

**ELECTORAL POLITICS, CHANGE AND CONTINUITY:  
A CASE STUDY OF PK 5 SWAT -IV DISTRICT SWAT  
(ELECTION 2018)**

**BY**

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## **Abstract**

District Swat, previously a princely state from 1917 to 1969, is famous for its natural beauty, high lofty mountains, flowing waters, fruits, vegetables, hospitable people, etc. The area was a favorite place for tourists from inside and outside the country. For the last decade, the area was in news due to militancy in Swat. Militancy affected every sector of society at large. Militancy also affected the 2008 general elections which resulted in the shape of low turnout in provincial and national assembly constituencies. The 2013 general elections were the first general elections in the area after military operations in which PTI gained a clear majority from the district. In the 2018 general elections, PTI repeated the victory position in the province as well as gained the majority in the center with a clean sweep position in District Swat particularly. In the 2002 general elections in Swat, the people's voting behavior was affected by the religious ideologies of religious political parties. In the 2008 general elections, people's voting behavior was affected by ethnic nationalistic party ideology which resulted in the shape of victory of an ethnic nationalist regional party. In the 2013 general elections in Swat, people elected a newly emerged party due to charismatic leadership and party ideology and again elected the same party in the 2018 general elections. In the 2018 general elections vote for a political party were polled due to party ideology and party manifesto. In the same election voters polled a vote for a candidate due to the party affiliation of the candidate

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## List of Abbreviation

<b>AAT</b>	ALLAH-O-AKBAR TEHRIK
<b>ANP</b>	AWAMI NATIONAL PARTY
<b>APML</b>	ALL PAKISTAN MUSLIM LEAGUE
<b>ATP</b>	AMAN TARAQQI PARTY
<b>AWP</b>	AWAMI WORKER PARTY
<b>BAP</b>	BALUCHISTAN AWAMI PARTY
<b>BNP-M</b>	BALUCHISTAN NATIONAL PARTY (MENGAL)
<b>ECP</b>	ELECTION COMMISSION OF PAKISTAN
<b>FATA</b>	FEDERALLY ADMINISTERED TRIBAL AREAS
<b>IDA</b>	ISLAMIC DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE
<b>IJI</b>	ISLAMI JAMHOORI ITTEHAD
<b>IJM</b>	ISLAMI JAMHOORI MAHAAZ
<b>JI</b>	JAMAAT-I-ISLAMI
<b>JUI</b>	JAMIAT ULLEMA-I-ISLAM
<b>JUI-F</b>	JAMIAT ULLEMA I ISLAM



	(FAZLURAHMAN)
<b>JUI-H</b>	JAMIAT ULLEMA-I-ISLAM (HAZARVI)
<b>JUI-N</b>	JAMIAT ULLEMA-I-ISLAM (NAZRIYATI)
<b>JUP-N</b>	JAMIAT ULLEMA-I-PAKISTAN (NOORANI)
<b>KP</b>	KHYBER PAKHTOONKHWA
<b>LFO</b>	LEGAL FRAMEWORK ORDER
<b>MDM</b>	MUTTAHIDA DEENI MAHA AZ
<b>ML-Q</b>	MUSLIM LEAGUE (QAYUM)
<b>MMA P</b>	MUTTAHIDA MAJLIS-I-AMAL PAKISTAN
<b>MQM</b>	MUTTAHIDA QAUMI MOVEMENT (MUHAJIR QAUMI MOVEMENT)
<b>MRD</b>	MOVEMENT FOR THE RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY
<b>NA</b>	NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
<b>NAP-W</b>	NATIONAL AWAMI PARTY (WALI)
<b>NPP</b>	NATIONAL PEOPLE'S PARTY

<b>NWFP</b>	<b>NORTH WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE</b>
<b>PAI</b>	<b>PAKISTAN AWAMI ITTEHAD</b>
<b>PDA</b>	<b>PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE</b>
<b>PFM</b>	<b>PAKISTAN FREEDOM MOVEMENT</b>
<b>PIF</b>	<b>PAKISTAN ISLAMIC FRONT</b>
<b>PIRP</b>	<b>PAKISTAN ISLAMIC REPUBLICAN PARTY</b>
<b>PKMAP</b>	<b>PAKHTOONKHWA MILLI AWAMI PARTY</b>
<b>PKQP</b>	<b>PAKHTOONKHWA QAUMI PARTY</b>
<b>PML</b>	<b>PAKISTAN MUSLIM LEAGUE</b>
<b>PML-J</b>	<b>PAKISTAN MUSLIM LEAGUE (JUNEJO)</b>
<b>PML-M</b>	<b>PAKISTAN MUSLIM LEAGUE MUTTAHIDA</b>
<b>PMLN</b>	<b>PAKISTAN MUSLIM LEAGUE (NAWAZ)</b>
<b>PMLQ</b>	<b>PAKISTAN MUSLIM LEAGUE (QUAID)</b>

<b>PNA</b>	PAKISTAN NATIONAL ALLIANCE
<b>PPP</b>	PAKISTAN PEOPLE’S PARTY
<b>PPPP</b>	PAKISTAN PEOPLE’S PARTY
	PARLIAMENTARIANS
<b>PPPS</b>	PAKISTAN PEOPLE’S PARTY (SHERPAO)
<b>PST</b>	PAKISTAN SUNNI TEHRIK
<b>PTI</b>	PAKISTAN TEHRIK-I-INSAF
<b>QWP</b>	QAUMI WATAN PARTY
<b>TTP</b>	TEHRIK TAHAFFUZ PAKISTAN
<b>US</b>	UNITED STATES
<b>USAID</b>	UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

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**Sher Ali Khan**

**Dedicated**

**To**

My Beloved parents, their endless support, love and encouragement .

## Chapter 1

### 1.1 Introduction:

The lush green valley of Swat lies between 34°-40 to 35° North and 74° to 74°-6 degree East in the present-day Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan.<sup>1</sup> The terrain of Swat is four thousand square Miles with a populace of 2.31 Million.<sup>2</sup> Swat valley starts from an altitude of 2,000 feet above sea level at the interchange of *Panjhora* and Swat River and quickly upsurges to the northern crests where statures run from 15,000 to 22,000 feet.<sup>3</sup> Swat earned the title “Switzerland of Asia” due to the emerald green water of the flowing Swat River, magical lakes, abundant fruit orchards, roaring waterfall, etc.<sup>4</sup>

District Swat, a former princely state, is important due to its strategic location because it is located in the bordering area of China, Afghanistan and Central Asian Republics. It also remained the center of many religions throughout history. In the recent past, it played an important role in Jihad in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union. In the first decade of the 21st century, it was the flashpoint in national and international news due to religious militancy. The history of electoral behaviors of Swat is not consistent, sometimes people voted on the basis of linguistic nationalism, sometimes they voted for members of the Royal Family (Ex-Rulers of Swat), sometimes they supported religious candidates, and sometimes voted for tribal leaders and the brotherhoods like *Khan*, *Malak*, etc. Swat was a princely state of the Subcontinent from 1915 to 1969 when it was amalgamated with Pakistan. However, Swat Exceptional Status was retained under the Provisional Constitutional Order 1969; the state was abolished within few months and merged into Pakistan in the same year.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Sultan-I-Rome, *Swat State (1915-1969) From Genesis to Merger, An Analysis of Political, Administrative, Socio-Political, and Developments* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008).p.15.

<sup>2</sup> Abdul Qayum Balala, *The Charming Swat* (Lahore: Maqsood Publishers, 2000).p.15.

<sup>3</sup> Rome, *Swat State (1915-1969)*, 15.

<sup>4</sup> Fazal khaliq, *The Udhiyana Kingdom: The Forgotten Holy Land of Swat*, (Swat: Shoaib Sons Publishers, 2014).p.7.

<sup>5</sup> Rome, *Swat State (1915-1969)*.p.269 .

Voting behavior refers to the activities or actions of inhabitants in respect of participating in the elections held for electing their representatives in national, local and regional governments. The behavior tends to be in backing of political parties candidates or parties or nonparticipation in the voting process. The behavior of voters is often dependent on the welfare or drawbacks to their quality of life. Voting behavior is the method in which different people have a trend to vote. It is studied so that political psychologists, or political scientists, can understand why certain people vote for various political parties, then those political parties can predict who might vote for them in the future, which helps them to plan the policies, communication, and select the people who may best represent them and persuade voters to vote for them in subsequent elections.<sup>6</sup>

Elections study may be a captivating field of research. By studying diverse aspects of the electoral process, one can understand not only how and why people vote and elect their representatives but also get a chance to know the economic, social and political context within which voting decisions are made and the way do the linguistic, ethnic, religious and other primordial attachments shape the electoral process? No democracy within the world can function without free, fair, and openly contested elections. Free and fair elections enable the people to elect their representatives and government. The method of fair and free election strengthens their attachment with the political process and institution and facilitates the peaceful transfer of power. Election involves large number of individuals who are mobilized by political parties concerning their party leadership, the party networks, and their programs at the local level. Elections attract more attention of more people than the other event, including local development, personal problems, sports, and other matters which normally occupy a person's interests. For weeks a large number of individuals are passionately involved in the election process.<sup>7</sup>

In election studies, Pakistan has a lesser amount of its share although eleven elections have been held in the last fifty years, both National and Provincial levels.

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<sup>6</sup> Paul Goldsmith, *Voting behavior*, <https://www.tutor2u.net/politics/reference/voting-behaviour>, accessed on. Feb 21, 2021.

<sup>7</sup> Hassan Askari Rizvi, "*Electoral Process in Pakistan*" in *Pakistan Unresolved Issues of State and Society*, eds. Syed Farooq Hasnat and Ahmad Faruqui, (Lahore: Vanguard Press, 2008).pp.1-2.



Results of elections have been largely accepted. The voters and the contesting parties have been normally competent to have contact to the media and various easy-going channels of communication to place their message through the public. Regardless of all this, on the other hand, academic attentiveness in electoral politics in Pakistan has been scarce. The educational investigation of politics in the Pakistan has been generally influenced by the study of the early post-independence time. During military rules, elections were postponed in Pakistan and sometimes indirect elections were held. The first election in Pakistan supported the adult franchise was held after 23 years of creation of Pakistan in 1970.<sup>8</sup>

The significance of election is universally accepted; however, in Pakistani perspective elections have a special significance. Elections caused the making of Pakistan also as its separation. In elections (1945-46) which was the last held in united India, Pakistan procured its freedom; the 1970 elections, the first national election of Pakistan, sponsored its separation. The results of elections (1977) were accused as rigged which led to the toppling of the elected government and smooth way for the military regime. General Zia-ul-Haq elected himself president during a referendum on December 19, 1984, and continued to rule for eleven years.<sup>9</sup> Though, the electoral history of Pakistan has been turbulent, yet, subsequent elections of 1985, 1988, 1990, and 1997 remained peaceful. In each case, a peaceful shift of power was witnessed. The elected regime of 1997 couldn't complete its term as Nawaz Sharif's rule was toppled by General Pervez Musharraf in October 1999, who proclaimed a state of emergency and adjourned the constitution. The martial law continued for 3 years before general elections and they were held in October 2002. These elections laid the state yet again on the democratic path. Nevertheless, the following elections of 2008, 2013, and 2018 more strengthened the democratic process.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Muhammad Waseem, *Democratization In Pakistan, A Study of The 2002 Elections*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2006).pp.1,2.

<sup>9</sup> Harris Khalique, The referendum that lasts, <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/88138-the-referendum-that-lasts> accessed on Feb 24, 2021.

<sup>10</sup> Lal Badshah, Ashfaq-ur-Rahman and Niaz Muhammad, "Political Determinants of Voting Behavior in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa" in *Liberal Arts and Social Sciences International Journal* Vol 2, no 1, ( January-June, 2017).p.2.

After the establishment of Bangladesh, the West Pakistan National Assembly session was held on 14<sup>th</sup> April 1972 at the State Bank Building Islamabad, in which all 144 members were of West Pakistan and two were from former East Pakistan (Mr. Noor-ul-Amin and Raja Tridev Roy who had preferred to join Pakistan) participated.<sup>11</sup> In the 5<sup>th</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan there were two members from Swat naming Mr. Rahim Shah from the constituency NA-16 and Mr. Miangul Aurangzeb from constituency NA-17.<sup>12</sup> Both Mr. Rahim Shah and Mr. Miangul Aurangzeb were ticket holders of Muslim League Qayum (ML Q).<sup>13</sup>

The country's next election was held on March 7, 1977, during which Pakistan People's Party succeeded to win 155 out of 200 seats within the National Assembly.<sup>14</sup> In 1977 elections members of the National Assembly from Swat were 3, NA 21 Swat I, NA 22 Swat II, and NA 23 Swat III. From NA 21 Swat I Miangul Amirzeb was elected. From NA 22 Swat II Haji Fazl-e-Raziq was elected. From constituency NA 23 Swat III Mr. Fateh Muhammad Khan was elected.<sup>15</sup>

After the 1984 referendum, General Zia held elections of the National and Provincial Assemblies in February 1985. These elections were held on a non-party basis, which was legitimated through an amendment to the 1973 Constitution. During a countrywide speech on January 12, 1985, General Zia also announced various other conditions for the elections. Amendments were made in the Political Parties Act of 1962. These changes affected entirely political parties. The parties in opposition, MRD, rejected the elections, and demanded for party-based polls and re-implementation of the Constitution of 1973.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> *PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY*, <http://www.na.gov.pk/en/content.php?id=75>, accessed on Feb 25, 2021 .

<sup>12</sup> *5TH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FROM 1972-10TH JANUARY 1977 LIST OF MEMBERS & ADDRESSES*, <http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/former-members/5th%20National%20Assembly.pdf>, accessed on Feb 24, 2021.

<sup>13</sup> *MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ( 1972 - 1997)*, accessed on Feb 24, 2021. <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/GE%201972-1997.pdf>

<sup>14</sup> *General Elections 1977*, <https://storyofpakistan.com/general-elections-1977/>, accessed on 24 Feb, 2021 .

<sup>15</sup> *6TH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FROM 28th March 1977 TO 5TH JULY 1977 LIST OF MEMBERS & ADDRESSES*, [http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/former-members/6th%20 National% 20Assembly. Pdf](http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/former-members/6th%20National%20Assembly.Pdf), accessed on Feb 25, 2021 .

<sup>16</sup> *General Elections, February 1985*, <https://storyofpakistan.com/general-elections-february-1985/>, accessed on Feb 25, 2021 .

The next general polls in the country were of 1988 which were happened after the passing away of General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq in an airplane incident. In the results of the 1988 election PPP gained majority seats in the National Assembly of Pakistan. From the National Assembly constituency NA-21 Swat-I Shahzada Aman-i-Room was elected. From the constituency, NA-22 Swat-II Haji Fazl-e-Raziq was elected and from the constituency, NA-23 Swat-III Dr. Mehboob-ur-Rehman was elected.<sup>17</sup> Shahzada Aman-i-Room and Dr. Mehboob-ur-Rehman were ticket holders of PPP while Haji Fazl-e-Raziq was ticket holder of IJI (Islami Jamhoori Ittihad).<sup>18</sup> In the 1988 general elections, there were 9 seats of provincial assembly from Swat. ANP ticket holder Muhammad Karim was elected for the provincial assembly from constituency PF-63 Swat-I and got 7,811 votes. Turnout in the constituency was 34.22%.<sup>19</sup> From constituency PF-64 Swat-II Mr. Bakht Jehan was elected on the ticket of IJI and got 7,649 votes. Turnout in the constituency was 30.7%.<sup>20</sup> From constituency PF-65 Swat-III Malak Fida Muhammad Khan was elected on the ticket of PPP and got 11,272 votes. Turnout in the constituency was 43.4%.<sup>21</sup> From constituency PF-66 Swat-IV Syed Muhammad Ali Shah Bacha Lala was elected on the ticket of IJI and got 7345 votes. Turnout in the constituency was 33.18%.<sup>22</sup> From constituency PF-67 Swat-V Mr. Qaimoos Khan was elected as a member of the provincial assembly and got 8,260 votes. Mr. Qaimoos Khan was an independent candidate. Turnout in the constituency was 37.35%.<sup>23</sup> IJI candidate Mr. Fateh Muhammad Khan was elected for the provincial assembly from constituency PF-68 Swat-VI and got 11,794 votes. Turnout in the constituency was 36.39%.<sup>24</sup> From

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<sup>17</sup> 8TH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FROM 1988 TO 1990 LIST OF MEMBERS & ADDRESSES, <http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/former-members/8th%20National%20Assembly.pdf>, accessed on Feb 27, 2021 .

<sup>18</sup> MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ( 1972 - 1997), <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/GE%201972-1997.pdf>, accessed on Feb 27, 2021 .

<sup>19</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P.*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.609.

<sup>20</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P.*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.610.

<sup>21</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P.*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.611.

<sup>22</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P.*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.612

<sup>23</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P.*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.613.

<sup>24</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P.*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.614.

constituency PF-69 Swat-VII, Malak Hazrat Ali ticket holder of PPP, was elected for provincial assembly and got 3,044 votes. Turnout in the constituency was 33.98%.<sup>25</sup> Badi-uz-Zaman ticket holder of PPP was elected from provincial assembly constituency PF-70 Swat-VII and got 10,140 votes. Turnout in the constituency was 30.16%.<sup>26</sup> From constituency PF-71 Pir Muhammad Khan was elected for provincial assembly on the ticket of IJI. Turnout in the constituency was 27.89%.<sup>27</sup>

Succeeding the former (November 1988) general polls for the National Assembly, the regime of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto (Pakistan People's Party - PPP) was ended by the then President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, on August 6, 1990, on worries of debasement, and abuse of power. As a result, the Assembly was early disbanded (with the Senate ongoing to sit) and new elections were planned for October. Benazir Bhutto blamed it as politically motivated. The removal of Benazir Bhutto comes after months of racial violence in Sind and shrill differences with the military over national and foreign policy.<sup>28</sup> In 1990 general elections there were 3 seats of National Assembly and 9 of Provincial Assembly from Swat. From constituency NA-21Swat-I Mr. Khaliq Dad Khan, NA-22 Swat-II Mr. Abdul Matin Khan and from NA-23 Swat-III Mr. Muhammad Afzal Khan was elected.<sup>29</sup> Mr. Khaliq Dad Khan was ticket holder of IJI got 24,891 votes. Mr. Muhammad Afzal Khan ticket holder of PDA (Peoples Democratic Alliance) got 32,515 votes. Mr. Abdul Matin Khan independent candidate got 19,084 votes.<sup>30</sup> In provincial assembly constituencies PF-63 Swat-I Mr. Sarzamin Khan (IND), PF-64 Swat-II Mr. Bakht Jehan Khan (IJI), PF-65 Swat-III Mr. Wajid Ali Khan (ANP), PF-66 Swat-IV Syed Muhammad Ali Shah Bacha Lala (IJI), PF-67 Swat-V Mr. Qaimoos Khan (IJI), PF-68 Swat-VI Mr. Dost Muhammad Khan (PDA), PF-69 Swat-VII Malak Hazrat Ali (PDA), PF-70 Swat-

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<sup>25</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P.*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.615.

<sup>26</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections To The National Assembly From N.W.F.P.*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.616.

<sup>27</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections To The National Assembly From N.W.F.P.*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.617.

<sup>28</sup> *PAKISTAN Parliamentary Chamber: National Assembly ELECTIONS HELD IN 1990*, [http://archive.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2241\\_90.htm](http://archive.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2241_90.htm), accessed on March 2, 2021 .

<sup>29</sup> *9TH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FROM 1990 TO 1993 LIST OF MEMBERS & ADDRESSES*, <http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/former-members/9th%20National%20Assembly.pdf>, accessed on March 2, 2021 .

<sup>30</sup> *Constituency-Wise Detailed result*, <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/Results%201988%20-%201997/NA.pdf>, accessed on March 2, 2021 .

VIII Mr. Muhammad Zahir Shah Khan (IJI) and PF-71 Swat-IX Pir Muhammad Khan were elected on the seats of the provincial assembly.<sup>31</sup>

On July 18, 1993, resulting reported compression from the army, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Prime Minister Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif (Pakistan Muslim League-PML) reconciled to finish their intense power struggle, and an interim administration led by Prime Minister Moeen Qureshi was on oath in five days later till the October general election. The caretaker government was generally honored for stabilizing the country while a hostile one-month election movement was waged. Provincial assembly polls were planned for 9 October.<sup>32</sup> In the 1993 general elections, in Swat, changes were made in seats of the National Assembly, it reduced to 2 from 3, and seats of the Provincial assembly were reduced to 7 from 9 due to the creation of new Districts. In 1993 Muhammad Afzal Khan and Miangul Aurangzeb were elected for National Assembly of Pakistan from Swat.<sup>33</sup> From NA-21 Swat-I Miangul Aurangzeb was elected on the ticket of PMLN. From NA-22 Swat-II Muhammad Afzal Khan was elected on the ticket of PKQP (Pakhtunkhwa Qaumi Party).<sup>34</sup> From the seats of the Provincial assembly PF-65 Swat-I Dr. Mehboob-ur-Rehman (PPP), PF-66 Swat-II Syed Muhammad Ali Shah Bacha Lala (PMLN), PF-67 Swat-III Syed Allaudin (PPP), PF-68 Swat-IV Mr. Dost Muhammad Khan (PPP), PF-69 Swat-V Mr. Muhammad Didar Khan, PF-7 Swat-VI Mr. Badi-uz-Zaman and for constituency PF-71 Swat-VII Pir Muhammad Khan were elected.<sup>35</sup>

Parliamentary elections previously occurred in October 1993. On November 5, 1996, Head of state Farooq Ahmad Leghari dismissed the Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto (Pakistan People's Party - PPP) on charges of defilement and abuse of force by her regime. An Interim government dominated and new

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<sup>31</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P., (Swat: District Election Commission).pp.609...617.*

<sup>32</sup> *PAKISTAN Parliamentary Chamber: National Assembly ELECTIONS HELD IN 1993,* [http://archive.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2241\\_93.htm](http://archive.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2241_93.htm), accessed on March 2, 2021 .

<sup>33</sup> *10TH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FROM 1993 TO 1996 LIST OF MEMBERS & ADDRESSES,* [http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/former-members/10th %20National%20Assembly.pdf](http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/former-members/10th%20National%20Assembly.pdf), accessed on March 2, 2021.

<sup>34</sup> *Constituency-Wise detailed result,* [https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/ Results %201988%20-%201997/NA.pdf](https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/Results%201988%20-%201997/NA.pdf). Accessed on March 2, 2021.

<sup>35</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P., (Swat: District Election Commission).pp.609.617.*

polls were therefore held in February.<sup>36</sup> In the 1997 elections, no changes were made to seats of the National Assembly in Swat but seats of Provincial Assembly were decreased to 5 from 7. From NA-21 Swat-I Miangul Aurangzeb was elected on the ticket of PMLN. From NA-22 Swat-II Mr. Shujaat Ali Khan was elected also on the PMLN ticket.<sup>37</sup> On provincial constituency PF-65 Swat-I Miangul Asfandiyar Amir Zeb (PMLN), PF-66 Swat-II Syed Muhammad Ali Shah Bacha Lala, PF-67 Swat-III Mr. Qaimoos Khan (PMLN), PF-68 Swat-IV Mr. Fateh Muhammad Khan (PMLN) and PF-69 Swat-V Mr. Anwar Ali Mian (IND) were elected for membership of provincial assembly.<sup>38</sup>

In general, elections which were held in the year 2002, Swat were divided into two constituencies of the National Assembly and seven constituencies of the provincial assembly. In this election, MMA (a coalition of Jamiat Ulema I Islam and Jamaat I Islami) won all seats of provincial and national assembly from district Swat. From constituency NA-29 Swat-I Qari Abdul Baees Saddiqui got 65,808 votes and from NA-30 Swat-II Mr. Fazal Subhan got 67,085 votes. Similarly, on the Provincial Assembly seats, PF-80, Muhammad Amin got 15594 votes, PF-81 Maulana Nizamuddin got 15703 votes, PF-82, Maulana Irfanullah got 10915 votes, PF-83, Mr. Hussain Ahmad got 10587 votes, PF-84 Qari Mahmood got 16635 votes, PF-85 Mr. Amir Zada got 11039 votes, and in constituency PF-86 Maulana Mufti Hussain Ahmad got 12540 votes.<sup>39</sup>

Similarly in the General elections of 2008, there were no changes in the seats of District Swat. All of the seats of the National and Provincial Assembly were won by Awami National Party (ANP) and came into power in NWFP. The important thing in the 2008 general elections was the turnout of the voters. The winning candidate of ANP from PF-80 Wajid Ali Khan got 4904 votes and the total cast votes in the constituency were 15 % of the total registered voters in the constituency. In the

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<sup>36</sup> *PAKISTAN Parliamentary Chamber: National Assembly ELECTIONS HELD IN 1997*,  
[http://archive.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2241\\_97.htm](http://archive.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2241_97.htm). accessed on March 2, 2021

<sup>37</sup> *MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (1972 - 1997)*,  
<https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/GE%201972-1997.pdf>. accessed on March 2, 2021

<sup>38</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P., (Swat: District Election Commission)*.pp.609.617.

<sup>39</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, General Election 2002, (Swat: District Election Commission, 2008)*.p.324

constituency, PF-82 winning candidate of ANP got 7174 votes and the voter turnout in the constituency was 21%. In the constituency, PF-83 winning candidate of ANP Shamsheer Ali got 4726 votes and voter turnout in the constituency was 13.5%. Similarly, in PF-84, PF-85, and PF-86 the voter's turnout was 15%, 24%, and 20% respectively.<sup>40</sup>

In the 2013 election PTI (Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf) secured 2 seats of the National Assembly and 5 seats of Provincial Assembly from District Swat. The remaining 2 seats of Provincial Assembly were secured by Jafar Shah of ANP and Qaimoos Khan of PML N.<sup>41</sup>

After the census of 2017 seats of District Swat were increased. Numbers of the National Assembly constituencies were increased from 2 to 3 and constituencies of the Provincial Assembly from 7 to 8. In the 2018 general elections, PTI cleaned sweep from Swat.<sup>42</sup> 2018 elections were different from the past elections because there is a clear difference in voter's turnout in 2018 election and elections in the past.<sup>43</sup>

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem:**

District Swat is one of the 9 districts of the Malakand division. In ancient times Swat has remained the center of different civilizations that's why it attracts tourists to its archeological sites from different religions. Before militancy, a large number of tourists also visited Swat for its natural beauty and pleasant weather. In the first decade of the 21st-century militancy were on its peaks in district Swat and its surrounded districts. At that time in the 2002 elections, Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal Pakistan (MMA) was in the provincial government of NWFP. Due to religious extremism in the area, the people rejected the religious political parties and in the 2008 general elections, Awami National Party (ANP) came into power in the province and also gained the majority in the district. The 2008 general elections were largely affected by militancy

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<sup>40</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, General Election 2008*, (Swat: District Election Commission, 2008).p.344.

<sup>41</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, General Election 2013*, (Swat: District Election Commission, 2008).pp.455.456.

<sup>42</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Provincial Assembly Notification*, (Swat: District Election Commission, 2018).p.1.

<sup>43</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Statement Showing Constituency Wise Turnout Of Total Votes Polled During General Elections-2018 in Respect of District Swat*, (Swat: District Election Commission, 2018).p.1.

because a huge number of ANP members and influential were killed in different militant activities. The 2013 general elections were the first general elections held after military operations in the area. In the 2013 general elections, the people of Swat elected a new political party with a new ideology and with a slogan of change. In the 2018 general elections, PTI again won from Swat and clean-swept from district Swat. *Pashtuns* are popular for that they didn't elect a political party twice but this is not the case with PTI. PTI changed the past and became elected twice from Swat and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP). It can be due to many reasons and in the present study, the researcher tried to find the reason and causes which affected people's voting behavior. It hunts for to pay valuable insights and considerate into the voting behavior of the voters of PK-5 Swat IV in 2018 general elections that in detail which are the reasons that have been liable to make the voting behavior in General Elections of 2018.

### **1.3 Research Objectives:**

Research objectives are follows.

1. To understand socio-economic, religious and traditional elements and their role in shaping of electoral behavior.
2. To understand the voting behavior of voters of PK 5 of District Swat in 2018 elections.
3. To find out the effects of ethnic nationalism on people's voting behavior.
4. To inquire the effects of personality on people's voting behavior.

### **1.4 Literature Review:**

Data regarding 5<sup>th</sup> national assembly (1972-1977) list of members and addresses was collected from National Assembly website. Names of National Assembly members and addresses are included in the list. Similarly 6<sup>th</sup> National Assembly (28<sup>th</sup> March 1977 to 5<sup>th</sup> July 1977), 7<sup>th</sup> National Assembly (1985 to 1988), 8<sup>th</sup> National Assembly (1988 to 1990), 9<sup>th</sup> National Assembly (1990 to 1993), 10<sup>th</sup> National Assembly (1993 to 1996), 11<sup>th</sup> National Assembly (1997 to 1999), 12<sup>th</sup> National Assembly (2002 to 2007), 13<sup>th</sup>



National Assembly (2008 to 2013), 14<sup>th</sup> National Assembly (2013 to 2018) lists were also downloaded from National Assembly of Pakistan website.

Data regarding members of the National Assembly (1972 to 1997) was collected from Election Commission of Pakistan website. Names of elected members of National Assembly from 1972 to 1997 are listed in the document.

*Constituency-wise detailed result of National Assembly of four Elections (1988, 1990, 1993, 1997)*, were collected from Election Commission of Pakistan website.

Data regarding provincial elections in N.W.F.P (present KP) “*Detailed Results of Elections to the National Assembly from N.W.F.P*” which included provincial elections results of election 1988, 1990, 1993 and elections of 1997 were collected from district election commission office Swat.

Form XVII of 2013 general elections which included final results of the provincial constituency PK-80 Swat-I (present PK-V Swat-I) was collected from district election commission office Swat. Form XVII also included list of the candidates for the constituency PK-80 Swat-I and votes they got in 2013 general elections. Form XVI of 2013 general elections was also collected from district election commission office Swat on the title “*Consolidated Statement of the Results of the Count Furnished by the Presiding Officers in Respect of the Election to the Provincial Assembly From Constituency PK-80 Swat-I*”. Form XVI included polling station wise result of the constituency. Form XVI also included total number of votes polled at the polling stations, total votes recorded on postal ballot for the constituency and Grand Total votes at the constituency. Numbers of male voters and female voters were also included in the Form XVI.

Form 49 for the constituency PK-5 Swat-IV of 2018 general elections was collected from district election commission office Swat. Form 49 consists of Final Consolidated Result which includes complete list of candidates for the constituency PK-5 Swat-IV and votes they got in 2018 general elections. Form 48 of 2018 general elections on the title “*Consolidated Statement of the Results of the Count Furnished by the Presiding Officers, Election to the Provincial Assembly of the KPK PK-5 Swat-IV*” was also collected from district election commission office Swat. Form 48 consists

total number of polling stations in the constituency, number of males and females polling stations, males and females registered voters in the constituency.

Syed Farooq Hasnat and Ahmad Faruqi in their book *Pakistan unresolved issues of State and Society* provided useful information about election studies in different areas of Pakistan. Electoral politics and local government institutions and then performances in different areas of Pakistan are discussed.<sup>44</sup>

Maleeha Lodhi In her book *Pakistan Encounter with Democracy* basically discussed two election of 1990 and election of 1993. This book is related to two elections on a national level and no discussion was made related to elections on the provincial level.

Imdad Ali Khan (1986) in his research work *Voting Behavior in Rural NWFP: A Study of People's Participation in Election* analyzed the non-party elections of 1985. He has tried to compare the sociological and political determinants influencing voting behavior. For this purpose he conducted interviews of the then NWFP assembly members, but the view point of voters has not been analyzed in this study, and the results of the interview discussion have been generalized to public voters.

Muhammad Waseem in his book *Democratization in Pakistan, A Study of 2002 Elections* emphasized on conceptual perspectives of general elections during the period of 1993 to 2002 in Pakistan. It was the first elaborative reading in the arena of electoral politics in Pakistan. In which theoretical outline was developed. However, his work was a general outline on the countrywide level and was not associated to any province or area in particular.

Ayesha Jalal (1995) in her book *Democracy and authoritarianism in South Asia: A comparative and historical perspective* elucidated the foundation of general polls in Pakistan and uncovered the connection of constituent governmental issues in Pakistan with colonial rule. She has represented in her exploration work how the custom set by civil services since the colonial rule in 1947 worked with civil-military officials, to hold their mastery on the political construction of the state.

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<sup>44</sup> Syed Farooq Hasnat. & Ahmed Faruqi. eds. *Pakistan unresolved issues of state & society* (Lahore: Vanguard Books Lahore, 2008).

Andrew.R. Wilder (1999) in his book *The Pakistani voter, electoral politics and voting behavior in the Punjab* centers on constituent legislative issues in Punjab. He has likewise broken down the discretionary history of the area since the segment of the Subcontinent. It can likewise be encouraged that the verifiable investigation of the area as far as appointive legislative issues and casting ballot conduct is the central commitment of the specialist to the writing of discretionary governmental issues in Pakistan.

Iftikhar Ahmad (1976) in his book *Pakistan general elections*, pays particular attention to electoral contests, historical background of voters and campaign issues. He argues that voters undermine the election manifesto and they look to the party that is promising to address their problems. Educated and young masses are likely to cast their vote in favor of such candidates who assure them of resolve their basic problems immediately.

Gine & Mansuri (2011) in their book *Together we will: evidence from a field experiment on female voter turnout in Pakistan* has discussed women participation in the electoral process. They have analyzed that in different developing societies women are less aware of electoral politics. When they vote, they have to follow the choice of male members of their family. Their study is rich in literature about the participation of women voters in electoral process.

Inayatullah in his article *Perspective in the Rural Power Structure in West Pakistan's People and Society* develops an argument that family and biradari causes play a important role in shaping the voting behavior of individual, that the traditional social structure plays a detrimental role in framing the political preferences of voters. According to him the individual's political decision is an inalienable part of the group to which he belonged and the role of biradari factor increases in making political decisions.

Farman Ullah & Fakhr-ul-Islam (2014) in their article *Operationalizing the Theory of Party Identification in the Electoral Politics of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: A Case Study of General Elections 2013* inspect the use of the concept of party identification in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa with the special locus to the 2013 general elections. Their work discusses that the model of party identification does not have a wide application and it

had not played any significant role in influencing the voting behavior in the 2013 general elections in the province. The quantitative analysis of the study reports that more than 53% respondents supported the argument that their voting behavior was not influenced by party identification factor in the elections of 2013.

Azhar, Zain & Asif (2010) in their article *The Impact of Income over Voting Behavior in the South Punjab: An Empirical Study of Pakistan's General Election 2008* argued that economic factors play a very vital role in all the fields of life. According to them, income assists to foster the preferences in elections such as to which they will vote? And why they will vote? Their study has explained the attitude of people at the time of voting in southern areas of Punjab in the general elections 2008. Major focus of this study was to examine the impact of income on the preferences of voters.

M. Javaid Akhtar, Sajid Mahmood Awan, and Shuja-ul Haq (2012) in their article *Elections of Pakistan and Response of Social Scientists: A Study of Theoretical Understandings* discussed electoral politics and political behavior of Pakistani society. According to their point of view, elections are considered as political activities and political forums from where leadership emerges. His article's major focus was on the analyzing that how early researchers have determined their attitudes and remarks about the voting behavior of people of different areas at different times.

Abdul Rauf & Hassan Shah (2015) stated in their study *Determinants of Turnout in Elections: A Case Study of 2008 General Elections in District Charsadda* that although the studies of electoral politics to understand the voting behavior at national as well as regional level are very important, yet it is equally important to study voting behavior at local and grass root level too. The level of democratization in any society may be evaluated through the voter turnout as the high turnout will be a witness that citizens consider it a duty to cast their vote to bring a better democratic environment in their state. In the case of Pakistan, it is unpleasant to say that the voter turnout is normally low that reflects that for citizens it is not necessary to cast their vote. There may be various reasons behind their decision. Their decision to vote is influenced by different factors that may range from personal leverage to the structural arrangements of political parties, to take part in the practice of elections. They

conducted their study in the rural area of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa to analyze the voter's opinion about elections.

Dr. Muhammad Abu Zar Wajidi in his book *A Study of the Legal and Constitutional Development of Municipal Administration in Karachi from 1933 to 1946* briefly discussed history of Karachi Metropolitan Corporation, which is the largest civic body in Pakistan. This is a case study of local government institution, its history and performance.

Hassan Muhammad, (Former Secretary, Election Commission of Pakistan) in his book *General Elections in Pakistan: Some Untold Stories and Personal Experiences* includes brief history of elections in Pakistan from Ayub's era Indirect Elections to 2002 elections. This book also includes some personal experiences of the author.

