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# Punjab Caste-System and Voting Behavior

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## Abstract

This article examines the impact of Punjab's caste-system on voting behavior emerging from 2013 Pakistan's general elections. Historically, the caste and Biradari system have been playing a significant role in the region of the Punjab since the arrival of Aryans. The historical evolution and modernization of the British Raj never fully changed the traditional value-system of the Punjabi society which is based on caste and biradari. With particular reference to caste and Biradari system, an analytical study has been made to understand deep roots of Caste-System and its impact on the voting behavior of four selected districts of the province of Punjab in 2013 general elections of Pakistan. Further, this research shows that the Punjabi society is based on multiculturalism and social diversification with parochial political culture; therefore, the Punjabi society accepts authoritarian rule which begins from family and ends at national politics.

## Introduction

The Province of Punjab has been considered an important region of the subcontinent from very beginning. Geographically, it is located on the North and Western border of the subcontinent and historically it has a significance which goes back to the Indus civilization. Due to its geography and history, it has been an important region which continuously remained a target of foreign invaders. As a result, the province of Punjab has remained under the great influence of multiculturalism and social diversification which resulted in the development of caste-based socio-political and cultural system which has motivated the author to analyze the political behavior of the Punjab, which is deeply rooted in the caste and biradari system.

The Punjab became the central point of the subcontinent politics during the two hundred years of the British Raj. During this period, the Sikhs ruled the Province of Punjab that was an Indian founded religion. The leader of Sikh

regime was Maharaja Ranjeet Singh who strongly controlled the Province of Punjab through his despotic rule for fifty years.<sup>1</sup> Ishwari Parsad states that during the period of the Maharaja Ranjeet Singh, the Zamidars and Jageerdars flourished in this region because the Maharaja considered them a means to support the royal power.<sup>2</sup>

Although Maharaja Ranjeet Singh was a great ruler, he did not prove to be an iron wall against the British hegemony. The East India Company fought a war with Sikh rule which is well-known as Anglo Punjab war (1848-1849) that completely demolished the Sikh rule from the Punjab and, finally, the Province of Punjab went under the complete control of British imperialism which later became the Province of British India in 1858. The British Raj introduced a number of plans and strategies in the field of revenue, education, communication and agriculture to transform the Indian society.<sup>3</sup> But the Province of Punjab remained under the conflicting influence of the traditional local culture and western political system which never allowed British to fully transform the Punjabi society from traditionalism to modernity.<sup>4</sup> However, during partition of India the Province of Punjab was divided into two parts, the Eastern part and the western part. The red cliff award divided Punjab on religious bases, so that the East Punjab became part of India because of its Hindu and Sikh majority and the western part had a Muslim majority; therefore it became a part of Pakistan.

The region of Punjab has continuously suffered from foreign invasions which developed an emblematic Punjabi culture which is based not only on local kinship but also on foreign influence and local traditional Hindu culture played an equal role in developing the caste-system.<sup>5</sup> Consequently, the region of the Punjab developed a multiculturalism and pluralistic ethnicity with the common Punjabi identity. The foreign invasion especially from Turkey, Iran, Arabia and Afghanistan influenced pluralistic ethnicity and the five rivers from which the name of this region is derived created common Punjabi identity. On the other hand, the Sufi Saints preached and inspired Islam and propagated the Islamic values-system in the region of Punjab; therefore, a pluralistic culture developed among the people of Punjab. The caste-system came in this region through the Aryans which transformed into the medieval culture of *Zamidars* and *Jageerdars* and finally into the modern period under the British rule. Although currently the Pakistani Punjab is consisting of Muslim majority population, it carries heritage in its socio-political cultural behavior based on Caste-system.

The political behavior of the people is totally based on the local culture. The social design of the society is investing based on the culture because culture gives a direction to the local people for their routine life; therefore, the second name of life-style is culture. Thus culture leads toward the political culture; political culture leads towards political behavior and finally political participation.

According to Dr. Arshad Syed Karim, "Political culture is that part of culture which influences the political decision making of an individual".<sup>6</sup> Political decision-making of an individual is considered to be a voting behavior which identified through his political act e.g. casting a vote to a specific party on specific belief, thoughts and actions. Therefore, political culture is considered to be a major source which influences the political behavior of an individual in a society. The strong localism of Punjab makes it particular society which is based on traditionalism, common identity, pluralistic ethnicity, multiculturalism, Zamindari and Jageerdari system, urbanization with western socio-cultural value-system, and dominance of Islam, sectarianism, and western legacy.<sup>7</sup>

Further, demographically the Province of Punjab is an amalgamation of social diversification which reflects dualistic structures; literate and illiterate, rich and poor, masses and elite, managers and worker, subordinate and boss, teacher and student *Zamidar* and *Mazahra* and etc. It means the political culture of the Province of Punjab alienated into two unique ingredients to mingle a framework, social diversification and multiculturalism.<sup>8</sup> This kind of situation greatly influences political culture and thinking of an individual which finally ends in the Punjabi caste and *biradari*-system.

Fascinatingly, the concept of *Zat* and *Biradari* divided the community reflecting on the importance of caste-system.<sup>9</sup> Hence the formation of 'Zat' and 'Biradari' on the basis of caste system is the backbone of political culture and the voting behavior of the people of Punjab in the election of local government, the Provincial government and the National Assembly. The reason behind this is very simple, every individual comes from the same kind of socio-cultural and political designed society; therefore, he is consciously or subconsciously, directly or indirectly, socially and morally pressurized to behave politically in the same way. But in urban areas of the Province of Punjab, the people of transformed from parochialism to subject and participant political orientation because the influence of westernization and urbanization moving out of the influence of caste-system.<sup>10</sup>

In sum, the caste-system is very important in the politics of the Punjab. The seventy percent of the total population of Punjab have a rural background; therefore, they are very passive in their political behavior. The politicians, Zamindars and Jageerdars also understand the weakness of the political behavior of the masses; therefore, they used the caste-system for their political goals. In this research, the objective is to study the strong influence of caste and *Biradari*-system on the voting behavior of the people of Punjab.

