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ELECTORAL POLITICS: A HISTORICAL (1947-1997) REVIEW OF MIANWALI, PAKISTAN

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Abstract

This study elaborates the electoral politics of district Mianwali with historical background starting from the colonial era. The study finds out main political forces of the area which determined the course of electoral successes during different situations. The factors like *Biradari* politics, local grouping, and affiliations with political parties in the electoral scenario of the district were also examined in this study. The outcome of the study is that in one part of the area the Rokhari family kept the control of electoral politics despite the presence of strong attachment with religious leader AbdusSattarNiazi and in the other part the religious factor remained influential.

Key words: Family Politics, Religious Voting, Elections, Rokharis,

Historical Background of Electoral Politics in Mianwali

The British rulers introduced concept of parliament as Legislative Council in 1861 but it only in Madras and Bombay. It had two local nominees, one from each communities Muslims and Hindus (Indian, 1861). In next phase, the council was formed in Bengal in 1863 and in United Provinces in 1866 but Punjab remained under strict authoritarian rule without any consultative body until 1897. These 36 years might be called as dark rule in Punjab under British authorities. In 1897, Punjab prospered to get an eyewash nine members' council without any local representation. All the members were nominated by the Lieutenant Governor with the consultation of the Governor General. There were 41 nominees remained member of the council during 1897 to 1909 (PA, 1897).

The concept of legislative council until 1909 was remained just a nominated body at provincial level. There was no concept of legislative council or consultative body at central level before the Minto-Marley reforms introduced in 1909 (Yadav, 1981). The Government of India Act 1909 was enforced which provided the provision a legislature at central level. The Central Legislature was comprised of 60 members, out of which 33 were nominated while 27 would be elected. The Punjab had only one seat in central legislature while provincial legislature Punjab had 24 seats but only five would be elected and 19 were nominated (Government, 1909).

PA (1910) presented a view that, the number of the members in Punjab Legislature remained fluctuated according to the will of the Lieutenant Governor. During 1910-1912, the Punjab Legislative Council (PLC) was presided by the Sir Louis William Dane and there were 32 members in council during this period. The scenario was clarified by PA (1913) that during 1913-1916, the PLC was presided by Sir Louis William Dane (Jan 1913 to April 1913) and Michael Francis O'Dwyer (September 1913 to April 1916) while there were 37 members in council during this period.

The council was reconstituted again in June 1916. Michael Francis O'Dwyer presided the council from June 12, 1916 to April 07, 1919 and Edward Douglas Maclagan presided the council during November 10, 1919 to April 06, 1920. During this period, there were 45 members in council including Nawab Bahram Khan Mazari, Raiszada Bhagat Ram, Diwan Daulat Rai, Chaudhari Lal Chand, Khan Sahib Ikram Ullah Khan, Khan Bahadur Amin Khan, Mian Fazl-i- Hussain, Risaldar Partap Singh, Makhdoom Rajan Shah, Rai Bahadur Ram Saran Das, Sundar Singh Mujithia, Zulfiqar Ali Khan and Khawaja Yousaf Shah (PA, 1916).

General Elections 1921 to 1934

The Montagu Chelmsford reforms 1919 introduced considerable structural and functional changes in administrative and legislature bodies. First time the Bicameral Parliament at federal level was initiated. The upper house (The Council of State) was encompassed with 60 members (27 nominated by governor and 33 elected) while the legislative assembly containing 145 adherents (42 nominees and 103 elected). The Punjab had four members representation in the Council of the State and twelve in legislative council (Mitra, 1921).

