

## ANALYTICAL STUDY OF THE RELIGIOUS, SPIRITUAL AND ELECTORAL PROCESS AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH PUNJAB REGION: A CASE OF DG KHAN 2002-2018

<sup>1</sup>AHSAN JAHANGIR, <sup>2</sup>HAFIZ MUDASSER RIAZ, <sup>3</sup>ARSLAN ARIF, <sup>4</sup>DR. ZOHA QAISAR, <sup>5</sup>DR. HAFIZ FAIZ RASOOL,  
<sup>6</sup>DR. WALEED KHAN

<sup>1</sup>PhD Scholar, Muslim Youth University, Islamabad, Pakistan

<sup>2</sup>MS Scholar, University of Sialkot, Pakistan

<sup>3</sup>MS Scholar, University of Sialkot, Pakistan

<sup>4</sup>Lecturer, department of Islamic Studies, BZU, Multan, Pakistan

<sup>5</sup>assistant Professor, department of Arabic & Islamic Studies, University of Mianwali, Pakistan

<sup>6</sup>Lecturer, Institute of Arabic & Islamic Studies, GC Women University, Sialkot

### **Abstract**

*After the British advancement in Dera Ghazi Khan, the colonial masters attempted to engage the Baloch tribe and they introduced a new system of administration called the Tumandari system. Although it was formed by Sandeman in 1867 it remained in progress until 1951. After its official decline, the influence of Tumandar is still existing in electoral politics as he is the most dominant figure in the constituency. Due to authoritarian democracy in elections, every Tumandar plays the ethnic card very cleverly. In politics, the ethnic card has also proved as a vital tool. In this analytical study, which primarily deals with the political development in Dera Ghazi Khan during 1999-2018, Tuman Buzdar is the focused study. In Political development, the dynamics of politics have been not only discussed but also observed in the role of local politicians and how they are active in the development of the region. This article is an effort to explore and highlight the dilemma of political development in Dera Ghazi Khan, in Tuman Buzdar during the above-mentioned era.*

**Keywords:** Politics, Religious, Punjab, Spiritual, Elections, Reforms, Government

### **Discussion**

#### **Political development**

The term "Politics" is simply defined as such activity in which conflicting interests of various stakeholders are reconciled and resolved within a given society or political system by providing them with a share and opportunity commensurate with their political importance and strength, thereby achieving collective welfare and society's survival.<sup>1,2</sup> Brotherhood can be characterized as a shared bandage and alliance based on religion, language, race, caste, and other factors. Biradari or barbarism is derived from the Persian word brother, which implies brotherhood. This phrase is used on the Indian subcontinent to designate different clans based on their castes for mutual interactions.<sup>1</sup> During the British Raj in the subcontinent, all legal and documentary transactions required the person concerned to declare his or her caste, therefore a person's caste served as a symbol of identity and introduction. The caste system and biradari were used as identification symbols rather than status symbols among Muslims in the subcontinent. All members of the same caste or Biradri, rich or poor, with various social statuses, were and continue to be considered as equal members of the Biradri. Since the beginning of life on Earth, Homo Sapiens, as the best and wisest organism, has had a prevailing desire to use logic and knowledge to gain dominion over other creatures.<sup>2</sup> Man has also been on a never-ending quest to make fellow humans bow down to him by any means necessary, including ascending to the throne, acquiring vast lands, amassing vast sums of money, enlisting powerful personnel, marginalising the masses, and social stratification of the population into classes, whether tribal, ethnic, racial, regional, gender, specific, or caste based. Since the dawn of time, caste patriotism has played a crucial role in arena politics.<sup>3</sup>



Every culture in the world has divided its people into different hierarchical levels on the basis of one or more pretexts, but the strength of this division is waning in the modern day.<sup>4</sup> Caste is a universal truth that should be exploited to foster love, affection, and brotherhood among members of the same clan rather than to foster animosity and repulsion of people from other castes.<sup>5</sup> Despite constitutional assurances of equality, fraternity, and brotherhood, the modern world is still enslaved by social stratification of some sort, and discrimination based on caste is still very much alive in Punjab. Despite the Islamic principle of equality, this has resulted to a harsh kind of "Biradri" politics in the region. Only political families with a feudal or business background are firmly in control. As a result, the majority of the population has been denied the benefits of democracy.<sup>6</sup> The portion with land-owning ancestors, albeit not necessarily in possession of it at the time, dies trying to keep the working-class population submissive under the guise of caste.

