

Leading Role of Political Dynasties of Faisalabad Division in Politics – 1985 to 2015

Abstract

Although huge political and social ups and downs have occurred over the last 60-years, democratic politics in Pakistan has occasionally continued under a family possession. This article recognises these dynasties as Biradaries or castes which is a basic discriminating factor amongst people. Social phenomena of grouping¹ tend to orient people to support the one which belong to their Cast / Biradary regardless of his/her social status. Political parties have largely relied on this system particularly in Faisalabad to overwhelm the elections. From 1985 to 2015, eight elections regime have passed in which varying number of seats have been secured by different Biradaries. The fight for rule and superiority has existed since then.

Keywords: Faisalabad, Biradary, Politics, Grouping, Feudal Lords

Introduction

A limited number of families continue to dominate Pakistan's legislative learning them into oligarchies. The influence of this Biradary/Caste system is very much in the daily routine life of people living in Faisalabad Division and its effects on local institutions of Faisalabad are prominent. Moreover, the important posts are divided on the same basis. Until the political parties are not allowed to express their theoretical views freely and to allow their performance to enhance in rural areas, this behaviour seems to be difficult to disappear. Class, caste and Biradary system played major role in Pakistani politics specially in Faisalabad Division. Social stratification means grouping of any society into order of positions that are disproportionate with respect to authority, assets and social advancement. Generally, three classes exist in Pakistan rich, average and poor.² They have different languages, styles and customs in Biradary. Old Biradaries are strong in Pakistan politically as well as socially. They have more rigid norms. Social violations in Biradaries are strictly condemned. Endogamy is a strict condition in some of the Biradaries. Biradary system is a new modern form of caste system in old Aryan's social system in sub-continent. Hindus are still believers of caste system while in Muslims this system is replaced by Biradary system which has become a crucial part of politics.

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Punjab is most affected by the system of Biradary. Here National and Provincial election especially local bodies elections are held on the basis of Biradary system. Faisalabad has a historical background. Different Biradarries of Punjab were inhabited here at the time of Sandal Bar's settlement. The main tribes and castes which are settled in Faisalabad are *Jutt, Arain, Gujjar, Rajput, Mughal, Syed, Pathan, Baloch, Bhatti and Awan*. In the beginning, there was a difference between local and another inhabitation. After the existence of Pakistan, the politics of Faisalabad division moulded with the arrival of *Mahajreen*. A great political party demolished the Biradary system in election of 1970. And this political impact remained up to 1977's elections. But local grouping started in local bodies elections. And Biradary group was again at the top in this political grouping.

Local bodies elections on non-party basis of 1988 pays a basic role in up-rooting of Biradary system, after that Election were held on party basis through court orders in the country. So, in 1988, 1990, 1993, 1996 and in 2002's elections the political effects lessened in Pakistan including Punjab. But in Faisalabad Division Biradary system remained empowered instead of political theoretical division. This behaviour leads to voters to elect through Biradary system in elections. District Chairman's election is held only on the basis of Biradary system that's why Biradary system remained in contact in election campaign whether it is related to National and Provincial election or whether it is related to Local bodies organizations.

Contextual and theoretical Background of Biradary System

The word Biradary is used in two ways i.e. one for close and relative people and one for non-relatives of Biradary spread all over the country. In Punjab's rural areas the word Biradary is in use and this system is in domination³. It is used for one person as for one group who has a relation with surname dynasty. Daughter belong to father, but after marriage they came in the custody of husband's Biradary.

Many Biradarries are included in one caste like *Sayyed, Alvi, and Mashahdi* etc. so the term Biradary is used on small scale level while caste is used on a broader level/scale. It seems people belonging to Biradary are the relatives who get together on different occasions, celebrations, feasts etc. They know each other's, exchange their gifts and invitations. In case of honour or dishonour one individual's problem is whole Biradary's problem. A Biradary is just like a shield for its person and is helpful like a bank, doctor and police force. In every field of life there is a traditional system of Biradarism. Rich and powerful people help poor and needy people of their Biradary. "Naundra" shows the importance and power. In this way, a deserve family gets aid on the basis of Endogamy different people engage in different relations, like bridegroom's mother-in-law, his paternal aunt or maternal aunt. These are less breakage of marriage because of this relation, and the feelings of unity and similarities are created.

In death situation, Biradary also help out the widow and her children financially. In the same way, any influential or bureaucrat helps his own Biradary and provides them jobs and be kind to them which is considered as a moral duty. In Pakistan the children of one specie always belong to one cast. The collection of

castes is called Biradary in subcontinent. Biradarism originated from the Aryan's cast system. It was the time before BC 2000 to BC 1000.

Aryans caught the local nation in this system. Aryans themselves divided into three castes; *Brahman, Khashtray and Vaish* and they declared local people as *Shoodras* the lowest one.

Indian *ariststed kotlia chankia* included then in his thought and exclaimed it the basis of a successful empire. Before BC 200 it was legally shaped. Most of the race of Aryans of subcontinent belong to it. That's why they became a part of socialising. And after counting circumstances were failed to change this system.

The next new generation also accepted this system made by Aryans for special targets. And made this system more complexed to maintain their glory and great pomp and show. Some religious scholars tried to discourage this system but could not get success to finish it. Invaders neither extinct local people nor took their place, in spite of it a new civilization came into being with combination of these two civilization and this new civilization could not be pulled out from previous system completely. In this way, political dynasties belonging to Biradary became stronger, with the passage of time.