The first general elections in Mianwali were held in December 1920 for a single provincial and proportional seat of central legislature. For the provincial seat 3282 registered voters had to elect the representative from Mianwali (Yadav, 1981). PA (1921) proved that Nawab Sailfullah Khan, Nawab of Isakhel, was the first ever elected member of PLC from Mianwali. He secured 1063 out of the polled 43 percent votes. The contesting candidates Khan Bahadar Ata Muhammad Khan secured 224 while Khan Hamid Ullah Khan gained just seven votes (Yadav, 1981). For the central legislature, Mianwali district was jointed with Attock, Shahpur and Jhang in the constituency of North-West Punjab. The 55 percent votes polled out of

registered 3579, Ahmed Bakhsh Khan won the contest scoring 1423 while Ghulam N. Khan 253 and M. Amir Khan gained 76 votes (Yadav, 1981).

In the general elections of 1923 and 1926, Nawab Saifullah Khan was re-elected unopposed. In 1923, Ghulam Abbas won the contest of central legislature having 1661 votes against his single contender Allah Bakhsh Khan, 1589. In 1926, Hussain Shah won the contest and defeated Khan Sahib Chaudhary Ghulam Hussain and Ghulam Abbas. In 1930, Lieutenant Muzaffar Khan, who had served significantly in the first world war for British Army was elected unopposed Member Punjab Legislature from Mianwali. He participated in elections for the first time and none of the so-called influential figures tried to contest against him. Sheikh Fazal Haq Piracha won the contest of central legislature. Faiz Ahmed and Sultan Ali were contesting candidates. The elections for the provincial legislature were not held in 1934 and tenure of the council was extended while the Central Legislative Council election was won once again by Sheikh Fazal Haq Piracha who bagged 3173 votes. His contestant Captain Malik Mumtaz Muhammad Khan secured 2922 votes (Yadav, 1981).

General Elections 1937

The change in system was introduced in 1935 and Punjab Legislative Council (PLC) was changed into Punjab Legislative Assembly (PLA). Number of members of Assembly was raised to 175. The Assembly contained 42 General, 84 Muhammadans, 31 Sikhs and 18 special seats. Average number of voters per territorial constituency was about 16000 in Punjab whereas in Madras it was 33700 and in Bengal 32,000 (Government, 1935).

The general elections in Punjab were held in January 1937 and representation of Mianwali in provincial assembly was enhanced with two seats. The district was divided into two constituencies: Mianwali North and Mianwali South. Isakkhel and Mianwali tehsil remained in Northern

constituency while Bhakkar, Piplan and Wan Bhuchran in Southern electorate. The division of the constituencies changed the electoral scenario of the district and new families appeared in the electoral arena of the area. The elections were held in January 1937 and official results were announced in February. In the constituency Mianwali North, 15908 registered voters had to elect their representative in the Punjab Legislature. Ghulam Qadir Khan (Unionist Party) won the contest Bagging 5462 votes. His closest contender was Ghulam Hussain Khan secured 3287 votes. Nawab Saifullah Khan and Khan Akbar Khan was also in contest but could not gain handsome number of votes. In the Southern constituency, registered votes were 13305 and turn out remained 86.28 percent. The winner of the last contest in united constituency Malik Muzafar Khan (Unionist Party) bagged 5999 votes while Khan Sahib Abdullah Khan secured 5456 (Yadav, 1981). The results showed landslide victory of Unionist Party in the district.

General Elections 1945-46

Khalid & Anwar (2019) elaborated that the general election of 1945-46 were held in the scenario of freedom movement. The Muslim League was contesting the elections with the slogan of independence and partition of India. Punjab was the key battlefield of the independence movement. The Punjab Muslim League had significant support of prominent local politicians. A number of them were former Unionist but gathered in Muslim League with the demand of independence. Mehndi et al. (2009) stated that political and electoral scenario of Mianwali reflected the classical view of conflict between Muslim League and Unionist in Punjab. Muslim League won one seat with the margin of more than four thousand votes but defeated on second with difference of 270 votes.