A focus on the impact of the caste-system on the political culture and voting behavior of the people of Punjab in the electoral process is very important for understanding the democratization of the Punjabi society. On the one hand, for the development of democratic society, the voting behavior and political

mobilization are very important but on the other hand, for the development of the modern society democracy itself is a significant part for a politically stable society. Thus, the integration of development, democracy and civil society in itself is a relevant object for deeper analysis. Civil society means a community of citizens linked by common interests and collective activity. For that, the people have to participate in the electoral process for the achievement of their goals and political maneuvering. Democracy means the people are free to elect their representatives, which means the rule of the majority but in Pakistan democracy is majority of votes; here democracy is very different due to parochialism, multiculturalism and socio-cultural diversification. Because of these factors, democracy is not a rule of majority in Pakistan but ethnic representation in the assembly. Development means progress in every field of life, leading to political stability, socio-economic development, liberty, equality for the progress and welfare of the people. Thus, it is an achievement in terms of maintaining socio-economic justice, political stability, eradication of poverty and welfare society.<sup>11</sup>

However, the study of democracy for the welfare of civil society is a significant part of examining political system. If social diversification and multiculturalism become a leading force to shape political system, then it becomes very complicated to understand it. Pakistan's political system is based on such culture and social diversification and especially in Punjab the caste-system is the leading force; therefore, caste-system has become a very important force which affected the voting behavior of the people consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly in electoral process leading to democratization of Pakistan.

## Problem Statement

Punjab's caste-system is playing an important role in shaping the voting behavior of the Punjabi people which is highly imperative in Pakistan's electoral process. The political province of Punjab is based on social diversification and multiculturalism in which the caste-system is considered a very powerful tool in the socio-political culture of Punjab. The socio-political values-system of Punjab has a very long history in which on the one hand, the Punjabi culture gives the identity of oneness but, on the other hand, it divides the society into different groups on the basis of caste and *Biradari* system; therefore, caste-system is playing a vital role in the electoral process of Punjab from the local level to the national level.

This research on caste-system is of critical significance to understand the political culture, voting behavior, political participation and political mobilization of the Punjabi society where the voting behavior is primarily determined on the basis of kinship and *Zat* and *Biradari*. The main objective of this research is to

analyze the impact of caste-system on the voting behavior of the Punjab through a case study based on the 2013 general elections in the Punjab.

It is anticipated to validate the hypothesis:

Caste system has a significant impact on voting behaviour in the democratic process of a developing society.

### Literature review

Andrew R. Wildar (1999) in his book “The Pakistan Voters: Electoral Politics and Voting Behavior in the Punjab” analyzes the electoral history and impact of political cultural on the voting behavior of the masses of Pakistan. He talks about Pakistan politics but his research focus was limited to the Punjab politics. He mentioned the strong hold of kinship on the politics of the Punjab which is based on ‘Zat’ and ‘Biradari’. He discussed the voting trend of the Punjab is settled on the basis of their ‘Zat’ and ‘Biradari’; therefore, ‘Zat’ and ‘Biradari’ are the significant forces in electoral and political process of the Punjab.

David, M. Farrell (2001) in his book “Election System: A Comparative Introduction” explained the significance of electoral process for the achievement of a democratic society. The study of election is very significant for him because according to him it gives an opportunity to understand socio-cultural and political attitudes of the masses which directly affect the interest articulation and interest aggregation. This book is based on the theoretical as well as practical explanation of the electoral politics in which he has justified the theory with practical examples and evidences. In the end, he concludes that the circumstances of electoral politics depend on the society structure which is different from community to community and country to country.

Lawrence Ziring (2000) in his book “Pakistan at the Cross Current of History” has analyzed the complex position of the politics of Pakistan. He comprehensively discusses various aspects of Pakistan politics, electoral system, military despotism, political participation, and political mobilization. According to him, Pakistani nation is divided into multiculturalism, social diversification and ethnicity; therefore, Pakistan is struggling internally as well as externally. Internally, he says that, Pakistan is under transitional period in socio-political and economic perspective of life which carries deep imprints of parochialism. In his work he shows that Pakistan’s voting behavior is under the great pressure of internal parochialism, multiculturalism, social diversification and ethnicity and, externally, under the great influence of foreign powers which have their own interests in Pakistan.

## Methodology

The main agenda of this research is to understand the relationship between the caste and 'biradari' system and voting behavior of the Punjab. To achieve this purpose, different models of research were selected which will be very useful during research such as historical model of research to discuss the historical developments in Punjab region under different rules, comparative models to make impressive comparisons between the past and present political and cultural situation, co-relational model of research will be used to link the impact of cultural, linguistic and religious elements on the voting behavior, ethno-graphic model to discuss the politics of ethnicity in Punjab region and descriptive model to elaborate the significance of the important developments in Punjab. Further, the qualitative research techniques will be used to interpret the available data as well as quantitative technique will be used to generate the first hand data in this study. The comparative model will help the researcher to understand the difference between two variables.

## Data Collection

To support the discussion on caste-system and its impact on voting behavior with reference to the Punjab political culture, the focus is the general elections of 2013 of Pakistan. For Data collection of this study researcher in person visited the four selected district of the Punjab on the bases of their historical significance in electoral politics and interviewed the stakeholders within specific localities as the principal source of information. For discussion here, four districts of the Punjab have been studied for analyzing the 2013 elections of both, the National Assembly and the Provincial Assembly. These four districts Okara, Kasur, Nankana Sahib and Gujranwala have been randomly picked up for this study. However, these districts are significant from one point of view i.e. they form the four corners of the central Punjab and are also the nearby areas of the provincial capital of, Lahore. Interestingly these districts were formerly under the administrative Division of Lahore.

## Okara District

Okara is a new district which has been carved out of district Sahiwal. It carries deep imprints of 'Zat' and Biradri influence. The major Biradri are "Kharals" Arains, Syed, Dewan, Watto, Rai, Mian kay, Sardar, Jutt, and Lashari. The Big "Kharals" are further divided into some sub groups as Rabaira Kharal, Gogera Kharal, Randhaira Kharal, Churaira Kharal, Ransee Kharal, LodhiKe Kharal, Shar k Kharil. The study of political process of district Okara with reference to 2013 general elections shows that the results are not different from

2008 general elections. In 2008, general elections all major 'biradaries' won their seats. Similar situation repeats in 2013 general elections and finally the result goes in favor of big biradaries. In 2013 general elections from NA-143 Rai Nadeem Abbas Rabaira Kharal got elected who was contesting on the ticket of Muslim League (Nawaz). The importance of Kharal Biradri in the constituency of NA-143 cannot be underestimated. The candidate of Kharal Biradri in this constituency cannot be defeated by any other 'Biradri' because of strong hegemony of Kharal Biradri especially Rabaira and Gogera Kharals. The supremacy of Rabaira Kharal in this constituency prevailed over other biradries which became the major cause of their victory. The candidate of Rabaira Kharal Biradri supported by Gogera Kharal (Rai), Randhaira Kharal (Rai) Perokay Kharal (Rai), Masoor k Kharal (Rai), Choraday Kharal (Rai), Wagheray Kharal (Rai), Syed, Arains, Jutt, and Kamies (Interview with the local inhabitant, Imran Khan Kharal Phd Scholar on 2017-01-23).