During the rule of Muslim empire on Hindustan their social ups and downs could not have finished instead Muslims themselves remain divided into high and low castes. This division and superior complex of Muslims belong to Turk, Afghan and Arabs compelled local Muslims to Biradarism and these people divided into little ranks related to their fore father's name. Which afterward disguised into Biradary.

After Muslims, English people used this social structure to prolong their rule in subcontinent. The division of land keepers and non-land keepers land and Martial and non-Martial nations addresses proved to be helpful to make is stronger and stronger. In this way inferiority and superiority complex covered all Muslim nation of subcontinent and thought Biradarism a safe and sound way to survive.

The basic unit of Punjab Biradarism is "village" because of its agriculture system. Its social structure has many low-level structures in itself. These low-level structures are the region of political power and influence. Mutual relations have three kinds which provides basic structure for social, political factors / political dynasties.

1. The relations based on caste and Biradary which is Punjab's traditional custom.
2. Mutual personal relations in Social structure
3. Government or administrative structure specially District Administration and police which has covered fully rural society completely.

Srinivas⁴ defined caste in a precise way as a hereditary endogamous localized group having a traditional association with an occupation and is graded in hierarchy depending on the occupational status'.

Popular Biradarries of Pakistan and their Characteristics

Characteristics of Biradarries according to profession as experienced by British rulers and research scholars in alphabetical order⁵:

1. *Arain*: Arain is a real cast settled in the valley of Sutlej and all Eastern plain areas, while in the other areas Arain means people who grow vegetables. They have a precise knowledge about agriculture.
2. *Aroray*: They are called *Karar* also. They are in trade, labour and farming. They became expert as goldsmiths and blacksmiths in Western Punjab.
3. *Awan*: They are very brave but lazy and slothful.
4. *Baloch*: Baloch are medium landlords and punctual about tribal loyalty. Always first in guest's security and hospitality. They keep their promise and hate hidden attacks. They basically belong to Baluchistan and *Makran*. *Lashari*, *Daraishk* and *Jattoi* are famous Baloch castes among them.
5. *Pathan*: British declared them revenger, cruel and wild, but accepted their hospitality and bravery. Proverbs are famous about them like their enmity is like a fire of dried cow-dung cakes which remain burning inside. They even shelter to their enemy. To be armed is their characteristics. They keep their ladies in *Parda* / veil. Their law of inheritance is tribal dogmatic or religious, so that their property should be safe among successors. Famous castes are *Khattak*, *Afridi*, and *Mohmend*.
6. *Pakkhi Was*: Pakkhi Was are branch of Sansi community who are nomadic. British declared them criminals.
7. *Peernay*: They adopt beggary, the art of jugglery and tumbler professions. Their woman earn money by singing and dancing.
8. *Jutt*: Jutt is the ancient important nation. They have many branches castes and races. They are very much familiar. According to Ibitson, they are in majority in Punjab. They are the best farmers and peasants. They are well mannered, well behaved, not wild. They are hardworking, honest and loyal, independent and self-made but usually uneducated. Jutt always live in peace, busy in their own farming and always pay their debt. If they are teased, then become murderers. Among them *Cheema*, *Chattaha*, *Kahloon*, *Hanjara*, *Randhawa*, *Ranjha*, *Dharimal*, *Bajwa Bhaddar*, *Barlas*, *Phiphra*, *Basra*, *Janjua*, *Sapra*, *Langriyal* and *Mangat* are prominent.
9. *Chohray*: They are followers of priest of a class of sweepers. They are called sweepers also. They are sweepers and drain openers. They pick up litter or garbage.
10. *Dogar*: Physically tall, handsome, harsh and cruel. They join army with pleasure. Basically they were tribal instead of agricultural. They like cattle habitually have resemblance with Gujjar. Popular as a cattle thief. Moreover, they have adopted agriculture profession in Southern Punjab.

11. *Doom*: Usually dooms are dancers are considered same caste but it is wrong. Because Dooms are poet, singer and writers while dooms are harsh, executioner and used to burn dead bodies.
12. *Rajpoot*: In this famous castes and sub-castes are Virk, Panvar, Kathia, Kalyar, Khokhar, Manj, Kharn, Chohan, Khichi, Bhatti, Sahi, Kulloo, Jaswal, Minhas, Jiral, Chip, Sikhria etc. Punjab's Rajpoot are decent and bold men. They are feudalistic by nature. They love their lands and are proud to their blood. They hate physical labour and ploughing in the field. In plain areas, they proved to be cattle thieves.
13. *Sayyed*: In actual, they are descendants of Hazrat Muhammad (P.B.U.H) that's why they are respected in all sub-continent. In India, they are equal to Brahmen. They are basically landlords and farmers on big scale, because they are bestowed lands and money since the start and it is transforming race to race. Gifts in Western Punjab are also a part of their income. They are basically lazy in farming non-thrift and proud. They behave badly and harshly to their cultivators. They are always on first to pay their finance. Their famous castes are Hassani, Hussaini, Jallani, Gardezi, Bukhari, Jafferri, Baqari, Mashhadi, Sabzwari and Zaidi.
14. *Sheikh*: In Arabic Language Sheikh means saint or chief. But in India Sheikhs are newly converted to Islam. There is a proverb famous about them that "last year I was weaver, this year I am Sheikh, next year I will be Sayed if luck is on my side."
15. *Butcher*: They mostly belong to Karnaal and Rahtick. They slaughter animals and cut the meat. They adopt this as a profession. One group of them is Lahori, real Bhatti Rajpoot. They accepted Islam during the rule of Emperor Akbar.
16. *Kamboh*: They belong to Punjab's best agricultural profession. Not even less than hard working and skilled as like Arain. They are traders in majority. They have jobs also. They are specialized characteristically in skills then in honesty. That's why Kamboh, Afghan, and Kashmiri all three are notorious castes.
17. *Kanjar*: By profession they are prostitute. Their famous castes are Manki, Dharkay, Magat Kay, Deernay, Srarur, Sotay, Haisty and Nut.
18. *Khoja*: Apparently, Khoja is not any caste. Somehow this word is used for a new muslim trader. Shahpur's Khojay were Khatry by castes. Jhang's Khojay (convert) are mostly Aroray. In Pindi Division little traders are called Khojay.
19. *Gojar*: They are one of eight majority Biradaries of Punjab. They have a lot of castes and sub-castes. They are cheerful, harsh, strong, and hard working. They love their lands and cows, because it is their favourite profession.

