

Dynamics Of Biraderism In Electoral Politics Of District Toba Tek Singh

Abstract

The objective of this work is to analyze the dynamics of Biraderism in the electoral politics of Punjab in general and on the politics of the District Toba Tek Singh in particular. The perception of Biraderism is dissimilar from the concept of caste system in the Hindu culture and society. Different socio- economic and political aspects of Biraderism which determine the electoral politics, voting behavior and pattern in the subject area are studied and examined. It is a historical-descriptive, comparative and analytical study, which may prove a preliminary foundation for those who are interested in further surveys in this subject matter.

Key Words: *Electoral Politics, Biraderism, Colonial Legacy, Democracy, voting behaviour*

Introduction

The power configuration in Pakistan runs with a legacy that was bequeathed from colonial rule. Punjab, particularly Toba Tek Singh has gone through conspicuous demographic transformation in the aftermath of partition resultantly by migration. Toba Tek Singh is a classic example of the British intrigues. The settlement policy of British worked in this area. It was a battlefield for political intrigues and triggering manipulations. Here the *Biraderi* ties are very strong. Important maneuvering *Biraderies* are *Arain, Jatt* and *Kharral* of Kamalia. The state in its own interest deliberately projected factions and *Biraderies* in Toba Tek Singh. That is the main focal theme in which this research article is framed. There is extensive work done at Punjab level, but a very little is done on the origin and role of *Biraderies* and their politics at the local micro level. Its name was derived after the name of a “*Chaprasi*” *Teko Singh*, who had become a “*Faqir*” and made a pond of water there. Who served water and provided shelter to the passers-by. In this regard, he did great humanitarian services. The small pond called the “*Toba*”. Eventually this area was called Toba Tek Singh and the surrounding area of settlement also known as the same.

In its past, this area was rich with thickly self-growing forests. The honour of the native tribes often motivated them to attack the caravans of the British officers and then hide in the thick jungle. Many tribes and castes declared as criminals by the British on this reason.¹

Very soon, the British government felt it a constant threat because on the

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one side of this was river Ravi and on the other side of *Gugera*, there were government offices. In the centre of the Bar, there was the dangerous Jungle. In 1897, regarding these circumstances a city of Lyallpur planned to settle for administrative purposes. After completion of canal lower Chenab the settlement continued in stages.² This area also served during the First World War to garrison colonies. In that way, the area became a productive land of army needs and agricultural hub. On social set up land holders are stood at higher ranks. In them *Arain, Jatt, Sayed, Kharral* and to some extent *Rajpute, Gujjar* and *Beloch* are at dynamic position as these three also are the political stakeholder *biraderies* along with major four *biraderies*. In local bodies elections 2001 and 2005 a slight share is also gone to other *biraderies* too.

Literature Review

While there is a rich literature on the colonial Punjab and much has been written about Pakistan, Punjab, there is a major gap with respect to local level studies. Yet it is important to have a detailed understanding of the colonial legacy for contemporary Pakistan with respect to the politics of power in the key Punjab province of the country. This colonial legacy is persistent, even after 69 years of partition. It can be witnessed through the mindset of administrative elites in Pakistan. Oscar Lewis writes that in academia behind the democratic system the hypothesis on voting is that the individual is a self determining, by having a capable thinking and set to take his own choice. But, in a kinship structured society..... it is the large extended family, which is the basic component of most decision making. So the preeminent is that voting becomes an extended family process.³ A detailed work on the politics of Pakistan is done in Dr. Muhammad Waseem's book, "State, Society and Politics in Pakistan." That book reveals the penetrating theoretical explanation of Pakistan's politics. *Biraderi* politics do not feature in great deal in this book.⁴

