

A Historical Study of Electoral Politics of National Assembly in Lahore: 1970-2013

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**Abstract**

*The democratic political system depends on electoral politics to a certain extent. The General elections prove to be a classic example of fathoming out the dynamics, tactics and complexities of electoral politics. In Electoral politics, voting is a yardstick to measure the popularity graph and the public's sentiment toward a candidate and political party. The practice of casting a vote is a method to elect a candidate or a political party. Voting is an initial step towards democracy, but democracy is something that is achieved gradually through a political process. The elections are the integral means to achieve ends. Electoral politics is the brick stone of general elections, and its output has an impact of enormous magnitude. In the modern-day arena of politics, voting and elections emerged as a tool to form a pool of public representation. However, the quality of democracy may vary because it is in transition phase. Basically, the present paper is a descriptive and analytics study of the electoral politics of the National Assembly in Lahore. It seeks to understand and examines the origin and development of electoral politics of the National Assembly in Lahore from 1970. The empirical and statistical data dealing with general elections from 1970-2013 is being utilized to explain the prevailing trends and dynamics in the electoral politics of Lahore. The rationale for choosing the timeline 1970- 2013 is that before 1970 there was no adult franchise based direct elections of the national assembly. Furthermore, it seeks to explore some prevailing trends in the city's electoral journey: party-based vote bank, no split mandate, and an independent candidate cannot win the election.*

**Keywords:** Elections, Lahore, National Assembly, Electoral Politics and Voting

**Introduction**

The city of Lahore is considered as the heart of Pakistan due to its rich historical importance. This city has played a significant role in pre and post-partition politics of the sub-continent. When it comes to the politics of Lahore, there are two leading opinions:

1. Lahore sets the direction of national politics and is the first to take the initiative to make a huge change that impacts politics.
2. Lahore always supports the party, which forms the central government in the country and has maintained this status quo for aeons.

One may agree or disagree with these opinions, but no one can deny the fact that Lahore always played a significant role in real mainstream politics.

**First General Elections, 1970**

In 1970 the first general elections of the national assembly were conducted, and it was based on the adult franchise. The 1970s was the era of political romanticism. The division of left- and right-wing parties was vivid. Masses were politically charged and full of enthusiasm. However, both wings were tactfully using the religion card in the elections.

In both pre-partition and post-partition political scenarios, Lahore always had symbolic importance. The influence of Lahore's politics on the rest of the country is indomitable. In the 1970 elections, Lahore was divided into eight constituencies. Pakistan People's Party clean sweeps the elections and won all eight seats with a significant margin, except the one seat (NW-63 Lahore-VI) of Ahmed Raza Khan. The margin of the victory was 2849 votes.<sup>2</sup> The political parties contesting from were Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP), Pakistan Muslim League Convention (PML- CONV), Jamiat ul Ulema West Pakistan (JUL-WP), Markazi Jamiat ul Ulema Pakistan (MJUP), Pakistan Muslim League Council (PML C) and Jamaat-e-Islami (JI). None of these parties was successful to win a single from Lahore. NW-60 Lahore-III was won by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto but decided not to retain this seat. As a result, the

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<sup>2</sup>FAFEN,"Election Pakitan," <https://electionpakistan.com/constituency-profile/?assembly=5&election=2575&constituency=1073&assemblyName=National%20Assembly&electionType=General%20Election%201970&constituencyName=NW-63%20Lahore-VI> (accessed July 9,2020).

by-election was held, and PPP's candidate Mehmood Ali Kasuri won the seat with a considerable margin of 9737 votes.<sup>3</sup>

**Table 1: Results of 1970 Elections**

Sr no	Constituency Name & Number	Winning Candidate	Party Affiliation	Votes to winner	Voting share of winner	Voting share of other candidates	Total Turn out
1	NW-58 Lahore-I	Mohammad Akhtar	PPP	56876	57%	43%	68%
2	NW-59 Lahore-II	Mubashar Hasan	PPP	82476	64%	36%	63%
3	NW-60 Lahore-III	Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto	PPP	78132	62%	38%	62 %
4	NW-61 Lahore-IV	Muhammad Rashid	PPP	68721,	54%,	46%	62%
5	NW-62 Lahore-V	Malik Meraj Khalid	PPP	89660,	60%,	40%	76%
6	NW-63 Lahore-VI	Ahmed Raza Khan	PPP	52769,	41%	59%	74%
7	NW-64 Lahore-VII	Shafaat Khan	PPP	48,437	33%	67%	78%
8	NW-65 Lahore-VIII	Mahmood Abbas Bukhari	PPP	66,712,	49%	51%	75%

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## 2<sup>nd</sup> Elections, 1977

