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# Ethnic Impact in Electoral Politics: A Case Study of District Bahawalnagar

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The work emphasized on impact of ethnic issues in electoral politics District Bahawal Nagar. The inattentive violence existed in the country on the basis of tribal, linguistic, sectarian, region and religion. It poses a threat to the revitalization of parliamentary institutions in Pakistan. The ethnic problem becomes intense due to domestic political situation of Pakistan which has wide-ranging implications in Pakistan. Not the least of these, the damage by chronic social unrest and political turmoil and the ethnic reflection in the international Scenario for the prestige of Pakistan. Pakistan is facing the complex ethnic conflicts in political system which has deep impact on electoral politics. The ethnic conflict is going to deepen in remote areas of Pakistan. The advocates of the government tend to credit blame for ethnic turmoil which is going to disturb with the support of conspiratorial forces whose aim is to weaken the state. The concept of biradarism is perceived from the concept of caste system in the Hindu culture and society. Different aspects of biradarism which determine the voting behavior and pattern in the subject area are carefully empirically analyzed.

## Introduction

Pakistan is ethnically divided state. Political polarization enhanced the issue of ethnic conflicts. The ruling elite shaped large scale and magnified ethnic tensions that have alliance of feudal landlords, militarists, and Islamic religious traditionalists. They ruled with meager reference to the popular will. The ethnic structure causes of exploitation due to reckless decision of ruling class to bolster itself against pressures for domestic political reforms. The cure of ethnic ailments is predominantly linked with the development of democratic political institutions as well as in the devolution of powers to the regional level (Ayooob, September 1985). The political history is

unquestionably well stocked with such activities that enhanced ethnic issues. Pakistan's domestic and international political predicament is a lot of complicated and resistant to resolution insofar as its ethnic problem is concerned. The work takes stock of multidimensionality's problems and explores the paradoxical nature of its relationship to continuing electoral politics in district Bahawal Nagar that is affected due to brotherly ethnic conflict. It will be analyzed how the brotherhood system has influential effect on voter's behavior for electoral politics in general and district Bahawalnagar of Punjab particularly

## Definition of the Ethnicity

According to Cambridge Encyclopedia ethnicity is defined as:-

“It is group of individuals identified on the bases of race, color, language and territory”. (Cashmore, 1988).

Encyclopedia Britannica described ethnic group elaborately as: “A social group or category of population that in a larger society is set apart and bound together by common ties of race, language, nationality or culture. As a general case, at the core of ethnic identification is what has been termed as primordial affinities and attachments derived from the place of birth, kinship relationship, religion, language, and social practices that come natural to an individual to attach him to other individuals from the same background. These attachments remain in the unconscious and can be rekindled by appropriate stimuli” (Ahmed, Ethnicity, State and national Integration’ in Asian Survey, June 1984). Social scientists studied phenomenon of ethnicity with different tools and approaches. Some scholars named ethnicity as minority, group, race, and caste, and class, inner and outer group (Peter, 1991. p 127-28).

According to Davos, “An ethnic group is a self-perceived inclusion those who hold in common a set of traditions not shared by others with when they are in contact. Such traditions typically include folk, religious belief and practices, language, a sense of historical continuity and common ancestry or place of origin.” (Crystal, 1991). Feroz Ahmad described ethnicity as “A social group or category of population that in a larger society is set apart and bound together by common ties of race, language, nationality or culture. As a general case, at the core of ethnic identification is what has been termed as primordial affinities and attachments derived from the place of birth, kinship relationship, religion, language, and social practices that come natural to an individual to attach him to other individuals from the same background. These attachments remain in the unconscious and can be rekindled by appropriate stimuli” (Ahmed, Ethnicity, State and national Integration, June 1984 p.268)

Biradarism is also linked to ethnicity. The word biradery or Biradarism is derived from language of Persian which means as brother or Brotherhood. It can also be

defined as a common bandage or affiliations on the basis of religion, race, caste and language, whereas it is used in the Subcontinent as for identification of the different clans in terms of their castes for mutual interaction. (Lughat, 2005 p.24) The Muslims can use this caste or biradery system as a mark of social identity for their introduction rather than for their hierarchical or social status.

## Ethnic Issue and Politics in Pakistan

Pakistan is facing complex and multidimensional ethnic conflict in politics. Bengalis are feeling deprivations in power sharing. Local political leadership is complaining about dominances of Punjabi that is not simple political problem. Its origins are to be founding structural inequalities that have roots deep in pre-independence history. It can be found in demographic trends, including the spectacular rate of growth of the country's urban population. They are also to be found in the paralysis of political institution-building. The military rulers have the characteristic anti-politics mind set. Some of the factors that contribute to the country's ethnic problem can be relieved rather swiftly for others. The ethnic problem of Pakistan has developed in the long period. It can be resolved gradually. Punjabi is the language of the single largest ethnic group in the country. According to the 1981 census, Punjabi as the mother tongue was spoken by 48.2 percent while Pashtu, its nearest rival, was spoken in only 13.1 percent.