There is another very prominent study by A. R. Wilder who thoroughly studies the election process through its dynamics and trends. Focusing specifically on Punjab Wilder in his book "The Pakistani Voters" gives a comprehensive historical view of the electoral processes of Punjab and point out that here in Punjab *biraderi* is the main social determinant in setting the voting trends of people and also highlights the entirely change pattern of electoral behaviours in Central and Southern areas of Punjab that here politics subjugated by clientilism i.e. *biraderi* linkages and infers that the non-party base elections promoted *biraderism* and there is no room for individualism. He interprets that political dynamic of voting behaviour like party based in urban areas and in the rural paternalistic orientation and the social dynamic is rising.⁵ Tahir Kamran comments on the 1985 elections that non-party bases elections also aggravated the *biraderi* differences. He claimed that in 1985 elections rather than the debates on manifesto of the political parties the contenders tried to win elections on prejudices despite that they had no any national or international issues to address.⁶

Ahmad Mugees doctoral research work on "*Faisal Abad Division key Siyasat per Biraderism Kay Asrat*" is also showing the glimpses of *biraderi* politics at division level. Ahmad Mugees and Fouzia Naseem in their joint effort describe that "Casteism and *Biraderism* are the main component of the culture of

Sub-Continent that had a deep impact on the political alignment of the people.”⁷ This study concludes that culture has deep rooted effects on the political system process. The *biraderi* politics is the leading feature of Indian and Pakistani political process.⁸ While comparing the Pakistan and Indian social system they point out, that “*biraderism*” in Pakistan is a political phenomenon as it is promoted by the non party based elections and nondemocratic forces. Whereas in India these features are not considered even though the social system does impact on the political system. The Caste system gives shelter to elite *Biraderies* that provides shelter and identification that promotes Hindu nationalism, as this elite Hindu class focused on revitalisation of religion that creates an inter-caste discriminations.⁹ They are in view that *biraderi* is the guiding element of an individual’s life in the social and political arena. An individual’s free will does not matter as it is a family issue of prestige, and family is a part of *biraderi* it is nothing without it. *Biraderi* plays an environment in decision making. This study develops link between local politics with *biraderi* politics and argue that in local level elections *biraderies* play a pivotal role. They are right in their argument that *biraderism* the main component of the local culture’ does influence the local bodies’ electorate and it does affect the political system of the state. They offer a new dimension of comparative study of political science. But it is limited and addresses the national level comparison. This can be very helpful in micro local level study.

Political Significance of district Toba Tek Singh

In its initial stage the area is moving on the path of democratization. The following description reveals to what extent the political awareness did the masses had at that time. It is very pertinent to have a view of the political aspect of district Toba Tek Singh as this is always known as a forward looking district. Even it was acquired a very important position in the British era due to higher participation in politics of left and aftermath support the issue rather than involve in communal. As per the settlement of the area, a class of small peasants and middle landlords established, that had trends of acquiring education since the beginning.

This feature consequently gave emergence to peasant organizations and the inception of ‘*Kissan Movement*’ held. Before partition a big number of Sikh settlers were attached with the communist movement. Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru also visited Toba Tek Singh before independence. Despite non-Muslims revolutionists many Muslims were also joined revolutionary movements. Among them President of communist party Ch. Fateh Muhammad and Dr Abdullah Sheikh and Baba Abdul Latif Qaiser were renowned names.¹⁰ Communist preaching had continued till 1971 in Toba Tek Singh. Historical *Kissans* Conference, 200,000 *Kissans* (peasants) and progressive people from all over the country gathered in Toba Tek Singh on 23rd March 1970, and Mulana Bhashani addressed to that Conference. The National press of that time declared Toba Tek Singh as “STALIN GRID” and “LENIN GRID”. Many diplomats of communist countries specially joined this conference, i.e. Professor Eric Supreme, C.R Aslam, etc.¹¹ that conference had a great impact on the political history of Pakistan and led to Land Reforms in Bhutto era. Gradually these communists and leftist movements became to end. Aftermath the city became the symbol of political

awareness in whole Pakistan. With the passage of time the progressive elements began to diminish when East Pakistan was bifurcated. Most of the people of this movement joined Peoples Party, then a time had come when those elements also eliminate in Peoples Party. But now there is no any single movement that can declare itself a *Kissan* Labour Movement. But one thing is very important that this small town played a very crucial role in political awakening and character building of the people. There was no other city which could be at this level, even in joint India and Pakistan.

