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The Role of Biradarism in Punjab Politics: A Case Study of Sialkot

Abstract

Kinship (Baradarism) ties have been playing a vital role in man's social, economic and political life throughout ages. The establishment of society and state owe much to this cohesive force since the early stages of evolution of polity from dealing to the common and simple state of affairs to the modern day complex systems of running a government in this era of globalism. Generally, Kinship politics is commonly found in tribal societies across the world yet these ties still play an important and fundamental role in formation process of civil governments especially in developing countries like Pakistan, Indonesia and most of the African states. The Pakistani society and politics generally and Punjab politics especially has not yet been able to break the olden shackles of regional, tribal and kinship affinities. Non democratic forces like the military regimes, particularly augmented these affinities to minimize the role of political parties in Pakistan politics. The objective of this research is to analysis the role of baradarism in the politics of Sialkot which is recognized hub of business activities in Pakistan. The research is held to analysis following hypothesis; Baradarism always influence election whether non-party or party based in Sialkot, Political parties give the election ticket to the dominant biradaries in Sialkot region, Punjab politics cannot exist without baradarism. Qualitative approach is adopted to analysis the hypothesis. In spite of the lethal combination of business and politics, Kashmiri and Gujjar biradaries are considered nearly political parties in Sialkot.

Key Words: Biradari, History, Demography, Role, Elections

In Indonesia, kinship politics is considered as a threat to the democratic norms because the direct election method for major executive and legislative positions has given a wide range of opportunities to attain power to those who has lineage linkages.¹ Kinship linkages was in fact, the soul of ancient tribal politics, yet the development of modern political system has weakened this and the ideas like individual liberty, equality and fraternity replaced it in new democratic set ups.

Clan, tribe, caste and kinship (braderi) are the terms which used for old political systems in different ages and different regions. Clan is a close-knit community of interrelated families, groups of people with a powerful common interest.² While the word "tribe" originated from the ancient Greek time, and it is a group of people with common professions, habit or interest and a big family,³ and further culture, language and history particularly those who do not live in the city or towns.⁴ The term 'caste' has the Spanish connotation of the word 'casta' meaning common lineage, race and breed.⁵ Caste is the distribution of community on the bases of race, wealth, occupation and inherited rank.⁶ The significant example of caste system can be found in Indian sub-continent.

Besides the limited definitions of above mentioned terms, Kinship has a universal meaning and therefore plays an important role in both the regulation of behavior and the formation of social group.⁷ Aristotle's claim "Man is by nature a social animal" is based on the observation that from birth to death, one human being is surrounded by different persons on the basis of blood or marriage. These ties of blood or marriage which keep people together as an association or community are called kinship. A kin is the nearest relative of a person, no distinction being made between paternal or maternal relatives, or between whole and half blood. It is a complex system which elaborates that link among the individuals, their roles, commitments and responsibilities in connection to one another. This system also determines the marriage patterns, ceremonial links, and funerals and attitude patterns with other kin.⁸ So, it creates an associated set of behavioral pattern and attitude which, together, make up a systematic whole.⁹

In Indian sub-continent, the old Indian caste system gradually transformed itself and identifies itself in a new linkage, named as biradarism in certain part of the region. The word Biradari has been derived from Persian word 'Biradar' which means brotherhood.¹⁰ Biradari can be explained as common ancestry or common lineage and is considered as a symbol of unity. This term is used for the identification of different social groups with common attitudes for common interest, language, race or religion etc. Different biradaries have different norms, culture and

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values yet all biradarism have their own rules and regulation as Parkash Tandon says that every biradari has a useful legislative function that can modify laws or habits which with the changing time has begun to be arduous.¹¹ After independence, Pakistan inherited a regional social and political system which further influenced by Muslim and colonial rules. Islam has weakened the old caste system of Hindus yet it was replaced by new groups on the basis of religion, ethnicity, regions, races to fill the gap in social and political set ups. The strongest system among them was biradarism which particularly influence the politics of those areas which were not under feudal control like urban Punjab and Sind.

