
Cast and Baradri System and Voting Behavior in Pakistan (Elections 2018): A Case Study of Hafizabad District

_____ Karim Haider

===== Muhammad Arshad Ali

This study scrutinizes the impact of caste and Baradri system on voting behavior evolving from Pakistan's general elections of 2018. Traditionally, the caste and Baradari system have been playing a substantial role in the elections of Pakistan since its birth especially in the region of Punjab. After the partition the evolution and modernization of electoral system and introduction of democratic institution in Pakistan never fully changed the customary value-system of the society of Punjab which is largely based on caste and Baradari system. With specific reference to caste and Baradari system in Punjab, an analytical research has been made to understand profound origins of Caste and Baradari System and its impact on the voting behavior of four selected constituencies, one of National Assembly and three of Provincial Assembly of Punjab in one of the districts of province of Punjab in general elections of 2018. Further, this study explains that the Punjab is based on social divergence with national political culture; therefore, the people of Punjab always look standing with the authoritarian rule which begins from family system and ends at national politics of Pakistan. Having majority seats in National Assembly the role of Punjab is very important and study about the voting behavior of the people of Punjab has special reference to national politics.

Introduction

Baradari defined as "brotherhood" initiated by the Persian language word Baradar meaning "brother". Muslims of south Asian region especially in India and Pakistan, a large number of social classes are separated on the origin of Biradaris. In the society of Pakistani Biradaris has been playing the most important role as a force, stronger and important than ethnic and religion or any other sociopolitical reasons. ¹In Pakistan it is matter of fact that Political alliances and parties are normally based on Biradaris and casts system not on the political and religious ideologies. In this context a case study of Hafizabad district is selected as it was

constituency with highest voter turnout in 2018 election² and the most populous constituency of Pakistan for National Assembly is NA-35 Bannu district as a whole in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province with a population of 1,167,892 that is followed by NA-87 Hafizabad district as whole in Punjab province with a population of 1,156,957. Looking at the sharp contrast in the Baluchistan Province in NA-262 Kachhi-JhalMagsi constituency that has the population of 386,255, it can be said people of these districts were made scape goats in the process of delimitation. Hafizabad in Punjab has registered votes of 684,447 including 299,685 female voters. In 2013 polls, this district had two constituencies in National Assembly and three in the Punjab Assembly but after the census the representation of Punjab was reduced in national assembly and Hafizabad district had to sacrifice one of its constituency but the district retained its three Provincial Assembly seats³. All casts and Baradari after the announcement of the elections started flexing their muscles and cast and Baradari system started roaring as the leading political families accelerated their efforts for electioneering.

Hypothesis

cast and Baradari system played an active role in the general elections of 2018 and helped to reduce the impact of religious vote bank on the results of elections.

Literature Review

By the passage of time Pakistan has become a nation of enormous significance to its area, America, and the other nations. With nearly 210 million people, and 550,000 army personals, nuclear capability, and a large diaspora in America and Britain, Pakistan has become a center of the hopes of other players having interests in the region. Yet the highest short-term danger to Pakistan is not insurgency as such, but the activities of Americans, and the highest long-term menace is natural changes. Anatol Lieven's work is an overbearing study of this highly composite and often poorly unwritten country: its areas, societies, rival religious customs, diverse social backgrounds, profound political pressures, and historic patterns of passion; but also its astonishing fundamental stability, engrained in kinship Biradaris, support, and the power of rooted local elites. Appealingly written, merging history and thoughtful analysis with coverage from Lieven's wide travels as an academic and journalist.⁴

This is one of the best English-language survey of the socio-economic development of Pakistan. Mohammad Qadeer the author gives a vital overview of social and cultural change in Pakistan since freedom, which is vital to considerate Pakistan's probable future course. Pakistan scrutinizes how custom and family life endure to subsidize long term solidity, and explores the areas where very speedy changes are captivating place: large population surge, development, economic growth, and the nature of civil humanity and the state. It suggested an understanding view into Pakistan, discovering the extensive range of ethnic groups, the landscape, religion and public and prevalent culture and nationwide identity. It accomplishes by discoursing the likely forthcoming social growth in

Pakistan, attractive students and researchers interested in Pakistan and multiculturalism. Author's remarkable work is a inclusive investigation of social and cultural forces in the society of Pakistan, and is an significant supply for anyone deficient to understand modern Pakistan.⁵ After giving literature review suitable to this topic it is dire need to produce the objectives of the current study and they are as under;

1. To highlight the role of casts and Biradaris in the electoral politics of Pakistan in the 21st century explaining the 2018 elections of Pakistan.
2. To provide an insight view of the environment in which the general elections of Pakistan held and impact of the casts and Biradaris on the ideological and party affiliations of the candidates.

