be equal. The Constitution of 1954, however, was not put into effect by Governor General Ghulam Mohammad. Instead he dissolved the First Constituent

Assembly in October 1954, and called for a new election to be held on essentially the same indirect basis as those of July 1946.

Between 1946 and 1954 much had happened to the composition of the provincial assemblies. The 1945-46 provincial elections had provided the Muslim League with substantial majorities among the Muslim members of the assemblies in Punjab and East Bengal. In Sind, however, the Muslim membership was sharply divided on factional lines, while in the Frontier a Congress government was formed under Dr. Khan Sahib. Provincial elections on a universal franchise were held in Punjab and Frontier in 1951, and in Sind in 1953, each returning the Muslim League with substantial majorities. The 1954 provincial election in East Bengal, however, resulted in a crushing defeat for the Muslim League by the United Front, comprising principally the Krishak Sramik Party led by A. K. Fazlul Huq, Awami League by H. S. Suhrawardy and the Nizam-i-Islam Party. The United Front won 223 of 237 Muslim seats, not only producing a result "almost beyond belief, both to the League and the United Front," but also depriving many of the Bengali members of the Constituent Assembly of their support.

A new Constituent Assembly was chosen in June 1955, again through indirect elections. The national representational formula of the new constitution for Pakistan was based upon "parity" between the two wings of the country, i.e., that East and West Pakistan would each elect the same number of members of Parliament even though that meant each member from more populous East Pakistan would represent a greater number of persons than those from West Pakistan. A bill to unite the provinces and former princely states of West Pakistan into a single province ("One Unit") was passed by the Constituent Assembly and accepted by the provincial legislatures concerned in 1955. The bill necessitated another electoral experience to form the new West Pakistan Provincial Assembly, and at the same time created another under-represented area. Punjab with more than 60% of the population of West Pakistan agreed to limit itself to 40% of the seats, for a period of ten years. Members of the former provincial assemblies met district by district in 1955 to choose from among themselves or from outside their number the persons who would represent the district in West-Pakistan Assembly. In 1956,

---


the Constitution of Pakistan was promulgated, the country and its political leaders, looked for direct elections under universal franchise to be held soon. The question of joint or separate electorates was not settled in the constitution but left for the legislature to decide when enacting the electoral law. The anticipated elections, under the constitution 1956, were not held. Some of the new emerging parties at the political scene like National Awami Party in 1957 threatened the government for its Alliances with the West which had compromised Pakistan’s independent and sovereign stature. Awami League, formed in 1952\(^\text{11}\), was clamoring for the regional autonomy and equitable development for both wings of the country. Its own leader, H.S.Suhrawardy when became the Prime Minister of Pakistan in September 1956, once realized that he had no support of his party in backing. It was the machination of the parties in the assemblies that further destabilized the political environment of Pakistan. Defection was the routine from the mainstream political parties that later on put on the label of a new political party. The emergence of the Republican Party\(^\text{12}\) was the result of the defection of the old guards from the Muslim League. This uncertain course of politics disrupted the fabric of the polity, and forced the leaders to show their incapacity to manage the affairs. Muhammad Ali as Prime Minister showed his incapacity to control the central government and likewise Dr.Khan Sahib could not manage the affairs of West Pakistan. In that situation Dr. Khan Sahib called on Iskander Mirza to impose President’s Rule in West Pakistan.\(^\text{13}\) Among the different causes, one was relevant to the issue of One Unit, caused delay in the elections. The One Unit matter had been given protection in the 1956 constitution, was demanded in a resolution to be dissolve into its constituent units, passed jointly by the Republican Party and the National Awami Party in West Pakistan Assembly. This move was declared by the Iskander Mirza, the President of Pakistan and H.S.Suhrawardy, the Prime Minister as the tampering with the Constitution, and they argued that it dangerously

---

11H.S.Suhrawardy began to piece together the constituent parts of the Awami League and its convention was held in Lahore in 1952, in which its manifesto was adopted. Keith Callard, op.cit., 1968,p.69.

12 Republican Party was formed by Dr.Khan Sahib in 1955. Dr Khan was not acceptable to the majority of members of the Provincial Muslim League Assembly Party. In that situation Dr.Khan dropped Sardar Bahadur, Daultana and Khuro from the cabinet and some of the former Chief Ministers: Mamdot, Kazi Fazullah and Abdur Rashid were made part of the cabinet. On April 23rd the provincial League announced a series of expulsions and Dr.Khan Sahib proclaimed the formation of the Republican Party. Keith Callard,op.cit., 1968,p. 63.

weakened the nation’s already frail political fabric.\footnote{Ibid., p.196.} On October 7, 1958, President Iskander Mirza dismissed Prime Minister Firoz Khan Noon, dissolved Parliament and proclaimed martial law with General Ayub Khan as Chief Martial Law Administrator. On October 27, Ayub in turn ousted Mirza, and governed more than ten years. Ayub proscribed political activity and moved against many of the country's prominent political figures with the Elective Bodies Disqualification Ordinance (EBDO) banning them from politics until January 1, 1967. Ayub's view of future electoral activity for Pakistan was rooted in his concept of Basic Democracy.\footnote{Karl Von Vorys, \textit{Political Development in Pakistan}, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1965, pp. 299-306.} Two national elections including a presidential one had been held under Ayub’s Basic Democracy. Since Ayub’s system of indirect elections made it possible for the ruling party to manipulate them which was not acceptable to the politically relevant strata of the population, so that direct polls constituted the central demand of all opposition movements such as NDF (National Democratic Movement-1962), COP (Combined Opposition Party-1964), PDM (Pakistan Democratic Movement-1967), and DAC (Democratic Action Committee-1969) demanded the direct elections.\footnote{Sharif al Mujahid, Pakistan: First General Elections, \textit{Asian Survey}, Vol.11, No.2, February, 1971, p.161, pp.159-171.}

In 1970 Pakistan passed first time in her political life through the direct general elections conducted on the basis of adult franchise. This was the election which developed the state of politics in which mobilization of the people had been seen on the basis of issues. The nature of the issues was multiple which varied from the acceptance of identity to the provision of equitable opportunities of development for all. People aligned with those political parties which have projected the issues of immediate concerns and provided the conduits to the masses to express their legitimate concerns. Elections are generally considered a breakthrough in political impasse and create the conditions for the smooth transfer of power to the legitimate organs. But the experience of 1970 election was very tragic for Pakistan. People were really mobilized by the political parties in the election, but the ultimate ends of the people of both wings were different in nature which eroded the unity of Pakistan. Eventually East wing of the country emerged as a separate state in the name of Bangladesh. After that Pakistan went through the election 1977.
which had been observed by the academician that it was the activity to endorse the policies of the past government. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto’s Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) won the majority of the seats in 1977 election which was shocking to the other group, had already been coalesced into PNA (Pakistan National Alliance) to give hard resistance to PPP. This opposition coalition could not muster the public support for their cause. Instead of accepting the results of national assembly election they boycotted the provincial election, which were to be held later and plunged the country into crisis. Here again election did not work for the political stability of the country. Discussions of military took over were ensued. Military clamped the martial law in 1977 and country was there where it started the journey of freedom and struggle for democracy.17

Military has its own agenda to complete. In-spite of giving assurance to the public that it has taken the responsibility of conducting the election within 90 days which is constitutionally approved, they will not do any delay in this regard. It has been observed that once military had been entered into politics then it would have to chalk out its organizational objectives to carry forward the agenda of the regime and to legitimize its intervention. It has been felt that Zia provided indemnity to his acts and to the changes he introduced in the polity under the garb of Islam in the 8th constitutional amendment adopted by the Assembly of 1985. It created the constitutional changes which altered the institutional balance. This institutional imbalance was visible in the form of tilt of authority more in the office of the President than the Prime Minister. Lawrence Ziring commented that “the 1973 constitution, as amended by the Zia administration, thus projected presidential power, and only marginally was the parliament considered an active and important actor in the political process”18. From the period of 1977 to the end of martial law on December 30, 1985, military ruled with the support of its own Junta people, freedom of speech was stifled and much was relied upon the forces of caste and class to galvanize the opinion of the public with the main stream agenda of the government. So the election 1985 again left the nation un-unified and demoralized. Its Assembly met its nemesis in 1988 when it was dissolved by its

17 In the election of 1977 PPP got 155 seats, leaving only 36 to the PNA, 1 to the QML and 8 reserved for tribal independents. PPP aggregated 58.1% of the total vote cast and the opposition alliance 35.4%. An estimated 17 million voters or 55% of the 31 million eligible voters cast ballot on march 7.See M.G. Weinbaum, The March 1977 Election in Pakistan: Where Everyone Lost, Asian Survey, July, 1977, pp. 599-618.
mentor due to the rift between Zia and his own nominated Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo over the issue of Ojri Camp\textsuperscript{19}, and as well as the loosening of the control of Zia over the political forces which asserted affirmatively after 1986 when political parties were allowed to play their part in politics. Ziring commented that

Zia was unable in rallying the critical coalition that might have brought domestic peace to the nation. Stubbornly avoiding intimacy with the different leaders of the political opposition, and seldom in a position to reconcile his world view with theirs, Zia was condemned to toil virtually alone. His eleven year rule was not different form the ten year rule of Ayub. Zia had demonstrated that he could sustain his authority, but he never found the formula that might have enabled him to reconcile disparate elements.\textsuperscript{20}

Zia exercised his discretionary powers on 29\textsuperscript{th} May,1988 under Article 58(2b) of 1973 constitution to dissolve the National Assembly. This order of the president was challenged before the Lahore High Court in the case titled ‘Muhammad Sharief v Federation of Pakistan’. The Court observed that such draconian discretion was not envisaged by then constitution which provided for free people. The Court noticed that on 25\textsuperscript{th} May 1988, the president had called for the session of the National Assembly and then only in four days later, on 29 May, he ordered its dissolution. What had happened within these four days? It was held that in these circumstances, it was not possible to sustain the dissolution order.\textsuperscript{21} The court declined relief on the grounds that assembly was elected by excluding political parties from participating in the process of elections; all political parties are demanding fresh elections; the concerned parties had accepted the fact of dissolution; no responsible person such as the leader of the house or the speaker of the assembly had challenged the action; entire nation was looking forward to the ensuing general election.\textsuperscript{22}

The judgment of Lahore High Court was challenged before Supreme Court of Pakistan which finally decided in the case titled ‘federation of Pakistan v Haji Muhammad Saifullah Khan.

\textsuperscript{19} It was a dump of ordnance near Faizabad at Rawalpindi, used to supple the arms to Afghan Mujhadin against the Russian forces in Afghanistan, blew up and hundred people were killed. Junejo government demanded the inquiry commission for the event and pledged to hold the personal accountable, which fired back and faced the dismissal of his government.

\textsuperscript{20} Lawrence Ziring,op.cit.,2001,p.493.


\textsuperscript{22} Ibid.,p.390.
Supreme Court upheld the decision of Lahore High Court and denied the relief of restoration of the National Assembly and the Cabinet. Supreme Court in a separate petition *Benazir Bhutto v federation of Pakistan* upheld the right of citizens to form and run the political parties. Elections were held on 16 and 19 of November 1988 for National and Provincial Assemblies respectively. Pakistan Peoples Party turned out to be the largest single party with 93 seats out of 207, while IJI got 55 seats. Voting outcome in terms of parties’ strength at national and at provincial levels was more or less same. Isalmi Jamhoori Ittehad(IJI) showed better electoral strength in Punjab and NWFP in provincial electoral contest. It secured 108 seats as compared to PPP’s 94 in Punjab, while in NWFP, it got 28 as compared to PPP’s. Pakistan Peoples Party formed the coalition government at the centre with the support of Muajhir Quami Movement, Jammiat Ulamm-i-Isalm-Fazal-ur-Rehman and some of the independents. Benazir headed the government that lasted only for eighteen months and, had to face the same fate which her predecessor government confronted.

In the provinces of Sindh and NWFP, Pakistan Peoples Party formed the coalition governments in spite of having majority in Sindh where it got 67 out of a 100 general seats. Out of 31 independents, elected to the Sindh Assembly, 26 were from the MQM which put up its candidates to contest the provincial election without any party denomination. MQM was the coalition partner of PPP in the government of Sindh. This kind of posture by the leadership of PPP encouraged the spirit of accommodation within the rank and file of the party which in turn helped to adjust with the point of view of other parties to strengthen the democratic norms of the polity. Robert A. Dahl remarked over this state of affairs that ‘grand coalitions [] achieve unity and stability during critical transitional periods by stilling partisan passions and strengthening consensus’.

Pakistan Peoples Party formed a coalition government with the support of ANP members in the assembly of NWFP. The party’s strength was even less than that of IJI in the assembly. Its seats were 21, while IJI was a majority party with 28 seats out of 80. In the NWFP assembly the seats of ANP and JUI-F were 13 and 2 respectively along with Independents whose

---

23 Ibid.
24 The Supreme Court held that the provisions of section 21(1)(b) of the representation of the people Act 1976 were violable of the fundamental right enshrined in Article 17(2) of the constitution. Ibid., p.391.
number stood at 16. Pakistan Peoples Party’s government was headed by Aftab Ahmed Khan Sherpao in 1988. Likewise in the Punjab IJI formed a coalition government with the support of some independents whose total strength was 32. IJI had 108 seats as compared to 94 of the PPP in the Punjab assembly. Nawaz Sharief headed the provincial government as Chief Minister of the province. In Baluchistan situation was dominated by Islamic or the regionalists group. Here JUI-F got 11 seats while Baluchistan National Alliance (BNA) secured 10 seats out of 40. Both these parties got the majority of seats, while the rest of the seats were divided among national parties, independents and other regional parties. Pakistan Peoples Party got 3, IJI 9 and independents secured 7 seats, while Watan Party, PKMAP/PMAI and Pakistan National Party each got 2 seats. Provincial Assembly met on 2nd December 1988 to elect the speaker and deputy speaker to proceed the election of chief minister of the province. Out of a total of 44 members, 42 were present in the assembly for the election of Chief Minister. Mir Zafrullah Khan Jamli was proposed as Chief Minister. The equal number of votes was cast in favour and against of him and so the deciding vote of the speaker was cast in his favour by which he got a thin majority to head the provincial government. Jamli feared to lose his office at the time of vote of confidence which he has to get in the next session of the assembly. He preemptively advised the Governor of the province to dissolve the assembly on 15th December 1988. The Governor acted upon it. The dissolution order of the Governor was challenged in Baluchistan High Court which held that unless the Chief Minister had obtained a vote of confidence from a majority of the total members of the assembly, he could not advise the Governor to dissolve the Provincial Assembly.27

The conflict between the President and the Prime Minister was culminated in the dissolution of the government on 6th August 1990. There were typical charges of corruption and nepotism leveled against the government of Benazir. After that Provincial Assemblies were also dissolved. The dissolution order was challenged before the Lahore High Court and the Sindh High Court. A full bench of Lahore High Court decided the writ petition upholding the order of dissolution passed by the president and same was the result of the decision of Sindh High Court. The judgment of Lahore High Court was challenged before the Supreme Court of Pakistan in

---

27 Baluchistan Assembly was dissolved by the Major General (retd) Musa on the 15 of December 1988 on the advice of the Chief Minister, Jamali within one month of its election due to the precarious balance of vote between the Jamali-PPP and BNA-JUI. *Dawn*, September 20, 1989.
Khawaja Ahmed Tariq Rahim v the Federation of Pakistan. The Supreme Court upheld the decision of the Lahore High Court.  

It could be observed that how this political instability affected the psyche of voter in his voting decision and it could also be surmised that administrative decisions have had the effect on the growth of political institutions. Such kind of action is caused of more rifts in the society and it can erode the confidence of the masses in the political institutions. Conflicting decisions of lower courts further eroded the confidence of the masses over the integrity of the institutions. The decision of the Peshawar High Court regarding the dissolution of the Provincial Assembly of NWFP was challenged. Peshawar High Court accepted the constitution petition and declared the impugned order of dissolution of the NWFP Assembly and the dismissal of the provincial government thereby as ultra vires of the constitution, without lawful authority and therefore of no legal effect. The Court directed the restoration of NWFP Assembly and the cabinet. Supreme Court of Pakistan set aside the order of Peshawar High Court on the grounds that mandatory requirement of notice to the Attorney General of Pakistan before deciding substantial questions had not been complied with.

It has been observed that one of the parties of the opposition took advantage of the decision of the dissolution of the governed party by propagating the idea of its failure to implement the program for which voters had given it a majority mandate. The campaign rallied the massive support of the voters. It was manifested in the form of more seats secured by the parties or their coalition once in opposition. The elections 1990 were conducted by the interim setup, headed by Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, on 25th and 27th October in which IJI got majority of the seats not only in the National Assembly but in the Provincial Assemblies of NWFP and Punjab also. IJI got 105 seats in the National Assembly out of total 207; 32 and 208 seats in NWFP and Punjab Assemblies respectively out of total 80 and 240. Nawaz Sharief was elected Prime Minister with 153 votes out of total 207. In Punjab Ghulam Hyder Wyne headed the provincial

---

28 Hamid Khan, opcit., Karachi, 2009, pp.405-06.
29 Aftab Ahmed Khan Sherpao v the Governor of NWFP, PLD 1990 Peshawar 192.
30 On 26th September, 1990, the Peshawar High Court unanimously accepted the writ petition and restored the provincial assembly and the cabinet. Against this decision Supreme Court issued the stay order and operation of high court was suspended. Dawn, 27th September 1990.
31 The Nation, October 26, 29, 1990.
government, while in NWFP, IJI formed coalition government with ANP, headed by Mir Afzal Khan as Chief Minister of the province. In Sindh, Jam Sadiq Ali in coalition with MQM and independents formed the government. Once again imbalance in the powers of the President and the Prime Minister, embedded in the 1973 constitution after 8th amendment, jolted the very foundation of the parliamentary government. A public speech of Nawaz Sharief on 17th April, 1993 turned the presidency against the Prime Minister in which Nawaz Sharief vowed not to resign, not to advise the dissolution of the National Assembly and not to take any dictation from the President. The day following president Ghulam Ishaq Khan ordered the dissolution of the National Assembly and a care-taker Prime Minister was immediately installed. Nawaz Sharief himself challenged the dissolution order before the Supreme Court under article 184(3) of the constitution. The Court accepted the petition on 26th May 1993, holding in short order that the impugned order of dissolution did not fall within the ambit of the powers conferred on the president, and therefore his order is not sustainable under the constitution. After the restoration of Nawaz government, Balkh Sher Mazari who headed the interim setup stepped down from his office. Later due to hostile relationship between the President and Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharief himself advised the President to dissolve the Assembly and the Cabinet on 18th July, 1993. Later elections were conducted on the 6th and 9th of October 1993 for National and four Provincial Assemblies of Pakistan.

After the 1993 polls, Pakistan Peoples Party formed the government at the centre by 121 votes against 72 polled by Nawaz Sharief, with the help of independents and PML-J. In the Punjab, Mian Manzoor Wattoo of the PML-J was elected Chief Minister with 131 votes against 105 polled by Shahbaz Sharief of PML-N. In Sindh, Pakistan Peoples Party had an absolute majority in the Provincial Assembly. Syed Abdullah Shah was elected Chief Minister. In NWFP, the PML-N had an electoral alliance with Awami National Party. Pir Sabir Shah of PML-N was elected Chief Minister with 48 votes against 29 polled by Aftab Sherpao of PPP. Later it was

32 The order of the dissolution was first challenged by the speaker of the National Assembly, Gohar Ayub, before the Lahore High Court. While his constitutional petition was pending, Nawaz Sharief, the deposed Prime Minister himself filed the petition. Hamid Khan, Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan, 2nd impression, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 2006, p.429.
33 Moen Qureshi was made the new interim Prime Minister of Pakistan. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan also stepped down from his office. Senate Chairman Waseem Saajid assumed the office of the president and Noor Jehan Panazai, the deputy chairperson of Senate became the Chairperson of senate. Daily Jang (Lahore), September 2, 1993.
34 The News, October 20, 1993.
difficult for the PPP government at the centre to countenance opposition parties forming the provincial government in the NWFP. PPP tried to destabilize it by pressing the emergency power of the President into service. On 25th February 1994, the President issued a proclamation under Article 234 of the Constitution directing the Governor to assume the functions of the government of NWFP declaring that the powers of the provincial assembly should be exercised by the Parliament.35 In Punjab same drama was played after two years of working of the government of Manzoor Wattoo when PPP was uneasy with the 18 members of the PML-J. In September 1995 President issued same proclamation order under article 234 of the Constitution directing the Governor to assume the functions of the provincial government. In the same month Arif Nakai was appointed the new Chief Minister of the province. Both these cases were challenged in the Supreme Court and High Court respectively.36 This kind of legal battle sapped the energy of the government and it focused its attention on the matters of the political machination to get hold in the provinces. It raptured the trust between the centre and the federating units. The decisions of the respective Courts declared the issue of Proclamation of emergency as ultra vires.

In Baluchistan, Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Magsi was elected Chief Minister with the support of PML-N, and all his opponents withdrew their nomination papers in the contest.37 The second term of Benazir in office had to face the political and constitutional challenges. She had no at good terms with judiciary over the matter of appointment of judges in Higher Courts, and as well the matter of the separation of the executive and judiciary was still unresolvable. There was also deteriorating law and order situation in country, particularly in Sindh where her brother Murtaza Bhutto was killed. In the face of these daunting problems she could not handle the affairs of the government dexterously. Resultantly country was drifting away from the stability to chaos and her government had to face the dismissal. In this fiat her second term remained abortive. This time her own front rank supported President, Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari, did this act by invoking the Article 58(2b) of the constitution of Pakistan on 5th November 1996. The dismissal of the government and dissolution of the assembly was also challenged before the Supreme Court of Pakistan by Yousuf Raza Gillani, Speaker of the National Assembly, on 11th November

36See Ibid.,pp.444-45.
1996. The Supreme Court by majority of six to one upheld the order of the president dissolving the National Assembly and after that elections were conducted.\(^{38}\)

First time the elections of the National and the Provincial Assemblies were conducted on the same date, February 3, 1997 under interim setup headed by Malik Meraj Khalid. In these elections PML-N appeared a single largest party in national election by getting 134 seats as compared to PPP which got 18 seats and confined only in Sindh.\(^{39}\) The alternative turn of both PPP and PML-N in the government showed that people voted favourably to them because of their deliverance on behalf of their interactive mechanism which they evolved through parties’ organizational structure. Both these parties governed alternately, and relatively gave the impression of two party systems which was likely emerged. They lent the space to each other viewpoints to be heard, but also absorbed the demands of the regional groups in the process of assimilation and accommodation. The changing office by the parties could be the result of their unresolved commitment to the agenda which they presented in the election. A question was asked in the questionnaire from the voters that why they did not elect the party of last governed. The response in all provinces was not favourable. In Baluchistan it was 46 percent in favour of last govern party to be re-elected; in Punjab it was 42 percent in favour of last govern party; in Sindh 41 percent and in NWFP it was 21 percent. This response showed that people still have preference to those parties which have their standing among the masses but they did not support overwhelmingly to the last governed party. They knew that national/major parties could play a positive role in national and provincial politics either to be the part of a coalition government or to be in the opposition.

Elections in Pakistan have their peculiar social dynamics which determine the nature of the political system accordingly. This impact can be explained with different electoral approaches which will expose the attendant variables of these social bases to facilitate the understanding of the question of political culture.

3.3. A Study of Electoral Approaches:

---


A free and competitive system of elections is rightly regarded as the principal distinguishing mark of a democratic polity. Elections require some conditions like [adult] suffrage, voting process, counting mechanism, behavioral tolerance, right to organize the political parties and a choice for voters among the different groups of the contenders. The last condition pre-supposes the basic equality of opportunity among the group of contenders to present their views to the voting public and vie for their support. Wherever there is the mention of ‘competitive political system’, it means periodicity and inclusiveness that is selection of the principal public policy makers in a political system by competitive elections.\(^{40}\) The Western theoretical approaches to electoral behaviour have generally been drawn on three academic disciplines—Sociology, Social Psychology and Economics—to find the impact of the different influences over the decisions of the voters.

A paradigm developed by the ‘Columbia School’ has the basic notion that people’s social neighborhood and membership of other groups determine their voting behavior and voting decision is essentially a group decision.\(^{41}\) The idiom of campaign approaches the individual voter through inter-personal communication network operative in the form of ‘brand loyalties’ to the political parties. This paradigm is sociological in nature that tends to overrule the significance of dynamic but short-term individual responses to external stimuli such as election campaign in favor of relatively passive and long-term group identities. The co-relation of age or education with the voting’s turnout tends to be meaningless without the availability of attitudinal change analysis such as the study of political socialization.

The social-psychological approach to voting behaviour led by the ‘Michigan School’ focuses on the individual as the primary voting unit into the analysis of electors’ choice. This school prefers to focus on individuals’ attitudes to political parties, candidates’ images and issues’ positions.\(^{42}\) In this model, it is the voter’s self-image in terms of partisan identity, which explains his choice. A voter generally considers himself committed to one party, or at least finds himself closer to it than to others for political decision making. It is argued that party identification is less of an


\(^{42}\) Ibid, pp.76-77.
integral part of an individual’s self-image than a cognitive ledger for residual images of the past political experiences.

Finally, there is the ‘Rationalist School’ led by Anthony Downs, conceives voters, being prone to weighing the cost and benefit of voting in economic terms. These voters employ a voting calculus to maximize utility just as candidates employ their own calculus to maximize the number of their voters by dishing out such promises and policy commitments which are financially bearable and politically rewarding.\textsuperscript{43} M. Waseem has developed his critique over this approach that “It is based on assumptions such as voters’ goal-oriented behaviour and their dispassionate activity of choice between available options, which sometimes do not correlate with findings about voters’ low level of information about, and commitment to public affairs”\textsuperscript{44}.

Along with these approaches, another explanation tends to focus on electoral activity at macro and micro level as voting activity which is studied mainly with reference to the influence of different variables as perceived role of political institutions and cultural strings in structuring choices for the voter.

3.3.1. Observation on Pakistani Voter;

The study of voting behaviour in the Third World societies is relatively scarce. Only in countries, where elections have been conducted regularly and studied comprehensively, we find a mature tradition of voting behaviour. It is logical to find a variety of social and political variables impinging on the way people vote. The average level of South Asian citizens’ orientation towards political object is not comparatively lower than the western voters but they have partial commitments. For two generations, caste has been a central variable in the studies of voting behaviour in India. There are two leading approaches which evaluate the role of caste in the Indian political system. The first approach, represented primarily by the Indian anthropologist Srinavasa, focused on the way castes in British India were able to organize themselves into broad-based associations spread across villages and districts. These associations emerged as informal institutional networks which harmonized with new political institutions.\textsuperscript{45} The second

\textsuperscript{43} Mohammad Waseem, \textit{The 1993 Elections in Pakistan}, Vanguard, Lahore, 1994, p.22.
\textsuperscript{44} Ibid, p.22.
\textsuperscript{45} Ibid,
approach, Weiner-Rudolph’s model, looks at the impact of new political ideology on caste and the latter’s induction into politics. According to this approach, castes, through reincarnation process, have become associations through which [people] are ‘being homogenized, secularized, and democratized. Thus, castes continue to occupy the most significant position in the electoral politics, followed by such concerns as nature of local leadership, emergence of factions and issues of commune. These factors actively engaged the attention of the community in the phase of social mobility. In the period of post-independence, Sub-Continent saw the emergence of new elite with which political leadership tends to establish personalized links. Some of other studies brought to light the role of class, religion, party, candidate, local power structure and money politics in the electioneering. The emerging nexus along these axes represented a new type of political operators who acted as intermediaries between the politician and the public to mobilize the voters.  

Recent researches into the voting behaviour carried a relatively sophisticated analysis in the west as compare to South Asian countries. The Indian electoral studies deal with an electoral system, an administrative structure and constitutional traditions, all of which are shared by Pakistan as a common colonial heritage. Such sociological categories as village community, caste-like institution of biradari are common features of Pakistani society. The individual voter’s decision is influenced by the operation of the political activity at various levels ranging from village to district and then to state. This interaction between micro and macro level activity through socio-political channels provided a clue to the emergence of different patterns of electoral behaviour. This kind of context and cultural attributes is more helpful in defining the voting behaviour of Pakistan’s masses. The society of Pakistan tends to produce a pattern of interaction from village, constituency and district to province and state with the reflection of modern administrative hierarchy. The societal structure, functional at rural-urban level, more or less has produced a pattern of voting behavior which partially described as dominated by primary loyalties. The rapid change in the socio-economic structure due to urbanization and industrialization had brought the influence of different considerations which are more secular in nature and objectively influenced the decisions of voting. These considerations may have the character of national, regional and ideological perceptions. However there are seemingly social

---

cleavages due to the plural character of the society, which have increased the competition to get access to the state’s legal, administrative and financial resources through electoral politics. Some of the cleavages are seemingly ideological which have no far reaching impact on the social networking of the society. So the more the electoral mobilization, the less is the use of ideological idiom as part of the political discourse. In the electoral politics of Pakistan any kind of mobilization is seemingly a quest for patronage and as well as the stress on the delivery system to dispense with the urging demands of the society.

It is generally believed that in the realm of the political system, political parties are the centre where major portion of political activity revolves in articulating and aggregating the interests of the voters. This is an elementary role of political parties in the electoral activity, which is under examination to determine the nature of political culture. Marx and Weber commend that [political parties] are the groups in which individuals find themselves, shape and determine the character of political activities.47 The nature of Pakistani voters’ behaviour can be evaluated and explained through the analysis of the results of elections which had been conducted between the periods of 1988 to 1997. The above cited approaches—Columbia, Michigan and Rational Schools will be more helpful in the evaluation of the political behaviour of the Pakistani voter with attendant political variables like the role of the party leaders, role of political parties and their electoral manifestos.


This section focuses on the analysis of the electoral turn out for comprehending the electoral patterns of Pakistan’s politics. It evaluated the relationship of different variables and their impact on the development of political system. The explanations provided the empirical evidence to all generalities which has evolved in the course of unfolding the research question. Voter’s choice in electoral activity exposed the level of mobility and as well as their attachment with the political objects. The turnout ratio showed its variations in the four regions of Pakistan with little variations. The trends of voting and general political behaviour of four regions of Pakistan are brought to light to endorse the significant relationship between the general social setup and the

political activity. The people of Pakistan, in the four elections from 1988 to 1997, showed a kind of trend which was not less in its political importance. The political behavior seemingly was more rational in its characters which in turn underpinned the importance of political values for the stability of the democratic system of Pakistan. The below given table presented the outcome of elections in the form of turn out which reflected the maturity of voters who reposed their confidence in the norms of voting and electoral politics. This was around 40 percent from 1988 to 1997.

The regional differences in the turn out, indicated in the table below, could be the part of low level of political socialization. It could not be said that people of the area, which has less turn out ratio as compared to others, are apolitical. There was also a difference of registered voters in the four regions of Pakistan which could also affect the turn out ratio. In Punjab registered voters increased by 2012751 in 1993, while in Baluchistan it was 310667. (See annexure 5 of registered voters).

(1) Turn out Comparison in National Elections:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balochistan</td>
<td>25.7%</td>
<td>28.7%</td>
<td>24.9%</td>
<td>23.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindh</td>
<td>39.7%</td>
<td>42.1%</td>
<td>32.5%</td>
<td>31.31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>46.49%</td>
<td>49.61%</td>
<td>47.07%</td>
<td>39.81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWFP</td>
<td>33.92%</td>
<td>35.74%</td>
<td>34.59%</td>
<td>27.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>43.07%</td>
<td>45.46%</td>
<td>40.28%</td>
<td>35.42%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


48 Some other factors may have affected the turn out ratio in Baluchistan such as unemployment, literacy and urbanization. Baluchistan has unemployment rate 33.48% in 1998 which is more as compared to the other regions of Pakistan. In Punjab, Sindh and NWFP it stood as 19.10%, 14.43% and 26.83% respectively. There is also the low level of urbanization which stands at the rate of 23.90% in 1998 as compared to the Punjab and Sindh which is 31.27% and 48.75% respectively. Literacy rate of Baluchistan is also less than the other regions of Pakistan. It is 24.83% in 1998 as compared to Punjab, Sindh and NWFP which is 46.56%, 47.29% and 35.41 respectively. More the level of urbanization, better the chance of social transformation and political mobilization. This trend is visible to some extent in Baluchistan where voter has been less mobilized as compared to the other regions of Pakistan.
The analysis of elections in this study provides precedents for grasping and understanding the nature of local dynamics of cast, clan and language. It provides the insight to understand the electoral process by the participation of political parties which have religious, regional and national outlook. It seemed by the voting pattern that political parties mobilized the people for their political gains. Most of the political parties of Pakistan are less organized due to their low level of membership. It has been justified by historical experience and empirical investigation that elections perform many functions and they vary in significance in different political systems. For the voters elections are not only regarded as means of participation in the political process but an opportunity to influence the decisions of political importance which are translated into public policy. For many voters, elections may be hardly more than customary acts to which little significance is attached. For the political system elections are important devices for assuring legitimacy and allegiance, and for system maintenance and support building. In Pakistan the role of elections is similar on these lines and the matrix of political party, candidate and issues engulfed the voter in making his/her voting decision. Pakistan’s electoral framework is operative on this model and has been evaluated in subsequent chapters. The mode of interaction at various levels between the voters and the political institutions determine the nature of political stability. This kind of interaction at constant level in turn defines the parameters of electoral politics in any given situation. It will in turn project the political values of people of Pakistan that how far they are rational in making their political decisions and mature enough in their political wisdom.
CHAPTER- 4

ELECTORAL POLITICS IN NORTH WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE (NWFP)

Political behavior is the manifestation of a political culture of an area, having different denominations on behalf of the values which are regarded as functional. North West Frontier Province is generally considered as a traditional society in which cleavages are not based on modern democratic values but have the characters of old age bondages that have not transformed under the process of modernization. In this province it is believed that people are attached with the primordial values. So these assumptions or the generalizations are the part of the analysis of this investigation to know the nature of political behaviour. It will be judged in this investigation that how far the people of this area had been democratized by their participation in the political process. In the analysis of electoral politics of this region it is essential to grasp the general features of the area to comprehend the nature of the political values of the people.

4.1. A Brief History of NWFP

The frontier region was wrested from the Sikhs by the British in 1849. It was not until 1901, however, that it’s settled districts were taken out of the Punjab government’s hands and a North West Frontier province consisting of Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan was formed. In 1937 Peshawar district was divided into two districts. Mardan district was formed out of it.\(^1\) According to 1998 census, NWFP have 23 administrative units and its total area was 47521 square miles. Its population stood at 17743645 that were 13.41 percent of Pakistan’s total population while household size and population density was 8.0 and 238 respectively.\(^2\) Out of this population the people of voting age, 21 years and above, were 6,998,128 at the time of the election 1997. This voting strength constitutes 12.15 percent of the total voting age personnel of Pakistan.\(^3\)

The North West Frontier Province is bounded by Afghanistan on the west and on the north by Kashmir, Gilgit, while Punjab is on its eastern side and Baluchistan is on the south. According to

---

1951 census of Pakistan, its population was 5,699,000 that also increased with the more or less same pace which was caused to increase in the total population of Pakistan. Most of the people of this province speak Pushtu, a language closely related to Persian. They are known variously as ‘Pathans’, ‘Pakhtuns’ and ‘Afghans’. Since many of them continue to dwell in a tribal society whose clans are represented on both sides of the Pakistan-Afghanistan border. These names give rise to a certain amount of confusion. The tribesmen most often call themselves Pukhtuns or Pakhtuns. "Pathan" is generally applied only to those living in Pakistan, whereas "Afghan" has come to have a connotation of nationality and is usually limited to those dwelling in Afghanistan. Actually the names all refer to the same ethnic group.4

Frontier is divided into two separate parts. One is settled area while other is tribal area known as FATA(Federally Administered Tribal Area). The eastern portion along the Indus River constitutes the North West Frontier Province. This area contains about one-third of the population and economically supports three-fifths of the population. The Province is governed from Peshawar. It is subdivided into six districts: Peshawar, Mardan, Kohat, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan, and Hazara. The first five lie west of the Indus and take their names from the towns at which district headquarters are located; Hazara is situated east of the river and has its headquarters at Abbottabad, which also serves as summer capital of the Province. On the west and north, between the Province and the Durand Line, which in 1893 was accepted as the boundary between Afghanistan and British India, lays the second portion of the Frontier, the tribal area, also known as the frontier region. It is subdivided into seven agencies and states. These units are directly under the "Center," i.e., the Central Government of Pakistan, and have no formal connection with the Province. The British tended to hold the Frontier apart from the rest of India as a unique region. They used it as a training ground for brilliant colonial officials and a practice area for experiments in imperial government. This individual flavor remains today, and the Frontier may be distinguished from other parts of Pakistan by its dual system of administration, Afghanistan's challenge to Pakistan's right to hold the territory, and its strategic importance to Pakistan and to the rest of South Asia.

4.2. Administration of the North West Frontier Province

The peculiar form of administration devised by the British for the tribal area had no parallel elsewhere. The system grew out of long experience and was an implementation of the "marchland" theory expounded in detail by Lord Curzon in a lecture at Oxford in 1907.\(^5\) It was aimed at keeping complete control in the hands of the central government so that international as well as domestic issues could be handled quickly and directly. The ultimate authority was the Governor General of British India. A Ministry of States and Frontier Regions, whose chief had a full cabinet rank, rendered advises to the head of state on tribal policy. The Center acted through the Governor of the North West Frontier Province, who held as a separate office— the position of Agent to the Governor General for Frontier Regions. Beneath the Governor was the Office of the Political Secretary, which supervised the government of the tribal area and states. Actual administration was in the hands of political agents, each of whom had charge of one of the six agencies into which the region was divided. These units were South Waziristan, North Waziristan, Kurrum, the Khyber, the Mohmand, and Malakand. The last included the states of Dir, Swat, and Chitral and has an "additional political agent" resident in Chitral. The states were governed with varying degrees of absoluteness and ability by their hereditary princes. All of the agencies except Mohmand were organized before Partition and all, again with the same exception, included different tribes. Pakistan created the Mohmand Agency in 1952 to handle the affairs of the 500,000 Mohmands who lived on the east side of the Durand Line. Headquarters of the South Waziristan Agency is at Wana, of North Waziristan at Miram Shah, and of Kurrum at Parachinar. The Mohmand and the Khyber agents reside at Peshawar, and the Malakand agent at Malakand. In each agency the political agent represents Pakistan's authority.

Key officials serving in the NWFP were recruited from the almost exclusively English Indian Political Service and not from the Indian Civil Service.\(^6\) More significantly, the Government of India Act of 1919, which introduced a basic democratic structure of elections throughout the rest of India, was not applied to the Frontier. In 1929 the Simon Commission on constitutional reform reiterated the unsuitability of the NWFP for democratic reforms that were otherwise


\(^6\) In 1947 out of 124 officers only 17 were Indian. Also, IPS officers employed in the Political Secretariat were under the direct charge of the Viceroy as were officers for quasi-diplomatic and consular British representation in the Indian states or in other sensitive posts like those at Aden and Kabul. See Jansson, E., *India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan*. Uppsala, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis,1988.
acceptable elsewhere in India. The NWFP thus experienced a typical pattern of colonial exploitation, and economic, political and legal injustice. In this investigation colonial influences on the political behavior will be analyzed by measuring the attitudinal response of the voters of this area towards political objects.

4.3. Ethnic Composition of NWFP and Its Cultural Outfits

According to 1931 census, just 16 percent of the population lived in towns and rest of the population was in rural areas that indicated its overwhelmingly rural character. One reason for the lack of urban development was that considerable areas of the region which do not have a high enough agriculture base to support the large population. The main ethnic division was between the Pathans and other groups. Pathans were in fact minority in the frontier province while non Pathan formed 55 percent of the population. Hindu and Sikhs were 8 percent and the Pathans 37 percent. According to 1998 census, the ethnic composition of this province by terms of mother tongue is as follows: urdu-139060; Punjabi-172561; sindhi-6610; pushto-13113143; balochi-2390; saraiki-684228 and others-362565.

Firstly, the Pathans have a classic segmentary structure whereby the population is split into a descending hierarchy of tribes, clans, sub-clans, lineages and sections on the basis of strict patrilineal descent and a preference for marriage to the father's brother's daughter. The suffixes of Zai or Khel after the name of the ancestor indicate the name of the clan to which a person belongs. Secondly, this structure was overlain by a highly developed ethical and behavioural code, Pukhtunwali, which was founded on several inter-related institutions and concepts. Most celebrated of its tenets is the idea of badal, usually translated as 'revenge, feud or vendetta' and referring to the exchange of challenge and violence in the face of insult or injury. The other behavioural code ‘Nanawatay’ literally means 'coming in' but is best translated as 'sanctuary', a Pathan is custom-bound to offer to anyone who seeks it, even an enemy. Melmastia is both the offering of generous hospitality and the honourable use of material goods. In addition to these

---

7 Ian Talbot, op. cit., 1988, p.2.
8 Ibid., pp.2-3.
conventions there is purdah, the seclusion of women, and the honorable organization of domestic life; and jirga, the councils of men of substance which convene to ensure the honourable arrangement of public affairs. Ideally, jirga is "an assembly of elders who are called to decide specific issues and whose decisions are binding on parties in conflict. The jirga regulates life through decisions ranging from the location of a mosque... to larger issues such as regulating foreign relations with other tribes and even conveying the decisions of the tribe to the government. Decisions are based on a combination of Islamic law and Pukhton custom". At the core of all of these ideas is the idea of "honourable activity", of actions expressing nang, "the condition of integrity". Akbar Ahmed concludes that "Pukhtunwali may be freely equated to nangwali or the Code of Honour". It is generally said that this kind of society has relatively less distinction in the spheres of life and the pattern of political relationship that might be determined by the pattern of social and personal relations. Lucian W.Pye described this kind of character as an aspect of non-western democracy. He said that ‘at the village level it is even more difficult to distinguish a distinct political sphere’.

4.4. Historic Pattern of the Electoral Politics of the North West Frontier Province

Electoral politics of NWFP can best be understood under the rubric of all India political discourse. The historic pattern of NWFP politics could be ascertained to those factors which influenced the path of politics in India. The most important was the introduction of legislative reforms. In these reforms right was granted to Indians to elect their representatives through controlled mechanism till the time of 1935 Act. These reforms had not been introduced in NWFP which were operational in other parts of sub-continent. NWFP hitherto was not deem fit for it till the time of its independent stature as a province in 1902. For this purpose Quaid-i-Azam gave special importance to reforms in NWFP in his fourteen points of 1929. Ian Talbot also mentioned some of the other factors which had affected the political discourse of the NWFP like the British

---


system of indirect rule; impact of Khilafat Movement; and the legacy of the period of civil-disobedience in 1930-32.\textsuperscript{15} The Mont-ford Reforms of 1919, which provided for participation by popularly elected Indians in certain "unreserved" subjects of government, were extended to the Province only in 1932. In 1937 the Government of India Act of 1935 was applied to the Frontier Province and it became an autonomous province similar to other units of British India.\textsuperscript{16} Strangely enough, in the years before partition the overwhelmingly Muslim Province was tied closely to the Indian National Congress through the popular Red Shirts known as ‘Khudai Khidmatgar’ reform movement of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, and a Congress Party Ministry under Ghaffar's brother, Khan Sahib, was in power in the summer of 1947. In the face of a boycott by the Congress Government, the British administered referendum of July 1947 to ascertain the views of the people to join the Pakistan or not, delivered a 99.5 percent decision to join Pakistan rather than India.\textsuperscript{17} After the creation of Pakistan, Governor General Jinnah dismissed the ministry of Congress which had the coalition support of red shirts.\textsuperscript{18} This was also the reflection of the conflict in the ideas of the Muslim League and the Red Shirts to run the affairs the province. Red Shirt was more inclined to the socialist ideas and upheld the philosophy of nationalism supported by the Congress to get the freedom from the colonial rule, while Muslim League favoured the communal sentiments in the politics of the subcontinent that kept both the parties at the opposite poll of the political divide. The provincial Muslim League leader, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, became the Chief Minister. However controversial the subsequent suppression of the Khudai Khidmatgars and the jailing of Ghaffar Khan may have been, they served to tie the provincial government close to the central government from the very beginning of Pakistan. K.B.Sayeed reportedly described the position of Dr.Khan Sahib who was the Chief Minister of the NWFP at the time of independence that ‘...he was not an irresponsible person. He had given clear assurances to the Governor that as long as he was Chief Minister, he would do nothing injurious to the Pakistan constitution, and that he had no intention of declaring an independent Pathanistan’.\textsuperscript{19} It seems that it was the political machination of Qaiyum Khan who assumed the office of the chief premier of the province after the dismissal of the ministry to

\textsuperscript{15} Ian Talbot, op.cit, p.5.
\textsuperscript{16} James W. Spain, op.cit, p.32.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid.,p.294-95.
thwart any move, aimed at building a trust between Pakistan Government and Khan Brothers. He wanted to strengthen his position as Chief Minister of the province. K.B Sayeed noted that

…a more important factor which influenced Qaiyum Khan’s policy towards the Congress was his fear that if some sort of compromise or settlement were to be arrived at between the Pakistan government and the Khan brothers, he might cease to occupy the most prominent place in the Frontier.20

However he ruled the province till the time of the elections. This province was the one of those federating units of Pakistan which had experienced first the provincial elections in 1951 and after that it passed through the similar phases of electoral politics in which rest of Pakistan had gone through. In the underlying sections it will be tried to expose the different aspects of the political behavior of the people of this area by analyzing the electoral data of the elections 1988,1990,1993 and 1997.

4.5. Electoral Analysis of NWFP from 1988-1997:

North West Frontier Province electoral constituencies have been analyzed which has been numbered by the Election Commission of Pakistan, started from constituency one for National Assembly to onward. The analysis of Electoral data of this region has been put under observation to know the nature of electoral behavior of the people of NWFP. Whereas some of the findings at national and provincial level constituencies were put parallel to each other to understand the exact pattern and level of the maturity of the political culture of the people of this area. Political behavior at both the level of the constituencies was seemingly same. At provincial level impact of parochial forces apparently seems but ineffective in kind of gaining majority of the seats due to the operating influence of political agents. Here in subsequent sections different generalizations have been put under observation at both level and suggested well at the end about the political behaviour of the people of this region.