Toba Tek Singh was a Sub Division in the British era. Most of political workers who belonged to the left, struggled for years for workers and peasants. This was all because in this particular area there were not the biggest land holdings except in Kamalia where Pir (The Sayed Family) of Sindhilianwali held more than 100 acres of land. Central area comprised of small and medium peasants. Educational status and political awakening was very high among them this profile was not present in any other district of that time. Due to political consciousness, there were no any signs of conventional and “*Wadira Culture*” Feudal type landlords. Despite political workers’ local press was also very active, functional and dynamic. This was why the area acquired liberal and development nature of people. Rather than that from the period 1947 to 1962 the participation at the national or provincial level was very low. During Ayub’s era due to this significant feature of Toba Tek Singh, sister of Quaid-e -Azam Miss Fatimah Jinnah got equal votes as General Ayub Khan got here. That was the second city, where Ayub Khan embarrassed. Military rule has totally changed this democratisation development and derailed it and policies of colonial legacy were repeated and local power holders were again predominantly being focused through administrative institutions. Tahir Kamran reports Khalid bin Saeed that

“*Ayub has put the constitutional clock back to the days of the Lord Mayo and Lord Ripon —the late 19th century— democracy in Pakistan, according to Ayub should be a government for the people and by the bureaucratic elite*”.¹²

After Ayub era Yahiya Khan took initiative and held elections in which leading political parties were Bhutto’s PPP and Mujib’s *Awami* party contested along with others and the area of Toba Tek Singh revived its convention and voted for the PPP. But Interesting thing is that faces were the same. The second phase of political development was obstructed in 1977, when the dictatorial rule of General *Zia-UL-Huq* instigated. General *Zia-UL-Huq* was belonged to the *Arain Biraderi*. He put all his efforts and made a strategy to make the TTS a hub of *Arain Biraderi*. So that his *Biraderi* was becoming more stable and played a very active and undeviating role and acquired a safe constituency. On these intentions he planned to elevate the status of Tehsil Toba Tek Singh to district. Hence, in 1985 under non-Party based elections *Abdul Sattar* and M. Hamza selected as MNAs respectively from NA -79 and NA- 80. Both were belonged to *Arain Biraderi*. Supremacy of *Arain biraderi* was sustained in 1988 and then also in 1990. *Ch. Asad-ur-Rehman, Ch. Abdul Sattar, Muhammad Ijaz-ul- Huq* (son of General *Zia-ul-Huq*) and M. Hamza was selected respectively.

In fact, non-Party based elections initiated *biraderism* by General *Zia-UL-Huq* more in Martial Law regimes. Before him, 85% votes cast on political parties’

bases. He invented the biraderi culture as before him this foundation of politics was not laid on biraderies. Although *biraderies* were present, but there were not elements of prejudices among them. Zia distributed the *biraderi* factor horizontally.¹³ In politics, political parties only acknowledged the character and services of their workers. This feature had been observed in the election of 1962 and 1965.

At the time when M. Hamza was selected as a member of West Pakistan Assembly as nobody knew him that he was belonged to Arain biraderi. After him *Ch. Aslam* became a member of the National Assembly and nobody interested about his *Arian biraderi*. He belonged to Pakistan People's Party and selected on an ideological basis.¹⁴ Political significance is also noticeable when in 1993 Khalid Ahmad Kharral as a Federal minister and two provincial ministers *Riaz Fittiana* and Makhdom Ali Raza were selected. Ex-Governor of Punjab and the Ex-Member of Britain, Parliament and one of the PTI leaders *Ch. Muhammad Sarwar* also belonged to this district. Small land holdings, education, political awareness and overseas employees make this district enormously prosperous and all these elements also contributing in its political importance. It can also be derived, that leftist politics and after acquiring the status of district Toba Tek Singh it became politically more important.

