

Electoral Politics of Pakistani People's Party in Punjab With Special Reference to General Election 2008

Abstract

This study attempts to analyze Pakistan People's party's electoral politics and campaigning with special reference to General Election 2008 in the province of the Punjab. This election has been significant in the electoral history of Pakistan because PPP showed signs of revival in the province after some time. This election in Pakistan was also significant because it demonstrated the continuity of electoral process which was restarted in 1988 and helped strengthen the democracy in the country. The charter of Democracy had provided a strong platform for the main stream parties to fight against dictatorship and even after the sudden death of Benazir Bhutto that agreement continued and both parties made seat adjustments during the election campaign. This policy of seat adjustment helped PMLN to win more seats than PPP and thus PPP lost initiative in the Punjab though remained successful at the Centre. Therefore, this paper tries to understand the electoral politics in Punjab and the role of PPP in the general election of 2008 in the province of the Punjab. The underlying hypothesis of this paper is that PPP failed to capitalize the political vacuum created by the PMLN leaders because of their exile from Pakistan.

The study also conducted to investigate the place and position of the Pakistan People's Party in the political fabric of the province of the Punjab which had been under question for a long time because of the popularity of the Pakistan Muslim League and the unique leadership of Nawaz Sharif. The Paper also to find out that the People party though had not been in a position to form the Government at the provincial level since 1977 but had been one of the main popular parties in the province. Therefore, the election campaign and results are obvious proof that PPPP has been one of the main political parties in the Province and was in a position to form a coalition government which it preferred to form with the PML (N) because both these parties had concluded a Charter of Democracy in 2007 and had been cooperating with each other on various issues.

Introduction

An election is a process of decision-making by which the populace decides an individual to become the part of Government. This is the modern method which is commonly used by the modern democracies to fill up the offices in the legislature, to extent in executive, judiciary and for regional and local government. This practice also exercised in clubs to associations and corporation as well to elect or choose public office holders. Under the system of democracy the people elect their representatives who form the government. The process of election of the representative by the people is called an election that is held at regular intervals of two, four or more years.¹

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A voter or elector is when any citizen exercises his or her right to vote. The actual choice which a voter exercises for the right to vote is called voting. This process of voting is called polling. When the people as a whole do exercises this right to vote to elect their representative, then it becomes election. The body of voters depends upon the law of the franchise which be at variance from country to country throughout the World.

Role of Political Parties in Electoral Process

The political parties are necessary in any form of democracy. Dr. Finer rightly remarks, "Without parties an electorate would be either important or destructive by embarking on impossible policies that would only wreck the political machine."²

Pakistan has a multiple party system. The overabundance of political parties most of which is without a substantial public backing and are regional, lacking in national roots, have consistently blocked the way of democracy. They impede the smooth functioning of the larger parties by their non political and undemocratic tactics. These parties compromise on principles for small benefits thus damaging the political and democratic process. The political parties, shallow in their outlook, with no programme of national uplift and promotion of general welfare and lacking in political vision are the scourge of Pakistan's political system. The story of party politics is the story of confrontation, a story of endeavors to oust the ruling party, be it through the democratic method of vote of no confidence which has also become undemocratic because of the methods employed to achieve the purpose, through threats of long marches, or demonstrations or organized movements launched to force out the rulers.

There is a close relationship between election and political parties. Electoral system and party systems mutually interact. Political parties play a main role to provide guidance to the electorates and for political choice. The electoral system affects the political life of a country mainly through its political parties. Political parties are institutions, which usually contest elections to seek to gain the decisions making authority inside the state. The difference between the Political party and pressure groups is that to influence the government for specific vested interests but political party intend to secure the levers of power. In Weber's phrase, "Parties live in a house of Power."³

Being a multi party system 49 political parties has contested the election 2008. Therefore, in the presence of a large number of political parties and independent candidates, the situation was quite strange and confusing. Major political parties like Pakistan People's Party now as the parliamentarians, two major groups of former Pakistan Muslim League; Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz Group) and Pakistan Muslim League (Quaid-I-Azam). Besides this, many other factions of the Muslim League, a strong alliance of religious groups MMA and other parties ANP, PAT, PTI, were also contesting.⁴ In Punjab the situation was same party wise as in center but the main competition took place among only three main parties and the Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarian (here on referred as PPP) was one of them.⁵

Pakistan People's Party: Foundation and Legacy

The Pakistan People's Party was production of Popular sentiments against military regime of General Ayub Khan, on 30th November, 1967 with a new concept for new party was that It would be essentially nationalist, the basic guide to all problems, being the teaching of the Quaid-I-Azam, this party will target masses and will give youngsters with fresh minds the opportunity to resolve the financial, economic and social problems of the country keeping their self-interest aside. It would serve first as a polarizing center for the progressive forces and then a catalyst around which multiple interests and classes could unite to restore democracy.⁶

In Pakistan's Political context, Bhutto and his supporters represented a progressive force. They had spoken since the end of dictatorship, feudalism and monopoly capitalism, they had demanded the restoration of the freedom of the press; they have provided opportunities to the leftist intellectuals, suppressed for too long, to express themselves again and above all. They legitimized the slogan of socialism, which had been a taboo in Pakistan. The task of organizing the party at grass roots levels was shouldered mainly by these political workers and the new cadres recruited by them. They spread out in the countryside and in the urban mohalas to organize the party. A sounding slogan, Islam is our faith, Democracy is our policy. Socialism is our economy was designed to appeal the various hopes, fears and prejudices.⁷ The party drafted a document which very crudely described the party's social democratic program for solving the people's programme. The party adopted the slogan of bread, cloth and house, (Roti, Kapra aur Makan). The core purpose of this party was to remove class distance from the society which was only possible through socialism.⁸ The party aimed to introduce "real democracy" for which the first condition was the abolition of privileges and the transfer of power to the people. It is believed that political privileges were inseparable related to economic privileges and inequalities.⁹

In the 1970 Elections, the PPP came out as the leading political party in West Pakistan with a total of 81 seats, which was itself a great achievement. Later on, 06 seats reserved for women were also won by the PPP, and thus, the number of its assembly members became 87. Bhutto remained in power as the Prime Minister till 4th July, 1977. When the PPP came to power in Pakistan at the most critical moment of its history, side by side with the immense internal task of inspiring the people of Pakistan with confidence in their future under a system of Pakistan institutions based on social justice, President Bhutto was obliged to undertake at the same time the rehabilitation abroad of the image of Pakistan as a country possessing the determination as well as the capacity to survive country with an assured and prosperous future.¹⁰

Later on, Bhutto was sentenced to death in a murder case. His wife Nusrat Bhutto, daughter Benazir Bhutto was arrested and after the death of Bhutto they left the country. Benazir Bhutto returned to Pakistan on 10th April, 1986. Here she contested the general election which were held in 1988, and bagged 39% votes and became the Prime Minister. Unfortunately, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan took over her government. Interestingly, she remained in government for just 5 years and gave 11 years of her life to revive and rebuild the party.¹¹

In the election 2002, Pakistan People's Party contested the election with the changed name from PPP to PPPP (Parliamentarians) to avoid disqualifications. In the election, Benazir Bhutto was not in the country, her husband Asif Ali Zardari was in the prison. The second line leadership was fragmented and unorganized; however, the party was in the election under the leadership of Makhdoom Amin Fahim.

Getting Prepared For General Elections in Punjab

When all the political parties were working on an efficient strategy to stop General Pervez Musharraf from getting re-elected as a President, Pakistan People's Party was busy in getting prepared for the General Elections; in fact it also started electing the candidates.