4.5.1. Independents’ Strength;
By keeping in view the results of four general elections of National Assembly in NWFP, it was assessed that political dynamics were generally revolved around party, candidate, leadership and

19 Ibid.,p.295.
20 Ibid.,p.297.
issues. We have had horizontal and vertical view of the constituencies in which it has been found that independent candidature has lost its vigor in the process of electioneering. It has been observed that independent candidates were no more effective in the electoral politics of this region because it was seemingly expansionary and increasing role of the political parties. Role of the political parties forced them either took the party ticket for the next election or they have to retire form the active politics. In 1988 election in three national constituencies out of total 26 like N.A-11 Abbottabad-i, N.A-14 Manshera-i and N.A-15 Manshera-ii, independents won the election, but in the elections 1990, 1993 and 1997, candidates of N.A-14 and N.A-15 contested on party tickets. In 1990 election three independents won their election in the constituencies of N.A-10 Karak, N.A-14 Manshera-i and N.A-23 Bunner-cum-Swat but they contested the coming elections on party tickets. Sardar M.Yousuf was the independent winning candidate in N.A-14 in 1990 but he contested elections 1993 and 1997 on the ticket of PML(N). In the constituency of N.A-15 Nwabzada Salahuddin Saeed won the election 1988 as an independent candidate but he contested the elections 1990,1993 and 1997 on party platforms. He was given the ticket of PML(N)—a right wing national political party. There were other such evidences available to support the argument of party’s role in the election. Abdul Mateen Khan contested the election 1990 independently and won it, while in the elections 1993 and 1997, he stood on the ticket of ANP and won the seat. Another interesting feature which had come into notice that when a candidate contested the election on party ticket and he/she fought the next one as an independent candidate, he/she lost his/her vote bank. In the constituency of N.A-18 D.I.Khan-cum-Tank, Fazal Karim Kundi, a candidate of IJI in 1988 and of PPP/PDA in 1990 election, got 23.11% vote and 40.67% respectively. In the elections 1993 and 1997 he took independent stance to contest the election without part ticket but lost his vote which stood at 19.98% and 9.5% respectively. This overarching role of the political party in the constituencies squeezed the space for the independent candidates. In the elections 1993 and 1997 independents won only in one constituency. In the constituency of N.A-5 Charsada, Ihsanullah was the candidate of IJI in 1988 election in which he secured 33.8% of vote but he contested 1993 election independently where he stood at 8.35% of vote. Such observation and analysis led to conclusion that electoral politics of this region revolved around the parties and they had the leverage to select the candidates for the electoral contest. People gave their preference to parties which worked through local channels effectively. Lucian W. Pye commented that in non-Western societies success of such
agents generally depends more on the manner in which they relate themselves to the social structure of the community….\textsuperscript{21} Voting strength of independents in terms of percentage of winning seats lowered successively in the elections of national and provincial constituencies and it is visible in below given tables.

**Vote Percentage of Independents’ Winning Seats in National Elections:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>4.75%</td>
<td>3.82%</td>
<td>0.28%</td>
<td>0.57%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In the above table it was exposed that independents lost their voting strength as the electoral phenomenon got legitimacy in the eyes of public. Their vote percentage declined from 4.75\% in 1988 to 0.57\% in 1997. Seemingly it appeared that people aligned themselves with those entities which could be effective after elections in delivering material benefits and influencing the policy structures.

Same happened in provincial domain what that had been observed in national constituencies. The vote of independents declined. It was 7.36\% in 1988 that turned to 3.79\% in 1997 election. This showed that people were mobilized by some of the factors which had been discussed in the realm of national elections. Role of political party, local inter-communicative networking, candidate’s influence and leadership charisma were seemingly some of the factors which worked in the provincial constituencies with same vigour and force as they appeared in the national constituencies. These factors helped in mobilizing the people in the process of electioneering. It

\textsuperscript{21} Lucian W. Pye, op.cit., p.469.
had been observed on behalf of the voting and seat strength of the independents that people were inclined towards political objects and they had given preference to those elements in the political sphere which could alter the lot of the people by influencing the power structures.

**Vote Percentage of Independents’ Winning Seats in Provincial Elections:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>7.36%</td>
<td>7.36%</td>
<td>5.96%</td>
<td>3.79%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


It showed that people were more conscious about their welfare and material interests and that is why they preferred political organizations in their electoral decision rather than independent candidates.

Independents who won the election in 1988 were 16, in 1990 again 16, in 1993 they were 12 and in 1997 their number stood at 11. A view of different constituencies in which independents contested the election independently and later changed their position by getting the party tickets, had effectively defended the case of party politics in Pakistan. In two or three constituencies, people/voters behaved traditionally by electing the independent candidates due to their character, patronage deliverance and family influence by which they retained their seats, while in others they contested the elections on party tickets preferably. The constituencies in which independents contested all the four elections without party tickets were the followings: PF-31 Kohat-iv, PF-50 Kohistan-I, PF-52 Kohistan-iii. Ghani-ur-Rehman as an independent candidate fought all the four elections from PF-31 Kohat-iv. He won the elections 1988, 1990, 1993 but lost...
the election 1997. In PF-50 Kohistan-i and PF-52 Kohistan-iii, all the time independents won the elections. The constituencies in which independents were to contest the elections on party ticket, after the first contest, were the followings: PF-28 Kohat-i, PF-30 Kohat-iii, PF-35 Abbott Abad-ii, PF-40 Abbott Abad-vii, PF-43 Mansehra-ii, PF-49 Batgram-ii, PF-54 Dera Ismail Khan-ii, PF-55 Dera Ismail Khan-iii and PF-67 Swat-v independents took the party ticket and made preference of party’s agenda over their individual stance. In PF-28 Kohat-I, Hidayatullah Khan contested the election 1988, 1990 independently and later in the elections 1993 and 1997 he joined PML(N) and increased his vote bank. It is visible in below given table. Hidayatullah vote increased in the last two elections in spite of losing the seat in 1993.

**PF-28 Kohat-i:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hidayatullah</td>
<td>27.89%</td>
<td><strong>28.09%</strong></td>
<td>41.89%</td>
<td><strong>37.55%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In PF-30 Kohat-iii Mr.Iftikhar-ud-Din fought 1988 election independently while in 1990 he stood on IJI ticket, in 1993 on PML-J and in 1997 on the ticket of PML(N). In PF-35 Abbottabad-ii, Sardar Mehtab Ahmed Khan fought the election 1988 independently and the coming three elections of 1990,1993 and 1997 he stood on party ticket of IJI/PML(N). This strategy of Mehtab Ahmed Khan boosted his vote bank, which is visible in below given table.

**PF-35 Abbott Abad-ii:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mehtab Ahmed Khan</td>
<td><strong>47.37%</strong></td>
<td><strong>57.40%</strong></td>
<td><strong>62.37%</strong></td>
<td><strong>82.14%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In PF-40 Abbott Abad-vii, Yusuf Ayub Khan fought elections 1988,1993 independently and of 1997 on the party ticket of PML(N). His party stance increased his vote bank which is presented in the table.
PF-40 Abbott Abad-vii:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yusuf Ayub Khan</td>
<td>40.72%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>48.99%</td>
<td>65.96%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In PF-43 Mansehra-ii, Mian Wali-ur-Rehman contested the elections 1988,1993 independently while the elections 1990 and 1997 he took the party ticket of IJI/PML(N). His vote tally determines the influence of personality and the performance of work which he has rendered to his constituency. He won the election 1988 and 1997. In 1993 election his rival candidate was Akhtar Hussain who contested the election on the ticket of PML-N and got the majority of votes. Akhtar Hussain also showed his presence in the constituency in the elections 1988,1990 and 1997. In these elections his performance was indeed very poor due to his independent contest. In the election 1988 and 1990 his vote bank was less than the limit, prescribed by the election rules, under which guarantee of the candidate was forfeited. So this kind of trend showed the voters’ preferences for the parties rather than for the candidates. In the election 1997 Mian Wali-ur-Rehman contested on the ticket of PML-N and got the majority of votes. This trend explicitly gave the reflection of party’s influence in the electoral gains.

PF-43 Mansehra-ii:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wali-ur-Rehman</td>
<td>51.60%</td>
<td>42.31%</td>
<td>42.02%</td>
<td>44.83%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In PF-49, Fateh Muhammd Khan had had an influence which was evident by his victory in all the four elections. He contested the elections 1988,1993,1997 on the ticket of IJI/PML(N) and of 1990 as an independent candidate. In-spite of his influence he had to rely on the support of the party to attract the voters who might have different priorities. Voters believably responded to the call of the political parties and they preferred those parties which were capable of translating their interests into policy decisions. He amassed all this and remained victorious in all the four elections. His victory in 1990 as an independent candidate was due to the absence of national
parties or their alliance, particularly IJI, which had supported him by not awarding a ticket to any other candidate. It was seemingly a tacit approval of his candidature that might be the result of any other understanding between the candidate and the party.

**PF-49 Batgram-ii,**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fateh Muhammad Khan</td>
<td>48.81%</td>
<td>52.76%</td>
<td>50.39%</td>
<td>53.27%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Same kind of trends had also been observed in PF-54 D.I.Khan-ii and PF-55 D.I.Khan-iii. In both these constituencies influence of the candidates was evident by the level of coherent support of voters which they secured in terms of vote in the elections. Candidates of these constituencies got the party ticket for mobilizing the support of voters and as well as the support of the different cliques and groups. These groups or associations, based on cast, clan or sect or any other ethnic consideration had variably influence the outcome of elections because of their political loyalty which might be governed more by these subjective considerations rather than by any objective policy goals. Their response has been judged through questionnaire in which their priorities, relevant to their voting decisions, had been explored. Their response on development agenda, personal needs and desires, regard for any political value or object and on primordial concerns was categorized as followings: more than 70% gave their response in favor of personal needs, development agenda and to the charisma of party leadership, while 30 to 35% had showed their interest in primordial concerns (response of the questionnaire is attached at the end of the thesis).

The respondents’ response showed that they were more politically oriented and majority of the voters did their political decisions at the time of voting by the motivation of the political agents.

In PF-54 Javed Akbar fought the elections 1988, 1993, 1997 on the ticket of IJI/PML(N) and won in 1988 and 1997, while he contested the election 1990 independently and won it.

**PF-54 D.I.Khan-ii:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Javed Akbar Khan</td>
<td>42.32%</td>
<td>43.54%</td>
<td>38.39%</td>
<td>48.80%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In PF-55, Haji Sanaullah Khan also contested the elections on same pattern as Javed Akbar in PF-54. The difference is that he won all the elections and retained the level of support. He contested the election 1990 independently while the elections 1988, 1993 and 1997 he stood on the ticket of IJI/PML(N). **PF-55 D.I.Khan-ii:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sanaullah Khan</td>
<td>37.22%</td>
<td>56.22%</td>
<td>43.84%</td>
<td>41.61%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In PF-67 Swat-v, Qamoos Khan took the independent stance in 1988, while in elections 1900,1993 and 1997 he took the ticket of IJI/PML(N). Here again the factors of party and candidate’s influence seemed effective by his garnering vote. He got more votes in all other elections except the election 1988.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qaimoos Khan</td>
<td>30.67%</td>
<td>38.64%</td>
<td>42.50%</td>
<td>54.85%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


All above observations and analysis showed that people preferred the parties which have better chance of winning the elections. So it was the strategic vote that motivated the voters to vote in favour of the parties. Strategic vote is a vote for a party(candidate) that is not the preferred one, motivated by the intention to affect the outcome of the election.22 The combination of voters and parties strategic concerns maximized the parties’ support in the constituencies. That is why independents were seemingly under this kind of influence and they changed their electoral strategy to contest the election with party’s support. Political factors like parties’ manifesto, parties’ leadership, parties’ organizational structure and their alignments influenced the general trends of electoral behavior which is more visible in the analysis of later sections of this chapter.

4.5.2. Seat Adjustment: An Electoral Strategy;

In NWFP cleavages of class and ethnicity seemed to be diffused. This diffusiveness of the social and political sphere has put a challenge for the political parties to move effectively in mobilizing the voters at the time of electioneering. It is generally believed that electoral coalitions of

---

political parties by setting aside their ideological differences in seat adjustment strategy made a cohesive environment for the democratization of the society. Political parties not only mobilized the voters but also tried to develop an organic link between the masses and the governing institutions. It has also been observed that no clear demarcation of social and political life placed severe limits on the effectiveness of those who come from the outside to perform a political role. So a political party, considered an object of modern political values, was to adjust with the traditional and conservative society of the NWFP. This assumption had been analyzed in the realm of electoral politics of the NWFP. In the electoral politics of the NWFP, the policies of the seat adjustment between the different parties irrespective of their ideological stances made them available for the process of political bargaining which provided the impression of consensus based polity.

The strategy of seat adjustment between the political parties had been observed at both the national and provincial levels of electoral politics. Jammiat Ulamma-i-Islam—JUI-F, a religious party\textsuperscript{23} made a seat adjustment with Pakistan Peoples Party(PPP)—a leftist national party—in 1993 and 1997 elections. Likewise Islami Jamoori Ittehad(IJI) was a coalition of different parties in 1988 and 1990 elections. All the coalitional partners of IJI had their different ideological orientation from each other, but the necessity of the election forced them to put aside their ideological commitments for the sake of their immediate electoral gains. Awami National Party (ANP) made a seat adjustment with IJI/PML(N) in 1990,1993 and 1997 elections while both were totally different in their program and outlook.\textsuperscript{24} The question is that why they did so in spite of the differences in their ideological perceptions. They did so because their ultimate goal was to reach the assemblies to deliver the masses and to be the part of power structure by maximizing their electoral gains.

Pakistan Peoples Party and Pakistan Muslim League-Junejo\textsuperscript{25} had made seat adjustment in 1993 and 1997 elections to target the core and as well as the floating voters. Pakistan Muslim League-Junejo was consisting of those people who had been defected from mother party, Pakistan Muslim League. Their existence in electoral politics had not been effective in the regions of

\textsuperscript{23}Jammiat Ulamma-i-Islam Fazalur Rehman(JUI-F) and Jammiat Ulamma-i-Pakistan Noorani(JUP-N) made a coalition in the name of Islami Jamoori Mahaz(IJM) in 1993 election.


\textsuperscript{25} Pakistan Muslim League-Junejo can be termed the rump of the united Pakistan Muslim League after Nawaz Sharief and his followers formed their own faction. It came into existence due to the conflict between the president Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Nawaz Sharief during latter’s tenure as prime minister of Pakistan. The Herald, Election Special, 1993, p.18.
Baluchistan and Sindh, while they have shown a little vigour in the province of NWFP by getting 9.79% of vote at the national election and 6.87% in the provincial election in 1993. Their seat adjustment policy in 1993 could not get a single seat in the national election while it secured four seats in the provincial election.

Coalition and seat adjustment always worked as an electoral strategy. The conservative political forces in this province were represented by Jammiat ul Ulammi Islam(fazal ur Rehman group) and Jamma’at-i-Islami. Jamma’at-i-Islami contested the 1993 election in the name of Pakistan Islamic Front(PIF). Their influence has been varied and confined to those areas where they have adjusted with the national parties. Jamma’at-i-Islami was in the coalition of Islammi Jamhoori Ittehad in 1988 and 1990 elections, but it decided to contest the election 1993 in the name of Pakistan Islamic front. Its performance remained very poor in 1993 due to solo flight. This kind of trend had an influence over voters’ psyche. Voters were seemingly very well aware that parties’ adjustment and coalitions were only formed for their easy entrance in the power corridors through their electoral strength. Voters on the other hand were motivated by their election campaign which mobilized them in making the electoral decisions accordingly. Political parties of this region presented not only the progressive agenda of development to mobilize the voters but one of them also stressed over the primary associations—cast, clan and language. These joint ventures of the political parties created an environment in which political values of cooperation and adjustment were simmered out and in turn provided the strength within the political system by harmonizing the conflicting views of the different segments of the society.

4.5.3. Role of Pakistan Islamic Front (PIF) in the Electoral Politics of NWFP;

In this region the performance of Pakistan Islamic Front (PIF)26 was not effective because it secured two seats in the National Assembly in 1993 election. It won the seats in N.A-24 Chitral and in N.A-25 Dir by having 27.57% and 43.89% vote respectively. It secured 12.27% of vote on all contesting seats in the national election 1993. In the provincial domain it won four seats under the national constituencies’ boundaries of N.A-24 and N.A-25. In provincial domain it secured 1.62% of vote on winning seats and 6.75% vote on all contesting seats. Its total vote bank

26 The front was described as a forerunner for Jamma’at’s political role in coming elections. It was the brain child of Qazi Hussain Ahmed[in 1993 election] who was influenced by the Algerian Islamic salvation front. It developed a personality cult and having no stress on its ideological program. It was eulogized by the party campaigners that social justice will be delivered to people’s door steps. Qazi himself accused the Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharief as corrupt and insincere and presented PIF as a possible third alternative, The Herald, Election Special, 1993, p. 19.
reduced in the provincial election as compared to the national election. It would be the result of its poor performance in the national election where it only secured two seats out of total 26. It could be said that political and electoral dynamics of provincial constituencies may vary from that of national ones due to the nature of the issues which could be of different kinds. It could be said that at provincial level there might be the community influence in terms of primitive associations which could affect the voting decisions of the voters. There was another mechanism of the geography of the constituency which is generally less from that of national constituency in which rapid political interaction with the community made the candidates successful in winning the seats. Seemingly these factors have helped more to those parties and individuals whose electioneering set up and their election manifestoes were more appealing to the voters. (The national and provincial election results can provide the evidence of it which are attached in the form of annexures 1,2,3 and 4 at the end of thesis)

It could be said Pakistan Islamic Front (PIF) have no such attractive program for the voters and its vote tally fell down in provincial election from that of national election. Its separate independent stance in 1993 elections could not damage the stature and vote bank of major party—PML-N—component of Isalmi Jamoori Ittehad (IJI) in the elections 1988 and 1990. In the electoral politics of NWFP, Jamma’at-i-Islami could not muster the support of masses and it was confined to those areas from which its leadership emerged. Its ‘amir’ Qazi Hussain Ahmed belonged to the area of Dir from which Jamma’at-i-Islami secured the seats in the national and provincial election. The many of the factors could be cited for the poor performance of PIF but one of them was its idealistic program which was difficult to adopt in the lives of the people as a practical schema. On the other hand, its past role in politics was not very encouraging in terms of deliverance to community. It had not been the part of the governing setup due to its low electoral strength which was in the form of a few seats. All this relegated its role in the eyes of public. These considerations showed that people of NWFP were very much conscious about their political role and they were very well aware about the role of religious parties in the political system of Pakistan. People sensed that this religious party could not reconcile its religious program with the imperative of modern state structures. So that is why it failed in gaining the electoral support of the masses.

4.5.4. Role of Awami National Party (ANP) in the Electoral Politics of NWFP;
Awami National Party (ANP) is considered left of the center and as well traditional in her outlook due to its reliance on primordial associations. Its political performance was much better in the provincial domain as compared to national politics. Its electoral manifesto also stressed over those issues which were mainly concerning to the people of NWFP. That is why its political role is seemingly confined in the region of North West Frontier. Its share in terms of seats in the provincial assembly is comparatively better which is visible in below given tables. It also got its pie in the national elections but that was less in votes and seats as compared to major parties. In the national election of 1988, ANP gave ticket to 17 candidates out of 26 total seats of NWFP to contest the election and won only two seats; in 1990 it contested on 7 seats and won 6; in 1993 it contested on 9 seats but secured only 3. It got better advantage in 1997 election when it put 12 candidates and won 10 seats. The performance of ANP at national level election also seemed the outcome of the policy of its seat adjustment. In 1988 election it had entered into seat adjustment policy with Islami Jamhoori Ittehad, a coalition of parties, and it succeeded in securing the seats in those constituencies where IJI did not put its candidate. After seat adjustment it performed better in constituencies N.A-1 to N.A-8. In these eight constituencies ANP performed well. It secured 6 seats in 1990, 2 seats in 1993 and 8 seats in 1997. It had also observed that its vote percentage also increased in these constituencies as compared to those in which it had to contest the election without any adjustment. Overall its winning number stood at 2 in 1988, 6 in 1990, 3 in 1993 and 9 in 1997 on all contesting seats over which it had either entered into seat adjustment or not. Below given table-1 indicates the voting trends of seat adjusted constituencies. Sign √ indicates of winning seats of ANP in the national elections.

Table:1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.A-1 Peshawar-i</td>
<td>42.4%</td>
<td>54.01%√</td>
<td>39.7%</td>
<td>68.34%√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-2 Peshawar-ii</td>
<td>33.9%</td>
<td>48.7%√</td>
<td>33.05%</td>
<td>54.06%√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-3 Peshawar-iii</td>
<td>31.6%</td>
<td>47.4%√</td>
<td>45.32%√</td>
<td>67.54%√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-4 Nowshera</td>
<td>38.01%</td>
<td>46.9%√</td>
<td>36.3%</td>
<td>62.7%√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-5 Charsada</td>
<td>61.9%√</td>
<td>43.2%</td>
<td>46.2%√</td>
<td>52.12%√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-6 Mardan-i</td>
<td>41.1%</td>
<td>41.4%√</td>
<td>30.5%</td>
<td>60.7%√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-7 Mardan-ii</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>38.6%</td>
<td>39.5%√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-8 Swabi</td>
<td>35%√</td>
<td>45.5%√</td>
<td>45.4%</td>
<td>37.5%√</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ANP vote tally increased by and large in these seat adjustment constituencies. ANP did very well in national and as well as in the provincial constituencies. Not only its vote tally increased but its seat number also increased.

(National Tally of ANP and Vote Percentage of Winning Seats)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>10.79%</td>
<td>11.58%</td>
<td>5.43%</td>
<td>17.63%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Vote Percentage of all Contesting Seats of National Assembly:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>18.40%</td>
<td>15.00%</td>
<td>14.19%</td>
<td>19.12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Provincial Tally and Percentage of Vote of Winning Seats out of Total Vote Cast(Total Seats-80)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANP(Seats)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANP(Vote)</td>
<td>6.12%</td>
<td>12.05%</td>
<td>9.62%</td>
<td>33.58%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vote Percentage of all Contesting Provincial Seats out of Total Vote Cast:

| ANP(Vote) | 14.67% | 14.58% | 14.77% | 21.17% |


Awami National Party concentrated more in provincial domain by eulogizing the cause of the province particularly it stressed more on the cause of ‘Pukhtons’ (ethnic group based on language and cultural considerations). Ethnic concerns were the main plank of ANP and it secured better vote and seats in the provincial elections as compared to the national ones which is visible in tables above. In its manifesto ANP always demanded to rename the province as ‘Puktonkhwa’ on the basis of ethnic denomination of other three provinces of Pakistan. These trends of local concentration showed that regional agenda or its idealistic appeal, confined to some of the area or the constituencies, which had relatively no importance in other regions of Pakistan. ANP has no political stature in Punjab, Sindh and Baluchistan but showed its presence in some of the constituencies without getting any electoral gains. Awami National Party reaped maximum benefit in this strategy of seat adjustment by concentrating its energies in eulogizing its role in selective constituencies as the sole protector of ‘Pukhto’ interests. It succeeded more in the provincial domain where the area of the constituency is less, generally half of national assembly in terms of registered vote, by developing good interaction with the community.

This kind of politics of ANP made it a regional party and a party of particular community. Its vote and seats in provincial election of 1997 were more than the national one. It stood at 33.58% and 30(seats) respectively in the provincial election, while in the national election, it secured

---

The Herald, Game of the Name, March 1998, pp. 55-57.
17.63% vote on the winning seats and its seats were 9. This trend endorsed the nature of its electoral politics because of its area of influence. In the region of Hindkoo speaking people of NWFP, ANP had no say and it always preferred to make concessions to other parties like IJI/PML(N) with which it was comfortable to make seat adjustment.

Awami National Party made seat adjustment by keeping in view its performance in non Pukhton regions. In the analysis of the constituencies it was observed that ANP always threatened with the existence of Pakistan Peoples Party(PPP) due to its vote bank in Pukhton’s concentrated areas. It was the reason which made conscious the leadership of ANP about the policy of seat adjustment with PPP. In provincial domain ANP has done very well in some of the constituencies where it has seat adjustment with IJI/PML-N. In the constituencies where seat adjustment has been seen are the following; PF-1 Peshawar-i, PF-3 Peshawar-iii, PF-4 Peshawar-iv, PF-5 Peshawar-v, PF-8 Peshawar-viii, PF-9 Nowshera-i, PF-10 Nowshera-ii, PF-11 Nowshera-iii, PF-12 Nowshera-iv, PF-13 Charsada-i, PF-14 Charsada-ii, PF-15 Charsada-iii, PF-17 Charsada-v, PF-19 Mardan-ii, PF-21 Mardan-iv, PF-23 Mardan-vi, PF-24 Swabi-i, PF-26 Swabi-iii, PF-29 Kohat-ii, PF-32 Karak-i, PF-47 Mansehra-vi, PF-48 Battgram-i,PF-59 Bannu-ii.

In the constituencies where seat adjustment has been seen in 1990,1993 and 1997 were the following; PF-1,PF-3,PF-4,PF-5,PF-8,PF-9, except PF-9 where no adjustment in 1997; PF-10,PF-11,PF-12,PF-13,PF-14,PF-15,PF-17,PF-19,PF-21, except PF-21 where no adjustment in 1997; PF-23,PF-24 except PF-24 where no adjustment in 1997;PF-26,PF-29,PF-32,PF-47,PF-48,PF-59. In these twenty four constituencies ANP was given the opportunity by a national party IJI/PML-N to contest the elections which consequently enhanced its image in the eyes of the public as the protector of their interests.

It secured 21 seats in 1990, 16 in 1993 and 19 in 1997 in these adjustment constituencies, while in 1988 when all parties were in the arena of electoral contest it secured only 11 seats. So its performance in these constituencies was also indebted to the absence of national party, PML-N. Awami National Party vote percentage in these provincial constituencies escalated from 7.94% in 1988 to 11.88% in 1997.28 In the provincial constituencies ANP got the advantage of seat

---

28 ANP vote in terms of percentage in these adjustment constituencies was as 7.94% in 1988, 11.13% in 1990, 10.30% in 1993 and 11.88% in 1997. If poll vote is kept in view then vote percentage of 1997 will be lowered from that of 11.88%. This percentage has been counted by adding the poll vote of ANP in seat adjustment constituencies
adjustment were the followings and seat adjustment in below given table has been seen in the years 1990,1993 and 1997.

Table-2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pf-1 Peshawar-i</td>
<td>31.91%</td>
<td>53.44%</td>
<td>39.80%</td>
<td>71.53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pf-3 Peshawar-iii</td>
<td>21.01%</td>
<td>29.70%</td>
<td>42.19%</td>
<td>54.38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pf-4 Peshawar-iv</td>
<td>25.77%</td>
<td>44.30%</td>
<td>46.21%</td>
<td>67.05%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pf-7 Peshawar-vii</td>
<td>12.65%</td>
<td>24.29%</td>
<td>29.83%</td>
<td>48.96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pf-8 Peshawar-iii</td>
<td>22.41%</td>
<td>32.31%</td>
<td>35.53%</td>
<td>53.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pf-9 Nowshera-i</td>
<td>28.68%</td>
<td>44.20%</td>
<td>32.325</td>
<td>52.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pf-13 Charsada-i</td>
<td>47.03%</td>
<td>53.03%</td>
<td>57.77%</td>
<td>68.63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pf-14 Charsada-ii</td>
<td>37.03%</td>
<td>40.51%</td>
<td>50.84%</td>
<td>59.05%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


It had also been observed that in these constituencies the influence of other parties was also cardinal in making the opinion of the voters. In some of the regions of this province Pakistan Peoples Party and Pakistan Muslim League did very well and they broke the myth of ANP as sole representative of the views of the region. In the constituencies of the district Nowshera where ‘Pukhtons’ were more concentrated, PPP made an electoral headway and won the seats. In the constituencies like PF-9 Nowshera-i, PF-10 Nowshera-ii, PF-11 Nowshera-iii and PF-16 Charsada-iv, Pakistan Peoples Party did very well and it won all the four elections in these areas of Pukhton’s influence. Seemingly voters did not care for ethnic concerns in making their voting decisions. So they favoured those parties which were in a position to materialize the ideals into practical reality. It was evident by the victory of Pakistan Peoples Party in the above said constituencies. Pakistan Peoples Party cut across the primordial relationships, associations and mobilized the masses by its strength and strategy. It seemed that national political parties through their leadership, candidates, parties’ structure and program penetrated effectively among the

from the total poll vote of NWFP in that year for which percentage has been counted. Poll vote of NWFP provincial elections is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Poll vote</td>
<td>2187961</td>
<td>2325399</td>
<td>2420765</td>
<td>1876104</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

masses during the national and provincial elections. Political idioms and symbols used by these national parties galvanized the masses and aligned them by catering to the agenda of national and local development.

4.5.5. Role of Islami Jamhoori Ittehad / Pakistan Muslim League (N)\textsuperscript{29} in the Electoral Politics of NWFP;

IJI/PML-N reciprocally took the advantage of the policy of seat adjustment. It penetrated not only into the stronghold of traditional constituencies of JUI-F and ANP but also secured its own electoral domain in the regions of Hindko speaking people comprising of Harripur Hazara division. After the election 1988 IJI/PML-N judged the political influence of ANP in the constituencies N.A-1 to N.A-8 and decided to have a seat adjustment with ANP. Adjustment seemed possible only when there were common interests between the parties. It was beneficial for both the parties to be a part of this strategy. In the election 1988, IJI/PML-N contested on 23 seats but won 8 seats. After that it contested on those seats where it has better chance of winning. In 1990 it contested on 18 seats and won 8, in 1993 it stood on 16 seats and won 10 seats while in 1997 election it contested on 18 seats and took the tally of 15 seats. It retained its hold over its vote bank in the constituencies like N.A-9 Kohat, N.A-11 Abbottabad-i, N.A-22 Swat-ii , N.A-24 Chitral, N.A-25 Dir and N.A-26 Malakand. The analysis of this trend is visible in below given table-3. Marked √ are the winning seats in national elections.

Table-3 (IJI/PML-N Vote Percentage of Winning Seats)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.A-9 Kohat</td>
<td>36.7%√</td>
<td>30.1%</td>
<td>34.1%√</td>
<td>65.5%√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-11 Abbottabad-i</td>
<td>23.9%</td>
<td>66%√</td>
<td>57%√</td>
<td>63.4%√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-12 Abbottabad-ii</td>
<td>39.2%√</td>
<td>51.2%√</td>
<td>71.7%√</td>
<td>70.9%√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-13 Abbottabad-iii</td>
<td>60.7%√</td>
<td>54.25%√</td>
<td>71.0%√</td>
<td>70.99%√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-14 Manshera-i</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>34.33%</td>
<td>61.26%√</td>
<td>59.87%√</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{29} IJI was the coalition of eight parties and PML was the major component of this coalition. It was formed in 1988 to contest the election 1988 and it also preserved its coalitional support at the time of election 1990, while at the time of election 1993 PML decided to contest the election from its own platform and later PML-N was formed out of PML.
IJII/Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz did very well in national elections. It got equal seats in 1988,1990 but its vote of winning seats increased from 17.37% to 29.68%. While in 1993 and 1997 it secured 10 and 16 seats with its vote share of winning seats was 20.14% and 64.79% respectively. This increase was not unusual because registered vote of those constituencies also increased on average ratio. In 1997 national election, there were more registered votes in NWFP as compared to previous elections but its poll vote was less as compared to previous elections, and in this situation PML-N did very well by securing the good portion of vote by mobilizing the voters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Register Vote</td>
<td>5649344</td>
<td>5972266</td>
<td>6092576</td>
<td>6651672</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turn Out</td>
<td>33.92%</td>
<td>35.74%</td>
<td>34.59%</td>
<td>27.75%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IJI/PML-N performance seemed better when its vote gaining performance was viewed on all contesting seats.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML-N</td>
<td>27.28%</td>
<td>23.74%</td>
<td>22.66%</td>
<td>37.18%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


IJI/PML-N had very effective influence in some of the provincial constituencies where not only its traditional rivals hesitated to put their candidates against it but its seat adjusted partners also abstained to contest the elections. These constituencies were considered traditional stronghold of IJI/PML-N. This showed that national party has a very positive and cardinal role in mobilizing the masses to create the balance among the political forces. In the provincial constituencies from PF-34 Abbottabad to PF-43 Mansehra-ii, IJI/PML-N showed overawed influence, and its popularity in these ten constituencies caused to make reluctant the other parties to put their candidates for electoral contest.

Awami National Party had a seat adjustment with IJI/PML-N in 1990, 1993 and 1997 elections in different constituencies but it never had the courage to put the candidates in all the four elections either it has seat adjustment or not. This showed the role and importance of national party in NWFP. Even Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) remained reluctant to put its candidate in these constituencies. Eventually it gave political leverage to Pakistan Muslim League – Junejo (PML-J) in the electoral arena to field the candidates to check the influence of Pakistan Muslim League – Nawaz, but it failed in its design. PML-J fielded their candidates in PF-37 Abbottabad-iv in 1993; PF-39 Haripur-i, in 1993; PF-42 Mansehra-i, in 1993 and 1997 but lost the elections every time. PML-J also fielded its candidate in PF-25 Swabi-ii in 1993 election but it lost. The political
currents of this constituency were different from the other ones. In PF-25 Ghafoor Khan Jadoon contested the elections 1988, 1990 and 1997 on the ticket of IJI/PML(N) and won all the time but he lost when he took the ticket of PML-J. It means that a candidate, in spite of having influence of his personality and performance, could not muster the support of voters from the platform of less popular party. He lost the seat against an independent candidate, Mr Inayatullah Khan.

Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz maintained its independence stature, and seemingly its seat adjustment with other parties was conditioned on the electoral performance of the parties in the different constituencies. Its own electoral performance in provincial domain remained good and consistence in all elections. So it consciously drew the policy of adjustment with other ones. It is visible in below given table-4 along with its vote strength in provincial elections. It could be generalized that what has been observed about the electoral performance of IJI/PML-N in national elections, the same had been found in provincial domain also. Turn out of NWFP was lowered in provincial elections but performance of IJI/PML-N remained consistent. It is shown in table-4 below.

**Table-4 (Total Seats=80)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML(N)Seats</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vote %age of winning seats</td>
<td>14.05%</td>
<td>21.98%</td>
<td>10.34%</td>
<td>50.05%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vote %age of all contesting seats</td>
<td>24.90%</td>
<td>26.32%</td>
<td>20.89%</td>
<td>30.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turn out(NWFP)</td>
<td>37.32%</td>
<td>38.94%</td>
<td>38.01%</td>
<td>27.90%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IJI/PML-N had a seat adjustment in some of those constituencies which were considered ‘Pukhton’ areas and in these areas it did not consistently garner the good portion of support of the voters. But anyhow, by this policy it created a space for maneuverings, and relatively it succeeded in attaining mix response from the voters. In some of the constituencies it was succeeded in dissipating the influence of traditional and regional parties which projected themselves as sole representatives of the region like the ANP. This policy of IJI/PML-N seemingly favoured indirectly to some of the independent candidates who were also from ‘Pukhton’ ethnic group. The variant performance of IJI/PML-N in these constituencies is presented by the evaluation of the voting trends. In this adjustment strategy IJI/PML-N accrued maximum benefits by elbowing out the influence of ANP and indirectly aligned the voters with the main stream politics of Pakistan. On the other hand most of these constituencies were the part of those districts which constituted the south of NWFP in which the influence of the Islamist party like JUI-F and of some national parties like PPP and IJI/PML-N was seemingly greater as compared to that of regional party. So that is why ANP gave space to IJI/PML-N in this area. These constituencies were the followings: PF-30 Kohat-iii, IJI/PML-N won the elections1990,1993 and1997 but in the election 1988, Mr.Iftikhar-ud-Din won as an independent candidate; PF-31 Kohat-iv, it contested the elections 1990,1993 but it won the election 1990 while Mr.Ghani-ur-Rehman won the election 1988,1993 and 1997 as an independent candidate. ANP remained absent in all the elections except in 1988 where its performance was minuscule; PF-33 Krak-ii, it contested the elections 1988, 1990,1993 and1997 but it won the elections 1988 and 1990 while coalition of Islamic parties in the name of Islami Jamhoori Mahaz (IJM) won the
election 1993 and the election 1997 was won by an independent candidate. ANP remained absent in all the elections except in 1988 where its performance was minuscule by having 7.4% vote; PF-49 Battagram-ii, it contested the election 1988, 1993, 1997 and won the seats in all these elections. In 1990 election Mr. Fateh Muhammad Khan won the seat as an independent candidate, and later this candidate opted the platform of PML-N in the next elections and won the seats. ANP remained absent in all the elections except in 1997 where its performance was minuscule by having 5.6% vote while vote of PML-N in this election was 53.27%; PF-51 Kohistan-ii, it contested the elections 1988, 1990, 1993 and 1997 but it did not win the elections except 1988. In the election 1990 and 1993 JUI-F and MDM\(^30\) won the seats respectively, while the election 1997 was won by an independent candidate. ANP remained absent in all the elections except in 1988 where its performance was minuscule by having 6.81% vote; In PF-53 D.I.Khan-i, it contested the elections 1990, 1993 and 1997 and won the seat in the election 1997. In this constituency the tilt of voters was in favour of some Islamists parties like JUI-F that won this seat in 1988 but presence of national parties remained an obstacle for the Islamist or the regional parties to get hold in the constituency. Peoples Democratic Alliance\(^31\) also won the seat in 1990. ANP presence in 1988 or in 1997 was not very impressive which had given the signs of adjustment with IJI/PML-N; PF-54 D.I.Khan-ii, it contested the elections 1988, 1993 and 1997 and won the seat in 1988 and 1997. In 1990 an independent candidate, Mr. Javed Akbar Khan, won the election by the support of IJI/PML-N due to its absent in that election. ANP showed its presence in 1990 in which it got nominal votes while in all other elections it remained absent. That might be the result of its policy of seat adjustment; in the constituency of PF-55 D.I.Khan-iii, electoral competition was between JUI-F/IJM and IJI/PML-N. In this constituency ANP remained absent in all elections that is why it had been labeled as an adjusted constituency. IJI/PML-N won the elections 1988, 1993 and 1997, while in 1990 election, the victory of an independent candidate was the outcome of the backing of IJI at that time because of its absence. In PF-56 D.I.Khan-iv, IJI/PML-N contested the elections 1988, 1990, 1993 and 1997 but PML-N won the seat in 1997. In the first three elections independent candidates won the seats due to

\(^30\) Muttahida Deni Mahaz (MDM) comprises Jammiat Ulamma-i-Islam Sami-ul-Haq group and the Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan and it was formed in 1993, The Herald, Election Special, 1993, p. 20. Both were the orthodox religious parties.

\(^31\) Pakistan Peoples Party made an electoral alliance with a faction of Muslim League, headed by Malik Qasim, Tehreek Nafaz-i-Fiqqa Jaffaria Pakistan of Allama Sajid Naqvi and Tehreek-i-Istaqlal of Asghar Khan to counter the electoral strategy of IJI. This electoral alliance was given the name of Peoples Democratic Alliance (PDA) in 1990 election.
their multiple influences. ANP showed nominal presence in 1988 while it remained absent in the other elections due to its policy of seat adjustment; In PF-57 Tank, IJI/PML-N contested all the elections but it won in 1990. In this constituency there were no signs of seat adjustment because of good voting strength of ANP. The presence of IJI/PML-N reduced the winning chances of the regionalist or Islamic parties in this constituency. Independents won the seats in 1988 and in 1997 while in 1993 PML-J got the victory; PF-58 Bannu-I, IJI/PML-N contested the elections 1988,1990,1993 and 1997 but it won the seats in 1988 and 1993. In this constituency influence of Islamic party JUI-F was seemingly better because of its winning seats in 1990 and 1997. So to check its influence, IJI/PML-N had got the silent support of ANP voters by its absence in 1990,1993 and 1997 election. If IJI/PML-N did not contest the election then it gave the support to an independent candidate to counter the influence of JUI-F. Seemingly it gave the support to that candidate who had more potential in garnering the favour of the voters and was perceptibly pliant in making an association with national parties after winning the election. It was seen in 1990 election when the presence of IJI/PML-N was very nominal in terms of its voting strength which stood at 3.38%. While it’s voting strength was better in the other elections which was as follows: in 1988 it got 34.33%, in 1993 it got 41.65% and in 1997 it stood at 11.8%. So by this trend of voting, it could be surmised that it rendered its support to an independent candidate, Nasir Khan, in 1990. Nasir Khan had already contested the election 1988 from the platform of IJI, so to support him in 1990 election was natural; PF-60 Bannu-iii, IJI/PML-N contested the elections 1988,1990,1993 and 1997 but it won the seat in 1990. In this constituency electoral trends were seemingly favorable for independent candidates. Syed Munir Shah as an independent candidate won the seats in 1988 and 1993, and Malik Naqibullah Khan got it in 1997. So in one way or the other, presence of IJI/PML-N and of PPP in this constituency was effective in controlling the influence of JUI-F; in PF-61 Bannu-iv(Laki Marwat-i) IJI/PML-N had seat adjustment with ANP in 1990,1993 and won the seat both times. So in this area IJI/PML-N remained effective because of voting strength which it retained in all the four elections. It got 44.82% vote in 1988 and secured the seat. In 1990 its vote ratio was 51.56%, in 1993 it was 51.73% and in 1997 it was 34.90%. In 1997 its defeat was caused by the contest of its rival faction PML-J which had a support of PPP due to seat adjustment. So the voting trend of this constituency also reflected the tendency of voters for national parties or toward the faction which had the capacity to translate their wishes into the material benefits. In PF-62 Bannu-
v(LakiMarwat-ii) IJI/PML-N had seat adjustment in 1990, 1993, 1997 but did not win the seat. Seemingly the defeat of PML-N in this constituency was caused by the influence of Humayun Saifullah and Salim Saifullah Khan who contested on the ticket of PML-J. So they won the seats in 1993 and 1997. It was seemingly the influence of their personal character or their family by which they secured the seats. So it could be said that voters supported to the candidates and parties whom they perceived having better chance of winning the election and as well had an opportunity to be the part of the government to deliver the patronage to the masses. In PF-68 Swat-vi is basically ‘Pukhtoon’ concentrated area and in this constituency ANP was forced to make seat adjustment with IJI/PML-N in 1990, 1993 election. IJI/PML-N could not succeed in winning the seat in spite of having seat adjustment with ANP but it provided the opportunity to the national party to extend its organization and program within the masses. PPP/PDA had been succeeded in winning the seats in 1990 and 1993 that reflected the acceptance of national party in the region. ANP got 32.49% vote in 1988 election and 7.63% in 1997 that was not translated into victory. PML-N had no seat adjustment in 1997 but it won the seat. The presence of national parties like PPP/PDA and IJI/PML-N in all the elections foiled the efforts of ANP to be victorious in any election; In PF-72 Chitral ANP appeared in the election 1988 in which it got 6.14% vote that was not very impressive. So it entered into a policy of seat adjustment with IJI/PML-N in 1990, 1993, 1997 elections. IJI/PML-N won the seats in 1990 and 1997 while its standing in all elections was very healthy in terms of gaining votes. It got 21.62% vote in 1988, 52.73% in 1990, 16.48% in 1993 and 41.34% in 1997. This constituency positively showed the influence of national parties in which they got favour of voters; In PF-75 Dir-iii, IJI/PML-N had a seat adjustment with ANP in 1990 and 1993 election that was forced by the influence of national parties like PPP and IJI/PML-N in all the four elections. IJI/PML-N won the seats in 1988 and 1990 but in the elections 1993 and 1997 PPP secured the seats. In this constituency national parties had the support of the voters due to their multiple influences and successfully counter the influence of regional and Islamic parties. It has also been observed that Jamaat-i-Islami had an influence in the constituency. It was seen in the election 1993 when coalition of IJI was broken up into its constituent parties and Jamaat-i-Islami contested that election from its own platform, namely Pakistan Islamic Front (PIF). Muhammad Yaqoob Khan was the candidate of IJI in 1988 and 1990 elections and won the seats. He contested the election 1993 from the platform of PIF which gave indirect benefit to PPP by losing seat to it. Here Pakistan Muslim
League–Nawaz suffered the loss of seat due to the influence of Jammat-i-Islami in district Dir. Some of the points have simmered out in this analysis that IJI/PML-N targeted the core and as well the volatile voters in this region by means of effective program, suitable candidatures and with better electoral campaign.

4.5.6. Role of Jammiat Ulam-i-Islam (Fazal-ur-Rehman)/ Islami Jamhoori Mahaz in the Electoral Politics of NWFP;

Jammiat Ulam-i-Islam (Fazal-ur-Rehman)/Islami Jamhoori Mahaz remained affective factor in the electoral politics of the province. Its attitude towards the systemic values remained positive in the sense that it never defied the legitimacy of the mechanism for the transfer of power through voting. Its electoral strength varied within the province. It made strident gains in those areas where it had its base that located in the south of the NWFP. It is religious-cum-political party which believed in the consensus based polity. So that is why it accepted the election as the norm of the modern democracy. The analysis of election results provided a good insight into the electoral strength of this party, and also defined the political ideology of this party by which it enticed the voters. JUI-F went into a coalition with other religious party at the time of election 1993. Islami Jamhoori Mahaz(IJM) was formed in the election 1993 by the coalition of Jammiat Ulam-i-Islam (Fazal-ur-Rehman) and Jammiat Uamma-i-Pakistan(Noorani).