The Elite own a large portion of the mass of production, such as land, herds, water, capital, farms, and industries. Because elite ownership of rights restricts ordinary people's access to resources, those born at the bottom of the hierarchy have a lower likelihood of social mobility.<sup>7</sup> Land is provided by the landlords for cutting by the tenants. Pakistan's ruling class uses a variety of techniques to influence politics. One is Qauism, in which elections are contested on the basis of qauom. The electorate makes appeals based on common qauom membership. The other factor is religion, which is used to manipulate people in politics. The elites also exploit language and interest to acquire political power.<sup>8</sup>

#### **Electoral politics and Tumandari Tribes**

The Sardari system of government is still in use in the districts of Dera Ghazi Khan and Rajanpur. Leghari, Khosa, Lund, Buzdar, Qaisrani, Nutkani, Gorchani, Dreshak, and Marri are just a few of the tribes found in both of these areas. Qaisrani, Buzdar, Khosa, Lund, Leghari, Dareshk, Gorchani, and Mazzari are among the tribes accorded Tumandar rank. The name "Tumandar" is a mongol word that meaning "ten thousand army officer" and was given in the province of Chengis Khan. Tumandar in Balouch refers to the tribe's chief, and a tribe's population can be less or higher.<sup>9</sup> The fate of the people is still in the hands of the tribal chief, but with the passage of time and modernization, things have changed more slowly than ever before due to education and knowledge.<sup>10</sup>

#### **The Role of Local Politics**

There are various sorts of politics in Taunsa Sharif, including tribal and sardari systems, spiritual element (Piri- Murid) relationships, and (Taaluk- dari) personal interest threats court politics. The caste Biradari, as well as other factors, provide the foundation for politics in Taunsa Sharif. There are significant tribes such as the Qaisrani and Buzdar, whose heads are referred to as "Chief," similar to the African Nagwato, Bemba, and ankole, where a tribe is a kingdom ruled over by a chief or king, which is referred to as the political society.<sup>11</sup>

Due to the fact that the entire Tuman chief has his own personal vote bank, the chief is also known as Tumandar and his tribal community is known as his Tuman. The chief wields far too much power over his tribe's members to act without their permission. People accept him as Sardar by birth and vote for him without question. He either works for people or doesn't; he wins his district because of his Tuman; other politicians want to form a coalition with chiefs. He can either choose MNA seats or MPA seats and support the coalition's other partner. "Landlords actively participate in elections, either as candidates or as behind-the-scenes kingmakers," according to Stephanie M. Lyon's.<sup>12</sup>

The tribal members are fiercely loyal to their tribal system and chief, and this commitment is stronger in the Qaisrani tribe than in the buzadr tribe. The threat also compels others to associate with Sardar if they challenge him or do not act in accordance with his wishes. Sardar does not provide him with a cure or a solution to his troubles. Regardless, other mixed politics such as relationship (Taaluk-dari), spiritual aspect (Piri-Muridi), and personal interest based were carried out. This form of politics is frequently associated with Khawjagan. People voted for Khawjagan based on personal interest (Talak-Dari), faith (Aqidat), or relationship (Talak-Dari). In this type of politics, political figures cannot win votes without a



struggle. They needed to do something for the people in order to win elections, because unlike Tuman, these politicians did not have a personal vote bank.

#### **Political grouping and voting behavior**

Material and non-material satisfaction influence political grouping and decision. Material fulfilment comprises meeting basic necessities such as employment, good pay, development work, and infrastructure, as well as access to good health and education services. Theoretical foundations play a large role in non-material happiness. Persons who derive ideological fulfilment from any figure or political party; he identifies with that personality or political party. Some people are influenced by a certain group's philosophy. Loyalty or a personal bond may be the driving force behind some people's devotion to political organisations or individuals (Taalug-Dari). Some attachment for personal gain or because of caste/ Biradri, for example. To put it another way, the structure of social conflicts and interests determines the composition of a political grouping system.