On 7th March 1977, second general elections were held. It was the first election after the dismemberment of Pakistan. The number of national assembly seats was increased to 200, but the number of seats in Lahore remained the same. The political development in Bhutto's rule resulted in the formation of a political alliance of nine political parties, Pakistan National Alliance (PNA).<sup>6</sup> This political alliance was unique in the sense that it was a blend of nationalist parties, religiopolitical parties, secular parties and right-wing parties. Following parties was the part of this alliance Communist Party Pakistan (CPP), Jamaat-e-Islami (JI), Balochistan National Party (BNP), Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (JUI), Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP), Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan (JUP), Muslim League (Functional) (ML-F), National Democratic Party (NDP), Muslim League (Qayyum) (ML-Q) and National Democratic Party (NDP). The top brass of leadership includes Mufti Mehmood, Asghar Khan, Molana Shah Ahmad Noorani, Abul aal Mauudi and Ch Zahoor Elahi. Ironically, the PNA election slogan was Nizam-i-Mustafa<sup>7</sup> but the presences of Asghar Khan, Nationalists and Communist parties showed a different side of the picture. The single

<sup>3</sup> Sabir Shah, "Popularity graphs of winners of Lahore NA polls since 1970," *The News*, October 10, 2015, <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/67067-popularity-graphs-of-winners-of-lahore-na-polls-since-1970> (accessed July 9,2020).

<sup>4</sup> *List of Winning Candidates from the Constituencies of National Assembly of Pakistan*. Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan, 1970.

<sup>5</sup> FAFEN, "Election Pakistan," <https://electionpakistan.com/election-results/?assembly=5&election=2575&assemblyName=National%20Assembly&electionType=General%20Election%201970> (accessed July 11,2020).

<sup>6</sup> Farooq Ahmad Dar, "Pakistan National Alliance: A Study in its Formation & Political Mobilization," *Pakistan Vision* Volume 4, No. 1 (2003): 75-76.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*,82.

point agenda of this alliance was to eliminate Bhutto from the power corridor. In all constituencies of Lahore, it was one to one election between PPP and PNP, and PPP had won all the seat with a significant margin. The average polled vote share of PPP was 61.5%, and on the other side, the average polled vote of PNA was 32%.

**Table 2: Results of 1977 Elections**

Sr no	Constituency Name & Number	Winning Candidate	Party Affiliation	Votes to winner	Voting share of winner	Voting share of other candidates	Total Turn out
1	NW-81 Lahore-I	S.M. Masood	PPP	45453	57%	43%	60%
2	NW-82 Lahore-II	Khalid Latif Kardar	PPP	53757	60%	40%	66%
3	NW-83 Lahore-III	Mian Ehsan-ul-Haq	PPP	64649,	66%	34%	61 %
4	NW-84 Lahore-IV	Dr. S.M. Yaqub	PPP	45,822,	58%,	42%	63%
5	NW-85 Lahore-V	Mian Salah-ud-Din	PPP	51,171,	60%,	40%	62%
6	NW-86 Lahore-VI	Malik Mohammad Akhtar	PPP	49,753,	54%	46%	58%
7	NW-87 Lahore-VII	Muhammad Rashid	PPP	58978	62%	38%	64%
8	NW-88 Lahore-VIII	Malik Meraj Khalid	PPP	73398	75%	25%	61%

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<sup>8</sup> Notification of Winning Candidates from the Constituencies of National Assembly of Pakistan. Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan, 21<sup>st</sup> March, 1977.

### 3<sup>rd</sup> Elections, 1985

The 1985 elections were held under General Zia's era, and it was non-party elections. Mostly, the blue-eyed and hand-picked were elected. PPP has boycotted these elections. It is essential to mention that PPP stood victorious in the last two elections of 1970 and 1977. So minus PPP, it was a one-way election, which can be interpreted as election-cum-selection. Therefore, the results of these elections were not discussed in this study.

### 4<sup>th</sup> Elections, 1988

On April 10, 1986, Benazir Bhutto returned from exile. On the return of Ms Bhutto, Lahore witnessed one of its historic public gatherings.<sup>10</sup> The masses response to Ms Bhutto's return has shown the pulse of the commoner. Further, the scuffle relation between Zia and PM Mohammad Khan Junejo started since General Zia realized that Mr Junejo was no more a puppet. PM. Junejo began to interfere and tried to assert in the matters of defence and foreign policy and, more specifically, Junejo's stance on Afghan policy.<sup>11</sup> All these developments in the conventional politics of the country were going in favour of democratic forces. Some factions in the ruling were not on Junejo's side. On 10th April 1988, the incident of Ojhri Camp took place, and Junejo was firm to conduct an inquiry on it. This firm stance became the last bone of contention between the President and PM. Consequently, in May 1988, Gen Zia dismissed Junejo's government. Henceforth, on 17th August, the Gen Zia plane was crashed. After the death of Gen Zia ul Haq, Ghulam Ishaq Khan became the president of Pakistan. After Gen Zia's death, the political dynamics began to change. The civil-military have left with no option except to call elections.

On 16th November 1988, elections took place. The top military brass of that time was always reluctant to transfer power to PPP. Therefore, to curtail PPP, a political alliance (IJI), comprising of right-wing political parties and anti-PPP political forces, was made and funded.<sup>12</sup> These elections were mainly between PPP and IJI. Now in Lahore, the total constituencies were 9, PPP stood victorious. PPP secured 6 seats, IJI got 2 seats, and PAI won 1 seat.

