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# Leading Role of Castes of Dera Ghazi Khan District in Politics

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Politics in Dera Ghazi Khan has been affected by the biradri element since British period and it still exists with its all odds and effects in the region. District D.G. Khan is supervised mainly by powerful landed elites such as Leghari, Khosa, Qaisarani, Buzdar, Mazari, Lund and other landlords who have been playing with the destiny of the middle and lower middle classes. These eminent families are supposed to enjoy the social status and political powers while the depressed faction's live second-class citizens. Although, the education standard of this district is better but deprivation among people is still prevailed. Lacks of health, transport and communication facilities also deprive the people of Dera Ghazi Khan District. This research will be aimed to explore the realities about the regional politics and to highlight different aspects of social culture for further intellectual debate.

## Introduction

Since the inception of life on the earth, it has been a dominant tendency of Homo sapiens, being the best and wisest creature, to get control over other creatures through power of reasoning and knowledge<sup>1</sup>. Man has also been in a constant endeavor to make fellow humans bow to him by hook or by crook through ascendance to the throne, possession of vast land, collection of huge money, recruitment of powerful personnel, marginalization of masses<sup>2</sup> and social stratification of population into classes, be it tribal, ethnic, racial, regional, gender-specific or caste-based. Caste patriotism has been very significant in the arena of politics since the time immemorial<sup>3</sup>.

The Indo-Pak is an area marked by 'caste' politics and it is influence of Hindu culture. It is a phenomenon of a grave paradoxes and repercussions in social and political affairs<sup>4</sup>. Discrimination in profession, tribe, blood, language, race and caste is one of the oldest forms of exploitation in the human annals and it is still prevalent in its orthodox and unorthodox manifestations even today which is known as the age of modernization, science and technology. It needs no explanation as the world has transformed into dynamic mode that it has worked out, at least a theoretical framework, mandating thereby that there should be no discrimination and repulsion keeping in view color, race, tribe, region, nationality and caste is no exception to the rule at all.<sup>5</sup> Admittedly, every society of the world

has been segregating its people into different hierarchical layers on the basis of one pretext or the other but its intensity is weakening in the present age. Caste is a universal reality which needs to be used for a source of love, affection and brotherhood among people of the same clan instead of hatred and repulsion towards other castes.<sup>6</sup> However, little attention is being paid by the academia and the authorities to debilitate the un-Islamic, inhuman and unconstitutional caste-based hierarchy in the Punjabi society of Pakistan.<sup>7</sup> It is to be noted with care and caution that there is a clear dichotomy of caste and profession especially in present era but both phenomena are unduly mixed and manipulated for the establishment of superiority of the dominant class of the society.

Modern world is still under strong clutches of social stratification of one kind or another and discrimination vis-à-vis caste is also very much prevalent in the Punjab despite constitutional guarantees of equality, fraternity and brotherhood. This has also led to a severe form of 'biradri' politics in the province despite the Islamic philosophy of equality.<sup>8</sup> Only political families with feudal or business background are firmly at the helm of affairs. The unprivileged part of the nation is kept ignorant, inactive and dependent on these families on the pretext of caste, race etc. As a result, fruits of democracy have been denied to majority of population.<sup>9</sup> The segment with land owning background, not necessarily in possession of it right now, does try hard to keep working-background population sub-ordinate on the pretext of caste.<sup>10</sup> 'Biradri' patriotism is so strong that a deserving candidate does not get the attraction of voters from other caste, be it a member of the land-owning class. It is spreading ill-feelings of jealousy, hatred, rivalry and disunity, and disturbing social and political culture of the society. It is need of the hour to purge the society of these social evils to transform it at the threshold of the new millennium.<sup>11</sup>

**Terminologies:** The number of words is used in regional languages translated the word 'Caste' but have different impact. Zaat- a group linked a patriarch, All/Goath- further divided into smaller distinct or sub-caste, Qabila- use in tribal society, Rishtadaar- close blood relative, GhairRishtadaar- close group of non-relatives and Khataab or Surname- given title i.e. Khan, Sardar, Mian, Chaudhary, Malik, Mehr etc.<sup>12</sup>

**Divisions in the Punjab:** There are nine divisions in Punjab:

- Lahore
- Sargodha
- Rawalpindi
- Multan
- DeraGhazi Khan
- Bahawalpur
- Faisalabad
- Gujranwala
- Sahiwal

**Districts in the Punjab:** The Punjab is divided into 36 districts.



**Figure: Punjab Regions and District**

Lahore is the most populas district where as Haifzabad is the least populated district. Area wise Bahawalpur is the largest district and Nankana Sahib is the smallest district.