#### **Political Orientation**

One of the many elements that form and impact people's political ideas, as well as their upbringing, careers, and attitudes toward friends and partners, is political knowledge. Political acquaintances are made in both formal and casual settings. This political orientation is done informally through family and peer groups. He or she draws attention to his or her family, peer group, and community in his or her cultural, religious, and political convictions from the moment he or she is born.<sup>13</sup> He perceives his parents as members of specific social, religious, and political groups, and he believes that by following them, he will become a member of those groups as well. He notices his family members praising some people and making negative remarks about others. This is an informal method of people's political orientation in which they mentally attach to a specific personality.

After that, educational institutions and processes provide political orientation. The state elite class reaps the benefits of educational syllabuses that glorify national heroes. All education, according to Plato, is designed to serve the state, unite the classes, and increase the elites' dominating role. He went on to say that workers' (lower-class) education trains them to obey their superiors and to curb any excessive materialistic ambitions. The auxiliary (middle class) are taught to accept and follow their regulations at all times, as well as to be brave in defending the state.

There are several variations on the formal method of political familiarity. Different political groups of students at the college level were formed in the local area, each of which was associated with a political party. Politicians supported these organizations by providing funding and facilitating gathering and conventions. PSF, MSF, BSO, and ISF are some of these organizations. Students were better prepared for municipal politics as a result of this. Following this stage, politics assigns local people positions such as Tehsil president, General Secretary, Finance Secretary, and Information Secretary, among others. These individuals raised cash from various political figures and organized various political programs, public discussions, and celebrations on special occasions at the local level, which sparked interest in local youngsters for politics and led to them becoming members of specific local or national groups.

Political meetings and gatherings were another type of political orientation.

It was the most popular method of direct communication between politicians and citizens. This was observed throughout politicians' election campaigns. They organised political rallies in which they used political ruses to get people to vote by promising to solve all of their issues if they won the elections. Political personalities influenced voters by providing jobs and development projects to those individuals or organisations that remained loyal to them. They also resolved regular issues in court proceedings, such as Thana-Kacheri and other matters.

In Taunsa Sharif, the print media also played a vital role in the political process. Print media, such as local newspapers and magazines, played a role in influencing people's political views to some extent. People's political beliefs were influenced by news about politicians and their own descriptions.

#### **1.1 Role of Qaum and Biradari**

Biradari was one of the major factors which forces people to make political groupings in the area.



People of the community living together in their respective Biradaris were interconnected through social ties within Biradaris. The bonding in Biradaris was different in various castes. The tribal chief maintained a strong feudal relation. He has centralized a political system in which power and authority are controlled and very influential person called has control over several individuals or groups. Those Biradari group had a supreme head called “chief “as in Zulu tribes of Africa. The supreme head was normally followed by all community members and small group leaders, who occasionally gave their thoughts during counselling on specific circumstances.<sup>14</sup> This type of setup was retained by the tribes of 'Qaisarani' and 'Buzdar'. During political settlements or elections, this type of consultation occurs, and political topics and problems are suggested to a certain political party. In addition to the Biradari head adapting a political party or forming an alliance with specific politicians, several non-tribal caste groups also had a leader, and people followed him in various social and political concerns. People backed and voted for the candidate because he or she is their leader and belongs to their caste, qaim, or biradari, among other things.

In social and sectarian matters, tribe chiefs or local community leaders played a vital role. Biradari head or local community leaders controlled and mediated intergroup and intragroup disagreements and disputes. The heads of the disagreement groups made the final conclusions. Some people also acted and thought in ways that were contrary to the Biradari ideals. They didn't want to follow his Biradari chief's orders. They had their own will, opinions, and political preferences, but there were few of them. They have been unable to voice their opinions because of their social situation, which forces them to adhere to practical ideals or remain silent in the face of resistance.

#### **Spiritual and religious factors (Piri-Muridi)**

Religion has the most powerful influence on people's decisions and choices. Religion and magic, according to Frazer, aid in the political structuring of society.<sup>15</sup> Religion has mostly served as a legal and protective shield for the ruling class's interests. Taunsa Sharif's elite class also influenced the public by using religion as a tactic to win political elections. The aristocracy and the local people had a trust and confidence relationship based on religion and spirituality.

