

CHAPTER-7

URBAN-RURAL DIVISION OF ELECTORAL POLITICS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter shifts attention from the regional differences in voting behaviour to an analysis of urban and rural differences. It shows how the rural landed elites have been dominating NWFP politics ever since the colonial period. Despite the growing economic clout of urban NWFP, it has generally been politically under-represented. The fact that Pakistan has one of the highest urbanization rates in south Asia¹, however, ensures that the political importance of urban NWFP will grow over time. The chapter analyzes constituency returns for the 1970, 1988, 1990, 1993 and 1997 elections, and polling station returns for the 1988 to 1997 elections, and highlights the changes that have taken place between the voting behaviour of urban and rural NWFP. Rural and urban population of NWFP is shown in following table.

Table 7.1: Urban and Rural population in NWFP. (In Millions)

Year	Total	Urban	Rural
1951	4557	505	4052
1961	5731	759	4972
1972	8389	1196	7193
1981	11061	1666	9396
1988	17736	2994	14742

Source: Government of Pakistan, *Hand book of Population and Housing Census NWFP* (Islamabad: Population Census Organisation, Statistics Division, 2002)

The least urbanised province with only 17 percent of provincial population living in urban areas was NWFP. The shares of urban population in total population of Punjab and Balochistan were respectively 31 and 23 percent. In 1998 Sindh was the most urbanised province with 49 percent of total provincial population living in urban areas.²

7.2: URBAN-RURAL DIVISION IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

The political divide between urban and rural NWFP is not a recent development. Indeed, the structure of imperial rule established by the British in NWFP was premised on this divide. The operating assumption of the colonial administrators who followed ‘the NWFP tradition’ was that political stability was best ensured by securing the support of the countryside rather than the cities, and therefore priority should be given to co-opting and strengthening rural rather than urban elites.³ British occupied Frontier region in 1849 after Anglo-Sikh War and had brought these regions under the administrative setup of Punjab. In 9th November, 1901 Lord Curzon formed the province of NWFP by separating five districts (Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, Dera

Ismail Khan and Bannu). These districts were put under the charge of a Deputy Commissioner assisted by the Assistant Commissioners in the tehsils.⁴ The uprising of 1857 in particular, when many of the landed elites of NWFP proved their loyalty by helping to suppress the uprising, strengthened the belief of British administrators that future stability lay in the support of rural NWFP. The British then set about identifying 'natural leaders' and established then a loyal class of 'hereditary landed gentry' by awarding pensions, titles, and land grants in the rural areas. In return, the elites who benefited from this policy—mostly traditional tribe chieftains, heads of *biradaris* (clans), and *sajjada nashins* (hereditary custodians of Sufi shrines)—maintained law and order and defended colonial interest in their respective jurisdictions. To a remarkable degree, the symbiotic relationship between the government and the rural landed elite continues to be one of the fundamental bases for ruling NWFP.⁵

During the late nineteenth century a new urban political class began to emerge in NWFP's cities from the ranks of the small but growing middle classes. As the Hindus/Sikhs dominated trade and commercial activities, the growth of a Muslim middle class was fuelled primarily by the needs of the expanding colonial government that required civil servants for its bureaucracy, lawyers for its courts, physicians for its hospitals, engineers for its public works programmes, and teachers for its schools and colleges. Along with the growth of this new class came the expectations of greater political influence. However, there was little room for these upward mobile urban professionals within the existing traditional hierarchical social and political structures. It was their search for new social, cultural, and political identities and new structure through which they could exert influence that led to the development of the first modern Muslim organizations in the cities of NWFP.⁶ In 1906 the All India Muslim League was founded and in 1912 its branch was established in NWFP which provided the first distinctly political platform from which this new Muslim middle class could articulate its demands. The first organizers of the Frontier Muslim League were young western educated Muslims (Mian Abdul Aziz, Qazi Abdul Wali Khan, Syed Ali Abbas Bokhari, Qazi Mir Ahmad and Hakim Muhammad Amin from the urban areas of NWFP)⁷. But while a new political class was emerging and organizing in the cities, the rural elites, patronized by the colonial administrators, continued their overwhelming domination of frontier politics. The political significance of the cities was that they became centers of political opposition to the government, and became

the launching ground for opposition movements. Most of the movements were over communal issues, and for the Muslim community were spearheaded by the urban based ulema.⁸ While the urban areas agitated, however, rural areas ruled—a pattern that persists to this day.

Following the Montague-Chelmsford reforms of 1919, and until the elections of 1946, NWFP politics were controlled by the Khudai *Khidmatgars* from semi urban and rural areas of NWFP. The NWFP Muslim League, whose members and leaders like Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar were mostly drawn from the urban middle class, played a distinctly peripheral role in provincial politics. This fact was highlighted in the 1937 elections for the 50 members Legislative Assembly seats in the NWFP; Muslim League did not nominate any candidate in NWFP. The main contesters were the Congress Party, Hindu-Sikh Nationalist Party and the Independents. Jinnah recognized that power in the NWFP rested in the hands of the rural notables, and that there was little future for an urban based party like the League. Jinnah's political calculation was proved correct in the elections of 1946, when the League won 17 of 50 Muslim Seats. The League's overwhelming victory among Muslim voters in these elections in the NWFP by securing 147133 votes while congress secured 15922 votes,⁹ did not reflect any major social or political change, but rather that the former urban-based Muslim League, had successfully been taken over by the rural elites.

7.3 THE JAGIRDARS VERSUS THE BUREAUCRATS 1947-1958

Having led the Pakistan Movement, the leadership of the Muslim League inherited power in Pakistan after independence. At the national level it was the predominantly urban-based Muslim League leaders from the minority provinces who took control. In the League's Working Committee following Independence, 17 of the 28 members were from the urban professional classes.¹⁰ This resulted in a reversal, albeit temporary, of the colonial policy that favoured the rural political elite.¹¹ In addition to the urban bias of the central leadership, there was a strong refugee influence when the first post-Independence session of the All-India Muslim League was held in December 1947, 160 of 300 participating councilors were from regions that became part of India.¹² As they had left their constituencies behind in India, the refugee politicians had to find a new base of political support in Pakistan. The first constituency to which they turned was their fellow refugees from India who had migrated in large numbers to Karachi, and to lesser extent to other cities of Sindh and

the Punjab.¹³ They also looked for support from the Gujrati-speaking trading and entrepreneurial families based in Karachi.¹⁴ Numerically, however, this predominantly urban-based constituency was weak. This was one of the major factors contributing to the reluctance of the League leadership to hold elections that would inevitably have led to their replacement at the national level by the indigenous rural elite of the NWFP and other provinces.

