

Religious minorities in elections
**Equal in law,
not in practice**



Human Rights Commission of Pakistan

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Introduction

The purpose of monitoring the 2013 election in a few National Assembly constituencies where minority communities have sizeable voting strength was to assess the improvement or otherwise in the level of respect for the political rights of minority religious communities, especially in relation to their participation in general elections both as voters and as candidates, since the revival of the joint electorate system a decade ago. This because the apartheid-like system of separate electorates had not only deprived the minority communities of their right to take part in the governance of their country as full and equal citizens, it had also been one of the principal causes of discrimination against them in various fields of life. Obviously the minorities will start getting the due benefit of changes in the electoral system only when that cycle of discrimination against them could be effectively ended.

In order to fully appreciate the importance of the subject it is necessary to briefly recall the history of the separate electorates in the sub-continent and the consequences of following this system. As we will see later in this discussion the ghost of communalised politics still haunts the minority communities.

The idea of separate, or communal, voting lists was rooted in the fears of the Muslim community in India that in the British scheme of representative rule they would be reduced to the status of a permanent minority. As such they would not get their due share in elected assemblies. They demanded that Muslims should be allowed to elect their representatives through communal lists. This was one of the few political demands the colonial power conceded with exceptional alacrity. Subsequently they extended the system to Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Sikhs and under-privileged Hindus in Madras (now Tamilnadu).

The separate electorates system, under which seats in the central and provincial assemblies reserved for Muslims were filled by Muslim votes only and for that purpose their votes were registered on exclusive rolls, was introduced in 1909 and was retained in the Government of India Acts of 1919 and 1935.

However, separate electorates was never the unanimous demand of the Muslims of India. Many prominent Muslim politicians who had thrown their lot with Congress and other non-communal parties did not subscribe to the theory of separate electorates. Among the Muslim League leaders too there were differences of opinion on the subject. The party president, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, himself was in the beginning opposed to separate electorates and agreed to support them only for a limited period. In 1928 he offered to give up separate electorates if Muslims' basic political demands could be met.

The Nehru Committee that had been set up by an all-parties conference to draw up Indian proposals on the country's future constitution, and whose report was released in 1928, rejected the idea of separate electorates. This widened the divide between the Congress and the Muslim League. Still, in his 14-point charter of Muslim demands that he offered in 1929, Mr Jinnah appeared less rigid on the issue than others.

The fifth point in his charter said: "Representation of communal groups should continue to be based on separate electorates, *but the option to abandon separate electorates in favour of a joint electorate at any time should be given to every community.*" (Emphasis added)¹

Fewer ticket holders

In the area covered by the five National Assembly seats in Sindh, chosen for monitoring by HRCP in 2013, only seven candidates had been given party tickets;

NA228 Sohina Mal Oad (MQM)

NA 228 Lal Malhi (PTI; Also put on the reserved list).

NA229 Mangharam Bheel (MQM)

NA235 Dev Das (MQM)

PS 60 Mahesh Kumar Malani (PPPP): Elected

PS 61 Engineer Gianchand (PPPP)

PS 70 Poonjo Mal Bheel (MQM; Also included in the reserved list.)

Quite obviously, in Jinnah's view, separate electorate could be allowed to a community only if it wanted that system and it had a clear right to abandon the system whenever it so desired.

That separate electorates was a tactical choice in a particular situation became clear when Allama Iqbal, a staunch supporter of communal voting, expressed his willingness to accept joint electorate in Punjab if the non-Muslim majority Ambala Division could be excluded from the provincial territory that is, if the margin of Muslims' numerical superiority in the province could be raised.

The Muslim League leaders who had reservations on the Quaid-i-Azam's offer to give up separate electorates included H. S. Suhrawardy, one of the most popular leaders of the Muslim community in Bengal. In a strongly worded letter to the Quaid-i-Azam he argued that the objectives of communal electorates had not been realized. It was therefore necessary to continue the separate electorates system.²

The establishment of Pakistan in 1947 marked in Suhrawardy's view the realization of the purpose for which the Muslims had demanded the separate electorates. The heavy support the Muslim League candidates received in the 1945 (central) and 1946 (provincial) elections was taken as Indian Muslims', or at least the Muslim voters', overwhelming support for the demand for Pakistan. Thus, Suhrawardy demanded replacement of the separate electorates with joint electorate at the last meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim, held at Karachi in December 1947, where the organization was divided into two, one part each for Pakistan and India. Suhrawardy's plea was rejected because the

Quaid-i-Azam's Pakistani colleagues had persuaded him, against his will, that the time was not ripe for changing the League's policy on the electoral system or for throwing the party open to non-Muslims, or for having an opposition party even.³

While the institution of separate electorates was supposed to redress the main political concern of the religious minorities in India, it only pulled the majority and minority communities further apart. Indeed the issue of safeguards for minority communities became a major stumbling block to India's constitutional advance. For that reason while advancing its demand for the creation of independent states in the territories where the Muslims were in a majority, the Muslim League in its Lahore Resolution of 1940 demanded:

“That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units (*in the Muslim majority provinces*) and in these regions (*that were to become West Pakistan and East Pakistan*) for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interest *in consultation with them.*” (Emphasis added)⁴

Between 1940 and 1947, when Pakistan came into being, the Quaid-i-Azam on several occasions promised the members of religious minorities full citizenship rights in the state he was demanding. He put the issue beyond doubt in his address to the first session of the Constituent Assembly when he declared that in Pakistan all people would be equal citizens regardless of their belief as religion would have nothing to do with the business of the state.⁵

No general election was held in Pakistan under the Government of India Act 1935, that was used as the country's provisional constitution till March 1956, when the first indigenous constitution was enforced. The elections to the provincial assemblies of Punjab, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (then NWFP), Sindh, East Bengal and West Pakistan, between 1951 and 1956, were all held under the system of separate electorates.

During the discussion on the constitution bill that took the form of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan of 1956 the members from East Bengal demanded replacement of the separate electorates with joint electorate but no decision was possible and the matter was left to the provinces, since under the Act of 1935 franchise was a provincial subject. Article 145 of the 1956 constitution said:

“Parliament may, after ascertaining the views of the provincial Assemblies and taking them into consideration, by Act provide whether elections to the National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies shall be held on the principle of joint electorate or separate electorate, and in any such Act provide for all matters incidental and consequential thereto.”⁶

A general election under the new constitution was due to be held in 1958 but the provincial assemblies were unable to agree on

the franchise system. East Bengal, where non-Muslim citizens constituted a larger proportion of the population than in West Pakistan, opted for joint electorate and West Pakistan, where the non-Muslim population had been reduced to a tiny minority, chose to retain separate electorates.

The issue was decided in April 1958 when joint electorate was adopted as the mode of election for the whole country.

The Ayub regime (1958-69) scuttled the democratic experiment and deprived the people of their right to adult franchise, except for creating the electoral college for the election of the president. The constitution commission set up under the chairmanship of Justice Shahabuddin discussed the franchise system and came out in favour of separate electorates. However, one of the commission members, Sardar Habibullah Khan, favoured joint electorate. In his note of dissent, he said:

“I am definitely in favour of joint electorate as I think separate electorate *is the right of the minorities to ask and not majority to force*. Moreover, this matter has been decided by the provinces to which it concerns much and I think if this question is reopened, it will simply create difficulties and will not lead us to any practical solution.” (Emphasis added)⁷

Ayub Khan disregarded the commission's report and in the constitution he issued under his sole signature joint electorate was adopted as the mode of election and it was this system that was followed while the elections to the National and provincial assemblies were held in 1961 and 1964.

The Legal Framework Order issued by General Yahya Khan, as President and Martial Law Administrator, for the 1970 general election did not change the franchise. The 1977 general election was held on the basis of joint electorate and this system was not abandoned for the general election Gen Zia had planned for the autumn of 1978 but which was cancelled at an extremely short notice.

The 1956 and 1962 constitutions made no mention of the minority communities' representation although both provided for seats reserved for women.

The 1973 constitution, for the first time, made a provision for seats reserved for religious minorities in the provincial assemblies. The minorities included Christian, Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist and Parsi communities. In 1974, the Ahmedis, after having been declared to be outside the fold of Islam, were added to the list.

No seats were, however, reserved for the religious minorities in the National Assembly till 1975 when, through the Fourth Amendment to the constitution, six additional seats were created in the National Assembly for members of religious minorities. These minorities were identified as Christians; Hindus including scheduled castes; Sikh, Buddhist, Parsi communities and other non-Muslims; and Ahmedis. Nine seats were reserved for them in the four

provincial assemblies.⁸

All these non-Muslim members were to be elected by the provincial assemblies. The system of separate electorates was not revived.

The reservation of seats for religious minorities in the National Assembly in 1975 was seen as an after thought. In a sense it was but the authors of the 1973 constitution were probably influenced by the 1956 and 1962 precedents of excluding any reference to minorities. Besides it must be admitted that the PPP government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto believed that reservation of seats for the minorities and women was meant for a short period after which they should be able to contest general seats. Thus, seats were reserved for women for only 10 years.⁹ (Gen. Zia extended the period till after the third general election. As a result there were no reserved seats for women after the 1988 election and an amendment was needed to revive these seats.)¹⁰

Gen. Ziaul Haq (1977-1988) considered separate electorates an essential part of his plan to turn Pakistan into a theocratic state. Soon after postponing indefinitely the election he had promised to hold within 90 days he started working on plans to revive separate electorates.

He put this plan into effect by amending the basic law in 1985 to the effect that the National Assembly was to comprise 207 Muslim members, the seats for women were raised from 10 to 20 and those for the members of the minority communities from six to 10. The minorities' seats in the provincial assemblies were raised from 9 to 23. The system of separate electorates was revived.

General Musharraf altered the scheme of representation in the National and Provincial Assemblies vide the Chief Executive's Order 24 of 2002 (later validated under the 17th Amendment of 2003).

A minority candidate's view

Mr Dev Das, who contested as MQM candidate from NA 235 constituency, told HRCP, that it would be good for politics and for Pakistan as a whole if any political party could open its doors to non-Muslims; that would make democracy strong.

Asked whether a non-Muslim could easily become a member of a major political party, he said political parties generally welcomed into their fold only millionaires and billionaires.

Asked as to what steps should be taken by the government/ECP to increase the participation of non-Muslim Pakistanis in elections both as voters and candidates, Mr Dev Das said: "It is the responsibility of government to help the minorities realize their rights and protect their lives. Government must listen to the problems of minorities and find solutions. We have urged the government to hold the census again."

As regards media's attitude towards minorities' political rights, he said: "They are busy playing with the expression "Breaking News". If media could start a campaign regarding minorities' political rights, I am sure it will bring some positive change."

Mr Dev Das agreed that the feudal system did not grant the non-Muslim citizens due respect nor did it allow their political rights. The local feudals did not want any non-Muslim to stand in the same rows that they were in. Asked if land reform would help the minority communities in realizing their political rights, he said an effort had been made in Z. A Bhutto's tenure but there was no positive outcome.

The National Assembly was to comprise 272 general seats (open to contest by Muslims and non-Muslims alike) and 60 women, while the quota for the minority communities continued to be 10 seats in the National Assembly and 23 in the provincial assemblies.

The general elections of 2002, 2008 and 2013 were held on the basis of joint electorate. However, revival of joint electorate has not restored the electoral rights of all officially declared religious minorities. While Christians, Hindus, Sikhs and Parsis have been put on the common voters' lists the Ahmedis continue to be denied this right. They have called upon the Election Commission of Pakistan time and again to end this discrimination, which on the face of it is not sanctioned by law, but in vain. As a result the Ahmedis have declined to be enrolled as voters since 1985, when the system of separate electorates was implemented by Gen Ziaul Haq. Putting the Ahmedis on a separate electoral roll after the restoration of joint electorate is meaningless since a person's belief is no longer relevant for determining his entitlement to vote. So long as this discrimination continues elections in Pakistan will not pass the test of fairness.

The resurrection of separate electorates by Gen. Zia was a part of his grand design to turn Pakistan into a theocracy and the religious minorities were greatly affected. The Hudood laws and the blasphemy provisions of the Penal Code directly discriminated against the minorities. These measures deepened the division of citizens on the basis of belief. The minority communities' loss of political equality had an adverse effect on their rights in almost all spheres of life. Their right to join state services was curtailed. The small quota of seats in educational institutions became adverse as children belonging to religious minorities were denied admission on merit, the non-Muslim citizens could not get at hospitals the medicines donated out of Zakar funds, and their needs for prayer houses and graveyards in new housing settlements were ignored even if they were lucky to get plots for housing or business in these schemes. Moreover the Zia regime's emphasis on state sponsorship of Islamic rituals and their ostentatious observance increased marginalization of the religious minorities. The system of separate electorates came to be treated as a central feature of the ideology of the state and it had to be forced on the minorities even after they had taken to the streets to demand its abolition. It was only after a long struggle by human rights activists and organizations of religious minorities that the Musharraf regime agreed to do away with this relic of the colonial period.

The restoration of joint electorate was a desirable end in a limited sense. More importantly the measure was expected to enable the religious minorities to regain their rights that Ziaul Haq's drive for religiosity had compromised.

It will not be fair to say that the restoration of joint electorate has had no positive results. The first happy outcome was that Muslim candidates started contacting members of religious minorities

because now they needed their votes. At the same time members of minority communities became aware of their potential for playing a decisive role in constituencies where their votes matched the margin of victory of the successful candidates. Some even began hoping that the majority community's political parties would give them a chance to represent at least the constituencies where they had as many votes as the winners in the past had been polling. But these hopes have remained unrealised. This becomes clear from a look at the general elections held during 1988-2012.