**Table 3: Results of 1988 Elections**

Sr no	Constituency Name and Number	Winning Candidate	Party Affiliation	Votes to winner	Voting share of winner	Voting share of other candidates	Total Turn out
1	NA-92 Lahore-I	Muhammad Hussain Ansari	PAI	45091	47%	53%	44%
2	NA-93 Lahore-II	Aitzaz Ahsan	PPP	71860	58%	42%	47%
3	NA-94 Lahore-III	Benazir Bhutto	PPP	53425	51%	49%	50%
4	NA-95 Lahore-IV	Nawaz Sharif	IJI	49318	56%	44%	45%
5	NA-96 Lahore-V	Jahangir Badar	PPP	43368	50%	50%	43%
6	NA-97 Lahore-VI	Kh. Ahmad Tariq Raheem	PPP	56903	48%	52%	46%
7	NA-98 Lahore-	Mian M.	IJI	51764	47%	53%	43%

<sup>9</sup> FAFEN, "Election Pakistan," <https://electionpakistan.com/election-results/?assembly=5&election=2891&assemblyName=National%20Assembly&electionType=General%20Election%201977> (accessed July 12, 2020).

<sup>10</sup> "Largest political rallies across the world," *The Economic Times*, 30 September, 2013 <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/slideshows/nation-world/largest-political-rallies-across-the-world/1986-benazir-bhuttos-return-to-pakistan/slideshow/23281130.cms> (accessed July 14, 2018).

<sup>11</sup> Shaikh, "A leaf from History: Benazir Return from Exile," *Dawn*, 4 October, 2015 <https://www.dawn.com/news/1210249> (accessed July 14, 2020).

<sup>12</sup> "Hamid Gul accepts responsibility for Creating IJI." *Dawn*, 30 October, 2012 <https://www.dawn.com/news/760219/hamid-gul-accepts-responsibility-for-creating-igi> (accessed July 14, 2020).

	VII	Usman					
8	NA-99 Lahore-VIII	Haji M Asghar	PPP	31283	43%	57%	45%
9	NA-100 Lahore-IX	Malik Meraj Khalid	PPP	33903	42%	58%	51%

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### 5<sup>th</sup> Elections, 1990

Article 58 (2b) of the 8th Amendment in the Constitution of 1973 had ruined the spirit of democracy and parliament form of government. The three consecutive governments, 1988, 1990, and 1993 became victims of this Amendment. This decade can be termed as experimentation in democracy under the umbrella of Article 58 (2b). The two political parties PPP and PML N, emerged as leading contenders, whether in the form of alliances or directly contested with each other. The 1988 election was between IJI and PPP, but the next election of 1990 was between People's Democratic Alliance (PDA) led by PPP and IJI led by PML N. On 24th October 1990, elections were held. IJI won 8 seats from Lahore. PDA got only one seat in Lahore. The legitimacy of these elections remained controversial due to the military's role in forming and funding IJI. Later on, in the court proceedings of Asghar Khan's case<sup>14</sup> facts were revealed. More specifically, the confessional statement of ex-DG ISI Asad Durrani in the Supreme Court of Pakistan. On the other side, COAS of that time, Gen Aslam Beg blamed his spymaster Durrani. He said:

"I called [General] Asad Durrani and warned him to be careful in the handling of those [ISI] funds. After this, I never again discussed this matter with him [Durrani]. I gave him no names of politicians or the money to be distributed, because this was entirely his domain, and he was responsible to report to the president,"<sup>15</sup>

However, the question remained unanswered that is it possible for DG ISI to disobey COAS?

Ironically, PML N, IJI and other persons had clearly denied these allegations. On 12th October 2012 Supreme Court of Pakistan announced the verdict on the Asghar Khan case, directed FIA for the investigation, and started legal actions against Gen Baig and LT Gen Durrani. Currently, the review petition is in Supreme Court.

**Table 4: Results of 1990 Elections**

Sr no	Constituency Name and Number	Winning Candidate	Party Affiliation	Votes to winner	Voting share of winner	Voting share of other candidates	Total Turn out
1	NA-92 Lahore-I	Humayun Akhtar Khan	IJI	57866	53%	47%	48%
2	NA-93 Lahore-II	Aitzaz Ahsan	PDA	65624	52%	48%	47%
3	NA-94 Lahore-III	Mian Umar Hayat	IJI	53352	48%	52%	52%
4	NA-95 Lahore-IV	Nawaz Sharif	IJI	59944	58%	42%	48%
5	NA-96 Lahore-V	Shahbaz Sharif	IJI	54506	55%	45%	49%
6	NA-97 Lahore-VI	Liaqat Baloch	IJI	68943	54%	46%	48%
7	NA-98 Lahore-VII	Mian M Usman	IJI	60220	52%	48%	43%

<sup>13</sup> 1988 General Elections, *Constituency Wise Detailed Results National Assembly from 1988-1997*. (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan, 1998), 73-79.