In the Constituency of NA-144, Ch. Muhammad Arif got victory because of the predominance of Arains Biradri. The Araien Biradri greatly influenced the voting behavior of the people which became a significant factor in their victory. In 2008 general elections, Syed Sajjad ul Hassan got strong support from Araien Biradri and secured victory, but in 2013 general elections, Araien Biradri contested with their own candidate who easily managed a resounding victory (Interview with the local inhabitant Nasir Zaman lecturer Govt College Okara 2017-01-23).

In NA-145, the role of 'Biradries' is very significant whereas Syed Biradri has maintained its hegemony under the strong support of other 'biradries'. In 2008 general elections, the candidate of Syed Biradri got victory who was contesting on the seat of Pakistan People's Party but in 2013 general election, Syed Biradri won with different candidate and party affiliation. Thus Caste-Biradri played a vital role in the political process of this constituency (Interview with the local inhabitant, Gulam Raza Rabaira Kharal Candidate of PP 189 on 2016-12-16).

In NA-146 constituency, Mian Manzoor Watto got victory in 2008 general elections but in 2013 general elections his own Biradri did not support him and, therefore, the candidate of 'Rao' Biradri namely Rao Ajmal Khan got support from all major biradris and finally secured victory in this specific constituency. The reason behind Watto's defeat is very simple; he did not support his own Biradri financially, politically within his own Patwari-Thana circles (Interview with the local inhabitant, Mr. Moeen Watto MPA on 2016-12-25).

In NA-147 constituency Watto Biradri got victory in 2008 general elections but in 2013 general elections the same Biradri secured victory but with a different candidate. In 2008 general election, Mian Manzoor Watto got victory

that contested as an independent candidate but later joined the Pakistan People's Party. The PPP have not secured the principal mandate of the people in this constituency during the elections and Mian Manzoor Watto collation with PPP annoyed the people and ultimately when in center PPP government could not deliver and under the corruptions charges was dismissed by the President Mian Manzoor Watto as Chief Minister of PPP Government in Punjab had to resign. So the unpopularity of PPP in Punjab and in this constituency became the major cause of its downfall. In 2013 general elections, when PMLN emerged once again majority party of Punjab Province along with securing mandate in center, Mian Mohsan Watto got victory on the ticket of Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz. Though he belongs to the same Biradri, the source of his victory was the combination of Watto and other major biradries. The other major reason of Mian Manzoor Watto's downfall was his aristocratic attitude toward the '*Diaray Dars*' of this constituency (Interview with the local inhabitants, Rai Aslam Khan, Rai Aman Ullah, on 2017-01-23)

Although the major biradries played a significant role in political process of district Okara, the role of the Muslim League (Nawaz) cannot be ignored as PMLN under the leadership Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif became popular political force of Punjab due to its close relationships with landlords and business communities of the punjab. They distributed the ticket by using their political awareness and consciousness. They selected the winning candidates; therefore, they really deserved this victory.

National Assembly Election Result of Okara Constituencies, 2013  
NA-143

Name of Candidates	Political Parties	Votes
Nadeem Abbas Rebaira	PML-N	90471
Abu Bakar Muhammad Saeed	Independent	954
Khalid Mahmood Javed	Independent	0
Rai Muhammad Aslam Kharal	PML-Q	39269
Rai Muhammad Saleem Raza	Independent	2122
Sumaira Mushtaq Kharal	PPP-P	14334
Sayyed Noor Ul Hassan Shah	Independent	266
Qari Nadeem Ahmad Owaisi	PJP	604

Liaqat Ali	JI	14915
Muhammad Akber Chaudhary	Independent	---
Mudasar Ejaz	MQM	141
Malik Fakhar Iqbal Wattoo	APML	963
Nasir Ali	Independent	134
Noor Ul Aien Kharal	Independent	98

## NA-144

Muhammad Arif Choudhary	PML-N	103382
Azhar Mahmood Chaudhary	Independent	277
Paulus Bhatti	Independent	19
Chaudhary Sajjad-ul-Hassan	Independent	442
Ch Shahid Saleem	Independent	10
Khalid Mahmood	Independent	49
Rana Ghulam Raza	JPP	78
Rao Khalid Khan	PTI	18933
Rao Abdul Qayyum Khan	Independent	351
Sajid Masieh	Independent	1086
Sakhawat Ali	Independent	109
Syed Sajjad Hussain Shah kazmi	APML	1352
Shafqat Ali Rabbani	Independent	124
Shefeeqa Baghum Rao Sikandar Iqbal	PPP-P	35970
Shahzad Kaleem Tahir	Independent	83
Sahibzada Mian Muhammad Attiq-ur-Rahman	Independent	277

Abdul Satter Wahla	Independent	24
Ali Arif Choudhary	Independent	55
Fayyaz Ahmed Khan Ghori	Independent	1423
Fayyaz Ali	MQM	86
Muhammad Ashraf	Independent	743
Muhammad Shair Sajid	Independent	50
Muhammad Farooq Sheikh	Jl	2216
Malik Ghulam Qadir	Independent	62
Molana Iftikhar Ahmed	MDM	595
Main Rab Nawaz Khan Watto	Independent	22
Majar (R) Mahmood Ahmad Gill	Independent	109
Naseer Ahmed Khan Ghori	Independent	94

## NA-145

Syed Muhammad Ashiq Hussain Shah	PML-N	88856
Bushra All	Independent	135
Bilal Zia Qamar	Independent	453
Rana Khizar Hayat Khan	Independent	31638
Rana Muhammad Nasir Khan	Independent	554
Rao Wajid Ali Khan	TTP	4828
Syed Ameer Hamza Kirmani	Independent	657
Syed Sumsam Ali Shah Bukhari	PPP-P	26577
Syed Ali Husnain Shah	PTI	12283
Syed Muhammad Mehdi	Independent	4185

Anayat Ali Cheema	Independent	426
Muzmmil Hussain joyia	MQM	73

## NA-146

Rao Muhammad Ajmal Khan	PML-N	108337
Chodhary Ahmad Nawaz Khan	Independent	680
Chodhary Javed Iqbal Kanwal Chandoor	Independent	285
Khalil Ur Rehman Khan	Independent	100
Rao Saad Ajmal	Independent	2024
Syed Mehr Hassan Gillani	Jl	1181
Abdur Raof Dolla	PTI	11927
Abdul Aziz Rashid	Independent	145
Muhammad Ameer Afzal	Independent	92
Muhammad Jaffar	Independent	867
Moazzam Jahanzaib Wattoo	Independent	144
Malik Nazar Fareed Khokhar	TTP	9466
Mian Sana Ullah Dolla	Independent	213
Mian Khurram Jahangir Wattoo	Independent	647
Mian Manzoor Ahmad Khan Wattoo	PPP-P	37298