The Pakistan People's Party always has been in winning position in Sindh throughout electoral history but extra efforts were done to get more seats not only from Sindh but also from KPK in the general elections, but the concern was to get more and more seats from the Punjab that was big challenge because Punjab was in lap of Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz). In the last elections, PML-N and PML-Quaid received all the votes from Punjab. If PML-N does not participate in this election then there was a huge possibility that all the votes will go for PML-Quaid. That's why, Benazir Bhutto who was the Chairperson of PPP tried to convince PML-N for participating in the elections and she was finally successful in it. Muttahida Majli-e-Amal received 6% of total votes in Punjab but the experts were of the view that switching these voters will no benefit PPP as these voters will support Musharraf instead of PPP mainly because the party did not supported Kalabagh Dam.

Ticket Awarding Strategy

Ticket awarding to the politicians for election has been very interesting in case of 'fund raising' tool in political parties. The main leadership PPPP was in exile, it was decided to start the process of allotting tickets for election to be started from June 2007 and the candidates will be interviewed by chairperson personally in Dubai. For this purpose the provincial executive committees, Central Executive Committee (CEC) and Federal Council (FC) was summoned in Dubai.¹²

A new policy was introduced by updating the policy used in 2002 Elections for setting qualification criterion to give tickets. According to the new strategy, all those individuals who lost the seats by 5,000 or more votes in National Assembly and 3,000 or more votes in Provincial Assembly in General Elections held in 2002, will be considered ineligible for receiving tickets. Most of the political leaders had reservations over this policy as this policy could harm the whole process of arranging elections. Under this policy most of the party leaders and candidates especially from urban areas will not be able to participate in the elections. There were total of 13 female MPAs in the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) but only two among them applied in NA in direct elections instead of getting registered on reserved seats.¹³

The PPP faced hard time in deciding whether to give Ghulam Mustafa Khar and Aitzaz party tickets for the upcoming elections. In fact, the party

conducted a special meeting to take decision but the meeting also couldn't give any results. Finally, Aitzaz was given party ticket for NA124 seat in Lahore but Khar was not able to get party ticket due to his statement regarding Benazir Bhutto, the Chairperson of the party in which he said that she should take care of the sentiments of party workers and general public while discussing any national issues.¹⁴

After seeing the list of nominated candidates, it is very easy to figure out that the tickets were given on references and relationships not on merit. There are various examples in this regard. For instance, PMLN Chairman Raja Zafar ul Haq and his son finalized to contest in NA49 Islamabad and PP3 Kahuta respectively. The General Secretary of Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians (PPPP) Raja Pervez Asharaf was given ticket in NA51 Gujar Khan, whereas his son has contested from the same constituency at the provincial level. From Chakwal two sisters, Fauzia Behram and Palwasha Behram were the candidates of PPP and Union Council Nazim Anjum Paracha got PPP ticket for his younger brother Aamir Paracha for NA66.¹⁵

Politics of Seat Adjustment

Charter of Democracy paved way to the politics of reconciliation and mutual existence for the political life in current Musharraf led regime. Both Parties agreed seat-to-seat adjustments where they had a shot at winning, and vice-versa.¹⁶ PPP and PML-N both have completed seat adjustment in 25 constituencies in addition to Haripur and on one constituency each with ANP in Swabi and Bannu.¹⁷ Both the parties had contested last elections in the absence of their leadership as Benazir Bhutto was in self exile while Mian Nawaz Sharif had left country after a pact with the government in 2000.¹⁸

The PPP has not put up its ticket holders for nine seats and has as many as 263 candidates in the field, while the PML-N has no nominees in 49 constituencies and has 223 contestants in the run. The PPP has no candidates in six constituencies of the NWFP and three of the Punjab while it is contesting all the National Assembly seats of Sindh and Balochistan. The constituencies where the PPP has no nominees include NA 72 (Mianwali), NA 74 (Bhakkar) and NA 90 (Jhang) of Punjab.

Announcement for election: The general elections announced to be held on January 8, 2008. The chief Election Commissioner guaranteed fair and unbiased elections. He also requested the general public and also the political parties especially the candidates to cooperate with Election Commission in order to complete this whole process peacefully.¹⁹ It was also made clear that leaders like former premier Nawaz Sharif and Shahbaz Sharif will not be able to participate in upcoming elections if they fail to return back to Pakistan till November 26, 2007.²⁰ Unfortunately, due to tragic death of Benazir Bhutto in Rawalpindi followed violent protests in different parts of the country, the Election Commission decided that elections should be delayed till February 18, 2008 as the current political scenario is not good for conducting elections but the PPP and few other parties were against the delay.²¹

Manifesto

Manifesto is declaration of the intentions, motives, or views individual, group, political party and government to develop public opinion. Benazir Bhutto formally launched the manifesto for the election; the party gave weight focusing to education, employment, energy, equality and environment which named as "5 Es", for the better and prosperous future of country. The popular focal point in addition with three new additions of education, energy and employment in manifesto, however, remained the party's popular slogan of "Roti, Kapra aur Makan" or "Food, Clothing and Shelter". Almost all the 36 points of Charter of Democracy were given prominent space in manifesto, covered the whole major issues that country was facing that time.

It was affirmed that employment opportunities be created for educated youth would be given one-year employment. To counter the challenge of energy and water crises in country, construction of small dams and power generation would be promoted and the menace of load-shedding would be ended. The education curriculum will also be revised in line with modern education and would not turn the religious seminaries into arms depots or military headquarters to impose their will on the people. To expand micro finance in the country so that as many as 5 million people could borrow money to generate incomes.

The other important parts were emphasized in manifesto to gain vote and to make public opinion popular are equal rights for citizen, independent judiciary empowerment of women, minorities, health sector, national insurance scheme, support the rights of Kashmiri people²², terrorism, provincial autonomy..²³

Final List of Contesting Candidates

Election Commission followed a proper procedure to review all the applications and accepted those which were complete from all respect. The scrutiny process lasted for a few days from November 27 to December 3, 2008 after which a total of 12443 applications were accepted. Election Commission rejected the applications of 916 candidates including Pakistan Muslim League-N leaders Mian Nawaz Sharif and Mian Shahbaz Sharif. Application forms for 665 candidates who applied under reserved seats for women and minorities were also accepted.²⁴ The final list of 9000 candidates was then issued who fought for 1070 seats in national and all four provincial assemblies. In this election, roughly 81,000,000 voters have participated for selecting 272 candidates for National Assembly and 577 candidates for all provincial assemblies.²⁵

While in Punjab total 3300 candidates are contested for 148 seats in National Assembly and 297 seats in Punjab Assembly. According to the Election Commission, 5954 candidates from Punjab submitted their application forms for National Assembly and Provincial Assembly and seats and only 1841 applications were accepted for NA and 2182 for provincial assembly were accepted.²⁶

In the National Assembly 60 seats were reserved for women and 10 seats for Non-Muslims and the candidates for the reserved seats women and Non-Muslims in the National Assembly and in Punjab Assembly seats, 66 reserved for women and 8 seats for non-Muslims, were required to submit their nomination

papers and finally the list of 12 women for National Assembly and 18 women for Punjab Assembly and for minority side PPP nominated 2 candidates for election Punjab declared eligible with the designated Returning Officers.²⁷

The remaining 13 were Ms Nishat Afza, Ms Saghira Islam, Justice (r) Talat Yaqoob, Ms Azma Bokhari, Ms Samina Naveed, Ms Faiza Ahmed, Ms Farzana Raja, Ms Noorun Nisa Malik, Ms Najmi Saleem, Ms Sabiha Begum, Ms Saima Bokhari, Ms Memoona Nabeel and Ms Azra Bano. Syeda Abida Hussain declared as candidate from Jhang against Federal Kashmir Affairs Minister Syed Faisal Saleh Hayat.