The Punjab is the hub of Pakistani politics; the political interests of the Punjabi-speaking elite cannot be ignored. No government and no constitutional framework can be survived without their support. No political party aspiring to national leadership can succeed without them. No political party appealing to regional sentiments against it can aspire realistically to national leadership. These facts are not in conformity with the ideology of Pakistan which emphasizes Islamic unity and the equality of all its citizens; and they obviously place Pakistan's leaders, as Leonard Binder has suggested, in the impossible position of denying the political legitimacy of ethnicity even while the state is itself dominated by a segment of a single ethnic community. Nevertheless, such a paradox is the inescapable reality of Pakistani politics.

There have been bountiful proposals to bring about greater regional and provincial autonomy and political decentralization. All such proposals are not followed as reallocation of central and provincial powers, reconstitution of provinces or provincial boundaries at different time by their very nature. The governing class has no proper interest for re-organization of political institutions, or protection of minority rights. The Urdu speaking with alliance of Punjabi speaking implicitly involve in governing system. There is no system for radically upgrade minority representation in the civil service and armed forces of Pakistan. There is disparities

in the face of gross population concede complete parity of representation in the National Assembly for Baluch, Pashtuns, Sindhis, and Punjabis without seeming to thwart the will of the majority. Consequently, all such proposals have not got properly support from political leadership in the Punjab (Garner, 1982 p.103).

## **Demographic of District Bahawal Nagar**

Demography of district Bahawal Nagar<sup>1</sup> is given as the bigger districts of Punjab having population of 2061447 in 1998. It has reached 2603000 in December 2011 in which urban population is 496000 while rural population is 2107000. (Book, 2011). Generally people are agriculturists and during Nawab of Bahawalpur rule the irrigation system was one of the largest fed by River Sutlej. The main tribes and sub tribes are arain the decadents of Umayyad Arab soldiers who arrived with Muhammad Bin Qasim, rajput, malik, jatt, cheema, mahar, lodi (pathan), bhatti, paracha, hotiana, wattoo, gorgani, joyia, sukheras, khkwani, chishti and many other small clans. Most progressive landlords are basically cheema, paracha, wattoo, arian. These tribes have a great contribution in the politics of district Bahawalnagar. (H A Rose)

## **Ethnic issue and Electoral Politics of District Bahawal Nagar**

District Bahawal Nagar having five tehsils, major towns and villages are mentioned.<sup>2</sup> These villages and towns have ethnic issues on biradery basis. Bahawal Nagar district has single dominant language Punjabi. Therefore, there are no ethnic issues on language, region or religion base. Here is ethnic issue based on biradery or caste system. This issue has great impact on electoral politics in district Bahawalnagar. In each election almost all candidates used such slogans and tried to get benefit in the shape of success.

The national census is conducted in 1998 throughout Pakistan. According to this census Punjabi is the main language of district Bahawalnagar which is spoken by 1.3 million people which accounts for 90% of total population of 1.37 million. Urdu as the national language is spoken widely while English is spoken by educated elite. According to latest census Haryanvi is the second major language of Bahawalnagar District and spoken by 0.1 million people of total approximately 1.73 million population. Riasti (Saraiki) is also spoken by 42,000 people (3%) of the district population. Total Christian population in this district is 12094 which makes it 0.59% of the total population of this district. The total Christian rural population is 8,063. The total Christian urban population is 4031 (Fatima, 2002). The ethnic conflict also based on language basis in Pakistan. The district bahawalnagar has no such issue. There is majority of Punjabi language. Therefore politicians could not in

position to highlight linguistic ethnic aspect in electoral politics. There are other sub division of ethnicity in electoral politics that is linked on caste or bradherly system. It is significant aspect of electoral politics in district Bahawal Nagar. Therefore I choice for study to evaluate some findings.

## Tribes & Clans in Bahawal Nagar

The English provided help and support to strengthen and sustain biradarism in the region for their specific interests. The ruler used it for political authority and administration through the chiefs of these ethnic groups on name of biradarism. On the other hand they kept conflict between these bratheries through their patronage. The main objective was to obstructing the evolution of social harmony essential in a civil society. The chiefs of these bratheries were facilitating in recruitment for British Army from their respective bratheries as competing collaborators. The major ethnic (biradery) groups in Punjab are examined and analyzed. These groups have effective influence the provincial politics of Punjab. They are categorized as under;

1. Local clans are rajput, malik, mahar, lodi (pathan), kharls, syedshotiana, wattoo, gorgani, joyia, sukheras, khkwani and Chishti. These people are either sons of the soil or living in the area since quite a long time.
2. Abadkar: Those people who were settled here much before 1947 since long time migrated from those areas which became part of India after the partition and had settled in the western Punjab. They are bandeshs, jutts, shiekhs, cheemas and gujjars.
3. Migrant: Those people who migrated to Pakistan in and after 1947. They are rajputs, arians, mughals, jutts, maliks, bhatti, khokers and are called as Muhajir.