Biradarism has played significant role in Pakistan in different times during national or local body elections generally and during military rules particularly. Military ruler generally used these biradarism as their tool to control the political scenario in their favors that why non-party base election were their favorite mechanism to get required results from the elections. The prominent and important biradarism of Punjab politics are Gujjars, Jatts, Rajput, Arains, Baloch and Sayyad's. District administration is chosen normally from the key biradari of respective district. Jatt and Arain are dominant in central Punjab, Rajput biradari in northern Punjab and Bloch biradari is dominant in southern Punjab to lead the politics. The dispersion of these biradarism in Punjab affects the results of Pakistani politics.¹² Kashmiri and Arain biradarism, after independence played a vital role in the power politics of Lahore and used the governments to protect and project their vested interest.¹³ Lahore is hub of Punjab politics, its political trends generally followed in whole province. Sialkot is not an exception in this regard.

The Politics of Sialkot

Sialkot is a very famous district of Pakistan due to its fertility of land and industry. It has been playing a positive and progressive role since independence. Its total population was 2,723,481 according to 1998 census.¹⁴ The large scale migration from neighboring state of Jammu and Kashmir and the adjacent districts of the east Punjab changed the strength of biradarism in the district which not only changed the religio-ethnic order affected the biradarism strength, too.

In 1985 general elections there were 7 National and 15 Provincial Assembly constituencies due to the inclusion of Narowal, Zafarwal and Shakargarh. In 1991 Narowal was formed as separate district, Shakargarh and Zafarwal became the part of Narowal district. At present district Sialkot has four Tehsils Sialkot, Daska, Sumbrial and Pasrur. It has 1543 villages.¹⁵ Now it has 5 constituencies for National Assembly and 11 constituencies for Provincial Assembly. There are many castes in Sialkot like Rajput, Awan, Sayyad, Gujjar, Jats, Sheikh, Kashmiri, and Arain etc. Rajput, Gujjar and Kashmiri biradarism have dominant political as well as economic role in this district.

History and Demography of Major Biradarism in Sialkot

Gujjars (A clan traditionally related to grow livestock)

Gujjar biradari is among the prominent biradarism of Punjab and others included Jats, Rajput, and Pathans, Kashmiris, etc.¹⁶ Gujjar is an ancient tribe of the Indian sub-continent and middle Asia. There are many myths about their origin, which linked them to the Vedic religion and explained their holy book was Gita and their country was Gujrat.¹⁷ According to 'Puranas' and 'Vedas'. Gujjars are also linked to the Lakshman's family who was the brother of Ram Chander (god of the Hindus). The other linked them to the word 'Gusar' (Gujjar) which is also referred to the Kashan king and 'Kulputra' which means "Man or Woman born in a high family". Kashan was a Gotra (part) of Gujjars, who are living in Pakistan and India.¹⁸

Saharan from 'Taank' who was Gotra of Gujjars embraced Islam during Sultanate period and became trusted servant of 'Feroz Shah Tughlaq' and got the title of 'Wajeeh-ul-Mulk'. His son Zafar Khan was appointed 'Subedar' who became Sultan later on, with the title of 'Muzaffar Khan'.¹⁹ Gujrat, Gujranwala, Gurdaspur, Gujjar Khan were the prominent areas of Gujjar empire.²⁰ The Muslim Gujjars of Gujrat had approximately same culture and values as that of Jats. Under British colonial rule in India they were classified with 150 other communities of India as "Criminal Races" through the Criminal Tribe Act 1871.²¹

Gujjar were settled mostly in Gujranwala, Gujjar Khan, Jhelum, Sialkot and Hassan Abdal.²² they played a vital role in the political and social life of Pakistan, few famous personalities in Pakistan who belong to Gujjar biradari are; Mian M. Bakhsh, a poet and saint, Choudry Rehmat Ali who coined the word Pakistan, Fazal Ilahi Choudry, former president of Pakistan, Ex- Minister of Food and Agriculture Choudry Anwar Aziz, Choudry Abdul Raheem MLA(Sialkot), Choudry Mushtaq Ahmad MPA (Sialkot), Chaudhry Akhtar Ali Vario Ex-Chirman District Council Sialkot remained MNA and MPA, Chaudhry Armaghan Subhani MNA, Choudry Abdul Sattar Vario Federal Minister, Choudry Khush Akhter Subhani MPA, Choudry Ameer Hussain Ex- Speaker National Assembly can be cited.