The Khawajgan, who were the most pious and spiritual characters, as well as Pirs and Gadi-nashin of the Taunsa shrine, dominated local politics in Taunsa Sharif. The Khawajgan were politically active and had the highest position in the region. Because of their Gadi, they gain people's allegiance, and being Pir is both a people's and a political position. They have complete control over the local population. Spending time with servants and followers allows the Children of Pirs and gadinashins to understand that they are superior to others. They observe various ceremonies done on shrines and the people's devotion to them (aqidat), and they learn to be Pirs, lords, and spiritual elites. Sardar was in a similar circumstance. People will obey him as if he were their chief because he is the son of a chief.

Local children, on the other hand, learn from their parents and culture, and they have historically followed the top class for survival. People vote for the elite because they are their Sardar or Pir, or because they are members of their Biradari.

But over time Piri-Muridi concept has changed. People are now out of piety, they are looking for someone who is one of them and can take care of their work and needs. The knowledge and awareness have left piri and muridi far behind, and in the current context we can say that Piri Muridi comes to standstill. The welfare of the people and other daily chores of life are given more importance.

It would be fair to say that the power or influence of the Piri Muridi on people lives is now nearing its end and let it not to be heard in the near future because in today's fast paced life, value public welfare more than religious affiliation. If we look at the history of Koh-e-Suleman tehsil we know that piri muridi had a strong influence for a long time and also had a vast vote bank. But as modernity gained momentum and circumstances took a turn for the worse, if we look toady, since Sardar Usman Ahamd Khan Buzdar became chief minister and for the welfare of the region, he has laid the groundwork for development. So may be in the next election, Piri Muridi will not be able to beat him and we see



spiritual and piri muridi going for behind.

The Buzdar tribes has been suffering from political backwardness from the very beginning, the only reason being that these people have often lived in the mountains. The lack of transportation prevented from reaching the capitals and interacting with politicians.<sup>16</sup> In their eyes the Khawjagan of Taunsa Sharif could not judge by anyone other than their chief's and elders because they lived in a limited world like frog in a well, kept abreast of the outside world couldn't affiliated with any power and any powerful political party. The second election was held in 1952 in which Haji Muhammad Khan Buzdar Retired Risaldar contested the seats of Khawja Haji Ghulam Murtaza Murtaza Taunsvi in the provincial assembly. As a result, Haji Muhammad Khan Buzdar lost the election.

#### **Election 2002**

Following the dismissal of Prime Minister Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif's cabinet. The general elections were held under General Pervez Musharraf's supervision this time. Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari, the Former President of Pakistan, founded the Millat Party in Dera Ghazi Khan before the election..<sup>17</sup> As a result, he ran for National and Provincial Assembly seats on the platform of the National Alliance, an electrol alliance. In Dera Ghazi Khan, the National Alliance won four of the seven provincial seats. All of the alliance's candidates later joined the PML-Q, while SardarFarooq Ahmad Khan Leghari merged his Millat Party with the PML-Q. The total number of registered voters in PP-241 Dera Ghazi Khan was 146,706, with 72,862 caste votes cast, and the election turnout was 49.67 percent. Sardar Fateh Muhammad Khan Buzdar received 47006 votes on the PML-Q ticket, while his opponent, Khawja Mudasir Mehmood, received 20073 votes on the Pakistan People's Party ticket.**Election 2008**

In the second General elections under Musharraf, the political situation was completely in favor of PML-Q, as Dera Ghazi Khan. The Leghari chief had been in power for the last five years. Because Leghari Sardar of Dera Ghazi Khan District was an important part of PML-Q However the Leghari group won the election and emerged as a Leghari group, but lost one of its seats. And the first time since the martyrdom of Mohtrama Benazir Bhutto. The Pakistan People's Party candidate received a large number votes. In this election Sardar Dost Muhammad Khan Khosa son of PML-N Central Leaders Sardar Zulfaqar Ali Khan Khosa also won in PP-244 constituency and became the Chief Minister of Punjab.<sup>18</sup>

In PP-241 total number of registered voters was 186,207 and the total number of cast vote was 80,283 and the Turnout was 43.11 percent in the election and Sardar Fateh Muhammad Khan Buzdar won the election and Khawja Nizam-ul-Mehmood came second and Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan Malghani on third position.