<sup>14</sup> "The Asghar Khan Case," *The Nation*, <https://nation.com.pk/22-Aug-2015/the-asghar-khan-case> (accessed July 14,2020).

<sup>15</sup> Zahid Gishkori, "Gen Aslam Beg's startling revelations in Asghar Khan case," *The News*, 18 May, 2018 <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/318064-asghar-khan-case> (accessed July 15,2020).

8	NA-99 Lahore-VIII	Wazir Ali Bhatti	IJI	42549	53%	47%	49%
9	NA-100 Lahore-IX	Ashiq Ali Dayal	IJI	46842	54%	46%	55%

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### 6<sup>th</sup> Elections, 1993

The 1993 elections were head to head between two parties PML N and PPP. PML N got the land sliding victory by winning 8 out of 9 seats of Lahore. PPP, the party which always have a significant presence in the electoral politics of Lahore got only one seat. This election played a decisive role in the politics of PML N. It emerged as the most potent single entity of electoral Politics in Lahore. It would not be wrong to say that the throne of Lahore was conquered by PML N, once which belonged to PPP in 1970,s.

**Table 5: Results of 1993 Elections**

Sr no	Constituency Name and Number	Winning Candidate	Party Affiliation	Votes to winner	Voting share of winner	Voting share of other candidates	Total Turn out
1	NA-92 Lahore-I	Nawaz Sharif	PML N	63272	58%	42%	47%
2	NA-93 Lahore-II	Humayun Akhtar Khan	PML N	66564	49%	51%	48%
3	NA-94 Lahore-III	Mian Abdul Waheed	PML N	52,308	50%	50%	48%
4	NA-95 Lahore-IV	Nawaz Sharif	PML N	57959	61%	39%	43%
5	NA-96 Lahore-V	Shahbaz Sharif	PML N	55867	58%	42%	44%
6	NA-97 Lahore-VI	Tariq Badaruddin Banday	PML N	64834	49%	51%	44%
7	NA-98 Lahore-VII	Mian M Munir	PML N	64151	55%	45%	41%
8	NA-99 Lahore-VIII	Mehar Zulfikar Ali Babu	PML N	43972	51%	49%	51%
9	NA-100 Lahore-IX	Ch Khalid Javid Ghurki	PPP	38433	42%	58%	54%

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### 7<sup>th</sup> Election, 1997

In April 1997, elections retook place with the completion of the tenure of five years. In the context of winning seats, it is almost the recap of the 1993 elections. There was only one exception: in the last elections, PPP got 1 seat, and this time in NA-100 Lahore-IX, an independent candidate, M. Ashiq Ali Dayal, won. Previously, in 1990 he was elected on from the ticket of IJI by beating stalwart of PPP Meraj Khalid.<sup>18</sup> The border area of Lahore falls under this constituency, which is mainly comprised of rural areas, and it was considered as a solid electoral base of Mr Diyal.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> 1990 General Elections, *Constituency Wise Detailed Results National Assembly from 1988-1997*. (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan, 1998), 73-79.

<sup>17</sup> 1993 General Elections, *Constituency Wise Detailed Results National Assembly from 1988-1997*. (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan, 1998), 73-79.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 78-79.

<sup>19</sup> "PML-N's winning streak in Lahore, but no clean sweep," *The News*, 15 May 2013, <https://www.thenews.com.pk/archive/print/430333-pml-n's-winning-streak-in-lahore-but-no-clean-sweep> (accessed July 17,2020).

**Table 6: Results of 1997 Elections**

Sr no	Constituency Name and Number	Winning Candidate	Party Affiliation	Votes to winner	Voting share of winner	Voting share of other candidates	Total Turn out
1	NA-92 Lahore-I	Mian M Azhar	PML N	57220	78%	22%	30%
2	NA-93 Lahore-II	Mian Abdul Waheed	PML N	63068	65%	35%	32%
3	NA-94 Lahore-III	Tariq Aziz	PML N	50227	67%	33%	33%
4	NA-95 Lahore-IV	Nawaz Sharif	PML N	50592	75%	25%	30%
5	NA-96 Lahore-V	Shahbaz Sharif	PML N	47614	78%	22%	27%
6	NA-97 Lahore-VI	M. Ishaq Dar	PML N	61556	70%	30%	28%
7	NA-98 Lahore-VII	Mian M Munir	PML N	55606	73%	27%	26%
8	NA-99 Lahore-VIII	Sardar Kamil Umar	PML N	50387	67%	33%	40%
9	NA-100 Lahore-IX	M. Ashiq Ali Dayal	IND	28589	35%	65%	46%

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### 8<sup>th</sup> Elections, 2002

In 2002, after the new delimitations, the number of constituencies in Lahore was increased to 13. Before elections, the same practice of the King's party was repeated. Like in 1960, s Convention Muslim League with now Pakistan Muslim Q, which was established, gave legitimacy and served the dictator's interest. In addition, local government elections were held in 2001. Like BD (Basic Democrat) system was introduced by Ayub Khan, and it provided a smooth ground for the takeoff of PML Q. On 10 October 2002, general elections were held.