Except these, there are many other castes, which belong to law category of professions like potter, blacksmith, *Lalhi*, cobbler, hair dresser, washer-man, fisherman, gardener and Mughals who were respected because of rulers in Sub-continent.⁶

Political Dynasties of Faisalabad Division

In Faisalabad Division the National Assembly Seats are 11 and Provincial Assembly seats are twenty-two. The political history of Faisalabad Division is as old as Pakistan. The main point of that politics is Biradarism. This point not appeared suddenly that step-by-steps.

Before the independence in local Bodies elections the influence of Arain and Jutt Biradary was much prominent. In District Board Politics Jut Biradary was very prominent Ch. Rehmat Ali Nagra was elected vice Chairman of District Board from 1927 to 1936 after that Siraj-ud-Din Nagra, Ch. Aziz-ud-Din, and Qasim Warriach names are very prominent. National and Provincial Politics before partition the influence of Arian Biradary and local peoples. In which Mian Abdul Bari, Noorullah and Mian Abdullah Arian. Pir Naseer-Ud-Din shah, Sadat Ali Kharl and Rai Shahadat Ali Kharl were prominent.

Before partition in Faisalabad the major party Unionist Party which was very strongest and after that the Muslim league achieved the historical victory because of Jutt and Arian Biradary. When Pakistan came into being the politics of this area was changed. The effects of Biradarism in the newly resident peoples just like as salt in flour. But due to arrival of migrated people the deep effects started imposing on local politics.

On the change of this the resident of 351/RB Ch. Ghulam Murtaza Butter said because of rehabilitation of Sandal creation the peasant of this area was prosperous. After existence of Pakistan a majority of non-peasant resided here and they started different businesses which were related directly or indirectly with the land and landlord and earned a lot. In no time they became prosperous. Landholders remained backward but middle income earned a lot. The reason was that this rank of peasant is not free to set the price of their own product. They affiliated peasant's simplicity and truth with foolishness. Peasants were tried to be complexed by giving them names as "Paindoo", illetrative, uncivilised etc.... Its negative effects came upon. Their circumstances compelled them to change accordingly. The villages paid attention to get education and then they keep on comprehending in every field of life on account of their abilities. Now whether it is politics or business world, the people belonging to Faisalabad's villages now a days living in cities are more powerful and comprehend, and also believe in Biradarism for the sake of their life. On the other hand, non-peasants living in villages were considered despicable now turned to cities because of this reason. They engaged in different business and social prosperous put them into politics. Crude rural life compelled them to be in Biradarism. After the existence of Pakistan till 1970 in elections Jut, Rajpoot and Arian remained present somehow. In them Imtiaz Gill, Aziz Din, Asghar Ali Randhawa and Siraj-ud-Din Nagra of Jat Biradary, M. Hamza and Mian Abdul Bari, of Arain Rana Nasrullah Khan Naseer and Raja Nadir Khan and Ali Akbar of Rajput were very active politically.

1970's election Pakistan People's Party got distinct success. In Faisalabad Division, the portion of successful Biradaries was mixed. Distinct politicians were Mian Atta-Ullah and Mian Ahsan-ul-Haq of Arain Biradary succeeded, while Zahid Sarfraz and M. Hamza of same Biradary were losers. Ch. Mohammad Aslam and Mohammad Afzal of Jutt Biradary Randhawa succeeded while Afzal

Kahlon was failed. Mukhtar Rana and Ray Hafiz Ullah of Rajpoot Biradary succeeded. Except these Anwar Ali Khan of Balouch Biradary and Ghulam Nabi of Gujjar Biradary also succeeded. It appears from above results of elections that elections before 1970 there was a great competition between the Biradarries. But in 1970's, first common direct election based on classification Biradarism was not so much prominent, on contrary political colour was prominent. In elections from 1977 till 1990 there was survey to see the factors promoting Biradarism and political behaviour. This survey information was collected by delivering questionnaire families and personal experiences.