**Prominent Castes of the Punjab:** The province of Punjab contains thousands of castes which are further divided into sub castes. Their characteristics are names and regions of these social groups. Jatt ( with sub-castes named Cheema, Chatha, Warraitch, Khara, Virk, Manis, Chaddarr, Sindhu, Sadhu, Hanjra, Jaspal, Bhullaretc), Rajput (Bhatti, Mio, Rangarr, Patialya, etc), Mughal, Khokhar, Dogar, Syed/Shah (with sub-castes Qureshi, Hashmi, Bukhari, Naqvi, Zaidi, etc), Arian, KakaiZai, Kambo, Gujjar, Awan, etc are more popular in the Punjab. Baloch and Pathan tribes which have non-Punjabi origin are residents for centuries and they migrated and settled themselves in Dera Ghazi Khan Division which is highly controlled by the Leghari and Khosa.<sup>13</sup>

**Dera Ghazi Khan:** Dera Ghazi Khan is situated at the intersection of four Provinces of Pakistan. Its area is of 5,306sq.miles with 1,634,118 populations. This city is divisional headquarters and it consists of Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Rajanpur and Layyah districts. Dera Ghazi Khan District contains two tehsils and one de-excluded areas which are divided into sixty union councils (UC). Tehsil Dera Ghazi Khan comprises of 41 UCs, Tehsil Taunsa Sharif 18 UCs and de-excluded area has 1 UC. The total seats in National Assembly are three i.e. NA-189, Na-190 and NA-191. The seats in Provincial Assembly are seven i.e. PP-285, PP-286, PP-287, PP-288, PP-289, PP-290 and PP-291.<sup>14</sup> Inhabitants of Dera Ghazi Khan speak different dialects of Punjabi language; although few of these are considered a separate language named "Saraiki" but the prevailing cultures in North and South Punjab are different. Raangri, Derawali, Majhi, Thalochi, Khetrani, Urdu, English, Baluchi and Pashto are the major dialects and languages.<sup>15</sup> The prominent biradries in Dera Ghazi Khan are:

- Qasari
- Buzdar
- Notakani
- Suri Lund
- Khosa
- Laghari
- Gorchani
- Lashari
- Batafi
- Darashak
- Mazari
- Ahamdani
- Gomang
- Gormani
- Chandiya
- Jatoi
- Buzdar
- Gorchani
- Jaskani
- Darkai
- Hotowani
- Khalilani
- Bazgeer
- Chan
- Sehrani
- Balvani
- Barkhan
- Aliyani
- Badyani
- Khan
- Sargani
- Urbani
- Jaskani
- Mangvani
- Gulfaaz
- Rustamani
- Masedan
- Khawaja

### **Dera Ghazi Khan Electoral Politics And Tumandari Tribes**

Districts Dera Ghazi Khan and Rajanpur still have Saradari system of government. There are many tribes in both of these districts including Leghari, Khosa, Lund, Buzzdar, Qaisarani, Nakakani, Gorchani, Derishak, Mazari are especially remarkable. Some of these tribes are given the status of Tumandar i.e. Qasarani, Buzzdar, Lund, Khosa, Leghari, Derishak, Gorchani and Mazari. The word "Tumandar" is Mongol word which means the officer of having ten thousands of army and which was given in the reign of Chengis Khan.<sup>16</sup> In Baloch, Tumandar

means the Chief of the tribe and the population of a tribe can be less or more. The decision of the fate of the people is still in the hand of tribal Chief.<sup>17</sup> Dera Ghazi Khan is rich in mineral resources but this could not change the fate of district due to fully control of Chiefs of tribes.

**Qaisarani Tribe:** The Qaisarani tribe resides in Tunsa Sharif, a tehsil of Dera Ghazi Khan which is surrounded by Dera Ismail Khan- now a district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The areas of Vivo, Tabi Qaisarani, Kot Qasarani, Herd, Jokh Vivo, Hungry are worth mentioning areas of Qasarani Tuman. The Qasarani tribe is from the descendants of Qaisar Khan Rind. The Qaisarani tribe has the influence in the politics of Tehsil Tunsa Sharif and has a lot of vote bank in this region.<sup>18</sup> From 1970 to 2002, Qaisarani tribe continued to support the tribesmen (Khawajan). But after the new delimitation of 2002, the politics of Qaisarani tribe came rapidly. In 2002, Sardar Meer Badshah Khan Qaisarani, the son of Sardar Zahoor Ahmed Khan Qaisarani became member of Provincial Assembly. In 2008 and 2013, he once again succeeded to win the Provincial Assembly seat. He was disqualified due to fake degree in 2013 election. After this his wife, Memoona Umbearn Qasirani, became the member of Provincial Assembly. This seat is considered as a traditional seat of the Qasirani tribe from which they are coming to defeat Khawajan of Tunsa Sharif.