The banks of the Suttlej are mainly held by the khakwani, johiya, wattu and maharjat. They are collectively referred to as hitharis. The areas irrigated by canals are held by Punjabi settlers, mainly jat, arain, rajput (including Ranghar) and gujjar. The Cholistan region is home mainly to boharqandmeghwal tribes, the latter being Hindu. Main tribes with various sub-tribes are; bhatti, malik, muslah, khokhar, mahar, lodhi (Pathan), rajput, arain, wattooogorgani, joyias, sukheras, khakwani, chishti and many other small clans. The progressive clans are arain, jatt, wattoo and gorgani in different fields of life.

Joyia is major tribe in the river belt and tehsil Bahawalnagar. It has numerous sects of joyia which are somewhere around 46 in number. Some of the more important are bhaderas, lakhweras, daultanas, nihalkas, ghazi khananas and jalwanas, their ancestor having been designated Naik-o-KarBhai or the Virtuous Brothers, by Abdullah Jahanian, a Muslim saint. Most of the names of the joyia sects end with a -ka or -era. The other principal sects are akeke, bhalana, firozke, hassanke, jamlera, jhagdeke, jugeke, lakhuke, langahke, laleke, mihruke, mummunke, panjera, ranuke,

sabuke, shaikhuke, sanatheke, shahbake, admera, malkera, Sahuka and saldera. ([geojoya.webs.com/about-u](http://geojoya.webs.com/about-u))

The brathery system is spirited and deep rooted in Pakistan. The major castes are the arains and the jaat in district Bahawalnagar in tehsil Haroonabad, Fortabbas and Chishtian, will vote in every election for their own kith and kin. The long chains of major castes and sub-castes are existed in Bahawalnagar. The ethnic issue raised can be observed during the elections and provide base of conflicts usually. Caste system dominates of urban areas as well as in rural politics. Bahawalnagar city consisted of six urban and twenty five rural union councils. Pervez Musharraf implemented the devolution plan for local governments which has three stages, union and tehsil and district councils. These three stages of power sharing are under the influence of ethnicity challenges of diverse society of district Bahawal Nagar. Each tribe and clan is trying to get more shares in power than their strength with alliances of other ethnic groups.

According to survey of tehsil Bahawalnagar there are major clans as following; the union council no 1 fasial colony consisted of pirachas, bhattiarains sheikh qureshi are majority in quresh colony. The union council no 2 amirkot consisted of sheikh qureshi in majority, rehmani, arain and bhatti. The union council no 3 jinnah colony is located in middle of city Bahawalnagar. In this union council rangher, rana, bhatti, the union council no 04 Nazampura. The union council has majority of sheikh qureshi. The union council no 05 muslim colony has majority of rehmani, qureshi and malik in khadiumabad. The sheikh qureshi are also in position of imbalance at union council level. The union council no 06 khadiumabad consisted of khadiumabad. Nazir colony and islamnagar. The rehamani, nai, mocha, khoker, jhayroy, mhachi, arain, muslahy, bhatti and malik are major clans of union council. In this union council no single clane has dominance for electoral politics. The union council no 20 Islam puraarian tribe has majority in election game. Other major clans in hafiz wala are sayil, ghujer, rehamani.

The union council no 7& 8 are covered the area of town committee dungabunga. The city union council consisted of rangher, ghori, malik, khoker, bhatti, qureshi and joyia. Mostly competition held between ranghers and joyias in elections. Rural area based union council consisted of joyias and ranghers. The union council no 22 moharwali consisted of rangher, joyias and bhinders. The union council no 16 rojhanwali consisted of arain, syed and hotiana. The union council no 12 takhatmohalhittar consisted of joyias and chisthi. The union council no 28 sundah consisted of rangher, joyias, bhatti and. The union council no 31 korianwali consisted rangher, panday, joyias, bhatti and dohdi. The union council no 11 Sanataka consisted joyiassyed and bhatti. The union council no 30 swaiwala consisted joyiaswattoo and bhatti. The union council no 21 malikpura consisted joyiassyed and bhatti. The union council no 26 barasajwar khan consisted of joyias, bhatti, taylees

and rangher. The population and strength of union councils in district Bahawal Nagar are as:-

Table No 3  
Union Council wise Population of District Bahawalnagar

Name of Tehsil	Strength of Union Councils	Population
Bahawalnagar	31	716781
Chishtian	29	665017
Haroonabad	22	518122
Fort Abbas	16	374415
Minchin Abad	20	469011

Source:-(Report, 2012)

### Analysis of Politics on National Constituencies Wise of District Bahawal Nagar

The general election held in in 1970 in Pakistan. The parliamentarians from district Bahawalnagar since first general election 1970 to election 2013 for National Assembly are mention for analysis of ethnic role in electoral politics in district Bahawal Nagar.