Analysis of Political Dynamics of Biraderi Politics Constituency wise

Before settlement of the bar the natives called "*Jangli*" in relation with the vast jungle. Aftermath this "word" was used in a negative sense to undermine and considered them dishonoured and disgraced. The British also dishonoured natives and took them as uncivilized. Another speculation is described by Kiran Khurshid in her book "a Gazetteer by the Native" that the *Jangli* was the Sub-caste of Rajput who came from Jaisalmer in Indian province of Rajasthan in primordial period. In the course of time they adopted new pattern and norms of life and a dialect called *Jangli*.¹⁵ This is noteworthy that the local tribes indomitable by nature either they were Jat or Rajput. As compared to other areas of undivided India these tribes did not like to recognize themselves as Jat or Rajput, whilst they liked to call after their tribe's name, for example *Sial*, *Harral*, *Kharral*, etc.¹⁶ Anyhow the nomads were generally known as *Jangli* a name which holds no reproach; as if the claim to it is demonstrated it enabled the owner to a grant of land.¹⁷

After getting the district status in 1982, the *Biraderi* description is ; the Tehsil Toba Tek Singh has majority of **Arain biraderi**, who before partition came here as settlers and a big number of Arain migrated after partition of Sub-Continent. It was due to the blood relationship or biraderi fellows of Arain who migrated from Jhalander, Ferozpur, Amritsar, etc., to Pakistan. They preferred to settle in those areas where they were in the majority. As they are relatively prosperous and educated so they decided to live in urban areas.¹⁸ In the initial years of establishment of Pakistan there were elements of rivalry between old and new Arain. These differences became meagre within the span of time. After marital ties this situation was not seen any longer.

Arain are very rare in adjacent areas of river Ravi but in *Pir Mahal* and *Gojra* they are in a huge number. **Jat** and Arain biraderies are more or less in

equal number in Tehsil Gojra. Despite them the other biraderies *Gujar* and *Rajput* are in an effective number present there. There are different local tribes of the bar who are inhabited in Kamalia. *Kharral*, *Manj* and *Fitiana* are also numerous in numbers. *Saadats* of Sindhilianwali are also present, but less in numbers. They are very influential being a religious leader and playing a very effective role in the politics of this area.¹⁹ One third population of the Toba Tek Singh is consisted now of the menial class. So the first largest biraderi is this menial class.²⁰

The politics of *Kamalia* stimulated around *Kharrals* before and after the British era, even till today. Within the span of time other *biraderies* also get involvement in politics. *Rai Nasraullah Khan*, *Nazar Hussain*, and *Pir Sahib* of *Sindhilianwali* got tickets of Muslim League from this area in 1954. *Rai Habib Ullah Khan Saadi* selected in 1963 as a member of assembly of West Pakistan. *Saadi* played an important role in opposing president *Ayub Khan*. Many other, renowned persons also escorting him in opposition, i.e., *M. Hamza* from *Gojra*, *Khawaja Safder* from *Sialkot* and *Abdul Baqi Beloch* from *Sindh*. They all supported *Fatima Jinnah* against *Ayub Khan*. *Rai Hafiz Ullah Khan* selected as *MNA* and again in 1977. These persons belong to *Manj biraderi* who are *Rajpute*. Same like this *Kharral* also called themselves as *Rai* and they are also in racial perspective *Rajpute*.²¹ A noteworthy feature of *Kamalia* is this that the British didn't hold settlement here. Due to this we found here *Jagirdar* (Land lords) and *spiritual leaders* and *pirs*. They are dynamically active in the local and national politics. Its other difference is in its local dialect that has a great impact on *Siraiki* Language. These are all the characteristics of South Punjab. A move is also going on to make *Kamalia* a separate district as it has distinct cultural and historical background that is different from other tehsils of District Toba Tek Singh. According to that move the demand is that by separating *Harrapa* from District *Sahiwal* and *Mamoo Kanjan* from *Faisalabad* join them to tehsil *Kamalia* to make a separate a district. But to oppose this move a *Muthida Mahaz* has established under *Gias-ud-Din Janbaz*.²²