JUI-F always remained active in the politics of Pakistan and in the period of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto it was the part of the coalition government with National Awami Party(NAP) in the province of NWFP and Baluchistan. So it is not new entrant in the game of electoral politics. In the analysis of four elections it was seen that it never refrained from taking part in the elections. it did rely on the same kind of strategies and political means which were taken up by the other parties to convince the voters. So its participation in these elections has been analyzed to see the effectiveness of its program and its organizational strength. It has also been judged that how far it was successful in retaining its vote bank in the province. It was seen that JUI(F)/IJM got three seats in national election and two seats in provincial election 1988. In 1990 it got four seats in national election but failed to get any seat in provincial election. In 1993 election, IJM got two seats in national election and one seat in provincial election, while in 1997 JUI-F failed to get any seat in the national election but secured one seat in the provincial assembly. It had been observed in the analysis that JUI/IJM went into an agreement with PPP on the issue of seat adjustment. This policy has also been observed in the above section in which IJI/PML-N and
ANP had a seat adjustment. It provided the clue that parties made the alignments without regarding the ideological stances over which they were founded. So by this scheme the impression which simmered out was that, there was mobilization of majority of voters on other factors rather than on the basis of hard core ideologies. JUI-F/IJM could not take the advantage of seat adjustment with PPP in 1993 election. Its vote percentage of winning seats remained almost same in all elections. It secured 5.48% in 1988, 5.34% in 1990, 5.42% in 1993 while in 1997 elections it could not secure single seat. It had also a seat adjustment with PPP in 1997 election but it lost in those constituencies which were regarded the bastions of JUI-F. In the constituencies of N.A-18 Dera Ismail Khan and N.A-19 Bannu, JUI-F had won the elections 1988 and 1990. It not only lost the seats in these constituencies with diminishing of its own vote bank with a margin of 6 to 10 percent but in other constituencies where its performance was better previously, could not maintain the level of its vote bank in the election 1997. In these constituencies register vote increased from 1988 to 1997 usually and the ratio of vote casting was slightly differed in the election 1997 in both these constituencies which had not altered the voting strength of JUI-F/IJM. This trend of voting showed that this religious party or its coalition was not effective to make inroads into the vote pockets of other parties or convincing the neutral voters to be aligned with their program. JUI-F/IJM could not take the benefit of this increasing vote in its traditional strongholds.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Register Vote</td>
<td>373098</td>
<td>377182</td>
<td>419717</td>
<td>446445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poll vote(valid)</td>
<td>150113</td>
<td>156796</td>
<td>158778</td>
<td>169914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turn out</td>
<td>41.09%</td>
<td>42.03%</td>
<td>38.50%</td>
<td>39.15%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Register Vote</td>
<td>196767</td>
<td>1971053</td>
<td>208183</td>
<td>217196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poll vote</td>
<td>56351</td>
<td>57765</td>
<td>60920</td>
<td>63276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turn out</td>
<td>29.13%</td>
<td>29.52%</td>
<td>29.66%</td>
<td>29.83%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the election 1997 PML-N penetrated into these constituencies and won the seat with the margin of 10.76% of vote in N.A-18 and 1.8% of vote in N.A-19. PML-N also made inroads in N.A-14 and won the seat with the margin of 32.88% of vote. (Marked √ is winning seat)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.A-18 Dera</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ismail Khan</td>
<td>40.82% √</td>
<td>33.33%</td>
<td>36.15% √</td>
<td>30.86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI-F/IJM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML-N</td>
<td>23.11%</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
<td>33.58%</td>
<td>42.62% √</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.A-19 Bannu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI-F/IJM</td>
<td>33.30% √</td>
<td>48.92% √</td>
<td>33.83%</td>
<td>27.63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML-N</td>
<td>22.03%</td>
<td>19.44%</td>
<td>38.25%</td>
<td>29.43% √</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In N.A-5, N.A-7, N.A-8 JUI-F/IJM won the seats in 1990, 1988, 1993 respectively. It did well in containing the emergence of ethnic biases and transformed that spirit into an affinity which had its bases in socio-religious fraternity. In these constituencies it lost the vote bank in the election 1997. In these constituencies the concentration of ‘Pukhton’ ethnic group is explicit which supported the ANP in the election 1988, 1993 and 1997 in N.A-5; in N.A-7 ANP won the seat in 1997 and in N.A-8 it won the seat in 1988, 1993 and 1997. Awami National Party (ANP) might have taken the advantage of weakness of JUI-F/IJM in implementing its political program which it exposed in its manifesto. JUI-F/IJM had also lost its influence in provincial domain and in the elections 1993 and 1997 it lost its image as a major contender of the province. By keeping in view its performance in provincial constituencies that is visible in below given table, it lost its seats along with its gradual decline of vote bank. With this political strength JUI-F/IJM worked as a spoiling factor in the electoral politics of the province. It provided space to other parties which had better resources and organizing capacity to mobilize the voters. PML-N took the advantage of this situation and controlled the political dynamics of the different constituencies in its favour. In response to the questionnaire, it was evident that voters gave preference to the national parties as compared to religious or the regional ones. On the question of preference to national, religious and regional parties in voting decision, 70% voters were in favour of national
parties, 32% in favour of religious parties and 25% were in favour of regional ones (response of questionnaire is attached at the end of the thesis).

The other party which took advantage of its weakness was the ANP that maneuvered the voters for its own electoral gains by projecting and orchestrating its image as the sole representative of the ‘Pukhtons’ of the province. JUI-F/IJM vote in provincial domain declined to an abysmal level on all contesting seats from 7.93% in 1988 to 2.87% in 1997 that endorsed its declining impact at national and provincial level. It is visible in table-5 below.

Table-5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JUI(F)/IJM Seats</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%age of vote of winning provincial seats</td>
<td>1.14%</td>
<td>0.53%</td>
<td>0.62%</td>
<td>0.46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%age of vote of all contesting provincial seats</td>
<td>7.93%</td>
<td>9.91%</td>
<td>3.60%</td>
<td>2.87%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In other constituencies where JUI-F had some influence by getting the seat in any election, could not retain its influence in the next elections. It won the election in N.A-5 Charsada in 1990 by getting 54.9% of vote, while in 1997 election it lost the seat with the voting strength that lowered to the level of 34.12%. In N.A-7 Mardan-ii, it won the election by having 28.9% of vote in 1988 while in 1990 election it lost the seat with the voting strength at 21.23%. In these constituencies the concentration of ‘Pukhton’ element is explicit which supported the ANP in the election of 1997. ANP seemingly took the advantage of weakness of JUI-F’s political program. Question was that why Jammiat Ulam-i-Islam (F) had lost its political strength and this weakness gave advantage to national party, PML-N and a regional party, ANP. It could be said under the observation of Sigmund Neumann about the experience of democracy in Europe late nineteenth and early twentieth century that ‘parties which are idealistic and utopian in their program take the role of integration rather than representative. In their integration approach they create the
divide between the historic truth on one side and fundamental error on the other’. 32 In this way JUI-F got a foot away from the interactions of individual behaviour with various social characteristics, and eventually alienated the masses.

4. 5.7. Role of Pakistan Peoples Party in the Electoral Politics of NWFP;

Pakistan Peoples Party remained effective in those constituencies where it had seat adjustment with JUI-F/IJM and PML(J) in 1993 and 1997 elections. It got more votes along with seats in the constituencies of seat adjustment in 1993. Winning seats are marked in below given table. Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) lost its vote bank in 1997 national election. It was not the reflection of adjusted constituencies but such kind of trend also emerged in other constituencies. Pakistan Peoples Party worked good as a national party in the elections 1988 and 1993 and broke the myths that primordial associations had a strong influence over the psyche of the voters in the elections. it has been observed that voters of this region were moved along the political idioms in organizing their political behavior which translated in the election by giving more votes in favour of national parties in the national elections. PPP’s vote percentage of seat adjusted constituencies is presented in table-6 below.

Table-6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.A-1 Peshawar-i</td>
<td>52.7%</td>
<td>40.8%</td>
<td>44.8%</td>
<td>29.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-2 Peshawar-ii</td>
<td>42.8%</td>
<td>29.5%</td>
<td>43.44%</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-3 Peshawar-cum-Nowshera</td>
<td>36.3%</td>
<td>24.4%</td>
<td>38.35%</td>
<td>28.28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-4 Nowshera</td>
<td>38.2%</td>
<td>31.5%</td>
<td>43.7%</td>
<td>32.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-5Charsada</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>45.3%</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-6Mardan-i</td>
<td>58.9%</td>
<td>33.1%</td>
<td>47.26%</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-7Mardan-ii</td>
<td>27.7%</td>
<td>29.5%</td>
<td>39.1%</td>
<td>21.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

32 Sigmund Neumann, Modern Political Parties: Approaches to Comparative Politics, University of Chicago, Chicago,1956, pp.403-5.
All these parties or alliances which made seat adjustment were altogether different in their program and political outlook, but for political expediency they compromised over their hard stances and gained the benefits for which they made the seat adjustment.

PPP lost its vote bank in seat adjusted constituencies. It got 15.43% of vote of winning seats in 1988 but in coming elections it could not retain its support base and vote percentage declined to 8.65% in 1990, 8.32% in 1993.

Pakistan Peoples Party also lost in other constituencies from which it had won the elections in 1988 like N.A-21Swat-i, N.A-22Swat-ii, N.A-24Chitral, N.A-26Malakand. It could not get a single seat in 1997 elections so vote percentage of this election has not been counted. PPP lost its vote bank in 1993,1997 half of that which it secured in 1988,1990, visible in below given table. Pakistan Peoples Party’s factions like Pakistan Peoples Party Shaheed Bhutto could not damage its position in this province which had affected in Sindh. So it means that either the program of Pakistan Peoples Party had lost its attractiveness for the people of the region or its alliance policy with JUI-F and PML-J may have distorted its image as independent representative party of the people of NWFP. As the performance of its allies was not very effective in garnering the vote and retaining their support base which also brought the rippling effect to PPP, visible in table below.
The 1988 was the re-beginning of the political process and Pakistan Peoples Party re-entered into the political arena after a long period of exclusion. PPP took advantage of this situation by getting sympathies of the voters. People gave their verdict in favour of this party when it secured 9 seats out of 26 of National Assembly. It was the majority of seats which it secured in NWFP. People of this region put aside all kind of considerations in their voting decisions except upholding the cause of PPP to give it mandate. This was the cause of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto’s illegitimate displacement from the office and banning of all kind of political activities for which PPP started movement in the name of MRD(Movement for Restoration of Democracy). Low turnout ratio of national vote in this province could be cited one reason of low vote percentage of PPP in 1997 but there may also some other causes which have affected the performance of electoral vote gaining. These were the weak political organization of the party, past performance of it when assumed office, changing of candidates in one constituency and seat adjustment also. Last factor of seat adjustment in 1993 had been done in the way of not putting the candidates of PPP against JUI-F/IJM which gave the impression of nonexistence of PPP in those constituencies where it had good standing in terms of vote before 1993. Pakistan Peoples Party’s ouster from the constituencies made the task difficult for it to keep the floating vote aligned to its
policy. After that absence its performance further mutilated in 1997 election. It is indicated in below given table-7:

Table-7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.A-8 Swabi</td>
<td>29.2%</td>
<td>25.2%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-12 Abbottabad-cum-Haripur</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-13 Haripur</td>
<td>25.32%</td>
<td>31.74%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-21 Swat-i</td>
<td>40.6%</td>
<td>20.6%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-22 Swat-ii</td>
<td>29.79%</td>
<td>36.36%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>12.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-26 Malakand</td>
<td>43.52%</td>
<td>34.08%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>32.07%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Pakistan Peoples Party’s other ally was PML-J which was given opportunity in 1993 to take stand against its rival PML-N in the areas of its influence like N.A-11 Abbottabad-cum-Haripur-I, N.A-12 Abbottabad-ii, N.A-14 Mansehra-I, and in 1997 in the constituency of N.A-20 Laki Marwat. In these areas PPP has no good standing in all the elections before the policy of seat adjustment. So it was better move on the part of PPP to involve other political party to share the
political mandate instead of letting the regional or Islamic party to get the advantage. PML-J secured four seats in provincial election 1993 and two seats in 1997 with the vote of 2.12% and 1.55%, while it had 6.87% and 2.11% vote on all contesting provincial seats. PML-J did much better than JUI-F/IJM in 1993 and 1997 elections and it let the impression that religious party have to reconsider its political program by keeping in view the demands of socio-cultural setup. Pakistan Peoples Party as such did not lose its strength till the time of 1993 elections. It was also visible in the provincial elections. Analysis of provincial constituencies showed that regional parties had their strength in Baluchistan and NWFP. Trends were little bit different in the province of NWFP. National/major parties like PPP and PML-N showed their influential voting strength in all the constituencies except in one or two at national and provincial levels. They reduced the majority of regional or Islamic parties in terms of vote and seats. It is visible in below given tables of national and provincial elections.

NWFP-Provincial Elections:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA Seats</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA%age of vote of winning seats</td>
<td>10.23%</td>
<td>2.75%</td>
<td>12.03%</td>
<td>1.39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA%age of vote of all contesting seats</td>
<td>20.03%</td>
<td>15.58%</td>
<td>18.19%</td>
<td>10.69%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-8 NWFP-National Elections (vote percentage of winning seats):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>30.87%</td>
<td>8.65%</td>
<td>8.32</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>10.79%</td>
<td>11.58%</td>
<td>5.43%</td>
<td>17.63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML(N)</td>
<td>17.37%</td>
<td>29.68%</td>
<td>20.14%</td>
<td>64.79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI/IJM</td>
<td>5.48%</td>
<td>5.44%</td>
<td>5.42%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML-J</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIF</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.60%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>4.75%</td>
<td>3.82%</td>
<td>0.28%</td>
<td>0.57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDM</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.40%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI-D</td>
<td>1.37%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.85%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table-9 NWFP-National Elections (vote percentage of all contesting seats):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>22.54%</td>
<td>22.51%</td>
<td>10.73%</td>
<td>10.13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>18.40%</td>
<td>15.00%</td>
<td>14.19%</td>
<td>19.12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML(N)</td>
<td>27.28%</td>
<td>23.74%</td>
<td>22.66%</td>
<td>37.18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI/IJM</td>
<td>8.85%</td>
<td>20.57%</td>
<td>10.75%</td>
<td>7.99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML-J</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4.89%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML(N)</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI/IJM</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML-J</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIF</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDM</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-11 NWFP-Provincial Elections (vote percentage of winning seats)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>10.23%</td>
<td>2.75%</td>
<td>12.03%</td>
<td>1.39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>6.12%</td>
<td>12.05%</td>
<td>9.62%</td>
<td>33.58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML(N)</td>
<td>14.05%</td>
<td>21.98%</td>
<td>10.34%</td>
<td>50.05%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI/IJM</td>
<td>1.14%</td>
<td>0.53%</td>
<td>0.62%</td>
<td>0.46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML-J</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.12%</td>
<td>1.55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIF</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.62%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>7.36%</td>
<td>7.36%</td>
<td>5.96%</td>
<td>3.79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDM</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.10%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table-12 NWFP-Provincial Elections (vote percentage of all contesting seats)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>20.03%</td>
<td>15.58%</td>
<td>18.19%</td>
<td>10.69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>14.67%</td>
<td>14.58%</td>
<td>14.77%</td>
<td>21.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML(N)</td>
<td>24.90%</td>
<td>26.32%</td>
<td>20.89%</td>
<td>30.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI/IJM</td>
<td>7.93%</td>
<td>9.91%</td>
<td>3.60%</td>
<td>2.87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML-J</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6.87%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIF</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6.75%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>7.36%</td>
<td>7.36%</td>
<td>5.96%</td>
<td>3.79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others/IND(losers)</td>
<td>25.11%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>22.97%</td>
<td>30.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Conclusion:**

It has been found that voters of NWFP are rational and know very well how to propagate their interests and to whom they should show their favour and who are at their preferences. They know the political channel by which their voice is percolated to the decision making bodies. Here the words of American political thinker V. O. Key is very particular to the situation that ‘... voters are not fools’. The people of NWFP preferred the national parties in their voting choice at national and provincial level. It has also been observed that any kind of advantage, got by religious or nationalist parties, was due to the policy of seat adjustment with the national parties or their coalitions like IJI/PML-N and PPP/PDA. The political behavior of the people of NWFP was seemingly less influenced by the ideological and primordial concerns. Seemingly socio-political concerns in the realm of utility had more effects on the psyche of voters while making their voting decisions. So the spatial model was workable in the context of electoral behavior of the people of NWFP. In this model at the level of the individual voter, spatial model suggests that voters support parties which are closest to their issue positions. So major parties like PPP and PML-N or their coalitions got the more votes/seats as compared to other regional or Islamic parties. Overall voters supported to the parties rather than the individual. It had also observed that group identification and social networking had an exuberant influence on peoples' political beliefs and behavior. They guided the political decision of the voters as a norm in voting. Although it is at variance with some other views notably an "interests" model of politics which claim that people form political beliefs and act in political fashion largely depending on the issues which confront them. Both of these models are truly fit for the judgment of political culture of this region and depicted the features of political behaviour which were seemingly mature. People of this region went for those entities which truly represented the voice and interests of this region and which could be more effective after the election at national and

---

34 Spatial model is also called proximity theory. In this model voter and party’s position with reference to issue is close to each other. Robert Rohrschneider, Mobilizing versus chasing: how do parties target voters in election campaigns?, No.21, *Electoral Studies*, 2001, p.369, pp.367-382.
provincial level in policy and decision making. It was verifiable by the strength of independent candidates which seemingly decreased at national and provincial level by having the comparative view of these four elections in above given tables.

Empirical evidence of voting behaviour have been observed in the analysis of NWFP elections from 1988 to 1997 which were endorsed by the response of the voters on questions no.20,21 and 22,related to the choice of parties. It was reflected in the answers that 71 percent(23 respondents) gave their favour to national parties among the thirty two respondents on question 20, while four have not answered. It showed that majority had their decision in favour of national parties and it was endorsed by the findings of the analysis of electoral data. The people of NWFP gave very positive response on the questions which were asked about the influence of factors and issues over voting decisions. The response of questionnaire over the issues of personal needs and desires was 90%; over national interest was 50%; over development agenda it was 74%. These responses verified the findings of electoral data and depicted that people remained aligned with those parties which were better organized, having practical approach and better delivering capacity. It was also came out in response of question four in which it was asked that how far a voter considers the opinion of community in his/her voting decision. It reflected that 65% were in close association with the community in getting information and sharing it to reach a consensus for their voting decisions. This political attitude of people showed that they are political conscious and knew their local patterns of political interaction by which they can transform their choice into political will.
CHAPTER- 5
ELECTORAL POLITICS OF PUNJAB

5.1. A Historical Review

The word Punjab literally means five waters or five rivers. The province took its name from its five famous rivers, the Ravi, the Chenab, the Jhelum, the Sutlej and the Beas. The province is widely known to be a great wheat producing area. Punjab was ruled over by successive conquerors that attacked India. Mahmud of Ghazna made Lahore a province of his empire in 1020s. In 1186 Punjab was taken over by the Ghoris and after that it remained under the rule of Sultanate-i-Delhi. In this period the area of Cis-Sutlej remained cut off from the rest of the province and Punjab had to experience the invasions of Mongols. During the Sayyids’ dynasty from 1414 to 1451 AD most of the local governors and chiefs declared themselves independent from central rule. In the period of Mughals, its geography was redefined which extended from Peshawar to Delhi. In the period of Akbar Lahore was the head quarter of Mughal rule from 1584 to 1598 AD. After weakening of Mughal authority Punjab was incorporated in Abdali dominion in 1747AD. The Afghan revolution of 1809 facilitated the rise of a united Sikh government in the Punjab. Ranjit Singh conquered Jhang and Multan in 1820s. In 1839 Ranjit Singh was died and after him in 1846 A.D a council of regency was appointed by the British resident at Lahore.

British government assumed full control of Punjab on the occasion of its annexation on 29th March 1849.¹ Lord Dalhousie appointed a board of administration consisting of three members. In 1853 board was abolished and administration was entrusted to chief commissioner. John Lawrence became the first commissioner. In 1859A.D, the Punjab rose to full rank of an Indian province and Lawrence became its first lieutenant governor. After the annexation, Punjab was divided into seven divisions and twenty four districts. The divisional headquarters were located at Ambala, Jullundur, Amritsar, Lahore, Multan, Rawalpindi and Leah.² The Indian council act 1861 created legislatures in Madras and Bombay, directed the Governor-General to establish a council for Bengal, while in Punjab the matter was postponed year after year. Punjab was given legislative council in 1897, consisted of nine members, all nominated by the Lieutenant-

² Ibid.
Governor. In 1901 Lord Curzon cut off all the territory to the west of Indus from the Punjab and constituted the North West Frontier Province, to be administered by chief commissioner. Later through Montagu-Chelmsford reforms 1919, dyarchy was introduced in the provinces and Punjab was also one of those provinces where some of the subjects were transferred to the Indian ministers.

5.2. Political Trends of Pre-Partition Punjab

The trends of politics were very interesting in this region before partition when communal and non-communal parties like All India Muslim League and the Unionist contested the election against each other. It was the area where All India Muslim League could not hold offices of government before the partition. The first rural inter-communal political association within Punjab was formed in 1907 by Sardar Partap Singh which was later called Punjab Chief’s Association. This association was formed to keep in view the need of membership in the Punjab legislative council which had been formed in 1897. The chiefs were from landed aristocracy and later organized themselves into an organization called Unionists. Unionists had a good part of influence from the time of its appearance in 1923 and onwards.

Interests of the people were based on means of production that was mainly land which cut across the communal ties and formulated class consciousness to align themselves in the future course of politics of the province. In this regard the example of Land Alienation Act which was passed in 1901 to curb the influence of non-agriculturalist class. It encouraged the inter-communal political cooperation by recognition of rural Muslim, Hindu and Sikh’s common interests. This confluence of interests in Unionist made the appeal of all India Muslim League not with a difference. Due to its weak organizational structure and appeal only to the literate urban class

3 There had been a local government in the Punjab. In 1862 Montgomery issued an order enjoining the election of municipal committees annually by the delegates of panchayats. Municipalities were partly nominated and partly elected and they were created in 187 towns. W.W.Reinhardt, The Legislative Council of the Punjab 1897-1912, Ph.D. Duke University,1968,pp.3,8,236-37.
5 Unionist was formed by Mian Fazl-i-Hussain and Chhotu Ram in 1923. It functioned as a loose coalition of Muslim, Hindu and Sikh. Mian Fazal-i-Hussain(1877-1936), a lawyer and member Punjab Legislative Council for Muslim landholder’s seat. He was Minister for education in 1921, Revenue Minister 1926 and from 1930-5 member of Viceroy’s Executive Council. Chhotu Ram( 1882-1945) was also a lawyer. He was Agriculture Minister in 1924. He was the leader of Unionist Party and proponent of agrarian reform to curb the influence of money lenders. Ian Talbot, Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement, Oxford University Press, Karachi,1988, pp.82,103-04.
6 Ibid., p.84.
had made Muslim League only an urban party. While on the other side Unionists extended their influence by interacting with the rural folk through the British system of Zaildari. This influence was clearly depicted in the election 1937, unionists got 99 out of the 175 seats of Punjab provincial assembly. The All India Muslim League just managed two seats. After that it was the pact of Skinder Hayat, premier of Punjab and Jinnah at the Lucknow session of Muslim League in 1937 which enhanced the position of Muslim League that whipped up the enthusiasm for membership drive. The impact of this pact, better interaction with the rural communities and tours of Feroz Khan Noon, Shoukat Hayat in Punjab strengthened the position of Muslim League. After this Muslim League in Punjab provincial election, held in February 1946, secured 79 seats out of 175 in all and 84 were Muslim constituencies. In this election, Congress got 51; Akali Sikhs 22; Unionists 10 and independents 10, while by-election was pending in three constituencies. Sixteen of total were elected unopposed (11 from the Congress, 2 from the Unionists and 3 from Muslim League).

These trends of political behavior had been observed by Ian Talbot and Ayesha Jalal. Both gave their observation on the political alignments and groups influence in Muslim majority areas during the elections 1937 and 1946. According to Ian Talbot, ‘...however the personal influence of the candidates counted for far more than any party programme and organization. Loyalties to clan leader, landlord and pir were decisive in determining the outcome’. Ayesha Jalal remarked over 1937 elections that ‘...local influence was enough to get themselves [candidates] elected; and factional alliances seemed to give them enough freedom to play their hands both locally and provincially without the constraints of links with parties above or real organizations at the base’. These were the features of politics before partition which has been put under observation in the analysis of the electoral politics of this region. In the subsequent sections of this chapter it would be investigated that how far the diffusive nature of the politics

---

7 Zaildar was to render general assistance to all governmental officials in the circle, or zail, of usually ten to thirty villages under his control, to supervise the village headman and to act as an honorary police officer-in-charge of the village police. This post symbolized the importance of Punjabi landholders. Ian Talbot, ibid., Karachi, 1988, p83.
8 F.C.Bourne, chief secretary to the government of Punjab reported that Sir Feroz Khan Noon had resigned his post of defense minister in order to assist the Muslim League in the Punjab elections. A series of tours were led by Shoukat Hayat which spread over five weeks from October 23 to November 30, 1945. S.M.Asif Ali Rizvi, policy of the last elections in the British Punjab, Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society, July- September 1999, Vol. xlvii, No.3, p.32, pp.1-99.
9 M.Asif Ali Rizvi, ibid., p. 34.
10 Ian Talbot, opcit., p.40.
had blurred the vision of voters in the elections. It would also be explored that how far the people of this region were rational in making their electoral decisions. Before taking up the study of voting behavior it is necessary to have the view of some of the socio-economic patterns of the region to indicate the level of transformation of the society.

5.3. General Features of Punjab

Some of statistics are vital and helpful in understanding the development pattern of this region. According to 1998 census, literacy rate of this province was comparatively better as compared to Baluchistan and NWFP and Sindh. The area of Punjab is 205345 sq. km. Its population density was 358 and household size was 6.9.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Pakistan</th>
<th>NWFP</th>
<th>Punjab</th>
<th>Sindh</th>
<th>Baluchistan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All areas</td>
<td>43.9%</td>
<td>35.4%</td>
<td>46.6%</td>
<td>45.3%</td>
<td>24.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The comparison of the literacy from 1951 to 1981 showed that Punjab was relatively better than other regions of Pakistan except Sindh in the last two periods. The better level of literacy is helpful for the people to absorb the new developments because of their less receptive to the old ideas which had lost their vitality. So this is one of many indicators which depict the state of democracy in any country of the world.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NWFP</th>
<th>PUNJAB</th>
<th>SINDH</th>
<th>BALUCHISTAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>17.8%</td>
<td>13.2%</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
<td>16.3%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
<td>20.7%</td>
<td>30.2%</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>27.4%</td>
<td>31.5%</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Rural Pakistan-Figure Speaks Facts*, Pakistan Academy for Rural Development, Peshawar, Islamabad, 1986, p.22.
On behalf of the majority population of this province more seats have been assigned to this province. Its number is 115 out of total 217 in national assembly of Pakistan while seats of provincial assembly were 240 in total. The statistics of population has been given in table below (in 000 from 1961 to 1981, while for 1998 total statistics of population has been registered):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>PAKISTAN</th>
<th>PUNJAB</th>
<th>SINDH</th>
<th>NWFP</th>
<th>BALUCHISTAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>42880</td>
<td>25462</td>
<td>8367</td>
<td>5731</td>
<td>1353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>65309</td>
<td>37610</td>
<td>14156</td>
<td>8388</td>
<td>2429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>84254</td>
<td>47292</td>
<td>19029</td>
<td>11061</td>
<td>4332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>132352279</td>
<td>73621290</td>
<td>30439893</td>
<td>17743645</td>
<td>6505885</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


According to 1998 census its administrative units, called districts were 34; and it’s voting age personnel— 21 years and above— were 32, 650, 312, constituting 58.40% of total voting age personnel of Pakistan.

5.4. Electoral Analysis of the Punjab 1988-1997:

The political trends of the Punjab appeared stable in the sense that no such evidence of regional claims were projected by any political parties in the election campaign. People voted for the parties which were national in their outlook or they had given their preference to the independent candidates in some constituencies. Independent candidates and religious parties were in no such formidable position to alter the influence of major parties. Their program or personality had not affected the political sociology of the people of the region en-mass. The political game of this province was revolving around the party system. The leadership of the national/major parties was mindful about the development needs and the issues of concerns of this province. It was manifested in their parties’ election manifestoes which were seemingly more people oriented in terms of their welfare and development. On the other hand religious parties in this province have no such influence as had been seen in other regions of Pakistan like in Baluchistan and NWFP.
The question of political culture has been explored and identified on the basis of electoral results of National and Provincial elections of Punjab from 1988 to 1997. Results of National and Provincial elections have been presented in below given tables to understand the configuration of parties and their electoral strength in terms of vote and seats. Political culture in its operational terms is based on the political values which are in one-way measured through electoral process. The electoral process has become legitimized when people went for vote. So voting trend was also relatively good. It stood at 46.49% in 1988 and was much better from the other regions of Pakistan. In 1990 it stood at 49.61% that was also high from the other regions, in 1993 and 1997 it stood at 47.07% and 39.81% respectively and was high as compared to other areas of Pakistan.\(^{12}\)

Political parties play important role in the articulation of the interests of the people and in Pakistan their role was seemingly effective in the process of interest articulation that is why they had been accepted by the people in their political decisions. It was realized in the study that people’s social behavior was integrated into the political process through political parties on the basis of their priorities. It was judged in the analysis of electoral politics of Punjab from 1988 to 1997 that people were attached with national parties and had become part of national discourse and agenda. National parties’ position is visible in below given tables by gaining more votes and seats as compared to religious parties, smaller parties and independents. Religious parties were elbowed out as seen in their voting strength and as well in terms of their seats which is visible in below given tables. Why religious parties have not been accepted by the people? Was their program or ideological appeal not up to the expectations of the people? Why independents have to rely on the tickets of national parties in coming election? Why Pakistan Peoples Party’s seat adjustment with PML-J and PML-JC had not accrued the electoral benefits? These questions have been analyzed in the underlying different sections to show that how much the people of Punjab are political mature in their electoral decisions. In the first section, electoral performance of religious parties has been put under analysis in different constituencies to depict their electoral standing in response to their agenda.

**Results of National Assembly Seats in Punjab (115) Table-1:**

|-------|------|------|------|------|

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML-N</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML-J</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIF</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAI</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDP/ NDA*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPP-K</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUP-N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Vote Percentage of All Parties on All Contesting National Assembly Seats in Punjab:**
(percentage has been computed by the researcher) **Table-2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML-N</td>
<td>37.2%</td>
<td>49.46%</td>
<td>45.3%</td>
<td>59.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>39.7%</td>
<td>38.69%</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
<td>22.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML-J</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>1.01%</td>
<td>3.41%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML-N</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML-J</td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIF</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Results of Provincial Assembly Seats in Punjab (240) Table-3:
Vote Percentage of All Parties on All Contesting Provincial Assembly Seats in Punjab:
(percentage has been computed by the researcher) Table-4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML-N</td>
<td>34.98%</td>
<td>54.53%</td>
<td>40.35%</td>
<td>52.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>33.33%</td>
<td>29.75%</td>
<td>35.28%</td>
<td>19.49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML-J</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.57%</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML-JC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIF</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.60%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAT</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.53%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND(winners)</td>
<td>5.43%</td>
<td>2.68%</td>
<td>3.48%</td>
<td>3.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAI</td>
<td>4.86%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.60%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDP/NDA</td>
<td>0.39%</td>
<td>0.35%</td>
<td>0.41%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPP-K</td>
<td>0.97%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUP-N</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.76%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JUI-F/IJM</td>
<td>0.53%</td>
<td>0.40%</td>
<td>0.84%</td>
<td>0.07%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>17.42%</td>
<td>10.51%</td>
<td>10.45%</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


5.4.1. Role of Religion in the Politics of Punjab;

Religion constitutes an important element in the formation of cultural patterns, and provides the sacrosanct character to the different personnel and organizations by the mediation between the religious entity and the public. When its influence is accepted in determining the social behavior then it is transformed into an ideology. Role of religion cannot be denied in the social process of life and that is why some thinkers like Marx gave his views that ‘religion is the opiate of the masses and it has integrative function’. But on the other hand he also said that it is delusion for the lower strata, a mechanism to adjust them to their lot in life and to prevent them from recognizing them their true class interests. Tocqueville also recognized the opiate quality of religion…it is simply another form of hope.

The numerous definitions of ideology have been proffered, yet there is problem of uncertainties about the meaning of ideology. Giovanni Sartori has pointed out to one elemental distinction that ideology generally fall into two broad domains, namely ideology in knowledge and ideology in politics. With respect to the first area…to what extent man’s knowledge is ideologically conditioned or distorted. With respect to the second area of inquiry the question is whether ideology is an essential feature of politics and if so what does it explain. In the first case ‘ideology’ is contrasted with ‘truth’, science, and valid knowledge in general; whereas in the second case we are not concerned with the truth value but with the functional value, so to speak, of ideology. Ideology has often been used to refer to some sort of disembodied presence hovering over the political process. Indeed ideology refers to some identifiable characteristics that will stipulate that ‘ideology’ and ‘ideological’ are variables rather than constants. Edward

14 Op.cit.,
Edward Shills classic description of what he terms ‘ideological politics’ centers on the assumption that politics should be conducted from the standpoint of a coherent, comprehensive set of beliefs which must override other considerations.  

Islam as a raison d’être for the creation and existence of Pakistan had already influenced the religious leaders in the subcontinent to form the religious political parties. Some of these had their origin before the creation of Pakistan. Their main thrust behind their participation in electoral politics of Pakistan is to implement their ideological program without judging the social–psychological disposition of masses. It has been observed that they were very rhetoric in their appeal. So they could not amass the support of masses behind their appeal which was more abstract rather than practical. Here some of these religious parties have been mentioned which took part in the electoral politics like Jamm’at Islami, Jammiat Ulammi-i-Islam, Jammiat Ulamma-i-Pakistan, Pakistan Awami Tehreek of Tahir-ul-Qadri and Tehreek Nafaz Fiqa Jaffaria. In the elections, these parties sometimes became the part of coalition or remained separate to contest the elections. In the underlying section, the electoral performance of religious parties has been evaluated to know their political importance in the political system of Pakistan. In the politics of Punjab influence of religious parties is confined in a very few constituencies which was not convertible all the time into victory. It was the reason that religious parties preferred to be a coalitional partner of a big party rather than to contest the election from their own platform. The analysis will also determine that how far voters aligned with the religious parties. It has been realized in the analysis that religious parties took up the universal application of the ideology rather than its functional value. In this regard the role of Pakistan Islamic Front and other religious parties has been observed in below given sections.

### 5.4.2. Role of Pakistan Islamic Front (PIF)  

Jamm’at-e-Islami in its new incarnation as the Pakistan Islamic Front (PIF), appeared in 1993 to contest the election, and before this, it was part of a coalition named as Islami Jamhoori

---

18 Pakistan Islamic Front (PIF) comprises the rank and file of the Jamma’at-e-Islami and some retired army generals. It has been described as an alliance like other alliances which had been constituted among the religious parties like Islami Jamhoori Mahaz and the Muttahida Deeni Mahaz. The front was described as a forerunner for Jamma’at’s political role in coming elections. It was the brainchild of Qazi Hussain Ahmed who was influenced by the Algerian Islamic salvation front. It developed a personality cult and having no stress on its ideological program. It was eulogized by the party campaigners that social justice will be delivered to people’s door steps. Qazi himself accused the Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharief as corrupt and insincere and presented PIF as a possible third alternative, The Herald, Election Special, 1993, p. 19.
Ittehad (IJI) in the elections 1988 and 1990. This desertion of Jama‘at-e-Islami was the result of disintegration of IJI. Its stand in the election was unavoidable for the political existence of the party. So this religious party decided to contest the election 1993 by adopting a new name known as Pakistan Islamic Front (PIF). It has been observed that overall in Pakistan’s electoral politics role of religious parties was not very impressive. So keeping in view the performance of religious parties, Pakistan Islamic Front met its nemesis in the Punjab where it could not amass the voters behind its cause but proved as a spoiling factor for the PML (N) in some of the constituencies. However it was not big blow for a national party. In the analysis of the constituencies it appeared that the vote bank of PML-N was affected in four constituencies. So it showed that political stature of PIF was not very high that could help in its solo flight in the electoral politics to gain the votes. In N.A-44 Chakwal-ii, PIF acted as a spoiling factor and it affected the vote bank of PML-N. In this constituency PIF got 3.68% vote in 1993, PML-N got 43.35% and PPP got 48% vote. The difference of vote between PPP and PML-N was of 5 percent which was seemingly bagged by the PIF and became a cause in the defeat of PML-N. In this constituency IJI/PML-N remained victorious in 1988, 1990 and in 1997 elections. In N.A-61 Faisalabad-v, results were the same as it had been observed in the previous constituency. PIF became the main factor for the PML-N defeat. In this constituency winning party got 48.64% vote, while PML-N and PIF got 46.66% and 2.31% vote respectively in 1993. In this constituency IJI/PML-N was a winning party in 1988, 1990 and 1997 elections. In N.A-62 Faisalabad-vi, again PIF became the factor of PML-N’s defeat. In this constituency winning part PPP got 45.46% vote and, PML-N and PIF got 45.31% and 4.85% vote respectively while IJI/PML-N remained successful in the elections 1988, 1990 and 1997 in this constituency. In N.A-67 Jhang-ii, PIF with the voting strength of 5.58% affected the vote bank of PML-N, which got 1% less vote from that of PPP’s 46.30%. PPP won this seat with this slight margin. It was observed that in this constituency PML (N) remained victorious in 1990 and 1997 elections. Why the Islamic front had a weak base in electoral politics? There were some explicit reasons of its weakness in electoral arena which will be explained in the analysis of the constituencies. The trend of weakness of Pakistan Islamic Front was visible in N.A-37 Rawalpindi-ii when a candidate of PIF— Raja Muhammad Zaheer Khan— was defeated in 1993 election by getting only 5.34% vote while in 1988 and 1990 elections he stood on the ticket of IJI and won the seats by carrying 43.97% and 53.73% vote respectively. Same kind of trend was seen in N.A-49
Sargodha-iii when a candidate of IJI Mr Muhammad Iqbal Cheema won the elections 1988,1990 on the ticket of IJI by getting 51.92% and 47.93% vote respectively but he lost badly in 1993 election by getting only 7.36% vote, which he contested on the ticket of PIF. Weakness of such party had been endorsed by the defeat of their ticket holders. It could be said that role of its leadership and party’s programme was not appealing for ordinary person. In spite of having better organizational structure in terms of regular elections in the party for office bearers and a criterion for the new inductee, it could not align the floating voters. So it reflected its flawed popular appeal which was more idealistic. So voters judged that idealistic appeal in its manifesto was rhetorical and out of practical concerns, could not bring the tangible benefits at hand for them. Second was its electoral manifesto that lacked the competing concerns of the different segments of society and therefore could not win the favours of the voters. So the public was clear in the understanding of the yawning gap between the theory and practice which PIF tried to fulfill only in rhetoric.

Pakistan Islamic Front (PIF) got 2.4% vote share in the national constituencies of the province of Punjab, while in provincial constituencies it got 2.60% vote along with two seats that it won in the election. When religious parties were the part of a coalition—comprised of national and big parties—then their influence appeared on the basis of national and big parties. It was not their influence in the victory of the candidates. In PP-1 Rawalpindi-i, Mr Afzal Ejaz was the candidate of IJI in 1988,1990 elections and won the seats by getting 40.88%, 63.61% votes respectively. In 1993 he stood on the ticket of Pakistan Islamic Front (PIF) and was defeated badly by getting only 4.75% vote. This showed that vote was of big national party-PML in real terms because in 1993 and 1997 elections Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) won the seats and got 57.69% and 66.79% vote respectively. In PP-3 Rawalpindi-iii, Muhammad Hanif Chaudhry was the candidate of IJI in 1990 provincial election which he won by getting 96.85% vote but in 1993 election he stood on the ticket of PIF, he lost the seat by getting only 3.5% vote. In PP-96 Gujrat- vi, Chaudhry Muhammad Aslam was the candidate of IJI in 1990 provincial election which he won by getting 58.43% vote, while he stood on the PIF ticket in 1993 election in which he lost the seat by getting only 15.47% vote. In PP-127 Lahore-xii, Mahmood-ur-Rasheed won the elections 1988 and 1990 on the ticket of IJI by getting 44.98% and 64.58% vote respectively. He contested the election 1993 on the ticket of Pakistan Islamic Front (PIF) which he lost with 5% voting strength. In N.A-97 Lahore-vi Mr Liaquit Baloch was the candidate of IJI in 1990 election
and he won the seat by getting 54.30% vote. In 1993 election he was the candidate of Pakistan Islamic Front and defeated badly by getting only 8.43% vote. His victory in 1990 was due to the voting strength of a big/major party of the coalition. In N.A-98 Lahore-vii, Mian Muhammad Usman was the candidate of IJI in 1998 and 1990 election and he won the seats by getting 47.76% and 52.79% vote respectively. He got the same treatment in 1993 election with which Mr Liaquit Baloch met when he contested the election on the platform of PIF. He lost the seat and got only 5.18% vote. Same happened to Chaudhry Nazir Ahmed Virk who won the seat in N.A-102 Sheikhupura-ii in 1990 on the ticket of IJI by getting 33.02% vote but he lost the seat in 1993 election when he stood on the ticket of PIF by getting only 5.50% vote.

Whereas electoral performance of Islamic front was not impressive, it was seen that other religious parties and their electoral alliances had also not made a dent in the core or unaligned voters of other parties. Their performance in respect of voting has evaluated which showed that their impact was peripheral on voters’ decisions. When a question was asked form the voters of the Punjab in the questionnaire about the choice of parties in questions 20, 21 and 22 for national, religious and regional/nationalist parties, the response was very encouraging which verified the above said findings. Among the 169 respondents the choice for national parties was 96 percent; for religious parties it was 11 percent from 169 respondents while no one opted for regional/nationalist parties. Questionnaire and responses are attached at the end.

**5.4.3. Role of Other Religious Parties and Their Electoral Alliances;**

The role of religious parties, other than PIF was even more minimal. Such parties attempted to enhance their role through electoral alliances. Religious parties, Jammit Ulamma-i-Islam(fazal-ur-Rehman) and Jammiat Ulamma-i-Pakistan(Noorani) contested the elections in their individual status and it proved complete failure. Same was the fate of their alliances and some of other alliances of religious parties like IJM\(^{19}\) and MDM\(^{20}\).

JUI-F took only one seat in 1988 provincial election, while MDM took two seats in 1993 and one seat in 1997 provincial elections. In National Assembly elections JUI-F/IJM got no seat in any election, while JUP-N got three seats in 1990 election and MDM secured one seat in 1993.

---


In the national elections the vote percentage was very poor of these religious parties and their electoral performance was like that of smaller parties in gaining the votes.

JUI-F/IJM got 0.45% vote in 1988, 0.10% in 1990 and 0.37% in 1993 National Assembly elections, while in 1997 it has been lumped with all religious parties which took part in election, and therefore its voting strength has been counted with all religious parties which stood at 0.47%. Performance of this religious party was also same in provincial elections of Punjab. It got 0.53% vote in 1988 provincial election, 0.40% in 1990, 0.84% in 1993 and 0.07% in 1997.

Jammiat Ulammi Pakistan-Noorani(JUP-N) was the part of Pakistan Awami Ittehad(PAI) which was formed in 1988 with the Tehreek-i-Istaqlal of Asghar Khan. This alliance could not affect the electoral patterns of this region. JUP-N contested the 1990 election from its own platform but its performance was not with the difference from other religious parties. It got 1.75% vote in 1990 National Assembly election in Punjab and 0.76% vote in provincial election of this province. In Punjab it won one seat of NA-115 Multan-ii where its candidate was Hamid Seed Kazami. In 1993 and 1997 it gave the space either to Muttahida Deni Mhaz (MDM) or Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf(PTI) because it decided to boycott the elections, otherwise it was also lumped with the performance of all religious parties as the case of JUI-F/IJM which was less than one percent of the total vote cast in both these elections.

Muttahida Deni Mhaz(MDM), a coalition of religious parties in 1993 election, comprised of several large and small sunni religious parties, the most significant being the JUI-Sami-ul-Haq Group and the Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan(SSP). Mutthahida Deni Mhaz (MDM) got 1.07% vote in national election of the province while in provincial election it got 1.02% vote, not very impressive. Their weak electoral position had not affected the voting pattern of the province in spite of their boycott of elections. In Punjab the trend of seat adjustment has not been observed as it was seen in NWFP between JUI-F and PPP. It was assumed that weak electoral strength of religious parties has not enticed the larger parties to be a coalitional partner in the elections. If a candidate won the seat in any election on the ticket of any religious party, it was probably the influence of that candidate, because after that election, candidate stood on the ticket of national party in the next election and his/her vote percentage increased. It was also possibility that in the coming elections neither candidate nor religious party was seen in the electoral contest. In PP-

---

21 Two of the more prominent religious parties, the Jammat-i-Islami and Jammiat Ulammi-e-Pakistan-Noorani decided to boycott the elections in 1997.

Mr. Javed Mahmood Ghuman contested the election 1988 on the ticket of Jammiat Ulamm-i-Isalm Fazal-ur-Rehman and won it by getting 28.03% vote but in coming elections both candidate and party were absent.

If a candidate had good standing and repute in his constituency then he tried to stand on the ticket of a national party and avoid contesting the election on the platform of a religious party. Same kind of case has been observed in NA-135 Muzaffargarh-i and NA-136 Muzaffargarh-ii. Mr. Qayyum Jatoi was the candidate of JUP-N in 1990 in NA-135 Muzaffargarh-i and won the election but in the election 1993 he stood on the ticket of PML-N and in 1997 on the ticket of PPP. Mr. Atta Muhammad Qureshi contested four elections, first one on the ticket of IJI in 1988 and lost the seat; of 1990 on the ticket of JUP-N and won it, while in the elections 1993 and 1997 he stood on the ticket of PML-N. He lost the election 1993 to Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan but he won the election 1997.

In some constituencies like PP-99 Gujrat-ix, influence of national party has replaced the reminiscent of religious party. In this constituency, there was overawed influence of PPP/PDA and IJI/PML-N. In the election 1990 Muhammad Tariq Tarar was the candidate of Jammiat Ulamm-e-Pakistan Noorani, he got 21.30% vote and also lost the seat but in 1993 election, he stood on the ticket of PPP and won the seat by getting 58.06% vote.

This analysis of religious parties has showed that their stance on the issues has not constituted the favourable perception of masses for their cause. It was found that religious parties’ organization comparatively seems better but its impact in mobilizing the masses over different issues remained almost weak. So that is why their electoral performance was abysmally poor. It was also reflected that voters had rationally weighed the pros and cons of their electoral decisions and rejected the religious parties in majority of their decisions. It was the difference of socio-economic development of this region which mobilized the masses along those political values which had considerable impact on the perception of the voters. They gave preference to those parties which were effective in their program, organization, leadership and candidature and these parties were near to their issues. So proximity model is better suited to judge the position of the voters who rationally aligned with the parties in the four elections which had the capacity to win the elections. It was felt that socio-economic bases were also very cardinal in the decisions of the voters, and political parties which took up this cause were supported by the voters.

5.5. Role of Smaller/Minor Parties in the Electoral Politics of Punjab
Presence of smaller or minor parties gave the impression of multi-party system of a country and their origin has varied causes. Opinion is much divided over their electoral strength which could be judged by their voting strength, party membership and number of representatives in the parliament. There are two distinct types of minor parties: personality parties and permanent minority parties. The former are purely parliamentary groups having no real party organization in the country and no true social sub-structure. Some are composed of the retinue of some very influential personage of families to whom they are attached for reasons of prestige or favour. Other parties are more egalitarian in their character. From another angle it would be possible to distinguish between independent minor parties, which are not directly linked with any of the major parties and the satellites. The personality minor parties are in general fairly fluid and shifting. They correspond to caucus parties, with weak organization, a high degree of decentralization. They are not generally based upon any doctrine. The other category, permanent minority groups do not exist at parliamentary level: they dispose of an organization in the country either national or local. By their structure they are mass parties. They are based upon a social or political sub-structure. They correspond to a section of public opinion strongly minority minded but relatively stable. They can be distinguished upon ethnical or geographical minorities, religious minorities and upon political minorities.