**Buzdar Tribe:** Buzdar tribe is also situated in the west of Tehsil Tunsa Sharif and most of its population is populated in the Suleiman Mountain. They are settled in Barthi, Thekar, and Fasala Khuch. The Buzdaris also a branch of the Rind tribe. They were resident of the suburbs with Mir Chakar Khan. When he attacked, they took their cattle and settled on the North-west Mountains of Dera Ghazi Khan.<sup>19</sup> Sardar Fateh Muhammad Khan Buzdar, a well known politician of Buzdar tribe, is a farmer. From 1970-2002, Buzdar tribe was also included in the same seat of Tehsil Tunsa Sharif. Because of which their vote bank could not set them a seat of assembly and they were supporting the Khawajjan of Tunsa Sharif of this seat. The people were disciple of Khawajjan so most of the Buzdar tribe voted them. The new constituencies were made after 2002 and all the union councils of Buzdar tribe were merged in one Provincial seat. Fateh Muhammad Khan Buzdar won this seat in 2002 & 2008. But in 2013 election, Buzdar tribe was defeated from this constituency due to division of votes from three candidates of Buzdar tribe and not to support of Khawaja Sheeraz Mahmood to Buzdar tribe. It is important to mention here that the Buzdar tribe won this seat with the support of Khawajjan of Tunsa Sharif. That's why, Buzdar tribe lost this seat. Due to new delimitation in 2018, a new constituency PP-286 was formed and the major and important union councils of Buzdar tribe were emerged in PP-287. For this reason, it is very difficult to maintain their vote ban.

**Lund Tribe:** Lund tribe resides in the north of Dera Ghazi Khan and is populated in Shahdan Ludan, Kalla, Ranman and Suri Ludan. This tribe is also a part of Rind

Baloch and when Rind tribe fought with Lashari tribe, they supported Rind tribe. They were migrated from Balochistan and settled in Suri region. Shad Khan Ludan established the ShadanLudan.<sup>20</sup> Sardar Muhammad Khan was prominent leader of ShadanLudan. He established two castles in Suri and Kandi Walla so that to save his army attack from Afghanistan. But this tribe was settled in mountains due to Abdali's attacks. Lund tribe has its own political influence in PP-287, which was the oldest PP-242 constituency. Having a strong vote bank of Lund tribe, they have the ability to defeat their political opponents Khosa. Lund tribe supported the Leghari candidates until 2002 but after 2002 Lund Sardars stood in election and Leghari leaders supported them. JavedAkhtar Lund is the prominent figure of Lund tribe. He did a lot of development work in the entire area but any development work he had done was cut from PP-287 to PP-288 due to new constituencies. The new delimitation in 2018, only seven union councils of Lund tribe are included in PP-287 where the influence of Lund sardars is very low.

**Khosa Tribe:** This Baloch tribe resides in districts Dera Ghazi Khan and Jacobabad-a district of Sindh. Khosa tribe is settled in Sadar Din, BahadarGarh, Power Batil, and KotMubark. This tribe was resided with Baloch tribe near Capsin Lake. In beginning they were settled in the area of Katche but soon migrated for better life and entered the area in SulemanMountain and Jakababad.<sup>21</sup> They are some prominent figures in Khosa tribe i.e. SardarZulifikar Ali Khan Khosa, SardarSaif-ud-Din Khan Khosa, SardarDoost Muhammad Khan Khosa, SardarAmjadFarooqKhosa and SardarLatifKhosa. The Khosa tribe is divided into two groups one is BahadarGarh group headed by SardarAmjadFarooqKhosa. Sardar Salah-ud-Din Khosa, SardarMohsin Atta Khosa and Sardar Abdul QadirKhosa are from BahadarGarh group where as other group is headed by SardarZulfikar Ali Khan Khosa. SardarSaif-ud-Din Khosa and SardarDoost Muhammad Khosa are from this group.

**Leghari Group:** The Leghari tribe is the biggest tribe and Alitani, Baghlani, Kalyie, Ahmadani, Talpur and Sanjjrani are the branches of this tribe. The Legharitribe is settled in the west of SulemanMountain, SakheeSarwar, ChotiZarian, Khar, Fort Munroo, KotChatta, Darkhast Jamal Khan, Alwalia, Gakhar Imam and Jampur, the tehsil Rajanpur. In the reign of Sikh, the LeghariSardars were paid three thousand rupees annually to Lahore Darbar. Leghari and Khosa tribe fought each other for many years.<sup>22</sup> A peace agreement was signed between Leghari and Khosa by the Chief of Dera Ghazi Khan. Jamal Khan, the grandfather of SardarFarooq Ahmed Khan Leghari, was the minister in Ayub Khan's government. After Jamal Khan Leghari, SardarFarooq Ahmed Khan Leghari won this seat many times in different elections. In 2002, he made 'Millat Party' and emerged in PML (Q). SardarFarooq Ahmed Khan Leghari has two sons, Sardar Jamal Khan Leghari and SardarAwais Ahmed Khan Leghari. Sardar Jamal Khan Leghari was Tehsil Nazim of Dara Ghazi Khan from 2002-2007 and he was 'Tumandar' after the death of SardarFarooq Ahmed Khan Leghari. In 2013

election, he lost his traditional seat from Hafiz Abdul Karim. Leghari Sardars are also contested election from Jampur, a Tehsil of Rajanpur and Jaffar Khan Leghari won many times from this constituency.