Nowadays the most influential groups / Biradarries which are taking active part in the politics of Faisalabad Division are:

1. Rana Sanaullah Group
2. Abdi Sher Ali Group
3. Afzal Sahi Group
4. Ch. Nazir Group Zahid Nazir, Asim Nazir etc.
5. Mian Farooq
6. Farooq Khan Ex-Senator Group
7. Maulana Manzoor Ahmad Chinioti Group
8. Maulana Rehmatullah Group
9. Masood Ahmad Lali Group
10. Col. Ayub Khan Ghaddi Group
11. Ghulam Bibi Bharwana Group
12. Riaz Fithayana Group
13. Syed Faisal Sala-e-Hayat Group
14. Syeda Abida Hussain Group
15. Sheikh Yaqoob Group
16. Ch. Asad-ur-Rehman Group
17. Rai Usman Kharal Group
18. Arif Gill Group

Mostly in the current / previous elections the public representatives were elected with the support of these local Biradarries / groups because these groups belong to different Biradarries; Rajpoot, Arain, Jutt, Sayyed, Balouch, Cheema, Chatta, Sahi, Fityana, Kharal, Lali, Sial, Gujjar, Bharwana, Ghaddi etc... In recent elections 2013, Abdul Razzaq Malik from Rana Sanallah group won and became Mayor by defeating a candidate of Abid Sher Ali Group. All the above mentioned groups have different links and support which help them overwhelm elections, one of them is Biradarism. They tend to play political games efforting to bring other group / party down. Recently there was a deep rift between the two; Ch. Sher Ali and Rana Sanaullah. At this level, political party is just a platform to rule out the opposing groups. The real discriminating factor which leads them to fight in elections is to bring their Biradary name and status in hold of power.

According to journalists, the district council elections in Faisalabad are a competition between leading Biradarries in the region. Also that the contestants supported by these families are fighting elections on tickets of both major parties – the PML-N and PTI.

1 Statistical Illustration of Biradary's Significance in Elections 1985 - 2013

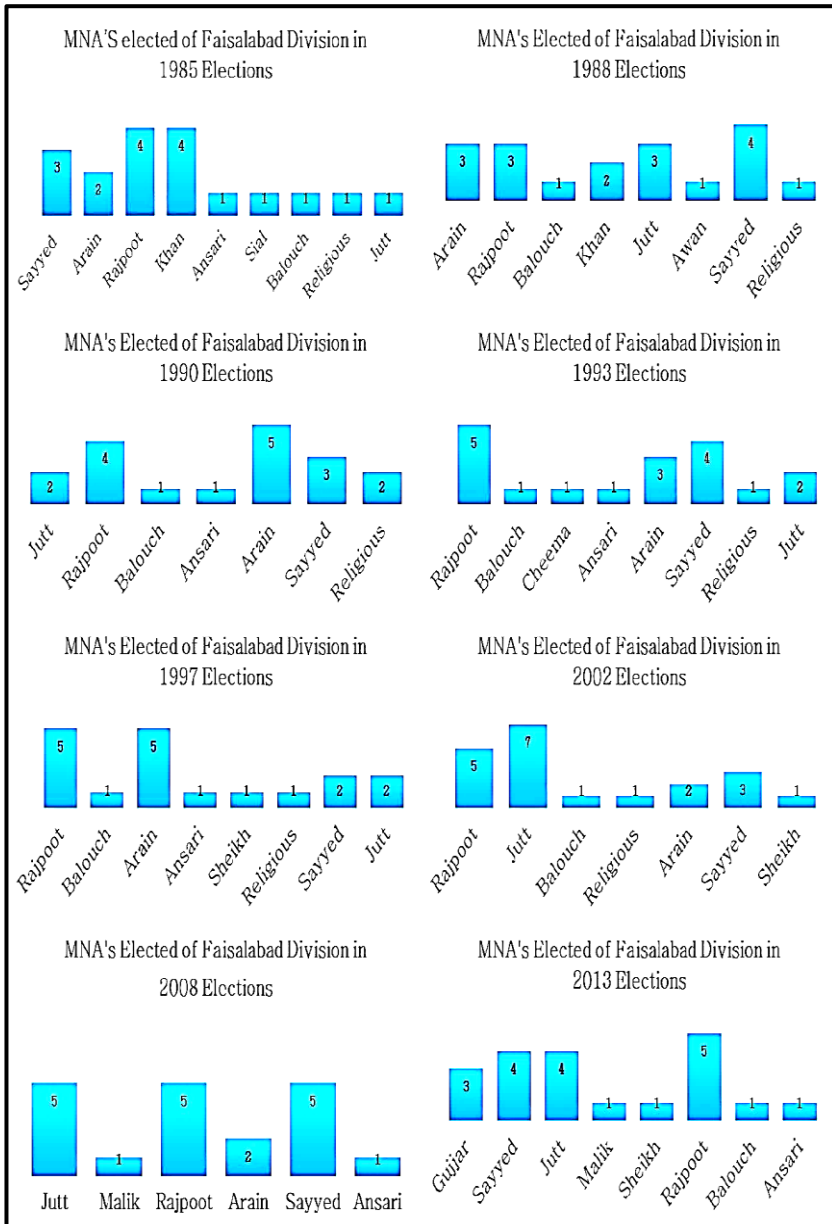


Figure 1. National Assembly Seat winners from various Biradarries in Elections 1985-2013⁷