Pakistan has had these combinations of minor parties in which factions with such kind of characteristics are also included but they will have additional quality of being satellite of any major party. Political parties which revolve around the personalities in this period of four elections of Pakistan were followings: Tehreeik-i-Insaaf, Tehreek-i-Istaqlal, Pakistan Muslim League-Junejo, Pakistan Muslim League–Junejo Chattha, Pakistan Peoples Party Shaheed Bhutto and National Peoples Party etc.

All these smaller parties had not showed very impressive electoral strength in the elections of Pakistan. Their failure in garnering the support of the masses could be assigned to the factors like weak organization, no effective party program and unimpressive candidature for electoral contest. The leader of the faction or the party around him/her whole electoral activity was wheeling was exceptional in gaining the votes from the constituency in which he/she or his/her

23 This unit might equally well be called a committee, a clique, or a coterie. It consists of small number of members and seeks no expansion. Maurice Duverger, *Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State*, trans., Barbara and Robert North, London, 1967, p. 19

family was regularly contesting the elections. But their victory was not regular phenomenon. The leadership of smaller/minor parties knew well their electoral weaknesses and shortcomings which forced them to have a policy of seat adjustment with major parties. Therefore they either made the electoral alliances with other smaller parties or with the big parties to enhance their bargaining position. They made preferably seat adjustment with major parties to retain their individual posture as a party. One such alliance of smaller parties called as Pakistan Awami Ittehad (PAI) was formed in 1988.

Pakistan Awami Ittehad (PAI) was the alliance of Tehreek-i-Istaqlal and Jammiat Ulamma-i-Pakistan-Noorani to contest the election 1988. Its performance was weak due to some of the factors which have been described above. It got three seats in the national election contest of 1988 in Punjab and its voting percentage was 5.8%. In 1988 provincial election of Punjab, it got two seats while its voting strength was 4.86%. PAI performance was also not good in NWFP. In national assembly contest it got no seat and its vote was 2.38 percent. In provincial contest of NWFP, it again did not win a single seat and its vote was 1.10%. So more or less, this alliance did not perform well in the election in all the regions of Pakistan.

The other smaller party, Pakistan Tahreek-i-Insaf (PTI) has been taken up for analysis due to renowned personality of its head, Imran Khan. After retirement from cricket, he organized a political party—PTI, and made political debut in 1997 election. Due to some weaknesses in the party organization, its less impressive candidature for electoral contest and less percolating effect of its program to the ordinary voters had relegated its role as a minor or smaller party. It did not

25 Air Marshal (Retd) Asghar Khan sought premature retirement in 1965 to enter the political arena with his newly formed Justice party. Justice party was folded up soon after, but late in 1970 when popular movement against Yahya Khan gained momentum, Asghar Khan made another attempt at politics and Tehreek-e-Istaqlal was born. He endowed the new party with a progressive program, advocating the replacement of feudal system with the just new socio-economic order, *The Herald*, Election Special, 1988, pp. 17-18.

26 The Jammiat-e-Ulamma-e-Pakistan (JUP-N) was formed by Shah Ahmed Noorani on the eve of 1970 election. Other prominent leaders of JUP were Maulana Sattar Niaza, Secretary General of the party, Professor Shah Fareed ul Haq, Pir Barakat Ali Shah, Mufti Muhammad Hussain Gen. (Retd) K.M. Azhar and Gen. (Retd) M.H. Ansari. JUP manifesto made usual commitment to the enforcement of Nizam-e-Mustafa but also promised to distribute land among landless peasants and universal conscription to strengthen army. JUP has no formal labour or peasant wing. Even its student wing, the Anjuman Tulaba-e-Islam is weakly structured, *The Herald*, Election Special, 1988, pp. 19.

27 Pakistan Awami Ittehad (PAI) was disintegrated in 1990 and for other elections. Its coalitional partner, Tehreek-i-Istaqlal joined the Pakistan peoples party in 1990 election, that coalition was named Pakistan Democratic Alliance (PDA). While JUP was divided into two factions in 1990, one was lead by Noorani himself and other was lead by Abdul Sattar Niazi, called JUP-Niazi group. In 1993 JUP-Noorani joined JUI-F and formed the Islami Jamooree Mahaz (IJM) for electoral contest, *The Herald*, Election Special, 1990, p. 26; *The Herald*, Election Special, 1993.

28 Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf was taken up as a spoiling factor for the big parties and election 1997 was considered a learning experience for the party, *The Herald*, Election Special, February, 1997, pp. 48-49.
win a single seat and could not make a dent in the constituencies of major parties. In 1997 election, its vote strength was 1.73% in the national election of Punjab while in provincial election its vote was 1.64%. This performance of PTI could depict the future role of the party in the electoral politics of Pakistan. The role of other smaller parties like Awami Tehreek of Tahir ul Qadri and Tehreek-i- Istaqlal of Asghar khan was also not different from the role of PTI. In the table 2 and 4 performance of all smaller parties is visible in national and provincial elections in terms of their vote percentage. Role of Pakistan Awami Tehreek\(^\text{29}\) and National Peoples Party\(^\text{30}\) was not different from the other smaller parties. National Peoples Party’s performance in Sindh was not impressive in the election 1988 in spite of the roots of its leadership in the region. Its chief Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi lost from all his constituencies which were considered his ancestral seats. Later Jatoi himself was elected from Punjab in by-election on a seat which was vacated by Ghulam Mustafa Khar from Kot Addu.

5.6. Role of Independent Candidates in the Electoral Politics of Punjab:
Independent candidates’ stance in the electoral politics depended upon two or three factors by which they could be successful in winning the seats of the assemblies. Some of the factors were general in nature and character which influenced the voters in one way or the other. The factors are the followings:

- Candidate’s personality and character counts in influencing the voter’s decision;
- Candidate’s role in delivering patronage and maintain interaction with community networks;

\(^{29}\) Pakistan Awami Tehreek was formed before the election 1990 by professor Dr. Tahir-ul-Qadri, as a political organization. He had his religious charity in the name of Minhaj-ul-Quran. He served in the Law Department of Punjab University and also headed the mosque of Ittefaq Foundry, owned by Sharief family. This association with Sharief family boasted his political thrust. After the electoral contest of 1990 where it had showed very poor and abysmal performance, decided not to contest the coming elections. *The Herald*, Election Special, 1990, pp.26-27.

\(^{30}\) The National Peoples Party (NPP) was formed by Ghulam Mustafa Khan Jatoi in August 1986, once regarded as a front ranking leader of Pakistan Peoples Party. Due to some differences with the leadership of Pakistan Peoples Party, he deserted the party along with other defector like Mustafa Khar, Ex-Governor of Punjab in the era of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. At its second annual council session held in Karachi in September 1988, the NPP came across as a reasonably organized political party that sought to occupy the middle ground in politics. It suffered a major setback in October 1988 when Jatoi’s counterpart in the Punjab, the imprisoned Ghulam Mustafa Khar, disassociated himself from the NPP in protest against Jatoi’s joining hands with the government and accepting cabinet positions in Sindh for some of his party men. Later Mustafa Khar announced his own faction as NPP-K and it took independent stand in the election 1988. In the election 1990 Mustafa Jatoi submitted his papers from Nawabshah and Sialkot. *The Herald*, Election Special, 1988, p.13; *The Herald*, Election Special, 1990, pp.22-23;
• Role of a traditional families and the character of the candidate both influence the voting pattern.

These factors were not exclusive for the independents candidates. They were relevant for the general political pattern of a constituency and were identifiable in all the regions of Pakistan with some little variations. So that is why the position of independent candidates was not very impressive in terms of winning seats and getting votes. National Assembly results of this region showed that position of independents was not very impressive. They won the 12 seats in 1988 election, 6 in 1990, 5 in 1993 and 6 in 1997 election. In terms of vote they secured 14.6% vote in 1988, 7.97% in 1990, 5.9% in 1993 and 10.76% in 1997. Their position in the provincial elections was also not very impressive in terms of vote. They secured double digits seats in provincial elections but their voting strength depicted their less influence among the voters of Punjab. They secured 33 seats in 1988, 14 in 1990, 18 in 1993 and 21 in 1997 while their vote on winning seats stood at 5.43% in 1988, 2.68% in 1990, 3.48% in 1993 and 3.72% in 1997.

Seemingly their future was depended upon the role of major parties in the elections. If parties were absent in a constituency then they could take advantage of that position or some time parties’ structure and candidates were weak which have left no option for the voters except to elect the independent candidate. Some of the constituencies projected traditional look and there was possibility that a scion of an influential family could win the elections.

In the constituencies NA-137 Muzaffargarh-iii and NA-138 Muzaffargarh-iv, Ghulam Mustafa Khar won the elections 1988, 1990, 1993 independently or in the name of his own party—National Peoples Party. In NA-133 D.G.Khan-cum-Rajanpur, Legari family has had an influence. Legari family won all the four elections in this constituency. Member of this family either have the party ticket or not they can conjure up their position to make the election safe. It was the traditional constituency of Farooq Ahmed Khan Legari, President of Pakistan in the second tenure of Benazir Bhutto 1993-1996. He was the important member of Pakistan Peoples Party and always supported the cause of democracy, but he dissolved the Assembly of his patron on the pretext of corruption and breakdown of administrative machinery in 1996. It was then natural for him to contest the election either independently or from some other platforms. His cousin Jaffar Khan Legari contested the election from this constituency in 1997 independently and won the election by getting 50.42% vote while his opponent the candidate of PPP got only 7.11% vote.
Another trend which simmered out in the analysis was related to the strategy of the independents who won the seats in any election, tried to contest the next one on party tickets. Major parties were their first choice in getting their tickets to contest the elections. They were convinced about the role of major parties in the electoral politics of Pakistan because of their influences. Major parties had an impact over the psyche of the voters and helped them to identify the issues of political importance. Major Parties penetrated among the masses by their program and by the appeal of their leadership. They articulated the interests of the masses and gave them political language to mark their local or national importance. They were above the parochial concerns in the process of electioneering. So that is why they were perceived as a threat to the families which have their strongholds in the constituencies. An independent candidate in one election tried to get the ticket of major party to contest the next election and strengthened the bargaining position vis-a-vis other parties and opponent candidates. Such kind of trend was seen in different constituencies. In NA-54 Mianwali, Sher Afgan’s victory as an independent candidate in 1993 could be assigned to the absence of the strong national party like PPP. He could not take risk to contest the next election as an independent candidate. So he got the ticket of PPP to contest the election 1997. In NA-55 Bakhar-i, in 1997 election and in NA-56 Bakhar-ii in 1993 election, PPP remained absent to support the independent candidates and they not only won the election but also increased their voting strength. In NA-44 Chakwal-ii, Mrs. Fouzia Behram fought the election 1993 independently and got 3.68% vote, but in 1997, she contested the election on the ticket of PML(JC) and secured 32.70% of vote. So difference in vote was explicit due to the position of the candidate in the election which was contested independently and on party ticket.

There is analysis of other constituencies to show the trends of voters in respect of independent candidates and as well the position of the candidate to contest the election either on party ticket or not.

**NA-36 Rawalpindi-i:**

Shahid Khaqan Abbasi won the election 1988 as an independent candidate by getting 34.89%, while he contested the other elections on the ticket of IJI/PML-N, he not only won the seats but also gained more votes as compared to his independent position. He secured 59.55% vote in 1990, 57.32% in 1993 and 60.17% in 1997.

**NA-46 Jhelum –ii:**
Iqbal Mehdi Khan was an independent candidate in 1988 election and won that seat by getting 41.92% vote. He contested the elections 1990, 1993 and 1997 on the ticket of IJI/PML-N and won all the times. He secured more votes as compared to his independent position in 1988. He got 49.73% in 1990, 50.87% in 1993 and 61.81% in 1997.

**NA-52 Khushab:**
Malik Khuda Baksh won the election 1988 independently by getting 47.66% vote while he contested the election 1990 on the ticket of IJI and secured more votes. He won the seat by getting 48.24% vote.

**NA-75 Hafizabad:**
Afzal Hussain Tarar contested the election 1990 as an independent candidate and won the seat with 38.21% vote. He contested the other elections on the party ticket and performed better as compared to previous election. He was the candidate of PML-N in 1993 and won the seat with 41.28% vote. In these two elections there was no big difference of turn out and of register vote of the constituency. So usual increase in register and turn out ratio had not an effect on the performance of the candidate but rather it was the influence of the political party which gave more votes to the candidate. So votes of the candidate were 46.66% in 1990 and 47.40% in 1993 respectively.

**NA-108 Kasur-iii:**
Rana Muhammad Hayat won the election 1990 as an independent candidate with the number of the votes he secured, were 51189. He contested the election 1993 on the ticket of PML-N and lost the seat but got more votes as compared to previous election. The votes he secured in 1993 were 54380. The turnout of this constituency in 1993, was 50.06 percent, while in 1990 it was 49.85 percent, which had showed a slight change of one percent. So again this little bit difference in turn out ratio of the constituency had not a considerable influence in the performance of the candidate. It was the impact of the political party which mobilized the voters.

**NA-130 Vehari-ii:**
Akbar Ali Bhatti won the elections 1988,1990 on the ticket of IJI by getting 53.11% and 38.33% vote respectively. He contested the 1997 election independently in which he not only lost the seat but also got the fewer votes as compared to previous elections. He got 34.16% vote.

**5.6.1. Analysis of the Independent Candidates’ Electoral Performance in the Provincial Constituencies:**
In the provincial elections, results were not very much different which had been observed in the national electoral contest. It had been observed in the analysis that independent candidates had an appeal in some of the constituencies. It could be said about those constituencies that there might be the influence of traditional forces due to the slow pace of social transformation. It could be surmised that they were succeeded in some of the constituencies due to their strong interaction with the community. They were successful in activating intra and inter-community relationships through their regular support and patronage to the personnel of different groups and factions which in turn aligned themselves with the candidates rather than with the parties. There was also a vacuum which had been left by the parties deliberately to support indirectly the candidate due to the number of factors ranges from strong primordial concerns to weak instrumental political values. Sometimes political parties have no strong candidate to award him/her a ticket of the party for the election. So the policy of adjustment between the candidate of the constituency and the political party was seemingly favourable for both the candidate and party, because in case of winning the seat by the independent candidate whom party was backing in the election, was prospectively support the political party after the election in the process of government formation. So it was the reciprocal support of both entities for each other which mobilized the voters in the election, and by their participation, political process was legitimized. Independents’ winning seats were 33 in 1988, 14 in 1990, 18 in 1993 and 21 in 1997 out of total seats of 240 of the Punjab Assembly. Their vote percentage was also not very impressive; it was 5.43% in 1988, 2.68% in 1990, 3.48% in 1993 and 3.72% in 1997. The voting strength of the independent candidates was not different from that of smaller and religious parties.

It has been observed in the analysis that whenever independents felt that their position was weak at the time of their next electoral contest, then they tried to get the ticket of any major party in the election to secure their seat. If they failed to get the ticket of any major party then their electoral position fell sharply. It meant that parties had their penetration in most of the constituencies of this province. Here some of the constituencies are being analyzed for the above said generalizations.

**PP-2 Rawalpindi-ii:**

Badshah Khan Afridi was the candidate of PML-N in 1993 and won the seat by getting 57.99% vote. He took independent stand in 1997 election, possibility is that he could not get the ticket of any major party, and lost the seat to the candidate of PML-N. He got only 14.79% vote. Akhter
Mahmood was the candidate of PML-N in 1997 and he got 55.98% vote. He contested the election 1990 as an independent candidate in which he lost the seat by getting only 2.57% vote. This showed that an ordinary candidate of 1990 had elevated to the ladder of victory in 1997 when he had a platform of popular major party, PML-N.

**PP-8 Rawalpindi-viii:**
Raja Ashfaq Sarwar Khan won the election 1988 as an independent candidate with 37.38% vote. He contested the latter elections on the ticket of IJI/PML-N due to the popularity of the parties and its increasing role in mobilizing the voters on different issues. He won all the other elections. He got 75.08% vote in 1990, 47.05% in 1993 and 53.82% vote in 1997.

**PP-9 Rawalpindi-viii:**
Muhammad Yamin won the election 1988 as an independent candidate with 47.02% vote. He contested the elections 1990 and 1993 on the party tickets of IJI and PML-J. He won in 1990 by getting 63.84% vote but lost the seat in 1993 by getting only 38.39% vote. His defeat in 1993 election was caused by the less popularity and influence of PML-J in 1993. PML-J was not considered a big party and placed in the criterion of smaller party due to its unorganized structure and coterie of few influential personnel who have no ideological leanings and commitment.

**PP-22 Jhelum-iii:**
Raja Nasir Ali Khan was an independent candidate in 1988 and at that time he was indirectly supported by IJI due to its absence from the electoral contest. He got 39.48% vote. He contested the election 1990 on the ticket of IJI and won the seat by getting 57.31% vote. In 1993 he was either not awarded the ticket or he himself took independent stand to contest the election. He not only lost the election but his vote also fell to 11.53%.

**PP-27 Sargodha-v:**
In this constituency Chaudhry Farrukh Javed Ghuman won the election 1990 as an independent candidate and in the election 1993 he contested on the ticket of PML-N. He took an independent stand in 1997 election which could be assigned to the non-availability of ticket. In spite of winning of previous two elections, he lost this to the candidate of PML-N which endorsed that party had an effective role in mobilizing the people on various issues and the role of  

---

31 The Pakistan Muslim League-Junejo termed the rump of the united PML after Nawaz Sharief and his followers formed their separate party in 1993. It has a seat adjustment with Pakistan Peoples Party in this election. Party’s secretary general was Iqbal Ahmed Khan and President was Hamid Nassir Chattha, *The Herald*, Election Special, 1993, p.18.
independents have been relegated and marginalized. His vote bank also fell down from that of 1990 and 1993.

**PP-34 Khushab-ii:**
Malik Khuda Baksh contested all elections from 1988 to 1997 but won two of them. First two elections, 1988 and 1990 he won. He contested 1988 as an independent candidate and the other on the ticket of IJI. While the last two elections 1993 and 1997, he fought on the ticket of PML-J in 1993 and as an independent candidate in 1997. He lost these two elections. The role of PML-J was not very effective in mobilizing the voters and he as well relied more on his personal influence to garner the support of the voters. This mechanism was no more successful in affecting the psyche of the voters.

**PP-79 Hafizabad-i:**
Noor Muhammad was the candidate of IJI in 1990 and won the seat with 24.24% vote. He took as an independent stand in 1993 elections which again seemed that either he was not given the ticket by PML-N. He lost the election by getting only 6.74% vote. On the other hand PML-N penetrated into the constituency and its candidate in 1993 and 1997 won the seats with 38.30% percent vote in 1993 and 43.39% vote in 1997.

**PP-107 Sialkot- vi: **
In this constituency Shafqat Ali always remained a potent candidate and got three victories. He was the candidate of IJI in 1988 and 1990 elections and of PML-J in 1993. He got 48.72%, 61.15% and 52.09% vote respectively in these three elections. He contested the election 1997 independently and lost it to the candidate of PML-N by getting only 26.74% vote. This showed that independent existence could not overtake the penetration of the party particularly of PML-N. His past performance had been kept aside by the people who were inclined toward a party which they considered more legitimate political entity and could address the issues in the legislature much better.

**PP-109 Sialkot-vii:**
In this constituency, Mr Munawar Ali Gill was an independent candidate in the election 1993 and lost the seat by getting 13.19% vote. His independent stature changed when he was awarded the ticket of PML-N in 1997 election. He not only won the seat but also secured 60.08% vote that was far more which he secured in 1993.

**PP-113 Sialkot-xii (Narowal-ii):**
In this constituency Muhammad Naseer Khan was the candidate of IJI in 1988 election and won the seat by getting 19.47% vote. While in 1993 and 1997 election he took as an independent stand and lost the elections both time by getting only 16.14 and 1.37% vote respectively.

**PP-136 Sheikhupura-iii:**
Malik Iftikhar Ahmed Bangoo was the candidate of IJI in 1988 election and won the seat by having 37.11% vote. In the election 1993 he stood independently and lost the seat by getting 32.49% vote.

Same kind of trends has been observed in the other constituencies of Sheikhupura like PP-137 Sheikhupura-vi, PP-141 Sheikhupura-viii and PP-144 Sheikhupura-xi where candidates lost the elections in their independent status.

All above findings showed that people preferred to the candidates who have good communicative network with the public and has had the support of a national party. Individual stance of candidates was functional only if national party was absent or supporting the candidate by not putting candidate against them. Independent candidates had very narrow agenda which was only for particular groups of the constituencies. Their agenda have no linkage with national and development cause which ultimately reduced their political bargaining.

**5.7. Seat Adjustment: An Electoral Strategy:**
This was the policy which parties carried forward in the electoral contest to make a hard bargain against the rival parties and factions. This policy of seat adjustment facilitated the voter’s in making their decisions for a suitable candidate and party in the elections. This was the recurring phenomenon in the elections of Pakistan. It could be said that the policy of seat adjustment might be effective if parties were flexible over some of the common issues. Sometimes it could be counter-productive when parties did not meet the requirements of the public due to their hard stances over their ideological preferences. It was also felt that this hard stance also make them less available to absorb the views of others. It indirectly supported the agenda of an individual rather than of party and served the forces of status quo.

In the election 1993, this trend of seat adjustment gave an opportunity to the smaller parties to introduce themselves in the electoral arena. Smaller parties tried to cash on this policy of seat adjustment in the election by getting the support of major parties. It has been observed that they met with the same fate in the national and provincial constituencies as they had to face in the previous elections in terms of their influence except in some provincial constituencies. In the
domain of the provincial constituencies, PML-J comparatively did better as compared to national ones because of the smaller size of the provincial constituency. The other positive thing which went into the favour of this party was the policy of awarding tickets to the candidates who had an experience of electoral contest in the past. An observation was passed in *The Herald* magazine on the performance of Pakistan Muslim League–Junejo that “it was the [conglomeration] of more leaders than supporters.”

The performance of PML-J remained very poor in the election 1997 when it took the solo flight. Another faction of Muslim League in the name Junejo Chattha League (PML-JC) appeared in the election 1997. The fate of this faction was not different from that of PML-J in terms of vote and seats. It separated from Pakistan Muslim League Junejo not on the ideological grounds but on the basis of personality conflicts.

This section will evaluate the policy of seat adjustment between the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) and Pakistan Muslim League Junejo (PML-J) in 1993 election, and of Pakistan Peoples Party and Pakistan Muslim League Junejo-Chattha (PML-JC) in 1997 election. It will depict that how far this policy of seat adjustment was successful in bringing the political fortunes for both the parties.

5.7.1. Seat Adjustment of PPP with PML-J in 1993 Election: An Analysis of National Constituencies;

In this province, PPP had a seat adjustment with PML-J in 1993 and with PML- (JC) in 1997 election. PPP had not entered into agreement with PML-J in 1997 due to the some of the fractions in Pakistan Muslim League Junejo’s ranks, which later reorganized to form the Pakistan Muslim League Junejo Chattha. It was observed that seat adjustment was not remained beneficial for the major party like Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP). It was seen that once it remained absent in any constituency then it was difficult for it to recuperate its influence due to lack of proper networking. In this electoral strategy of seat adjustment, candidate and parties showed their apathy towards public agenda. The priority of public welfare has been relegated by the smaller party due to its policy of seeking the narrow interests in the form of winning the seat by the policy of seat adjustment with major party. This seat adjustment of 1993 challenged the representative character of the parties in the constituencies when they appeared in the election.

---


33 The Pakistan Muslim League Junejo was termed by the name of the Prime Minister of Pakistan Muhammad Khan Junejo. It was given this name before the election 1993 when PML-N was formed by the Ex-Chief Minister and Prime Minister of Pakistan Muhammad Nawaz Sharief. Hamid Nasir Chattha was the president of the wing of Pakistan Muslim League-Junejo and Iqbal Ahmed Khan was the secretary general. *Ibid.*
1997. They lost the support of the voters. In this seat adjustment policy, a major benefit has not been accrued to both the partners. It has been observed that major party had to suffer more loss as compared to the other party which was in the process of its metamorphosis. It was observed that once the major party had been absent from the constituency then it had to struggle hard to get roots and aligned the voters. It was seen that Pakistan Peoples Party had to work hard to convince the voters about its legitimate character. Another trend which emerged was that if a candidate was on the ticket of PPP in the previous election and in the next one he/she was ignored due to the policy of seat adjustment then he/she took the stand independently or tried to get the ticket of other party. It further weakened the base of PPP in the constituency. The candidate had to save his/her political career and he/she contested the election from other platforms which helped in his/her victory. This kind of act of candidate cast the debilitating effect on the party’s performance which had seat adjustment. Sardar Shuja Muhammad Khan was the candidate of PPP/PDA in 1988 and 1990 elections in NA-52 Khushab and in the wake of seat adjustment of PPP and PML-J in 1993, he decided to get the party ticket of PML-N for carrying forward his political career in 1993 and resultantly won the election in spite of losing his first two elections. Same kind of trend has been observed in constituency NA-74 Gujranwala-i, Hamid Nasir Chattha won the election 1993 on the ticket of PML-J by getting 54.81% vote. But this strategy was not favourable for PPP. Pakistan Peoples Party had good standing in this constituency in 1988 when its candidate Ghulam Sarwar Cheema won the election. Ghulam Sarwar Cheema due to this strategy of seat adjustment changed the party and he contested the election 1997 on the ticket of PML-N. He won the seat in that election. In some of the constituencies PML-J got victory but in most of them it lost the election. The victory was seemingly the result of the influence of the candidate rather than the appealing chagrin of its leadership and of the party program. In NA-77 Gujranwala-iv, Chaudhry Muhammad Asghar, the candidate of PML-J won the election 1993. A little advantage was accrued to the candidate by this policy of seat adjustment but it was more the result of the past performance of the candidate himself in this constituency. Chaudhry Muhammad Asghar had already contested the elections 1988 and 1990 on the ticket of IJI and had good standing in the constituency. He had won the election 1990, and it seemed that he has delivered material benefits to the constituency. In the constituency NA-86 Sialkot-ii, Chaudhry Akhter Ali contested the election 1993 on the ticket of PML-J and won the seat by getting 49.20% vote. In NA-88 Sialkot-iv, Chaudhry Adul Sattar
won the election 1993 with 50.46% percent vote. It was the result of his previous standing in this constituency. He contested the elections 1988 on the ticket of IJI and got 59.02% vote and in 1993 he got 50.96% vote. In NA-106 Kasur-i, Sardar Asif Ahmed Ali won the election 1993 on the ticket of PML-J and won the seat by getting 38.63% vote. In NA-108 Kasur-iii, Sardar Talib Hussain Nakhai won the seat in 1993 on the ticket of PML-J by getting 52.76% vote. It was the result of the previous performance in this constituency. He contested the elections 1988 and 1990 on the ticket of IJI but won in 1988. So he has already an interaction with the people of the area.

Sometimes seat has been lost despite the interaction and introduction of the candidate in the constituency. It could be the outcome of the changing priorities of the people who wants to break the forces of status-quo. It is also disliked by the people when they see that candidate is changing loyalties on personal and vested interests rather than on the basis of any differences on policy issues. It happened in the constituency of NA-113 Okara-iv where Mian Manzoor Ahmed Watto lost the seat in 1993 on the platform of PML-J. He had already his introduction in this constituency because he has won the election 1988 on the ticket of IJI. He again contested the election 1990 on the ticket of IJI in NA-112 Okara-iii and won the seat. While in 1993 and 1997 he changed the party and stood on the ticket of PML-J and lost both the times. It reflected the rational character of the majority voters who disliked the capricious mode of the candidate. The candidate changed the party affiliations for not any major cause. So the political behavior of the voters followed all criteria of choosing the candidates who were probably fit in the proximity model in which position of the candidate was measured on the issues which may be counted from individual to communitarian grounds and from local to national ones by the voters.

Pakistan Muslim League Junejo had also to face the same kind of defeat in the election 1997 when it took a solo flight. It could not carry forward the stigma of legitimate faction of a major party because it was relying more on candidate’s influence rather than on the structure and program. It was also the result of the reluctance of a major party to have a seat adjustment with it. It caused a major blow to its electoral existence. In Punjab it even not won a single seat. It contested in NA-38 Rawalpindi-iii, got 0.62% vote and lost the seat; in NA-50 Sargodha-iv, it got 5.27% vote and lost the seat; in NA-59 Faisalabad-iii, it got 22.81% vote and lost the seat; in NA-72 Toba Tek Singh-ii, it got 1.28% vote and lost the seat; in NA-82 Gujranwala-cum-Jhelum, it got 6.51% vote and lost the seat; in NA-112 Okara-iii, it got 27.64% percent vote and lost the seat; in NA-113 Okara-iv, it got 46.10% vote and lost the seat.
5.7.2. Seat Adjustment of PPP with PML-J in 1993 Election: An Analysis of Provincial Constituencies;

A description has been made about the provincial constituencies to understand the electoral trends. The analysis of these constituencies seemingly endorsed the trends which had been found in the national elections.

In PP-9 Rawalpindi-ix, PML-J lost the seat. Muhammad Yasin got 38.39% vote. He had won the elections 1988 and 1990 on the ticket of IJI and as an independent candidate respectively. So it means that smaller parties had no standing and legitimacy in public, and therefore the candidate of PML-J in spite of having good performance in the past, lost the seat in 1993.

PP-20 Jhelum-i, PML-J lost the seat. Ch. Khadim Hussain was the candidate of PML-J in 1993 and he got 45.59% vote. His good standing was seemingly the result of his past performance. He won the last two elections on the ticket of IJI and secured the legitimacy of his standing in the constituency by his deliverance.

PP-24 Sargodha-ii, PML-J lost the seat. Sahibzada Ghulam Nasiruddin got 42.04% vote in 1993 while he has won the elections 1988 and 1990 on the ticket of IJI. It showed that in spite of sound past record of the candidate in this constituency, he could not win the seat. So people preferred that party which has the chance of winning the elections. Same happened in the PP-34 Khushab-i, PML-J lost the seat; PP-47 Faisalabad-v, it won the seat and its’ candidate Manzoor Ahmed Khan got 61.11% vote. He also contested in 1997 on the ticket of same party but lost the seat by getting 37.31% vote. So in this constituency PML-J got the advantage of seat adjustment with PPP; in PP-63 Jhang-iii, Sardar Muhammad Tahir Shah won the seat and got the 52.18% vote in 1993 on PML-J. It was seemingly the past record of the candidate which supported his candidature and he won the seat. In 1990 election he won the seat as an independent candidate by getting 43.13% vote which created the support for the candidate to project himself in the next election; PP-63 Jhang-iv, in this constituency Mehr Muhammad Nawaz had his introduction by contesting the elections. He won the seat in 1993 on the ticket of PML-J. Here in this constituency seat adjustment was not so much effective for the party, PML-J, because it was the influence of the candidate. He won the election 1988 as an independent candidate with 24.33% vote. In 1990 election he stood on the ticket of IJI and won the seat by getting 32.27% vote while in 1997 he again contested the election as an independent candidate and won the seat by getting 28.26% vote. This constituency could be said as a traditional
constituency where parties’ role was not very impressive and active; in PP-71 Toba Tek Singh, in this constituency same kinds of trends were observed which had been seen in PP-63. Mr. Riaz Fatiana won the election 1993 on the ticket of PML-J by getting 49.31% vote. He had already his introduction in this constituency by contesting the elections 1988 and 1990. He won the election 1988 as an independent candidate and 1990 on the ticket of IJI. In 1988 he got 32.30% vote and in 1990 he took 53.49% vote. He also contested the election 1997 as an independent candidate but lost the election and could not preserve his bastion. This time PML-N made inroads into the constituency and broke the traditional influence of the personality; in PP-78 Gujranwala-ii, in this constituency again the same were the trends which had been observed in the previous two constituencies. Hamid Nassir Chattha won the seat in 1993 on the ticket of PML-J by getting 55.41% vote. He stood in 1988 on the ticket of IJI and lost the election against the candidate of Pakistan Peoples Party. He got 49.15% vote while the candidate of PPP got 50.84% vote. In 1990 election he again stood on the ticket of IJI and won the seat by getting 74.35% vote. In 1997 he stood on the ticket of Pakistan Muslim League-Junejo Chattha, which had been formed on his own name, defected from the Pakistan Muslim League Junejo. He lost this election to PML-N which was considered as legitimate organization till that time. He got 35.86% percent vote and PML-N took 51.54% vote; in PP-82 Gujranwala-vi, Khalid Pervaiz Virk stood on the ticket of PML-J and lost the seat to the candidate of PML-N. He got 32.12% vote. He again contested the election 1997 on the ticket of PML-JC and lost the seat to the candidate of PML-N. He got 32.83% vote while PML-N took 46.90% vote; in PP-83 Gujranwala-vii, Kalil-ur-Rehman Chisti lost the seat in 1993. He again stood on the ticket of PML-J in 1997 when it had no seat adjustment, result was the same as in 1993; PP-95 Gujrat-cum-Jhelum, Ch. Muhammad Farooq won the seat in 1993 by getting 35.55% vote and it was the result of his past performance in this constituency which he showed in 1988 and 1990. He contested the elections 1988 and 1990 on the ticket of IJI and won the seats by getting 22.35% and 35.87% vote respectively. He again contested the election 1997 on the ticket of PML-J and lost the seat; in PP-101 Mandi Bahauddin-iv, Ch. Ikramullah Ranjha contested the election 1993 on the ticket of PML-J and lost the seat. He got 29.31% vote. He again contested the election 1997 but this time on the ticket of PML-JC and again had to face the defeat; in PP-104 Sialkot-iii, Kush Akhter Subhani won the seat in 1993 on the ticket of PML-J by getting 58.42% vote. It also seems the result of his past record. He had won the election 1990 on the ticket of IJI by getting 68.52% vote; in PP-107
Sialkot-vi, in this constituency Ch. Sadaqat Ali had contested all the four elections. He had good interactive network which was developed by his presence in this constituency. That is why he won first three elections and lost the last one which he fought independently. He contested the elections 1988 and 1990 on the ticket of IJI and got 48.72% and 61.15% respectively. In 1993 he got 52.09% vote. In his independent capacity he got only 26.74% vote in 1997 which also showed that party was gaining strength in the constituency; in **PP-108 Sialkot-vii**, Ch Akhter Ali won the election 1993 on the ticket of PML-J by getting 49.07% vote. He had an experience of electoral contest. He contested the election 1990 in PP-106 on the ticket of IJI and won it by getting 72.84% vote. This experience helped more for his political maneuvering and he got advantage of it; in **PP-114 Narowal-iii**, Attiq-ur-Rehman lost the election 1993 on the ticket of PML-J despite his success in 1990 election on the ticket of IJI. It means that past experience is helpful only if the candidate had good supporting network in the form of interactive mechanism with the masses of the constituency. It was also necessary for the candidate to have the ticket of major party and as well to address the problems of the people properly and timely. If this is not being done then candidate will have to suffer the defeat; in **PP-115 Narowal-iv**, Muhammad Rashid won the election 1993 on the ticket of PML-J by getting 34.55% vote. It was the support of his past performance. He won the election 1990 on the ticket of IJI by getting 80.59% vote. He lost the election 1997 when he contested the election on the ticket of PML-JC. This trend of successively changing parties badly affected the repute of the candidate and resultant he has to suffer the defeat. The other factor might be related to the influence of major party which had been increased in the constituency. It was endorsed by the victory of PML-n in 1997. The opponent candidate in 1997 election was Mr Mushtaq Ahmad who contested the election on the ticket of PML-N and secured 62% vote; in **PP-136 Sheikhupura-iii**, Malik Sarfaraz Ahmed lost the election 1993 on the ticket of PML-J despite his winning in 1990 on the ticket of IJI. He got 44.01% vote in 1990 while in 1993 he took 22.39%. It was the poor performance of PML-J in spite of having seat adjustment with PPP; in **PP-143 Sheikhupura-x**, Saeed Ahmed Zafar won the election 1993 by getting 57.31% vote. He had already won the elections in this constituency in 1988 and 1990 on the ticket of IJI by getting 40.50% and 65.16% vote. He had developed good interaction with the community of the constituency through his personality, party programme and implementation of development agenda. The variable of party along with the personality was very effective in constituting the perception of the public. In the lection 1997 Mr
Zafar Ahmed was defeated when he contested the election independently by the candidate of Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz. It means that major party’s influence was much stronger as compared to independent candidate. Major party’s program had an all-encompassing chagrin for the masses; in PP-147 Kasur-iii, Ch. Muhammad Ilyas Khan had already won the elections 1988 and 1990 as an independent candidate. He lost the election 1993, which was contested on the platform of PML-J. It seemed that this faction was not considered a legitimate body and people rejected the stance of party in the election 1993 in spite of the influence of the candidate in the previous elections; in PP-149 Kasur-v, Malik Mehar Din was the new entrant in this constituency and he has to face the crisis of legitimacy on behalf of his party. He lost the election; in PP-150 Kasur-vi, it was considered a traditional constituency because of the influence of Sardar Muhammad Arif Nakai who won the seats in 1988, 1990 and 1993. In first two elections he was the candidate of IJI and in 1993 he contested on the ticket of PML-J. He lost the election 1997 which he contested on the ticket of PML-JC. This shows that faction PML-JC have to face the crisis of legitimacy and a strong candidate have to face the defeat. There may be other factors like less interaction with the community of the constituency or paid no heed to the development agenda of the people of the constituency. So all these factors contributed in his defeat in 1997; in PP-155 Okara-iii, in this constituency Rai Noor Muhammad Kharal won the seat on the ticket of PML-J in 1993. He had already his introduction in the constituency and won the seats in 1988 and 1990 on the ticket of IJI. In 1997 Rai Noor Muhammad lost the election which he contested on the ticket of PML-JC. This showed that in spite of his strong influence in the constituency, he could not survive against the candidate of PML-N; in PP-158 Okara-vi, Manzoor Ahmed Khan was the new entrant on the ticket of PML-J and he lost the election by getting 40.70% vote; in PP-159 Okara-vii, Mian Atta Muhammad Manika has already an introduction in this constituency by contesting the election 1990 on the ticket of PPP/PDA. He won the election 1993 on the ticket of PML-J and got the advantage of seat adjustment with PPP; in PP-191 Pakpattan-ii, Muhammad Shah Kaggha had already won the elections 1988 and 1990 as an independent candidate and of IJI respectively. So he got the advantage of seat adjustment further and won the seat in 1993 on the ticket of PML-J by getting 53.67% vote; in PP-193 Vehari-ii, Saeed Ahmed Khan Manias has also his introduction in this constituency by contesting the elections 1988 and 1990. He won both these election on the ticket of IJI, while he lost the election 1993 which he contested on the ticket of PML-J. He lost this election to an
independent candidate who secured 41.35% vote. It was close contest which he lost to an independent candidate. He won the seat in 1997 on the ticket of PML-J. This trend of electoral contest showed that influence of personality was rather more as compared to the influence of parties; in PP-194 Vehari-iii, Iqbal Khan Kichi has a close competition in 1993 with the rival candidate of his family, Ghulam Haider Kichi, who contested on the ticket of PML-N. Iqbal Khan lost the election by getting 36.93% vote while his rival candidate got 38.45% vote; in PP-219 Bahawalpur-ii, Muhammad Usman Khan Abbassi has already contested the elections 1988 and 1990 on the ticket of PPP and as an independent candidate respectively. He lost the election 1988 by getting 43.04% vote but won the 1990 having 50.96% vote. He lost the election 1993 which he contested on the ticket of PML-J by getting 46.10% vote. But again he won the seat in 1997 as an independent candidate; PP-223 Bahawalpur-vi, here the same is the case which had been observed in PP-219. Salman Ahmed Gardezi won the elections 1988 and 1990 as an independent candidate and on the ticket of IJI in 1988 and 1990 respectively by getting 53.54% vote and 56.00% vote. He contested the election 1993 on the ticket of PML-J and lost the seat by getting 26.07% vote. It showed that he lost his previous standing by getting the ticket of that party which had not been legitimized in the public eyes. Secondly it could be said that he did not address the issues and problems of the area and constituency, and therefore lost the seat. It is generally perceived by the candidates who have won the elections that they will cash on the performance of their past. But here they will also have to keep in mind that development priorities of the area changed with the passage of time and they will have to adjust with new challenges.

In 1993 election seat adjustment was not very effective but it gave support to those candidates who had already their family influence in the constituency and continuously showed their political appearance in the local or general elections. The electoral performance of factions or the smaller parties could not win any positive benefits in terms of votes in the next elections. So they have to contest the next election without any seat adjustment. In 1997 election there were two factions in the name of PML-J and PML-JC appeared but could not make headway in the constituencies due to their weak organizational structures, candidatures and leadership. PML-J have no adjustment with any major party because of its poor performance in the previous election. With these characteristics, PML-J and PML-JC was confined only in Punjab and showed little appearance in the NWFP.
5.7.3. Seat Adjustment of PPP and PML-JC in 1997 National Election;
Pakistan Peoples Party got nothing by having seat adjustment with PML-JC in 1997 elections. PPP drafted this adjustment with PML-JC in 1997 in those constituencies where its past performance was weak. Performance of other partner, PML-JC, also did not make any headway and they hardly won a seat. Evaluation of the performance of seat adjusted parties—PPP and PML-JC— in different national and provincial constituencies depicted the poor standing of these parties in different constituencies. In national elections PML-JC could not win a single seat and its voting strength was 3.04% of total casting vote, and same has been observed in provincial constituencies where it was without any single seat in provincial assembly and its vote bank further fell down to 1.67%.

Here analysis has been given of national constituencies to see the performance of PML-JC. The analysis depicted that performance of this coalition was very weak. In N.A–36 Rawalpindi-i, PPP won in 1993 but lost all other elections while its partner PML-JC’s candidate Mr Babar Awan also lost the seat in 1997; N.A-44 Chakwal-ii, PPP won in 1993 but lost all other elections and PML-JC also lost the seat in 1997. PPP had a good standing in this constituency in terms of vote and it should not have a seat adjustment in this constituency in-spite of losing the seat. PPP can retain its support and vote bank by having the contest. It got 43.77% vote in 1988, 45.78% in 1990 and 48.84% in 1993 with the credit of winning the seat. Its seat adjusted partner PML-JC lost the election and it got 32.70% vote; in N.A–57 Faisalabad-i, PPP lost the elections 1988,1990 and 1993 that is why it preferred a seat adjustment in 1997. In-spite of losing the elections it got good margin of vote in all the elections except 1997 in which it gave initiative to PML-JC. It got 46.78% vote in 1988, 42.21% in 1990 and 47.04% in 1993 in this constituency. PML-JC which had seat adjustment in 1997, got only 16.99% vote; in N.A-60 Faisalabad-iv, PPP won the election 1988 and 1993 and PML-JC lost in 1997. Here the question mark is applied on the decision of the leadership of PPP that why they have taken decision to remain absent in this constituency where the party had won two elections. Pakistan Peoples Party should not compromise over this constituency in its seat adjustment policy. Abdullah Ghazi has already an introduction in this constituency. He contested the election 1988 on the ticket of IJI and lost by getting 22.92% vote and in 1990 he again stood on the ticket of IJI and won the election by getting 49.60% vote. While he remained absent in 1993 election probably due to seat adjustment strategy of PPP and PML-J and PPP won the seat. Abdullah Ghazi lost the election 1997 that was
the result of deteriorating position of smaller parties and the other factor was his absence in 1993
election due to seat adjustment which caused harm to his position in 1997. He got only 17.64% 
vote; in NA-74 Gujranwala-i, it is the constituency of Hamid Nassir Chattha, leader of PML-JC, 
representing by his name. He won the elections 1990 and 1993 but could not secure the seat 
against the candidate of PML-N in 1997. He lost the election by getting 37.93% vote. He won 
The election 1990 on the ticket of IJI by getting 60.55% vote and in 1993 on the ticket of PML-J 
and got 54.81% vote; in N.A-86Sialkot-ii Kush Akhter Subhani was the new entrant in this 
constituency and he lost the election by getting 31.90% vote in opposed to the candidate of 
PML-N who got 61.29% vote; in N.A-88 Sialkot-iv, Ch. Abdul Sattar won in this constituency in 
1990 and 1993 but lost the election in 1997. His previous standing has not counted and he lost 
the election by getting 31.63% vote. While in 1990 and 1993 he got 59.02% and 50.46% vote 
respectively; in NA-90 Sialkot-vi, PPP had also good standing in terms of vote but it could not 
win a seat. Its seat adjusted partner PML-JC also could not get any advantage of this strategy and 
lost the seat by getting 28.79% vote, while PPP had 28.17%, 34.04% and 36.99% in 1988, 1990 
and 1993 respectively. PPP should not be absent from this constituency in which it secured 
substantial vote in the previous elections; in NA-92 Lahore-i, PPP lost the elections 1988,1990 
and 1993. Its weak performance prompted its leadership to have the strategy of seat adjustment. 
This weak performance of PPP had been seen by its leadership and that is why it has been forced 
to have a seat adjustment with the factions or the smaller parties to spoil the vote of major party. 
But it ignored the long term advantages that could be reaped by the presence of PPP in the 
electoral contest. PPP have 45.79% vote in 1988, 41.07% in 1990 and 39.61% in 1993 in this 
constituency. Its partner PML-JC also did not do well and it lost the seat in 1997 by getting only 
16.40% vote; in NA-107 Kasur-ii, Mr Mazhar Hayat was the new entrant in the electoral arena 
on the ticket of PML-JC in 1997 and he lost the election by getting only 26.02% vote. It had 
been observed that PPP could not win the seat but it has electoral gains in terms of vote that was 
23.64% in 1988, 40.13% in 1990 and 37.56% in 1993; in N.A-108 Kasur-iii, PPP had a seat 
adjustment because it has no good standing in the previous elections. The candidate of PML-JC 
also lost the election 1997 by getting 31.65% vote against the candidate of PML-N who got 
65.93% vote; in NA-109 Kasur-iv, again it was the explicit loss of PPP in seat adjustment 
strategy because it has won the elections 1988 and 1993 by getting 52.16% and 49.45% vote 
respectively. Its seat adjusted partner PML-JC due to its organizational weaknesses or the
lacking of legitimacy could not muster the support of voters in its favour. It lost the seat by getting 23.95% vote in 1997; NA-144 Bahawalnagar-i, PPP had good standing in this constituency by winning a seat in 1988 which it lost due to seat adjustment first with PML-J in 1993 and then with PML-JC in 1997. It’s both seat adjusted partners lost their seats.