Over the 25 years since Gen. Ziaul Haq's death in a plane crash four general elections were held (1988, 1990, 1993, 1997) under the scheme designed by him. Seats were reserved for non-Muslims in the National Assembly (10) and in the four provincial assemblies (23). These seats were divided into four categories Christians; Hindus and Scheduled Castes; Sikhs, Parsis and others; and Ahmedis described as Qadianis. For the National Assembly seats the whole country was the constituency and for a provincial assembly seats the whole province. The importance of political parties for these elections was obvious. But the so called mainstream (Muslim) parties took no interest, in minorities' representation. As a result many denominational parties and factions came into being. Most of them were weak and narrow-based and only a small number of candidates sought their help.

In the 1988 general election, out of the four Christians elected to the seats reserved for them in National Assembly only one had contested on a Christian party ticket, the other three were independent. Among the 24 candidates who lost only three had received party tickets. All the four Hindus, a Parsi and an Ahmedi elected to the National Assembly had taken the field as independent candidates. In the contest for 23 seats reserved for non-Muslims in the four provincial assemblies only one candidate (a Christian candidate in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa) had contested on a party ticket and all others won as independent candidates.

Minorities denied their due

A senior member of the Christian community, Dr Sabir Michael, Ph.D, said the minorities' role in the 2013 election was generally passive. They kept themselves aloof from the election, especially in Karachi.

There was immense pressure on minorities from the big political parties to vote for them. At places these parties did succeed in these efforts.

The minorities were confused about the method of voting. The Election Commission didn't take any visible steps to help and guide the minorities.

The media didn't pay any attention to minorities' concerns before the election. It didn't give the minority leaders any opportunity to project their case before their communities.

The political parties too didn't give the minority representatives due opportunity to contest on general seats.

According to Dr Michael, the political parties should nominate members of minorities to at least 10 per cent of the general seats. The minorities should be represented in the Senate and their seats in the National Assembly and provincial assemblies should be increased. They should also be given substantial portfolios as ministers instead of ceremonial assignments.

The 1990 election saw more non-Muslim parties putting up their candidates. They included two of the four Christians and one of the four Hindus elected to the National Assembly. Out of the 23 non-Muslims elected to the four provincial assemblies, three of the five Christian members in Punjab, one of the two Christians in Sindh, and one each Christian and Hindu members in Balochistan had been put up by their communal parties.

In the 1993 election, only two of the Christians elected to the National Assembly were backed by Christian parties, all the other eight members had contested as independent candidates. Out of the 23 seats reserved for non-Muslims in the four provincial assemblies, two of the five seats for Christians in Punjab, and one each of the two seats reserved for Christians and five for Hindus in Sindh were filled by party candidates.

In the 1997 general election again only two of the four Christians elected to the National Assembly had secured party tickets, all the remaining eight seats for non-Muslims were won by independent candidates. Out of the 23 seats reserved for non-Muslims in the four provincial assemblies, only one Christian member in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, two of the five Christian members in Punjab, one of the two Christian members and two of the five Hindu members in Sindh had won on party tickets.

General Pervaiz Musharraf (1999-2008) changed the system of minorities' representation. Their representatives were to be elected indirectly out of the lists submitted by political parties taking part in elections to the National and provincial assemblies. (candidates mentioned in lists submitted by political parties were to be elected in proportion to the number of seats won by these parties in the relevant assembly.)

In the 2002 and 2008 general elections the minorities' seats in the National Assembly were shared by political parties in the following manner:

| Election year | PML (Q) | Parties PPPP | MMA | PML-N | MQM |
|----------------------|----------------|-------------------------|------------|--------------|------------|
| 2002 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| 2008 | 2 | 4 | - | 3 | 1 |

The restoration of joint electorate in 2002, except for the Ahmedis, made it possible for members of religious minorities to contest the general seats (previously described as Muslim seats). This persuaded a large number of non-Muslim candidates in Sindh, the province where non-Muslim voters were present in considerable strength, to seek election on general seats.

In the 2002 election, five non-Muslim candidates sought election from three National Assembly seats in Sindh one from NA 210 Jacobabad 3, two from NA 228, Mirpur Khas 3, and two from NA

229, Tharparkar 1. Four of them stood as independent candidates while one (Kishan Chand Parwani, NA 228) had been given a ticket by the National Alliance. He polled more than 48,000 votes but lost by about 9,000 votes to a PPPP candidate.

In the 2008 election, eight non-Muslim candidates contested general seats from six general seats: NA 208 Jacobabad 1; NA 209 Jacobabad 2; NA 228 Mirpurs Khas 3; NA 229 Tharparkar 1; NA 231 Dadu 1; and NA 235 Sanghar-cum-Mirpur Khas-cum-Umarkot. Only three candidates had party tickets two from MQM and one from PPPP. The highest number of votes polled by a non-Muslim candidate from a general seat was 28,411 (Mahesh Kumar Mallani, PPPP)

There was much greater interest among the non-Muslim candidates to contest general seats in the Sindh provincial assembly.

In the 2002 election, 42 non-Muslim candidates sought election from 22 constituencies (Ghotki 2, Ghotki 3, Jacobabad 2, Nawabshah 5, Hyderabad 11, Badin 1, Badin 2, Badin 3, Tharparkar 1, Tharparkar 2, Tharparkar 3, Tharparkar 4, Mirpurkhas 2, Mirpurkhas 3, Mirpurkhas 4, Mirpurkhas 5, Mirpurkhas 6, Mirpurkhas 7, Dadu 2. Out of the 42 candidates only 13 had party tickets (MQM-4, PTI-3, PPPP-2, PPP(SB)2, NA-1, PML-Q-1), the rest were independent candidates.

In the 2008 election the number of non-Muslim candidates seeking election to the Sindh provincial assembly fell to 28. The constituencies were: PS 7 Ghotki 3; PS 14 Jacobabad 2; PS 41 Larkana-Cum-Kamber Shahdadt 2; PS 47 Hyderabad 3; PS 57 Badin 1; PS 60 Tharparkar 1; PS 61 Tharparkar 2; PS 62 Tharparkar 3; PS 63 Tharparkar 4; PS 65 Mirpur Khas 2; PS 67 Mirpur Khas 43; PS 68 Umarkot 1; PS 69 Umarkot-cum-Sanghar; PS 70 Umarkot 2; PS 72 Jamshoro 2; PS 79 Sanghar 2; PS 80 Sanghar-cum-Mirpur Khas 1; PS 81 Sanghar-cum-Mirpur Khas 2.

Out of the 28 candidates only seven had party tickets; MQM-

A matter of equality

Justice (R) Mehta Kailash Nath Kohli was of the opinion that the minorities could not play their due role in the general election 2013 because their right to equality as citizens was not recognised. They have been subjugated by zamindars, sardars and nawabs. At some places they received threats and the panchayats decided to refrain from casting votes. It seemed that most of the minorities members in Balochistan did not cast their votes. A large number of the members of the Hindu community had migrated from their homes and were not available at the places where they were registered as voters.

While nominating members of minorities on special seats political parties do not select people on merit and the minorities are not properly represented.

The joint electorate system has not helped in any manner, Justice Kohli said, and added: "I had drafted many laws relating to minorities from the desk of NCSW but these were not adopted by the previous government."

No steps were taken for special protection to minorities by the Election Commission, he said.

Vague promises in party manifestos

One of the main impediments to the religious minorities' enjoyment of the political rights, especially those related to electoral matters, is the political parties' perfunctory treatment of such issues in their election manifestos.

In 2013 the mainstream political parties did refer to minorities in their manifestos but only in very general terms. For reasons that can easily be guessed most of them avoided making specific promises to improve the minorities' representation.

The Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) said it considered “religious minorities of the country as equal citizens of Pakistan, having the same rights as Muslims” but made no reference to the minorities' electoral concerns.

The Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians (PPPP) gave details of its plans for “mainstreaming and protecting the minorities,” and to “build a Pakistan where the distinction between minorities and majorities will be erased” but made only one reference to the minorities' electoral problems, that is, it promised to “add one more seat in Parliament for minorities to represent the Islamabad Capital Territory (ICT).”

The Pakistan Tehrik Insaf (PTI) promised to ensure the minorities' due representation in all state institutions but made no reference to electoral matters.

The Jamat Islami (JI) said: A simple and effective way to enable the minorities to cast their votes and choose their representatives will be adopted.

The Awami Workers Party (AWP) said that “considering the religious minorities an important part of society, the party will struggle for the realisation of their equal economic, political, social and religious rights.” But the party made no reference to matters related to the minorities' representation in elected assemblies.

The MQM, while calling for the repeal of all laws that discriminated against women and non-Muslims, treating non-Muslims as equal citizens of Pakistan and awarding them state protection, said it believes that “the minorities should be elected directly through general elections.”

The Awami National Party (ANP) promised to continue its struggle for a pluralistic Pakistan with equal rights for all citizens, repeal of amendments made to the 1973 constitution that relegated the religious minorities to “a secondary status”, but made no specific reference to electoral matters.

4 (one candidate given ticket from two constituencies); PPPP-2; and PML-F-1, only one of them, Dr Daya Ram (PPPP), was elected with 48,432 votes.

Many of these candidates were not serious contenders and several of them polled only one vote each. The decline in the number of candidates could be due to their failure to win the support of mainstream parties. The difference party ticket makes can be judged

from several examples. For instance, when Engineer Gianchand (PS 60) stood on the PPPP ticket in 2002, against none other than Arbab Ghulam Rahim himself, he polled 12,436 votes. But when contested the same seat, again against Arbab Ghulam Rahim, as an independent candidate in 2008, he got only 20 votes, as the PPPP candidate had taken away 9,837 votes.¹⁰

Three factors have contributed to the minorities voters' failure to realize their potential in electoral politics. First, their own political organs are quite weak. Secondly, the mainstream parties are not prepared to offer space in their ranks to religious minorities; even the minority members elected on their tickets are completely marginalised. The inability of these parties to safeguard the interest of the religious minorities can be gauged from the failure of the last government to complete legislative action on its proposal to raise the minority communities' seats in the legislatures in proportion to their share in population. Thirdly, a majority of the minority community voters, especially in Sindh, cannot be considered free agents because of lack of education, limited access to the job market, and subservience to landlords.

All this has been confirmed by the observation of elections in constituencies where non-Muslims have a substantial share of vote. The report clearly brings out the need for affirmative action by the state to help members of minority communities realize adequately their right to participate in governance.

Notes

1. Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*; OUP Karachi; 2001; page 24
2. M. H. R. Talukdar (editor), *Memoirs of Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy*; University Press, Dhaka, 1987; page 12
3. Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan, All-India Muslim League Documents 1906-1947*, Vol II; National Publishing House, Karachi, 1990; page 572
4. *ibid*; page 341; see also Hamid Khan, page 54.
5. *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Speeches and Statements 1947-48*; Department of Films and Publications, Government of Pakistan; 1989; pages 42-47
6. Dr Safdar Mahmood, *Constitutional Foundations of Pakistan*, Jang Publishers, Lahore, 1990, page 286
7. *ibid*, page 534
8. Clause 2 A of Article 5, of the constitution, inserted by the Fourth Amendment in 1975, said: "In addition to the number of seats referred to in clause (1), there shall be in the National Assembly six additional seats for the persons referred in clause (3) of Article 106. See the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973, edited and introduced by Makhdoom Ali Khan, Pakistan Publishing House,

Karachi, 1986; page 38.

9. Article 51(4) of the constitution of 1973 originally said; “Until the expiration of a period of ten years from the commencing day or the holding of the second general election to the National Assembly, whichever occurs later, ten seats in addition to the number of seats referred to in clause (1) shall be reserved for women and allocated to the provinces in accordance with the constitution and law.” Through the constitution (English Amendment) Act 1985, Gen. Zia had the “second general election” changed to “third general election; and “ten seats” were replaced with twenty seats” vide Zia's P.O. No 14 of 1985.
10. Data on elections during 1988-2008 compiled from the CWS-Sujag publication, 'The Pakistan Election Compendium.'

Religious minorities in the 2013 election

The general election on May 11, 2013 was the third held under the system of joint electorate. For the third time since the abolition of separate electorates all citizens of Pakistan, except for the members of the Ahmediya community, had equal rights to vote freely and independently and to seek election to general seats in the national and provincial legislatures.

This great step forward amounted to demolishing one of the most serious impediments to Pakistan's becoming a genuinely pluralist democracy, that is, if the ideal of non-communal politics could be realised in practice. This brief study, undertaken by the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP), with the support and collaboration of Church World Service Pakistan / Afghanistan (CWS P/A) shows that the equality in electoral matters allowed to members of religious communities under the law was not available to them in practice in the most recent general election.

As a result large sections of religious minorities feel frustrated and quite a few among them have begun to express reservations about the value of the joint electorate system. HRCP believes this is not a good omen for the future of democracy in Pakistan. The urgency of addressing the concerns of the religious minorities and enabling them to enjoy the benefits of political equality can hardly be over-emphasized.

It should have been easy to realize that the joint electorate system would not yield full benefit to the religious minorities unless some affirmative action was taken, especially by the government, the Election Commission of Pakistan, and the country's mainstream political parties. None of them apparently rose to the occasion in May 2013.

There is no evidence of any attempt by the administration to help the admittedly disadvantaged members of religious minorities to freely exercise their right to vote. The Election Commission did refer to the need for special attention to the voters belonging to religious minorities in its five-year plan but probably did not have the time to do anything worthwhile in this area. It could have included a reference or two to the religious minorities in its messages broadcast by the electronic media but unfortunately even that much was not possible.

The political parties have a key role in promoting the cause of members of religious minorities as equal citizens of Pakistan. While all of them, including those who insist that in an Islamic state the religious minorities cannot claim equality of citizenship with Muslims, were keen to increase their numbers in legislatures with the addition

of candidates nominated by them on seats reserved for the minorities, they lacked the will to accommodate members of minorities on general seats. Exceptions were made but only in constituencies the parties had no hope of winning.

The findings of the HRCP observers in the six National Assembly constituencies selected for the present study reveal a number of deviations from the standard electoral practices that could have been overcome if the local government authorities, the election supervisors and the political parties had taken a little more interest in enabling the members of religious minorities to freely exercise their right to choose their rulers.