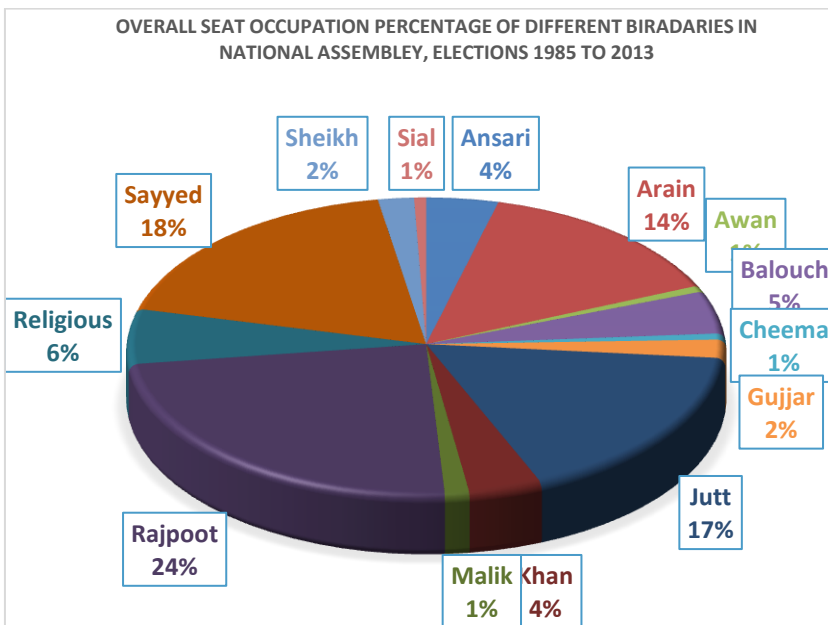


Figure 2. Overall Seat Occupation in National Assembly of Different Biradaries in Election 1985 - 2013

The graphs in Figure 1 summarises the total number of seats won from each Biradary in National Assembly during the elections in era of 1985 – 2013. The table clearly illustrates the leading Biradaries are Rajpoot and Jutt and to an extent, the Sayyed and Arain Biradary.

To simplify the scenario, a pie chart (Figure 2) is generated to deliver a clear picture of overall seats occupied in National Assembly in the election era of 1985 to 2013. A huge percentage of 24% captured by Rajpoot Biradary clearly depicts that it has remained in the leading role from a long time. Hence it has strong roots from the past i.e. Britain rule.

The second highest figure of percentage secured by any Biradary in National Assembly is of Sayyed Biradary. Since earlier mentioned, this Biradary has remained an honourable and respectable caste from ever, a higher percentage was inevitable and shows people’s behaviour in Elections that people of this region have considerable importance of honour and dignity when it comes to selecting their leader.

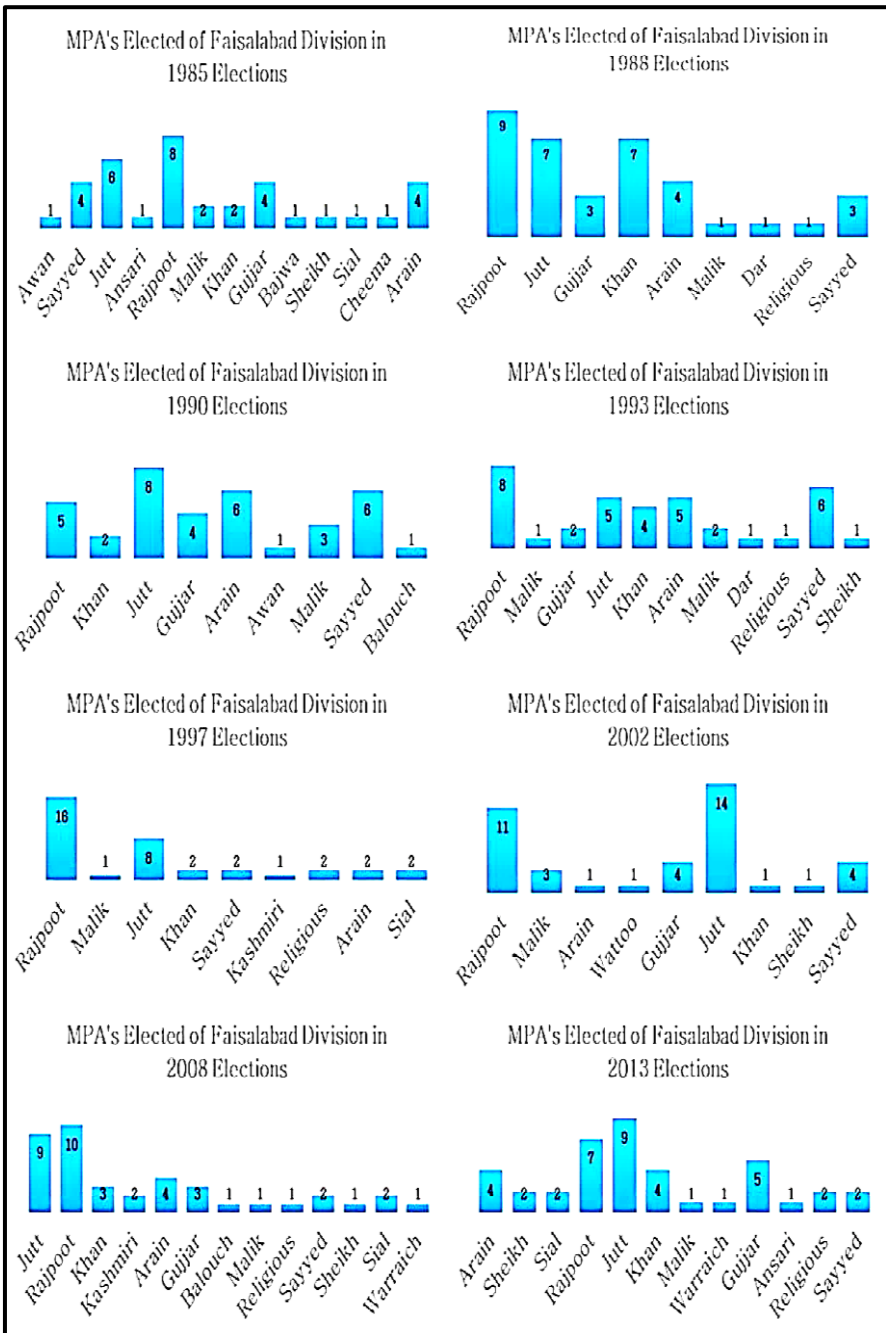


Figure 3. Provincial Assembly Seat winners from various Biradaries in Elections 1985-2013⁸