Historical importance of the casts and Biradaris of Hafizabad

Hafizabad has historical significance as in 327 BC, the Greek ruler Alexander the Great attacked modern day Pakistan, and at that time the territory of Hafizabad was a populated area recognized as Sandal Bar. Hafizabad was earlier a place of some reputation, and is revealed in the Ain-i-Akbari as the four Mahal (Mughal Districts) Hafizabad, Eminabad, Mahomalli, BaghRaiBucha were covering the modern day Lahore and Gujranwala division and are discussed in Ain e Akbari. In the Ain e Akbari the Mahal of Hafizabad had 113700 amount of revenue. Hafiz, the founder of the city Hafizabad, was a favorite of Emperor Akbar the great. During the Muslim rule in Punjab three leading casts and Biradaris; Bhatti, Tarar and Kharal remains loyal to the Muslim rulers of the area and after the weakening of the Mughal Empire, the Sikh rulers emerged from the Gujranwala area neighboring Hafizabad. They invaded on the Muslim tribes loyal to Mughal rule and occupied different areas. Ranjit Singh being a local inhabitant of the Gujranwala crushed the Muslim resistant from the Chatha Casts of Gujranwala area and confiscated the land and left the area of Hafizabad for his commanders as he move fast toward Lahore. The Muslims tribes living in the area of Hafizabad were predominately Bhatti, Tarar and Kharal, they successfully resisted the Sikh plunders and first time in 1774 area fell to Jhanda Singh Bhangi and included in BhangiMisal after it to Ranjit Singh commanders Mahan Singh. When the resistance prolonged in Hafizabad it worried theRanjit Singh in 1799 and he had to left the invasion on Lahore and join his subordinate leading the expedition in Hafizabad. Reinforcement of Ranjit Singh in 1799 to Sikh army helped them to fight the Bhatti, Tarar and Kharal for two years as these tribes fought the open war against Sikh army and in 1801 the large number of Tarars and Kharals were killed and forced to fled in the forests where as the Muslim tribe of Bhatti had to left the small castles and retreat towards JalalPur and PindiBhattian where Sikh army continually siege the these great towns till the killing of leaders of Bhatti cast and some of them fled towards Jhang in the protection of Sials another Muslim tribe.⁶ The remains of number of villages near new ones are witness to that resistance. During the Sikh rule the lands and property of these Muslim tribes were confiscated and tribes were forced to leave their households and live in miserable

condition.⁷ The entry of Britain was welcomed by these tribes as British authorities promised for return of land and property after the removal of Sikh rule from the area. During the British rule these tribes remained loyal to Britain and provided all kind of help during the era of British rule in Punjab and India. During the invasion of Britain on Punjab one Kharal in their home area of Gogera (Okara cum Sahiwal) resisted the English rule and after the death of hero of the anti-colonial war in Punjab Rai Ahmad Khan Kharal the British authorities started extra judicial killing in the area. This extra judicial killing of the Kharal tribe in Gogera (Okara cum Sahiwal) forced the Kharal tribe to leave the area or accept the submission to British rule. So number Kharal left the area including Randhaira, Churaira and Lalhaira sub tribes of Kharal and they reached and settled in the Hafizabad area as two sub tribes of Kharal; Lodhikey and Churaira was living in friendly environment after the end of Sikh rule in the area.⁸ Arrival of Randhira and Churaira Kharal put the other local Kharal of the area under suspicions in the eyes of British authorities along with the Bhatti tribe of the area as difference between the new authorities and Bhatti tribe put this cast or tribe also under suspicion. These developments resulted in cold shoulder relations between Bhatti, Kharal and British authorities and created vacuum for Tarar cast to participate actively in the politics of Hafizabad till the end of British rule in Pakistan. After the independence the gradual change come in the political field of the Hafizabad and Bhatti and Kharal gradually started to play active role in this area. Currently Bhatti, Tarar, Kharal are locally inhabitant and active players in the politics of Hafizabad along with the Syed, Guraya, Chatha, Cheema, Hunjra, casts. Awan, Arain, Rana, Sheikh, Butt casts and Baradris are migrants in Hafizabad largely settled after partition of India and active players in the politics of Hafizabad.

Distribution of casts (Biradaris) in PP-69 Hafizabad I

The constituency of PP 69 is one of three constituencies in Hafizabad for provincial assembly of the Punjab. This constituency consists of areas of Vanike, Kolo, Rasulpur, Kot Ishaq, MuzafarNau, Sandhwan, Kot Said Muhammad, Khan Pur, Jham, AsadUllahPur, Kot Jan Muhammad, Muot, MehmoodPur, Amrao, PindiBaowre, ChakSajada, Beriwalla, Mehdi abad, Serray, Ramke, NaurozPur having majority population of Tarar Baradari and JalalpurBhattian, MehmoodPur, Baleki, Chak Bhatti, Narowal, Jagg Bhatti, KotAlam, Meerakh, Nanu Ana, BurjDara, Shahmeer, Wadahry, Nahrianwala, Jalal Ana, Melo Ana, Mian Raheema, Melo Ana, BhakaBhattian, KharakBhattian, Khanjar, Ballo and KhanaBhattian having majority of Bhatti Baradari, Chak Kharal, Pipli, Muradian, KotSajana, Peelo Kharal, GeeGay Kharal, Solangee Kharal, Dharian Kharal, ThataManak, InnoKhoh, Bangar, Tootra, Uddoki, strong hold of Kharal Baradari and Shah Jamal, Saroopwala, Kutay Shah, RaghoSyedaan, having majority population of Syed Baradri politically ally with Kharal Baradari, Ahmad PurChatha, ShoriChatha, KotPanah, kot Ghazi, Ram key Chatha, NakkiChatha, Bhirri, Allowdinkey, having majority population of Chatha Baradari ally with Tarar Bradari, KalekeMandi, KalekiGaon, Kot Gora having majority population

