

# ***Electoral Politics in NWFP: A Study of 1937 Elections***

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## **Abstract**

*In this paper an attempt has been made to determine electoral politics and voting trends in NWFP<sup>1</sup> during 1937 elections. The literature on electoral behaviour shows that there is a difference of opinions among scholarly community and have little compromise on what determines voting behaviour during these elections. Some scholars focused on the importance of groups, while others have expressed the importance of individuals. Some have argued that the significant factor is kinship, while others have asserted that it is a class. Some have highlighted the role of socio economic changes while others have maintained the role of local power structure measured on the basis of existing models of electoral politics. This study has a multidimensional approach towards analysing the determinants of electoral politics and voting behaviour in the NWFP during 1937 elections.*

## **Introduction/Theoretical Frame Work**

Electoral politics during 1937 has been analysed within the frame work of four electoral models. These models include

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1 Presently, this province is renamed as Khyber Pakhtun Khwa (KPK). As it was named NWFP in 1937 and the author himself has used NWFP.

sociological model known as School of Columbia,<sup>2</sup> and focuses on the influences of social factors. In Columbia School voters are like consumers and ads make an impact on their decisions. During 1937 elections in NWFP it seemed that voters would vote for a candidate that looked like them and shared things like religion, social-economic status, and ethnicity. The psychosocial model also identified as School of Michigan,<sup>3</sup> and assumes that party identification is the main factor behind voting behaviour. The Michigan Model is a party identification model. People vote because they feel a sense of belongingness to a certain party. Rational Choice Theory, also referred to as a model of economic voting, or even as School of Rochester, whose milestone work is the work of Anthony Downs (1957) — *An Economic Theory of Democracy* — has stressed on variables such as rationality, choice, uncertainty and information. The Downs Economic Model says that voters are rational utility maximizers who vote to gain the most pleasure. The major problem with this model is that voters need much information for it to work. In retrospective model voters vote on past and present aspects of the election. The popularity of the current government is apparently important here.

### **History of Electoral Politics in NWFP**

The history of electoral politics in NWFP started in 1932 when it became a governor's province under Sir Ralph Griffith on April 18, 1932. Electoral behaviour was deeply rooted in early history when NWFP was the part of Sikh Darbar. This area had been taken by the British from the Sikh Darbar as a result of their victory in the second Anglo-Sikh War of 1849 and had been brought under the administration of Punjab province.<sup>4</sup> The British came into direct contact with these areas of NWFP was in 1808 due to

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2 Columbia School Model is based on Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, *The People's Choice*, 1944.

3 Michigan Model is based on the study of Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes, *The American Voter*, 1960.

4 Syed Waqar Ali Shah, *Muslim League in NWFP* (Karachi: Royal Book Co. 1989), p. 3.

the fear of French attack through Persia and Afghanistan, and they sent a mission to Afghan Amir.<sup>5</sup> On 9 November 1901, Lord Curzon, the then Viceroy of India separated the Frontier region on administrative grounds from Punjab and created a new province of NWFP. Districts of Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan and the political agencies of Malakand, Khyber, Kuram, North Waziristan and South Waziristan were included in newly created province and was placed under the charge of Chief Commissioner and agent to the Governor General, appointed by and directly responsible to the Government of India.<sup>6</sup>

On the establishment of NWFP and separation of five districts from Punjab, these areas did not experience the electoral and other constitutional benefits of the British representative institutions due to internal insecurity and strategic location,<sup>7</sup> but awareness of the representative institutions had already been started in the Frontier after the uprising of 1857 when British launched representative institutions in India to make stronger administration. Famous notables were asked to join Governor's Councils which served as advisory bodies.<sup>8</sup> In 1884, the first restricted franchise elections were held for local government institutions in India. In 1892, members of these institutions were given the right to elect some members of the provincial legislatures, who in turn elected a limited number of central legislature members. The Government of India Acts of 1909 and 1919 continued to expand franchise and the number of elected representatives. Following the civil disobedience campaigns of the Khudai Khidmatgars, in 1930-32, the

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5 Erland Janson, *India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan: The National Movements in the North-West Frontier Province, 1937-47* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wikell International, 1981), p. 24.

6 Syed Waqar Ali Shah, *North West Frontier Province: History and Politics* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 2007), p.12.