The observers' findings

Encouraging signs

Despite their failure to win a general seat in the National Assembly in the past elections, members of religious minorities continued to offer themselves for election from such constituencies. Indeed, in the five constituencies observed in Sindh there were eleven candidates from religious minorities in 2013 as against five in 2008.

More majority community candidates approached the minorities' voters than before. Some of them in all the six constituencies also asked members of religious minorities to manage their campaigns. However, they were not as strong candidates as holders of tickets from the major political parties.

Members of the majority community and those belonging to religious minorities stood together in queues outside polling stations.

The members of religious minorities, by and large, displayed considerable enthusiasm in participating in the electoral process, at least in the constituencies chosen for observation.

Female voters from religious minorities turned up in large numbers to cast their votes. In the Sindh constituencies under observation they outnumbered the female voters from the majority community.

Matters of concern

This study confirms that freedom to vote independently depends on a voter's economic and social independence. In Sindh the poor and disadvantaged members of religious minorities dare not defy the landlords or religious superiors on whom they depend for subsistence. Powerful candidates do not approach voters individually, they are delivered to the local caesars as herds of sheep.

The most serious violation of the law was observed in NA 229, Tharparkar 1 constituency where a pamphlet warning Muslims

against voting for a candidate belonging to a religious minority was circulated. This was not only a gross violation of the election code and provisions of the Representation of the People Act but also of the Pakistan Penal Code. That no action was taken to punish the culprits confirms not only the authorities' lack of interest in protecting the minorities' rights but also their incompetence in enforcing the law.

The minority community candidate in NA 226, Mirpurkhas-cum-Umarkot, felt threatened by religious pressure groups but was too frightened to name his tormentors.

Almost all minority community candidates complained of being asked by Returning Officers, during scrutiny of nomination papers, questions they thought derogatory of their faith.

Complaints of lack of security arrangements were common.

While PPPP and MQM had offered tickets for National Assembly seats to the minority candidates in 2008, in 2013 only MQM nominated two minority candidates (from NA 229 and NA 235). Mahesh Kumar Malani who was an official candidate of PPPP in 2008 from NA 235 had polled 28,411 votes but had surprisingly lost. In 2013 he was not awarded the party ticket and contested as an independent candidate. He received only 85 votes. This confirms, as has been said earlier, that religious minorities cannot be brought into the political mainstream without the backing of political parties.

Minority voters were observed complaining that they were deterred from casting their votes by different tactics, such as registration of their votes in far-flung areas. Members of a single family were in many cases registered at different polling stations.

Minority female voters were particularly targeted and harassed by rowdy elements and the polling staff. A large number of unauthorised personnel were allowed inside polling stations, many of them disguised as polling agents. They kept on influencing voters and the polling staff and creating hurdles in free and fair polling process.

The low caste voters faced pressures not only from landlords and police officers, they also bore the brunt of the upper caste Hindus' bid to perpetuate their hegemony.

At most of the polling stations the polling staff did not appear to have been properly trained. Complaints of shortage of polling material were common. At one polling station there was one stamp for more than one booth and another station ran short of ballot papers.

At several places influential candidates had the freedom of the polling stations and one of them ran his election office inside a polling station.

Some of HRCP observers complained that they were humiliated by security personnel. A few of them were not allowed to

perform their duties as election observers.

Women voters belonging to minority communities complained that they had been waiting for up to four hours for casting their votes. The presiding officer, they alleged, appeared to be intentionally causing delays.

Extension in the polling time by one hour was not observed at quite a few polling stations.

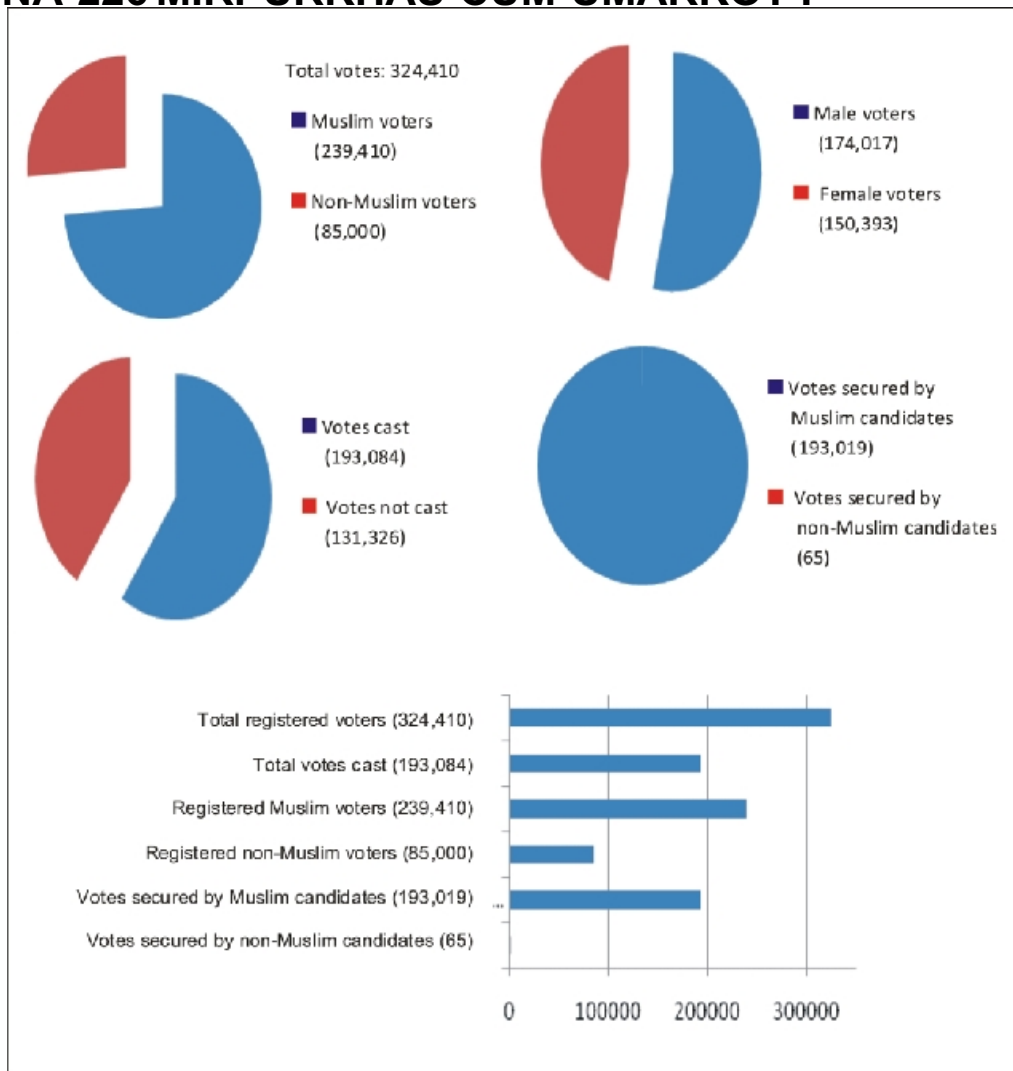
The methodology

The decision to choose for observation constituencies where the vote of religious minorities was sizeable was taken on the fair assumption that in these constituencies the minority voters should have a better enabling environment than elsewhere. All such constituencies lie in Sindh. HRCP decided to take five constituencies from Sindh and select one constituency from Punjab with a view to finding out whether the problems the religious minorities face are limited to a single province. (They are not; the religious minorities are disadvantaged across the land.)

Once the constituencies had been selected HRCP engaged an election observation team leader for each constituency. All the team leaders were invited to attend a training workshop and they in turn held training sessions with members of their teams. Most of the observers belonged to the constituencies they were asked to cover and they included members of both majority and minority communities. For them the exercise was a labour of love and HRCP sincerely thanks them

For a variety of reasons, including time and resource constraints, it was not possible to carry out monitoring at each and every polling station but efforts were made to take as large and as representative a sample as possible.

NA-226 MIRPURKHAS-CUM-UMARKOT-I



NA-226 mainly consists of Tehsil Mirpurkhas and Tehsil Hussain Bux Mari. It also includes small portions of Tehsil Pithoro and two union councils of Tehsil Sindhri. It has an estimated population of 741,000 people of which 60.6 percent live in rural areas. There were 274 polling stations in this constituency.

The total number of registered voters in NA-226 was 324,410, down by 30,421 from the 2008 figure of 354,831, and 85,000 belong to non-Muslim minorities. There were 150,393 female and 174,017 male voters.

The share of religious minorities in the population in the constituency is as follows, Hindus: 32.73%, Christians: 0.50%, Ahmadis: 0.27% and Others: 0.12%.

The winner was Pir Shafqat Hussain Shah Jilani of PPPP, who got 82,017 votes, and the runner-up was Syed Qurban Ali Shah of PML-F, with 47,450 votes. The only non-Muslim-candidate,

Santosh Kumar J Kalal, polled only 65 votes.

A majority of voters in the constituency vote for PPPP on ideological grounds. In urban area, especially in Mirpurkhas city, MQM has considerable influence. After Karachi and Hyderabad, it is the third largest city in Sindh province where MQM has a large vote bank but it is still insufficient to play a decisive role in the NA constituency. Voters based in rural areas outnumber urban voters. They are staunch supporters of PPPP. Religious and nationalist vote bank tilts either towards PML-F or PPPP.

The tribes inhabiting the constituency include Pathoor, Marri, Khaskheli, Shar, Mangrio, Mehar, Rajar, Nohri, Pali and Samejo and many Sindhi sub-tribes. Abbasis, Qaimkhanis, Qureshis and Malik are Urdu-speaking clans. The constituency also has tiny pockets of

The non-Muslim candidate told HRCP observers that during his election campaign he apprehended attacks by some religious pressure groups and other extremist elements. He was so frightened that he refused to name these elements and groups. He had some friends in the majority community who voted for him. He did not solicit votes from religious minority community on the basis of belief. He said that he was satisfied with the electoral process and hoped that problems in the election system would be removed with the passage of time. Voters belonging to non-Muslim minority communities were particularly approached by an independent candidate, Zahid Hussain Mari, who requested them to vote for him and run his election campaign. The non-Muslim minority voters actively participated in polling.

Punjabi and Pathan settlers who have their political affiliations with different political parties. Unlike the southern parts of Sindh province, in this constituency tribal system and caste system are not strong enough to influence individual voters. But in rural areas it has been noted that the people vote in bloc for the candidate of their choice. A large portion of population in the constituency comprises followers of Pir Pagara. Low-caste Hindu tribes including Kohli, Bheel, Odh and Malhi usually vote for PPPP.

In the past PPPP's candidates had a record of continuous electoral victories from this constituency by huge margins. Jilani family is the most powerful political family here. Pir Shafqat Hussain Shah Jilani of PPPP represented the family in 2013.

Hinduism is the religious faith of the main minority community. The non-Muslim candidate and voters both complained of discrimination and neglect as no major political party nominated one of them as its candidate in the constituency. They were concerned over the absence of elected representatives of religious minorities in parliament. Although 33% of the population of the area was non-Muslim there was no non-Muslim member in the parliament elected on a general seat. The non-Muslim minority candidate approached different political parties for the party ticket for the National Assembly seat but no party bothered to reply even. As a result the only non-Muslim minority candidate contested election as an independent.

During the scrutiny of nomination papers the non-Muslim candidate complained that the Returning Officer asked offensive questions about his religious belief.

The non-Muslim candidate told HRCP observers that during his election campaign he apprehended attacks by some religious pressure groups and other extremist elements. He was so frightened that he refused to name these elements and groups. He had some friends in the majority community who voted for him. He did not solicit votes from religious minority community on the basis of belief. He said that he was satisfied with the electoral process and hoped that problems in the election system would be removed with the passage of time. Voters belonging to non-Muslim minority communities were particularly approached by an independent candidate, Zahid Hussain Mari, who requested them to vote for him and run his election campaign. The non-Muslim minority voters actively participated in polling.

The polling process in the constituency remained normal except for minor clashes including one at GPS Shah Waliullah Female PO Primary School where some bogus votes were reported to have been cast. At polling station 40 Shah Waliullah Primary School polling was delayed for an hour. The Returning Officer, an Additional Session Judge, did not let the HRCP observer perform his duty. Around 16:40 the local police chief allegedly tried to manipulate the polls and Rangers were called in and they took control of the polling station.

At polling station 42 G.G.P.S Gharibabad (Female) (P) workers of PPPP and MQM had a squabble.