About 20 to 25 villages of tehsil Toba Tek Singh were merged in tehsil *Kamalia* due to the majority of *Arain biraderi* in these villages to make it an election constituency. In this regard *Ch. Asad-UR-Rehman* was selected as a member of the National Assembly in 1988, 1990, 1997. This is clear evidence that in what way the free will of the people may capture. These villages are situated in "**Khaka Zail**". Majority people of *Arain biraderi* had of communist views and active in leftist politics till 1971. These people invited *Mulana Hamid Ullah Khan Bhashani* in 1970 and initiated the International Kissan Conference. The majority of the people belonged to *Jalandhar* and *Hushiyarpur* district were settled here in the British era. Actually, these people were not happy to join tehsil *Kamalia* as their villages were forced to join with *Kamalia* for election compulsions. They are still demanding to reemerge in Tehsil Toba Tek Singh and they will be allowed to cast their votes there. The young leadership protested and did not vote their conventional *Arain* contestant *Ch. Asad Ur Rehman* in 2002 elections due to that demand. Hence, they voted for his counter nominee *Riaz Fitiana* and he succeeded by 16,000 votes and had promised their villages would be attached with Tehsil Toba Tek Singh. However the companion of *Riaz Fitiana*, *Khalid Ahmad Khan Kharral* could not avail the opportunity and defeated ultimately.

The religious leaders did not succeed in Kamalia, except Mulana Mohammad Ahmad Ludhianvi of *Siph-e –Sihaba* who can get more than 10,000 votes. However spiritual leaders may create a huge difference by using their influence. In this respect the successors of Qadir Bakhsh, Karmani and Sindhilianwali are quite influential and play a vital role in tehsil politics. There are three factors, i.e., *biraderi*, wealth and power that work in the elections. Among them *biraderi* factor is very strong as political parties have substantial believe in this factor as *biraderi* can be characterized as an unyielding societal phenomenon in which a social hierarchy is preserved generation to generations. This is why; political parties always focus this factor while giving the party ticket to a candidate who has a huge *biraderi* vote bank. Even the religious, the political parties like MMA also keep in view this element. It is also very significant that after winning the elections these candidates forget their *biraderi* voters, hence the situation of Jat and Arain is still stagnant and this situation cannot change in the near future as political parties choose those Arain or Jat contestants who have a strong rich and influential background. Due to lack of education in rural areas of the district, especially in Tehsil Kamalia the voting behaviour of the people is revolved around emotional attachments with *biraderies*, ethnically segments like language differences, local vs. settlers and migrated issues and affiliation with the successors of spiritual figures. So, it is not a realistic approach to ignore the element of *Biraderism*. In these circumstances, the able and sincere persons do not come forward in politics. On the whole the *biraderi* politics rule over the individual by dictating him with its social, economic and political dynamics to whom he votes for.

Arain *biraderi* is dominating in tehsil Toba Tek Singh, Jats in Tehsil Gojra and in Kamalia Sayed and Kharral *Biraderies* is in dominating position. The main political power struggle dynamics of *biraderi* politics are revolving around these *biraderies*. The political power holders have prone the non-democratic norms like *Biraderism* in Pakistan. That's why General Zia-UL-Haq, General Sawar Khan and General Rao Farman Ali in their turn raised the status of the *biraderies* i.e. Arain, Gujjar and Rajpute respectively. This situation also exhibited during General Musharraf era the 3rd Martial Law regime. The occurrence of the sentiments of rivalry, distrust and competition was due to this factor and struggle for the political power got start from here. District T.T.S also persecuted of that kind of ethnicity same like other parts of the country. Especially after the non-Party basis election of 1985 the *biraderi* politics have become more dynamic and active. The "Arain –Nourishment" and encouragement by General Zia-UL-Haq has intensified this *Biraderi* intrigue and his process is still going on. In the elections of 2002, when Chuhadries of Gujrat were in their boom Jat *Biraderi* got much of their support in Tehsil Gojra of District T. T. Singh. Dr Ashfaq-UR-Rehman of *Jatt Biraderi* got the provincial Ministry of Forests in 2002 to 2007. Same like this Ch. Amjad Ali Warraich of *Jatt Biraderi* selected as a member of the National Assembly from T. T. Singh Constituency No.NA-92. His brother Bilal Asghar Warraich selected as a member of Provincial Assembly Constituency No. PP-84 and his third brother Khalid Asgher Warraich had been a Tehsil Nazim Gojra since 2005.²³