7 William Barton, *Journal of Royal Central Asian Society*, Vol. XIX, January 1932, Part I, p. 17.

8 David Washbrook, 'The Rhetoric of Democracy', In Sugata Bose and Ayesha Jalal, eds., *Nationalism, Democracy and Development: State and Politics in India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

British Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald announced the status of NWFP to a Governor's province at the concluding session of Second Round Table Conference.<sup>9</sup> The Khudia Khidmatgars had strengthened their influence in the NWFP both by creating new organizations and as in Bannu taking grip over the old Congress district organization. Earlier the loyalist Khans had petitioned for reforms which had become a long standing Muslim demand. The Muslim League which drew its main support from this social grouping had also supported the idea of reform from its platform. Under the new scheme, Sir Ralph Griffith, the then Chief Commissioner of NWFP, was made the first Governor of NWFP on April 18, 1932. On the same day, Lord Willingdon, the Viceroy of India inaugurated the NWFP Legislative Council. The council consisted of 40 members including 28 elected and 12 nominated. Among them 22 were to be Muslims, 5 Hindus, and 1 Sikh. The nominated members comprised of 5 Europeans, 1 Sikh official, 1 Muslim, 4 non-official Muslims and 1 Sikh non official. KB Ghafoor Khan of Zaida, a nominated member, was made the first President, Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum was appointed the Minister in charge of the transferred Department, and Sheikh Abdul Hamid, a member of the provincial civil service, was appointed as Secretary of the Council. It was made clear that council or the ministers had no say in the administration of the tribal areas as tribal policy remained a central subject under the direct control of the governor who served as the Agent to the Governor-General.<sup>10</sup> After the establishment of Governor's Province in 1932, electoral politics started in NWFP but it was rooted in four earlier historical developments:<sup>11</sup>

- i. The British system of indirect rule,

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9 Shah, *North West Frontier Province: History and Politics*, p. 32.

10 Stephen Alan Rittenberg, *Ethnicity, Nationalism, and the Pakhtuns: The Independence Movement in India's North-West Frontier Province* (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 1988), p.126.

11 Ian Talbot, *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement: The Growth of The Muslim League in North-West and North-East India 1937-47* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p.5.

- ii. The impact of *Khilafat* Movement,
- iii. The reform issue,
- iv. Legacy of the period of Civil Disobedience in 1930-32.

The electoral politics revolved around the colonial interests in NWFP like other parts of India. In order to have an efficient bureaucracy based on favourable public opinion, the British rule emphasized the need for making some provisions for associating local influential elements with the law making process, but through indirect channels.<sup>12</sup> It may be recalled that nomination system was confined to chiefs, nobles and members of the landed aristocracy and it had nothing to do with the idea of popular representation. The British in NWFP turned towards the leading khans (chiefs) to maintain their rule and patronage was provided to them in return for maintaining peace and revenue collections. This system worked smoothly until the 1920s when tenants vs. khanate discontentment started. Small khans and tenants joined the Khudai Khidmatgar's Movement and the government patronage seekers big khans removed from political scene for a time being joined the Muslim League to safeguard their interest.<sup>13</sup>

The Khilafat Movement in 1919 had a deep impact on Frontier politics. The Congress support in favour of Khilafat Movement created a tradition of cooperation between it and the Frontier Muslims who supported khilafat campaigns and became prominent during this period. Among these, the most notable persons were Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Dr. Khan Sahib. The link between Khudai Khidmatgar Movement and Khilafat Movement was sustained through such organisations as the Anjuman-i-Islah-ul-Afghania (Society for the Reform of the Afghans) which was formed in the wake of the collapse of the 'Hijrat' Movement.<sup>14</sup> The demand for political reforms in NWFP led to the strengthening of the anti-British and pro-Congress attitudes

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12 A.C. Bannerjee, *Indian Constitutional Documents*, Vol. 2, (Calcutta, 1948), pp. 135-54.

13 Talbot, *Provincial Politics and the Pakistan Movement*, p. 6.

14 *Ibid.*, p.7.

which had emerged during the Khilafat Movement among the younger sections of Khanate elite.