In this policy of seat adjustment PML-J got six seats in National Assembly with 4.8% vote and in Provincial Assembly it got 18 seats with 5.57% vote in 1993. While PPP had very marginal increase in its vote bank as compared to previous elections, but there was not increase in its seats tally in national election as compared to 1988. In national elections, Pakistan Peoples Party got 52 seats with 39.7% vote in 1988; in 1990 it got 14 seats with 38.69% vote while in 1993 it got 50 seats with 40% vote. Provincial elections results were not differing. It got 93 seats with 35.28% vote in 1993 that was indeed a big gap between the seats of 1990 and 1993 but not with big difference in vote strength. PPP got 10 seats only in 1990 with 29.75% vote. While its’ position of 1988 was not very different from that of 1993. It got 93 seats in 1988 with 33.33% vote. This showed that there was not a big difference in PPP position of 1993 with that of 1988 in terms of vote and seats. There was another factor which caused to the poor performance of PPP/PDA in 1990 or in 1997 was the dismissal of PPP’s government of 1988 and of 1993 prematurely. PPP could not complete its term in office, and that is why most of its policies could not mature in delivering the patronage and utilities to the public.

In the above table-1, it is surprise to see that PPP had not got the single seat in the national election 1997 in this province, and also met with the same fate in Baluchistan and NWFP in the national poll of 1997. In provincial domain of Punjab its position was not different form that of it’s in national elections. It got only three seats in 1997 provincial election of Punjab. It also could not get the benefit of any strategy of seat adjustment with either PML-J in 1993 or PML-JC in 1997 elections. There was little bit difference of vote percentage of PPP in 1993; it was 40% in national election 1993 while in 1988 and 1990 it was 39.7% and 38.69% respectively. In provincial domain in 1993 PPP vote was 35.28% while in 1988 and 1990 it was 33.33% and 29.75% respectively. In 1997 its performance was abysmally poor in terms of vote and seats. It got 22.10% in national polls and 19.49% in provincial polls. Why is it happened with the PPP? There may be a lot of causes but one that could be the significant was that peoples were not satisfied with the previous performance of the PPP’s government in 1988-1990 and 1993-1996 because it has not imparted what it had promised to deliver in her manifesto. Its entanglement
with the provincial government unnecessarily during her first government in 1988-1990, especially with the government of Nawaz Sharif who had headed the IJI coalition in the provincial assembly sapped the energy of the center to let down the provincial government instead of bolstering the cordial working relationship with the constituent units. This showed that people were aware in all their matters of decisions whatever the level it may be. So the verdict was same in national and provincial contest of 1997. PPP had contested on the 85 seats of 1997 national election and it had stood on 89 seats in 1993 election and with the same proportion of seats in the election of 1990 and 1988, so its defeat could not be assigned to the factor of its contest on the less of number of seats in the election of 1997.

5.7.4. Seat Adjustment of PPP and PML-JC in the Provincial Election 1997;
As it has been discussed in above section about the performance of PPP and PML-JC in national constituencies, the results and the factors were probably the same in the defeat of these parties. Here is the simple description of provincial constituencies in which PPP and PML-JC have seat adjustment. Detail is being provided of those constituencies in which PML-JC put their candidates.

PP-20 Jhelum-i (PML-JC lost the seat, got 24.29% vote); PP-78 Gujranwala-ii (PML-JC lost the seat, got 35.86% vote); PP-82 Gujranwala-vi (PML-JC lost the seat, got 32.83% vote); PP-83 Gujranwala-vii (PML-JC lost the seat, got 2.31% vote); PP-90 Gujranwala-xiv (PML-JC lost the seat, got 20.81% vote); PP-95 Gujrat-cum-Jhelum (PML-JC lost the seat, got 0.64% vote); PP-101 Mandibahauddin-iv (PML-JC lost the seat, got 17.12% vote); PP-104 Sialkot-iii (PML-JC lost the seat, got 36.22% vote); PP-107 Sialkot-vi (PML-JC lost the seat, got 11.14% vote); PP-108 Sialkot-vii (PML-JC lost the seat, got 23.11% vote); PP-114 Narowal-iii (PML-JC lost the seat, got 19.66% vote), Tariq Anees was the candidate of PML-N in 1993 and won the seat but in 1997 he either was not given ticket or he himself opt the platform of PML-JC and lost the seat. It shows that PML-JC was no more a popular party and in 1997 it was pushed at zero line. In 1997 Tariq Anees was defeated by PML-N which was gaining and increasing its support or vote. PP-115 Narowal-iv (PML-JC lost the seat, got 35.03% vote); PP-121 Lahore-vi (PML-JC lost the seat, got 18.93% vote); PP-144 Kasur-v (PML-JC lost the seat, got 27.61% vote); PP-150 Kasur-vi (PML-JC lost the seat, got 35.03% vote), in this constituency Sardar Arif Muhammad Nakai was the winner of three times. He won the elections 1988, 1990 and 1993 on the ticket of IJI and PML-J respectively but he lost the election 1997 on the ticket of PML-JC against the candidate
of Pakistan Muslim League –Nawaz, who got 59.65% vote. This defeat of Arif Nakai who remained the Chief Minister of Punjab, also showed that his past performance and his own influence could not withstand the peoples’ thrust for change and their preference to major party. It was sure that if he had the ticket of PML-N he was the winning candidate. People gave their support to the PML-N in 1997 election and easily pushed out the other factions of Pakistan Muslim League from electoral arena. PP-155 Okara-iii (PML-JC lost the seat, got 34.22% vote); PP-162 Multan-iii (PML-JC lost the seat, got 33.56% vote), Saeed Ahmed Qureshi has lost this seat in 1997 on the ticket of PML-JC. He had already his introduction in this constituency and won the election 1990 on the ticket of IJI. He has not been awarded ticket in 1997 by the PML-N or any other major party or he himself opt the platform of PML-JC which was not good move and he lost the election in-spite of having a better standing in the past in this constituency. PP- Bahawalnagar-i (PML-JC lost the seat, got 9.82% vote).

It has been observed that a vacuum had been felt in the constituency in this seat adjustment policy due to the absence of major party—PPP. Resultantly other major party took advantage of it. From 1993 to 1997 the other major party, PML-N, created its influence in these constituencies and washed the effects of PPP and PML-J or PML-JC. PML-N got 59% vote in the national election and 52% in the provincial election. It was endorsed by the result of national and provincial elections 1997 when all these parties not got a single seat in national election. The vote percentage of PML-JC with which PPP had seat adjustment declined to the level of 3.41% in the national election and 1.67% in the provincial election.

5.7.5. No Seat Adjustment of PML-J and PPP in 1997 National and Provincial Elections;

In 1997 Pakistan Peoples Party and Pakistan Muslim League-Junejo has no seat adjustment strategy. In this electoral contest PML-J lost all the seats on which it has nominated its members. It not only lost the seats but also deprived of its any electoral influence which was observed in the contest of election 1993 in the different constituencies. In 1997 it had been further divided into two more off shoots –PML-J and PML-JC—which debilitated its image as a party. Here the analysis is presented of different constituencies which could depict the position of the party in terms of vote and seats. In NA-38 Rawalpindi-iii, it got only 0.62% vote in 1997; in NA-50 Sargodha-iv, it got only 5.27% vote; NA-59 Faisalabad-iii, it got 22.81% vote; NA-72 Toba Tek
Singh-ii, it got 1.28% vote; NA-82 Gujrat-cum-Jhelum, it got 6.51% vote; NA112 Okara-iii, it got 27.64% vote; NA 113 Okara-iv, it got 46.10% vote.

Pakistan Muslim League-Junejo also met the same fate in the provincial constituencies which it has to encounter in the National Assembly election 1997. Here it has got two Provincial Assembly seats by the influence of the personality of the candidates and also due to the smaller area of the constituency in terms of registered vote. Provincial constituency is smaller in terms of registered vote as compared to the national constituency, so it was easy for the candidate and for the party to maneuver the vote due to better interaction with the voters. It got 1.21% vote in 1997 while in 1993 it got 5.57% vote. It lost on all other seats. In PP-10 Rawalpindi-x, it lost the seat by getting only 3.84% vote; in PP-23 Sargodha-I, it lost the seat by getting only 1.03% vote; in PP-82 Gujranwala-vi, it lost the seat by getting only 3.84% vote; in PP-83 Gujranwala-vii, it lost the seat by getting only 7.63% vote; in PP-84 Gujranwala-viii, it lost the seat by getting only 0.28% vote; in PP-85 Gujranwala-ix, it lost the seat by getting only 0.49% vote; in PP-88 Gujranwala-xii, it lost the seat by getting only 0.44% vote; in PP-90 Gujranwala-xiv, it lost the seat by getting only 1.36% vote; in PP-95 Gujrat-cum-Jhelum, it lost the seat by getting only 28.36% vote; in PP-130 Lahore-xv, it lost the seat by getting only 0.76% vote; in PP-156 Okara-iv, it lost the seat by getting only 11.27% vote; in PP-157 Okara-v, it lost the seat by getting only 30.55% vote; in PP-158 Okara-vi, it lost the seat by getting only 36.79% vote; in PP-159 Okara-vii, it won the seat by getting only 51.68% vote; in PP-188 Pakpattan-cum-Sahiwal, it lost the seat by getting only 4.34% vote; in PP-193 Vehari-ii, it won the seat by getting only 46.76% vote.

This performance of PML-J had showed that it was revolving around personalities in 1993 and managed itself by getting political favour from Pakistan Peoples Party through the policy of seat adjustment. That is why its performance of 1993 was relatively better from that of 1997. By the time of 1997, it has not evolved true party structure and program. Resultantly it lost its vigour and strength in 1997 elections. Party without organization, charismatic leadership and public oriented program lost its image with the passage of time and became stagnant in the electoral arena due to its weak legitimate stature which is measured in its electoral performance. This kind of performance and state of smaller parties were the characteristics of non-western democracies.
as described by Lucian W. Pye that...usually political parties represent some sub-society or simply the personality of a particularly influential individual.34

5.8. Influence of Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz in the Electoral Politics of Punjab

It has been observed in all above sections that performance of Pakistan Muslim league Nawaz has been elevated with the passage of time. In the elections 1988 and 1990 Pakistan Muslim league was the part of an election coalition, Islami Jamhoori Ittehad(IJI), and it did well in Punjab. In these two elections IJI got 52 and 91 seats in the national constituencies in 1988 and 1990, while its vote bank was 37.2% and 49.46% respectively. In Punjab, PML-N/IJI showed the performance in the elections 1988, 1990, 1993, 1997 in terms of vote and seats. It won 52 seats in 1993 election and 109 out of 115 seats of the national assembly in 1997. The vote strength was very healthy in 1997 election. It got 45.3% vote in 1993 election and 59.16% in 1997. This trend was also similar in provincial constituencies where IJI/PML-N got 34.98%, 54.53%, 40.35% and 52.08% vote in 1988, 1990, 1993 and 1997 elections.

This elevated position of PML-N in 1997 trounced all the smaller and major parties and they have been knocked out of electoral arena. The seat adjustment between Pakistan Peoples Party and Pakistan Muslim League-Junejo Chattha in 1997 could not alter the lot of PML-N. PML-N had trounced all the rotted factors from the constituencies and introduced people’s oriented politics. It seemed that it was the program and manifesto of Muslim League Nawaz which had brought the people under its chagrin and they fully upheld the cause of Muslim League Nawaz in response to its agenda. That is why in the total 115 National Assembly seats of Punjab, it got 109 in 1997, and in the Punjab Provincial Assembly seats, it got 211 out of 240 in 1997.

5.9. Party-Candidate: The Preference of Choice

It is the cardinal aspect of electoral politics that which entity had the initiative to entice the other to know the reciprocal influence of both entities on the psyche of the voters. This trend was visible and explicit in those constituencies where independent candidates contested the election. Independent stature of the candidates also counted in the electoral dynamics of the electioneering activity. The individual character of the person had brought with him/her the influence of the family based on the socio-economic stature. There was also the influence of primordial

relationships in the community which benefitted to the candidate. So in this scenario, party preferred to that candidate who had all this in his/her background. The charisma of the personality also mattered in defining the position of the candidate. Here in this situation party sought after the candidate. It had also observed that if any candidate has not been awarded ticket for electoral contest by his party of previous election then he/she applied for the ticket to another party which had an influence in the constituency and it was generally a major party. Seemingly party gave preference to these priorities in its criterion for the opting of the candidates for the electoral contest and initiative of awarding the ticket remained with the party. In NA135 both PPP and PML(N) in their election of 1997 changed their candidates who were in the previous election were in opposite camps. In NA-52 Sardar Shuja M. khan was the candidate of PPP/PDA in 1990 election but in the elections of 1993 and 1997 he stood on the ticket of PML(N). In NA-58 in 1993 PPP and PML(N) changed their candidates who were the candidates of opposite block in the previous election. So this showed that it was the preference of the party to pick the candidate for the election not of the candidate himself. This party and candidate choice for each other could be analyzed by the multiple arguments. Sometimes party was loosing candidate in repeated elections then it was inevitable for the party to change the candidate or vice versa. Sometimes candidate was not satisfied with the party policy or he/she did not line up with the party’s decisions and the policies then it was probably more chances of changing each other. In the above given analysis of the electoral data of Punjab, this trend of awarding party ticket seemed the initiative of party which also endorsed the trend of party politics in Pakistan.

**Conclusion:**

In this province some of the major trends had become visible like the preference of the people for those parties which had the explicit program, charismatic appeal and having the position of material deliverance. Other trend is party’s choice for the candidate and its adjustment with other parties and there is appearance of voter’s independent thinking in voting decision. That independent thinking of voters was clustered by the subjective considerations but it was more political oriented. Women also participated in the voting activity of the elections with same fervor and spirit which was not less than men in terms of turn out of the election. Andrew R Wilder had observed this kind of trend in one section of his article that it is generally observed that women do not vote independently but as instructed by their male family members. But he observed that “women voted in higher percentage than men for the PML-N than for the PPP in
1993, which also indicated that many voted independently of their male family members.\(^{35}\) Parties are more concerned with their priorities, which kept the leverage of choice in party’s hand for the selection of candidate and for the adjustment with the other party. It had been observed that smaller, religious and regional parties had no space in the electoral politics of Punjab. Families had an influence in a few constituencies, which had not any substantial impact on the structural transformation of the system.

After the analysis of the constituencies, it has appeared that national/ major parties’ program counts a lot in garnering the support of voters and they remained a majority vote seekers in Punjab. It simmered out that people aligned with IJI/PML-N and PPP/PDA for their capacity to mobilize the voters. People had been made the part of the political system through their participation and this realization was kept alive by the political parties and their candidates. In the analysis it was found that people of this region were politically oriented by the political parties through the idiom of campaign and by the effective use of means of communications. It was found that due to good interaction between the national parties and the public, mobilization was occurred on political issues but not on primordial relationships. The emerging patterns of electoral politics revolved around development needs, local issues and national interests.

The vibrant program and consistency in parties’ policies made them more favourable to masses and their evolution occurred on traditional heritage along with modern techniques of projecting themselves to masses. In this structural definition PML-N seemed very close but its electoral performance from 1988 to 1997 had made it unrivalled in Punjab due to its program and appeal of its leadership. Its determination was to be clung with its ideals to transform them into practical shape. On the basis of the program and agenda of major political parties, it was observed by Andrew R wilder that no gender biases obstruct the voters in casting their vote for the parties which are close and proximate to their preferences. For party’s preference, he noted that “… [ in 1993 election], Shahnaz Javed was the candidate of PPP in Sahiwal district. She got 52.9% male vote and 49.4% of female vote. The male PML-N candidate, against her, won 40.3% of the total male vote and 42.9% of the female vote…it would seem that it was Shehnaz Javed’s PPP affiliation rather than her sex that influenced women voters to vote in….”\(^{36}\)


\(^{36}\)Ibid., p.381.
Another trend of seat adjustment has been observed in this province which had been practiced in the electoral politics of NWFP. Seat adjustment was relatively a poor strategy for major parties and they had lost support in the seat adjusted constituencies rather than gaining any advantages by this strategy. Pakistan Peoples Party was at loosing end in terms of its repute and vote strength in this strategy of seat adjustment with PML-J in 1993 and PML-JC in 1997. Indeed seat adjustment cut across the parties’ ideological program and develops a consensus over the agenda, which made them identical in their appeal, but nature of that agenda changed due to loosing the vigour of popular appeal. Parties’ strategy was to targeting the voters in their reconciliatory policy but it badly affected the position of major party—PPP, because it compromised over its own agenda and it was blow for the parties workers and sympathetic voters. Resultantly there was shifting of unaligned vote to PML-N and it debased PPP in the election 1997 where PPP could not win a single seat in the national election in Punjab.

People have no soft corner for Islamic parties, smaller parties and independent candidates. Andrew R Wilder rightly described that “they are unwilling to waste their vote on a third party in Pakistan’s first past-the-post electoral system”. People have true perception about the emerging political scenario in which they judged rightly. They supported PML-N in all the four elections and it sustained its support level without the support of powerful institutions. It was the role of party’s leadership that could fulfill the expectations of people. Both PPP and PML-N had more or less same manifestos and had had same objectives of winning and holding onto power at all costs. But it was the deliverance strategy of party’s leadership which created the difference in Punjab. Pakistan Peoples Party lost its vote bank in 1997 national election which fell to 22.10% and it was 17.9% less from that of 1993. Its’ 1997 vote was 37.06% less from that of PML-N which secured 59.16% vote. People gave preference to their proximate interests in their voting decisions and one such observation was given by Malcolm Darling in 1933 when he was engaged in the community development of sub-continent. He observed that “In India friend and protector are expected to help a man whether he is right or wrong, indeed more than ever, when he is wrong, for friendship or protection are matters not of morals but of deeds”. In this analysis it has appeared that people are mature enough in making their voting decisions for the parties and candidates. People have made their priorities of interests in arrangements with

---

37 Ibid.,p.392.
the community, and by the campaign of candidates and parties. The political awareness of voters was also measured through questionnaire in which respondent’s response was very encouraging. Hundred percent respondent responses were on the question of public meetings and processions and 94 percent on media campaign for the political awareness of voters. This showed that voters are very much conscious of political process where their future was to be decided. So their objective evaluation of the circumstances made their decisions politically more relevant (responses are attached at the end of thesis). Similarly Saghir Ahmed had also passed an observation on the voter of Punjab in his research on a Punjabi village to the class and power relationship. He observed that “people of the area do their decisions rationally, not out of ignorance to pursue their self-interests”.39 All these observations indicated the nature of the ‘political culture’ of the people of Pakistan which seemingly derived from the experiences that individuals have with the political process. In their political socialization they have learned political values, cognitions and emotional commitments which invariably determined the nature of the political culture of Pakistan as mature.

CHAPTER-6

ELECTORAL POLITICS OF SINDH

Before going into the discussion of electoral politics of this region of Pakistan it is necessary to have the view of its historical importance.

6.1. A Historical Review of Sindh

According to Dr. N.A. Baloch the early establishment of Muslim power in Al-Sindh and Al-Hindh took place in three distinct periods, from 644 AD to 711 AD when Makran and Kalat regions of Baluchistan were conquered; second from 711AD to 715AD when Las Bela district of Baluchistan was subjugated; third one is the period of Umayyad and Abbasid when authority of caliphate was established though for limited periods.1

Arab domination of the area was thrown off by the Somra Dynasty (1058-1249AD). Somras were indigenous Sindi Muslims. There are many tales about the Somra rulers, and there are known to have been 21 of them during a 300-year period. In the 14th century, they were replaced by the Samma Rulers in Lower Sind (1351-1517AD). The Sammas were fiercely independent and rebelled against Delhi Sultanate. They reached the height of their power during the reign of Nizamuddin, the Jam Nindo (1461-1509AD) who is still recalled as a hero, and his rule as a golden age. The Capital of all the early dynasties was the city of Thatta. The Sammas were replaced by the Arghuns (1519-54) and Turkhans (1554-1625)2, both dynasties were from the North. In 1592 the Turkhan ruler was defeated and Sind was annexed by the Emperor Akbar. At the end of the 18th century, Sind had a strong neighbour in the Punjab, when that area came under the control of Ranjit Singh. He had ambitions to expand his empire but respected the Mirs and moved in other directions. When the Afghan war broke out in 1838, the British were

---

2 The Tarkhans, a family from Central Asia, replaced the Arghuns as autonomous rulers of Sindh in 1554, but ruled only until 1591 when the Mughals established their direct rule over Sindh. However, Mirza Jani Beg was confirmed as Governor of Thatta by the Mughals. The Arghuns, who had also come from Central Asia, had taken over the reins of power from the Sammo dynasty (1351-1521), the successors to another Sindh dynasty, the Soomros (1032-1351), who had established the first native rule since the Arab conquest in 711, Feroz Ahmed, Agrarian Change and Class Formation in Sindh, Economic and Political weekly, Vol. 19, No. 39, Sep. 29, 1984,p.164, pp. 149-164.
concerned about Sind and in spite of opposition, took it under their protection in 1839 (the year Ranjit Singh died). Sind was annexed by Sir Charles Napier in February 1843.³ It was the part of Bombay presidency till 1935. After that it was granted the status of independent province and electoral reforms were introduced parallel to other provinces.

6.2. Politics of Sindh

It was the Muslim majority province in terms of population. Political scions of that time were involved in pursuing their personal interests when franchise was expanded in India after 1935. At that time Muslim League was not very well organized at all India level and same was the case with Sindh Muslim League that was riven with factionalism. Ministers lent their support to those policies which were designed to keep themselves in power. In that way they supported the joint electorate in 1940. In the elections 1937 and 1945-46, the economic and political importance of the minority of Sindhi Hindu community, influence of families and pirs and heterogeneous character of the province affected the course of political development. In the communal award of 1932, Muslims were 70 percent of the total population and they were 34 in the assembly of 60. It was a bare majority which gave the leverage to the bloc of Hindu members and they were assured one seat in every cabinet. Muslim League in its annual report 1943-44 noted that “we should require years to create political consciousness among Muslim masses in the province, where on account of long distances, scattered villages, illiteracy and long influences; it is rather difficult to easily approach the people”.⁴

This kind of generalization had been put under observation in the electoral politics of Sindh. It has also been visualized that how far people of this area were inclined to the political values to judge their political orientation. Their political behaviour has been tried to measure through their preferences for the political party, leadership, candidate and issues. The underlying sections have given the analysis of such kind of political preferences, and their more or less similar attitude in regard to their political choices has depicted the nature of the political culture.

---


6.3. Analysis of Electoral Behavior of Sindh 1988-1997:

The politics of Sindh had the pattern of electoral behaviour in which people of this region also preferred the parties, particularly the national parties except in the constituencies of Karachi and Hyderabad which had their inclination toward MQM—instrumentally constructed reference of identity. This political party had showed its appearance in politics after 1985. MQM is considered an urbanized party because of its influence in the regions of Karachi and Hyderabad. The analysis of electoral behavior of the people of this region has streaks similar to that of other regions of Pakistan. This analysis is based on the available data of election commission of Pakistan. All the percentages had been counted by the researcher himself which facilitated in inferring the generalizations.

6.3.1. Independents’ Vote Strength;

Where as the electoral trends in the politics of Sindh were concerned, they were dominated by the influence of a few families in some of the constituencies, but that is not a constant pattern. Members of these families once stood as an independent candidate in an electoral contest, tried to contest the next election on the party ticket. It meant that political dynamics of this region were in the process of change. Independent candidates’ numerical strength was not very effective in terms of its winning seats. They were two in 1988, five in 1990, one in 1993 and four in 1997. In provincial domain performance of independents was also not very impressive, there number stood at 5 in 1988, 19 in 1990, 5 in 1993 and 14 in 1997. Their position in provincial constituency was rather a little impressive in 1990 and 1997 election due to the advantage of small constituency as compared to national constituency in terms of approaching the local intermediaries and developing the commune network for the mobilization of the masses. There was another factor which increased their strength in the provincial election of 1990 when PPP formed the electoral alliance in the name of Pakistan Democratic Alliance(PDA) which distorted the image of PPP as an independent party, particularly in Sindh. This alliance was formed with Asghar Khan’s Tehreek-i-Istaqlal, Malik Qasim Muslim League and Sajid Naqvi Tehreek Nafaz Fiqa Jaffaria. These parties never amassed a good chunk of vote. Therefore they never got a single seat in the national and provincial elections. This alliance badly affected the position of PPP in some provincial constituencies where PPP remained victorious in the election 1988.

---

5 It was named as Pakistan Democratic Alliance(PDA). The Herald, Election 1990, p.16.
The analysis of some provincial constituencies has provided ample evidence about the changing position of the candidates from their independent stature in one election to a holder of party’s ticket in the next one. In the analysis of provincial constituencies the trend of 1990 election has been comparatively viewed with election 1988 and 1993 to check the proposition that how far independent candidates took the advantage of PPP’s alliance with Tahreek-i-Istaqlal and Tehreek-i-Fiqa Jafria, named as PDA.

In the given analysis, those parties and candidates have been mentioned in bold who have taken the highest number of votes. It also depicted the changing position of the candidates from their independent stance to hold a party ticket in the next election. The question is that why they had been forced to do so?

In **PS-2 Sukhur-ii:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>1988</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>1993</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>52.24%</td>
<td>41.52%</td>
<td>49.79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML(N)</td>
<td>45.28%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>44.37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>53.53%</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Rahim Buksh as an independent candidate in 1990 got more votes as compared to 1988 and 1993. In this constituency he won the election 1990 with the margin of eight percent more vote as compared to 1988 but he lost the election 1993 in spite of getting the ticket of PML-N. In 1993 his vote was 9.16 percent less from that of 1990. It appeared that people favored those candidates who either stood independently or on the ticket of PPP instead of other national party—PML-N. It has been observed from the general trends of elections 1970 and 1977 that PPP had a strong influence in most of the constituencies of Sindh. Its ideology and charismatic appeal of its leadership, particularly the personality of Zulfiquar Ali Bhutto and her daughter Benazir Bhutto had an enthralling influence over the people of Sindh. The people of Sindh always eulogized the legacy of Bhutto. That is why preference of this party by the independents was beneficial for them rather than any other party. It has been observed that Rahim Bux lost both elections which he contested on the ticket of IJI/PML-N. Positive thing in terms of political realization was that candidate felt the need of the party to contest the election. Candidate decided to opt the platform of a party instead of contesting the coming election independently. This
realization was proving evidence that parties were important for electioneering. In the questionnaire sample it was asked from the voters about their preference to party in their voting decision, then answer was 100% in favour of national political party (see the response of the respondents at the end of thesis). It seemed that people favoured those candidates or the parties which were people oriented in their practical approach. The leadership role was also seemingly more important in mobilizing the masses. The factor of legacy of Bhutto had also a far reaching impact on the psyche of the people of Sindh. People perceived in Bhutto’s character a dual aspect—one was its historical attachment with the norms of the locale and other its role in national politics to maneuver for the rights of the people of Sindh. In the questionnaire sample it was asked from the voters about the role of political leadership in the political awareness of the voters, then 88% preferred their role. So it endorsed the political importance of the leadership in the mobilization of the masses (see the response of the respondents at the end of thesis).

PPP got victory in 1988 and in 1993 but it lost the seat in 1990 due to its participation in an alliance, named as PDA. This alliance was also a significant factor in the defeat of PPP in Sindh. But it did not mean that there were no other causes in the defeat of PPP. Possibility was that its past performance in the government could not satisfy the people of the region and therefore it lost its image in the masses as a sole protector of their interests. This trend was endorsed by the answer of the respondents in the questionnaire where 41 percent respondent said that party of last governed should not come into power again(see the response of the respondents at the end of thesis). This thesis was workable in national election but not very effective in provincial elections because in provincial election people had their vote for PPP. That is why in provincial election PPP had 65 seats in 1988, 46 in 1990(only 4 seats less than half of the total seats of provincial assembly), 56 in 1993 and 36 in 1997 out of total 100 seats of provincial assembly. The other thing was that as it has been observed in chapter two that most of the parties were weak in their structural organization which loosened its impact on voters, but in the context of Pakistan’s politics this deficiency of party’s organization had not obstructed the voters to be the part of electoral process. The growing strength of independents in 1990 election was due to the factor of PDA. It has been shown in below given analysis of constituencies.
PS-9 Shikarpur-iii:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>1988</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>1993</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>59.30%</td>
<td>43.32%</td>
<td>56.05%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML(N)</td>
<td>39.70%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>50.61%</td>
<td>Ibrahim Khan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPP</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>42.14%Ibrahim Khan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Percentage of electoral data has been counted by the Researcher. Election data was published by the Election Commission of Pakistan)

Ibrahim Khan won the election 1990 as an independent candidate and took the advantage of the policy of alliance. PPP by changing its denomination in 1990, affected its vote bank which had been cashed in on by other contestants who have taken independent stance. They avoided to take other parties’ ticket and if they did so, lost their voting strength and defeated. It happened to Ibrahim Khan in 1993 election, indicated in constituency chart, in 1993 he took the ticket of PML-N and lost the seat with 8.02 percent less vote from that of 1990.

The analysis of constituency PS-14 also showed same results and trends.

PS-14 Jacobabad:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>1988</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>1993</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>61.11%</td>
<td>43.83%</td>
<td>49.04%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>36.52%</td>
<td>Agha</td>
<td>53.09%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agha Ghulam Ali</td>
<td>32.59%</td>
<td>Agha</td>
<td>Ghulam Ali</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Percentage of electoral data has been counted by the Researcher. Election data was published by the Election Commission of Pakistan)

Agha Ghulam Ali contested the three elections independently from 1988 to 1993 but he secured only one that was of 1990. He got the seat due to the weak electoral position of PDA due to loosing the image of real party by Pakistan Peoples Party. The electoral alliance of PDA had not taken legitimate existence in the eyes of people of Sindh. Agha Ghulam Ali took the advantage of loosing vote of PPP which was 17 percent less in 1990 from that of 1988 and the same was cast in his favour in the election 1990. He again contested the election 1993 as an independent candidate which could be the result of not being awarded the ticket by the party, and he lost the election. It appeared that in 1993, people preferred to cast their vote for the party and in their
eyes PPP was the legitimate organization for their vote. But in 1990, when Pakistan Peoples Party was in alliance and appeared with the new name of Peoples Democratic Alliance, could not muster the support of the voters.

The analysis of constituency PS-16 also showed same results and trends.

**PS-16 Nausheroferoz-ii:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>1988</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>1993</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>74.33%</td>
<td>43.74%</td>
<td>62.57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML(N)</td>
<td>22.73%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>33.8% Agha Ali Shah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>50.68%</td>
<td>Agha Ali Shah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Percentage of electoral data has been counted by the Researcher. Election data was published by the Election Commission of Pakistan)

Agha Ali shah in this constituency gained more votes due to ineffectual position of PDA in 1990 and won the seat. His next move was not very astute in electoral arena and failed to see the electoral dynamics of his constituency and the region of Sindh which consequently damaged his position when he took the ticket of PML-N in 1993 election. He not only lost the seat but also secured 17.60% less vote from his previous performance. The electoral strength of PML-N was not very impressive in this province. PML-N voting strength on winning seats in National Assembly varied from 3 percent to 9 percent from 1990 to 1997 while in 1988 it could not get a single seat that is why its voting share was zero on winning seats. It has been showed in table -1.

The analysis of constituency PS-49 also showed same results and trends.

**PS-49 Badin-iv:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>1988</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>1993</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>42.80% M.Ismail Rahu</td>
<td>44.94%</td>
<td>54.99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>14.48%</td>
<td>54.21% M.Ismail Rahu</td>
<td>42.64% M.Ismail Rahu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>32.02%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Percentage of electoral data has been counted by the Researcher. Election data was published by the Election Commission of Pakistan)

M. Ismail Rahu secured the seat not for his independent stature but it was the seeming effect of his past electoral denomination which supported his stature. He stood in the election 1988 on the ticket of PPP and won the seat. He carried forward his past image in 1990 and took advantage of
PDA alliance and won the seat as an independent candidate. He contested the election 1993 again as an independent candidate which could be surmised that he was not awarded ticket by the PPP because of his past drifting attitude from the party. He lost the election 1993 when he contested that election independently again. It has been endorsed by the response of the questionnaire when it was asked from the respondents that either they prefer national party, Islamic party and the regionalist/nationalist party in their voting decision. Response was very encouraging that on the question of preference for national party all liked to vote for them while on Islamic and regionalist/nationalist party five and six responded showed their preference (see the response of the respondents at the end of thesis). It reflected the preference of voters for national party, particularly in Sindh, the choice was Pakistan Peoples Party except in Karachi and Hyderabad where it secured hardly a seat in each city. People of this area were conscious of their priorities and knew well that with whom they have to associate and for whom to cast their vote. It showed their maturity in having their choice of that candidate and party which could deliver better to them. The analysis of constituency PS-56 also showed same results and trends

**PS-56 Tharparkar-vii:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>1988 Percentage</th>
<th>1990 Percentage</th>
<th>1993 Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>50.08% Noor M.Shah</td>
<td>46.29%</td>
<td>62.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>48.05% Arbab Maqbool</td>
<td>52.65% Noor M.Shah</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML(N)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>35.69% Noor M.Shah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Percentage of electoral data has been counted by the Researcher. Election data was published by the Election Commission of Pakistan)

Noor Muhammad Shah got the benefit of his independent stance in 1990 due to his better perception of the situation and won the seat. But his next move was not very calculated, and failed to see the electoral dynamics of the constituency by getting the ticket of PML-N in 1993 election which was the factor to his defeat also. In the table above, his percentage has fallen down and he lost the seat in 1993 with 16.95% less vote which he got in 1990 election.
**PS-59 Dadu-ii:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>1988</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>1993</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>80.05%</td>
<td>46.42%</td>
<td>58.36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>18.15%</td>
<td>Koural Shah</td>
<td>52.56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML(N)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>34.74%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Percentage of electoral data has been counted by the Researcher. Election data was published by the Election Commission of Pakistan)

**PS-68 Sanghar-v:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>1988</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>1993</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>55.51%</td>
<td>22.10%</td>
<td>47.89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Abdul Salam Taheem</td>
<td>Salam Taheem</td>
<td>Salam Taheem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>23.92%</td>
<td>M.Wassan</td>
<td>72.87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML(N)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>47.82%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Percentage of electoral data has been counted by the Researcher. Election data was published by the Election Commission of Pakistan)

In the above said constituencies PS-59 and PS-68 independents won the election 1990 and they defeated Pakistan Peoples Party’s candidate with good margin of vote. But after that election these candidates could not appear in the election 1993.

Such kind of political trend was not recurring phenomenon but it emerged as strong factor in influencing the electoral politics of the province. Candidates had become aware of their electoral position vis-à-vis PPP. They took the advantage of PPP’s alliance in 1990 but were not in a position to elbow out the party from the constituency. Independents took the advantage of changing denomination of Pakistan Peoples Party in 1990. The name of PPP in that election was PDA by having the alliance with other parties which never got a standing in the province of Sindh. The winning of independents showed that they did not take the ticket of any other party. Once they had been drifted from the Pakistan Peoples Party in 1990 election, they were rejected in the election 1993 by the party for party’s candidature in the constituencies of Sindh. For independents there was no other option but to take the ticket of other major party that was PML-N. It was good sign that candidates always preferred to have the tickets of major parties instead of smaller, religious and regional parties. Candidates seemed very conscious about the tendency of the voters of their constituency and they decided accordingly. That is why independents also
changed their position in-spite of winning the elections and preferred party ticket because of the percolated effect of the party through its formal and informal means.

6.3.2. Party’s Preference in the Politics of Sindh;
In Sindh it was visible by the results of national and provincial elections that majority of the candidates were elected on party platforms. Candidates of this region, particularly in rural areas preferred the ticket of Pakistan Peoples Party, except in few constituencies in which personalities have their own or family influence, contested independently or took the ticket of a party that was opposite to PPP. PPP had a psychological penetration in the minds of the people of this region due to mass politics of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. Bhutto family kept intact its relationship with the people of this region through the organization of the party or through the use of symbol of Sindhi culture.

Electoral politics of the province indicated that it was being revolved around parties. If any personality was winning in one election in his/her independent capacity, he or she was the candidate of a party in the next election. Their winning in the election was seemingly depended upon the influence of their family and as well on the extended grip of the party which had been visible in the constituencies. In the constituency of N.A-156 Jacobabad Mr Illahi Buksh Somroo contested the election 1990 independently but he fought the elections 1993 and 1997 on the ticket of PML-N. In N.A-157 Jacobabad-ii Bijarani family had an influence where the candidates of this family were in position to oppose each other. They contested the elections either on party ticket or independently. Mir Mehran Khan Bijarani fought the elections 1988, 1990, 1993 on PPP platform and won in 1988, 1993. Other contender was Mir Hazar Khan Bijarani who contested the elections 1990 and 1993 independently and lost the seat. He contested the election 1997 on PPP(SB)\(^6\) ticket and won the seat. In PS-2 Ghotki-ii, Mr.Rahim Bux Khan contested the election 1990 independently and won the seat, but in the elections 1993 and 1997, he got the party tickets. In 1993 he was the candidate of PML-N and lost the seat. In 1997 he contested the election on PPP ticket and won the seat.

Another interesting feature has been observed that if any candidate was contesting the election on a ticket of a party, opposite of PPP, that candidate in the next election tried to compete either

---

\(^6\) Pakistan Peoples Party-Shaheed Bhutto was formed in 1993 by Murtaza Bhutto, son of Zulfqar Ali Bhutto who came back to Pakistan during the government of Benazir Bhutto. The party could not make any headway in electoral contest but after the murder of Murtaza Bhutto in 1996 it worked as a spoiling factor in the politics of Sindh during the election 1997.
independently or on a ticket which may be the offshoot of a major party—PPP or the PML-N. In the provincial constituency PS-9 Shikarpur-iii, Muhammad Ibrahim Jatoi stood on the ticket of IJI in 1988 election and was an independent candidate in 1990 election, but in coming elections he opted the platform of National Peoples Party(NPP) instead of PML(N). This strategy was seemingly more successful in winning the elections and he got the seat in 1997. In this constituency the vote of NPP was 55.45% and of PPP was 18.61%. NPP and PPP-SB were the offshoots of Pakistan Peoples Party(PPP) but they had not made any dents in the votes of PPP. National Peoples Party was formed by Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi who was a frontline stalwart of PPP in the period of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto but when Benazir Bhutto started her political career in the movement for restoration of democracy in the period of Military Dictator, Zia, Mr.Jatoi was not trusted in the affairs and matters of the party. He deserted the party and formed the National Peoples Party. He also used the label of Peoples Party to show the people that he is attached to the philosophy of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto to get their sympathies. But he could not muster the support of the masses because people knew well that what organization had a legitimate existence. He or his candidates only succeeded in their home constituencies. Same kind of political performance was also witnessed for PPP-SB. This organization appeared in the election 1997 in which its’ vote bank stood at 3.26%. It worked only as spoiling factor for PPP in the election 1997.

In the constituency of PS-11 Jacobabad-ii, Bijrani family had an influence and it took the seat in 1990,1993 as an independent contender. In the constituency of PS-12 Jacobabad-iii, Dr.Sohrab Kahn Sarki was an independent candidate in 1993 and won the election, but in 1997 he contested on the ticket of PPP and won the seat. There was psychic fear of losing the seat in the next election which compelled the candidates to have the tickets of the political party. In the interior Sindh, PPP had a very strong influence in terms of vote. That is why most of the candidates preferred to have the ticket of this party.

In the national and provincial politics of Sindh, Pakistan Peoples Party enticed the voter by getting the big chunk of seats and votes. Another party which had an influence in Karachi and Hyderabad was Haq Parast Group/MQM (Muajir Quami Movement). Haq Parast Group/MQM (Muajir Quami Movement) had good standing in some of the eleven to thirteen constituencies out of total 46 national constituencies of the Sindh. It has also been observed that MQM had not showed any electoral standing in other provinces of Pakistan. So consequently it was tagged as a
regional party rather than a national one. The other interesting phenomenon that was observed in the election 1997, was the substantial appearance of PML-N on the electoral horizon of Sindh. Pakistan Muslim League –Nawaz made good come back in the provincial election 1997 where it got more votes and seats as compared to the previous elections. It broke the stronghold of PPP in the different constituencies by taking the advantage of factional politics. Details of this factor are discussed in the portion of factional politics.

(Provincial vote and seat of PML-N)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML(N)</td>
<td>01(0.46%)</td>
<td>06(3.27%)</td>
<td>08(4.46%)</td>
<td>14(6.51%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


6.3.3. Factional Politics in Sindh;

In the national politics of Sindh Pakistan Peoples Party seemed dominant in all elections in-spite of emerging different factions from within its fold by having the claim of Bhutto’s legacy. Pakistan Peoples Party(Shaheed Bhutto Group) led by Murtaza Bhutto, son of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and National Peoples Party(NPP)7 led by Mustafa Jattoi, old stalwart of peoples party appeared in 1997 election and each secured one seat without giving any challenge to the vote bank of Pakistan Peoples Party led by Benazir Bhutto, daughter of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. Shaheed Bhutto faction affected the performance of PPP in different national and provincial constituencies. The analysis truly shed the light on the effects of factional politics which created defection in the vote bank of PPP in Sindh in the election 1997. The other reasons of low vote ratio of PPP in the election 1997 could be assigned to the voter’s economic and psychic concerns. Voter was not sure of the continuity of political process which was being checked from 1988 to 1996 in the form of dissolution of political governments. Particularly Sindhi rural voter was uncertain of the participation of PPP in the election 1997 and that is why turn out ratio of the party vote and over all Sindh vote was low in that year as compared to previous national elections of 1988 and1990. Turn out stood at 31.31% in the national election 1997 and 30.06% in

7 National Peoples Party was formed in 1986 by Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi and Ghulam Mustafa khar. Both defected from Pakistan Peoples Party when Benazir returned Pakistan in 1986. Personality differences were the major cause in the formation of this party rather than any ideological differences with Pakistan Peoples Party. The Herald, Election 1988, p.13.
provincial election, while in 1988 it was 42.38% in the national election and 42.31% in the provincial election. There was the difference of 11 and 10 percent in both the elections which reflected the apathy of voters. This low tendency of voters to go for polls directly affected the vote bank of Pakistan Peoples Party rather than the other parties.

Underlying analysis of constituency to constituency vote tally difference will depict the situation of parties and leaders performance in terms of their vote strength.

In the constituency of N.A-156 Jacobabad:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>85.95%</td>
<td>48.84%</td>
<td>60.44%</td>
<td>26.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI?PML(N)</td>
<td>10.69%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>33.69%</td>
<td>43.18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP-SB</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>18.79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>49.72%</td>
<td>Illahi Buksh Soomro</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Percentage of electoral data has been counted by the Researcher. Election data was published by the Election Commission of Pakistan)

1988
- Sardar Muqeeem Khan-PPP
- Taj Muhammad Jamil-IJI

1990
- Sardar Muqeeem Khan-PDA
- Illahi Buksh Soomro -IND

1993
- Ahmed Nawaz Khan -PPP
- Khawand Buksh -PPP
- Illahi Buksh Soomro -PML-N

1997
- Ahmed Nawaz Khan -PPP-SB
- Illahi Buksh Soomro - PML-N

Different trends emerged in the election 1990 in which an independent candidate had won the election because of silent backing of IJI which remained absent in that election. Ilahi Buksh Soomro had its own standing in that constituency which was positive factor and that paid him in terms of electoral gains. He adopted a good strategy in the election 1990 by taking an independent stance in opposition to PPP. The dissolution of PPP government in 1990 could create sympathy in the hearts of Sindhis’ people for PPP, and to check that move he decided so.

In the election 1993 Ilahi Buksh Soomro had to face the defeat with the margin of 26% of vote
from Ahmed Nawaz Khan, candidate of PPP. Ilahi Buksh Soomro again won the election 1997 on the ticket of PML-N and this time he took the advantage of factional politics. PPP-SB was the main cause of PPP’s defeat. It took 18.79% of vote which was exactly the same margin by which PPP had to face the defeat in the election 1997. There was also the factor of changing candidate by PPP in the election 1997 which gave the impression in the minds of voters that PPP was not relying over the performance of its previous candidate. There was also simmering impression that Ahmed Nawaz Khan himself opted the platform of PPP-SB in 1997 while previously he stood on PPP’s ticket. He chooses PPP-SB ticket on the basis of a tradition that son has the right to represent the family after father’s death in social and political affairs. In this context Murtaza Bhutto was rightly claimant of Bhutto’s legacy. In the constituency N.A-159 Naushero Feroz, similar trends have been visualized. N.A-159 Naushero Feroz:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>69.22%</td>
<td>51.04%</td>
<td>61.82%</td>
<td>25.37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML-N</td>
<td>29.37%</td>
<td>46.11%</td>
<td>36.64%</td>
<td>33.94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>0.90%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.18%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>24.47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP(SB)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12.06%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TURN OUT</td>
<td>44.86%</td>
<td>52.80%</td>
<td>44.37%</td>
<td>41.75%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Candidates’ chart has been given:

1988
1. ZAFAR ALI SHAH-PPP
2. GHULAM MUSTAFA-IJI
3. GHULAM MUJTABA-IND

1990
1. ZAFAR ALI SHAH-PDA
2. GHULAM MUJTABA-IJI

1993
1. ZAFAR ALI SHAH-PPP
2. KHALID MIAN-PML-N
3. GHULAM RASOOL JATOI-NPP

1997
1. ASGHAR ALI SHAH-PML-N
2. KHALID MIAN-PPP
3. GHULAM RASOOL JATOI-NPP
4. ZAFAR ALI SHAH-PPP-SB
This constituency presented the picture of factional politics and of its affects in 1997 when NPP (National Peoples Party) and PPP-SB (Pakistan Peoples Party Shaheed Bhutto) affected the performance of PPP and it lost the seat. PPP was at the margin of 8.57% less than that of PML-N in 1997 and this was due to the vote of NPP-24.47% and PPP(SB)-12.06%. The combined vote of both these factional parties have taken the share of PPP which garnered the vote of 69.22% in 1988, 51.04% in 1990 and 61.82% in 1993 and stood at victory stand in all the previous elections. Another interesting trend of changing candidates had been seen in this constituency in 1997 election. PPP changed her candidate Zafar Ali Shah and gave the ticket to Khalid Mian who stood at PML-N in 1993 election. It might be affected the performance of PPP, because in the last three elections Zafar Ali Shah was the candidate of PPP. It could be the Zafar Ali Shah’s personal will to have the ticket of PPP-SB. Fractional politics in Sindh emerged on personal interests and to get the sympathy of the voters always linked with the legacy of Bhutto by using the symbol or the name of the party of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. This factional politics created the space for the PML-N in 1997 national and provincial elections. This factional politics also changed the psyche of the candidates which had been seen in the constituencies N.A-176 Tharparkar/Thar and N.A-177 Dadu-i. In N.A-176 Arbab Ghulam Rahim contested the national election 1993 on the PPP ticket but due to fear of losing the seat, he contested the 1997 election independently. In N.A-177 Dadu-I, Malik Assad Skinder Khan was the candidate of PPP in all the three previous elections and he secured the vote of 83.74% in 1988, 69.89% in 1990 and 68.26% in 1993. In the election 1997, he stood independently due to fear of loosing the seat by the involvement of PPP-SB. He won the seat with the margin of 8% of vote from the candidate of PPP. PPP got 40.18% vote, PPP-SB got 3.50% while independent secured48.12% vote in 1997 election. In the constituency N.A-179 Dadu-iii, PPP has to face the defeat minutely in the election 1997 due to the presence of PPP-SB. Defeat of PPP’s candidate could be assigned to the 12% vote of Shaheed Bhutto group as compared to the vote of PPP—41.75%, but the vote of winning party IJI/PML(N) was 45.17%. While all the previous election of this constituency had been won by the PPP. Peoples Party Shaheed Bhutto faction badly affected the performance of PPP in this constituency. In the election 1997, winning margin of PML-N was 3.36% of vote in this constituency. The vote of PPP-SB clearly snatched the vote of PPP which stood at 74.89% in 1988, 61.52% in 1990 and 60.13% in 1993.
N.A-179 Dadu-iii

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>74.89%</td>
<td>61.52%</td>
<td>60.13%</td>
<td>41.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML-N</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>39.86%</td>
<td>45.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP-SB</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>12.22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNP</td>
<td>20.24%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SNA</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>36.14%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Percentage of electoral data has been counted by the Researcher. Election data was published by the Election Commission of Pakistan)

The dynamics of provincial electoral politics were in little bit in variation. It appeared due to the less area of provincial constituency and the less number of registered votes as compared to the national constituency. It provided opportunity to candidates to have rapid and effective interaction with the people of the area, and resultanty they mobilized the masses for their respective agenda. Candidate’s personality and family’s influence seemingly proved some time effective in the winning of seat. The analysis of the provincial constituencies provided an insight into the role of the parties and as well of the families in garnering the support of the voters for their cause.