## NA-147

Muhammad Moeen Watto	PML-N	87236
Rana Abdul Khaliq	Independent	206
Robina Shaheen Watto	Independent	3519

Tahir Masood Khan	Independent	314
Abdul Aziz Rashid	Independent	219
Qasim Ali	APML	162
Malik Waqar Ahmad	PTI	8191
Mian Manzoor Ahmad Khan Wattoo	PPP-P	58220
Naseem Ahmad Khan Wattoo	Independent	151
Naseer Ahmad	JI	138

Source: Syed Karim Haider (Editor), *Pakistan's General Elections 2013*, (Lahore: Pakistan Study Center University of the Punjab, 2013), pp 135-136.

### Provincial Assembly

In Provincial Assembly 2013 general elections, 8 out of 9 seats were won by Muslim League (Nawaz) but in 2008 general elections Muslim League (Nawaz) had got victory only on one seat. It is worth noting that Muslim League (Nawaz) secured victory in 8 out of 9 Provincial Assembly seats because Muslim League (Nawaz) got victory on all National Assembly Seats. Interestingly, the seat which was lost by PML Nawaz was won by PTI candidate Masood Shafqat Rabaira Kharal. He contested 2013 general elections in PP-189 against the younger brother of NA seat winner Nadeem Abbas Ribaira Kharal. Number of independent candidates are just due to diverse representation of 'biradries' in the area. Kharal as dominating 'Biradri' played important role for Nadeem Abbas Rabaira Kharal's defeat as they cast their National Assembly votes in favor of Nadeem Abbas Rabaira Kharal but the Provincial Assembly voted against him in favor of Masood Shafqat Rubaira Kharal who actually got this support on sympathetic basis because after his father's death, he contested for the first time and, therefore, he managed a resounding victory which gave a direction to the political process of this constituency (Interview with the local inhabitants, Rai Imran Khan Phd scholar and Mulazim Hussain M.Phil Political science on 2017-01-23).

## Provincial Assembly Election Result and Parties Position, 2013

Party	General Seats	Women Seats	Non Muslim Seats	Total
Pakistan Muslim League (N )	213 + 35	50	07	305
Pakistan Peoples Party	06	01	-	07
Pakistan Tehrek Insaf	20	05	01	26
Pakistan Muslim League (Q)	07	02	-	09
Pakistan Muslim League (Z)	02	-	-	02
Jamiat Ulma-e-Islam (F)	01	-	-	01
Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan	01	-	-	01
Bahawalpur National Awami Party	01	-	-	10
Pakistan National Muslim League	01	-	-	01
Independent	05	-	-	05

Source: Syed Karim Haider (Editor), *Pakistan's General Elections 2013*, (Lahore: Pakistan Study Center University of the Punjab, 2013), pp 254-258.

### Kasur District

The politics of district Kasur is greatly affected by caste and biradri -system. The district of Kasur is considered backward in socio-economic terms because of rural background the political culture of this district is parochial. In 2008 general elections, Muslim League (Nawaz) won on three National Assembly seats out of five. One was won by Muslim League (Q) and the other was managed by Pakistan People's Party. But out of five seats, four seats were won by major Biradries namely Rao, Sheikh, Sardar, and Rana and Kharal. The Sardar Biradri won two National Assembly seats. If we deeply examine 2013 general elections, then we can develop a better understanding about the role of biradri in the general elections. In 2013 general elections, all seats went in favor of Muslim League (Nawaz) because of ML-(N) political experience and awareness. The leadership of Muslim League (Nawaz) was fully aware about the strong role of biradries; therefore, they gave tickets to the winning candidates. Three seats were secured by 'Rana' Biradri , one by 'Sardar' Biradri and one by Arains Biradri . In 2008 general elections, Arains Biradri was supporting Pakistan People's Party and; therefore, the candidate of PPP got victory on that seat but in 2013 general elections, Arains Biradri fielded their candidate and got strong support from other biradries and easily managed victory. It shows that district

Kasur is under the great influence of Caste-Biradri system (Interview with the local inhabitant Sardar Gulam Sarwar advocate High Court on 2017-01-13).

National Assembly Election Result of Kasur Constituencies, 2013

NA-138		
Candidate Name	Party	Votes
Sulman Hanif	PML-N	75409
Abul khair Muhammad Zubair	JUP-N	4933
Amjad Ali Tufail	Independent	28057
Ch. Muhammad Saleem Nasim Sandhu	Independent	732
Chaudhry Hakim Ali	Independent	7462
Hassan Ali Khan	PTI	13076
Sardar Tufail Ahmed Khan	Independent	28057
Sadia Bano W/o Mazhar Hayat	Independent	26225
Fida Hussain Matta Advocate	Independent	191
Col (R) Aizaz Haider	KMP	966
Nasira Mayo	PPP-P	20187
Muhammad Asif Yaqub	Independent	136
Muhammad Imran Hanif	Independent	74
Muhammad Rafique Kasuri	JUI-F	1620
Mian Muhammad Afzal	Independent	0
Nasir Iqbal	Independent	101
Waqar Mustafa	Independent	669

NA-139		
Waseem Akhter Sheikh	PML-N	102703
Chaudhary Ghulam Muhammad	MDM	853
Chaudhary Ghulam Mustafa Tabassum	Independent	164
Chaudhary Manzoor Ahmed	PPP-P	28763
Munir Ahmad	Independent	640
Khizer Hayat Khan	TTP	458
Sardar Riaz Ahmad Dogar	Independent	481
Sardar Muhammad Hussain Dogar	PTI	21628
Saad Ullah Hameed Dogar	Independent	1550
Safdar Ali	MQM	215
Uzma Waseem	Independent	556
Umar Hayat	Independent	4541
Muhammad Javaid Kasuri	JI	5400
Shabbir Ahmad Khan	Independent	129
Munir Ahmed Zafar	IIP	112
Rana Habib ur Rehman	Independent	66
Naveed Hashim Rizvi	Independent	15004
NA-140		
Malik Rashid Ahmad Khan	PML-N	68460
Ibtsaam Illahi Zaheer	QTP	2012
Bakhtiar Mehmood Kasuri	Independent	3426