There is a very important point that no any *biraderi* can be able to get any winning position despite if it depends on other biraderi groups. So to ensure the success in elections the candidate who makes a good pair means seat adjustment at provincial and centre level can win. For example, if a Jat belongs to a *Warraich Biraderi* selected as a member of provincial assembly then the possibilities increased for a Jat to become a member of the National Assembly.²⁴ But at other the constituency the political scenario will be changed for example and especially at PP-85 (Toba -ii) an *Arain* will be selected as a member of the provincial assembly. Same like this if M. Hamza (*Arain*) would be an MNA then the both MPAs would not be Arain especially at PP-84 (Toba-I) a Jat candidate selects due to the majority of his biraderi. The reverse of that situation different biraderies are settled in big number like Gujjar, Arain and Rajpute biraderies but Gujjar are comparatively more in the majority at provincial level constituency PP-85 (Toba-II). That's why in 2002 and in the previous two elections Gujjar candidate selected as a member of the provincial assembly. Hence at PP-84 Jat biraderi win the seat of MPA and lose the seat of MNA if it does not get the support of *Arain Biraderi*. At PP-85 (Toba-II) if Gujjar biraderi wants to be a winning position, then it can be possible with the support of *Arain Biraderi*. So *Arain biraderi* is playing as a decisive casting vote power.²⁵ But it is observed that in Tehsil Gojra Jat biraderi has a great feeling of sentiments for their Jat candidate and generally did not vote to *Arain biraderi*. Hence Arain biraderi has compulsion to support Jats on the basis of give and take policy.²⁶ This situation is in constituency PP-84 and in PP-85 *Gujjar biraderi* is dependent on *Arain biraderi* as it has not a decisive majority number to select a *Gujjar* candidate as MPA.²⁷

An ephemeral situation of conflicting and challenging is occurred during elections when the differences of local, non-local, cultural and linguistic issues have been propagated and the leaders and candidates of big national level political parties are also raised these mantras and promoted biraderism.²⁸ But the big political actor is one who succeeded on the bases of votes of biraderi prejudice along with persistent impartiality. Apparently all the politicians declared themselves as impartial and also claimed that they are coming to smash the deities of biraderism. But behind the scene they rely on the support and help of their *biraderies*.²⁹

Another important feature of this *biraderi* dynamic is this that any *biraderi* did not vote its candidate on the whole because the segment of antagonism within the same biraderi is also existed. There are contemporaneous many infringements like property disputes, court cases, and marital issues and family conflicts within a *biraderi*. These elements prohibited the full support of the biraderi to its candidate. Hence there is a difference of thousands of votes between two candidates of same *biraderi*.³⁰ Sometimes conscious and unconscious prejudices are seen among the *biraderies*. For example, in the era of General Zia-UL-Haq this element is occurring in many biraderies against Arain *biraderi* as a general perception was that General Zia's support to *Arain biraderi* made this *biraderi* most influential and dynamic in District T.T. Singh.³¹

It is seemed that the biraderi is going to be divided in a district politics when there are competing two opposing candidates belonging to a same biraderi with one another. Although, apparently biraderi segment has weakened but in fact

the successful candidate is still belongs to a dominant and majority biraderi. Muhammad Ijaz-UL-Haq the son of General Zia-U-Haq contested the election of member national assembly in 1990 from electoral constituency NA-71 (TTS-II). Ch. Ashfaque who is the local resident of the area was competed him. But Ijaz-UL-Haq got significant prominence against Ch. Ashfaque on the biraderi bases that was due to two factors first he was the son of General Zia-UL-Haq (*Arain Biraderi*) and secondly General Zia-UL-Haq died in a plane crash about two years before, hence being the member of the Arain biraderi and having the emotional sentiments of the biraderi he succeeded and Ch. Ashfaque could not get enough votes of the people, nor on the bases of *biraderi* neither on the basis of politico-ideological candidate of Pakistan People's Party. So the temporarily biraderi scrimmaging situation did occur, but the *biraderi* segment was dominated.³²