of Muhajirs (Migrants from Partition of India) community under the influence of Bhatti Bradari (Interviewed with Atif Nawaz Bhatti Lecturer Political Science In Govt. P/G College Hafizabad) and constituency has registered voters 225,141 including 96,826 female voters.⁹

Candidates of PP 69 Hafizabad I

In PP 69, 17 candidates were contesting ; Mian Shahid Hussain Bhatti former MNA contesting on the ticket of PML-N, RaiSafdar Ali Kharal representing the Kharal Bradiri (cast or clan) contesting on the ticket of PPP, Muhammad MamoonJafar Tarar representing the Tarar Bradari contesting on the ticket of PTI, Chuhdhary Muhammad AsadullahArain representing the ArainBradari contesting on the ticket of TehrikLabbaikYa-Rasoolullah Pakistan, as he was refused ticket by the leadership of PMLN due to division of Sharif family. Chuhdhary Muhammad AsadullahArain had close relations with Hamza Shahbaz sharif and in district Hafizabad Saira Afzal Tarar was close to Maryam Nawaz sharif and the Maryam Nawaz faction prevailed in election 2018 and consequently AsadUllahArain failed to get ticket from PMLN despite the fact he as strong footing in the area and was winner of 2013 election in same constituency. Azam Ali of Allah-o-Akbar Tehreek ,Imdadullah of TehrikLabbaik, Mian Fazal Ahmad Qadri of All Pakistan Muslim League and independents Jahanghir Ali, Zulfiqar Ali, Riaz Ali, Tariq MahmoodJanjoa, Ali Kamran, Umar Farooq, Muhammad Ubaidullah, Muhammad Murad Asghar and Mazhar Hussain were representing the religious factions and other Bradaris small in numbers and most of them were independents and covering candidates. In PP 69 tough contests was created when Chuhdhary AsadullahArain who was PML-N MPA from 2013 to 2018 defected from PMLN after refusal of ticket from PMLN and PTI and join defector group from PTI led by Liaqat Abbas Bhatti brother of Mehdi Hassan Bhatti head of PTI. Liaqat Abbas Bhatti was strong candidate of PTI in second constituency of Hafizabad for National assembly in the PTI panel as Shaukat Ali Bhatti who was son of Mehdi Hassan Bhatti was announced candidate of PTI in first constituency of Hafizabad for national assembly. Liaqat Abbas was defected his brother and Party when one constituency was abolished in the district and Mehadi Hassan Bhatti surrender the name of Liaqat Abbas Bhatti from the national assembly panel. Liaqat Abbas Bhatti in 2013 managed his seat against PMLN by winning the elections in two consecutive elections and served as minister of works during PMLQ government. PTI became strong party after 2013 elections not due to popular support vote of Imran Khan and his campaign but when Bhatti group join PTI. Mehdi Hassan Bhatti managed to led the popular vote bank in the district as he is leading figure of Bhatti bradari and Kharal Bradari because he managed the support of Bhatti Bradari and enhanced it Kharal Bradari by arranging a marriage. RaiRiasat Ali Kharal and Rai Jahangir Ali Kharal (ex TehsilNazim of Hafizbad) are leading figures of Kharal Bradari with strong vote bank in Hafizabad on cast and Bradari Basis. Mehdi Hassan Bhatti and RaiRiasat Ali Kharal changed the political alliance into the families alliance and in the field of politics promised

