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# **Punjab Caste-System and Voting Behaviour**

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This study analyzes the impact of castes and Biradarries of Punjab on voting behaviour with particular reference to 2008 general elections of Pakistan. Castes and Biradarries have been an influential factor in the region of Punjab in its historical perspective. Colonialism of the British Raj, introduction of western education and modernity in the Islamic values-system have not fully affected the Punjabi culture particularly in its value system and orientation. Based on castes and Biradarries, the present study is developed on this particular issue using the cases of selected districts of the province comparing the voting behaviour during 2008 general elections. The study shows that Punjab carries pluralistic culture ?low political culture and therefore, has influence of authoritarian rule beginning from families, castes and Biradarries to the provincial and the national politics.

## **Introduction**

Punjab is geographically located on the North-West borders of the subcontinent. In its historical perspective, the region has a long history from the period of Indus civilization. It has been one of the most significant regions which were continuously by the foreigners throughout its history. Consequently, it remained under the influence of mixed cultures, traditions and religions

resulting into a well-developed caste system, specific socio-cultural values-system that ultimately made the author interested in the study of political behavior based on caste influence.<sup>1</sup>

During the historical period of the British Raj of two hundred years, Punjab became a focal point in the subcontinent. The province in the region was despotically ruled by the Sikhs, followers of an Indian founded religion under the reign of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh, who ruled for fifty years.<sup>2</sup> It was during his time that the region sought influence of *Zamidars* and *Jageerdars* for the support of the ruling power.<sup>3</sup>

The British after winning the Anglo Punjab (1848-1849) war annexed the region into British imperialism which ultimately became the province of British India after India was colonized in 1858. The British Raj brought a series of measures in the province with the development of education, revenue and administrative system.<sup>4</sup> But the Punjab remained under a constant pressure of the British on the basis of conflict between British western system versus Punjabi local *Zamidari-cum-Jageerdari* influence.<sup>5</sup> However the region was divided into two parts with the partition of India in 1947 and the Muslim dominated area of West Punjab became a part of new sovereign state of Pakistan.

The continues foreign invasions of the region of Punjab developed into a typical Punjabi culture not only with one regional kinship based on the combinations of five rivers on which its name was given, but also with influence of different foreign as well as Hindu cultural background creating distinctions of individuality in group system based on caste system.<sup>6</sup> Hence the Punjab created a pluralistic ethnicity with a common identity. The pluralistic ethnicity emerged from the descendents of Iran, Turkey, Afghanistan, Arabia and the Arian whereas the common identity created on the basis of five-rivers culture calling it Punjab, meaning five waters. On the other hand, Punjab remained continuously under the influence of religious sensibility of Islam

inspired by spiritual great Sufis and Saints who constantly entered into the region during Islamic rule in the subcontinent. Hence, Punjab developed a mixed culture in its people from one extremism to the other that is traditional orthodoxy of caste system seeking from the Arian culture to the medieval socio-political culture of the *Zamidars* and *Jageerdars* and ultimately the Western bureaucratic dispensation of the British. Today, Punjab of Pakistan is predominantly influenced by Islam. But at the same time, with the influence of Arian background it also strongly follows the cultural heritage of caste system in its socio-political behavior.<sup>7</sup>

Basis of political behaviour is the local culture. Culture is root of social design that provides the directions to the inhabitants for their life style. Therefore culture is considered to be a life style. Hence from culture emerges political culture for political behaviour and political participation. Political culture is that part of culture which influences political decision making of an individual as well as the society. Political decision making is political behaviour which is identified as voting behavior on the basis of particular thought, beliefs and actions. Hence political culture is the main route for influencing the political behaviour of an individual in a particular society. Punjab is a particular society with its own locale based on pluralistic ethnicity, *Zamidari* system, along with urban characteristics with modern education based on science and technology, marked of sectarianism within framework of Islamic beliefs, and above all western legacy of administrative rule.

Further, Punjab is demographically a diverse society on the basis of literacy, economy and socio-cultural distinctions of rich and poor, literate and illiterate, masses and elite, boss and subordinate, managers and workers, teachers and students and etc. In other words, Punjab's political culture is divided into two distinctive parts to combine a frame work, multi culturalism and social diversification. Such situations lead to the developments of

minute circle for seeking forceful influence for self preservation which in case of Punjab ends on caste-system.<sup>8</sup>

Interestingly the prevalence importance of caste-system has created a divided community on the basis of *Zat* and *Bradari*. Hence the caste-system i.e. *Zat* and *Bradari* formations are the backbone of political behaviour and so of voting behaviour for a common Punjabi in the elections of local, provincial or even national constituencies. Because every individual in general is recognized through the identity of *Zat* and *Bradari*, and therefore he is morally and socially, directly or indirectly, consciously or subconsciously oriented to act politically on this pattern. However, due to Western educated background, urban influence, ideological beliefs, particularly the younger generations participate and mobilize? in politics out of caste influence.<sup>9</sup>

In sum, in the politics of Punjab, caste is important. The strong rural influence that covers two-third of population has political passivity in its behavior. The *Zamidars* and *Jageerdars* also use the caste system for its political ends. The politicians are fully aware of the weakness of the general masses related to caste system which is openly used in the election campaign and political maneuvering. The present study is going to look into the influence of caste-system on the political voting behaviour of Punjabis in their region.<sup>10</sup>

Analyzing the influence of caste-system on voting behaviour in the region of Punjab during the electoral process for the development of democratic society is of immense significance. On the one hand, voting behavior, political participation and political mobilization are notable for development of democracy. On the other hand, for the growth of civil society, democracy itself is an important factor for a stable political society. Therefore, combination of the three viz. civil society, democracy and development is itself important to throw a light upon?<sup>11</sup> Civil society is a combination of such value-system that leads to

improvement in quality of life, curbing of economic monopolies and justice. All these require full participation of citizens in a political system. Democracy is universally defined as a rule of majority. But in case of Pakistan which itself is ethnically diversified, democracy remains an ethnic representation in the assembly. Hence political groups have appeared to protect their identity as a force for achieving their goals. Ethno-regionalism, caste-system, and sectarianism thus have been playing significant role in the political as well as electoral process in the democratic evolution in Pakistan. Basically democracy is not rule of majority only but also on institutional set up for seeking social autonomy to seek greatest happiness for the greatest number. Development is socio-economic process which along with political stability is vital for the welfare of the general masses. Hence we look towards achievement of objectives such as eradication of poverty, curbing monopolistic economic powers, and maintaining social justice in the political system.<sup>12</sup>

Therefore, the study of democracy as a mean for the development of civil society is a vital aspect of analyzing a political system. It becomes a complicated study if the political system is combination of multiculturalism and social diversification. Pakistan represents combination of such political culture and Punjab has addition of caste-system with already established pluralistic culturalism. Thus the study of caste-system has become a significant force which is applied directly or indirectly, consciously or subconsciously in the voting behaviour, political participation and political mobilization.

### **Problem Statement**

The caste-system with reference to the voting behaviour of Punjab is a significant factor in analyzing the electoral process in Pakistan. The caste-system is a distinct element of political culture of Punjab which has given Punjab an identity of oneness on the basis of language but on the other hand, it has divided the civil society of Punjab on account of strong system of caste with is

backbone of *Zat* and *Biradari*. Thus caste-system is significantly playing a strong role in voting behaviour in the region not only in the local but also in the regional and national political life.

The study of caste-system therefore, is interesting for analyzing electoral process of political and cultural participation based on the strong kinship background of Punjab. This case study of 2008 elections of the province of Punjab aims at analyzing the influence of caste system on the voting behavior of the people.

It is intended to justify the hypothesis: The caste system has a significant impact on voting behaviour in the democratic process of a developing society like Pakistan.

