



**A SNAPSHOT INTO ELECTION HISTORY IN PAKISTAN**

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## List of Abbreviations

AKMC	Azad Kashmir Muslim Conference
AL	Awami League
ANP	Awami National Party
APDM	All Pakistan Democratic Movement
BISP	Benazir Income Support Program
BNM	Balochistan National Movement,
BNP-H	Balochistan National Party-Hayee
BNP-M	Balochistan National Party-Mengal
BUF	Balochistan United Front
C-in C	Commander in chief
CoAS	Chief of Army Staff
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
HPG	Haq Parast Group
IGD	Islami Gonotonri Dal
IJI	Islami Jamhoori Ittehad
JIP	Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan
JUI	Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam
JUI-F	Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam-Fazlur Rahman,
JUI-M	Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam-Mahmud
JUI-S	Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam Sami-ul-Haq
JUP	Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan
JWP	Jamhoori Watan Party

KPK	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
KT	Khaksar Tehrik
LFO	Legal Framework Order
MDM	Muttahida Deeni Mahaz
MJAHP	Markazi Jamiat-e-Ahle-Hadees Pakistan
MJUP	Markazi Jamiat-ul-Ulema Pakistan
MMA	Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal
MQM	Muhajir Qaumi Movement
MRD	Movement for the Restoration of Democracy
MWMP	Majlis Wahdatul Muslemeen, Pakistan
NA	the National Alliance
NAP-W	National Awami Party-Wali
NDP	National Democratic Party,
NFC	National Finance Commission
NPP	National People's Party
NRO	National Reconciliation Ordinance
NWFP	North West Frontier province
OGRA	Oil & Gas Regulatory Authority
PAI	Pakistan Awami Ittehad
PCO	Provisional Constitutional Order
PDF	Pakistan Democratic Front
PDP	Pakistan Democratic Party,
PHP	Pakistan Hindu Party
PkMAP	Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party

PML-Pg	Pakistan Muslim League- Pagaro Group
PML	Pakistan Muslim League
PML-CI	Pakistan Muslim League-Council
PML-Cn	Pakistan Muslim League-Convention
PML-F	Pakistan Muslim League-Functional
PML-J	Pakistan Muslim League-Junejo
PML-N	Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz
PML-Q	Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid-i-Azam
PML-Qm	Pakistan Muslim League-Qayyum
PNA	Pakistan National Alliance
PNP	Pakistan National Party
PPIS	Punjabi Pakhtoon Ittehad Sindh
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
PPPP	Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarian
PPP-SB	Pakistan Peoples Party-Shaheed Bhutto
PPP-Sh	Pakistan People's Party-Sherpao
PTI	Pakistan Tehrik-i-Insaf
QWP-Sh	Qaumi Watan Party (Sherpao)
SKMPPMM	Sindh-Karachi Mohajir Punjabi-Pathan Mutahida Mahaz
TI	Tehrik-i-Istiqlal
UCF	United Christian Front

## Disclaimer

This e-booklet is prepared with utmost care, diligence and scientific methodology, nonetheless, any discrepancy found in data, graphs, charts and analysis could be without intentions and biases against any political party.



## Introduction

This booklet is about electoral history of Pakistan which covers all general elections from 1970 to 2013. Pakistan came into being on August 14, 1947, and under the independence Act of 1947, a separate constituent Assembly for Pakistan was formed which comprised 69 [44 from Bengal, 17 from Punjab, 4 from Sindh, three from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (then NWFP) and one from Balochistan] members indirectly elected by the provincial assemblies of newly constituted country. The independence Act of 1947 made the existing Constituent Assemblies the dominion Legislatures. These Assemblies were to exercise all the powers that were formerly exercised by the Central Legislature in addition to the powers regarding the framing of a new Constitution, prior to which all the territories were to be governed in accordance with the Government of India Act, 1935. In the first session of first constituent Assembly, on August 11, 1947 Muhammad Ali Jinnah was elected unanimously as the President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, and the National Flag was formally approved by the Assembly.

The members of constituent assembly were raised to 79 to include six members (five in Punjab and one in Sindh) reserved for refugees, four seats were reserved for states of Bahawalpur, Khairpur, the Balochistan States Union ( Kalat, Makran, Lasbela and Kharan) and for the states of KPK ( Dir, Chitral, Swat, and Amb). Muslim League retained overwhelming majority approaching 60 members out of total 79 members of first constituent Assembly. Governor General of India, Lord Louis Mountbatten addressed the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on August 14, 1947, when the transfer of power took place. On August 15, 1947, Muhammad Ali Jinnah was sworn in as the first Governor General of Pakistan. On October 24, 1954, the then Governor General Ghulam Muhammad dissolved first constituent assembly. The second Constituent Assembly of Pakistan was created on May 28 under Governor General's Order No. 12 of 1955. The electoral college of this Assembly was the provincial Assemblies of respective Provinces. The strength of this Assembly was 80 members, half each from East & West Pakistan.

On March 5, 1956, Major General Iskander Mirza became the first elected President of Pakistan. According to the Constitution of 1956, the President was the Executive Head of the Federation and was to be elected by all the members of the National and Provincial Assemblies for period of five years. Under the Constitution of 1956, the Parliament of Pakistan was unicameral. Legislative powers vested in the Parliament, which consisted of the President and the National Assembly comprising 300 members divided in to half between East and West Pakistan. In addition to those 300 seats, five seats for women were reserved for each of the two wings for a period of ten years.

Under the new constitution, the first elections were scheduled for early 1959; however, President Iskander Mirza abrogated the constitution, dissolved the National and Provincial Assemblies, and declared Martial Law on October 7, 1958. He appointed General Muhammad Ayub Khan, C-in C of the Army as the Chief Martial Law Administrator. General Ayub Khan became the second President of Pakistan on October 27, 1958. Ayub Khan introduced a system of local self-government known as

'Basic Democracies' promulgated under Basic Democracies Order on October 27, 1959. On February 14, 1960, president Ayub won referendum of assuming power of presidency by securing 95.6 percent of the votes in his favour. He framed constitution on March 1, 1962.

General elections to the National Assembly (150 general seats) under the new constitution were held on April 28, 1962, and elections to the six special seats reserved for women were held on May 29, 1962. Public did not elect these members directly but by a group of 500-550 basic democrats. The first session of the third National Assembly was held on June 8, 1962. Similarly, the second basic democracy (local bodies) elections were held in November 1964. As these basic democrats formed the Electoral College for presidency, therefore in presidential elections held on January 2, 1965, Ayub Khan defeated Fatima Jinnah, who was candidate of Combined Political Parties. Further, on March 21, 1965, Muslim League (Convention) won an overwhelming majority of 126 seats to National Assembly against 13 gained by Combined Political Parties.

The third basic democracy elections were about to held when General Yahya Khan imposed second Martial Law On March 25, 1969, and took over as the President of Pakistan and Chief Martial Law Administrator. He issued a Legal Framework Order, under which the first ever general elections were held on December 7, 1970 and the composition of the Assembly was based for the first time, consisting of 169 from East and 144 from West Pakistan.

## Methodology of Data Collection

For this booklet, data is collected from different sources, counter verified, and presented in graphical representation. The bulk of the data is taken from the website of ECP (Election Commission of Pakistan). Moreover, the data is also obtained from “The Pakistan Election Comendium” compiled by Church World Service (Pakistan/Afghanistan), and that is also verified through ECP website. Nevertheless, there are certain data gaps identified in all sources of electoral history mainly because the data was not compiled in digital formate before 2002 elections. Some of the inconsistencies found in electoral data is mentioned here; for instance, during 1970 elections, There were allocated 2, 6, 2, and 1 seats reserved for women in provincial assemblies of Khyber pakhtunkhua, Punjab, Sindh and Balochistan respectively. However, there is no information available about political party affiliation of the women elected on such seats. Similarly, There were allocated 20 reserved seats for national assembly, and, 2, 12, 4, and 2 seats reserved for women in provincial assemblies of Khyber Pakhtunkhua, Punjab, Sindh and Balochistan respectively. However, there is no information available about political party affiliation of the women elected on such seats. In 1985, elections were held on non-party basis, therefore, there is no specific charts available for describing party position. Further, in charts and graphs, mostly the total number of seats of parties also include some of the independent candidates who duly joined the party after being elected independent.

## Electoral History of General Elections (1970-2013)

There are total 11 general elections including one non-party based held in Pakistan from 1970 to 2013. These elections are discussed separately in this booklet.

### The 1970 Election

#### Background

Under the LFO (Legal Framework Order), the seats were distributed among the provinces based on their population. Similarly, the first direct general election based on 'one person, one vote' at the federal level for the National Assembly was held on December 7, 1970. However, the direct provincial elections were held ten days later on December 17, 1970. Due to floods and cyclone in coastal Bengal on November 12, elections to the nine national and 18 provincial constituencies affected by the calamity were held on January 17, 1971.

General Yahya Khan made three important decisions in 1970 in relations to the general election.

(1). The issuance of the Legal Framework Order on March 30, 1970, which stated that the National Assembly formed after elections, would frame the constitution within 120 days or would stand dissolved otherwise;

(2). The dissolution of one unit of West Pakistan, and the restoration of four provinces such as Punjab, Sindh, NWFP (Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa) and Balochistan on July 1, 1970. Balochistan got the status of a full province whereas other provinces were revived. There was no change in the status of FATA that continued to be governed by the President through the Governor of NWFP (Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa). The LFO set forth details of the coming elections and provided for a unified election commission with five provincial election commissions.

(3). Population was made the principle of representation, and therefore on the basis of which East Pakistan got more than half seats in the National Assembly for the first time.

#### The Contending Parties

In 1970 elections, the major political contenders were the Awami League led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman that dominated the election campaign there in East Pakistan and the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in West Pakistan. Other political parties contesting the election were National Awami Party-Wali, Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP) and 3 divisions of the Pakistan Muslim League such as PML-Council, PML-Convention, and PML-Qayyum. There were also some religious Islamic parties in the electoral fray; these were the Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan (JIP), Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam

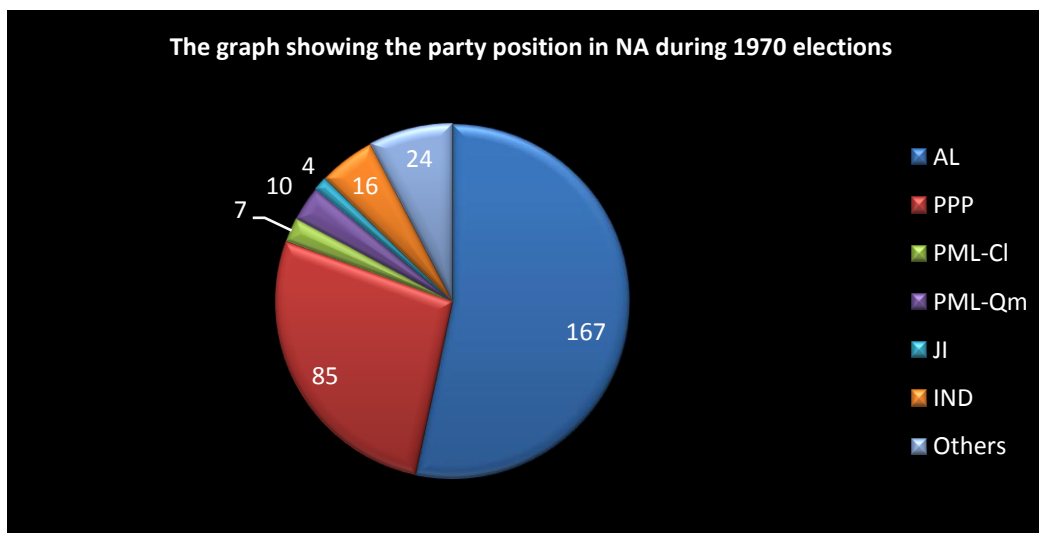
(JUI), and Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan (JUP). Several other small parties also competed in the election in addition to independent candidates.

### Election Results

The election results in ever first general elections of Pakistan during 1970, resulted into diagnostic of political polarization of Pakistan. In election results, East-West Pakistan relations and the state of economy in East Pakistan clearly reflected. In nutshell, the Pakistan seemed divided in election results. In National Assembly, there were total 300 general seats, out of which 162 seats were allocated to East Pakistan. The Awami League under the leadership of Sheikh Mujeeb-ur Rehman (the major leadership belonged to East Pakistan) won 160 seats, and emerged as majority party in the National Assembly. In addition to that, Awami League also won all the seven additional seats reserved for women, and its total seats were 167 seats of 313 seats (300 general, 13 women seats). However, the other two seats lost by the Awami League in East Pakistan, were also won independent candidate and a candidate belonging to the PDP.

On the other side, Pakistan Peoples Party won the majority 85 seats out of 138 general seats allocated to West Pakistan. Pakistan Muslim League-Qayyum was the second largest party that secured 10 seats including woman. Further, PML-Council secured 7 seats and the Jamaat-i-Islami got 4 seats. However, 24 seats were won by different parties such as National Awami Party (Wali Khan), the PML-Convention, JUI, whereas 16 seats were shared by independent in the provinces in West Pakistan as shown in fig 1.1.

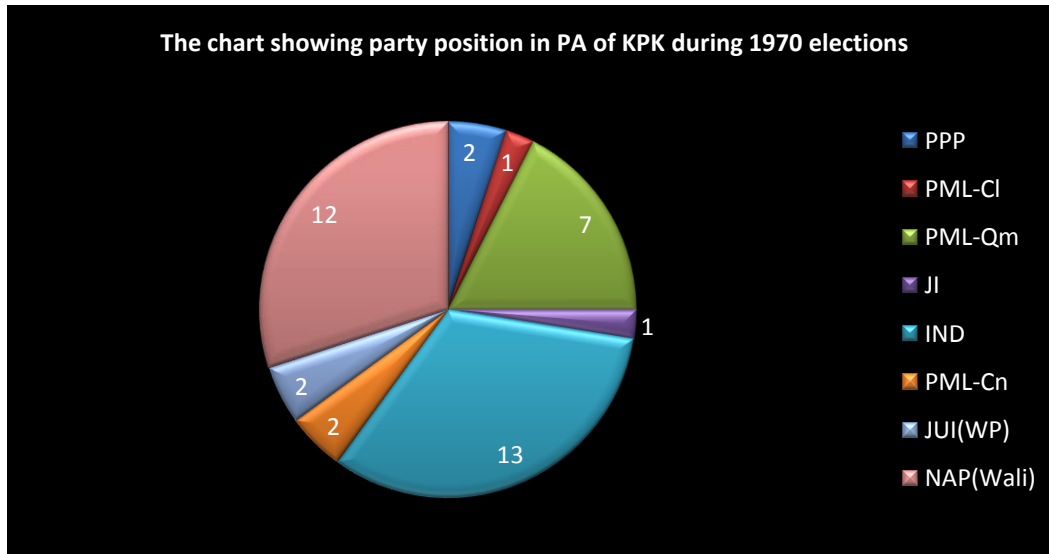
Fig1.1: The graph showing party position in NA during 1970 elections



The overall voter turnout in 1970 elections was recorded approximately 59.8 %. The provincial break-up of voter's turnout was East Pakistan: 56.9 percent; Punjab: 68.7 percent; Sindh: 60.1 percent; Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: 48.4 percent; Balochistan: 40.6 percent.

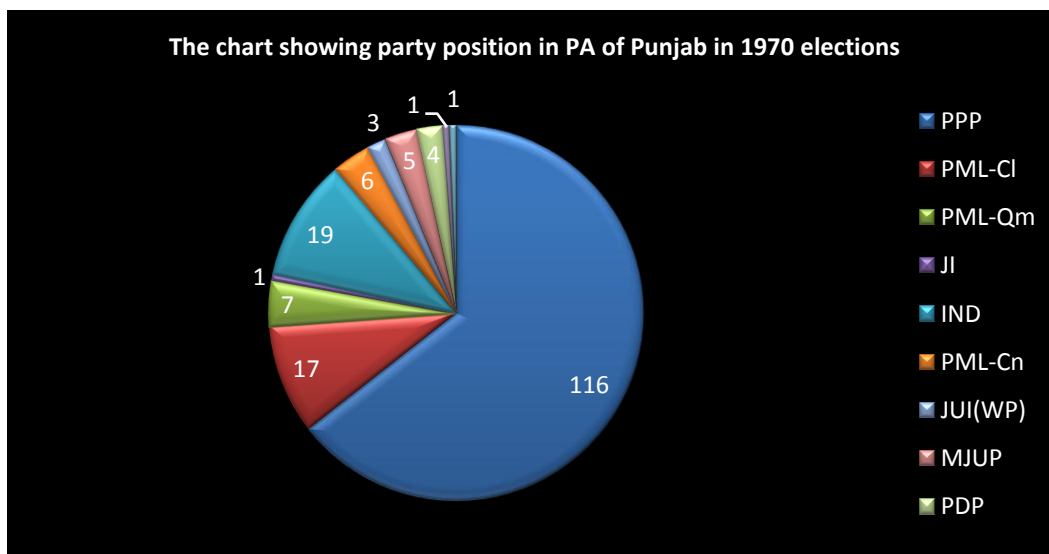
In provincial assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (then N.W.F.P), out of total 42 seats (40 general, 2 women) NAP (Wali), PML-Qayum, PML-Convention, JUI (West Pakistan), PPP, PML-Council, and JI got 12, 7, 2, 2, 2, 1, and 1 seats respectively. The figures 1.2 provide party position in provincial assembly of KPK in 1970 elections.

Fig 1.2: The chart shows party position in PA of KPK during 1970 elections



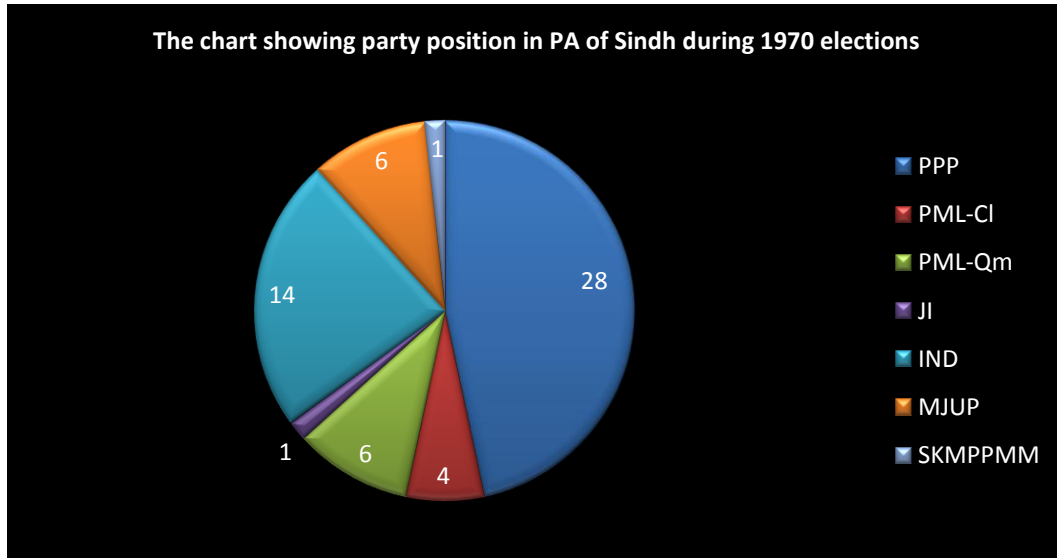
In the provincial Assembly of Punjab, PPP emerged as majority party with 116 seats out of total 186 seats (180 general, 6 women). Similarly, PML-CI, PML-Qm, PML-Cn, MJUP, PDP, JUI (WP), JI, MJAHP and IGD secured 17, 7, 6, 5, 4,3,1,1 and 1 seat respectively. There were 19 candidates elected independents from Punjab Assembly. Fig 1.3 provides party position in provincial assembly of Punjab in 1970 elections.