Kharal Brothers the Ticket for Provincial assembly but after the new delimitation and to counter Saira Afzal Tarar in her area of influence with Tarar Brdari factor he join MamoonJafar Tarar a cousin of Saira Afzal Tarar in his own camp by sacrificing a promised seats of provincial assembly to RaiRiasat Ali kharal for MamunJafar Tarar. Looking no representation of Kharal Bradari in PP 69 a non-prominent but wealthy candidate RaiSafdar Ali Kharal secured ticket of PPP for this constituency making a claim of popular support of Kharal bradari in this constituency. Mian Shahid Hussain Bhatti as candidate of PMLN for PP69 tried for National Assembly seat but after failure accepted to contest the provincial assembly seat on PMLN ticket but ChAsadullahArain who also tried for National assembly and provincial assembly ticket of PMLN join third major group led by Liaqat Abbas Bhatti. This group applied for all four; three of provincial assembly and one National Assembly tickets of PTI but close association of Shuakat Ali Bhatti, became hurdle and ultimately to render their importance in future politics decided to contest the elections with popular religious sentiment in the district and secured the tickets from Tehreek LabaikYaRasool Allah, other candidates of this panel were Syed Wasim Ul Hassan shah in PP 70, and Syed ShoaibShahnawaz in PP 71. Three candidates in this constituency had equal chances of their success and they were Mian Shahid Hussain Bhatti, Chuhdhary AsadUllahArain and MamonJafar Tarar. They have the support of different small groups and traders and industrialists along with the Bhatti, Arain, Tarar and Kharal Biradaris. This constituency became important due to new entry of the candidate of PTI Muhammad MamoonJafat Tarar who belongs to a very old political family of the village Kolo Tarar and was a close relative of Saira Afzal Tarar but MamoonJafar was an arch rival of Saira Afzal Tarar of PMLN and both belong to the same village (Kolo Tarar) and family. The grandfather of MamoonJafar Tarar late Mian Saifullah Tarar had been the MNA and MPA and his great grandfather, Khan Bahadur Atta Ullah Khan Tarar was a Muslim Member from the colonial Punjab in the Viceroy's Council of British India. So Mamoonjafar Tarar has good footing in the Tarar Bradari and after joining hand with Mehdi Hassan Bhatti in Bhatti clan. He could have made a setback in PP 69.(Interview With Shahbaz Ahmad Bhatti Assistant Professor History in Govt. P/G College Hafizabad)

Election Results PP-69 Hafizabad-I Elections 2018

Name Of Candidates	Party	Votes	
<u>Muhammad Mamoon Tarar</u>	PTI	58421	BAT
Mian Shahid Hussain Bhatti	PMLN	51708	Lion
<u>Chaudhary Muhammad AsadUllahArain</u>	<u>TLP</u>	19637	Carne

<u>Muhammad Farooq</u>	<u>Independent</u>	2928	Sheep
<u>Ali Kamran</u>	<u>Independent</u>	1949	Excavator
<u>RaiSafdar Ali Kharal</u>	<u>PPP</u>	1172	Arrow
<u>Azam Ali</u>	AAT	506	Chair
<u>ImdadUllah Bhatti</u>	<u>TLI</u>	470	Cannon
<u>Zulafqar Ali</u>	<u>Independent</u>	428	Ox
<u>Umar Farooq</u>	<u>Independent</u>	203	Goat
<u>Muhammad Murad Asghar</u>	<u>Independent</u>	187	Bowl
<u>Riaz Ahmad</u>	<u>Independent</u>	146	Pitcher
<u>Mazhar Hussain</u>	<u>Independent</u>	71	Jug
<u>Tariq MehmoodJanjua</u>	<u>Independent</u>	47	Jeep
<u>Muhammad UbaidUllah</u>	<u>Independent</u>	38	Bucket
<u>Jahangir Ali</u>	<u>Independent</u>	30	Apple
<u>Mian Fazal Ahmad Qadri</u>	APML	29	Eagal ¹⁰

Muhammad Mamoon Tarar won the election on the ticket of PTI with the big support of Tarar Baradari as the constituency has great chunk of Tarar Biradaris' population. In this constituency elders of area largely supported Muhammad Mamoon Tarar of PTI for Provincial assembly and Saira Tarar for National Assembly just because of Baradari factor in this constituency. The rumors in this constituency were common about the double stranded of the both candidates of Tarar Baradari that they secretly campaigning for each other. The overall turnout in this constituency remained 62.62 percent as 140990 voters casted their votes out of 225141 and turnout in women voters remained 59.34 percent as 54157 women voters casted their votes out of 96826 women vote in the constituency and the men vote turn out remained at 65.1 percent as 83539 men voter casted their vote out of 128315men voters. In this constituency 3232 votes were rejected and 137758 votes were accepted as valid votes and Muhammad Mamoon Tarar secured 58537 votes and 42.50 percent of the valid votes casted in the elections, Mian Shahid Hussain Bhatti secured 51708 vote and 37.67 percent, ChudharyAsadUllahArain of TLP secured 19637 and 14.31 percent and remaining 5.47 percent secured other 14 candidates.¹¹