During the general election 1946, there were total 19657 registered votes in the constituency Mianwali North, from which 63.13 percent were polled. The candidate of All India Muslim League, Khan Abdul Sattar Khan

Niazisecured 8310 while Unionist candidate Khaliqdad Khan bagged just 4081 votes. In the Mianwali South electorate, total registered votes were 29710 out of which 66.86 percent were polled. The nominee of Unionist Party, Khan Sahib Mir Muhammad Abdullah Khan of Piplan won the contest. He bagged 10049 votes while candidate of Muslim League Amir Muhammad Khan Rokharisecured 9772 votes(Yadav, 1981).

Former senator and important figure of Mianwali's politics, Amir Abdullah Khan Rokharihad claimed in his autobiography, Rokhari (1989), that he was the candidate of Muslim League in 1946 elections and won the contest.Yadav (1981) clarified that Amir Abdullah Khan Rokhari was candidate in the 1946 elections against Khan Bahadur Amir Abdullah Khan of Piplan and was defeated. The official record of Punjab Assemblydid also not supportthe claim of Amir Abdullah Rokhari. PA (1947) explained that that Khan Bahadur Amir Abdullah Khan was the winning candidate and remained member of the Punjab Assembly till January 25, 1949. It is proved by record that Amir Abdullah Khan Rokhri could not reach in the legislature in 1946 contest and his claim in this regard is not proved by facts and record.

General Election of 1950s

After independence, the populace of Pakistan had to wait for four years for general elections, but it was just Provincial Assembly contest and national level poll was not held during the 1947 to 1958, when the first Martial Law was promulgated. The first adult franchise provincial assemblies' election was held in March 1951. It was the first electoral experience for Punjab as well as for Pakistan after the independence from British rule. The general elections of Punjab Assemblies were scheduled in 1949 after termination of assembly but could not be held intime.The first ever general election in Punjab was held in Punjab in 1951 (Kamran, 2009).

The delimitations were made before the elections and 197 general seats were demarcated. The election was held on adult franchise and there were more than 10 lac voters around the province. There were seven political parties in the competition who nominated their representatives from all the constituencies. Eight contesters won unopposed while 939 competitors contended from 189 constituencies. The turnover remained less than 30 percent (Mussarat& Ibrahim, 2015). It was the first time that Amir Abdullah Khan Rokhari reached in the Punjab legislature. In this contest Mianwali had six constituencies of provincial assembly. None of the nominee of Muslim League could win from the district. Amir Abdullah Khan Rokhari and his two companions Muhammad AfzalDhandhra and FatehSher won with the ticket of Jinnah League while Abdul Sattar Khan Niazi, Nawab of Kala Bagh Malik Amir Muhammad Khan and Malik Muzafar Khan won as independent candidates (PA, 1951).

Since the first ever election after independence, the politics of Mianwali remained circling around these personalities and their allies. In the West Pakistan Provincial Assembly (1956 to 1958), Amir Abdullah Khan Rokhari, Malik Amir Muhammad Khan, Khan Muhammad Afzal Khan and Captain Malik Muzaffar Khan represented the Mianwali (PA, 1956).

General Elections 1960s

In 1962 the West Pakistan Provincial Assembly of 155 Members was elected by BD Members and was formed on June 9, 1962 (Awan, 2014). Maulana Abdul Sattar Khan Niazi and Malik Muzaffar Khan, son of Malik Amir Muhammad Khan of Kalabagh contested for National Assembly seat. MaulanaNiazi had huge public support but was defeated in the election by votes of Electoral College and Malik Muzaffar became member (Naseem&Mojahid, 2020). AmanUllah Khan Shahani and Hamidullah Khan represented the Mianwali in West Pakistan Provincial Assembly during June 1962 to June 1965 (PA, 1962). Malik Muzaffar was elected again in 1965 and

became member of fourth National Assembly during 1965 to 1969 (NA, 1965). Aman Ullah Khan Shahani and Gul Hameed Khan Rokhari represented Mianwali in West Pakistan Provincial Assembly during 1965 to 1969 (PA, 1965).