### Literature Review

Mughees Ahmad and Fozia Naseem (2011) in their article "Social System Influences Political System: A Comparative Study of Subcontinent" have made a study of the *Biradari* system and its impacts on politics of Pakistan with special reference to the province of Punjab. They believe that local culture is significant for social system which ultimately impacts the political system. In the study of comparative politics, political behaviour is based on attitude, beliefs and values which are related directly to the caste-system. Thus the caste system becomes a significant factor influencing political behavior, particularly in an electoral process.

Going further, the author discusses "*Zats* and *Biradaris*" as a specific socio-cultural kinship which ensures identity in politics of Punjab. Therefore, *Biradari* system has appeared a dominant force in the Punjabi social and political system. It effectively determines the voting behavior and also being taken as an important factor in election campaigns.<sup>13</sup>

Raza Rumi (2009) in his article "Casteism: Alive and Well in Pakistan (Punjab)" has discussed his personal experience with caste-system of Punjab. He finds two conflicting tracks of local

cultural attitudes in political behaviour in the province of Punjab, the caste on the one hand, and sectarianism on the other. His study focused on the role of the two with illustration from different events in the rural area of the province of Punjab. He mostly covers all parts of Pakistan in his brief study that includes both Sindh almost rural and Karachi. He finds that not only rural but also urban cultures influences political behavior of the people. However, he does not throw any light on the politics of Punjab with special reference to localism as an influential factor in the political process.<sup>14</sup>

Ajmal Kamal (2012) in his article "Caste in Punjab" has developed a case study focusing on what he call "the fabric of our language" as an important determinant of politics of Pakistan with special reference to Punjab. He believes that Punjab had never been free from the caste-system in its historical perspective being a social reality affecting politics of "divisions, prejudice and discrimination". Punjab had always been influenced by *Biradari* system which created the basis of *Qaums* and *Zats* which had its roots in Hinduism, Sikhism and even in Islam. But Christianity kept itself its own religious beliefs away from such social distinctions. However during the British Raj, the three religious beliefs kept continuity of cultural division based on caste in its local political activities and behaviour.<sup>15</sup>

## Methodology

The key issue in this research is to find out the correlation, if any, between the caste system and the voting behavior. For such purposes, several methods can be made such as co-relational research, comparative research, ethno-graphic research and historical research. In other words, the research will be based on the descriptive and the qualitative method. The co-relational methods will help us to explore the implication of cause and effect based on behaviour of the two variable relations. The comparative method will help us to determine the cause of finding the different groups of people among existing castes. The ethno-graphic

method helps in observing the cultural impact on the behaviour of the people on the basis of caste-system. And finally, the historical methods will help in going through the impact of caste system as a strong socio-cultural-political force among the people of Punjab as a part of the traditional value-system. The research process will mainly depend upon interviews of inhabitants of the concerned locality.

### Data Collection

To support the discussion on the caste-system and its impact on voting behaviour with reference to Punjab political culture, we may focus the general elections of 2008 of Pakistan. For discussion here four districts of Punjab have been studied to analyze the 2008 elections of both the National Assembly and the Provincial Assembly. These four districts are Okara, Kasur, Nankana Sahib and Gujranwala randomly picked up. However, these districts are significant from one dimension i.e. these represent the four corners of the central Punjab and also the area of the provincial capital of Lahore. Interestingly, these districts were formerly under the administrative Division of Lahore. Now Gujranwala itself is a Division.

### Okara District

Okara district is relatively new district carved from the district of Sahiwal under the new Sahiwal Division. Okara is affected by the system. The largest caste group here is "Rais" which is further divided into small sub-groups among which three of them are considered to be influential. These are Rebera Kharil, Gogera Kharil and Ransee Kharil. Other than Rais, there are *Biradaris* and families which are in large number, the Araiens. But the Araiens are known as the supporter of the Rebera and Gogera family in their national voting behaviour. During 2008 national elections interestingly the competition was between the Rais which was divided into the Kharil groups headed by Mujhtaba Kharil on the one hand and Muhammad Aslam Ransee Kharil on the other. Moreover, from this constituency there was no



candidate from the other two groups of the Kharil namely Rebera and Gogera. The Rebera and Gogera Kharil supported Mujhtaba Kharil. Not only that but also the leading *Zamidars* and *Jagirdars* of the area supported Mujhtaba Kharil who won the election. It may be mentioned that vote bank of Aslam Ransee Kharil was negatively affected because one of the candidates contested elections from his own sub-caste which divided Aslam's votes. (Interviewed with Rai Muhammad Aslam Gogera Kharral (Nazim in Musharraf Period)

In another constituency of Okara elections, on the one hand, there was Pakistan People Party influence and on the other, the winner Sajad-ul-Hassan belonged to Araiens caste which being in large numbers supported him in the elections. Thus in this constituency, political party as well as *Biradari* system played a significant role in the voting behavior. (Interviewed with Ch. Gulam Sarwar Advocate)

In the study of constituency of Okara, it was observed that is a tradition only the Syed family had the major influencing role in the voting behaviour, as the people of this area are influenced by religious values associated with the *Peeri-Mureedi* system. (Interviewed with Rai Nasir Zaman Lecturer Political Science)

In another national assembly constituency, caste has similarly been playing a vital role in the voting behavior. One constituency is influenced by the Watto *Biradari* which is joined by another strong caste, Dewan. Both carry the feudal background and therefore the majority supported these two *Biradaris* and managed to win the election. The other constituency has mixture of Dewans, Syeds and Araiens, Sardar, Sukheras, and Madhay. Directly or indirectly they are under the influence of Watto *Biradari*. Wattos enjoy strong political influence in the area. With their influence in the area they help in securing employment for the general public. This way, they secure strong support from the voters. In the Provincial elections of Okara similar influence of

castes is found. The candidates do not speak of their merit for the elections rather they exploit their *Biradari* system. Therefore, it is seen that the important castes in different constituencies of district Okara are in forefront to influence the voting pattern such as the Dewans, Sardars, Syeds, (Gilani *Biradari*) Wattos, Jatts, Khokars and of course the big Rai. (Interviewed with Rai Mulazam Hussain Gogera, M.Phil in Political Science)

### National Assembly Election Results of Okara Constituencies, 2008

Constituency	Candidates	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Votes Polled	Party Affiliation	Remarks
NA-143 (Okara-1)	Ch.Sarfraz Hussain Bhatti	1112			Ind.	
	Dr. Liaquat Ali Kasusar	0			Ind.	
	Rai M. Saleem Raza Advocate	15265			PML(N)	
	Capt. (Rtd) Rai Ghulam Mujtaba Kharrall	63960			PPP(P)	Winner
	Muhammad Aslam khan kharral	43798			PML(Q)	
		124135	4627	128762		
NA-144 (Okara-2)	Mirza Naeem Baig	173			Ind.	
	Main Raiz ul Haq Chandoor	76			Ind.	
	Mian Muhammad Munir	605			Ind.	
	Mian Yawar Zaman	4333			PML(N)	
	Naeem ajmal Khan Lashari Bedar	431			MQM	
	Khalid Akhtar Rao	170			Ind.	
	Rao Sikandar Iqbal	33527			PML(Q)	
	Sajjad Ul Hassan	77795			Ind.	Winner
	Farid Tariq Khan	257			Ind.	
	Muhammad Ashraf KhanSohna	677			Ind.	
		118044	4080	122143		
NA-145 (Okara-3)	Bilal Zia Qamar	180			Ind.	
	Syed Javed Hassan	21253			PML(N)	
	Syed Sumsan Ali Shah Bukhari	64607			PPP(P)	Winner
	Syed Gulzar Sabtain Shah	42761			PML	
	Syed Muhammad Abbas	639			PNP	
	Musharraf Ali	114			Ind.	
		129554	4223	133774		
NA-146 (Okara-4)	Dr. Lala Rukh Mustafa	346			MQM	