In the general election of 1970 Bahawalnagar district has one seat. NA 102 was combined from Bahawalnagar and Bahawalpur. In 1977 Bahawalnagar consisted of five tehsils with three seats of national assembly and seven seats for provincial assembly. On the election of 2002 Bahawalnagar consisted of four seats for national assembly and eight seats for provincial assembly. Gender wise voters strength of constituencies of district Bahawal nagar is as:-

Table No 2

Voters Strength per Constituency of National Assembly District Bahawalnagar

S. No	Name of Constituency	Male Voters	Female Voters	Total Votes
1	NA-188 BWN-I	173308	130370	303678
2	NA-189 BWN-II	179538	129805	309343

3	NA-190 BWN-III	184613	139472	324085
4	NA-191 BWN-IV	190678	136294	326972
Grand	Total	728137	535941	1264078

Source; (ECP, 2013)

The division of district Bahawalnagar for constituencies wise is as, tehsil Minchin Abad from head sulemanilki to tehsil Chishtian union council methayjhaydo is boundary of NA 188 Bahawalnagar-I. The union councils of tehsil Bahawalnagar peer skander, qasimka, rabnawazpura, rojhanwali, sanataka, wazirka, said ali, muhammadpursansaran, laleka, habibka, fidai shah, dhaddikhazansingh, chakoka, chabiana, trobari, rihanabhandwali, munianwala and adlana included in this constituency of National Assembly 188. It is rural constituency with city Minchin Abad. This constituency has 361 villages in which 350 have less population than five thousand according to census 1998. The constituency NA188 has voters strength 289582 in 2002 and 269766 in 2008. It covers 92.5% rural and 7.5% urban population. The sulemankiBahawalnagar road is boundary line of this constituency. (Zulha Bahawalnagar: Tarki aoor Sayasut)

Syed Mohammad Asghar Shah was elected for his second term as MNA in 2013. He was previously elected as MNA for first term in 1990-1993. The Shah family in the leadership of Syed Mohammad Rafiq shah has specific political role in district Bahawalnagar. The shah family made alliance with Laleka and Wattoo of Minchin Abad Main KhadiumHussian. This alliance has decided that Shah Family nominated MNA candidate one MPA from Wattoo family and one from Laleka for Provincial Assembly seat. In the election 2007 Toba Qalnder Shah Group failed to make alliance and lost political significance in district Bahawalnagar. Syed NadeemZaman Shah elected as Tehsil NazimBahawalnagar and next time Syed QalanderHusnain Shah was elected Tehsil Nazim of Tehsil Bahawalnagar. He comes from a veteran and respected political family of Bahawalnagar. In this constituency biradery or caste system played a major role in election. Political parties played minor role in election.

The constituency NA 189 Bahawalnagar-II covers 74% rural population and 26% urban population. This constituency has 215 villages in which 208 villages have population less than 5000. The constituency NA 189 Bahawalnagar-II consisted of Bahawalnagar municipal committee and some rural areas of tehsil Chistian as villages of ghijani from chakghijani no 1 to chakghijani 31 and fetahchak no 32 to 39, qaziwaladungabunga town committee, noorsar, jandwala, kotshermohammad, mohransharif, chak Abdulla, aminabad and sawaiwala included in this constituency. The constituency NA189 has voter strength 271965 in 2002 and 323939 in 2008. The constituency NA189 has major bratheriesjoyia, rajpot, arain, sheikh qureshi, malik, syed, sukhera, wattoo and kheral. The sheikh qureshi is major clan in city Bahawalnagar. Joyias and rajpots are major families of this constituency. Joyia clan



has thirty thousand votes in this constituency. Pakistan Muslim League has strong vote bank on political basis. (Zulha Bahawalnagar: Tarki aoor Sayasut)

Syed MumtazAlamGillani was elected again member of National Assembly of Pakistan from NA-189. Syed MumtazAlamGillaniwasdistrict leader of Pakistan People Party. He was elected as MPA one time and MNA from NA 144 in 1988 to 1990. This time political parties wave supported in victory of MumtazGillani. In the election 2002 Main MumtazMutyaiana elected as MNA. He made understanding with Mian Abdul SattarLileeka due to which the joyibrathery voted in favor of Main MumtazMutyaiana. Abdul SattarLileka get support in NA190 and both MNA elected in 2002 election. Syed MumtazAlamGillani elected MNA from NA 189 on the plate form of Pakistan People Party in 2008. In the election 2013 Main Alam Dad Lileka elected as MNA from Pakistan Muslim League-N. He got support from joyibradery in rural areas. This constituency remained under effect of biradery or caste system. In case two candidates contested from joyibradery, then votes may be divided and got defeat. Otherwise, it is sure the victory of National Assembly Candidate. The major three parties also have their voters' strength in this constituency.