Fariha Khalid & Razia Musarrat (2014) in their article *Electoral Politics in Pakistan (Elections 2013): A Case Study of District Muzaffar Garh*, state that elections at regular interval make a major contribution to political development and the process of democratic governance in any state. In democratic societies, general masses constitute the will of the state through their voter power. They argue that general elections serve as a platform to discuss the public issues and to facilitate the masses to express their opinion. It is a metaphorical form of political participation. Political consciousness of masses plays a key role in the progress of political institutions. Since the creation of Pakistan, the electoral process has not been translucent and regular. But the previous three general elections of 2002, 2008 and 2013 were held transparently. In the history of Pakistan, political process is influenced by the political personalities. This study argues that albeit there is a multiparty system in Pakistan but street men predominantly propounded two major political parties; PML-N and PPP, yet it is optimistic gesture that another political group PTI has emerged as the third popular party of the country. Center of this study has been to examine on the voting behavior of people of district Muzaffar Garh of Punjab province.

Dr. Mughees Ahmad in his research paper *voting behavior in rural and urban areas of Punjab* argued that role of caste and *Biradari* is deep enrooted in subcontinent

and these two components of culture are impinged the political socialization of the people. He further argued that these factors were became the part of political alignment of the people in Pakistan during non-political governments. The main influential factor in case of Punjab is the *Biradari*. In his view, it has strongest influence on the political system both at the state and on provincial level.

In the light of the above mentioned data we came to know that there is no specific work done on voting behavior in district Swat.

### **1.5 Research Questions:**

In this research study researcher tried to answer the following question.

1. What factors urged a voter to vote for a specific political party?
2. What factors urged a voter to vote for a specific candidate?
3. Religious clerics convinced or tried to convince people to vote for a specific political party or a candidate?
4. Do on Election Day political parties and their supporters try to change the minds of voters by facilitating them?

### **1.6 Theoretical Framework:**

In order to answer the research questions of the current research work two theories have been applied .Party Identification model sometimes known as the Michigan model because it was established by the University of Michigan in the 1930's. According to this model the partisanship determines the voting behavior. Voters cast their votes on party basis. Partisanship is playing an important role in electoral studies. This theory meant that the voter's choice in election is purely based on party loyalty and their choices have nothing to do with the election campaign. It is also believed that the political affiliation of a candidate to a specific party develops because of parental influences and other factors and this political affiliation is retained in their latter life of a candidate and the candidate political orientations become so strong and less receptive

to other factors.<sup>45</sup> Partisanship was also thoroughly discussed by an author named Angus Campbell and his work which was published in 1960 as titled, “The American Voter”. His work was known as the first electoral study in the history. He portrays that party identification is very significant in the sense that the voting preference of a candidate cannot be molded through election campaign.<sup>46</sup> Electoral studies in different regions of Pakistan are studied by different authors and they believed that partisanship is one of the political elements of voting behavior but not a significant factor to shape the political preferences of voters. While studying the electoral politics in Pakistan a special reference to Punjab province, Wilder arguing that partisanship is more relevant to the Urban Punjab and the voter chooses their representatives on partisan basis.<sup>47</sup>

Another theory named the rational Choice theory was presented by Anthony Downs.<sup>48</sup> This model comes from economics and its termed as the economic model. According to this model, voter is treated as a consumer and he wants to maximize his utility while the companies are the political parties and candidates and they also want to maximize their profit. In this way, voters and political parties apply the rational method in order to maximize their own benefits. The voters make a judicious decision while casting their vote for a particular candidate. This theory is based on the assumption that voters cast their vote for that candidate who serves the best interests of the voters. The voter considers his or her vote an instrument or means to achieve the ends and this point differentiate the voter from those people who cast their vote on party basis. Likewise, the rational choice model gives preferences to voter’s political goals. Voter’s self-interests are given more preferences rather than to impress others.

The sociological method highlights the influence of social structure on political parties and voting behavior. It rejects the individualistic emphases of both rational choice and the party identification model.

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<sup>45</sup> Charles H. Franklin, “*Issue Preferences, Socialization, and the evolution of Party Identification,*” American Journal of Political Science Vol.28(3) (1984).pp.459-478.

<sup>46</sup> Angus Campbell, *The American Voter* (University of Chicago Press, survey Research Center, 1980).p.67.

<sup>47</sup> Andrew.R. Wilder. *Changing patterns of Punjab politics in Pakistan: National assembly election results, 1988 and 1993. Asian Survey, 35(4), (1995).*p.40.

<sup>48</sup> Anthony Downs, “*An economic theory of democracy*”, (1957): 260-276. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1827369?seq=1>. Accessed on March 24,2021.

## **1.7 Research Method:**

To find the answer of the research questions Quantitative Method and the Qualitative Method have been used. In chapters second and third electoral history of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has been analyzed to know about the pattern of change and continuity in the constituency from 1970 to 2018, that is there any repetition or every time fresh candidates are elected. Primary and Secondary Data has been used. The study is Historical and Analytical because a comparison of other elections has been given to fully grasp the phenomenon based on available sources.

The study is basically a comparison of 2013 and 2018 general election of PK-5 constituency of district Swat. Fazal Hakeem Khan (twice PTI MPA from constituency PK-5) A total of 150 questionnaires were filled from the respondents. These questionnaires were divided into 3 groups. First group was consist of those polling stations in which Fazal Hakeem Khan (PTI) won in 2013 general elections and lose in 2018 general elections. Second group was consisting of those polling stations in which Fazal Hakeem Khan (PTI) lose in 2013 general elections and won in 2018 elections. Third group was consisting of those polling stations in which results were same in 2013 and 2018 general elections (those polling stations in which Fazal Hakeem Khan won in both elections).

While collecting data through a questionnaire Proportional Quota Sampling and Snowball Sampling were used. In Proportional Quota Sampling the proportion of respondents in each subgroup was matched that of the population. In this research study population was the voters of PK 5 who cast their votes in the 2018 elections and the subgroups were the members or voters of those political parties for which voters cast votes on Election Day. So the proportion of respondents matched the proportion of votes cast to a political party. In other words, if a political party gets 10% of the total vote cast on Election Day then the total respondents from that specific political party were also 10%.

In Snowball Sampling few respondents identified that tie the standards for presence in the study and then asked them to mention others because they know others who also meet the selection criteria.



### **1.8 Significance of the Study:**

Through this study, it would make it easy to understand the voting behavior of Swat and also to understand the criteria through which the voters are electing their representatives. This study would help in the studying of political activities and political awareness of the common people. The present study would also contribute to election studies in Pakistan because in Pakistan research approaches and critical thinking towards election and people voting behavior very few.

### **1.9 Delimitation:**

In the 2018 general elections in the PK 5 constituency total numbers of votes polled were 61916, so the total votes polled in the constituency was the population in this research study.<sup>49</sup>

### **1.10 Organizational structure:**

The research study is consisted of four chapters and Conclusion and Recommendations. Chapter one is the introduction of the topic, background, objective, and significance of the study. Chapter two examines the electoral history of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in general and the electoral history of District Swat in particular. In chapter three 2013 and 2018 elections in Swat have been discussed. In chapter four results have been derived from the collected data and findings are discussed. This is followed by the Conclusion and Recommendations.

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<sup>49</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Statement Showing Constituency Wise Turnout Of Total Votes Polled During General Elections-2018 in Respect of District Swat, (Swat: District Election Commission, 2018).p.1.*

## Chapter 2: Electoral History of Swat

### 2.1 1970 Election:

On March 25, 1969, the second dictatorship was imposed on Pakistan. After General Yahya Khan came to power, the first adult-based general elections were announced at the request of a political party.<sup>1</sup> He announced that the government would hand over to the elected legislature.

*Our goal is to create a productive life of political awareness in the country so that power can be transferred to the legislature of the people's choice,*

He said publicly.<sup>2</sup> The 1970 elections are important for understanding the voting behavior of people because the electoral campaign was relatively undertrained.<sup>3</sup> About 25 political parties participated in the elections and fielded 1570 candidates for 300 seats.<sup>4</sup> The 1970 elections were scheduled on October 5 and 19 for provincial and national assembly respectively but later on were postponed to December.<sup>5</sup> The December 1970 elections were held under the March 1970 Legal Framework Order (LFO), which outlined the tools for Pakistan's first general election.<sup>6</sup> An election committee was formed under the LFO.<sup>7</sup> The first task of the committee was to choose whether to reject or accept the electoral rolls determined by the government of Ayub Khan. At the request of politicians, a new

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<sup>1</sup> Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp.209-10.

<sup>2</sup> Mazhar Abbas, *Landed Aristocracy and the General Elections 1970*, [http://lcwu.edu.pk/ocd/cfiles/History/Maj\\_Hist/201/LandedAristocracyandtheGeneralElections1970.pdf](http://lcwu.edu.pk/ocd/cfiles/History/Maj_Hist/201/LandedAristocracyandtheGeneralElections1970.pdf), Accessed on May 1, 2021.

<sup>3</sup> Manzoor Ahmad and Khalida Ghaus, *Pakistan Prospects and Perspective*, (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1999), p.21.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Sultan Khan, *History and Politics of Pakistan*, (Lahore: Publishers Emporium, 2001), p.377.

<sup>5</sup> Hussain Haqqani, *Pakistan between Mosque and Military*, (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2005), p.57.

<sup>6</sup> Dr Moonis Ahmar, *How 1970 elections led to the break-up Critics argue that the 1970 elections were the last attempt to keep Pakistan united*, <https://tribune.com.pk/story/2275471/how-1970-elections-led-to-the-break-up>, Accessed on, May 1, 2021.

<sup>7</sup> *Report on General Elections Pakistan 1970-71*, vol.I (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan, 1972), p.3.

electoral roll was drawn up for a republic with a population of about 115,000,000 (according to the 1961 Census).<sup>8</sup>

The election rolls were published both in Urdu and Bengali for West and East Pakistan respectively.<sup>9</sup> The Commission began groundwork of new election rolls on August 27, 1969, which had been finalized on June 15, 1970.

Another assignment given to the Commission was segregation of the polling constituencies. The Commission additionally fixed the figure of seats for the National Assembly. According to it, 162 members, along with 7 female members, had to be elected from the East Pakistan, and 138 members, along with 6 female members, from the West Pakistan. The distribution of National Assembly seats were the same from West Pakistan, 82 members including 3 women from Punjab, 27 members including 1 woman from Sindh, 4 members including 1 woman from Balochistan, 18 members including 1 woman from NWFP, and 7 members from tribal areas.<sup>10</sup> The National Assembly elections on 5 October 1970 and the Provincial Assembly elections on 19 October were postponed until December of that year due to heavy monsoon floods in East Pakistan in August. The new dates announced were December 7-17, 1970. However, due to the storm, elections were held on 17 January 1971, in East Pakistan for 9 National Assembly and 18 Provincial Assembly seats. On January 1, 1970, political parties were allowed to contest elections. A total of 24 political parties participated in the election.

The two most prominent leaders and prominent parties have wide public support, the Pakistan People's Party led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and the Awami League of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman. His main focus was on financial matters. Bhutto and Mujeeb's personalities are extraordinarily charismatic and charismatic for people of all ages and professions. However, the identities of Bhutto and Mujeeb were limited to West Pakistan and East Pakistan respectively.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> G. W. Chaudhry, *The Last Days of United Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1993).p.109.

<sup>9</sup> Mazhar Abbas, *Landed Aristocracy and the General Elections 1970*, <http://lcwu.edu.pk/ocd/cfiles/History/Maj /Hist/201/LandedAristocracyandtheGeneralElections1970.pdf>, Accessed on May 1, 2021.

<sup>10</sup> Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2005, 213.

<sup>11</sup> *Elections of 1970*, <https://historypak.com/elections-of-1970/>, Accessed on May 1, 2021.

The result was to be a victory for the Awami League, which gained an absolute majority of a hundred and sixty seats, all of which were in East Pakistan. The PPP gained solely eighty one seats, all in West Pakistan. In the provincial elections held ten days later, the Awami League once more dominated in East Pakistan, whilst the PPP gained Punjab and Sindh. The Marxist National Awami Party emerged the winner of more seats in the Northwest Frontier Province and Baluchistan.<sup>12</sup> Awami League gained one hundred sixty seats from East Pakistan and no seat from West Pakistan. PPP won eighty one seats from West Pakistan and no seat from East Pakistan.<sup>13</sup>

In the 1970 general elections, Swat District had two seats in the National Assembly and four in the Provincial Assembly. From National Assembly Constituency NW-16 Swat-I Mr. Rahim Shah was elected.<sup>14</sup>

Candidate name	Party affiliation	Votes
Mr Rahim Shah	Pakistan Muslim League Qayyum (PML-Q)	18761
Sher Muhammad Khan	Pakistan People's Party (PPP)	18481
Aziz Ur Rahman Khan	National Awami Party- Wali (NAP-W)	16885
Sher Ali Khan	Jamaat -I-Islami (JI)	13320
Mr. Zarin	Independent	5053

**Table 1 Result of 1970 general elections for the National Assembly constituency NW-16 Swat-I.**

Mr Rahim Shah secured 18761 votes on the ticket of Pakistan Muslim League-Qayyum (PML-Q). The runner candidates Sher Muhammad Khan (PPP) got 18481, Aziz

<sup>12</sup> Raza Naeem, *The Watershed Moment in 1970 Elections That Broke Pakistan*, <https://thewire.in/south-asia/elections-that-broke-pakistan-1970-history>, Accessed on May 1, 2021.

<sup>13</sup> Ahmad Shuja Pasha, *Pakistan a Political Profile 1947 to 1988* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1991), p.240.

<sup>14</sup> *5TH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FROM 1972-10TH JANUARY 1977 LIST OF MEMBERS & ADDRESSES*, <http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/former-members/5th%20National%20Assembly.pdf>, Accessed on May 1, 2021.

Ur Rahman Khan from National Awami Party-Wali (NAP-W) 16885, Sher Ali Khan (JI) 13320 and Mr. Zarin (Independent Candidate) secured 5053 votes.<sup>15</sup>

Candidate Name	Party affiliation	Votes
Miangul Aurangzeb	PML-Q	35538
Syed Badshah Gul	NAP-W	23276
Khair Muhammad	JUI	21549
Abdul Hameed Khan	JI	10545
Mehboob Ur Rehman	PPP	9530

**Table 2 Result of 1970 general elections for the National Assembly constituency NW-17 Swat-II**

From National Assembly Constituency NW-17 Swat-II Mr. Miangul Aurangzeb was elected.<sup>16</sup> Miangul Aurangzeb ticket holder of (PML-Q) got 35538 votes.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, Syed Badshah Gul (NAP-W) 23276, Khair Muhammad (JUI) 21549, Abdul Hameed Khan (JI) 10545, and Mehboob Ur Rahman (PPP) secured 9530 votes.<sup>18</sup>

Provincial assembly constituency	Name of the candidate	Party affiliation	Votes
PF-34	Muhammad Abdul Rauf Khan	PML-Q	10094
PF-35	Maulana Abdul Baqi	Independent	18151
PF-36	Muhammad Afzal Khan Lala	NAP-W	13863
PF-37	Haji Muhammad Rahman Khan	PML-Q	16463

**Table 3 result of 1970 general elections for provincial assembly constituencies of District Swat.**

<sup>15</sup> *NW 16 Swat General Election 1970 Result*, <https://electionpakistan.com/ge1970/nw-16.htm>, Accessed on May 1, 2021.

<sup>16</sup> *5TH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FROM 1972-10TH JANUARY 1977 LIST OF MEMBERS & ADDRESSES*, <http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/former-members/5th%20National%20Assembly.pdf>, Accessed on May 1, 2021.

<sup>17</sup> Dawn August 04, 2014.

<sup>18</sup> *NW 17 Swat General Election 1970 Result*, <https://electionpakistan.com/ge1970/nw-17.htm>, Accessed on, May 1,2021.

In the same election there were 4 seats of Provincial Assembly from Swat. From Constituency PF-34 Muhammad Abdul Rauf Khan (PML-Q) got 10094 votes.<sup>19</sup> From Constituency PF-35 Maulana Abdul Baqi (independent candidate) got 18151 votes.<sup>20</sup> From Constituency PF-36 Muhammad Afzal Khan Lala (NAP-W) got 13863 votes.<sup>21</sup> From Constituency PF-37 Haji Muhammad Rahman Khan (PML-Q) got 16463 votes.<sup>22</sup>

## **2.2 1977 Election:**

According to the original schedule, the second general elections in the history of Pakistan, and the first after the disintegration of the country, were to be held in the second half of 1977. However, on January 7, 1977, Bhutto announced that early elections would be held. On January 10, Chief Election Commissioner Justice Sajjad Ahmad Jan announced the election timetable and confirmed the deadlines for submission of papers from National Assembly and Provincial Assembly on January 19 and 22, respectively. Many people think that the opposition has not been given enough time to review and prepare for the next election. Elections signs have been given to all political parties. The total number of registered voters in the country is 30,899,052. The Election Commission has appointed 255 electoral officers for the National Assembly elections.<sup>23</sup>

At the time, Bhutto met with the Pakistan National Alliance, a key group of nine political parties that opposed his re-election. The PNA decided to oppose the PPP as an ally in the 1977 elections, accusing Bhutto and his party of dishonesty, bad policy, and pushing the country into national crisis. The PNA has also resorted to religious slogans and strongly opposed Bhutto over the personal shortcomings of its alleged PPP chief.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> *PF 34 Swat General Election 1970 Result*, <https://electionpakistani.com/ge1970/pf/PF-34.htm>, Accessed on May, 1,2021.

<sup>20</sup> *PF 35 Swat General Election 1970 Result*, <https://electionpakistani.com/ge1970/pf/PF-35.htm>, Accessed on May 1,2021.

<sup>21</sup> *PF 36 Swat General Election 1970 Result*, <https://electionpakistani.com/ge1970/pf/PF-36.htm>, Accessed on May 1,2021.

<sup>22</sup> *PF 37 Swat General Election 1970 Result*, <https://electionpakistani.com/ge1970/pf/PF-37.htm>, Accessed on May 1,2021.

<sup>23</sup> *General Elections 1977*, <https://storyofpakistan.com/general-elections-1977/>, Accessed on May 5,2021.

<sup>24</sup> *A quick peek at general elections in Pakistan*, <https://www.dawn.com/news/812649/a-quick-peek-at-general-elections-in-pakistan>, Accessed on May 5, 2021 .

In 1977 general election there were 3 seats of National Assembly from district Swat and 7 of Provincial Assembly. From constituency NA-21 Swat-I Miangul Aurangzeb was elected.<sup>25</sup> From constituency NA-22 Swat-II Haji Fazl-e-Raziq was elected and from constituency NA-23 Swat-III Mr. Fateh Muhammad Khan was elected.<sup>26</sup> Miangul Aurangzeb was ticket holder of PPP, Haji Fazl-e-Raziq was ticket holder of Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) and Fateh Muhammad Khan was also ticket holder of PPP.<sup>27</sup>

National assembly constituency	Name of the candidate	Party affiliation	Votes
NA-21 Swat-I	Miangul Amirzeb	PPP	23822
	Mr. Karim Bakhsh	PNA	20624
	Miangul Aurangzeb	PML-Q	13532
NA-22 Swat-II	Haji Fazl-e-Raziq	PNA	30140
	Raheem Zada	PPP	16103
	Rahim Shah	PML-Q	4521
	Mr. Zarin	Independent	698
NA-23 Swat-III	Fateh Muhammad Khan	PPP	27458
	Molvi Abdur Rahman	PNA	22126
	Ahmad Jan	PML-Q	5497
	Muzzaffar Syed	Independent	1675
	Muhammad Asfandyar	Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam Hazarvi (JUI-H)	651

**Table 4 result of 1977 general elections for the constituencies of national assembly from District Swat.**

<sup>25</sup> Dawn August 04, 2014.

<sup>26</sup> *National Assembly of Pakistan, 6TH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FROM 28th March 1977 TO 5TH JULY 1977 LIST OF MEMBERS & ADDRESSES*, <http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/former-members/6th%20National%20Assembly.pdf>. Accessed on May 5, 2021.

<sup>27</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ( 1972 - 1997)*, <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/GE%201972-1997.pdf>, Accessed on May 5, 2021.

From Constituency NA-21 Swat-I Miangul Amirzeb (PPP) got 23822 votes. Mr. Karim Bakhsh (PNA) got 20624 votes. Miangul Aurangzeb (PML-Q) got 13532 votes.<sup>28</sup> From constituency NA-22 Swat-II Haji Fazl-e-Raziq (PNA) got 30140 votes. Raheem Zada (PPP) got 16103 votes. Rahim Shah (PML-Q) got 4521 votes. Mr. Zarin (Independent Candidate) got 698 votes.<sup>29</sup> From constituency NA-23 Swat-III Fateh Muhammad Khan (PPP) got 27458 votes. Molvi Abdur Rehman (PNA) got 22126 votes. Ahmad Jan (PML-Q) got 5497 votes. Muzaffar Syed (Independent candidate) got 1675 votes. Muhammad Asfandyar (JUI-H, Hazaravi) got 651 votes.<sup>30</sup>

Provincial assembly constituency	Name of the candidate	Party affiliation	Votes
PF-64 Swat-I	Muhammad Shah	Independent	5350
PF-65 Swat-II	Abdul Rauf	PPP	4247
PF-66 Swat-III	Haji Muhammad Rehman	Independent	11111
PF-67 Swat-IV	Mr. Faihulesan	Independent	8630
PF-68 Swat-V	Sargand Khan	PPP	4729
PF-69 Swat-VI	Dost Muhammad Khan	PPP	19967
PF-70 Swat-VII	Mr. Hazrat Ali Malik	PPP	11025

**Table 5 result of 1977 general elections for provincial assembly constituencies of District Swat .**

On Provincial Assembly constituency PF-64 Swat-I Muhammad Shah got 5350 votes. Muhammad Kareem was runner in this constituency and got 2079 votes.<sup>31</sup> From provincial assembly constituency PF-65 Swat-II Abdul Rauf (PPP) got 4247 votes. From

<sup>28</sup> NA 21 Swat General Election 1977 Result, <https://electionpakistan.com/ge1977/NA-21.htm>, Accessed on May 5, 2021.

<sup>29</sup> NA 22 Swat General Election 1977 Result, <https://electionpakistan.com/ge1977/NA-22.htm>, Accessed on May 5, 2021.

<sup>30</sup> NA 23 Swat General Election 1977 Result, <https://electionpakistan.com/ge1977/NA-23.htm>, Accessed on May 5, 2021.

<sup>31</sup> PF 64 Swat General Election 1977 Result, <https://electionpakistan.com/ge1977/pf/PF-64.htm>, Accessed on May 5, 2021.



the same area Said Karim Khan acquired 1876 votes and Muhammad Khan acquired 641 votes.<sup>32</sup> From provincial assembly constituency PF-66 Swat-III Haji Muhammad Rehman got 11111 votes. From the same constituency Muhammad Usman got 4480 votes, Amir Mashal got 1043 votes and Khaliq Dad Khan got 425 votes.<sup>33</sup> From provincial assembly constituency PF-67 Swat-IV Mr. Faihulesan got 8630 votes. From the same constituency Sher Muhammad Sher got 970 votes and Mr. Sher Afzal got 557 votes.<sup>34</sup> From provincial assembly constituency PF-68 Swat-V Sargand Khan (PPP) got 4729 votes. From the same constituency Mr. Hayat Ullah (Independent) got 1606 votes. Samandar Khan (Independent) got 455 votes and Mr. Muhammad Khan (PNA) got 99 votes.<sup>35</sup> From provincial assembly constituency PF-69 Swat-VI Dost Muhammad Khan candidate of PPP got 19967 votes. From the same constituency Muhammad Alam Khan (PNA) got 239 votes and Sakhi Khan got 78 votes.<sup>36</sup> From provincial assembly constituency PF-70 Swat-VII Mr. Hazrat Ali Malik (PPP) got 11025 votes. From the same constituency Hafiz Khair Muhammad got 297 votes and Haji Hazrat Faqeer got 97 votes.<sup>37</sup>

### 2.3 1985 Election:

Following the 1984 referendum, General Zia announced the polls of national and provincial assembly in February 1985. Elections will be held on a non-partisan basis, legalized by the 1973 constitutional amendment.<sup>38</sup> Each candidate must have the support of at least 50 people to stand for election. In a national address on January 12, 1985, General Zia also announced several different preconditions for elections.<sup>39</sup> Changes were

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<sup>32</sup> *PF 65 Swat General Election 1977 Result*, <https://electionpakistan.com/ge1977/pf/PF-65.htm>, Accessed on May 5, 2021.

<sup>33</sup> *PF 66 Swat General Election 1977 Result*, <https://electionpakistan.com/ge1977/pf/PF-66.htm>, Accessed on May 5, 2021.

<sup>34</sup> *PF 67 Swat General Election 1977 Result*, <https://electionpakistan.com/ge1977/pf/PF-67.htm>, Accessed on May 5, 2021.

<sup>35</sup> *PF 68 Swat General Election 1977 Result*, <https://electionpakistan.com/ge1977/pf/PF-68.htm>, Accessed on May 5, 2021.

<sup>36</sup> *PF 69 Swat General Election 1977 Result*, <https://electionpakistan.com/ge1977/pf/PF-69.htm>, Accessed on May 5, 2021.

<sup>37</sup> *PF 70 Swat General Election 1977 Result*, <https://electionpakistan.com/ge1977/pf/PF-70.htm>, Accessed on May 5, 2021.

<sup>38</sup> Hussain Haqqani, *Pakistan Between Mosque and Military*, (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2005), p.155.

<sup>39</sup> *General Elections, February 1985*, <https://storyofpakistan.com/general-elections-february-1985/>, Accessed on May 7, 2021.

made in the Political Parties Act of 1962<sup>40</sup>. These changes affected entire political parties. MRD decided to stay away from the elections because the demands for party-based elections and restoration of the 1973 constitution were not met.<sup>41</sup>

The effective boycott of the 1984 referendum had possibly persuaded the MRD to adopt a similar scheme in the 1985 elections.<sup>42</sup> But, unexpectedly for them, voters came to the polling station in great numbers. The voter turnout for the National Assembly was reported 53.69 per cent while for provincial assemblies, it was 57.37 percent nationally.<sup>43</sup>

In 1985 general elections there were 3 seats of national assembly and 8 seats were of provincial assembly from district Swat. In the previous election provincial assembly were 7 from swat but in 1985 it were increased to 8.

National assembly constituency	Name of the candidate	Party affiliation	Votes
NA-21 Swat-I	Miangul Aurangzeb		32434
	Faqir Muhammad		14682
	Siddique Akbar		11868
NA-22 Swat-II	Fazl-e-Raziq		20568
	Said Karim Khan		17158
	Amir Wahid		6267

<sup>40</sup> *The Gazette of Pakistan, December 24, 1985,*

[http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/documents/1336450947\\_955.pdf](http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/documents/1336450947_955.pdf), Accessed on May 5, 2021.

<sup>41</sup> *General Elections, February 1985,* <https://storyofpakistan.com/general-elections-february-1985/>, Accessed on May 7, 2021.

<sup>42</sup> *Shaikh Aziz, A leaf from history: Zia's referendum,* <https://www.dawn.com/news/1197376>, Accessed on April 17, 2021.

<sup>43</sup> *Ather Naqvi, The class of 1985, The party-less elections of 1985 had far-reaching and negative effects on the country's bumpy politics,* <https://www.thenews.com.pk/tns/detail/565678-class-1985>, Accessed on May 7, 2021.

	Molvi Saleh Faqir		5898
	Fazl-e-Rabi Pirzada		2839
	Abdul Rauf		807
	Abdul Matin		644
NA-23 Swat-III	Fateh Muhammad Khan		20101
	Abdul Rahman		18233
	Muhammad Faridoon Khan		9175

**Table 6 result of 1985 general elections for the constituencies of national assembly from District Swat.**

From national assembly constituency NA-21 Swat-I Miangul Aurangzeb was elected.<sup>44</sup> Miangul Aurangzeb got 32434 votes. In the same constituency Faqir Muhammad got 14682 and Siddique Akbar got 11868 votes.<sup>45</sup> From national assembly constituency NA-22 Swat-II Fazl-e-Raziq was elected. Mr. Fazle-Raziq got 20568 votes. From the same constituency Said Karim Khan got 17158, Amir Wahid got 6267, Molvi Saleh Faqir got 5898, Fazl-e-Rabi Pirzada got 2839, Abdul Rauf got 807 and Abdul Matin got 644 votes.<sup>46</sup> From national assembly constituency NA-23 Swat-III Fateh Muhammad Khan was elected as member for national assembly. Fateh Muhammad Khan got 20101

<sup>44</sup> Dawn August 04, 2014.

<sup>45</sup> NA 21 Swat General Election 1985 Result, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge1985/NA-21.htm>, Accessed on May 7, 2021.

<sup>46</sup> NA 22 Swat General Election 1985 Result, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge1985/NA-22.htm>, Accessed on May 7, 2021.

votes. Abdul Rahman got second highest votes in the constituency were 18233. Muhammad Faridoon Khan was on third position that got 9175 votes.<sup>47</sup>

Provincial assembly constituency	Name of the candidate	Party affiliation	Votes
PF-64 Swat-I	Amir Nawab Khan		11368
PF-65 Swat-II	Bakht Jehan Khan		8102
PF-66 Swat-III	Mr. Amir Zeb		17891
PF-67 Swat-IV	Syed Muhammad Ali Shah Bacha		6281
PF-68 Swat-V	Shujat Ali Khan		16398
PF-69 Swat-VI	Mr. Hamzullah Khan		3485
PF-70 Swat-VII	Qaimoos Khan		7592
PF-71 Swat-VIII	Sultan Sham		2599

**Table 7 result of 1985 general elections for the constituencies of provincial assembly from District Swat.**

In provincial assembly constituency PF-64 Swat-I Amir Nawab Khan was elected as member of provincial assembly. Amir Nawab Khan got 11368 votes. Mr. Khanzada got 8760, Shah Jehan got 3689, Ali Akbar got 785 and Syed Qambar Shah got 219 votes.<sup>48</sup> From provincial assembly constituency PF-65 Swat-II Bakht Jehan Khan was elected. Bakht Jehan Khan got 8102 votes. From the same constituency Hamid Iqbal got

<sup>47</sup> NA 23 Swat General Election 1985 Result, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge1985/NA-23.htm>, Accessed on May 7, 2021.

<sup>48</sup> PF 64 Swat General Election 1985 Result, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge1985/pf/PF-64.htm>, Accessed on April 28, 2021.

3621, Sher Wali Khan got 3491 and Said Raheem got 3371 votes.<sup>49</sup> From provincial assembly constituency PF-66 Swat-III Mr. Ami Zeb was elected. Mr. Amir Zeb got 17891 votes. From the same constituency Rafi-ul-Mulk got 10054 and Mahboob Subhani got 2907 votes.<sup>50</sup> From provincial assembly constituency PF-67 Swat-IV Syed Muhammad Ali Shah Bacha was elected and got 6281 votes. From the same constituency Syed Allauddin got 4654 and Sher Shah Khan got 3294 votes.<sup>51</sup> From provincial assembly constituency PF-68 Swat-V Shujat Ali Khan was elected and he got 16398 votes. From the same constituency Muhammad Amin got 401 and Abdullah Khan got 269 votes.<sup>52</sup> From provincial assembly constituency PF-69 Swat-VI Mr. Hamzullah Khan was elected and got 3485 votes. From the same constituency Shah Jehan got 3324 votes and Haji Muhammad Saeed Shah got 3204 votes.<sup>53</sup> From provincial assembly constituency PF-70 Swat-VII Qaimoos Khan was elected and got 7592 votes. From the same constituency Bahramand Khan got 3542 and Muhammad Said Jahan Khan got 3497 votes.<sup>54</sup> From provincial assembly constituency PF-71 Swat-VIII Sultan Sham was elected and got 2599 votes. In the same constituency Pir Muhammad Khan got 2279 and Muhammad Salam Khan got 1935 votes.<sup>55</sup>

## 2.4 1988 Election:

On May 29, 1988, the National Assembly, elected in 1985, was dissolved prematurely. The President of the Republic, Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, fired the Prime Minister and other members of the Cabinet one after the other, claiming that the government was a fraud. On July 20, 1988, the President finalized the date of the November elections,

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<sup>49</sup> *PF-65 Swat-II Sarhad Assembly Election Result 1985*, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge1985/pf/PF-65.htm>, Accessed on April 28, 2021.

<sup>50</sup> *PF-66 Swat-III Sarhad Assembly Election Result 1985*, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge1985/pf/PF-66.htm>, Accessed on April 28, 2021.

<sup>51</sup> *PF-67 Swat IV Sarhad Assembly Election Result 1985*, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge1985/pf/PF-67.htm>, Accessed on April 28, 2021.

<sup>52</sup> *PF-68 Swat V Sarhad Assembly Election Result 1985*, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge1985/pf/PF-68.htm>, Accessed on May 2, 2021.

<sup>53</sup> *PF-69 Swat VI Sarhad Assembly Election Result 1985*, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge1985/pf/PF-69.htm>, Accessed on May 2, 2021.

<sup>54</sup> *PF-70 Swat VII Sarhad Assembly Election Result 1985*, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge1985/pf/PF-70.htm>, Accessed on May 2, 2021.

<sup>55</sup> *PF-71 Swat VIII Sarhad Assembly Election Result 1985*, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge1985/pf/PF-71.htm>, Accessed on May 2, 2021.

exceeding the 90-day constitutional limit after the adjournment.<sup>56</sup> He also publicly stated that the elections would be held on the same basis as in 1985.<sup>57</sup>

However, on October 2, the Supreme Court annulled the decision to ban political parties following the sudden death of President Zia on August 17. Therefore, the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), led by Ms. Benazir Bhutto (daughter of former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto), and the conservative Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) led by Mr. Nawaz Sharif, as well as several other groups fielded 1,370 candidates for the 217 general elected seats in the National Assembly. The month-long campaign has been generally quiet.<sup>58</sup>

The Pakistan People's Party (PPP), led by Benazir Bhutto, won the most seats during the 16 November elections.<sup>59</sup> However, because the PPP did not have the majority of seats, Ms. Bhutto got into discussions with smaller parties to form a coalition government.<sup>60</sup> Ultimately, the Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM) added its 13 seats to the PPP's. There were 237 seats in the National Assembly, of which 205 were contested.<sup>61</sup> Thirty seats were reserved for women and minorities, and two seats were postponed due to the death of candidates. The PPP won 93 seats in 1988 general election.<sup>62</sup> In second place was the rival of the PPP, the Islamic Democratic Alliance or Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IDA or IJI), led by Nawaz Sharif won 55 seats.<sup>63</sup>

In 1988 general elections there were 3 seats of national assembly and 9 seats of provincial assembly from district Swat. From national assembly seat NA-21 Swat-I

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<sup>56</sup> Shyam Bhatia, *Goodbye Shahzadi, A Political Biography of Benazir Bhutto*, (New Delhi: The Lotus Collection, 2008), p.90.

<sup>57</sup> *Pakistan: Report on the October 1990 Elections*, <https://www.ndi.org/publications/pakistan-report-october-1990-elections>, Accessed on May 2, 2021.

<sup>58</sup> *PAKISTAN Parliamentary Chamber: National Assembly*, [http://archive.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2241\\_88.htm](http://archive.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2241_88.htm), Accessed on April 17, 2021.

<sup>59</sup> Hussain Haqqani, *Pakistan Between Mosque and Military*, (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2005), p.202.

<sup>60</sup> Ishtiaq Ahmad, *Pakistan the Garrison State, Origins, Evolution, Consequences 1947-2011*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013), p.82.

<sup>61</sup> Shyam Bhatia, *Goodbye Shahzadi, A Political Biography of Benazir Bhutto*, (New Delhi: The Lotus Collection, 2008), p.91.

<sup>62</sup> Mushtaq Ahmad, *Benazir Politics of Power*, (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 2005), p.236.

<sup>63</sup> *Pakistan: Results of November 1988 elections; What problems have members of the Muslim League experienced in Pakistan since the elections?*, <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6ac2818.html>, Accessed on April 17, 2021.

Shahzada Aman-i-Room (PPP) was elected<sup>64</sup>. From national assembly seat NA-22 Swat-II Haji Fazl-e-Raziq (IJI) was elected. From national assembly seat NA-23 Swat-III Dr. Mehboob-Ur-Rahman (PPP) was elected.<sup>65</sup>

National assembly constituency	Name of the candidate	Party affiliation	Votes
NA-21 Swat-I	Shahzada Aman-i-Room	PPP	28739
NA-22 Swat-II	Haji Fazl-e-Raziq	IJI	16639
NA-23 Swat-III	Mr. Mehboob-ur-Rehman	PPP	23613

**Table 8 result of 1988 general elections for the constituencies of national assembly from District Swat.**

From national assembly constituency NA-21 Swat-I Shahzada Aman-i-Room (PPP) got 28739 votes.<sup>66</sup> From the same constituency Obaid-ur-Rehman (Jamiat Ullema Islam-F) got 21748 votes.<sup>67</sup> Miangul Aurangzeb (IJI) who was previously ticket holder of PPP got 19061 votes.<sup>68</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 243972. Total votes cast in the constituency were 70626 and valid votes were 69548. Turnout in the constituency was 33%.<sup>69</sup>

From national assembly constituency NA-22 Swat-II Haji Fazal-e-Raziq (IJI) got 16639 votes.<sup>70</sup> From the same constituency Nasrullah Khan of ANP (Awami National

<sup>64</sup> MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (1972 - 1997), <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/GE%201972-1997.pdf>, Accessed on April 17, 2021.