### **Legislative Council Elections 1932**

These developments formed the background to the legislative elections in the second week of 1932, in which the percentage of voting was very considerable as compared to other parts of India.<sup>15</sup> In the absence of Congress, there was no organized party in the elections, which fragmented into twenty-eight separate races with little or no bearing on one another. Restrictive property qualification limited the electorate to four percent of the population and ensured a legislature dominated by conservative, wealthy men<sup>16</sup>. The non-Muslims who were elected espoused a sectarian philosophy characterized by a distrust of Muslims and presentiments that the Legislative Council would prove disastrous for their communities. The preference of the minority voters was best illustrated by the race in Peshawar where Rai Sahib Mahr Chan Khanna, the Provincial Hindu Sabha leader, received a three to one majority over C.C Gosh, the former PCC President.<sup>17</sup> Mahr Chand Khanna, a banker and urban landowner, had run as a defender of Hindu interests, while Gosh had downgraded communal questions and campaigned as a representative of Congress opinion in a province where the Congress was identified with the Pakhtun community. Similarly, Rai Sahib Rochi Ram, a wealthy government contractor and the President of the Dera Ismail Khan Hindu Saba, scored an easy victory over Bhanju Ram Gandhi, another former Congressman, in Dera Ismail Khan. Nationalist alternatives were absent in the other minority constituencies and the leading candidates fought the elections over who could best protect their communities from the province's Muslim majority.<sup>18</sup> Here party

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15 *Report of the Legislative Council Elections in the North-West Frontier Province for the Year 1932* (Peshawar: Manager, Government Stationary and Printing, 1932), pp. 2-4.

16 Rittenberg, *Ethnicity, Nationalism, and the Pakhtuns*, p. 126.

17 *Lahore Tribune*, March 20, 1932.

18 Rittenberg, *Ethnicity, Nationalism, and the Pakhtuns*, p. 126.

identification model seemed successful as people vote because they feel a sense of belongingness to certain party.

In the two urban Muslim Constituencies, Pir Baksh, the former PCC General Secretary, and Malik Khuda Baksh were elected on the basis of their nationalist reputation. In the rural Muslim Constituencies, in contrast, national credentials mattered less than the status of one's family and the strength of one's gundi. All the successful candidates were members or agents of the dominant elite in their constituencies, as were most of their opponents. The victors included two hereditary Nawabs and one appointed for life, two Arbabs, three other individuals from families of tribal chieftains, one religious leader, and seven men of high tribal status. In selecting the Council's nominated non-officials, the Governor reinforced its conservatism by appointing five Muslims with strong traditional standing. Local considerations dominated the campaign in all constituencies. Tribal divisions or factional alignments determined the outcomes in some, while religious issues materially influenced the results in others. Three men associated with the nationalist movement were elected, but in each case, family and faction had a more important bearing on the outcome than voters' patriotism. For example, Habibullah Khan's record as a former Vice President of the Bannu Congress was of secondary importance in his election. He was victorious principally because he had the backing of one of the two gundis into which the Marwat tribe was divided. Similarly Abdul Qayyum Khan of Safaida captured a seat in Hazara due to personal feuds and religious controversies which split the strength of the leading Swati Khans in his constituency.<sup>19</sup> Sociological model seemed successful in this constituency as electoral politics largely influenced by social factors.

After the council convened, its members polarized into four groups<sup>20</sup>, Nationalist opinion was represented by Azad

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19 *Ibid.*, p. 127.

20 *Administration Report of the North-West Frontier Province, 1932-33*, p. 19.

party headed by Malik Khuda Baksh, nine other Khans formed the Liberal Party and combination of nine professionals and Khans formed the Progressive Party. The seven Hindus and Sikhs grouped together and formed Minority Party. These parties had no organization and ideology.

### **Electoral Politics during 1937 Elections**

Electoral Politics in NWFP during 1937 elections was started on the basis of 1935 Act. The Act of 1935 was the first act which was introduced in NWFP after its provincial status. The government of India Act, 1935 did not introduce the system of universal suffrage, and the right to vote was limited. The property qualifications continued to be the main basis of franchise for both the houses. A much higher standard was adopted for the Upper House with the result that only the wealthiest and privileged persons of very high status enjoyed the right to vote. The franchise for the Lower House was fixed at a much lower level than under the Act of 1919. This resulted in an increase in the number of voters i.e. not more than 14 percent of the total population of British India had the right to vote for provincial assemblies. Previously, only 3 percent of the population had enjoyed the right to vote.<sup>21</sup> The bicameral legislature under the 1935 Act was a mixture of many principles and interests — both democratic and autocratic elements. Provinces were to send directly elected representative on their behalf, the states were given the freedom of sending the nominees of rulers as their representatives to the Central Legislature.