General Elections 1970s

The first ever general elections of National Assembly of Pakistan on adult franchise were held on December 07, 1970 (Dawn, 1970). Mianwali had two seats in National Assembly in these elections. In NA-44 Mianwali-I, total number of votes were 248205 and 149702 were polled. Nawabzada Malik Muzaffar Khan (Independent candidate) remained victorious securing 53202 votes, Maulana Abdul Sattar Khan Niazi (JUP) bagged 47993, Khan Sahib Amir Abdullah Khan (PML-Con) got 39644 and Abdul Karim (PPP) gained 4928 votes. In NA-45 Mianwali-II, total number of votes was 211979 out of which 154589 were polled. Ghulam Hussain Dhandhla (PML-Con) won the contest bagging 56379 votes, Amanullah Khan (JUP) got 52729, Siraj Uddin (JUI) gained 20615, Muzaffar Abbas Zaidi (PPP) got 11791 and Haq Nawaz Khan (JI) secured 6130 votes (Electionpakistani, 2020).

In general elections 1970, there were four constituencies of Punjab Assembly in Mianwali. In PP-40 Mianwali-1, Amir Abdullah Khan Rokhari (PML-Con) won the contest scoring 24669 votes, Khan Sahib Amir Abdullah Khan (PML-Q) bagged 14363, Ahmed Khan (JUP) 1017, Khizar Hayat (PPP) 739, Ali Muhammad (JI) gained 395 votes. In PP-41 Mianwali-II, independent candidate, Abdul Majeed Khan Faqir won the contest scoring 43623 votes, Hafeez Ullah Khan (PPP) got 3775, Muhammad Afzal (JUI) 3549, Ghulam Muhammad (JI) gained 1837 votes. In PP-42 Mianwali-III, Captain Ahmed Nawaz Khan (PML-Con) won the contest having 33673 votes, Nazar Abbas (PPP) secured 18289, Muhammad Abdullah (JUI) gained 8750, Muhammad Sadiq (JUP) 5770, Muhammad Dilbar (JI) gained 1852 votes. In PP-43 Mianwali-IV, Khan Sahib Taj Muhammad Khan (JUP) won

the contest bagging 34155 votes, Aurangzeb (PML-Con) secured 31744, Hafiz Mumtaz Ali (JUI) got 7024, Hafiz Abdul Ghafoor (PPP) 5407, Sher Muhammad (NAP-W) 763, Ghulam Musa Saggo (PDP) gained 719 votes (Electionpakistani, 2020).

After the completion of tenure, the National Assembly was dissolved, and general elections were held on March 07, 1977. The delimitations were made throughout Pakistan after separatism of East Pakistan and constituencies in Mianwali were also changed in geographical boundaries and in numbering (ECP, 1977).

In NA-61 Mianwali-I, total registered votes were 187026 and polled 113512. Nawabzada Maik Muzaffar Khan (PPP) won the contest, scoring 61167 votes while Maulana Abdul Sattar Khan Niazi (PNA) got 52345 votes. In NA-61 Mianwali-II, total registered voters were 189791 and 162563 were polled. Amir Abdullah Khan Rokhri (PPP) won the seat having 89283 votes, while Maulana Abdul Sattar (PNA) secured 73280. In NA-62 Mianwali-III, total registered votes were 179722 and 117578 were vote polled. Ghulam Hussain Khan Dhandhla (PPP) won the contest getting 81278 votes, while Maulana Abdullah (PNA) bagged 33152 and Malik Allah Nawaz (Independent) secured 3148 votes (ECP, 1977). All three seats were earned by PPP. The winning candidates were the influential politicians of the area and they had been victorious in various elections since the democratic system arrived in area.