**Dera Ghazi Khan and Castes:** The word ‘Dera’ means ‘encampment’, the city of Ghazi Khan or the settlement.<sup>23</sup> It covers an area of 5,306 square miles (13,740 km<sup>2</sup>) and 198 km in length. It has 201 hills which are arid and sandy; river Indus which flows through this district is oftenly over-flooded. The height of Sulaiman Mountains rise to 10,000 feet (3,000 m) in the north of the district. Dera Ghazi Khan City was founded in 1476 and it was named after Nawab Ghazi Khan Mirrani- son of Baloch chieftain Nawab Haji Khan Mirrani, who announced independence from the Langah Dynasty, Sultanate of Multan. He established two other Deras i.e. Dera Ismail Khan and Dera Fateh Khan and he titled them as Derajat. After the Sikh War in 1849, Derajat were conquered by the British and they divided it into two districts i.e. Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan. General Courtland was appointed as Deputy Commissioner of this district.<sup>24</sup> Owing to increase in population and worst condition of law and order of district Dera Ghazi Khan, it was further divided in two districts i.e. Dera Ghazi Khan and Rajanpur. In 1970’s General Election, district Dera Ghazi Khan consisted of five Tehsils namely Dera Ghazi Khan, Taunsa Sharif, Jampur, Rajanpur and Tribal Area. These Tehsils were divided into two National Assembly and six Provincial Assembly constituencies. Under 1973 constitution the number of National Assembly seats was raised from 138 to 200 so new demarcations were implemented before the 1977 elections. Under these new demarcations number of seats of the district was raised up to three National and seven Provincial seats. In July 1982 Tehsil Rajanpur and Jampur were detached from the district Dera Ghazi Khan to form a new district namely district Rajanpur and Jampur now was declared as Tehsil of district Rajanpur. In elections of 1985 this new district Rajanpur got one National and three Provincial seats. In these elections the three Tehsils of Dera Ghazi Khan namely Tehsil Dera Ghazi Khan, Tehsil Tonsa and Tehsil Tribal Area were divided into two National and four Provincial constituencies.

Under 1981 census new demarcations took place before election of 1988. Now district Dera Ghazi Khan consisted of one National Assembly seat and another such seat comprised of NA-133 and some new areas of district Rajanpur. This amalgamation was named Dera Ghazi Khan/Rajanpur. As for Provincial Assembly seats, district Dera Ghazi Khan had full five constituencies. Elections of 1990, 1993 and 1997 were held under these new demarcations. Before 2002 elections after declared increase in number of National Assembly seats, country wide demarcations were implemented following which number of National and Provincial seats was increased to three and seven respectively. Elections of 2008 were held on the basis of these demarcations. Dera Ghazi Khan is further divided into three constituencies of National Assembly and seven constituencies of

Provincial Assembly. In 2018 Elections, new delimitations were created but there were no increase in National and Provincial seats.

### **Winning Candidates of National Assembly in Dera Ghazi Khan**

<b>Sr . No</b>	<b>No. of Constituency</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Name of Constituency</b>	<b>Winning Candidate name</b>	<b>Party/ Alliance</b>	<b>Votes</b>
1	NW-88	1970	D G Khan-1	Dr.Nazir Ahmad	JI	
2	NW-89	1970	D G Khan-11	SardarSherBaz Khan	PPP	
3	NA-124	1977	D G Khan-1	MulanaMufti Mahmood	PNA	
4	NA-125	1977	D G Khan-11	SardarFarooq Ahmad Khan Laghari	PPP	
5	NA-126	1977	D G Khan-111	Mir BalakhSher Khan Mazari	PPP	
6	NA-124	1985	D G Khan-1	KhawajaGhulamMoeen-ud-Din	Non Party	60,251
7	NA-125	1985	D G Khan-11	SardarMaqsood Ahmad Khan Laghari	Non Party	61,430
8	NA-132	1988	D G Khan-1	Khawaja Kamal-ud-Din Anwar	IJI	60,297
9	NA-133	1988	D G Khan-11	SardarFarooq Ahmad Khan Laghari	PPP	76,099
10	NA-132	1990	D G Khan-1	Sardar M. AmjadFarooq Khan	IJI	78,360
11	NA-133	1990	D G Khan-11	SardarFarooq Ahmad Khan Laghari	PDA	76,378
12	NA-132	1993	D G Khan-1	Khawaja Kamal-ud-Din Anwar	PPP	67,432
13	NA-133	1993	D G Khan-11	SardarFarooq Ahmad Khan Laghari	PPP	95,943
14	NA-132	1997	D G Khan-1	Sardar M. AmjadFarooq Khan	PML (N)	73,302
15	NA-133	1997	D G Khan-11	Sardar M. Jaffar Khan Leghari	IND	69,532
16	NA-171	2002	D G Khan-1	KhawajaSherazMahmood	PML (Q)	83,310
17	NA-172	2002	D G Khan-11	SardarFarooq Ahmad sKhanLaghari	National Alliance	56,343
18	NA-173	2002	D G Khan-111	SardarAwais Ahmad Khan Leghart	National Alliance	55,921
19	NA-171	2008	D G Khan-1	KhawajaSherazMahmood	PML (Q)	39,628