To strengthen their position, the League's refugee politicians allied themselves with the powerful civil administrators who also considered the rural landed elite as their only serious political rivals. It did not take long for the balance of power to shift from the politicians to the bureaucrats. The assassination of Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan in 1951 symbolized the end of the dominance of national politics by politicians.¹⁵ As the position of the urban politicians at the national level grew weaker, so did their political utility for the bureaucracy, and over time the colonial model of bureaucratic rule with the support of the rural notables was restored. In NWFP provincial politics, in contrast with national politics, it was the rural rather than the urban politicians who inherited power after independence. The few urban, progressive League leaders, such as Abdul Qayum Khan, either left or were forced out of the party. In 1951 provincial assembly elections, majority of politicians came from rural NWFP.

The widespread anti-Ahmadiya disturbances in 1953 in Punjab, which forced the government to ask for the military's assistance in restoring law and order, helped shift the balance of power from the politicians firmly back in favour of the bureaucracy.¹⁶ The quick and efficient handling of the situation by the army, in stark contrast to the vacillating and irresponsible behaviour of the politicians, weakened the credibility and legitimacy of the politicians. The rural notables, now organized under the banner of the Republican Party, were again reduced to their traditional role as junior partners in the ruling alliance. From 1953 to 1958, the colonial model of bureaucratic rule supported by the landed elite prevailed. In 1951, NWFP's first Provincial Assembly's elections were held. Elections would have strengthened and legitimized the position of the politicians in general and rural politicians in particular, at the expense of the bureaucracy.

7.4 AYUB ERA 1958-1969: Ayub Khan a person from NWFP continued the colonial pattern of developing a rural support base for his regime. He was from a rural

background of village Rehana from Haripur District. Rather than relying on the rural elite, he turned instead to the rural middle classes for political support.¹⁷ Ayub adopted several measures which strengthen the rural middle classes, often at the expense of the traditional rural elite. In 1958 he promulgated the Elective Bodies Disqualification Order (EBDO) that barred anyone from holding office who was found guilty of misconduct. The order barred approximately 40 percent of all the big landlord politicians from holding office, which provided an opportunity for many from the rural middle classes to enter politics.¹⁸ Ayub also struck the crux of rural elite power by introducing ceilings on land ownership. Although the reforms were modest in scope, they were Pakistan's first successful attempt to implement land reforms. Ayub's system of basic democracies, which provided a mechanism for the rural middle classes to enter politics at the local governmental level, also challenged the rural elite's monopoly for power. Furthermore, at the same time the rural middle classes were gaining politically, 'Green Revolution' technology was strengthening them economically. Ayub could do without the support of the rural notables as long as martial law was in force. But when martial law ended in 1962, and Ayub was confronted with the prospect of elections in 1964-5, he felt the need to broaden his base of support. Ayub turned away from the middle classes and back to the landed elite for political support. This shift is reflected in the changing fortunes in the Assemblies of the rural elite and the rural middle classes from NWFP. In National Assembly, the percentage of large '*Ashrafi*' landlord-politicians from the NWFP went from 57.2 percent in 1955 down to 21.3 percent in 1962 and then up to 27.6 percent in 1965. The number of representatives from the 'middle' and 'gentry' landholders in the National Assembly went from 9.5 percent in 1955, up to 44.7 percent in 1962, and then back down to 29.8 percent in 1965.¹⁹ The decline of the rural middle classes' newfound political power coincided with a downturn in their economic fortunes following droughts in the mid-60s and the 1965 Indo-Pak war. This led to growing disenchantment with Ayub which Bhutto was able to use to his political advantage.²⁰ In urban areas Ayub's martial law regime was initially welcomed by a population tired of corruption, black marketeering, a deteriorating law and order situation, and the irresponsible behaviour of the politicians. It soon became clear, however, that Ayub, like the British administrators, distrusted the urban political classes. The big industrialists were the only important urban group that Ayub cultivated and patronized. He adopted deliberate measures to weaken other politically influential

urban groups, which included the censorship and seizure of the anti-government Progressive Papers Limited (PPL) which further curtailed the freedom of the press; martial law which reduced the scope for litigation and hence the economic well-being and political clout of the legal community; the University Ordinance which limited the autonomy of universities; the Industrial Dispute Ordinance which curtailed the rights of organized labour; and the creation of the Auqaf Department which reduced the economic and political independence of the religious establishment.²¹ Not surprisingly, it was these politicized urban social groups,²² supported by many from the rural middle classes that led the movement which brought down Ayub's government in 1969.

Jones noted that the anti-Ayub movement represented the ... late political 'coming of age'. 'It was the breakthrough of the mass public into the political sphere, and it signaled a fundamental and ultimately irreversible alteration in the relationship between rulers and ruled.'²³ In particular, it represented the political awakening of urban NWFP. For the first time in Pakistan's history, a primarily urban-based political movement brought down the national government which was backed by the powerful bureaucracy and the traditional landed elite. Furthermore, unlike previous urban agitation movement like the anti-Ahmadiyya disturbances of 1953, this was a secular movement making secular political and economic demands.

7.5 ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO 1970-1977

During the period between Ayub's downfall in 1969 and 1970 elections, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and the recently founded Pakistan People's Party succeeded in winning the support of the bulk of the Anti-Ayub constituency. The PPP's strongest support initially came from urban left group such as students and organized labour, but also from middle class professionals such as lawyers and the intelligentsia. Bhutto realized, however, that urban support alone was not sufficient to win elections in an overwhelming rural country. In organizing the PPP and campaigning for the 1970 elections, therefore, he was careful to sell the PPP as an 'inclusionist' and broad-based party so as not to alienate influential social groups such as the rural elite.²⁴ Thus while the urban left strongly opposed the entry of 'feudals' into the PPP, Bhutto did not, and instead actively sought their support. In his speeches Bhutto, who himself came from a rural elite background, rarely mentioned 'feudalism' as a national problem. Instead he focused his criticism on the bureaucrats and capitalists whose

numbers in terms of voting power were relatively insignificant.²⁵ In Sindh, Bhutto's home province, the PPP was dominated by the landed elite. The case in NWFP was different, which reflected the miscalculation of the rural notables as to who would win the election rather than the PPP's unwillingness to accept them into the fold.²⁶ Their setback was temporary, for soon after the elections the majority switched their loyalties to the winning side.²⁷ The NAP (National Awami Party) strong urban support in the NWFP was reflected in the results of the 1970 elections, Pakistan's first national elections based on universal suffrage. The following Table reflects the detail of the 1970 elections in NWFP.

Table 7.2 Name and party affiliation of winning candidates (National Assembly) in 1970 elections.