General Elections under Zia Regime

Zia regime announced election in 1985 on non-party base but opposition parties including PPP boycotted the poll. Regime had held the elections, but the Martial Law was not yet lifted (Mussarat & Ibrahim, 2015). During the elections of 1985 in NA-62 Mianwali-I, total register voters were 106495 and 102551 were polled, Maqbool Ahmad Khan won that election scoring 64875, while Nawabzada Malik Muzaffar Khan bagged 33449 and

Ahmad Khan got 4227 votes. In NA-62 Mianwali-II total register voters were 214230 and 131545 were polled. Dr. Sher Afghan Khan Niazi won the seat having 61924 votes, while Aamir Hayat Khan Rokhrisecured60955 and Haji Ghulam Muhammad got 8666 votes (ECP, 1985).

As for the provincial assembly election there were four constituencies in Mianwali. In PP-50 Mianwali-I, GhulamRasool Khan won the contest having 20887 votes, while Sultan Salahuddin got 15015, Mir Khan Khattak 3619, Atta RasoolKanju 1309, Malik Waheed Khan 301 and Colonel Aslam Khan gained 237 votes. In PP-51 Mianwali-II, GulHameed Khan Rokhari won the contest having 31097 votes, while Rab Nawaz Khan got 2777, Akbar Khan 1335, Ameer Khan 719 and Malik Allah Yar Khan secured 343 votes. In PP-52 Mianwali III, Dr. Sher Afghan Khan Niazi won the contest bagging 17856 votes, while Malik Mumtaz Ahmad Bhachar gained 17199, Colonel Naseem Khan 11387 and Isba Khan 2143 votes. In PP53 Mianwali-IV, Malik GhulamShabirJoyia won the contest getting 17957 votes, while Ahmat Hayat Khan secured 17740, Faqeer Abdul Majid 13994 and Subtain Khan gained 1919 votes(ECP, 1985).

General Elections after Zia

After the demise of President Zia and before the Musharraf regime, four elections held for national and provincial assemblies. During this decade Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif elected Prime Ministers twice.

General Elections 1988

General Zia dissolved the assemblies as well as government in May 1988and announced fresh elections on non-party base (*Jang*, 1988). The elections were in process that General Zia died in August 1988 (*Dawn*, 1988). The elections were announced on non-party basis by the former President in July 1988 and new care-taker setup was going to hold as it was announced but meanwhile the Supreme Court left ban on political parties and directed to hold election on party basis (*News*, 1988).

The general elections 1988, seasoned politician Maulana Abdul Sattar Khan Niazi formed a political alliance in local context with the name of Pakistan Awami Ittehad (PAI). The poll was resulted as the victory of PAI in Mianwali, instead of mainstream political parties. In NA-53 Mianwali-I, the total registered votes were 229632 and polled 93809 (40.85%). Maulana Abdul Sattar Niazi (PAI) won the contest having 44847 votes, while Nawabzada Muzaffar Khan (independent) secured 25043, Maqbool Ahmad Khan (independent) 9994, Dr. Anwar Khan (PPP) 7693, Abdul Rehman Khan (independent) 1930, Haqdad Khan Niazi (independent) 1121, Asghar Aziz Khan Rokhari 247 and Gul Hameed Khan Rokhari (independent) bagged 186 votes. In NA-54 Mianwali-II, Dr. Sher Afghan Niazi (PAI) won the contest having 42699 votes, while Khan Amir Hayat Khan Rokhari (IJI) bagged 40477, Faqir Abdul Majid (PPP) 18629, Muhammad Tufail Raza (independent) 3757, Shafiq Haider Zaidi (independent) 1398, Haqdad Khan Niazi (independent) 1125 and Safdar Rasool (independent) secured 872 votes (ECP, 2000).