The Provincial Legislature did represent the people through general constituencies. Instead, they were composed of members elected on the basis of constituencies organised according to religion or race, interest or sex. The members of Provincial Legislatures were elected directly, but the extent of the franchise varied from province to province and it was determined on the basis of minimum land revenue, a person paid or on the basis of the house rent. A certain minimum

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21 N.S. Gehlot, *Elections and Electoral Administration in India* (New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publication, 1992), p. 10.



qualification or military services also were considered adequate for franchise. It can be said that the electors were chiefly governed by communal or provincial considerations in their choice while exercising their right vote.<sup>22</sup> Under the 1935 Act, diarchy was replaced by provincial autonomy, while the governors remained the provincial chiefs; all provincial subjects were transferred to ministers who served at the will of popular elected assemblies. The NWFP was conceded the same reforms as other provinces under the Act, although the Governor, in his capacity as the Agent to the Governor General, retained sole control over tribal policy. In December 1936 the nominations of 135 candidates for the Frontier Legislative Assembly took place which later reduced to five parties and groupings. The largest and most organized party was Congress which contested elections under the banner of Provincial Parliamentary Board as Congress was banned in Frontier due to its Civil Disobedience Movement. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was also banned to enter in the province and in his absence Dr. Khan Sahib led the party. The Congress candidates were nominated on the basis of loyalty to the nationalist cause and their prestige in society. In the Muslim rural constituencies the Congress candidates were largely small Khans. Most of the Congress candidates in the Muslim urban and general constituencies were lawyers.

A large number of Khans stood as independent candidates. The leading one among them was Major Nawab Sir Akbar Khan (Nawab of Hoti). Other prominent Khans standing for election were Nawab of Teri, K.B Arbab Sher Ali Khan, Nawab Zada Nasrullah Khan, Nawabzada Allah Nawaz Khan and Nawabzada Mohammad Said Khan. Most Khans outside the Congress represented the same landed interest and mindset of loyalty to the British, but they were unable to form any party of their own or to find some other form of cooperation during the election campaign. In several constituencies the Congress was able to benefit from the fact that the anti-Congress vote was split by rival Khans.<sup>23</sup>

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22 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

23 Governor's Report 12/1/37, 22/2/37.

Electoral Politics in the towns of NWFP was dominated by lawyers including Malik Khuda Baksh and Pir Baksh. They represented the Independent Party, which had been the only real opposition party in the old legislative council. Two other lawyers were Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan and Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar. In the 1937 elections the former represented the Congress and the latter contested as an independent. The urban Congress candidates in the general constituencies were mostly lawyers or doctors. Their main opponents belonged to the Hindu-Sikh Nationalist Party. This party was created during the election campaign by members of the provincial Hindu Sabha and the Sing Sabha. The leaders of the party were mostly prosperous businessmen, who were loyal to the British.<sup>24</sup> The major point of their electoral campaign was the demand of cancellation of the so called Hindu-Gurmukhi circular which had been issued by Sir Abdul Qayyum in October 1935, making Urdu and English the mandatory languages of instruction from the third standard in government-aided schools for girls.<sup>25</sup> The Muslim League did not put up any candidate in NWFP during the 1937 elections. It had attempted without success since 1934 to found an NWFP branch. Jinnah had unsuccessfully attempted to establish an eighteen member Parliamentary Board, with Pir Bakhsh as its convener, during his visit to the province in October 1936. Another group which emerged in these elections was the group of retired senior government servants. Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum was the notable figure of this group. Others were K.B. Kuli Khan, a retired publicity officer of the Frontier government, and K.B Saadullah Khan, a retired Deputy Commissioner who was also a leading landlord in the Charsada Tehsil in Peshawar district. Sir Abdul Qayyum also had strong support from a number of Khans in Hazara district.<sup>26</sup>

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24 Governor's Report 9/11/36.