The result was:

| | Name | Votes polled |
|----|-------------------------|---------------------|
| 1 | Nadeem | 245 |
| 2 | Shabbir Ahmed Qaimkhani | 34,687 |
| 3 | Faisal Farrukh | 15 |
| 4 | Jawed Ahmed Khan | 148 |
| 5 | Iftikhar Hussain Khan | 37 |
| 6 | Aziz Ur Rehman | 364 |
| 7 | Mohammad Faisal | 128 |
| 8 | Mohammad Akram Khan | 222 |
| 9 | Jawed | 448 |
| 10 | Santosh Kumar J Kalal | 65 |
| 11 | Syed Mumtaz Ali Shah | 124 |
| 12 | Sajjad Ahmed | 13 |
| 13 | Abdul Saeed Qureshi | 17 |

| | | | |
|----|---|---------------|--|
| 14 | Ghulam Mohammad | 60 | Pir Shafqat Hussain (Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians) |
| 15 | Syed Qurban Ali Shah | 47,450 | |
| 16 | Pir Shafqat Hussain Shah Jilani (Approx 44% of the valid votes) | 82,017 | |
| 17 | Pir Hassan Ali Shah | 445 | |
| 18 | Hafiz Mohammad Akber | 7,842 | |
| 19 | Naseer Ahmed Farooqi | 252 | |
| 20 | Zahid Hussain Mari | 9,022 | |
| 21 | Mohammad Kashif | 1,682 | |
| 22 | Abdul Jabbar Mari Baloch | 49 | |
| 23 | Aijaz Ali Sanjrani | 496 | |

| | | | |
|--------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|
| Total | 185,828 | 7,256 | 193,084 |
| | Valid votes | Rejected votes | Total Votes cast |

The polling stations observed by the HRCP election observer team

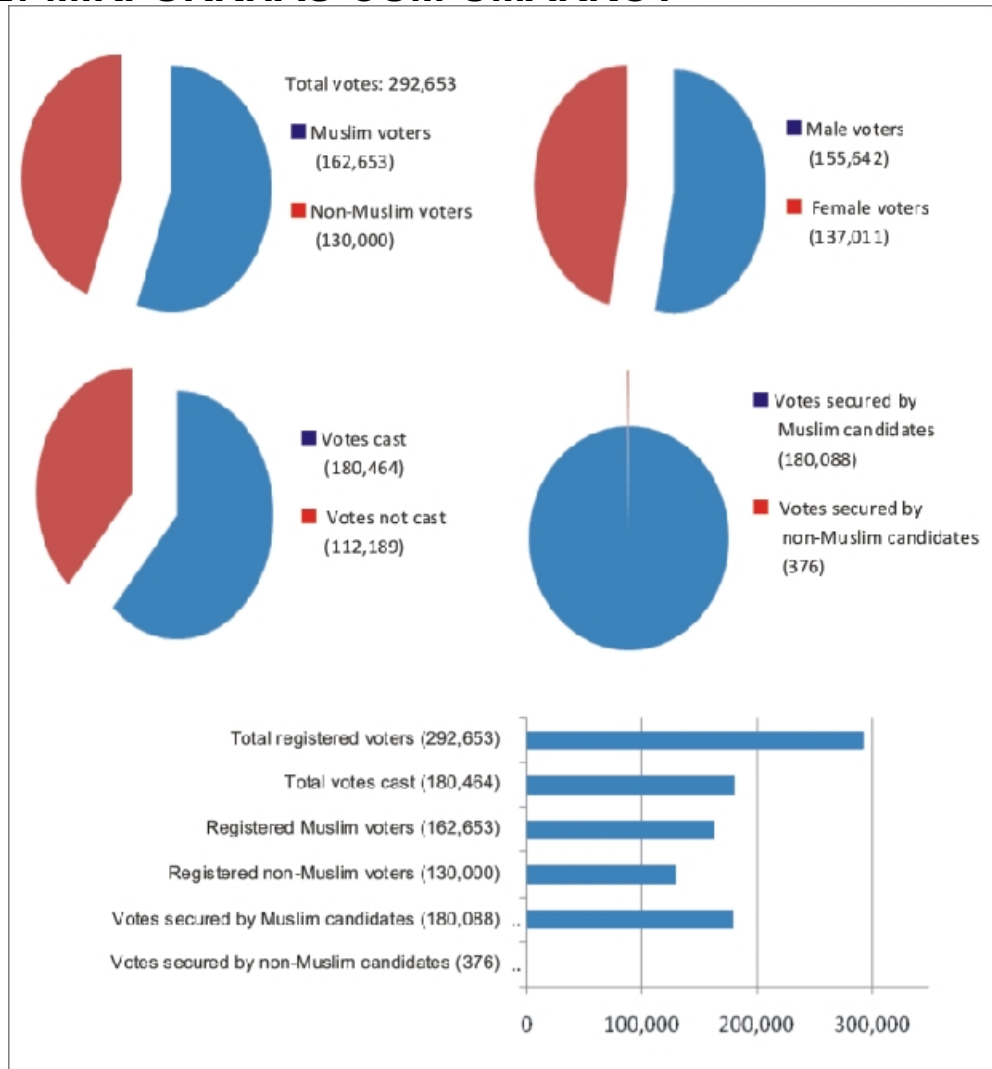
| No | Polling Station | Observer |
|-----|--|----------------------------|
| | | Qazafi Samejo, Team leader |
| 77 | G.M.S Panhwar Colony (Male) (P) | Humayoon Panhwar |
| 83 | Govt: Iqra H.Sec: (Male) (P) | |
| 73 | G.H.S Quaid Millat (Male) (P) | |
| 150 | GPS Khan (P) | Majid Ali Panhwer |
| 100 | Govt: Girls High School Mirwah (Female) (T) | |
| 84 | Govt: Iqra H. Sec: (Female) (P) Bhansingabad | |
| 39 | District Education Office Sec: (Male) (P) | Santosh Kumar |
| 40 | G.P.S Shah Walliullah (Female) (P) | |
| 84 | Govt: Iqra H. Sec: (Female) (P) | |
| 116 | Govt: Polytechnic College MPS (P) | Farman Ali |
| 151 | Govt. High School Khan (p) | |
| 154 | GPS Mohammad Hassan Mari (Boys) (P) | |
| 40 | G.P.S Shah Walliullah (Female) (P) | Govinda |
| 42 | G.G.P.S GHARIBABAD (FEMALE) (P) | |
| 9 | District Council (Male) (P) | |

The result in the previous election (2008):

| | |
|---------------------------|---------|
| Registered voters | 354,831 |
| Total votes polled | 148,118 |
| Valid votes | 143,934 |
| Rejected votes | 4,184 |
| Winning candidate's tally | 78,543 |
| Runner -up | 38,309 |
| Minority candidate | Nil |

1. The winner was Pir Aftab Hussain Shah Jilani (PPPP).
2. The runner-up was Professor Khursheed Ahmed Siddiqi (MQM).
3. No non-Muslim candidate contested election from this constituency in 2008.

NA-227 MIRPURKHAS-CUM-UMARKOT



NA-227 covers a large territory. It consists mainly of Tehsil Digri, Tehsil Kot Ghulam Muhammad and Tehsil Jhuddo. 79.5% of the population is rural-based who live in 256 villages spread across the constituency.

The total number of polling stations was 252. Registered voters numbered 292,653 which was 39,191 less than the 2008 figure (331,844) 137,011 female and 155,642 male. Hindus constitute 40% of the population in the Mirpurkhas Division. The number of registered non-Muslim voters, majority of them Hindus, was 130,000.

Shiyam Sundar Advocate, a Hindu, was the only minority

community candidate in this constituency and he contested on a PPP-SB ticket. Despite the presence of a large number of non-Muslim voters in the constituency, he could get only 376 votes and lost his security deposit. PPPP's Mir Munawar Ali Talpur was the winner with 113,218 votes and the runner-up was PML-F's Syed Inayat Ali Shah with 33,723 votes.

Digri, Tando Jan Muhammad, Jhuddo and Naukot are important towns in the constituency. Talpur, Khoso, Tangarri, Chandio, Leghari, Khaskheli, Bhurgari, Kapri, Dal, Nauhani and Jarwar are major tribes. The constituency has a very small number of voters who follow any *pir*. As in NA-226 a majority of voters in NA-227 also vote along party lines. A majority of voters hails from rural areas and they usually support PPPP.

In Digri and Jhuddo Tehsils, a few pockets of Punjabi settlers vote for different political parties. Qaimkhanis constitute a substantial portion of the population in this constituency. They always support their own candidate but often their votes are divided among different parties.

The religious faith of the main minority community is Hinduism. Both voters and the candidate of non-Muslim minority community told HRCP observer about the discrimination they faced because of their religious belief. The behaviour of the polling staff and polling agents of different political parties was offensive towards their religious beliefs.

A large number of low-caste Hindus work as day-labourers on farms of different feudal lords. Most of these Hindu voters follow the command of their landlords while marking ballots. The candidates generally do not bother to approach Hindu voters for their support. Instead they just call on the landlord to get minority votes. Kohli, Meghwar, Bheel, Malhi, Odh and Bhat are major Hindu castes who are settled in different parts of this constituency. Their settlements lack basic necessities of life. In the past different political parties supported and elected upper-caste Hindu candidates on reserved seats which made the condition of the low-caste Hindus worse. The condition of low-caste Hindus in this constituency is extremely pitiable.

The minority community candidate, Shiyam Sundar, Advocate, believes that the support of a political party guaranteed victory and safety. He got very few votes from the majority community. He tried to appeal to the minority community on the basis of belief but it was to no avail.

Non-Muslim voters told HRCP observer that six candidates of majority community approached them directly for their votes and also requested them to run their election campaigns.

They complained that the polling staff was not properly trained and seemed to be serving the interests of the stronger political parties in the field (PPPP and PML-F).

The polling in this constituency was held peacefully. There

were only a few minor scuffles between supporters and polling agents of PPPP and PML-F. Some bogus votes were reported to have been cast at PS 59 Govt. Digri College Tando Jan Muhammad (Female) (P).

At polling stations 42 GPS Miro Kaloi Deh 184 (P), and 55 GPS Abdullah Bajeer Deh 199 (P) female Hindu voters complained that they were being discouraged from casting their votes by the polling staff. No facility of any kind was provided to them. Workers of the main political parties were seen forcing them to vote for their candidates.

At polling station number 190 GPS Jalalabad (P) polling staff was not properly trained and supported candidates of the main contending parties.

At polling station 62, GGHS Tando Jan Mohammad, the casting of votes started 20 minute late. Moreover, around noon polling remained closed for at least 20 minutes as activists of a political party tried to interfere with the poll with the support of government officials. Activists themselves stamped the ballot papers of voters. A similar incident was reported at PS 56 GPS Baloo Jo Kumb Deh 263 (T) where a clash between PPPP supporters and the Arbab group resulted in suspension of polling for at least half an hour.

At polling station 57 GGPS Tando Jan Muhammad (Female) (P) also polling started late. The process was disturbed for thirty minutes as PPPP's workers tried to cast their votes first. Polling was resumed after the visit of the Returning Officer.

At polling station 60 Iqra Primary Boys School Opp: U.C Office Tando Jan Mohammad (Male) (P) ballot papers ran short of demand. As a result nearly 200 voters couldn't cast their votes. At polling station 66 Darya Khan Kaloi, the space marked for the polling station was inadequate and only two booths were there for male and female voters. Moreover, it was noticed that one party had on the premises of the polling station what looked like its election office.

Many female voters could not cast their votes due to heavy rush in over-crowded polling stations and a small number of female polling booths.

At polling station 61 GBHS Tando Jan Muhammad Male, a conflict arose between agents of PPPP and the Arbab Group on the

The staff at polling station 60 Iqra BPS Tando Jan Muhammad ran short of ballotpapers. As a result nearly 200 voters couldn't cast their votes. At polling station 66 Darya Khan Kaloi, the space marked for the polling station was inadequate and only two booths were there for male and female voters. Moreover, it was noticed that one party had on the premises of the polling station what looked like its election office.

Many female voters could not cast their votes due to heavy rush in over-crowded polling stations and the small number of female polling booths.

issue of bogus votes and because the polling agent of one party was reportedly leaving his seat time and again to influence the voters.

At the same polling station the representative of an electronic media group assisted a party candidate and influenced voters to cast their votes for him.

At polling station 68 GMS Deh 190, Akbarabad (P), polling started 30 minutes late and closed at 7.00 pm. Polling station 23 GGPS Rani Town, Digri, was closed before the scheduled time.

At polling station 217 GPS Nazeer Bhurgri (P), Assistant Presiding Officer was observed favouring a party candidate. He ensured that everyone had stamped the electoral symbol of that party.

At polling station 243 GPS Samaro Road (Female) (P), the Presiding Officer was allegedly supporting a party's candidate. He misbehaved with the HRCP observer when he saw that the observer had seen what he was doing. At this polling station some bogus votes were cast by persons who had forcibly entered the PS. Polling was suspended here for an hour. Voters complained that they needed more time to cast the votes. The polling staff was not guiding the voters about the vote casting procedure.

The result was:

| | Name | Votes polled |
|----------|--|---------------------|
| 1 | Zia Ul Haq | 2,409 |
| 2 | Muhammad Yousuf Qaimkhani | 102 |
| 3 | Muhammad Shafique | 3,556 |
| 4 | Syed Basheer Ahmed Shah Naqvi | 192 |
| 5 | Nawab Abdul Khalid alias Khurram Talpur | 2,285 |
| 6 | Mir Munawar Ali Talpur (Approx 66% of the total valid votes) | 113,218 |
| 7 | Syed Inayat Ali Shah | 33,723 |
| 8 | Asif Raza Qaimkhani | 16 |
| 9 | Muhammad Tahir | 204 |
| 10 | Choudhry Muhammad Tarique | 3,515 |
| 11 | Shiyam Sundar Advocate | 376 |
| 12 | Ghulam Murtaza Khaskheli | 316 |
| 13 | Sardar Ghulam Mustafa Khaskheli | 410 |
| 14 | Arbab Inayatullah Ghulam Rahim | 7,198 |
| 15 | Mir Zulfiqar Ali Talpur | 97 |
| 16 | Advocate Mir Nasrullah Khan Talpur | 14 |
| 17 | Mir Bahram Khan Talpur | 30 |
| 18 | Haji Ghulam Qadir Noohani | 198 |

Mir Munawar Ali Talpur
(Pakistan Peoples Party
Parliamentarians)

| | | |
|----|-------------------------------|-------|
| 19 | Qadir Bux Bhurgari | 93 |
| 20 | Noor Ahmed Bhurgari | 36 |
| 21 | Mir Akbar Ali Khan Talpur | 8 |
| 22 | Mangan Khan | 1,879 |
| 23 | Mir Ishaque alias Babu Talpur | 20 |
| 24 | Mir Waqar Ahmed Khan Talpur | 20 |

| | | | |
|--------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|
| Total | 169,915 | 10,549 | 180,464 |
| | Valid votes | Rejected votes | Total votes cast |