As for the provincial assembly contest in Mianwali, two seats were bagged by IJI and two independents. In PP-36 Mianwali-I, Ghulam Rasul Shadikhel won the contest getting 24233 votes, while Abdul Rehman Khan (independent) secured 13627, Sultan Salahuddin (independent) 9900, Sanaullah Khan (independent) 1402, Qazi Ameer Abdullah Khan (independent) 992 and Mumtaz Ahmed Khan secured (independent) 76 votes. In PP-37 Mianwali-II, Gul Hameed Khan Rokhri won the seat as an independent candidate getting 24293 votes, while Taj Muhammad Khan bagged (PPP) 15805, Tariq Abbas Khan (independent) 8722, Sayed Iqrar Hussain Khan (TNFJ) 4207, Shahid Hameed Khan (independent) 414, Qazi Ameer Abdullah Khan (independent) 159 and Asghar Aziz Khan Rokhari (independent) secured 65 votes. In PP-38 Mianwali-III, Muhammad Naseem Khan Niazi (independent) won the seat getting 23028 votes, while Mumtaz Ahmed Malik secured 12936, Malik Muhammad Muzaffar (independent) 7513, Abdul Sattar Khan (PPP) 4901, Muhammad Mumtaz

Khan (IJI) 2612, Khan Amir Abdullah Khan (JUP-D) 2263, Sadar Khan (independent) 527, Sardar Rafiq Khan (independent) 430 and Muhammad Amir Malik (independent) secured 56 votes. In PP-39 Mianwali-IV, Malik Ghulam Shabir Joyia (IJI) won the contest having 22199 votes, while Ahmad Hayat Khan (independent) secured 21464, Muhammad Saeed Asadi (PAI) 8160, Muhammad Tufail Raza (independent) 2928, Malik Muhammad Altaf Wakil (PPP) 468 and Mureed Abbas (independent) bagged 303 votes (ECP, 2000a).

General Elections 1990

The general elections were held on 24 October 1990 (*News*, 1990). In this contest, both the seats of national assembly were won by IJI. In NA-53 Mianwali-I, total registered voters were 231736 and 101657 were polled. Maulana Abdul Sattar Khan Niazi (IJI) won the contest having 55848 votes, while Dr. Sher Afghan Khan Niazi (PDA) secured 31659, Muhammad Moazam-ud-Din Kazmi (independent) 8377, Major Khalid Qad Khan (independent) 2615, Gul Hameed Rokhari (independent) 1151 and Asghar Aziz Khan Rokhari (independent) bagged 627 votes. In NA-54 Mianwali-II, total registered votes are 223830 and 108743 were polled. Gul Hameed Khan Rokhari (IJI) won the contest having 69501 votes, while Dr. Sher Afghan Khan Niazi (PDA) bagged 34633, Dost Muhammad Bachar (independent) 1329, Asghar Aziz Khan Rokhari (independent) 855, Muhammad Yousaf Khan (independent) 373, Sardar Rafiq Khan (independent) 332 and Malik Ghulam Muhammad Kandi (independent) got 247 votes (ECP, 2000).

The results of Punjab Assembly contest showed majority of IJI in Mianwali on three seats and on one independent won the race. In PP-36 Mianwali-I, Ghulam Rasool Shadikhel (IJI) won the seat getting 29090 votes, while Abdul Rehman Khan (independent) bagged 23745, Muhammad Nawaz (independent) 780, Darya Khan (independent) 621, Amir Abdullah Khan (PDA) 254 and Asmat Ullah Khan (independent) secured 88 votes. In PP-37 Mianwali-II, Amir Hayat Khan Rokhari (IJI) won the contest getting 34640