25 Rittenberg, *Ethnicity, Nationalism, and the Pakhtuns*, pp. 130-31.

26 Governor's Report 9/11/36.

In Peshawar and Mardan, party identification model seemed more important than elsewhere due to political activities and influence of Khudai Khidmatgars in these areas. According to the Governor, Cunningham, the elections in these districts were a straight fight between the Congress and its opponents, irrespective of candidates. Programmes and policies were of little or no importance and instead traditional following and factional considerations were usually decisive.<sup>27</sup> In electoral campaigns, many candidates exploited religious factors. Anti-Congress candidates accused the Congress members, particularly the Khan Brothers and their families, of being under Hindu influence.<sup>28</sup> The role of religious factors along with the more traditional factional politics was noted by the Secretary of State Lord Zetland:

Only in Sindh and the North West Frontier Province were religious issues raised. In these provinces results turned largely on individual personalities, rivalries and tribal loyalties. Although in Peshawar and Mardan constituencies the issue upon which the election was fought was clear cut, Red shirts against the rest. In most of the constituencies the Red shirts won with clear majorities. In the Muslim constituencies in the Punjab general questions of polling counted little, and electors chose their loyal leaders. In Sikh and Hindu constituencies election propaganda was, however, diverted against government.<sup>29</sup>

There is also evidence of candidates standing for election in the hope that they would be paid to withdraw their nomination papers. In many instances a multiplicity of candidates have contested one seat, and there was reason to believe that a number of candidates stood merely in order to secure a bargaining counter for their subsequent withdrawal.<sup>30</sup> In India, as a whole and particularly in NWFP, there cannot be the least doubt that many of the electorates who voted for the first time were unfitted to exercise the franchise intelligently. Many had little notion of what the election was about. In the backward rural areas the Congress

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27 Governor's Report 22/2/37.

28 Erlend Janson, *India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan: The National Movements in the North-West Frontier Province, 1937-47*, p. 71.

29 Zetland Papers, Mss. EUR. D. 609/25B.

30 *Ibid.*

propaganda mainly took these forms. The first a declaration that a vote for Congress meant a vote for Mr. Gandhi, and second the making of the wildest and most irresponsible promises, coupled with violent attacks upon government and upon landlords.<sup>31</sup> Khudai Khidmatgars widely used this technique in NWFP during election campaigns. The big Khans and government were extensively attacked in their speeches.

As the 1937 elections were the first large scale electoral experience in the Indian provinces, so common people were ignorant about the value of their vote. The British reported that in many provinces villagers were told that the Congress voting box was the Gandhi box or even the "*Sarkari*", or "Govt." box. Villagers in some constituencies were informed that all ballot papers dropped into the Congress box would go straight to Mahatma Gandhi, and that person who voted in this way would secure large reduction in rent, while persons who voted against the Congress box would lose their land altogether. They were also told that the victory of the Congress box would be followed by the repeal of unpopular laws. These stories were so implicitly believed that many voters came to look upon the Congress box as invested with supernatural qualities. In some instances prayers were made to the box, and letters and petitions to Mr. Gandhi, and even sums of money were found in the boxes<sup>32</sup>.

Elections for a 50-member Provincial Assembly were scheduled in February 1937. The secrecy and freedom of the ballot were, however, very badly protected by the procedural arrangements. There was a rule which allowed the marking of a ballot paper of an illiterate voter to be witnessed by the polling agent of the candidate for whom the said voter declared he wished to vote. Naturally this made a mockery of the secrecy of the ballot in very many cases and allowed the candidates to influence the voters by fair or foul means.<sup>33</sup> Polling took place between 1 February and 10 February, with

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31 *Ibid.*

32 *Ibid.*

33 *Ibid.*

179,529 voters. This was around 14 per cent of the total population. The turnout rate was 72.8 per cent, highest in the rural Muslim constituencies and lowest among the Sikhs. Results of 1937 elections in NWFP are illustrated in table 3.1 and distribution of Muslim rural seats is shown in table 3.2.

**Table 3.1: Results of the 1937 Elections in the NWFP**

Party	Types of Constituencies						
	Total	General Rural	General Urban	Muslim Rural	Muslim Urban	Sikh	Land-holders
Congress	19	3	1	15	-	-	-
Independent Muslim	21	-	-	18	1	-	2
Hindu-Sikh National Party	7	3	1	-	-	3	-
Independent Hindu	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
Independent Party	2	-	-	-	2	-	-
Total	50	6	3	33	3	3	2

SOURCE: Return showing the results of Elections in India 1937.