The religious parties formed an alliance named Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal Pakistan (MMA), and on three constituencies, NA 118, NA 121, and NA 126, they have seat adjustment with PML N. MMA won seats NA 121 and NA 126.<sup>21</sup> However, the winning candidate from NA 118, Salman Butt contested the election independently and interestingly; at the same time, he was a member of JI in Lahore, and he also contested elections on the ticket of JI previously. The 2002 election was one of the arduous elections for PML N. As its many ex-parliamentarians joined PML Q and PML N was facing political victimization.

Besides that, PML N won 4 seats. PPP got 3 seats, PML Q got 2, and Pakistan Awami Tehreek (PAT) of Dr Tahir ul Qadri secured 1 seat.

**Table 7: Results of 2002 Elections**

Sr no	Constituency Name & Number	Winning Candidate	Party Affiliation	Votes to winner	Voting share of winner	Voting share of other candidates	Total Turn out
1	NA-118 Lahore-	Hafiz Salman	IND	25484	36%	64%	29%

<sup>20</sup> 1997 General Elections, *Constituency Wise Detailed Results National Assembly from 1988-1997*. (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan, 1998), 73-79.

<sup>21</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan "Constituency Wise Detailed Results of 2002 Election" <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/General%20Election%202002/National.pdf> (accessed July 18,2020).

	I	Butt					
2	NA-119 Lahore-II	Khawaja Saad Rafique	PML N	43166	56%	44%	27%
3	NA-120 Lahore-III	Muhammad Pervaiz Malik	PML N	33741	46%	54%	31%
4	NA-121 Lahore-IV	Farid Ahmed Paracha	MMA	30326	37%	63%	32%
5	NA-122 Lahore-V	Sardar Ayaz Sadiq	PML N	37531	42%	58%	33%
6	NA-123 Lahore-VI	Makhdoom Muhammad Javaid Hashmi	PML N	30372	45%	55%	26%
7	NA-124 Lahore-VII	Aitzaz Ahsan	PPPP	27072	35%	65%	30%
8	NA-125 Lahore-VIII	Hamayun Akhtar Khan	PML Q	22405	29%	71%	30%
9	NA-126-Lahore-IX	Liaqat Baloch	MMA	43679	49%	51%	32%
10	NA-127 Lahore-X	Dr. Muhammad Tahir-ul-Qadri	PAT	24949	31%	69%	34%
11	NA-128 Lahore-XI	Malik Zaheer Abbas	PPPP	31175	33%	67%	39%
12	NA-129 Lahore-XII	Major <sup>®</sup> Habibullah Waraich	PML Q	39420	49%	51%	38%
13	NA-130-Lahore-XIII	Samina Khalid Ghurki	PPPP	46095	54%	66%	37%

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### 9<sup>th</sup> Elections, 2008

In 2008, General Musharraf was the president of Pakistan. In the pre-election scenario assassination of Benazir Bhutto was huge below in the politics of Pakistan. Consequently, Asif Ali Zardari became the political successor of Ms Bhutto. There were loud voices to boycott the upcoming elections, but Mr Zardari rejected and decided to participate in the elections fully. On 18th February, elections were held. On the national level, PPP emerged as the single largest party but not a majority party. In Punjab, PML N bounced back and became the single largest party in Punjab. All Parties Democratic Movement (APDM) boycotted the election. They thought that it would lead to illegitimate to contest election under Musharraf's rule.<sup>23</sup> The main parties in this alliance were PTI, JI, PKMAP and Baloch Nationalists.

The elections results of Lahore were not different from Punjab. PML N reconquered the throne of Lahore by winning 11 seats out of 13 seats. Compared to the election of 2002, the number of PPP seats was reduced by 1, and now it got 2 seats. However, in Lahore, there was the presence of PPP. The boycott of APDM gave more political space to PML N because JI and PTI have some secure pockets in Lahore. Further, this election was unique in the sense that first time in the electoral history of Lahore, an MNA was elected unopposed. It was NA-119 Lahore-II, and the candidate was Humza Shahbaz Sharif.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>“APDM to Resume Boycott Campaign,” *Dawn*, 2<sup>nd</sup> January, 2008 <https://www.dawn.com/news/282764> (accessed July 19,2020).

<sup>24</sup> “Hamza Shahbaz takes oath as MNA,” *Dawn*, 23 January, 2008 <https://www.dawn.com/news/936692> (accessed July 19,2020).



