

**BARADARI AND ELECTORAL POLITICS IN DISTRICTS
SARGODHA: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ELECTION 2013 AND
2018**

BY

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**THESIS AND DEFENSE APPROVAL FORM**

The undersigned certify that they have read the following thesis, examined the defense, are satisfied with the overall exam performance, and recommend the thesis to the Faculty of Social Sciences for acceptance.

Thesis Title: BARADARI AND ELECTORAL POLITICS IN DISTRICTS SARGODHA: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ELECTION 2013 AND 2018

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ABSTRACT

Title: Baradari and Electoral Politics in District Sargodha: A comparative Study of Election 2013 and 2018.

This study is an attempt to analyze the role of Baradari and Electoral Politics with special reference to General Election 2013 & 2018 in District Sargodha Punjab Pakistan. These election have been significant in the electoral history of Pakistan because new political wave with the slogan of “change” signs of political revival in the Pakistan. The scope of the study is limited to the comparison of Elections results 2013 & 2018 of district Sargodha of Punjab (Pakistan). This district has significant role in politics of the country from pre-post independent era. Elections 2013 took attention and importance due to the completion of a democratic government tenure (2008-2013) in Pakistan after Mushraf ruling in 2008. The General Election 2013 held after the completion of PPP tenure and Elections 2018 held after PML-N tenure so the arrival of new parties in the main stream politics and Baradari base culture of Sargodha also influenced and effected, therefore this paper tries to understand the electoral politics of various parties in Sargodha and the role of Baradaris in General Elections 2013 & 2018.

The study discussed political history of District Sargodha and role of Bardadaris in the form of phases from pre-independence to post-independence era and elections 2013 & 2018. The importance of this study is to make a comparative study about the Baradaris and Electoral Politics in District Sargodha during Election 2013 and 2018 on five National assembly seats in the relevant constituencies. Baradarism present in this region from post-independence era to until now so this region can be said as a pure colonial product. Therefore, the relation of dominant Baradaris and politics always remain alive during elections in Pakistan. The aim of the study is to analyze how much effectiveness of this relation present in the electoral results of this five constituencies for national assembly seats of this district in the recent general elections 2013 & 2018 in Pakistan. Different political families of the district participates in the electoral race from the platform of different political parties, this comparative study analyze the role of Baradaris, candidate’s portfolio, party ticket of mainstream parties and their election manifesto’s impact on the Election results 2013 & 2018 in Sargodha district.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

MNA	Member of National Assembly
MPA	Member of Provincial Assembly
NA	National Assembly
PA	Provincial Assembly
UC	Union Council
PML-N	Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz
PPPP	Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
PTI	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf
IND	Independent
PML	Pakistan Muslim League
PML-Q	Pakistan Muslim League Quaid e Azam
AAT	Allah-o-Akbar Tehreek
FAFEN	Free and fair Election Network
ECP	Election Commission of Pakistan
PILDAT	Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency

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DEDICATION

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Introduction

It is necessary to understand the Baradari influence and ethnic politics in the environment where we hear about “democracy” and electoral right of an individual to choose the leadership through vote.

In different ages and in different regions for the explanation of old political systems different terms were used like clan, tribe, caste and kinship (baradari) with more or less for the same meaning. In this region after the arrival of Islam which no doubt devalue the old caste system of Hindus but in this society where social influence and feudalism remains alive after the spreading of Islam in the region as well. Due to social and cultural setup where influence of elite not be easily abolish from the society promote feudal control in the politics especially in rural areas of Punjab and Sindh.¹ Baradari plays a significant role in politics of Punjab. Punjab politics is considered to be the Baradari politics which influence the national and local politics significantly.²

In Punjab, Baradari, caste or tribes are important determinants for the decision of social and religious life of an individuals, it also impact on individual’s land inheritance, traditions and occupational choice. In British era association with a Baradari lead to shape the continuum of behavior of its members which helped British rulers to use Baradari as the institutional source to regulate the Punjabi society.