Name of Constituency	Winners	Party
Peshawar NW1	Khan Abdul Qayum Khan	QML
NW2	Ghulam Faooq Khan	NAP
NW3	Abdul Wali Khan	NAP
NW4	Maulana Abdul Haq Sahib	JUI
Hazara NW5	Maulvi Abdul Hakeem	JUI
NW6	Maulana Ghulam Ghous	JUI
NW7	Sardar Inayat-ur-Rehman	QML
NW8	Khan Qayum Khan	QML
Mardan NW9	Abdul Khaliq Khan	PPP
NW10	Pirzada Khan	NAP
NW11	Khan Abdul Qayum Khan	QML
Kohat NW12	Maulvi Niamatullah	JUI
DI. Khan NW13	Mufti Mehmood	JUI
Bannu NW14	Maulana Sardar-ul-Shahid	JUI
Chitral cum Dir cum Swat NW15	Ataliq Jafar Ali Shah	QML
Swat NW16	Rahim Shah	QML
NW17	Prince Aurangzeb Khan	QML
Dir NW18	Safi-ullah Saheb	QML
Party Position: QML(08), NAP (02), JUI (06), JI (01), PPP (01)		
Total: 18		

Source: Datta compiled from 1970 General Election Report. Election Commission of Pakistan, *Report on general elections, Pakistan, 1970-71* (Karachi, Manager of Publications, 1972)

Above table shows that NAP (National Awami Party) won National Assembly seats from urban centre while QML (Qayyum Muslim League) and JUI (Jamiat-i-Ulema-e-Islam) won seats from rural NWFP. This argument also reflects from the results of

NWFP provincial assembly results of 1970 as indicated in table 7.3. In 1970 elections, it is clear from the table that JUI had strong vote bank in rural areas.

Table 7.3: Winning candidates (Provincial Assembly) in 1970 elections:

Name of Constituency	Winners	Party
Peshawar PF:1	Hayat Muhammad Khan Sherpao	PPP
PF:2	Arbab Muhammad Jehangir	NAP
PF:3	Arbab Sikandar Khan	NAP
PF:4	Arbab Saif-ur-Rehman	NAP
PF:5	Abdul Wali Khan	NAP
PF:6	Muhammad Akram Khan	NAP
PF:7	Haji Taj Muhammad Khan	NAP
PF:8	Wali Muhammad Khan	NAP
Hazara PF:9	Saadullah Khan	IND
PF:10	Muhammad Zareen Khan	NAP
PF:11	Haq Nawaz Khan	JUI
PF:12	Muhammad Haroon Khan Badshah	QML
PF:13	Syed Muzamil Shah	QML
PF:14	Muhammad Iqbal Khan Jadoon	QML
PF:15	Sardar Gul Zaman	QML
PF:16	Raja George Sikandar Zaman Khan	QML
PF:17	Muhammad Nawaz Khan	QML
Mardan PF:18	Abdul Samad Khan	PPP
PF:19	Muhammad Ikram Khan	NAP
PF:20	Amirzada Khan	NAP
PF:21	Mian Ghulam Jilani (Maj. Gen. Retd.)	NAP
PF:22	Muhammad Firdus Khan	NAP
Mardan-cum Hazara PF:23	Abdul Mastan Khan	QML
Kohat PF:24	Nawabzada Azmat Ali Khan	PMLC
PF:25	Maulvi Habib Gul	JUI
PF:26	Muhammad Aslam Khan Khattak	IND
DI. Khan PF:27	Sardar Inayat Ullah Khan	IND
PF:28	Makhdoom Atta-ur-Rehman	PMLC
DI. Khan cum Bannu PF:29	Humayun Khan Saifullah	PMLC
Bannu PF:30	Molvi Muhammad Yaqub	JUI
PF:31	Abdul Samad	JUI
Chitral PF:32	Qadir Nawaz	IND
Malookni (Protected Area) PF:33	Muhammad Hanif Khan	PPP
Swat: PF:34	Abdul Rauf Khan	QML
PF:35	Abdul Baqi	IND
PF:36	Muhammad Afzal Khan	NAP
PF:37	Haji Muhammad Rehman	QML
Swat cum Dir PF:38	Rehman-ullah Saheb	JI
Dir PF:39	Dr. Muhammad Yaqub Khan	JI
PF:40	Amanullah Khan	QML
Party Position: PPP (3), NAP (13), IND (05), JUI (04), JI (02), QML (10), PMLC (03), Total: 40		

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan, *Report on general elections, Pakistan, 1970-71* (Karachi, Manager of Publications, 1972)

The NAP won all 12 seats from the major cities of the NWFP, and PPP won three seats from urban centres. JUI, JI (Jammat-i-Islami) and QML have their influence in rural areas of NWFP. Like all the previous governments, the Bhutto regime was to turn away from its urban constituency and to look instead towards the NWFP's rural elite for political support. From 1972 to 1974, members of the PPP's urban left such as Hayat Sherpao, Abdul Samad Khan, and Muhammad Hanif Khan were influential in shaping the government's policies. Shaid Javed Burki has shown how PPP policies benefited the urban left's constituencies (i.e. Industrial labour and urban poor), but

hurt many from the urban middle classes who had also supported the PPP in 1970.²⁸ Nationalization of both large and small scale industries, labour reforms that harmed small businesses, and nationalization of private educational institutions were just some of PPP's policies that alienated the urban middle classes. Furthermore, in addition to being effected economically, the rural and urban middle classes were hurt politically when Bhutto failed to introduced a local government system to replace the Basic Democracies system.

By the time Bhutto decided to go to the polls in 1977, it was clear that while the PPP had retained the support of industrial labour and the urban poor, it had lost the support of the urban middle classes. Like all his predecessors, Bhutto turned to the NWFP's rural notables for political support the PPP's slate of 1977 elections candidates read like a, 'whose who', list of the NWFP's landed elite-the Hayats of Peshawar; Samad, and Malik of Mardan and Malokani. While the PPP's 1970 manifesto promised 'to destroy the power of the feudal land owners', the 1977 elections manifesto stated that the PPP's policies had 'brought an end to feudalism in Pakistan', employing that there was no further need for land reforms.²⁹ Much to Bhutto's surprise, the entire spectrum of anti-PPP forces, from left to right, succeeded in cobbling together the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) to contest the 1977 elections against the PPP. The PNA movements brought under one banner all those social groups, and in particular the middle classes, which had been negatively affected by the policies of the PPP government.³⁰ Following the PPP's suspiciously impressive election victory, the PNA launched an agitation movement to protest the rigging that had taken place. Unlike the anti-Ayub agitation which had involved a cross-section of urban social classes, the PNA movement was more specifically a middle class movement which in many ways marked the political 'coming of age' of the urban middle classes. It also marked the beginning of an unusually resilient (by Pakistani standards) anti-PPP vote-bank in urban NWFP that appears to have grown over time. While weak in terms of the number of votes, the concentration of the middle classes in urban areas that are the economic, political, and communications hubs of the country gives them a disproportionate amount of political influence. The PNA movement demonstrated the growing political clout of the urban middle classes, a development that the usually astute Bhutto apparently failed to understand. Shahid Javed Burki noted the following about Bhutto:

[H]e was a rural aristocrat who had developed a deep empathy for the poor. He was at home in two very different worlds: the world occupied by Pakistan's elite and the world in which lived million of Pakistanis under-privileged groups. But he was not at home with the ground that lay in-between: the growing space occupied by the middle classes. He did not understand their value system, did not appreciate their economic interest, and did not comprehend the power they had begun to wield. He abandoned them and they allowed him to go to the gallows.³¹

7.6 GENERAL ZIA-UL-HAQ 1977-1988

The PNA agitation movement eventually forced Bhutto to call in the military to help quell the civil unrest. On 5th July 1977, the chief of army staff, General Zia-ul-Haq removed Bhutto in a coup d'état, declared martial law, and ruled Pakistan for the following eleven years. Not surprisingly, General Zia-ul-Haq turned to the conservative urban middle classes for political support, and combined this with the standard practice of co-opting the NWFP's rural elite. Much more remarkable, however, was Zia's success in maintaining the support of the urban middle classes throughout his eleven years of power. By providing them with patronage, introducing a limited Islamisation programme, repealing some of the PPP's socialist economic policies, and of course receiving the backing of the military, Zia was able to maintain the support of the urban middle classes.