Fig1.3: The chart showing party position in PA of Punjab during 1970 elections



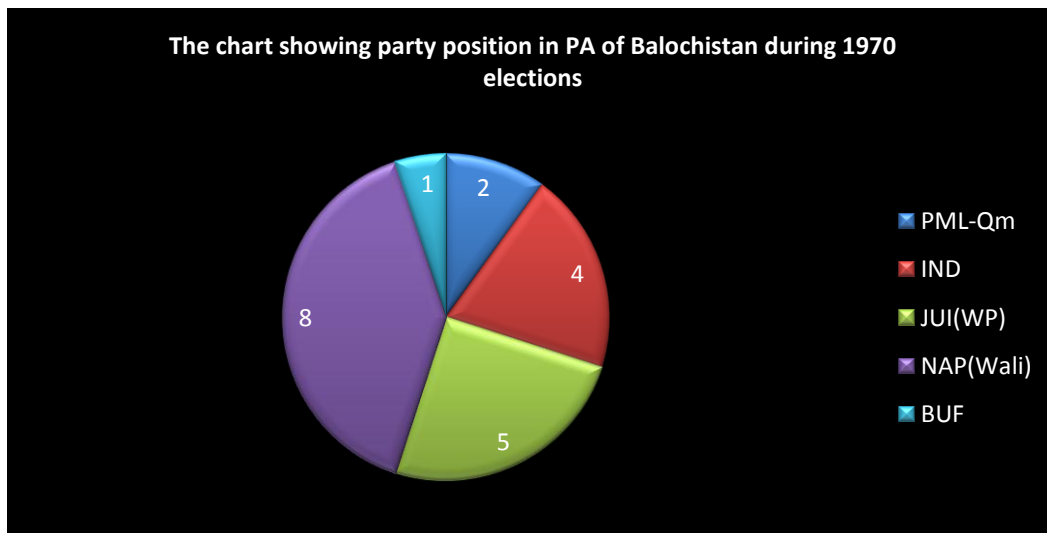
Similarly, during 1970 elections, in provincial assembly of Sindh, PPP claimed victory and it secured 28 seats out of 62 (60 general, 2 women). However, PML-Qm, PML-CI, MJUP, JI, and SKMPPMM secured 6, 4, 6, 1, and 1 seat respectively. Further, 14 members were elected as independent candidates. The chart 1.4 describes the party position in PA of Sindh during 1970 elections.

Fig1.4: The chart showing party position in PA of Sindh during 1970 elections



Nevertheless, in provincial assembly of Balochistan, National Awami Party of Wali khan emerged as majority party that won 8 seats out of total 21(20 general, 1 woman). The second majority party was JUI (WP) that secured 5 seats. While PML-Qm and BUF secured 2 and 1 seat respectively. In addition, 4 members were also elected as independent candidates as shown in fig 1.5 below.

Fig 1.5: The chart showing party position in PA of Balochistan during 1970



## Government Formation

Although 1970 elections in Pakistan was first attempt of according right to vote to citizens, through which they could chose their representatives directly, however, the election proved disastrous in political history of country. The basic reason is that the election resulted into conflicting nature of two wings of Pakistan. In East Pakistan, the Awami League emerged as majority party by winning 160 Of total 162 general seats in the National Assembly while in West Pakistan Z.A Bhutto's newly formed PPP got majority. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was insistent on making the constitution strictly in accordance with the Six-point formula; however, Z.A Bhutto wanted some changes in at least two points. On the other side, the military government led by General Yahiya Khan was unwilling to hand over power to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman without a major revision of the Six-point Formula. Mujibur Rahman, Z.A. Bhutto, and Yahiya Khan met several times to discuss these political solutions but were unable to agree on a framework of constitutional and political arrangements, and resultantly this backlog provided Yahiya Khan to postpone the session of the Assembly.

The Awami League challenged this decision and started massive and violent street protests. When the protests exacerbated and the writ of the State in Bengal became ineffective, the then government lead by Yahiya khan decided to launch a major military operation on March 25, 1971 against the Awami League and supposed perpetrators. Meanwhile, Election commission disqualified almost 76 elected members of the Awami League in September 1971. Two members among these already had died. On this development, the military government decided to hold by-election to 78 seats. About 63 members were elected uncontested and the election to 15 seats was to be held. However, before the elections could happen, the security situation in East Pakistan deteriorated and, on November 21, 1971, Indian troops launched a full-fledged military attack on East Pakistan, which later resulted into a total war between India and Pakistan on both sides of Pakistan.

Pakistan lost the November-December war to India and East Pakistan seceded to become Bangladesh on December 16, 1971. On December 20, General Yahiya Khan resigned and power was handed over to Z. A Bhutto and he headed the first civilian government, after the end of the 1971 India-Pakistan war.



## The 1977 Election

### Background

Under the 1973 constitution, the term of National Assembly was to expire on August 14, 1977 and general elections were to be held by that date. The 1973 Constitution was enforced on August 14, 1973, which entitled the National Assembly elected in December 1970 and began to function in January 1972, to continue functioning for five years from the date of enforcement of the 1973 Constitution. However, on demand of opposition parties, the then Prime Minister Z.A Bhutto in his final address to national assembly on January 7, 1977, announced the date of general elections to be held on 7 March 1977. Similarly, the four provincial assemblies were dissolved on January 13, 1977 and elections in provincial assemblies were scheduled for March 10, 1977.

For 1977 elections, fresh electoral roll was prepared and delimitation of constituencies was held. Article 51(1) of the new constitution raised the number of general seats in the National Assembly from 138 to 200. Similarly, article 51(3) stated that these seats would be allocated to the provinces, FATA, and the federal capital based on population in accordance with the officially published census. Pakistan's total population as recorded in the 1972 census was 64,980,371 and therefore every seat covered the population of 324,902 persons. Further, clause 4 of article 51 provided for the allocation of ten reserved seats for women to be distributed among the provinces. Similarly, article 51(2A) amended in fourth constitutional amendment provided for six seats reserved for minorities such as Christians, Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, Parses and Qadianis. Therefore, total strength at the time of the general elections in 1977 was 216.

### The Contending Parties

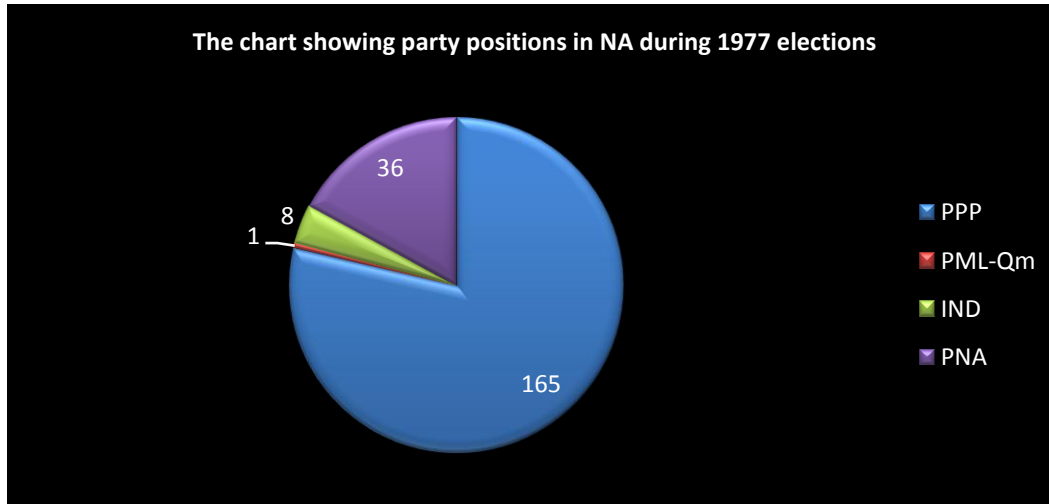
In 1977 elections, the major elections contenders were the ruling party, the PPP, and alliance of mainly the right wing political parties called as Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). On the one side, PPP was contesting the election to hold on to power and its key leaders were confident that they could win the election based on their performance. On the other side, PNA comprised of nine political parties such as the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal (TI), Jamaat-i-Islami (JI), Jamiatul Ulema-e-Islam Mufti (JUI), Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Pakistan (JUP), Pakistan Muslim League Pagaro Group (PML-Pagaro), National Democratic Party (NDP), Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP), Khaksar Tehrik (KT), and Azad Kashmir Muslim Conference (AKMC). In this way, right wing conservative and Islamic parties dominated the PNA. Further, the PML-Qayyum contested elections separately. In the elections, there participated a number of small political parties specific to provinces. The real contest was between the ruling PPP and the PNA.

### Election Results

During 1977 general elections, the total number of seats in National Assembly were 216 (200 general, 10 women and 6 reserved seats for non-Muslims). As stated above, political analyst viewed this election a close contest between ruling party PPP and PNA;

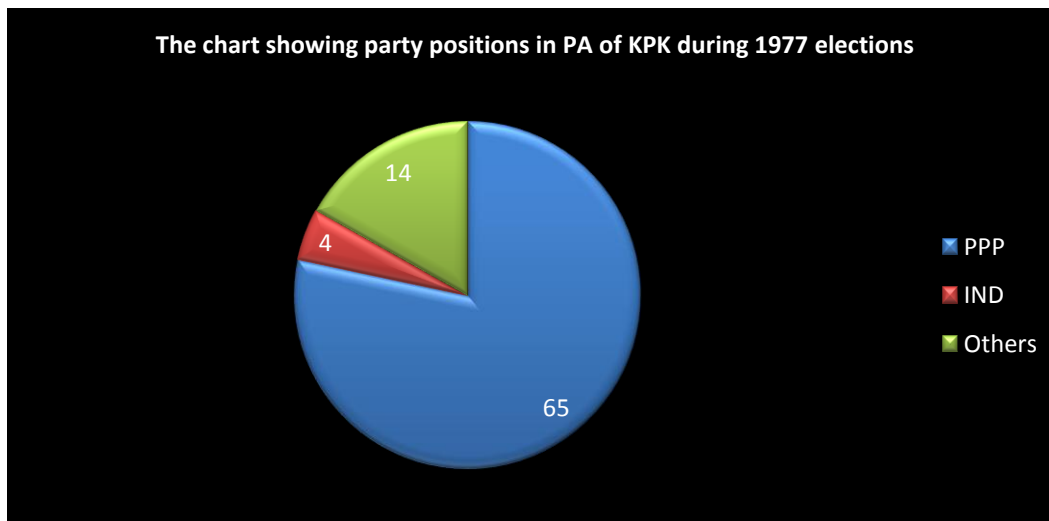
however, the ruling party PPP under leadership of Z.A Bhutto, emerged as claiming the massive win ultimately securing 165 seats out of total 216 (shown in fig 2.1).

Fig 2.1: The chart showing party position in NA during 1977 elections



While the rival electoral alliance PNA obtained total 36 seats and blamed PPP for massive rigging of elections. Nevertheless, at the same time, despite opposition claims of massive rigging, at least 19 PPP candidates from across country returned unopposed in 1977 general elections. The PML-Qayyum got one seat and 8 members were elected as independent candidates. The overall voters' turnout remained 64.1 percent.

Fig 2.2: The chart showing party position in PA of KPK during 1977 elections

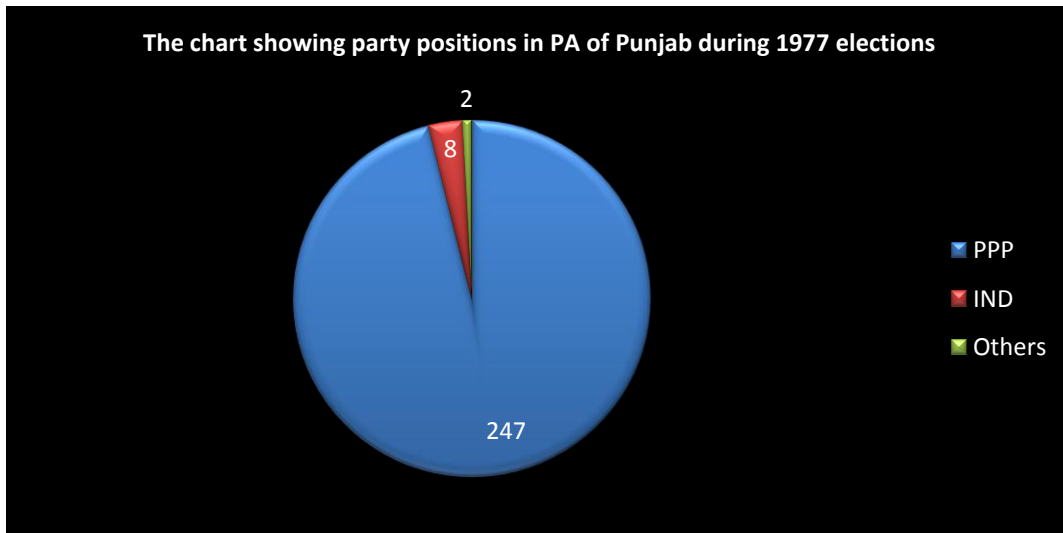


The PNA did not accept these results and even boycotted the provincial elections held on March 10, 1977. Therefore, in provincial assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, PPP claimed victory and obtained 65 seats including seats reserved for women and seats reserved for minority groups out of total seats 85 (80 general, 4 women, 1 minority).

Similarly, 4 members were elected as independents and 14 seats were claimed by small parties (see fig 2.2).

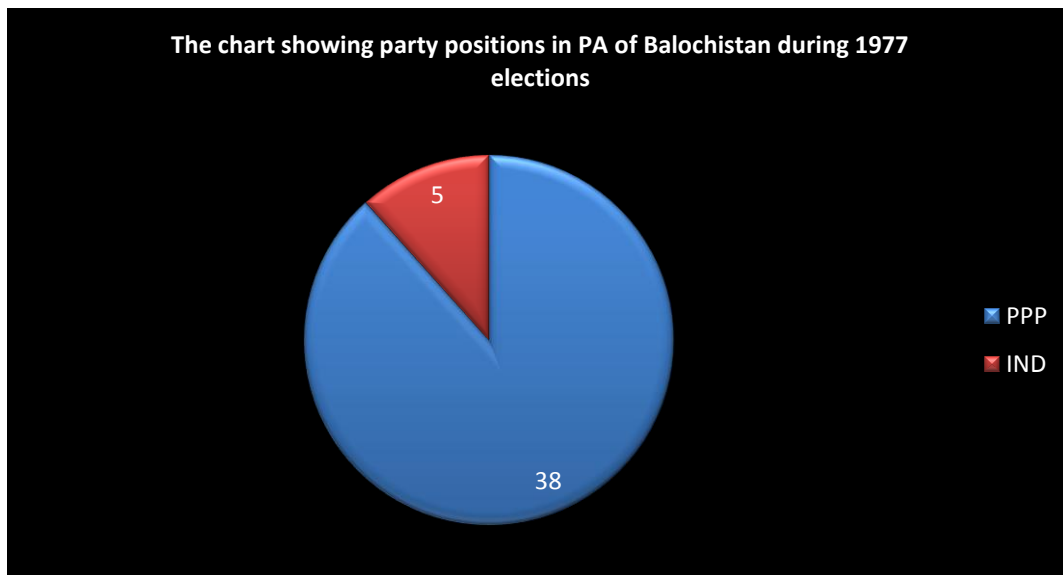
Similarly, in provincial assembly of Punjab, PPP claimed victory and obtained 247 seats including seats reserved for women and minority out of total seats 257 (240 general, 12 women, 5 minority). Further, 8 members were elected as independents and 2 seats were claimed by small parties (see fig 2.3)

Fig 2.3: The chart showing party position in PA of Punjab during 1977 elections



In provincial assembly of Sindh, there were total 107 seats (100 general, 5 women, 2 minority) and PPP claimed landslide victory, when it obtained all seats of PA due to boycott of elections by PNA and other parties.

Fig 2.4: The chart showing party position in PA of Balochistan during 1977 elections



While in provincial assembly of Balochistan, again PPP emerged victorious and obtained 38 seats including seats reserved for women and minority out of total seats 43 (40 general, 2 women, 1 minority). Further, 5 members were elected as independents as shown in fig 2.4 below.

## Government Formation

Although PPP emerged as victorious party in 1977 elections, however due to alleged mass rigging by ruling party followed by mass protest by opposition parties both the PPP government as well as the opposition lost to the military establishment. Because taking this plea, military lead by General Zia assumed power on July 5, 1977. The victory of the PPP in the 1977 general elections proved to be short-term and there created political crisis in the country. The losing opposition alliance PNA did not accepted election results and put blame on the government for orchestrating PPP victory through massive rigging of the polls. Further, print media also reported several irregularities such as the use of official resources and pressure and snatching of ballot box. Against these accusations, the PPP government rejected these blames and described such criticism as the sign of the PNA's inability to accept its defeat in the poll. However, the PNA decided to boycott the provincial election and subsequently the PPP surpassed with electoral successes in all provinces.

On March 11, 1977 one day after the elections to the provincial assemblies, PNA started a nationwide protest, against massive rigging in the National Assembly elections. However, such protest turned into enforcement of 'Nizam-e-Mustafa' (Islamic Political order set by the Holy Prophet Muhammad) within two weeks and the protest was also joined by other Islamic parties and their activists. They termed the socialistic initiatives taken by PPP as rather un-Islamic political system. Several segments of society like lawyers, businesspersons, trading community, students, and journalists, who either were in favour of Islamic system or were unhappy with PPP socialist agenda also supported the protest. Much support emerged from urban centers probably because of business community who felt threatened by the nationalization policy of PPP lead by Z. A Bhutto.

Further, to curb the protests, the PPP government used the coercive state apparatus initially. The government tried to manage this crisis by employing the army personnel and later with imposing of martial law in Karachi, Hyderabad, and Lahore. However, these measures could not help the government. Resultantly, government started negotiations with PNA and agreed to hold new elections. However, the PPP government might have late in its dialogue process and even military was called to intervene by PNA leaders several time during dialogue process. Although government agreed to hold new election but the matters of free, fair, and independent elections remained unaddressed until the end. Although the then Army Chief General Zia-ul- Haq attended the cabinet meeting at the Prime Minister house on 4<sup>th</sup> July, however, in the morning of July 5, he moved the troops and removed the PPP government. He suspended the 1973 Constitution, imposed martial law in the country, and pledged to hold elections within 90 days. On this development, most of the PNA leaders and activists welcomed the removal of the PPP government.

## The 1985 Election

### Background

After assuming power on July 5, 1977, General Zia-ul-Haq stated categorically that his institution is not interested in holding power; therefore, his first priority is to hold new elections within 90 days and hand over power to the elected government. The projected date for holding elections was October 1977, however on October 1, he postponed the elections in order to first clear the field, organize process of accountability and purge corruption from rank and file of political parties. He stated such objectives to ensure that previous political crisis would not be repeated again.

In the same footsteps, the military government lead by General Zia started the accountability of the ousted civilian government of Z.A Bhutto, followed by Islamization policy. Meanwhile, General Zia needed to bring into politics the several groups mainly having the right wing and Islamic political ideology. There emerged several orthodox and fundamentalist groups to mobilize support of the military regime in order to destabilize the support of the ousted PPP and to provide public support to military regime. After the hanging of ousted Prime Minister Z.A. Bhutto in March 1979, General Zia-ul-Haq engaged in creation of political support, therefore, he put restrictions on political parties through amendment in the Political Parties Act, 1962.

In September 1979, the military government decided to hold local bodies' election on non-party basis before the next general elections. With much resentment, political forces participated in local body's elections; however, many elected members of local body belonged to different political parties. This was again against the expectations of military regime and resultantly, it postponed the general election on the ground that the time was not suitable for holding election and therefore, additional restrictions were imposed on political parties and their activities. Moreover, General Zia-ul-Haq issued a Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO) in March 1981 to replace the already partly suspended 1973 Constitution. He, however, nominated 228 members Federal Council to be called as Majlis-i-Shoora with consultative powers on legislation and policies, in January 1982.