Awans (A martial clan of Arab origin)

Awan is a very important and an agricultural tribe of South Asia, founded in Salt range, where they possess 'Awankari'(The areas where Awans are dominant).²³ The word 'Awan' has been derived from 'Ahwan' means 'helper'. According to one of that theories Awans are the Qutab Shah's children who had been the helper of the Muslim forces during their attacks on Indian soil. The second theory states that the Awans are Alvi Sayyads who were against the Abbasid Caliphate and thus migrated to Kapoor Thala then they became the companions of Sabuktigin who gave them the title of 'Awan' due to their help and sincerity.²⁴ Still another theory states that Awan is considered to be the ancient city of Middle east; important part of the land of Elam which had been famous in the old history of Mesopotamians. The natives of the Awan city are called Awans.²⁵

Most of the Awan tribes have still the tradition of 'Sardari'; their young sardar is called 'Malik'. Due to their powerful martial tradition of bravery, they had been the outstanding part of forces during the Muslim period and they had been the important part of "Martial Races"²⁶ during world war I and II.²⁷

Awans have no ancient roots in any particular region like the Gujjars, Rajputs and Jats, so, they are dispersed in the four provinces of Pakistan. In Sialkot, Awans have 84 villages spreading in a belt stretching from the village Ismail Awan in tehsil Sialkot to Mehra kay in tehsil Pasroor. Next to their belt is the Rajput Sulehri belt in Pasroor. The main villages of awans in district Sialkot are: Marakiwal, Bhagowal Awana, Bajra Garhi, and Mehraj kay. Their villages fall in three national constituencies, NA 111, 112 and 114. Therefore, their strength is divided. There are a few notable persons of Awan tribe as Air Martial Nur Khan, Amir Mohammad Khan of Kala Bagh, Malik Miraj Khalid Prime Minister of Pakistan, Dr Firdous Ashiq Awan and Noor Hussain belong to Sialkot.

Rajputs (A martial clan of Indian origin)

Rajput is a powerful and martial clan of South Asia. They basically belonged to the Rajasthan (India) and were considered to be the warrior class. They are considered to be the descendants of Lord Rama the Kshatriya of Suryavanshi, Chandervanshi or Agnivanshi clan of Vedic period dynasties of India. Rajput is a derived from the ancient word 'Rajputra' meaning 'Son of Emperor' which had been used for the nobles and emperor as well as specific Kshatriyas in the religious books of Hindus 'Mahabharata' and 'Purans'.²⁸

Rajputana 'land of Rajputs' was the departed group of the 23 princely states in Rajasthan. Every Rajput clan had its own identity and patron divinity, to which its people gave more respect and became ready for favor and protection.²⁹

The first great challenge of the Rajput kingdom came in 7th century due to the Arabs,³⁰ which broke their power.³¹

The Rajputs of Sialkot of Bajwat areas identify themselves with the Bahikas of Sakala.³² The area of 'Sulehr' which is located in Tehsil Pasroor on the border area extending to tehsil Zafarwal in Narowal district comprising of almost 784 villages is considered the main concentration of Rajput Sulehri in this region.³³ This belt of Sulehri Rajputs falls in NA 114. Before the formation of the district Narowal their candidates succeeded but now their strength has been divided in to district Narowal and district Sialkot which can be noted after the elections of 1993. Chaudhry Muhammad Sarwar of Rupo Chak Ex-MNA and Chairman Kashmir Committee and Rana Liaqat Ali MPA are prominent personalities of Sulehri Rajput biradari in Sialkot.

Sayyad (The descendants of the Holy Prophet Muhammad)

Sayyad is one of the most important and distinguished clan or biradari in the world because this title refers to the descendants of the Holy Prophet Mohammad (PBUH). Most of the Sayyad's came in the sub-continent with the arrival of Muslim victors and granted lands and money by the governments. The Bangash, Mashwani and other tribes like them claimed themselves from Sayyad race.³⁴ Sayyad's have strong principles and traditions and they considered themselves as responsible for the rule and law of religion.³⁵ Sayyad Mureed Hussain Shah Ex-MNA, Sayyad Faiz-ul-Hassan Shah of Alo Mahar and his son MNA, Zahray Shah belong to this biradari in sialkot.

Kashmiri (The inhabitants of the Kashmir region)

Kashmiri is not the name of any caste, tribe or biradari rather its regional identity belongs to those people who live in Kashmir or migrated from Kashmir. They can belong to different castes race and religion. The most famous among them is Punjabi Kashmiris, they are those people who migrated from Kashmir.