Chaudhay Amjad Iqbal Khan	Independent	3269
Azeem ud Din Zahid Lakhvi	PML-Q	49435
Rana Muhammad Ali	APML	88
Rai Ishtiaq Ahmad	Independent	389
Rai Muhammad Younas Khan Kharal	MQM	463
Zaeem ud Deen Abid	Independent	743
Sardar Asif Ahmad Ali	Independent	19268
Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Dogar	Independent	105
Sardar Mushtaq Ahmad	Independent	7
Mujahid Muhammad Yaqoob	Independent	145
Muhammad Ali Javed	Independent	659
Muhammad Ayub Khan	Independent	64
Malak Mazhar Rasheed	Independent	137
Mian Khurshid Mehmood Kasuri	PTI	30414
Mian Mukhtar Ahmed	JI	1861
NA-141		
Candidate Name	Party	Votes
Rana Muhammad Ishaq Khan	PML-N	96368
Akeel Aslam	PTI	11935
Chaudhary Nasir Ali Malanga	Independent	1371
Haji Jahangir Ali Majra	Independent	199
Hafiz Shahzad Advocate	JUI-F	259
Nazir Ahmad	JI	1081

Arshad Ali	APML	93
Rana Sakindar Hayat	Independent	760
Rana Liaqat Ali Khan	Independent	736
Sardar Majid Akhtar Nakai	Independent	572
Sardar Muhammad Asif Nakai	Independent	33712
Sardar Muhammad Atif Nakai	Independent	307
Syed Raza Abbas	Independent	1573
Syed Tariq Raza	PPP-P	4502
Shahnaz Arshad	Independent	93
Sibghatuallah Chaudhary	Independent	86
Nazir Ahmed	Independent	1081
NA-142		
Rana Muhammad Hayat Khan	PML-N	84787
Haji Muhammad Ramzan	JI	1816
Rana Tanveer Riaz Khan	PTI	18253
Rana Khyzar Hayat Khan	Independent	371
Rana Dilshad Ali	Independent	178
Rana Skindar Hayat Khan	Independent	135
Rana Liaqat Ali Khan	Independent	216
Rana Naeem Riaz	Independent	91
Sardar Ahmad Ayaz Nakai	Independent	404
Sardar Talib Hassan Nakai	PML-Q	65836
Sardar Muhammad Asif	Indenendent	1060

Nakai		
Syed Naveed ul Hassan Shah	Independent	137
Muhammad Arshad Saqi	Independent	111

Source: Syed Karim Haider (Editor), *Pakistan's General Elections 2013*, (Lahore: Pakistan Study Center University of the Punjab, 2013), pp 133-134

### Provincial Assembly Elections of District Kasur:-

The results of the Provincial Assembly elections of District Kasur are similar to the National Assembly results. Here all seats were won by Muslim League (Nawaz) was the case of National Assembly seats. The two Provincial Assembly seats were won by Mohkal Biradri which is the sub-caste of Sardar Biradri, one seat won by Sheikh, one seats won by Ansari and last one won by Sethi Biradri. It is interesting to note that the winner of Provincial Assembly seats did political bargaining with the winners of National Assembly seats. The approach was very simple, through mutual support they won on all the seats. Thus, the role of caste-Biradri in 2013 general elections is not less than that of 2008 general elections. The net result was reducing of Pakistan People's Party Seats and political uplifting of the Muslim League (Nawaz) (Interview with the local inhabitant, Lecturer Ansar Ali Govt College Okara on 2016-11-15).

### Punjab Assembly Election Results and Partywise Position , 2013

Party	General Seats	Women Seats	Non Muslim Seats	Total
Pakistan Muslim League (N)	213 + 35	50	07	305
Pakistan Peoples Party	06	01	-	07
Pakistan Tehrek Insaf	20	05	01	26
Pakistan Muslim League (Q)	07	02	-	09
Pakistan Muslim League (Z)	02	-	-	02
Jamiat Ulma-e-Islam (F)	01	-	-	01
Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan	01	-	-	01

Bahawalpur Awami Party	National	01	-	-	10
Pakistan Muslim League	National	01	-	-	01
Independents		05	-	-	05

Source: Syed Karim Haider (Editor), *Pakistan’s General Elections 2013*, (Lahore: Pakistan Study Center University of the Punjab, 2013), pp 135-140

### Nankana Sahib District

Nankana Sahib is a new district of the Province of the Punjab. The government of Punjab established this district to develop administrative efficiency and discipline in the area. In 2008 general elections, Muslim League (Nawaz) won all the National Assembly seats except one. But in 2013 general elections, due to significant role of Kharal Biradri, Muslim League (Nawaz) got victory in NA-137 which they had lost in 2008 general elections. So, in 2013 general elections, Muslim League (Nawaz) got victory on all National Assembly seats which itself can be considered as ‘record’. Although Muslim League (Nawaz) appeared as a strong political power and secured all seats, Biradri-system played a significant role in managing that victory. The leadership of Muslim league (Nawaz) efficiently used their political experience and they were much aware about the political culture of this district; therefore, they succeeded in uniting all major biradries under the umbrella of PML-(N) which became the major cause of their victory. The other political parties ignored the importance of Caste-Biradri system which became the vital cause of their failure.

If we study 2008 general elections, we come across some very interesting things. As in 2008 general elections, Araien Biradri got victory on two seats, one by Sardar, one by Mian and one by Kharal Biradri . In 2013 general elections the same candidates of the same biradries got victory as was the case in 2008 general elections. It shows that the political culture of District Nankana Sahib is quite parochial because of strong influence of local traditional value-system (Interview with the local inhabitant, Ehsan Ullah M.Phil History on 2017-02-12 ).