**Table 8: Results of 2008 Elections**

Sr no	Constituency Name & Number	Winning Candidate	Party Affiliation	Votes to winner	Voting share of winner	Voting share of other candidates	Total Turn out
1	NA-118 Lahore-I	Muhammad Riaz Malik	PML N	55900	59%	41%	38%
2	NA-119 Lahore-II	Humza Shahbaz Sharif	PML N	Unopposed			
3	NA-120 Lahore-III	Bilal Yaseen	PML N	65936	68%	32%	36%
4	NA-121 Lahore-IV	Mian Marghoob Ahmed	PML N	72227	66%	36%	36%
5	NA-122 Lahore-V	Sardar Ayaz Sadiq	PML N	79506	67%	33%	36%
6	NA-123 Lahore-VI	Makhdoom Muhammad Javaid Hashmi	PML N	67707	69%	31%	34%
7	NA-124 Lahore-VII	Sheikh Rohale Asghar	PML N	71342	66%	34%	39%
8	NA-125 Lahore-VIII	Khawaja Saad Rafique	PML N	70752	63%	37%	36%
9	NA-126-Lahore-IX	Umer Sohail Zia Butt	PML N	69718	58%	42%	34%
10	NA-127 Lahore-X	Chaudhry Naseer Ahmed Bhutta	PML N	53602	57%	43%	34%
11	NA-128 Lahore-XI	Malik Muhammad Afzal Khokhar	PML N	65727	52%	48%	46%
12	NA-129 Lahore-XII	Tariq Shabbir	PPPP	36604	38%	62%	48%
13	NA-130-Lahore-XIII	Samina Khalid Ghurki	PPPP	44692	45%	55%	44%

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### 10<sup>th</sup> Elections, 2013

The 2013 election was considered as the smooth transfer of power from one civilian government to another civilian government, and it was a significant step towards the aim of stable democracy. The previous election results indicate the hegemony of PML N in the electoral politics of Lahore. A new political party Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), had emerged in the political arena of Pakistan. PTI was confident to challenge the political hegemony of PML N in Lahore. The role of the religiopolitical party and PPP became minimal, relatively insignificant.

On 11th May 2013, elections were held. PML N got a land sliding victory in Lahore. PML N won 12 out of 13 seats with a convincing margin. PTI won just 1 seat. Although PTI remained unsuccessful in winning a significant of

<sup>25</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan “General Election 2008,” <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/frmGenericPage.aspx?PageID=3054> (accessed July 19,2020).

seats from Lahore but on the other side, it showed political potential by getting 737,036 votes.<sup>26</sup> This number of votes by PTI was a significant development in the politics of Lahore. To some extent, it had challenged the hegemony of PML N on the throne of Lahore. Nevertheless, getting a massive number of votes to channelize into victory are two different aspects. PPP got no seat, and the figures showed that they were not even in the competition anymore.

**Table 9: Results of 2013 Elections**

Sr no	Constituency Name & Number	Winning Candidate	Party Affiliation	Votes to winner	Voting share of winner	Voting share of other candidates	Total Turn out
1	NA-118 Lahore-I	Muhammad Riaz Malik	PML N	103346	61%	39%	51%
2	NA-119 Lahore-II	Shahbaz Sharif	PML N	107735	69%	31%	51%
3	NA-120 Lahore-III	Muhammad Nawaz Sharif	PML N	91683	60%	40%	52%
4	NA-121 Lahore-IV	Mehar Ishtiaq Ahmad	PML N	114474	57%	43%	52%
5	NA-122 Lahore-V	Sardar Ayaz Sadiq	PML N	93389	51%	49%	57%
6	NA-123 Lahore-VI	Muhammad Pervaiz Malik	PML N	126878	72%	28%	51%
7	NA-124 Lahore-VII	Sheikh Rohale Asghar	PML N	119312	69%	31%	54%
8	NA-125 Lahore-VIII	Khawaja Saad Rafique	PML N	123416	55%	45%	53%
9	NA-126-Lahore-IX	Shafqat Mehmood	PTI	97785	49%	51%	55%
10	NA-127 Lahore-X	Waheed Alam Khan	PML N	102080	63%	37%	49%
11	NA-128 Lahore-XI	Malik Muhammad Afzal Khokhar	PML N	124107	56%	44%	53%
12	NA-129 Lahore-XII	Muhammad Shehbaz Sharif	PML N	94007	62%	38%	55%
13	NA-130-Lahore-XIII	Sohail Shoukat Butt	PML N	88842	55%	45%	55%

<sup>27</sup>

**Table 10: Average Turnout of Lahore from 1970 to 2018 Elections**

	General Elections	Average Turnout (in percentage)
1	1970	68
2	1977	61.87
3	1985	N/A
4	1988	46

<sup>26</sup> Calculations were done from *General Elections 2013 Report Volume-II* (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan, 1998), 70-78

<sup>27</sup> *General Elections 2013 Report Volume-II* (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan), 70-78

5	1990	48.77
6	1993	46.66
7	1997	32.44
8	2002	32.15
9	2008	35.46
10	2013	59.92

28

### Major Trends of the Electoral Politics in Lahore

#### A) Independent and Electable are “Alien”

In the electoral politics of Punjab, the independent and electable candidates had played an essential role in the formation and toppling of the government. The electoral patterns of Lahore are entirely different from the rest of Punjab. To date, ten general elections (excluding 1985 non-parties) have been held in Lahore. In a span of almost five decades, there were only two exceptions when an independent candidate got elected. M.