Polling stations visited by HRCP observers (Team leader: Rajkumar):

| PS No. | Polling Station | Observer |
|---------------|---|---|
| 16 | U.C Office Pabban (P) | Santosh Kumar Team Leader, Raj Kumar |
| 4 | GMS Badal Shah | Raheel Ahmed |
| 5 | GPS Siddique Khaskheli | Raheel Ahmed |
| 6 | GPS Mir Ghulam Ali (P) | Raheel Ahmed |
| 7 | GPS Alam Khan Noohani (P) | Muhammad Asif |
| 9 | GHS Dittal Khan Laghari (P) | Muhammad Asif |
| 19 | Govt. Main Primary School Opposite (P) National Bank Tando Ghulam Ali Road Digri Female (P) | Muhammad Asif, Raj Kumar |
| 20 | Town Committee Digri (Male) (P) | Raj Kumar |
| 21 | Govt. Primary Shool Allahabad Colony Digri Female (P) | Raj Kumar |
| 22 | Office of the Executive Engineer Male (P) | Ali Asghar |
| 23 | Govt. Girls Primary School Rani Town Ward 7 (Female) (P) | Raj Kumar |
| 24 | GGPS Memon Town Ward No.7 (Male) | Ali Asghar |
| 25 | Office of the SDEO Digri (Female) | Ali Asghar |
| 26 | G.P.S Station Near Railway Station Digri (Male) (P) | Raj Kumar, Ali Asghar |
| 46 | GPS Mubarak Noohani (P) | Santosh Kumar, Suresh Kumar |
| 52 | GPS Deh 195 (Male) (P) | M Imran, Jai, M Usman, Santosh, Suresh |
| 53 | GGPS Deh 195 Tando Jan Muhammad (Female) (P) | M Imran, Suresh, Santosh |
| 54 | GPS Mir Yar Mohammad Deh 262 (P) | Tota Ram, Suresh, Santosh |
| 55 | GPS Abdullah Bajeer Deh 199 (P) | Waseem |
| 56 | GPS Baloo Jo Kumb Deh 263 (T) | Tota Ram, Suresh Kumar |

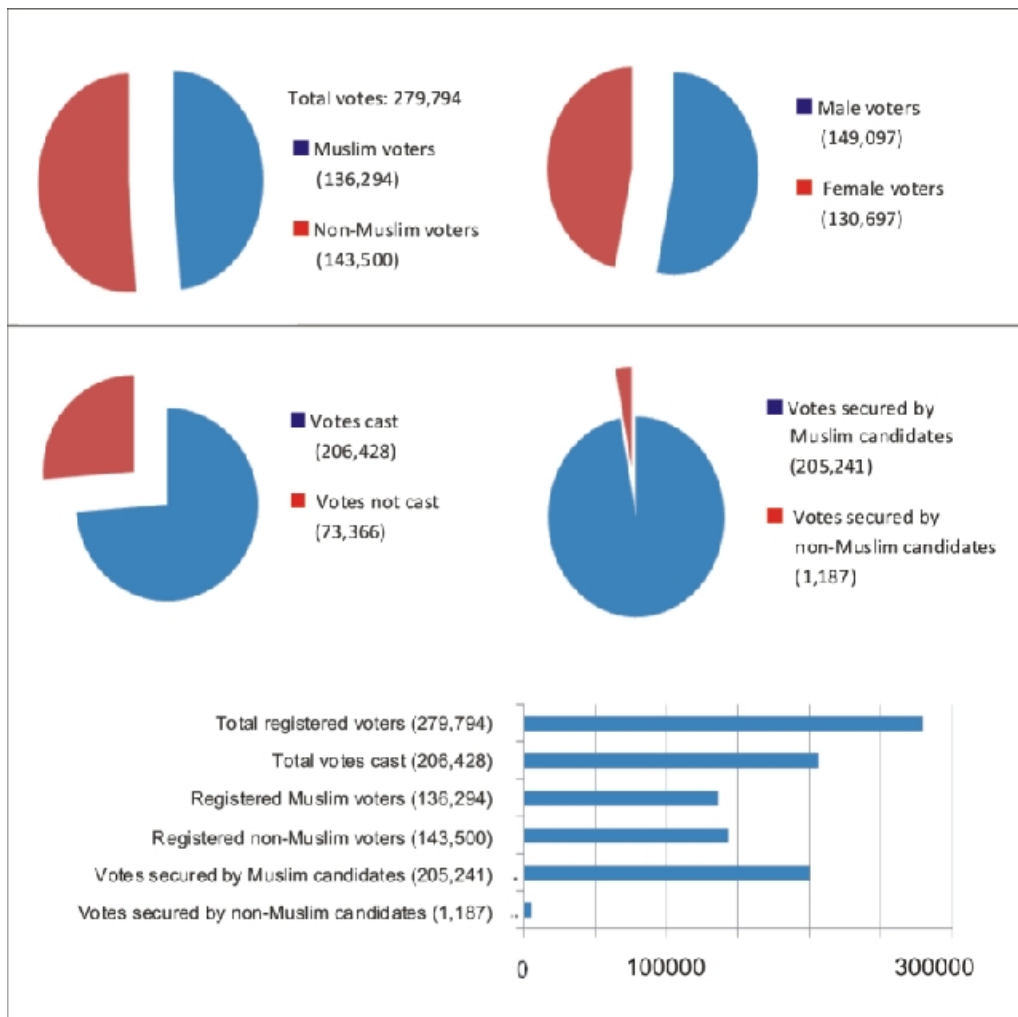
| | | |
|-----|--|-------------------------------------|
| 57 | GGPS Tando Jan Muhammad (Female) (P) | Suresh Kumar |
| 58 | GPS Tando Jan Muhammad (Male) (P) | Jai Kumar |
| 59 | Govt. Digri College Tando Jan Muhammad (Female) (P) | Jai Kumar, M Usman |
| 60 | Iqra Primary Boys School Opp: U.C Office Tando Jan Mohammad (Male) (P) | M Imran, Santosh |
| 61 | GBHS Tando Jan Muhammad (Male) (P) | Suresh Kumar, Jai Kumar |
| 62 | GHS Tando Jan Muhammad (Female) (P) | Waseem, Santosh Kumar, Suresh Kumar |
| 63 | U.C Office Mir Khuda Bux (P) | Tota Ram |
| 66 | GPS Darya Khan Kaloi Deh 188 (P) | Suresh Kumar, M Usman |
| 67 | GPS Abdullah Jarwar Deh 189 (P) | Santosh Kumar |
| 68 | GMS Deh 190 Akbarabad (P), | Santosh Kumar, M Usman |
| 42 | GPS Miro Kaloi Deh 184 (P) | Suresh, Tota Ram |
| 47 | GHS Deh 170 (Male) (P) | Santosh Kumar, Suresh Kumar, Usman |
| 217 | GPS Nazeer Bhurgri (P) | Santosh Kumar, Suresh Kumar, Usman |
| 190 | GPS Jalalabad (P) | Santosh Kumar, Suresh Kumar, |
| 243 | GPS Samaro Road (Female) (P) | Santosh Kumar, Suresh Kumar, |

The result in the previous election (2008):

| | |
|--------------------------|---------|
| Registered voters | 331,844 |
| Total votes polled | 129,987 |
| Valid votes | 124,933 |
| Rejected votes | 5,054 |
| Turn -out | 39.2% |
| Winning candidate | 82,697 |
| Runner -up | 31,159 |
| Minority candidate votes | -- |

1. The winner was Mir Munawar Ali Talpur (PPPP).
2. Runner-up was Syed Qurban Ali Shah. (PML-F).
3. There was no minority candidate contesting election from this seat in 2008.

NA-228 UMARKOT



This constituency is overwhelmingly (81.6%) rural 151 hamlets. It consists of four tehsils Umarkot, Kunri, Pithoro and Samaro. Only two villages of Samaro Tehsil are in NA-228 rest of its population falls in NA-227. Tehsil Pithoro completely lies in NA-226.

Total number of registered voters in this constituency was 279,794, only 4,943 more than the total of 274,851 in 2008 - 130,697 female and 149,097 male voters.

NA-228 has the largest proportion (51%) of minority voters in any constituency in the country. The number of non-Muslim voters is 143,500 and most of them are Hindu. Two non-Muslim candidates, Kishan Chand Parwani and Suresh Kumar, were contesting election from this constituency. Kishan Chand Parwani

is a lawyer. He was nominated by MQM for National Assembly seat. For five years, the candidate had been working as an active member of the party in the constituency. The other non-Muslim candidate, Suresh Kumar, was running as an independent.

PPPP's Nawab Muhammad Yousuf Talpur won the contest with 99,700 votes while PTI's Makhdoom Shah Mehmood Qureshi was runner-up with 86,134 votes. Despite the presence of a large number of non-Muslim voters in the constituency the non-Muslim candidates, Kishan Chand Parwani and Suresh Kumar, secured only 1,063 and 124 votes, respectively.

This constituency lies at the edge of famous Thar desert, over parts of Pakistan and India. In the east the constituency joins its boundaries with Mithi area in Tharparker, where it runs for 37 kilometers along the Indian border. Sanghar lies to the North while Mirpur Khas to its South-West. Umarkot, Kunri, Doronaro, Chorre, Khokhrapar, Shadipalli and Nabisir are important towns in this constituency. Most of the inhabitants of the constituency work in these towns and return to their homes before sunset. The number of rural voters is higher than voters based in urban areas.

The majority of Muslim population in this constituency follows different Muslim Pirs. Pir Pagara has the largest number of followers (Hur) in the constituency. Others follow Makhdoom Muhammad Ameen Fahim's Sarwari Jamaat, Shah Mehmood Hussain Qureshi's Ghousia Jamaat and Nur Muhammad Shah's Jamaat. Voters in the constituency generally vote for well-known personalities.

Caste system is another important factor in this constituency. Mangrio, Soomro, Samejo, Rahimoon, Nohri and Rajar are main tribes. Meghwar, Bheel, Koihi and Maalhi are prominent scheduled castes here. These scheduled castes are also under the influence of Pirs. Meghwar follow Shah Mehmood Hussain Qureshi. Most of the tenants working on farms of local landlords vote according to the latter's instructions. Contesting candidates do not bother to ask voters for their support; instead they join hands with local landlords. There is no industry in this constituency and the whole population depends on agriculture.

Candidates and voters belonging to non-Muslim minorities felt harassed and humiliated as all Muslim contesting candidates and workers of different political parties were threatening them.

Non-Muslim minority voters were deeply concerned over absence of their elected representatives in legislative bodies. They demand that as Pakistanis they must have equal rights. They believe that their problems will be solved only after they are guaranteed representation in all elected bodies in proportion to their population.

A common complaint was that during the submission of nomination papers, Returning Officers put offensive questions to minority candidates concerning their religious faith. They repeatedly asked pointed questions about the history of Pakistan and negated the contribution of non-Muslims in the creation of Pakistan.

The non-Muslim minority candidates encountered many difficulties during their election campaigns. The workers of main political parties were reported to have put pressure on minority voters and warned them against participating in election campaigns of non-Muslim minority candidates.

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The minority candidates told HRCP observers that secret alliances had been made in their constituency against them. Muslim voters were urged not to vote for non-Muslim candidates.

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Non-Muslim minority voters in the constituency believed that these elections were not free and fair. During the polling process they observed polling staff deliberately supporting their favourite candidates.

The electoral process in the constituency remained peaceful except for a few minor clashes among supporters of the PPP and PML-F at Samaro Road, and attempts at casting of bogus votes at Kunri in Umarkot.

At polling stations 171 GHS Khokhrapar and 87 GBPS Mohakum Singh, polling agents of non-Muslim candidates faced problems during the polling. The

polling agents of major parties did not let the polling agents of non-Muslim minority candidates sit and perform their duties.

Polling started half an hour late at 277 GPS Manzoor Ahmed Cheema (Male). The polling staff complained of inadequate supply of polling material, including stationery. Polling staff was not properly trained and that resulted in voting process being very slow.

Polling stations 191 GGHSS Ghazali Kunri (Female) and 193 GGPS Main Kunri (Female) were highly sensitive but the

security arrangements were not satisfactory. At PS 191 some persons harassed women voters and exchanged harsh words with the Presiding Officer and Assistant Presiding Officer. Polling agents were also observed misbehaving with the Assistant Presiding Officer at PS 193. There were complaints about casting of bogus votes. The staff also complained that stationery was in short supply.

At polling station 186 GGPS Ameer Mohallah Kunri also the Presiding Officer complained of non-availability of sufficient stationery. Bogus votes were being cast on duplicate copies of National Identity Cards at this polling station.

The polling officer at polling station 200 GPS Sarmast Rind (Female) also complained of non-availability of stationery including ink. He bought it from the local market.

Some voters at polling station 59 GBPS Wasoo Mal Malhi (Female) complained that an influential candidate's polling agents were involved in forcing voters to stamp their party symbol on their ballot papers. At this PS there was no security arrangement. There was aerial firing at this PS and police lathi-charged the voters. Some persons were injured. Polling was suspended for one hour. The Rangers and police force brought the situation under control and polling resumed.

At polling station 60 Desert Flower KG School, rangers personnel were deployed as the PS was declared highly sensitive. There were some complaints about polling agents forcing voters to exhibit their stamped ballot papers.

At polling station 142 GPS Dhaloo-Jo-Tar the Presiding Officer complained of inadequate supply of polling material including stationery. The Returning Officer had given only one stamp to mark the ballot papers at three polling booths. It was also noticed at the polling station that some of the ballot papers contained printing mistakes.