	Rao Muhammad Ajmal Khna	46006			PML(Q)	
	Rao Muhammad Saad Ajmal Khan	355			Ind.	
	Rubeena Shaheen Watto	753			PBP	
	Syed Abbas Raza Razvi	29709			PPP(P)	
	Tariq Rafiq Ch.	0			Ind.	
	Muhammad Nasim Ahmad Watto	445			Ind.	
	Mian Rizwan Hayee Daula	816			Ind.	
	Mian Muhammad Sharif Zafar Joia	8544			PML(N)	
	Mian Manzoor Ahmad khan Watto	46941			Ind.	Winner
		133915	5686	139493		
NA-147 (Okara-5)	Asyia Javed	399			Ind.	
	Dewan Akhlaq Ahmad	199			Ind.	
	Robina Shaheen Watto	2331			Ind.	
	Sardar khyzar Hayat Khan ladhu ka	20044			PPP(P)	
	Syed Raza Ali Gillani	31548			Ind.	
	Mian Jaahangir Ahmad Mahar	116			Ind.	
	Mian Muhammad Javed Yasin Khan Watto	64			Ind.	
	Mian Masood Ahmad Akbar Sukhera Advocate	334			Ind.	
	Mian Manzoor Ahmad Khan Watto	84778			Ind.	Winner
		139813	6054	145040		

Source: Syed Karim Haider (compiled), *Pakistan's General Elections 2008*, (Lahore: Pakistan Study Center University of the Punjab, 2008), pp 135-136.

#### Provincial Assembly Election Result of Okara Constituencies, 2008

Constituency	Candidates	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Votes Polled	Party Affiliation	Remarks
PP-185 (Okara-1)	Rai Usman Akbar Khan Kharral	224			Ind.	
	Rai Farooq Umer Khan Kharral	20009			Ind.	Winner
	Syed Ali Ikram	993			Ind.	
	Mehar M. Akhtar Naeem Sial	160			PPP(P)	
	Mehmood Ur Rehman Lashari	17750			PML	
	Malik Sajid Abbas Bhatti	18669			Ind.	

	Mian Muhammad	15922			PML(N)	
	Anwar pasha	77674				
		77674	3947	77674		
PP-186 (Okara-2)	Ijaz Ali Rao	18180			PML(N)	
	Bila Zai Qamar	117			Ind.	
	Javed Allowdin Sajid	38918			PPP(P)	Winner
	Dr. Mahmood chaudhary	23235			PML	
	Atif Zaman	143			NPP	
	Musharraf Ali	84			Ind.	
		80677	2487	83162		
PP-187 (Okara-3)	Haji Hafeez Ahmad	74			Ind.	
	Rao Muhammad Safdar Khan	6735			PML(N)	
	Sardar Shujat Ahmad	240			Ind.	
	Syed Raza Ali Gillani	30233			PML	Winner
	Syed Abbas Raza Razvi	364			Ind.	
	Syed Faisal Shah Gillani	29			Ind.	
	Abdul Jabbar Watto Advocate	194			Ind.	
	Muhammad subtain Khan	9296			PPP(P)	
	Mozzam jehanzeb Watto	54			Ind.	
	Mian ManzurAhmad khan Watto	24507			Ind.	
		71726	4332	75864		
PP-188 (Okara-4)	Ch. Iftikhar Hussain Chacher	16248			Ind.	
	Robina Shaheen Watto	29252			Ind.	Winner
	Muhammad shahzad ladhu ka	5062			PPP(P)	
	Mirza Ali Raza	8782			PML(N)	
	Mian Ahmed Shujjah Watto	644			Ind.	
	Mian Muhammad Fayyaz Khan Watto	15904			PML	
		75892	3952	79844		
PP-189 (Okara-5)	Ch. Sarfraz Hussain Bhatti	1115			Ind.	
	Ch. Muhammad Kashif Warraich	31			Ind.	
	Ch. Nadeem Abbas Rabera Kharral	33298			PML	Winner
	Khalil Ahkter Rao	152			Ind.	
	Dilawar Khan	189			Ind.	
	Rao Khalid khan	18277			PPP(P)	
	Rai Sikander hayat Noor	44			Ind.	
	Irfan Ahmad Bhatti	169			Ind.	

	Mian Anwar Ali Jewika	15374			PML(N)	
		68649	2822	71471		
PP-190 (Okara-6)	Athar Iqbal Ch.	1957			Ind.	
	Ch. Naseer Ahmad Lahorea	56			Ind.	
	Shahzad Iqbal Advocate	25			Ind.	
	Muhammad Ashraf Khan Sohna	32793			PPP(P)	Winner
	Muhammad Afzal	8480			PML	
	Muhammad Mansha	638			Ind.	
	Mian Riaz ul Haq Chandoor	267			MQM	
	Mian Muhammad Munir	25227			PML(N)	
		69443	1663	71092		
PP-191 (Okara-7)	Tipu Usman Waheed Khan	29			Ind.	
	Khalil akhtar Rao	13341			PML	
	Rana Ikram Rabbani	10659			PPP(P)	
	Rana M. Afzal	242			Ind.	
	Abdul Sattar	13542			Ind.	
	Farid Tariq Khan	7743			Ind.	
	Mian Mubarak Ali Bhatti	421			MQM	
	Mian Yawer Zaman	16975			PML(N)	Winner
		62952	2212	65123		
PP-192 (Okara-8)	Imtaiz Ahmad Kokab	29			Ind.	
	Ch. ShahzadKhurram Ali khan	233			Ind.	
	Khalil-ur-Rehman Khurram	49			Ind.	
	Dr. Lala Rukh Mustafa	192			MQM	
	Rao Shahbaz Aslam khan	435			Ind.	
	Rao Fayyaz Aslam Khan	10642			Ind.	
	Rao Muhammad Ajmal Khan	65			Ind.	
	Syed Muhammad Naqi Gillani	5971			PML(N)	
	Malik Ali Abbas Khokhar	19094			Ind.	Winner
	Malik Muhammad Hanif Jat Nonari Advocate	296			Ind.	
	Malik M. Mozam Ghias Khokar	180			Ind.	
	Malik Nazar Farid Khokar	11974			PML	
	Mian imtiaz-ul-Haq advocate	42			Ind.	

	Mian Sana Ullah Daula	12548			Ind.	
	Major (R) Ijaz Shahid Mohal	11742			PPP(P)	
		73522	3702	77177		
PP-193 (Okara-9)	Dewan Akhlaq Ahmad	18151			PML	
	Mian Muhammad Javed yasin Khan Watto	125			Ind.	
	Mian Muhammad Asim Khan Maneka	6762			PPP(P)	
	Muhammad Mueen Watto	41498			Ind.	Winner
	Noor ul Amin Watto	284			Ind.	
		66820	2555	69331		

Source: Syed Karim Haider (compiled), *Pakistan's General Elections 2008*, (Lahore: Pakistan Study Center University of the Punjab, 2008), pp 254-258.