7.7 URBAN-RURAL DIVIDE IN ELECTORAL POLITICS (1988-1999)

The urban rural divide is not a recent phenomenon in NWFP. What give this divide growing importance, however, is Pakistan's extremely high urbanization rates. Pakistan's urban population is estimated to be growing at 50 per cent every decade, compared to the rural population growth of 25 per cent.³² The percentage of the NWFP's population living in urban areas has increased from 21.4 per cent in 1961³³ to an estimated 34.2 per cent by 1993.³⁴ The political importance of urban NWFP will therefore undoubtedly increase over time. The urban-rural divide has always been visible in the NWFP's election results. For example, when the 1946 elections for Provincial Legislative Assemblies were held, the Muslim League won 17 of 50 seats but only 2 of 3 urban seats.³⁵ In the 1964 Presidential elections the rural areas voted for Ayub and the major urban areas generally voted for Fatima Jinnah.³⁶ In the 1970 elections in NWFP the PPP won 57.4 per cent of the vote in the urban constituencies and only 40.5 per cent in the rural.

As the discussion on the history of the urban-rural divide has illustrated not only has the divide been visible in election results, but the electoral process has contributed to deepening the divide. As Jones points out that the gradual extension of representation and the franchise, reforms demanded by urban politicians, have really benefited the conservative landholding elite. From 1937 onward NWFP Legislature was dominated by the rural elites, and if, in 1946, the elites moved aside to make room for the rural gentry, and was squeezed even further aside by the entry of the middling *zamindariat* (landlords) into the Assemblies of the Ayub years, ruralist interests continued to dominate NWFP politics and to act as a brake on the progressive schemes of urban politicians.

Table 7.4: PPP/PDA Urban, Urban/Rural and Rural NWFP Election Results of National Assembly Seats.

Region (s)	Urban		Urban/Rural		Rural		Total	
	%age	seats	%age	Seats	%age	seats	%age	Seats
1988 Elections								
North	40.4	2/2	36.7	0	40.2	2	34.37	4/6
Central	43.3	2/2	41.2	2/2	31.3	0	33.24	4/8
South	4.1	0	5.6	0	6.2	0	4.49	0/5
Hazara	10.2	0	13.4	0	12.1	0	14.46	0/7
Total/Avg	24.5	4	24.23	2	22.45	2	21.64	8/26
1990 Elections								
North	35.1	2/2	39.5	1/1	34.8	0	30.45	3/6
Central	25.4	0	27.1	0	28.2	0	21.41	0/8
South	28.4	1/1	28.1	1/1	26.2	0	23.88	2/5
Hazara	9.5	0	8.7	0	7.6	0	7.50	0/7
Total/Avg	24.6	3	25.85	2	24.2	0	20.81	5/26
1993 Elections								
North	20.1	0	28.5	1/1	21.8	0	18.46	1/6
Central	48.4	3	39.6	2/2	31.8	0	36.10	5/8
South	2.8	0	3.9	0	4.2	0	3.45	0/5
Hazara	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0/7
Total/Avg	17.83	3	18	3	14.45	0	14.5	6/26
1997 Elections								
North	27.1	0	25.4	0	26.2	0	21.71	0/6
Central	19.1	0	18.2	0	91.1	0	16.76	0/8
South	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0/5
Hazara	3.2	0	2.6	0	2.8	0	2.34	0/7
Total/Avg	12.35	0	11.55	0	30.03	0	10.2	0/26

Source: Data calculated from Election Commission of Pakistan, *General election Report Vol. II: Comparative Statistics For General elections 1988, 1990, 1993 and 1997* (Islamabad: Government Printing Press, 1997).

The cities have thus far been the incubators of political ferment and demands for change in NWFP, but even those ruling groups that have ridden to power on movements spreading outward from the cities have finally always looked to the countryside for the stability of their rule.³⁷ What is the most interesting about the 1988, 1990, 1993 and 1997 election results, therefore, is not that an urban-rural divide is visible, but the dramatic increase in support for the ANP/PML(N) in urban areas at the expense of the PPP. Indeed, perhaps the single most significant development of

the 1997 elections in the NWFP was the role reversal that took place whereby the Pakistan Muslim League- Nawaz PML(N)/ANP (Awami National Party) replaced the PPP as the party of urban NWFP. For the urban-rural division of electoral politics, in this study only National Assembly elections will be analysed from 1988-1997. There were four major voting groups in electoral politics of NWFP, i.e. Mainstream voters PPP/PDA (Pakistan People's Party/Pakistan Democratic Alliance) and PML-N/IJI (Islami Jamuri Itihad), Religious and regional/ethnic (ANP). In following sections these four categories are to be analysed. In 1988 National Assembly Elections, PPP won four National Assembly seats from NA 21 (Swat-1), NA 23 (Swat-III), NA 24 (Chitral) and NA 26 (Malakand Protected Area cum Dir). In NA-21, Shazada Amani Room won the National Assembly seat on PPP ticket obtaining 28730 votes. The runner up was Mr. Obaidur Rehman of JUI-F (Jamiat-e-Ulema-i-Islam-Fazal-ur-Rehman) having 21748 votes. Mian Gul Aurangzeb, the prince of Swat with IJI (Islami Jamuri Itihad) ticket got third position having 19061 votes. PPP vote bank is largely in rural and urban areas. In NA 23, swat-III, Mr. Mehboob-ur-Rehman (PPP) won elections with 23613 votes having close contest with ANP candidate, Mr. Muhammad Afzal Khan who got 22597 votes. Begum Nusrat Bhutto, the wife of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto won PPP seat from NA-24 (Chitral) having 32819 votes, the runner-up was local prince Shazada Muhayud Din (IJI) having 23405 votes. Muhammad Hanif Khan won NA seat on PPP ticket from Malakand protected area cum Dir (NA 26) with 39174 votes. The major PPP vote bank was in urban and urban/rural areas of Chitral and Malakand Protected area cum Dir. In central NWFP PPP won National Assembly seats from NA 1,2,3,4 (Peshawar-1,2,3,4), where strong PPP candidates were contesting elections. In NA 1, Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao (PPP) won elections having 44658 votes. The runner up was Ghulam Ahmad Bilour (ANP) with 35947 votes. In NA 2, Khan Bahadur Khan (PPP) won elections with 24444 votes. Arbab Saif-ur-Rehman from ANP was runner up with 19402 votes. In NA3 there was close contest between ANP and PPP. From NA3, PPP candidate Sardar Ali Khan won the election with 28408 votes, while ANP candidate Abdul Lateef got 24727 votes. The much close contest had been reported in NA 4 between ANP and PPP candidates. Mian Muzaffar Shah, a PPP candidate got 27902 votes with only 92 votes lead over ANP candidate and Mr. Ahrar Khatak (ANP) got 27817 votes. PPP vote bank was in Urban and Urban/Rural areas in central NWFP. PPP put only one candidate, Syed Iftikhar Hussain Gillani from southern part of NWFP (Kohat),