The poll result was as follows:

| | Name | Votes polled |
|----|--------------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. | Suheno | 4,920 |
| 2. | Kishan Chand Parwani | 1,063 |
| 3. | Shaikh Nabi Bux | 667 |
| 4. | Makhdoom Shah Mehmud Hussain Qureshi | 86,134 |
| 5. | Pir Ghulam Dastgeer Shah Jeelani | 61 |
| 6. | Amanullah Khan | 619 |

| | | |
|-----|---|---------------|
| 7. | Noor Muhammad | 2778 |
| 8 | Luqman | 101 |
| 9 | Arbab Taj Muhammad | 63 |
| 10 | Mir Muzzaffar Talpur | 72 |
| 11 | Kousar Parveen | 150 |
| 12 | Syed Ali Mardan Shah | 71 |
| 13 | Nawab Muhammad Yousuf Talpur (50.73 % of the total valid votes) | 99,700 |
| 14. | Suresh Kumar | 124 |

Nawab Muhammad Yousuf Talpur (Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians)

| | | | |
|--------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|
| Total | 196,523 | 9,905 | 206,428 |
| | Valid votes | Rejected votes | Total votes cast |

Polling stations observed by HRCP Observer team:

| PS No. | Polling Station | Observers |
|------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 154 | GPS Jhimirari Kamal Samejo | Lal Chand |
| 5 | GPS Nangar Noohani | |
| 4 | GPS Siraj Kalar | |
| 6 | GPS Naseemabad | |
| 117 | GHS Dugu Farm (Male) | |
| 277 | GPS Manzoor Ahmed Cheema (Male) | |
| 282 | GPS Tayyab Halepoto | |
| 281 | GPS Muhammad Halepoto | |
| 119 | GPS Bodar Farm | Rajesh Kumar and Amrat Kumar |
| 120 | GGPS Ahmed Ali Memon | |
| 121 | GPS Asifa Farm | |
| 279 | GPS Abdul Hakeem Dhonkai | Parkash and Santosh |
| 280 | GPS Murad Ali Sanjrani | |
| 276 | GPS Ramchand Malhi | |
| 136 | GPS Manoon Malhi (Male) | Mahesh Kumar |
| 137 | GPS Manoon Malhi (Female) | |
| 63 | GPS Police Thana Umakot | |
| 90 | GPS Halo Khan Rahimoon (Old Sonpur) | |
| 64 | GPS Saeed Pur Umakot (Male) | |
| 72 | GHS No.II Umakot (Male) | Luno Mal |
| 92 | GBMS Bhadali Bheerji Thakur | |
| 75 | GGHS Gharibabad | |
| 142 | GPS Dhaloo-Jo-Tar | |

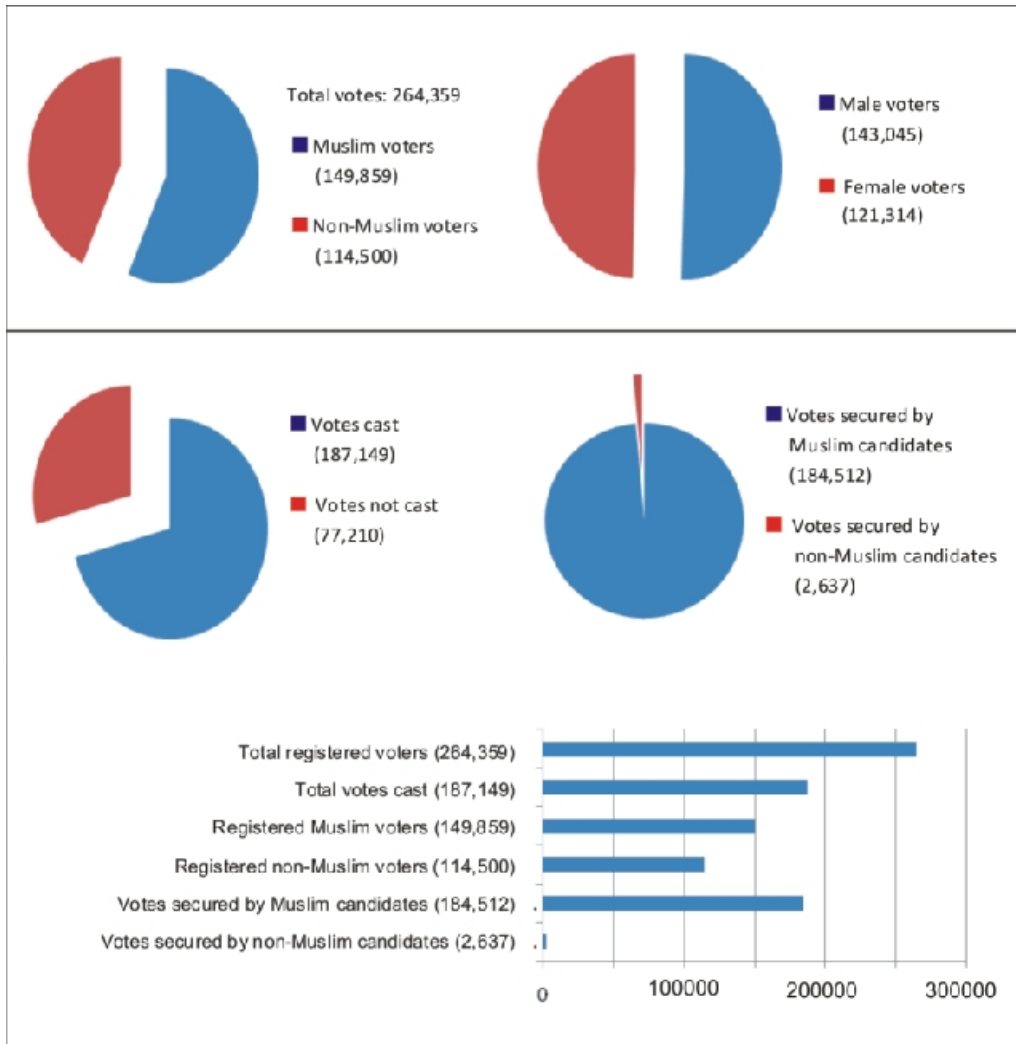
| | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------|---------------|
| 65 | GPS Pathshalla (Female) | Sanjay Kumar |
| 73 | GBPS Gharibabad (Male) | |
| 78 | Govt Vocational Centre Khosa Mohallah | |
| 59 | GBPS Wasoo Mal Malhi (Female) | Jethanand |
| 60 | Desert Flower KG School | |
| 76 | Public Health Water Tank (Male) | |
| 218 | GPS Shakeel Bajwa | Naresh Kumar |
| 219 | GPS Saleh Soomro | |
| 247 | GPS Nabi Sar Road | |
| 244 | GPS Piyaro Kolachi | OM Parkash |
| 214 | GMS Faqir Ahmed Ali (Female) | |
| 242 | GPS Fakhar-ul-Din Shah | |
| 241 | GPS Haji Ismail Chandio | Aneel Kumar |
| 243 | BHU Shah Farm | |
| 186 | GGPS Ameer Mohallah Kunri | |
| 200 | GPS Sarmast Rind (Female) | Santosh Kumar |
| 201 | GPS Kunri Memon (Male) | |
| 197 | GPS Rahmat Colony (Female) | |
| 60 | Desert Flower KG School | |
| 91 | GPS Halo Khan Rahimoon | |
| 58 | GPS Chandi Ram Paro (Male) | |
| 59 | GBPS Wasoo Mal Malhi (Female) | |
| 126 | GBPS Jarkhari Haji Nazar Muhammad | |
| 138 | GPS Jogi Colony (Male) (P) | |
| 171 | GHS Khokhrapar | |
| 87 | GBPS Mohakum Singh | |
| 191 | GGHSS Ghazali Kunri (Female) | |
| 193 | GGPS Main Kunri (Female) | |
| 186 | GGPS Ameer Mohallah Kunri | |
| 182 | GPS Gomind Bajeer Aserlo (Comb) | |

The result in the previous election (2008):

| | |
|--------------------------|---------|
| Registered voters | 274,851 |
| Total votes polled | 136,944 |
| Valid votes | 130,986 |
| Rejected votes | 5,958 |
| Turn-out | 48.8% |
| Winning candidate | 75,080 |
| Runner-up | 30,079 |
| Minority candidate votes | 22 |

1. The winner was Nawab Muhammad Yousuf Talpur (PPPP).
2. The runner-up was M.Qasim Soomro (Independent).
3. The minority candidate was Ponjo Bheel (MQM).

NA-229 THARPARKAR-I



This constituency consists of two tehsils; Mithi and Diplo. Mithi is the District headquarter. 80% of the population lives in the desert and is without basic necessities of life. Islamkot, Chelhaar, Kaloi, Rehmanabad, Thar Nabi Sir, Santhoro Farm and Ali Bandar are other important settlements. This constituency has border with Badin in the east, the Rann of Kachh in the south, Arabian Sea in the west and Mirpur Khas in the north.

Non-Muslim minorities constitute 53% of the population. Six candidates from the non-Muslim minority (Hindu) community were contesting election from this constituency. They were Gomoon Mal of Sindh Taraqi Pasand Party, Mangharam of MQM,

while Engineer Gyanchand, Manoj Kumar Malani, Mahesh Kumar Malani and Hamoon were independent candidates. 48 % voters are Hindus (Thakur, Koihi, Bheel, Meghwar and others).

The total number of registered voters was 264,359 (only 8,669 more than the total of 255,640 in 2008), of whom 121,314 were female voters. Registered voters belonging to non-Muslim minority communities, most of them Hindu, were 114,500. PPPP's Faqir Sher Muhammad Bilalani won this seat with 88,218 votes. The runner-up was Arbab Togachi Fawad Razzaq, who secured 86,097 votes. Despite a large percentage of registered minority voters, no minority candidate could save his security deposit. Gomoon Mal of Sindh Taraqi Pasand Party, Mangharam of MQM and independent non-Muslim minority candidates Manoj Kumar Malani, Mahesh Kumar Malani, and Hamoon got 743, 534, 647, 85 and 628 votes, respectively. For the first time a woman Hajiani of Qaumi Awami Tehreek was also contesting the election. She polled only 1,099 votes and lost her security deposit.

Engineer Gianchand, Juman Lund and Muhammad Mian withdrew in favour of the PPPP candidate and ran his campaign. Engineer Gianchand particularly accused Arbab Ghulam Rahim of trying to rig the election process and filed a petition in the court for an injunction.

This constituency is considered a political stronghold of the Arbab family. Nehrio tribe is the largest of all and Arbab is the title of their chieftains. Nehrios always vote for Arbabs even if they are living in other constituencies. Rahmaa'n is the second largest tribe here and supports the Arbabs. Junejo, Raahimo, Samejo and Bajeer are other major Muslim tribes who live in different villages. The Hindu castes settled here include Meghwar, Koihi, Bheel, Lohana, Mahraj and Rajput. They also usually support the Arbab family.

Tribal and caste systems are quite strong in this constituency. Members of all communities, whether Hindu or Muslim, strictly follow the decisions of their elders in election matters. Defiance of these decisions is considered a social rebellion. Nobody can survive in the tribal system without following its code.

Dhatki, Marwari, Parki, Wat and Sindhi are commonly spoken languages. Outsiders cannot decide whether a local person is Hindu or Muslim. People belonging to different faiths have been living in perfect harmony and peace. Both Hindu and Muslim celebrate each other's religious festivals together. Arbab family is very strictly opposed to forced conversion of non-Muslims.

In Mithi a majority of the population is Hindu. Malani family

always supported PPP here and contested election against the Arbabs. Dr. Mahesh Malani has been president of PPP in the tehsil. Thakurs and Rajputs living in this constituency vote according to the directions of the Rana family. After the death of Rana Chandar Singh, Rana Hameer Singh leads the family and is a supporter of Arbabs. HRCP observer was told that non-Muslim candidates tried

HRCP election-monitoring team in this constituency found that a pamphlet had been distributed against non-Muslim candidates. It was clearly mentioned in this pamphlet that Muslims were prohibited from casting votes for infidels. (کافروں کو ووٹ دینا حرام ہے) No action was reported to have been taken against the publishers of the pamphlet.

their best to persuade voters of their community to vote for them and free themselves of their bondage to Arbabs but failed. (One leader of the Hindu community later on told HRCP that this time the non-Muslim voters decided to end the Arbabs' hegemony." These communities have been living under the unannounced rule of Arbabs for decades.

The socio-economic condition of the people in Tehsil Tharparkar continues to deteriorate as livelihood sources of poor families, like agricultural lands and livestock, are fast shrinking and rainfall is low. Over 70 per cent of the poor in Tharparkar

were provided with micro-credit to boost their meagre income, but it has made no difference.

HRCP election-monitoring team in this constituency found that a pamphlet had been distributed against non-Muslims candidates. It was clearly mentioned in this pamphlet that Muslims were prohibited from casting votes for infidels. (کافروں کو ووٹ دینا حرام ہے) No action was reported to have been taken against the publishers of the pamphlet.

During the electoral process the law and order situation in this constituency was bad. There were clashes among workers of contesting parties over complaints of bogus voting at many polling stations. Workers of contesting candidates were influencing voters to vote for their favourite parties. Presiding Officers, Assistant Presiding Officers and polling agents also were found asking voters to cast their votes for particular parties. One polling agent from an influential political party in the constituency was alleged to have kidnapped the whole election staff including the Presiding Officer and Assistant Presiding Officer and taken away ballot boxes.

The Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) had ordered re-polling at 47 polling stations following incidents of violence where armed supporters of rival parties had snatched polling material.