In total, the Congress won 19 seats, Hindu-Sikh Nationalist party captured seven and the Independent Party won two seats. The remaining twenty two successful candidates were independents. It was mainly in the Pakhtun rural areas that the Congress did well, especially in Peshawar and Mardan Districts. In Peshawar District all Muslim rural seats were won by the Congress, and in Mardan the Congress won three out of five. In the remaining two Mardan constituencies the Congress candidates had been disqualified. The Congress soon captured these more seats too by filing successful election petitions and then winning the by-elections.

**Table 3.2  
1937 Elections in the NWFP. Distribution of the Muslim Rural Seats**

Party	Districts					
	Peshawar	Mardan	Hazara	Kohat	D.I. Khan	Bannu
Congress	7	3	2	1	1	1
Independent	-	2	7	3	3	3

SOURCE: Returns showing the Results of Elections in India 1937

In the heavily non-Pakhtun District of Hazara the Congress did very badly, winning only two out of nine Muslim urban seats. The Congress position among the urban

Muslims was very weak and no Congressite was returned from the Muslim urban constituencies. The general seats were evenly divided by the Congress and the Hindu-Sikh Nationalist Party. All Sikh seats went to the Hindu-Sikh nationalists. The majority of the successful Muslim independents were Khans closely associated with the British. Shortly after the elections, Sir Abdul Qayyum formed his own party "United Nationalist Party"<sup>34</sup> in the Assembly with the help of independent members. Sir Abdul Qayyum formed the ministry with the coalition of Hindu-Sikh Nationalist Party leaders on 1 April, 1937. On 22 June, 1937, the viceroy made a conciliatory statement which induced the Congress to form ministries in the province. In July 1937, Congress Party took office in seven out of eleven provinces including the NWFP. In NWFP, all the "progressive forces" united round the Congress. Dr. Khan Sahib, the opposition leader, with the help of Hindu-Sikh Nationalist Party and of Hazara Democratic Party, got strength to put a No-Confidence Motion on 3 September 1937; it was passed by 27 votes to 21. He formed a coalition government with Lala Banju Ram Gandhi, Qazi Atta Ullah Khan and Muhammad Abbas Khan, who was a member of Democratic Party, the rest were Congress nominees.<sup>35</sup>

The Congress Ministry in the Frontier remained in office for two years and six weeks. The leading League candidates were Mian Ziauddin, Shah Pasand Khan (an old Khudai Khidmatgar who had obtained league's ticket), Rashid Tahir Kheli, and Sardar Bhadur Khan. In the general elections of 1937, two Congress candidates had been disqualified in two Muslim rural constituencies of Mardan, i.e., Razar and Amazai. Their election petitions having been accepted, the two seats were declared vacant. In Razar-Muslim rural constituency, the contest was between Mian Zia-ud-Din and Kamdar Khan, while in the Amazai-Muslim rural constituency, the contest was between Allah Dad Khan, a nominee of the Congress, and Shah Pasand Khan, a nominee

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34 Shah, *Muslim League in NWFP*, pp. 28-29.

35 Janson *India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan*, p. 71.

of the Muslim League. After tough contest the Khudai Khidmatgars won elections from these two constituencies. By-elections in the Hazara District were of immense importance from the League's point of view. In Haripur North Muslim rural constituency by-elections, Abdur Rashid Tahirkheli, the League's candidate defeated his rivals by a margin of 13 votes only. The total numbers of votes were 3565. The Second World War broke out in September 1939. In common with the rest of the Congress provinces the Frontier Ministry, after passing the anti-war resolution on 6 November, 1939, tendered its resignation and Governor Rule was imposed on 11 November 1939 under Sir George Cunningham.

### **Conclusion**

The electoral politics in NWFP during 1937 was started on the basis of controlled suffrage adopted in the 1935 Act, and were rooted in four historical developments, i.e., the British system of indirect rule, the impact of Khilafat Movement, the reform issues and the legacy of period of Civil Disobedience in 1930-32. During these elections the electoral politics in NWFP revolved around the colonial interest which reflected Down's Economic Theory. During the Elections, politicians used voters for their personal interest and voters became patronage seekers under the garb of these politicians. This electoral behaviour also reflected Down's theory. During the analysis of 1937 Elections, it was found that party identification model was most successful in Central NWFP, while sociological model seemed effective in Hazara and D.I. Khan, where people voted on the basis of social factors.