The Role of Army, Police and Rangers

The chairperson of Pakistan People's Party Benazir Bhutto demanded that elections must be held under the army's supervision, suspending local governments which are question mark at that time and restrict the appointment of volunteers at polling booths.²⁸ Due to threats of violence, the government and law enforcement authorities decided that services of police and rangers be taken to control security in sensitive polling stations across the country.²⁹ It was made a part of security plan for the election that the Punjab Police had been deployed 209,469 security personnel at 38,569 polling stations across the province to ensure fair, free, law and order for peaceful general in country. Moreover 3,859 mobile teams equipped with modern weapons and thousands of policemen on motorcycles to patrol sensitive areas throughout the Election Day.³⁰ The police was 'fully prepared' to deal with any situation and no one would be allowed to disturb peace on the Election Day. Police commandoes and elite force personnel were deployed in all sensitive areas of the province.³¹

The polling mechanism for National and Provincial seats has been finalized by Election Commission Pakistan. There were over 80.9 million voters across the country and 64,176 polling stations. Whereas in Punjab, roughly 37,504 polling stations were created in 2002 elections for 148 National Assembly seats and 37,431 polling stations were dedicated to 297 seats for Punjab Assembly. There are 44,485,896 registered voters in 2008 from 4, 126, 8876 voters in 2002. EC expected to create 37,636 polling stations countrywide.³²

Election Campaign

Election campaign refers to performing arts a directly or indirectly necessary and effective act for obtaining votes or for making another person be or not be elected in a specific election. Pakistan, in this respect, stands apart.³³ Election campaigns are the most important aspect of the electoral process. They are shaped by social and political dynamics and serve two main purposes: they offer insight into the operational norms of political competition in a political system; and promote political education of the voters who are exposed to the perspectives of different political parties and are faced with societal pressures for making political choices.³⁴ It is the way political parties and individual contestants operate in the field, and potential voters respond to their respective election strategies that provide the substance of an election. An election campaign is a very strong indicator of the free and fair opportunity available to the contestants for soliciting votes, as well as the dichotomous or multi-pronged nature of the contest

and the ability of party leadership to influence voters and change their preferences prior to voting. Not surprisingly, opinion polls increasingly rely on a rolling thunder, design of survey to judge the effect of a party campaign or the media on the voters.³⁵

This dichotomous model of election methodologies can be applied to the major political parties operating in Pakistan in the year 2008. The chasing strategies were adopted by the two mainstream parties and to some extent by the established ethnic parties. These were based on the idea of vote maximization in general and a focus on the un-aligned voter in particular. This approach was subsumed under the overall theme of party identification with higher moral principles, such as the proverbial poor man, ethnic and tribal brotherhood, or the legacy of the Muslim Nationalist struggle in British India. As opposed to this, Islamic parties represented by the MMA essentially addressed their core voters, used ideology as a vehicle for propaganda and relied on party organizations to reach out to the electorate.³⁶ While the former relied on symbolism to preserve its status quo orientation, the latter depended on instrumentalism to support its commitment to change.

The countrywide marches and speeches at large, public meetings were not allowed hence candidates adopted haphazard canvassing tactics and strategy. The publicity campaign for Election 2008 increasingly reflected the same approach. Business of audio cassettes and speeches of their favorite leaders but it seems very slow as compared to the previous elections held in the country. The candidate adopted different strategies to approach to their voters; they held corner meetings, made seat adjustment to other parties or candidates. The People's Party hited the Punjab for two time as campaign strategy, Benazir Bhutto first of all made a historic visit to South Punjab and then she entered in Punjab from Peshawar that proved her last at Rawalpindi.

The personality and charisma of the party leader, the party manifesto, policy statements and the dynamics of constituency politics are common tools that are invoked by political parties and candidates to mobilize both individuals and organizations. And, of course, election campaigns often carry an air of festivity, especially for teenagers. The election campaign started as a low-key political activity by individual candidates who aspired to get nominations from major political parties. They interacted with influential people and political activists and tried to win them over. The process then picked up after the return to Pakistan of Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif. This gave a major boost to the candidates, activists and party workers of the PPP and the PMLN.³⁷ Benazir Bhutto visited Punjab for the purpose of campaign twice; she covered South Punjab in first phase addressing many processions and the second phase was to enter in Punjab after KPK started from Rawalpindi that was her last election campaign and she lost her blood for the sake of democracy.

Role of Leadership in Campaign

In any campaign in Pakistan, the role of the top leadership is central and crucial. Top leaders travel extensively to address public rallies, talk to party activists and candidates and meet with the local elite. The local and district party

organizations, especially the candidates of the concerned areas, are responsible for bringing crowds to the rallies and raising finances locally to cover the expenses of such an event. There is very little, if any, funding from the central party edifice. Individual donations are made by affluent members in various forms, such as covering the expenses of one aspect of an activity or event. A transporter, thus, may provide coaches free of charge for transporting people to rallies. Ordinary supporters are not expected to make any financial contribution, although some may cover their personal expenses.³⁸

The election code of conduct disallows the partisan to use of the state machinery but the Election Commission has not always been forthright in restraining such activities. In Lahore, all have witnessed PMLQ posters and signboards posted in large numbers on billboards, public walls and along the main roads, Police personnel have been undeniably involved in putting up these posters. Other parties, even those with strong electoral history in the city, have not been able to get much public space for their campaign. There are strong indications that the Lahore District Nazim, belonging to the PMLQ, has used his position to facilitate his party's campaign.

In the course of campaigning, a party's top leadership raises nation-wide issues including increased economic pressures on the masses price hikes and shortages of critical items and the disturbed law and order situation. Terrorism, especially in the tribal areas and Swat, has become a vital issue as well for any campaign. Issues of free and fair elections, democracy, constitutionalism and the role of the military are also being played upon, not to mention increased electricity load-shedding.³⁹

However, foreign policy issues apart from terrorism in and around Pakistan such as policies related to India, have been conspicuously absent from the campaign with the exception of Islamic political parties who are criticizing US policies in Afghanistan. While the opposition has criticized Pervez Musharraf vehemently, the PMLQ has generally avoided mentioning his name. With the exception of a couple of statements by Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain and Chaudhry Pervez Elahi in praise of Musharraf, the PMLQ has noticeably attempted to distance itself from the president in public meetings.⁴⁰ Its leaders have been talking of the development carried out by their government without making any reference to Musharraf, perhaps to save themselves from the public anger that has built up against the president.

Top party leaders of PPPP also referred their respective election manifestos while advertising their future plans. However, it is also true that the personality, conduct and public statements of a leader have a greater impact on voters than the actual content of the manifesto.⁴¹ There is another level of campaigning where a more grassroots approach is adopted. This takes place at the constituency level where a party's candidate focuses on the constituency's issues. The issues that receive attention in this approach relate to the provision of civic amenities, personal security, excesses of the police and the bureaucracy, poverty, underdevelopment, employment issues and medical facilities. Though the portraits of the top leaders and party symbols are displayed everywhere, the focus remains local.⁴²

Biradarism is most important winning factor in electoral politics which is being exercised throughout the electoral history of Pakistan. In such an approach, the candidate has to take into account the social composition of the constituency. In Pakistani electoral politics it is crucial to identify the influential people and the biradari or clan/caste composition of the areas concerned. At the time of elections, inter- and intra-clan or biradari schisms are invoked for mobilization. There have been instances of community leaders negotiating favours from candidates and, in return, offering their biradari or clan votes. Given the importance of this aspect, political parties often take into account social and ethnic dynamics of constituencies before nominating candidates.⁴³