obtained second position with 19049 votes. Majority vote bank was reported in Urban areas of Kohat. In Hazara region PPP put five candidates in elections but could not win any seat. From NA-11 Abbottabad-1, Syed Sultan Ali (PPP) got third position with 13845 votes out of total 91627 votes. From NA-12 Abbottabad-II, Mr. Muhammad Aslam Khan (PPP) placed on fourth position with 10760 votes out of total 83201 vote caste. In NA-13 (Abbottabad-III), PPP candidate Begum Bilqis Nasrum Minallah got second position having 25066 votes with huge difference of Raja Sikandar Zaman (IJI), who got 60128 votes. In NA-14 Mansehra-1, Gen (R) Muhammad Mumtaz Khan (PPP) got 8211 votes and obtained fourth position. From NA 16 (Mansehra-III), Sardar Muhammad Yousaf (PPP) got 9198 votes from the rural areas of this constituency only for the biradri votes. In 1988 Ms. Benazir Bhutto returned to National politics after a gap of 11 years of Zia rule. The national politics had impacted the politics of NWFP.

In 1990 elections, PPP led coalition PDA, won five National Assembly seats out of 26 from NWFP. PDA won three National Assembly seats from the Northern NWFP and two National Assembly seats from the southern NWFP. From southern NWFP, Syed Iftikhar Hussain Gillani (PPP) candidate from NA-9 Kohat and Fazal Karim Khan Kundi from NA-18 D.I. Khan won elections. In southern part, the PPP vote bank was in urban and urban/rural areas. From the Northern NWFP, Mr. Muhammad Afzal Khan (PDA) got 32515 votes, Mr. Najmud Din (PDA) got 28533 votes and Mr. Ahmad Hassan (PDA) got 31331 votes. All three candidates won from their respective constituencies due to personal reputations and tribal affiliations. PPP vote bank was also in urban and urban/Rural areas. From central NWFP and Hazara, no PPP candidate could win the election, however in some urban and urban/rural areas the competition was tough. PDA put their candidates in all six constituencies of National Assembly in Central NWFP. Benazir Bhutto, the leader of PDA, her self contested on NA-1 (Peshawar-1) and defeated by ANP leader Ghulam Ahmad Bilour, got second position with 38951 votes. The other prominent leader of PDA, Aftab Ahmad Khan sherpao from NA-2 (Peshawar-II) was also defeated by Arbab Mohammad Jehangir Khan (ANP). Aftab was runner-up with 19137 votes. Only three candidates contested election on PDA ticket from Hazara, Sardar Inayat-ur-Rehman (NA-12 Abbottabad-II), Mr. Omar Asghar Khan (NA13 Abbottabad-III), and Mr. Sajid Mumtaz Khan (NA-14 Mansehra-1) but could not win any seat.

In 1993, PPP won six seats from NWFP, five from Central NWFP and one from northern NWFP. From Northern NWFP constituency NA-26 Malakand Protected Area cum Dir, Muzaffar Khan with close contest of Maulana Gohar Rehman (PIF-Pakistan Islamic Front) won the election. Other PPP candidates, Mr. Najmuddin (NA-25 Dir), Zauja Mohammad Suleman Khan (NA-24 Chitral) could not win election but have close contest. From Central NWFP, Syed Zafar Ali Shah (NA-1 Peshawar-I), Arbab Muhammad Jehangir Khan (NA-2 Peshawar-II), Maj. Gen. (R) Naseerullah Khan Babar (NA-4 Nowshera) and Mr. Khanzada Khan (NA-6 Mardan-1) won elections mostly from urban and urban/rural areas. In southern region of NWFP, PPP put one candidate, Masood Kausar from NA-9 Kohat but defeated by Syed Iftikhar Hussain Gillani, an old PPP politician who had change their political affiliations and joined PML-N. PPP could not issue ticket to any candidate from Hazara due to their weak political bases.

In 1997 elections, PPP contested 17 National Assembly seats out of 26 from NWFP, six from central NWFP, one from southern NWFP, four from Hazara and six from northern NWFP. PPP could not win any single seat from NWFP during 1997 elections however their vote bank was seen in urban and urban/rural areas. Qamar Abbass, a PPP candidate from NA-1 Peshawar-1, Sardar Ali Khan from NA-3 Peshawar cum Nowshera, Maj. Gen. (R) Naseerullah Babar from NA-4 Nowshera, Haji Muhammad Yaqoob from NA-6 Mardan-1 were the runner-up in 1997 elections.

In Hazara region of NWFP, PPP candidates were Muhammad Gulzar Abbasi (NA-11 Abbottabad cum Haripur-old Abbottabad-I), Mr. Abdul Lateef Abbasi (NA-12 Abbottabad cum Haripur-II-Old Abbottabad-II), Mr. Muhammad Tahir Qureshi (NA-13 Haripur) and Mr. Guldad (NA-17 Kohistan). All these candidates could not win in their respective constituencies. These candidates had only *biradaris* and personal votes instead of party votes. In 1988 elections, IJI won eight National Assembly seats out of total twenty six seats, two seats from Northern NWFP, two from Southern and four from Hazara. IJI put four candidates from central NWFP but could not win any seat. From southern part of NWFP, IJI contested five seats but only two seats could win. These were from Maulvi Niamatullah (NA-9 Kohat) and Anwar Saifullah (NA-20 Bannu-II). In Northern NWFP, IJI put six candidates for elections but only two could win election. The winning candidates were Haji Fazal-i-Raziq (NA-22 Swat-II) and Mr. Fathullah (NA-25 Dir). In Hazara region of NWFP, IJI won four seats. These were of Sardar Haji Gul Khitab Khan (NA-12- Abbottabad-II), Raja Sikanadr

Zaman Khan (NA-13 Abbottabad-III), Haji Muhammad Ayub Khan (NA-16 Mansehra-III) and Fazal-e-Haq (NA-17 Kohistan). The majority vote bank was in rural areas, while urban and urban/rural areas have same ration as indicated in above table. In 1990 elections, IJI got eight National Assembly seats, two from northern NWFP, one from central NWFP, and one from southern NWFP and four from Hazara. In Central NWFP, IJI put one candidate Khan Mir Afzal Khan (NA-7 Mardan II) with the electoral seat adjustment coalition with ANP and Khan won election with 37452 votes.