In his address to the Federal Council on August 12, 1983, General Zia-ul-Haq gave another date of general elections to be held in March 1985. Therefore, in December 19, 1984, General Zia-ul-Haq elected himself as president of country through a tricky referendum for next five years. He sought the continuity of his presidency for next five years from public if later approves for his Islamization policy and introduction of representative process in Pakistan. According to official results, about 97.71 percent voters supported the continuity of Zia as president and his policies of Islamization and democratization. Then General Zia-ul-Haq, announced the date of general election to national and provincial assemblies to be held on February 25 and 28, 1985 on non-party basis. In addition, the principle of separate electorate was applied for the elections of the Muslim and non-Muslim seats through separate votes.

## The Contending Players

In 1985, the general elections held were non-party based. The electoral alliance of PPP lead left wing political parties, named as 'Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD), established in February 1981, who have already rejected the Zia's presidential referendum. In addition, the parties of the MRD also did not register them with the Election Commission as prescribed by the amendments in the Political Parties Act by the military government.

Majority of the candidates participating in 1985 elections participated in their individual capacity though some were having the informal support of the political parties. Some of the blue-eyed political parties of military establishment then, like the PML-Pagaro and the Jamaat-i-Islami, silently supported their favorite candidates and they were alleged to receive support from military government as well.

## Election Results

During 1985, the voter turnout for the National Assembly remained 53.7 percent. The election results showed that, new faces got opportunity to enter into National Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies. However, majority of the members elected to the National Assembly had some sort of political affiliation in the past. Majority of the elected members belonged to either landed class or business and industrial class, which was not the case in past. Nevertheless, there were also several losing candidates, who had the clear support of military government and they were members of Zia's cabinet.

## Government Formation

Before the formation of government, General Zia-ul-Haq issued the Revival of the Constitution Order (RCO), on March 2, 1985, that further amended the 1973 constitution by substituting 57 articles, adding 6 articles and deleting 2 articles to strengthen his role after the withdrawal of martial law. First, he himself took oath as the elected President for five years (1985-1990) through referendum. He then picked Muhammad Khan Junejo, of PML-Pagaro for the position of prime minister. Further, his government backed by military also managed to get elect all the provincial Chief Ministers. Resultantly, Mian Nawaz Sharif, Arbab Jehangir Khan, Ghous Ali Shah, Mir Ghulam Qadir Aliani became the chief ministers of Punjab, KPK, Sindh and Balochistan respectively. After the government formation, he lifted martial on December 30, 1985 and restored the amended 1973 Constitution.

## The 1988 Election

### Background

General Zia-ul-Haq imposed ban on political parties under martial Law Regulation No.48 on October 16, 1979. However, the ban ended on December 30, 1985 and the provisions of the Political Parties Act 1962 became operative. The following year, there emerged revival of number of political parties. Under article 58 (2b), President Zia-ul-Haq dismissed the Junejo government and dissolved the National Assembly on May 29, 1988. He announced cabinet for new government without prime minister. The Lahore High Court declared this act of president as unconstitutional, however declined restoration of assemblies and dismissed government. Junejo government interpreted this decision differently and Junejo declared himself as prime minister. On October 5, 1988, Supreme Court suspended the decision of Lahore high court.

In nations address, General Zia-ul-Haq announced that elections would be held on November 16, 1988. However, he died in an air crash on August 17, 1988 that also resulted into an end to his rule that began on July 5, 1977. Similarly, chairman to senate Mr. Ishaq Khan became new president and he managed to conduct elections. The elections in the National Assembly were held on November 16, 1988 and the election to the Provincial Assemblies was held on November 19 in same year. Simultaneously, 1988 elections were also held based on separate electorate wherein the Muslim voters elected Muslim members and non-Muslim voters elected members to reserved seats for non-Muslims. There was made amendment in section 33 of the Representation of People Act 1976 on October 4, 1988 and National Identity Card was made essential condition for voter identity in elections.

### The Contending Players

In 1988 general elections to National Assembly, more than 25 political parties fielded candidates. Although there were some independent candidates also, however, the major contest was between the PPP, which emerged under Benazir Bhutto leadership, and Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI), which was the alliance of 9 rightwing-Islamist parties. The IJI included Pakistan Muslim League (PML), Jamaat-i-Islami, National People's Party, Jamiat-i-Ulema-e-Islam (one faction), Nizam-e-Mustafa Group, Markazi Jamiat-e-Ahle Hadith (Lakhvi Group), Jamiat-e-Mashaikh Pakistan, Azad Group and Hizbullah Jihad, and this alliance was established in October 1988.

Nevertheless, PML was dominant party in IJI and the purpose of this alliance was to oppose PPP because the Army authorities apprehended through their intelligence sources that the PPP might get majority seats in the election if the political parties opposed to it remained divided and competed with one another for votes. Therefore, Army gave ISI the task to minimize the political advantage that PPP could achieve. The IJI is now believed to be created by ISI. Other mainstream political contenders were Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam (Fazlur Rahman), Jamiate-Ulema-e-Pakistan (Noorani),

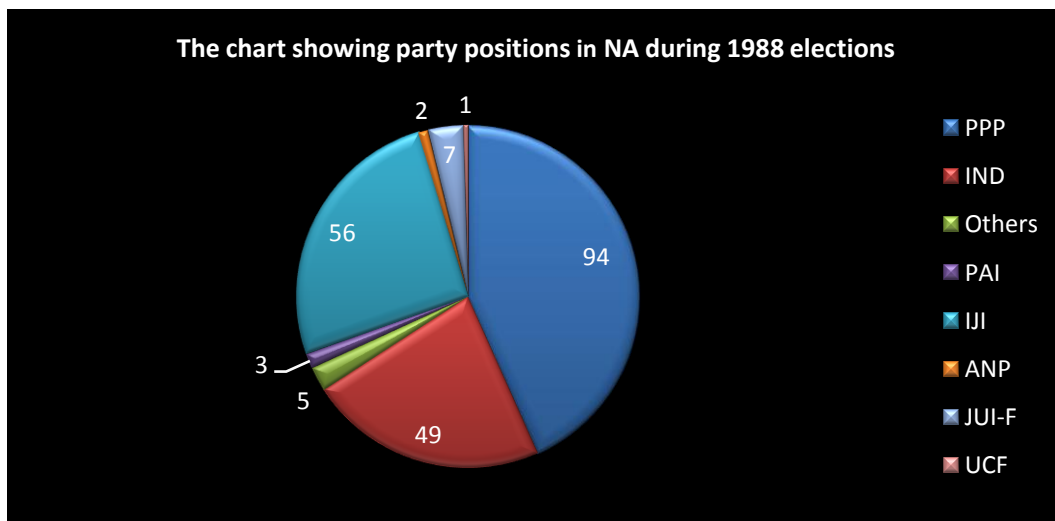
National Democratic Party, the Awami National Party of Wali Khan, Tehriq-i-Istiqal, Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party, Pakistan Democratic Party, Jamhoori Witan Party, Pakistan National Party, and the Muhajir Qaumi Movement (whose members contested elections as independent candidates).

### Election Results

Although the country witnessed transition from military lead democracy to true democracy through 1988 elections, and nation was excited however, the voter turnout for the National Assembly remained conspicuously low at 42.7 %. During 1988 elections, the total number of seats to national Assembly was 237 (207 general, 20 women, and 10 minorities). In election results, PPP emerged as majority party and secured total 94 seats, while its major rival and the famous alliance of right wing and religious political parties IJI obtained 56 seats.

However, significantly, the independent candidate elected on general, reserved for women and reserved for minorities seats, claimed 49 seats total and emerged as third largest party. It is to remind that these 49 independent members also include 13 members of the MQM elected from Karachi and Hyderabad, who contested elections as independent candidates. Other seats winning parties were JUI-F, PAI, ANP, and UCF that secured 7, 3, 2, and 1 seat respectively (see detail in fig 4.1).

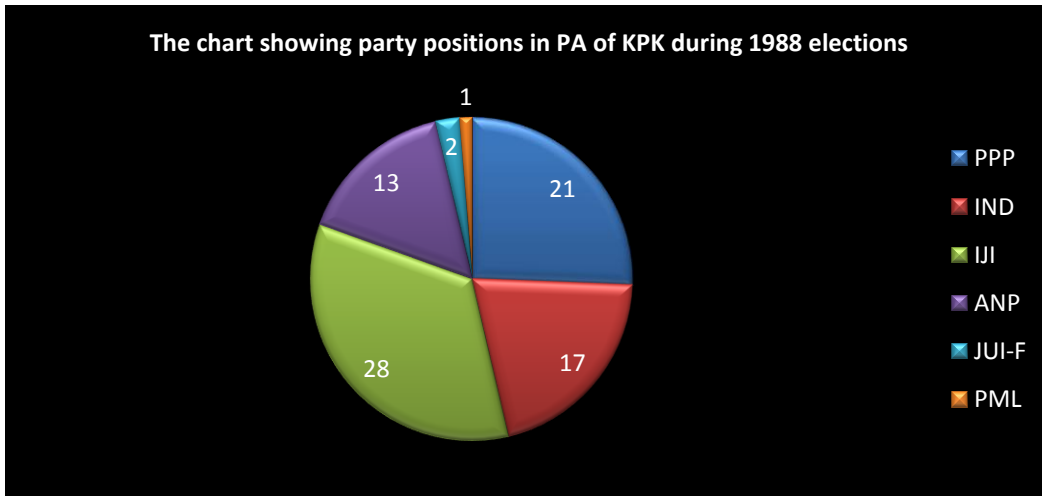
Fig 4.1: The chart showing party position in NA during 1990 elections



In KPK Provincial Assembly, IJI secured the maximum seats in 1988 followed by the PPP that was second majority party with 21 seats out of total 87 seats, (general 80, women 4, and 3 minorities). ANP was the third majority party in KPK, which secured 13 seats. In 1988, but one got a clear majority in the Provincial Assemblies of other provinces. In 1988, a significant numbers of about 17 candidates were elected as independent candidates. In addition, JUI-F and PML secured 2 and 1 seats in KPK assembly as shown in fig 4.2 below.

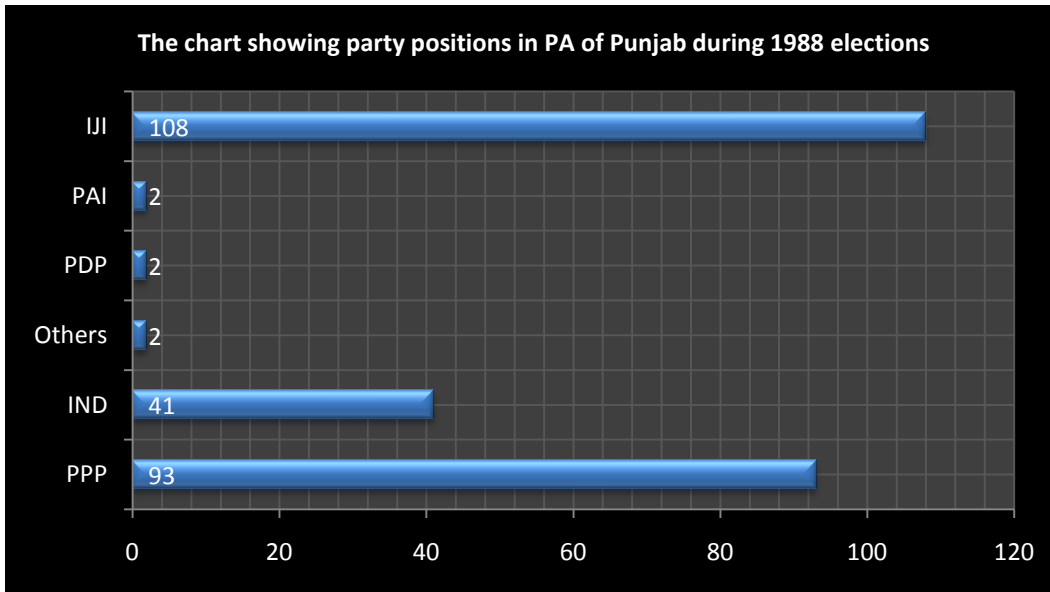


Fig 4.2: The chart showing party position in PA of KPK during 1988 elections



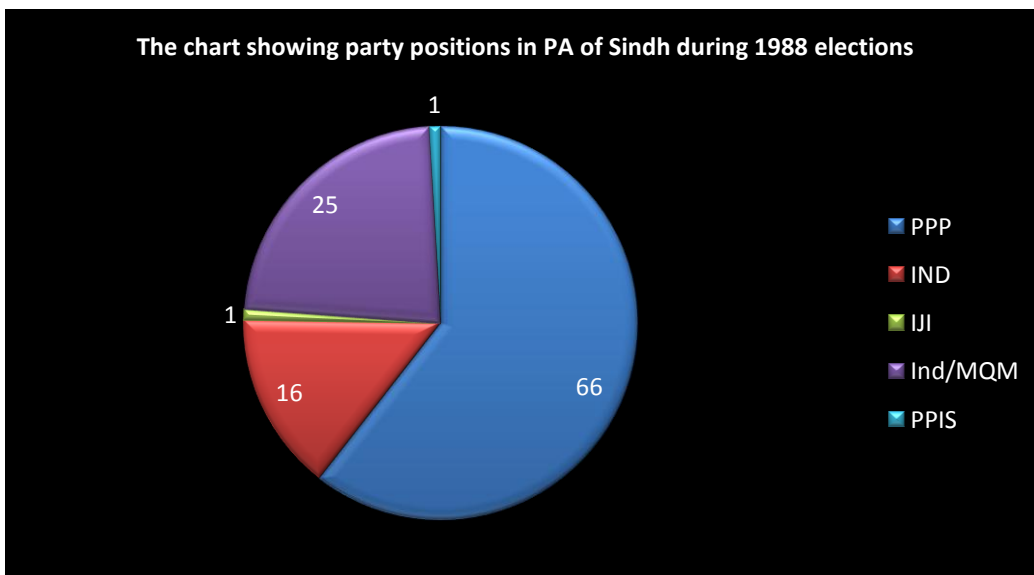
Similarly, in provincial assembly of Punjab, IJI emerged as single largest party and obtained 108 seats including seats reserved for women and minority out of total seats 260 (240 general, 12 women, 8 minority). However, here PPP was second largest party that secured 93 seats. Further, 41 members were elected as independents and rest of the seats went to small parties (see detail in fig 4.3)

Fig 4.3: The chart showing party position in PA of Punjab during 1988 elections



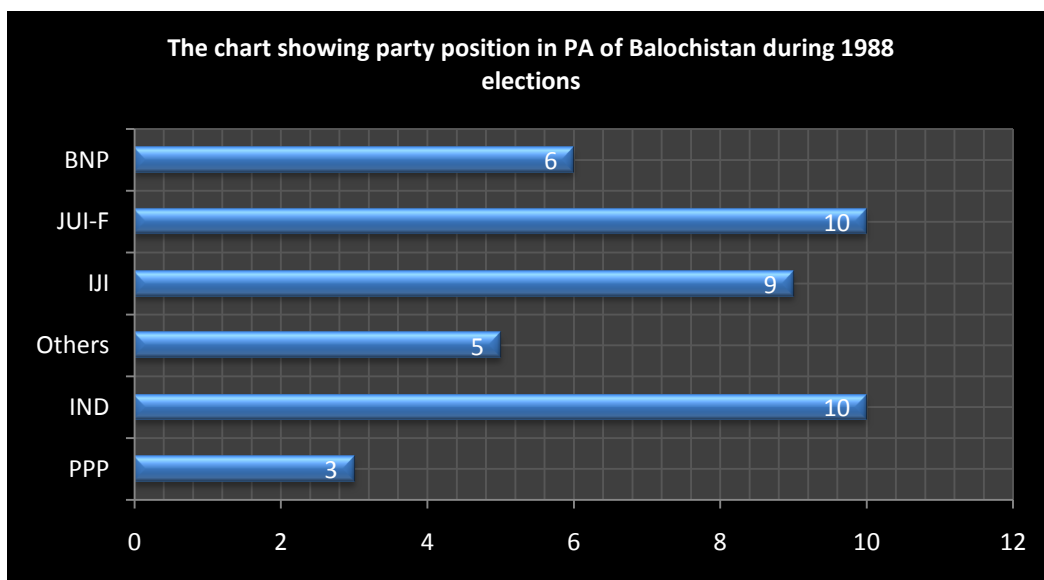
Similarly, during 1988 elections, in provincial assembly of Sindh, PPP claimed victory and it secured 66 seats out of 114 (100 general, 5 women, and 9 minorities). However, independent/MQM obtained 25 seats followed by other independent candidates that were 16 in numbers. IJI could manage to get only 1 seat. The chart 4.4 describes the party position in PA of Sindh during 1988 elections.

Fig4.4: The chart showing party position in PA of Punjab during 1988 elections



Nevertheless, in provincial assembly of Balochistan, the result statistics provide different picture during 1988 elections. In elections, JUI-F and Independent candidates both secured 10 seats each out of total 45 seats (40general, 2 women, and 3 minorities). The IJI emerged as second largest party with 9 seats followed by BNP and PPP that secured 6 and 3 seats respectively. The chart 4.5 describes the party position in PA of Balochistan during 1988 elections.

Fig 4.5: The chart showing party position in PA of Punjab during 1988 elections



## Government Formation

Pakistan Peoples Party emerged as the single largest party, and it formed coalition with MQM, the ANP and independent members at the federal level. Although PPP leader, Benazir Bhutto became the first women Prime Minister on December 2, 1988, however she had to pledge to fulfill three conditions for assuming this office. These conditions were the election of Acting President Ghulam Ishaq Khan as the President, retention of Lt. General Yaqub Ali Khan as the Foreign Minister, and finally no unilateral reduction in the defence budget. Benazir is believed to fulfill these commitments. Resultantly, ruling coalition elected Ghulam Ishaq Khan as president of Pakistan for five years term on December 13, 1988. Another significant development of 1988 elections was the formation of government by IJI in province of Punjab. Mian Nawaz Sharif became the Chief Minister of Punjab and there remained intensified conflict between federal government and Punjab government until 1990 dissolution of federal government and all assemblies. The reasons were the conflict between PPP federal government and IJI Punjab government, the IJI and some Islamic parties' blame on the PPP and its allies for neglect of Islam and the overall law and order situation. Earlier, the opposition failed in no-confidence campaign against Benazir Bhutto government in October-November 1989.

## The 1990 Election

### Background

President Ghulam Ishaq Khan dismissed Benazir Bhutto's government on August 6, 1990 by using power of 58(2)(b) and announced dates of fresh elections to NA on October 24 and to PAs on October 27. The removal of the government was taken as military coup because the Army took control of important government buildings in Islamabad, including the Prime Minister house and the National Assembly. President accused the Bhutto government for massive corruption, mismanagement and a failure to maintain law and order. The dissolutions of national assembly and provincial assemblies were challenged in high courts; however, except high court of KPK all the high courts upheld the decision of dissolution of assemblies. High court of KPK restored the provincial government of Aftab Sherpao, however, this decision was set aside by supreme court of Pakistan. Similarly, the decision of the Lahore High Court was challenged again in the Supreme Court, which endorsed the judgment of the Lahore High Court about dissolution of federal government, although two judges wrote dissent notes.

The major opposition alliance Islami Jamhoori Itehad (IJI) lead by Mian Nawaz Sharif along with other opposition parties such as the MQM welcomed the removal of the Federal Government. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, who was the leader of the opposition in the dissolved National Assembly and also the member of the IJI, was appointed by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan as the caretaker Prime Minister. Similarly, the slots of provincial caretaker government were also allotted to IJI or its allies.