Ashiq Ali Dayal from NA-100 Lahore-IX (1997 Elections)

1. M. Ashiq Ali Dayal in 1990, contested against the stalwart of PPP Meraj Khalid and he beat him.<sup>29</sup> In 1993, Mr Dayal contested on the ticket of PML N and Ch Khalid Javid Ghurki won against him with a narrow margin of 72 votes.<sup>30</sup> It was a neck to neck election. Although Mr Dayal, won as an independent candidate in 1997 yet it was a close call because the margin of victory was near 500 votes. Basically, in this constituency, there is a political rivalry between Dayal and Ghurki families was known to everyone. This constituency comprises of the border area in Lahore that mostly includes rural settings.<sup>31</sup> Here, Baradari (Clan) based personal influence is one of the important decisive factors, and both the Dayal and Ghurki families were prominent in this area.

2. Hafiz Salman Butt from NA-118 Lahore-I (2002 Election)

Mr Salman Butt had an old affiliation with JI, and he was included in the top leadership of JI (Lahore). In 2002 seat adjustment took place between PML N and MMA. There was an internal rift between JI and JUI-F on the issue of the ticket. Mr Abdul Wadood of JUI-F got the ticket of MMA.<sup>32</sup> Resultantly, Salman Butt contested as an independent candidate. Later on, on October 2<sup>nd</sup> 2002, PML N announced to support him and he won against Mian Azhar with a comfortable margin.<sup>33</sup> So, on legal ground, he was an independent candidate but politically, he was the consensus candidate of JI and PML N.

#### B) Religiopolitical parties are not more than a Pressure group

In a historical context, JI remained the most influential religiopolitical party in the electoral politics of Lahore. Historically, the city of Lahore remained a Center of activities for JI because of the presence of their founding father, Syed Abul Ala Maududi. The strength of JI is discipline, organization and commitment. Besides, JI never won the seat of the national assembly solely on their vote bank. Even the stalwart like Mian Tufail lost the election of 1970 with a massive margin of 32988. Whenever the JI candidate won the election, it was because of the political alliances and seat adjustments. There are two examples of it.

1. Liaquat Baloch

In 1990 elections, Liaquat Baloch was elected from NA 97, Lahore-VI by getting 68,943 votes. He contested this election from the platform of IJI. In the next election of 1993, he contested from the same constituency but from the platform of Pakistan Islamic Front (PIF) and he got only 11010 votes.<sup>34</sup> This time the only difference was that there was no seat adjustment with PML N. In 2002 elections, Mr Baloch was

<sup>28</sup> Calculations were done from the previously mentioned Elections results from 1970-2013.

<sup>29</sup> 1990 General Elections, *Constituency Wise Detailed Results National Assembly from 1988-1997*. (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan, 1998), 78-79.

<sup>30</sup> 1993 General Elections, *Constituency Wise Detailed Results National Assembly from 1988-1997*. (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan, 1998), 78-79.

<sup>31</sup> “Ex-MNA Ashiq Dayal dies,” *Dawn*, 11 October, 2012 <https://www.dawn.com/news/755740> (accessed July 23,2020).

<sup>32</sup> “Salman Butt Claims that he is MMA-PML Candidate,” *Dawn*, October 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2002 <https://www.dawn.com/news/59948> (accessed July 24,2020).

<sup>33</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan “Constituency Wise Detailed Results of 2002 Election” <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/General%20Election%202002/National.pdf> (accessed July 24, 2020).

<sup>34</sup> 1990 & 1993 General Elections, *Constituency Wise Detailed Results National Assembly from 1988-1997*. (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan, 1998), 76-77.

elected from NA 126, Lahore-IX by getting 43,679 votes.<sup>35</sup> In this election, he contested on the ticket of Majlis-e-Amal Pakistan (MMA), and there was seat adjustment with PML N. Later on, in 2013 elections, he contested again from the same constituency and managed to get 3226 votes. He was defeated with a massive margin of 94559 votes.<sup>36</sup>

2. Farid Ahmad Paracha

In 2002 elections, he won the election from NA 121 Lahore-IV by getting 30326 votes.<sup>37</sup> This was the scenario which is already discussed in Mr Liaquat Baloch’s case. Mr Paracha got the ticket of MMA, and there was seat adjustment with PML N. JI boycotted the election of 2008. In 2013 elections, Mr Paracha contested from the same constituency, but on this ticket of JI and no seat, adjustment took place. As a result, he lost the election and this time with the shocking difference of 111,478 casted votes.<sup>38</sup>

**C) Party Based politics**

Predominantly, Lahore always accepted and welcomed party-based politics. From the first general election of 1970 till the 2013 elections, the Lahorite’s vote bank always supported parties. The other important point in the electoral politics of Lahore is that the city always gave the majority to a single political party. The electoral politics of Lahore can be divided into two phases.

**1<sup>st</sup> Phase 1970-1988 Elections** (excluding 1985 elections)

In these three elections, PPP conquered the throne of Lahore. In the 1970 and 1977 elections, PPP whitewashed the elections by winning all the seats in Lahore. However, in the 1988 elections, PPP won 6 out of 9 seats and gained a majority in Lahore.