Table 7.5: IJI/PML-N Urban, Urban/Rural and Rural NWFP Election Results on National Assembly seats.

	Urban		Urban/Rural		Rural		Total	
	%age	Seats	%age	Seats	%age	seats	%age	Seats
1988 Elections								
North	34.7	0	38.2	1/1	40.2	1/1	31.15	2/6
Central	20.1	0	22.7	0	24.8	0	18.41	0/8
South	35.1	0	39.8	1/1	38.6	1/1	32.03	2/5
Hazara	34.6	1/1	35.7	1/1	46.2	2/2	30.23	4/7
Total/Avg	31.13	1	34.1	3	37.45	4	27.96	8/26
1990 Elections								
North	34.8	0	37.2	1/1	38.6	1	35.79	2/6
Central	10.4	0	12.1	0	13.6	0	12.60	1/8
South	23.1	0	32.1	1	20.2	0	23.90	1/5
Hazara	40.8	1/1	43.2	1/1	57.2	2/2	43.43	4/7
Total/Avg	27.28	1	31.15	2	32.4	3	28.93	8/26
1993 Elections								
North	21.4	0	25.4	1/1	20.2	0	19.94	1/6
Central	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0/8
South	39.2	1/1	37.2	1/1	35.1	1/1	34.90	3/5
Hazara	60.1	2/2	61.3	2/2	65.6	2/2	58.31	6/7
Total/Avg	30.18	3	30.98	4	30.23	3	28.29	10/26
1997 Elections								
North	34.8	1/1	42.5	2/2	45.1	2/2	35.16	5/6
Central	7.1	0	4.8	0	4.6	0	6.30	0/8
South	40.1	1/1	52.5	2/2	39.8	1/1	40.99	4/5
Hazara	60.2	2/2	65.8	2/2	69.6	2/2	58.26	6/7
Total/Avg	35.55	4	41.4	6	39.78	5	35.18	15/26

Source: Data calculated from Election Commission of Pakistan, *General election Report Vol. II: Comparative Statistics For General elections 1988, 1990, 1993 and 1997* (Islamabad: Government Printing Press, 1997).

On other seats of central NWFP, IJI supported ANP to defeat the PPP candidates. In southern NWFP IJI put five candidates and won only one seat from NA-20 Bannu-II with close margin of JUI-F (Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam Fazal-ur-Rehman Group) candidate.. ANP supported IJI candidates in southern NWFP during these elections. In Hazara, IJI put six candidates but could win four seats from NA-11 Abbottabad-1, NA12-Abbottabad-II, NA-13 Abbottabad-III and NA-15 Mansehra-II. In northern NWFP, IJI put six candidates but only two could win from NA-21 Swat-1, and NA-24 Chitral. In 1993 elections, IJI had majority of voters in rural, rural/urban constituencies as indicated in table 7.5.

In 1993 elections, IJI split coalition PML-N got ten seats out of twenty six National Assembly seats. In central NWFP PML-N did not contest election due to the electoral coalition with ANP. In southern NWFP, it could win three seats from NA-9 Kohat, NA-19 Bannu and NA-21 Lakki Marwat cum Bannu out of five contested seats. In northern NWFP, PML-N candidate Mian Gul Aurangzeb (NA-21 Swat-1) won elections. PML-N got one seat out of five contested seats. In Hazara region of NWFP, PML-N won six seats out of seven contested seats. Majority of vote bank during 1993 elections lies in rural, rural/urban parts of NWFP.

In 1997 elections, Nawaz Shrif was the Prime Minister, that is why Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) PML-N did so well in NWFP. PML-N got fifteen seats with average votes of 35.18 per cent. In Northern NWFP, it won all five contested seats from NA-21 Swat-I, NA-22 Swat-II, NA-24 Chitral, NA-25 Upper Dir cum Lower Dir, NA-26 Malakand Protected Area cum Lower Dir. In NA-23 Bunair-cum-Shangla (Old Swat-II), PML-N supported ANP candidate Abdul Matin Khan under seat adjustment policy in this constituency. In Central NWFP, PML-N contested only one seat from NA-8 Swabi but defeated by ANP candidate. In southern NWFP, PML-N contested five seats and won four seats from NA-9 Kohat cum Hangu, NA-18 D.I Khan cum Tank-Kulachi (Old D.I Khan), NA-19 Bannu (Old Bannu-I) and NA-20 Lakki Marwat cum Bannu. PML-N candidate was defeated by ANP candidate from NA-10 Karak during 1997 election. PML-N contested seven seats from Hazara region and won six seats from NA-11 Abbottabad cum Haripur (old Abbottabad-1), NA-12 Abbottabad cum Haripur-II (Old Abbottabad-II), NA-13 Haripur, NA-14 Mansehra-1, NA-15 Mansehra cum Haripur (Old Mansehra-II), NA-16 Battagram cum Mansehra (Old Mansehra-III). PML-N defeated constituency was NA-17, where Mr. Aurangzeb Khan, an independent candidate defeated PML-N candidate Maulana Abdul Baqi. IJI voters were from rural and rural/urban localities of NWFP as indicated in above table 7.5.

In 1988 elections, the ANP won only two seats out of the total of eight seats it contested from NWFP. The constituencies where it won elections were from central NWFP, i.e. NA-5 Charsada, where Khan Abdul Wali Khan won with majority of votes and NA-8 where Abdul Khaliq Khan won ANP seat. In southern NWFP ANP contested four seats from NA-9 Kohat, NA-10 Karak, NA-19 Bannu-I and NA-20 Bannu-II, with average votes of 5.84 per cent but could not win any seat. In Hazara region, ANP candidate Mr. Muhammad Siraj contested election from rural

background constituency NA-17 Kohistan and could not win seat. ANP three candidates contested elections from rural/urban constituencies of NA-22 Swat-II, NA-23 Swat-III and NA-25 Dir with average of 14.26 per cent of votes but could not win any seat. In the 1990 elections, ANP won six seats, and all six were from central NWFP. The constituencies of central NWFP where it won seats were NA-1 Peshawar-I, NA-2 Peshawar-II, NA-3 Peshawar cum Nowshera, NA-4 Nowshera, NA-6 Mardan-I and NA-8 Swabi.