<sup>65</sup> 8TH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FROM 1988 TO 1990 LIST OF MEMBERS & ADDRESSES, <http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/former-members/8th%20National%20Assembly.pdf>, Accessed on April 17, 2021.

<sup>66</sup> Constituency Wise Detailed Results, <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/Results%201988%20-%201997/NA.pdf>, Accessed on April 17, 2021.

<sup>67</sup> NA-21 Swat I Detail Election Result 1988, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge1988/NA-21.htm>, Accessed on April 17, 2021.

<sup>68</sup> Dawn August 04, 2014.

<sup>69</sup> Constituency Wise Detailed Results, <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/Results%201988%20-%201997/NA.pdf>, Accessed on April 17, 2021.

<sup>70</sup> Constituency Wise Detailed Results, <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/Results%201988%20-%201997/NA.pdf>, Accessed on April 17, 2021.

Party) got 16149 and Said Rahim Zada (Independent) got 11513 votes.<sup>71</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 245848. Total vote cast in the constituency were 69552 and total valid votes were 67669. Voter turnout in the constituency was 28%.<sup>72</sup>

From national assembly constituency NA-23 Swat-III Mr. Mehboob-ur-Rehman (PPP) got 23613 votes.<sup>73</sup> From the same constituency Muhammad Afzal Khan (ANP) got 22597 and Shujaat Ali Khan (IJI) got 21260 votes.<sup>74</sup>

Provincial assembly constituency	Name of the candidate	Party affiliation	Votes
PF-63 Swat-I	Muhammad Karim	ANP	7811
PF-64 Swat-II	Bakht Jehan Khan	IJI	7649
PF-65 Swat-III	Malak Fida Muhammad Khan	PPP	11272
PF-66 Swat-IV	Syed Muhammad Ali Shah Bacha Lala	IJI	7345
PF-67 Swat-V	Qaimoos Khan	Independent	8260
PF-68 Swat-VI	Mr. Fateh Muhammad Khan	IJI	11794
PF-69 Swat-VII	Malak Hazrat Ali	PPP	3044
PF-70 Swat-VIII	Badi-uz-Zaman	PPP	10140
PF-71 Swat-IX	Pir Muhammad Khan	IJI	5542

**Table 9 result of 1988 general elections for the constituencies of provincial assembly from District Swat.**

<sup>71</sup> NA-22 Swat II Detail Election Result 1988, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge1988/NA-22.htm>, Accessed on April 17, 2021.

<sup>72</sup> Constituency Wise Detailed Results, <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/Results%201988%20-%201997/NA.pdf>, Accessed on April 17, 2021.

<sup>73</sup> Constituency Wise Detailed Results, <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/Results%201988%20-%201997/NA.pdf>, Accessed on April 17, 2021.

<sup>74</sup> NA-23 Swat III Detail Election Result 1988, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge1988/NA-23.htm>, Accessed on April 17, 2021.



From provincial assembly constituency PF-63 Swat-I Muhammad Karim (ANP) was elected. Muhammad karim got 7811 votes. From the same constituency Sar Zamin Khan (Independent) got 5936, Ameer Nawab Khan (IJI) got 5547 and Jamshaid Khan (PPP) got 5404 votes.<sup>75</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 75356. Total votes polled in the constituency were 25790 and total valid votes were 25353. Turnout in the constituency was 34%.<sup>76</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PF-64 Swat-II Bakht Jehan Khan (IJI) was elected. Bakht Jehan khan got 7649 votes. From the same constituency said Raheem (Independent) got 5284, Jehan feroz (Independent) got 4389 and Qarib ur Rehman got 3664 votes.<sup>77</sup> Total registered votes in the constituency were 83486. Total votes polled in the constituency were 25105 and valid votes in the constituency were 24592. Turnout in the constituency was 30%.<sup>78</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PF-65 Swat-III Malak Fida Muhammad Khan (PPP) was elected. Malak Fida Muhammad Khan got 11272 votes. From the same constituency Kamran Khan (ANP) got 8684, Adnan Aurangzeb (IJI) got 7021 and Mr. Aleemullah (JUI) got 6669 votes.<sup>79</sup> Total votes registered in the constituency were 89360. Total votes polled in the constituency were 38780 and valid votes polled were 37662. Turnout in the constituency was 43%.<sup>80</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PF-66 Swat-IV Syed Muhammad Ali Shah Bacha Lala (IJI) was elected. Bacha Lala got 7345 votes. From the same constituency Muhammad Amin got 6564, Mian Gul Saeed (ANP) got 5060, Zahid

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<sup>75</sup> *PF-63 Swat Detail Election Result 1988*, <https://www.electionpakistani.com/ge1988/pf/PF-63.htm>, Accessed on April 29, 2021.

<sup>76</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections To The National Assembly From N.W.F.P.*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.609.

<sup>77</sup> *PF-64 Swat Detail Election Result 1988*, <https://www.electionpakistani.com/ge1988/pf/PF-64.htm>, Accessed on April 29, 2021.

<sup>78</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections To The National Assembly From N.W.F.P.*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.610.

<sup>79</sup> *PF-65 Swat Detail Election Result 1988*, <https://www.electionpakistani.com/ge1988/pf/PF-65.htm>, Accessed on April 29, 2021.

<sup>80</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P.*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.611.

Hussain (Independent) got 3310 and Fazal Subhan (Independent) got 3246 votes.<sup>81</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 101681. Total votes polled were 37737 and valid votes were 32714. Turnout in the constituency was 33%.<sup>82</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PF-67 Swat-V Qaimoos Khan (Independent) was elected. Qaimoos Khan got 8260 votes. From the same constituency Syed Allaudin (IJI) got 8187, Muhammad Ali Khan (ANP) 6261 and Liaqat Ali Khan (PPP) got 2886 votes.<sup>83</sup> Total votes in the constituency were 74124. Total votes polled were 27687 and valid votes were 26933. Turnout in the constituency was 37%.<sup>84</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PK-68 Swat-VI Mr. Fateh Muhammad Khan (IJI) was elected. Fateh Muhammad Khan got 11794 votes. From the same constituency Mr. Muhammad Afzal Khan (ANP) got 10871 and Mr. Dost Muhammad Khan (PPP) got 9616 votes.<sup>85</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 93754. Total votes polled in the constituency were 34117 and valid votes were 33460. Turnout in the constituency was 36%.<sup>86</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PF-69 Swat-VII Malak Hazrat Ali (PPP) was elected. Malak hazrat Ali (PPP) got 3044 votes. From the same constituency Anwar Ali (Independent) got 2791, Haji Hazrat Faqeer of Pakistan Awami Ittehad (PAI) got 2447, Hamzallah Khan (independent) 2120 and haji Muhammad sakhi (ANP) got 2045 votes.<sup>87</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 53626. Total votes polled in the

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<sup>81</sup> *PF-66 Swat Detail Election Result 1988*, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge1988/pf/PF-66.htm>, Accessed on April 29, 2021.

<sup>82</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P.*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.612.

<sup>83</sup> *PF-67 Swat Detail Election Result 1988*, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge1988/pf/PF-67.htm>, Accessed on April 29, 2021.

<sup>84</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections To The National Assembly From N.W.F.P.*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.613.

<sup>85</sup> *PF-68 Swat Detail Election Result 1988*, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge1988/pf/PF-68.htm>, Accessed on April 29, 2021.

<sup>86</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections To The National Assembly From N.W.F.P.*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.614.

<sup>87</sup> *PF-69 Swat Detail Election Result 1988*, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge1988/pf/PF-69.htm>, Accessed on April 29, 2021.

constituency were 18222 and valid votes were 17714. Turnout in the constituency was 52%.<sup>88</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PF-70 Swat-VIII Badi-uz-Zaman (PPP) was elected. Badi-uz-Zaman (PPP) got 10140 votes. From the same constituency Muhammad Zahir Shah (IJI) got 9563, Aziz-ur-Rehman (JUI-F) got 1714 and Afsar-Ul-Mulk Khan (ANP) got 1340 votes.<sup>89</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 80120. Total votes polled in the constituency were 24164 and valid votes were 23647. Turnout in the constituency was 30%.<sup>90</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PF-71 Swat-IX Pir Muhammad Khan (IJI) was elected. Pir Muhammad Khan (IJI) got 5542 votes. From the same constituency Said Tahir (ANP) got 2856, Faridoon Khan (PPP) 2751 and Sahib Shah (Independent) got 2576 votes.<sup>91</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 67396. Total votes polled in the constituency were 18798 and valid votes were 18448. Turnout in the constituency was 27%.<sup>92</sup>

## 2.5 1990 Election:

The party based elections and democracy was reinstated in 1988 after a lengthy era of Martial Law. In the elections, a divided mandate was received by the political parties as nobody could succeed in getting 2/3rd majority. Such a mandate brought diverse political parties in government at center and in the provinces which produced problems in coordination between the two. Due to this administrative issue and many other complications, the parliament was dissolved in August 1990 and the next elections were to be held in October 1990. In the October 1990 elections, the eight-party union (IJI) and

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<sup>88</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P., (Swat: District Election Commission).p.615.*

<sup>89</sup> *PF-70 Swat Detail Election Result 1988*, <https://www.electionpakistani.com/ge1988/pf/PF-70.htm>, Accessed on April 29, 2021.

<sup>90</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P., (Swat: District Election Commission).p.616.*

<sup>91</sup> *PF-71 Swat Detail Election Result 1988*, <https://www.electionpakistani.com/ge1988/pf/PF-71.htm>, Accessed on April 29, 2021.

<sup>92</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P., (Swat: District Election Commission).p.617.*

the People's Democratic Alliance (PDA) a union of four parties were the main contenders. The main parties in the IJI were Pakistan Muslim League (PML), Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) National People's Party (NPP) and smaller parties, while in PDA the PPP and Tehreek-e-Istiqlal were the major parties.<sup>93</sup>

On Election Day, IJI won 106 out of the 217 general seats, giving its rival a 44-seat victory.<sup>94</sup> Minority parties and independent candidates, some of whom allegedly sympathized with the IJI, took over the rest. In this case, the PPP accused Mrs. Bhutto of massive electoral fraud to prevent her from returning to power. Analysts called the result a victory for the military, which maintains close ties with the IJI. On November 6, the newly elected National Assembly elected Mr. Sharif Prime Minister. He heads a 72-member cabinet.<sup>95</sup>

In 1990 general election no changes were made in provincial and national assembly seats from district Swat. From national assembly constituency NA-21 Swat-I Mr. Khaliq Dad Khan (IJI) were elected.<sup>96</sup> From NA-22 Swat-II Mr. Abdul Matin Khan (ANP) and from NA-23 Swat-III Mr. Muhammad Afzal Khan (PDA) was elected.<sup>97</sup>

National assembly constituency	Name of the candidate	Party affiliation	Votes
NA-21 Swat-I	Khaliq Dad Khan	IJI	24891
NA-22 Swat-II	Abdul Matin Khan	Independent	19084
NA-23 Swat-III	Muhammad Afzal Khan	PDA	32515

**Table 10 result of 1990 general elections for the constituencies of national assembly from District Swat.**

<sup>93</sup> Rahat Zubair Malik, *General Elections 1990: An Analysis of Electoral Manipulation*, [http://www.nihcr.edu.pk/Latest\\_English\\_Journal/Jrnl%2033-2%20\(2012\)%20PDF/3.%20General%20elections%201990,%20RZMalik.Pdf](http://www.nihcr.edu.pk/Latest_English_Journal/Jrnl%2033-2%20(2012)%20PDF/3.%20General%20elections%201990,%20RZMalik.Pdf) .p.22. Accessed on April 10, 2021 .

<sup>94</sup> Mushtaq Ahmad, *Benazir Politics of Power*, (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 2005).p.236.

<sup>95</sup> PAKISTAN Parliamentary Chamber: National Assembly, [http://archive.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2241\\_90.htm](http://archive.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2241_90.htm), Accessed on April 10, 2021.

<sup>96</sup> MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ( 1972 - 1997), <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/GE%201972-1997.pdf>, Accessed on April 10, 2021.

<sup>97</sup> 9TH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FROM 1990 TO 1993 LIST OF MEMBERS & ADDRESSES, <http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/former-members/9th%20National%20Assembly.pdf>, Accessed on April 10, 2021.

From National Assembly constituency NA-21 Swat-I Khaliq Dad Khan (IJI) secured 24891 votes and elected as member of national assembly. From the same constituency Ubaid-Ur- Rehman (JUI-F) got 17480 votes.<sup>98</sup> Other candidates Shahzada Aman-I-Rom (PDA) got 15341 and Miangul Aurangzeb (Independent) got 12894 votes.<sup>99</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 215316. Total vote polled were 74408 and valid votes were 73161. Turnout in the constituency was 34%.<sup>100</sup>

From national assembly constituency NA-22 Swat-II Abdul Matin Khan (Independent) got 19084 votes. From the same constituency Haji Fazal--Khaliq (IJI) got 18901 votes, Maulana Abdul Rahman (JUI-F) 11755 and Sattar-Ud-Din (PDA) got 11315 votes.<sup>101</sup> Total registered votes in the constituency were 246193. Total votes polled were 68772 and valid votes were 67325. Turnout in the constituency was 27%.<sup>102</sup>

From national assembly constituency NA-23 Swat-III Muahammad Afzal Khan (PDA) got 32515 votes. From the same constituency Shujat Ali Khan (IJI) got 28080, Maulana Abdur Rahman (JUI-F) got 14664 and Muhammad Ayub Khan (ANP) got 7759 votes.<sup>103</sup> Total registered votes in the constituency were 261935. Total votes polled were 89408 and valid votes were 87535. Turnout in the constituency were 34%.<sup>104</sup>

Provincial assembly constituency	Name of the candidate	Party affiliation	Votes
PF-63 Swat-I	Sar Zamin Khan	Independent	8369

<sup>98</sup> NA-21 Swat I Detail Election Result 1990, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge1990/NA-21.htm>, Accessed on April 10, 2021.

<sup>99</sup> Dawn August 04, 2014.

<sup>100</sup> Constituency Wise Detailed Results, <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/Results%201988%20-%201997/NA.pdf>.p.15. Accessed on April 10, 2021 .

<sup>101</sup> NA-22 Swat II Detail Election Result 1990, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge1990/NA-22.htm>, Accessed on April 10, 2021.

<sup>102</sup> Constituency Wise Detailed Results, <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/Results%201988%20-%201997/NA.pdf>.p.16. Accessed on April 10, 2021 .

<sup>103</sup> NA-23 Swat III Detail Election Result 1990, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge1990/NA-23.htm>, Accessed on April 10, 2021.

<sup>104</sup> Constituency Wise Detailed Results, <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/Results%201988%20-%201997/NA.pdf>.pp.15.16. Accessed on April 10, 2021 .

	Jadoon		
PF-64 Swat-II	Bakht Jahan Khan	IJI	9013
PF-65 Swat-III	Wajid Ali Khan	ANP	15928
PF-66 Swat-IV	Syed Muhammad Ali Shah Bacha Lala		9924
PF-67 Swat-V	Qaimoos Khan	IJI	11935
PF-68 Swat-VI	Dost Muhammad Khan	PDA	16755
PF-69 Swat-VII	Malak Hazrat Ali	PDA	4996
PF-70 Swat-VIII	Muhammad Zahir Shah Khan		15743
PF-71 Swat-IX	Pir Muhammad Khan	IJI	5521

**Table 11 result of 1990 general elections for the constituencies of provincial assembly from District Swat .**

From provincial assembly constituency PF-63 Swat-I Sar Zamin Khan Jadoon (Independent) got 8369 votes. ANP candidate Muhammad Kareem got 7976 votes.<sup>105</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 75493. Total votes polled were 26478 and valid votes were 26064. Turnout in the constituency was 35%.<sup>106</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PF-64 Swat-II Bakht Jahan Khan (IJI) got 9013 votes. Independent candidate Qasim Jan got 6625 votes.<sup>107</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 83660. Total votes polled were 22916 and valid votes were 22617. Turnout in the constituency were 27%.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>105</sup> *PF-63 Swat Detail Election Result 1990*, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge1990/pf/PF-63.htm>, Accessed on April 10, 2021.

<sup>106</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P., (Swat: District Election Commission).p.609.*

<sup>107</sup> *PF-64 Swat Detail Election Result 1990*, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge1990/pf/PF-64.htm>, Accessed on April 10, 2021.

<sup>108</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P., (Swat: District Election Commission).p.610.*

From provincial Assembly constituency PF-65 Swat-III Wajid Ali Khan (ANP) got 15928 votes. PDA candidate Aziz-Ur-Rahman got 10343 votes.<sup>109</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 89954. Total votes polled were 35142 and valid votes were 34742. Turnout in the constituency was 39%.<sup>110</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PF-66 Swat-IV Syed Muhammad Ali Shah Bacha Lala was elected and got 9924 votes. Shamsher Ali (Independent) got 7274 votes.<sup>111</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 102355. Total votes polled were 31507 and valid votes were 31084. Turnout in the constituency was 30%.<sup>112</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PF-67 Swat-V Qaimoos khan (IJI) got 11935 votes. Independent candidate Syed Allaudin got 11212 votes.<sup>113</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 75424. Total votes polled were 31526 and valid votes were 30885. Turnout in the constituency was 41%.<sup>114</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PF-68 Swat-VI Dost Muhammad Khan (PDA) got 16755 votes. IJI candidate Fateh Muhamad Khan got 16680 votes.<sup>115</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 94760. Total votes polled were 36769 and valid votes were 36178. Turnout in the constituency was 38%.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> *PF-65 Swat Detail Election Result 1990*, <https://www.electionpakistani.com/ge1990/pf/PF-65.htm>, Accessed on April 10, 2021.

<sup>110</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P.*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.611.

<sup>111</sup> *PF-66 Swat Detail Election Result 1990*, <https://www.electionpakistani.com/ge1990/pf/PF-66.htm>, Accessed on April 10, 2021.

<sup>112</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P.*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.612.

<sup>113</sup> *PF-67 Swat Detail Election Result 1990*, <https://www.electionpakistani.com/ge1990/pf/PF-67.htm>, Accessed on April 10, 2021.

<sup>114</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P.*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.613.

<sup>115</sup> *PF-68 Swat Detail Election Result 1990*, <https://www.electionpakistani.com/ge1990/pf/PF-68.htm>, Accessed on April 10, 2021.

<sup>116</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P.*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.614.

From provincial assembly constituency PF-69 Swat-VII Malak Hazrat Ali (PDA) was elected and got 4996 votes. Anwar Ali (Independent) got 4094 votes.<sup>117</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 54015. Total votes polled were 20163 and valid votes polled were 19840. Turnout in the constituency was 37%.<sup>118</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PF-70 Swat-VIII Muhammad Zahir Shah Khan was elected and got 15743 votes. From the same constituency Badi-U-Zaman (PDA) got 8867 votes.<sup>119</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 80430. Total votes polled were 27318 and total valid votes were 26890. Turnout in the constituency was 33%.<sup>120</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PF-71 Swat-IX Pir Muhammad Khan (IJI) was elected and got 5521 votes. From the same constituency Bakht Biland Khan (Independent) got 3289 votes.<sup>121</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 67353. Total votes polled were 19258 and valid votes were 19000. Turnout in the constituency was 28%.<sup>122</sup>

## 2.6 1993 Election:

The then president, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, was following the standard operating procedure when he dismissed the government of Nawaz Sharif on April 18, 1993, using Article 58(2b) for the second time.<sup>123</sup> But nothing seemed to go the way it was supposed to. The aggrieved party took legal recourse and the Supreme Court annulled the president's

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<sup>117</sup> *PF-69 Swat Detail Election Result 1990*, <https://www.electionpakistani.com/ge1990/pf/PF-69.htm>, Accessed on April 10, 2021.

<sup>118</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P.*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.615.

<sup>119</sup> *PF-70 Swat Detail Election Result 1990*, <https://www.electionpakistani.com/ge1990/pf/PF-70.htm>, Accessed on April 10, 2021.

<sup>120</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P.*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.616.

<sup>121</sup> *PF-71 Swat Detail Election Result 1990*, <https://www.electionpakistani.com/ge1990/pf/PF-71.htm>, Accessed on April 10, 2021.

<sup>122</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P.*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.617.

<sup>123</sup> Muhammad Hassan, Muhammad Rizwan and Sadaf Butt, "General Elections of 1993: A thriving Riposte of Democracy in Pakistan", in *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* Volume No. 56, Issue No.21 (July –December, 2019).p.423.



order, restoring the government around 40 days after its dismissal.<sup>124</sup> On 18 July 1993, following reported pressure from the military, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif (Pakistan Muslim League-PML) and President of the Republic Ghulam Ishaq Khan resigned to end their heated power struggle and a caretaker government headed by Acting Prime Minister Moeen Qureshi was sworn in five days later until the October general elections.<sup>125</sup> This interim administration was widely praised for stabilizing the country while an often bitter one-month campaign was waged. Provincial assembly elections were for their part scheduled for 9 October.<sup>126</sup>

National elections were held again in October 1993. In the close race, the PPP won but did not win a majority in the National Assembly. Nawaz Sharif's new Pakistan Muslim League-N (PML-N) came in second despite his party's victory, a slightly higher percentage of popular votes. With less than half of the registered voters casting their ballots, the results of the national elections are imminent.<sup>127</sup> Overall, Balochistan was the only province where the PPP failed to overtake the PML-N. The PPP formed a new civilian government in Junejo's alliance with the Pakistan Muslim League (J) (PML-J), in which Benazir Bhutto returned to the post of Prime Minister after three years of opposition.<sup>128</sup> PPP secured 86 national assembly seats while PMLN secured 76 seats in 1993 general elections.<sup>129</sup>

In 1993 general election there were 2 seats of national assembly and 7 seats of provincial assembly from district Swat. Previously seats of national assembly were 3 and

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<sup>124</sup> Tahir Mehdi, *An overview of 1993 general elections: A pile of dirty linen*, <https://www.dawn.com/news/802238/an-overview-of-1993-generalelections-a-pile-of-dirty-linen>, Accessed on April 18, 2021.

<sup>125</sup> Ishtiaq Ahmad, *Pakistan the Garrison State, Origins, Evolution, Consequences 1947-2011*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013).p.288.

<sup>126</sup> *PAKISTAN Parliamentary Chamber: National Assembly, ELECTIONS HELD IN 1993*, Accessed on April 18, 2021.

<sup>127</sup> Ishtiaq Ahmad, *Pakistan the Garrison State, Origins, Evolution, Consequences 1947-2011*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013).p.289.

<sup>128</sup> *The second administration of Benazir Bhutto*, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Pakistan/The-second-administration-of-Benazir-Bhutto>, Accessed on April 18, 2021 .

<sup>129</sup> *PAKISTAN AT THE POLLS 1993 Gallup Political Weather Report Special Issue 1993*, [https://gallup.com.pk/bb\\_old\\_site/election/1993ElectionStudies.pdf](https://gallup.com.pk/bb_old_site/election/1993ElectionStudies.pdf), Accessed on April 18, 2021.

seats of provincial assembly were 9 but in 1991 government gave status of district to Buner then seats of Swat were decreased.<sup>130</sup>

National assembly constituency	Name of the candidate	Party affiliation	Votes
Na-21 Swat-I	Miangul Aurangzeb	PML-N	32533
NA-22 Swat-II	Muhammad Afzal Khan	PKQP	41168

**Table 12 result of 1993 general elections for the constituencies of national assembly from District Swat.**

From national assembly constituency NA-21 Swat-I Maingul Aurangzeb was elected.<sup>131</sup> He was defeated two times continuously but in 1993 general elections he retained the seat.<sup>132</sup> Miangul Aurangzeb was ticket holder of PMLN.<sup>133</sup> Miangul Aurangzeb (PML-N) got 32533 votes and Ubaid-Ur-Rehman of Islami jamhoori Mahaaz (IJM) got 25616 votes.<sup>134</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 215316. Total votes polled were 74408 and valid votes were 73161. Turnout in the constituency was 34%.<sup>135</sup>

From national assembly constituency NA-22 Swat-II Muhammad Afzal Khan was elected.<sup>136</sup> He was ticket holder of Pakhtunkhwa Qaumi Party (PKQP).<sup>137</sup> Muhammad Afzal Khan (PKQP) got 41168 votes. From the same constituency Shujat Ali Khan (PML-N) got 32284 and Saran Zaib Khan of Pakistan Islamic Front (PIF) got 14380

<sup>130</sup> *District Buner*, <https://www.lgkp.gov.pk/>, Accessed on April 18, 2021.

<sup>131</sup> *MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ( 1972 - 1997)*, [https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/GE%201972-1997 .pdf](https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/GE%201972-1997.pdf), Accessed on April 18, 2021.

<sup>132</sup> Dawn August 04, 2014.

<sup>133</sup> *10TH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FROM 1993 TO 1996 LIST OF MEMBERS & ADDRESSES*, <http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/former-members/10th%20National%20Assembly.pdf>, Accessed on April 18, 2021.

<sup>134</sup> *NA-21 Swat I Detail Election Result 1993*, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge1993/NA-21.htm>, Accessed on April 18, 2021.

<sup>135</sup> *Constituency Wise Detailed Results*, [https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/Results%201988%20-%201997/NA .pdf](https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/Results%201988%20-%201997/NA.pdf).p.15. Accessed on April 18, 2021 .

<sup>136</sup> *10TH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FROM 1993 TO 1996 LIST OF MEMBERS & ADDRESSES*, <http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/former-members/10th%20National%20Assembly.pdf>, Accessed on April 18, 2021.

<sup>137</sup> *MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ( 1972 - 1997)*, <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/GE%201972-1997.pdf>, Accessed on April 18, 2021.

votes.<sup>138</sup> Total registered votes in the constituency were 246193. Total votes polled were 68772 and valid votes were 67325. Turnout in the constituency was 27%.<sup>139</sup>

Provincial assembly constituency	Name of the candidate	Party affiliation	Votes
PF-65 Swat-I	Dr. Mehboob-ur-Rehman	PPP	9097
PF-66 Swat-II	Syed Muhammad Ali Shah Bacha Lala	PML-N	10294
PF-67 Swat-III	Syed Allaudin	PPP	16899
PF-68 Swat-IV	Dost Muhammad Khan	PPP	16787
PF-69 Swat-V	Muhammad Didar Khan	ANP	6074
PF-70 Swat-VI	Badi-U-Zaman	PPP	11777
PF-71 Swat-VII	Pir Muhammad Khan	PIF	5837

**Table 13 result of 1993 general elections for the constituencies of provincial assembly from District Swat.**

From provincial assembly constituency PF-65 Swat-I Dr. Mehboob-Ur-Rahman (PPP) was elected and got 9097 votes.<sup>140</sup> From the same constituency Wajid Ali Khan (ANP) got 8626 votes.<sup>141</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 95764. Total votes polled were 39316 and valid votes polled were 38677. Turnout in the constituency was 41%.<sup>142</sup>

<sup>138</sup> NA-22 Swat II Detail Election Result 1993, <https://www.electionpakistani.com/ge1993/NA-22.htm>, Accessed on April 18, 2021.

<sup>139</sup> Constituency Wise Detailed Results, <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/Results%201988%20-%201997/NA.pdf>.p.16. Accessed on April 18, 2021.

<sup>140</sup> Haroon Siraj, The Nation, Election activities gain momentum in PK-80, March 20, 2013.

<sup>141</sup> PF-65 Swat Detail Election Result 1993, <https://www.electionpakistani.com/ge1993/pf/PF-65.htm>, Accessed on April 18, 2021.

<sup>142</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P., (Swat: District Election Commission).p.611.

From provincial assembly constituency PF-66 Swat-II Syed Muhammad Ali Shah Bacha Lala (PML-N) was elected and he got 10294 votes. From the same constituency Shamsher Ali (ANP) got 9775 votes.<sup>143</sup> Total registered votes in the constituency were 106093. Total votes polled were 33009 and valid votes were 32509. Turnout in the constituency was 31%.<sup>144</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PF-67 Swat-III Syed Allaudin (PPP) was elected and he got 16899 votes. From the same constituency Qaimoos Khan (PML-N) got 13361 votes.<sup>145</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 79448. Total votes polled were 31840 and valid votes were 31439. Turnout in the constituency was 40%.<sup>146</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PF-68 Swat-IV Dost Muhammad Khan (PPP) was elected and he got 16787 votes. From the same constituency Faridoon Khan (PML-N) got 11555 votes.<sup>147</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 100176. Total votes polled were 35116 and valid votes were 34512. Turnout in the constituency was 35%.<sup>148</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PF-69 Swat-V Muhammad Didar Khan (ANP) was elected and he got 6074 votes. From the same constituency Anwar Ali (PML-N) got 4929 votes.<sup>149</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 59999. Total votes polled were 22865 and valid votes were 22435. Turnout in the constituency was 38%.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> *PF-66 Swat Detail Election Result 1993*, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge1993/pf/PF-66.htm>, Accessed on April 18, 2021.

<sup>144</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P.*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.612.

<sup>145</sup> *PF-67 Swat Detail Election Result 1993*, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge1993/pf/PF-67.htm>, Accessed on April 18, 2021.

<sup>146</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P.*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.613.

<sup>147</sup> *PF-68 Swat Detail Election Result 1993*, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge1993/pf/PF-68.htm>, Accessed on April 18, 2021.

<sup>148</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P.*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.614.

<sup>149</sup> *PF-69 Swat Detail Election Result 1993*, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge1993/pf/PF-69.htm>, Accessed on April 18, 2021.

<sup>150</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P.*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.615.

From provincial assembly constituency PF-70 Swat-VI Badi-U-Zaman (PPP) got 11777 votes. From the same constituency Muhammad Zahir Shah (PML-N) got 9013 votes.<sup>151</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 8857. Total votes polled were 29511 and valid votes were 28985. Turnout in the constituency was 33%.<sup>152</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PF-71 Swat-VII Pir Muhammad Khan (PIF) was elected and got 5837 votes. From the same constituency Bakht Biland Khan (PML-N) got 3823 votes.<sup>153</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 76433. Total votes polled were 19127 and valid votes were 18558. Turnout in the constituency was 25%.<sup>154</sup>

## **2.7 1997 Election:**

National Assembly elections had previously been held in October 1993.<sup>155</sup> On November 5, 1996, President F-A-Leghari fired the government of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto (Pakistan People's Party-PPP) on the basis of corruption and abuse of power in her government.<sup>156</sup> An interim government took power and called for new elections next February.<sup>157</sup>

In the 1997 general election, PPP supporters were frustrated and disappointed and could not walk long distances between their homes and polling stations. This gave the PML-N an overwhelming majority.<sup>158</sup> Benazir Bhutto's husband Asif Ali Zardari became a polarizing factor. He has been widely accused of corruption and the party is divided between those who see Zardari as a threat and those who see him as part of the solution.

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<sup>151</sup> *PF-70 Swat Detail Election Result 1993*, <https://www.electionpakistani.com/ge1993/pf/PF-70.htm>, Accessed on April 18, 2021.

<sup>152</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P.*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.616.

<sup>153</sup> *PF-71 Swat Detail Election Result 1993*, <https://www.electionpakistani.com/ge1993/pf/PF-71.htm>, Accessed on April 18, 2021.

<sup>154</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P.*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.617.

<sup>155</sup> *PAKISTAN Parliamentary Chamber: National Assembly ELECTIONS HELD IN 1997*, [http://archive.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2241\\_97.htm](http://archive.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2241_97.htm), Accessed on May 12, 2021.

<sup>156</sup> Ishtiaq Ahmad, *Pakistan the Garrison State, Origins, Evolution, Consequences 1947-2011*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013).p.291.

<sup>157</sup> Ishtiaq Ahmad, *Pakistan the Garrison State, Origins, Evolution, Consequences 1947-2011*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013).p.292.

<sup>158</sup> Ishtiaq Ahmad, *Pakistan the Garrison State, Origins, Evolution, Consequences 1947-2011*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013).p.292.

Benazir's brother Murtaza Bhutto is said to have led a radical anti-Zia group (Zulfiqar) in the 1980s and has been in self-imposed exile since returning to the country before the 1993 elections. At the grassroots level, Murtaza formed his own faction, the PPP-Shaheed Bhutto, and contested and won a provincial seat in Sindh. He was killed in 1996 in an encounter with police near his residence in Karachi. President Farooq Ahmed Leaghari saw the opportunity. The PPP government was overthrown and new elections were announced.<sup>159</sup>

In 1997 general election seats for national assembly from district swat were 2 and for provincial assembly were 5. Previously seats for provincial assembly from swat were 7 but in 1997 it was decreased to 5 due to up gradation of subdivision Shangla to district Shangla on July 10, 1995.<sup>160</sup> From national assembly constituency NA-21 Swat-I Miangul Aurangzeb (PML-N) was elected.<sup>161</sup> From national assembly constituency NA-22 Swat-II Mr. Shujaat Ali Khan (PML-N) was elected.<sup>162</sup>

National assembly constituency	Name of the candidate	Party affiliation	Votes
NA-21 Swat-I	Miangul Aurangzeb	PML-N	25018
NA-22 Swat-II	Shujaat Ali Khan	PML-N	25142

**Table 14 result of 1997 general elections for the constituencies of national assembly from District Swat.**

From national assembly constituency NA-21 Swat-I Miangul Aurangzeb (PML-N) got 25018 votes. From the same constituency Faqir Muhammad Khan (ANP) got 14402 and Imran Khan (PTI) got 10716 votes.<sup>163</sup> Registered votes in the constituency

<sup>159</sup> Tahir Mehdi, *An overview of 1997 elections: PML-N returns with a bang*, <https://www.dawn.com/news/802443/an-overview-of-1997-general-elections-pml-n-returns-with-a-bang>, Accessed on May 12, 2021.

<sup>160</sup> *District Shangla*, <https://www.lgkp.gov.pk/>, Accessed on May 12, 2021.

<sup>161</sup> *11TH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FROM 1997 TO 1999 LIST OF MEMBERS & ADDRESSES*, <http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/former-members/11th%20National%20Assembly.pdf>, Accessed on May 12, 2021.

<sup>162</sup> *MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ( 1972 - 1997)*, <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/GE%201972-1997.pdf>, Accessed on May 12, 2021.

<sup>163</sup> *NA-21 Swat I Detail Election Result 1997*, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge1997/NA-21.htm>, Accessed on May 12, 2021.

were 237405. Total votes polled were 63930 and valid votes were 61680. Turnout in the constituency was 36%.<sup>164</sup>

From national assembly constituency NA-22 Swat-II Shujat Ali Khan (PML-N) got 25142 votes. From the same constituency Muhammad Ali Khan Advocate (eANP) got 11297 and an Independent candidate Shahzad Gujjar got 9729 votes.<sup>165</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 282519. Total votes polled were 66635 and valid votes polled were 64933. Turnout in the constituency was 23%.<sup>166</sup>

Provincial assembly constituency	Name of the candidate	Party affiliation	Votes
PF-65 Swat-I	Miangul Asfandyar Amirzeb	PML-N	12136
PF-66 Swat-II	Syed Muhammad Ali Shah Bacha Lala	PML-N	9080
PF-67 Swat-III	Qaimoos Khan	PML-N	12032
PF-68 Swat-IV	Fateh Muhammad Khan	PML-N	10192
PF-69 Swat-V	Anwar Ali Mian	Independent	4049

**Table 15 result of 1997 general elections for the constituencies of provincial assembly from District Swat.**

From provincial assembly constituency PF-65 Swat-I Miangul Asfandyar Amirzeb (PML-N) was elected and got 12136 votes.<sup>167</sup> From the same constituency Wajid Ali Khan (ANP) got 7975 votes.<sup>168</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were

<sup>164</sup> *Constituency Wise Detailed Results*, <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/Results%201988%20-%201997/NA.pdf>.p.15. Accessed May 12, 2021 .

<sup>165</sup> *NA-22 Swat II Detail Election Result 1997*, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge1997/NA-22.htm>, Accessed on May.

<sup>166</sup> *Constituency Wise Detailed Results*, <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/Results%201988%20-%201997/NA.pdf>.p.15. Accessed May 12, 2021 .

<sup>167</sup> Haroon Siraj, *The Nation*, Election activities gain momentum in PK-80, March 20, 2013.

<sup>168</sup> *PF-65 Swat Detail Election Result 1997*, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge1997/pf/PF-65.htm>, Accessed on May 12, 2021.