## Kasur District

In case of National Assembly elections for Kasur district, the caste-system is found in the forefront to influence the voting behaviour. The results of five National Assembly constituencies of Kasur district establish importance of the *Biradari* system. For example, in one constituency the influence of Rah, Sardar, Araiens, Rana and Doger *Biradaries* was clearly found. Interestingly, one constituency is urban where there is influence of the PML (N). The different castes merged together with PML (N) for the purpose of elections. The other three constituencies have shown elections result based on the caste-system influenced by the Sardars, Ranas and the Araiens. In these elections the two *Biradaries* got together to challenge the third group and the Ranas won the elections. In the last constituency the competition was between Sardar and Rana and the result always depend on the support of the third *Biradari*, Araiens. (Interviewed with Shaheen Teppo lecturer in political Science)

In the provincial elections in the Kasur constituencies during 2008 election, the results of all different constituencies reflected the influence of caste and *Biradaries*. The *Biradaries* Sethies, Ranas,

Dogers, Nehols, Sardars, Jatts, Ansaris, Kambos, Tallos, Kasooris, Araiens, Momals, Meos, Nakahi are well known who influence the voting behaviour of their members. Thus, the analysis of Kasur district also shows the influence of the castes and the *Biradaries* in the election process and voting behaviour. (Interview with Syed Ajar Ahmad Advocate)

## National Assembly Election Result of Kasur Constituencies, 2008

Constituency	Candidates	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Votes Polled	Party Affiliation	Remarks
NA-138 (Kasur 1)	Ch.Imran Aslam Advocate	34			Ind	
	Rao Mazhar Hayyat Khan	58832			PML(N)	Winner
	Ch.Muhammad Ilyas Khan	150			Ind	
	Sardar Tofail	39986			PML	
	Sardar Muhammad Sharif Dogar	710			Ind.	
	Shahbaz Ali Virk	768			Ind.	
	Tariq Hakam Ali	30630			PPP(P)	
	Major (R) Habib ur Rehman Khan	98			MQM	
	Major (R) Rana Abdul Ghaffar	210			Ind.	
	Naeem Adnam Zahid	825			Ind.	
		132243	4016	135895	Ind.	
NA-139 (Kasur 2)	Ch.Muhammad Ilyas khan	56			Ind.	
	Ch. Manzoor Ahmad	44002			PPP(P)	
	Hafiz Muhammad Hanif Zafar	411			MMA	
	Sardar Muhammad Hussain Dogar (advocate)	635			Ind.	
	Uzma Waseem	157			Ind.	
	Niloufer Qasim Mahdi	21012			PML	
Constituency	Candidates	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Votes Polled	Party Affiliation	Remarks
NA-140 (Kasur 3)	Waseem Akhtar Sheikh	51436			PML(N)	Winner
		117709	3663	121313		
NA-140 (Kasur 3)	Bukhtiar mehmood Kasuri	671			Ind.	
	Dr. Azeem-ud-Din Zahid Kakhvi	29605			PML(N)	
	Sardar Asif Ahmad Ali	41626			PPP(P)	

	Sardar Hassan Akhtar Mokai	20689			Ind.	
	Sardar Haroon Ahmad Ali	504			Ind.	
	Mian Khurshed Mehmood Kasuri	32155			PML	
	Nasir Mehmood Kasuri	179			Ind.	
	Ibtisam Elahi Zaheer	405			JAHP (EZ)	
	Barakullah anjum lakhvi	574			Ind.	
		126408	4114	130004		
NA-141 (Kasur 4)	Azhar Mehmood Main Advocate	47			Ind.	
	Rana Abdul Shakoor khan	20084			PML	
	Rana Liaqat Ali Khan	869			Ind.	
	Rana Muhammad Ishaq Khan	58807			PML(N)	Winner
	Sardar Majid Akhtar Nakai	319			Ind.	
	Sardar Muhammad Asif Nakai	44468			MMA	
	Syed Tariq Raza Advocate	917			Ind.	
	Sibghatullah Chuadhry	47			MMA	
	Muhammad Ahsen	90			Ind.	
	Muhammad Zahid Lakhvi	107			Ind.	
	Mutasim Elahi Zaheer	1121			JAHP (EZ)	
		126876	4918	1317788		
NA-142 (Kasur 5)	Rana Muhammad Ishaq khan	187			Ind.	
	Rana Muhammad Hayat khan	45538			PML(N)	
	Rana Muhammad Arif khan	257			Ind.	
	Sardar Ahmad Ayyaz Nakai	240			Ind.	
Constituency	Candidates	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Votes Polled	Party Affiliation	Remarks
	Sardar Talib Hassan Nakai	47192			PML	Winner
	Sardar Muhammad Asif Nakai	1506			Ind.	
	Imran Ishfaq	59			Ind.	
	Nasira Arshad	24714			PPP(P)	
		119693	4159	12849		

Source: Syed Karim Haider (compiled), *Pakistan's General Elections 2008*, (Lahore: Pakistan Study Center University of the Punjab, 2008), pp 133-134



## Provincial Assembly Election Result of Kasur Constituencies, 2008

Constituency	Candidates	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Votes Polled	Party Affiliation	Remarks
PP-175 (Kasur-I)	Ch. Shahzad Ahmad Khan	17			Ind	
	Ch. Muhammad Ilyas Khan	15605			PML	
	Rashid Umar Khan	74			Ind	
	Syed Tayyab Hussain Rizvi	12328			PPP (P)	
	Kashif Intzar Hassan	2900			Ind	
	Muhammad Munir	829			Ind	
	Muhammad Yaqoob Nadeem Sethi	20032			PML (N)	Winner
	Masood Ahmad Bhatti	15880			Ind	
		67665	2335	69843		
PP-176 (Kasur-II)	Amjad Ali Tufail	12096			Ind	
	Tanveer Hayat Joya Advocate	4800			Ind	
	Ch. Khalid Hussain Khan	15			Ind	
	Ch. Imran Aslam Khan Advocate	51			Ind	
	Ch. Muhammad Naseem Saleem Sindhu Advocate	343			Ind	
	Sardar Asad Ullah Khan	12435			Ind	
	Sardar Riaz Ahmad Dogar	138			Ind	
	Sardar Shaukat Ali Dogar	4869			PML	
	Sardar Muhammad Sharif Dogar	372			Ind	
	Sardar Nabi Ahmad Advocate	10634			PML (N)	
	Shabbir Ahmad	107			Ind	
	Farooq Ahmad Joia	108			Ind	
	Malik Akhtar Hussain Naul	16677			PPP (P)	Winner
	Major (R) Rana Abdul Ghaffar Khan	28			Ind	
	Nasir Iqbal	20			Ind	
	Naeem Adnan Zahid	38			Ind	
		62631	2364	64793		
PP-177 (Kasur-III)	Iftikhar ul Hassan Ansari	23			Ind	
	Javed Abdullah Khan	225			Ind	

	Choudhary Muhammad Ashfaq Kamboh	8698			Ind	
	Haji Muhammad Naeem Safdar Ansari	30677			PML (N)	Winner
	Syed Muzaffar Hassan Kazmi	9712			PPP (P)	
	Gohar Inayat Ansari	53			Ind	
	Muhammad Sarwar	268			MMA	
	Maqbool Sabir Ansari	8067			PML	
		57723	1832	59596		
PP-178 (Kasur-IV)	Ahmad Ali Tola	25940			PPP (P)	Winner
	Engineer Ch. Mubashar Nawaz	12720			PML (N)	
	Barrister Shahid Masood	671			Ind	
	Ch. Ahmad Mustafa	107			Ind	
	Sardar Liaqat Ali Dogar	30			Ind	
	Tahir Shan Ch. Advocate	13			Ind	
	Ali Ahmad Khan	268			Ind	
	Ghulam Mustafa	42			TI (RK Wardag)	
	Muhammad Arif	75			Ind	
	Malik Ahmad Saeed Khan Advocate	19416			PML	
	Mehr Ahmad Ali Advocate	17			Ind	
	Mian Maqbool Ahmad Advocate Tolu	75			Ind	
		59374	2502	61875		
PP-179 (Kasur-V)	Ch. Muhammad Ishfaq Kamboh	161			Ind	
	Ch. Mukhtar Ahmad Dholan	7705			PML (N)	
	Sardar Liaqat Ali Dogar	78			Ind	
	Sardar Muhamaad Hussain Dogar	31217			PPP (P)	Winner
	Sardar Mushtaq Ahmad Dogar	230			Ind	
	Shabbier Hussain	6086			Ind	
	Muhammad Saleem Mehr	249			Ind	
	Malik Riaz Ahmad Advocate)	219			Ind	
	Malik Muhammad Ahmad Khan (Advocate)	19892			PML	
	Mian Bakhtiar Mehmood Kasuri	63			Ind	