**2<sup>nd</sup> Phase 1990 to 2013**

In these three elections, PPP conquered the throne of Lahore. In the 1970 and 1977 elections, In 1990 elections, it was for the first time when PML N from the forum of IJI challenged PPP. IJI won 8 out of 9 seats in Lahore. In the next elections of 1993, PML N took a sole fight and won 8 out of 9 seats in Lahore. In the 1993 election, PML N had emerged as the single most prominent political representative of Lahore. In 1997 PML N got 8 seats. The 2002 elections were the most challenging election from the perspective of PML N, but in the worse condition, PML N got 4 seats, and MMA won 2 seats from PML N support. In the 2008 elections, PML N got 11, and in the 2013 election, 12 seats out of 13. In the last elections of 2013, PTI arose and dared to defy PML N supremacy and got more than 7 lakh votes from Lahore but could not mark the victory. It would be not wrong to say that from 1993 onwards, the throne of Lahore belonged to PML N. whitewashed the elections by winning all the seats in Lahore. In the 1988 elections, PPP won 6 out of 9 seats and gained a majority in Lahore.

**Table 11: Political Parties Position in Elections 1970-2013.**

	General Elections	PPP	PML N	IJI	PDA	PML Q	MMA	PTI	Independent & Others	Total seats
1	1970	8								8
2	1977	8								8
3	1988	6		2					1(PAI)	9
4	1990			8	1					9
5	1993	1	8							9
6	1997		8						1	9
7	2002	3	4			2	2		1+1 (PAT)	13
8	2008	2	11							13
9	2013		12					1		13

<sup>39</sup>

**Conclusion**

<sup>35</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan “Constituency Wise Detailed Results of 2002 Election” <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/General%20Election%202002/National.pdf> (accessed July 26,2020).

<sup>36</sup> *General Elections 2013 Report Volume-II* (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan), 75-76.

<sup>37</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan “Constituency Wise Detailed Results of 2002 Election” <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/General%20Election%202002/National.pdf> (accessed July 28,2020).

<sup>38</sup> *General Elections 2013 Report Volume-II* (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan), 72-73.

<sup>39</sup> Calculations were done from the previously mentioned Elections results from 1970-2013.

In Pakistan, the dawn of electoral politics was the 1970 general elections. These elections were contested based on ideology, party manifesto and election symbols. There was a clear divide between leftist and Rightist politics. Besides the ideological divide, there were capable political minds who understood the dynamics and tactics of politics. Few prominent names were Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Mufti Mehmood, Ch. Zahur Illahi, Malik Meraj Khalid, Mubashar Hasan, Sh. Muhammad Rashid, Abdul Wali Khan, Sher Baz Khan Mazari, Dr. Nazir Ahmad, Shah Ahmad Noorani, Prof Ghafoor Ahmad, Mir Ghous Bakhsh Khan Bizanjo, Sardar Khair Bakhsh Khan Marri, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, Ch. Mohammad Iqbal and Syed Abul Ala Maududi.

In three elections, 1970, 1977 and 1988, Lahore gave a mandate to PPP. In the 1988 elections, PML N from the forum of IJI challenged PPP for the first time and, in 1993, dethroned them. It took another two decades, from 1993 to 2013, to completely eliminate PPP and established the league's supremacy in the electoral politics of Lahore. In the 2013 elections, PTI got 1 seat. Moreover, it showed a potential to give a tough call to PML N. The recent elections of 2018 has shown the same picture. According to the report by the Election commission of Pakistan, the total number of voters in Lahore are 5,398,623, having 3,012,260 male voters and 2,386,363 female voters. After the final delimitation of 2018, now Lahore has fourteen constituencies of the National assembly. PML N got 10 seats, and PTI got 4 seats. Although PML N became the majority party in Lahore and interestingly, in comparison to the 2013 elections, the PML N's margin of victory has dramatically reduced. In addition to that, a new religiopolitical party Tehreek-i-Labbaik Pakistan (TLP) has appeared, which secured more votes than PPP and IJI combined. The electoral politics of Lahore, which began as the amalgamation of ideology and party manifesto, has transformed into performance, leadership cult and party affiliations and its aftermaths are blind following and polarization in society. Consequently, the 2018 general elections were dominated by the narratives, rhetoric, political slogans, exploitation of religious sentiments and spending of enormous money on elections campaign activities like big holdings, posters, banners, panaflex and rallies. In the 2018 elections, the political slogans-cum-narratives like "vote ko izzat do", "mujhe kyun nikala", "vote for change", "Aaj bhe zinda hai", "do nahi aik Pakistan" are getting popular space among the masses.

After the 2018 general elections, PTI has successfully formed a government in the centre and Punjab but is still away from getting a majority in Lahore. For political pundits, it would be interesting to see how the PTI government will run Punjab in the presence of strong opposition. Will PTI be able to eliminate PMLN like later excluded PPP? Will PMLN bounce back and restore her political hegemony in Lahore?