106210. Total votes polled were 31244 and valid votes were 30418. Turnout in the constituency was 30%.<sup>169</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PF-66 Swat-II Syed Muhammad Ali Shah Bacha Lala (PML-N) got 9080 votes. From the same constituency Shamsheer Ali (ANP) got 6825.<sup>170</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 110430. Total votes polled were 26370 and valid votes were 25373. Turnout in the constituency was 23%.<sup>171</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PF-67 Swat-III Qaimoos Khan (PML-N) was elected and got 12032 votes. From the same constituency Syed Allauddin (Independent) got 6394 votes.<sup>172</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 8168. Total votes polled were 22556 and valid votes were 21936. Turnout in the constituency was 27%.<sup>173</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PF-68 Swat-IV Fateh Muhammad Khan (PML-N) was elected and got 10192 votes. From the same constituency Abdul Jabbar Khan (PKQP) got 6176 votes.<sup>174</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 105224. Total votes polled were 22623 and valid votes were 21429. Turnout in the constituency was 21%.<sup>175</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PF-69 Swat-V Independent candidate Anwar Ali Mian was elected and he got 4049 votes. From the same constituency Haji

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<sup>169</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P., (Swat: District Election Commission).p.611.*

<sup>170</sup> *PF-66 Swat Detail Election Result 1997*, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge1997/pf/PF-66.htm>, Accessed on May 12, 2021.

<sup>171</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P., (Swat: District Election Commission).p.612.*

<sup>172</sup> *PF-67 Swat Detail Election Result 1997*, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge1997/pf/PF-67.htm>, Accessed on May 12, 2021.

<sup>173</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P., (Swat: District Election Commission).p.613.*

<sup>174</sup> *PF-68 Swat Detail Election Result 1997*, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge1997/pf/PF-68.htm>, Accessed on May 12, 2021.

<sup>175</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P., (Swat: District Election Commission).p.614.*



Muhammad Sakhi of ANP got 3502 votes.<sup>176</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 62184. Total votes polled were 16703 and valid votes were 16237. Turnout in the constituency was 26%.<sup>177</sup>

## 2.8 2002 Election:

Pakistan's 2002 elections were held under unusual circumstances. The terrorist attacks on the Pentagon and the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001, changed the course of world politics and the foreign policies of countries around the world. The US government decided to invade Afghanistan to crush the Taliban, accusing them of supporting the 9/11 attacks and declaring a global war on terror. Pakistan is also forced to accept US policy because its border is with Afghanistan and Pakistan is one of the few countries to accept the Taliban government. The U-turn in Pakistan's foreign policy also affected the elections a year after 9/11.<sup>178</sup>

The wonder gift was the reestablishment of the old combined electorate system giving non-Muslim minorities cause to celebrate. The separate electorate system introduced by Gen Zia-Ul-Haq in the 1985 elections had allowed the voters to vote for only candidates of the same belief as their own. It excludes Non-Muslim sections from the political mainstream. The twenty seats reserved for women in the 1973 constitution finished after the 1988 election. Under the electoral reforms, 60 reserved seats for women in the National Assembly have been added.<sup>179</sup>

The main parties taking part in the polls were Peoples Party Parliamentarians, Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz Group, Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid-i-Azam also known as the “King’s Party” for its absolute backing to the government, and the Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal (MMA), alliance of six religious political parties. Other

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<sup>176</sup> *PF-69 Swat Detail Election Result 1997*, <https://www.electionpakistani.com/ge1997/pf/PF-69.htm>, Accessed on May 12, 2021.

<sup>177</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, Detailed Results of Elections to The National Assembly From N.W.F.P.*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.615.

<sup>178</sup> Kamran Aziz Khan, *2002 Elections in Pakistan: A Reappraisal*, in *Journal of Political Studies*, Vol 18, Issue 1, 93-108, p.93.

<sup>179</sup> Tahir Mehdi, *An overview of 2002 general elections: Democracy on a tight leash*, <https://www.dawn.com/news/802628/an-overview-of-2002-general-elections-democracy-on-a-tight-leash>, Accessed on Mar 15, 2021.

identified parties contesting at the national level comprised the six-party National Alliance headed by past caretaker Prime Minister Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Imran Khan's Pakistan Tehrik-i-Insaaf and Tahir-ul-Qadri's Pakistan Awami Tehrik. Numerous local parties, with grips in their specific provinces comprised the Sindh-based Muttahida Qaumi Movement, Awami National Party, Jamhuri Watan Party, groups of Baluchistan National Movement and Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party.<sup>180</sup>

After the elections, PML-Q became the leading party in Pakistan's National Assembly with 118 seats.<sup>181</sup> The second-largest party was the PPP with 80 seats and the third-largest party was the MMA with 59 seats.<sup>182</sup> Despite these advantages, the 2002 election used clear language to tell the king that he was naked. The Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid-e-Azam's "King Party" failed to gather enough numbers to form a government, and the president changed the rules to allow independent candidates to join the parties after being elected, but that was not enough. - He then refused to reinstate the strict 14th Amendment ban on lawmakers crossing the floor. This legitimized the horse-trading. Ten of the PPP's elected members formed the Patriot group and supported Gen Musharraf. Three of the PML-N also defected and Amir Muqam of the Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal (MMA) joined the PML-Q too.<sup>183</sup>

In 2002 general elections there were 2 seats of national assembly and 7 seats of provincial assembly from district Swat.<sup>184</sup> The Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal defeated all the opposition parties and secured an absolute majority in two National Assembly and seven Provincial Assembly seats in Swat.<sup>185</sup> From national assembly constituency NA-29 Swat-

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<sup>180</sup> *General Elections 2002*, <https://storyofpakistan.com/general-elections-2002/>, Accessed on Mar 15, 2021.

<sup>181</sup> Hussain Haqqani, *Pakistan Between Mosque and Military*, (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2005).p.260.

<sup>182</sup> Kamran Aziz Khan, *2002 Elections in Pakistan: A Reappraisal*, in *Journal of Political Studies*, Vol 18, Issue 1, 93-108, p.103.

<sup>183</sup> Tahir Mehdi, *An overview of 2002 general elections: Democracy on a tight leash*, <https://www.dawn.com/news/802628/an-overview-of-2002-general-elections-democracy-on-a-tight-leash>, Accessed on Mar 15, 2021.

<sup>184</sup> Dawn August 9, 2002.

<sup>185</sup> Dawn October 13, 2002.

I Qari Abdul Baees Siddiqui (MMA) was elected.<sup>186</sup> From national assembly constituency NA-30 Swat-II Mr. Fazal Subhan (MMA) was elected.<sup>187</sup>

National assembly constituency	Name of the candidate	Party affiliation	Votes
NA-29 Swat-I	Qari Abdul Baees Siddiqui	MMA	65808
	Adnan Aurangzeb	PML-Q	18265
	Imran Khan	PTI	6060
NA-30 Swat-II	Fazal Subhan	MMA	67085
	Shujaat Ali Khan	PML-Q	15680

Table 16 result of 2002 general elections for the constituencies of national assembly from District Swat.

From national assembly constituency NA-29 Swat-I Qari Abdul Baees Siddiqui (MMA) got 65808 votes. From the same constituency Adnan Aurangzeb (PML-Q) got 18265 and Imran Khan (PTI) got 6060 votes.<sup>188</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 314521. Total votes polled were 100451 and valid votes were 97986. Turnout in the constituency was 31%.<sup>189</sup>

From national assembly constituency NA-30 Swat-II Fazal Subhan (MMA) got 67085 votes. From the same constituency Shujaat Ali Khan (PML-Q) got 15680 votes.<sup>190</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 315636. Total votes polled were 102303 and valid votes were 99169. Turnout in the constituency was 32%.<sup>191</sup>

<sup>186</sup> Daily Chand, May 04, 2013.

<sup>187</sup> 12TH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FROM 2002 TO 2007 LIST OF MEMBERS & ADDRESSES, <http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/former-members/12th%20National%20Assembly.pdf>, Accessed on Mar 15, 2021.

<sup>188</sup> NA-29 Swat I Detail Election Result 2002, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge2002/NA-29.htm>, Accessed on Mar 15, 2021.

<sup>189</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, General Election 2002, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.9.

<sup>190</sup> NA-30 Swat II Detail Election Result 2002, <https://www.electionpakistan.com/ge2002/NA-30.htm>, Accessed on Mar 15, 2021.

<sup>191</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, General Election 2002, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.9.

Provincial assembly constituency	Name of the candidate	Party affiliation	Votes
PF-80 Swat-I	Mr. Muhammad Amin	MMAP	15594
	Mr. Fazal Rahman	PPPS	5520
PF-81 Swat-II	Maulana Nizamuddin	MMAP	15703
	Mr. Miangul Asfandyar Amirzeb	PML-Q	7458
PF-82 Swat-III	Maulana Irfan Ullah	MMAP	10915
	Mr. Waqar Ahmad Khan	ANP	7359
PF-83 Swat-IV	Mr. Hussain Ahmad	MMAP	10587
	Mr. Barkat Ali Khan	PML-Q	4964
PF-84 Swat-V	Qari Mehmood	MMAP	16635
	Col: (R) Abdul Ghaffar Khan	PKQP	6299
PF-85 Swat-VI	Mr. Amir Zada	MMAP	11039
	Mr. Nisar Ahmad	ANP	5231
PF-86 Swat-VII	Maulana Mufti Hussain Ahmad	MMAP	12540
	Eng: Bahadar Ali Khan	ANP	6899

**Table 17 result of 2002 general elections for the constituencies of provincial assembly from District Swat.**

From provincial assembly constituency PF-80 Swat-I Mr. Muhammad Amin (MMAP) was elected and he got 15594 votes.<sup>192</sup> From the same constituency Mr. Fazal Rahman of Pakistan People's Party Sherpao (PPPS) got 5520 votes. Registered votes in

<sup>192</sup> Haroon Siraj, The Nation, Election activities gain momentum in PK-80, March 20, 2013.

the constituency were 81957. Total votes polled were 29161 and valid votes were 28475. Turnout in the constituency was 35%.<sup>193</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PF-81 Swat-II Maulana Nizamuddin (MMAP) was elected and got 15703 votes. From the same constituency Mr. Miangul Asfandyar Amirzeb (PML-Q) got 7458 votes. Total registered votes in the constituency were 86620. Total votes polled were 28641 and valid votes were 27912. Turnout in the constituency was 33%.<sup>194</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PF-82 Swat-III Maulana Irfan Ullah (MMAP) was elected and got 10915 votes. From the same constituency Mr. Waqar Ahmad Khan (ANP) got 7359 votes. Registered votes in the constituency were 87747. Total votes polled were 25520 and valid votes were 24638. Turnout in the constituency was 29%.<sup>195</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PF-83 Swat-IV Mr. Hussain Ahmad (MMAP) was elected and got 10587 votes. From the same constituency Mr. Barkat Ali Khan (PML-Q) got 4964 votes. Registered votes in the constituency were 89250. Total votes polled were 26801 and valid votes polled were 25607. Turnout in the constituency was 30%.<sup>196</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PF-84 Swat-V Qari Mahmood (MMAP) was elected and got 16635 votes. From the same constituency Col: (R) Abdul Ghaffar Khan (PKQP) got 6299 votes. Total registered votes in the constituency were 101083. Total votes polled were 27490 and valid votes were 26626. Turnout in the constituency was 27%.<sup>197</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PF-85 Swat-VI Mr. Amir Zada (MMAP) was elected and got 11039 votes. From the same constituency Mr. Nisar Ahmad (ANP)

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<sup>193</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, General Election 2002, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.324.*

<sup>194</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, General Election 2002, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.324.*

<sup>195</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, General Election 2002, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.324.*

<sup>196</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, General Election 2002, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.325.*

<sup>197</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, General Election 2002, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.325.*

got 5231 votes. Total registered votes in the constituency were 90325. Total votes polled were 34706 and valid votes were 33463. Turnout in the constituency was 38%.<sup>198</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PF-86 Swat-VII Maulana Mufti Hussain Ahmad (MMA) was elected and got 12540 votes. From the same constituency Eng: Bahadar Ali Khan (ANP) got 6899 votes. Total registered votes in the constituency were 93175. Total votes polled were 29446 and valid votes were 28505. Turnout in the constituency was 31%.<sup>199</sup>

## 2.9 2008 Election:

In 2007, Pakistan was rocked by several serious political crises, culminating in the December 27 assassination of former Prime Minister and prominent opposition figure Benazir Bhutto, who returned to Pakistan from self-imposed exile in October. Bhutto's death in a laudable gun and bomb attack has been described as a national tragedy for Pakistan and has undermined efforts to democratize the already troubled country. The security situation in Pakistan has deteriorated sharply: the federal government was facing an armed insurgency in two of the country's four provinces, as well as in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). In the second half of 2007, there were about 44 suicide bombings in the country, killing more than 700 people. The country plans to hold parliamentary elections in February 2008.<sup>200</sup>

In the 2008 general elections, the PPP led by Zardari lead majority seats. Compared to the last election, the party gain 3 million votes and won 95 general seats in the National Assembly. More importantly, it has won seats in all four provinces.<sup>201</sup> PML-

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<sup>198</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, General Election 2002, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.325.*

<sup>199</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, General Election 2002, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.326.*

<sup>200</sup> K. Alan Kronstadt, *Pakistan's Scheduled 2008 Election: Background*, <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34335.pdf>, Accessed on April 08, 2021.

<sup>201</sup> *Tahir Mehdi, An Overview of 2008 general elections*, <https://www.dawn.com/news/802815/an-overview-of-2008-general-elections>, Accessed on April 08, 2021.

N secured 68 national assembly seats and got 20% of total votes polled. PML-Q secured victory on 38 seats of national assembly and was third largest party.<sup>202</sup>

In 2008 general elections there were 2 seats of national assembly and 7 seats of provincial assembly from district Swat. From national assembly constituency NA-21 Swat-I Mr. Muzafer-UI-Mulk (ANP) was elected.<sup>203</sup> Muzafer-UI-Mulk (ANP) got 19860 votes. From the same constituency Mian Gul Adnan Aurangzeb (Independent) got 17253 votes.<sup>204</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 411985. Total votes polled were 74861 and valid votes were 72795. Turnout in the constituency was 18%.<sup>205</sup>

National assembly constituency	Name of the candidate	Party affiliation	Votes
NA-21 Swat-I	Mr. Muzafer-UI-Mulk	ANP	19860
	Mian Gul Adnan Aurangzeb	Independent	17253
NA-30 Swat-II	Syed Alla-ud-Din	PPPP	24063
	Shujaat Ali Khan	PML	16337

**Table 18 result of 2008 general elections for the constituencies of national assembly from District Swat.**

From national assembly constituency NA-30 Swat-II Syed Alla-Ud-Din of Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarian (PPPP) was elected.<sup>206</sup> Syed Alla-Ud-Din got 24063 votes. From the same constituency Shujaat Ali Khan (PML) got 16337 votes.<sup>207</sup>

<sup>202</sup> PAKISTAN GENERAL ELECTION 2008, <https://hamariweb.com/pakistan-election/General/2008/>, Accessed on April 08, 2021.

<sup>203</sup> 13TH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FROM 2008 TO 2013 LIST OF MEMBERS & ADDRESSES, <http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/former-members/13th%20National%20Assembly.pdf>, Accessed on April 08, 2021.

<sup>204</sup> NA-29 Swat I Detail Election Result 2008, <http://www.electionpakistani.com/ge2008/NA-29.htm>, Accessed on April 08, 2021.

<sup>205</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, General Election 2008, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.14.

<sup>206</sup> 13TH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FROM 2008 TO 2013 LIST OF MEMBERS & ADDRESSES, <http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/former-members/13th%20National%20Assembly.pdf>, Accessed on April 08, 2021.

<sup>207</sup> NA-30 Swat II Detail Election Result 2008, <http://www.electionpakistani.com/ge2008/NA-30.htm>, Accessed on April 8, 2021.

Registered votes in the constituency were 403450. Total votes polled were 72232 and valid votes were 69314. Turnout in the constituency was 17%.<sup>208</sup>

Provincial assembly constituency	Name of the candidate	Party affiliation	Votes
PF-80 Swat-I	Wajid Ali Khan	ANP	4904
	Riaz Ahmad Adv:	PPPP	3788
PF-81 Swat-II	Sher Shah Khan	ANP	
PF-82 Swat-III	Waqar Ahmad Khan	ANP	7174
	Maulana Syed Irfanullah	MMAP	3958
PF-83 Swat-IV	Shamsher Ali Khan	ANP	4726
	Firoz Shah	PML	3295
PF-84 Swat-V	Muhammad Ayub Khan	ANP	6999
	Qari Mehmood	MMAP	3341
PF-85 Swat-VI	Jafar Shah	ANP	5573
	Ameer Muqam	PML	4990
PF-86 Swat-VII	Dr. Haider Ali	ANP	8064
	Qaimus Khan	PML	5305

**Table 19 result of 2008 general elections for the constituencies of provincial assembly from District Swat.**

From provincial assembly constituency PF-80 Swat-I Wajid Ali Khan (ANP) was elected.<sup>209</sup> Wajid Ali Khan (ANP) got 4904 votes.<sup>210</sup> From the same constituency Riaz Ahmad Adv: (PPPP) got 3788 votes. Registered votes in the constituency were 116275.

<sup>208</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, General Election 2008, (Swat: District Election Commission).*p.14.

<sup>209</sup> Daily Chand, May 04, 2013.

<sup>210</sup> Haroon Siraj, The Nation, Election activities gain momentum in PK-80, March 20, 2013.



Total votes polled were 18034 and valid votes were 17658. Turnout in the constituency was 15%.<sup>211</sup>

The 2008 Provincial Assembly constituency PF-81 SWAT-II election campaign was dismissed under section 18 of the Public Representation Act 1976 due to the death of a candidate.<sup>212</sup> Later on from the above mentioned constituency Sher Shah Khan of ANP was elected.<sup>213</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PF-82 Swat-III Waqar Ahmad Khan (ANP) was elected. Waqar Ahmad Khan (ANP) got 7174 votes. From the same constituency Maulana Syed Irfanullah (MMA) got 3958 votes. Registered votes in the constituency were 111260. Total votes polled were 24088 and valid votes were 23323. Turnout in the constituency was 21%.<sup>214</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PF-83 Swat-IV Shamsheer Ali Khan (ANP) was elected. Shamsheer Ali Khan (ANP) got 4726 votes. From the same constituency Firoz Shah (PML) got 3295 votes. Registered votes in the constituency were 114574. Total votes polled were 15464 and valid votes were 14748. Turnout in the constituency was 13%.<sup>215</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PF-84 Swat-V Muhammad Ayub Khan (ANP) was elected. Muhammad Ayub Khan (ANP) got 6999 votes. From the same constituency Qari Mahmood (MMA) got 3341 votes. Registered votes in the constituency were 130230. Total votes polled were 19590 and valid votes were 18840. Turnout in the constituency was 15%.<sup>216</sup>

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<sup>211</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, General Election 2008, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.344.*

<sup>212</sup> *ELECTION COMMISSION OF PAKISTAN NOTIFICATION*, [https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/General%20Elections%202008/Results/\[Gazette%20Notification%20of%20the%20Returned%20Candidates%20\]%20%20PK.pdf](https://www.ecp.gov.pk/Documents/General%20Elections%202008/Results/[Gazette%20Notification%20of%20the%20Returned%20Candidates%20]%20%20PK.pdf), Accessed on April 08, 2021 .

<sup>213</sup> *Swat MPA and MPA General Election 2008*, <http://pakinformation.com/mna-mpa/election2008/swat.html>, Accessed on April 08, 2021.

<sup>214</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, General Election 2008, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.344.*

<sup>215</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, General Election 2008, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.345.*

<sup>216</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, General Election 2008, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.345.*

From provincial assembly constituency PF-85 Swat-VI Jafar Shah (ANP) was elected. Jafar Shah (ANP) got 5573 votes. From the same constituency Ameer Muqam (PML) got 4990 votes. Registered votes in the constituency were 116401. Total votes polled were 27054 and valid votes were 26149. Turnout in the constituency was 23%.<sup>217</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PF-86 Swat-VII Dr. Haider Ali (ANP) was elected. Dr. Haider Ali (ANP) got 8064 votes. From the same constituency Qaimus Khan (PML) got 5305 votes. Registered votes in the constituency were 116423. Total votes polled were 24317 and valid votes were 23291. Turnout in the constituency was 20%.<sup>218</sup>

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<sup>217</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, General Election 2008, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.345.*

<sup>218</sup> *Election Commission of Pakistan, General Election 2008, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.346.*

## Chapter 3: 2013 and 2018 general elections in district Swat

### 3.1 2013 general election in Swat:

The arrival of Pervez Musharraf to Pakistan at the threat to his life has carried attention to the upcoming national elections, which the former president is determined to contest as savior of the nation despite his unpopularity.<sup>1</sup> In 2013, Pakistan achieved a democratic milestone when an elected government completed its first full term in Pakistan's history.<sup>2</sup>

The Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) announced that the overall turnout in the 2013 general elections was 55.02%, much higher than in the 1980 elections. In 1988 general elections overall turnout was 43%. In 1990 turnout was 45%, in 1993 40%, in 1997 turnout was 35%, in 2002 turnout was 42%, in 2008 turnout was 44% and in 2013 turnout was 55%.<sup>3</sup>

Results of 2013 general election show a clear change between votes and seats percentage of political parties. A comparison of the seats and the percentage of votes show that the PML-N is still good at securing a large number of seats with a relatively low percentage of votes. In fact, apart from the MQM, it was the only party to win more seats than its votes. On the other hand, the PPP, despite its heavy defeat, continued to win more votes than the seats. In 2013, however, it now shares respect with the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, which is still below the PPP but has become the second-largest party nationally in terms of vote share. In fact, the difference between PTI's vote and seat share is the biggest difference of any political party. PML-N won 35% of the vote and 45% of the seats in the National Assembly. PPP got 15.7% votes and secured 11.8% seats in the national assembly. There is big difference between seats and votes of PTI in national

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<sup>1</sup> Abdul Basit, Pakistan's 2013 Elections: A Milestone, but Fragile *Democracy*, <https://reliefweb.int/report/pakistan/pakistan%E2%80%99s-2013-elections-milestone-fragile-democracy>, Accessed on May 12, 2021.

<sup>2</sup> Sadika Hameed, *Pakistan's 2013 elections: Next Steps and Implications for the United States*, <https://www.csis.Org/analysis/pakistan%E2%80%99s-2013-elections-next-steps-and-implications-united-states>, Accessed on May 12, 2021.

<sup>3</sup> The Express Tribune, *Pakistan elections 2013 total voter turnout: 55%, The PML-N got the majority of total votes, followed by PTI and the PPP*, May 21, 2013.

assembly. PTI got 17.8% votes for national assembly but won only 9.6% of seats for national assembly.<sup>4</sup>

PML-N won 125 seats in national assembly and got 14794188 votes. PTI won 27 seats in national assembly and got 7563504 votes for the national assembly. PPPP secured 31 seats in national assembly and got 6822958 votes for the national assembly constituencies. According to the figures of votes and seats PTI is on second number according to votes but on third with respect of seats in national assembly.<sup>5</sup>

In 2013 general election there were 2 seats of national assembly and 7 of provincial assembly from district Swat. From national assembly constituency NA-29 Swat-I Murad Saeed (PTI) was elected. From national assembly constituency NA-30 Swat-II Salim Rehman (PTI) was elected.<sup>6</sup>

Name of the candidate	Party affiliation	Votes
Murad Saeed	PTI	88513
Syed Muhammad Ali Shah Bacha Lala	PML-N	24212
Maulana Nizam Ud Din	JUI-F	21026
Muzaffar-ul-Mulk	ANP	14690
Akhtar Ali Khan	JI	11240
Dost Muhammad Khan	PPPP	7919
Dr. Siraj ud Din	QWP	2798
Saddiq Ali Khan	Independent	2152
Khurshid Ali	PKMAP	1743
Ubaid-ur-Rehman	JUI-(Nazriyati)	1505
Pir Syed	JUP-(Noorani)	1068

<sup>4</sup> Dawn, *The Election Score*, May 16, 2013.

<sup>5</sup> The Express Tribune, *Pakistan elections 2013 total voter turnout: 55%, The PML-N got the majority of total votes, followed by PTI and the PPP*, May 21, 2013.

<sup>6</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan, *14th Assembly (01-06-2013 to 31-05-2018)*, <http://www.na.gov.pk/en/former.php?id=11>, Accessed on May 12, 2021.

Sajad Hussain	PML	834
Mohsin Badshah Adv:	MQM	742
Ali Khan	Independent	415

Table 20 result of 2013 general elections for national assembly constituency NA-29 Swat-I District Swat .

From national assembly constituency NA-29 Swat-I a total of 14 candidates contested the election in which Murad Saeed (PTI) got 88513 votes. Syed Muhammad Ali Shah Bacha Lala (PML-N) got 24212 votes. Maulana Nazim-Ud-Din (JUI-F) got 21026 votes. Muzaffar-ul-Mulk (ANP) got 14690 votes. Akhtar Ali Khan (JI) got 11240 votes. Dost Muhammad Khan (PPPP) got 7919 votes. Dr Siraj-Ud-Din (QWP) got 2798 votes. Saddiq Ali Khan (Independent) got 2152 votes. Khurshid Ali (PKMAP) got 1743 votes. Ubaid-Ur-Rehman of Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam Nazriyati Pakistan got 1505 votes. Pir Syed of Jamiat Ulama-e-Pakistan (Noorani) got 1068 votes. Sajad Hussain (PML) got 834 votes. Moohsin Badshah Advocate (MQM) got 742 votes. Ali Khan (Independent) got 415 votes. Registered votes in the constituency were 521072. Total votes polled were 185094. Valid votes in the constituency were 178857. Turnout in the constituency was 35%.<sup>7</sup>

Name of the candidate	Party affiliation	Votes
Salim Rehman	PTI	49976
Amir Muqam	PML-N	33027
Muhammad Hafeez ur Rehman	JUI-F	16704
Syed Allaudin	PPPP	16373
Mr. Khurshid	ANP	15595
Fazal Subhan	JI	11367
Muhammad Mukhtiar	PKMAP	2739
Nairoz Mian	Independent	2579
Muhammad Bashir Khan	Independent	2519

<sup>7</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, General Election 2013, (Swat: District Election Commission), p.23.

Amjad Ali Khan	QWP	1592
Kamal Shah	AWP	1162
Muhammad Nazeer	JUI-N (Nazriati)	741
Talhayat Khan	Independent	699
Maulana Rasheed Ahmad	MDM	618
Maki Muhammad	TTP	522
Mumtaz Hussain	Independent	338
Said Ahmad Khan	Independent	333
Mr. Mehmood	Independent	304
Badshah Muain	JUI-N (Noorani)	189
Izhar Gul	PML-M	172

**Table 21 result of 2013 general elections for national assembly constituency NA-30 Swat-II District Swat .**

From national assembly constituency NA-30 Swat-II 25 candidates contested the election. Candidate of PTI Salim Rehman got 49976 votes. Amir Muqam of PML-N got 33027 votes. Muhammad Hafeez-Ur-Rehman of JUI-F got 1674 votes. Syed Allaudin of PPPP got 16373 votes. Mr. Khurshid of ANP got 15595 votes. Fazal Subhan of JI got 11367 votes. Muhammad Mukhtiar of PKMAP got 2739 votes. Nairoz Mian an independent candidate got 2579 votes. Muhammad Bashir Khan another independent candidate got 2519 votes. Amjad Ali Khan of QWP got 1592 votes. Kamal Shah of Awami Workers Party (AWP) got 1162 votes. Muhammad Nazeer of JUI-N (Nazriyati) got 741 votes. Talhayat Khan (Independent) got 699 votes. Maulana Rasheed Ahmad of Mutahida Deeni Mahaaz (MDM) got 618 votes. Maki Muhammad of Tehrik-e-Tahaffuz-e-Pakistan (TTP) got 522 votes. Mumtaz Hussain (Independent) got 338 votes. Said Ahmad Khan (Independent) got 333 votes. Mehmood (Independent) got 304 votes. Badshah Muain of Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam Noorani (JUI-N) got 189 votes. Izhar Gul of Pakistan Muslim League- Muttahidda (PML-M) got 172 votes. Registered votes in the constituency were 460748. Total votes polled were 165945. Valid votes in the constituency were 158717. Turnout in the constituency was 36%.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, General Election 2013, (Swat: District Election Commission), pp.23.24.

Name of the candidate	Party affiliation	Votes
Fazal Hakeem	PTI	18080
Muhammad Amin	JI	11863
Hujjat Ullah	JUI-F	9410
Amir Muqam	PML-N	7044
Wajid Ali Khan	ANP	3275
Fazal Rehman	QWP	2855
Riaz Ahmad Khan	PPPP	2542
Shahi Dawran	Independent	898
Khalid Mehmood	PKMAP	688
Muhammad Ijaz	PML-Q	323
Umar Sadiq	Independent	109
Rashid Ahmad	MDM	73
Amjad Ali	MQM	34

**Table 22 result of 2013 general elections for provincial assembly constituency PK-80 Swat-I District Swat .**

From provincial assembly constituency PK-80 Swat-I Fazal Hakeem (PTI) was elected. Fazal Hakeem got 18080 votes.<sup>9</sup> From the same constituency Muhammad Amin of Jamaat-a-Islami (JI) got 11863 votes. JUI-F candidate Hujjat Ullah got 9410 votes. Amir Muqam of Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N) got 7044 votes. Awami National Party candidate Wajid Ali Khan got 3275 votes. Fazal Rehman (QWP) got 2855 votes. Riaz Ahmad Khan (PPPP) got 2542 votes. Shahi dawran (Independent) got 898 votes. Khalid Mehmood (PKMAP) got 688 votes. Muhammad Ijaz (PML-Q) got 323 votes. Umar Sadiq (Independent) got 109 votes. Rashid Ahmad of Mutahida Deeni Mahaz (MDM) got 73 votes. Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) candidate Amjad Ali got 34 votes. Registered votes in the constituency were 143262. Total votes polled were 58682. Valid votes in the constituency were 57194. Turnout in the constituency was 40%.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Form XVII result of the Count*, (Swat: District Election Commission).

<sup>10</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *General Election 2013*, (Swat: District Election Commission), pp.455.456.

In 2013 general election the constituency PK-80 Swat-I was divided into 87 polling stations. In some places there were separate polling stations for male and females but in some cases one station was divided between male and females. According to the election commission data Fazal Hakeem (PTI) won on 61 polling stations. Muhammad Amin won on 13 polling stations. Hujjat Ullah (JUI-F) won on 6 polling stations. Amir Muqam (PML-N) and Shahi Dawran (Independent) won on 3,3 polling stations. Wajid Ali Khan (ANP) won on only 1 polling station. The remaining candidate got a number of votes but didn't win on any polling station.<sup>11</sup>

Name of the candidate	Party affiliation	Votes
Aziz Ullah Khan	PTI	13067
Habib Ali Shah	JUI-F	11656
Shehryar Amir Zeb	PML-N	10453
Sher Shah	ANP	6295
Fazal Hayat	PPPP	4427
Riaz Ahmad	JI	2568
Afzal Shah	QWP	2379
Muhammad Rashad	Independent	1011
Afrasiyab Khan	Independent	301
Said Karim	PKMAP	246
Nawab Zada	PST	189
Mohsin Badshah	MQM	78

**Table 23 result of 2013 general elections for provincial assembly constituency PK-81 Swat-II District Swat .**

From provincial assembly constituency PK-81 Swat-II Azizullah Khan (PTI) was elected. Azizullah Khan got 13067 votes. From the same constituency Habib Ali Shah (JUI-F) got 11656 votes. Shehryar Amir Zeb (PML-N) got 10453 votes. Sher Shah (ANP) got 6295 votes. Fazal Hayat (PPPP) got 4427 votes. Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) candidate

<sup>11</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *form XVI, CONSOLIDATED STATEMENT OF THE RESULTS OF THE COUNT FURNISHED BY THE PRESIDING OFFICERS in respect of the Election to the Provincial Assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa from PK-80 Swat-I Constituency*, (Swat: District Election Commission).pp.1..4.



Riaz Ahmad got 2568 votes. Afzal Shah of Qaumi Watan Party (QWP) got 2379 votes. Independent candidate Muhammad Rashad got 1011 votes. Another independent candidate Afrasiyab Khan got 301 votes. Said karim (PKMAP) got 246 votes. Nawab Zada of Pakistan Sunni Tehrik (PST) got 189 votes, and Mohsin Badshah of Mutahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) got 78 votes. Registered votes in the constituency were 143507. Total votes polled were 54977. Valid votes in the constituency were 52670. Turnout in the constituency was 38%.<sup>12</sup>

Name of the candidate	Party affiliation	Votes
Amjad Ali	PTI	15086
Waqar Ahmad Khan	ANP	9050
Amir Muqam	PML-N	7932
Maulana Irfanullah	JUI-F	4400
Rafiullah	JI	3048
Mr. Shahzad	PPPP	1280
Jamil Ahmad	QWP	642
Malak Ahmad	PML-Q	172

Table 24 result of 2013 general elections for provincial assembly constituency PK-82 Swat-III District Swat .

From provincial assembly constituency PK-82 Swat-III Amjad Ali (PTI) was elected. Amjad Ali got 15086 votes. From the same constituency Waqar Ahmad Khan of Awami national Party (ANP) got 9050 votes. Amir Muqam of Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) got 7932 votes. Maulana Irfanullah (JUI-F) got 4400 votes. Jaamat-e-Islami candidate Rafiullah got 3048 votes. Pakistan people's Party Parliamentarians (PPPP) candidate Mr. Shahzad got 1280 votes. Jamil Ahmad of Qaumi watan Party (QWP) got 642 votes and Malak Ahmad (PML-Q) got 172 votes. Registered votes in the constituency were 141120. Total votes polled were 43328. Valid votes in the constituency were 41610. Turnout in the constituency was 30%.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, General Election 2013, (Swat: District Election Commission), p.456.

<sup>13</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, General Election 2013, (Swat: District Election Commission), p.456.

Name of the candidate	Party affiliation	Votes
Muhibullah Khan	PTI	10995
Haji Jalat	PML-N	8772
Hussain Ahmad Kanju	JI	5753
Rahmat Ali	ANP	5282
Maulana Qutbuddin Abid	JUI-F	3472
Najeebullah Khan	PPPP	2471
Fazal Mawla	Independent	1845
Sher Bahadar Zada Khan	QWP	1294
Malak Riaz Ahmad Khan	Independent	572
Muhammad Idrees Khan	Independent	517
Sajad Khan	Independent	489
Muhammad Salih Binori	JUI-N (Nazriyati)	229
Mansoor Ali	AWP	185
Syed Fazal Akbar	Independent	50

**Table 25 result of 2013 general elections for provincial assembly constituency PK-83 Swat-IV District Swat .**

From Provincial assembly constituency PK-83 Swat-IV Muhibullah Khan (PTI) was elected. Muhibullah Khan got 10995 votes. Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) candidate Haji Jalat got 8772 votes. Hussain Ahmad Kanju (JI) got 5753 votes. Rahmat Ali of Awami National Party (ANP) got 5282 votes. Maulana Qutbuddin Abid (JUI-F) got 3472 votes. Najeebullah Khan (PPPP) got 2471 votes. Independent candidate Fazal Mawla got 1845 votes. Sher Bahadar Zada Khan (QWP) got 1294 votes. Malak Riaz Ahmad Khan (Independent) got 572 votes. Muhammad Idrees Khan (Independent) got 517 votes. Sajad Khan (Independent) got 489 votes. Muhammad Salih Binori of Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam Nazriati (JUI-N) got 229 votes. Mansoor Ali of Awami Workers Party (AWP) got 185 votes and Syed Fazal Akbar (Independent) got 50 votes. Registered votes in the constituency were 138828. Total votes polled were 43599. Valid votes in the constituency were 41926. Turnout in the constituency was 31%.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, General Election 2013, (Swat: District Election Commission), p.457.

Name of the candidate	Party affiliation	Votes
Mahmood Khan	PTI	11071
Muhammad Ayub Khan	ANP	8038
Dost Muhammad Khan	PML-N	6480
Syed Akbar Khan	PPPP	6066
Qari Mahmood	JUI-F	4020
Nasr Ullah Khan	QWP	2635
Khaista Badshah	JI	2346
Sherin Muhammad Swati	AWP	1634
Talhayat Khan	Independent	794
Ubaid-Ur-Rehman	JUI-N	720
Mr. Hanifa Adv:	Independent	220
Izzat Iqbal	PML-Q	217
Fazal Karim	Independent	192

Table 26 result of 2013 general elections for provincial assembly constituency PK-84 Swat-V District Swat .

From provincial assembly constituency PK-84 Swat-V Mahmood Khan (PTI) was elected. Mahmood Khan got 11071 votes. From the same constituency Muhammad Ayub Khan (ANP) got 8038 votes. Dost Muhammad Khan (PML-N) got 6480 votes. Sayed Akbar Khan (PPPP) got 6066 votes. Qari Mahmood (JUI-F) got 4020 votes. Nasr Ullah Khan (QWP) got 2635 votes. Khaista Badshah (JI) got 2346 votes. Sherin Muhammad Swati (AWP) got 1634 votes. Talhayat Khan (Independent) got 794 votes. Ubaid-Ur-Rehman (JUI-N) got 720 votes. Hanifa Advocate (Independent) got 220 votes. Izzat Iqbal (PML-Q) got 217 votes. Independent candidate Fazal Karim got 192 votes. Registered votes in the constituency were 144019. Total votes polled were 46219. Valid votes in the constituency were 44480. Turnout in the constituency was 32%.<sup>15</sup>

Name of the candidate	Party affiliation	Votes
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<sup>15</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, General Election 2013, (Swat: District Election Commission), p.457.