20	NA-172	2008	D G Khan-11	SardarFarooq Ahmad Khan Laghari	PML (Q)	45,370
21	NA-173	2008	D G Khan-111	Sardar M. Saif-ud-Din Khan Khosa	PML (N)	56,475
22	NA-171	2013	D G Khan-1	Sardar M. AmjadFarooq Khan Khosa	PML (NO)	62,849
23	NA-172	2013	D G Khan-11	Hafiz Abdul Kareem	PML (N)	49,230
24	NA-173	2013	D G Khan-111	SardarAwais Ahmad Khan Laghari	PML (N)	82,521
25	NA-189	2018	D G Khan-1	KhawajaSherazMahmood	PTI	78,596
26	NA-190	2018	D G Khan-11	Sardar M. AmjadFarooq Khan Khosa	IND	72,159
27	NA-191	2018	D G Khan-111	Zartaj Gull	PTI	79,817

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Leghari, Mazari, KhosaBuzdar, Qaisarani are the main castes of district Dera Ghazi Khan that were contesting in General Elections 2018. Zartaj Gull, the candidate from Pakistan Taherik-e-Insaf, won the election defeating strong candidates from Leghari and Khosa tribes. The recent election result shows that the people from Dera Ghazi Khan want to get rid from the status que which are maintained by the Sardars of Dera Ghazi Khan.

### **Winning Candidates of Provincial Assembly in Dera Ghazi Khan**

Sr. No	No. of Constituency	Year	Name of Constituency	Winning Candidate name	Party/ Alliance	Votes
1	PP-184	1985	D G Khan 1	SardarZulfikar Ali Khan Khosa	Non Party	26,358
2	PP-185	1985	D G Khan 11	SardarMaqsood Ahmad Khan Laghari	Non Party	39,661
3	PP186	1985	D G Khan 111	SardarFateh M. Khan Buzdar	Non Party	19,153
4	PP-187	1985	D G Khan 1V	M. AmjadFarooq Khan Khosa	Non Party	13,969
5	PP-199	1988	D G Khan 1	Khawaja M. DaudSulemani	IND	17,655
6	PP-200	1988	D G Khan 11	Sardar M. AmjadFarooq	IJI	16,118
7	PP-201	1988	D G Khan 111	SardarZulfikar Ali Khan Khosa	IJI	28,041
8	PP-202	1988	D G Khan 1V	SardarMaqsood Ahmad Khan Laghari	IJI	25,479
9	PP-203	1988	D G Khan V	Sardar Farooq Ahmad Khan	PPP	23,246

				Laghari		
10	PP-199	1990	D G Khan 1	Zahoor Ahmad Khan	IJI	32,066
11	PP-200	1990	D G Khan 11	Mohsin Atta Khan	IJI	21,505
12	PP-201	1990	D G Khan 111	SardarZulfikar Ali Khan Khosa	IJI	32,776
13	PP-202	1990	D G Khan 1V	SardarMaqsood Ahmad Khan Laghari	IND	26,552
14	PP-203	1990	D G Khan V	SardarMansoor Ahmad Khan Leghari	PDA	26,282
15	PP-199	1993	D G Khan 1	Khawaja M. DaudSulemani	PPP	26,511
16	PP-200	1993	D G Khan 11	Mohsin Atta Khan	PML (N)	23,475
17	PP-201	1993	D G Khan 111	SardarZulfikar Ali Khan Khosa	PML (N)	29,130
18	PP-202	1993	D G Khan 1V	SardarMaqsood Ahmad Khan Laghari	IND	36,982
19	PP-203	1993	D G Khan V	SardarFarooq Ahmad Khan Laghari	PPP	26,436
20	PP-199	1997	D G Khan 1	SardarZahoor Ahmad Khan Laghari	IND	18,739
21	PP-200	1997	D G Khan 11	Mohsin Atta Khan	PML (N)	23,882
22	PP-201	1997	D G Khan 111	SardarZulfikar Ali Khan Khosa	PML (N)	26,423
23	PP-202	1997	D G Khan 1V	SardarMaqsood Ahmad Khan Laghari	IND	27,482
24	PP-202	1997	D G Khan V	SardarRafique Ahmad Khan Laghari	IND	16,749
25	PP-240	2002	D G Khan 1	Sardar Meer Badshah Khan Qaisrani	PML (Q)	28,242
26	PP-241	2002	D G Khan 11	SardarFateh M. Khan Buzdar	PML (Q)	47,006
27	PP-242	2002	D G Khan 111	JavaidAkhtar Lund	National Alliance	17,796
28	PP-243	2002	D G Khan 1V	Sardar M. Khan Laghari	IND	20,316
29	PP-244	2002	D G Khan V	Syed Abdullah	National	