The final result was:

| | Name | Votes polled |
|----|------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. | Arbab Togachi Fawad Razzak | 86,097 |
| 2 | Arbab Faisal Razzak | 206 |
| 3 | Arbab Naimatullah | 148 |
| 4 | Engineer Gianchand | 0 |
| 5 | Juman Lund | 0 |
| 6 | Hajjani | 1,099 |
| 7 | Arbab Ghulam Rahim | 104 |
| 8 | Manoj Kumar Malani | 647 |
| 9 | Faqir Sher Muhammad Bilalani | 88,218 |
| 10 | Gomoon Mal | 743 |
| 11 | Mangharam | 534 |
| 12 | Mahesh Kumar Malani | 85 |
| 13 | Mohammad Mean | 0 |
| 14 | Hamoon | 628 |

Faqir Sher Muhammad Bilalani (Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians)

| | | | |
|--------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|
| Total | 178,509 | 8640 | 187,149 |
| | Valid votes | Rejected votes | Total votes cast |

Polling stations observed by the HRCP election-monitoring team:

| PS No. | Polling station | Observer |
|---------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 | GHS Diplo (Male) | Teerath Das |
| 2 | GPS Main Diplo (Male) | |
| 4 | GGPS Main Diplo (Female) | |
| 20 | GMS Verhijhap (Male) | Bhorolal |
| 21 | GGPS Verhijhap (Female) | |
| 249 | GPS Main Chelhar | |
| 90 | GPS Haji Bhoot(Male) | Juma Khan Peer & Asad Peer |
| 79 | GMS Rehman Abad New Building | |
| 85 | GPS Madad Ali Nohari | |
| 84 | GPS Phant Farm | |

| | | |
|-----|------------------------------------|---|
| 85 | GPS Madad Ali Nohari | Haji Daras and Shabbir Ahmed |
| 92 | GPS Haji Ibrahim Dars (Male) | |
| 20 | GMS Verhijhap (Male) | |
| 198 | GPS Rohiro | |
| 72 | GPS Kot Arbab Mir Mohammad (Male) | |
| 81 | GPS Yousif Soomro | |
| 82 | GPS Jumoon Khaskheli | |
| 79 | GMS Rehman Abad New Building | |
| 74 | GPS Yousif Lund | |
| 89 | GPS Dodharo Farm | |
| 60 | GPS Gureri | |
| 61 | GHS Khetlari (Male) | |
| 135 | GPS Haido | |
| 134 | GPS Nohato | |
| 114 | Medical Dispensary Chonhar | Engr. Pardeep/Musri Maghwar Madam Sheila,Verkha,Jawanti Rajnesh,Sheila,Verkha, Jawanti |
| 132 | GPS Mevawari | |
| 141 | GPS Mahraj Colony Mithi (Male) | |
| 250 | GPS Meghwar Paro Chelhar (Male) | |
| 190 | GPS Harijan Colony Gorano (Female) | |
| 154 | GPS Bajeer Colony (Male) | |
| 231 | GPS Pabuhar Main (Female()) | |
| 17 | GMBS Helario (Female) | |
| | | |
| 131 | GPS Bilawal Otho | |
| 133 | GPS Bachal Otho | |
| 251 | GPS Rasani Colony Chelhar (Female) | |
| 153 | GGHS North Colony Mithi (Female) | |
| 139 | GGHS Mithi West (Male) | |
| 166 | GPS Khakhniar Rahim Ali | Dr.Heeraanand and Santosh Kumar |
| 115 | GPS Nathro | |
| 158 | GPS Islamkot (Male) | |
| 161 | Community Centre Islamkot (Female) | |
| 162 | GPS Islamkot Main (Male) | |

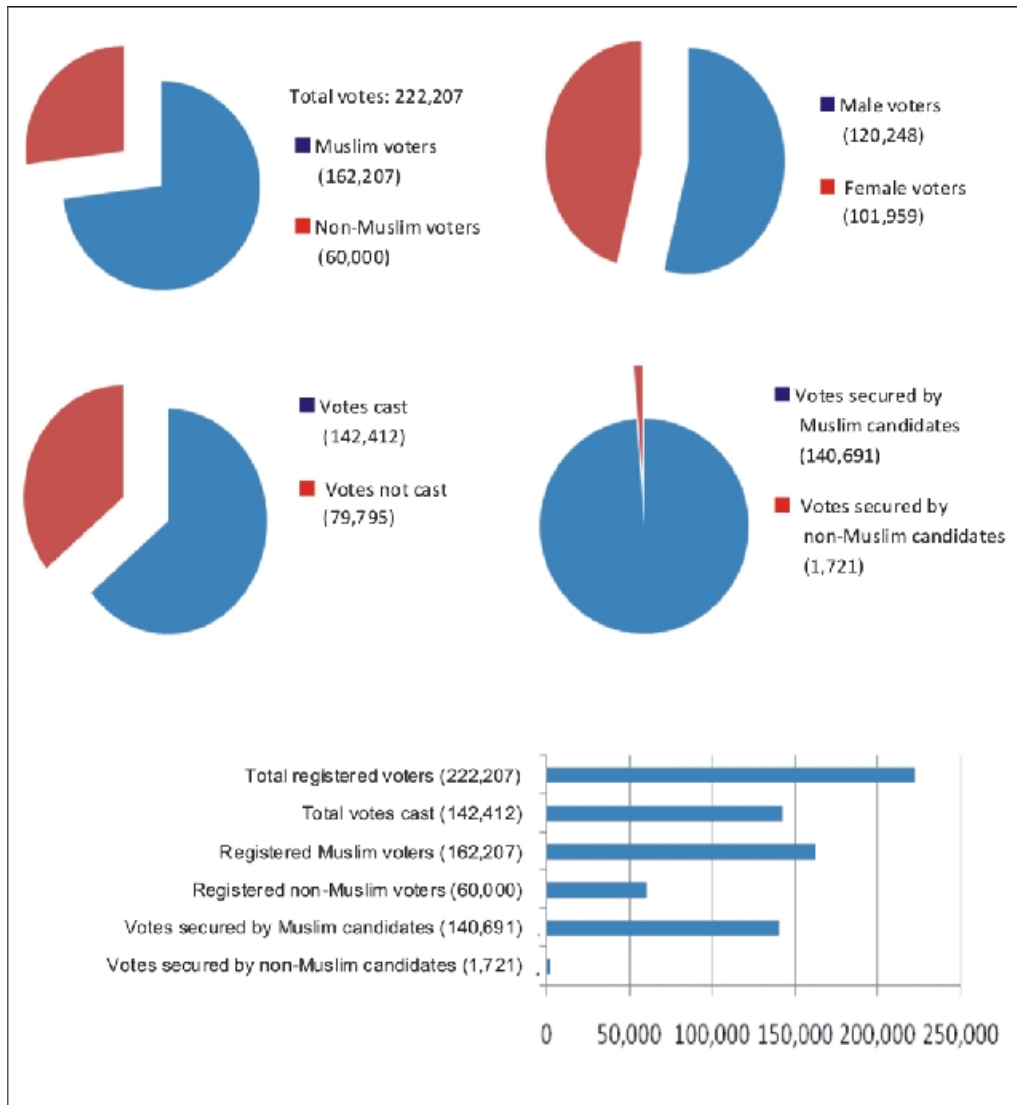
| | | | |
|-----|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|
| 164 | GPS Mataro Sand | | |
| 273 | GPS Raryaro | | |
| 91 | GGPS Haji Bhoot (Female) | Sandesh/Sanwal | |
| 88 | GPS Kumhalo | | |
| 89 | GPS Dodharo Farm | | |
| 86 | GHS Kaloi (Male) | | |
| 87 | GPS Kaloi (Female) | | |
| 90 | GPS Haji Bhoot(Male) | | |
| 167 | GPS Borli Mosepota | | |
| 160 | GGPS Kolhi Colony Islamkot (Male) | | |
| 157 | GPS Malhi Colony Islamkot (Female) | | |
| 162 | GPS Islamkot Main (Male) | | |
| 159 | GGHS Islamkot (Female) | | SUBhash & Pertab |
| 172 | GPS Sangrasi Paro Jogi Marhi | | |
| 146 | GPS North Colony Mithi (Male) | | |
| | | | |
| 144 | GPS Mithi Main (Male) | | |
| 140 | GGMS Luhana Paro Mithi (Female) | Lal Kunwar | |
| 141 | GPS Mahraj Colony Mithi (Male) | | |
| 226 | GPS Kharo Habib @ Wali Jo Tar | | |
| 247 | GPS Godhiyar | | |
| 222 | GPS Megh Khawria | | |
| 269 | GPS Meghe Jo Tar | Social Worker Juma Khan Babbar | |
| 78 | GPS Bahadar Babur | | |
| 82 | GPS Jumoon Khaskheli | | |
| 81 | GPS Yousif Soomro | | |

The result in the previous election (2008):

| | |
|----------------------------|---------|
| Registered voters | 255,690 |
| Total votes polled | 168,569 |
| Valid votes | 164,597 |
| Rejected votes | 3,972 |
| Turn-out | 65.9% |
| Winner | 135,697 |
| Runner-up | 28,411 |
| No. of minority candidates | 03 |

1. The winner was Arbab Zaka Ullah (PML).
2. Runner-up was a non-Muslim candidate Mahesh Kumar Malani (PPPP).
3. Dr. Khatu Mal and Dr. Manoj Kumar Malani were two other non-Muslim candidates (Independents). They secured 25 and 11 votes, respectively.

NA-235 SANGHAR-CUM-MIRPURKHAS-CUM-UMARKOT



This constituency consists of Tehsil Jam Nawaz Ali and Tehsil Khipro. It lies in fertile, canal-irrigated plains except for the desert area in its eastern part from Jamrao Head to Khipro Taluka. Locals are mostly dependent for their livelihood on agriculture or livestock breeding.

Registered voters in the constituency are 222,207 (up by 22,485 over the 2008 figure of 199,722) of whom 120,248 are male voters. The number of non-Muslim voters is 60,000.

Two non-Muslim candidates (Hindu), Devdas (MQM) and Dharmoon Mal (Independent), were contesting election from this

constituency. Pir Sadaruddin Shah (PML-F) was the winner with 74,062 votes and PPPP's Shazia Marri runner-up with 62,231 votes. Both the non-Muslim candidates lost their security deposit and polled only 1,617 and 104 votes, respectively.

This constituency is a stronghold of Pir Pagara's followers. Like other tehsils in Sindh anti-PPPP vote here is sparsely distributed. Voters based in rural areas outnumber the urban voters. This constituency also has a substantial number of committed supporters of PPPP but not enough to guarantee its victory.

The major tribes/castes in the constituency are Solangi, Daras, Sammo, Mangrio, Rajarr and Khaskheli. Most of them are followers of Pir Pagara. Chaang, Leghari, and Sanjrani are also prominent tribes settled here. Qaimkhani, Khanzada, Qureshi, Bhatti and Ansari are Urdu and Punjabi speaking families settled in

Tehsil Khipro. Landlords here usually participate in elections but generally it is difficult for anyone to win without the support of Pir Pagara.

At polling station 23 GPS Luqman Rajar polling agents of all contesting candidates were not present. Secrecy for voters to freely cast their ballots was being violated by the polling staff. There was very poor display of discipline by voters, party workers and polling staff and they were deliberately not following ECP's code of conduct. Outsiders were harassing voters. There was no security arrangement for voters.

The Hindu community constitutes a significant proportion of the population in this constituency. They are the leading traders. Low-caste Hindus work as day-labourers on farms of different feudal lords and Seths. Most of the Hindu voters vote according to the instructors of their landlords and Seths. As in other constituencies where Hindus have a large number of votes, here too

candidates did not bother to approach the Hindu voters. Instead they sought the support of their landlords to get their votes. Koihi, Meghwar, Bheel, Malhi, Odh and Bhaat are major Hindu castes settled in different parts of the constituency. Their settlements lack basic necessities. In the past different political parties supported and elected upper-caste Hindu candidates which further undermined the condition of low-caste Hindus (scheduled castes).

During the process of submission of nomination papers the returning officer asked offensive questions about caste system in Hinduism which embarrassed the candidates.

Only two candidates from the majority community approached non-Muslim minority citizens for their votes. They also requested them to run their election campaign.

The election process in the constituency was normal. However, minor clashes among workers of contesting parties (mostly PPPP and PML-F) were reported at some polling stations.

At some polling stations Presiding Officers and Assistant

Presiding Officers complained of insufficient supply of polling material.

At polling station 43 GPS Taj Muhammad Siyal, rejected and tendered votes were not documented. There was no security arrangement. The Presiding Officer also complained of shortage of staff.

At polling station 22 Lon Khan ECP' code of conduct was not being followed. The polling staff and voters had security concerns but no security measures were taken.

At polling station 23 GPS Luqman Rajarr polling agents of all contesting candidates were not present. Secrecy for voters to freely cast their ballots was being violated by polling staff. There was very poor display of discipline by voters, party workers and polling staff and they were deliberately not following ECP's code of conduct. Outsiders were harassing voters. There was no security arrangement for voters.

At PS 143 polling was suspended for one hour on complaints of casting of bogus votes. The polling staff did not appear to be properly trained.