### The Contending Players

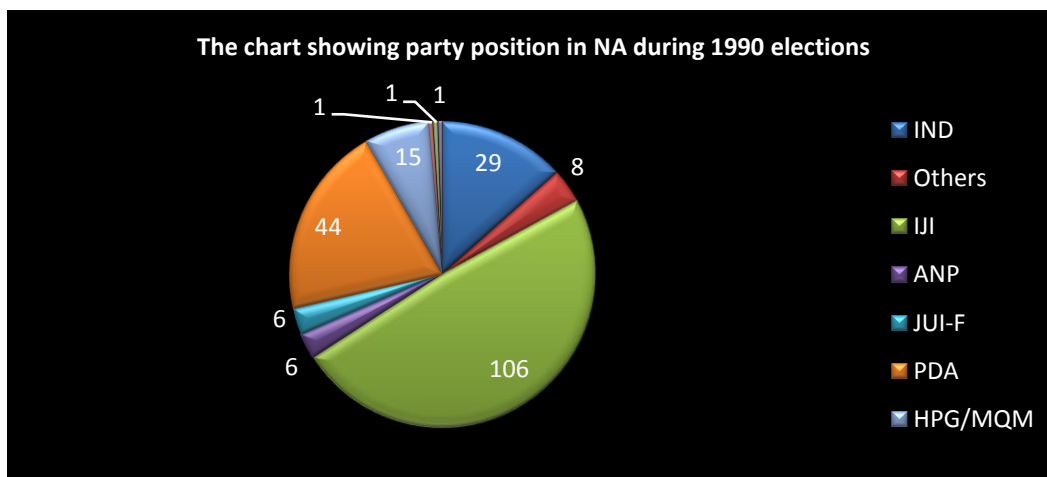
Like in 1988, the major contending parties in 1990 elections were the same. IJI was comprised of nine parties such as Pakistan Muslim League (PML), Jamaat-i-Islami, National People's Party, Jamiat-i-Ulema-e-Islam, Nizam-e-Mustafa Group, Markazi Jamiat-e-Ahle Hadith (Lakhvi Group), Jamiat-e-Mashaikh Pakistan, Azad Group and Hizbullah Jihad. On the other hand, the PPP also formed alliance with the PML (Qasim), Tehrik-i-Istaqlal, and Therik-e-Nafaze Fiqah-e-Jafaria to establish an electoral alliance called Pakistan Democratic Alliance (PDA). Similarly, along with these two allied groups, approximately 25 other political parties also participated in the election.

These political parties included Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam (Fazlur Rahman), Jamiat-Ulema-e-Pakistan (Noorani), National Democratic Party, the Awami National Party of Wali Khan, Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party, Pakistan Democratic Party, Jamhoori Watan Party, Balochistan National Movement, Pakistan National Party, and the Muhajir Qaumi Movement (with the name of Haq Parast Group).

## Election Results

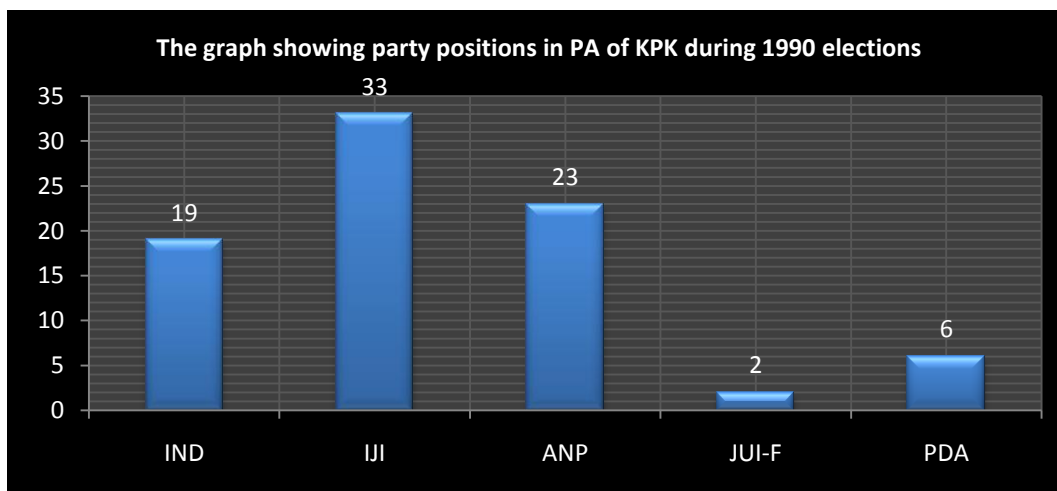
During 1990 elections, the total number of seats to national Assembly was 217 (207 general, and 10 minorities). The reserved seats for women were excluded this time. In election results, the voter turnout for the National Assembly was 45.2 percent which was the slightly greater than the turnout of 1988 election. The results show that IJI emerged as majority party and secured total 106 seats, while its major contesting electoral alliance PDA (PPP lead) obtained 44 seats followed by MQM/HPG that secured 15 seats. Further, JUI-F and ANP both obtained 6 seats each. For detail about other seat winning parties, see fig 5.1.

Fig 5.1: The chart showing party position in NA during 1990 elections



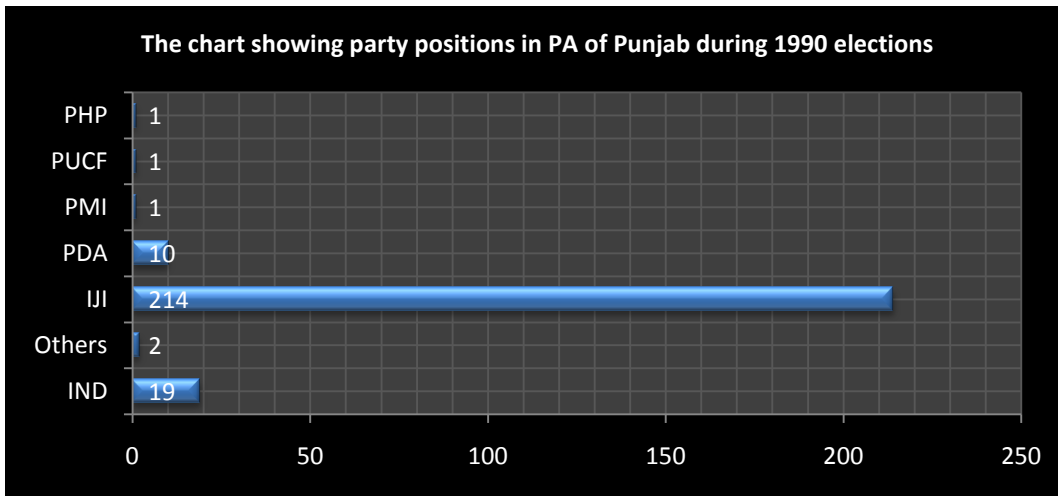
In KPK Provincial Assembly, like at federal level, the IJI emerged as majority party securing 33 seats followed by the ANP that was second majority party with 23 seats out of total 87 seats, (general 80, and 3 minorities).

Fig 5.2: The chart showing party position in PA of KPK during 1990 elections



In 1990, a significant numbers of about 19 candidates were elected as independent candidates in KPK provincial assembly. In addition, JUI-F and PDA secured 2 and 6 seats in KPK assembly as shown in fig 5.2.

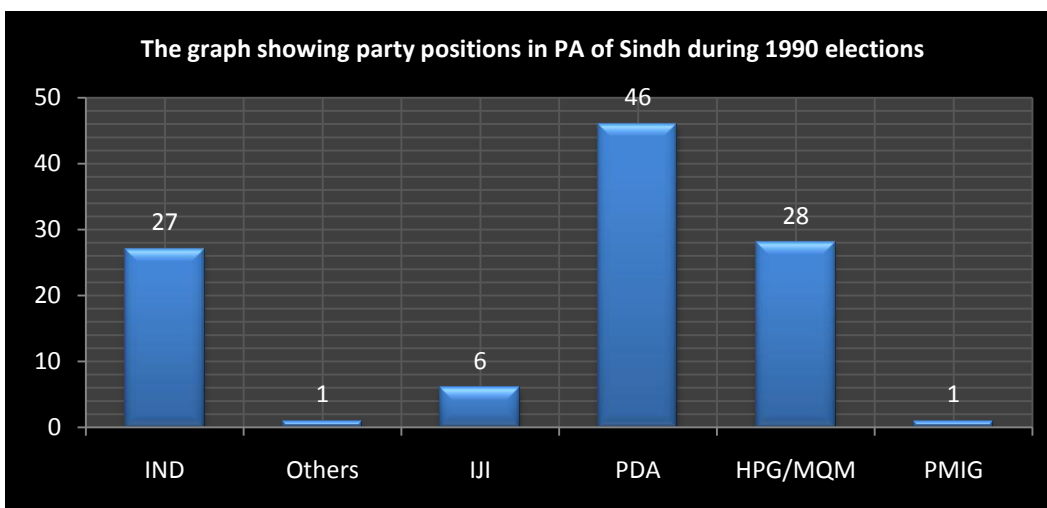
Fig 5.3: The chart showing party position in PA of Punjab during 1990 elections



Similarly, in provincial assembly of Punjab, IJI claimed landslide victory and obtained 214 seats including seats reserved for minorities out of total seats 248 (240 general, and 8 minority). Again, PDA could not obtain more than 10 seats. Further, 19 members were elected as independents and rest of the seats went to small parties (see detail in fig 5.3)

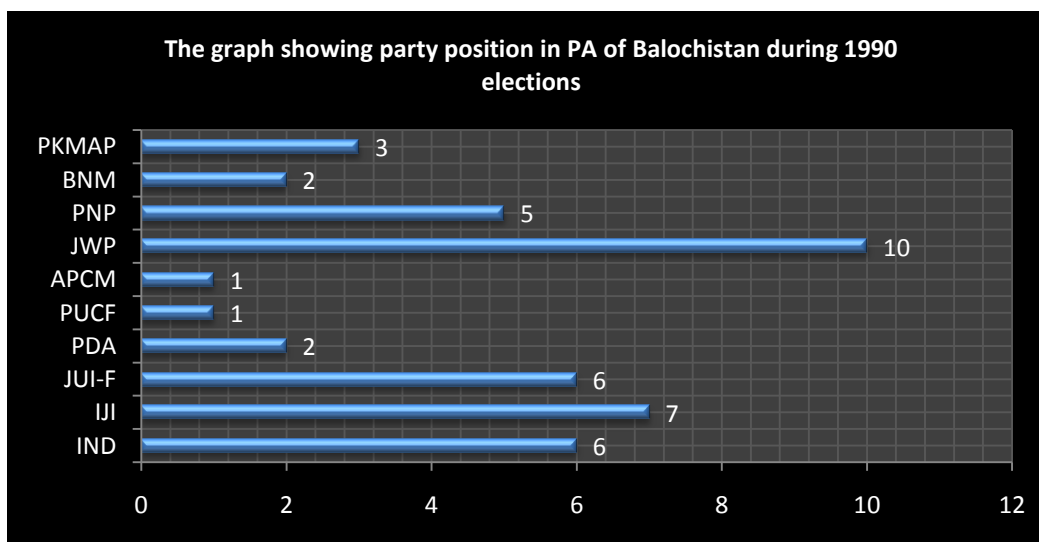
Similarly, in provincial assembly of Sindh during 1990, PDA claimed victory by securing 46 seats out of 109 (100 general, and 9 minorities), followed by HPG/MQM that obtained 28 seats. Again, the independent candidates were 27 in numbers while the IJI could manage to get only 6 seats in Sindh provincial assembly (see fig 5.4).

Fig5.4: The chart showing party position in PA of Sindh during 1990 elections



On the other side, in 1990 elections, it was JWP which secured majority seats 10 out of total 43 seats (40 general, and 3 minorities) in provincial assembly of Balochistan. IJI was the second largest party getting 7 seats followed by JUI-F and PNP that secured 6 and 5 seats respectively. PDA could obtain only 2 seats and the rest seats went to independents and small parties shown in chart 5.5 below.

Fig5.5: The chart showing party position in PA of Balochistan during 1990 elections



## Government Formation

In 1990 election, the IJI emerged victorious it won 106 seats out of total 207 followed by PDA who secured 44 seats. However, IJI became the ruling party by winning over the support of 22 MNAs elected independent, and some small political parties. Nawaz Sharif became the Prime Minister in the first week of November 1990. The major opposition parties especially PDA accused large scale pre-poll rigging and viewed it as stolen mandate by IJI supported by agencies and presidency. However, the presidency worked smoothly with Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, until there originated strains between President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Mian Nawaz Sharif.

## The 1993 Elections

### Background

On April 18, 1993, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan dismissed the government of Mian Nawaz Sharif on the charges of corruption, nepotism, terrorizing the opposition, violation of the Constitution and subversion of the authority of the military. He again used his power under article 58 (2)(b) of the 1973 constitution. However, he had the confidence of the blessings of the Army Chief and the leader of opposition, Benazir Bhutto, before removing the government. He announced the fresh date of election to be on July 14, 1993 and appointed Sher Baz Khan Mazari as caretaker Prime Minister. Nevertheless, Nawaz Sharif challenged this dissolution of government in the Supreme Court. On May 26, 1993, Supreme Court restored the government of Nawaz Sharif unanimously. Nawaz Sharif returned to the office with legal and constitutional legitimacy, however, between him and President Ishaq Khan there remained strains.

During this crisis, Mian Nawaz Sharif had to face division within PML. After the death of Muhammad Khan Junejo, on March 18, 1993, several members of PML sided with President Ishaq Khan vis-à-vis Nawaz Sharif and elected Hamid Nasir Chatha as their leader. They formed the new faction of PML known as the PML-Junejo (PML-J), which vehemently opposed Nawaz Sharif in the 1993 political crisis. Meanwhile, this faction of PML with the help of PPP and independent candidates removed the Punjab Chief Minister, Ghulam Hyder Wayne, a close confidant of Nawaz Sharif, through a vote of no-confidence. Mian Manzoor Ahmad Wattoo, the then Speaker of the Punjab Provincial Assembly, succeeded him.

When the Supreme Court restored the government of Mian Nawaz Sharif, he decided to move vote of no confidence against the Wattoo government. When members of the PML-N filed a notice for a vote-of-no-confidence in Wattoo in Punjab Assembly, the Chief Minister advised the Provincial Governor to dissolve the Provincial Assembly on May 29, 1993. However, the Punjab High Court restored the Punjab Assembly on June 28, 1993. Shortly afterwards, the Governor again dissolved the Provincial Assembly on a new advice from the Chief Minister, Manzoor Wattoo.

This political crisis became lengthy and Mian Nawaz Sharif advised the President to replace governor of the Punjab with his nominee, Mian Muhammad Azhar to which president Ishaq Khan refused to act. Nawaz Sharif summoned the joint session of the Parliament and got resolution to take control of the Punjab administration on June 29. Following this, Mian Nawaz Sharif appointed Mian Muhammad Azhar as the Administrator of the Punjab (an office that did not exist in the Constitution) without the knowledge of the President. He also appointed a new Chief Secretary and Inspector General of Police. The new administration backed by federal government sought help from Army to oust the Governor. However, the Army stayed out of the conflict and the Federal Government's efforts to take-over Punjab on the night of June 29-30 failed.



Meanwhile, the PPP lead by Benazir Bhutto, announced to launch a long march to Islamabad on July 16. Meanwhile, the Army Chief, General Abdul Waheed Kaker, intervened and pressed president and PM to step down from their respective offices. According to arrangement Assembly was dissolved on July 18 and President resigned after appointing Moeen Qureshi, as caretaker PM. Chairman of the Senate, Wasim Sajjad became the Acting President on July 19, 1993. After their step-down, the fresh elections to the National Assembly were scheduled on October 6, 1993 and to the four provincial assemblies on October 9, 1993.

## The Contending Players

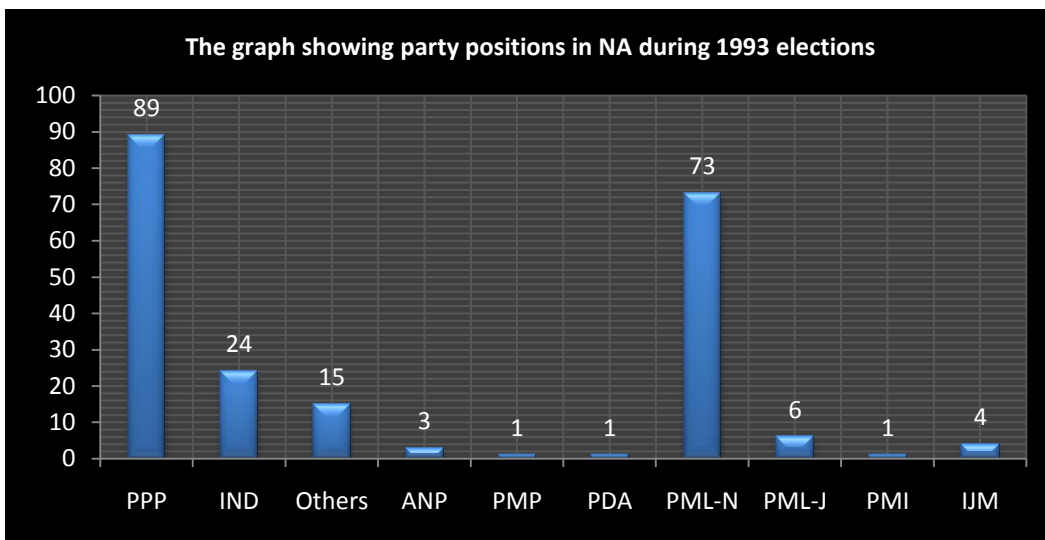
With the division of PML into PML-N and PML-J the IJI alliance, ended, because two other major allies such as National Peoples Party and Jamaat-i-Islami already parted ways with Nawaz Sharif. The PML-N contested election on its own. Similarly, other alliance i.e. PDA also dissolved and PPP also contested 1993 election separately; however, it had a political arrangement with the PML-J under the rubric of Pakistan Democratic Front (PDF). Under this arrangement, both parties did not put up their candidates against each other and agreed to work together in the Parliament after the elections.

The Jamaat-i-Islami participated in 1993 elections with new name of Pakistan Islamic Front (PIF) under the leadership of Qazi Hussain Ahmad. However, two Islamic groups named Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam-Fazlur Rahman and Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Pakistan (Noorani) fielded joint candidates under Islami Jamhoori Mahaz. Similarly, Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam-Samiul Haq Group formed alliance of 24 political parties named as Muttahida Deeni Mahaz. In addition, in electoral alliance named National Democratic Alliance comprised of 8 left wing and regional-nationalist parties inclusive of Pakistan Democratic Party, National Peoples Party (Jatoi & Khar Groups), Pakistan Awami Tehreek, Jamhoori Watan Party, etc. Moreover, some small parties contested elections in their individual capacity. The MQM (Altaf) boycotted the National Assembly election but participated in the Sindh Provincial Assembly election. Despite, all such political right wing and left wing alliances and arrangements, the real competition was between the PML-N and the PPP.

## Election Results

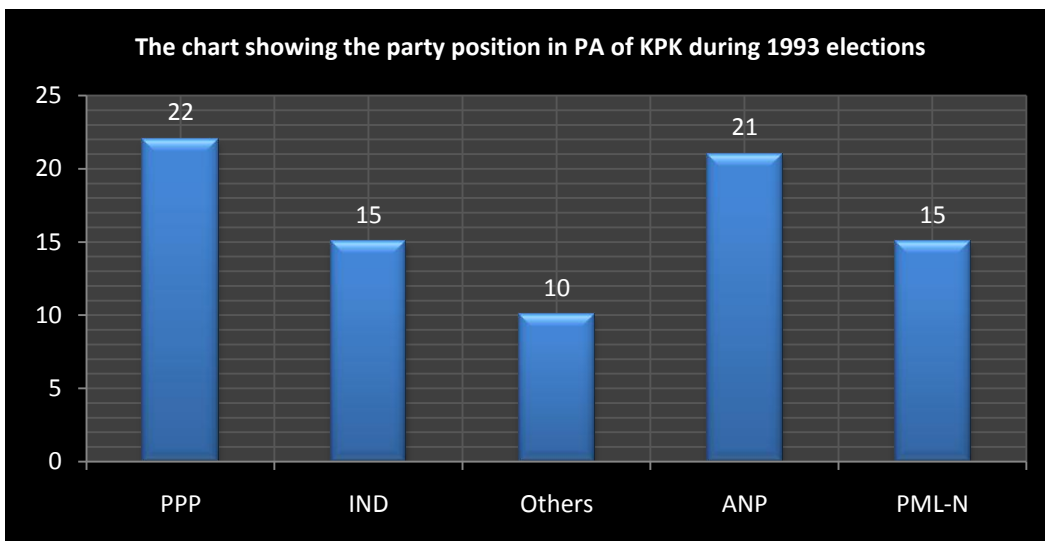
In 1993 general elections, the voter turnout for the National Assembly was dismally low about 37.6 percent. In election results, the PPP emerged as single majority party in the National Assembly and it secured 89 seats out of 217 (207 general, and 10 minorities). It made an electoral understanding with PML-J that obtained 6 seats. The second largest party was, PML-N, which secured 73 seats. In NA, independent candidates obtained about 15 seats. The electoral alliance of religious parties IJM and left wing ANP got 4, and 3 seats respectively. The rest of the seats went to other small parties, the detail of which is provided in fig 6.1 below.