### National Assembly Election Result of Nankana Sahib Constituencies 2013

#### NA-134

Name of Candidates	Political Parties	Votes
Sardar Muhammad Irfan Dogar	PML-N	44384

Chaudhary Iftikhar Ahmad Kasana	Independent	0
Ch Muzammil Hussain	Independent	441
Khan Sher Akbar Khan	Independent	41093
Khurram Munawwar Munj	PML-Q	39351
Rai Ejaz Ahmad Khan kharal	Independent	319
Rai Azeem Saeed Khan kharal	Independent	1329
Sardar Muhammad Afzal Dogar	Independent	711
Syed Imran Abdullah	MQM	117
Shafqat Ali	PTI	14109
Sohaib Mushtaq	Independent	545
Imran Naseeb Gujjar	Independent	0
Fakhar Rasheed	Independent	332
Qamar Naseeb Gujjar	Independent	0
Malik Mushtaq Ahmad	Independent	1139
Munawar Hussain Munj	Independent	1404
Meharban Sain Rana Abdul Ghafoor Mian	PMP	24
Mian Asadullah	JI	1087

## NA-135

Muhammad Barjes Tahir	PML-N	82038
Ahmad Raza	QWP	27
Ume Kalsoon alias Bismillah	Independent	60
Professor Hakeem Mian Muhammad Sadique	MDM	256

Chaudhary Saleem Iqbal Bagga	Independent	1676
Ch. Ghulam Abbas Cheema	TTP	1605
Chaudhary Muhammad Arshad Sahi kharal	PTI	40537
Ch Muhammad Hussain	Independent	29
Doctor Altaf Hussain Rathore	Independent	655
Muhammad Saleem Khan Munj	Independent	603
Rai Ejaz Ahmad Khan kharal	Independent	15113
Rai Azeem Saeed Khan kharal	Independent	159
Sardar Asif Dogar	Independent	98
Sardar Ejaz Abbas Pannu	Independent	1469
Sarfraz Ahmad Khan	Jl	4645
Muhammad Shahbaz Mukhtar Bhatti	Independent	603
Muhammad Malik Bhatti	MQM	154
Muhammad Naeem Khan Lodhi	Independent	1067
Maqsood Ahmad Awan Advocate	Independent	351
Malik Muhammad Azam	Independent	50
Mian Shamim Haider	PPP-P	9780
Mian Ziaullah Zia	Independent	131
Mian Muhammad Farooq Nasir Advocate	Independent	19
Nasir Ali	Independent	48
Nazar Hussain	Independent	458

Naveed Hussain Wahla	Independent	42
Wajid Mustafa Bajwa	Independent	13

## NA-137

Rai Mansab Ali Khan kharal	PML-N	61291
Ijaz Ahmad Shah	Independent	55987
Saeed Ahmad Zafar	Independent	22953
Shah Jahan Ahmad Bhatti	PPP-P	11997
Rai Muhammad Akram Khan Bhatti	PTI	8895
Rana Muhammad Aslam Khan	Independent	3261
Rai Touseef Ahmad Kharal	Independent	1935
Rana Abdul Ghaffar Khan	Independent	862
Muhammad Oasim Attari	PST	633
Rai Muhammad Khan Kharal	QWP	379
Muhammad Imran Ejaz Butt	MQM	341
Syed izhar ul Hassan Shah	Independent	168
Agha Abbas Raza	Independent	141
Urnme Kalsoom Almaroof Bismillah	Independent	75

Source: Syed Karim Haider (Editor), *Pakistan's General Elections 2013*, (Lahore: Pakistan Study Center University of the Punjab, 2013), pp 133-134

### Provincial Assembly Elections of District Nankana:-

The Provincial Assembly results of District Nankana are not different from the results of National Assembly and the situation in Provincial Assembly remained more interesting and very complicated to understand in 2013 elections. The major Biradries got victory in National Assembly and they managed this victory by bargaining with the minor caste or sub-groups of major biradries i.e Bangh seen, Ran Seen of Bhatti Biradri, Lodhike, Rabaira, Gogera

and Randhaira of Kharal Biradri offering them support at local governmental elections or some kinds of domestic advantages in local social positions. The bargaining among the Biradries is based on give-and-take formula. In this formula sub groups manage to secure assurance of political support in local bodies' election by providing the support in general elections to the candidates. However in 2008 general elections, all the major seats of the Provincial Assembly were won by Pakistan People's Party but in 2013 general elections, all the were seats won by Muslim League (Nawaz). One seat was won by independent candidate who later joined the Muslim League (Nawaz). Thus, in District Nankana Sahib, caste-Biradri system played a significant role in 2013 general elections similar to 2008 general elections and, therefore, its political culture remained parochial (Interview with the local inhabitant, Rai Afzal khan kharal PA to MNA on 2017-01-20).

Provincial Assembly Election Results and Partywise Position, 2013

Party	General Seats	Women Seats	Non Muslim Seats	Total
Pakistan Muslim League (N)	213 + 35	50	07	305
Pakistan Peoples Party	06	01	-	07
Pakistan Tehrek Insaf	20	05	01	26
Pakistan Muslim League (Q)	07	02	-	09
Pakistan Muslim League (Z)	02	-	-	02
Jamiat Ulma-e-Islam (F)	01	-	-	01
Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan	01	-	-	01
Bahawalpur National Awami Party	01	-	-	10
Pakistan National Muslim League	01	-	-	01
Independents	05	-	-	05

Source: Syed Karim Haider (Editor), *Pakistan's General Elections 2013*, (Lahore: Pakistan Study Centre, University of the Punjab, 2013), pp 133-134

### Gujranwala District:

Caste-Biradri system has played a significant role in the politics of district Gujranwala. These biradries not only affect the local politics but also National Assembly elections. In 2008 general elections, Muslim League (Nawaz) got victory in all National Assembly seats except one, which was won by Pakistan People's Party. But in 2013 general elections, Muslim League (Nawaz) won all National Assembly seats because of the strong impact of Caste-Biradri system. In 2008 general elections, Mr. Usman Rabbani won the National Assembly seat which belonged to Rabani Biradri. However, the same seat in 2013 general elections was won by Peer Ghulam Farid who belongs to Syed Biradri. In the constituency of NA-96, the situation has been quite interesting. In 2008 general elections, this seat was won by Dastageer Khan who belonged to Gujar biradaries, but in 2013 general elections, Muhammad Tufeeq Butt managed victory who belonged to Butt Biradri. In the constituency of NA-97 the situation was even more interesting, in 2008 general election, Muhammad Bashir Virk who belonged to Virk Biradari, was elected. But in 2013 general elections, the candidate of Warrach Biradri Muhammad Ashraf Warrach was succeeded. Similarly in constituency of NA-98, the candidate of Araien Biradri Muhammad Shamshad got victory in 2008 general elections, but in 2013 the candidate of same Biradari Muhammad Iqbal got elected. In 2008 general elections the candidate of Rana Biradri secured victory in the constituency of NA-99, but in 2013 general elections the candidate of Cheema Biradri got victory. In the constituency of NA-100 Araien Biradari managed victory both in 2008 and 2013. Although on some seats, different biradries succeeded in 2013 general elections, the role of biradaries cannot be ignored. The political culture of district Gujranwala was parochial which still is parochial and which will remain parochial. The reason behind parochialism is the strong influence of Caste-Biradri -System, multi-culturalism, traditionalism and strong social differentiation (Interview with the local inhabitant, Fahad Jawad Chatta Advocate High Court on 2017-01-03) .