In the constituency of PS-1 Ghotki-1, PPP-SB affected the performance of PPP in the election 1997. The seat of this constituency was won by PML-N. Pakistan Peoples Party remained victorious in the previous three elections. That showed that it was effective in this constituency but factional politics damaged its vote bank in the election 1997. PML-N got 36.34% of vote while PPP stood at 21.83%, the difference of 14% vote was due to the PPP-SB which took 11.95%vote and by the vote of an independent candidate Muneer Ahmed who got 16.83%. In PS-8 Shikarpur-ii, again PML-N took the advantage of PPP-SB faction which got the 14.43% vote in 1997 election and became the main cause of PPP’s defeat which got 34.18% vote while PML(N) stood at 35.24% vote. There was the margin of less than 1% of vote in the defeat of PPP. In PS-13 Jacobabad-iv, PPP had shown good performance by winning the elections 1988,1990 and 1993. But it lost the election 1997 when PPP-SB with its vote margin of 19.61% affected the PPP. Mir Naseer Khan Khoso took the advantage of this factional politics by winning the seat with the margin of 5.82% vote as an independent candidate. Mir Naseer Khan Khoso got 38.75% vote while PPP stood at 32.92%. In PS-22 Nawabshah-iii, PPP remained on
victory stand in the elections 1988, 1990, 1993 but it had to face the defeat in 1997 election. This defeat was seemingly caused by the PPP-SB which affected the performance of PPP. PPP-SB took 16.19% vote while PPP stood at 32.16% which was 15.09% less from the winning candidate who stood independently and took the 46.25% vote. The winning candidate did not opt the ticket of any other party, opposite to PPP, and there was also the support of other parties to the winning candidate by not contesting the election in this constituency.

**PS-22 Nawabshah-iii:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>76.18%</td>
<td>81.44%</td>
<td>84.08%</td>
<td>32.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP-SB</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>16.19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML-N</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>15.83%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>21.45% Sher M.Unar</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>9.85% Arif Niazi</td>
<td>46.25% Khan M.Dahri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


This factional politics have indirectly given the advantage to PML-N in 1997 provincial election. It got 14 seats while in previous elections it stood at one seat in 1988, 6 in 1990 and 8 in 1993.

In below given constituency PML-N took the advantage of factional politics in 1997 and got the seat with the vote of 45.51% which was 15.09% more than the vote of PPP. PPP stood at 30.46%, while PPP-SB took the 19.88% vote from the share of PPP which stood at 60.58% in 1990 and 51.38% in 1993.

**PS-23 Nawabshah-iv:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>60.58%</td>
<td>51.38%</td>
<td>30.46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP-SB</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>19.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML-N</td>
<td>28.79%</td>
<td>36.77%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>45.51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>69.06% Imdad M.Shah</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>46.52% Ghulam Mustafa Shah</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the provincial domain, PML-N targeted those voters which were divided between the PPP and its factions. In that situation floating voters was enticed by the program and leadership of PML-N. In PS-24 Khairpur-1, Qaim Ali Shah, the old stalwart of PPP had been defeated in the election 1997, while he remained victorious in all the previous elections. In PS-51 Mirpur Khas-ii(Old Tharparkar) PML-N took advantage of this factional politics and won the seat in 1997 with the margin of 7.58% of vote. PPP had to face the defeat due to split of its own vote bank. In this election PPP stood at 31.76%, PPP-SB got 13.79% and PML-N took 39.34% of vote. In the electoral politics of Sindh influence of PPP was visible in its performance in all the elections of national and provincial assemblies. Its performance had been affected in the period of 1990 and 1997 due to the dissolution of PPP governments of 1988 and 1993 prematurely.

The factor of dissolution of the government of any party could not meet the demands of the public in the period of two or three years. It resultantly distorted the image of the party and, its votes were less than the previous ones. PPP electoral indicators were truly depicting this situation in national and provincial elections of Sindh. In national elections Pakistan Peoples Party stood at 31 seats (36.2% vote) in 1988; 23 seats (28.18% vote) in 1990; 33 seats (44.16% vote) in 1993; 18 seats (19.28% vote) in 1997. Pakistan Peoples Party formed the government in 1988 but could not complete its term of five years which affected its electoral performance in 1990. Same in 1993 it again formed the government but could not complete the term which badly affected its performance in 1997 elections. This trend for PPP is also visible in provincial domain.

Seats and their vote percentage of winning seats in provincial elections are given below. Seats and Percentage has been counted by the Researcher.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>67(38.89%)</td>
<td>46(28.30%)</td>
<td>56(31.62%)</td>
<td>34(15.62%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PPP’s Vote percentage of all contesting seats of Provincial Assembly Sindh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>45.23%</td>
<td>35.46%</td>
<td>39.34%</td>
<td>24.03%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Percentage has been counted by the Researcher)

6.3.4. Politics of MQM/HPG;

The politics of HPG/MQM was seemingly revolved around the constructed references of identity on the basis of migratory metaphors. MQM cashed on the deprivation of those segments of the population who had migrated in 1947 from India to Pakistan and most of them settled in Karachi and Hyderabad. HPG/MQM has done better in the electoral game in all national constituencies of Karachi except one, and two out of the five constituencies of Hyderabad where this community has settled in great majority after partition. It has a sharp appeal in these constituencies and it is endorsed by the low turnout ratio in these constituencies when HPG/MQM remained absent in 1993 elections of National Assembly. It is visible in table below.

Low Turnout Ratio is visible in 1993 election due to absence of MQM/HPG:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.A-168</td>
<td>58.56</td>
<td>54.14</td>
<td>18.60</td>
<td>34.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyderabad-ii</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-169</td>
<td>55.58</td>
<td>59.87</td>
<td>15.11</td>
<td>32.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyderabad-iii</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Area</td>
<td>Value 1</td>
<td>Value 2</td>
<td>Value 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-184</td>
<td>Karachi West -i</td>
<td>41.81</td>
<td>37.69</td>
<td>22.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-185</td>
<td>Karachi West -i</td>
<td>43.06</td>
<td>41.57</td>
<td>12.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-186</td>
<td>Karachi Central-i</td>
<td>53.78</td>
<td>46.71</td>
<td>13.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-187</td>
<td>Karachi Central-ii</td>
<td>54.43</td>
<td>52.02</td>
<td>9.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-188</td>
<td>Karachi Central-iii</td>
<td>55.44</td>
<td>48.64</td>
<td>8.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-190</td>
<td>Karachi South-ii</td>
<td>51.02</td>
<td>43.93</td>
<td>23.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-191</td>
<td>Karachi South-iii</td>
<td>47.80</td>
<td>41.05</td>
<td>24.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-192</td>
<td>Karachi East-i</td>
<td>51.12</td>
<td>43.67</td>
<td>19.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-193</td>
<td>Karachi East-ii</td>
<td>46.69</td>
<td>44.64</td>
<td>17.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-194</td>
<td>Karachi East-iii</td>
<td>48.47</td>
<td>45.84</td>
<td>15.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-195</td>
<td>Karachi East-iv</td>
<td>45.75</td>
<td>40.66</td>
<td>19.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A-196</td>
<td>Karachi East-v</td>
<td>55.14</td>
<td>56.53</td>
<td>17.12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The instrumentally created ethnic party MQM/HPG changed the political scene of the province by dividing the Sindh into rural and urban area. MQM/HPG had overawed influence in the urban constituencies in which they had their strength. This party is now a reality in the political arena of Pakistan and particularly in the province of Sindh. No provincial government was in the position to make headway without the support of this party. So most of the governments of the province were coalition in which MQM/HPG had its share. MQM/HPG retained its influence in both the national and the provincial constituencies. It gained the seats in all the four elections which have been showed in the table 1&3. The vote bank of ‘muahijr’ ethnic community increased the tally of independents in the election 1988 because MQM/HPG contested that election without any denomination. After the election 1988, vote of independents declined sharply to the level of 9.21% in 1990, 1.39% in 1993 and 5.12% in 1997 national election. Independents were lumped together with the vote bank of MQM/HPG in 1988. The total vote of MQM/HPG and of independents was 25.07% in 1988 but the original vote of independents was 2.91% in 1988 and this has been counted where name of the independents have not been repeated in the constituency or the seat has been won in coming election by the MQM/HPG. The strength of independents was not effective in influencing the political contours of the province.

**Indicators of National Elections:** vote %age of winning seats by MQM/HPG in National elections has been counted by the Researcher.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HPG/MQM/IND*</td>
<td>13(22.16%)</td>
<td>15(26.50%)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>12(14.38%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>02(2.91%)</td>
<td>05(9.21%)</td>
<td>01(1.39%)</td>
<td>04(5.12%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.4. General Features of the Electoral Politics of Sindh:

In the province of Sindh the role of regionalist/nationalist cannot be ignored in their influence on voters. They always talked more about the rights of the people of Sindh but seemingly have not been supported by the voters in the election. So the level of support of the people of Sindh for them was seemingly very low and it relegated them in the background. Sindhi nationalist lost their appeal in influencing the voter’s emotive response for the cause of the provincial rights. They stressed on the issue of the provincial autonomy and for which they campaigned. But they failed to harness the support of the masses in the elections. There might be some other causes for their low level of support. It could be the cause of the low level of organization of regional political parties or it could be the failure of not addressing the proper demands of the public. So that is why they had never been approved by the people. On the other hand PPP due to the origin of its leadership from this province and the strong program of improving the lot of people had enticed the voter. PPP retained its voter strength in all elections except 1997, but its position was constant in this province with little variation in its vote bank in 1997 election. It secured the eighteen seats in the national election 1997, not from others provinces except Sindh. PPP could not retain its position in the election 1997 due to many factors; first one could be that it has not properly addressed the problems of the public, secondly there could be the weakness of its political organization; thirdly prematurely dissolution of its governments of 1988 and 1993; fourthly Factional politics and uncertainty of the political process had caused the relative reasons for its low performance.

This province was strong bastion of PPP than any other regional or national parties. IJI/PML-N could not make inroad in this province in spite of the poor performance of PPP in 1997 election. PPP has retained the charisma of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in this region more as compared to other regions of Pakistan due to the status of Sindh as motherland of Bhutto’s family. It was clear that political outlook of this province determined by the politics of national parties not by the regional parties. It was also endorsed by the winning of the independent candidates, who were less in number in national election and as well as in provincial elections except in 1988 when HPG/MQM contested the national and provincial elections independently without using the party name. Generally the myth of wadera politics was seemingly broken down and no such effective influence of family seemed on the voter’s psyche which is socially constructed. In some of the
constituencies, there was the influence of the families which seemed in N.A-157 Jacobabad, N.A-158 Naushero Feroz and in N.A-176 Tharparkar-iii.

The regional parties like Jiye Sindh Mahaz(G.M.Sayed)\(^8\), Sindh National Front(Mumtaz Bhutto)\(^9\) and Sindh Taraqi Pasand Party\(^10\) led by Dr.Qadir Magsi were nowhere in the arena of voter’s game. These regionalist parties seemed very mutilated in their structure and program and that is why they could not get a single seat in all the elections of National Assembly but got one or two seats in the Provincial Assembly. Statistics are given below in the table-1 and 3 to show the parties and independents’ strength in the national and provincial elections.

**Table-1 Sindh National Assembly Seats and Percentage of Vote of Winning Seats (Total=46)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>31(36.2%)</td>
<td>23(28.18%)</td>
<td>33(46.16%)</td>
<td>18(19.28%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML-N</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>03(3.82%)</td>
<td>10(9.99%)</td>
<td>09(9.09%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HPG/MQM/IND*</td>
<td>13(22.16%)</td>
<td>15(26.50%)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>12(14.38%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>02(2.91%)</td>
<td>05(9.21%)</td>
<td>01(1.39%)</td>
<td>04(5.12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP(SB)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>01(1.09%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPP</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>01(1.56%)</td>
<td>01(1.30%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIF</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>01(0.39%)</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\(^8\) Jiye Sindh Mahaz was formed in 1972 by G.M.Sayed for the independence of Sindh. It was also personality oriented party and had four principles based on ethnocentrism, secularism, democracy and socialism. It was more idealistic in its approach, and was difficult for it to complete its ideals or to give them any practical shape. Muhammad Usman & Masood Ashar, *Pakistan Ki Siyasi Jamateen* (Urdu), Sange meal Publications, Lahore, 2004, pp.518-19.

\(^9\) Sindh National Front was a component part of the Sindh nationalist United National Alliance and was headed by Mumtaz Ali Bhutto. He also took the charge of caretaker government of Sindh as a chief minister after the dissolution of PPP’s government in 1996 by the President Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari. United National Alliance was formed in the election 1997 with the cooperation of PPP-Shaheed Bhutto and Sindh Taraqi Pasand Party to counter the PPP. Mumtaz Ali Bhutto served as federal minister of communications and Sindh chief minister during the period of Zulfiquar Ali Bhutto. *The Herald, Election 1997, February, 1997*, p.51.

\(^10\) Dr.Qadir Magsi headed Sindh Taraqi Pasand Party after partying ways with G.M Sayed. Ibid.
Turn out | 42.38% | 43.28% | 28.23% | 31.31%  
--- | --- | --- | --- | ---  


**Table-2 Percentage of Vote of Parties on All Contesting National Seats=46**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>46.54%</td>
<td>41.8%</td>
<td>52.46%</td>
<td>31.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP-SB</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML-N</td>
<td>11.32%</td>
<td>8.81%</td>
<td>30.32%</td>
<td>18.45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MQM/HPG</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>26.82%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MQM(Haqi)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.17%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI-F/IJM</td>
<td>0.83%</td>
<td>0.93%</td>
<td>2.35%</td>
<td>1.51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.26%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>1.03%</td>
<td>0.67%</td>
<td>0.42%</td>
<td>0.14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPI</td>
<td>2.54%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNP</td>
<td>0.95%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAI</td>
<td>0.81%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAT</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.06%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTI</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIF</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.38%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDM</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.11%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other parties</td>
<td>0.29%</td>
<td>2.69%</td>
<td>3.16%</td>
<td>3.61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>35.68%</td>
<td>16.13%</td>
<td>8.63%</td>
<td>14.21%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-3 Sindh Provincial Assembly Seats and Percentage of Vote of Winning Seats (Total=100)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>65(38.89%)</td>
<td>46(28.30%)</td>
<td>56(31.62%)</td>
<td>36(16.62%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML-N</td>
<td>01(0.46%)</td>
<td>06(3.27%)</td>
<td>08(4.46%)</td>
<td>15(6.51%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HPG/MQM/IND</td>
<td>26(22.77%)</td>
<td>28(25.70%)</td>
<td>27(22.26%)</td>
<td>29(18.64%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>07(3.25%)</td>
<td>19(13.25%)</td>
<td>05(3.56%)</td>
<td>14(6.61%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP(SB)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>02(0.91%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPP</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>02(0.90%)</td>
<td>04(2.28%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBC</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>01(0.56%)</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SNA</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>01(0.95%)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPI(S)</td>
<td>01(0.43%)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turn out</td>
<td>42.31%</td>
<td>46.99%</td>
<td>37.25%</td>
<td>30.60%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table-4 Percentage of Votes of Parties on All Contesting Seats of Sindh Provincial Assembly

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>1988(%vote)</th>
<th>1990(%vote)</th>
<th>1993(%vote)</th>
<th>1997(%vote)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>45.23</td>
<td>35.46</td>
<td>39.34</td>
<td>24.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP-SB</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.17</td>
<td>8.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML-N</td>
<td>7.12</td>
<td>8.46</td>
<td>14.65</td>
<td>15.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MQM/HPG</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>28.94</td>
<td>22.53</td>
<td>21.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPI</td>
<td>1.82</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SNA</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SNF</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AT(Palejo)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI-F/IJM</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>0.82</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>1.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUP-N</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAI</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDP</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIF</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>2.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>42.26</td>
<td>22.97</td>
<td>13.08</td>
<td>13.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>5.51</td>
<td>13.12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this province where as national and provincial constituency politics was concerned, it was devoid of any religious influence. No religious party made any significant gain in national and provincial constituencies and it is visible in table1 and 3. In the constituency N.A-188 Karachi Central-iii, Pakistan Islamic Front was the winner in 1993 election and it was the single seat which Jammat-i-Islami won. This victory was the result of the boycott of national polls by MQM while it contested the provincial polls. Why the religious parties had been failed to get the public support in the election? There might be number of reasons of this phenomenon but one could be the more significant, of not having the practical political program and the capacity to deliver the tangible benefits. In the questionnaire sample it was asked from the voters about their choice of religious party in voting, then 8% gave their preference to vote for the religious party that showed the poor inclination of the people to them.

If a candidate was elected independently, he might have the influence of the party. Ghaus Baksh Mhar won as an independent candidate in N.A-155 in 1997 that was contingent upon his electoral contest in the provincial election in PS-9 in 1988,1990 and 1993 on Pakistan Peoples Party ticket and won the seat in 1988 and 1993. In the constituency N.A-157 Jacobabad-ii, family influence of the Bijrani family seemingly appeared because of their winning the seat in all elections but not independently. It was observed that in some of the constituencies independent candidates had the influence that was supportive in their winning if the national party through its electoral strategy rendered the support to him/her by remaining absent in that constituency. In PS-2 Sukkur, Rahim Bux won the seat independently in 1990 due to the absence of national party IJI/PML-N. IJI/PML-N due to good electoral strategy succeeded in securing the seat of independent candidate. Rahim Bux was the candidate of IJI in 1988 election but it lost. In the constituency PS-3 Sukkur iii, IJI/PML-N remained absent in 1990 provincial election and rendered the support to the independent candidate, Haji Ali Anwar and he won the seat. This showed that national party IJI/PML-N had also influence in Sindh where it contested the elections neck to neck in some constituencies. In NA-181 Sanghar-ii,Jam, Mahooq Ali won the election 1997 as an independent candidate due to the absence of PML-N, which had the electoral strength of 49.99% in 1993 elections and won the seat.

Behavior of the party is important in the choice of the contest and most of the time it is the prerogative of the party to choose the contest for the election. In N.A-161 PPP had a winning candidate Shabbir Shah in 1988 and 1990 elections who was replaced by the Hakim Ali Zardari
in 1993 election. Hakim Ali Zardari won that election against the Shabir Shah who contested independently in 1993. This strategy of changing candidates, particularly whose political career was good, not proved beneficial for the party. In this constituency Hakim Ali Zardari, candidate of PPP and father in law of Benazir Bhutto had to face the defeat from Shabbir Shah with the margin of 18% vote in 1997 election. Shabbir Shah was given the ticket of PML-N and he thrived on his past performance and by the supporting vote of PML-N he knocked the Hakim Ali Zardari down. This policy of PPP indirectly gave the opportunity of penetrating to PML-N in the strongholds of PPP.

N.A-161 Nawabshah:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>77.0%</td>
<td>80.0%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML-N</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>53% Shabbir Shah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>38% Shabbir Shah</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP-SB</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>6.15%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Percentage of electoral data has been counted by the Researcher. Election data was published by the Election Commission of Pakistan)

1988
Shabbir Ahmed Shah-PPP
M. Salah -IJI
1990
Shabbir Ahmed Shah-PDA
Ghulam Rasol Unar -IJI
1993
Hakim Ali Zardari -PPP
Shabbir Ahmed Shah -IND
1997
Mushtaq Ahmed Rahu-PPP
Shabbir Ahmed Shah -PML-N
Asif illahi dari -PPP-SB

Pakistan Peoples Party’s policy of shuffling candidates in the election 1997 in both the constituencies of N.A-160 and N.A-161 had caused to break up of its vote. It had to face the defeat in both the constituencies. In N.A-160, candidate was Faryal Talpur in the election 1997, daughter of Hakim Ali Zardari, could not muster the support of voters and not kept intact the vote base of PPP. The consequences of this depleting vote bank of PPP encouraged the emergence of PML-N in both these constituencies. Another feature of this constituency was the appearance of MQM/HPG which made inroads into this constituency and got 16.34% vote in the election 1997. Vote of MQM/HPG-16.34% and of PPP-SB-6.68% jointly targeted the vote bank
of PPP, that was variably 40% to 50%, and it had to face the defeat due to these appearing factors.

**N.A-160 Nawabshah:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>42.07%</td>
<td>46.77%</td>
<td>53.28%</td>
<td>31.95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML-N</td>
<td>21.89%</td>
<td>50.54%</td>
<td>38.30%</td>
<td>40.93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>16.87%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MQM/HPG</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>16.34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP-SB</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>6.68%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Percentage of electoral data has been counted by the Researcher. Election data was published by the Election Commission of Pakistan)

1988
- Hakim Ali Zardari -PPP
- Noor M. Shah -IJI
- Shabir Ahmed -IND

1990
- Asif Ali Zardari -PDA
- Ghulam Murtaza Khan -IJI

1993
- Asif Ali Zardari -PPP
- Kazim Hussain Shah -PML-N
- Abdul Roof Khan -HPG
- Noor Ahmed Shah -PPP-SB

1997
- Faryal Talpur -PPP
- Shoukat Hussain Shah -PML-N

The influence of the party had been observed in N.A-183 Thatta-ii. Shafqat Hussain Sherazi won the election independently in 1993 but he contested the election 1997 on the ticket of PPP. Influence of the family and influence of the personality most of the time had a relative effect. So in constituency N.A-181 Sanghar-ii winning of Jam Mashooq Ali in 1990,1993 and 1997 endorsed this factor. There was seemingly influence of the Jam family in this constituency. In this scenario, the major party particularly PML-N tried to support that candidate who has the potential to trounce the opponent. PML-N/IJI then adopted the policy of silent adjustment with the potential candidate who was opposing the PPP by remaining absent from the constituency. That is why IJI remained absent in 1988 and PML-N in 1997.
N.A-181 Sanghar-ii:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML-N</td>
<td>28.92%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>49.99%</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>46.62%</td>
<td>38.19%</td>
<td>44.63%</td>
<td>34.65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>22.23%</td>
<td>58.98%</td>
<td>1.92%</td>
<td>51.02%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Percentage of electoral data has been counted by the Researcher. Election data was published by the Election Commission of Pakistan)

In N.A-180 Sanghar-1, there was the influence of Pir Pagaro(spiritual leader). The standing of the candidate in this constituency depended upon the will of the Pir Pagaro. The voting strength of the independent candidates and the parties guided to determine the nature of the politics of this constituency. The victory of PML-N candidate in 1993 also depended upon the candidate’s choice of the ticket of the party which was seemingly backed by the Pir Pagaro. So here is exception in the choice of the ticket by the candidate due to the influence of peeri-muridi. Candidate had the option to have the ticket of the party or not. In this constituency Lucian W. Pye description seems sound when he compared the non-Western democracy with the Western one. He said that ‘…social status of the individual and his personal ties[with spiritual leader] largely determine his political behavior and the range of his influence’11.

N.A-180 Sanghar-i:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML-N</td>
<td>0.76%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>59.88%</td>
<td>12.46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>36.0%</td>
<td>23.11%</td>
<td>34.04%</td>
<td>20.58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>62.73%</td>
<td>76.17%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>63.09%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Percentage of electoral data has been counted by the Researcher. Election data was published by the Election Commission of Pakistan)

In N.A-158 Naushero Feroz-1 influence of Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi was visible. This influence was related to his personality and the role which he had performed in the arena of politics on behalf of his family roots in the area. All these factors had a combined effect on the voters in making their choice, and candidate was seemingly successful in garnering the support of the voters for his National Peoples Party. So it was the proximity of the issues over which candidate and voter were close to each other. This kind of nearness was favourable to the candidate.

Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi remained loyal to PPP in the period of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, but later in the era of democracy, which revisited Pakistan after the end of Zia’s eleven years of military rule, he was the candidate of IJI in the election 1988 and 1990. Here it could be inferred that he lost the good faith among the cadres of PPP that is why he had to saw the other options for his political career. He was defeated in 1988 by getting the 39.24% vote against the candidate of PPP who took 58.20% vote. In the coming elections he remained victorious. Once on IJI ticket and later he formed his own party that is NPP(National Peoples Party) and he won the later elections on the platform of his party. He defeated Asif Ali Zardari, husband of Benazir Bhutto in 1993 election from this constituency which endorsed the influence of his personality and of his family. His winning is tagged with the influence of his own role and of his family in the community, not related to his party. Here again the citation of Lucian W. Pye seemed very impressive. He talked about the influence of the community in non-western democracy, in which different groups or their factions play a role of integrating mechanism and which relatively influence the course of political behavior. He said that ‘…fundamental framework of non-western politics is a communal one, and all political behavior is strongly colored by considerations of communal identification’12. His party has no standing in any other constituencies because party is personified. Same like trends have observed in the provincial constituencies of PS-18Nousheraferoz-iv and PS-19 Nousheraferoz-v where candidate or his party had an influence. In these constituencies percentage vote of his party showed that in all the four elections there was clear difference of vote which endorsed the influences of his personality and of his family. It has been showed in tables below. In national election of 1988 victory goes to PPP due to the favour of voters for its struggle against dictatorship. But in other elections PPP could not keep intact its support base. Its vote sharply declined in provincial constituency as compared to national one.

N.A-158 Naushero Feroz:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IJI/NPP</td>
<td>39.24%(IJI)</td>
<td>78.44%(IJI)</td>
<td>59.24%(NPP)</td>
<td>60.68%(NPP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>58.20%</td>
<td>19.40%</td>
<td>35.26%</td>
<td>30.01%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Percentage of electoral data has been counted by the Researcher. Election data was published by the Election Commission of Pakistan)

12 Ibid.
### PS-18 Naushero Feroz:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IJI/NPP</td>
<td>57.44%</td>
<td>98.28%</td>
<td>67.55%</td>
<td>67.18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>41.31%</td>
<td>1.40%</td>
<td>31.29%</td>
<td>20.42%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Percentage of electoral data has been counted by the Researcher. Election data was published by the Election Commission of Pakistan)

**Conclusion:**

In the politics of Sindh, there seemed no such seat adjustment albeit there is factional politics. Some parties emerged from the main parties as their off shoots without presenting any ideological differences. PPP (SB) and NPP emerged from the legacy of PPP; PML (Junejo-Chatta) from the Muslim League and MQM (H) with minute electoral backup emerged from the MQM which was headed by the Altaf Hussain as a quaid of MQM. By the analysis of the electoral data, impression about the political behavior of the people of Sindh was that, they had a sense in making their political decision for the candidates and parties which had legitimate existence. It was observed that smaller factions or the parties and religious and regionalist parties were ignored by their voting decision. Such decision of the voters to ignore them was not based on their personal considerations but it was more political, because smaller parties were more idealized in their program and have no capacity to materialize the political promises as compared to major parties. So their weakness was reflected in their voting strength which varied in between to 2% to 6%.

The good thing was that national parties were emerging at the political horizon of Sindh which took their share of vote. PML-N/IJI took the advantage of Pakistan Peoples Party’s participation in an alliance in 1990 with Tehreek-i-Istaqlal and Tehreek-i-Fiqaha Jaffaria and of the factional politics in 1997. Regional and religious parties could not thrive over the advantage of that electoral scenario due to their hard stance over one or two issues which had seemingly no appeal for the general masses. It was observed that people of Sindh gave preference to the national parties for many reasons. People thought that these parties could better evaluate their problems and address them effectively. These parties had more chance of winning in other regions of Pakistan due to the appeal of their charismatic leaderships, and also having better candidature that could have the capacity to translate the ideals and provide the patronage. It has been
observed that in some of the constituencies independents have carved out their niche but it happened only when national party or its alliance—IJI/PML-N—was absent from the electoral contest, and it indirectly benefitted to the independent candidates. It was also observed that once independents won the election then in coming elections they tried to contest on party ticket instead of taking again independent stance. In Sindh factional politics particularly the faction of Pakistan Peoples Party Shaheed Bhutto affected the electoral performance of Pakistan People’s Party in 1997 elections. Pakistan Peoples Party Shaheed Bhutto took 9 percent vote in national election and more than 8 percent in provincial election which directly influenced the performance of Pakistan Peoples Party in terms of vote. It affected in those constituencies where Pakistan Peoples Party had an influence in the previous elections and its defeat by other candidate was not of very wide margins in 1997 elections. This electoral trend exposed that people of Sindh were attached with Bhutto’s legacy, and they accepted the charisma of Bhutto’s personality and affiliated with his party that had legitimate existence. The political ideology of the leaders worked very positively to bring the masses into political process and gradually effaced the effects of other associations of people.

In this province peoples’ behaviour was seemingly impressed by the opinion of surroundings which is described as by Columbia School that social neighbourhood and membership of other groups determine their voting behaviour. The effective category of voting decision is dragged by the calculus of maximizing utility which is weighed in terms of cost and benefit. So due to these tendencies it could be said that voter of Sindh is rational and mature enough to take decision of his /her liking. They always preferred legitimate bodies for their votes, and upheld the cause of the parties for the stability of the political system which worked through the operating structures of the society. They preferred those leaders and candidates who uttered the voice of public’s interest and spent their time within community. In the questionnaire sample it was asked from the voters that either they prefer development agenda in their voting decision. Response was very encouraging that 66% upheld the cause of development (see the response of the respondents at the end of thesis). It meant that interactive network between the leaders/candidates and voters have exposed both of them to the political idioms which in turn helped to establish the political values.
CHAPTER 7
ELECTORAL POLITICS OF BALUCHISTAN

7.1. History of Baluchistan:
Baluchistan’s geographical location made it very important area for the conquerors, passed through this area to the east and the west, and also played an important role in shaping its political structure. It holds the command of the Bolan Pass, a traditional gateway to India similar to the Khyber Pass to the north, but lacks natural lines of internal communication such as rivers. Its history is primarily a narrative of external conquerors briefly passing through it en route to India or Afghanistan. Darius I (522-486BC) conquered Makran and incorporated parts of Baluchistan into his Empire. Alexander the Great passed through the Baluchistan around 330BC on his retreat from India, and by 323BC the country was part of Seleucus Nicator’s satrapy.\(^1\) The Muslim rule began in 712 A.D. The parts of Baluchistan which were ruled by the Arabs were called by them Turan (Jhallawan area) having capital at Khuzdar and Nudha or Buddha (Kachhi). In the 11th century, Baluchistan fell into the hands of Nasir-ud-din Subuktagin marking the beginning of Ghaznivid dynasty. Afterwards Ghorids succeeded the Ghaznivids. In 1219, Baluchistan was annexed to the dominion of Sultan Mohammad Khan of Khwarizm (Khiva). The year 1223A.D. saw the danger of the Yellow Peril, the Mongols, in the south of Mekran. In the 1595A.D. it became a part of the Mughal Empire and later Nadir Shah of Persia captured it. Ahmed Shah Durrani of Afghanistan was successful to establish his rule in Baluchistan in 1747. The Khanate of Kalat emerged in 1758 when Nasir Khan-I revolted against the Afghans.\(^2\)
The Muslim rule was followed by the British rule in 1839 A.D. Two Afghan wars between 1839 A.D. and 1879 A.D. helped the British to consolidate their power in Baluchistan. Britain systematically divided the Bloch area into seven parts. In the far west, the Goldsmid line gave roughly one-fourth to Persia in 1871; in the north, the Durand line assigned a small strip to Afghanistan in 1893; and in British India, the Bloch areas were divided into a centrally administered entity, British Baluchistan, a truncated remnant of Kalat and three other smaller

---
\(^2\) *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, v.6, Oxford, 1909, p.275.
Sir Robert Sandeman, who later became the Chief Commissioner of Baluchistan, was the architect of British strategy in the region and he negotiated a number of treaties with the Khan of Kalat during 1854 A.D. to 1901 A.D. Through these treaties the British Government gained control over the leased territory of Chaghi, Bolan Pass, Quetta and other areas.

In 1947, British India was partitioned into the independent Dominions of India and Pakistan, and Baluchistan was the part of Pakistan. Before that, efforts of Muslim League and Quaid-i-Azam cannot be overlooked in the political awareness of the province and the voice for the rights of the Baluchistan. Quaid-i-Azam visited Baluchistan twice first in 1943 and stayed there for two months and later in 1945 and stayed for five weeks. In response to these efforts a seat for Baluchistan was introduced in Central Legislative Assembly and Nawab Muhammad Khan Jogeizai was elected on the platform of Muslim League for the assembly. The nominally independent princes ruled the princely states, hitherto subject to indirect rule, were expected to opt either for India or Pakistan. For the Khans of Kalat, Kharan and Las Bela, and the ruler of Makran, a vassal of Kalat, the option for Pakistan was expected, as the population of Baluchistan was Muslim and later the rulers of these princely states of Mekran, Kharan, Lasbela and a little later Kalat state acceded to Pakistan. The stretches of Baluchistan which until 1947 were directly administrated by the British, transformed into the Pakistani province of Baluchistan, with capital at Quetta. The states of Kalat, Kharan, Las Bela and Makran (in 1948 elevated from a vassal of Kalat to a state independent of Kalat) in 1952 formed the Baluchistan States Union. In 1955, Baluchistan was merged into one unit of West Pakistan. After the dissolution of one-Unit in 1969, Baluchistan emerged as one of the four new provinces of Pakistan.

7.1.1. Behavioral Patterns of Baluchistan;

Province of Baluchistan gave a very unique picture of voting behavior. In this province the role of ethnic/regionalists and religious parties was effective in the provincial politics. But the encouraging thing was the attachment of people with the party’s structure to be the part of

---


4 The members of Shahi Jirga and Quetta municipality were the Electoral College for the election of the Baluchistan representative in the Central Legislative Assembly. Shahi Jirga consists of 53 members and municipal committee has 12. The candidate of Congress got only ten votes. Inamul Haq Kausar, Baluchistan Muslim League (1939-1947), Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society, Vol.xlviii, October-December 2000, p.48, pp.1-99.

5 Imperial Gazetteer of India, 6, Oxford, 1909, p.280.
political process and they voted for them. Some of the other observations regarding the social attitude of the people and the working of the traditional structures of this area are under the challenge of empirical analysis.

Most of the material on the frontier tribes was produced not by academics but by political administrators, and that much of the published material was in the form of personal memoirs. The representative work in this genre and one which provides a concise statement of British attitudes towards the border tribes is Thomas Holdich's account of his twenty-year career as a military officer and surveyor on the western frontier. According to Holdich:

The Baluch is easier to deal with and to control than the Pathan, owing to his tribal organization, and his freedom from bigoted fanaticism or blind allegiance to his priest. He respects and honours the chief of his clan, who possesses far greater authority in the tribal councils than is the case with the Pathan. The Pathan is a republican of the worst type. He is a law unto himself, and although he is very much under the influence of the Mullah, he has always an eye to business, even in his most fanatical outbursts. Both are warlike and predatory, but their methods of fighting differ essentially, even when engaged in intertribal warfare. The Bloch fights openly, and faces the enemy boldly. There is a rough form of chivalry amongst the Bloch warriors, who are in most respects worthy descendants of the Arab conquerors of Asia....

Brian Spooner Just as emphasized on equality among Pushtun is unusual among tribal peoples in the Islamic world, so too is the degree of hierarchy in Bloch tribes as manifested in the level of authority and status held by Bloch sardars (Head of a Tribe). Their wealth (from personally owned lands and the taxes they levy on their tribesmen and clients), their ability to determine who holds office at sub-tribal levels, and their formal connections with external political structures give these sardars considerable power to settle disputes and determine events within the tribe. Indeed, the centrality of the sardar is such that recognition of his authority can initiate


a process by which outsiders are incorporated into his tribe. Thus, most Bloch tribes have accretions of lineages from other Bloch tribes or even other ethnic groups around a core of lineages with recognized descent from the group's patronymic. Even in areas, such as Makran, where patrilineal tribes have little importance in peoples' lives, other types of interaction like that of patron-client relationship played a determining role in social organization.8

7.1.2. A Sketch of Baluchistan’s Demography:

Baluchistan is the westward of the four provinces of Pakistan. Geographically it starts from the coast of the Arabian Sea and stretches northwards, the coastline itself being about 470 miles long. Col. Sir Thomas Holdich, the great geographer and author of *The Gates of India*, describes it as a brazen coast, washed by a molten sea, and travelers, through the centuries, have pictured it as an inhospitable land.9 On the north, it is bounded by Afghanistan and North West frontier province of Pakistan; on the west by Iran; and on the east by Sindh, the Punjab and a part of the frontier province. Baluchistan covers an area of 134050 square miles or 347,188 square kilometers. Historical population in Baluchistan during different periods of time is following:

Census, Total Population, Urban

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Urban %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>1,167,167</td>
<td>12.38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>1,353,484</td>
<td>16.87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>2,428,678</td>
<td>16.45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>4,332,376</td>
<td>15.62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>6,565,885</td>
<td>23.89%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Population of Baluchistan was 4.31 percent of Pakistan’s total population in 1981, and in 1998, it was 4.96 percent. Population density is 19 and household size is 6.7 according to 1998 census report. Those eligible for vote, twenty one year and above constitute 4.65 percent (2,602,669) of Pakistan’s voters.\(^{10}\) In its national electoral statistics, Province of Baluchistan gives a very unique picture of voting behaviour. In this province the role of ethnic/regionalists and religious parties appears very effective in provincial politics. The important thing is that people of Baluchistan are attached with the party’s structure to become the part of the political process. The analysis of the politics of this province will expose the role of all parties in national and provincial elections. The role of national parties seems very encouraging that they have made dent in those constituencies which are considered the area of influence of regionalists. It depicts in the sense that people of Baluchistan take independent decisions of their voting by having feelings of their personal considerations and social paraphernalia. Some of the other instrumental considerations have also affected the electoral behaviour of this region like education. Education in terms of literacy of this region is comparatively low as compared to other regions of Pakistan.

According to the census report 1998, literacy ratio of Baluchistan by administrative units and rural urban areas is low as compared to other regions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Pakistan</th>
<th>NWFP</th>
<th>Punjab</th>
<th>Sindh</th>
<th>Baluchistan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All areas</td>
<td>43.9%</td>
<td>35.4%</td>
<td>46.6%</td>
<td>45.3%</td>
<td>24.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>33.6%</td>
<td>31.3%</td>
<td>38.0%</td>
<td>25.7%</td>
<td>17.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>63.1%</td>
<td>54.3%</td>
<td>64.5%</td>
<td>63.7%</td>
<td>46.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


7.2. Electoral Politics of Baluchistan:

Baluchistan’s voting behaviour has been analyzed on the basis of party, candidate and issue variables which have formulated the course of politics in which electoral mandate seemingly divided among three or four representative characters— regional parties, religious party, national parties and independents. It is generally believed that voting pattern of this province is not

mature enough due to the influence of the traditional forces. This assumption has also been put under test during the analysis of four national and provincial election results from 1988 to 1997. The electoral data has been provided by the election commission of Pakistan. The quantitative aspect of the research has been substantiated by the findings of the close ended questionnaire. The answers of questionnaire depicted the electoral pattern of the different regions of the Baluchistan. The questionnaire was randomly distributed, but in the regions of Barkhan and Quetta district, it was asked from the political workers of the different political parties. The results of national and provincial constituencies reflected multiple characteristics of Baluchistan society which is considered tribal and traditional because of its low level of social transformation as compared to other regions of Pakistan. In this perception it is necessary to see that how far political values had taken roots in this society and were effective in effeting the influence of primordial relationships.

In this perception it is necessary to see the comparative influence of modern political parties, electoral manifestos, role of political leadership and stature of the contesting candidates on the voters who were embedded in their social setup. The analysis of the election results of the constituencies provided the sense of voting patterns of this region and as well as the level of political development, manifested in their political attitude. The interplay of political variables at the constituency level indicated the nature of political culture. It has also been evaluated that how far regional and religious parties had retained their influence in the constituencies which were considered their strongholds. It has also been analyzed that how the national parties made it possible to perch into their strongholds, and broke the traditional patterns of political participation. Rehmat Ibad Khan in his PhD research had given his observation about the political behavior of the people of Baluchistan that …[people of Baluchistan] do take part in elections but mostly without knowing the meaning and purpose of their exercise. Their participation is on the order of their elites.¹¹ This perspective of Mr. Rehmat Ibad Khan has also increased the thrust of inquiry. The question of candidate, party and issue relationship and voters’ attitudinal response to them is pertinent to our discussion.

Our study is very relevant to explore the political culture of the people of Baluchistan through their participation in elections. Theirs’ political behaviour will set the first benchmark to judge the levels of their political orientation and political maturity in the exercise of their voting decision. In the query of political culture, this subjective orientation to politics will determine the nature of political beliefs which in turn define the situations in which political acts are to be performed. So the definition of political culture provided by Sidney Verba is very appropriate in the context of political beliefs held by a particular society about the political process. He defined that ‘… political culture of a nation, for instance, derives from, among other things, the experiences that individuals have with the political process’12. In the light of this definition, political experiences of the people of Baluchistan are being analyzed in order to determine their behavioral acceptance of the roles of the modern political system.

7.2.1. The Role of National Parties in the Electoral Politics of Baluchistan;

The analysis of the politics of this province exposed the role of national parties in national and provincial elections. National parties have made dent in those constituencies which were considered the area of influence of regionalists. This was encouraging in the sense that people of Baluchistan seemingly took independent decisions of their voting on behalf of their personal considerations and on the basis of the influence of the social paraphernalia. In all the eleven seats of the national assembly, no party has emerged in clear majority. In the four national elections, some of the constituencies showed the trends of regional politics, some had the impression of religious influence, while one and two of the constituencies had a national outlook of politics.

Political parties seemed active in securing the vote of people in the national politics of this province. Role of national parties in terms of mobilization of voters through manifesto and by their organizational structure seemed very low as compared to other provinces of Pakistan. This trend had been visualized due to the less number of seats, which had been assigned to this province on behalf of the population. This was explicit when single national party was compared with the vote strength of all regionalist and religious parties and with the vote of independents.

Vote of national parties—Pakistan Peoples Party/Pakistan Democratic Alliance\(^{\text{13}}\) and Islami Jamhoori Ittehad/Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz\(^{\text{14}}\) in 1988 was 28.2% and of all others was 65.9% and the graph of popularity of national party declined in terms of their total vote as compare to others. Vote of national parties in 1990 was 26.9% and of others was 73.1%; in 1993, national parties had 25.9% vote and of others was 74.1%; and in 1997, national parties had 22.21% vote and of others it was 77.79%. This trend of vote could be caused by many factors, and one of them was low turnout ratio of this province as compared to other provinces of Pakistan. The low turnout ratio of Baluchistan as compared to other provinces could be caused by the non-attractive appeal of the political program of the national parties or might be the result of the low level of the extension of political parties among the masses in terms of their recruitment into the cadres of political organization. So in this context it was seemingly the emergence of other contenders of power, regionalists and ideologues, who were perceivably close to the voters and had better scoring in the elections as compared to the national parties. The people of Baluchistan had their inclination either towards the regional and the religious parties, or either they supported the independent candidates.

The political behavior of Quetta which is urbanized city in Baluchistan as compared to other ones has been observed to know the strength of political values. The electoral trend of the provincial constituency PB-Quetta-ii showed that first three provincial elections of 1988, 1990 and 1993 were won by the national parties while the last election of 1997 was won by an independent candidate. It seemed that defeat of a national party in the last election could be caused by not evolving the party structure or might be having no such attractive political program that could entice the voters. So that is why national party lost the election 1997. Here the version of John Curtice regarding the behavior of the voters could be appropriate. He said

\(^{\text{13}}\) Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) was formed in 1967 with the slogan of social democracy and all power to people under the chairmanship of Zulifkar Ali Bhutto. After election 1988 PPP formed the Government but it was dismissed to remain in office for the period of eighteen months. In the election 1990 PPP formed an electoral alliance with other parties; Asghar Khan’s Tehreek-i-Istaqlal, Malik Qasim Muslim League and Sajid Naqvi Tehreek Nafaz Fiqa Jaffaria. It was named as Pakistan Democratic Alliance (PDA). *The Herald*, Election 1990, p.16.

\(^{\text{14}}\) Islami Jamhoori Ittehad was formed on the eve of election 1988 by the coalition of nine parties. In 1993 the leading partner of this coalition—Pakistan Muslim League fell into intrigues and segregated into factions when government of IJI was dismissed by president Ghulam Ishaq Khan. The main factions were the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz and Pakistan Muslim League—Junejo. *The Herald*, Election Special 1993, p.16.