Punjabi Kashmiris can be divided into four categories, those who are concentrated in Ludhiana and Amritsar and those who migrated from Kashmir due to the famine or jobs and settled in the salt range, the upper NWFP and in the Potwar plateau. There are the Chabbali, they mostly crossed the border and entered Punjab because of better and peaceful atmosphere in the pre-partition era.³⁶ A lot of Kashmiris migrated during 1947/1948 independence and war between Pakistan and India. Those mostly settled in the neighboring area from Sialkot to Lahore. Kashmiri Muhallah in Sialkot is symbol of their presence.

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Kashmiris in Pakistan generally and specifically in Punjab and Sialkot are recognized due to different surnames like Dar, Butt, Khawaja, and Mir, etc.³⁷ The Kashmiri biradari has been dominant in the politics of Sialkot almost throughout post-partition era. They are even considered as the 'MQM' of Sialkot. They are closely knitted and often they forget their internal conflicts during election. As a result they secure election results. Khawaja Muhammad Safdar Ex-Chairman Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) Pakistan in Zia regime and his son MNA and federal minister Khawaja Muhammad Asif are the prominent Kashmiri leaders in the past while Usman Dar and his family tried to replace them under current Government (PTI).

Arain (A clan related to grow greens)

Ancestors of Arain belonged to Ariha (Palestine) who migrated to sub-continent in 712AD with the arrival of Muhammad bin Qasim. They were about 6000. They settled down in different areas of sub-continent as Punjab, and with the passage of time they adopted the agricultural profession to spend their life. They are considered a pure and important caste of Sutlej Valley and all Eastern plains but in other areas all the cultivators of vegetables are called Arain. They came from Sindh valley and spread on the banks of five rivers of Punjab. There are different branches of Arain castes in Punjab as Arki, Chuniyaal, Dheinga, Chandor (Sialkot), Bhagga (Gujarat), Baghbaan (Bhahawalpur)³⁸

There are famous personalities linked to Arain biradari who played very significant role in politics like Sir Mian Mohamad Shafi, Sir Shah Nawaz and Mian Abdul Bari in pre partition and President of Pakistan General Zia-ul-Haq and Mian Naeem-ur-Rehman member Majlis-e-Shoora was a prominent person during Zia regime.³⁹

Jat (A clan related to agriculture)

Jat is the most important caste of the sub-continent. They were Indo-Scythian who came in Punjab before 100 BC. Initially they were under Brahmin and settled with Awan, Ghakhar and Janjuas in salt range. Major Tard considers them a biggest tribe of Rajput but General Kingham did not agree with him and said that Rajputs belonged to Aryans and Jats belonged to Scythian refugees who came in Punjab after Aryans.⁴⁰

Maan, Heer and Bhullar consider themselves as real Jat because they do not claim to be Rajput. They work on land as cultivators. Jats can be Hindu, Sikh and Muslim. Due to some traditions they are similar with Kashatriya and Vashiya. In Sialkot district many prominent personalities of Jat biradari have served the country. District Nazim Akmal Cheema, MPA Ajmal Cheema, MPA Asif Bajwa, present CNC Qamar Javed Bajwa, Abdul Ghani Ghumman Vice Chairman District Council, Dr Sulatan Cheema and many more can be cited.

Impacts of biradarism on political life of Sialkot

Biradarism has a strong effect in rural areas as well as in urban areas of Punjab. In rural area it has its influence more because it is deeply rooted in rural communities and their political trends. This culture is transmitted from generation to generation. It is a kind of clientalism. When a biradari votes for the nominated candidate, he reciprocates his patron ship for the biradari. This two sided relationship creates further consolidation among them.⁴¹ The establishment of passport office in Marikiwal, Sialkot due to Dr.Firdous Ashaq Awan is example of that system.

Biradarism are not fastened, but in the time of difficulty they form themselves like a tight knot. It is always led by an elder person, may be not selected by election but just the senior and respectable person of his group or biradari who gives him some rights and duties.⁴² Gujjar/sayyad biradari in Sialkot during election behaves like one unit. The selection and election of same family in particular constituency make them 'electable' for the national parties which defiantly weakens the original spirit of democratic norms.