Fig 6.1: The chart showing party position in NA during 1993 elections



In KPK Provincial Assembly, like at federal level, during 1993 general elections, the PPP emerged as single majority party securing 22 seats. It was followed by the ANP that was second majority party with 21 seats out of total 87 seats, (general 80, and 3 minorities). This time, PML-N obtained significant number of seats in KPK provincial assembly; it obtained 15 seats in total. A similar number of seats about 15 went into independent candidates. In addition, small parties mentioned in fig 6.2 below shared the rest of the seats.

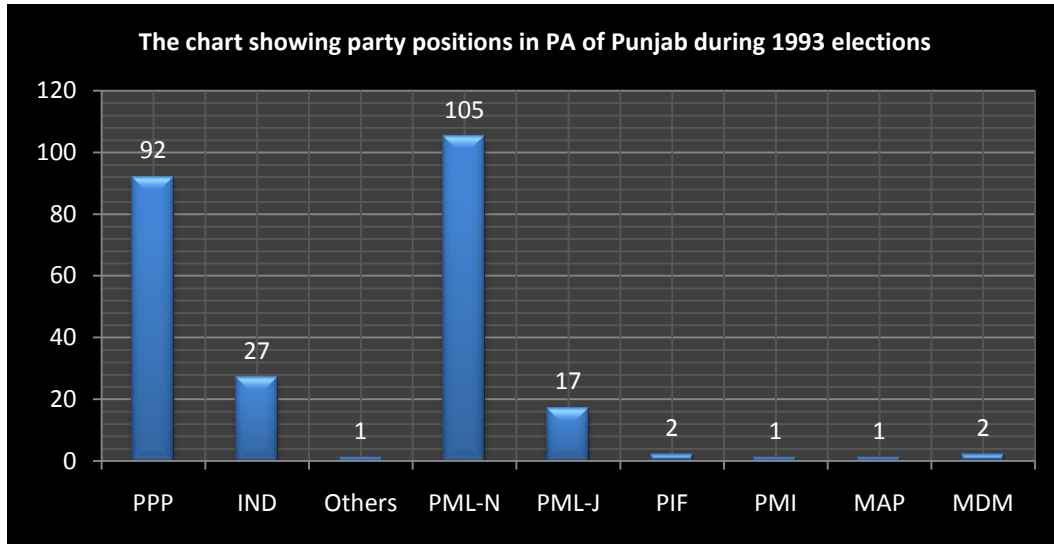
Fig 6.2: The chart showing party position in PA of KPK during 1993 elections



However, in provincial assembly of Punjab, PML-N of Mian Nawaz Sharif emerged as single largest party securing 105 seats out of total seats 248 (240 general, and 8 minority). It was the close contest, and PPP that claimed victory at federal level, was the

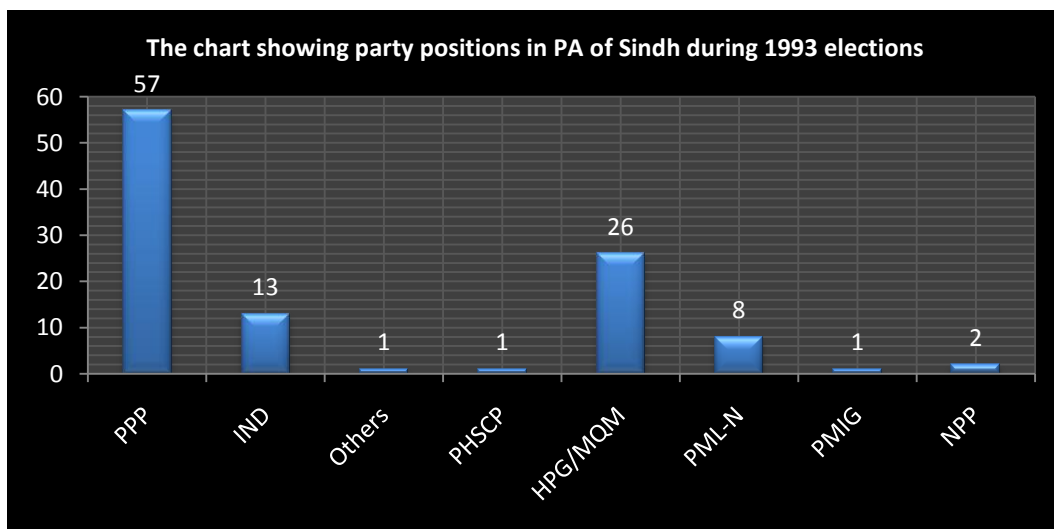
second largest party and obtained 92 seats. Further, PML-J also obtained 17 seats. Again, 27 members were elected as independents and rest of the seats went to small parties (see detail in fig 6.3)

Fig 6.3: The chart showing party position in PA of Punjab during 1993 elections



In provincial assembly of Sindh, PPP claimed victory by securing 57 seats out of 109 (100 general, and 9 minorities), followed by HPG/MQM that obtained 26 seats this time. PML-N also shared 8 seats in PA of Sindh. The independent candidates elected were 13 in numbers while small parties shown in fig 6.4 shared the rest of the seats.

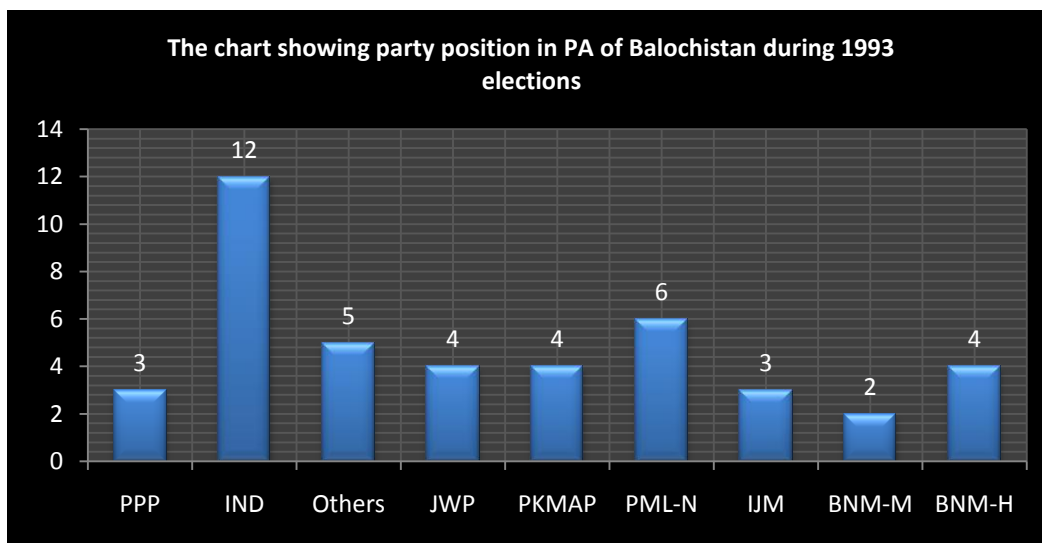
Fig6.4: The chart showing party position in PA of Sindh during 1993 elections



On the other side, in 1993 elections, independents were the largest group elected in Balochistan provincial assembly that obtained 12 seats out of total 43 seats (40general, and 3 minorities). Similarly, PML-N, BNP-H, JWP, PkMAP, PPP, IJM, and BNP-M

obtained 6, 4, 4, 3, 3, and 2 seats respectively. The rest of the seats went to independents and small parties shown in chart 6.5 below.

Fig.6.5: The chart showing party position in PA of Balochistan during 1993 elections



### Government Formation

In 1993 elections, as the PPP and its allied the PML-J obtained the majority, they also got support of some independent members and small parties to set up a government at the federal level. Benazir Bhutto became the Prime Minister second time on October 19, 1993. In addition to that, the PPP also formed governments at the provincial level in the Punjab and Sindh. In Punjab, PPP gave PML-J lead role in government formation and Manzoor Wattoo became the chief minister of Punjab. However, in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, ANP and PML-N joined to set the provincial government in which Pir Sabir Shah of PML-N became the chief minister of KPK. Similarly, in Balochistan, Zulfiqar Magsi of PML-N formed government with the help of small parties and independent members. After formation of governments, the PPP managed to dislodge the PML-N-ANP government and installed its own government in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa with the help of defected members of PML-N. On November 13, 1993, presidential elections held in which Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari, a PPP nominee was elected to this office defeating the PML-N nominee Wasim Sajjad.

## The 1997 Election

### Background

On November 5, 1996, President Farooq Leghari dismissed Benazir Bhutto's government and dissolved the National Assembly on November 6, 1996 with the support of the Army Chief General Jehangir Karamat. Although President Leghari used article 58 (2)(b) to remove the government and dissolution of assembly by blaming the Bhutto government of corruption, mismanagement, restricting the independence of judiciary through the proposed accountability law, extra-judicial killings, the recording of telephone calls of judiciary, and imminent economic collapse. However, this dismissal of government was done with the help of Army troops that cordoned-off the PM house, also arrested Benazir Bhutto's husband, Asif Ali Zardari, from the Governor House in Lahore, and handed over to civilian authorities. Later on, the Provincial Assemblies were also dissolved.

Benazir Bhutto challenged this dissolution in the Supreme Court that upheld the dissolution of the National Assembly and removal of the Bhutto government in the last week of January 1997. President Farooq Leghari appointed veteran political leader Malik Meraj Khalid, as the caretaker Prime Minister. Caretaker Chief Ministers were appointed in the provinces and fresh elections were scheduled for February 3, 1997.

In the seven tribal agencies named Bajaur, Orakzai, Mohmand, Khyber, Kurram, South and North Waziristan and tribal areas adjoining to six districts of KPK ( Peshawar, Kohat, Dera Ismael Khan, Tank, Bannu and Laki Marwat), there was adopted universal adult franchise by the caretaker administration on December 14, 1996. Therefore, during 1997 elections, elections to 8 FATA seats for the National Assembly were held on the basis of adult franchise. Further, in 1997, the elections to the Provincial Assemblies were also held on the same day for the first time.

### The Contending Players

In 1997 elections, again the major competing parties were PML-N and the PPP. However, 47 political parties including several newly established parties and factions nominated their candidates for the National Assembly election. Along with major faction of PML i.e. PML-N, five other factions also fielded their candidates in election. Similarly, two factions of the PPP also entered into election field. One major faction of PPP was the PPP-Shaheed Bhutto (PPP-SB) party, which was established by Murtaza Bhutto in March 1995. However, after his assassination on September 20, 1996, his widow, Ghinwa Bhutto, took the command of the party that contested the 1997 election. Although these factions thought important initially, however, these never produced electoral problem to PPP.

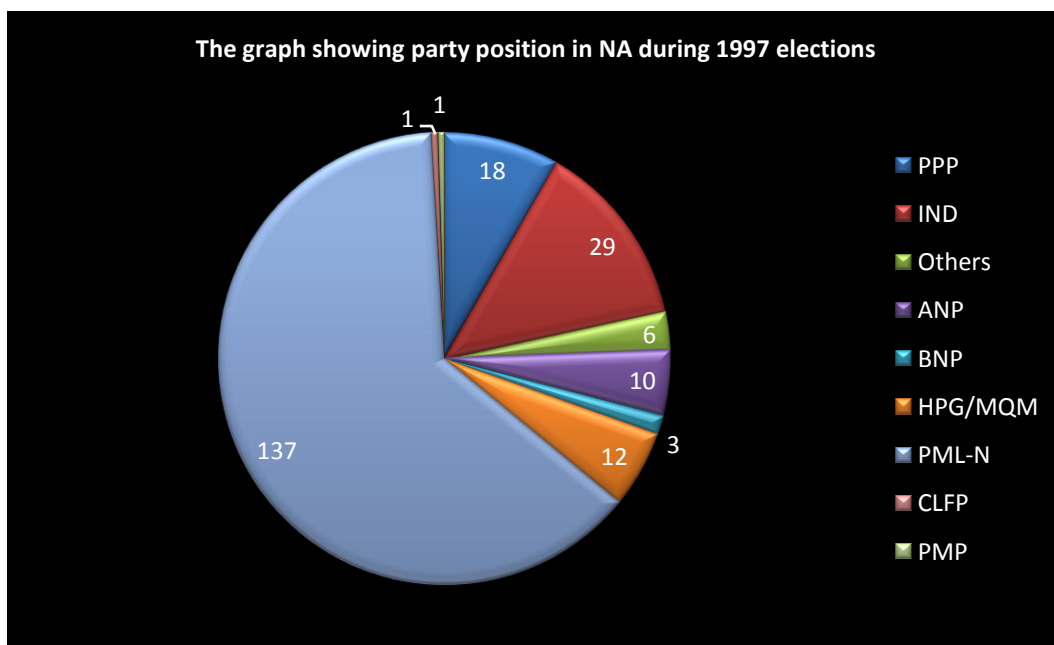
There also emerged a strong faction in Mohajir Quami Movement during 1992, when MQM was divided into two factions: the MQM-Altaf and the MQM-Haqiqi. Therefore, in 1997 the MQM-Altaf maintained its electoral stronghold and its candidate contested the

election as the Haq Parasat Group leaving much behind the dissent MQM Haqiqi. Nevertheless, the Jamaat-i-Islami boycotted the 1997 election. The newly emerged political party Pakistan Tehrik-i-Insaf under the leadership of Imran Khan also, participated in its first general election in Pakistan.

### Election Results

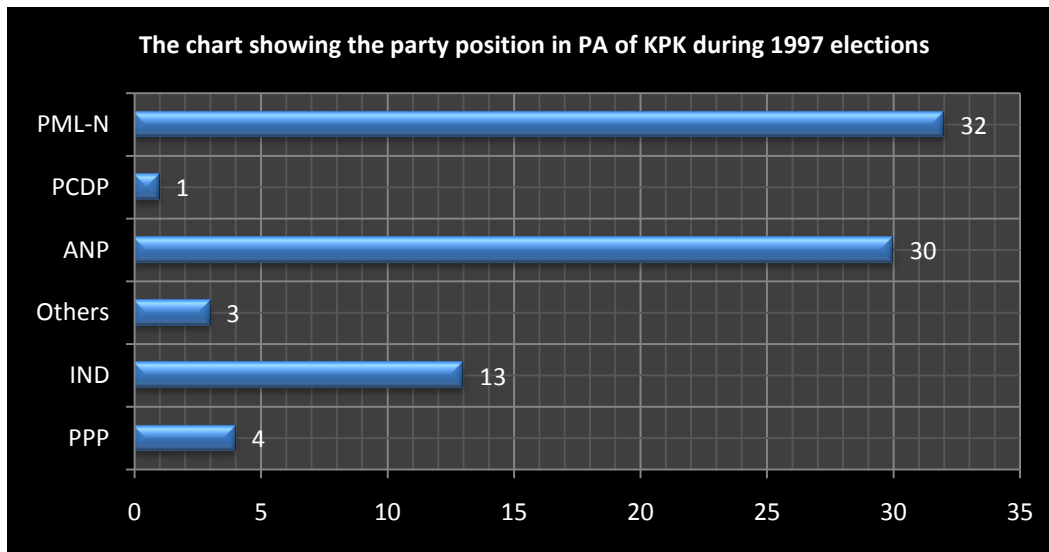
In 1997 general elections, the voter turnout for the National Assembly was dismally low about 37.6 percent. In election results, the PML-N under the leadership of Nawaz Sharif claimed landslide victory by securing 137 seats out of 217 (207 general, and 10 minorities). Its major rival PPP lost 1997 elections badly and it could get 18 seats in general. ANP and MQM/HPG obtained 10 and 12 seats respectively. In NA, independent candidates obtained about 29 seats. The rest of the seats went to other small parties, the detail of which is provided in fig 7.1 below.

Fig 7.1: The chart showing party position in NA during 1997 elections



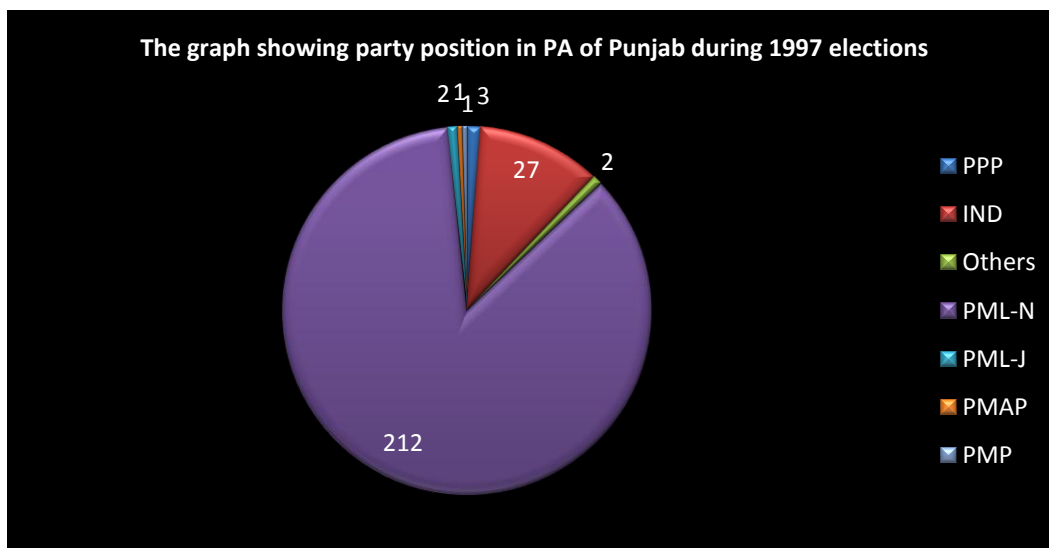
Similarly, like at federal level, in provincial assembly of KPK, the PML-N emerged as single majority party by securing 32 seats out of total 87 seats, (general 80, and 3 minorities) during 1997 general elections. The ANP was second majority party that obtained 30 seats. This time, PPP could only get 4 seats in KPK provincial assembly. The rest of the seats went either to independent candidates or to other small parties. The detail about party position in provincial assembly of KPK during 1997 elections is given in fig 7.2 below.