The constituency of national Assembly 190 is also known as NA-190 Bahawalnagar-III. It is third seats of Bahawalnagar district. This constituency consisted of major areas and cities of Chistian and Dehranwala . This constituency has 80.2% rural and 19.8% urban population. The rural polulation has spread in235 villages of this constituency. There 227 villages has population less than 5000 according to census 1998. NA 190 Bahawalnagar-III consisted of with tehsil headquarters as municipal committee of Chistian and town committee of dehranwala, chak bukshion khan, chak chupa. The villages of tehsil haroonabad chak 111/6-R, chak 104/6-R, chak 127/6-R chak 132/6-R, Qazi wala, jhorka wala and shubnum wali included in this constituency. The constituency NA 190 has voters strength 281254 in 2002 and 316829 in 2008. The consituency has mostly clans are arain. Jatt, joyia, guhjer, matiyiana, jhaydo, rajpot, maharvi and chisti. Other small stregth bratheries of constituency are malik awan. Sayyad, shiekh, mughal, chohan, kheral and khoker. The major compitator families of constituency are arain and jaat having 50000 votes. From this constituency arain or jaat candidate is remained in winning position. (Zulha Bahawalnagar: Tarki aoor Sayasut)This consituency is considered politically equal weight for Pakistan Muslim League and Pakistan People Party. The election of 2002 Abdul Sattar Laleka won this seat on the plateform of Pakistan Muslim League (Q). the constituency has impact of ethnic conflict of brathery. In this constituency political parties with ethnic support of biradery has requisit for victory.

Chuahary Abdul Ghafoor was former Chairman District Council provincial and federal minister of Pakistan Muslim League-N. He remained loyal to the Muslim League throughout his 28-year political career. He joined Pakistan Muslim League-Q and got defeated from a fellow arain Ijazul Haq in 2002 as a PML-Q candidate at native seat NA191. He is representative of arain tribe in district Bahawalnaar. Now

he was contestin election from Pakistan People Party while PML-N launched Hamad Saeed and Pakistan Muslim League-Q gave ticket to Tahir Bashir Cheema. Now Jehangir Badr has managed his entry in the PPP as arain background against party policy which based on not to take any figure of previous regime in its fold. Tahir Bashir Cheema was former Tehsil Nazim Chishtian and elected four time MPA. His father Bashir Cheema was elected to Punjab Assembly from this constituency in 1951. His brother Tariq Bashir is District Bahawalpur Nazim and a 1993 Punjab minister. He was elected to National Assembly in by-elections following Sattar Laleka's death in 2004. PMLN's Hammad Saeed is a businessman and totally a new comer in electoral politics. This constituency has major tribe arain and jaat with joyias. There are different families and clans in city Chishtain. Party tickets also consider as weithage. Tahir Bashir Cheema is elected as MNA in 2013. He got support from brathery base with poplur party ticket in the election.

The constituency of national Assembly 191 is also known as NA-191 Bahawalnagar-IV. It is fourth constituency of Bahawalnagar district. The consituency NA191 has voter strength 303421 in 2002 and 362672 in 2008 election. This constituency has 77.3% rural population and 22.7 % urban population. The constuency covers 287 villages out of which 282 has populationa less than five thousand. This constituency consisted of major areas and cities of Fortabbas, Haroonabad and Faqirwala. NA 191 Bahawalnagar-IV consisted of with two tehsil headquarters as municipal committee Fort Abbas and Haroonabad. It has a town committee of Faqirwali with important villages of Kichiwala. There are patwar circles of yateemwala qanungo halqa of 100/6-R and 121/ 6-R, chak 176, chak 97, mirgah. marot, churiwala and ranabhana in this constituency. This consituency has 35% of arain and 35 % of jaat. Other brotheries has 30% ration in electoral voter lists of this constituency. (Zulha Bahawalnagar: Tarki aoor Sayasut) Chaudhry Ijazul Haq contested election from Pakistan Muslim League-Q, Chuadhary Abdul Ghafoor PPP's Afzal Sindhu from Pakistan People Party, Mian Mohammad Yar Kamoka Pakistan Muslim League were major contestants in this constituency. Ijazul Haq son of General Ziaul Haq entered in politics in 1990 after his father's death. He elected as member National Assembly in 1990, 1997 and 2002 federal cabinets. Ijaz defeated Afzal Sindhu and Chaudhry Ghafoor in 2002. Chaudhry Afzal Sindhu is an old parliamentarian and remained provincial minister in 1970s and 1990s.