		65870	2508	68182		
PP-180 (Kasur-VI)	Ibtisam Elahi Zaheer	187			JAHP (E.Zaheer)	
	Ahsan Raza Khan	18228			PML (N)	Winner
	Rana Usman Alam	8536			PPP (P)	
	Sardar Jamil Asghar Mokal	284			Ind	
	Sardar Hassan Akhtar Mokal	15691			Ind	
	Sardar M. Ashraf Khan (Advocate)	21			Ind	
	Atiq-ur-Rehman	28			Ind	
	Ali Muhammad	86			Ind	
	Muhammad Javed Iqbal	13399			PML	
	Mian Bukhtiar Mehmood Kasuri	62			Ind	
	Mian Sana Khaliq Karimi	62			Ind	
		56584	1848	58110		
PP-181 (Kasur-VII)	Azhar Mehmood Mian	5			Ind	
	Rana AbdulWahid Khan	26			Ind	
	Rana Aqeel Aslam	9834			Ind	
	Rana Muhammad Nadeem Aslam	154			Ind	
	Zahid Hussain	27			Ind	
	Sarfraz Ahmed	20401			PML	Winner
	Sheikh Muhammad Umer	49			Ind	
	Abdul Shakoore Bhatti	241			PFP	
	Kanwar Mumtaz Hussain	17527			PPP (P)	
	Mohsan Ali Jahangir Majra	11106			PML (N)	
	Muhammad Zubair Majra	278			Ind	
	Muhammad Zaid Lakhvi	38			Ind	
		59706	2695	62431		
PP-182 (Kasur-VIII)	Farooq Islam Advocate	15			Ind	
	Mehmood Anwar Chaudhary	19836			PML (N)	
	Motasim Elahi Zaheer	1111			Ind	
	Major (R) Peer Ijaz Ahmad	21945			PML	
	Ghulam Rasool Malik	18			Ind	
	Sibghat Ullah Chaudhary (Advocate)	25			MMA	
	Syed Tariq Raza Advocate	1177			Ind	

	Chaudhary Rashid Ali Khan Mayo	53			Ind	
	Amjad Ali Mayo	22628			PPP (P)	Winner
		66808	2586	68926		
PP-183 (Kasur-IX)	Sardar Muhammad Asif Nakai	27144			PML	Winner
	Malik Ashiq Hussain Awan	14659			PPP (P)	
	Malik Alamdar Hussain Awan	51			Ind	
	Rana Muhammad Hayat Khan	19512			PML (N)	
	Rana Muhammad Arif Khan	144			Ind	
	Sardar Rehmatullah Dogar	58			Ind	
		61568	2111	63678		
PP-18 4(Kasur-X)	Rana Javed Iqbal Khan	102			Ind	
	Rana Sarfraz Ahmed Khan	23084			PML	
	Rana Mujeeb Iqbal Khan	228			Ind	
	Rana Muhammad Iqbal Khan				PML (N)	Winner
	Rana Muhammad Nadeem Aslam	136			Ind	
	Saith Hamid Nazir	46			Ind	
	Hamayun Majeed	6891			PPP (P)	
		58176	1986	60160		

Source: Syed Karim Haider (compiled), *Pakistan's General Elections 2008*, (Lahore: Pakistan Study Center University of the Punjab, 2008), pp 135-140

## Nankana Sahib District

The study of Nankana Saheb on voting behaviour with reference to caste-system resembles the outcome of the two districts analyzed above for the National Assembly. In one constituency of the National Assembly, there are two *Bradaries* Ranas and Syeds (Bukhari). The voting behaviour in this area had two influences; one, the political party PML (N) and the other, the *Biradaries* headed by the Ranas. The Ranas made through the elections because they were supported by the other small *Biradaries* of the areas such as the Araiens, Rais and others. (Interview with Rai Bashir Ahmad)

The results of next constituency reflects the impact of there were number of influential *Biradaris* such as Dogers, Razvis, Mangs, Syeds and Araiens. In this constituency, the Dogers were supported by the Razvis, Araiens and lower castes to win the elections. The other two had the support of Ranas, Virks, Araiens, Shahs (Peers) and the Syeds. Here the elections were under the hands of these influential groups who turned voters toward themselves. (Interview with Rana Sharyar Ahmad)

The results constituency makes an interesting case. In has influence of two major castes of the Rais and the Chaudharies. The Rais were supported by Ranas and the Bhattis. The other small groups like Ranas, Syeds and Bhattis became the decisive force for the Rais and Choudry. Besides the caste influence, there was the positive influence of PML (N) also. Therefore, even there has been the caste influence, as the election was won by the PML (N) candidate because the *Biradaris* got divided among themselves. (Interview with Rana Z.A.Babar)

The Nankana Sahib provincial election of 2008 has also been influenced by the caste and *Biradari* system. Here, in all the constituencies, different castes played significant role to influence the voters. For example in one constituency three important *Biradaris*, Ranas, Chattas and Maliks played their separate role. Consequently the election was won by the small *Biradaris* of Araiens, Rais and Mang with the support of the lower caste voters, though Ranas, had support from the PML (N). (Interview with Shahzeb Chatta)

The next constituency was dominated by the there were Gujjars, Bhattis, Ranas and Syed *Bradaries*. The Syeds made through the elections because they as *Zamidars* got the rural support and those of the lower castes. The next constituency had the larger *Biradaris* of the Chaudhries, Dogers, Rais, Bajwas, and Araiens. The Bajwas made alliances with another important group including the lower castes and won the election. Similarly, in

other constituencies the same *Biradaris* kept influencing the voting behavior by creating their own group and won the election. (Interview with Muhammad Latif Gujjar)

Thus the analysis of Nankana Saheb also shows the castes and *Biradaris* had influence on voting behaviour of the people. Any *Biradari* or caste could not win the elections by itself rather secured the support of other castes and *Biradaris* in their election campaigns.

#### National Assembly Election Results of Nankana Sahib Constituencies, 2008

Constituency	Candidates	Valid votes	Rejected vote	Vote polled	Party affiliation	Remarks
NA-132 (Sheikhupura-Cum-Nankana Sahib-I (Old Sheikhupura-I))	Khawar Ikram Bhatti	210			Ind	
	Rana Tanveer Hussain	48193			PML (N)	Winner
	Rana Waqar Ahmad	62			Ind	
	Saeeda Nazar	51			Ind	
	Syed Gayoor Abbas Bukhari	34084			PPP (P)	
	Syed Muhammad Abu Talib Bukhari	15			Ind	
	Shahid Manzoor Gill	24260			PML	
	Malik Javaid Shahbaz Heera	87			Ind	
	Mian Abdul Waheed	641			Ind	
	Mian Walid Ahmad Sharqpurī	457			Ind	
Maj (R) Javaid Nasarullah	47			Ind		
		108107	5112	113219		
NA-133 (Sheikhupura-II Old Sheikhupura-III)	Ch. Muhammad Saeed Virk	28005			PML	
	Shaukat Ali Kausar	2321			Ind	
	Imran Yousaf Munj	5894			Ind	
	Muhammad Arif Khan Sandheela	19			Ind	
	Muhammad Ali Jawad	130			MQM	