				Aleem Shah	Alliance	15,998
30	PP-245	2002	D G Khan V1	SardarFarooq Ahmad Khan Laghari	National Alliance	32,709
31	PP-246	2002	D G Khan V11	Sardar M. Yousaf Khan Laghari	National Alliance	25,580
32	PP-240	2008	D G Khan 1	Sardar Meer Badshah Khan Qaisrani	PML (N)	26,303
33	PP-241	2008	D G Khan 11	SardarFateh M. Khan Buzdar	PML (Q)	25,759
34	PP-242	2008	D G Khan 111	M. AmjadFarooq Khan Khosa	IND	18,968
35	PP-243	2008	D G Khan 1V	Sardar M. Saif-ud Din Khan Khosa	PML (N)	22,508
36	PP-244	2008	D G Khan V	Sardar Dost M. Khan Khosa	PML (N)	23,752
37	PP-245	2008	D G Khan V1	M. Mohsin Khan Laghari	PML (Q)	18,330
38	PP-246	2008	D G Khan V11	Sardar M. Yousaf Khan Laghari	PML (Q)	24,927
39	PP-240	2013	D G Khan 1	Sardar Meer Badshah Khan Qaisrani	IND	28,821
40	PP-241	2013	D G Khan 11	Khawaja M. NizamulMehmood	PPP (P)	27,825
41	PP-242	2013	D G Khan 111	JaveedAkhtar	IND	28,173
42	PP-243	2013	D G Khan 1V	SardarZulfikar Ali Khan Khosa	PML (N)	26,983
43	PP-244	2013	D G Khan V	Syed Abdul Aleem	IND	22,213
44	PP-245	2013	D G Khan V1	SardarM.Jamal Khan Laghari	IND	17,908
45	PP-246	2013	D G Khan V11	MahmoodQadir Khan	APML	32,105
46	PP-285	2018	D G Khan 1	Khawaja M. DaudSulamani	PTI	27,840
47	PP-286	2018	D G Khan 11	Usman Ahmad Khan Buzdar	PTI	26,897
48	PP-287	2018	D G Khan 111	JaveedAkhtar	PTI	42,593
49	PP-288	2018	D G Khan 1V	Mohsin Atta Khan Khosa	IND	39,396
50	PP-289	2018	D G Khan V	Muhammad Hanif	IND	35,389
51	PP-290	2018	D G Khan V1	Sardar Ahmad Ali Khan Dareshak	PTI	32,375

52	PP-291	2018	D G Khan V11	Sardar M. Mohi- ud-Din Khan Khosa	PTI	42,141
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Buzdar, Leghari, Khosa, Sulemani, Khan, Qaisrani, Lund, Shah and Dareshak are dominant in the politics of Provincial Assembly of district Dera Ghazi Khan. They made alliances to win the election. Some independent candidates also won the election but soon they joined the government party.

### **Electoral Politics of the Constituency NA-189Dera Ghazi Khan-1**

This constituency NA-189Dera Ghazi Khan 1 consists of Tehsil Tonsa Sharif and four Union Councils of Tehsil Tribal Area peopled at Mountain Suleman. The Khawajganare known Pathanswho have been achieving political success from this constituency mainly with the reference of Taunsa Sharif Darbar. But in the absence of internal unity continuation, new local tribes like Qaisaranis,Buzdars and Khusa Chiefs have found their way to the Parliament. In their success votes fromtribes like Mulghani, Natcani, Khutran, Meerani, Dona, Kalachi, Jafar, Lashari, Baghlani, Litra, Marrdarani, Chacha, Pathan, Syed, Jaskani, Laalwani, Sanjrani, Chajra,Malik and others play an important role.<sup>25</sup>The success of KhawjaRiazMahmood rose on the shoulders of thousands ofvoters of Pathans, Khetrans and Jafar Tribes peopled in theconstituency. Being himself a big Pathan, he had in his pocket full support of so many thousands of devotes of the Tonsa Sharif Shrine as well as the same number of Ulemas and students of religious madassas.TheBaloch and Pathan tribes peopled in the tribal area of mountain Suleman are all his disciples. Sardar Meer BadshahQaisranie, KhawajaSherazMahmood,SardarFarooq Ahmad Legharis,SardarZulfikar Ahmed khan Khosa,Zahoor Ahmad Qaisarani,Sardar Imam Khan Qaisarani,Muhammad Iqbal Khan Qaisrani are prominent figures in National constituency. The Provincial constituency PP-285 is parent constituency of Buzdar Tribe. SardarFateh Muhammad Buzdar had won this seat many times. He is an elderly politician, chief and Sardar of Buzdar Tribe. He also had the support of Baghlani and Malghani.Usman Khan Buzdar, KhawajaMudassirMahmood,Abdus Salam Buzdar, KhawjaMuhammadNizamulMulk, Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan Malghani are prominent electables in this constituency