Jafar Shah	ANP	14344
Mian Sharafat Ali	PML-N	13765
Nisar Ahmad	PTI	10504
Bakht Amin	JI	8269
Khurshid Ali	PPPP	4557
Muhammad Akhtar	PKMAP	1033
Jamal Uddin	JUP-N (Noorani)	475
Iftikhar Ahmad	MQM	157
Khalid Mian	Independent	53

Table 27 result of 2013 general elections for provincial assembly constituency PK-85 Swat-VI District Swat .

From provincial assembly constituency PK-85 Swat-VI jafar Shah (ANP) was elected. Jafar Shah got 14344 votes. Mian Sharafat Ali (PML-N) got 13765 votes. Nisar Ahmad (PTI) got 10504 votes. Bakht Amin (JI) got 8269 votes. Khurshid Ali (PPPP) got 4557 votes. Muhammad Akhtar (PKMAP) got 1033 votes. Jamal Uddin of jamiat Ulama-e-Pakistan Noorani (JUP-N) got 475 votes. Iftikhar Ahmad (MQM) got 157 votes and Khalid Mian (Independent) got 53 votes. Registered votes in the constituency were 136470. Total votes polled were 55582. Valid votes in the constituency were 53324. Turnout in the constituency was 40%.<sup>16</sup>

Name of the candidate	Party affiliation	Votes
Qaimoos Khan	PML-N	10687
Ali Shah	JUI-F	10302
Dr. Haider Ali Khan	ANP	10028
Muhammad Shahi Khan	PPPP	7275
Muhammad Zeb	PTI	5945
Fazal Ghafoor	JI	1269
Sher Rahman	AWP	715

<sup>16</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, General Election 2013, (Swat: District Election Commission), pp.457.458.

Khwaja Muhammad Qasim	Independent	540
Mr. Ibrahim	Independent	271
Altaf Ullah	MDM	144
Aftab Shahid	JUI-N	117
Haider Ali Khan	QWP	82
Ziaullah Khan	MQM	27

**Table 28 result of 2013 general elections for provincial assembly constituency PK-86 Swat-VII District Swat .**

From provincial assembly constituency PK-86 Swat-VII Qaimoos Khan (PML-N) was elected. Qaimoos Khan got 10687 votes. From the same constituency Ali Shah (JUI-F) got 10302 votes. Dr. Haider Ali Khan (ANP) got 10028 votes. Muhammad Shahi Khan (PPPP) got 7275 votes. Muhammad Zeb (PTI) got 5945 votes. Fazal Ghafoor (JI) got 1269 votes. Sher Rahman (AWP) got 715 votes. Independent candidate Khwaja Muhammad Qasim got 540 votes. Ibrahim another independent candidate got 271 votes. Altaf Ullah (MDM) got 144 votes. Aftab Shahid (JUI-N) got 117 votes. Haider Ali Khan (QWP) got 82 votes. Ziaullah Khan (MQM) got 27 votes. Registered votes in the constituency were 134614. Total votes polled in the constituency were 53282. Valid votes in the constituency were 49786. Turnout in thr constituency was 36%.<sup>17</sup>

### **3.2 2018 General Election in Swat:**

On the last day of May 2018, the ECP sent a proposal to President Mamnoon to hold the 2018 general elections on any date between July 25 and July 27. Under Section 57 (1) of the Election Act 2017, the President has the power to announce the date of elections in consultation with the ECP. The five-year constitutional term of the National Assembly and the Punjab Assembly was coming to an end on May 31, while the Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan Assemblies were coming to an end on May 28. According to Article 224 of the Constitution, elections to the National Assembly and Provincial Councils shall be held within 60 days from the expiration date of the Assembly.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, General Election 2013, (Swat: District Election Commission), p.458.

<sup>18</sup> Dawn , *General Elections 2018 to be held on July 25, May 26, 2018.*

Former Pakistan cricketer Imran Khan has declared victory in Pakistan's parliamentary elections and vowed to create a new Pakistan after the vote was marred by allegations of fraud and radical violence.<sup>19</sup>

If you look at the results of the National Assembly on a provincial basis, the PTI gave Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (including the tribal areas now part of the province), PTI, and PML-N Punjab with 61 votes, giving both sides' equal numbers, and the remaining seats have been allotted to Independent, PPP, and PML-Q. In Sindh, PPP won in rural Sindh while PTI won in urban Sindh. Balochistan, surprisingly divided decision, But the newly formed Balochistan Awami Party (BAP) won four seats. Balochistan National Party-Mengal (BNPM) returned with three seats. The rests are PTI (2) and Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA) (5), Jamhoori Watan Party (1), and Azadi Party (1). In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the PTI broke the previous record of not being re-elected. The party won approximately in all districts of KP, winning 30 seats, surpassing its 17-seat performance in 2013, to the surprise of most pundits. If the 2013 elections indicate the defeat of the Awami National Party in the province, then this election ended the PML-N's influence in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: the party won two seats in 2013, compared to four. In the Hazara belt where the PML-N is considered strong, the PTI has won three of the seven seats, while the PML-N has won only one. The PTI is expected to pose a serious challenge to the PTI in Malakand (Swat and adjoining areas) along with the Awami National Party (ANP) and the PPP, as well as the PML-N and MMA. PTI won 8 out of 10 seats, MMA and PML-N won one seat each.<sup>20</sup>

In 2018 election there were 3 seats of national and 8 of provincial assembly from district Swat. From national assembly constituency NA-2 Swat-I Haider Ali Khan (PTI) was elected. From National Assembly constituency NA-3 Swat-II Saleem Rehman (PTI)

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<sup>19</sup> The Guardian, *Pakistan election 2018: Imran Khan claims victory – as it happened*, [theguardian.com/world/live/2018/jul/25/pakistan-elections-2018-millions-head-to-vote-as-polls-open-live](https://www.theguardian.com/world/live/2018/jul/25/pakistan-elections-2018-millions-head-to-vote-as-polls-open-live), Accessed on May 15, 2021.

<sup>20</sup> Kriti M. Shah and Sushant Sareen, *Pakistan General Elections 2018: Analysis of Results and Implications*, Observer Research Foundation Special Report, DECEMBER 2018.pp.4..6.

was elected and from national assembly constituency NA-4 Swat-III Murad Saeed was elected.<sup>21</sup>

From national assembly constituency NA-2 Swat-I Haider Ali Khan (PTI) got 61834 votes. From the same constituency Amir Muqam (PML-N) got 41366 votes. Navid Iqbal (MMAF) got 18088 votes. Amjad Ali Khan (PPP) got 16037 votes. Mumtaz Ahmad (ANP) got 14734 votes. Muhammad Mukhtar (PKMAP) got 3403 votes. Syed Qamar Ali (Independent) got 1410 votes. Miraj Muhammad (Independent) got 453 votes. Ishtiaq Ahmad (Independent) got 165 votes and Malik Muhammad Didar Khan (Independent) got 148 votes.<sup>22</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 382974. Male voters were 218821 and female voters were 164153. Male turnout in the constituency was 75% and female turnout was 24%. Overall turnout in the constituency was 43%.<sup>23</sup>

From national assembly constituency NA-3 Swat-II Saleem Rehman (PTI) got 68280 votes. From the same constituency Mian Muhammad Shahbaz Sharif (PML-N) got 22758 votes. Miangul Shahryar Amirzeb (PPP) got 22051 votes. Abdul Kareem (ANP) got 21910 votes. Hujjat Ullah (Independent) got 16844 votes. Aftab Shahid (Independent) got 1991 votes. Shakeel Ahmad (JUI-N) got 1368 votes. Ali Khan (Independent) got 455 votes.<sup>24</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 401124 in which male voters were 227864 and female voters were 173260. Male turnout in the constituency was 79% and female turnout was 20%. Overall turnout in the constituency was 40%.<sup>25</sup>

From national assembly constituency NA-4 Swat-III Murad Saeed (PTI) got 71663 votes. From the same constituency Muhammad Saleem Khan (ANP) got 31209

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<sup>21</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Notification of the Names of Candidates returned to the National Assembly of Pakistan*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.1.

<sup>22</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Form 49, Final Consolidation Result of National Assembly Constituency NA-2 Swat-I*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.1.

<sup>23</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Statement Showing Constituency wise Turnout of Total votes polled During General Elections-2018 in Respect of District Swat*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.1.

<sup>24</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Form 49, Final Consolidation Result of National Assembly Constituency NA-3 Swat-II*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.1.

<sup>25</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Statement Showing Constituency wise Turnout of Total votes polled During General Elections-2018 in Respect of District Swat*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.1.

votes. Qari Mahmood (MMA) got 17655 votes. Firoz Shah (PML-N) got 14556 votes. Qamar Zaman (PPP) got 12353 votes. Talhayat Khan (QWP) got 2248 votes. Muhammad Raza Khan of Tehrik Labbaik Pakistan (TLP) got 1580 votes. Khurshid Ali (PKMAP) got 1465 votes. Ibrahim of Allah-o-Akbar Tehrik (AAT) got 907 votes. Shahzad (Independent) got 532 votes and Muhammad Musa Khan (Independent) got 251 votes.<sup>26</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 409013. Male voters were 235150 and female voters were 173863. Male turnout in the constituency was 77% and female turnout in the constituency was 22%. Overall turnout in the constituency was 39%.<sup>27</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PK-2 Swat-I Sharafat Ali (PTI) was elected.<sup>28</sup> Sharafat Ali (PTI) got 21099 votes. From the same constituency Jafar Shah (ANP) got 13187 votes. Ameer Muqam (PML-N) got 11779 votes. Bakht Amin (MMA) got 10996 votes. Nawazish Ali (PPP) got 10769 votes. Ishtiaq Ahmad (Independent) got 103 votes.<sup>29</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 156023. Male voters were 91108 and female voters were 64915. Male turnout in the constituency was 71% and female turnout was 28%. Overall turnout in the constituency was 45%.<sup>30</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PK-3 Swat-II Haider Ali Khan (PTI) was elected.<sup>31</sup> Haider Ali Khan (PTI) got 18569 votes. From the same constituency Sardar Khan (PML-N) got 13103 votes. Mahboob-Ur-Rahman (Independent) got 9986 votes. Ali Shah (MMA) got 6991 votes. Muhammad Sahil Khan (PPP) got 6043 votes. Fazal Wahab (ANP) got 3095 votes. Ali Namdar of Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (PKMAP) got 1768 votes. Javaid Ali (Independent) got 381 votes. Mukhtar Ali Khan (Independent) got 342 votes. Shah Rooq Khan of All Pakistan Muslim League (APML)

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<sup>26</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Form 49, Final Consolidation Result of National Assembly Constituency NA-4 Swat-III*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.1.

<sup>27</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Statement Showing Constituency wise Turnout of Total votes polled During General Elections-2018 in Respect of District Swat*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.1.

<sup>28</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Notification of the Names of Candidates returned to the Provincial Assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.1.

<sup>29</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Form 49, Final Consolidation Result of Provincial Assembly Constituency PK-2 Swat-I*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.1.

<sup>30</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Statement Showing Constituency wise Turnout of Total votes polled During General Elections-2018 in Respect of District Swat*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.1.

<sup>31</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Notification of the Names of Candidates returned to the Provincial Assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.1.



got 127 votes. Azam Khan of Pakistan Islamic Republican Party (PIRP) got 55 votes.<sup>32</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 145315. Male voters were 81391 and female voters were 63924. Male turnout in the constituency was 75% and female turnout in the constituency was 24%. Overall turnout in the constituency was 43%.<sup>33</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PK-4 Swat-III Aziz Ullah Khan was elected.<sup>34</sup> Aziz Ullah Khan (PTI) got 14276 votes. Amir Muqam (PML-N) got 14208 votes. Sana Ullah Khan (MMA) got 10062 votes. Asim Ullah Khan (ANP) got 7990 votes. Irfan Ali Khan (PPP) got 6447 votes. Muhammad Tahir (Independent) got 1570 votes. Saif Ullah Khan (Independent) got 584 votes. Iftikhar Ali (Independent) got 475 votes. Naimat Ullah of Pakistan Freedom Movement (PFM) got 292 votes. Musa Khan (Independent) got 120 votes.<sup>35</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 146233. Male voters were 83398 and female voters were 62835. Male turnout in the constituency was 79% and female turnout was 20%. Overall turnout in the constituency was 40%.<sup>36</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PK-5 Swat-IV Fazal Hakeem Khan Yousafzai (PTI) was elected.<sup>37</sup> Fazal Hakeem Khan Yousafzai (PTI) got 22497 votes. Muhammad Amin (MMA) got 12621 votes. Wajid Ali Khan (ANP) got 6106 votes. Amir Zeb Shahryar (PPP) got 4221 votes. Irshad Ali (PML-N) got 8748 votes. Shawkat Ali (Independent) got 2666 votes. Fazal Rahman (QWP) got 1243 votes. Syed Asif Ali Shah (Independent) got 1089 votes. Arif Ullah (JUI-N) got 478 votes. Muhammad Iqbal (Independent) got 125 votes. Shahab Siyab (Independent) got 95 votes. Shahid Khan

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<sup>32</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Form 49, Final Consolidation Result of Provincial Assembly Constituency PK-3 Swat-II*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.1.

<sup>33</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Statement Showing Constituency wise Turnout of Total votes polled During General Elections-2018 in Respect of District Swat*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.1.

<sup>34</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Notification of the Names of Candidates returned to the Provincial Assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.1.

<sup>35</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Form 49, Final Consolidation Result of Provincial Assembly Constituency PK-4 Swat-III*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.1.

<sup>36</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Statement Showing Constituency wise Turnout of Total votes polled During General Elections-2018 in Respect of District Swat*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.1.

<sup>37</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Notification of the Names of Candidates returned to the Provincial Assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.1.

(APML) got 64 votes. Barkat Ali Independent) got 63 votes.<sup>38</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 156106. Male voters were 87863 and female voters were 68243. Male turnout in the constituency was 79% and female turnout was 20%. Overall turnout in the constituency was 39%.<sup>39</sup>

In 2018 general elections provincial assembly constituency PK-5 Swat-IV (Previously known as PK-80 Swat-I) was divided into 93 polling stations. In some areas polling stations of male and female were separated but in some areas one polling station was divided into two parts one for male and other for females. After election results Fazal Hakeem Khan Yousafzai (PTI) won on 75 polling stations. Muhammad Amin (MMAP) won on 8 polling stations. Irshad Ali (PML-N) won on 6 polling stations. Wajid Ali Khan (ANP) won on 3 polling stations and Amir Zeb Shahryar (PPP) won on only 1 polling station.<sup>40</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PK-6 Swat-V Amjad Ali (PTI) was elected.<sup>41</sup> Amjad Ali (PTI) got 24239 votes. Sher Shah (ANP) got 10275 votes. Habib Ali Shah (PML-N) got 9977 votes. Mukhtar Raza (PPP) got 6867 votes. Shahi Nawab (MMA) got 4461 votes. Rahmat Ali (TLP) got 743 votes. Zafrullah Khan (JUI-N) got 321 votes. Raza Khan (AWP) got 289 votes. Nisar-UI-Mulk (PKMAP) got 190 votes. Imtiaz Khan (Independent) got 169 votes. Ali Khan (Independent) got 167 votes and Saad Aitezaaz Khan of Aman Taraqqi Party (ATP) got 156 votes.<sup>42</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 150497. Male voters were 85702 and female voters were 64795.

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<sup>38</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Form 49, Final Consolidation Result of Provincial Assembly Constituency PK-5 Swat-IV*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.1.

<sup>39</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Statement Showing Constituency wise Turnout of Total votes polled During General Elections-2018 in Respect of District Swat*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.1.

<sup>40</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Form 48, Consolidated Statement of the Results of the Count Furnished by the Presiding Officers, Election to the Provincial Assembly of the KPK PK-5 Swat-IV*, (Swat: Election Commission Office).pp.1..3.

<sup>41</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Notification of the Names of Candidates returned to the Provincial Assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.1.

<sup>42</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Form 49, Final Consolidation Result of Provincial Assembly Constituency PK-6 Swat-V*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.1.

Male turnout in the constituency was 79% and female turnout in the constituency was 20%. Overall turnout in the constituency was 40%.<sup>43</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PK-7 Swat-VI Amjad Ali Khan (PTI) was elected.<sup>44</sup> Amjad Ali (PTI) got 19461 votes.<sup>45</sup> Amjad Ali had won both PK-6 and PK-7 seats in the Provincial Assembly, so he left the PK-7 seat. Later on in Bye Elections for the constituency of PK-7 Waqar Ahmad Khan (ANP) was elected and got 13811 votes. Fazal Mawla (PTI) got 13582 votes.<sup>46</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PK-8 Swat-VII Mohibullah Khan (PTI) was elected.<sup>47</sup> Mohibullah Khan (PTI) got 21825 votes. Said Akbar Khan (PPP) got 10653 votes. Azmat Ali Khan (PML-N) got 7800 votes. Sher Shah Khan (ANP) got 7248 votes. Fazal Subhan (MMA) got 5447 votes. Zafar Ullah Khan (Independent) got 1874 votes. Sajjad Khan (QWP) got 638 votes. Abdul Wahab (APML) got 175 votes.<sup>48</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 143746. Male voters were 82275 and female voters were 61471. Male turnout in the constituency was 74% and female turnout was 25%. Overall turnout was 40%.<sup>49</sup>

From provincial assembly constituency PK-9 Swat-VIII Mahmood Khan was elected.<sup>50</sup> Mahmood Khan (PTI) got 25697 votes. Muhammad Ayub Khan (ANP) got 11509 votes. Amjad Ali (MMA) got 6145 votes. Nasrullah Khan (QWP) got 3195 votes. Syed Nasar Ali Shah (PPP) got 2550 votes. Abdullah Khan (PML-N) got 2465 votes.

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<sup>43</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Statement Showing Constituency wise Turnout of Total votes polled During General Elections-2018 in Respect of District Swat*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.1.

<sup>44</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Notification of the Names of Candidates returned to the Provincial Assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.1.

<sup>45</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Form 49, Final Consolidation Result of Provincial Assembly Constituency PK-7 Swat-VI*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.1.

<sup>46</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Form 49, Final Consolidation Result of Provincial Assembly Constituency PK-7 Swat-VI Bye-Elections*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.1.

<sup>47</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Notification of the Names of Candidates returned to the Provincial Assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.1.

<sup>48</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Form 49, Final Consolidation Result of Provincial Assembly Constituency PK-8 Swat-VII Bye-Elections*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.1.

<sup>49</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Statement Showing Constituency wise Turnout of Total votes polled During General Elections-2018 in Respect of District Swat*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.1.

<sup>50</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Notification of the Names of Candidates returned to the Provincial Assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.1

Hamid Khan (PKMAP) got 406 votes. Fazal Subhan (JUI-N) got 382 votes. Sherin Muhammad Swati (AAT) got 170 votes and Yousaf Khan (Independent) got 53 votes.<sup>51</sup> Registered votes in the constituency were 140920. Male voters were 81657 and female voters were 59263. Male turnout in the constituency was 81% and female turnout was 18%. Overall turnout was 38%.<sup>52</sup>

Electoral history of Swat have been discussed to know about the voting pattern in the area that is there any diversity in the voting pattern of the people or only repetition of the old candidates.

If we discussed the National Assembly constituencies the data showed both repetition and variation. From the national assembly constituency, NA-22 Swat-III Fazal Raziq was elected three times continuously in the elections of 1977 (PNA), 1985, and 1988 (IJI). From the national assembly constituency, NA-23 Swat-III Fateh Muhammad Khan was elected twice in the elections of 1977 (PPP) and 1985. Muhammad Afzal Khan was elected twice from the national assembly constituency NA-22 Swat-II in the elections of 1990 (PDA) and 1993 (PKQP). From national assembly constituency NA-21, Swat-I Miangul Aurangzeb was elected twice in the elections of 1993 (PMLN) and 1997 (PMLN). In the last two elections of 2013 and 2018 Murad Saeed (PTI) was elected from NA-4 Swat-III twice. Similarly, like Murad Saeed, Saleem-Ur-Rahman was also elected from the national assembly constituency NA-3 Swat-II in the elections of 2013 and 2018.

Similarly in provincial assembly constituencies also some candidates have elected on the same constituency more than one time continuously which are follows.

Bakht Jahan Khan was elected from provincial assembly constituency PF-64 Swat-II in the elections of 1985, 1988 (IJI) and 1990 (IJI). Syed Muhammad Ali Shah Bacha elected on the provincial assembly constituency PF-66 Swat-IV five times continuously in the elections of 1985, 1988 (IJI) 1990, 1993 (PMLN) and 1997 (PMLN) .

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<sup>51</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Form 49, Final Consolidation Result of Provincial Assembly Constituency PK-9 Swat-VIII Bye-Elections*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.1.

<sup>52</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Statement Showing Constituency wise Turnout of Total votes polled During General Elections-2018 in Respect of District Swat*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.1.

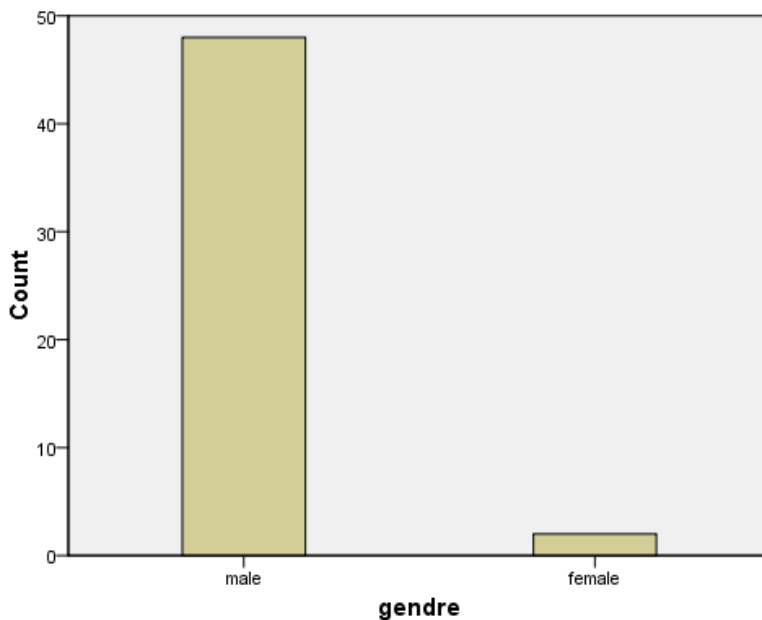
From provincial assembly constituency PF-67 Swat-V Qaimoos Khan was elected twice in the elections of 1988 and 1990. From provincial assembly constituency PF-69 Swat-VII Malak Hazrat Ali was elected twice in the elections of 1988 and 1990. Pir Muhammad Khan was elected three times from the provincial assembly constituency PF-71 Swat-IX in the elections of 1988, 1990 (IJI) and 1993 (PIF). From provincial assembly constituency PF-68 Swat-IV Dost Muhammad Khan was elected twice in the elections of 1990 (PDA) and 1993 (PPP). Jafar Shah was elected from provincial assembly constituency PF-85 Swat-VI in the elections of 2008 (ANP) and 2013 (ANP). Similarly in the last two general elections five candidates of PTI won twice on the provincial assemblies constituencies which are, Aziz Ullah Khan (PK-4 Swat-III), Fazal Hakeem Khan (PK-5 Swat-IV), Amjad Ali (PK-6 Swat-V), Muhib Ullah Khan (PK-8 Swat-VII) and in last Mahmood Khan (PK-9 Swat-VIII).

The above-mentioned are the candidates who won the same constituency more than one time either provincial assembly constituency or national assembly constituency. It shows us that winning more than one time in a constituency is not new in the electoral history of Swat but the case is different with the present PTI government because the repetition is not only in one constituency or district but they repeated in the province.

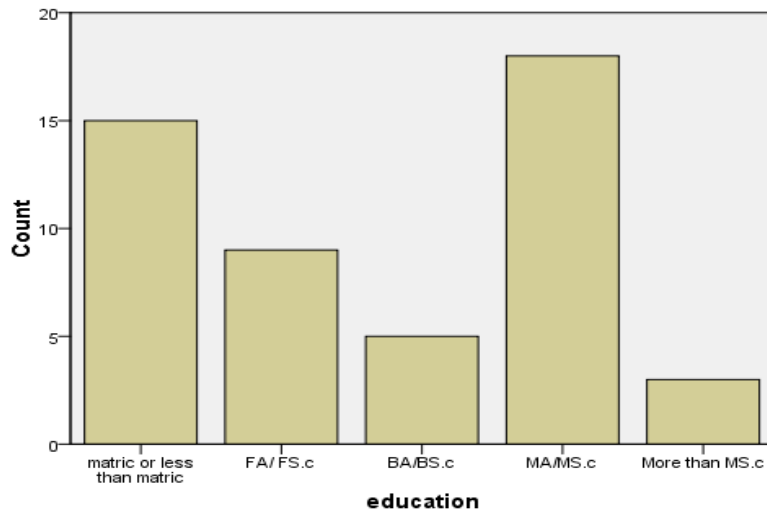
## Chapter 4: Results and Discussions:

The study is basically a comparison of 2013 and 2018 general election of PK-5 constituency of district Swat. Fazal Hakeem Khan (twice PTI MPA from constituency PK-5) A total of 150 questionnaires were filled from the respondents. These questionnaires were divided into 3 groups. First group was consist of those polling stations in which Fazal Hakeem Khan (PTI) won in 2013 general elections and lose in 2018 general elections. Second group was consisting of those polling stations in which Fazal Hakeem Khan (PTI) lose in 2013 general elections and won in 2018 elections. Third group was consisting of those polling stations in which results were same in 2013 and 2018 general elections (those polling stations in which Fazal Hakeem Khan won in both elections).

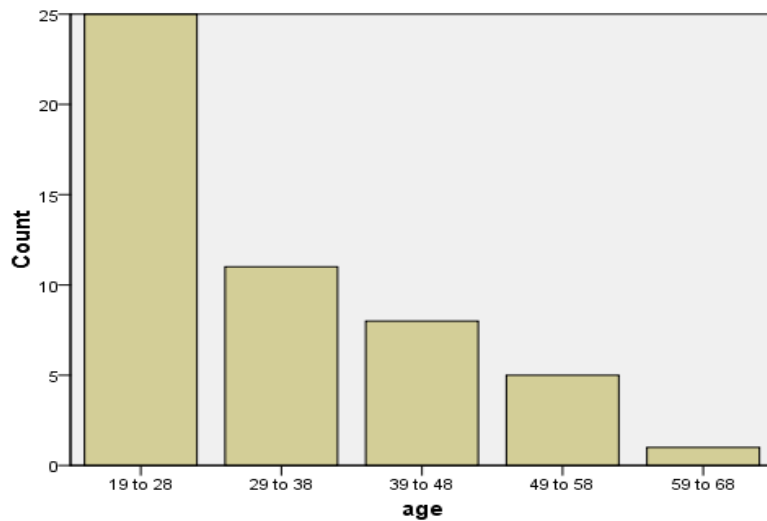
### 4.1 Win lose group:



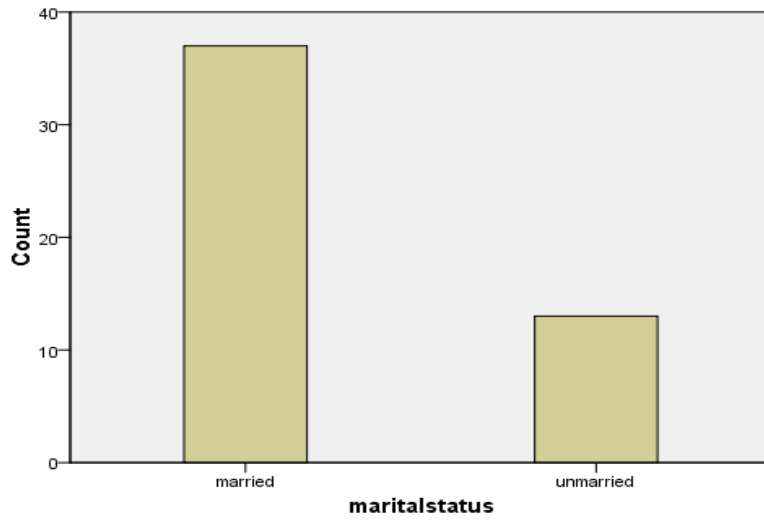
The first question asked in the questionnaire was about gender. The results showed that 48 respondents in the first groups were male and 2 respondents were female.



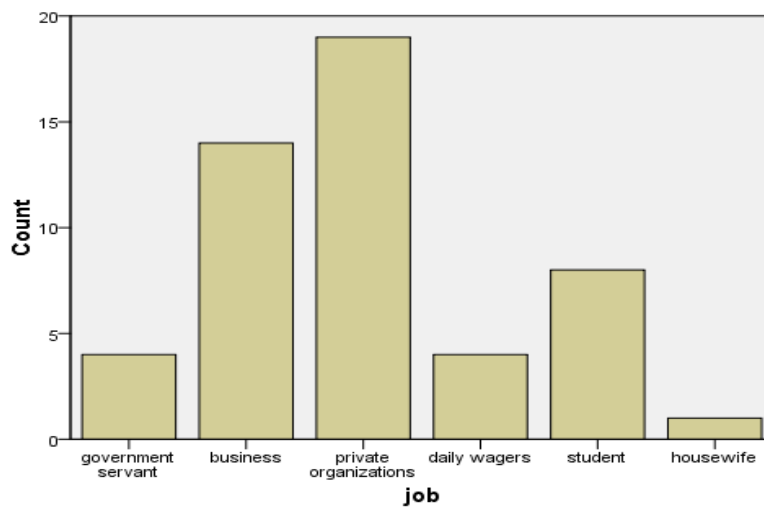
Second question in the questionnaire was about educational qualification. The results showed that 15 respondents qualification was matric or less than matric, 8 respondents qualification was FA/ F.S.C. 6 respondents education was BA/B.SC, 18 respondents education was MA/M.SC and 3 respondents education was more than M.SC.



25 respondents out of 50 were of the age from 19 to 28, 11 were of the age from 29 to 38, 8 were of the age group from 39 to 48, 5 were of the age group from 49 to 58 and 1 respondent was at the age group 59 to 68.

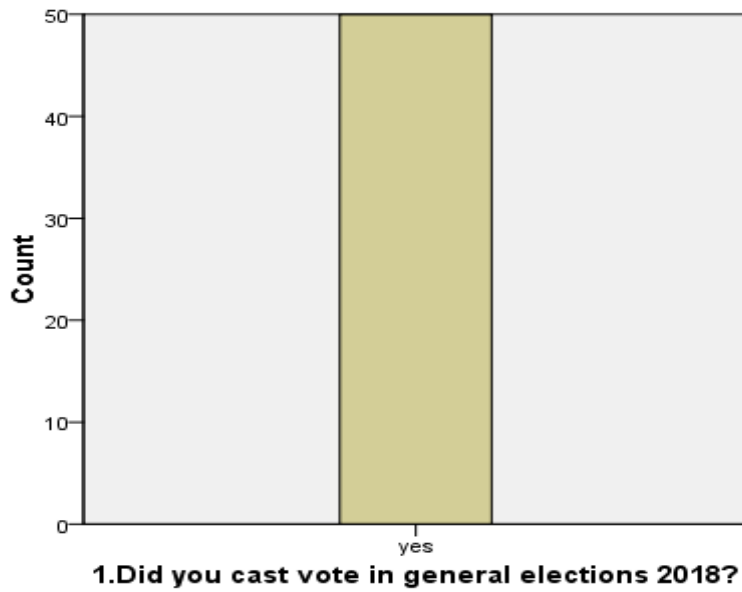


37 respondents were married and 13 were unmarried in the first group.

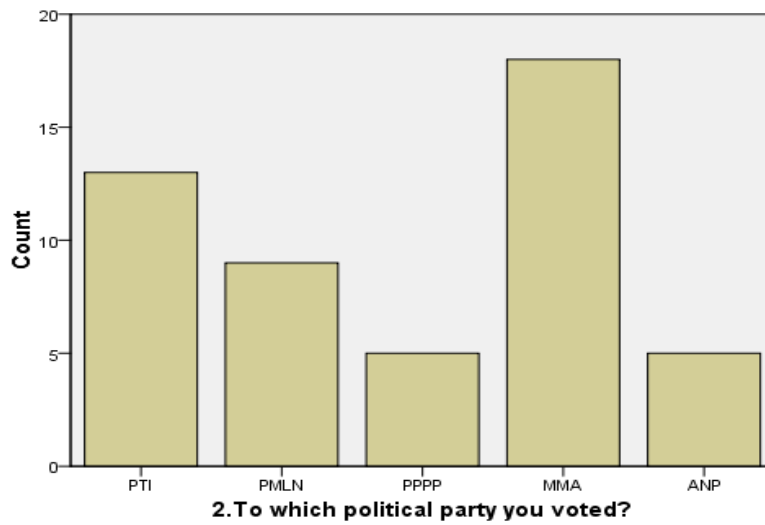


4 respondents were government servants, 14 had their own business, 19 were in different type of private organizations, 4 were daily wagers, 8 were students and 1 female was housewife.

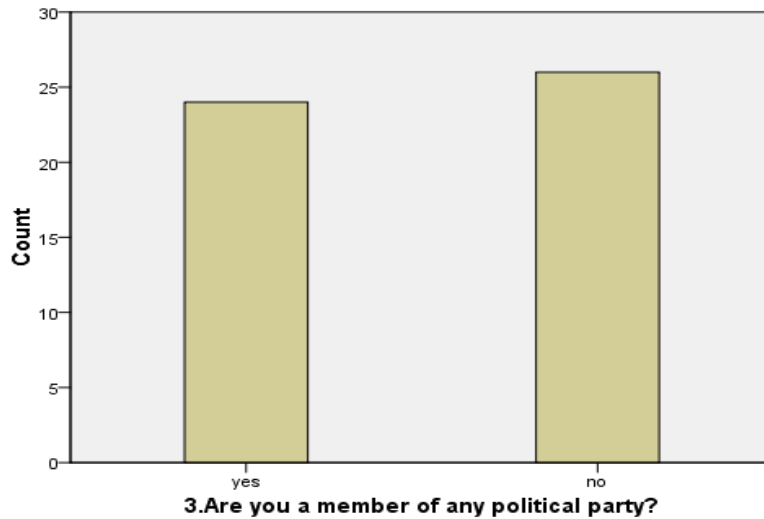




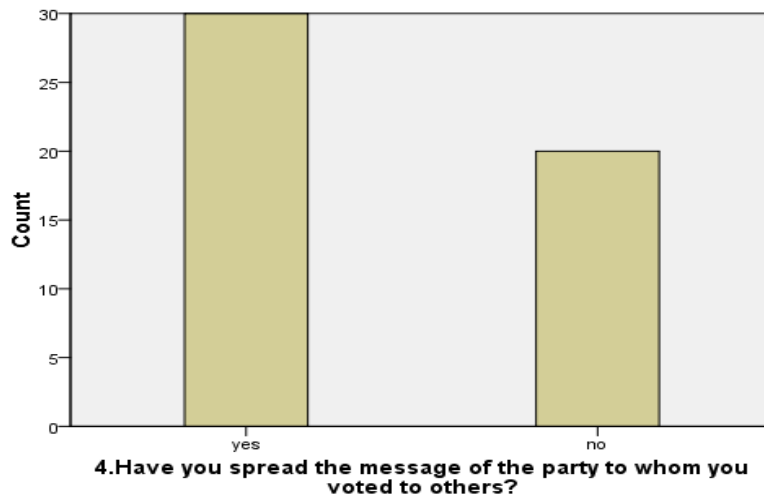
First question related to voting behavior was “Did you cast vote in general elections 2018?” all respondents in the first group filled yes because if a respondent did not cast vote in 2018 elections so he was not eligible to fill the questionnaire.



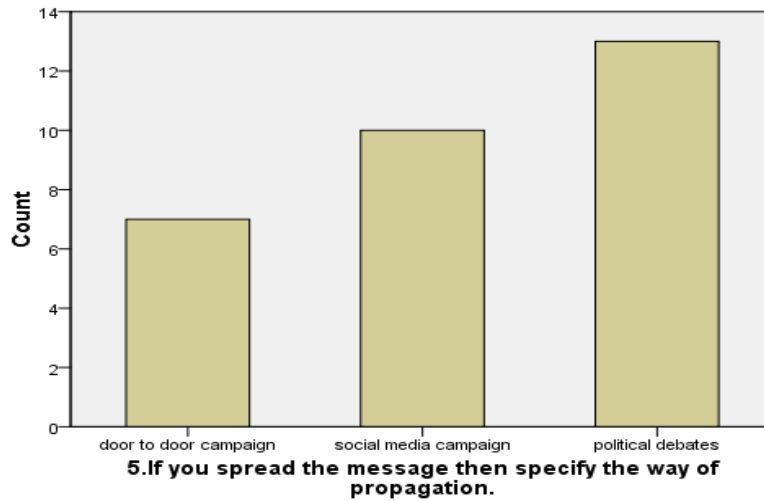
In answer of question “To which political party you voted?” the data showed that 13 people voted for PTI, 9 voted for PMLN, 5 voted for PPPP, 18 voted for MMA and 5 voted for ANP.