	Malik Javed Shehbaz Heera	19			Ind	
	Malik Mushtaq Ahmad	16228			PPP (P)	
	Mian Javed Latif	44786			PML (N)	Winner
	Mian Munawar Latif	92			Ind	
	Iftikhar Ahmad Malik	355			Ind	
	Ch. Usman Virk	85			Ind	
		97934	3959	101893		
NA-134 (Sheikhupura-Cum-Nankana Sahib-II (Old Sheikhupura)	Ahmad Zia Khan	30			Ind	
	Khurram Munawar Manj	32928			PML	
	Rai Ejaz Ahmad Khan	450			Ind	
	Sardar Muhammad Irfan Dogar	47925			PML (N)	Winner
	Syed Sajjad Hussain Shah	71			Ind	
	Alambardar Hussain Rizvi	156			MQM	
	Munawar Hussain Manj	1669			Ind	
	Nor Ul Ain Rai Saeed	21752			PPP (P)	
		1049982	2804	107786		
NA-135 (Nankana Sahib-I (Old Sheikhupura-V)	Chourdary Anwar Ali Gill Advocate	151			MQM	
	Choudhary Muhammad Barjees Tahir	46739			PML (N)	Winner
	Rai Ijaz Ahmad Khan	42588			PPP (P)	
	Shehzad Ali Haider	64			Ind	
	Mian Shamim Haider	24748			PML	
	Mian Muhammad Rashid Amir ud Din	2645			Ind	
	Nazar Hussain	1510			Ind	
	Noor Ul Ain Rai Saeed	18			Ind	
		124469	6006	124469		
NA-136 (Nankana Sahib-cum-Sheikhupura (Old Sheikhupura-VI)	Prof. Javeed Sandhu	1752			Pasban	

	Peer Tariq Ahmed Shah	39371			PML	
	Ch. Bilal Ahmed Virk	49681			PML (N)	Winner
	Ch. Tawakkal Ullah Virk	24911			PPP (P)	
	Ch. Waqas Ahmed Virk	36			Ind	
	Rana Mujeeb Afzal Khan	60			Ind	
	Rana Muhammad Afzal Khan	78			Ind	
	Rai Faiz Ahmed Kharal	96			Ind	
	Syed Abrar Hussain Shah	182			Ind	
	Major (R) Sardar Zulfiqar Hussain Syed	7			Ind	
		116174	4634	120546		
NA-137 (Nankana Sahib-II (Old Sheikhpura-VII))	Agha Abbas Raza	63			Ind	
	Rana Mujeeb Afzal Khan	169			Ind	
	Rai Faisal Rasheed Bhatti	69			PML (N)	
	Rai Mansab Ali Khan	44745			PML	
	Saeed Ahmed Zafar	54732			Ind	Winner
	Ali Rizwan Bahtti	311			Ind	
	Muhammad Nasir Ahmad Khan	24829			PPP (P)	
		124965	5452	130408		

Source: Syed Karim Haider (compiled), *Pakistan's General Elections 2008*, (Lahore: Pakistan Study Center University of the Punjab, 2008), pp 133-134

#### Provincial Assembly Election Result of Nankana Sahib Constituencies, 2008

Constituency	Candidates	Valid votes	Rejected vote	Vote polled	Party affiliation	Remarks
PP-168 (Sheikhpura-Cum-Nankana Sahib-I)	Eng. Muhammad Azeem Sura	6			Ind	
	Khalid Ahmed Virk	31			Ind	
	Dr. Zafarullah Malik	11733			PPP (P)	
	Rana TAnveer Ahmad Nasir	25064			PML (N)	Winner
	Abid Hussain Chatha	17529			PML	
	Fazal Mehmood	3543			Ind	
	Muhammad Ishaque Bhatti	9			Ind	



		57915	1917	59832		
PP-169 (Sheikhupura- Cum-Nankana Sahib-II)	Ch. Ijaz Haider Gujjar	62			Ind	
	Ch. Sajjad Haider Gujjar	20789			PML (N)	
	Ch. Sabir Hussain Bhatti	6089			Ind	
	Rana Waheed Ahmad Khan	12964			PML	
	Zobaira Wahid	11			Ind	
	Syed Muhammad Sajjad Hussain Shah	8			Ind	
	Qari Muhammad Hanif	24			Ind	
	Muhammad Javed Bhatti	20943			PPP (P)	Winner
	Mirza Waseem Ghafoor	24			Ind	
		60917	1342	60917		
PP-170 Nankana Sahib -I (Old Sheikhupura- IX)	Asif Jillani	16506			PPP (P)	
	Ch. Irshad Ali Anjum (Advocate)	51			Ind	
	Ch. Muhammad Zafar ul Haq	2592			Ind	
	Haji Arshad Ali	5524			Ind	
	Hamid Munir	11			Ind	
	Sardar Kashif Qadeer	19			Ind	
	Sardar Muhammad Ilyas Dogar	27			Ind	
	Shibzada Ghulam Murtaza Shazi	46			Ind	
	Tariq Mehmood Bajwa	25890			PML (N)	Winner
	Muhammad Absar ul Haq	146			Ind	
	Muhammad Tariq Awan	10			Ind	
	Malik Muhammad Azam	15998			PML	
		66820	4449	71269		
PP-171 Nankana Sahib -II (Old Sheikhupura- X)	Arshad Ali Rashid	0			Ind	
	Ch. Muhammad Arshad	0			Ind	
	Haji Falak Sher	0			PPP (Sherpao)	

	Rana Muhammad Arshad	0			PML (N)	
	Rai Sohail Ahmad Khan	0			Ind	
	Rai Muhammad Ajmal Khan	0			Ind	
	Sardar Iftikhar Ahmad Dogar	0			PML	
	Syed Mujtaba Hussain Gillani	0			MQM	
	Zia Ahmad Khan	0			Ind	
	Aqeela Ashraf	0			Ind	
	Ghulam Muhammad Gorla	0			Ind	
	Muhammad Ibsar ul Haq	0			Ind	
	Muhammad Ahsan Raza Wahga	0			PPP (P)	
	Muhammad Afzaal	0			Ind	
	Muhammad Nadeem Khan (Advocate)	0			Ind	
	Mian Muhammad Iqbal	0			Ind	
	Mian Muhammad Rashid Amir-ud-Din	0			Ind	
		0	0	0	Election Terminated	
PP-172 Nankana Sahib -III (Old Sheikhpura-XI)	Ch. Amjad Ali	7169			Ind	
	Ch. Tariq Miraj Gujjar	13658			PML (N)	
	Ch. Muhammad Alam Gujjar	72			Ind	
	Rai Saleen-ur-Rehman Bhatti	35			Ind	
	Shah Jehan Ahmad Bhatti	24308			PPP (P)	Winner
	Ali Rizwan Bhatti	124			Ind	
	Malik Zulqarnain Dogar	17881			PML	
		63247	3103	66347		
PP-173 Nankana Sahib -IV (Old Sheikhpura-XII)	Javed Manzoor Gill	17264			PML	
	Ch. Muhammad Iqbal Hassi	41			Ind	
	Rana Muhammad Zulqarnain Khan	60			Ind	
	Syed Abrar Hussain Shah	27313			PPP (P)	Winner
	Muhammad Ashfaq	141			Ind	

	Muhammad Kashif	271			Ind	
	Mehr Rang Elahi	16032			PML (N)	
	Major (R) Sardar Zulfiqar Hussain Syed	11			Ind	
		61133	2545	63705		
PP-174 Nankana Sahib -V (Old Sheikhpura-XIII)	Rana Jamil Hassan Khan Alias Good Khaan	11501			Ind	
	Rana Mujeeb Afzal Khan	982			Ind	
	Rana Muhammad Afzal Khan S/o Rana Abdul Ghafoor	20			Ind	
	Rana Muhammad Afazal Khan S/o Rana Muhammad Bashir	39			Ind	
	Rana Muhammad Zulqarnain Khan	5872			PML (N)	
	Rai Muhammad Aslam Khan	23256			PPP (P)	Winner
	Rai Muhammad Sher	198			Ind	
	Agha Ali Haider	16807			PML	
	Agha Muhammad	299			MQM	
	Ali Khan Alias Agha Jani					
	Pervez Iqbal Awan	1956			Ind	
		60930	2766	63696		

Source: Syed Karim Haider (compiled), *Pakistan's General Elections 2008*, (Lahore: Pakistan Study Center University of the Punjab, 2008), pp 133-134