Fig 7.2: The chart showing party position in PA of KPK during 1997 elections



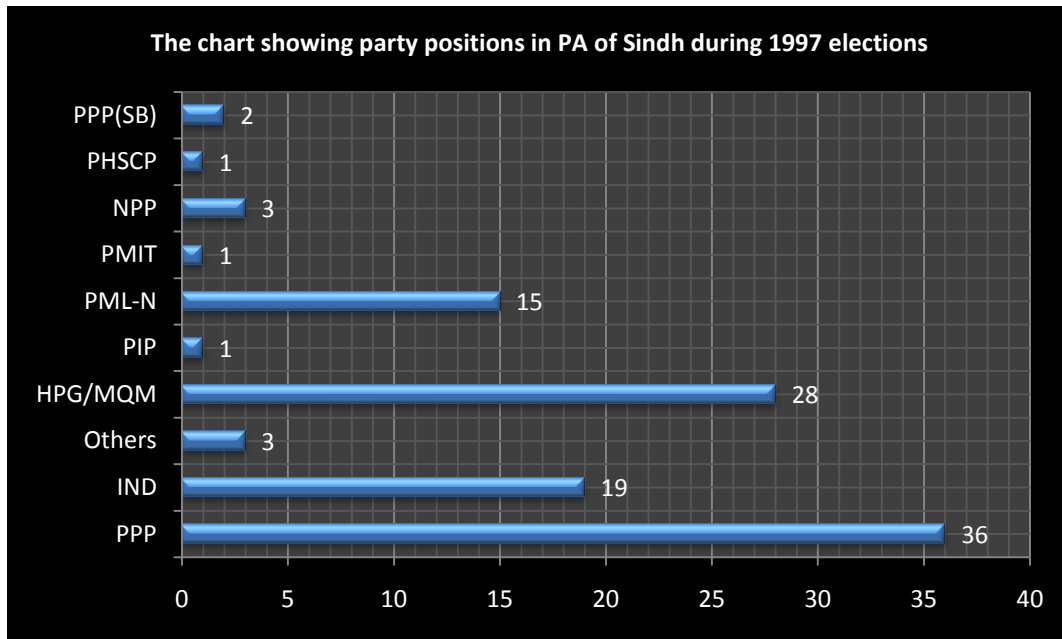
Similarly, in provincial assembly of Punjab, PML-N of Mian Nawaz Sharif claimed clear majority securing 212 seats out of total seats 248 (240 general, and 8 minority). PPP lost badly in Punjab and it could only get 3 seats. PML-J also got only 2 seats. Again, 27 members were elected as independents and rest of the seats went to small parties (see detail in fig 7.3)

Fig 7.3: The chart showing party position in PA of Punjab during 1997 elections



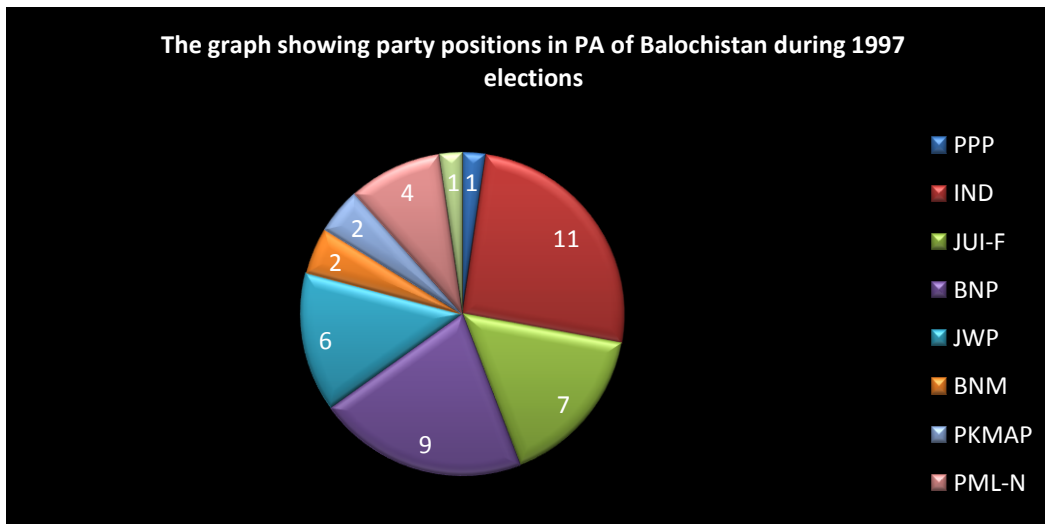
However, in the provincial assembly of Sindh, PPP managed to get victory by securing 36 seats out of 109 (100 general, and 9 minorities), followed by HPG/MQM that obtained 28 seats this time. In 1997, PML-N also shared 15 seats in PA of Sindh. NPP obtained 3 seats and the independent candidates elected were 19 in numbers. While the small parties shown in fig, 7.4 shared the rest of the seats.

Fig7.4: The chart showing party position in PA of Sindh during 1997 elections



On the other side, in 1997 elections, BNP was the largest party in Balochistan provincial assembly that obtained 9 seats out of total 43 seats (40 general, and 3 minorities). Similarly, JUI-F, JWP, PML-N, BNM, and PkMAP, obtained 7, 6, 4, 2, and 2 seats respectively. The rest of the seats went to independents and small parties shown in chart 7.5 below.

Fig7.5: The chart showing party position in PA of Balochistan during 1997 elections





## Government Formation

In 1997 elections, the PML-N emerged as a single majority party that acquired seats in the National Assembly from all provinces of country. PML-N formed coalition government with the help of MQM, ANP and some others adding its total to 177 out of 217 total seats. On February 17, 1997, Mian Nawaz Sharif assumed the office of Prime Minister for the second time. PML-N also formed government in three provinces namely Punjab, Sindh and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In Punjab, PML-N formed government exclusively; however, it had to make coalition governments both in Sindh and in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

In Balochistan, two regional nationalist parties such as Balochistan National Party and Jamhoori Watan Party formed a government with the help of smaller groups. However, later on, in August 1998, this government led by Akhtar Mengal was also replaced with a PML-N-led coalition. The PPP had to face worst ever defeat in elections to the National Assembly. On the other hand, the success of the PML-N was described as the “heavy mandate” from the people and party held the power of two-third majority in the parliament. The most significant constitutional development during this tenure was the repealing of article 58(2)(b), that has been used by previous presidents to dismiss the four consecutive governments since 1985. In addition, due to speedy constitutional changes creating disproportion into powers of president and PM in favour of the later resulted into conflict between government vs. judiciary, government vs. presidency and then government vs. military.

## The 2002 Election

### Background

President Farooq Leghari resigned from office of presidency on December 2, 1997 because of confrontation. On December 31, 1997, the presidential elections held in Pakistan in which PML-N nominated Rafiq Tarar elected as president securing 374 votes against Aftab Shaban Merani, who secured total 58 votes. As stated above, the government developed confrontation with the Supreme Court, the military and the Presidency. PM Nawaz Sharif made the Chief Justice of Pakistan (Sajjad Ali Shah), one Army Chief (Jahangir Karamat) and one President (Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari) to quit their offices. He also attempted though unsuccessful, to increase his administrative powers for implementation of Islam under the proposed 15 constitutional amendment.

However, on October 12, 1999, the then PM, Mian Nawaz Sharif tried to remove General Pervez Musharraf from the office of CoAS, while he was on his return flight from Colombo, Sri Lanka and installed his favourite, Lt General Khwaja Ziauddin as the Army Chief. General Pervez Musharraf deposed the elected government of Mian Nawaz Sharif in military takeover in the country. General addressed the nation and accused PM about hatching conspiracy against CoAS and military institution in famous 'plane conspiracy' case. He then announced his seven point agenda for his government, which included accountability, the de-politicization of the state institutions, and devolution of power to grassroots level. Pervez Musharraf assumed the office of Chief Executive for himself and suspended the 1973 Constitution. Additionally, the Provincial Governments and Assemblies were also removed. The Supreme Court certified the assumption of power by General Pervez Musharraf in May 2000 and gave him three years to hold fresh election.

On June 20, 2001, General Pervez Musharraf promulgated the President's Succession Order 2001, deposed President Rafiq Tarar, and took oath as new president of Pakistan. However, he validated his presidency through allegedly rigged referendum held on April 30, 2002. Meanwhile, according to Musharraf's seven point agenda, local government elections were held in four phases between January and August 2001 and power was transferred to local bodies. President Pervez Musharraf also restored powers of president i.e. article 58(2)(b), appointment of governors, CoAS, and chief election commissioner through Legal Framework Order 2002.

Therefore, elections in 2002 were held when 1973 constitution was in abeyance. In 2002, elections to national assembly and provincial assemblies were held on October 10, 2002. A number of changes were made through promulgating Conduct of General Elections Order 2002 in which introduced the system of joint electorate; and the minimum age for voters was reduced from 21 to 18 years. In addition, most significant changes were that the number of seats in the National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies increased. The general seats in the National Assembly were increased to

272 from 207. Most essentially, the candidates contesting elections to the National and Provincial Assemblies were required to possess the bachelor's degree or equivalent as the qualification required to contest election. Furthermore, first time in electoral history of Pakistan, a significant proportion of seats was reserved (60 seats for women and 10 for non-Muslims) in the National Assembly. Similarly, reserved seats for women and non-Muslims were provided in the Provincial Assemblies.

## The Contending Players

In the 2002 general elections, the major contending parties included the newly formed The Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid-i-Azam (PML-Q) that mainly comprised of members of the PML-N in 2000-2001. Chaudhry Shaujaat Hussain headed the party, and that supposedly enjoyed the full backing of General Pervez Musharraf and military establishment. Nevertheless, the mainstream rival parties namely the PPP and the PML-N participated in the 2002 elections without their top leaders, Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif respectively. Benazir Bhutto was in self-exile in Dubai after losing 1996 elections. Therefore, PPP contested elections on newly registered party Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarian (PPPP) with Makhdoom Amin Fahim as its chairman. On the other side, Mian Nawaz Sharif and Shahbaz Sharif were in exile in Saudi Arabia since December 2000 aftermath of military takeover of 1999, under an arrangement between Pakistan's military government and the Saudi Royal family.

The most significant electoral alliance formed during 2002 elections was Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA) which was comprised of six Islamic political parties that included Jamaat-i-Islami, Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam-Fazlur Rahman (JUI-F), Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam Sami-ul-Haq (JUI-S), Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Pakistan-Noorani (JUP-N), Jamiat-e-Ahle-Hadith, Tehrik-e-Islami (reincarnation of TNFJ banned for being sectarian). The alliance was dominated by the Jamaat-i-Islami and the JUI-F and MMA was successful in securing power in NWFP (Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa). In addition to that, there formed political alliance for electoral coalition called National Alliance comprising of four small political parties namely Millat Party of Farooq Khan Leghari, National People's Party of Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Sindh Democratic Alliance of Arbab Ghulam Rahim, and Sindh National Front of Mumtaz Bhutto.

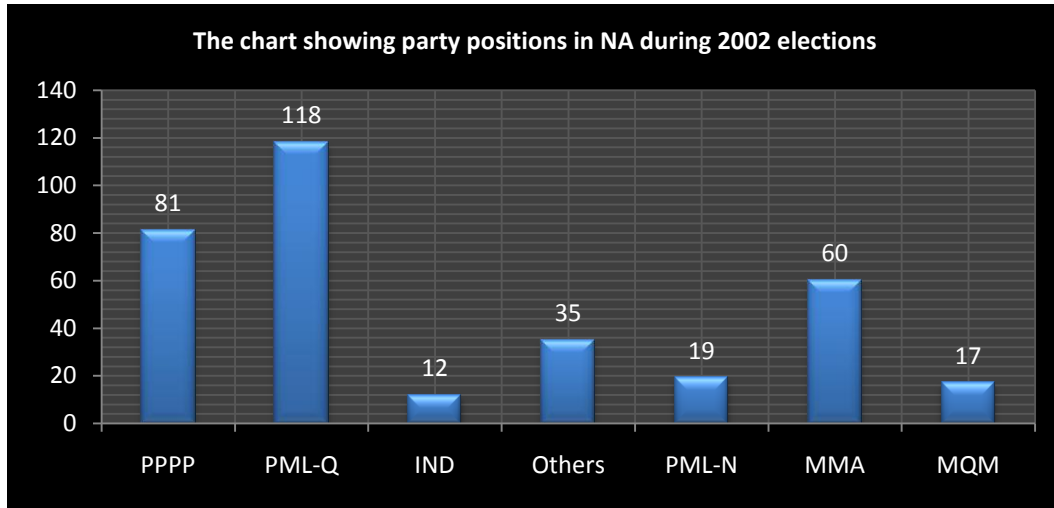
On the regional side, the MQM contested 2002 elections only in urban Sindh only. Similarly, several other political parties that had strong ethnic and regional identities, or political nonentities, but these have very limited support. Therefore, in nutshell, approximately 59 parties and electoral alliance participated in the national and provincial assemblies.

## Election Results

In 2002 elections, like previous all elections, the voter turnout for the National Assembly was low at 41.8 percent. The PML-Q emerged as majority party and obtained 118 seats total including the reserved seats for women and non-Muslims as well as the seats won in the bye-election in January 2003, out of total 342 seats (272 general, 60 women, and 10 minorities). The PPPP (PPP-Parliamentarian) was the second majority party that

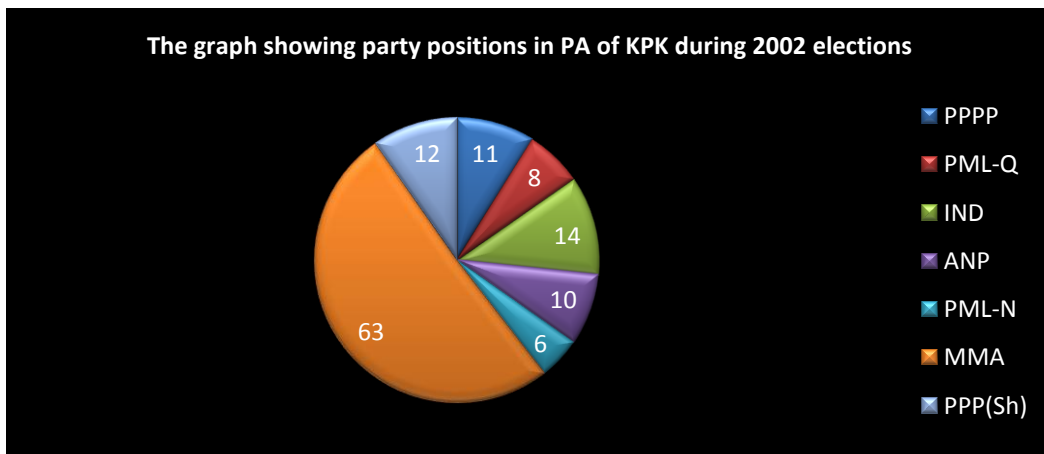
obtained total 81 seats. Surprisingly, the third largest party was the MMA that got 60 seats. However, PML-N that swept 1997 elections managed to acquire only 19 seats in 2002 elections. The MQM won 17 with the add-on reserved seats. The National Alliance also won 16 seats. The rest of the seats went to independent candidates and small parties. The detail is given in fig 8.1.

Fig 8.1: The chart showing party position in NA during 2002 elections



Similarly, in the provincial assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the MMA claimed victory with 63 seats out of total 124 seats (99 general, 22 women, and 3 minorities). The independents elected were 14 in number while the PPP-Sherpao group won 12 seats. The PPPP, the ANP, and the PML-Q got 11, 10, and 8 seats respectively. The PML-N obtained 6 seats. The chart 8.2 describes the party position in KPK assembly.

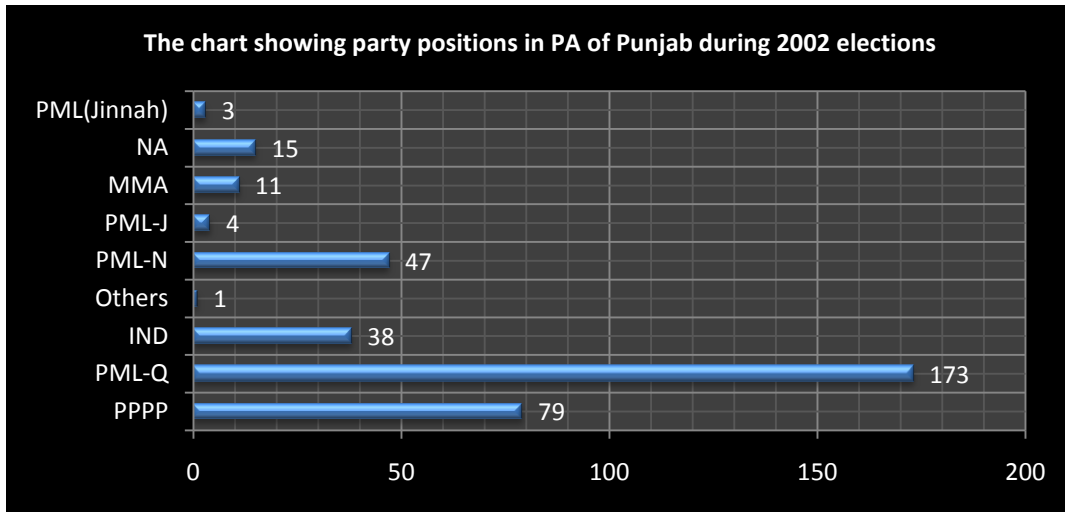
Fig 8.2: The chart showing party position in PA of KPK during 2002 elections



Similarly, the Punjab Provincial Assembly was dominated by the PML-Q that got 216 general seats out of total 371 seats (297 general, 66 women, and 8 minorities). The

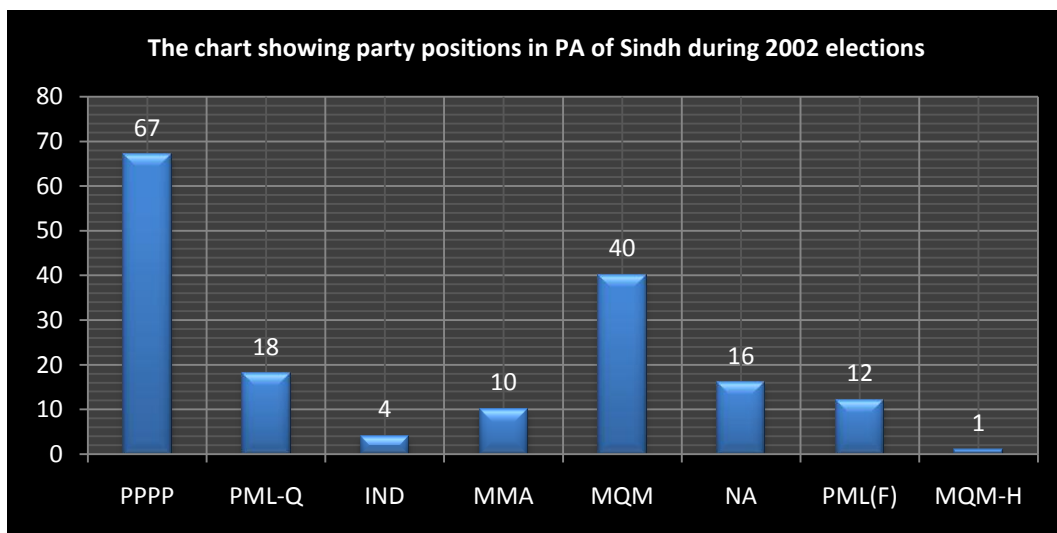
PPP came second with 79 seats. The PML-N obtained 47 seats. The National Alliance obtained 15 general seats and the MMA got 11 general seats. A large number of 38 members were elected as independent candidates, while the rest of the seats went to small parties, the detail is provided in fig 8.3 below:

Fig 8.3: The chart showing party position in PA of Punjab during 2002 elections



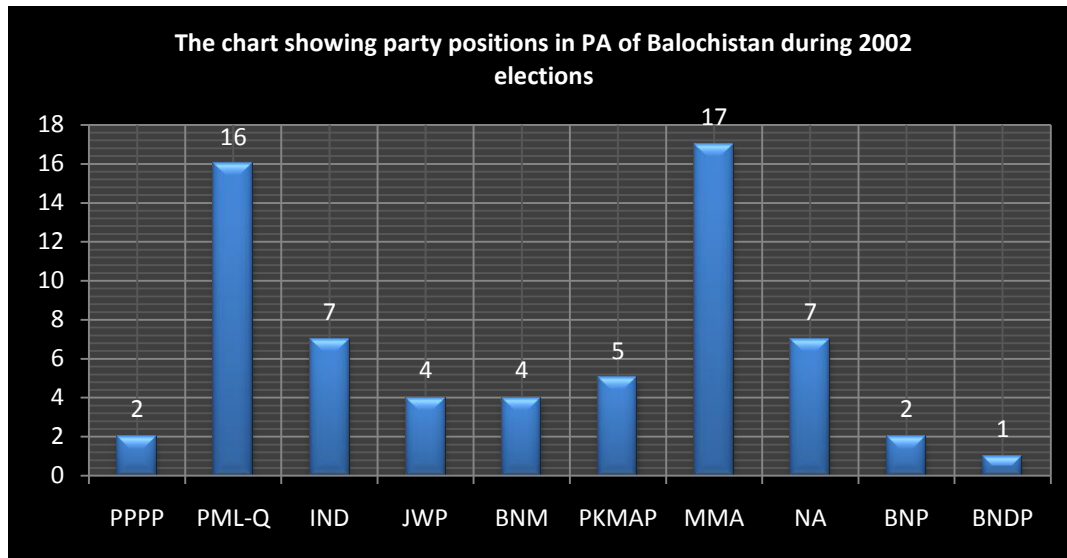
Nevertheless, the PPP emerged as the leading party in the Sindh Provincial Assembly, which secured 67 seats out of total 168 (130 general, 29 women, and 9 minorities). The second largest party was the MQM that got 40 seats. The third major party was the PML-Q winning 18 seats. The National Alliance, PML-Functional and the MMA shared 16, 12 and 10 seats respectively. Small parties and independent candidates have shown in fig 8.4 won the rest of the seats.