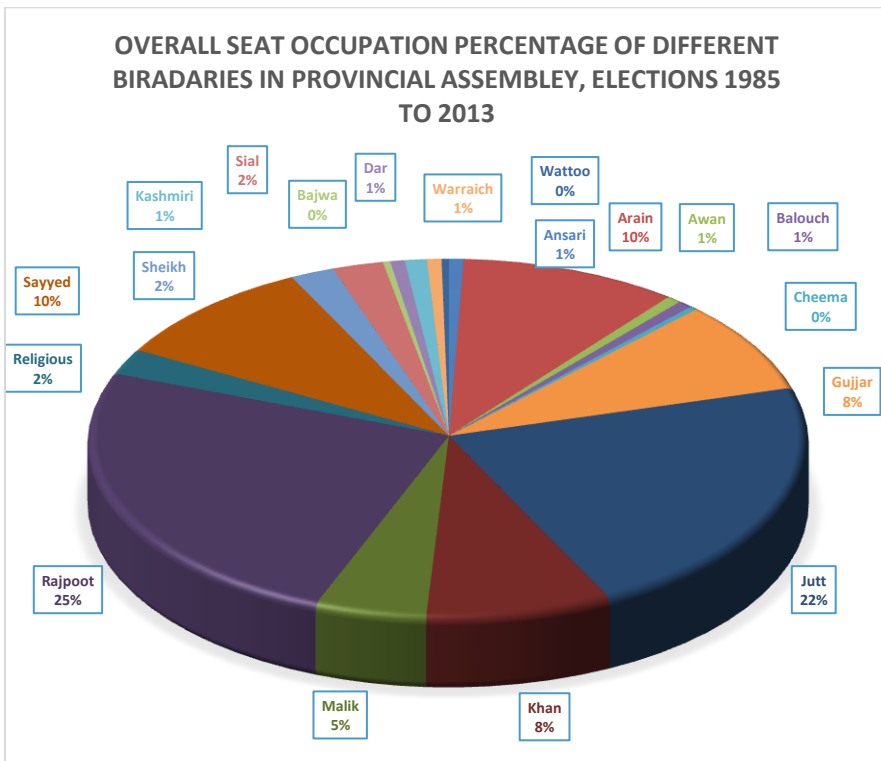


Figure 4. Overall Seat Occupation in Provincial Assembly of Different Biradaries in Election 1985 – 2013

The graphs in Figure 3 summarises the total number of seats won from each Biradary in Provincial Assembly during the elections in era of 1985 – 2013. The table illustrates the leading Biradaries are Rajpoot and Jutt.

To simplify this scenario too, a pie chart (Figure 4) is generated to deliver a clear picture of overall seats occupied in Provincial Assembly in the election era of 1985 to 2013. A huge percentage of 25% captured by Rajpoot Biradary clearly depicts that it has remained in the leading role in Provincial Elections too. The second highest figure of percentage secured by any Biradary in Provincial Assembly is of Jutt Biradary. In this assembly, Jutt Biradary has gained a higher ratio of seats than it has occupied in National Assembly leaving behind the Sayyed Biradary.

Discussion

Dynastic entitlement dominates the progress of organized democracy. With few exceptions, all the political parties are in fact extensions of powerful families with hereditary leaderships. Their politics mainly revolve around managing and strengthening family interest. Elections are all about gaining control of state patronage, clan, tribe, caste and Biradary play a major role in the perpetuation of dynastic Politics. Political dynasties evolve from rural with feudal roots, but over

the years' families from urban, religious and military background have appeared on the political scene. A part of the post partition industrialist and business elite, for example the Sharif family saw its rise in the 1980's during Gen Zia's military rule. A little different from its past, this family gained strength mainly from the urban mercantile class of Punjab.

However, coming from a completely different social background the Sharifs have adopted a feudal tribal, patrimonial and personal based style of politics. Over the past three decades the Bhutto family has subjugated Pakistan's political scene. After the execution of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto the mantle of leadership passed to his daughter Benazir Bhutto. But her assassination in 2007 initiated the rise of a new political dynasty led by her husband Asif Ali Zardari. With few exceptions, all foremost political dynasties have been a part of succeeding military rules to defend their own lasting political interests and receive state benefaction. Some of the most powerful political families were in fact propped up by military regimes. Given its history it did not come as a surprise when the majority of the PML-N leadership switched its allegiance to the Military regime soon after the overthrow of the Nawaz Sharif's Government in 1999.⁹

Headed by Chaudary Shujaat Hussain, one of the most influential political dynasties the opposition group known as the PML (Q) provided political support to General Musharraf's Military regime. Ironically that group was also a key partner in the P.P.P led coalition government. In many cases, members of the same tribe are scattered among different political parties to protect family interests. A case in point is the Magsi family, whose influence extends into both Sindh and Baluchistan. The success and unsuccess is considered as the success and unsuccess of Biradarism instead of behaviour or practice of a man. The Biradary is blamed for defeat. Instead of thanks to union Biradary in case of success it is said that it got post or rank without any struggle. This is done only to create opponents in Biradary and a concept of selfishness. Deep effects are felt in appointments of important posts, the ownership of departments and bringing new-comers.