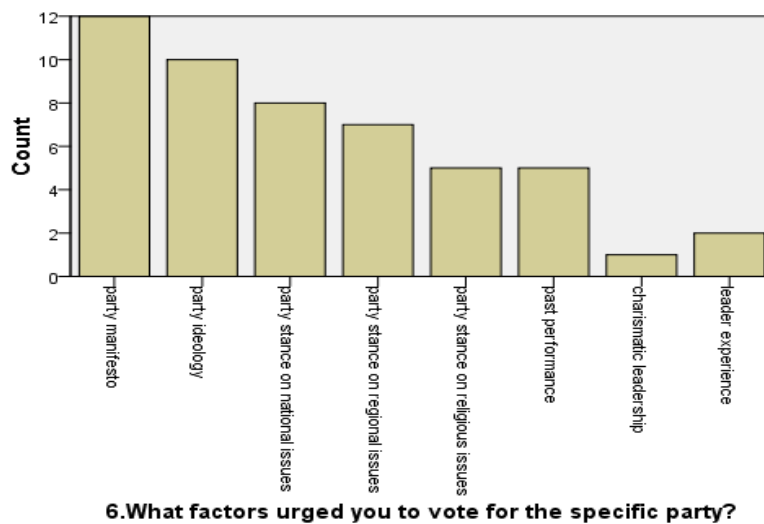
In answer of question “Are you a member of any political party?” 24 respondents said yes and 26 respondents said no.



In answer of question “Have you spread the message of the party to whom you voted to others?” 30 respondents said yes and 20 said no.

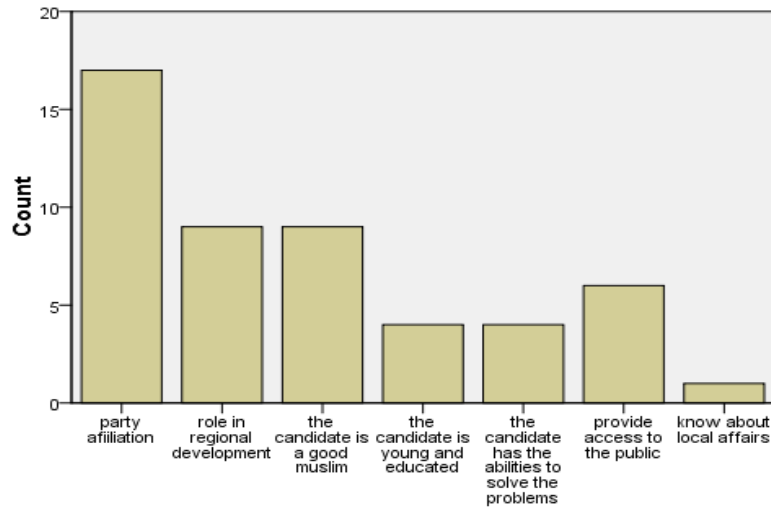


In answer of question “If you spread the message then specifies the way of propagation?” 7 respondents marked door to door campaign, 9 marked social media campaign and 13 marked political debates.



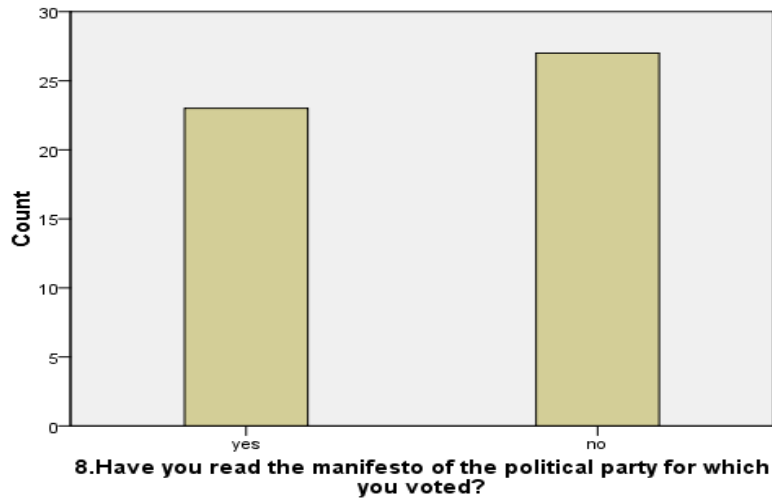
Data of question no 6 “what factors urged to vote for the specific party?” showed that 12 respondents voted on the basis of party manifesto, 10 voted on basis of party ideology, 8 voted on party stance on national issues, 7 voted on party stance on regional issues, 5

voted on the basis of party stance on religious issues, 5 voted on basis of past performance, 1 respondent voted to the specific party due to charismatic leadership and 2 respondents voted on the basis of leader experience to the specific party.

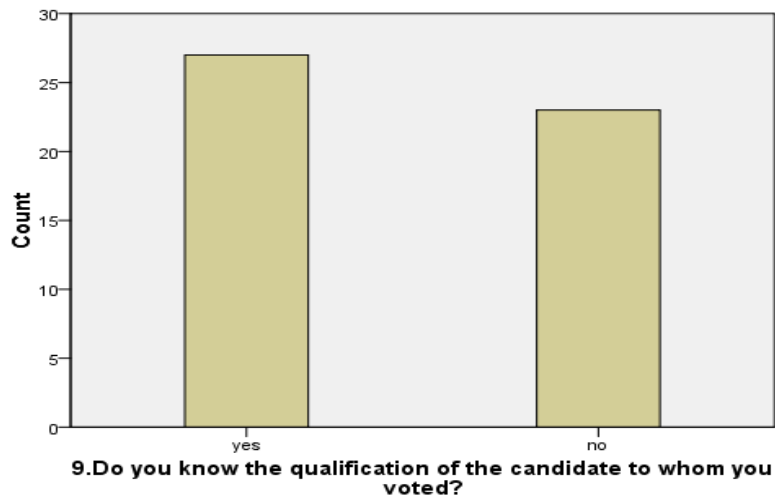


**7.What factors urged you to vote for the candidate?**

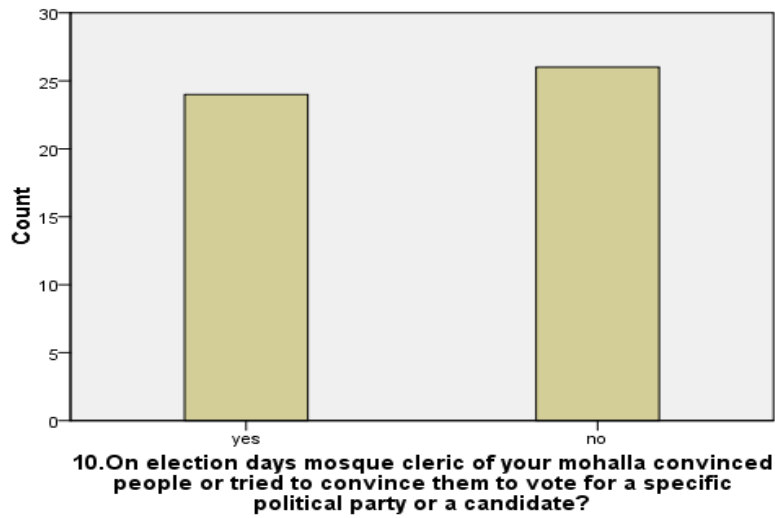
Question no 7 was “what factors urged you to vote for the candidate?” the data showed that 17 people voted on the basis of party affiliation, 9 people voted on the basis of role of the candidate in regional development, 9 people voted on the basis of religion (the candidate was a good Muslim), 4 people voted for the candidate because the candidate was educated, 4 people voted because the candidate has the ability to solve the problems, 6 people voted to the candidate because the candidate provides access to the public and 1 person voted to the candidate because he know about local affairs.



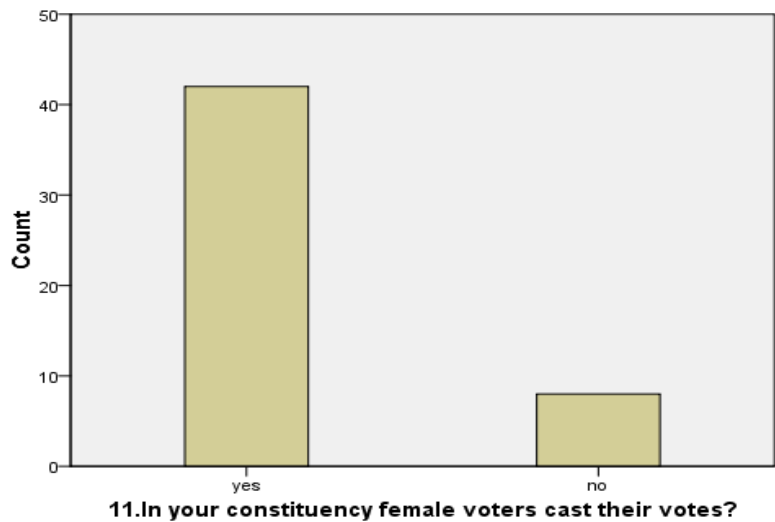
Question no 8 was “Have you read the manifesto of the political party for which you voted?” 23 people answered yes and 27 people answered no.



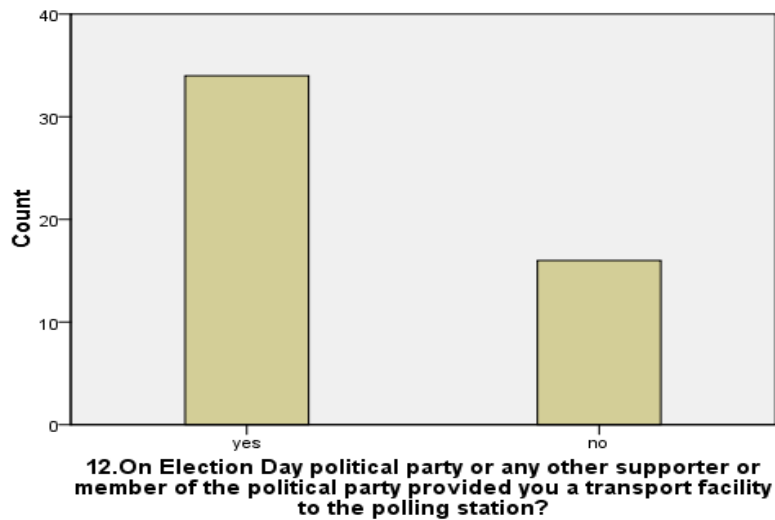
Question no 9 in the questionnaire was “Do you know the qualification of the candidate to whom you voted?” 27 people answered yes and 23 answered no.



Question no 10 in questionnaire was “On elections days mosque cleric of your mohalla convinced people or tried to convince them to vote for a specific political party or a candidate?” 24 people answered yes to the question and 26 answered no.



Question no 11 in the questionnaire was “In your constituency female voters cast their votes?” 41 people answered yes, and 9 answered no to the question.



Question no 12 in the questionnaire was “On Election Day political party or any other supporter or member of the political party provided you a transport facility to the polling station? 34 answered yes and 16 answered no.

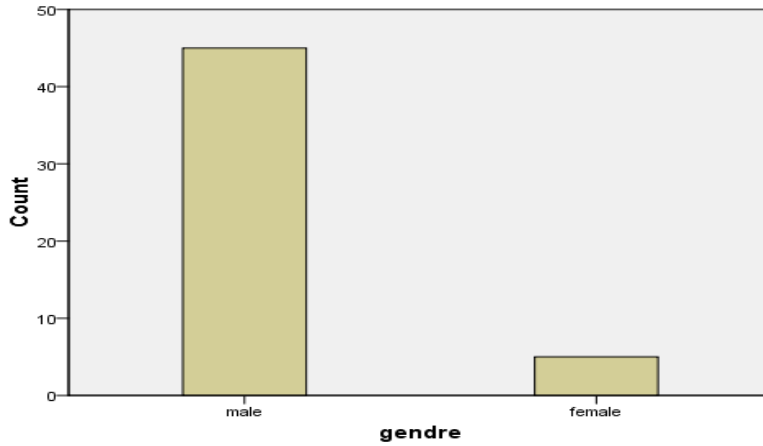
As above mentioned the total filled questionnaires in the study were 150 that were divided into 3 groups of 50, 50. The first group that is discussed above is win lose group( that group of polling stations in which Fazal Hakeem khan won in 2013 general elections and lose in 2018 elections). The respondents were of different age but majority were from young age i.e. from 19 to 28. Majority of the respondents from this group were associated with different kind of private organizations. A number of people were from business site and some were from group of daily wagers, a less amount of respondents were government servants. Majority of the respondent’s educational qualification was MA/M.SC. The results showed fewer votes for PTI and more votes for other parties. Especially MMA was in majority in this group. One of the reasons of MMA majority is the coalition of religious political parties in which Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) and Jamiat Ullema-e-Islam F (JUI-F) were on top. Ratio of membership of political parties is approximately equal because 24 respondents were members of political parties and 26 were not members of political parties. Majority respondents spread message of the political parties to whom they voted to others through political debates and then social

media campaign, and then door to door to door campaign. In voting for a specific party the most important thing is party manifesto that attract voters to vote for the political party, then ideology of the party. Party stance on regional and national issues also played a role in making choices in general elections. Past performance and party stance on regional issues have same importance according to the derived results of the first group. Leader experience and charismatic leadership is the thing having less importance according to the collected data. The data also showed that in voting for a candidate the most important thing is party affiliation of a candidate. Religious practicing and role of candidate in regional development is on second no. third most important thing while making a decision in favor of a candidate is access to public that candidate is providing access to public or not. Education of the candidate and candidate ability to solve the problems is on forth and in last candidate knowledge about local affairs. More than half of the respondents have not read the manifesto of the political party to whom the voted. Approximately half people know about the education of the candidate for whom they voted. The respondents responded approximately fifty-fifty about role of religious clerics in convincing people to vote for a specific political party or a candidate. About ratio of female voters approximately 80% respondents said that female voters cast their votes and 20% said that female voters didn't cast their votes on Election Day. 34 out of 50 respondents told that political parties' members or supporters provided transport facilities to voters from home to polling stations and 16 said no.

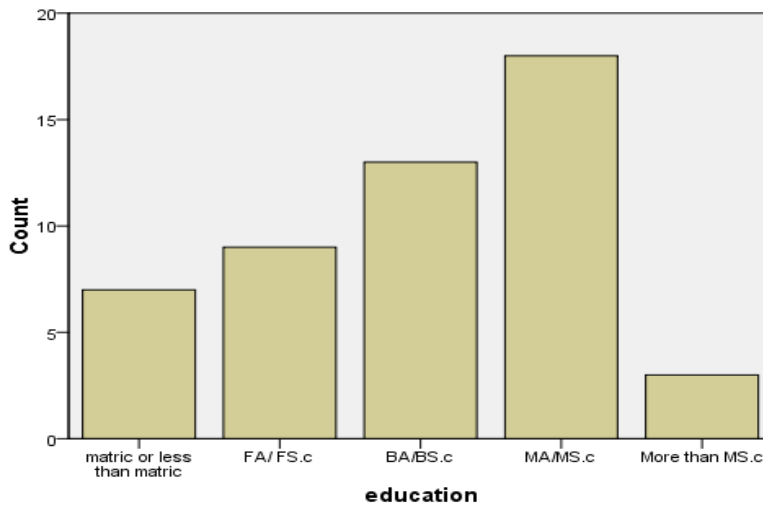
#### **4.2 Lose win group:**

The second group was also consisted of 50 respondents. The second group was lose win group( consisted of those polling station in which Fazal Hakeem Khan lose in 2013 general elections and won in 2018 general elections).

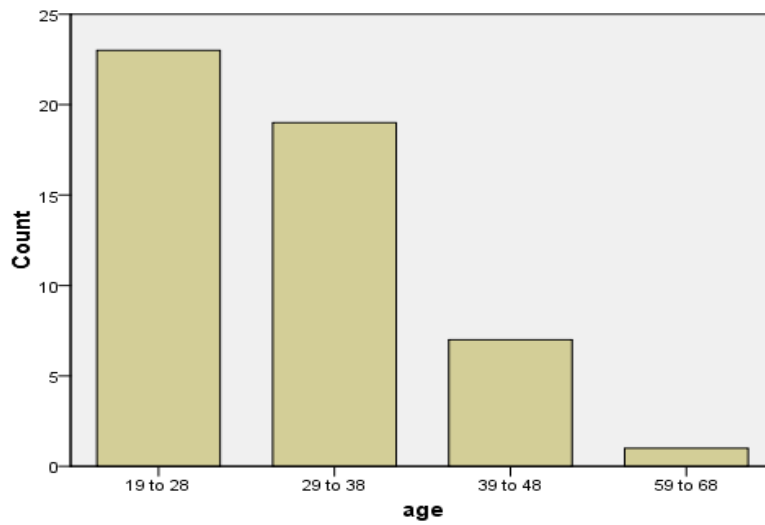




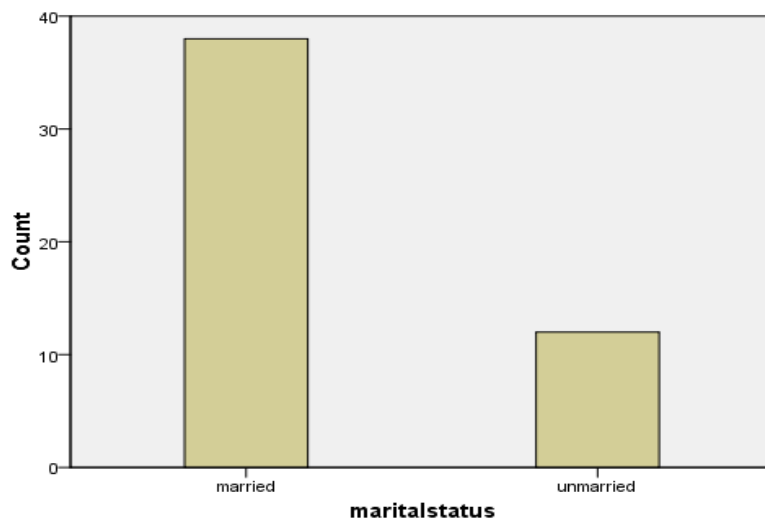
46 respondents in the second group were male and 4 respondents were female.



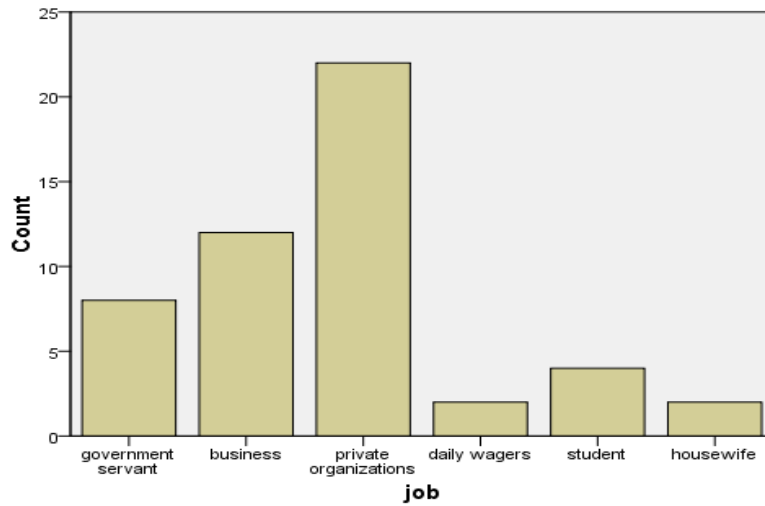
In second group respondents were from different educational background. 7 out of 50 respondents were from matric or less than matric education, 9 had qualification of FA/F.SC group. 13 respondents qualification was BA/B.SC, 18 respondents qualification was MA/M.SC and 3 respondents qualification was more than MA/M.SC.



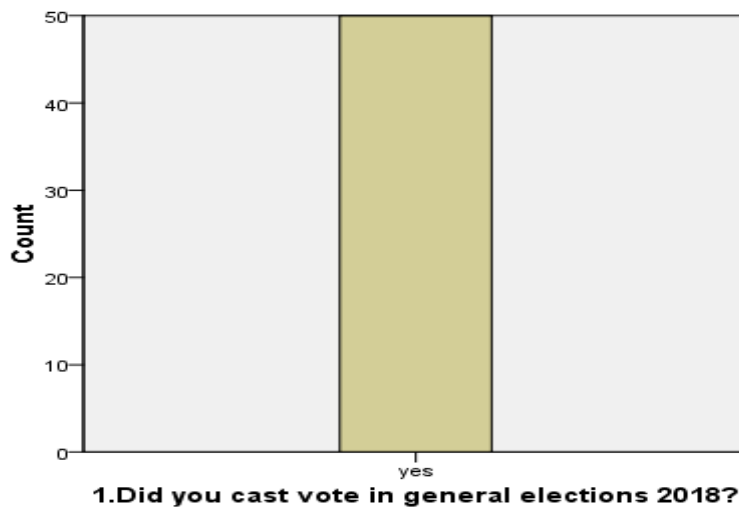
Most of the respondents were from the age group of 19 to 28. 23 respondents were from age group of 19 to 28, 19 respondents were from age group of 29 to 38, 7 respondents were from age group of 39 to 48 and 1 respondent was from age group of 59 to 68.



38 respondents were married in the second group and 12 respondents were unmarried.

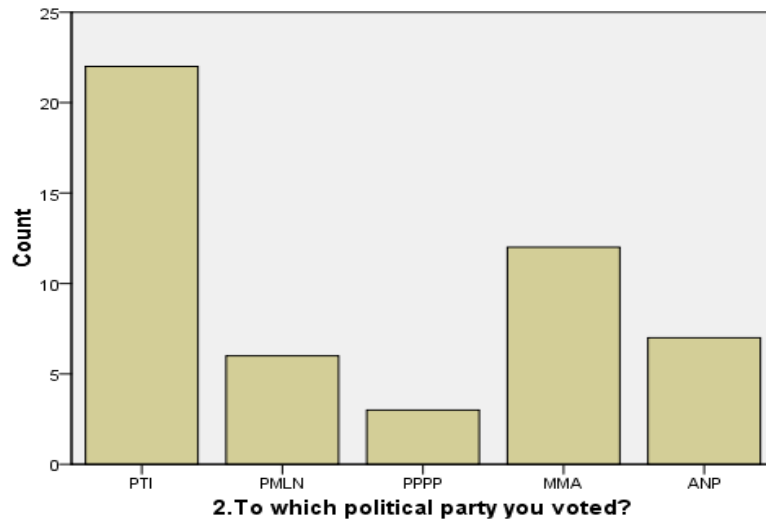


Questionnaires were filled from respondents of different economic background. 8 respondents in the group were government servants, 12 were associated with their own different kind of businesses, 22 were associated with different kinds of private organizations, 2 were daily wagers, 4 were students and 2 female respondents were housewives.

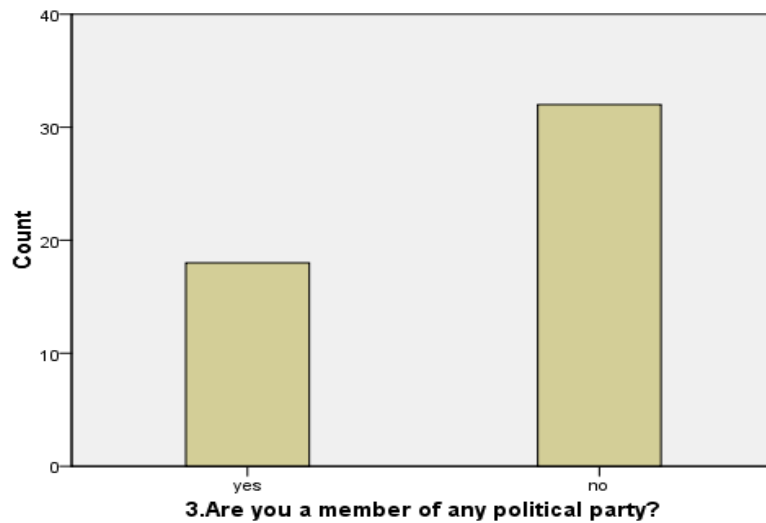


Question no 1 related to voting behavior in the questionnaire was “Did you cast vote in general elections 2018?” 50 out of 50 respondents were those who cast vote in 2018

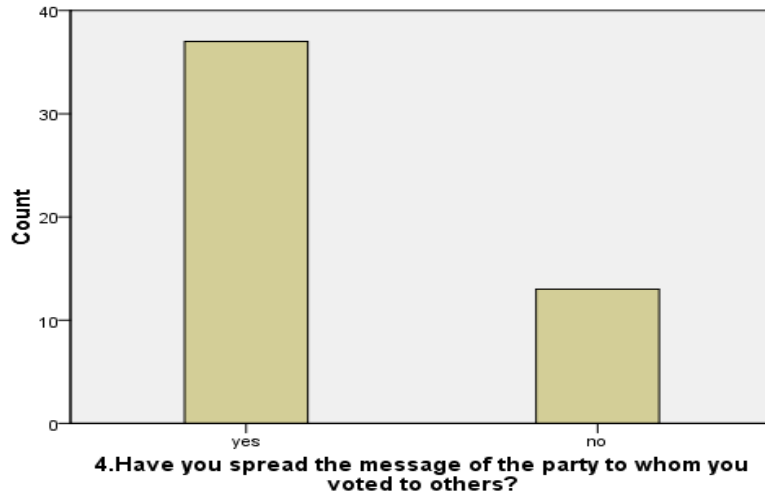
general elections because questionnaires were filled from only those people who cast their votes in 2018 general elections.



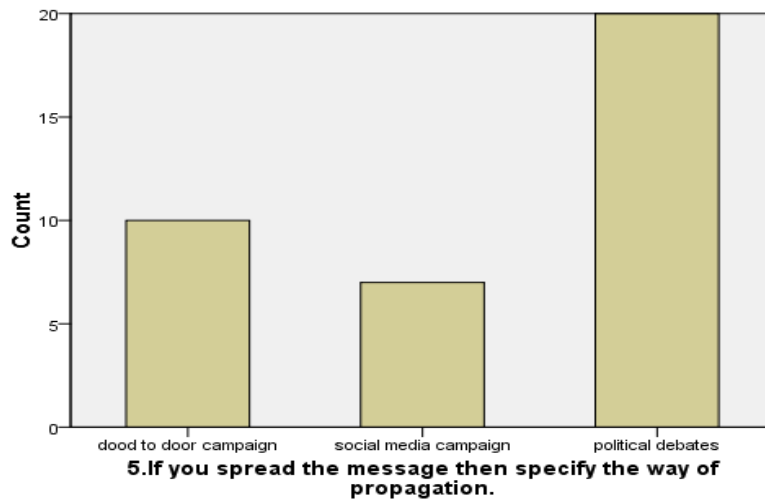
Answer of question no 2 “To which political party you voted?” showed that, 22 respondents out of 50 cast their votes to PTI, 6 to PMLN, 3 to PPPP, 12 to MMA, and 7 gave votes to ANP.



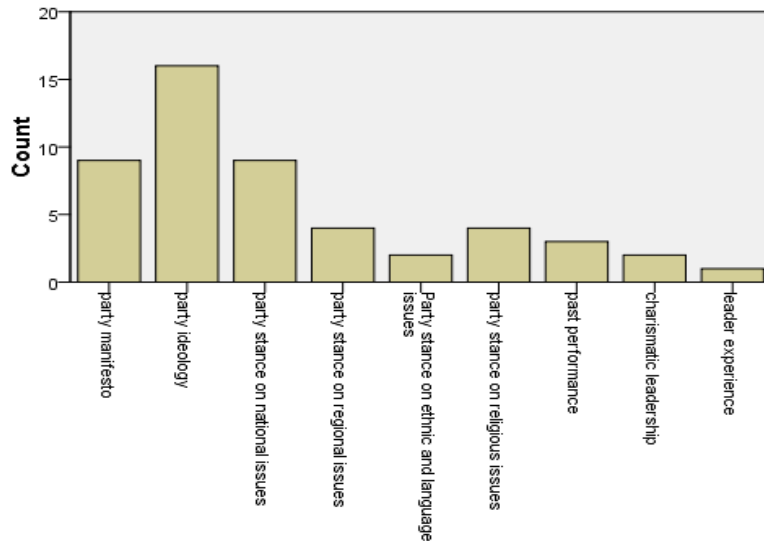
Question no 3 in the questionnaire was “Are you a member of any political party?” 18 respondents were members of different political parties and 32 were not member of any political party.



In answer of question no 4 “Have you spread the message of the party to whom you voted to others?” the results showed that 37 respondents spread message of the party to whom they voted to others and 13 people did not spread message of the party to whom they voted.

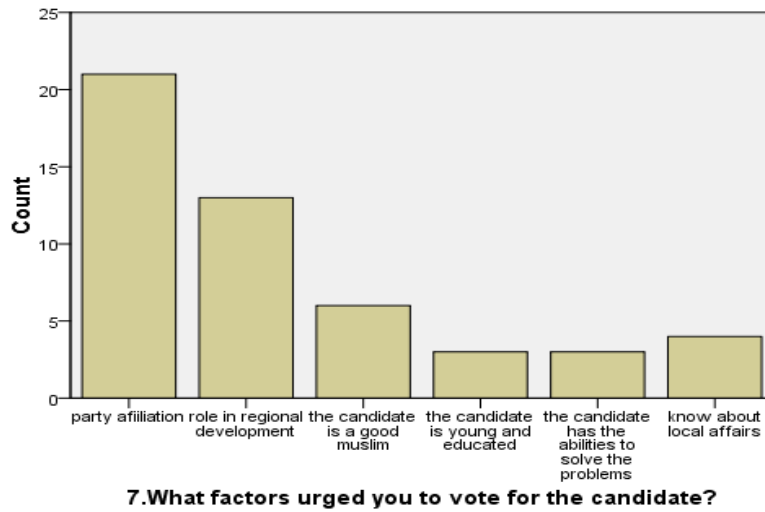


Question no 5 was “If you spread the message then specify the way of propagation?” 10 respondents spread message of their party through door to door campaign, 7 spread message of their party through social media campaign 20 respondents spread message of their party through political debates.

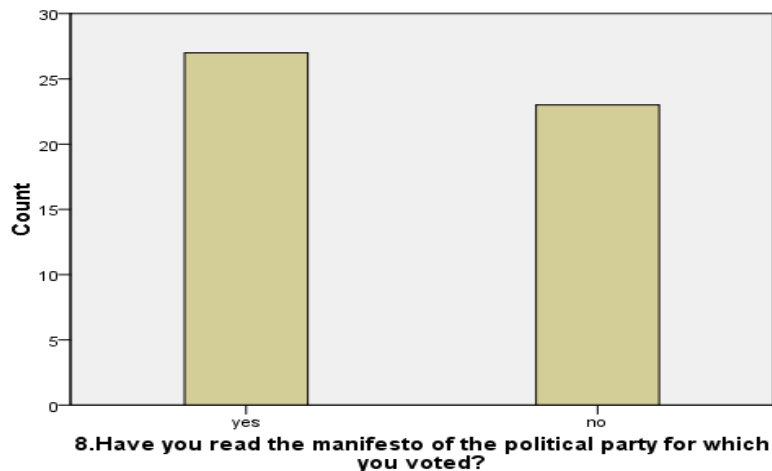


**6.What factors urged you to vote for the specific party?**

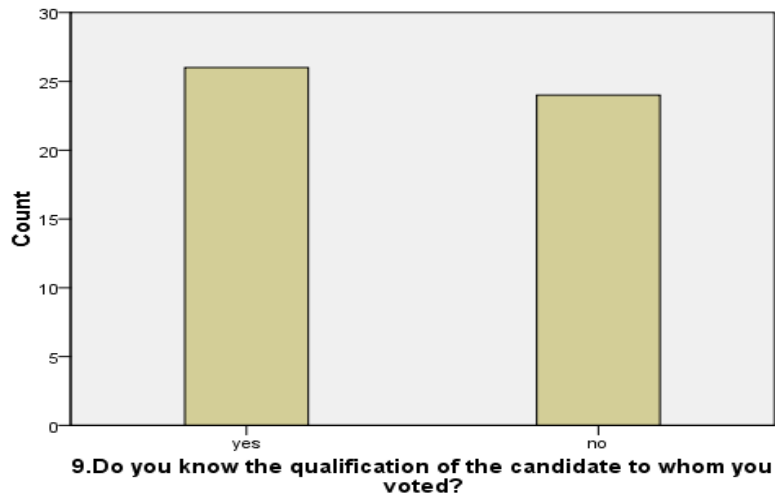
Question no 6 was “What factors urged you to vote for the specific party?” the results showed diverse factors. 9 people voted to the specific political party on the basis party manifesto, 16 people voted on the basis of party ideology, 9 people voted to the part on the basis of part stance on national issues, 4 people voted to the party on the basis of party stance on regional issues, 2 people voted to the party on basis of party stance on ethnic and language issues, 4 people voted to the specific party on the basis of party stance on religious issues, 3 people voted on past performance, 2 people voted due to charismatic leadership and 1 respondents highlighted reason for his vote to the specific party was leader experience.



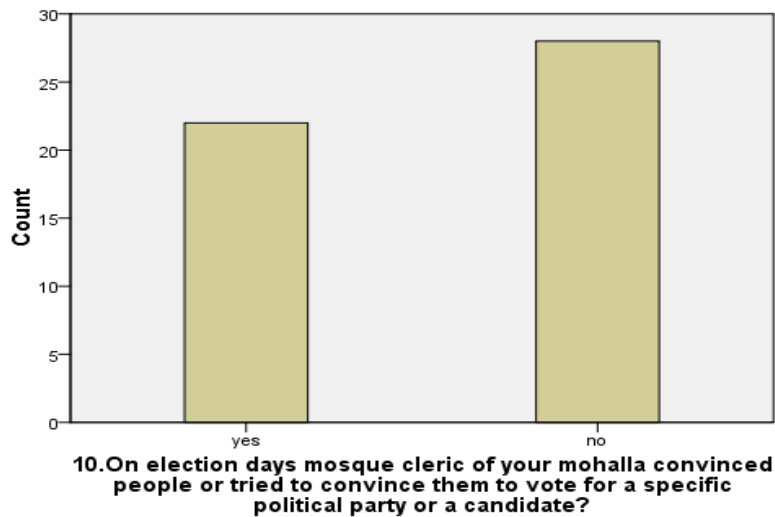
Question no 7 was “What factors urged you to vote for the candidate?” the results showed that 22 respondents voted to candidate on his party affiliation, 13 people voted to the candidate on his role in regional development, 6 respondents voted to the candidate because the candidate was a good Muslim, 3 respondents voted to the candidate because the candidate was young and educated, 3 respondents voted to the candidate on the basis of that the candidate has the ability to solve the problems and 4 respondents voted to the candidate because he knows about local affairs.



Question no 8 was “Have you read the manifesto of the political party for which you voted?” 27 people answered yes to the question and 23 answered no the question.



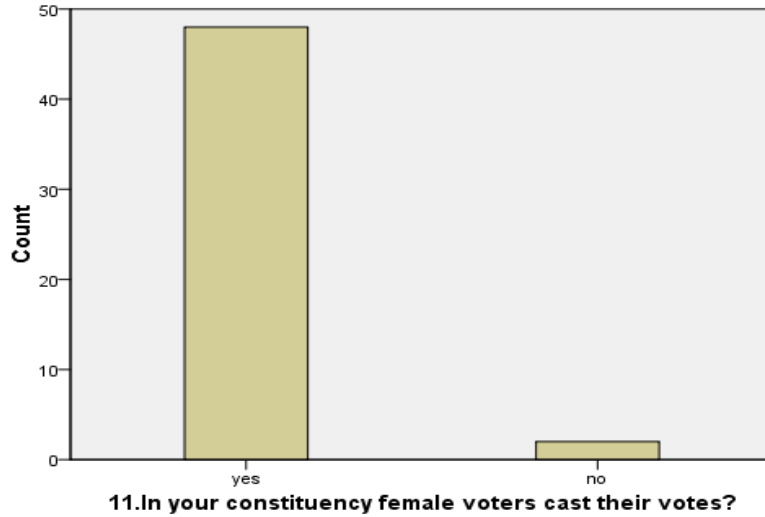
Question no 9 was “Do you know the qualification of the candidate to whom you voted? The results showed that 26 respondents knew the qualification of the candidate to whom they voted and 24 didn’t knew about the qualification of the candidate.