It has been noted that British developed ‘colonial sociology’ largely to facilitate their administrative and political structures by using different ways i.e. census surveys, classification and tribes, castes, languages and religion to strengthen their power in this region.³

¹ Humaira Dar, and Qudsia Batool. 2020. "The Role of Baradarism in Punjab: A Case Study of Sialkot". *The Punjab History and Culture* Vol.II (6-8 January 2020): Pp651-652. Accessed at August 10, 2021

² Tariq, Shahnaz, and Muhammad Alamgir. 2013. "Impact of Baradarism on the Politics of Punjab". *Pakistan Vision* Vol 14 (No 2): 188. <http://www.pu.edu.pk>> studies > Artical-10_v14_no2_13. accessed August 15, 2021

³ Bernard S. Cohn, 1996. *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: the British in India*. (Princeton University). Pp56-57

In the history of subcontinent the social structure is based on feudalism, cast, tribe and kinship. This social structure definitely influences on local political system. Throughout the history there have been monarchies and dictatorship where public have bound to obey the head/lord or ruler. In the case of a monarchy, leadership role is inherited where a king, queen or lord from the royal family ruled the state. In this scenario public voice in decision making is not prior over the lord or king order. Similarly in Baradarism, decision of whole Baradari or head/kin prior over individual's opinion in a Baradari.

In democracy elections serves as platform through which people via vote express their view point and choose their leaders. Through elections candidate discuss and debate on various issues of the area and eligible voters through vote choose their candidate who will lead them at local or federal level. In Pakistan social structure base on different ethnic groups, tribes, cast/ Baradarism and kinship. In this aspect the land of Punjab province is also influenced by casteism and Baradarism where major Baradarism have played main role in political field of the country.

Sargodha district is a western canal colony of Sargodha division includes in central Punjab. It is interfluvial or doab (‘two waters’) the rich agriculture land between these rivers (Chenab & Jhelum) and the canal system that help to irrigate them. Presence of in these this region between these two rivers made central Punjab as agriculturally richest region in Pakistan and its continent Asia. Due to fertile agricultural land this region is the most populated region of Pakistan and most urbanized populated region of the Punjab. These feature distinguish central Punjab from other regions of Punjab Pakistan. Out of ten largest cities of Pakistan five largest cities which are Lahore, Faisalabad, Gujranwala, Sialkot and Sargodha are located in the central Punjab.

Traditionally the society of this region set the social status and political power of an individual on the bases his of amount of land. British adopted the policies according to the social and cultural nature of the region they allocate land and other rewards among the elite of the region in newly canal colony. In general among four groups where land granted, Sargodha lies in first category that was ‘peasant pro-praetors’ who received two square of land. As a result 80% of land was given to peasant proprietors, which was a much higher percentage in the other colonies. In the two great colonies Shahapur (Sargodha) and Montgomery from world War-I to participation in Indian Nationalist movement the government priority change in spite of preserving peasant they preserve

rural land elite. This was especially true in Sargodha, where Jones notes that ‘all the major ashrafia families- Noon, Tiwanas, Khushab Baloch, Qureshi, Nangianas and Sayeds received grants from the British. This policy give strengthen to the influence of landholding families in politics. These families exercise this influence until now in the politics of district Sargodha.

If analyze before two decade of 2013 general elections, 1993 elections result analysis of polling station returns in Sargodha showed substantial difference in voting behavior between the two categories, the difference were not consistently in favor of one or the other party. These results probably reflects the stronger hold of traditional landed elite in Sargodha district, and indicates that voting behavior is determined more by the candidate than by party. Socio-economic changes, in Sargodha district occur speedily because this region becoming an industrial state and that increase its population density rates which effects political changes as well. These changes obviously giving sign to future ruling party in Punjab will be the party that can connect these changes to their political advantage for further political activities and to keep continues hold in the region⁴.

Various researchers have done a lot of work on the effects of Baradari on domestic politics, especially in Punjab. But in this era where media playing a vital role including social media becoming a main source of information and in election campaign for different political parties it is necessary to take study of impact of Baradarism on electoral politics of district Sargodha.

Pakistan is a developing and politically developing country as well where various factors are involved in determining people's voting choices. It is a fact that voter choice is different in rural and urban areas in Pakistan. Decision-making in rural areas involves many psychological factors including caste, religion, traditional group and family loyalties. While in urban areas they differ in terms of intellectual and educational factors, party manifesto, party loyalty and socio-political status as well⁵.