Street slogans have always been the hallmark of Pakistan's electioneering process. In election 2008, there were some interesting slogans which caught the imagination of public at large. Some slogans that were often heard by the public:

Teer badlay ga taqdeer, Aai gi Benazir

(Arrow will change the fortunes and Benazir will return)

Charon Soobon Ki Zangir Benazir Benazir

(Symbol of Federation and Unity)

Her Ghar Sy Bhutto Nikle Ga Tum Kitne Bhutto Maro gy

The chair Person of Pakistan People's Party Benazir Bhutto introduce new slogan for first time at Muzaffar Garh "*Chahta Hai Har Insaan, Ilm, Roshni, Kaam* (Every human being wants knowledge, electricity and work", and "*Chahta Hai Har Insaan, Roti Kapra Aur Makaan* (Every individual needs bread, clothes and house)".⁴⁴

Politics in Pakistan is also categorized as 'politics of Passions', so to attract the voters, poets also contributed in campaign. The poet's poetry writings boosted the sentiment of voter to consolidate their affiliation for vote. The poets like Zafar Ali Raja, Dr.Inamul Haq, Farooq Ahmad, Haji Laq Laq, Toor Sarhadi and Nayyer Mashidi with the titles lootey, Faisla Zameer Ka Vote Benazir ka, Teer Pe Likhi Taqdeer, Bhutto Mear Sheir Aey, Tareeki Mian Ujaley ki Umeed and Election Train.⁴⁵

Campaign Financing

Political parties collect finance for campaigns and other party related activities from its members in the form of membership and also from other individuals as a donations but the donor must hold a Pakistani nationality. Articles 2(c)(iii) and 6(3) of political parties order 2002 states that political parties have to reveal their party accounts to ECP along with details of sources from which the party generate finance. Even though political parties can financially support the campaigns of all its candidates, yet it is a norm that the candidate gather finance him which makes it difficult for those candidates who have weak financial background.⁴⁶ The campaign period was extended which definitely increased the expenses of most of the candidates but ECP didn't mentioned ant financial limits for campaigns. The minimum spending limit was considered insufficient by almost all the candidate as they believed it is impossible to run a good campaign within

this limit.⁴⁷ Majority of the candidates accepted the fact that they spent much more than the minimum limit on their campaigns.⁴⁸

Campaign tactics

Pakistan People's Party (PPP) took the services of orators (Maulvis or Zakireen) to boost their election campaign, PML-Q candidates were so 'confident' of their victory that they started abhorring seeking votes from the electorate in the last days of their campaigning, making the mockery of the whole polling process.⁴⁹ PPP candidates have introduced yet another style of wooing the masses. They have hired the services of orators (Zakireen), who generally have immense convincing abilities. A renowned Zakir, Madah Husain Shah, is mesmerising the masses and attracting a large number of people, prominently of Shia community, while urging them to vote for PPP candidate in PP-255 Rana Mehboob Akhtar.⁵⁰

Food and Langar Khana

The business of professional cooks is also touching its heights as a number of candidates, especially of the PPP, have hired them to prepare food for a large number of people visiting their election offices. The PML-Q candidates seem disinterested in this practice too after some of their food shows got spoiled due to meagre attendance.

Besides all this, the candidates have hired services of cooks to prepare meals for their visitors. This has given their career a new lifeline after a large number of cooks have been hired especially by PPP candidates to continuously prepare meals for a large number of their visitors at their election offices.⁵¹

PML-Q candidate for NA-176, Malik Qasim Hunjra, who is contesting against PPP's Mian Mohsin Qureshi and PML-N's Mian Arshad Qureshi, got a meeting arranged in a Kot Addu locality where a large quantity of food was prepared and the people were requested to come and participate in his corner meeting in the garb of a 'dua' ceremony, but to his utter disappointment the trick did not work and a very thin attendance was witnessed attending what the sources called 'spiritual' ceremony. A large quantity of food spoiled as a number of people far behind expectations turned up, which also spoiled the very taste of the ceremony itself.⁵²

PPP candidates are also playing the speeches of Benazir Bhutto at their public meetings. The last speech of Benazir Bhutto in audio compact discs and audiocassettes is selling like a hot cake in this remote district.⁵³ The promises made by political parties failed to mobilize the general masses and the campaign become constituency-based. This symbolized localization of politics and the political mobilization was low.

Government was accused of pre-poll rigging by different political parties. Government ensured that it will conduct transparent elections. In fact, the PPP leadership has rightly pointed out that the local bodies.⁵⁴ The candidates who are given tickets by the political parties and who qualified for taking part in elections are real players. They are trying hard to win for their party.⁵⁵

There was clear divide between the domestic and foreign English language press, the world media in general on the one hand, and the local Urdu press on the other. The former was critical of Musharraf government's policies in pursuit of democratization but it did not carry any influence with the voters at the constituency level. The latter was selectively critical but overall 'Pragmatic'. While the newspapers and magazines covered news and views, they carried only a small number of opinion polls during the campaign.

The public was remained largely indifferent. The so-called King's parties and Alliances had an upper hand. Even as allegation of foul play and pre-poll rigging started emerging from the press, election observers, political commentators, professional associations and Human Rights Organizations, the regime forcefully denied the charges. Electoral contestants from various 'oppositionists' parties claimed their workers were harassed and even arrested, their rallies were disrupted and public meeting were directly and indirectly disturb at the behest of the government. Despite all this, they have enjoyed all the benefits from police guards to offices, telephone services to more than one vehicle with drivers when apparently they were not legally entitled to use these privileges. The worst thing was that they used government resources for addressing public gatherings and carried out their election campaign which a very unfair for all other candidates who cannot use these resources. It was clearly an open violation of election rules and it was the responsibility of the ECP to take legal action to stop this unfair behavior in order to ensure transparent, fair and impartial election. Those candidates who have utilized government resources must be disqualified for these elections.⁵⁶

Major Setbacks of Election Campaign

The election campaign has suffered four major setbacks. First, suspension of the Constitution and removal of judges of the superior courts by Musharraf in November 2007 shifted the focus from elections to broader political issues, i.e. constitutionalism, independence of the judiciary, rule of law and freedoms. Second, restrictions on the media to cover political activities have made it difficult for the media to perform its basic task of reporting and analyzing the election process and other national issues.⁵⁷

Third, the assassination of Benazir Bhutto was a major setback to electoral politics and the moderate and liberal worldview in the Pakistani context. She had emerged as the most formidable adversary of the PMLQ and the military-dominated establishment. After her death, many political activists have developed serious doubts about a peaceful political change through elections.⁵⁸ Fourth, the federal government has issued security warnings to major political leaders advising them to limit their public appearances and avoid rallies as a precaution against potential terrorist attacks. The Punjab government has banned public rallies and meetings. This has dampened election activity and enabled the administration to restrain political leaders, especially those from the opposition, from engaging in popular mobilization.⁵⁹ In the post-assassination period, election campaigns have assumed a bitter and accusatory nature as the PMLQ and the opposition charges each other with misconduct. The PMLQ published ethnically-biased newspaper advertisements to salvage its position in Punjab. This was

widely criticized by the media and political circles, forcing the PMLQ to modify its advertisements. However, the war of words persists between the PMLQ on the one hand and the PPP and PMLN on the other.⁶⁰

Bhutto's assassination has caused widespread resentment against President Musharraf and the PMLQ. There was a perceptible shift of popular support from the PMLQ to the PPP and the PMLN. If these trends persist, the possibility of the PPP and the PMLN emerging as the leading political parties cannot be ruled out. The chances of electoral humiliation for the PMLQ have created fears that the government may postpone the elections. Musharraf cannot afford to lose this election but it is difficult to salvage the political fate of the PMLQ without electoral.⁶¹

Analyzing the Campaign Costs

After the polling date got extended to February 18, 2008 by the government, the original campaign cost of each candidate doubled and even tripled in some cases. Since the elections got delayed by 40 days, the candidates have been facing a lot of hardships as they are running out of all the money they had originally kept for electioneering. As the money keeps draining out, they have no choice but to either start their campaigns again from scratch or arrange for other methods of publicity through posters and banners which would be sponsored by friends and family. In hope to keep their campaigns afloat, some have even started approaching friends and family for money to invest in their election campaigns.