Fig 8.4: The chart showing party position in PA of Sindh during 2002 elections



Similarly, the elections result in of the Balochistan showed that out of total 65(51 general, 11 women, and 3 minorities) seats in assembly, the MMA and PML-Q won 17 and 16 seats respectively. National Alliance, PkMAP, JWP, and BNM shared 7, 5, 4, and 4 seats respectively. The remaining seats went to independents and small parties. The detail is given in fig 8.5 below:

Fig 8.5: The chart showing party position in PA of Balochistan during 2002 elections



### Government Formation

As stated above, during 2002 General elections, almost seventeen political parties and alliances represented the mosaic of National Assembly. In the polling day, the independents candidates winning the elections were 30 in number. However, although no clear majority,

The PML-Q emerged as majority party that secured 77 general seats followed by PPPP, which secured 62 seats. However, adding the reserved seats for women and non-Muslims as well as the seats won in the bye-election in January 2003, the strength of PML-Q rose to 122 in a house of 342 seats followed by the PPPP whose strength rose to 80 after the bye-election in January 2003 and reserved women and non-Muslim seats.

The religious parties' alliance i.e. MMA proved to be inspiring in 2002 General Elections and astonished most political analysts by getting 45 National Assembly seats that rose to 61 after the add-on reserved seats. The mainstream and ruling party of 1996 election like PML-N captured only 15 seats, which however rose to 19 by January 2003. The MQM also won 13 general seats that rose to 17 with the add-on reserved seats. The National Alliance also won 13 general seats, which increased to 16 by adding women reserved seats. The PML-Functional, the PML-Jinnah and the PPP-Sherpao got 4, 2 and 2 general seats respectively. Eight political parties had one general seat each.

In the result of 2002 General Elections, the coalition governments were formed at federal and at provincial levels with PML-Q leading the coalitions. In the center, PML-Q formed a government with the help of MQM, National Alliance, PPPP defected group called as PPP-Patriots and some independents. Therefore, on November 21, 2002, the National Assembly elected Zafarullah Khan Jamali as the Prime Minister with a bare minimum vote of 172 votes in a House of 342 members. However, full restoration of constitution was completed gradually till March 12, 2003.

Similarly, the provincial assemblies also inaugurated gradually. In the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (then N.W.F.P), Provincial Assembly, the religious parties alliance MMA formed government and Akram Khan Durani of JUI-F took the oath as the Chief Minister on November 30, 2002. In the province of the Punjab, PML-Q formed government and Chaudhry Pervez Illahi took over as the Chief Minister on November 29, 2002. In Balochistan province as well, Jam Mir Muhammad Yousaf of PML-Q took the oath as the head of a coalition government on December 1, 2002. Similarly, in the Sindh Provincial Assembly held its first session on December 12 and Ali Muhammad Mahar of PML-Q became Chief Minister under a coalition government on December 17, 2002.

## The 2008 Election

### Background

The elections in 2008 are recognized as the triumph of political and democratic forces that paved the way for restoration of democracy and continuity of electoral process in the country. These elections were the end of long period of military dictatorship and dictator orchestrated democratic regime. In this election, the electorate rejected the authoritarian rule of the military government of General Pervez Musharraf and its close civilian allies.

In 2002 elections, the military government of General Pervez Musharraf strengthened due to success of military establishment by forming federal and provincial governments with the help of PML-Q and some other political parties and weakening the role of the major political adversaries like the PPP and the PML-N. In addition, when parliament provided constitutional cover to LFO (Legal Framework Order) in historic 17<sup>th</sup> amendment on December 26, 2003, it not only enhanced the powers of the President through unilateral amendments in the Constitution, but also legitimized the military rule, 1999-2002.

In order to legitimize his tenure, on December 30, 2003, General Musharraf obtained a vote of confidence in his Presidency from the Parliament and also from Provincial Assemblies. Nevertheless, he promised to shun his second portfolio as the CoAS by December 31, 2004. But Pervez Musharraf remain successful in holding the dual offices due to his political triumph that he achieved through the support of PML-Q and other allied parties. However, Musharraf continued his exploitation of the political forces, which caused estrangement also among those political forces that were initially stood by him. He made Prime Minister Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali to resign from the post of PM without any serious issues in June 2004. Shukat Aziz, the then-Finance Minister, was nominated as future PM before he was elected to the National Assembly.

However, his political downfall started, when as routine matters of his style of governance, on March 9, 2007, he called on the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court to his office and directed him to resign from the post of Chief Justice by providing him charge sheet against him. However, Chief Justice refused to act, President General Musharraf first announced his removal, and then suspended him and sent a reference against him to the Supreme Judicial Council. This was the turning point because there started a nationwide protest lead by the lawyers and later joined by the political parties and other civil society groups. Addressing the reference case, supreme judicial council set aside the reference against the Chief Justice in July, enabling him to return to his position. Meanwhile, the incident of *Lal Mosque* (Red Mosque) resulted in more estrangement of Pervez Musharraf most Islamic groups, including some in the MMA.

Nevertheless, President took another unwise move to get him re-elected on October 6 from the same Parliament and Provincial Assemblies that were completing their regular



tenure in November 2007. However, this move was severely opposed by the civil society groups, lawyers and most political parties. When the political situation became out of control, and Musharraf's relationship with the Supreme Court became extremely uneasy, he imposed a State of Emergency on November 3, 2007, and once again held the Constitution in abeyance and issued a provisional constitutional order requiring the judges to take a new oath of office. However, many among the judges of the Supreme Court and Provincial High Courts refused to take the new oath and some were even not given such opportunity. When public and political anger mounted, Musharraf vacated the office of Army Chief and appointed General Ashfaq Pervez Kayani as the Chief of Army Staff on November 28, 2007.

On December 15, 2007, President Pervez Musharraf lifted the state of emergency and the country returned to constitutional rule. Meanwhile, the tenure of National Assembly completed on November 15 and Pervez Musharraf appointed Muhammad Mian Soomro, Chairman of the Senate, as the Caretaker Prime Minister on November 16 to hold new elections on January 8, 2008. However, during political campaign, the chairperson of PPP, Benazir Bhutto was assassinated on December 27, 2007 in Rawalpindi and violence erupted aftermath resulted into rescheduling of elections to new date on February 18, 2008.

### The Contending Players

In 2007, after long-term political movements and issues aforementioned, President Pervez Musharraf had to give permission about the return of Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif under the often alleged National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO) made by the Musharraf regime on October 5, 2007. The National Reconciliation Ordinance made possible the withdrawal of cases against those who were thought to be "falsely involved for political reason or through political victimization in any case" from January 1, 1986 and October 12, 1999. As stated above, Benazir Bhutto returned to Pakistan and started the election campaign vigorously, but was assassinated on December 27, 2007. After her assassination, Bilawal became Chairman of the PPP and Asif Ali Zardrai was named a Co-Chairman who actually spearheaded the PPP election campaign. On the other side, on his return home, Mian Nawaz Sharif assumed the leadership of his party, PML-N, and started political campaign.

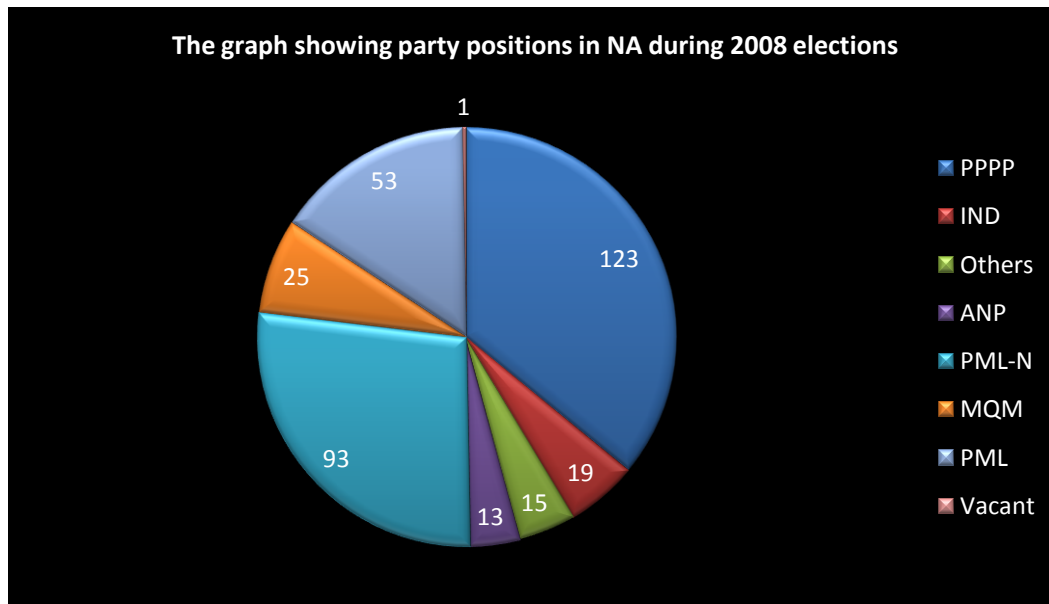
During 2008 general election, the parties of MMA (electoral alliance of Islamic parties), separated and contested election separately. Initially, an electoral alliance was set up under the name of All Pakistan Democratic Movement (APDM) that included the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz, Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf, and Pakhtunkhwa Mili Awami Party (PkMAP), which, however collapsed because APDM boycotted elections after assassination of Benazir Bhutto, while PML-N initially joined boycott but agreed to participate in elections convinced by leadership of PPP. Three major political parties from Balochistan, namely, the Balochistan National Party (Mengal), Jamhoori Watan Party and National Party, boycotted election. Some forces tried to merge all factions of Muslim League and succeeded in merging five factions of the PML – Quaid-i-Azam, Functional, Junejo, Jinnah and Zia under the leadership of Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain. Nevertheless, the PML-Functional remained outside of mergence and contested the

2008 election separately. First time, The MQM fielded their candidates outside Sindh in other provinces. Jamat-i-Islami, PTI, PMAP boycotted the elections.

### Election Results

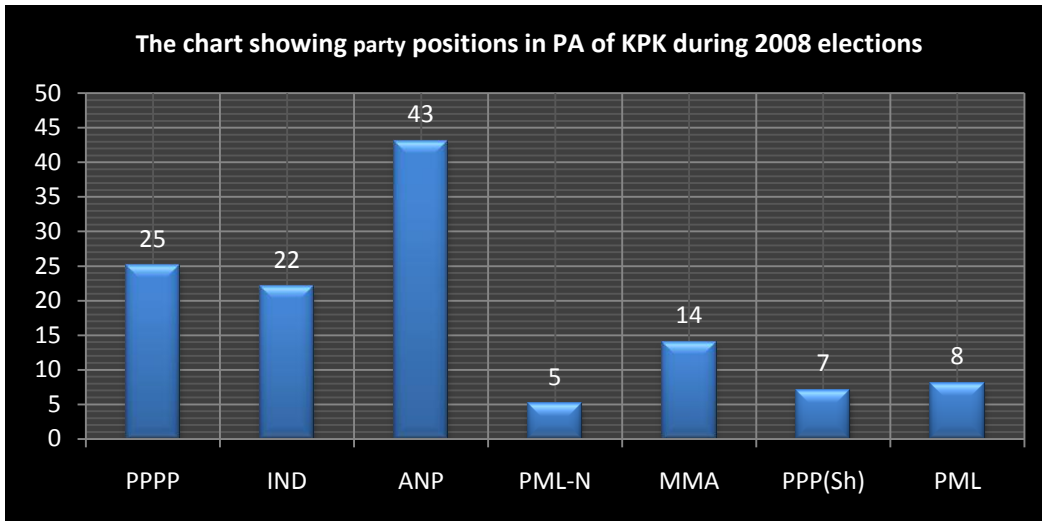
During 2008 elections, the results showed the split mandate because no political party got an absolute majority in the National Assembly. This time the voter turnout slightly improved at 44.4 percent however remained low due to poor law & order situation aftermath of demise of Benazir Bhutto of PPPP. Nevertheless, the aggrieved party PPPP emerged as the single largest party whose total figure reached to 123 seats (the reserved seats for women and non-Muslims) out of total 342 seats (272 general, 60 women, and 10 minorities). It was followed by (this time less rival), the PML-N that secured total 93 seats in national assembly. The former ruling PML-Q (now PML) could manage to win 53 seats in national assembly. The regional parties like MQM and ANP won 25 and 13 seats respectively, while 19 candidates were elected as independent candidates. Moreover, other small & regional parties shared the rest of the seats. Fig 9.1 provides picture of party position in NA during 2008 elections.

Fig 9.1: The chart showing party position in NA during 2008 elections



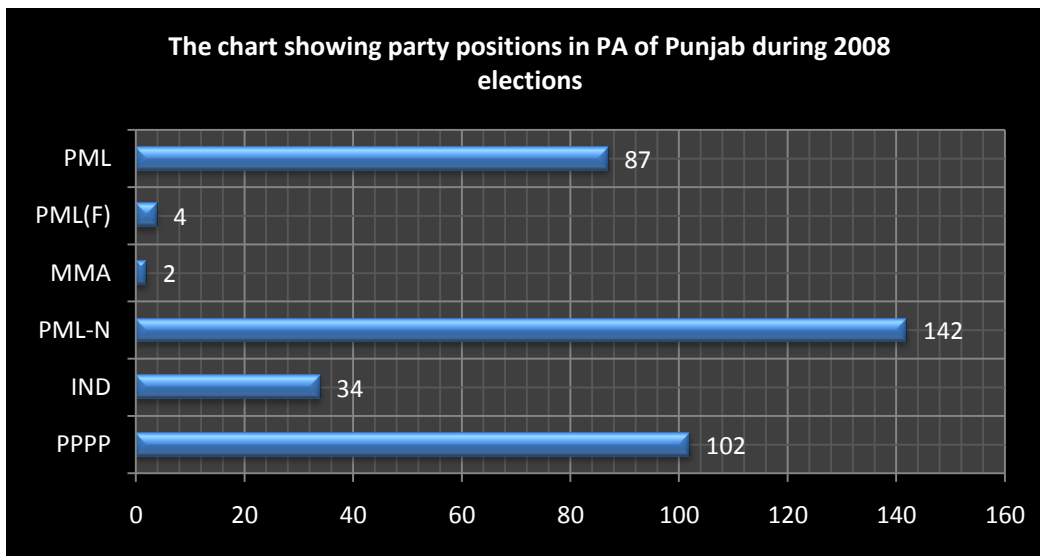
This time, religious parties failed badly in elections and the left wing & secular party ANP emerged as majority party in the provincial assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, where it secured 43 seats out of total 124 seats (99 general, 22 women, and 3 minorities). ANP was followed by PPPP that obtained 25 seats. The erstwhile ruling electoral alliance such as MMA was able to get only 14 seats this time. Similarly, PML, PPP (Sherpao), and PML-N obtained 8, 7, and 5 seats respectively. In addition, there were 22 members elected as the independent candidates. The chart 9.2 describes the party position in KPK assembly.

Fig 9.2: The chart showing party position in PA of KPK during 2008 elections



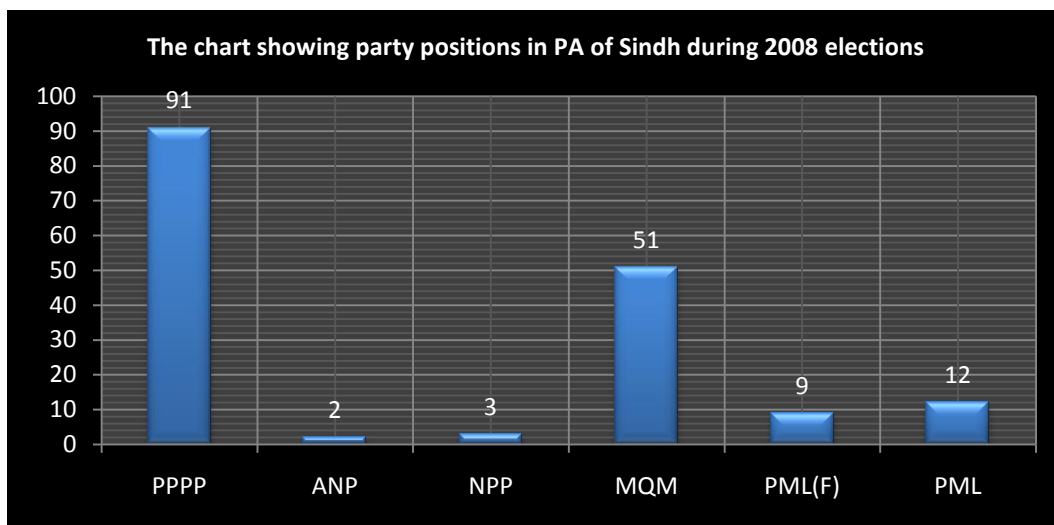
Nevertheless, on the provincial level at Punjab, PML-N claimed victory with 142 seats followed by PPPP that secured total 102 seats in the provincial assembly out of total 371 seats (297 general, 66 women, and 8 minorities). The erstwhile PML-Q remained on number three by securing 87 seats. In addition, the independent candidates shared 34 seats, and the rest went to small political parties. The detail is provided in fig 9.3 below:

Fig 9.3: The chart showing party position in PA of Punjab during 2008 elections



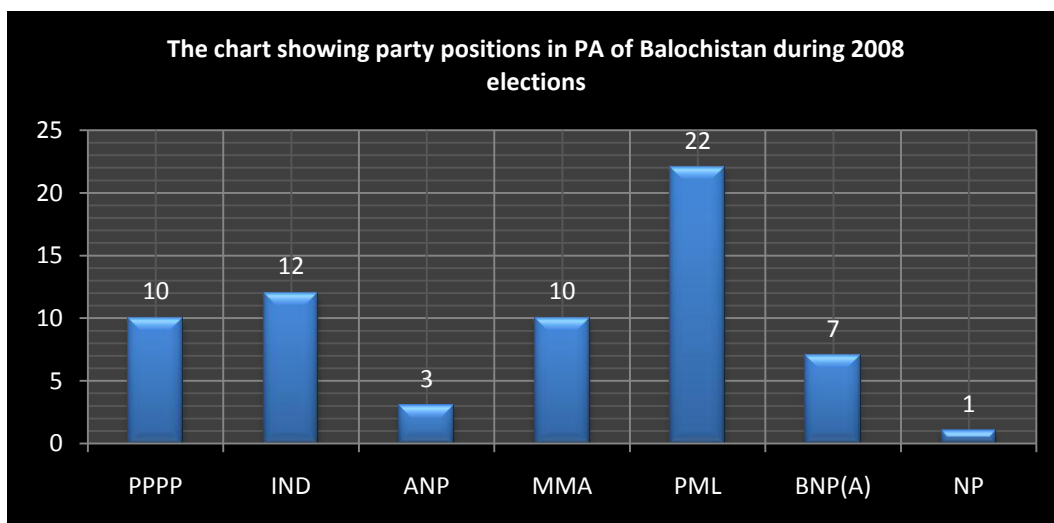
Similarly, the majority party at federal level also claimed victory in provincial assembly of Sindh by acquiring 91 seats out of total 168 (130 general, 29 women, and 9 minorities). The second largest party was the MQM that got 51 seats. The PML and PML-F obtained 12, and 9 seats respectively. ANP and NPP also shared 2 seats each (see fig 9.4).