In Sialkot Mian Muhammad Shafi had been MNA twice in 1988 and 1990 elections when Khawaja Muhammad Safdar did not contest the elections and made room for Arain leader to secure the seat but then his son Khawaja Muhammad Asif entered the political arena and since then he has been elected in all the elections. Mian Muhammad Riaz, a renowned industrialist of Arain biradari was nominated to contest the elections of 2002 in PML (Q) era but he was defeated by Khawaja Muhammad Asif successfully. The second example of the monopoly of biradari candidate can be seen as the unsuccessful attempts of Mian Naeem Javed, who is an industrialist of Arain biradari. His father Professor Amin Javed has been contesting elections since 1985 but he could never secure any seat in provincial or national assembly.

The formation and history of the local government institutions of the province clearly reflect this aspect of biradarism which extensively and intensively influence the politics. The heads of these institutions in majority reflect that they belong to the dominant biradari of the area. The results of district Nazims in 2001 and 2005 elections show that both of them Naeem Javed and Akmal Cheema belonged to the two main biradaris of the district Arain and Jat respectively. The results of the elections of Chairman Zila (District) Council Sialkot in the local government elections of 1979 and 1981 also support the proposition about the role of biradarism in the district. In

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both the elections Chaudhry Akhtar Ali Vario had been Chairman of Zila Council. He belonged to Gujjar biradari which is dominant in Tehsil Shakargarh and Sialkot.

Election results of National Assembly in District Sialkot from 1985 to 2013 proves the hypothesis that its biradaries which decides the winning of candidates. See the table below which indicate the success of candidate as biradari rather his name.

NA	1985	1988	1990	1993	1997	2002	2008	2013		
104/85/110	Kashmiri	Arain	Arain	Kashmiri						
105/86/111	Gujjar						Awan	Gujjar		
106/87/112	Pathan	Jat	Rajpoot	Rajpoot	Sayyad	Jat	Rajpoot	Rajpoot		
107/88/113	Arain	Gujjar		Sayyad	Jat		Sayyad			
108/89/114	Rajpoot	Kakay Zai	Rajpoot			Kakay Zai				
109/90	Pathan	Gujjar	Sayyad							
110/91	Gujjar	Gujjar	Gujjar							

Source: Lists of MNAs issued by Govt. of Pakistan

The results amply confirm almost complete correspondence with the demography of the biradaries of district Sialkot. The Kashmiri biradari has more cohesive force in it in the urban and cantonment area of Sialkot, therefore, since 1985 only two times in 1988 and 1990 the Arain candidate won the elections. It so happened because the Kashmiri biradari had no prominent leader at that time other than Khawaja Safdar but he did not contest these elections. After his son, Khawaja Muhammad Asif, entered the political arena no candidate of any other biradari could succeed. The Sialkot tehsil area is dominated by Gujjar biradari and we observe that except Firdaus Ashiq Awan who won the 2008 election the successful candidate has been of Gujjar biradari. The area which falls in the 112 constituency is dominated by Jat and Rajpoot biradaries. Except 1985 elections when Muhammad Akram Khan, a Pathan succeeded the seat has been rotating between these two biradaries.

The area which falls in the NA-113 the dominant biradari is Jat but here cross biradari voting behavior can be found. The main cause of cross biradari voting manifestation is due to the nomination of MPAs of the biradaries other than one's own biradari. The problems and issues of the common man are mainly related to police station and kutchery. MPA is suitable and he can be easily contacted and approached. Therefore, the supporters of MPA are aligned with the MNA to whom the MPA is obliged. Thus the cross biradari voting behavior has successfully been controlled and manipulated by Zahray Shah in NA_113 and by Zahid Hamid in NA-114. After the demise of Muhammad Sarwar Khan of Rupo Chak Kakay Zai biradari who successfully utilized the practical situation of the constituency. The percentage of successful biradari based candidates is 76.09%.

The Punjab politics cannot culminate if the role of biradaries is excluded. The client-patron relationship which has come to fruition due to multi factors as enumerated earlier revolves around biradarism. Biradaries even plays the role of pressure groups and provide cataclysmic material for enthusiasm and contesting atmosphere which are necessary for election campaigns. However, this trend is hazardous for national integrity and true democracy because in this way the voter's thinking become prejudiced, parochial and self-centered. He is not ready to give preference to the national issues and support the national ideology. The vibrant political parties can wipe out this phenomenon but unfortunately they themselves are bound to award tickets to the candidates who belong to the dominant biradaries because every political party wants to secure and pocket maximum seats. The following table will show the winning and running party ticket position in district Sialkot during the last 7 general elections from 1988-2013.