The arrival of Muharram has already delayed the polling and put an unintended break in the campaigns, hence, suspending their campaigns at this point was probably a risky move for the candidates. While many candidates have resorted to a door-to-door campaign especially in the urban areas, they also compelled to maintain and run fully functioning offices which proved heavy on their pockets for they have to take into account the added costs for all the eatables, sitting arrangements, building or space rent and generators for this extended period where load shedding has become a common phenomenon. Some of the candidates have also shown concern over their lost banners and posters which has therefore added to the cost of publicity material required for their respective constituencies. Due to all these added costs, many candidates have concerned that they would eventually have to start their campaigns anew.

Publicity stuff like banners and posters has become increasingly expensive because of the use of flex technology which has flooded the market. This new technology is increasingly used by many candidates because of its clear and high quality graphics. Since security has become a rising concern today, a lot of candidates, such as PML (QA), employ the use of TV channels and newspapers to build their profile and encourage people to vote for them. This has led to an increase in business for the TV channels and newspaper outlets especially because of the attractive packages they have been offering.

It is considered a fact that election 2008 turned out to have one of the most expensive polls in history. Statistically, a candidate for the National Assembly had spent approximately 30 to 40 million on their campaign. Today, it has become a trend for the parties to select candidates for the National and Provincial assemblies

that have the material resources to fund their respective campaigns which means committed ideological workers are often over run by those that are financially more stable than them. However, if the cost of publicity itself is taken into account, this trend seems more justified than ever. While the EC has permitted a National Assembly candidate to spend 1.5 million and a Provincial Assembly candidate to spend 1 million on their campaigns, it has become clearly impossible to stay within the limit keeping in mind the shooting costs involved in publicity only.

Examining the Elections' Media Coverage

As of the recently strict regulations in media activity, a lot of journalists have resorted to toning down their critique especially regarding many areas of public interest such as the Army's role and the changing notions in the judiciary. On the other hand, the election campaign and its supporting electoral administration were well covered by many media outlets and channels. PTV News and many other private channels dedicated at least an hour every day to the comprehensive discussion and details pertaining to the elections on hand. This way the parties and their candidates got sufficient coverage for their point of views.

Some elections related programs and forums tended to crop up during the time period especially on private stations and channels hence allowing a constructive critical reception for the main contestants. While the private channels tried to cover the main parties equally, PPP still managed to get better reception as shown by statistics (AJJ 29% and ARY and Geo 26%). The polling is always the climax of all the electoral activities, both for the contesting candidates and the election managers. This was "The Day" when the outcome of electioneering became available through the verdict of electorate 18th February, 2008 was the polling day for the election 2008 in Pakistan.

Results of the Punjab Assemblies

It was seen that these election were very different from those held in the past because of the new legislation passed by the government as well as many different strict electoral laws. Many convicted people like Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif were barred from standing up in the elections this time due to the adequate depiction of the People's Act. Furthermore, having a Bachelor's degree for contesting was kept as a mandatory clause for all while the voting age was lowered to 18 years from the previously held 21 years. Hence, a drastic change came about especially since the minorities, such as the Christians and Hindus, were finally given a voice and say for the first time since 1977 in contesting and voting for all seats in the Provincial and National Assembly.

Similarly the women voters did not seem much keen and enthusiastic in casting vote on the polling day. Although "the process of polling was much slower in the morning hours but it did no gain and momentum even in the evening. Polling was peaceful and any kind of incident or unpleasant situation did not occur during polling". Pakistan People's Party secured 30%, 44 National Assembly Seats form Punjab mostly in Southern Punjab. PPPP sweep away all seat in

MuzafarGarh and Mandi Bahauddin but could not secured any seat form, Chakwal, Jhelum, Khushab, Mianwali, Bhakkar, T.T.Singh, Hafizabad, Narowal, Sheikhpura, Nankana Sahib, Pakpattan, D.G. Khan. The detail of district wise Constituencies available in appendices.

Seats for National Assembly District and Percentage Wise

Sr.	Districts	T. Seat	Gained	Percentage	SR	Districts	T. Seat	Gain ed	Percentage
1	Rawalpindi II	2	7	14%	2	Attok	3	1	33%
3	Sargodha	5	2	40%	4	Jhang	6	1	16%
5	Gujranwala	7	1	14%	6	Gujrat	4	2	50%
7	M.Bahauddin	2	2	100 %	8	Sialkot	5	1	20%
9	Lahore	23	2	15%	10	Kasur	5	1	20%
11	Okara	5	2	40%	12	Multan	6	3	50%
13	Lodhran	2	1	50%	14	Khanewal	4	1	25%
15	Shahiwal	4	2	50%	16	Vehari	4	2	50%
17	Rajanpur	2	1	50%	18	Muzaffargarh	5	5	100 %
19	Bahawalpur	5	1	20%	20	Bahawalnagar	4	3	75%
21	R.Y.Khan	6	4	67%	22	Faisalabad	11	5	45%

The Provincial Scenario also decline of seats in Punjab compare to national scene got 27%, 82 general seats and 6 seats terminated and 1 withheld. PPPP gained support from rural areas that the urbane as previous but decline in Southern Punjab. Independent candidates secured 33 seats in Punjab. The PPPP could not sweep in any district as in National Assembly in 2 constituencies won all the seats. The vote bank of PPPP is higher in rural area than in urbane because the Party's leaning and manifestoes for the middle and labour class. It is fact that PPPP could not gain enough seats in Punjab to form government but coalition government with PMLN.

The district level detail is as under:

Seats for Provincial Assembly District and Percentage Wise

Sr.	Districts	Seats	Gain ed	Percentage	Sr.	Districts	Seats	Gain ed	Percentage
1	Rawalpindi	14	2	14%	2	Attok	5	2	40%
3	Chakwal	4	0	0%	4	Jhelum	4	0	0%
5	Khushab	4	0	0%	6	Mianwali	4	0	0%
7	Bhakkar	4	0	0%	8	Sargodha	11	3	27%
9	Faisalabad	22	6	27%	10	Jhang	11	1	9%
11	T.T. Singh	7	2	28%	12	Gujranwala	14	3	21%
13	Hafizabad	3	1	33%	14	Gujrat	8	1	12%

15	M.Bahauddin	5	4	80%	16	Sialkot	11	2	18%
17	Narowal	5	0	0%	18	Lahore	25	2	8%
19	Sheikhupura	8	1	12%	20	Nankana	5	3	60%
21	Kasur	10	4	40%	22	Okara	9	2	22%
23	Multan	13	6	46%	24	Lodhran	5	2	40%
25	Khanewal	8	5	62%	26	Shahiwal	7	2	28%
27	Pakpattan	5	0	0%	28	Vehari	8	5	62%
29	D.G.Khan	7	0	0%	30	Rajanpur	4	1	25%
31	Muzaffargarh	11	6	54%	32	Ayah	5	2	40%
33	Bahawalpur	10	1	10%	34	Bahawalnagar	8	4	50%
35	R.Y.Khan	13	7	54%	Total Percentage of Seats 27%				

Pakistan People's Party-Parliamentarians (PPPP) and the PML-Nawaz (PML-N) seem to have overtaken control over the country's parliament while President Pervez Musharraf's political allies, the Pakistan Muslim League Quaid (PML-Q), seems to be in the suffering end.