Parties which were the part of this coalition were following: Pakistan Muslim League, National Peoples Party, Jammat Ulama-i-Islam (Darkhwasti), Markazi Jamiat Ahli Hadith (Lakhvi Group) Jammat-ul-Masikh (Shahbazada Fazal-i-Haq Group), The Hizbe Jihad of the daily Muslim Publisher, Jammat-i-Islami and Fakhar Imam’s Azad Group. *The Herald*, Election Special, 1988, p.10.
that ‘voters might[] be more likely to change their preferences during an election campaign if the policy positions of the parties are close to each other rather than if they are far apart’.15. Pakistan Peoples Party had succeeded in those regions in which Baloch ethnic entity was concentrated. PPP succeeded in PB-40 Gawadar in the election 1993; PB-36Punjgur in 1988; PB-23 Naisarabad in 1993. While in the area of Pukhtoon ethnic group in PB-8 Pishin, it succeeded in 1997. This was the good sign of the penetration of the national party in the regions of Baluch and Pukhtoon ethnic groups. Voters of the area supported the cause of the national party because of its nearness to their cause. Likewise another national party IJI/PML(N) had showed its strength in the constituencies of Pukhtoon ethnic group. It won the election in PB-10 Lorali in 1988; in PB-12 Lorali in 1997; PB-14 Zob in 1990,1993,1997. While in the area of Baloch ethnic group like PB-32 Khuzdar it won the elections in 1988,1990,1993 and in PB-34Lasbela, it won all the four elections. It has been observed that constituency of PB-34 traditionally belonged to the Jams—Baloch ethnic Tribe—who always preferred to contest the elections on party ticket of PML-N. In the analysis of the constituencies, it has been found that national parties could do more in mobilizing the voters if they could organize their electioneering campaign and as well had better candidature. It appeared that national parties thrived on the support of local leadership that worked as a conduit between the party and the voters.

In terms of vote, on all contesting seats of national assembly, national parties like PPP and IJI/PML(N) did very well along with regional and religious parties. It is being showed in table below.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML(N)</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>14.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
<td>14.9%</td>
<td>18.4%</td>
<td>7.38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI(F)/IJM</td>
<td>17.2%</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
<td>14.69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNP</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
<td>13.2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNA</td>
<td>9.9%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JWP</td>
<td></td>
<td>18.6%</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNM</td>
<td></td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PKMAP  5.4%  10.1%  14.3%  7.97%
BNM(M)       6.8% 
BNM(H)       7.2%  10.25%
BNP          17.68%
IND          19.9%  5.0%  8.9%  6.47%
Others       8.7%  -    18.6%  20.73%


The mobilization of the voters was very low in the national and provincial elections which had been showed in table of turn out in chapter-3. It seemed that either national/major political parties’ program had not been stretched out to all constituencies and which caused to variations in the voting strength along with their winning seats in different constituencies. The people of Baluchistan had also their inclinations towards the regionalists—BNA,JWP,BNM(M),BNM(H),PKMAP and religious parties, particularly JUI(F)/IJM. People also supported independent candidates if they thought that any candidate was not up to their expectations which had contested elections from party platforms. It is visible in Quetta which is urbanized city in Baluchistan as compared to the other cities of Baluchistan.

**N.A-197 Quetta-cum-Chagai:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JUI(F)</td>
<td>Hafiz Husain</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ahmed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sardar Fateh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Muhammad Hasani</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKMAP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mehmood Khan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Achakzai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>47559(Votes)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML(N)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Atif Ali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sanjrani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25261(Votes)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was very interesting to see the results of this constituency. In 1988 election candidate of religious party—JUI-F won the election, in 1990 PPP won the seat, in 1993 PKMAP got the victory and in the election 1997 PML-N defeated others. So it was the blend of all kind of parties which took their turn. It was a good sign in a way that voters had a preference of party in their voting. So this inclination toward political party had one way of measuring political orientation of voters of Baluchistan. They had an understanding of political milieu in which they had to decide for their future.

Independent candidates took the advantage in those constituencies in which political parties lost their influence in one way or the other. They carried with them the influence of families in strengthening their position or operated in the local inter-communicative mechanism to garner the support of voters. The analysis of provincial constituency PB-2 Quetta has showed that first three provincial elections won by the national parties while the last election of 1997 won by the independent candidate.

PB-2 Quetta-ii

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>Noor Muhammad-5201(votes)</td>
<td>Noor Muhammad-7457(votes)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML(N)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Malik Gul zaman-7263(votes)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sardar Nisar Ali-8829(votes)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


It seemed that where national parties could not present a program or put up a strong candidate related to the requirements of a particular community, they lost the election in spite of having a good performance in the previous elections. Sardar Nisar Ali was a new entrant in political arena in 1997 and he defeated the candidate of PML(N), Malik Gul Zaman who had a political experience of winning the seat in 1993 election. Sardar Nisar got 46.35% vote while Gul Zaman stood at 33.30% in 1997 election.
Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) had succeeded in the provincial elections in the regions of Bloch ethnic group like in PB-23 Naisarabad, it succeeded in 1993 election; in PB-36 Punjgur, it succeeded in 1988 election; in PB-40 Gawadar, it succeeded in 1993 election, and in the area of Pukhtoon ethnic group, it succeeded in PB-8 Pishin in 1997 election. This victory was the good sign of emergence of national party which made inroads in the regions of ethnic groups. Voters of these constituencies supported the cause of the national party which was harmonized to their interests. National party either won the election or not, it retained to some extent its support base. It is visible in all contesting elections in which it secured the votes. In below given constituencies some electoral periods were devoid of PPP/PDA existence which showed a very low ratio of vote for PPP/PDA that was varying from 1% to 2%. So in the analysis it has not been mentioned.

**PB-23 Nasirabad**: In this constituency PPP performed well by keeping a constant policy of not changing the candidate in all the elections except in 1988 in which it had not contested the election. Other positive sign was that national parties were also given preference by the candidates to have their ticket for contesting the elections. Muhammad Saddiq was an independent candidate in 1988 election and he won the seat but later he preferred to stand on party ticket that was Pakistan Peoples Party to contest the elections 1990, 1993 and 1997. He won the election 1993 and also garnered a number of votes in other elections. There was also the victory of those candidates who contested the elections from political parties’ platform. It also depicted the influence of political values over the psyche of the candidates that they were forced to have the ticket of political parties. They came to know that influence of political parties was burgeoning over voters by formal and informal channels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>47.25%</td>
<td>M. Saddiq</td>
<td>32.90%</td>
<td>Fateh Ali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML(N)</td>
<td>31.02%</td>
<td>Fateh Ali</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>32.72%</td>
<td>M. Saddiq</td>
<td>46.83%</td>
<td>M. Saddiq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI(F)</td>
<td>15.85%</td>
<td>12.06%</td>
<td></td>
<td>7.19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JWP</td>
<td>50.39%</td>
<td>Fateh Ali</td>
<td>11.24%</td>
<td>22.49%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


---

16 Nasirabad is named after the great baloch leader, Nasir Khan Noori, the founder of Baloch confederation and ruler of the Kalat Khanate from 1747 to 1794. The district was formed in 1974, though for three years, 1987-1990, it was known as Tamboo. It is home of Umrani, Jamali, Khosa, Abro, Bughti and Marri tribes, *The Herald*, February 2008, p.201.
PB-36 Punjgur: It is Bloch concentrated area and the major spoken language of the area is Blochi.\textsuperscript{17} Pakistan Peoples Party done very well in the election 1988. After that Pakistan Peoples Party could not maintain its support base and its vote bank declined which may be due to non-effective structure of the party or its program. It could be also the result of its contest’s week campaigning policy in which it might be failed to mobilize the local factions or groups in his favour.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>35.03%</td>
<td>10.16%</td>
<td>2.70%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sabir Ali</td>
<td>Baloch</td>
<td>Sabir Ali</td>
<td>Baloch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI(F)/IJM</td>
<td>15.82%</td>
<td>25.52%</td>
<td>22.17%</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Molvi</td>
<td>Rehmatullah</td>
<td>Molvi</td>
<td>Rehmatullah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNA</td>
<td>29.96%</td>
<td>26.90%</td>
<td>38.23%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. Asadullah</td>
<td>Kachkol</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kachkol Ali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNP</td>
<td>8.13%</td>
<td>21.87%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNM</td>
<td>31.13%</td>
<td>29.14%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sabir Ali</td>
<td>Mr. Asadullah</td>
<td>Kachkol</td>
<td>Ali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JWP</td>
<td>33.01%</td>
<td>31.13%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sabir Ali</td>
<td>Kachkol Ali</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNM(M)</td>
<td>29.14%</td>
<td>50.73%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. Asadullah</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. Asadullah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNM(H)</td>
<td>31.13%</td>
<td>50.73%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kachkol Ali</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. Asadullah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNP</td>
<td>50.73%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. Asadullah</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In this constituency it was visible that national party could not muster enough support in 1990, 1993 and 1997 election to win the seat and its place had been taken by the regional parties. Regional parties might have a good organizational structure or an enticing appeal to voters that made them successful in the elections.

\textsuperscript{17} It became district in 1977 and its major clans are Gichki, Kashani and Mullazai, \textit{The Herald}, February 2008, p.209; language spoken is balochi-100\%, \textit{The Herald}, Election 1993 Special Issue, p.153.
PB-40 Gawadar: In this constituency PPP had a very marginal existence in 1988 but in 1993 election it stood on victory stand which cut across the ethnic element. There could also be surmised that it was due to the divide of Bloch vote between regionalists parties like PNP and BNM(M) in 1993 elections. Another good sign was that people cling to the parties what ever their agenda. In this regard it was the case of Mr. Hussain who stood on PNP ticket in 1988,1990, 1993 and he won the seats in the first two elections with good proportion of vote in all the three elections. His vote as an independent candidate came down to the level of 16.63% in 1997election from that of 66.53% in 1988.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>4.32%</td>
<td></td>
<td>40.04%</td>
<td>Syed Sher Jan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML(N)</td>
<td>28.52%</td>
<td>7.91%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNP</td>
<td>66.53%</td>
<td></td>
<td>57.30%</td>
<td>Mr.Hussain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JWP</td>
<td></td>
<td>56.97%</td>
<td></td>
<td>24.13% Mr.Hussain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNM(M)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>34.34% Abdul Ghafoor Kalmati</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNP</td>
<td>46.45%</td>
<td>Abdul Ghafoor Kalmati</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNM</td>
<td></td>
<td>26.47%</td>
<td>Abid Rahim Sohrabi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>24.20%</td>
<td>Abid Rahim Sohrabi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16.63% Mr.Hussain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


PB-8 Pishin: In this constituency trends were similar which had been observed in the above said constituencies. There was also the sign of emergence of national party, Pakistan Peoples Party, which took the advantage of its practical politics along with the choice of the candidate. Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) from its non-existence go ahead to stand on victory ladder, recorded the acceptance of a party. Its cause was communicated to people by Bismillah Khan Kakar who had a consistence political experience in this constituency by contesting all elections.

---

18 Gawadar district with its 600km long coastal line was part of gulf state of Muscat till 1958. In that year Pakistan bought Gawadar from Muscat under an agreement which was signed by the then prime minister Feroz Khan Noon. The area’s major clans are Kalmite,Mehdizai,Shehzada and Kundai, The Herald, February 2008,p.211; major spoken language is Balochi-98%, The Herald, Election 1993 Special Issue,p.153.

19 Pishin was part of quetta district until 1975 when it was separated and made a district, The Herald, February 2008,p.190; languages which are spoken and determine the ethnic composition:pushto-35%,Punjabi-20%,brahvi-17% and urdu-11%, The Herald, Election 1993 Special Issue,p.150.
Likewise another national party IJI/PML(N) had showed its strength in the constituencies where Pukhtoon element was concentrated like PB-10 Lorali, where it won the election in 1988; in PB-12 Lorali, it won the election in 1997; in PB-14 Zob, it won the elections in 1990,1993,1997. It won the elections in the constituency of PB-32 Khuzdar in 1988, 1990, 1993; in PB-34 Lasbela, it won all the four elections. In these two latter constituencies, Bloch ethnic group was concentrated. While the constituency of PB-34 traditionally belongs to the jams—ethnically Baloch—who always preferred to contest on the ticket of PML-N.

PB-10 Lorali-i\textsuperscript{20}: In this constituency IJI, a coalition of parties did well in 1988, and showed the influence of the party in terms of structure and program along with the personality of conteste. All these entities played their effective role in bringing the voters into the realm of electoral activity. This constituency was ethnically Pukhtoon concentrated because Pushto speaking were 72% as compared to other nationalities. In this constituency a paradoxical situation raised when Sardar Muhammad Khan Luni, a member of Pukhtoon tribe, contested the election 1990 on the ticket of Jamoori Watan Party—a Bloch representing party—or as an independent candidate in 1993 and 1997. He won the elections 1990 and 1993 which showed that if any personality or a party, irrespective of their affiliations or representing character, talked about the agenda of the people, were legitimately responded by the people in the elections. Here in this constituency the

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\hline
PPP/PDA & & & & 42.20% Bismillah Khan Kakar \\
\hline
JUI(F)/IJM & 29.55% Abdul Rehman & 18.32% & 23.18% & 31.54% \\
\hline
PNP & 17.12% Bismillah Khan Kakar & 22.82% Bismillah Khan Kakar & 24.52% Bismillah Khan Kakar \\
\hline
PKMAP/PMAI & 14.90% Abdul Qahar & 29.14% Abdul Qahar & 27.84% Abdul Qahar & 23.42% Abdul Qahar \\
\hline
ANP & 20.59% & 28.90% & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}


\textsuperscript{20} It is situated in northern Baluchistan. Its urban literacy is 53.28% and rural literacy is 15.82%. Its major clans are Jogezi, Nasar, Tareen, Buzdar, Dumars and Kakars, \textit{The Herald}, February 2008, p.194; In terms of language, Pushto speaking are 72%, balochi-8% and others are 15%, \textit{The Herald}, Election Special 1993, p.151.
influence of other factors over the voters’ voting decisions could not be denied. Those factors might be stretched out from the candidate’s personality to the issues of national concerns which had their acceptance, and probably were rewarded by the voters’ political sympathy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML(N)</td>
<td>48.55%</td>
<td>Sardar M.Tahir</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI(F)/IJM</td>
<td>41.30%</td>
<td>18.46%</td>
<td>33.99%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>7.60%</td>
<td>13.94%</td>
<td>3.42%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKMAP/PMAI</td>
<td>5.78%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10.98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JWP</td>
<td>61.31%</td>
<td>Sardar M.Tahir</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td></td>
<td>38.23%</td>
<td>Sardar M.Tahir</td>
<td>31.78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>32.43%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**PB-12 Lorali-iii:** In this constituency both national parties had taken the share of voting cake by winning the seats in 1990 and 1997 elections. Pakistan Peoples Party made good come back from its marginal vote of 1.06% in 1988 to 34.62% in 1990 and won the seat. While in 1997 it also secured 20.78% of vote which showed that national party by its program and by the effort of its candidate had created the base. The other national party had also made good start by securing 34.89% vote in 1988 and in the election 1997 it gave ticket to Sardar Abdur Rehman who had contested the previous election on the ticket of JWP, a regional party. He won the seat in 1997 and here candidate preferred to have the ticket of national party by understanding the contours of the political process and the dynamics of the electoral activity of the constituency. Another positive trend was that the role of independent candidate was declined in spite of winning the seats in 1988 and 1993 elections. The vote percentage of an independent candidate stood at 64.05% in 1988, 33.81% in 1990, 49.64% in 1993 and 31.03% in 1997.
PB-14 Zob\textsuperscript{21}: In this constituency national party, PML-N out classed the regionalists and religious party. Seemingly it appeared that in ethnically strong areas national party with their supporting structure, program and candidate’s personality mobilized the voters. It was also the result of good strategy of the party to give the ticket to the same candidate in all the elections.

\begin{table}
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\hline
IJI/PML(N) & 34.89% Sardar Ahmed Shah & & 37.59% Sardar Abdur Rehman Khan & \\
\hline
PPP/PDA & 1.06% Mir Baz Muhammad Khan Khetran & 34.62% Mir Baz Muhammad Khan Khetran & & 20.78% Mir Baz Muhammad Khan Khetran & \\
\hline
JWP & 29.70% Sardar Ahmed Shah & 48.24% Sardar Abdur Rehman Khan & & & \\
\hline
BNM & & & & & \\
\hline
IND & 64.05% Tariq Mahmood Khan & 33.81% Tariq Mahmood Khan & 49.64% Tariq Mahmood Khan & 31.03% Tariq Mahmood Khan & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}


\textsuperscript{21} By language it is Pashtoon dominated area. The main spoken language of the area is pushtoo-98%. The Herald, Election Special 1993, p.151.
PB-32 Khuzdar: In this constituency Pakistan Muslim League –Nawaz did very well and it retained this seat three times. It lost the election in 1997 but not with big margin. There was the difference of 6.53% vote, and it was due to the coalition or merger of parties like BNM and PNP. The candidate of BNM, Muhammad Aslam Gichki in 1990 and 1993 elections got 33.39% and 26.18% vote which were comparatively less from its previous performance but increased in 1997. It touched the level of 46.93% on the platform of BNP—merger of PNP and BNM— that is why it secured the seat in 1997.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML(N)</td>
<td>65.72% Mir Abdul Majeed</td>
<td>35.41% Mir Abdul Majeed</td>
<td>47.24% Mir Abdul Majeed</td>
<td>40.40% Mir Abdul Majeed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNP</td>
<td>32.65%</td>
<td>30.44%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNM</td>
<td></td>
<td>33.39% Muhammad Aslam Gichki</td>
<td>26.18% Muhammad Aslam Gichki</td>
<td>46.93% Muhammad Aslam Gichki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>46.93% Muhammad Aslam Gichki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>24.24% Muhammad Musa</td>
<td>12.67% Muhammad Hasan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


PB-34 Lasbela-i: This constituency was traditionally considered a bastion of IJI/PML(N), in which it had won all the four elections. It was seemingly the influence of the party and of the family of jams of Lasbela who remained in power in the political history of Pakistan. In-spite of having their family influence, jams preferred to contest the election on the party ticket. It meant that party’s influence was increasing which provided additional support to the stature of the candidate. The candidate and voters’ interactive mechanism brought to fore those issues

---

22 Until February 1974, Khuzdar was the part of Kalat district. For long district has been a stronghold of nationalists and its major clans are Brohi, Loris and Jattak, The Herald, February 2008, p. 193; The main spoken languages are Brahvi-60% and Balochi-33%, The Herald, Election Special 1993, p. 153.

23 Jam Mir Ghulam Qadir Khan was the former ruler of princely state of Lasbela and was the first to announce his states accession to the newly created state of Pakistan in 1947. He has been associated with power ever since the creation of Pakistan and hold various posts right up to May 29, 1988 when general Zia dissolved the assemblies. The provincial cabinet of Baluchistan was headed by Jam Qadir. He had joined Muslim League, Republican party and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto’s Peoples Party. After dismissal of JUI-NAP government in Baluchistan in 1973, he was inducted as Baluchistan’s chief minister but his government was later dismissed by Bhutto, The Herald, Election Special, October 1988, p. 35.
which were seemingly to be handled on priority basis and this kind of strategy also helped the party and the candidate to understand the general perspective of the constituency.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML(N)</td>
<td>63.63%</td>
<td>Shehzada Muhammad Yousuf</td>
<td>58.89% Shehzada Muhammad Yousuf</td>
<td>49.59% Shehzada Muhammad Yousuf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>36.37%</td>
<td>38.89%</td>
<td>44.16% Ghulam Akbar Lasi</td>
<td>28.49% Ghulam Akbar Lasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>5.42%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


7.2.2. The Role of Religious Parties in the Electoral Politics of Baluchistan;

Religious party, JUI-F, have performed the role of stop gap measures in Baluchistan. It contained the ethnic and tribal influences by having the representation of all the segments of Bloch and Pukhtoon society. In the constituency PB-4 Quetta, JUI-F won the seats in the elections 1988, 1990 and 1997. In PB-15 Killa Saifullah, JUI-F won the four elections which was traditionally the home of Pukhtoon element—a strong ethnic group in north-west Baluchistan. In PB-17 Ziarat, JUI-F won the elections 1988, 1990 and of 1997. In PB-28 Kalat-Mustung JUI-F also won the elections 1988, 1990 and of 1993, but this area is traditionally under the influence of Bloch ethnic group. Slow pace of social transformation of this province could be another cause for the less mobilization of voters, and it caused the diversion of voters towards the nationalist and religious parties. Karl W Deutsch gave this kind of observation that “social mobilization is a name given to an overall process of change, which happens to the substantial parts of the population of a country, which is moving from traditional to modern ways of life. In this process the number of more specific processes of change, such as changes of residence, of occupation, of social setting, of institutions, roles and ways of acting, of experiences, and finally of personal memories, habits and needs, including these need for new patterns of group affiliation and new images of personal identity. These changes in their cumulative impact tend to influence and
sometimes transform political behavior”.\textsuperscript{24} This kind of social change or transformation had been slow in Baluchistan.

Jamiat Ulema Islam (JUI) Fazal-ur-Rehman group had an ideological appeal in the name of Islam, performed good in this province by securing a proportion of seats in all the elections of the national and provincial assemblies. JUI-F at national level had formed the alliance in the election 1993 with the Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan of Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani. This electoral alliance proved not unusual from the past performance of JUI-F. In Pakistan’s national elections, the vote percentage of this party couldn’t vary in spite of having this electoral alliance with JUP (NOORANI) in the name of Islami Jamoori Mahaz(IJM)(this alliance has been discussed in Chap-2) in 1993 election. It got 2.00% vote in 1988, 2.93% in 1990 and 2.4% in 1993.\textsuperscript{25}

N.A-198 Pisin-cum-Killa Abdullah was a Pukhtoon concentrated area in which JUI-F won the elections 1988 and 1997. In N.A-200 Zob-cum-Killa Saifullah, a Pukhtoon concentrated area, JUI-F won the elections 1988,1990 and 1997. In the constituency N.A-204 Kalat-cum-Kharan is Bloch area and JUI(F)/IJM won three consecutive elections except of 1997. These constituencies represented ethnic and tribal influence but the success of this religious party dissipated the influence of these loyalties.

**N.A-198 Pisin-cum-Killa Abdullah\textsuperscript{26}:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JUI(F)/IJM</td>
<td>38.13%</td>
<td>37.24%</td>
<td>37.16%</td>
<td>34.01%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMAI/PKMAP</td>
<td>29.55%</td>
<td>43.93%</td>
<td>38.89%</td>
<td>29.89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDM</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13.43%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML(N)</td>
<td>16.10%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML-J</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>30.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>9.11%</td>
<td>11.56%</td>
<td>7.05</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>0.86%</td>
<td>0.95%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registered Vote</td>
<td>315027</td>
<td>314901</td>
<td>321750</td>
<td>3666817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R*-Vote</td>
<td>126 registered</td>
<td>6849 were added</td>
<td>45067 were more</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\textsuperscript{25} The Herald, Nov/Dec, 1993, pp.6-7.

\textsuperscript{26} This district is adjacent to Quetta and is largely a rural district. Its language composition is mainly Pushto which is 98% in 1988. Religious element had an influence since the adult franchise elections were conducted in Pakistan. In 1970 Molvi Abdul Haq of JUI was elected from this constituency. The Herald, Election Special, 1988, p.92.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Difference votes is less in 1990 than 1988.</th>
<th>in 1993.</th>
<th>in 1997 as compared to 1993. (unusual)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid-Vote polled</td>
<td>65448</td>
<td>77402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turn out</td>
<td>21.35%</td>
<td>25.05%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In this constituency, leader of the Pukhtoon Kha Party, Mahmood Khan Achakzai was as influential as JUI-F in terms of gaining votes. There might be the low level of influence of national parties due to their weak political networking in the constituency which had diverted the public sympathies towards the other parties which might be regional or religious ones. JUI-F was also very much effective in containing the ethnic influence of Pukhtoonkha. JUI-F gave it hard contest. In 1993 election, the winning margin of PKMAP was only of 1.75%, and it could be won over if JUI-F had the support of the other religious coalition, named as Muttahida Deeni Mahaz (MDM) which got 13.43% of vote. It came into the observation that vote of this religious party was diverted to no other party except toward the religious one—MDM. MDM garnered the support of voters over the issue of Islamic polity as it went into the favour of JUI-F.

In the below given constituency, the same phenomenon was observed which had been described in the above constituency that ethnic influence had not asserted and people gave preference to the religious party for ameliorating their lot. Below given constituency was ethnically composed of Pukhtoon element but JUI(F) had mobilized the people ideologically for the cause of Islam and had turned it into a JUI(F) bastion. JUI(F)/IJM could win the election 1993 if it had the cooperation of MDM which gained 3.57% vote. In 1993 election JUI/IJM had been defeated by this margin of vote from the candidate of PKMAP.

**N.A-200 Zob-cum-Killa Saifullah:**

27 Pukhtoon Khwa Milli Awami Party was fromed in late 1960s following a split in the National Awami Party (NAP). Khan Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai was its first president and after his murder in the early 1970s, his son Mahmood Khan Achakzai took charge of the party. *The Herald*, Election Special, February 1997, p.53.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JUI(F)/IJM</td>
<td>45.34%</td>
<td>44.26%</td>
<td>43.98%</td>
<td>40.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMAI/PKMAP</td>
<td>11.03%</td>
<td>27.83%</td>
<td>46.91%</td>
<td>20.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDM</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3.57%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML(N)</td>
<td>7.81%</td>
<td>20.11%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>4.87%</td>
<td>7.78%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>3.66%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.22%</td>
<td>0.83%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Registered Vote 209206 213637 228798 250172

R*-Vote Difference

| R*-Vote | 4431 R-vote increased in 1990 | 15161 R-vote increased in 1993 | 21374 R-vote increased in 1997 |

Valid-Vote polled

| Valid-Vote polled | 29349 | 36035 | 34697 | 35900 |

Turn out 14.34% 17.13% 15.64% 14.87%

R*- It is indicating registered vote and this Column denotes the difference of registered vote between the years.


Bloch ethnic group was numerically more in N.A-204 but electoral performance of JUI-F/IJM was increasingly strong. It won first three elections which gave the precedence of its effective role in garnering the support of the masses in electoral contest. It was observed that why the national parties were reluctant to contest the election in this constituency. It could be surmised that either they have an electoral adjustment with religious or the regional parties or they might be engaged in local adjustment with the candidates of these parties.

N.A-204 Kalat-cum-Kharan:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JUI(F)/IJM</td>
<td>38.36%</td>
<td>34.37%</td>
<td>33.48%</td>
<td>26.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNA</td>
<td>12.12%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUP(N)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12.30%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNP</td>
<td>16.10%</td>
<td>27.33%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNM</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11.66%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JWP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14.32%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the provincial politics of Baluchistan, JUI-F and other religious parties retained their influence. It was visible in the constituency of PB-4 Quetta which was more urbanized as compared to the other regions of Baluchistan. The voters of this constituency supported the candidate of JUI-F in 1988, 1990 and 1997 elections. Only in 1993 election a candidate of a regional political party won the election.

**PB-4 Quetta:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JUI(F)/IJM</td>
<td>25.50%</td>
<td>25.75%</td>
<td>20.82%</td>
<td>21.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNA</td>
<td>11.30%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNM</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>33.62%</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>10.86%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKMAP</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>20.53%</td>
<td>28.80%</td>
<td>17.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNP</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>15.80%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML(N)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>18.16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In other constituencies JUI-F and other religious groups or parties had their influence which effectively changed the contours of provincial politics. They mobilized the masses with their ideological program and checked the trends of primordial influences. In the below described constituency PB-11 Pukhton ethnic community was overtly concentrated. But in this constituency JUI-F had made inroads and checked the trends of traditional linkages. It won the seats in 1988, 1990 and 1997 elections.

**PB-11 Loralai-ii:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JUI(F)/IJM</td>
<td>19.91%</td>
<td>27.84%</td>
<td>22.93%</td>
<td>32.55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMAI/PKMAP</td>
<td>15.81%</td>
<td>24.48%</td>
<td>26.38%</td>
<td>24.13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In PB-13 Zob-cum-Killa Saifullah, Pukhton ethnic group was overtly concentrated but religious parties like JUI-F/IJM, Jamiyyat Ulema-i-Islam-Darkhawasti(JUI-D), Muttahida Deni Mahaz(MDM)\(^{28}\) and Jamiyyat Ulema-i-Islam-Sami-ul-Haq group(JUI-SG) with their ideological appeal shattered the influence of ethnic affinities in mobilizing the political support in their favour.

In **PB-13 Zob-cum-Killa Saifullah:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JUI(F)</td>
<td>41.35%</td>
<td>46.82%</td>
<td>34.10%</td>
<td>43.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI</td>
<td>26.33%</td>
<td>49.44%</td>
<td>27.88%</td>
<td>49.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI(SG)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>27.88%</td>
<td>27.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI(D)</td>
<td>24.01%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDM</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>35.28%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Here along with JUI-F two other religious groups emerged which got effective support from the electors. Jamiyyat Ulema-i-Islam-Darkhawasti(JUI-D) also got the support of voters in 1988

---

\(^{28}\) Muttahida Deni Mahaz(MDM) was formed in 1993 by the coalition of Jamiyyat Ulema-i-Islam-Sami-ul-Haq group(JUI-SG) and Sipha Sahaba Pakistan(SSP). *The Herald*, Election Special 1993, p.20.
election while Jammiat Ulema-i-Islam-Sami-ul-Haq group (JUI-SG) amassed the big chunk of vote in 1997 election. In the election 1993 MDM won the election with narrow margin from JUI-F. But the analysis of the constituency not provided any indication of ethnic influence.

**PB-15 Killa Saifullah:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JUI(F)/IJM</td>
<td>28.78%</td>
<td>38.03%</td>
<td>32.66%</td>
<td>35.13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKMAP</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>20.70%</td>
<td>26.19%</td>
<td>21.98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>10.75%</td>
<td>23.39%</td>
<td>21.45%</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


This PB-15 had again showed the same electoral trends which had been observed in the above constituencies. Interesting feature of this constituency was that, along with PKMAP another Pukhtun represented party—ANP, took the good margin of vote. If both these Pukhtun represented parties put their single candidate in the contest, there were more chances of their victory. Their combined vote in 1990 was 44.09% and in 1993, it was 47.64% which was more than the vote of JUI-F/IJM. JUI-F took the advantage of their separate standing and won the seats in all the four elections.

Awami National Party (ANP) acted as spoiling factor for the PKMAP in Baluchistan whenever it put her candidate against the PKMAP and JUI-F. This trend had been observed in the above constituency and same was happened in the constituency of PB-17 Ziarat-cum- Sibi. ANP electoral strategy affected the vote bank of PKMAP in the provincial constituencies rather than in the national ones. This was the result of the less geographical area of the provincial constituency which facilitated the interaction between the candidate and the community. So the vote of the Pukhtun ethnic group was divided between the ANP and PKMAP. It directly benefitted to the religious party JUI-F in 1990 election but in the year 1993 ANP itself was the winner. **PB-17 Ziarat-cum-Sibi:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JUI(F)/IJM</td>
<td>38.35%</td>
<td>36.40%</td>
<td>27.72%</td>
<td>36.43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKMAP/PMAI</td>
<td>13.78%</td>
<td>26.77%</td>
<td>28.97%</td>
<td>23.79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>30.16%</td>
<td>34.15%</td>
<td>19.07%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the election 1990 and 1997, ANP was the factor of defeat of PKMAP. The combined vote of both these Pukhtoon parties in the election 1990 was 56.93% and in 1997 it was 42.86%. This vote clearly indicated that their electoral strategy of single candidate could check the influence of the religious party but happened contrary to it. In the Bloch ethnic belt, PB-28 Kalat-cum-Mustung, JUI-F/IJM created its niche in this provincial constituency. Here it won the first three elections with its voting strength at 37.24% in 1988, 35.48% in 1990 and 43.22% in 1997.

Behind the religious and regional appeal, one of the significant factors was the low level of social transformation, which checked the modern political ideas and forces to get roots. So in these constituencies in which ethnic or religious elements were supported by the voters had given the trend of communal framework of politics. In this situation political behavior was strongly colored by considerations of communal identification. Lucian W. Pye rightly described that …success of [candidates] generally depends more on the manner in which they relate themselves to the social structure of the community than on the substance of their political views. 29 He further asserted that in the more conspicuous cases the larger communal groupings follow ethnic or religious lines. 30 The some of the soothing effect had been given by the appearance of the religious party in the politics of Pakistan, particularly in the region of Baluchistan. Religious parties countered the staunch behavior of the regionalist forces to put their candidates in the electoral contest. So they played a positive role in the absence of national parties to amalgamate the different elements into a political process. Here a question mark could be raised over the role of national parties that why they had given space to the religious or the regional parties to flourish their influence at the cost of national agenda.

7.2.3. The Role of Regional Parties in the Electoral Politics of Baluchistan;

In the national elections of Baluchistan, regional parties showed not very impressive standing in terms of seats and vote. They secured seats in all the elections but their number was 2 to 3. Their vote percentage was 8.26% that was less than religious and national parties. Their average vote

| IJI/PML(N) | 21.26% | -- | -- | -- |


30 Ibid.
was 8.26%, and of religious and national party, particularly of IJI/PML-N was 8.65% and 9.11% respectively. In the vertical comparison of each election then vote percentage of each party showed that in 1988 JUI-F got 13.69% vote which was largest than any other party. After this election, the influence of national party like IJI/PML-N, made its existence acceptable to people and secured vote which was comparatively good than the regionalist party like Baluchistan National Alliance(BNA) which touched the statistic of 5.12% vote. This vote percentage difference in religious, national and regional parties was seemingly assigned to the factor of unorganized political environment due to the military dictatorship in the country for a period of eleven years which banned the political parties and conducted the elections in 1985 on non-party basis. In the period of 1990,1993 and 1997 regional parties made good come back in terms of percentage of vote in the national elections and as well particularly in the provincial elections also, which is visible in table-1 and 2. All kind of political parties created the environment that was conducive for political mobilization and that is valued in terms of support of the masses to these parties.

Table-2 Baluchistan National Assembly Results & Vote Percentage of Winning Seats (Total Seats=11)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JUI(f)/IJM</td>
<td>04(13.69%)</td>
<td>02(4.85%)</td>
<td>02(5.95%)</td>
<td>02(11.38%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKMAP/PMAI</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>01(10.17%)</td>
<td>03(13.06%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JWP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>02(13.94%)</td>
<td>02(5.95%)</td>
<td>02(7.88%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNM(M)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>01(2.78%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNM(H)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>01(4.03%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>03(13.07%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>02(6.65%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML(N)</td>
<td>02(11.15%)</td>
<td>02(5.05%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>03(11.15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>01(1.88%)</td>
<td>02(8.69%)</td>
<td>01(4.90%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNA</td>
<td>02(5.12%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>02(6.31%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>01(4.10%)</td>
<td>01(2.65%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turn out</td>
<td>25.69%</td>
<td>29.18%</td>
<td>24.95%</td>
<td>23.17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-3 Baluchistan Provincial Assembly Results& Vote Percentage of Winning Seats (Total Seats=40)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>1988(Seat &amp;%of vote)</th>
<th>1990(Seat &amp;%of vote)</th>
<th>1993(Seat &amp;%of vote)</th>
<th>1997(Seat &amp;%of vote)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JUI(f)/IJM</td>
<td>10(5.65%)</td>
<td>06(4.47%)</td>
<td>03(2.65%)</td>
<td>07(6.52%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKMAP/PMAI</td>
<td>02(1.67%)</td>
<td>03(3.35%)</td>
<td>04(9.14%)</td>
<td>02(1.73%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JWP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10(15.26%)</td>
<td>04(6.25%)</td>
<td>06(7.96%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNM</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>02(1.77%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNM(M)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>02(3.20%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNM(H)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>04(4.20%)</td>
<td>02(2.59%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>09(11.43%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNP</td>
<td>02(2.50%)</td>
<td>05(6.30%)</td>
<td>02(2.02%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML(N)</td>
<td>09(13.25%)</td>
<td>07(6.78%)</td>
<td>06(6.67%)</td>
<td>04(4.77%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>03(2.12%)</td>
<td>02(1.71%)</td>
<td>03(4.07%)</td>
<td>01(1.32%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNA</td>
<td>06(6.05%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>07(9.72%)</td>
<td>05(8.94%)</td>
<td>09(8.13%)</td>
<td>08(9.07%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WP</td>
<td>01(0.81%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDM</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>01(0.47%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>01(0.82%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>01(0.69%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML(J)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>01(1.21%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turn out</td>
<td>29.60%</td>
<td>33.87%</td>
<td>28.59%</td>
<td>22.75%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table-4 Percentage of Votes of Parties on All Contesting Seats of Baluchistan Provincial Assembly

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>1988(%)</th>
<th>1990(%)</th>
<th>1993(%)</th>
<th>1997(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>10.19</td>
<td>9.50</td>
<td>10.99</td>
<td>6.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML-N</td>
<td>23.19</td>
<td>8.67</td>
<td>7.86</td>
<td>10.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI-F/IJM</td>
<td>13.23</td>
<td>13.64</td>
<td>11.91</td>
<td>13.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUP-N</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNA</td>
<td>13.91</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNM</td>
<td></td>
<td>8.42</td>
<td></td>
<td>10.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNM-M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNM-H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JWP</td>
<td></td>
<td>17.35</td>
<td>9.89</td>
<td>9.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNP</td>
<td>6.69</td>
<td>11.59</td>
<td>8.11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKMAI/PKMAP</td>
<td>3.74</td>
<td>7.45</td>
<td>12.60</td>
<td>6.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WP</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QIP</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>3.30</td>
<td>3.87</td>
<td>2.55</td>
<td>1.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>25.14</td>
<td>18.53</td>
<td>18.43</td>
<td>20.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Baluchistan National Alliance (BNA) in provincial domain seemed the group of nationalist parties and leaders which had the support of people on behalf of the factors of associations of race and language. These factors were seemingly dominated in the provincial politics and helped regionalists to get their share of seats in the provincial elections. Baluchistan National Alliance secured six seats out of total seats of 40 in 1988 election. After this election it was dissipated into different parties like BNM(Baluchistan National Movement) and JWP(Jammmori Watan Party) in 1990. Baluchistan National Movement formerly known as Baluchistan National Youth which was formed in 1988. In the election 1988, it joined hands with Akbar Bugti and formed Baluchistan National Alliance(BNA). BNM had prominent leaders like Nawab Khair Buksh Marri (who was in self-imposed exile in Afghanistan) and Sardar Attaullah Khan Mengal. BNM pulled out of the Bugti’s coalition government in the province after the failure of Combined Opposition Party’s no-confidence motion against the government of Benazir Bhutto in 1989. In the election 1990, it made the coalition with Pakistan National Party. Jamoori Watan Party was formed on August 16,1990 at a convention held in Quetta. It was attended by the tribal influential and political activists. It stood for autonomy of all federating units with equal status guaranteed to them under the constitution. According to the party’s manifesto, all administrative affairs would be controlled by the provinces independently, except for defence,

31 Jamoori Watan Party(JWP) was headed by Nawb Akbar Bugti, a former chief minister during the period of NAP-JUI government in the province in 1971 to 1973. He was later appointed Governor of the province when NAP-JUI Government was dissolved by Bhutto. Previously he had served as minister of state for defense prior to the imposition of martial law by Ayub Khan. Nawab Bugti was a member of Shahi Jirga which ceded British Baluchistan to Pakistan. The Herald, Election Special,1988,p.127; The Herald, Election 1990,October,1990,p.29.

32 Nawab Khair Buksh Marri was the chief of the Marri tribe. He was elected to the provincial assembly of West Pakistan. Later he won the National Assembly seat in 1962. In the election 1970 he again won the seat in the constituency, comprising of Quetta-Chagi, Naseerabad, Sibi and Marri-Bugti tribal belt. The Herald, Election Special,1988,p.127.

foreign policy, finance and communication. The party also called for the re-demarcation of the province on the basis of culture, race and language.\textsuperscript{34}

Baluchistan National Movement (BNM)\textsuperscript{35} emerged in 1990 election but it got only two seats. It divided into two factions in 1993 election. One was representing by the Mengal group and the other was represented by Haye group. Both secured two and four seats respectively. From the federation’s point of view the popularity of the nationalist parties like BNM and Pushtonkhwa was on the wane. The Pakistan National Party(PNP )\textsuperscript{36} had notable nationalists in her ranks and made seat adjustment with the PPP in the election 1990.\textsuperscript{37} PNP reiterated its pledge for a just and equal society in her manifesto. It stood for an egalitarian society by abolishing the feudal system and all kinds of exploitation. It made a claim in its manifesto for the just society by providing equal opportunities to all segments of the society without any discrimination.\textsuperscript{38} This electoral strategy of seat adjustment cut across the ethnic elements and diffused the primary loyalties for pursuing the interests of people of Baluchistan.

In the provincial constituencies of PB-4Quetta-iv,PB-7Pishin-ii,PB-11Loralai-cum-Musakhel,PB-27Kalat-i,PB-28Kalat-ii,PB-30 Khuzdar-i, PB-31 Khuzdar-ii,PB-37 Turbat-i,PB-38 Turbat-ii,PB-39 Turbat-iii,PB-40 Gawadar, Pakistan National Party(PNP) fought 1990 election and it took advantage of this strategy by winning the five seats. Pakistan Peoples Party/Pakistan Democratic Alliance(PPP/PDA) contested the election 1990 in the constituencies like PB-5 Chagi, PB-6 Pishin-i, PB-8 Pishin-iii, PB-9 Pishin-iv/Killa Abdullah, PB-10Loralai-i,

\textsuperscript{34} Ibid; see Muhammad Usman, Masood Ashar, \textit{Pakistan ki Siyasi Jamateen}, Lahore, 2004,pp-555-567.

\textsuperscript{35} BNM was widely seen as a party with the potential to evolve into the most organized political force in Baluchistan. Internal dissention in the party caused the split into two factions. One was led by Ataullah’s son Akhter Mengal and the other led by Dr. Haye Baloch in the election 1993. Both were the claimant of true inheritor of BNM. The Herald, Election Special 1993, p.24.

\textsuperscript{36} After Afghanistan’s sour revolution in 1978, there were differences among the leadership of National Awami Party. Before the ideological fallout from the afghan war, the party had already withered due to the alleged role of National Awami Party in terrorist activities that followed an army operation in Baluchistan. Leaders of NAP were arrested under the Hyderabad conspiracy case and several of the politicians such as Sardar Attaullah Mengal, Sardar Khair Buksh Marri had left the country, opting for a life of exile. The remaining leadership divided along Baloch-Pushtoon lines, with Wali Khan first becoming the head of National Democratic Party and later on of the Awami National Party. While in Baluchistan only veteran leader was the Ghous Bux Bizenjo who reorganized the scattered forces of democracy on the platform of Pakistan National Party(PNP) when the meeting of its council was held in Multan on 6-7 February 1986. Its first secretary general was Kaswar Gardezi. It was the left wing party and enjoyed the support of left wing groups in Sindh and Punjab. Bizenjo received a defeat in 1988 election on two seats and after the period of two years he was died. His two sons Bizen and Hasil Bizenjo tried to take his legacy forward and took charge of the party. PNP won both the seats in 1990 election in those constituencies from where Ghous Buksh was defeated. The Herald, Election Special 1993, p.24.

\textsuperscript{37} The Nation, October 9,1990.

PB-12 Loralai-iii/Barkhan, PB-13 Zhob-i/Zhob-cum-Killa Siafullah, PB-14 Zhob/Zhob-ii, PB-15 Zhob-iii/Killa Saifullah, PB-16 Sibi, PB-17 Ziarat-cum-Sibi, PB-18 Kohlu, PB-21 Jaffarabad-ii, PB-22 Jaffarabad-cum-Tamboo, PB-23 Tamboo/Nasirabad, PB-28 Kalat-ii/Kalat-cum-Mustung, PB-35 Lasbela-ii and won only two seats. It showed that party tried to expand its influence and networking by involving people into political activities. Political Party mobilized the masses for any cause or agenda which had a positive impact by their participation in electoral activity in which they used their options to elect the available contenders for political office.

In the 1997 provincial election, BNM(M) appeared in the name of Baluchistan National Party (BNP) which secured eight seats. This strength of BNP by securing eight seats in 1997 election was the result of coalition of BNM (M) and Pakistan National Party (PNP). This is explicit by the absence of Pakistan National Party (PNP) in 1997 national and provincial elections, while it got a few seats in all the previous elections. PNP got two seats in 1988, five seats in 1990 and two seats in 1993 provincial elections. So on behalf of this development it could be guessed that there was a coalition of like-minded regional parties, which had the same agenda. Jammori Watan Party (JWP) and BNM(H) in spite of having their regionalist agenda did not coalesce with other parties of same tenor. Jammori Watan Party (JWP) retained its separate posture in 1990, 1993 and 1997 election. Regional parties in their combined strength got half of the share of provincial seats. All regionalists got 18 seats in 1988, 25 in 1990, 27 in 1993 and 27 in 1997 provincial elections. The support of independent candidates had eased these regionalists’ forces to form the provincial governments, in which not all the ethnic groups got their share but most of them headed their provincial government along with ministerial share.

Province of Baluchistan in its national politics in spite of all odds of traditional outlook clearly showed that people of this province were inclined towards the parties for representing their interests. People of Baluchistan were the part of the democratic political activity in which parties had their role in the articulation and aggregation of interests. And this trend was visible in the national election where independent candidates were very few as compared to the parties elected candidates. So seemingly the choice of voter had been constrained by the socio-political compulsion of the electioneering activity. The voters had to decide in favour of one or the other candidate at the time of voting decision. Voters were socially embedded and they had the influence of social constraints but they moved rationally in their voting decisions. They
seemingly evaluated the pros and cons of their voting decisions. They kept in mind all the socio-political and psychological factors while moving into electioneering. To some extent, views of Rehmat Ibad Khan which he had presented regarding the role of the regional or religious leadership in the politics of the province, were not solidified or endorsed by the analysis of the voting behavior of the voters. He stated that:

The political elites have generally double standards. The nationalist leaders, who are mostly *sardars* (Tribal chief) do not like their people to develop or modernize. So find ways to prevent the government from carrying out developmental works. Religious parties have broad but traditional religious-ideological line of action which does not benefit the masses.\(^{39}\)

If it was so then why the leadership or their candidates had been supported by the people in the four elections rather than in one election. It happened so due to strong communal considerations but it was not devoid of any political colour. In this society, political discussion seemingly assumed the form of inter-communal debate, and probably one group justified its political position toward another to gain the support of the voters.

**7.3. Independents’ Stature**

The number of independent candidates in national elections was two in 1988 (6.31% of vote polled), not get single seat in 1990 while one seat each for 1993 (4.10% of vote polled) and 1997 (2.65%) election and it is visible in table-3. This trend was little bit encouraging in the provincial domain where number of independent candidates was 7 in 1988; 5, 9 and 8 in 1990, 1993 and 1997 respectively, visible in table-4. Here the strength of the independent candidates was linked with the factors of caste and tribe which had been visualized by sleigh Harrison in his study of South Asian voter. This trend could also be assigned to the Columbia school, mentioned in the section of electoral approaches in which voters decisions are counted on the basis of their social set up in which they live. Independents vote percentage remained constant in all the four consecutive provincial elections. It was 9.72% in 1988, 8.94% in 1990, 8.13% in 1993 and 9.07% in 1997. So regarding the election of independent candidates,

---

community influence combined with candidate’s family and personality as compare to parties, is seemingly more effective in determining the voting decision.