votes, while Tariq Abbas Khan (PDA) secured 17297, Asghar Aziz Khan (independent) 630, Shahid Hamid Khan (independent) 314, Amir Abdullah Khan Salar (independent) 270 and Kifattulah Khan (independent) bagged 87 votes. In PP-38 Mianwali-III, GulHameed Khan Rokhri (IJI) won the contest having 12867 votes, while Amir Abdullah Khan Niazi (independent) secured 12077, Khan Amir Abdullah Khan (independent) 11920, Muhammad Munir Malik (independent) 7354, Haji Alam Sher (independent) 3724, Mian Ghulam Haider Malik (independent) 4004, Muhammad Saleem Akhter (independent) 2018, Atta Muhammad (independent) 1466, AmdulMajeed Khan (independent) 1377, Inayatullah Khan (independent) 335, Muhammad Yousaf Khan (independent) 270, Asghar Aziz Khan Rokhari (independent) 235, Sardar Rafiq Khan (independent) 79 and Dost Muhammad Bachar (independent) bagged 56 votes. In PP-39 Mianwali-IV, Muhammad Sibtain Khan (independent) was winner of the electoral race having 29852 votes, while Malik Ghulam Shabir Joyia (IJI) got 23881, Rab Nawaz Khan (independent) 1049, Muhammad Hussain Kandi (independent) 957, Zafar Mahmood Kandi (independent) 917, Muhammad Anwar (PAT) 494, Malik Alamgir (independent) 384 and Khursheed Ali Shah (independent) bagged 196 votes (ECP, 2000a).

General Elections 1993

The general elections were held on October 06, 1993 (*News*, 1993). In Mianwali mostly independent candidates were returned in this contest. In NA-53 Mianwali-I, Ubaidullah Shadikhel (independent) won the seat having 43345 votes, while GulHameed Khan Rokhri (independent) got 36261, Maulana Abdul Sattar Khan Niazi (PML-N) 15274, Maqbool Ahmed Khan Niazi (independent) 10364, Sadaqat Ullah Khan (PPP) 5259, Haji Adam Khan (independent) 522 and Major Haqdad Khan (independent) 225 bagged votes. In NA-54 Mianwali-II, Dr. Sher Afghan Khan Niazi (independent) won the contest getting 41941 votes, while Abdul Sattar Khan Niazi (PMLN) secured 30793, Humair Hayat Khan Rokhari (independent) 25508, Dr.

Muhammad Shakir (PIF) 11953, Haji Adam Khan (independent) 946 and Sardar Rafiq Khan (independent) bagged 314 votes(ECP, 2000).

The contest of provincial assembly remained balanced between PMLN and independents as both won two seats each. In PP-36 Mianwali-I, Abdul Rehman Khan Babli won the seat getting 32336 votes, while Haji Ghulam Rasool Khan secured 22546, Khawaja Aminuddin Sialvi (PPP) 1976, Shafallah Khan (independent) 892 and Haji Adam Khan (independent) bagged 406 votes. In PP-37 Mianwali-II, Ikram Ullah Khan (independent) won the contest having 31528 votes, while Aamir Hayat Khan Rokhari (independent) bagged 26567, Sadaqatullah Khan (PPP) 438 and Sardar Rafiq Khan (independent) gained 135 votes. In PP-38 Mianwali-III, Inam Ullah Khan Niazi (PMLN) remained winner scoring 14793 votes, while Mumtaz Ahmed Malik (independent) bagged 14120, Haji Amir Abdullah Khan Pannukhel (independent) 11992, Khan Amir Abdullah Khan Wattakhel (independent) 11718, Mian Riaz Ahmed Miana (independent) 7317, Amir Abdullah Khan Salar (PMLF) 120, Mian Ghulam Haider (independent) 77 and Sardar Rafiq Khan (independent) gained 73 votes. In PP-39 Mianwali-IV, Malik Ghulam Shabir Jayia (PMLN) won the contest having 20887 votes, while Faqir Abdul Majid Khan (independent) secured 18258, Khan Murid Mendhi Khan (independent) 11478, Haji Ziaullah Khan Pannukhel (independent) 6036, Syed Nasir Ali Shah (independent) 1199, Rab Nawaz Bachar (independent) 637, Muhammad Nasrullah (independent) 402, Khursheed Ali Shah (independent) 272, Abdul Qayyum Khan Pannukhel (independent) 162 and Allah Nawaz Khan (independent) bagged 32 votes(ECP, 2000a).