Distribution of Biradaris in PP-70Hafizabad- II

This constituency consists of areas of Hafizabad city and surroundings of Hafizabad, Jammun, QilaBalwant Singh, Mamna, Jurian, Kari wala, KotNawan, Boriawala, madanPhila, Dhunni, winni, Jagganwal , Jharianwla, ChakChatha and Dhingranwali with partially Kossoki has Muhajir(migrants of Indian partition) community including Rana, Sheikh Biradaris political affiliation with Kharal, Bhatti and Tarar and sometime act separately in the politics of city areas of Hafizabad city. Kassoki, Kot Hassan Khan, SolangiAwan and Hafizabad Central specially GarhiAwan area has strong presence of Awan Baradri, working in collation with other influential Biradaris of Kharal, Tarar, and Bhatti Biradaris and sometime act separately in the politics of city areas of Hafizabad city to counter the influence of Muhajir vote bank. Panjatha, Hanjranwawala, Mian da Kot, Wachoki, Winggey and partially in Madhrianwal has strong footing of Hunjra Baradari, supporting the Bhatti, Kharal, Awan and Tarar according to their close inhabitancy, Jahanian, PremKot, kalianwala, Sagar Kharal, Thatha Kalian, Battery, Peerey Da Kot, Jaidkey, Lavery, has strong footing of Kharal Baradari and Lakhia, ChaniHushnakRai has strong hold of Bhatti Baradari (Interview of Dr. RaiJahanzeb Kharal of Chak Kharal district Hafizabad) and this constituency has total registered votes of 236460 including 131689 male votes and 104771 female votes.¹²

Candidates of PP 70 Hafizabad II

In the general election of 2018 the constituency of PP 70 had total 11 candidates, contesting the seat for provincial assembly of Punjab. Malik Fiaz Ahmad Awan representing the Awan Baradari announced to contest the election in PP 70 constituency and Mehdi Hassan Bhatti invited him to join PTI considering strong candidate as he won the MPA seat in 2013 election on PMLN ticket. His entry in PTI created rumors of defection of Muhajir vote bank under the leadership of DrMuzaffar Ali Sheikh representing the Muhajir community of city areas who previously was introduced by Mehdi Hassan Bhatti to secure vote Bank of city area and Muzaffar Ali sheikh won the seat on PMLQ ticket in 2002 elections. After the entry of rival of Muhajir vote bank; Malik Fiaaz Ahmad Awan, the defection of Jahangir Ali Kharal and Muzaffar Ali sheikh was certain but Kharal Baradari was satisfied with other assurances and Muzaffar Ali Sheikh on the dent of Muhajir vote bank defected and joined PMLN , Syed Waseem-ul-Hassan Naqvi who is son of late Syed Shabbir Hussain shah; a famous speaker of Hafizabad and ex worker and candidate of Jamiat Ulema Pakistan and PMLN opted for TehrikLabbaikYaRasool Allah (Pakistan) and joined the third main group emerged in 2018 elections. Hafeezullah of Allah-o-Akbar Tehrik, Ghulam Abbas of Aam Log Party Pakistan, Fakhar Abbas of PPP and independents TanvirSajid, Jhangir Ali, , RanaShafqat Javed and UsmanKhizarMangat were other candidates some of them covering and other acting independently to opt withdrawal in favor of strong candidates during election campaign.¹³ There was strong competition was among three candidates Malik FiaazAwan of PTI, DrMuzaffar Ali Sheikh of PMLN and

Syed Waseem Ul Hassan Shah of TLP. Malik Fayyaz Ahmad is son of late Malik Fazal Hussain Awan renowned stalwart of PPP in Hafizabad and DrMuzaffar Ali Sheikh is surgeon and physician, Syed Waseem Ul Hassan is son of late Syed Shabbir Hussain Shah Hafizabadi, a renowned scholar of Pakistan, are most popular figures of the city areas of PP 70. All candidates belong to city Hafizabad and they have profound affiliation with political, social, religious, trading and industrialist community. Muzafar Ali Sheikh being MPA and Parliamentary Secretary for Health from 2002 to 2008 completed many public welfare schemes including establishing of filtration plants, sports Stadium and sports Gymnasium, Hepatitis Centre in Hafizabad and struggled to set up Rescue-1122 center. Malik Fayyaz Ahmad Awan however elected twice as MPA once in 2008 on PPP ticket being part opposition could not deliver and second time on PMLN ticket in 2013 could not work well under the influence of Saira Afzal Tarar, he remained failed to even develop sewerage and sanitation system and other civic facilities in his own area. Syed Waseem- ul- Hassan Naqvi of TehrikLabbaikYaRasool Allah had contested the 2013 polls from same constituency but failed. He was not in position to get victory but to create setback to either PTI or PML-N candidate. The other candidates have no footing among people and they were instrumental in the victory and defeat of three main candidates.

PP 70 Hafizabad II 2018 Elections

Candidate	Party	Votes	Symbol
Muzaffer Ali Sheikh	PML N	49116	Lion
Malik Fayaz Ahmad	PTI	46118	Bat
Syed Waseem Ul HasanNaqvi	TLP	24763	Carne
Chaudhary Muhammad AsadUllah	Independent	2230	Sheep
HafeezUllah	AATPK	2229	Chair
FakharABaas	PPPP	2143	Arrow
Ghulam Abbas	ALPP	317	Hut
RanaShafqat Javed	Independent	290	Jeep
Jahangir Ali	Independent	178	Tonga
TanveerSajid	Independent	61	Bucket
UsmanKhizerManget	Independent	41	Pressure cooker ¹⁴