Table 7.6: ANP Urban, Urban/Rural and Rural NWFP Election Results on National Assembly seats:

	Urban		Urban/Rural		Rural		Total	
	%age	seats	%age	seats	%age	seats	%age	Seats
1988 Elections								
North	12.4	0	13.6	0	18.6	0	14.26	0/6
Central	41.8	1/1	40.5	1/1	32.2	0	37.47	2/8
South	4.6	0	8.2	0	7.4	0	5.84	0/5
Hazara	0.72	0	0.93	0	1.5	0	0.82	0/7
Total/Avg	14.88	1	15.81	1	14.93	0	14.6	2/26
1990 Elections								
North	1.2	0	1.6	0	0.9	0	1.69	0/6
Central	45.7	2/2	46.1	2/2	48.1	2/2	40.55	6/8
South	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0/5
Hazara	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0/7
Total/Avg	11.73	2	11.93	2	12.25	2	10.56	6/26
1993 Elections								
North	3.8	0	5.9	0	10.2	1/1	4.73	1/6
Central	45.2	1/1	48.3	1/1	40.1	0	39.52	2/8
South	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0/5
Hazara	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0/7
Total/Avg	12.25	1	13.55	1	12.58	1	11.06	3/26
1997 Elections								
North	15.3	0	14.8	0	20.4	1	12.95	1/6
Central	45.8	2/2	46.7	2/2	61.8	4/4	51.71	8/8
South	7.8	0	10.8	1/1	6.3	0	4.76	1/5
Hazara	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0/7
Total/Avg	17.23	2	18.08	3	22.13	5	17.36	10/26

Source: Data calculated from Election Commission of Pakistan, *General election Report Vol. II: Comparative Statistics For General elections 1988, 1990, 1993 and 1997* (Islamabad: Government Printing Press, 1997).

From Hazara and southern NWFP, it could not contest elections due to weak political support, however from the northern NWFP, ANP contested only one seat from NA-23 Swat-III and defeated by PDA candidate. In 1993 elections, ANP got only three seats from whole of NWFP, one from northern NWFP and two from central NWFP. ANP contested seven constituencies but won only two, i.e. NA-3 Peshawar cum Nowshera (Arbab Muhammad Zahir) and NA-5 Charsada (Asfandyar Wali Khan). In northern NWFP, ANP contested one seat from NA-23 Buner cum Swat and won it. ANP won these seats from rural, urban/rural areas. From southern and Hazara region, ANP put no candidate for electoral contest. In 1997 elections, ANP won ten seats, all eight from central NWFP and one from southern and one from northern NWFP. In these elections ANP won urban and rural constituencies from central NWFP, while rural constituency of northern NWFP. i.e. NA-23 Buner cum Shangla. The urban/rural constituency of southern NWFP, where ANP won seat is NA-10 Karak. In 1988

elections, JUI-F, a leading religious party won four seats, one from central NWFP and three from their base camps of southern NWFP. In central NWFP, JUI-F contested on one seat from NA-7 Mardan-II and its candidate Haji Muhammad Ahmad won the elections.

Table 7.7: JUI-F/Religious Urban, Urban/Rural and Rural NWFP Election Results on National Assembly seats.

	Urban		Urban/Rural		Rural		Total	
	%age	seats	%age	seats	%age	seats	%age	Seats
1988 Elections								
North	12.1	0	13.5	0	16.1	0	10.56	0/6
Central	4.2	0	6.8	0	16.3	1	3.95	1/8
South	31.4	0	35.2	1	37.1	2	32.46	3/5
Hazara	5.5	0	6.9	0	8.8	0	5.34	0/7
Total/Avg	13.3	0	15.6	1	19.58	3	13.08	4/26
1990 Elections								
North	18.4	0	20.2	0	22.1	0	14.43	0/6
Central	13.2	0	15.8	0	38.1	1	19.83	1/8
South	8.8	0	12.2	0	42.4	1	32.78	1/5
Hazara	5.8	0	8.2	1	41.4	1	8.53	2/7
Total/Avg	11.55	0	14.1	1	36	3	18.89	4/26
1993 Elections								
North	37.4	0	43.2	1	45.4	1	36.54	PIF2/6
Central	20.1	0	16.5	0	42.1	1	19.77	IJM-1/8
South	16.22	0	30.1	1	40.1	1	21.71	2/5
Hazara	12.1	0	17.2	0	20.6	0	13.61	0/7
Total/Avg	21.5	0	26.75	2	37.05	3	22.91	5/26
1997 Elections								
North	8.5	0	10.1	0	12.4	0	4.65	0/6
Central	9.1	0	12.4	0	15.2	0	8.11	0/8
South	22.8	0	28.9	0	30.2	0	17.66	0/5
Hazara	10.2	0	12.6	0	15.3	0	7.05	0/7
Total/Avg	12.65	0	16	0	18.28	0	9.37	0/26

Source: Data calculated from Election Commission of Pakistan, *General election Report Vol. II: Comparative Statistics For General elections 1988, 1990, 1993 and 1997* (Islamabad: Government Printing Press, 1997).

In southern NWFP, JUI-F contested four seats from NA-10 Karak, NA-18 D.I. Khan, NA-19 Bannu-I, NA20 Bannu-II and won all except NA-20 Bannu-II. In Hazara region JUI-F contested on NA-14 Mansehra-I, NA-15 Mansehra-II, NA-16 Mansehra-III and NA-17 Kohistan but could not win any seat. From northern NWFP, JUI-F contested on NA-21 Swat-I, NA 22 Swat-II, NA-23 Swat-III and NA-26 Malakand Protected area cum Dir having average votes 10.56 percent but could not win any seat. In 1990 elections, JUI-F won four seats, one from central NWFP, one from southern and two from Hazara region of NWFP. JUI-F contested from central NWFP on NA-2 Peshawar-II, NA-3 Peshwar cum Nowshera, NA-4 Nowshera, NA-5 Charsada, Na-6 Mardan-I, NA-7 Mardan-II, NA-8 Swabi. JUI-F candidate From NA-5 Charsada, Molvi Hassan Jan defeated Wali Khan (ANP) and won the elections. In southern NWFP, JUI-F contested five seats from NA-9 Kohat, NA-10 Karak, NA-18 D.I Khan, NA-19 Bannu-I, NA-20 Bannu-II and won only one seat from NA-19 Bannu-I where Moulvi Ali Akbar won the seat. In northern NWFP, JUI-F contested all six seats from NA 21 Swat-I, NA 22 Swat-II, NA 23 Swat-III, NA 24 Chitral, NA

25 Dir and NA-26 Malakand protected area cum Dir with 14.43 per cent of votes in rural and urban/rural areas but could not win any seat. In Hazara region, JUI-F contested five seats from NA-13 Abbottabad-III, NA-14 Mansehra-I, NA-15 Mansehra-II, NA-16 Mansehra-III and NA-17 Kohistan and won two seats from NA-16 and NA-17 where JUI-F candidates Alam Zeb Khan and Molvi Muhammad Amin won election respectively. In 1993, Religious Parties Alliance PIF and MDM contested elections. Here in this study another religious party IJM is also included in same category to analyse the religious vote in 1993 elections. Religious parties won five seats during 1993 elections, two from north, one from centre and two from south. In northern NWFP, religious parties contested from NA-21 Swat-I, NA-22 Swat-II, NA-23 Buner cum Swat, NA-24 Chitral, NA-25 Dir and NA-26 Malakand Protected Area cum Dir and won two seats from NA-24 Chitral where Maulana Abdul Rahim won election and NA-25 Dir where Sahibzada Fathullah won elections. In central NWFP, religious parties contested all seven seats but could win one from NA-8 Swabi where Qazi Maulana Fazlullah won elections. From southern NWFP, Religious parties contested five seats and won two seats from NA-10 Karak and NA-18 DI. Khan cum Tank. In Hazara region, Religious parties contested five seats and could not win any seat. Majority of vote bank of religious parties were in rural/urban areas of NWFP. In 1997 religious parties could not win any seat from NWFP; however its candidates contested for four seats from Hazara, five seats from south and four seats from northern NWFP. The average votes of religious parties during 1997 elections were 9.37 per cent mostly in rural areas where local imam Masjids and Madaras were the supporters of religious parties.