In Pakistan especially in case of Punjab social systems highly influence the political system where Baradari is an important factor. In rural areas, political parties nominate candidates based

⁴ Andrew R. Wilder, "The Pakistani Voter Electoral Politics and Voting Behaviour in the Punjab." 1999. 1st ed. Karachi: Oxford University Press. pp.34-47

⁵ Muhammad, H. J., & Hasan, S. S. "Development of the Decision to Vote Scale. *Pakistan Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*", 2016. Pp10-14 Accessed 20 March 2021

on their influence in the community and tribe. In case of voting, the people of a particular constituency give preference to a candidate belonging to their own caste or tribe. So Baradari becomes as a force which fulfill the social needs of their Baradari members. Majority of people in both rural and urban areas vote for a candidate/party that represents a specific Baradario/ caste as an exploitative factor to weaken political parties.

In Pakistan the electoral history is full of interruptions and obstacles. This is to because elections in Pakistan were not held on regular intervals. It is a fact that religious parties in Pakistan remains a key player of Pakistan electoral process since 1947. Religious parties vote bank play a critical role in the success of the candidates of other political parties so the vote bank position in Pakistan and Punjab is always identical. The observation of 11 general elections of Pakistan shows that religious parties received an average 7.55 % vote of overall. In Punjab the average vote percentage of religious parties is 4.98 % and this percentage is 2.57 % less then Pakistan's. Religious parties' vote bank increase in the 2018 general elections in Punjab which was the third highest percent of votes after 1970 and 2002 general elections.

If we analyze the situation in central Punjab where Sargodha district is located, the Sialvi family is among the biggest spiritual families of central Punjab. It dominates in districts Sargodha, Khushab. A reason of Silavi influence in politics is because of Sajjada Nasheen of Hazrat Khawaja Shamsuddin Sialvi's shrine who is Khawaja Hameed Uddin his supporters and followers win elections due to the open support and favor of Hameed Uddin Sialvi. He played an active role during the 2018 elections due to the issue of Khatme Nabuwat. He has influence during 2018 general elections in many constituencies of National Assembly of the district Sargodha including NA (88, 89, 90, 91, 92)⁶.

Baradari is one of the most important units which impacts elections in Punjab province. During all general elections in Punjab different Baradaris assemblage their support against each other which reflect and endless reliance on Baradari system in the province. In any election, emphasis of political parties remains on the electable, in this situation actually Baradaris are much able of determining a vote. Similarly coalitions are abundant all over the Punjab

⁶ Usman Bashir, and Iram Khalid, "Religion and Electoral Politics In Punjab: A Case Study Of 2018 General Elections". 2019. *A Research Journal of South Asian Studies* 34 (1): Pp8-21.
<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/344327928>. Accessed date 25 June 2022

province, as these are very important platform for attracting and trapping voters. So in such case an electoral commitment or agreement, the head of a Baradari who promises his group's or tribe's vote to a candidate. He takes the responsibility to ensure all votes of the Baradari will be casted to a particular candidate⁷.

1.1 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The connection and establishment of relationship with a Baradari is on the bases of wealth and power which leads that power remains in the hands of Baradari elders or heads. This mechanism which base on accumulation of economic resources and other benefits which the members of that Baradari get in different ways after getting power of their Baradari head. Through this power Baradari heads not only get more strengthen financially they also become more powerful and inherit this wealth and power to their generations. A comparative study of election 2013 & 2018 of this district has been done and find the participation of Baradarism and class approach in voting behavior.

This comparative study of election 2013 & 2018 also find how much alive this power mechanism and occupation of democratic rights is present in the political culture of district Sargodha. District Sargodha has its political importance in the history of Pakistan due to its Baradari base political culture that present from colonial period to until now. Majority of the ruling elite in the mainstream politics of the country belongs to the principle Baradararies of this district.

The importance of this study is to investigate and analyze in depth the scenario of democratic system, actual problems of the democracy in rural and urban settings of Sargodha district where political system based on caste, Baradari and kinship. This study analyze effects of political slogans and manifesto on Baradararies during election.

The change occur in both election results with respect to voters priority about slogan, manifesto or Baradari and party affiliation which help to analyze that the influence of group/ Baradari and party alignment on the tendency of voting behavior. The comparative study also find the effects of wave of "change and political awareness" in Pakistan in these Elections in the

⁷ Ashaar Rehman. "Electable, Baradari, Party Politics in Punjab". (Dawn: July 04, 2018). Accessed date 20 April 2021 <http://www.dawn.com/news/1417351>

presence of Baradari base political culture of this area in the election results and party choice in both elections. This comparative study find that in all scenario caste/ Baradari become insignificant or significant factor in Electoral politics or not?