Election held on due date 25 July 2018 and Bradari system played key role in the results and Muzaffar Ali Sheikh of PMLN won the election and surprised the people of Hafizabad but his victory could not help Saira Tarar to win the National Assembly seat on the PMLN ticket. The key factor in his victory was Bradarism as during his campaign he asked the voter to vote him against the strong Candidates of Awan and Bhatti Biradris for the betterment of their Muhajir of areas. He defected from Mehadi Hassan Bhatti group and join PMLN and Malik Fiaz Ahmad

Awan defected from PMLN and joined PTI and this factor resulted in low turnout of 55.12 percent despite the fact that this constituency was urban constituency of Hafizabad with high literacy rate. In this constituency RaiRiasat Ali Kharal the runner up candidate of 2013 general election was supporting the PTI candidate and third in 2013 elections RaiQamarZaman Kharal was supporting PMLN candidate and this thing divided the vote bank of Kharal cast. The overall turnout in this constituency remained 55.12 percent as 130346 voters casted their votes out of 236460 and turnout in women voters remained 59.34 percent as 53266 women voters casted their votes out of 104771 women vote in the constituency and the men vote turn out remained at 65.1 percent as 77080 men voter casted their vote out of 131689men voters. In this constituency 2979 votes were rejected and 127367 votes were accepted as valid votes and Muzaffar Ali Sheikh secured 49093 votes and 42.50 percent of the valid votes casted in the elections, Malik Fiaz Ahmad Awan secured 46051 vote and 37.67 percent, syed Waseem ul Hassan Naqvi of TLP secured 24735 and 14.31 percent and remaining 5.47 percent secured other 8 candidates.¹⁵

Distribution of Biradaris in PP-71 Hafizabad-III

This constituency consists of PindiBhattian city headquarters of Tehsil PindiBhattian and majority areas of Tehsil PindiBhattian. City PindiBhattian had two third majority of Bhatti Baradari and one third is consisting of Muhajirs (Migrants), Arian and some other Biradaris but can be said Strong hold of Bhatti Baradari, after PindiBhattian city Sukhekimandi is other urban area having strong footing Muhajir votes affiliated with Bhatti Baradari. SukhekiGaon, DohattaAzmat, KotSarwar, Kahtrani, TawaleyWali, MochiWala, NawanManeka, PaarLakhan, Bhubhra, Mona Maneka, Ambltas, Paar Ahmad, PaarGhusro, PaarNasiba, Puraneki, BahuMaan, Mirza Bhangseeka, ThataRaika, KotNakka, Sharbagha, KirshanGarh, ChahAnnah, ThathiBehlolPur, QilaMuradBakhsh, Chodho Ahmad Yaar, ChodhoKhudaYaar, Mirza Bhattian, MaqoodaBhattian, chochak, BaghKohna, Dullu, DhaparBarkatRaam, BurjMasti, Jandraka, Ataly Rehman, Janduki, Walgan and ThathaKarim dad have strong presence of Bhatti Baradari, Bairanwal, KhurramLodhi, Lodhary, Mahiwal, KhurramChuriara, Dhalkey, Jassokey, BhopaLodhika, Tiba Shah Bihlol, Machonikka, VaeliHarbajRai, Ghubrika, Chokerian, Attaranwala, Hindu Ana, Badar Ali, Thatha Malian, Bhulair, Jhotianwala, DeraUmarka Kharal, Saakhi Kharal, Matteki Kharal, Kassesy, Widroad, Fateki, Hussekiawal, HussekiSani, Wijhwan, Sabat Shah, Chani Qasim, ThathJahid, Patli Kharal, Hazari Kharal, Khidey, Sanbhal, ThathaGajju, HardoRatta, Waleki, ThathaGahra, Chuntra Nauthen and Nauthen have majority of Kharal Baradari. Peer Kamal, Shori, ThathaKhairoMatmal, KotNakka, Thatha Malian, Chak No.1, Chak No.2, Chak 474, MadhoranKalan, DhaparBarkat Ram, Okianwala, GarhiGondal, GarhiWahab, TahliGoraya and Sadhoki have mix communities of Gondal, Madhoray, Bhatti, Kharal, Muhajir, Mallhi, Matmal, and Bhoon (Interview of RaiEhsanUllah Kharal from Nauthen Hafizabad) politically

associated largely with Bhatti, Syed and Kharal Biradaris having total registered votes of 222,846 including 98,088 female voters.¹⁶