### National Assembly Election Results of Gujranwala Constituencies, 2013

#### NA-95

Name of Candidates	Political Parties	Votes
Usman Ibrahim	PML-N	108419
Babu Muhammad Asim Anees Mughal	Independent	39

Barrister Uamr Nawaz Chohan	Independent	75
Jawwad Iqbal Rehan Advocate	Independent	354
Chand Faisal Uppal Advocate	MDM	151
Chudhary Khalid Zafar Sansi	Independent	9
Chaudhary Shoukat Ali Jutt	Independent	9
Chaudhary Muhammad Saddique	PPP-P	15924
Chaudhary Muhammad Ansar Nutt	Independent	13
Chaudhary Muhammad Waseem	Independent	28
Haji Muhammad Ashraf Kareemi	Independent	8444
Sardar Khyzer Hayat Doger	Independent	70
Tariq Javed Butt	JI	2904
Abdul Kareem Tokay Khan Bhai	Independent	853
Usman Ashraf Mughal	Independent	39
Izzat Maab Arshad Rabbani	Independent	6
Ali Ashraf Mughal	PTI	27799
Kaleem Ahmad Bhatti	Independent	28
Muhammad Amin Butt	Independent	27
Muhammad Farooq Malik	Independent	166
Mufti Jameel Ahmad	JUI-F	541
Mehar Muhammad Muthar Ramzan Advocate	PML-J	58

## NA-96

Engineer Khurram Dastgir Khan	PML-N	105104
S A Hameed	PTI	29942
Chaudhary Muhammad Saeed Gujar	PPP-P	13756
Choudhary Muhammad Nazir	Independent	117
Hafiz Rana Muhammad Usman Shakar	MDM	107
Hameed U Deen Awan	Jl	3533
Khawja Anwaar Ahmad Sheikh	Independent	89
Rana Arshad Saeed Khan	APML	43
Rana Abdul Rehman Sultani	MQM	35
Raza Hameed	Independent	143
Zahid Sadique Ansari	TTP	385
Shabraz Abbas Awan	Independent	840
Sheikh Naveed	Independent	40
Atif Fareed Sabir Khan	Independent	26
Ali Shabbir	Independent	40
Faisal Saeed	Independent	13
Kaiser Mahmood Haji Naqshbandi	Independent	13
Muhammad Shah Zaman	JUI-F	460
Muhammad Shabbir	Independent	34
Mirza JahaNgir Baig	Independent	15
Mushtaq Ahmad	Independent	25

## NA-97

Chaudhry Mahmood Bashir Virk	PML-N	104674
Irshad Ullah Yasser	Independent	111
Engineer Muhammad Ashraf Butt	Independent	48
Chaudhry Muhammad Anwar Bhinder	PML-Q	16032
Hafiz Muhammad Safdar Qasmi	MDM	1051
Hafiz Mahmood Ul Hassan	JUI-F	284
Doctor Zain Ali Bhatti	Independent	5057
Rana Javed Iqbal	Jl	2318
Rana Muhammad Iqbal	Independent	1091
Rana Naeem Ur Rehman Khan	PTI	30946
Sheikh Nadeem Akhtar	Independent	1005
Zaheer Ahmad Zia Warraich	TTP	3382
Abdul Sattar Shakir	Independent	456
Farhat Mubeen	Independent	112
Muhammad Imran	SIC	120
Muhammad Yaseen	MQM	105

## NA-98

Mian Tariq Mehmood	PML-N	119224
Arslan Ul Mulk Dhariwal	ML	133
Imtiaz Safdar Warraich	PPP-P	36768

Bilal Qudrat Butt	JI	12960
Jamal Hassan Khan Manj	Independent	56
Jawad Hassan Manj	Independent	160
Chaudhary Muhammad Iqbal Gujjar	AML	291
Khalid Mehmood Chahal	Independent	48
Rana Shehzad Hafeez	PTI	20717
Sarfraz Ahmad Warriach	Independent	503
Shazia Mazhar Javed	Independent	475
Shahid Mehmood Bhatti	Independent	225
Sufi Muhammad Ali Naqshbandi	PFP	167
Adil Farooq Khan	PML-J	7279
Muhammad Afzal	Independent	933
Malik Abdul Hameed Awan	Independent	499
Malik Muhammad Imran Bashir Awan	Independent	150
Mian Ghulam Sarwar	Independent	610
Mian Muhammad Arshad Sandhu	Independent	88
Meer Mazhar Bashir	Independent	90
Chaudhary Najam Hussain Cheema	Independent	11

## NA-99

Rana Umar Nazir Khan	PML-N	96824
Chaudhary Zulifqar Bhindar	PPP-P	37077

Rana Sajid Ali Shaukat	PTI	20015
Asim Abdullah Virk	Independent	16586
Abdul Rasheed	MDM	2123
Mian Asif Ali	Independent	1944
Ch Muhammad Abdullah Virk	Independent	587
Choudhary Muhammad Fiaz Bhati	Independent	575
Rana Muhammad Ilyas Khan	Independent	502
Muhammad Javed Shaheen	PPP-SB	499
Rizwan Zafar Cheema	Independent	324
Abdul Hammed Sohal	Independent	220
Muhammad Asif Shafique	Independent	218
Saeed Yousaf Bindar	Independent	163
Rana Nazir Hussain	MQM	155
Chaudhary Akhtar Ali Khan	Independent	60

## NA-100

Azhar Qayyum Nhra	PML-N	89722
Aitzaz Ijaz	Independent	1122
Chaudhary Bilal Ejaz	Independent	70159
Chaudhary Tassadaq Masood Khan	PPP-P	6829
Haji Rana Muhammad Riaz	Independent	1167
Rana Shabbir Haider Mubarak	Independent	131
Sardar Riaz Ahmad Khan	JI	2124
Saood Fateh Muhammad	Independent	220
Syed Ali Imran Sabzwari	Independent	201

Abid Javed Virk	PTI	6475
Muhammad Arshad Arien alias Tank	MQM	195
Muhammad Asghar Warriach	Independent	798
Muhammad Pervez Iqbal Virk	Independent	345
Muhammad Naseer Ahmad	APML	70