Fig 9.4: The chart showing party position in PA of Sindh during 2008 elections



Nevertheless, the hitherto losing party PML at federal and in three provinces, emerged as victorious in provincial assembly of Balochistan by securing 22 seats out of total 65(51 general, 11 women, and 3 minorities). Similarly, the MMA, the PPPP, and BNP (Awami), obtained 10, 10, and 7 seats respectively. The remaining seats went to independents and small parties. The detail is given in fig 9.5 below:

Fig 9.5: The chart showing party position in PA of Balochistan during 2008 elections



### Government Formation

In 2008 election, the majority party PPPP formed coalition government with the PML-N, ANP, MQM, and some independent members at the federal level. However, after being elected unanimously by the National Assembly, Yousaf Raza Gilani of the PPPP

became Prime Minister on March 25, 2008. Similarly, the assembly also unanimously elected the first ever woman speaker (Dr. Fahmida Mirza) of the national assembly of Pakistan. Nevertheless, this coalition government could not survive due to political differences between PML-N and PPPP and by August 2008, the PML-N withdrew from the Federal Government and decided to sit in the opposition. However, the coalition government lead by PPPP continued with the help of MQM, the ANP, JUI-F, independent members and later PML. Meanwhile, after the resignation of President Pervez Musharraf, the Presidential election was held in September and Asif Ali Zardari, co-chairman of the PPP, was elected by defeating the PML-N nominee.

Similarly, in 2008 elections, initially in Punjab province, a coalition government was formed lead by the PML-N that continued even after the PML-N left the coalition government at the federal level. However, there created political differences between two parties and the coalition government of the PPPP and the PML-N ended and the PML-N continued to rule Punjab comfortably with the help of dissent members of Pakistan Muslim League.

In the Sindh Provincial Assembly, PPPP was in majority and therefore it formed government with MQM and ANP. Similarly, in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, the majority party ANP formed coalition government with the help of PPPP. In Balochistan province also, PPPP managed to form coalition government with the help of BNP-A. These federal and provincial governments passed through different tests due to their nature being coalition governments and completed their tenure in March 2013.

## The Election 2013

### Background

The coalition government lead by PPPP had to face several problems from the very first day. First, the coalition formed between PPPP and PML-N could not survive on differences on the restoration of Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhary, co-chairman of PPPP Asif Ali Zardari becoming president of Pakistan, high inflation, and price hiking in energy sector, and not implementing the court orders. However, even after restoration of Chief Justice, the coalition could not survive, but the differences enhanced further when after Shahbaz Sharif became disqualified from the office of CM of Punjab in high court's verdict, the then President Asif Ali Zardari imposed Governor Rule in Punjab until new Chief Minister is elected from the assembly.

Although the PPPP lead government had to face several issues regarding deteriorating economy, high inflation, energy shortfall, terrorism and corruption, however, the government also achieved some landmarks such as 7<sup>th</sup> National Finance Commission Award, 18<sup>th</sup> constitutional amendment, successful income support program (BISP), etc. The constitution reform committee formed includes representatives from all the political groups having representation in the two houses of parliament which worked on this draft for nine months and changed 95 articles into constitution in 2010. Under the 18<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Amendment the government has given much demanded provincial autonomy to the provinces by abolishing the Concurrent List from the constitution. First time, the National Finance Commission (NFC) Award was successfully implemented in consultation with all provinces to ensure equal distribution of financial resources.

Moreover, during this period, the PPPP leadership claimed that they PPP promoted a healthy democratic culture by shunning politics of victimisation and vendetta, and it is also largely true because after PML-N left the coalition, PML joined PPPP as junior coalition partner in federal government. However, Over these years, this coalition style of government made PPPP leadership to remain preoccupied with keeping this coalition intact with political parties like MQM, ANP, JUI-F and PML-Q from time to time. Although PPPP leadership recounted unprecendet 2010-2011 flood and Swat military operation as their major hurdles for not reviving economy, however, miappropriations and meritless appointments in state enterprises like PIA, Steel Mills, Railways and OGRA proved to be act of corruption on the part of government.

Government also failed to impliment court decesions regarding NRO and other graft cases against President, that also remained bone of contention between government and higher judiciary. Nevertheless, the indepence of Election Commission, formation of caretaker governments and smooth transition of power could also be regarded as the achievements of this government. In March 2013, governments completed their tenure and President announced fresh elections to national assembly and all provincial assemblies to be held on May 11, 2013.

## The Contending Players

In 2013 general elections, the major contending players were the ruling party PPPP, the opposition Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz and newly emerged Pakistan Tehrik-i-Insaf of Imran Khan. PPPP participated in elections under the leadership of Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, while his father Asif Ali Zardari had been barred for running the campaign due to constitutional bindings enforced by Election Commission and backed by higher judiciary. The former coalition parties like PPPP and PML of Chaudhry Shaujaat Hussain made seat adjustment formula to contest 2013 elections. Although Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz made electoral understanding with nationalist parties of Sindh including Pakistan Muslim League-Functional in Sindh, however, it participated in May 11 elections separately. A dissent faction of Pakistan Muslim League, known as PML-Hamkhalay joined hands with PML-N.

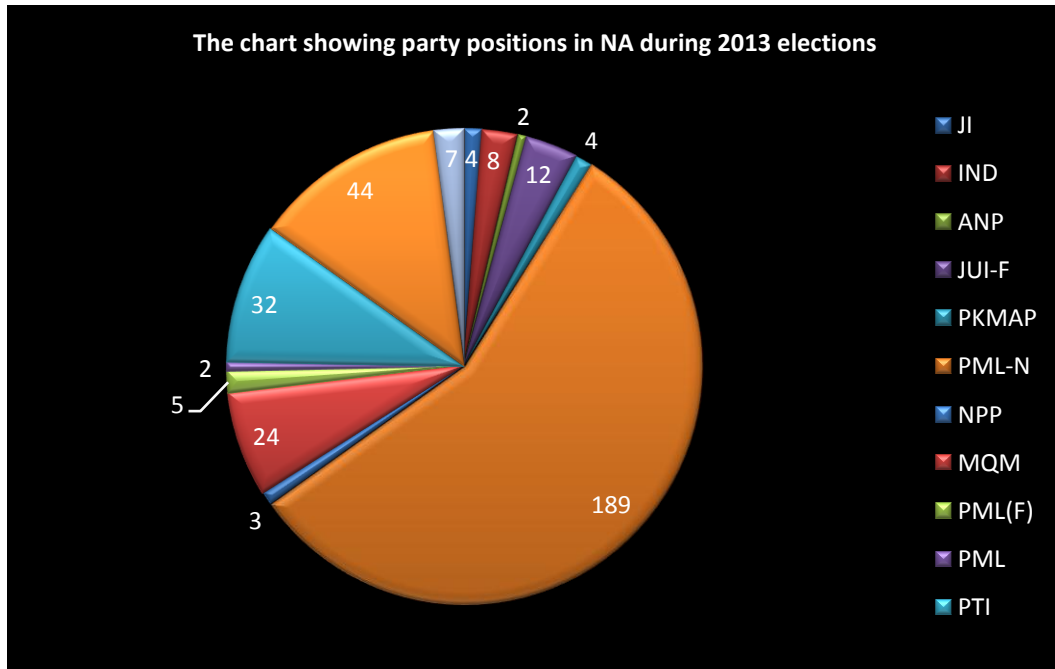
Although PTI of Imran Khan participated in 1997, 2002 elections and it boycotted 2008 elections, and it did not attract the voters, however, in May 2013, the party emerged as mainstream political party with seemingly enormous support of people especially youth. In addition, PTI formed political understanding with Jamat-i-Islami and newly formed religious party Majlis Wahdatul Muslemeen, Pakistan (MWMP). Other regional parties such as Awami National Party, Mutahida Qaumi Movement, Balochistan National Party (Awami, & Mengal), National party, Pakhtunkhwa Mili Awami Party and several others participated separately in elections. All Pakistan Muslim League of General (rted) Musharraf boycotted elections due to arrest of its leadership. Aftab Sherpao's new party named Qaumi Watan Party participated from KPK. Another significant party in 2013 elections was the JUI of Fazal-ur Rehman chapter.

## Election Results

During 2013 elections, the voter turnout much improved and remained 55 percent. PML-N emerged as the single largest party whose total figure reached to 189 seats (including, the reserved seats for women and non-Muslims, and joined independents) out of total 342 seats (272 general, 60 women, and 10 minorities). The erstwhile ruling party at center and in Sindh and Balochistan, PPPP remained second largest party with 44 seats. PPPP lost election in Punjab badly and could grab only couple of seats in national assembly.

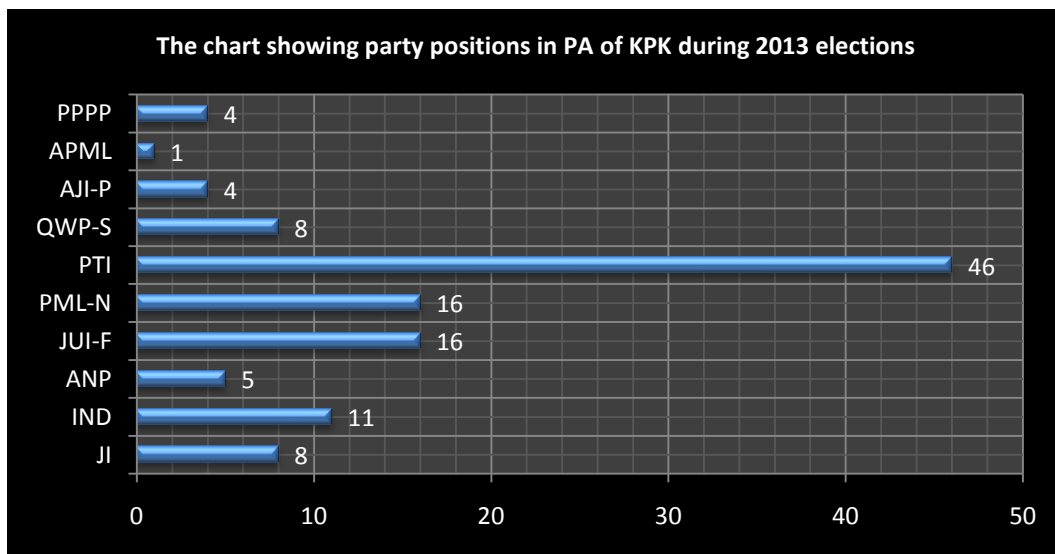
The newly surged PTI of Imran Khan was being seen as potential competitor of PML-N in Punjab, and it proved also in vote count, however, failed to get much seats in national assembly. PTI secured only 32 seats, and majority of these seats were too from KPK province. The MQM urban constituency provided it the uniform figure of 24 seats, while JUI-F, PML-F, and PkMAP obtained 12, 5, and 4 seats respectively. In addition, after joining ruling parties of their choice, there remained 8 independent candidates. Small parties shared the rest of the seats. Fig 10.1 provides picture of party position in NA during 2008 elections.

Fig 10.1: The chart showing party position in NA during 2013 elections



In 2013 elections, this time, PTI emerged as single largest party in the provincial assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and it secured 46 seats out of total 124 seats (99 general, 22 women, and 3 minorities). It was followed by PML-N and JUI-F that obtained 16 seats each. MMA was able to get only 14 seats this time. Similarly, QWS (Sherpao), JIP, ANP, PPPP, and AJI-P obtained 8, 8, 5, 4 and 4 seats respectively. In addition, there were 11 members elected as the independent candidates. The chart 10.2 describes the party position in KPK assembly.

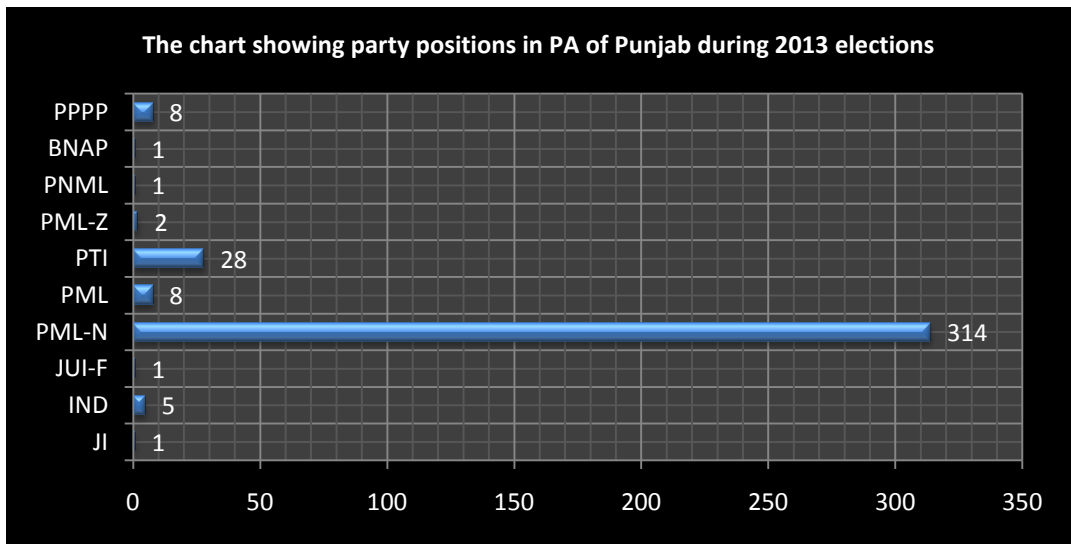
Fig 10.2: The chart showing party position in PA of KPK during 2013 elections





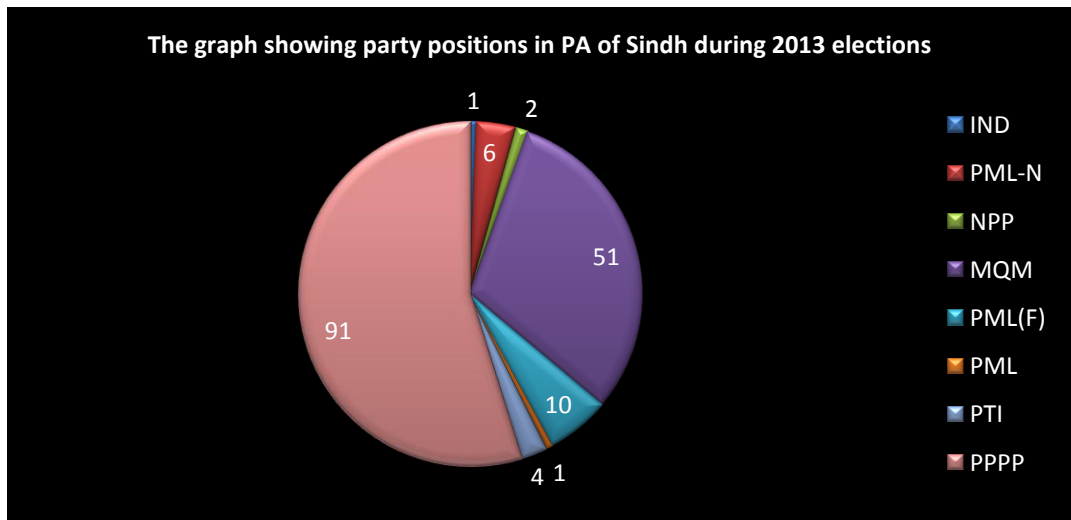
Similarly, on the provincial level at Punjab, PML-N claimed victory with 314 seats (including, the reserved seats for women and non-Muslims, and joined independents) followed by PTI that secured total 28 seats in the provincial assembly out of total 371 seats (297 general, 66 women, and 8 minorities). The PPPP lost elections badly and could win just 8 seats. PML of Chaudhry Shaujaat Hussain also lost this election and obtained only 8 seats. The remaining seats went to small political parties and independent candidates. The detail is provided in fig 10.3 below:

Fig 10.3: The chart showing party position in PA of Punjab during 2013 elections



Nonetheless, PPPP that lost 2013 election completely at center and three provinces namely Punjab, KPK, and Balochistan, emerged as the single largest party in provincial assembly of Sindh by acquiring 91 seats out of total 168 (130 general, 29 women, and 9 minorities).

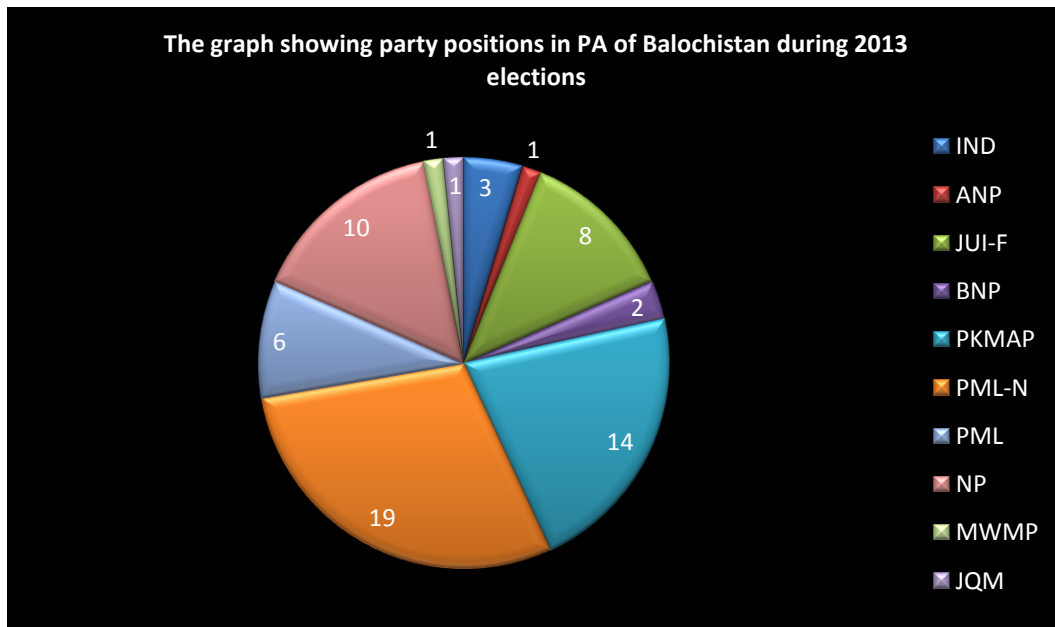
Fig 10.4: The chart showing party position in PA of Sindh during 2013 elections



The second largest party was the MQM that got 51 seats. The PML-F and PML-N obtained 10, and 6 seats respectively. PTI and NPP also shared 4 and 2 seats each (see fig 10.4).

Nevertheless, in the Balochistan provincial assembly, the election results did not accorded any clear mandate to any single party. However, PML-N emerged as majority party by securing 19 seats out of total 65(51 general, 11 women, and 3 minorities). Similarly, the PkMAP, the NP, JUI-F and PML obtained 14, 10, 8, and 6 seats respectively. The remaining seats went to independents and small parties. The detail is given in fig 10.5 below:

Fig 10.5: The chart showing party position in PA of Balochistan during 2013 elections



### Government Formation

In 2013 elections, Pakistan Muslim league of mian Nawaz Sharif emerged as majority party and it won almost whole Punjab, although it failed to gain popular support from other three provinces. However, PML-N formed a coalition government at federal with the support of JUI-F, PkMAP, NP, NPP, PML-F and many independent candidates. MQM also entrusted its unconditional support to PML-N for electing Mian Nawaz Sharif as Prime Minister of Pakistan for the third time. However, this time the government formations in provinces were interesting, because in KPK province, PTI formed the coalition government with the help of Jamat-i-Islami Pakistan and Qaumi Watan Party-Sherpao. Pervez Khatak of PTI became the chief minister of KPK. In Punjab provinces, PML-N solely formed government and Shahbaz Sharif became chief minister third time in Punjab province.

In Sindh, PPP got majority and formed government solely after MQM refused to join government and Syed Qaim Ali Shah became chief minister. In Balochistan, there formed coalition government comprising of three major parties like PML-N, NP and PkMAP and Dr. Abdul Malik Baloch of national party became chief minister. In this way, after 2013 general elections, at provincial level, there are four different types of governments with different style, ideology, and history.