Candidates of PP 71 Hafizabad III

In PP 71 constituency 15 in total candidates contested for the provincial assembly seat. Syed Shoaib Shah Nawaz from KhurramChuriara contested on the TehrikLabbaikYa-Rasoolullah ticket before it he was strong applicant for PTI penal for Hafizabad district until Muhammad Ahsan Bhatti was not launched to attract the vote Bhatti Baradari after the death of his father Jahngir Abbas Bhatti who was an influential figure of PindiBhattian Tehsil. Before it Intisar Hussain Bhatti uncle of Ahsan Jahngir Bhatti were working for PMLN and in case of two constituencies for Hafizabad in national assembly this family was applicant for national assembly seat from PMLN. PMLN managed the Muhajir and traders vote bank by launching ShoaibShafiqArain having no footing in rural areas. Forth prominent candidate in this constituency was RaiShahid Abbas Kharal to capture the vote bank of Kharal Baradri in this constituency the second largest vote bank after Bhatti Baradari. RaiShahid Abbas Kharal is son of retired SSP RaiZamir Ul Haq Kharal and brother of serving SSP RaiJaz Kharal and new face in politics. Qadir Khan Bhatti contested on the ticket of TehrikLabbaik Islam, Miraj Din an unknown figure was awarded ticket by PPP and independents Muhammad AounJahngir Bhatti was covering candidate of Mian Ahsan Bhatti of PTI , Muhammad Rafique, Zeehsan Ali, SadiaLiaqat Abbas was covering Candidate of TLP candidate Shaoib Shah Nawaz, Syed Muhammad Ali Gilani, Muhammad Rafique were independent candidates including Hamid Nazir from Allah-o-Akbar Tehrik, Sarfraz Ahmad Khan from All Pakistan Muslim League. In this constituency real contest was among four candidates Main Ahsan Jahngir Bhatti being member of Bhatti Biradari and candidate of PTI. Second one was Syed Shoaib Nawaz of TehrikLabbaikYaRasol Allah Pakistan (TLP) the most popular spiritual personality of PP 71 area having public backing at a grassroots level.¹⁷ He along with Chuhdhary Liaqat Abbas Bhatti the candidate for the seat of NA-87 Hafizabad started energetic campaign on the slogans of TLP. In the 2013 polls Syed Shoaib Shah Nawaz was elected as an independent candidate in PP 71 with crushing majority but later the election was declared null & void by ECP. However, in the by-election situation was changed and Nighat Intisar mother-in-law of present candidate of PTI, Muhammad Ahsan Jahngir become MPA. Third one was ShoaibShafiqArain being Candidate of PMLN and having support of Arian and Muhajir Baradri. Fourth in line was RaiShahid Abbas Kharal being a member of Kharal Baradri and independent candidate with Jeep symbol that was considered the symbol of supporters of Chuhdhary Nisar Ali Khan the interior minister under Nawaz Sharif government.

PP 71 Hafizabad III 2018 Elections

Candidate	Party	Votes	Symbol
Muhammad Ahsan	PTI	47892	BAT

Jahangir			
Syed ShoaibShahnawaz	TLP	31058	Carne
ShoaibShafiqArain	PMLN	28717	Lion
RaiShahid Abbas Kharal	Independent	14951	Jeep
Syed Muhammad Ali Shah Gilani	Independent	2124	sheep
Liaqat Abbas	Independent	1634	Ice kareem
MerajDeen	PPP	999	Arrow
Sarfaraz Khan	APML	530	Eagal
Muhammad Rafique son of Muhammad Shafi	Independent	334	Tonga
Muhammad Rafique son of Ali Muhammad	Independent	306	knife
Muhammad Aoun Jahangir	Independent	296	Road Ruler
Hamid Nazir	AAT	242	Chair
Qadir Khan	TLI	122	Canon
SadiaLiaqat Abbas	Independent	118	Butter fly
Zeeshan Ali	Independent	82	Bucket ¹⁸

NA 87 Hafizabad

In Hafizabad Looking at the distribution of Biradaris there are Kharal, Bhatti, Tarar, Arain, Awan, Theheem, Syed, Chatha, Sheikh, Hunjra, Mangat and Muhajir (Rana, Sheikh) in strong and active political position. In electoral politics of the district Bhatti, Tarar, Syed and Kharal has been representing the area at different levels in the past. In the recent elections candidates from these casts and Baradari has been playing active role in the electoral politics of this district. In the election 2018 representation of Hafizabad district in National Assembly was reduced from two members to one but the representation in provincial assembly was not altered. An elections survey was conducted by the Dunya news team before the general elections and results of the 2018 elections were not even close to the assessment presented in the survey program of Habib Akram a journalist working for the Dunya news media house. According to survey of Dunya News PML-N has gained the support of 50 percent voters while PTI of 38 percent.¹⁹ There are 684447 registered votes in this consistence and Votes Polled in the elections were 404723 in which Valid Votes were 395522 and Rejected Votes were 9612 and Percentage of Votes Polled to Registered Voters remained at 59.13 percent in the 2018 general elections.²⁰

National Assembly Result NA 87 Hafizabad Elections 2018

Candidates	Party	Votes	Symbol
Shaukat Ali Bhatti	PTI	165833	Bat
Saira Afzal Tarar	PMLN	157535	Lion
Liaqat Abbas Bhatti	TLP	44159	Carne
Muhammad Naeem	Independent	7628	Excavator