Prominent Winner and Loser

Although the voting turnout was significantly low in Punjab's 35 districts, still PML- N managed to easily take over the province. Nawaz Sharif who came from exile became very popular. On his arrival to Pakistan he became the most popular leader after Benazir. Therefore, after the death of Benazir he emerged as hero of democracy and his party showed tremendous zeal to win the election in Punjab. Thus the election results of 2008 had a greatest blow for Musharraf. The following result card clearly shows the pity picture of the Musharraf's Party.

- Former speaker of National Assembly was also defeated by Firdous Ashiq Awan from Sialkot.
- Sher Afgan Niazi also lost his seat from Mianwali who was from PPPP Patriot.
- Jahangir Badar Secretary General of PPPP also lost his Seat.
- Rao Sikandar Iqbal Khan from PPPP Patriot was also the loser.
- Former Chief Minister Punjab Mian Manzoor Watoo competed as independent candidate and was declared as winner.⁶²
- Faisal Saleh Hayat of PML-N defeated PPPP's Abida Hussain from NA-88.⁶³

Women Winner and loser

The elections held on February 18 concluded with 15 women entering the National Assembly. In Punjab People's Party's (PPP) Dr Firdous Ashiq Awan routed Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid's (PML-Q) candidate and former National Assembly speaker Chaudhry Amir Hussain.⁶⁴ In NA-225, Dr Fehmida Mirza of PPPP defeated PML-Q's Bib Gasmen Shah, bagging 88,983 votes. The PML-Q's

Rajab Ali Khan Baloch was defeated by PPP's Rahila Parveen, who got 79,114 votes hence leading to a dismissal from his seat. Farkhanda Amjad Warraich of PML-Q won NA-92 (T.T Singh-I) seat⁶⁵ bagging 69,298 votes. Saira Afzal Tarar of PML-N was declared winner from NA-102 (Hafizabad-I) getting 56,313 votes.

Samina Khalid Ghurki from NA 130 she was the winner of National Assembly seat on PPPP ticket by 48,998 votes. She defeated Sadia Chaudhry and Aashiq Diyal. She became the member of National Assembly for the second time. Samina Khalid Ghurki belongs to a political family and she is a graduate. Being a member of the political family she was interested in the politics.

Hina Rabbani Khar contested the election from NA 177 on PPPP Parliamentary ticket and was the winner with 84,914 votes. She has become for the second time the member of the National Assembly in 31 years of the age. Her father was also parliamentarian, but he was unable to contest the election due to the condition of graduation in 2002. She completed her maters degree from America.⁶⁶

The former Federal Environment Minister Makhdoom Faisal Saleh Hayat in NA-88 (Jhang-III) polled 72,065 votes hence taking over PPP's Abida Hussain's seat.

Result Sheet - Winning Women Candidates (National Assembly) PPPP

Sr. #	Constituencies	Name	Votes Taken
1	NA-78 Faisalabad-IV	Rahila Parveen	79,114
2	NA-111 Sialkot-II	Dr. Fardos Ashiq Awan	78,925
3	NA-130 Lahore-XIII	Samina Khalid Ghurki	44,692
4	NA-177 Muzaffargarh-II	Hina Rabbani Khar	84,914

Formation of Punjab Government

The inception of government formation in Punjab took place on April 22, 2008 when 14 ministers, eight of the PML-N and six of the PPP, took oath for office.⁶⁷ The PPP's Parliamentary leader Raja Riaz had earlier taken oath as Senior Minister. Since the coalition government in the province has announced that the cabinet will comprise of 35 ministers hence, the rest of ministers will be indicted after by-elections. A total of 335 members took oath at the inaugural session of which 165 were of PML-N, 106 of PPP, 86 of PML-Q, 2 of MMA, 4 of PML-Functional and 2 independent members. In Punjab Assembly Sardar Dost Muhammad Khosa⁶⁸ elected as Chief Minister, Rana Muhammad Iqbal⁶⁹ as Speaker and Rana Mashhood Ahmed Khan⁷⁰ as Deputy Speaker.⁷¹

The PML-N ministers and their portfolios as under:

Rana Sanauallah Khan	-	Law and Parliamentary Affairs
Food	-	Malik Nadeem Kamran
Agriculture	-	Ahmad Ali Oulakh
Excise and Taxation	-	Mujtaba Shaujaur Rehman
Special Education	-	Iqbal Chunnar

Trade and Commerce	-	Chaudhry Abdul Ghafoor
Minorities	-	Kamran Michael
The PPPP ministers and their portfolios as under:		
Tanveer Ashraf Kaira	-	Finance
Haji Ishaq	-	Revenue
Neelam Jabbar	-	Population Welfare
Ashraf Sohna	-	Labour and Human Resource
uddin Qureshi	-	Religious Affairs and Auqaf
Raja Riaz	-	Irrigation and Power. ⁷²

Turnout: Factor of low Turnout

The percentage of all eligible registered voters who have casted their votes in any election are included in the Voter Turnout figures.⁷³ This allows for the adequate calculation of the level of participation from the general public hence a higher turnout figure would mean the public is well interested in the elections. 2008 elections were the second most successful elections in the history of Pakistan as voters turnout increased up to 45% in the country with a 48% increase in Punjab when it was 42 increases in 2002. This was a good sign for all those people who strongly believe that elections can bring political changes for good in the country. But, there is still a lot of room for improvement as 55% registered voters didn't come out to use their national right to cast vote. An in-depth analysis of registered voters also raised questions about the fairness and transparency.⁷⁴

Death of Benazir Bhutto on 27 December slowed down the election campaign but political experts believe that this tragic incident increased voter's turnover up to a great extent as a large number of voters came out to vote for PPP out of empathy. In Punjab sympathy wave for PPPP also a factor for success than in 2002 election. Especially female voter ratio towards PPPP was more high than in male but low VTO overall in Pakistan because the situation of security, negligence in registration of women voters and threats on polling station and rigging. A strong wave of Subaism (Provincialism) prevailed in election 2008 that cause low vote ratio for PPP. The Sindhi's blamed Punjab for assassination of two member of Bhutto family that urged the masses of Punjab to vote for Provincial leader. There were a few negative things about this election as well. Firstly, most of the voters didn't come out to caste vote due to fear of violence on the Election Day. Also, the APDM, a few sections of civil society and the lawyer's organizations boycotted the election.⁷⁵

Conclusion

It was assumed that these elections will never be impartial and that former President Pervez Musharraf will win the elections but these assumptions didn't took the form of reality. King's men had gone and his party is taking last breath. For the PPPP, these elections were a way of proving that people appreciate the party has done for the country. On the other hand, opposition parties and general public considered these elections as a way of improving the infrastructure of Pakistan by resolving some of it basic problems. Therefore, the 2008 election

has a great significance in the politics and electoral system of the country because it strengthened the roots of democracy in Pakistan by undoing the dictatorship. Most historians write down past events and generally ignore the recent past developments which is equally important and fertile for research. The present study attempts to uncover the significance of the recent history of Pakistan regarding electoral politics which served a tremendous change in the years to come because Musharraf, a military dictator, implemented these policies, owing to internal and external pressures, that paved the way for the growth of democracy through an electoral process in the country. Mr. Zardari showed maturity and a sense of responsibility and tried to set up coalition governments in the center and in the provinces with almost all those parties which were willing to become the partner. Save PML (Q), all major political parties joined the coalition governments in the four provinces and in the center as well. The elected members brought to an end to dictatorship, firstly, Musharraf stepped down from his position as the chief of army staff and he became civilian president and finally, he was forced to resign from his office. So the democracy won its goal and in the result of election 2008 clearly consolidated the democracy and converted the dictatorship into strong democracy.