## NA-101

Justice (R) Iftikhar Ahmad Cheema	PML-N	99191
Muhammad Akhtar Islam Advocate	Independent	689
Chaudhary Zaheer Ahmed Sahi	Independent	287
Chaudhay Sajid Hussain Chatha	PML-Q	13689
Choudhary Muhammad Shahnawaz Cheema	PTI	11704
Hakim Jamil Asghar Khizri	MDM	276
Doctor Muhammad Ubaid Ullah Gohar	JI	6846
Syed Mukhtar Hussain Shah	APML	83
Qazi Arshad Mehmood Quereshi	Independent	981
Muhammad Ahmad Chatha	PML-J	59878
Muhammad Arshad	Independent	2762
Muhammad Akram Arain Advocate	MQM	236
Muhammad Khalid Cheema	Independent	292
Muhammad Rafique Abid Alwi	JUI-F	371

Malik Abdur Rehman Sadiq	Independent	145
Mehr Adnan Sarwar Cheema	Independent	52
Nauman Ullah Khan Chatha	Independent	39

Source: Syed Karim Haider (Editor), *Pakistan’s General Elections 2013* (Lahore: Pakistan Study Center University of the Punjab, 2013), pp, 133-134

### Provincial Assembly Elections of District Gujranwala:-

In the Provincial Assembly, the Caste-Biradri system played a prominent role in 2013 general elections. The impact of Caste-Biradri system on the voting behavior at provincial level is even more prominent than at National level. The elections of Provincial Assembly and local government reflect impact of Caste-Biradri system which also influences the elections of the National Assembly. In 2008 general elections, Muslim League (Nawaz) succeeded on all seats except one. In 2013 general elections, Muslim League (Nawaz) improved and overcame its mistakes of ignoring electable and providing opportunities to old political workers and succeeded on all Provincial seats. In Provincial Assembly elections, Caste-Biradri system played a significant role yet other factors like Peeri Mureedi ( A tradition in which followers of the Sufi Saints follow the command of the custodians of the Saint Shrine or living Spiritual Guide), party ideology, and economic factor also played a major role in the general elections of 2013. Therefore, the results show that the Caste-Biradri systems greatly affect the voting behavior of the people of district Gujranwala (Interview with the local inhabitant, Mr. Uzzam Ul Hassan Advocate on 2017-01-13)

Provincial Assembly Election Results and Parties Position, 2013

Party	General Seats	Women Seats	Non Muslim Seats	Total
Pakistan Muslim League (N)	213 + 35	50	07	305
Pakistan Peoples Party	06	01	-	07
Pakistan Tehrek Insaf	20	05	01	26
Pakistan Muslim League (Q)	07	02	-	09
Pakistan Muslim League (Z)	02	-	-	02

Jamiat Ulma-e-Islam (F)	01	-	-	01
Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan	01	-	-	01
Bahawalpur National Awami Party	01	-	-	10
Pakistan National Muslim League	01	-	-	01
Independents	05	-	-	05

Source: Syed Karim Haider (Editor), *Pakistan's General Elections 2013*, (Lahore: Pakistan Study Center University of the Punjab, 2013), pp 133-134

## Data Analysis

The study of Caste and Biradari-system in four districts of the Province of Punjab presented above clearly illustrate the impact of caste-system on socio-political values-system of Pakistan's Society. Pakistan state is very distinctive and typical in its nature; therefore, it is justified to relate her with Cifford Greetz's state what he call "old society and new state".<sup>12</sup> Because somehow 'Biradries' are important in electoral politics but having number of choices in the form of independent candidates have changed the situation and part politics have increased its influence by mockery choice of candidates in same 'biradaries' in same constituencies. Independent candidates had also reduce the 'biradires' influence by dividing the votes.

The historical background of Pakistan shows that its society is based on the impact of foreign invasions, multiculturalism, different religious value-systems among them Islam is dominant, traditional socio-cultural and political value-system and especially caste and biradari-system; therefore, the impact of caste and Biradari system on day-to-day life of the people is very dominant. It has rendered the politics of Pakistan more complicated generally and that of Punjab particularly. Although the affective presence of western educational system changed Pakistan's society and converts it towards modernism which greatly affected the voting behavior of the people, 70% of Pakistan's population is living in rural areas, where the people are fully aligned with their traditional values-system founded on caste and biradari-dispensation. Thus, for political stability, Pakistan has to improve the quality of education along with its access to every citizen of the country so that biradari system can be replaced with the national interest based political culture. S.E. Finer rightly says that Pakistan's society is based on Caste and Biradari-system and low political culture.<sup>13</sup>

It develops complications and high degree of distrust in Pakistan's political system which has taken the task of policy formulation under the complete control

of the central government which, actually, is based on ethnic representation making dictatorial rule under the sunshade of democracy.<sup>14</sup>

Punjab is greatly influenced by traditional culture where the supremacy of family still exists controlled by caste and Biradari-system. The strong impact of caste and Biradari-system developed dictatorial socio-political setup; therefore, Punjab's voting behavior, political participation and political orientation are based on parochialism. Although the process of transformation in rural Punjab is on due to the rise of education, the people of the Province of Punjab are still influenced by their traditional socio-cultural and political structure. Therefore, the political culture of the rural Punjab is passive, static and continues which mean either the people do not know their political role or if they know, they do not want to change existing trend. Thus, the traditional political elite Punjab comprising of Biradari Chiefs, *Sardars* and *Zamidars* and *Jageerdars* are very important for political system which is actually influencing the voting behavior of the rural masses of the Punjab. The research on four districts shows that these four districts are in transitional period but currently the larger portion of these district are under the strong control of caste and Biradari-system; and due to strong hold of caste and Biradari-system, Pakistan political culture is very low in the region of Punjab. Thus, it has a low and disjointed political culture which is leading to the dictatorial rule.

The 2013 general election analysis of the above mentioned district has shown that caste and biradari system is playing a significant role, directly or indirectly, and greatly influences the voting behavior of the people of the Punjab in the constituencies of National as well as Provincial Assemblies.

## Conclusion

The historical impact on the region of Punjab has played a significant role in developing Punjabi culture, dividing it into castes and *Biradaries* and making it pluralistic. Broadly speaking, the 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 behavior. For example, culturally, they are very particular in marrying their children in the same castes and *Biradaries*. Politically they are bent together upon participating in their voting behaviour under the umbrella of their castes and *Biradaries* leaders. Hence Punjab culture is not going to be moderate in near future as education system is still weak and leading political forces are beneficiary of this condition. Consequently, the Punjabis in their political behavior are passive in general. A large proportion of population carries rural background which has made them fundamentally traditional and, therefore, static and passive in their socio-cultural attitudes and behavior. Thus the influence of castes and

*Biradaries* system has created such a political culture which is not quite different from those of other provinces of Pakistan and it is considered the foundation of the voting behavior of the Punjabies.

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