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

To study the role of Baradaries and Electoral Politics in District Sargodha with reference to general election 2013 & 2018 in the five constituencies for the National assembly seats through a comparative study of both election results. How Baradari plays a key role in electoral politics of Punjab? The role of Baradari is alive and have extended influence in the power game of politics in the province so there is always need to study and analyze this role. Baradari affiliation replace with party affiliations and people are bound to elect the Baradari heads in Punjab which harm the democratic system. This study also explores the historical backgrounds of the Baradari System in District Sargodha Punjab which also explains the history of Electoral politics in District Sargodha. What is Baradari? How does it act in District Sargodha society? And what is Electoral Politics? How much it effect the Election results and success of a candidate in the prescribed District? These and many other questions are asked in this regard.

1.3 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1. To observe the historical background of electoral politics in district Sargodha.
2. To study the effects of political slogans and manifesto on voter in Elections 2013 & 18.
3. To find out the role of caste/ Baradari in Election 2013 & 2018.
4. To do a comparative study of Election's results 2013 and 2018.

1.4 RE-SEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What is the historical background of electoral politics in district Sargodha?
2. How much political slogans and manifesto effects the voters of district Sargodha in Election 2013 & 2018?
3. What was the role of Baradaries in elections 2013 & 2018?
4. How the results of elections 2013 were different from 2018 in District Sargodha?

1.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The historical and descriptive analytical approaches used in the current study. Through historical methods tries to find out historical evidence of Baradari base politics in the district. Political. Methodologies use to find out the political culture of political parties in country. Through descriptive approach tries to explore and explain the role of Baradaris in Electoral Politics of District Sargodha. Basically this research comprises on both types of research for data collection. Qualitative and quantitative approach have been used in this study. Many strategies were used to explore and explain the research problem such as comparative, co-relational, ethnographic and historical. All these strategies are important variable of caste and Baradari system and voting behavior. This research was based on qualitative method and for data analyzing and finding statistical data was used by the. The study based on 2013 & 2018 general election of Pakistan for National Assembly seats of district Sargodha. This study also finds of the comparison of both Elections. Both primary and secondary data are involved. Primary sources of this study included officials and non-officials documents that are provided by the Election Commission of Pakistan, FAFEN, PILDAT, interviews (close ended) and interviews of candidates from different constituencies of District Sargodha on TV channel. The secondary data has been assembled from many books, articles, journals, websites and newspaper.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

This study based on sociological model of voting behavior.

Sociological model of voting behavior presented by Lazarsfeld (1944). This model base on that in voting behavior three essential points involve which are people choice, voting and personal influence⁸.

1.7 LITERATURE REVIEW

This study focus on two major concepts one is Baradarism and second is Electoral Politics. Both concept has been studied separately and mutually.

⁸ Lazarsfeld et al, "The people's Choice", 1944. Pp10-170 <http://www.researchgate.net> Accessed date 13 February 2021

Much literature available about colonial Punjab because a lot of work has been written nationally and internationally but short availability on Baraderi politics. It is because on local micro level like at district level analysis is shortly found. In this regard a huge gap with respect to local level studies to find the origin and prominent dynamics of Baraderie's politics.

Ahmad and Nadeem in their study "Social System influence Political System: A Comparative Study of Sub-Continent" about influence of social system in political system. They elaborate the role of caste system in political culture that it is a part of our political culture. Different components of political culture are attitudes, beliefs, values and behavior relate to political system and both positive and negative emotional feelings towards this culture and system. Every political system has its own culture so political parties work according to that culture. Writer narrates that caste system is a social system which is known as caste in English and zat or Baradari in Pakistan where people are divided into separate communities. Writer briefly explain the word 'caste' and describes about its origin that 'casta' is Portuguese or Spanish word which means lineage, ancestry or family. In this social system a social hierarchy is maintained in such a way that it transfer out generation after generation the position of an individual in the region where he born. Moreover writer further explain the caste system which are further divided into sub castes where successors of an ancestor belong to the same cast and collectively it is called Baradari. Where Baradari produces a community that belongs to the same caste which generates a specific social cultural unit which actually generate caste principles. In this social set particularly in rural areas influence of an individual within the community plays important role to determine voting behavior than the political preferences of an individual. This actually demolish the real soul of democracy and gives strengthen the role of Baradari in society⁹.