This constituency has strong brathery ethnic conflict. In every election jaat and arain candidates compete each other with their party affiliation. Thesil fortabas arains are in majority. Haroonabad city has other tribes and balance the political situation of this constituency. It is obseved that ethnic conflict of bratherism is effectively unbalanced the political situation in party politics of Pakistan. The politics of the district Bahawalnagar gyrates around these major clans. These major group leaders joined different political parties to observe political wave in country. These groups observed the future governing political party. Sometime have to join other

parties in opposition of other brathery entrance in respective party. Such ethnic issues are reason for weakness of political parties. Polling schemes are influence the results of election. The polling schemes are made in major area of a specific brathery which control the related polling stations.

### Analysis of Provincial Constituencies of District Bahawal Nagar

The voter strength of district Bahawal Nagar is provincial constituencies wise given as:-

Table No 3

Voters Strength per Constituency of Provincial Assembly District Bahawalnagar

S.NO	No & Name of Constituency	Voters		
		Male Voters	Female Voters	Total
1	PP-277-BWN-I	89416	68606	158022
2	PP-278-BWN-II	83892	61764	145656
3	PP-279-BWN-III	90212	67608	157820
4	PP-280-BWN-IV	89326	62197	151523
5	PP-280-BWN-V	92932	70460	163392
6	PP-280-BWN-VI	91681	69012	160693
7	PP-280-BWN-VII	98238	72506	170744
8	PP-280-BWN-VIII	92440	63788	156228
Grand	Total	728137	535941	1264078

Source: (ECP, Election Commission of Pakistan, 2014)

The division of district Bahawalnagar for Provincial constituencies wise is as; from head sulemanilki to tehsil Minchin Abad is PP 277. It is rural constituency with city Minchin Abad. This constituency has 212 villages in. Punjab provincial constituency 278 union councils of tehsil Bahawalnagar peer skander, qasimka, rabnawazpura, rojhanwali, sanataka. This constituency has 149 villages. The sulemankiBahawalnagar road is boundary line of both constituencies. Main KhadiumHussainwattoo is elected MPA in 1985, 1988, 1990, 2002. Now his brother Main FidaHussainwattoo as elected as MPN in 2008 and 2013. In this constituency are becoming un-beatable candidates. Wattoo as major clan settle in 277. To make sure the success compromises with other biraderies also.

The provincial constituencies are PP279 and PP280 included in NA 189. PP279 covers 73 villages and two cities. PP280 has 142 villages. It is rural constituency of district BahawalNagar. Rajpot are major tribe in PP279 in rural areas. Joyias are major clan in PP280. Due to which Main Sattar Khan Akoka in 1997 and Muhammad YarMumoka elected as MPA in 2002 from this constituency. Tehsil Bahawal Nagar has two major casts in rural areas which are joyias and rangher. PP279 has majority of ranghers and PP280 has joyias. The city has major role playing cast sheikh, qureshi and malik. These casts play vital ethnic role in the election. The local level election based on such issues. In the national level election political parties also played role for success of respective candidates. The city constituency of Bahawalnagar remained under influence of political parties. Its rural constituency under the influence of brathery issues which enhanced ethnic conflict. Main Manzoor Ahmad Mohal won twice from this constituency without biradery support. The number of constituencies is depending upon population of that specific region. Main Manzoor Ahmad Mohal made effort to unite all mixed bratheries to minimize the influence of major bratheries of his constituency. Rangher (Rao) and joyia are major clans of this constituency.

Rana Abdul Rauf is a general political worker of city Bahawal Nagar. He made untiring effort to get political significant role in District Bahawal Nagar. in district Bahawalnagar he started politics from grass root level. He started politics from student union of college level. He contested election as municipal councilor and get fame in public due to his working style for public issues. He was elected as Nazam from his Union Council. He is politician who started politics from grass root level. Now he became a popular leader of district Bahawalnagar. He contested election on the plate form of Pakistan Muslim League-N in 2008 and he was elected as member Punjab Provincial Assembly from PP-279 (Bahawalnagar-III). In 2013 he contested election as MPA from Pakistan Muslim League-N. He is re-elected as member Punjab Provincial Assembly with heavy majority. All bratheries give support in both elections. He got support of mixed bratheries of city Bahawalnagar. He gets support from rangher and joyia of rural areas. He has no major support of his brathery which has no significant weightage on ethnic role for political activities in local politics. His political efforts minimized ethnic conflict in politics of Bahawalnagar. Pakistan Muslim League-N recognized his worth and selected as Chairman of Standing Committee. He is functioning as Chairman Standing Committee on Zakat and Ushr for full tenor of government.