#### **Election 2013**

The constituency of PP-241 of Provincial Assembly in the ancestral constituency of the Buzdar tribe. In the 2002 Election, PML-Q candidate Sardar Fateh Muhammad Khan Buzdar won, in the 2008 Election PML-Q candidate and Sadrad Fateh Muhammad Khan Buzdar got less votes than in the last election but won in the 2013 election Khawaja Nizam-ul-Mehmood won from this constituency and PML-N candidate Usman Ahmad Khan Buzdar came second with 22,590 votes.

#### **Election 2018**

In the connection with General elections to be held across the country in 2018, and 1016 polling station were set up for four National and eight Provincial seats in Dera Ghazi Khan district these polling station were divided into three categories, A, B, C and 25 polling station was declared as extremely sensitive and coverage of the polling station process at these polling station. 175 polling station in the plains were included in category, A. The polling process was recorded with mobile cameras wherever the tribal areas were the electricity was not available. In this election the Pakistan Tehreek Insaaf (PTI) took a clear lead in Dera Ghazi Khan District. In the PP-286 Sardar Usman Ahmad Khan Buzdar emerged victorious with 27,027 votes and Khawja Nizam-ul-Mehmood came second with 18,686 votes and Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan Malghani came third with 16,377. Sardar Usman Ahmad Khan Buzdar in this constituency after winning, he made the Chief Minister of Punjab.



## CONCLUSION

The selected area for this study is considered the most back-ward part of Dera Ghazi Khan. Due to illiteracy, political awareness is still a dream. The local elite especially the Buzdar Tumandar and Qaisrani are powerful in politics. Fromm local to national politics these tribal leaders are considered the winning horse as electable. They have sufficient vote bank of their tribes and without the support of any political party, they are strong in electoral politics. However, after 2002, the electronic and social media have brought some sound change in politics. The local government institutions were also provided a chance to people for participation. We conclude this debate that political development is a part of human progress and tribal area is not deprived from human activity. They are aware as other areas of Pakistan and demanding development in the said region, which is a reflection of political development.

## REFERENCES

- 
- [1] Laught, F. (2005). *Urdu Dictionary*. Feroz Sons, Lahore. P. 24.
  - [2] Bemhard, J. S. & Melvile. (1962). *A Brief Survey of Physical Cultural and Social Anthropology*, N.Y. USA.
  - [3] Merril, F. E. (1957). *Society and culture*, Englewood Cliffs, N. J. Prental Hall.
  - [4] Afaqi, Q. (1996). *Terikh e Punjab*, Lahore Printing Press, Lahore. P. 54.
  - [5] Ahmad, U. & Amjad, A. (2013). *Caste Endogamy in Punjab village of Pakistan*. *Journal of South Asia Studies*.
  - [6] Zekiya, S. E. (1960). *A Punjabi Village in Pakistan*, Columbia University Press, N. Y. USA.
  - [7] Katook, C.P. (2002). *Cultural Anthropology*, M.C. Graw-Hill Higher Education. P.263.
  - [8] Lyon, S. M. (2002). *Power and patronage in Pakistan University of Kent, Cantebary*, P. 57.
  - [9] Hishami, T. H. (2001). *Hamara Mansehra, Ibalagh*, Publisher, Lahore.
  - [10] Khan, H. (2012). *Constitution and Political History of Pakistan*, Oxford University Press; Karachi.
  - [11] Fortes, M. & E. E. Evans. (1940). *African Political System*, 4<sup>th</sup> edi, Oxford University Press.
  - [12] Lyon, S. M. (2002). *Power and Portrange in Pakistan*, University of Kent, P. 138.
  - [13] Stafford, T. (2012). *Is our Political encoded in our generous*, BBC (Science and Environment)
  - [14] Scupin, R. (2009). *A Global Perspective*, 6<sup>th</sup> Edition, New Delhi, P. 372-504.
  - [15] Frezer, J. G. (1922). *The Golden Bagh, A study of Magic and Religion*, Macmillan; London
  - [16] Buzdar, G. Q. L. (2008). *Buzdar Terikh K Ayany Main*. Five Star Publisher, Multan, P. 151
  - [17] Ahmad, M. S. (2019). *Terikh Dera Ghazi Khan*, Jhoke Printing Press, P. 231.
  - [18] *The Pakistan Election Compendium*, (2012) Volume (1970, 1977, 1985) church world service.