## Gujranwala District

In this study the fourth district taken up is that of Gujranwala. Gujranwala is now a Division. The Division is divided into several districts and Gujranwala itself is a district as well. There are seven constituencies in this district for National Assembly. Each of those is under deep influence of caste and *Biradari* system. The first constituency has a majority of Choudry, Cheema and Chatta *Biradaries*. There are also Gujjars, Dogers and a large population of small castes. The Choudries who are Araiens have a greater influence and therefore high level of vote bank. However, the Choudry have been divided among themselves and therefore it has

given edge to the other *Biradari* namely Cheema who was supported by the Gujjarss and Chattas. Hence caste and *Biradari* had been found focal in voting behaviour. (Interview with Fahad Jawad Chatta Advocate)

The next constituency also carries the imprint of the *Biradari* system for the purpose of political participation and voting behavior. In this constituency, Ansaris, Syeds, Dars, Dattas, Gujjars, Chattas, Syeds and Sahle *Biradaries* are important. In 2008 elections Sahles and Syeds contested and both had support of the other *Biradaries* like Syeds were associated with Ansaris, Sahles, Gujjars and Chattas and won the elections. The third constituency is under the influence of Virk and Araiens *Biradaries*. The Virks were supported by a large group of Awans and Chaudharies and won the elections. In the fourth constituency the competition was between the Araiens and Waraich *Biradari*. The Waraich were supported by a number of other *Biradaries* including the lower castes and won the elections. The fifth constituency was under the influence of a large number of *Biradaries* of Ranas, Virks and Chaudries. The Ranas made the elections thorough with the support of other *Biradaries* such as Gujjars, Cheemas and Chattas. In the sixth constituency there were two important *Biradaries* Nehras and Araiens. The Nehras had a support of Chattas, Cheemas and the Gujjars. On the other hand, the Araiens votes were divided within their own groups. Consequently Nehras won the election. In the seventh constituency Chattas and Cheemas faced each other. The Cheemas were further supported by a part of Chatta *Biradari* because of personal equations and intra-*Biradaries* conflicts. Consequently, Cheemas won the election. (Interview with Muhammad Faisal Virk Advocate)

The survey of 2008 Provincial Assembly elections of Gujranwala district shows the similar caste and *Biradari* system in all constituencies. At the local level also, caste and *Biradari* members played a critical role in political campaigns. The political mobilization shows a great impact of the castes and *Biradaries*

system. Hence, the provincial elections of Gujranwala may be more complicated because of a larger number of castes and *Biradaries* extending their hand as an individual groups influencing voting behaviour. Thus Gujranwala is more interesting cases as compared to the other three districts because of local influence on voting behaviour led by a large number of castes and *Biradaries* systems.

## National Assembly Election Results of Gujranwala Constituencies, 2008

Constituency	Candidates	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Votes Polled	Party Affiliation	Remarks
NA-95 Gujranwala	Arshad Mahmood Rabbani	100			MQM	
	Ch. Zeshan Ilyas	970			PPP(P)	
	Usman Ibrahim	51705			PML(N)	Winner
NA-96 Gujranwala	Khawaja M.	32898			PPP(P)	
	Engineer Khuram Dastagir Khan	61972			PML (N)	Winner
NA-97	Ch. Shahid Akram	21626			PML (Q)	
	Ch. Mehmood Bashir Virk	48701			PML (N)	Winner
	Dr. Zafar Chaudry	41545			PPP(P)	
NA-98 Gujranwala	Asif Aqeel	46990			PML (N)	
	Imtaiz Safdar	68509			PPP(P)	Winner
	Ch. Shamshad	30259			PML(Q)	
NA-99 Gujranwala	Ch. Shamshad Ahmad khan	39986			PML (Q)	
	Ch. Muhammad Abdullah Virk	44705			PPP(P)	
	Rana Nazir Ahmad Khan	60219			PML(N)	Winner
NA-100 Gujranwala	Ch. Ashfaq Ahmad	6315			PML(N)	
	Ch. Bilal Ijaz	53285			PML(Q)	
	Haji Mudassar	57320			Ind.	Winner
NA-101 Gujranwala	Justice (R) Iftikhar Ahmad Cheema	71792			PML(N)	Winner
	Hamid Nasir Chatta	48813			PML(Q)	
	Asma Shahnawaz Cheema	37554			PPP(P)	

Source: Syed Karim Haider (compiled), *Pakistan's General Elections 2008*, (Lahore: Pakistan Study Center University of the Punjab, 2008), pp 133-134

## Provincial Assembly Election Results of Gujranwala Constituencies, 2008

Constituency	Candidates	Valid votes	Rejected vote	Vote polled	Party affiliation	Remarks
PP-91 (Gujranwala-I)	Jawad Hassan Manj	9			Ind	
	Ch. Muhammad Ashraf Kamboh	5754			Ind	
	Ch. Muhammad Umar Farooq Kamboh	15			Ind	
	Rana Amir RAuf Khan	34			Ind	
	Rana Faisal Rauf Khan	19247			PPP (P)	
	Sobia Butt	33			Ind	
	Amir Farooq Khan	3617			PML	
	Irfan Qayyum	30			Ind	
	Imran Khalid Butt	22939			PML (N)	Winner
	Qadri Abdul Qayyum Kamboh	63			Ind	
	Muhammad Amjad Awan	72			Ind	
	Moulana Hajaj Ullah Samdani	198			MMA	
		52011	927	52935		
PP-92 (Gujranwala-II)	Hasham Elahi Zaheer	926			JAHP	
	Asif Iqbal	6019			PML	
	Babar Shehzad Hujjar	127			Ind	
	Jahan Zeb Ishaq Darogha	11			Ind	
	Ch. Raza Miran	17			Ind	
	Ch. Shaukat Ali Jatt	14			Ind	
	Dr. Muhammad Ashraf Chohan	24632			PML (N)	Winner
	Shahid Latif Khokhar	84			MQM	
	Lala Shakeel-ur-Rehman	23892			PPP (P)	
	Muhammad Ishaq	106			Ind	
	Muhammad Farooq Asim	67			MMA	
	Muhammaf Yousaf Khawaja	19			Ind	
		55914	1083	57099		
PP-93 (Gujranwala-III)	Ch. Ashraf Ali Ansarai	19302			PML (N)	
	Ch. Muhammad Tariq Gujjar	19457			PPP (P)	
	Hafiz Mohsin Javed	458			JAHP	
	Robina Kausar	35			Ind	

	Sahibzada Hafiz Muhammad Imran Areef	309			MMA	
	Lala ZAhid Usman Ansari	4643			PML	
	Nemat Ullah	457			Ind	
		44661	1162	45823		
PP-94 (Gujranwala-IV)	Khawer Nasreen Raja	27			Ind	
	Khawaja Addnan Hassan	23			Ind	
	Khawaja Waqar Hassan	6710			PML	
	Rana Irafan Farooq	481			MMA	
	Muhammad Saeed Mughal	29680			PML (N)	Winner
	Muhammad Sabir Ali	160			Ind	
	Muhammad Tariq Ali	17337			PPP (P)	
	Mirza Jehangir Baig	16			Ind	
	Mauzzam Rauf Mughal Advocate	25			Ind	
		54459	1171	55630		
PP-95 (Gujranwala-V)	Hakeem Muhammad Afzel Jamal	70			MMA	
	Shazia Ashfaq Mattu	28040			PML (N)	Winner
	Sahibzada Shahif Khurshid	127			Ind	
	Farooq Zafar	42			Ind	
	Fareed Iqbal Awan	43			Ind	
	Mubashar Ahmad Cheema	2235			Ind	
	Muhammad Nouman Butt	59			Ind	
	Mian Sajjad Mehmood	12398			PML	
	Mian Saood Hassan Dar	21879			PPP (P)	
		64893	2237	67017		
PP-96 (Gujranwala-VI)	Engineer Muhammad Ashraf Butt	7325			PML	
	Ch. Faisal Saeed	12			Ind	
	Ch. Muhammad Shabir Mehar	13462			PPP (P)	
	Ch. Muhammad Kashif Hafeez	27			Ind	
	Haji Lala Muhammad Siddique Khan	9			Ind	
	Rana Muhammad Shahid	39			Ind	
	Rao Kamran Ali Khan	479			Ind	