The constituency NA 190 covers two provincial constituencies of PP281 and PP282. The constituency PP 281 covers 88 villages and city of Chishtian. The main villages of this constituency are sherfarid, rehmanwala, chak 34/F, chak 36/F and bukshion khan. The major bratheries of this constituency are joyia, arain and kheral. The constituency PP 282 covers dehranwala town committee with 147 villages. It is rural constituency. This constituency has joyia, arain and jaatbratheries in this

constituency. Haji Muhammad Tahir Mahmood from PP.281 and Muhammad Abdullah Wain PP-282 was elected in election 2002 on the plate form of Pakistan Muslim League-Q. Chaudhary Muhammad Tahir Mahmood is from arain tribe. Muhammad Abdullah wain is belonging to jaat clan. Both candidates make alliance and got victory in election 2002. From PP281 Main Muhammad Ali Laleka elected as MPA PPPP and Eshan-ul-Haq Bajwa elected MPA on the plate form of Pakistan Muslim League-N. From PP 282 Sardar Muhammad Afzal Tatla elected as MPA (PPPP) in 2008 and Chaudhary Muhammad Zahid Akram elected MPA in 2013 on the plate form of Pakistan Muslim League-N. Both candidates take edge of their bratheries with popular wave of party voter in this election.

The constituency NA 191 covers two provincial constituencies of PP283 and PP284. The constituency PP 283 covers 102 villages and city of Haroonabad and Faquirewali. The constituency PP 284 covers 185 villages, city of marrot and Fort Abbas. The constituency 283 has arain, jaat, qureshi, rajpot, abbasi and ghujer. When arain or jaat made alliance with other bratheries that got success. The constituency 283 has started from city with chak 283/H-R to chak 315/H-R, then chak 264/H-R to chak 282 /H-R and chak 319/H-R to chak 341/H-R. Some villages are of chak 243/H-L to chak 249/H-L with chak 174/7-R, 175/7-R, 176/7-R and then chak 187/7-R to chak 191/7-R included in this constituency.

Ghulam Murtaza from PP 283 was elected as MPA on the plate form of Pakistan Muslim League-Z in 2002 and 2013. Shaukat Memhood Basra elected MPA PP 284 in 2008 election from Pakistan People Party. Shahid Anjum PP-284 was elected MPA on the plate form of Pakistan People Party in election 2002 and again in 2010 after disqualification of Rauf Khalid MPA PPP in 2008. Chaudhary Naeem Anwer elected as MPA in 2013 election on the plate form of Pakistan Muslim League-Z. These candidates won the election on brathery basis.

Some time there is conflict in different bratheries. The majority influenced brathery contesting candidates lose their seat due to conflicting and contesting among themselves vote for a third party candidate through personal connection of their chiefs or patron client relationship which represents cross biradery voting behavior. (Almond, 1978).

There are division of voters for constituencies of Provincial Assembly of Punjab for district Bahawalnagar. There are eight provincial seats in district bahawalnagar. There is an important factor is plan of polling stations scheme which is formulated for conduction of election. The polling stations are established on ethnic basis at that pions where these groups has strong grip. To establishes polling stations in such areas is to provide facility to specific groups of biradery. It is effective method to control polling days according to their own will. Political partics and dominating

biraderies tried to adopt such methods to gain victory in respective constituency. The political leadership and establishment made such polling scheme to get results of their own choice.

It is plan of electoral process of district Bahawalnagar in May 2013 for provincial Assembly of Punjab. The data above mentioned about polling booths and polling stations for election 2013. Generally polling stations for election in urban area established separate basis for male and female. In rural areas polling stations are common for male and female voters but polling booths are separate for voters. In the Election 2013 polling station for National and provincial Assembly are same because elections are conducted same day for both assemblies.

The communities of Christians, Hindus, Qadanis and schedule caste are also in Bahawal Nagar. The ethnic issues at religious basis are not existed in Bahawal Nagar district. Education is a major factor to minimize the ethnic conflict on the basis of brotherhood. The standard which deals about such issue is literacy rate. The above mentioned table shows data about all religious bases in district Bahawal Nagar. There is no sectarian discrimination in district Bahawal Nagar.

## Conclusion

Caste/ Brotherhood system plays an important role in the politics of Pakistan than the political parties. It can be stated that with the working of political parties ethnic groups are assimilated in the main stream of the society. The political parties are tool to obtain power. The party tickets are issue to candidates of dominating caste. It can be observed that caste system has been effectively hegemonic not only in rural areas but in urban centers too. People of a specific caste cast their vote to the candidate who belongs to their specific caste. They voted to their relatives without analyzing the manifesto. The ethnic issue related to caste system is the major sources to give birth polarization in politics having impetus among different segments of society (Tahami, 2002 pp430-444).