In the nutshell, the Pakistan People Party Parliamentarians took start as the party of the oppressed and lower class and promised to provide bread, cloth and shelter, thereby emerged as second victorious in Punjab and become the part of coalition government by compromises done under the Charter of Democracy and Murree Declaration. Z. A. Bhutto, who is rated as a charismatic leader, is still considered one of the best political leaders Pakistan has ever produced. His philosophy to rid the society from the exploitation of the feudal lord and from the elite class and to provide basic needs to all people are still popular in Pakistan. Therefore, his vote bank, owing to his ideas and work as Prime Minister of Pakistan is still intact. Benazir Bhutto was the continuation of his mission and in her two tenures as Prime Minister tried to introduce such reforms which helped her to maintain the vote bank in the Punjab. But her sudden death, in the shape of assassination from the terrorists, proved a great shock to her party. The new leadership of Zardari could not make a great impression in the Punjab as he had been a controversial person since his marriage with Benazir. There were serious charges of corruption against him and he returned Pakistan through a deal with Musharraf that is known as the National Reconciliation Order (NRO). During the election he was bitterly criticized by the opposition parties and the voters in the Punjab could not overlook these charges. However, the Punjabi voters still showed their love for the philosophy of Z. A. Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto and cast their vote to the nominee of the party. Although the personalities, family background and other factors mattered in the elections but in the 2008 election it was once again proved that the Pakistan People Party has an ideology and its vote bank was not reduced until then. The future of Pakistan's political system is dependent upon the maturity of the leadership. The kind of responsibility and maturity that was shown by the two major political parties and their leaders, if it continues, would result in the positive development of political culture in Pakistan which guarantees the peace and prosperity of the country.

Notes and References

- ¹ Many political scientists have explained the concept and philosophy of the election into their own paradigms. Andrew Heywood has explained, "Election is a device for filling an office or post through choices made by the designated body of the people, 'the electorate. An election is a process in which people vote to choose a person or a group of people to hold an official post. Rod Hague has defined election, "a competition for office based on formal expression of preferences by a population. These opinions are thus combined in a collective decision, about which candidates have won. According to Webster's dictionary election is defined as "a choosing or being chosen for office by vote, a voting, as in a municipality, on some proposition or issue etc.
- ² Herman Finer, *The Theory and Practice of Modern Government* (Michigan: H. Holt, 1949), 200.
- ³ B. S. Jafari, *The Political Parties in Pakistan* (Lahore: Royal Book Company, 1996), 80.
- ⁴ Muhammad Waseem, *Democratization in Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2006), 122.
- ⁵ Abbas Azmat, 'Party Profiles', *The Herald* (Karachi: October, 2002), p.31.
- ⁶ Mubashar Hassan, *Pakistan People's Party, Foundation and Policy* (Lahore: Classic, 1968), 23.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, 49.
- ⁸ A. B. S. Jafari, 104.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, 105.
- ¹⁰ Rushbrook Williams. L.F. *Pakistan under Challenge* (London: Stacey International, 1975), 109.
- ¹¹ Riaz Muhammad, "Party Profiles", *The Herald*, 2002, 32.
- ¹² *The Daily News, Lahore*, May 22, 2007.
- ¹³ Punjab Information Secretary Farzana Raja and Lahore Women Wing (LWW) Secretary General Faiza Malik participated in the elections and fought for National Assembly Seats. The party leaders were given the responsibility to nominate LWW President Sajida Mir, Naila Sarwar or any other female candidate on reserved seats. Both of them were nominated by the party. Embesat Khan who was among the 14 MPAs of PPP left the party hoping that she will be selected as an adviser or Minister in PML but she failed to get either of the positions. *The Daily Times*, Lahore, July 16, 2007.
- ¹⁴ PPP Chairperson finalized party tickets not only for MNAs but also for MPAs. Raja Riaz, Ejaz Virk, Maj (R) Sajjad Akbar, Rana Farooq, Nawab Sher Waseer, Wajid Mustafa, Khizer Abbas, Peerzada Ashraf, Rana Farooq, Raza Ghumman and several others were also shortlisted from Faisalabad. Since the sitting MPAs will receive party tickets, Raja Riaz, who is also interested to apply for an MPA seat, is likely to participate from 2 seats. Ejaz Shahid, Rana Aftab, Khalid Mehmood Wattoo, Jehanzeb Imtiaz Gill, Faizullah Kamoka, Malik Asghar Ali Qaiser and Dr Asad Moazzam are already selected but a few seats are still empty which will hopefully be filled after talking to other political parties. From Jhang, Syeda Abida Hussain and her daughter Syeda Sughra Imam will fight for seat in national and provincial assemblies on behalf of the party, while Ali Hassan Qazi and Syed Hassan Murtaza were given party tickets for the Punjab Assembly. Rana Ataullah and Pir Inayat Shah are interested in getting MNA slots, but chances are they will get MPA tickets. In Toba Tek Singh, Hafeezullah Ishaq, Khalid Kharal, Haji Ishaq were finalised for MNA slots, while Mian Rafiq, was given ticket for an MPA slot along with several others. The meeting also shortlisted party candidates from Gujranwala, according to which MNA Imtiaz Safdar Warriach, Imranullah, Abdullah Virk, Sardar Tariq Gujjar, Aslam Lone or his son, Dr Zafar, Khawaja Saleh, Aasma Shahnawaz, Ahmed Tarar, Nawabzada Ghazanfar Gul, Chaudhry Ahmed Mukhtar, Qamar Zaman Kaira, Chaudhry Rehman Naseer, Zafarullah Tarar, Maj (r) Zulfikar Gondal, Raja Amer Khan, Tariq Rajput, Sahibzada Syed Murtaza, Sultan Ghumman or his nephew, Ghulam Abbas, Chaudhry Akbar, Khalid Chaudhry, Chaudhry Anwarul Haq, Ijaz Samma, Muhammad Ashraf Kamboh, Lala Shakeelur Rehman, Chaudhry Zahid Pervaiz, Mian Saud Dar and Chaudhry Muhammad Shabbir Mehr were given party tickets. There might be some changes in the finalized list of candidates who are fighting for MPA and MNA seat in this division. Malik Shaukat Hayat Awan and Mohammad Umar Tarar will contest elections from PP105 and PP106 respectively. Meanwhile, Ishaq Azhar, PP ex district President Malik Maqsood Awan and PPP Students Federation District President Malik Arbab Akram Khan have showed his gratitude to the party Chairperson for giving tickets to loyal workers of the party. The expected candidates for NA51 Gujjar Khan are Raja Pervez Ashraf (PPP), Raja Tariq Kiyani (PP4 Gujjar Khan) and Brig (R) Hassan (PP3 Gujjar Khan). *The Daily Dawn*, Karachi, July 26, 2007