### **Electoral Politics of the Constituency NA-190Dera Ghazi Khan-11**

This constituency comprises four scattered areas i.e. Tonsa Sharif, Sokar, Haklay, Bandi and also in many villages.Thisconstituency is contained remote areas of Dera Ghazi Khan and three Provincial units PP-287 Dera Ghazi Khan IV, PP-288 Dera Ghazi Khan V and PP-289Dera Ghazi Khan VI fall under it. The political culture of NA-190 revolves round hero worship, blood relatively and Leghari-Khosa tussles. Ideology based vote bank of parties does exist in urban area but is

hardly to be found in rural and tribal area. Therefore ideology based vote bank is not considered the deciding factor. That is why it is the Sardars and votes of their tribes that decide victory. History tells that the city was founded by a Sardar of the Meerani tribe but now it is ruled by Sardars of Khosa and Leghari tribes.<sup>26</sup> Starting from elections of 1970, the Leghari Sardars have never faced defeat till 2008. This constituency, let it be noted, is peopled with Talpurs, Buzdars, Khaehilas, Jams, Ahmadanis and such others along with Leghari Tribe. Sardar Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari, Sardar Muhammad Jafar Khan Leghari a candidate, Syed Abdul Aleem Shah, Sardar Muhammad Khan Leghari, Sardar Maqsood Ahmad Khan Leghari, Hafiz Abdul Kareem, Sardar Shabbir Ahmad Khan Leghari, Sardar Awais Khan Leghari, Sardar Zulfikar Ali Khan Khosa are prominent personalities in National level. The constituency PP-287 incorporated with NA-190 is parental seat of Khosa tribe. Sardar Zulfikar Ali Khosa, the chief of this tribe, has been elected from his constituency nine times consecutively. Beside Khosa the main influential groups include Gormanis, Khandoodas, Changwais, Koreas, Syeds, Jatrees, Sadozaees, Qureshis, Gopangs, Jarhs and Rashanis. Leghari-Khosa treaty played a great part in his success in a way that two influence learning groups namely Garh and Khaki discontinued their collation with Farooq group and shook helpful hands with Sardar Muhammad Khan Leghari. The eminent figures in this constituency are Sardar Muhammad Saif-ud-Din Khan, Sardar Hassam-ud-Din Khan and Muhammad Rehan Khan Khosa. This constituency PP-287 incorporated with NA-190 Dera Ghazi Khan consists of urban population. Votes of Leghari and Khosa tribes dominate here. The refugees hailing from India, at the time of partition, are also settled here. These refugees include important castes like Sheikhs, Ranas, Ghosis, Gujjars, Ansaris, Arain, Qureshis and Bodlas. Moreover Pathan creeds like Syeds, Afghans, Ghafzaees, Tareens, Sadoozaees and Nasis are also peopled here. From 1988 to 1997 Muslim League (N) candidate had always been winning in this Provincial constituency. But in the reign of General Pervez Musharraf, the PML (N) had been under reproach. Hence it was the first time that Syed Abdul Aleem Shah of National Alliance won the 2002 Provincial election. Thousand of Urdu speaking Mohajirs also cast their votes in his favour mainly because Aleem Shah never hesitated in standing by them in their problems. Sardar Saif-ud-Din Khosa of PML (N) was his runner up and Sheikh Usman Farooq of MMA was the third in the race and was supported by staunch religious families and also the Sheikhs. In 2008 elections, Dost Muhammad Khan Khosa of PML (N) won this provincial seat because he is the son of Sardar Zulfikar Ali Khan Khosa. On his back he carried the support of Saraiki speaking Khosa, the Punjabees settled in the city and the Mohajirs affiliated with Khosa family. Syed Abdul Aleem Shah of PML (Q) competed but was left runner up. He could not stand the popularity of PML (N) although he got many more votes as compared to his votes in the previous elections. The PPP candidate Shibli Shah Khan Ghori stood at third position. In fact the Urdu speaking Mohajirs's votes were divided between Abdul Aleem Shah and Shibli Shah Khan Ghori. The Khosa candidate took relief of this division of votes and with the help of Saraiki and Punjabi voters he won. The

constituency PP-285 is located far from the city and is the parental constituency of LeghariSardars family.