7.8 ANALYSIS OF CONSTITUENCY RESULTS IN URBAN-RURAL NWFP

7.8.1 URBAN CONSTITUENCY RESULTS: There are fifty five urban localities in NWFP, including five in northern NWFP, seventeen in southern NWFP, twenty three in central NWFP and ten in Hazara.³⁸ Central NWFP is the most urbanized region of NWFP. Table 3, illustrates the precipitous decline in support for the PPP in its former political stronghold in the urban constituencies of the NWFP i.e. from Peshawar and Mardan. In 1970, the PPP swept the polls in urban constituencies of Mardan and Peshawar winning one provincial and one National assembly seat. PPP won one provincial assembly seat from rural constituency of Malakand area in 1970 elections. By 1988-97, its urban support had dropped to 24.5 per cent in 1988 to 12.3 percent in 1997. The winning seats were also decreased in Urban and rural areas of

NWFP during 1988-1997. It further decline to 10.2 per cent of the vote in 1997 proved disastrous for the PPP as it was unable to win a single NA seat from urban areas and rural areas of NWFP. In 1990 and 1993, the PPP did better in the urban areas of central NWFP than in the other regions of the province, although its percentage of the vote fell in each successive election. Between 1988 and 1993 the PPP's support declined in the urban northern NWFP. In 1993, the PPP-PML (J) received its satisfactory urban results in southern NWFP, which was the only urban region to show an improvement over the PPP's 1990 result. Even more striking than the PPP's decline in urban NWFP has been the rise in support for the PML (N) and ANP alliance. In 1997, Nawaz Sharif was in power, therefore his seats in NWFP had better results. The PML (N) made a clean sweep in Northern, southern and Hazara region of NWFP and ANP won all National Assembly seats from central NWFP including major cities of Peshawar, Mardan, Charsada, Swabi and Nowshera. Table-4 illustrates how the PML (N)'s support in urban constituencies increased from 27.16 per cent in 1988, to 35.18 per cent in 1997. The 1993 result was even better than the IJI's result in the 1990 elections which were widely believed to have been rigged. From 1988 to 1997 the PML (N) increased its share of the urban seats it won from one to four. In 1988 and 1990 it got one urban seat while in 1993 and 1997, it won three and four urban seats respectively. Table 7.5 also reveals regional variations in urban support for the PML (N). The party's best result has consistently been in Hazara region of NWFP, reflecting the strong electoral support for the party as well as for its Haripur, Abbottabad and Mansehra city candidates. In both northern and southern NWFP urban support for the PML (N) increased between 1988 to 1997.

Table 7.6 illustrates the strength of ANP in urban areas of NWFP. ANP urban vote strength fluctuated during 1988-1997. In 1988, ANP got 14.88 percent votes from urban NWFP and in 1990 it decreased to 11.73 percent but in 1993 it gradually raised high from 12.25 percent to 17.23 percent in 1997. Table-6 illustrates the Religious Parties strength in different constituencies of NWFP. Religious parties votes tremendously fluctuated from 1988-1997 Religious parties' strength in urban parts of NWFP were not good. In 1988, Religious parties got 13.3 percent votes and in 1993 their vote's percentage decreased to 11.55 percent. In 1993 elections, their vote's percentage in urban areas went up to 21.5 percent and then again decreased to 12.65 percent in 1997 elections.

7.8.2 URBAN-RURAL CONSTITUENCY RESULTS: Ten constituencies were categories as ‘urban-rural’ in this study, in which approximately 25 to 50 percent of the votes were from the urban areas and the remaining from rural. These include the cities with a population of between 100,000 and 300,000 at the time of the 1998 census. The PPP-PML (J) and the PML (N)-ANP won approximately the same percentage of votes in these mixed constituencies in 1993, although the former won ten seats and the latter only six. In 1997, the PML-N-ANP did better than the PPP had in previous elections, winning 43.2 percent of the vote. It did particularly well in central NWFP where it won all urban/rural constituencies. Although the percentage did increase from 34.1 per cent in 1988 to 41.4 in 1997, the ANP also increased its support from 15.81 per cent in 1988 to 18.08 per cent in 1997. This was still more than 6 per cent greater support than PML-N received in the urban constituencies. The weaker PPP and the stronger PML-N-ANP performance in the mixed rather than the urban constituencies is explained by the fact that in most cases the rural votes outnumbered the urban votes, in thus the PML(N)’s urban advantage was partially neutralized where ANP got maximum votes.

7.8.3 RURAL CONSTITUENCY RESULT: In NWFP total rural localities in 1988 were 7335, in which 2610 were in Northern NWFP, 1164 in southern NWFP, 916 in central NWFP and 2645 in Hazara. The most ruralised area is Hazara.³⁹ In 1997, the contest for urban NWFP was decisively won by the ANP. Rural NWFP, where 15 of the NWFP’s 26 National Assembly constituencies were at stake, was more closely contested and won by PML-N. The PPP could not win any seat from rural NWFP. Furthermore, between 1988 and 1997, the PPP consistently lost support in the rural constituencies and gained support in the rural constituencies. The PML (N), on other hand, consistently gained in both categories. In rural constituencies of southern NWFP and Hazara, electoral positions of Religious parties were strong as indicated in above tables.

7.9 CONCLUSIONS

In electoral politics of NWFP there are considerable regional differences in the rural results. The region where an urban-rural divide is clear is in Hazara, Northern and southern NWFP where the PML-N had lead over the PPP in the rural areas in 1988-97. Electoral democracy in NWFP largely depends on rural areas and rural stakeholders dominated political structure. The urban middle classes have generally prospered under electocratic governments for whom maintaining stability in urban

areas is of prime importance. Democratic governments, seeking to win elections from NWFP, must turn for support to rural elites who can influence the voting behaviour of the majority of voters living in rural areas. But socio-economic and demographic trends ensure that the importance of urban areas will continue to grow relative to rural areas.⁴⁰

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