In early period of Pakistani politics joyia and Laleka family is participating in politics with support of the large brotherhood. Nawab Mohammad Buksh Lakhwera MLA West Pakistan and Fateh Mohammad Khan Laleka MLA West Pakistan (1956-58) are nominated for representation of Bahawal Nagar district. He had vast support of his major brotherhood of joyia. Abdul Sattar Laleka Ex. MNA, Sattar Khan Akoka Ex. MPA Bahawalnagar, Mian Imtiaz Ali Laleka Ex MPA Bahawal Nagar, Mian Mohammad Ali Laleka Christian Senator Mian Alam Ali Laleka (Bahawalnagar), Mian Shukat Ali Laleka Ex MPA, Naib Zila Nazim Bahawalnagar, Ghulam Mohammad Khan Mummunka -Ex Chairman District Council Bahawalnagar are long chain of joyia family of district Bahawal Nagar. The joyi brotherhood actively made alliance with

different biradery and got support with bargain. In these constituencies rarely non joyia candidates were elected in elections.

Syed Mumtaz Gillani MNA, Syed Muhammad Asgher Shah MNA contested election again and again and elected. In NA188 shah family has much impact in the constituency. Afzal Sindhu MNA Haroonabad, Chaudhary Abdul Ghaffoor MNA, Ijaz Ul Haq MNA, Tahir Bashir Cheema MPA present MNA Chishtian are jaat and arain candidates of elections. These candidates contested election on ethnic basis in these constituencies. The Syed of Bahawal Nagar, lalika and joyia of different name of Bahawal Nagar, wattoo of Minchin Abad, arain and jaat of tehsil Haroonabad, Fort Abbas and Chishtian are major player clan of politics of district Bahawal Nagar on ethnic base of biradery.

District Bahawalnagar politics gyrates around these major tribes and families and fertile land for landed lord class in politics. The biradery leaders join different political parties to articulate their respective interests. The biradery leaders also apply the game theory in developing alliance with one or more groups. Such theories are applicable in local government election to become district nazim or chairman zila council. They are found in same party in some cases under the sponsorship of a common patron trough. Like Pakistani national politics which has deep effect of ethnic conflict of different regions. The dominant biraderies influenced the local politics which viewed as parochial and unfavorable to social and political integration. It can be observed in Zia regime in election in 1985. It out comes can be seen in the national and local bodies elections where members from big biraderies won for assemblies. The major motivation for ethnicity is extra-rational sentiment. It is the desire for self-respect, for the acceptance of one's identity. For psychological fulfillment without adopting the language and behavior of another culture is tough to develop identity. It has also been seen that language is an identity marker, or creates a community, in the modern world. In Bahawal Nagar there is no issue of langue but it is linked with culture. Culture is related to every tribe and clan. It observed after several studies have the provision of public goods correlated with the diversity of the population. There is a problem in case of diverse population leads to collective action. The diverse situation cause hindrances in providing public goods such as schools hospitals and roads to lower levels.

## Recommendations

The political culture would have to be emphasized to wipe out the negative impact of ethnic issue in the electoral politics. Proper education will have to focus on this issue. The vibrant media play a vital role to minimize the issue ethnicity in politics of Bahawalnagar. Democratization in political parties will have also lessened the role of biradery conflict in electoral politics. The role of political parties will

have to strengthen to resolve ethnic issue in district Bahawalnagar. The civil society will also play role to overcome ethnicity issue in politics. The political leadership with good governance and equal distribution of national resource will bring down such ethnic issue of biradery in district Bahawal Nagar. There is no doubt to diffuse the situation, and minimize conflicts, the decision makers have to made best possible strategies, policies, formulated and implemented in district Bahawal Nagar for achieving the objectives.

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<sup>1</sup> The location of Bahawalnagar is as 30.55° in North latitude and 73.39° in East longitude. The sea level height is 159 meters. District Bahawal Nagar has covered an area of 8,878 square kilometers. North-South length of the district is 128.5 kilometers. It has width from East West 69 kilometers

<sup>2</sup>The tehsils in district Bahawal Nagar are as Haroonabad, Chishtian, Bahawal Nagar, Fort Abbas and Minchin Abad. The major towns are MecloadGunj, MandiSadiqGunj, Faqirwali, Madrisa, Dahranwala, Yateemwala, Maroot and DungaBunga. The major villages of Bahawal Nagar district are harnwalaRatteka, NezaJodheka, khokranwali, Kharajpura, Ghulab Ali, Maharwali, TakhatMehal, BalaArain, FatehKot, MandiGorgan, Qaziwala and Bukhshan Khan, Nathywala, bastiMohallan, Panjkosi, Maqsood Abad (BastiLangah), Jenjeranwali, and Togera Sharif.