The class of spiritual *pirs* of *Kamalia* is not fit in conventional definition of *biraderi*, but it works like a *biraderi* system.³³ After 1985 the decline is observed in voter class which vote on the ideological basis as non-democratic behaviour developed and *biraderi* politics are increased. There is another important feature of this *biraderi* dynamic is that if a *biraderi* is in minority how far it united but it cannot raise slogans of *biraderism* but the majority *biraderi* is very prejudice for its big number power and very well acknowledge it. But the rate of wreckage and division is also very high in majority *biraderi*.³⁴ Despite that all factors it is to be said against these arguments that the all voters cast votes on *biraderi* basis. There is a big number of voters in Toba Tek Singh, who cast their votes on the ideological basis and impartially. And they cast the vote on behalf of the character of the candidate and his social services.³⁵

It is imperative here to have the analysis of the election results of the National, Provincial and along with local bodies elections in District Toba Tek Singh that held at different eras. (Before or after acquiring the Status of the District). Situation in Constituency No. NA-94 Tehsil Kamalia (Rural) is also depicted *biraderi intrigues*. Mugees Ahamd reports Wakeel Aunjum that this constituency area is basically divided on the grouping of natives the local *biraderies* and *Arain biraderi*.³⁶ From this constituency *Arain Biraderi* succeeded for five times, three times Sayed and Rajpute, two, two times Jatt and Fityana, and one time Kharral won from here. Only those political parties succeed who gave tickets to majority *biraderies*. In 2002 elections M. Riaz Fityana succeeded with the help of *Arain biraderi*, in 2008 he again secured his seat, whereas in 2013 *Arain biraderi* won and Ch Asad-Ur-Rehaman selected as MNA.

The constituency NA- 93 has very picturesque view as its profile depicts that this is the only constituency in Toba Tek Singh where only *Arain Biraderi* has been succeeded repeatedly since 1965. Only that political party won that give the ticket to *Arain Biraderi*. Whereas, in other constituencies, the results are different time to time. Mugees Ahmad narrates about this constituency that here *Jatt* and natives *Beloch* and other *biraderies* are divided on the bases of their ancestral and local groupings whereas that kind of grouping does not build in *Arain Biraderi* as *Arian* always give vote to an *Arain biraderi* candidate.³⁷ Either the elections held on party bases or on non-party bases. The *biraderi* situation (Rural) exhibits election results of Constituency No. NA -92 (Tehsil Gojra and adjacent villages) that seven times *Arain Biraderi* won this seat, two times Rajpute

came into power and from 2002 to 2013 elections this seat of National assembly has been won by *Warraichs* the *Jat biraderi*. The election results of the Punjab Provincial Assembly of the district since 1977- 2013³⁸ show that only specified *biraderies* came forward and contested the elections either the elections held on party bases or non-Party basis. On the whole here in native *biraderies* *Sayed, Kharral, Fityana* and *Beloch*, whereas in settlers *biraderies*; *Arain, Jatt, Rajpute* and *Gujjar* are glaringly active in politics. Among these *biraderies* *Arain* and *Jatt* secure two seats in most of the elections, whereas other secure one seat to represent their *respective biraderies*. *Mughees Ahmad* narrates that influential *biraderies* has forced the political parties to give the tickets on the base of the majority of the *biraderies*.³⁹ *Wilder* narrates that in rural areas of Punjab voting trends are set by the *biraderies* and individualism is set aside. Voters are confined to their respective *biraderi* groupings and without them they feel themselves insecure. Hence the *biraderi* is the basic unit which has political decision making.⁴⁰