7.4. Influence of Families
The influence of families seemed in some of the national and provincial constituencies’ in-spite of having the denomination of party of which they took the ticket. In the constituencies, N.A-201 Kachi, N.A-202 Sibi-cum-Kohlu-cum-Dera Bughti-cum-Ziarat, N.A-203 Jaffarabad along with their provincial delimitations had the influence of candidates’s families. In N.A-202 Nawab Akbar Bugti and his son, Saleem Akbar Bugti remained victorious in all the four elections. While in N.A-201, Sardar Yar Muhammad Khan rind won the seats in last three elections and only in election 1988 an independent candidate got the seat. The role of JWP(Jamoori Watan Party) in these constituencies had become personified because such regional parties were more identified with personality. This influence of Akbar Bugti’s party—JWP—was seemingly less in the Bloch concentrated area of South Baluchistan. So that is why in above described constituencies much vote for his party was due to the presence of Bugti tribe in that area and as well the role of Akbar Bugti himself in the development of that area when he was in the offices of the government. So these factors contributed in the voting strength of his party. Here again the thesis of proximity worked in enticing the voters to vote for those parties or the candidates who were close to them in kind of access and deliverance.

In the below described provincial constituency Akbar Bugti influence was over awed which has been endorsed by the percentage of vote taken his party.

**PB-19 Dera Bugti:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BNA/JWP</td>
<td>86.73%</td>
<td>100% unopposed</td>
<td>98.85%</td>
<td>92.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1.15%</td>
<td>7.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>13.27%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In some other constituencies like that of PB-21Jaffarabad-ii, PB-22Jaffarabad-cum-Tamboo, Jamali family had an influence. Individual stature and stance had not made any dent in the political structure of Pakistan at national level, while in the provincial domain it worked better due to the change of the priorities of the voters. There was little difference in the dynamics of
national and provincial constituencies, but sometimes there were upsets in the usual patterns of voting.

In the constituency of PB-18 influence of Marri tribe is visible. The scion of this family contested the elections either independently or on party, won the seats in all the four elections.

**PB-18 Kohlu:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IND-1</td>
<td>59.40%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>48.86%</td>
<td>42.95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Humayun</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ghazain</td>
<td>Harbyair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Khan Marri</td>
<td></td>
<td>Khan Marri</td>
<td>Marri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND-2</td>
<td>40.60%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>46.48%</td>
<td>39.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mir</td>
<td></td>
<td>Behram</td>
<td>Behram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mohabat Khan</td>
<td></td>
<td>Khan Marri</td>
<td>Khan Marri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JWP</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>64.91%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Humayun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Khan Marri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>32.78%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI(F)/IJM</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2.31%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNM</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>13.43%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the constituency of PB-26 Jhal Magsi due to the winning of Zulfiqar Ali Magsi as an independent candidate showed that his family has a greater influence. In the election 1997, he won the seat unopposed which has endorsed the strength of his personality and of his family.

**PB-26 Jhal Magsi:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IND-1</td>
<td>85.43%</td>
<td>76.33%</td>
<td>63.61%</td>
<td>100% Zulfiqar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zulfiqar</td>
<td>Zulfiqar</td>
<td>Zulfiqar</td>
<td>Ali Magsi Unopposed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ali Magsi</td>
<td>Ali Magsi</td>
<td>Ali Magsi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND-2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>20.10%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sohrab</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Khan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNP</td>
<td>13.29%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>1.28%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>34.77%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Conclusion:**

In the electoral politics of Baluchistan, turnout ratio was low along with its less urbanized society and low level of its social development as compared to other regions of Pakistan. Its turn
out in all national and provincial elections remained low but the trend of contesting candidates against the seats of National and Provincial Assemblies was excelling. The number of candidates for the national assembly seat in 1970 was 5 which came to 11.00 in 1993 and for provincial assembly seat it was 7.06 in 1970 came to 13.1 in 1993.\textsuperscript{40} This showed that people and their candidates have faith and trust over the electoral process and think it legitimate way of changing the representatives of the people. Healthy and encouraging thing was that people of this region casted their vote not for a single factor and party. They gave their vote for all parties either they were national, regional or religious ones by considering the influence of different factors. Their choice was not a ritual choice. But if the parties and leaders responded them through the implementation of their electoral program then people reassured their support to them.

Religious party, particularly JUI(F) emerged as a strong political force which mobilized the masses with its ideological program. It lowered the intensity of traditional factors in articulating the interests of the people of Baluchistan by getting the national and provincial seats in Pukhton and Bloch zones. National parties like IJI/PML(N) and PPP/PDA had taken their share of seats in the national and provincial elections. They made their presence in most of the constituencies and created a sense of national politics in the minds of the people of this region. In the national constituencies regionalists have not emerged a potent force but in the provincial politics they got the big chunk of seats. They had got the support of independent candidates who were few in numbers and have relative influence in the constituencies of their ancestral homes. So parties’ tag is considered essential for the mobilization of masses. A good push-pull influence seemingly worked between the voters and the parties. Election manifestos of the parties rallied the support of masses and projected their programs which appealed the community. So people of Baluchistan were seemingly rational and independent in taking the decision of vote for their future. They were less chagrined by the appeal of primordial affiliations but more concerned with the development of their area. In questionnaire response it was verified that leaders of political parties had an appeal in mobilizing the voters and people went for national, regional and religious parties in voting. Response on role of leadership was 93 percent and choice for national party was 80 percent, for regional party it was 60 percent and for religious party it was 46 percent. This response on questions verified the findings of electoral data and depicted that people had sense of choice in their voting decisions. People of the area responded to the parties

\textsuperscript{40} Dawn, September 7, 1993.
according to the requirements of the time and their political behaviour was seemingly mature enough. On the questions of parties’ manifesto which is good for public or not and the question related to the parties either they change their manifestos according to the needs and demands of the time, the response on the first question was 78 percent that it was good and on the other question either parties change their manifesto according to the time was 93 percent. This was the reflection of mature thinking of the leadership of the political parties which supported the agenda of welfare and it was upheld by the voters. It was reflected in the analysis that voters supported those parties which were near to their cause. In those constituencies where the impact of individuals and families have been observed, It could be said that people of that area were closely attached with each other and their decisions were linked with the jointly working dynamics of community. Where the voters were mobilized with the influence of ideology then Weiner Rudolph analysis of South Asian voter is explicitly workable in those constituencies. He stated that voters of that area are harmonized with the workable pattern of new system under the impact of ideology. And where people participated and mobilized by themselves due to the part of the political organization then it could be said that people of those area are more concerned of their socio-economic lot and Anthony-downs approach is workable along with the streak of Michigan school by which it is considered that voter is independent in taking his/her voting decision. People of Baluchistan participated in the electoral activity is an important political good and Samuel p. Huntington described it a normative value of any society.\footnote{Norman D.Palmer, op. cit.pp.57-58.} So impact of political determinants along with social dynamics was evident in the political behavior of the voter of Baluchistan.
CHAPTER- 8
CONCLUSION:
In this research emphasis was laid down upon the manifestation of political values of the people of Pakistan which in turn determined the nature of the political behaviour. It is generally accepted by the political scientists that each society has its own specific values in which nature of the political system is going to be emerged. Political culture is the manifestation of political values which are the outcome of the political beliefs of a society. So in this context political culture is the subjective orientation to politics and it is groomed within the political experiences of that particular society. In the analysis of the electoral activity of Pakistan, it has been tried to judge that how far the people of Pakistan had taken the influence of their political experiences in their political decisions. This generalization has been answered by the study of the interplay of political variables like party, candidate, political leadership and issues which had their socio-economic bases in their assertion. It has been investigated that local patterns of influence, economic dependence, class differences, parochial associations and political determinants were effective in one way or the other to direct the voting decisions. This multi-facet political behavior has been thoroughly studied in the analysis of the four national and provincial elections of Pakistan. Regarding these assumptions, response of the people of Pakistan had been evaluated through the questionnaire and through the analysis of the election results, published by the election commission of Pakistan.

The issue of some administrative constraints and legal modalities was also observed which could affect the electoral process, but it was exceptional and beyond our study. One of issue of election spending, which is generally prescribed by the election commission as an election code, had not been acted upon and it indeed affected the electioneering. It was observed that an ordinary person could not afford huge election expenditures and these barriers checked the representative character of the election. So it could be said that without power and influence on the bases of material means, the most of the aspiring ones were excluded from the electoral arena. Among the other factors, one was of gerrymandering, also affected the elections results. The constraints in the observation of party ethics and codes also produced ripples in the smooth sailing of the electoral and democratic process.

Some of the findings in the analysis about the political behavior of the voters are being stated. It has been observed that people realized the importance of the political system of which they had
been made part by the interactive mechanism, evolved between the masses and the political institutions. It led to establish that people were attached with the community. They were more sensible in taking their political decisions by evaluating the situation in which they were embedded. They were seemingly more rational in making their political decisions by adopting those entities for their representation which have legitimate voice in public. It was felt that either the voter relied on the judgments of the others about the party and the candidate to whom he/she had to cast the vote or their pattern of personal associations provided guide for understanding and action within the political process.

In-spite of the plural nature of Pakistani society due to the multiplicity of cultural and religious divisions, the level of political consciousness was seemingly better. People accepted the importance of politics and the role of its active agents in a democratic dispensation. They participated in the different activities of the election to change their lot by replacing the office bearers with the new ones. If half of the voters went for polling, it sufficiently gave the legitimacy to the electoral activity and the others, who did not go for balloting, were not considered apolitical.

So in Pakistan’s electoral process all representative characters with popular backing participated in the national and the provincial elections except some organizations which had no such impressive support of the voters, remained reluctant to be the part of elections. They boycotted the polls when they thought that they can’t make any substantial gain from this electoral activity. In the four elections of Pakistan from 1988 to 1997 people showed their political maturity to be the part of this process and it was visible in election’s turn out which varied from 40 to 45 percent.

It is generally believed that man’s action is determined by the concept of good or bad, and in the domain of politics it was seemingly given due weightage by the voters in their judgment of voting. In Pakistan’s politics, political good is also concrete not an abstract. People preferred the candidates and the leaders of the political parties who were seemingly more pragmatic in their approach to deal the masses. The object of the candidate and party’s leadership’s thought and effort was seemingly concrete and for the good of the particular community which he/she had to govern. They were in lieu of their services, supported by the voters in the elections. Here it could be said that it was probably the patron-client relationship which attached the voters with the parties and the candidates. There might be less debate over the issues of political concerns in
formal way, but in the informal channels of community interactions, political issues were debated which provided the way to reach at the decision of electing the candidate or the party. In the analysis it was also observed that context of the voters’ voting decision was determined by the sort of political system in which they were groomed and by the campaign of the political parties and the candidates. It was due to the effects of such kind of variables, voters aligned with the candidate and the party. In the study of the political culture of the people of Pakistan, it was also observed that primordial associations had their role in the formulation of the opinion of the voters but they independently determine the nature of the political decisions which had political considerations. The combined effects of these associations and of political values were seen on the political socialization of the voters which was manifested in their overwhelming support for the political parties in the elections. It was found that majority of the people were not the member of any political party or any other interest group and organization but they were indeed mobilized in the political process by the campaign of parties, door to door campaign of the candidate, his/her personality influence and the impact of party’s leadership. At this stage it is maintained that political culture of Pakistan is mature enough by any criterion of judging it because its political role may be diffusive one but its performance was based on political considerations. It came to fore in the debate of political behavior that in Pakistan, political parties along with their candidates and mutilated organizational bases tried to cultivate relationships with the people or their factions to share the interests, problems, and values. This kind of penetration of political entities into the masses forced the independent candidates of an election to contest the next one on the ticket of a political party. It was also found that the results of the elections in terms of turn out depended on the mobilization capacity of each political party and the candidate at the time of electioneering. It was felt that candidates’ views and parties’ ideologies or their issues stances had an impact on the voters in making their voting decisions. So it could be critically pointed out that Lucian W. Pye remarks were not appropriate which he described about the political behavior of the people of non-western political process. He said that ‘…all political behavior is strongly colored by considerations of communal identification’1.

The logic of democratic representation meant that no group can afford to be excluded from the political process and in this way all stake holders contested the elections either in independent

---

status or on the ticket of political parties. So in the analysis of national elections 1988, 1990, 1993 and 1997 a conspicuous trend appeared that people voted for parties and the election of independent candidates was an alternative where parties were not able to put their candidates due to the reasons of electoral adjustment or silent backing of the candidates. That is why the number of independents decreased in the last two elections. There number was 31, 21, 8 and 10 respectively in national elections. It has also observed in comparative analysis that in some constituencies if an independent candidate won the election, he contested the next one on the party ticket. This showed that people preferred the parties and supported those candidates who had good communicative network with the public and had the support of a political party, particularly of a national party. Independent candidates had very narrow agenda which was only for particular groups of the constituencies. Their agenda had no linkage with national and development cause which ultimately reduced their political bargaining.

It was observed that position of voters on different issues varied from the motives of personal needs to the appreciating insight of national interests. The varying positions on the issues were articulated by the influence of candidates’ personality, party’s leader’s charismatic appeal and the local communicating networks. People preferred to see party’s leader and listen his/her voice in public gatherings and processions. All this had much influence on voter’s voting decision. It showed that people knew the importance of parties and attach themselves with them through electoral network in spite of not being the member of any political party. In the findings of questionnaire on the question of membership of party, it came out that in NWFP it was 38 percent; in Punjab it was 5 percent; in Sindh it was 5 percent and in Baluchistan it was 46 percent. The response in NWFP and Baluchistan was better as compared to Punjab and Sindh due to the distribution of questionnaire to the workers and members of parties. But more or less majority of people are not members of political parties.

People of Pakistan were rational in their voting decision which projected them to be mature enough in their behaviour as the situation demanded. They preferred party system and always voted for those parties which performed well at national and provincial levels. Here this kind of attitude of the people set aside the description of the Sidney Verba regarding the political culture. He referred to the political culture as the manifestation of political beliefs about the political system, and he used the term ‘primitive beliefs’ which was borrowed by him from Milton Rokeach. For him, ‘primitive political beliefs are those so implicit and generally taken for
granted that each individual holds them and believes all other individuals hold them. They are fundamental and usually unstated assumptions or postulates about politics. In this sense they are unchallengeable since no opportunity exists to call them into question.\(^2\) It has been observed that people of Pakistan were more political oriented and they did not take this primitive political beliefs as taken for granted in their political decisions because they challenged them when the opportunity of elections was offered. They weighed their decisions at cost and benefit scale by opting the parties and candidates whose chances of success were brighter in the election because they had the capacity to translate their desires into policy decisions. It was observed that People considered the opinion of their social neighborhood which filtered out after so many exchanges to help the voters in formulating their own opinion regarding the voting. It was the first level of information where political values affected the political judgment. Here the theoretical consideration of Columbia School is seemingly relevant that people social neighborhood and membership of other groups determine their voting behavior.

Political parties of national stature—PPP/PDA and IJI/PML-N—had been given preference in the voting decision by the voters due to their political programs, which were presented at the time of elections in the form of electoral manifestos. These manifestos had bearing on electorate when were presented by the candidates of constituency and leaders of the parties in their public meetings. It was also felt that voter noted the speech vocabulary of party’s leaders and were influenced by the popular appeal of party’s leadership. National Parties’ leadership propagated ideological and practical views before the public and by this way aligned more voters with them as compared to religious, regional and smaller parties. The charismatic appeal of Benazir Bhutto, the co-chairperson of Pakistan Peoples Party and of Mr. Nawaz Sharief, president of Pakistan Muslim League, had played effective role in enticing the voters, and that is why both of these parties claimed to represent the people of all Pakistan. It was endorsed by their vote share in all the four provinces of Pakistan.

The other parties like Awami National Party, Muttahida Qaumi Movement/Haq Prast Group and Jamiiat Ulaama-i-Islam Fazal-ur-Rehman showed their strength in some of selected areas and constituencies of the country. It was the result of their weak leadership or weak party organization and as well the nature of their political program which was seemingly more

idealistic. Their appeal and commitment level was unable to expose the practical aspects of their agenda. Their popular appeal was confined to the restricted areas of their influence. With the passage of time, they lost their vigour due to their undue stress on those aspects of people’s life which had ethnic or the Islamic character of their electoral program. The other aspect of this analysis which emerged was the performance of smaller parties in the electoral politics of Pakistan. It was found that the presence of large number of smaller parties merely transmitted the interests of a subculture or clientele with a minimum of aggregation as compared to the Pakistan Peoples Party/Pakistan Democratic Alliance and Pakistan Muslim League(Nawaz)/Islami Jamhoori Ittehad. These two national/major parties contributed positively in the articulation and aggregation of the interests of a larger segment of society and they provided the unifying order to the state.

People of Pakistan while becoming the part of electoral activity, transformed their general will into political will to replace the one body or organization with another. They thought that they are rightly governed in a manner agreeable to their temper and disposition. That is why they took part in elections and turn out in national election of 1988 was 43.07%; in 1990 it was 45.46%; in 1993 it was 40.28% and in 1997 it was 35.42%. Their participation showed their reliance over system and their political ethos determined the nature and stability of system. They seemingly fulfilled the part of their responsibility by exposing themselves to the emerging political situations and set their goals and behavior accordingly. It was found in the analysis that people showed their favour to those political parties and candidates who had legitimate right to govern and could transform their political opinion into policy alternatives. This was the indication of the level of their political consciousness which guided the voters to elect the better candidate and party. It was also endorsed in questionnaire findings when question related to the changing agenda by the parties according to the requirements of time and other one related to the candidate’s effort in exposing the problems of the area was asked from the respondents. Respondents’ response in NWFP over the first question was 71 percent and on second question it was 87 percent; in Punjab response was 71 and 64 percent; in Sindh it was 56 and 95 percent and in Baluchistan it was 93 and 73 percent. These findings endorsed the maturity of the political awareness of voters. In the domain of political culture, it is established that who talks to whom and who influences whom, then similar aspect of political behavior appeared in which political contacts and their effects were regulated by the candidate and the political party.
It was seemingly the psychological and sociological factors which determine the rationality of the voter’s voting decision. The certain sociological determinants, specifically group norms influenced on the voters and provided rational guide to action. It was found that voters evaluated the importance of the different issues and this kind of situation regulated the behavior of the voters. Seemingly it helped the people to form their political beliefs and act in political fashion. So in this study it has been inferred that all kind of influences in the realm of politics or out of it, had a considerable influence over the voters’ voting decisions. It was felt that People were guided by the informal and formal process of political parties’ campaign, parties’ manifestos, parties’ membership and informal associations and organizational structures. They preferred to attach with the parties which were near to their issues. So it was the proximity of the issues which had brought both the parties or their candidates and voters near to each other. It has been simmered out in the study that constraints and loyalties created by the social classes, had also an impact on the elections outcome, but it was rather political parties which served more to shape such affiliations, aided occasionally by deliberate ideological appeals.

In the presence of subcultures of Pakistan, people have overlapping memberships with in a group and community which influenced the voters’ voting decision but passively. Electoral dynamics of national elections in Baluchistan and NWFP were not very much deviant from the other two provinces of Pakistan where national parties secured majority tally of votes as compared to Islamic and regionalists/nationalists parties. In NWFP national elections, IJI/PML-N, a national party, got more votes than Awami National Party and JUI-F/IJM. IJI/PML-N got 27.28% vote in 1988, 23.74% vote in 1990, 22.66% in 1993, while in 1997 its’ vote was 37.18%. The vote of ANP was 18.40% in 1988, 15.00% in 1990, 14.19% in 1993 and 19.12% in 1997 and of religious party, JUI-F/IJM, that got 8.85% vote in 1988, 20.57% in 1990, 10.75% in 1993 and 7.99% in 1997 election.

In Baluchistan and NWFP peoples’ preferences at provincial level were little bit different. In the provincial domain regionalists/nationalists and Islamic elements performed relatively better as compared to their performance in the national elections. At provincial level, it might be the influence of their party’s program which enticed the voters. It could be the better election strategy which capitalized on the parochial associations to get favour of the voters. It might be the influence of idealistic appeal by which voters were aligned to them. Peoples’ voting behaviour was based on interest model in these two provinces as had been observed in the
Punjab and Sindh. In the above said regions people showed their inclination towards regionalists/nationalists or Islamic parties in the provincial domain on the basis of proximity. Interests of people and parties came close to each other which appealed more to people’s voting decisions. It appeared that people had number of crosscutting affiliations but they were political relevant due to their emotional commitments with the values of an operating political system. These membership patterns in their ideological and sociological characteristics, tried to reinforce one-another in their effects on voter’s opinion. It was found in the analysis that people thought that in their local concerns they could easily approach the leaders of these parties for their problems as compared to national ones. So, to some extent, they supported the regional and Islamic parties. They participated in the political process with all their social paraphernalia and passed their experiences to the next generation. This kind of attitude of the people in the political domain helped each other to learn the new perspective about the political development of a polity. The participation of political parties in the election seemingly cut across all parochial tendencies to make the electoral process stable and vibrant. This kind of approach indicated the maturity of political culture and focused on the beliefs by which goals and values were pursued in the political life. Here the words of Sydney Verba supported our thesis. He described that political culture refers to the system of beliefs about patterns of political interaction and political institutions.³

In the electoral analysis a trend of factional politics appeared in Pakistan’s politics. Factional politics has been observed which revolved around the offshoots of major parties. Factions were formed out of the major party due to the resentment of some of the influential members of the party over the policies and issues of the party or may be the result of the vested interests. They were lacked of any ideological siblings and its leaders were devoid of any charismatic appeal. National Peoples Party, Pakistan Peoples Party (Shaheed Bhattu), Pakistan Muslim League(Junejo) and Pakistan Muslim League(Chatta Junejo) gave the impression of factional politics and their performance in terms of electoral gains was not appreciable. Pakistan Muslim League-Junejo showed its presence in NWFP and in Punjab in 1993 election. It got 4.89% vote in the national election of NWFP and 6.87% vote in the provincial election of NWFP, while in Punjab it got 4.8 % vote in the national election and 5.57% in the provincial election1993. Pakistan Muslim League-Junejo Chattha appeared in the 1997 election but it put its candidates

³ Lucian W.Pye &Sidney Verba, op.cit.,p.516.
only in Punjab. Its electoral performance was not very effective and it was not different from that of PML-J. It got 3.41% vote in the national election and 1.67% in the provincial election 1997. Both of these parties got the strength in some of the constituencies. It was the result of their election engineering in terms of their seat adjustment with national or the biggest parties. Their strategy of awarding ticket to those who were influential in their constituencies in terms of their past electoral performance had given some advantage to these factions. Major parties which associated with the smaller factions compromised over their vote bank and it caused in depletion of the electoral strength of major parties by their absentia from the constituencies.

Another trend of selection of the party by the candidate or awarding of the ticket by the party to the candidate was also the source of attention to know the strength of the political entities. In Pakistan’s politics it appeared that this kind of initiative of selection or awarding the ticket had been laid with the parties. Prerogative for the party or the candidate to choose each other is complicated phenomenon for its underlying dynamics that revolve around the interests and priorities but the system of choice was with the political party. Sometimes political party had to rely on the traditional patterns of candidate’s selection due to the political standing of a candidate in the constituency. It was found that majority of the candidates had applied for the party ticket. When the candidate has this option then it increased his /her voting strength. This kind of change was evident by the behavior of the independent candidates. They opted the party’s platform to contest the next election after their first appearance in the election as an independent candidate. So most of the time, it was the prerogative of the party to deliver the tickets. Seemingly political behavior of the candidates was also affected by the performance of the political parties in the elections and their burgeoning role in the electoral politics of Pakistan forced every contestor to have the ticket of a political party, particularly of a national/major party.

In the analysis it was found that smaller parties like Pakistan Tahreek Insaf(PTI), Pakistan Awami Tahreek(PAT) and Pakistan Islamic Front(PIF) appeared in the different elections independently or in coalition with other parties. Their electoral performance was not different from that of regionalists/nationalists parties. Their electoral strength stood at 1% to 2% of the poll vote in any election. These above mentioned parties were different in ideological orientation but with same rhetoric stressed on the social reforms and preservation of Islamic way of life. Pakistan Islamic Front(PIF) in 1993 election secured nothing in the province of Punjab and Baluchistan but it secured 2 seats in NWFP and 1 seat in Sindh where MQM/HPG was absent in
the national election. Pakistan Awami Tahreek(PAT) appeared in 1990 election and Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf(PTI) in 1997 election but their percentage of vote in total polled vote was less than 1%. This trend was also similar which had been observed in other provinces regarding the performance of smaller parties. People all the time preferred those parties, which were more concerned to their immediate needs and had the capacity to transform their ideals into practical reality. It was endorsed by the victory and the voting strength of the IJI/PML(N) and PPP/PDA in all the four elections of Pakistan. People reposed their trust over the national/major parties along with the support for regionalists and Islamic parties in some of the constituencies of Pakistan. In the analysis of four national and provincial elections from 1988 to 1997, it appeared that people of Pakistan preferred national parties in their voting decisions and that was reflected in the results of elections where two parties—PPP/PDA and IJI/PML-N—got majority of seats and votes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IJI/PML(N)</td>
<td>30.60%</td>
<td>37.37%</td>
<td>39.9%</td>
<td>45.95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>38.70%</td>
<td>36.83%</td>
<td>37.9%</td>
<td>21.90%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


This trend was verified by the response of questionnaire over questions twenty, twenty one and twenty two, related to the choice of parties in voting decision by voters. The response was very encouraging in all the four regions of Pakistan. In NWFP it was 71 percent, in Punjab 96 percent, in Sindh 100 percent and in Baluchistan it was 80 percent.

Awareness of people has also been measured by the declining strength of the independent candidates. People knew very well who could address their problems effectively in the political system and how far the number game was essential and prerequisite for the making and unmaking of the government. In this regard independents were also dependent on the major parties and they were linked with the mainstream agenda. Influence of families had also been observed in some of the constituencies and that was the result of their association based on local patterns. That is why they also secured the seats when they contested the election independently. This was not consistent pattern because in the analysis of four elections it appeared that in one
election if candidate contested election independently then in the next one he took the party ticket.

Political culture at the level of voting behaviour, has been observed which postulated the heuristic value of spatial models in which voters were embedded and changed their axis with multiple rational positions. Voters at the time of election came out of the diffuse situation and with definite understanding of the political situation took the political decisions. That is why with the support of majority voters two parties—PML-N and PPP—had attired the cloak of major parties.

It has been observed that national/major parties have managed the dimension of policies and rightly targeted the voters. Parties remained flexible in their electoral stances and changed their program according to the situations and circumstances of every election. It has been observed that personal loyalties and groups associations were loosing their influences in the transformed part of the society. It was also noticed by the support of the voters to the parties that with the emergence of new issues, parties had adjusted themselves by their rational policies, with their potent candidates and attractive programs. Pakistani voter switched parties from one election to the next, a switch was issue oriented and provided a low consideration to the subjective considerations which foresaw that Pakistani voter’s choice is stigmatized with systemic preferences—tribe, clan, kinship, language. Issues played cardinal role in determining the nature of electoral outcome. They were prioritized by the voters as per their concerns which varied from local and personal to national. It was observed that political parties after the exposition of their political program created a stir among the different groups and mobilized them to shift their political alignments. The issues related information percolated down to the masses through leadership speeches, media advertisements, party’s candidates’ public and corner meetings and consultative mood of people either through families or through informal gatherings.

People of Pakistan evaluated their preferences rationally for different issues and attached their priorities to the issues of national and development nature in their voting decisions. It was tested through questionnaire and there was cluster of questions which showed peoples’ preference to different issues and also about the role of parties, candidates and parties’ leadership in the awareness of voters about different issues. Questions five to fifteen; twenty to twenty eight and thirty to thirty one made a clear sense about the above said characters. The response of people on the questions five to fourteen varied but it was encouraging that people gave their preference to
those variables which positively contributed to the emergence of mature political culture. The response on issues like national interest, development agenda, personal needs and candidate’s personality was healthy in NWFP, Punjab, Sindh while in Baluchistan people gave preference to cast, clan and language influences in their voting decision. The opinion in Baluchistan was variably not very much different from the other regions of Pakistan but it is a proven fact that they had political consciousness. These responses verified data analysis findings that people were mobilized and participated in elections for national, personal and development concerns. They moved in the elections from their individual concerns, evaluated in cost benefit analysis, to the national ones which were preferred in their proximity to community and nation. This argument is being supported by having the analysis of a constituency of Mianwali where people voted differently in national and provincial constituency in spite of the candidates’ close family relationship of being father and son. In the constituency PP-36 Mianwali where Ghulam Rasool Shahdi Khail elected three times member of the Provincial Assembly from 1985 to 1990 but he lost the election1993 in spite of winning a National Assembly seat from N.A-53 Mianwali against the strong candidature of his son. This showed that people had no concerns with parochial considerations but prefer material interests. Like this trend, another had been observed in the analysis of a Multan constituency, PP-166. In this constituency it was seen that a veteran personality, Shah Mahmood Qureshi had won the seats in 1988 and in 1990 from the ticket of IJI and in 1993 his brother, Mureed Hussain Qureshi won this seat from the platform of PPP but he lost the election 1997 from the candidate of PML-N in spite of having the support of his brother. It reflected that people showed their inclination toward that candidate who can better deliver. It also appeared that people preferences were different in the national and provincial elections and they also decided according to the demands of the time.

For the mobilization of masses along the lines of material development and national issues, the role of parties, candidate’s personality and party leadership charisma remained very positive. It was exposed in the response of questions No fifteen; twenty three to twenty eight; thirty to thirty one. In question fifteen, the response in NWFP was 96 percent, in Punjab 75 percent, in Sindh 88 percent and in Baluchistan 93 percent. It was related to the charismatic role of the party’s leadership in the influencing of voter’s voting decision. Questions twenty three to twenty eight were also a cluster of questions which judged the role of parties in the creation of awareness about the issues among the masses. The response was very encouraging in all the four provinces
of Pakistan except on question twenty five and twenty six in which peoples’ membership of parties and their appearance in the processions were abysmally low except in Baluchistan. In the area of Baluchistan response on these questions was much better because questionnaire was distributed to the members of different parties. Anyhow the membership of the political parties remained very low in all the regions of Pakistan. The response of questions thirty and thirty one related to the position of candidate on the agenda of the party and his/her stress on the problems of the area was very encouraging in all the four regions of Pakistan.

Importance of the national and international issues was seemingly projected by the media, party or private communication network. The interactive network percolated the higher concerns of the stake holders to the level of public to formulate their opinion about the issues. It created a generative mechanism of public mobilization on different issues. In Pakistan’s political system parties played that role of filtering the public opinion from one issue to other with the collaborative efforts of the media, candidates and party workers. Parties reached at the level of masses by the propaganda of their program which influenced more the intelligentsia, educated sections of society and the workers of the constituency. People also depended on the simplified and rhetorical versions of what was contained in the manifestos to make their opinion about the vote. Political parties’ stance on different issues also filtered down to the masses via the party activists operating through corner meetings and door to door contact at the time of election campaign. It raised the level of public participation in the electoral process. Some issues were of abstract nature like the ideological appeal of the rightist parties to implement the Islamic agenda and the socialist plank of the leftist parties, never got the sympathies of the voters in the election as compared to major parties. These ideologies created only ephemeral influence over the masses as compared to those parties which had the practical appeal for masses. These political actors come to the market not to exchange, compromise, and adapt, but to preach, exhort, convert, and transform the political system into something other than a bargaining agency.

Development priorities were carried forward by the parties—envisioned in their program—and had been paid more to the parties in terms of vote which projected them. It has been viewed in the light of rationalist school led by Anthony Downs, which conceives voters as being prone to weighing the cost and benefit of voting in economic terms and people vote for those parties and candidates who deliver tangible benefits. By keeping in view the nature of the voters, parties and the candidates also did the same by dishing out the promises of prosperity and progress to entice
the voters. Candidates who took specific stands or who had a long history of national public exposure were seemingly successful in generating the perception of voters on relative issues which relatively favoured their electoral stature. Voters of Pakistan exhibited consistent behaviour with respect to public policies and maximized their expected gains by their participation in the electoral process which transformed their general will into a political will.

The analysis showed that Pakistani voter’s choice is not irrational, capricious, irresponsible or even non-policy oriented. Often an inference regarding the political behavior of the people is predicated on the presuppositions about the rationality of the political system and the irrationality of voters. But our analysis of that particular political act of voting within the political system endorsed the rationality of the voters. Empirically it has been proved that from the social-psychological influences to political determinants, behavior of the voter mediated in between all this. Voters performed according to the nature of the operative political mechanism. So the political culture of the people of Pakistan manifested the expressive symbols, emotional commitments and cognitive values. And by all respects and standards it was mature enough due to the manifested patterns of political interaction and the role of political institutions in the ambience of politics. So the political culture of Pakistan in its character had the same attributes which were described by Lucian W. Pye in the book *Political Culture and Political Development* that it encompasses both the political ideals and the operating norms of the polity.
Annexure-1

National Assembly Election Result (1988)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parties</th>
<th>Punjab</th>
<th>Sindh</th>
<th>NWFP</th>
<th>Baluchistan</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAI</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI(F)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI(D)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNA</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15*</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

113(115) 46 25(26) 11 194(199)

Eight seats of FATA are not included in it. Therefore total seats are counted 199, including one seat of federal area. Source: Morning News, Nov 17, 1988. *This number of independents in Sindh is largely due to non-party denomination of ‘Muhajir’ community in this election and they have been placed with independents.

Provincial Assembly Results (1988):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Punjab-240</th>
<th>Sindh-100</th>
<th>NWFP-80</th>
<th>Balochistan-40</th>
<th>Total-460</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IJI</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI(F)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAI</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party</td>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>Sindh</td>
<td>NWFP</td>
<td>Baluchistan</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seats</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNM</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HPG(MQM)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Morning News*, Nov 21,1988. *This number of independents in Sindh is largely due to the non party denomination of the ‘Mujahir’ community in this election.

**Annexure-2**

**Election 1990 (National Assembly):**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>IJI</th>
<th>PD A</th>
<th>MQM/HP G</th>
<th>JU I</th>
<th>AN P</th>
<th>PN P</th>
<th>JUP(N )</th>
<th>PKMA P</th>
<th>JW P</th>
<th>IN D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindh</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWFP</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baluchistan</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FATA</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Election 1990 (Provincial Assemblies):**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Punjab</th>
<th>Sindh</th>
<th>NWFP</th>
<th>Baluchistan</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seats</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNM</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HPG(MQM)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJI</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>Sindh</td>
<td>NWFP</td>
<td>Baluchistan</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI(F)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JWP</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDA</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKMAP</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNP</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SNA</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>443</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**National Election 1993:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>parties</th>
<th>Punjab</th>
<th>Sindh</th>
<th>NWFP</th>
<th>Baluchistan</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML-N</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML-J</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIF</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI(F)/IJM</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNM-M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNM-H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKQP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKMAP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JWP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDP/NDA*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDM</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Eight seats of FATA are not included in it. Therefore total seats are counted 199. Seat of federal capital was won by PML-N; *NDA –National Democratic Alliance formed in 1992 against Nawaz government and Nawabzada’s PDP was part of it in election 1993. In this election MQM boycotted national election. Source: M.Waseem, *The 1993 Elections in Pakistan*, Vanguard, Lahore, 1994, p.154.

**Provincial Elections 1993:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parties</th>
<th>Punjab</th>
<th>Sindh</th>
<th>NWFP</th>
<th>Baluchistan</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML-N</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML-J</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MQM/HPG</td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIF</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI(F)/IJM</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNM-M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNM-H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKQP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKMAP</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JWP</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNP</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDP/NDA*</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPP</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDM</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JMP</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>240</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>459</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Annexure-4

National Election 1997:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parties</th>
<th>Punjab</th>
<th>Sindh</th>
<th>NWFP</th>
<th>Baluchistan</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML-N</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MQM/HPG</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JWP</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI-F</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP-SB</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPP</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Eight seats of FATA are not included in it. Therefore total seats are counted 195. Seat of federal capital was won by PML-N. Elections on three seats were postponed.


Provincial Elections 1997:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parties</th>
<th>Punjab</th>
<th>Sindh</th>
<th>NWFP</th>
<th>Baluchistan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML-N</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML-J</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MQM/HPG</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI(F)/IJM</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNM</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNP</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKMAP</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JWP</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPP</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP-SB</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Registered vote | Vote polled | Registered vote | Vote polled | Registered vote | Vote polled | Registered vote | Vote polled | %
| Punjab       | 28080896 | 13055024 | 46.49 | 28252015 | 14016503 | 49.61 | 30264766 | 14245257 | 47.07 | 31483112 | 12534915 | 39.81 |
| Sindh        | 9878825  | 4186716  | 42.38 | 10184567 | 4408266  | 43.28 | 11021918 | 3111346  | 28.23 | 12066875 | 3777892 | 31.31 |
| NWFP         | 5649344  | 1916297  | 33.92 | 5972266  | 2134654  | 35.74 | 6092576 | 2107209  | 34.59 | 6651672 | 1846371 | 27.75 |
| Balochistan  | 2376281  | 610492   | 25.69 | 2442362  | 712797   | 28.07 | 2753029 | 686783  | 24.09 | 3044548 | 705604 | 23.17 |
| FATA         | 34403    | 26750    | 77.75%| 24148    | 14409    | 59.67 | 33805   | 20891   | 61.80%| 1593212 | 536809 | 33.69% |
| Pakistan     | 46206055 | 19903172 | 43.07 | 47065330 | 47065330 | 45.46 | 50166094 | 50166094 | 40.28 | 54839416 | 54839416 | 35.06 |

Questionnaire: Dilemma of Political Culture: Case Study of Pakistan (1988-1997)

Name: ________________  Age: _____  Region/Place: ______________
Social position: ______________  Gender: ___________  Address: ______________
Constituency: ______________

Please Mark √ on given options for Answer:

1. Did you go for vote?
   Yes       No
2. Did you make your voting decision early?
   Yes       No
3. Did you make your voting decision on the day of voting?
   Yes       No
4. Did you consider the opinion of the community in your voting decision?
   Yes       No
5. Were you influenced by the National Interests in your voting decision?
   Yes       No
6. Were you influenced by the Party’s Program in your voting decision?
   Yes       No
7. Were you influenced by the Development Agenda in your voting decision?
   Yes       No
8. Were you influenced by the Personal Needs/Desires in your voting decision?
   Yes       No
9. Were you influenced by the Candidate’s Personality/Family Background in your voting decision?
   Yes       No
10. Were you influenced by the element of Caste in your voting decision?
    Yes       No
11. Were you influenced by the element of Clan in your voting decision?
    Yes       No
12. Were you influenced by the Language factor in your voting decision?
   Yes                          No

13. Were you influenced by the opinion of the Family Members in your voting decision?
   Yes                          No

14. Were you influenced by all these factors in your voting decision?
   Yes                          No

15. Did the Leader of the political party have an appeal in voting decision?
   Yes                          No

16. Did the Turnout of the previous election have an influence on your voting decision?
   Yes                          No

17. Did the Political Parties contest the elections?
   Yes                          No

18. Did you vote for the political parties?
   Yes                          No

19. Were you a member of a political party?
   Yes                          No

20. Did you prefer the National Party in your voting decision?
   Yes                          No

21. Did you prefer the Islamic Political Party in your voting decision?
   Yes                          No

22. Did you prefer the Regional Party/Nationalist Party in your voting decision?
   Yes                          No

23. Did the political parties create awareness for voters?
   Yes                          No

24. Was the media campaign used by the parties for the voter’s awareness?
   Yes                          No

25. Is the membership of a party is useful for voter’s awareness?
   Yes                          No

26. Are the Public meetings and processions useful for voter’s awareness?
   Yes                          No

27. Did the Parties change their manifesto according to the needs and demands of the time?
28. Was the political party’s manifesto good for public?
   Yes                          No
29. Did you think that last governed political party should be re-elected?
   Yes                          No
30. Was the electoral candidate near to the agenda of a political party?
   Yes                          No
31. Did the electoral candidate expose the problems of the area?
   Yes                          No
32. Did the electoral candidate provide an access to the people of the area before the Election?
   Some Time,
33. Did the electoral candidate provide an access to the people of the area before the Election?
   Every Time,
34. Did the electoral candidate provide an access to the people of the area before the Election?
   Not at All.
35. Did the electoral candidate provide an access to the people of the area after the Election?
   Some Time,
36. Did the electoral candidate provide an access to the people of the area after the Election?
   Every Time,
37. Did the electoral candidate provide an access to the people of the area after the Election?
   Not at All.

Declaration: Findings of this Questionnaire will be used only for this Research.
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Books


76. Wriggins, W.H. *Pakistan in Transition*, University of Islamabad, Pakistan, 1975.

Documents/Reports:


JOURNALS:


Foreign Affairs, January,1959.
World Politics, Apr, 1957.

Newspapers:
Dawn
Daily Jang (Urdu)
Daily Imroz (Urdu)
Daily Khabrian (Urdu)
Daily Jasarat (Urdu)
The Muslim
The Nation
The News
The Observer
The Frontier Post

Periodicals:
The Herald, October 1990.
The Herald, Election Special, 1990.
News line, May 1997.

Websites:
www.gwu.edu/~ccps/etzioni/a312, September 17, 2008.
### Statistical Description of Questionnaire Data

(Percentage and Number has been Mentioned of those Responded out of Total who gave their Answers Yes)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable(Q)</th>
<th>NWFP(Total Responded-36)</th>
<th>Punjab(Total Responded-171)</th>
<th>Sindh(Total Responded-60)</th>
<th>Balochistan(Total Responded-15)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q-1</td>
<td>(32)88% Response</td>
<td>(169) 98% Response</td>
<td>(60) 100% Response</td>
<td>(15) 100% Response</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-2</td>
<td>(20) 62%</td>
<td>(123) 72%</td>
<td>(56) 93%</td>
<td>(13) 86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-3</td>
<td>(10)31%</td>
<td>(30) 17%</td>
<td>(9) 15%</td>
<td>(4) 26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-4</td>
<td>(21)65%</td>
<td>(111) 65%</td>
<td>(41) 68%</td>
<td>(14) 93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-5</td>
<td>(16)50%</td>
<td>(112) 66%</td>
<td>(37) 61%</td>
<td>(4) 26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-6</td>
<td>(24)38%</td>
<td>(18) 10%</td>
<td>(20) 33%</td>
<td>(9) 60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-7</td>
<td>(23)74%</td>
<td>(121) 71%</td>
<td>(40) 66%</td>
<td>(5) 33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-8</td>
<td>(29)90%</td>
<td>(48)28%</td>
<td>(24) 40%</td>
<td>(7) 46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-9</td>
<td>(20)64%</td>
<td>(161)95%</td>
<td>(60) 100%</td>
<td>(14) 93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-10</td>
<td>(11)34%</td>
<td>(44)26%</td>
<td>(8) 13%</td>
<td>(8) 53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-11</td>
<td>(11)35%</td>
<td>(44)26%</td>
<td>(8) 13%</td>
<td>(8) 53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-12</td>
<td>(11)35%</td>
<td>(44)26%</td>
<td>(8) 13%</td>
<td>(8) 53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-13</td>
<td>(3)10%</td>
<td>(30)17%</td>
<td>(8) 13%</td>
<td>(4) 26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-14</td>
<td>(0)0%</td>
<td>(3)0.01%</td>
<td>(0) 0%</td>
<td>(0)0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-15</td>
<td>(31)96%</td>
<td>(127)75%</td>
<td>(53) 88%</td>
<td>(14) 93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-16</td>
<td>(16)50%</td>
<td>(111)65%</td>
<td>(32) 53%</td>
<td>(13) 86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-17</td>
<td>(32)100%</td>
<td>(161)95%</td>
<td>(58) 96%</td>
<td>(13)86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-18</td>
<td>(28)87%</td>
<td>(164)97%</td>
<td>(60) 100%</td>
<td>(13) 86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-19</td>
<td>(12)38%</td>
<td>(91)0.05%</td>
<td>(3) 5%</td>
<td>(7) 46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-20</td>
<td>(23)71%</td>
<td>(163)96%</td>
<td>(60) 100%</td>
<td>(12) 80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-21</td>
<td>(10)32%</td>
<td>(20)11%</td>
<td>(5) 8%</td>
<td>(7) 46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-22</td>
<td>(8)25%</td>
<td>(0) 0%</td>
<td>(6) 10%</td>
<td>(9) 60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-23</td>
<td>(15)48%</td>
<td>(94)55%</td>
<td>(45) 75%</td>
<td>(6) 40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-24</td>
<td>(24)82%</td>
<td>(160)94%</td>
<td>(53) 88%</td>
<td>(13) 86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-25</td>
<td>(8)27%</td>
<td>(0) 0%</td>
<td>(0) 0%</td>
<td>(3) 20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-26</td>
<td>(31)100%</td>
<td>(169)100%</td>
<td>(60) 100%</td>
<td>(14) 93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-27</td>
<td>(23)71%</td>
<td>(121)71%</td>
<td>(34) 56%</td>
<td>(14)93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-28</td>
<td>(16)50%</td>
<td>(115)68%</td>
<td>(57) 95%</td>
<td>(12)78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-29</td>
<td>(7)21%</td>
<td>(71)42%</td>
<td>(25) 41%</td>
<td>(7) 46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-30</td>
<td>(18)58%</td>
<td>(130)76%</td>
<td>(58) 96%</td>
<td>(14)93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-31</td>
<td>(28)87%</td>
<td>(109)64%</td>
<td>(57) 95%</td>
<td>(11)73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-32</td>
<td>(29)90%</td>
<td>(45)26%</td>
<td>(45) 75%</td>
<td>(5)33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-33</td>
<td>(0)0%</td>
<td>(43)25%</td>
<td>(0) 0%</td>
<td>(4)26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-34</td>
<td>(0)0%</td>
<td>(0) 0%</td>
<td>(0) 0%</td>
<td>(0)0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-35</td>
<td>(14)56%</td>
<td>(26)15%</td>
<td>(37) 61%</td>
<td>(8) 53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-36</td>
<td>(0) 0%</td>
<td>(0) 0%</td>
<td>(0) 0%</td>
<td>(3) 20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-37</td>
<td>(0) 0%</td>
<td>(0) 0%</td>
<td>(0) 0%</td>
<td>(0) 0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>