### **Electoral Politics of the Constituency NA-191Dera Ghazi Khan-111**

Heavy racial groups like Meeranis, Dhareejas, Malanas and Gormanis are residing here. JavaidAkhtar Lund, SardarYousaf Khan Leghari, SardarHussain Ahmad Khan Leghari,Sardar Muhammad IrfanUllah, Sardar Muhammad Yousaf Khan Leghari andMajor (R) Rasheed Kamranare electables here. In 2008 elections, Leghari-Khosa Alliance could not continue. Tussle on different issues including choice of seat continued. Patch-up brought about peace but only two days before election. Hence open or hidden confrontation went on. In 2008 election, Awais Ahmad Khan Leghari son of Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari was a candidate of PML (Q) because his father merged his Millat Party into PML (Q).PP-290 incorporated with NA-191 is peopled with creeds like Namardi Block, Khawaja, Imrani, Khalol, Khosa, Siani, Hajani, Jarde, Dasti, Baig, Mamdani, Thingani, Kalyani and Haiderani.<sup>27</sup> All these creeds are well influenced in their Union Council. This constituency has four to five thousand religion-basedvotes which are divided in their respective parties. But in view of Leghari-Lund cooperation, the National Alliance candidate SardarJavedAkhter won the 2002 elections. In the constituency of PP-291 a great influence is hold by creeds namely Mearani, Alyani, Dhareeja, Sakhani, Gamani, Rana, Chaudri, Jatooe, Daha, Chantia, Malana, Bodla, Barani, Syed, Malkani, Laskani, Changwani, Jalbani and Marcedani. The other minor brotherhood groups are always their followers in elections. In 2008 elections the candidate of PML (Q) Sardar Muhammad Yousaf Khan Leghari again succeeded. He had full support from Legharitribe. Beside the KhosaSardars, he availed support of Milani tribe of KotChhana, Dhareejas, a major part of Gormanis along with influence of the well renowned socio-political figure DR.Shamsul Hassan Qureshi.

#### **Findings:**

- Since the creation of Pakistan, the caste remained major trend in the social setup of the Punjab. The abuse of caste phenomenon violates religious, legal and human values.
- The caste system aslo dents the merit based political culture of the Punjabspically inDera Ghazi Khan and it tends to injustice and favoritism in the society.
- Racial inequality permanently prevails in the areas of DeraGhazi Khan which promotes inferiority complex, degradation, depression and inaction among the people.
- Due to caste and clan priorities, the politics in Punjabin general and DeraGhazi Khan in particular weakens the democratic tendency and contradicts with merit and the principle of egalitariansim.

- The educated and skill people from low castes are migrating to the urban areas because of the caste discrimination.
- Caste crushes all the abilities of talented and skilled young and it is a huge loss.
- In this modern age, people in Dera Ghazi Khan are preferring to choose those professions which their elder or family had in the past.
- During marriages in Dera Ghazi Khan, people do not want to get married outside of their caste rather they prefer to be married within their own caste.
- The influential class is using caste/biradri for their interests and always exploits the lower and working class.

### **Recommendations**

- Educated classes, religious scholars, academia, intelligentsia and media should educate and take step forward and teach about the Islamic rules, human and democratic practices.
- The use of humiliated titles like Kammi, Musalli, Mazara, Chuhra etc should be banned and new laws in this regard must be enforced.
- In order to disseminate the message of equality and brotherhood, there should be no discrimination on linguistic, racial or tribal basis.
- Justice for all to boost up the lower community of the society and ensure their rights.
- To take fruitful steps to uproot all evils related to castes which are dominant in the Dera Ghazi Khan through education.
- Provincial government must promote the culture of merit in district Dera Ghazi Khan by giving due respect to all skilled, talented, educated and hard-workers.

### **Conclusions**

There is a difference between caste and profession. Caste is the result of traditional, tribal and even regional supremacy in the society. It corrupts the social, economic and political culture where people are forced to cast their vote to only their caste related candidate instead of fair voting in elections. Hereditary, local and repulsive caste system is illegal and against the constitution. There is a dire need to respect all professions because no nation can develop without giving respect to its professionals. All the humiliating words are dangerous and discourage the working class. Backwardness in political affairs is major consequence of caste system which hampers meritocracy. This system gives birth to discrimination and bias as highly influential segment of society always long for status quo by all means. Moreover it corrupts the moral fabric of the society further hindering its intellectual growth.

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