The *biraderi* intrigues are at the peak during the local bodies elections as constituencies are small, number of voters are limited and more to it the voters are familiar and know the candidates. More than that the personal attraction of the candidate may prove effective as he knows who votes for him or who does not. Another important thing is that due to lack of education, tolerance and patience level is very low in our social set up. The local bodies' elections contestants very well know about the number of their supportive voters and when that number of voters are less than their expectations then the family conflicts and enmities get started.⁴¹ By having a district status the first local bodies elections held in 1983 in District Toba Tek Singh. Daily Newspaper "*Mashriq*" Lahore debates on these elections that the candidates are getting the cushion of *biraderism* in Toba Tek Singh and the groupings are built to gain the votes for example *Mian Ikhtiar Hussain* Nunah group and *Mulana Abdul Majid Ludihanive* Group.⁴²

Table: Comparison of the Member District Councillors (*Biraderi* wise composition)

Sr. No	<i>Biraderi</i>	1983	1987	1991	2001	2005
		Total Members 21*	Total Members 16*	Total Members 40*	Total Members 82*	Total Members 82*
1	<i>Arain</i>	7	5	17	33	32
2	<i>Jatt</i>	6	6	11	19	23
3	<i>Sayed</i>	3	3	3	6	4
4	<i>Beloch</i>	1	--	3	1	1
5	<i>Gujjar</i>	1	--	2	1	3
6	<i>Fityana</i>	1	1	--	--	--
7	Others	1	--	--	9	12
8	<i>Local</i>	---	--	1	1	---
9	<i>Kathia</i>	---	---	1	3	3
10	<i>Rajpute</i>	---	---	1	6	3
11	<i>Dogger</i>	---	---	1	--	--
12	<i>Kharral</i>	---	---	--	3	1
13	Member of Minorities	1	1	---	---	---

**Note. According to accessible information, **Source: Zila Council District Toba Tek Singh*

The above table depicts the *biraderi* positions from 1983 to 2005 elections that Arain always at leading position, then *Jatt* at second position. While other *biraderies* also got share in representation in accordance to their vote bank. In comparing the local bodies' elections, it is clear that *biraderies* are at manoeuvring ends and at the position to pressurize and influence the free will of the individuals. No doubt element of *biraderi* is very significant to mobilize the people and is the basic learning, the social institution of the masses for political participation, when the role of the political parties is also not democratic, then at that time they fill the gaps even though the role of the *biraderi* is subjugating and dictating. On these bases it is necessary to have an empirical study that to what extent the *biraderi* politics are affecting the process of democratization through its socio- economic and political influential dynamic.

Conclusion

This article unfolds the all socio-political and economic aspects of the district that reveals its importance in the political arena. It also specifies the *biraderi* dynamics in the political process that highlights that the democratic or non-democratic governments both have relied on these social institutions for their support. The patrons of the state institutions aspect make this phenomenon self-entrenched and self- projected within the span of time. The *biraderism* intensified at local government elections. In local bodies elections only *biraderies* decide whom to vote and then the campaign starts. Basically the strong hold of *biraderism* in social setup and the close association of the contestants never leave the room for individual to take an independent decision. Even if any family of *biraderi* has some conflicts with the contestant *biraderi*, then that *biraderi* is forced to vote to their respective *biraderi* member. The close networking of the people also knows before the election that who will be the winner in the local body election in each constituency. In the net shell the whole phenomenon is revolved around few *biraderies* that is undemocratic norm of the political process. There is no space of individuals' free will as he is being a member of the *biraderi* he follows the *biraderies* norms due to dependent on it and the strong *biraderies* influence other lower strata of the *biraderies*. In both situations he is bound that ultimately against the political process of the democratization. If the party based elections are being held consecutively and uninterruptedly then definitely this *biraderi* cohesion may be broken and rationalise participatory culture may develop.

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- ¹³ Interview with Gias-ud-Din Janbaz on 10.7.2012
- ¹⁴ Ibid
- ¹⁵ Being an aboriginal tribe, Janglis are a sub –caste of Jats. Maclagan & Rose in their join work in “*A Glossary of tribes and Castes of Punjab and N.W.F.P*” also support this argument.
- ¹⁶ Gazetteer of Chenab Colony 1904,53
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