	Shehbaz Ali	4179			Ind	
	Sh. Mumtaz Ahmad	22945			PML (N)	Winner
	Muhammad Zaman Warraich	28			Ind	
		48505	1447	49602		
PP-97 (Gujranwala-VII)	Asif Aqeel	69			Ind	
	Ulfat RASul WArraich	12			Ind	
	Tauseef Azam Cheema	177			Ind	
	Ch. Muhammad Nasir Cheema	20515			PML	
	Khalid Masood Butt	18			Ind	
	Shamaila Liaquat	15135			PPP (P)	
	Mian Ghulam Sarwar	37825			PML (N)	Winner
	Waqas Haider	17			Ind	
		73768	2489	76257		
PP-98 (Gujranwala-VIII)	Shahbaz Khan	71			Ind	
	Muhammad Arqam Khan	36382			PPP (P)	Winner
	Haji Lala Muhammad Siddique Khan	3			Ind	
	Ch. Muhammad Younas Bath	379			Ind	
	Bilal Ahmad	28			Ind	
	Ch. Raza Meeran	271			Ind	
	Ch. Muhammad Iqbal	22733			PML	
	Ch. Hameed Naseem Cheema	12627			PML (N)	
	Sardar Riaz Ul Haq	10			Ind	
	Sardar Zia ul Haq	13			JWP	
PP-99 (Gujranwala-IX)	Ch. Hassan Saif Butter	0			PML (N)	
	Dr. Sohail Zafar Cheema	0			PML	
	Saweeda Zafar Cheema	0			Ind	
	Qaiser Iqbal Sandhu Advocate	0			Ind	
	Nasir Mahmood Sandhu	0			PPP (P)	
	Nasir Iqbal	0			Ind	
		0	0	0		
PP-100 (Gujranwala-X)	Ch. Shamshad Ahmad Khan	21638			PML	
	Zulfiqar Ali Bhindar	32177			PPP (P)	Winner



	Rana Umar Nazir Ahmad Khan	147			JWP	
	Rana Muhammad Shahbaz	270			Ind	
	Syed Khalil-ur- Rehman Chishhti	13800			PML (N)	
	Shahbaz Ahmad Virk	26			Ind	
		68058	2833	70888		
PP-101 (Gujranwala- XI)	Ch. Amanaat Ali Virk	21005			Ind	
	Ch. Khalid Parvaiz Virk	26885			PML	Winner
	Rao Zahid Ali Khan	157			Ind	
	Zuhair Zia Manj	16079			Ind	
	Sohail Ahmed Khan	7247			PPP (P)	
		71373	6653	78026		
PP-102 (Gujranwala- XII)	Tauseef Azam Cheema	27			Ind	
	Ch. Razaqat Hussain Gujjar	26749			Ind	
	Ch. Irfan Bashir Gujjar	26992			PML	Winner
	Ch. Lal Din Gujjar	68			Ind	
	Hafiz Muhammad Idrees	39			MMA	
	Rana Abdul Majid Khan	2864			Ind	
	Sarfraz Khan	20317			PPP (P)	
	Fahmia Shehbaz	87			Ind	
	Muhammad Asghar Warraich	330			Ind	
	Muhammad Asif Cheema	80			Ind	
	Muhammad Nawaz Malhi	13			Ind	
		77566	2362	79928		
PP-103 (Gujranwala- XIII)	Aftab Akram Chattha	16			Ind	
	Chohdary Shaukat Hayat Chattha	31440			PML (N)	
	Chohdary Usman Talib Chattha	15956			PPP (P)	
	Chohdary Muhammad Akthar Islam Hanjra	64			Ind	
	Hamid Nasir Chattha	32229			PML	Winner
	Gohar Fatima Chattha	905			Ind	
		80764	2264	82937		

PP-104 (Gujranwala- XIV)	Ajaz Ahmad Saman	23576			PPP (P)	
	Jouher Sarwar Cheema	367			Ind	
	Chohdary Muhammad Azam Akbar	15068			PML	
	Shoukat Manzoor Cheema	41214			PML (N)	Winner
		80228	2710	83119		

Source: Syed Karim Haider (compiled), *Pakistan's General Elections 2008*, (Lahore: Pakistan Study Centre, University of the Punjab, 2008), pp 133-134

## Date Analysis

The study of election results of four districts mentioned above gives a good example of castes and *Biradaries* influence on our socio-political system. Pakistan is a typical state it falls into categories what Cifford Greetz calls "old society and new state."<sup>16</sup>

With its background combining colonialism, cultural pluralism, Islamic and traditional political behaviour including impact of castes and *Biradari* system in its day to day life, Pakistan politics is complicated with particular reference to Punjab. Although European education and ideas have brought changes in political thinking and meaning of dependent political behaviour, the majority of Punjab population living in rural area is still strongly influenced by its traditional value-system of castes and *Biradaries*. Therefore in the great task of making Pakistan a stable political society there is need to weld together the diverse castes, *Biradaries*, families and religious groups. Pakistan fits into castes fully low political culture as described by Finer.<sup>17</sup>

This had led to a high degree of distrust in the political system of Pakistan which has brought the policy formulation task under the hands of central authority, creating despotic rule even under the umbrella of democracy.<sup>18</sup>

The province of Punjab is influenced by its traditional life style and its people still live under supremacy of their family

relations rooted in castes and *Biradaries*.<sup>19</sup> These castes and *Biradaries* carry authoritarian socio-political structure and, therefore, their role in political participation is passive. Although rural culture of Punjab is under transformation because of the impact of rising education, however the rural people in general are still sub-subservient to their socio-cultural traditional background living under castes and *Biradaries* system.<sup>20</sup> Consequently the rural political culture of Punjab is parochial which implies that either the general public does not understand the political system or if they do, they do not participate. Hence the traditional elites such as *Zamidars, Jageerdars, Sardars* and the *Biradaries* chiefs are the backbone of the political order ultimately influencing political voting behavior of the rural populations. The study of the four districts developing its modernity urban contracts, ultimately the impact of caste and *Biradaries* influence the larger areas of the districts which lies in the countryside because of castes and *Biradaries* are the main features of political decisions making process. Pakistan is suffering participatory crisis particularly in the region of Punjab due to the strong influence of castes and *Biradaries*. It has low and fragmented political culture leading to authoritarian nature of rule.<sup>21</sup>

The 2008 elections analysis of above districts has further shown direct participation and influence of the castes and *Biradaries* in all constituencies of the National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies.

## Conclusion

The historical impact on the region of Punjab has played significant role in developing Punjabi culture, dividing it into castes and *Biradaries* system and making it pluralistic culture. Broadly speaking, Punjabis speak the same language, eat the same food, wear the same clothes and their living style is almost same. But internally they are deeply divided on the basis of castes and *Biradaries* in their socio-political behaviour. For example, culturally they are very particular in marrying their children in the

same castes and *Biradaries*. Politically, they are bound together to participate in their voting behaviour under the umbrella of their castes and *Biradaries*. Hence the Punjab culture is not only pluralistic but also a low political culture. Consequently, Punjabis in their political behaviour are passive in general. A large number of population carry rural background which has made them radically traditional and therefore, static and passive in their socio-cultural attitude and behaviour. Thus the influence of castes and *Biradaries* system has itself created a unique political culture for the Punjabis, which is considered as backbone of their voting behaviour.

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