Celebration are off and on for the pleasures of success and congratulations of Biradarism. The circle of Biradarism is lightened around a successful candidate in such a way that if the tries to come out of it cannot do that. At this time people belonging to Arain Biradary say that Jutt Biradary is being appointed on important post in Punjab because of the government of Jutt, Biradary/dynasty. On the other hand, Jutt Biradary's point of view is that Arain Biradary is getting everything because district Nazim is Arain. This means every administrative decision is examined on the basis of Biradarism. It appears through the study of the influences of these political dynasties in the departments of Faisalabad that it has impressed the all-around environment also. The influences of Biradarism are almost zero on the Bar Association of Division and Gojra, while the influence of Biradarism are present on Bar association of Faisalabad. Agriculture University also effected with it. In the beginning a big majority of students belong to villages around Faisalabad entered here and succeeded in spreading their important aspects of their culture. In capable people were helpful to maintain it. Capable and able people on account of their abilities are busy while incapable people are busy in protecting for the sake of their Biradarism.¹⁰

Indeed, *racious* opinion polls indicate a growing public disapproval of the present set up. The country is ripe for change but can prevailing public sentiments be translated into a vote against the old order in the coming election? It is hoped that after the completion of this investigative article, a précised review of Punjab's famous political dynasties' leading role in politics of Faisalabad since 1985 to 2015 would be confronted.

Conclusion

The meaningful discussion of elections in Pakistan is not possible without mentioning the important events relating to politics, making of constitution, proper working of democracy, working of democratic institutions, role of the judiciary, democratic norms of society, role of the political dynasties, role of the military etc. In fact, election cannot be isolated from the overall politics, working of political parties and proper democratic institution. In the European countries, the democratic institutions are fully developed. They know the norms of democracy, norms of the society and above all the objectives of fair play, providing level playing field to all the political parties and contestants. History of elections in Pakistan has a complex chequered pattern resembling a chessboard with squares of light, grey and dark colours. In order to analyse as to what happened in the sphere of elections during the last 70 years, discussion of working democratic institutions and of legislative from the independence of the country in 1947 is *sine qua non*. A lot of harm was done to the democracy by the Governor General Malik Ghulam Muhammad and then by these presidents, who did not like to become sub-servants to the constitution or did not want to follow the norms of democracy and were not willing to accept their position as titular heads of the state. All of them behaved like all powerful presidents. In fact, they did not accept deep down in their hearts the role for them in the parliamentary form of government. Obviously, the all-powerful presidents yearned for the presidential form of government. Major General (Rtd.) Iskandar Mirza, General Muhammad Ayub Khan, General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, General Pervaiz Musharraf and Mr. Asif Ali Zardari made themselves presidents – *supra* and behaved in that fashion. I doubt as to whether all the said gentlemen believed during their lifetime that “man is mortal”. The only exceptions were two civil presidents, Chaudary Fazal Elahi, and Mr. Justice (Rtd.) Rafique Tarrar, who honourably accepted their positions as titular heads of the state and did not try to unlawfully grab the power which is a parliamentary form of government did not belong to them.

After 23 – years of independence, the first General Elections were held in Pakistan in 1970 on adult Franchise and one-man vote basis. However, General Yahya delayed convening of 1st session of the National Assembly and dragged his feet in handing over of power to the elected representatives. This resulted into unfortunate cessation of East Pakistan. The second General Election held in March 1977 were patently rigged by the then ruling party PPP. The results were neither accepted by the public nor the opposition. The third General elections held by General Zia-ul-Haq in 1985, were undemocratic in the sense that political parties, which are *sine qua non* for a parliamentary democracy, were kept away from the elections. These elections also set a dark and unhealthy traditions of incurring

exorbitant election expenses by the candidates contesting election with the support of these political dynasties / local Biradarries.

The fourth General Elections were held in 1988. The fifth General Elections were held in 1990; were not accepted by the Pakistan Democratic Alliance. Its main component party (PPP), vehemently alleged rigging in General Elections contending that number of MNAs elected under banner of Islamic Jamhoari Ittehad (IJI), which was an alliance allegedly created by the political cell of Inter-services intelligence (ISI). There were also allegations of distribution of money by the ISI to various political parties and individuals in the IJI, and others six General Election were held in 1993. The 7th General Elections were held in 1997 and accepted by all the political parties. These elections were historic because for the 1st time simultaneous poll for National Assembly and Provincial Assembly were held in Pakistan and adult franchise was extended to the Federally Administered Tribal Areas.

The 8th General Elections were held in 2002 under General Pervaiz Musharraf regime where political parties were allowed to participate in these elections¹¹. Even than the influence of local Biradarries and political dynasties was so much the Ninth General Elections were held in 2008 have since been dubbed as *NRO-Zada* (affected by NRO). There are also allegations of foreign involvement, especially of the U.S.A. The General Elections 2008 also bears the stigma of existence of millions of bogus voters in the voters list. Same position in General Elections – 2013 in Faisalabad Division the famous political group / Biradarries got seats on the basis of their influence as in all previous Elections.