Year of Election	Constituency	Party	Name of Candidate	Biradari
1988	104/85/110	PML(N)	Mian Shafi	Arain

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	105/86/111		Ameer Hussain	Gujjar
	106/87/112		Khurshid Alam	Jat
	107/88/113		Abdul Sattar	Gujjar
	108/89/114		Hamid Nawaz	Kakay Zai
1990	104/85/110	IJI	Mian Shafi	Arain
	105/86/111		Ameer Hussain	Gujjar
	106/87/112		Ch. Nazir Ahmad	Pathan
	107/88/113		Abdul Sattar	Gujjar
	108/89/114		M.Sarwar	Rajpoot
1993	104/85/110	PML(N)	Khawaja Asif	Kashmiri
	105/86/111	PML(J)	Akhtar Ali	Gujjar
	106/87/112	PML(N)	Zahray Shah	Sayyad
	107/88/113	PML(J)	Abdul Sattar	Gujjar
	108/89/114	PML(N)	M.Sarwar	Rajpoot
1997	104/85/110		Khawaja Asif	Kashmiri
	105/86/111		Ameer Hussain	Gujjar
	106/87/112		Zahray Shah	Sayyad
	107/88/113		Sikandar Hayat	Jat
	108/89/114		M.Sarwar	Rajpoot
2002	104/85/110		Khawaja Asif	Kashmiri
	105/86/111	PML(Q)	Ameer Hussain	Gujjar
	106/87/112		Umar Ahmad	Jat
	107/88/113		Ali Asjad	Jat
	108/89/114		Zahid Hamid	Kakay Zai
2008	104/85/110	PML(N)	Khawaja Asif	Kashmiri
	105/86/111	PPP	Firdaus Ashiq	Awan
	106/87/112	PML(N)	Rana Sattar	Rajpoot
	107/88/113		Murtaza Amin	Sayyad
	108/89/114	PPP	Ghulam Abbas	Sayyad
2013	104/85/110	PML(N)	Khawaja Asif	Kashmiri
	105/86/111		Armaghan Subhani	Gujjar
	106/87/112		Rana Shamim	Rajpoot

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	107/88/113		Zahray Shah	Sayyad
	108/89/114		Zahid Hamid	Kakay Zai

Source: Lists of MNAs issued by Govt. of Pakistan

Both the winning and running political parties in all the elections gave party tickets to the candidates belonging to the biradari which dominated in the concerned constituency. Although the other factors like party affiliation, education, political awareness, personal interests, religious ascription and capital to launch election campaign play an important role in shaping the voting behavior of the masses but the role of biradari plays a vital role from gaining party ticket and winning the election. It has also been observed that a large number of voters in the rural Punjab intend to survive as a group for their vested interests and social security. Individualism in the process of voting is very rare in rural areas. If a group or biradari is supporting X party, the other is bound to join Y party and vice versa. As a result floor-crossing and breakage of alliances is a common day to day matter in the Punjab politics. Scarcity of political fidelity is the order of the day. The voting behavior in most parts of Punjab seems static when analyzed on the basis of role of biradarism in elections.

Conclusion

Establishment of society by man is a unique phenomenon and its gradual progress from Hunting and gathering stage to the industrial and scientific development has a long trail of recessions, digressions and advancement. The filial ties of family, kinship, clan and tribe still play an important role in formation of voting behavior. The Punjab province is deeply entrenched in biradari politics and kinship affinities. The overall scenario of different districts shows the vital role of this phenomenon. The district of Sialkot, in spite of brilliant performance in economic field having top position in per capita income in Pakistan is still, to a large extent, entangled in biradarism. There are several biradarism in Sialkot like Jatt, Gujjar, Awan, Kashmiri, Arain, Raput, Sayyad etc. The successful political parties use this aspect for their own benefit. Most of the leadership of political parties in Sialkot belongs to the numerically top biradarism. The success of biradari based candidates in Sialkot during the last 8 elections comes up to 76.09%. The major political parties cannot altogether ignore the biradari factor, therefore, the tickets are granted to the candidates belonging to the biradari which is in majority in the particular constituency. The continuous success of Khawaja Asif and the presence of Dr. Firdous Ashaq Awan in every central government is significant trend of Sialkot politics which behind the scene runs by different biradarism.

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