The result was:

| | Name | Votes polled |
|----|----------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. | Pir Sadaruddin Shah | 74,062 |
| 2. | Devdas | 1,617 |
| 3. | Dharmoon Mal | 104 |
| 4. | Meer Hassan Dars | 370 |
| 5. | Qurat Ul Ain Marri | 37 |
| 6. | Shazia Marri | 62,231 |
| 7. | Haji Taj Muhammad Khan | 44 |
| 8. | Muhammad Iqbal Rajput | 35 |

**Pir Sadaruddin Shah
(Pakistan Muslim League
(F))**

| | | | |
|--------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|
| Total | 138,500 | 3,912 | 142,412 |
| | Valid votes | Rejected votes | Total votes cast |

Polling stations visited by HRCP observers:

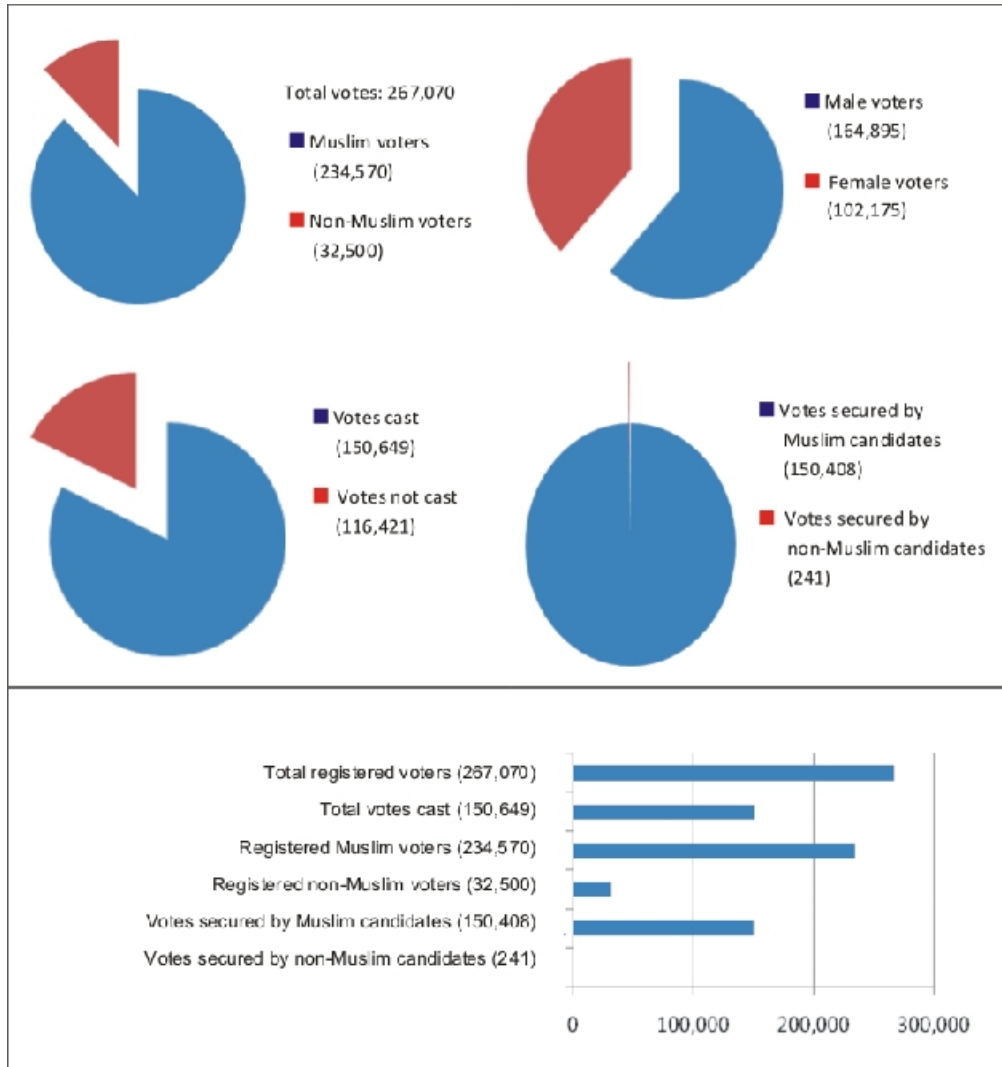
| PS No. | Polling station | Observer |
|--------|---|--------------------|
| 164 | Govt. High School Berani (Male) (P) | Shabana Kausar |
| 166 | Govt. Primary school. Sindhi Berani (female) (P) | |
| 165 | Govt. Primary school Urdu Berani (female) (P) | |
| 170 | Govt. Primary School Jan Muhammad Kaloi (P) | Muhammad Saleem |
| 57 | Govt. High School (Female) (T) | |
| 56 | GOVT. Girls High School Hathongo (Male) (P) | |
| 12 | GOVT. Main Primary School Khipro (Comb) (P) | |
| 03 | Union Council Khipro (Female) (P) | Imran Ghulam Qadir |
| 05 | Govt Girls Primary School Khipro (Female) (P) | |
| 18 | GPS Budho Khan Bozdar (T) | |
| 54 | GPS.Manin Sindhi Hathungho (Comb) T | Ghulam Qadir |
| 137 | Govt High School D in Muhammad Junejo (Male) (T) | |
| 140 | Govt. Primary School Din Muhammad Junejo (Female) (P) | Ibrahim Khilji |
| 139 | Govt. Primary School Din Muhammad Junejo (Male) (P) | |
| 163 | Govt. High School, Berani (Male) (P) | |
| 162 | Union Council Berani (Male) (P) | Anwar Ali Chakrai |
| 176 | Govt. Primary School Mazar Kashkali (Comb) (P) | |
| 01 | Govt. Girls High School Khipro (Comb) (P) | Ghulam Murtaza |
| 16 | Govt. Primary School Dodu Rind (Male) (P) | |
| 12 | Govt. Main Urdu Primary School Khipro (Comb) (P) | |
| 06 | Assistant Director Education Officer Elementary Khipro (Female) (P) | Zulfiqar Ali |
| 15 | Govt. Degree College Khipro (Female) (T) | |
| 11 | Govt. Islamia High School. Khipro (Comb) (P) | |
| 179 | Union Council. Jam Jani (Male) (P) | Muhammad saleem |
| 180 | Govt. Primary School Rasheed Khan Mari Deh Dharhan (Female) (P) | |
| 169 | Govt. Primary School, Balo Khan Malokani (P) | |
| 158 | RHC Jam Nawaz Ali (Male) (P) | Siraj uddin Theem |
| 165 | Govt. Primary School Urdu Barani (Female) (P) | |
| 167 | Govt. Primary School Talib Ali Deh 58 Jamrao (P) | |
| 143 | Govt. Dispensary Taj Muhammad Siyal at Boreji Stop (Male) | Iftikhar ali |
| 22 | Govt. High School Loon Khan (Comb) (P) | |
| 23 | Govt. Primary School Luqman Rajar (Male) (P) | |

The result in the previous election (2008):

| | |
|---------------------------|---------|
| Registered voters | 199,722 |
| Total votes polled | 104,997 |
| Valid votes | 101,681 |
| Rejected votes | 3,316 |
| Turn-out | 52.61% |
| Winning candidate | 68,122 |
| Runner-up | 31,997 |
| No. of minority candidate | 1 |

1. The winner was Ghulam Dastageer Rajar (PML-F).
2. Runner-up: Sarfaraz Rajar (PPPP).
3. Minority candidate was Devdas (Independent) who secured 25 votes.

NA-129 LAHORE XII



90.5% of the population of this Lahore constituency lives in the rural area spread across 88 hamlets and the remaining 9.5% live in urban areas. According to the polling scheme of Election Commission of Pakistan NA-129 was divided into 223 polling stations.

The total number of registered voters in the constituency was 267,070, up by 66,135 or by 32.9 percent over the 2008 figure of 200,935), of whom 102,175 were female voters. There were around 32,500 registered non-Muslim minority (mostly Christian) voters in this constituency.

Two non-Muslim (Christian) candidates, Nasir Gill,

nominated by MQM, and Pervaiz Masih (independent) were in the field. Mian Muhammad Shahbaz Sharif of PML-N won this seat with 94,007 votes while Muhammad Mansha Sindhu of PTI was the runner-up with 35,781 votes. The non-Muslim candidates Pervaiz Masih and Nasir Gill could secure only 191 and 50 votes, respectively, and lost their security deposits.

NA-129 comprises a large rural area surrounding Lahore. On one side this constituency stretches from Ludhar village to Laliani town, including villages like Jaman, Lakhoki and Jathol that share their boundaries with the Indian border and on the other side it includes Nishtar Colony, Bank Stop and small villages located along the Ferozepur Road. Other important villages are Pandoki, Kahna and Attari. This constituency has 13 union councils in all.

Mayo, Jat, Rajput, Arain and Kumhar are major castes. 40% of the voters are either Jat or Mayo. In the previous election the caste system and different interest groups had played decisive roles.

The religious faith of the main minority community is Christianity. Union Council 142, comprising Youhanabad, Khaliq Nagar, Hamza Town, Dulu Kalan, Dulu Khurd, Asif Town No 1, Asif Town No 2 and Kankar, is the hub of minority voters.

A majority of the Christian population lives in Youhanabad which is centrally located along Ferozepur Road between Gajomata on the left and Nishtar Colony on its right. With a population of 150,000, Youhanabad is generally considered as the largest single Christian settlement in Pakistan. The Christian community here is economically marginalized and works as day-labourers on farms, while some are employed in factories and at the Water And Sanitation Authority.

Men and women enthusiastically participated in the electoral process and voted for their favourite candidates.

The non-Muslim candidates were worried about the absence of their representatives in legislative bodies. They believe that non-Muslim candidates elected in general elections can highlight the real issues faced by the religious minorities. They think that the Christian candidates nominated by the political parties for the reserved seats are not true representatives of the community.

Pervaiz Masih the independent non-Muslim candidate from the constituency, told HRCP: "I am really fed-up with the political parties because they are focusing on selection and not on direct election. Major political parties have already made up their minds and selected Christians as their candidates on reserved seats for the Provincial and the National Assembly. As an independent candidate I was fully aware that I would lose the election but now I am satisfied that I decided to take part in the direct election. The issue is not winning or losing, my campaign is just a message to the so-called selected Christians representing their non-democratic political parties."

In a pre-poll survey of the constituency political workers belonging to different political parties were observed delivering hate speeches about such incidents as the riot in Lahore's Joseph Colony. In their electioneering rallies no mainstream political party focused upon the rights of the religious minorities. There were complaints that a large number of men and women had not been registered as voters.

Minority candidates told the HRCP observers that though they solicited votes from their religious minority community on the basis of belief but in vain. They were of the view that voters cast their votes for parties and did not vote for independent candidates.

Three Muslim candidates approached non-Muslim minority voters for their votes and also requested them to run their campaigns.

Pervaiz Masih the independent non-Muslim candidate from the constituency, told HRCP: "I am really fed-up with the political parties because they are focusing on selection and not on direct election. Major political parties have already made up their minds and selected Christians as their candidates on reserved seats for the Provincial and the National Assembly. As an independent candidate I was fully aware that I would lose the election but now I am satisfied that I decided to take part in the direct election. The issue is not winning or losing, my campaign is just a message to the so-called selected Christians representing their non-democratic political parties."

All the major political parties were contesting this National Assembly seat, with no less than 24 candidates in the field.

Polling started on time at all polling stations. The HRCP team visited around 30 polling stations in this constituency and found that on the whole the polling process was going on smoothly. The polling staff deputed belonged mainly to the Education Department and included some minority members as well. Proper security measures were taken in view of the large number of minority communities voters. No unpleasant incident took place on the polling day. All political parties were providing transport facilities to voters in vehicles bearing their party symbols.

At some of the polling stations visited by HRCP observes the polling agents of minority candidates were not present. Only candidates from major political parties had appointed their polling agents.

Due to errors in electoral lists a large number of minority voters were unable to cast their votes. Some residents of Youhanabad complained that their votes had been registered in distant localities and for that reason they stayed home.

At polling station 104 Govt. Middle School for Boys Dulu Khurd (Male) polling time was extended by one hour. Most of the polling agents were not present at the time of vote counting. Many

votes were rejected as the polling staff was not properly trained and voters did not know how to stamp the ballot paper.

At polling station 94 Nishtar Girls College, Nishtar Colony Ferozepur Road Lahore (Female), no polling agent could arrive on time. After the sealing of ballot boxes, signatures of polling agents were not taken. Policemen were entering the polling booth off and on.

At polling station 74 Lahore College of Technology and Management 18-Km Ferozepur Road Lahore (Male), the voters' bona fide was challenged and some were not provided with ballot papers. The same was the situation with regard to voters who wanted to tender their votes. Serious discrepancies were also noticed in the polling list. Candidates were providing potential voters free transportation.

The result was:

| | Name | Votes polled |
|----|---|---------------------|
| 1. | Chaudhry Saleem Ali | 189 |
| 2. | Allah Ditta Heera | 69 |
| 3. | Mureed Ali | 281 |
| 4. | Tariq Shabbir | 11,633 |
| 5. | Zulfiqar Khalid | 109 |
| 6. | Muhammad Ejaz Awan | 36 |
| 7. | Muhammad Abid Jalali | 583 |
| 8. | Hafiz Haider Ali | 54 |
| 9 | Mian Muhammad Shahbaz Sharif (over 63.8 percent of the valid votes) | 94,007 |
| 10 | Abid Hameed Khan Meo | 313 |
| 11 | Muhammad Saeed Ahmad | 850 |
| 12 | Muhammad Liaqat | 1,203 |
| 13 | Arshad Ali | 87 |
| 14 | Afzaal Azeem Pahat | 56 |
| 15 | Abdul Haq | 183 |

Mian Muhammad Shahbaz Sharif (Pakistan Muslim League- N)

| | | |
|----|----------------------|--------|
| 16 | Pervaiz Masih | 191 |
| 17 | Nasir Gill | 50 |
| 18 | Muhammad Mansha | 35,781 |
| 19 | Hakim Ali Khan | 990 |
| 20 | Muhammad Nawaz | 68 |
| 21 | Nadeem Iqbal Pahat | 247 |
| 22 | Chaudhry Zahid Akram | 120 |
| 23 | Muhammad Nawaz Awan | 82 |
| 24 | Salah Ud Din | 75 |

| | | | |
|--------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|
| Total | 147,257 | 3,392 | 150,649 |
| | Valid votes | Rejected votes | Total votes cast |

HRCP election observation team, led by Nadeem Anthony, Advocate, comprised: Aftab Javed, Adeel Ahmed, Ms Parveen Ajmal, Sohail Johnson, Naeem Ghouri, Nadeem Abbas, Muhammad Safdar and Kamran Yusuf.

The HRCP team observed the poll in the following areas of this constituency:

1. Nishtar Colony, Glaxo Factory, Attari Sroba, Kamaha'n, Sufiabab.
2. Dulu Kalan, Dulu Khurd, Youhanabad, Khaliq Nagar, Asif Town.
3. Gajomata Pind, Gulzar Colony, Rehmat Park, Ghosia Colony, Thalay Panjo.
4. Kahna Nau, Gulzar Park, Eidgah, Kashmiri Patti.

The result in the previous election (2008):

| | |
|---------------------------|---------|
| Registered voters | 200,935 |
| Total votes polled | 96,154 |
| Valid votes | 93,717 |
| Rejected votes | 2,437 |
| Turn-out | 47.9% |
| Winning candidate | 36,604 |
| Runner-up | 29,058 |
| No. of Minority candidate | 1 |

1. The winner was Tariq Shabbir Advocate (PPPP).
2. Runner-up was Major.(R).Habib Ullah Warriach (PML).
3. Minority candidate was Naila Joesph Dayal (independent) who secured 699 votes.