The main issue in that undoubtedly, we have already lost much precious time during the last 69-years on various political and electoral issues. I would repeat again that political and electoral issues are inter-related and intertwined. Most of the time, these two issues cannot be segregated or repeated. Briefly speaking when we look at elections held in Pakistan from 1950 onwards, we find that the elections at various levels had been from the very beginning marred by the charges of rigging and multiple controversies of various nature through local Biradarries. However, no elections (except two or three) could be held in the country, which termed as nearer to the ideal of fair and impartial. This is a fact that the “ideal” can never be achieved but efforts should continue to purge the defects from the system or at least by minimising the deficiencies. The general impression is that whenever political Governments had a chance in the past, they failed in providing good governance to the country due to so much influence of local Biradarries and political dynasties.

As for the ideal of “fair elections” I am afraid this dream cannot come true in isolation because the process of election involves the entire society / Biradarries. In holding election numerous actors or agents are involved. When the moral standard of the whole society is on the decline, political forces prove themselves as corrupt, the military rulers hijack the country periodically, then miracles cannot be expected exclusively in the field of elections. There is no doubt that many elections in the past were rigged or stolen through different tactics or methods. Some of the traditional old methods of rigging are appointments of partisan officers in the districts including police officers, partisan Deputy Commissioner

(now DCO's), *Tehsildars*, *partisan qanungas* and *partisan patwarees* to facilitate these Biradaries / dynasties. In a few General Elections pre-poll rigging (changing rules of the game), use of massive public outlays to the benefits of candidates in the name of development funds, bogus voting, harassment through powerful Biradaries, lack of administration response to complaints on the polling day etc. all these negative tactics are used vice versa in almost all the elections because these Biradaries do not believe in a "fair game" with some principle¹². These have been question mark on the conduct of Election Commissioner in many past General Election and their failure in providing level playing field to all candidates. Even the Election within the parties are not held regularly and are stolen by one group by outwitting the other. There is absolute lack of democracy in the political parties and in many of them old dynasties are ruling the parties for decades. There is, without fear of contradiction, absolute and rotten democratic system in Pakistan wherein only politicians belonging to the elite class, feudal lords, business magnates, industrialists, absolutely rich persons, drug barons, mafias, etc. and their wives, sons, grandchildren, brothers and nephews come to power.

The system has completely failed to deliver and has been a source of disappointment and despondency to the common man. There is an urgent need for changing the present state of despair in the political and electoral fields in Pakistan. It should take all measures for stabilising the national institutions for providing "good governance" to the people. The policy of "reconciliation" seemingly based on selfish motives of strengthening government party in the legislatures by completely closing eyes to the dangers faced by the nation, would not help but rather add to the existing despair. The policy has apparently failed to deliver and has in fact set in a game of musical chairs. On top of it all, the corruption which has permeated in the veins of our society, should be completely eradicated from the body politic of the country and the entire strata of the society. Democratizing party leadership is an all-time requirement. There must be proper elections, from lower to upper bodies, in each and every political party. And let these party elections be conducted by neutral persons or individuals who are not members of the party. Moreover, the leadership must not be allowed to remain in office more than two (four-year) terms. This would not only ensure a steady growth of leaders in the party but would also keep the party from being monopolized by some self-seeking individuals another important task is to reproduce a culture more receptive to tolerance and non-violence. This is particularly urgent in view of the fact that both political and civil societies, for reasons of history and structure, have become thoroughly polarised and violent. One vital area is education. Years of undemocratic regimes in Pakistan have created an education which hardly reflects democratic norms, tolerance, non-violence and the like. For reproducing democracy, or more precisely, democratic minds, what we need is a democratic education with spirits of tolerance and non-violence ingrained in it and an education which champions democracy. Nothing will matter, however, if the people do not take initiatives to overturn the current state of things with many still unspoiled by corruption, greed and acts of violence, there is still space for noble things to come. And there lies our hope.

I concluded after completion of this creative article that there is a great influence of these political dynasties in Faisalabad Division Politics. And these are very

prominent during election period. The way of life is also influenced with it. Biradarism and influence of the Political dynasties has positive aspect also which cannot be ignored. Sometimes this dynasty solves the social and economic problem of a person in such a nice way that the effected person starts his life again with happy life. But the tendency of local and groups is not lucky for a nation instead of national thinking in elections. This Biradarism is a big hider in creating a strong democratic thought. There is no complete stop of negative aspect of Biradarism but there is some suggestion with the use of them the progress of a society in a positive way can be brought and the influences of Biradarism can be lessened through the study of this research:

- Continuity of election can less this tendency. But there should be a chance for political parties to play their role completely.
- The political parties should take strict decision in tickets division, and candidates rejected by elections because of Biradarism pressure should not get tickets.
- Political parties should spread their circle till villages, so that their social division should be less belonging by Biradary.
- The members of Assembly should get participation in Federal ministries, so that Assembly members would come out their local thought and would not to be compelled to go for local politics after succeeding two seats in the past.
- National Elections should be on party base and district Nazim and Naib (Mayor / Deputy Mayor) assistant Nazim should be announced through political parties.
- The influences would be less if farmers would be better economically.

References

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² “CSS Forums - View Single Post - Sociology Notes.” 2014. November. Accessed February 24, 2017. <http://www.cssforum.com.pk/812435-post13.html>.

³ Ahmad, 2008

⁴ Srinivas, 1952

⁵ Maclagan & Rose, 2005

⁶ Maclagan & Rose, 2005

⁷ Source: Book series, Biography of Members National Assembly of Pakistan

⁸ Source: Book Series, Biography of Members Provincial Assembly of the Punjab

⁹ Waraich, 2006

¹⁰ Hussain, Kausar. *n.d*

¹¹ Election Results 2008

¹² Muhammad, 2012