Muhammad Abbas Bhatti	Independent	5591	Sheep
Babar MaqboolQazi	Independent	4284	Jeep
Allah Rakhi	PPP	3397	Arrow
Malik Muhammad Aslam	AAT	2119	Chair
Ch.MuhammadAsadUllah	Independent	1229	Goat
SadiaLiaqat Abbas	Independent	979	Pencil
RaiQamar Abbas Kharal	Independent	861	Knife
Muhammad Rafique	Independent	769	Ox
FehmidaKousar	MMA	650	Book
Mian Fazal Ahmed Qadri	All Pakistan Muslim League	306	Eagal
Afrasiab	Independent	183	Pitcher ²¹

In Hafizabad the real competition on single constituency of NA 87 was between ChudharyShaukat Ali Bhatti having a support of Bhatti and Kharal Baradari and Saira Afzal Tarar having support of Tarar cast and Baradari and Migrant vote bank from the urban areas. The relationship between RaiRiasat Ali Kharal a leading political figure of Kharal Cast and ChudharyMehadiHassan Bhatti a leading political figure of Bhatti cast in Hafizabad developed a successful strategy and reason to win the National Assembly Seat of NA 87 for ChudharyShaukat Ali Bhatti who is son of Chudhary Mehadi Hassan Bhatti, despite the fact that Uncle of ChudharyShaukat Ali Bhatti, Mr. Liaqat Abbas Bhatti was contesting the election against his nephew on the tickets of TLP and secured huge vote of Bhatti and other small Baradaris of this constituency. Siara Afzal Tara tried to maneuver to divide vote bank of Bhatti Cast by allotting ticket of MPA to Mian Shahid Hussain Bhatti from JalapurBhattian that was countered by Mehadi Hassan Bhatti by allotting MPA ticket for Muhammad Mamoon Tarar that divided the vote bank of Tarar cast. Saira Afzal Tarar managed three provincial Assembly tickets keeping in mind the vote bank of different casts and Biradaris and allotted tickets of PP 69 to Muzaffar Ali sheikh to catch the urban vote bank of city Hafizabad having migrants votes and PP 70 to Shahid Hussain Bhatti to divide the vote bank of Bhatti cast and Baradri and PP 71 to ShoibShafiqArain to secure the urban vote bank of migrants (Muhajirs) in the PindiBhattian city and she paid no attention towards the Kharal cast and Baradri and undermined the vote Bank of Syed and Awan casts and Baradari of the district. On the other end Mehadi Hassan Bhatti led the election strategy and largely depended on the rural vote bank. He managed to bag tickets for his own choice and allotted ticket of PP 69 to Malik Fiaz Ahmad Awan to counter the Urban vote Bank of city Hafizabad with handsome vote Bank of Awans in city area and surrounding rural areas and PP 70 to MuhamamdMamoon Tarar to divide the vote Bank of Tarar Cast and Baradri and PP 71 Ahsan Jahangir Bhatti to secure the huge chunk of vote bank of Bhatti cast in the rural areas of tehsil PindiBhattian. He also managed the Kharal vote bank through his kinship with Kharal and offering share in local bodies' elections. Sudden incident in the city of Hafizabad affected the strategy of Mehadi Hassan

Bhatti in urban areas of PP 69 in which a mob attacked the peaceful gathering of candidate of Muhajir community Muzaffar Ali sheikh and PTI lost these seats. But on all other seats Mehdi Hassan Bhatti group secured victory. TLP emerged as third largest party of district Hafizabad on all three PP seats and NA seat not just because of religious vote but due some dissatisfaction among the other casts and Baradari about the Siara Tarar and Mehadi Hassan Bhatti distribution of tickets. The Kharal vote bank in the National assembly elections largely supported Chuhdhary Shoukat Ali Bhatti but in some areas also rejected two panels of Saira Tarar and Mehadi Hassan Bhatti as none of them share representation with Kharal Candidate. In PP 69 and 70 they supported largely PTI candidates and in some areas also rejected PTI and PMLN and choose third option of TLP. In PP 71 they opted for Kharal Candidate a new face and independent candidate RaiShahid Abbas Kharal who come forth with fourteen thousands votes. ²²

Conclusion

There are many factors that played important role in the electoral politics of Pakistan since its independence. People of Pakistan used their right to vote in the general election of 2018 after five years and the elections of 2018 were fourth general elections in the 21st century. Pakistani society has passed through the changes adopted many modern changes but the electoral politics of Pakistan always expose the reality of modernization of the society of Pakistan. Casts and Baradri had been playing significant role in the electoral politics of this region of south Asia before partition and in the 20th century. The study of the elections results of Hafizabad district once again prove that the casts and Baradari factor is more important than all other factors involved in the electoral politics of Pakistan even religion and party politics. All the candidates participating in the elections join the panels of political parties in the district looking at their casts and Baradri votes and political parties given them tickets looking at the strength of the candidates in his casts in Baradari and never minded in giving tickets to the candidates who were contesting the last elections from the opposite party. Voters also neglected the factor of party changes in the elections and voted the candidates according to their close affiliation with the candidates keeping in mind the factor of casts and Baradari not the party and religious affiliation.

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