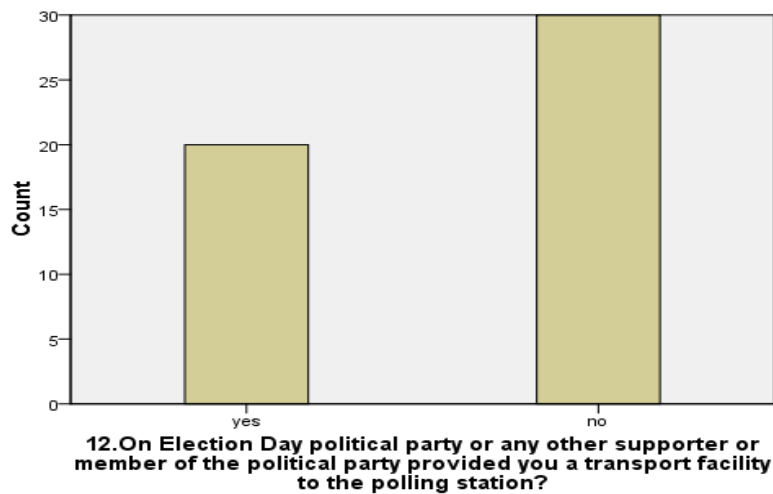
Question no 10 was “On elections days mosque cleric of your mohalla convinced people or tried to convince them to vote for a specific political party or a candidate?” 22



respondents said yes that mosque cleric convinced people or tried to convince to for a specific political party or candidate and 28 answered no.



Question no 11 was “In your constituency female voters cast their votes?” 48 respondents answered yes and 2 respondents answered no.



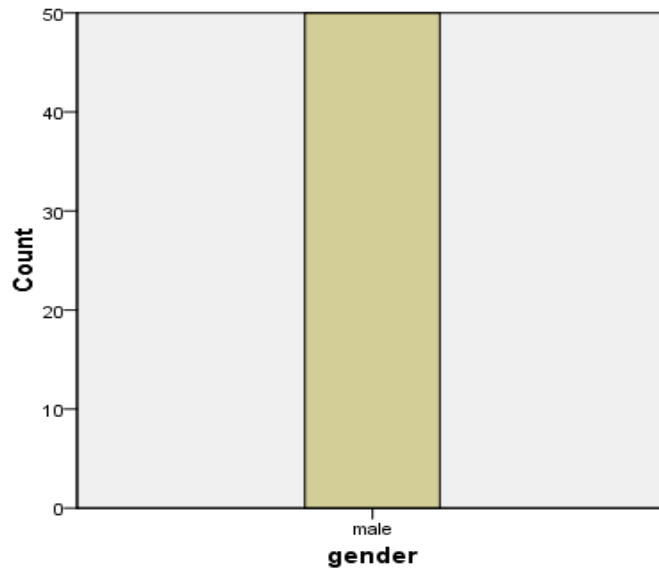
Question no 12 was “On election day political party or any other supporter or member of the political party provided you a transport facility to the polling station? 20 respondents

answered yes that political party supporters or members provide transport facility to them and 30 respondents answered no.

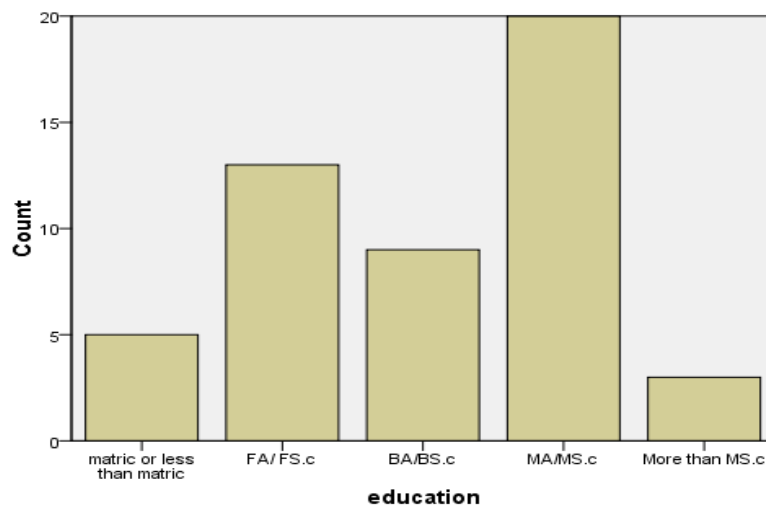
Respondents of second group were from different economic, educational qualification, and age group. Majority of the respondents were male and only 4 were female. Most of the respondents were of the educational qualification MA/M.SC. 23 respondents in the second group were from the age group 19 to 28 or those who cast first vote in general elections. 22 respondents were working in different kind of private organizations and the rest were government servants, daily wagers, students etc. in second group majority respondents were the voters of PTI because respondents of the second group were from those polling stations where Fazal Hakim Khan Candidate of PTI lost in 2013 general elections and won in 2018 general elections. Most of the respondents were members of different political parties and also most respondents spread message of their political party in which they are members or to whom they voted in 218 general election. The favorite source of spreading message of the respondents was political debates. In reasons for vote to political party manifesto is on top then party ideology and party stance on regional issues, then party stance on regional issues and party stance on religious issues then past performance then party stance on ethnic and language issues and charismatic leadership and in last leader experience. Similarly, if causes to vote for candidate are listed then party affiliation is on top then, role of candidate in regional development, then practicing religious practices, then candidate knowledge about local affairs, then candidate age and education. 24 respondents have read the manifesto of the political party to whom they voted and 26 respondents know the education of the candidate to whom they voted. 22 respondents highlighted role of mosque cleric in convincing people to vote for a specific political party or a candidate. Sometimes mosque cleric was part of door to door campaign with political party candidates. On election day political parties members or supports arranged transport facility to voters from home to polling stations and then from polling stations to home.

### 4.3 Same-Same group:

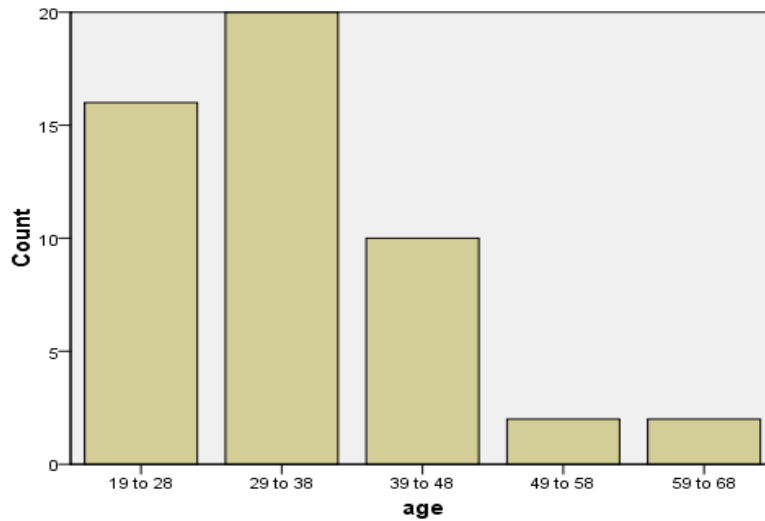
Questionnaires of third group were filled from respondents of those polling stations in which Fazal Hakim Khan won in 2013 general elections as well as 2018 general elections. Third group was also consisted of 50 respondents.



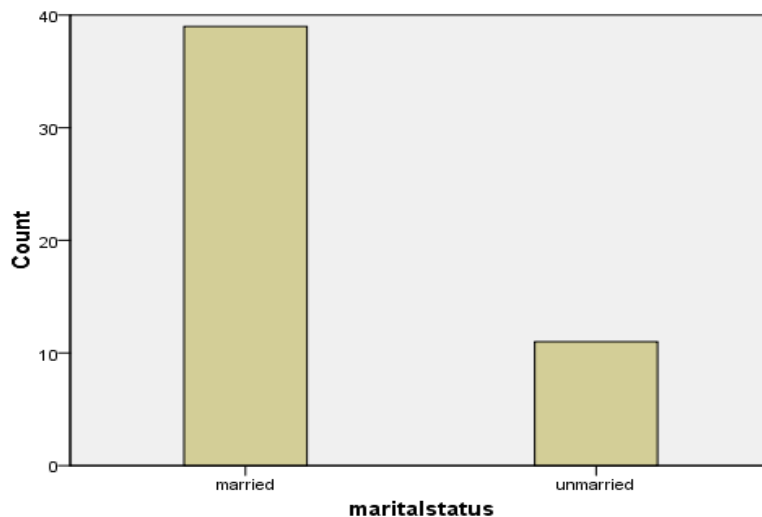
In third group 50 out of 50 respondents were male and no questionnaire was filled from female voter.



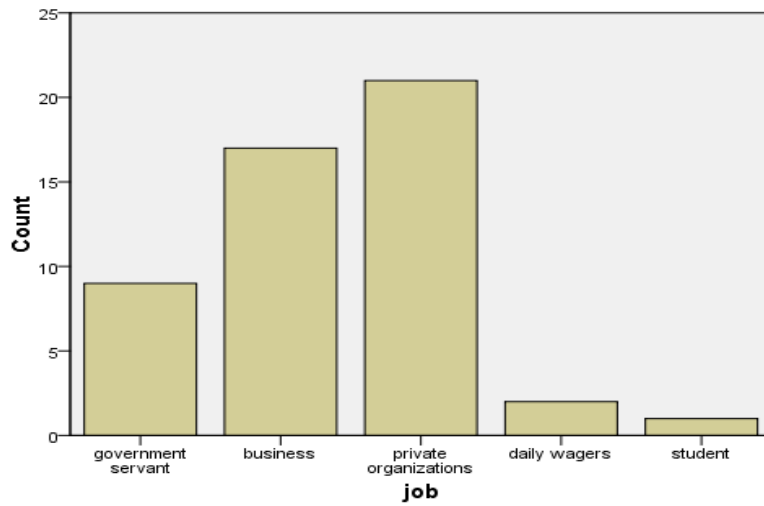
5 respondents in the group were of qualification matric or less than matric, 13 were from qualification FA/F.SC group, 9 were from BA/B.SC group, 20 respondents were from MA/M.SC group and 3 respondents were of qualification more than M.SC.



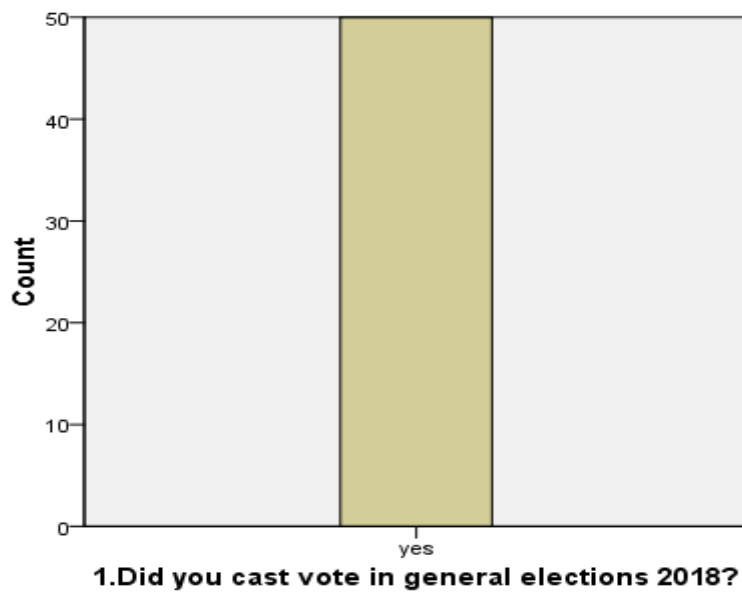
16 respondents were from age group 19 to 28, 20 respondents were from age group 29 to 38, 10 respondents were from age group 39 to 48, 2 respondents were from age group 49 to 58 and 2 respondents were from age group 59 to 68.



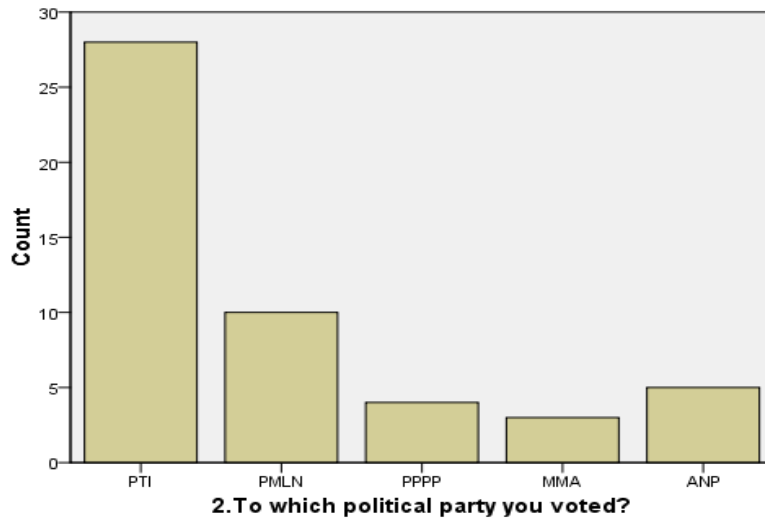
39 respondents in the group were married and 11 respondents were unmarried.



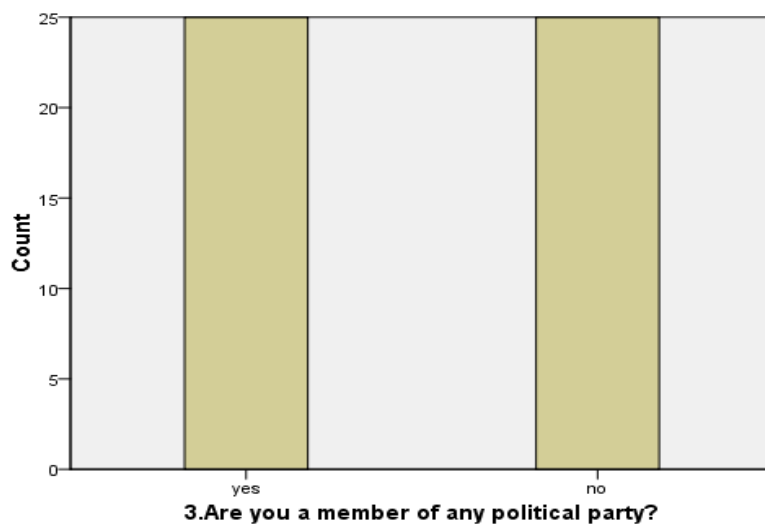
9 respondents in the group were government servants, 17 were doing their own businesses of different categories, 21 respondents were associated with different kind of private organizations, 2 were daily wagers and 1 respondent was student.



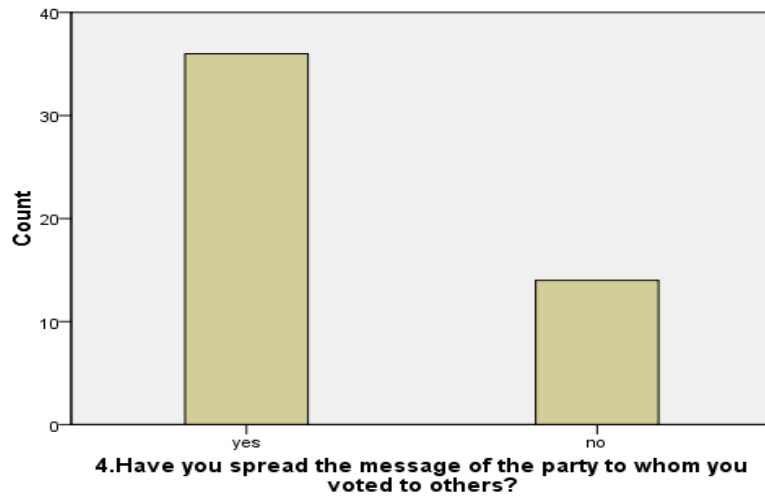
Question no first related to voting behavior in the questionnaire was “Did you cast vote in general elections 2018?” all respondents answered yes because it was criteria for questionnaires that a person who did not cast vote in the election 2018 is not eligible to fill the questionnaire.



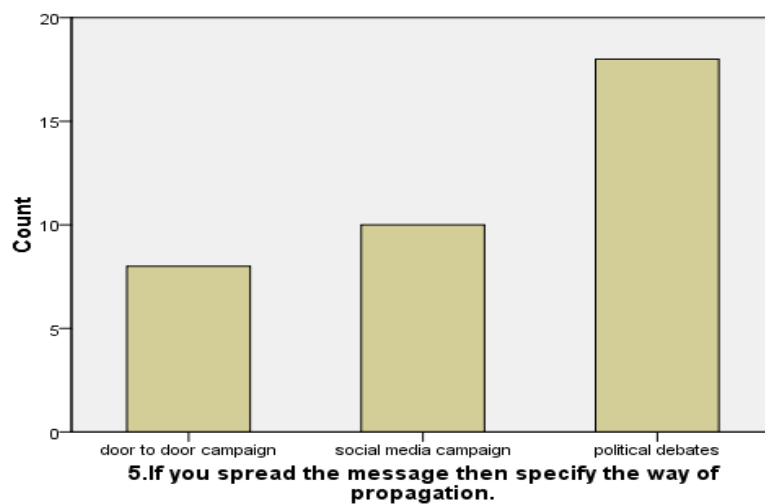
Question no second in the questionnaire was “To which political party you voted? The results showed that 28 respondents gave vote to PTI, 10 gave vote to PMLN, 4 to PPPP, 3 to MMA and 5 respondents gave vote to ANP in the general elections of 2018.



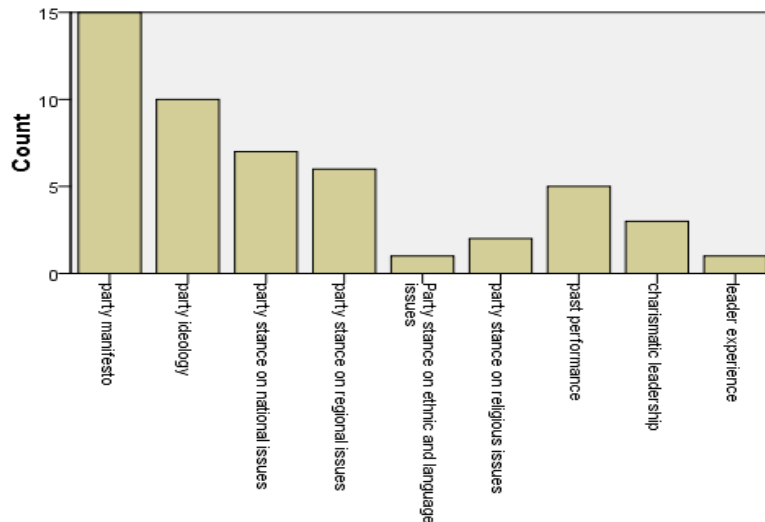
Question no 3 in the questionnaire was “Are you a member of any political party?” the results showed that 25 respondents were members of different political parties and 25 were not members of any political party.



Question no 4 was “Have you spread the message of the party to whom you voted to others?” 36 respondents answered yes that they spread message of the political parties to others to whom they voted and 14 answered no.



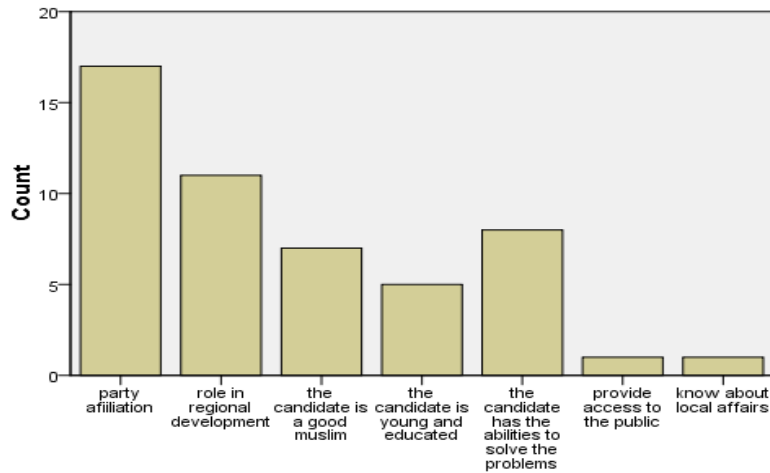
Question no 5 was “If you spread the message then specify the way of propagation?” 8 respondents spread message of their political party through door to door campaign, 10 respondents spread message through social media campaign and 18 spread message through political debates.



**6.What factors urged you to vote for the specific party?**

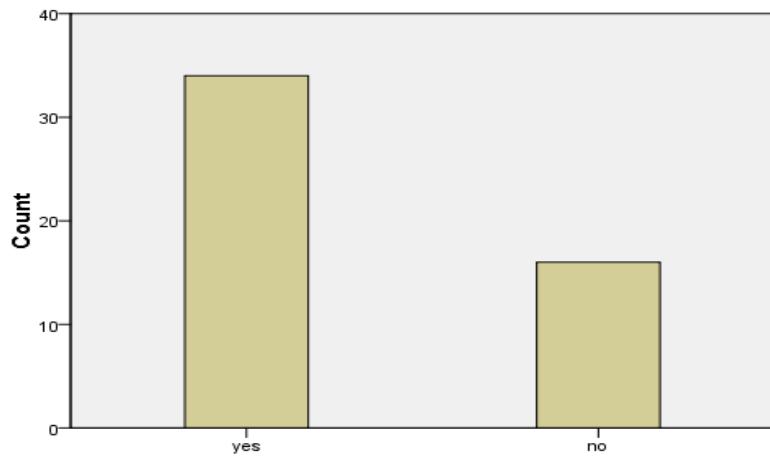
Question no 6 was “What factors urged you to vote for the specific party?” the results showed that 15 respondents voted to the specific party on the basis of party manifesto, 10 voted on the basis of party ideology, 7 voted on the basis of party stance on national issues, 6 voted to the party on the basis of party stance on regional issues, 1 person voted to the party on the basis of party stance on ethnic and language issues, 2 person voted on the basis of party stance on religious issues, 5 voted on past performance, 3 voted due to charismatic leadership and 1 respondents voted to the specific party due to leader experience.





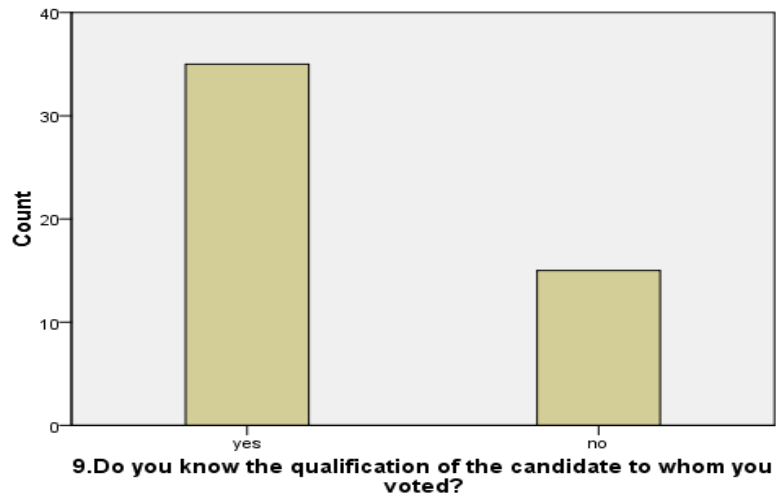
**7.What factors urged you to vote for the candidate?**

Question no 7 was “What factors urged you to vote for the candidate?” 17 respondents voted to the candidate due to his party affiliation, 11 voted to candidate due to his role in regional development, 7 voted to the candidate because the candidate was a good Muslim, 5 voted to the candidate because the candidate was young and educated, 8 voted to the candidate because according to them the candidate has the abilities to solve the problems, 1 voted to the candidate because the candidate provides access to the public and 1 respondents voted to the candidate because the candidate know about local affairs.

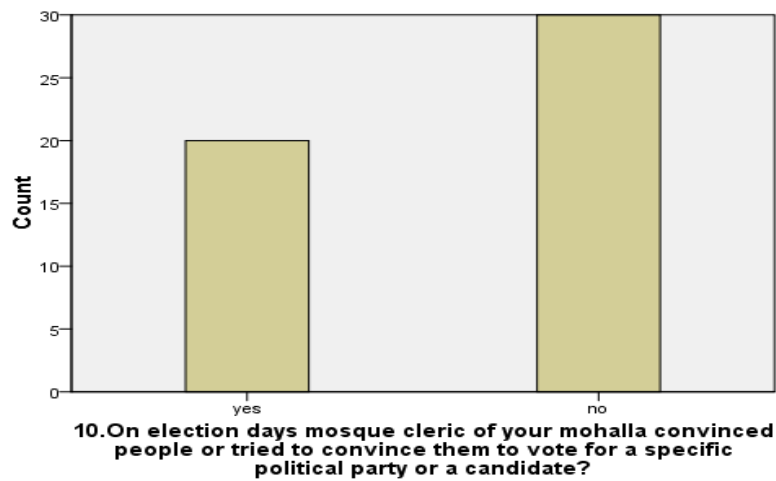


**8.Have you read the manifesto of the political party for which you voted?**

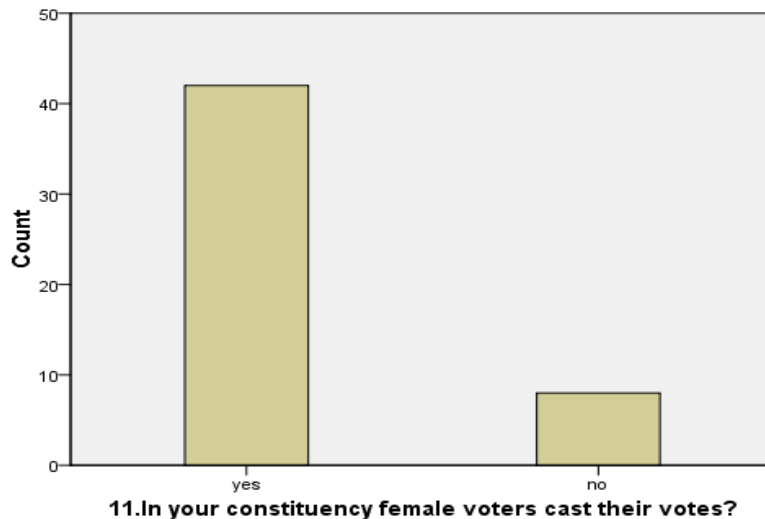
Question no 8 was “Have you read the manifesto of the political party for which you voted?” 34 respondents replied yes to the question and 16 respondents replied no to the question.



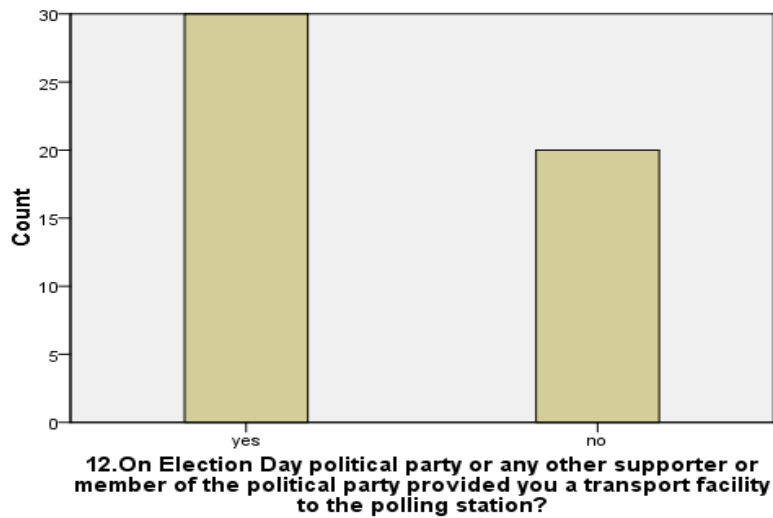
Question no 9 was “Do you know the qualification of the candidate to whom you voted?” 35 respondents answered yes to the question and 15 answered no to the question.



Question no 10 was “On election days mosque cleric of your mohalla convinced people or tried to convince them to vote for a specific political party or candidate?” 20 people confirmed role of mosque cleric in convincing people to vote for a specific party or candidate and 30 people denied that there was no role of mosque cleric in convincing people to vote for a specific party or candidate.



Question no 11 was “In your constituency female voters cast their votes?” 42 respondents confirmed that female voters cast their votes in the constituency and according to 8 respondents female voters didn’t cast their votes in 2018 general elections.



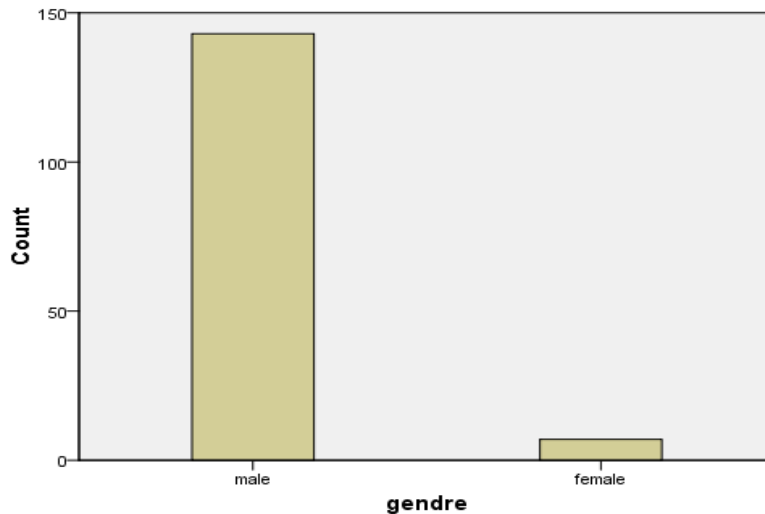
Question no 12 was “On election day political party or any other supporter or member of the political party provided you a transport facility to the polling stations? 30 respondents confirmed that members or supporters of political parties provided them a transport facility on Election Day and 20 respondents denied that no one provided them transport facilities on Election Day.

Third group was totally different from the first two groups due to its complete change results. In third group there was no female respondent. Most of the respondents were of qualification of MA/M.SC then FA/F.SC then BA/B.SC and other groups. 20 respondents were from age group 29 to 38 then 16 respondents were from age group 19 to 28 and then other groups. Most of the respondents were associated with different kind of organizations, and then private businesses then government servants were on top in the respondents. Group 3 was PTI majority group because group 3 respondents were from those polling stations where Fazal Hakim Khan PTI won in 2013 general election as well as in 2018 general election. 28 respondents were the voters of PTI, 10 respondents were the voters of PMLN, 5 respondents were the voters of ANP, 4 respondents were the voters of PPPP and 3 respondents were the voters of MMA. 25 respondents were members of different political parties and 25 respondents were not the members of any political party. 36 respondents confirmed that they spread a message of their political

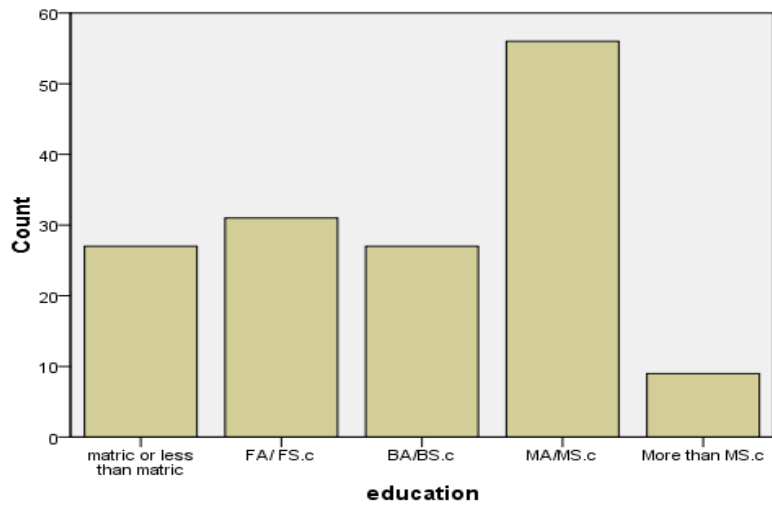
parties to whom they voted to others and 14 answered that they did not spread any message of the political party to whom they voted. Most of the respondents spread a message of their political party to others through political debates then through social media campaign and door to door campaign was held in last. If factors urged a voter to vote for a specific political party is listed then party manifesto is on top then party ideology, then party stance on national issues, then party stance on regional issues then past performance, then charismatic leadership, then party stance on religious issues, then party stance on ethnic and language issues and leader experience are in last. If factors urged voters to vote for a candidate is listed then party affiliation is on top, then candidate role in regional development, then candidate ability to solve problems, then practicing religion, then age and education of candidate, then candidate access to public knowledge about local affairs. In third group most of the respondents read manifesto of the political party and know about the education of the candidate to whom they voted. Less than half respondents confirmed role of mosque cleric in convincing people to vote for a specific political party or a candidate. Female voters in the constituency cast their votes on Election Day. 30 respondents confirmed that political parties or members or supporters provided them transport facilities on Election Day from home to polling stations and then from polling stations to home.

## Discussion and Analysis:

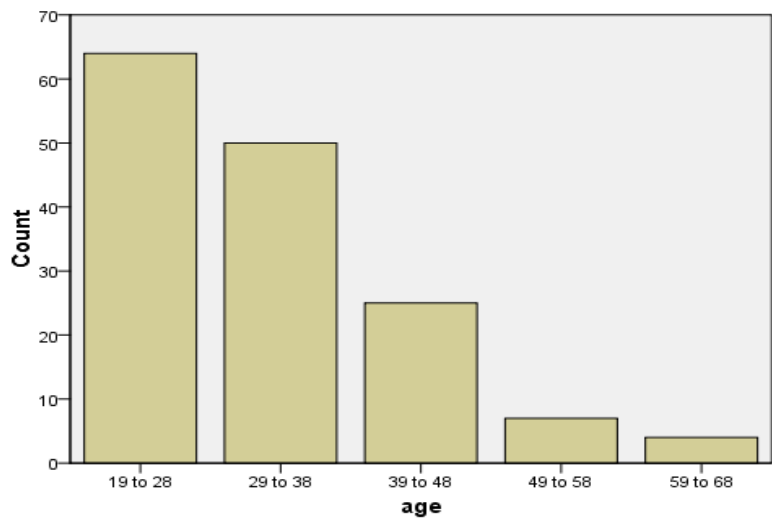
In 3 groups 150 questionnaires were filled from the respondents. Respondents were from different economic and educational background. Respondents of different parties were equal to the percentage of voters of those political parties in general elections of 2018.



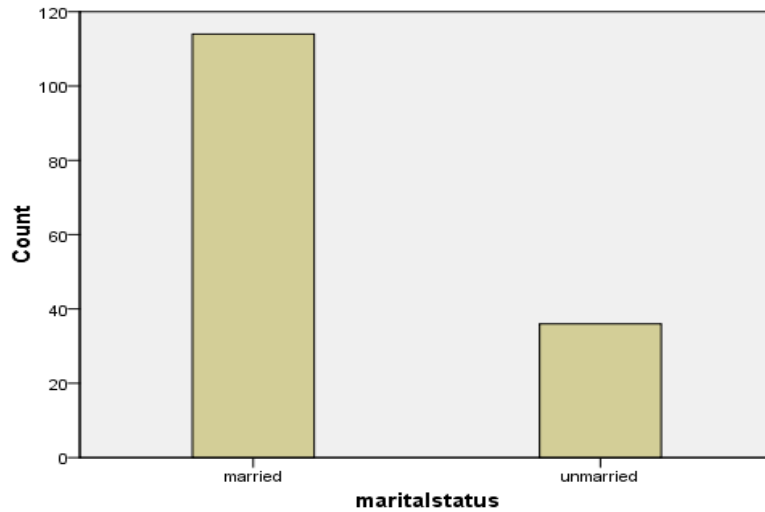
In complete data 7 questionnaires were filled from female respondents and 143 questionnaires were filled from male respondents. Difference between male and female respondents was due to many reasons, but the most important reason was the availability and willingness of female voters to fill the questionnaire.



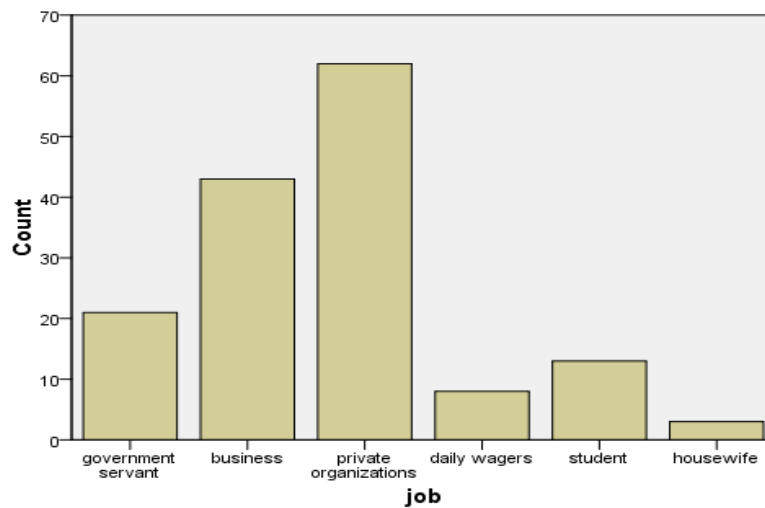
Educational qualification of most of the respondents was MA/M.SC. 57 respondents qualification was MA, M.SC. 31 respondents qualification was FA/F.SC. 27, 27 respondents qualification was matric or less than matric and BA/B.SC, and 8 respondents qualification was more than M.SC.