- ¹⁵ The Researcher, "General Election, *PEG E-Newsletter*", vol 2, no 8(Islamabad: The Researcher, August, 2007), 15.
- ¹⁶ *Daily Times*, December 18, 2007.
- ¹⁷ The Researcher, (December 2007):16.
- ¹⁸ *Daily Pakistan Observer*, December 19, 2006.
- ¹⁹ Meeting & interview with Provincial Election Commissioner Punjab, Punjab Election Commission Office, on December 22, 2007, Lahore.
- ²⁰ Irfan Ghani, *Daily Times*, November 21, 2007
- ²¹ Babak Khalatbari and Zaib Nisa, *Parliamentary Election: Pakistan at Crossroad, Country Report* (Islamabad: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, 2008), 3-4. See also www.kas.de/pakistan
- ²² *The Daily Times*, Lahore, December 2, 2007.
- ²³ *The Daily Dawn*, Karachi, December 1, 2007.
- ²⁴ *The Daily Times*, Lahore, December 17, 2007.
- ²⁵ Ibid.
- ²⁶ *The Daily News*, Lahore, December 17, 2007.
- ²⁷ The political parties also filed lists of their candidates in order of priority for seats reserved for women and Non-Muslims in the National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies separately. The Returning Officer carried out scrutiny of nomination papers filed by the women and Non-Muslims and the Returning Officer rejected the 85 nomination papers of the women candidates and 7 nomination papers of the Non-Muslims candidates. Thus, total 92 nomination papers both women and Non-Muslims candidates for the National Assembly were rejected. *Election Commission of Pakistan, Report, General Elections, 2002*. 175
- ²⁸ *The Daily Dawn*, Lahore, December 24, 2007.
- ²⁹ Ibid, December 25, 2007.
- ³⁰ *The Daily Pakistan Times*, Lahore, December 26, 2007.
- ³¹ Interview with Dr. Naseem, IG Punjab Police, IG office, on 26 December, 2007, Lahore.
- ³² Ibid, 10.
- ³³ *The Daily Dawn*, 18-2-08
- ³⁴ Dr Hasan-Askari Rizvi, "Dynamics of campaigning", *The Daily Times*, Lahore, January 20, 2008
- ³⁵ John Curtice, *The State of Election Studies: A Mid-Life Crisis or New Youth*, *Electoral Studies*, vol. 21. no. 2 (June 2002): 162.
- ³⁶ Robert Rohrechner, "Mobilizing Versus Chasing: How do Parties Target Voters in Election Campaigns", *Electoral Studies*, vol. 21. No.3(September 2002): 368.
- ³⁷ Dr. Hassan Askari, "Dyanmics of Campaign", *The Daily Times*, Lahore, January 20, 2008.
- ³⁸ Ibid.
- ³⁹ Ibid.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid.
- ⁴¹ Ibid.
- ⁴² Ibid.
- ⁴³ Ibid.
- ⁴⁴ *The Daily Dawn*, Karachi, December 26, 2007.
- ⁴⁵ M. Zia-Ul- Haq, *Election 2008*, (Lahore: Fikkar Publishers, 2008), 53-73.
- ⁴⁶ *European Union Observation Final Report National and Provincial Election 2008* (Islamabad: European Union, 2008), 34.
- ⁴⁷ According to Section 49(2) of ROPA, the applicant for National Assembly can spend up to 1,500,000 in election campaign whereas applicants for provincial assembly can utilize up to 1 million rupees.
- ⁴⁸ Those candidates who win the elections have to submit the expense details to Returning officer within 10 days of winning the election. Those who lose also have to submit return of their expenses but they have a time of 30 days, ROPA Section 50(1).
- ⁴⁹ *The Daily Dawn*, Karachi, February 16, 2008
- ⁵⁰ *The Daily News*, Lahore, December 10, 2007
- ⁵¹ The Researcher, (January, 2008): 12.
- ⁵² *The Daily Dawn*, Karachi, February 17, 2008
- ⁵³ *The Daily Nation*, Lahore, February 10, 2008
- ⁵⁴ Interview with Benazir Bhutto, Lahore, Defense, on December 13, 2007.
- ⁵⁵ Interview and meeting with PPP Election Monitoring Cell, Chairing Cross, Lahore on 24 December, 2007.

- ⁵⁶ *The Daily Dawn*, Karachi, January 10, 2008
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁸ *The Daily Times*, Lahore, January 20, 2008.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁰ Dr. Hassan Askari, *Dyanmics of Campaign*, *The Daily Times*, Lahore, January 20, 2008.
- ⁶¹ *The Daily Times*, Lahore, January 20, 2008.
- ⁶² Waseem Sheikh, *Election Ya Selection: Rigging in Election 2008* [Urdu], (Lahore: Fact Publications, 2008), 151-153.
- ⁶³ *The Daily Times*, Lahore, February 19, 2008.
- ⁶⁴ She was the winner form NA 111 Sialkot by taking 777834 votes. She got medical education from Fatima Jinnah Medical College. She is a doctor by profession but she firstly started her political career with PML (Q) but later on joined PPPP in 2008 elections. She is a political personality as well as social worker women.
- ⁶⁵ Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq Naqshbandi, *Election 2008*, (Lahore: Fikar Publishers 2008), 345.
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁷ *The Daily Times*, Lahore, April 23, 2008.
- ⁶⁸ Sardar Dost Muhammad Khosa, son of Sardar Zulfiqar Ali Khan Khosa has been elected unopposed as Punjab Chief Minister and also won the general election-2008 from PP-244 D.G. Khan-5. He was born in D.G. Khan on October 22, 1973 hence receiving his primary education from Aitchison College Lahore and secondary education from Government College Lahore, while graduating from Punjab University, Lahore. In his political career, Dost Khosa was first elected as MPA when his father vacated provincial seat after taking oath as Punjab Governor in August 1999. He had also served as UC Nazim of Churratta, D.G.Khan and later as Naib District Nazim D.G. Khan until contesting for the general elections of 2008. Dost Muhammad Khosa was PML-N, DG Khan, district President for the last eight years and was arrested many a times during this period on political grounds. *The Daily Dawn*, Karachi, April 23, 2008.
- ⁶⁹ The newly-elected Speaker Punjab Assembly, Rana Muhammad Iqbal son of Rana Phool Muhammad Khan was born in Phool Nagar, Karnal district of India, in 1944. Rana Iqbal currently residing in Lambe Jageer, tehsil Pattoki of Kasur district, won the general election-2008 from PP-184, Kasur-10. He received his primary education from Phool Nagar High School and secondary education form Government Islamia College, Civil Lines Multan and then studied law at Punjab University, Lahore. He has been elected to the Punjab Assembly for the fourth time, while his father Rana Phool Khan was elected MPA in the Punjab six times, and has the distinction of being the 'senior-most parliamentarian of Asia.' Rana Iqbal has twice served as chairman district council and once as vice-chairman district council Kasur. He has also been president of Chunian Bar Association and was later appointed as ASP, but resigned from the post in protest against the martial law of Gen Zia-ul-Haq. *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁰ The newly-elect Punjab Assembly's Deputy Speaker Rana Mashhood Ahmed Khan, son of Rana Abdur Rahim Khan was born in Lahore in 1966. By winning the general election-2008 from PP-149 Lahore-13, he was elected to the Punjab Assembly for the second time. After receiving his primary education from Crescent Model School, Lahore and secondary education form Government College Lahore, he studied law at Punjab University Lahore. The Deputy Speaker has given his valuable services as Secretary Lahore High Court Bar, President of PML-N Lawyers Forum Punjab and Vice President PML-N Punjab. He contested the Punjab Assembly Speaker's election against Muhammad Afzal Sahi and also vied for Lahore District Nazim slot. Mashhood's grandfather Rana Inayatullah was Member Legislative Assembly of Pakistan. His father Rana Abdur Rahim was Secretary Lahore High Court Bar and Vice chairman of Punjab Bar Council. Mashhood's younger brother Rana Asad is the sitting Secretary of Lahore High Court Bar.
- ⁷¹ *The Daily Dawn*, Karachi, April 12, 2008.
- ⁷² *The Daily News*, Lahore, April 25, 2008.
- ⁷³ IFPRI, "Decentralization, Local Government Elections and Voter Turnout in Pakistan", IFPRI, Discussion Paper 00754 (Washington: International Food Policy Research Institute, 2008): 6.
- ⁷⁴ *Monthly Herald*, Lahore, March, 2008.
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*