General Elections 1997

According to *News* (1996), the assemblies elected in 1993, were dissolved on 05 November 1996. The new elections were held on February 03, 1997 (*Dawn*, 1997). PML-N clean swept in the National Assembly contest in Mianwali by winning both the seats. In NA-53 Mianwali-II, Muhammad Maqbool Ahmad Khan (PMLN) out classed all the party as well as

independent candidates scoring 39147 votes, while UbaidUllah Khan Shadikhel(PML-Q) bagged 36201, Imran Khan (PTI) 17859, GulHameed Khan Rokhari(independent) 5650, Abdul Rehman Khan Babli (independent) 1831, Shaf Ullah Khan (independent) 488, Mursaleen Khan Khattak (independent)379 and Sardar Rafiq Khan (independent) bagged 171 votes. In NA-54 Mianwali-II, InamUllahNiazi won the contest having 53861 votes, while Huamair Hayat Khan Rokhri(independent) secured 29638, Dr. Sher Afghan Khan Niazi(PPP) 3640 and Sardar Rafiq Khan (independent) gained 1356 votes(ECP, 2000).

The contest for four Provincial Assembly seats remained balanced between independents and PMLN candidates. In PP-36 Mianwali-I, Haji GhulamHaider Khan (independent) won the contest having 17700 votes, while Altaf Ahmed Khan (PMLN) secured 12158, Abdul rehman Khan Babli(independent) 8294, Khalid Masood Khan (independent) 6036, MinarAhmed Khan Khattak(PTI) 3271, Haji Adam Khan Khattak(independent) 1094 and Shafaulah Khan (independent) bagged 322 votes. In PP-37 Mianwali-II, IkramUllah Khan (independent) won the seat having 17902, Aamir Hayat Khan Rokhari(independent) secured 15404, Haji Noor Khan (PMLN) 9669, Colonel Hasan Khan (PTI) 6353, Captain Haq Nawaz Khan (independent) 2786, Sardar Bahadur Khan (independent) 375, Muhammad Amir Awan (independent) 236 and Malik Allah Yar (independent) bagged 115 votes. In PP-38 Mianwali-III, Mumtaz Ahmed Malik (PMLN) remained winner scoring 26914 votes, while Amir Abdullah Khan Pannukhel (independent) got 15427, Colonel Nasim Khan (independent) 9295, Abdul Aziz Khan (NPP) 1896, Alamgir Khan (independent) 740, Colonel Aslam Khan (PTI) 440 and Malik Muhmmad Amir Bachar (independent) got 259 votes. In PP-39 Mianwali-IV, Malik GhulamShabirJoyia (PMLN) won the contest having 20252 votes, while Subtain Khan (independent) secured 15390, Allah Nawaz Khan (independent) 11179, Saeedullah Khan Sumbal (PTI) 3568, Rab Nawaz Bachar

(independent) 1450, Sahibzada Muhammad Safdar Shah (independent) 1310 and Syed Naseer Ali Shah (HPG) bagged 1147 votes(ECP, 2000a).

Conclusion

The results of different elections presented the dominance of independent candidates and residents of ruling corridors in electoral politics of the Mianwali. The electoral sphere of the Mianwali supported the independent candidates and most of the times mainstream political parties lost the contest of National and Provincial Assembly in Mianwali while independents gained victories. The election contests before independents totally remained in the hands of the candidates which had the support of ruling hallways. The situation was not changed after the independence, but the personalities were changed. In early days after independence Muslim League won the contest but later, the independents came in dominant position. The elections of the 1960s and 1970s won by the relatives of former Governor Punjab Malik Amir Muhammad Khan and their supporting candidates. As they felt position of PPP in public, they joined PPP to contest elections in 1977 but left the party when Bhutto was hanged. The electoral scenario of 1980s and 1990s totally remained in the hands of influential independents who managed the elections with the support of their Biradaris, groups and supporters. In the last contest of 20th century PMLN gained dominance but independence had also won the seats in that election too.

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