64 respondents were from the age group 19 to 28, 50 respondents were from the age group 29 to 38, 25 respondents were from the age group 39 to 48, 7 respondents were from the age group 49 to 58 and 4 respondents were from the age group 59 to 68.



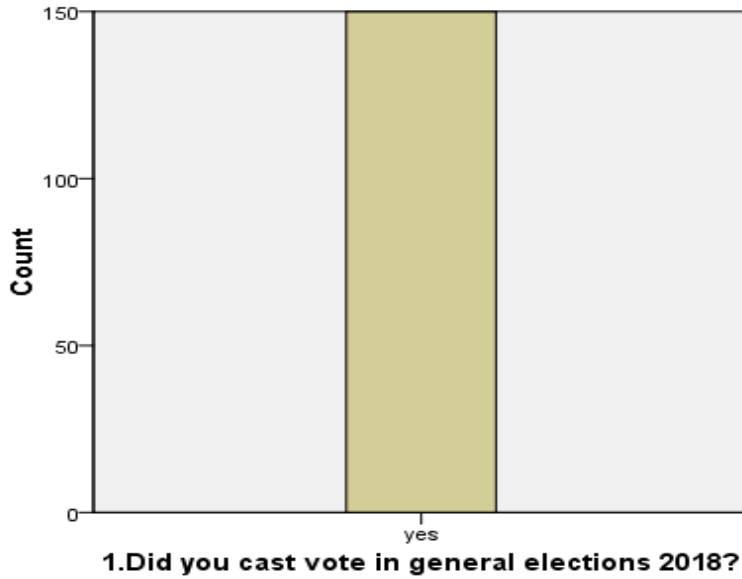
113 respondents were married and 37 respondents were unmarried.



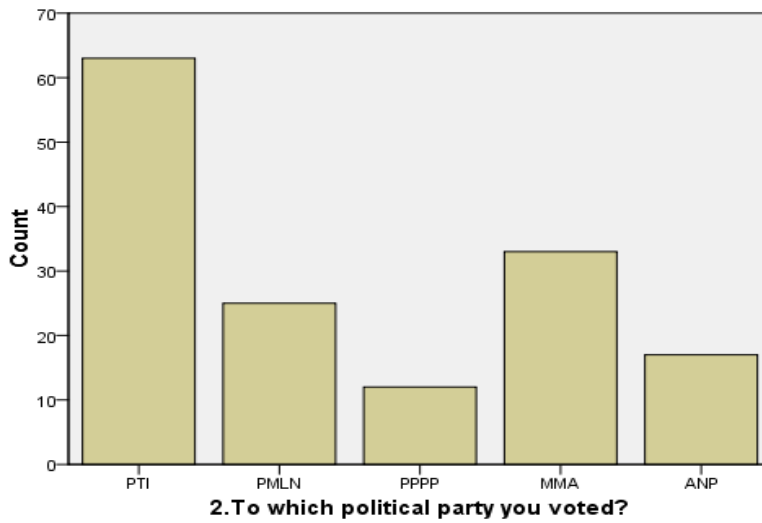
63 respondents were associated with different kind of private organizations (private schools, NGO'S, etc.). 42 respondents were associated with their own businesses (shops,



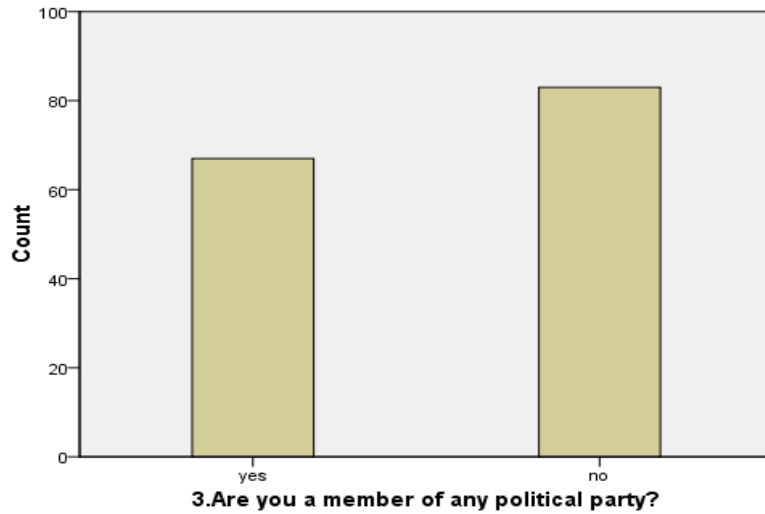
online businesses etc.). 21 respondents were government servants, 14 were students, 8 were daily wagers and 2 female respondents were housewives.



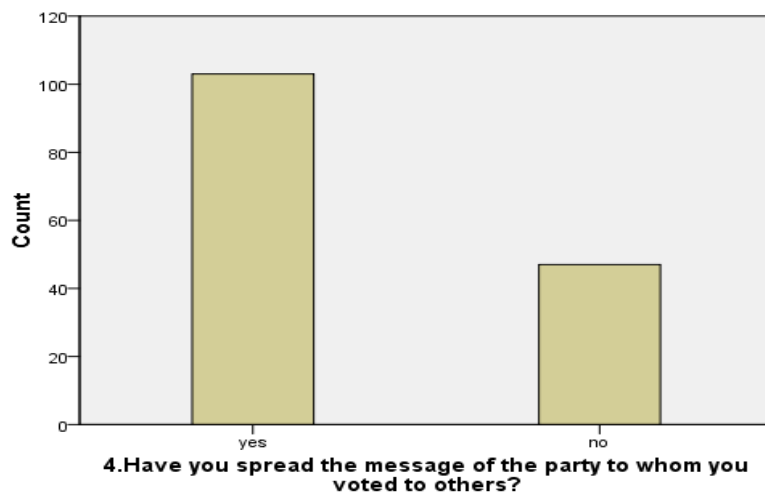
Question no 1 in the questionnaire was “Did you cast vote in general elections 2018?” all of the respondents were those who cast their votes in general elections 2018 because it was like a criteria for filling the questionnaires.



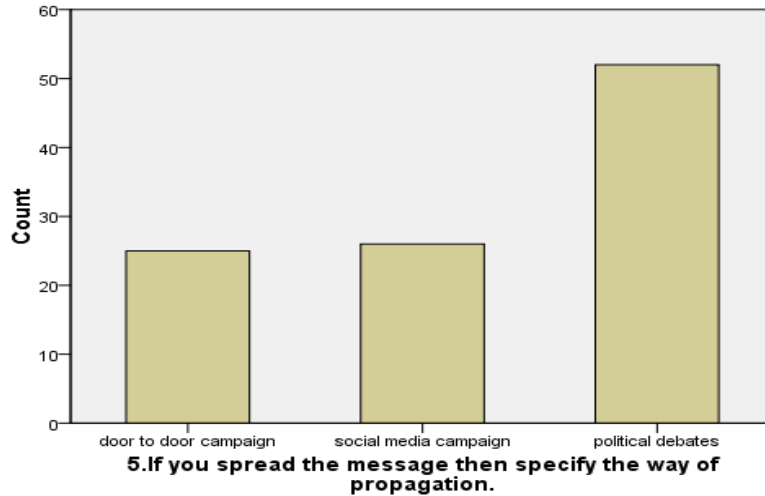
Question no 2 in the questionnaire was “To which political party you voted?” 63 respondents were the voters of PTI, 33 respondents were voters of MMA, 25 respondents were voters of PMLN, 17 respondents were voters of ANP and 12 respondents were voters of PPPP.



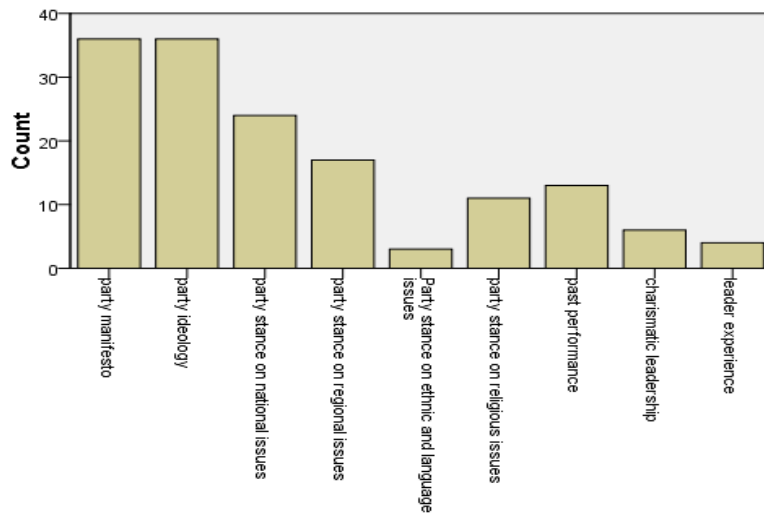
Question no 3 in the questionnaire was “Are you a member of any political party?” 66 respondents were members of different political parties and 84 respondents were not member of any political party.



Question no 4 was “Have you spread the message of the party to whom you voted to others?” 104 respondents confirmed that they spread message of their political parties to whom they voted to others and 46 respondents answered that they don’t spread message of their political parties to others to whom they voted.

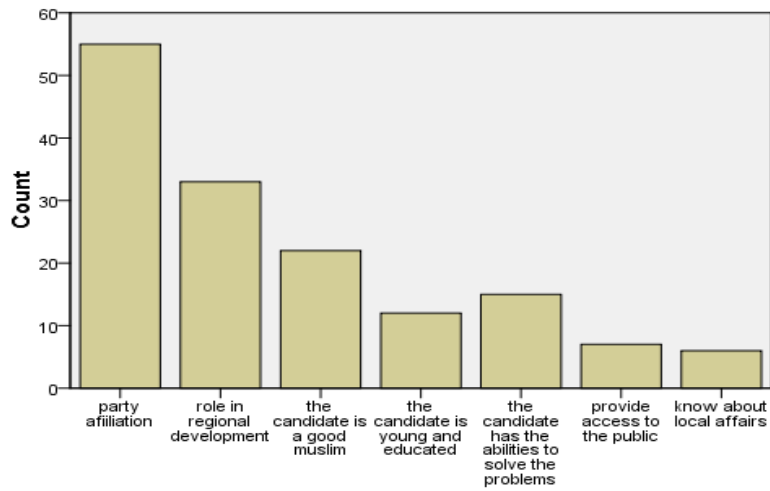


Question no 5 was “If you spread the message then specify the way of propagation”, 53 respondents spread message of their political parties to others through political debates, 26 respondents spread message of their political parties to others through social media campaign and 25 respondents confirmed that they spread message of their political parties to others through door to door campaign.



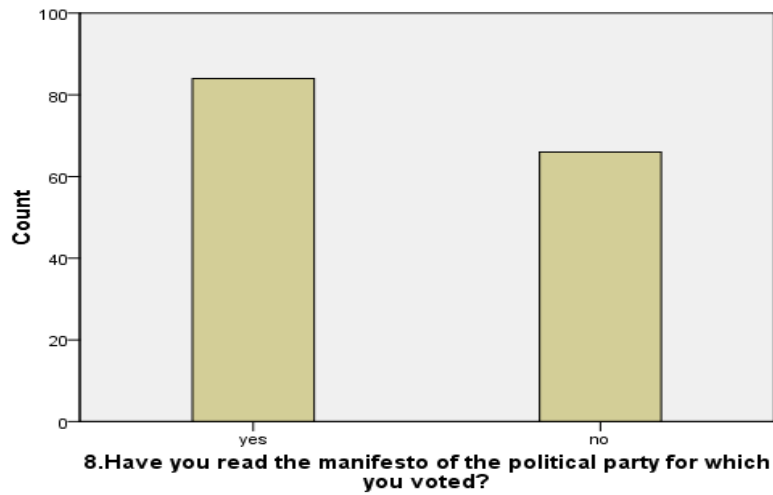
**6.What factors urged you to vote for the specific party?**

Question no 6 in the questionnaire was “What factors urged you to vote for the specific party?” 36, 36 respondents voted to the specific party due to party manifesto and party ideology. 23 respondents voted to the specific party due to party stance on national issues. 18 respondents voted to the specific party due to party stance on regional issues. 14 respondents voted to the specific party due to past performance. 11 respondents voted to the specific party due to party stance on religious issues. 5 respondents voted to the specific party due to charismatic leadership. 4 respondents voted to the specific party due to leader experience and 3 respondents voted to the specific party due to party stance on ethnic and language issues.

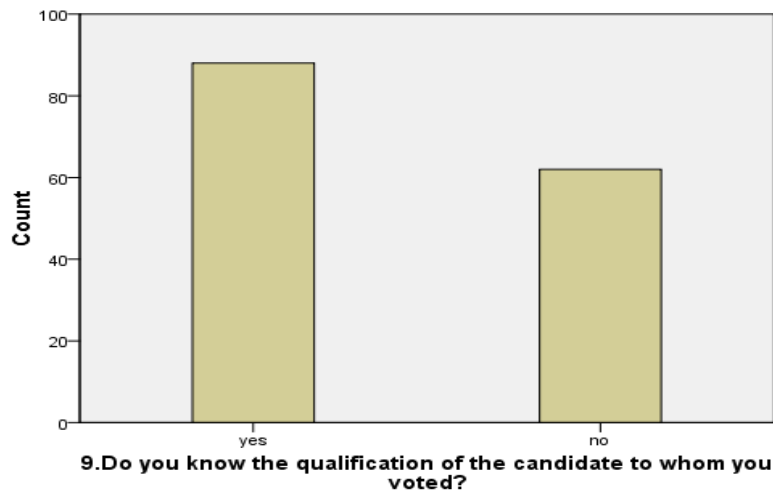


**7.What factors urged you to vote for the candidate?**

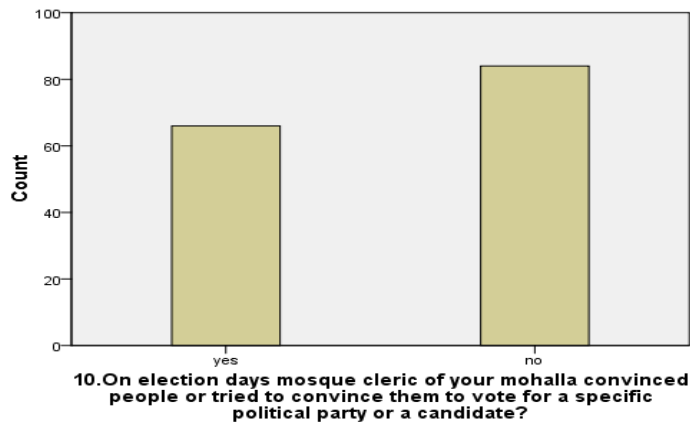
Question no 7 was “What factors urged you to vote for the candidate?” 55 respondents voted to the candidate due to its party affiliation. 33 respondents voted to the candidate due to his role in regional development. 22 respondents voted to candidate because according to them the candidate is a good Muslim. 15 respondents voted to the candidate because the candidate has the abilities to solve the problems. 12 respondents voted to the candidate because the candidate is young and educated. 7 respondents voted to the candidate because the candidate provides access to the public and 6 respondents voted to the candidate because the candidate knows about local affairs.



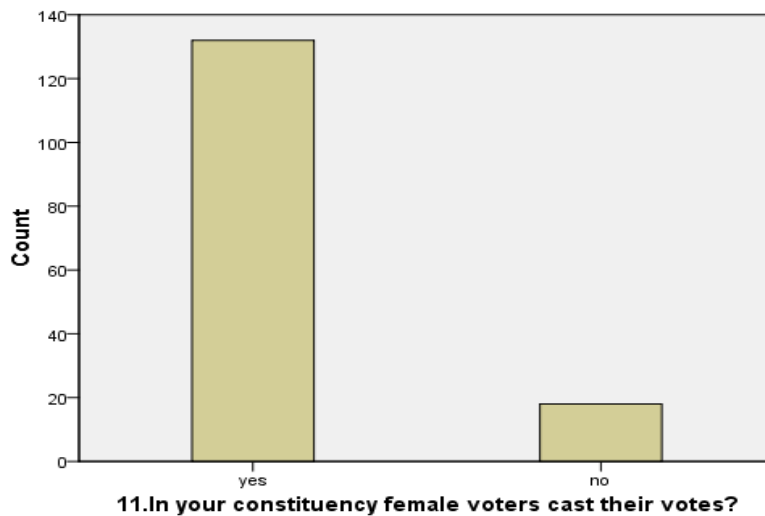
Question no 8 was “Have you read the manifesto of the political party for which you voted?” 84 respondents read manifesto of the political parties to whom they voted and 66 respondents don’t read manifesto of the political parties to whom they voted.



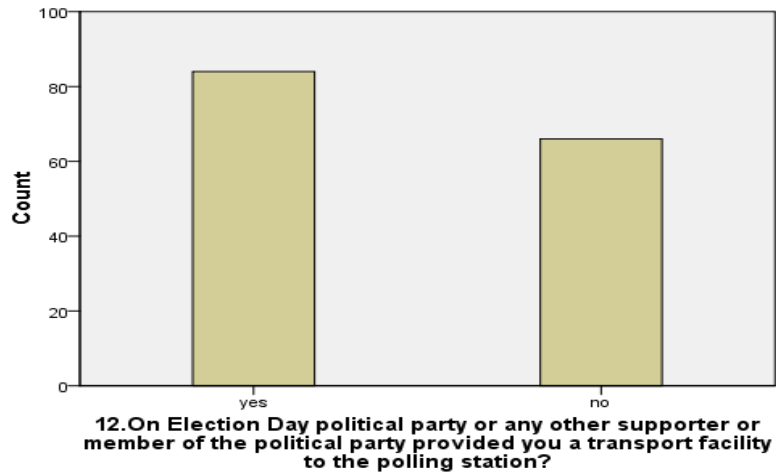
Question no 9 was “Do you know the qualification of the candidate to whom you voted?” 88 respondents confirmed that they know qualification of the candidate to whom they voted and 62 respondents don’t know about the qualification of the candidate to whom they voted.



Question no 10 was “On election days mosque cleric of your mohalla convinced people or tried to convince them to vote for a specific political party or a candidate?” 65 candidate confirmed role of mosque cleric in convincing people to vote for a specific political party or a candidate and 85 respondents answered that there was no role of mosque cleric in convincing people.



Question no 11 was “In your constituency female voters cast their votes?” 133 respondents answered that female voters cast their votes in the constituency and 17 respondents answered that female voters didn’t cast their votes in the constituency.



Question no 12 was “On Election Day political party or any other supporter or member of the political party provided you a transport facility to the polling station?” 84 respondents confirmed that political parties or members provided a transport facility to them on Election Day and 66 respondents answered that they didn’t utilize any transport facility on Election Day from any political party or supporter or member.



## **Conclusion:**

The study was based in provincial assembly constituency PK-5 in district Swat in the 2018 general election. Data was collected through questionnaires from the supporters or voters of the different political parties, and interviews were also conducted from the present MPA and candidates from the same constituency in the general elections 2018. 13 candidates were in field for the seat of pk-5 but only questionnaires were filled from the respondents of 5 political parties. 5 political parties were those who at least won 1 polling station. Rest of the 8 candidates gained number of votes but not won a single polling station that's why they were out of the study. The 5 political parties that had been included in the study gained 88% of the total votes polled in the constituency in the general election 2018. Total of hundred and fifty questionnaires were filled by the respondents. The share of different political parties in the questionnaires was equal to the shares of votes of that specific political party they have taken in the general election of 2018. First chapter of the study includes introduction of the topic, statement of the problem, methodology, research questions, literature review and questionnaire. Second chapter of the study includes the electoral history of Pakistan generally and the electoral history of district Swat particularly from 1970 general elections to 2008 general election. In third chapter elections of 2013 and 2018 were discussed. In the fourth chapter of the study results were derived from the collected questionnaires and interviews with the help of graphs. The results showed that while voting for a political party top priority of voters are political parties manifesto and party ideology.

In complete result ratio of female respondents were very less in comparison of male respondents. The reason behind this was easily access and willingness of female voters to fill the questionnaire. Educational qualification wise in respondents MA/M.SC was on top, then FA/F.SC. Matric or less than matric and BA/B.SC were of equal number in the respondents. Respondents who have qualification more than M.SC were 8. Age wise most of the respondents were from the first group 19 to 28, then 29 to 38, then 39 to 48, then 49 to 58 and in last were respondents of age group 59 to 68. If the respondents are listed on the basis of economic activities or economic backgrounds then the private

organizations will be on top, then respondents who have their own businesses then government servants then students then daily wagers and then housewives.

42% of the respondents were voters of PTI. 22% of the respondents were voters of MMA. 17% of the respondents were voters of PMLN. 11% of the respondents were voters of ANP. 08% of the respondents were voters of PPPP. These shares of % were derived according to the results of the 2018 general elections. Shares of voters of political parties in the questionnaires were equal to the share of votes of the specific political party they have taken in the 2018 general elections. Suppose a political party got 10% votes in the 2018 general elections then in questionnaires 10% of the respondents were that political party.

44% of the respondents were members of different political parties and 56% of the respondents were not members of any political party. Majority of the voters are those in Pakistan which are not associated with any type of political party or organization. These people playing an important role in bringing a person or political party in the government. Those voters who are not members of political parties are most of the people who give vote to a candidate on his role in regional developments, or personal identification, ethnicity, or impressed by popular slogans, personality and propaganda.

70% of the respondents confirmed that they spread message of the party to others to whom they voted and 30% didn't spread message of the party to whom they voted to others. In further investigation the data revealed that 51% of the respondents spread message of their political parties to others through political debates. According to John F. Kennedy (35th American president),

*Without debate, without criticism, no administration and no country can succeed – and no republic can survive.*

A French writer Joseph Joubert also said about debates in the words,

*It is better to debate a question without settling it than to settle a question without debating it.*

These quotes showed us the importance of debates in a society. In Pakistan in recent past decade culture of political debates among the common people is developed. In political debates supporters or members are trying to convince the other audience to support their political party or just they want to present a good and soft image to other people. Sometimes these debates turn into fight due to lack of patience, tolerance, logical and reasonable arguments and information. However, these debates are good steps for the development of democracy in Pakistan because sometime in these debates the participants discuss and compare the policies of one government with another and they also point out the advantages and disadvantages of different policies according to their own approach and knowledge. Through such debates new generation can learn political and democratic history of Pakistan. The data also revealed that 25% of the respondents spread message of the political parties to whom they voted to others through social media campaign. Due to the development of technological sector the world became a global village. Through internet, we can share and receive updates from the last edge of the world. Different kinds of social media applications are developed that people are using for different purposes. In those purposes, one of the purposes is the propagation of party messages to other people. A large number of supporters, members and leaders of the political parties are busy in spreading message of their political parties to others. In Pakistan political parties' members, supporters and leaders using social media to viral the message of their political parties and showing or to present a soft image of leader and the party as well as they are using the medium to disrespect leaders of the other parties. 24% of the respondents used door to door campaign as a medium of spreading message of their political parties to whom they voted to others. Normally door to door campaign is different from the other two campaigns discussed above because political debates and social media campaigns can be driven at any time but mostly door to door campaigns is happening at the time of elections. At the time of elections candidates along with party members and supporters visit village to village and house to house and try to convince people and to demand the vote for their political party.

24% of the respondents voted to the specific party because of party manifesto. Party manifesto played an important role in convincing people to vote for the party. In

Pakistan every political party publish a manifesto in the election year. Party manifesto is prepared by manifesto experts and future planners of the political party. Party manifesto is for the purposes to educate voters about future planning of the political party if the party came into power in the next general elections. Manifesto is important because through party manifesto people decide their choices that to whom they will vote in the next general elections. 24% of the respondents voted to different political parties on the basis of party ideologies. Party ideology and party manifesto are of equal weightage in convincing people according to the collected data. Party manifestoes are the future planning of the political parties if they came into government in the next general elections and party ideology is the foundation idea of a political party on which the party was formed. Many things can be similar in manifesto of different political parties but ideologically it is rare that they are similar with each other, because sometimes ideologies based on religious ideologies, sometimes ideology of political party can be different from the other party on the basis of economic policies. Ideologies can also be differed by nationalistic approaches and ethnic and regional nationalism. 16% of the respondents voted to the specific party due to party stance on national issues. Party stance on national issue is the face of party nationwide. Party stance can attract voters and disperse voters as well. If people like stance of the political party on a national issue then the stance of the party attract people to support the party and if people don't like stance of a political party on an issue then it can decrease supporters of the political party. National issue can be a government policy or any other problem which nation is facing in the whole country. 12% of the respondents voted to the specific party due to party stance on regional issues. Party stances on regional issues are important only for nationalist and regional parties, because parties who have vote bank in all parts of the country had nothing to do with regional issues or they preferred to address national issues on regional issues. Regional issues can be on district level as well as on provincial level also. If we considered problems of provinces in Pakistan so every province has their own problems different from the other province and it can also applicable to divisions and then districts. 10% of the respondents voted to the specific party on past performance. Past performance of political party and a candidate play an important role generally for the next victory of the

political party and specifically for the victory of the candidate. If people like past performance of a political party it can increase chances of victory of the political party in the next general elections, same is the case with candidate. According to PTI candidate (Fazal Hakim Khan) and two time MPA (2013 & 2018),

*Past performance of the party is very important. He also added that PTI victory in the general elections of 2018 was due to past performance of the party provincial government (2013 to 2018) in KP province.<sup>1</sup>*

7% of the respondents voted to the specific party due to party stance on religious issues. In KP religious parties' coalition, MMAP was in field to gain a victory like 2002 general elections but they were failed to gain majority and to form provincial government. There are group of people who link vote with religious affairs but ANP candidate and former MPA Wajid Ali Khan stated that,

*Politics and elections are solely worldly affairs not a religious issue.<sup>2</sup>*

Religious parties' leaders were also busy linking votes and elections with religion. In election days some videos were viral on social media in which the leaders of the religious political parties were busy publishing or announcing religious verdicts against their political opponents, and also promised their followers and voters that they would get paradise in return of voting to their religious political party. 3% of the respondents voted to the specific party due to charismatic leadership. Charismatic leader convince voters or try to attract people to vote and support their political party in the elections. 2% of the respondents voted to the specific party due to leader experience and 2% respondents voted to the specific party due to party stance on ethnic and language issues. Leadership matters in every walk of life or in every organization. Ethnic and language issues are also of the same importance to leader experience.

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<sup>1</sup> Interview of the researcher with Fazal Hakim Khan, MPA of PTI from provincial assembly constituency PK-5 in the general elections of 2013 and 2018, PTI regional office Saidu Sharif Swat, 07 Sep 2021.

<sup>2</sup> Interview of the researcher with Wajid Ali Khan, MPA of ANP from the provincial assembly constituency PK-5 in the general election of 2008 and candidate in the same constituency in general elections 2018, Pathanay Mingora Swat, 14 Sep 2021 .

37% of the respondents voted to the candidate due to its party affiliation. The data showed that most of the respondents voted to a candidate on his party affiliation. Mean that from all other reasons and determinants for vote the most important thing is that the candidate is from which political party or the candidate is contesting election on which political party ticket. Personal identification of a candidate is important but role of party ticket also cannot be ignored. 22% of the respondents voted to the specific candidate due to his role in regional development. In less developed areas regional development also play an important role in making people choices on Election Day. According to PMLN candidate Irshad Ali,

*candidate role in regional development is of high importance in making people choices, because in the area there they have lack of basic need i.e. health facilities, roads, streets, electricity polls, transformers, availability of Sui Gas, drinking water etc. He also added that due to lack of basic needs people not demanding from their elected representatives policy making, national development, increase in budget of education etc. He also stated that when government provided basic facilities to the people then people will ask from their representatives about their role in policy making and national development. When people are deprived from basic needs then the masses demands will be always related to their local and regional needs.<sup>3</sup>*

14% of the respondents voted to the specific candidate because according to them the candidate was good and practicing Muslim. It reflects an image of a candidate as a practicing Muslim on the minds of voters or it affects people choice making in elections process. 10% of the respondents voted to the candidate because the candidate has the abilities to solve the problems. Problems can be of different kinds, it can be regional problems, or problems related to regional development etc. 8% of the respondents voted to the candidate because the candidate is young and educated. Now the thing which people need to be more focused and most important to affect people choices has the less

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<sup>3</sup> Interview of the researcher with Irshad Ali, candidate of PMLN in 2018 general elections from provincial assembly constituency PK-5 in the 2018 general elections, Faiz Abad Saidu Sharif Swat, 10 Sep 2021 .

share in determinants to vote to the candidate. It may be due to many reasons, but the most important reason is the structure of political parties. In political parties no educated person can apply for a party ticket just because of his education, if a person will apply for a party ticket it may be due to his services for the party and financial support to the party. According to MMAP candidate and former MPA Muhammad Amin

*JI is the only political party with democratic structure. He also added that in JI no candidate can apply directly for party ticket on the basis of services for party or any other financial reasons but in JI the authority is with members to nominate a candidate for the upcoming elections. When members nominate a candidate then party leaders announced the name of candidate who is finalized by party members.<sup>4</sup>*

5% of the respondents voted to the candidate because the candidate provides access to public and 4% of the respondents voted to the candidate because the candidate knows about local affairs.

56% of the respondents read manifesto of the political party to whom they voted and 44% of the respondents didn't read the manifesto of the political party to whom they voted. 59% of the respondents confirmed that they knew educational qualification of the candidate to whom they voted and 41% stated that they didn't know about the educational qualification of the candidate to whom they voted in the general election 2018. 43% of the respondents confirmed role of mosque cleric in convincing people to vote for a specific party or a candidate. 57% of the respondents denied role of mosque cleric in convincing people to vote for a specific party or a candidate. While collecting data through questionnaires for this research study a respondents and member of a political party confirmed that his mohalla mosque cleric was present with a political party candidate in his door to door campaign.

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<sup>4</sup> Interview of the researcher with Muhammad Amin, former MPA of MMA government (2002 to 2008) and candidate for the provincial assembly constituency PK-5 (2018), Jamaat-islami office watkay, Mingora Swat, 10 Sep 2021 .

89% of the respondents confirmed that female voters cast their votes in general elections 2018 and 11% of the respondents stated that female voters didn't cast their votes in the general elections 2018. Election results of the 2018 general elections in the constituency PK-5 showed that total turnout in the constituency was 39.66%. Male turnout was 79.86% and female turnout was 20.14%.<sup>5</sup>

56% of the respondents confirmed that on Election Day political party or supporter or member provided them a transport facility to the polling stations and 44% of the respondents denied that no one provided them transport facility on Election Day. Ground realities are different from the data which is shown in questionnaires. The area where research was conducted is the capital city of district Swat where most of the polling stations were located on walking distance from the voters that's why most of the voters denied the use of transport facility to polling stations on Election Day. Although most of the polling stations were on walking distance but transport facility was provided to female voters. While collecting data through questionnaires a relative of the present MPA confirmed that only he arranged 500 vehicles for Election Day to provide transport facilities to voters. There are other evidences that political parties' members or supporters provided transport facilities to voters from one district to another district.

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<sup>5</sup> Election Commission of Pakistan, *Statement Showing Constituency wise Turnout of Total votes polled During General Elections-2018 in Respect of District Swat*, (Swat: District Election Commission).p.1.



## **Recommendations and Suggestions**

In Pakistan annually, every MNA and MPA received a large amount in the shape of development funds that would be used by the particular MNA, MPA in their constituency. The developmental fund is basically for regional infrastructure development in those sectors which need more attention or emergency sight but these developmental funds also created problems in Pakistan. Parliamentarians of different political parties used these funds for political purposes, not for public interests. Developmental funds to parliamentarians are very dangerous because due to these developmental funds they forget their basic duty which is lawmaking not installment of electricity poles, electricity and gas meters, construction of streets and roads, etc. Due to these developmental funds they are diverting the minds of common people from the core issues and duties to minor issues. In the elections no one is asking them about their role in lawmaking due to developmental funds. In the election campaign, they are addressing regional infrastructural problems which are faced by a specific group of people but they are not addressing problems that are faced by the nation. Once if government stops developmental funds from MNAs and MPAs then people will start asking them about their role in lawmaking. Presently no one is interested in lawmaking they are only interested in increasing their vote banks by regional development. Suppose a person is facing problems to install electricity pole near to his home and due to a local MPA the electricity company installed a pole near to his house, it will only give benefit to one person. However if a member of parliament knew that the process of electricity company is very slow and he asked questions about the issue in parliament or present a bill in the parliament it will benefit the whole nation, but they know that the present system is in favor of ruling class that's why they are in favor of status quo and no one wants change in the present system. The common man didn't know that the issues which we are asking from our parliamentarians are not the issues for which we gave the vote to them or not the issues for which we elect them. In other countries, role of parliamentarian is only lawmaking and nothing else but unfortunately in Pakistan, a parliamentarian can do everything for voters except lawmaking. If a voter asked a parliamentarian that what you

did in the previous five years term for us then he has a list of developmental projects which includes water supply schemes, streets making, constructions of roads, construction of bridges, streetlights, Sui Gas meters, Sui Gas pipes, and many other things but if a voter asked the same member about his role in the law-making process then he has nothing to say because we as a nation are not interested in lawmaking process we are only interested in the issues which they are addressing in their election campaign. It doesn't mean that regional development is not important but once if government stops the developmental funds of MNAs and MPAs then they will start lawmaking and many problems including regional developments will be solved automatically.

On election days every political party is publishing a manifesto that if they came into power they will implement their manifesto for the welfare of the common masses, but the manifesto consists of a large number of developmental works and very little share about their role in policymaking and lawmaking. Unlike US presidential elections in Pakistan open seminars and policy discussions are equal to zero. We need to discuss policies in our political discussion and in our election campaign, advantages, and disadvantages of previous policies and future challenges, and new planning. When we start a discussion about policies and laws in our election campaigns, the common people who are listening to the leaders of different political parties will be aware of the vision and planning of different political parties. Through these types of seminars, a common man will easily understand the future challenges and will decide which leader and which political party solution for the problem is best. It will lead people to vote for a political party on the basis of his future planning about different issues faced by the country.

In Pakistan, hundreds of political parties are present struggling to come into power through democratic setups but in practice, no one is accepting democracy in their own political party. Majority of political parties have following hereditary system and power in a political party is shifting from one generation to another generation. It is only imagination for a common worker that once he will become the party chief or get any higher position in the party. The same practice is followed in the distribution of party tickets in elections. The party chiefs distribute tickets to his or her family members,

relatives, or those members who are able to pay a huge amount in party funds in the shape of election expenditure, etc. Political parties are giving tickets to those who are unable to speak a single word in the assembly while they are ignoring young and educated workers. Even they are not in the position to present a bill on the floor of assembly but due to our political system, they are in the assembly. In Musharraf's government when the government announced education criteria for elections then a large number of politicians were out from the elections and a large number of candidates made bogus educational certificates.

Also, political parties have no criteria for allocating party tickets to candidates. If the election commission of Pakistan and different political parties make criteria for party tickets and for contesting elections then educated people who at least will be able to speak on the floor of the house and to present a bill on the floor of the house and even take part in the discussion will become parliamentarians.

# Appendix

## Questionnaire

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ (optional)

Gender: \_\_\_\_\_

Age \_\_\_\_\_

Marital Status: \_\_\_\_\_

Qualification: \_\_\_\_\_

Profession: \_\_\_\_\_

Provincial Assembly Constituency in the 2018 general elections \_\_\_\_\_

Polling station in the 2018 general elections \_\_\_\_\_

1. Did you cast vote in general elections 2018?

a. Yes

b. No

2. To which political party you voted?

a) Pakistan Tehrik I Insaf (PTI)

b) Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PMLN)

c) Pakistan People Party (PPP)

d) Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA)

e) Awami National Party (ANP)

3. Are you a member of any political party?
  - a) Yes
  - b) No
4. Have you spread the message of the party to whom you voted to others?
  - a) Yes
  - b) no,
5. If you spread the message then specify the way of propagation.
  - a) Door to door campaign
  - b) Social media campaign
  - c) Political discussion.
6. What factors urged you to vote for the specific party?
  - a) Party manifesto
  - b) Party ideology
  - c) Party stance on national issues
  - d) Party stance on regional issues
  - e) Party stance on ethnic and language issues
  - f) Party stance on religious issues
  - g) Past performance
  - h) Charismatic leadership

- i) Leader experience
  - j) Democratic structure of the party
  - k) If others, then specify\_\_\_\_\_
7. What factors urged you to vote for the candidate?
- a) Party affiliation
  - b) Role in regional development
  - c) The candidate is a good Muslim
  - d) The candidate is young and educated
  - e) The candidate has the ability to solve the problems
  - f) Provide access to the public
  - g) Know about local affairs
8. Have you read the manifesto of the political party for which you voted?
- a) Yes
  - b) No
9. Do you know the qualification of the candidate to whom you voted?
- a) Yes
  - b) No
  - c) If yes, then mention\_\_\_\_\_
10. On election days mosque cleric of your mohalla convinced people or tried to convince them to vote for a specific political party or a candidate?

a) Yes

b) No

11. In your constituency female voters cast their votes?

a) Yes

b) No

12. On Election Day political party or any other supporter or member of the political party provided you a transport facility to the polling station?

a) Yes

b) No.

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