Tahir Kamran in his book "Democracy and Governance in Pakistan", discussed different challenges of democracy in Pakistan. He writes about the social values and social setup of Pakistan. Writer describes Baradari holds has a lot of significance as a social institution which become a main key of political authority in certain areas of Pakistan. He discussed that patrilineal descent is central to the configuration of a Baradari. Writer narrates that connections of marriage, mutual

⁹ Ahmad & Nadeem. "Social System influence Political System: A Comparative Study of Sub-Continent". 2011 Berkeley Journal of Social Studies Vol.1, No.1:11. Accessed March Monday,2021

commitment and the common political interests also play a main role in determining its shapes. He writes that Baradari solidarity is the strongest in rural areas and somehow in urban areas like among the farmers, labors and landowners of the Punjab. He also realizes the influence of feudalism in the power politics of Pakistan¹⁰.

Wilder in his book “The Pakistani Voter” which is written in his book about the impact of Baradaries on polling and voting behavior in Punjab. He writes that elections have played a central role in Pakistan. Through his study he challenges this perception that social factors determine the voting decision in Pakistan. These factors are feudalism, family connections, group and tribe which influence the voting decision of an individual. He writes about the voting behavior of an urban and rural voter where in urban area voters determination such as a loyalty with political party and its leader are different from rural voter where he is closely link with Baradari is much important than above mentioned social determinants of voting behavior. He further highlight bureaucratic legacy its important role in district politics of Punjab. Wilder highlighted that impact of post-Independence era on present electoral politics of Punjab so locally influential candidates much rely on community or Baradari support. Colonial administrators provide patronage to these feudal and administrative persons in the form of land grants, pensions, honorary titles, revenue and political stability in response. He narrate the reason of patron-client relationship that due to the political system was institutionalize which prove the base for this relationship.

Wilder writes about central Punjab political trends Sargodha district present in central Punjab which is a politically dominant region of the Punjab as well. Writer views describes this society where amount of land determine the social status and political power of an individual. Moreover he writes that several factors involve to make central Punjab as the center of Pakistan’s green revolution in the region. These factors included rivers, irrigation system, feudal estates, farms, and farmers who regressively working in their field. Presence of industrialists and feudalism in the region make the traders and manufactures influence and presence in the politics of the Punjab prominently day by day. They also have “shutter power” through which they can pressurize government policies and become a pressure group as well. He writes about dominancy of Nawaz

¹⁰ Tahir Kamran, “*Democracy and Governance in Pakistan*”, (Lahore: South Asia Partnership Pakistan,(2008). Pp 50-190

Sharif in politics due to this scenario where the support of trader community's for Nawaz Sharif becomes an important contributing factor. This factor also strengthen this image that strong performance of the PML-N in urban Punjab in 1993 elections is due to an industrialist role in politics¹¹.

Waris and Kokab in their scholarly article "Baradrism and Politics of Sargodha District" published in Pakistan narrates about the prominent families of Sargodha district and link them with British and Sikh era how they enjoy various administrative authorities in their era. They writes that among the effective elements in the electoral history of Sargodha baradarism is one of the most important factor. It did not came out suddenly on the political scenario its present and undergoes from various phases. About dominant families of the district Sargodha writer highlights that Noon, Tiwana, Piracha Syed, Awan, Mela, Qureshi, Kalyar, Nagayyana, and Baloch remains present in politics. Their participation in politics remains at national and local level. Members of these families contributed local, provincial and national politics as well. The key role of these Baradarism in politics is due to long time presence under Sikh and British raj in Punjab which later on make them as a power in politics. Members of all these Baradarism enjoyed many benefits that they received in the form of awards and rewards from British government during colonial rule in the Punjab. These benefits are in the form of money, land, key posts in district and sub district level and government jobs¹²

Ch. Zahoor writes in his scholarly study "Punjab Main Baradrion Ki Siasat" about the role of various political families and Baradarism of District Sargodha in the main stream politics from British raj to pre-independence. He made a comprehensive overview of the politics of the communities in District Sargodha. In his book the study shows that the grouping, major landlords and power factors prevails in the villages. When politicians support and follow a particular individual, community, a case or a group in a case and meets with the opponent of the presidency or group the resulting factions come into existence. The Sargodha district has low number of ideological votes, Baradarism is present in most places and the main reason for the success of the

¹¹ Andrew R.Wilder, *The Pakistani Voter Electoral Politics and Voting Behaviour in the Punjab*. 1999. 1st ed. Karachi: Oxford University Press. pp.1-40

¹² Waris & Kokab .2017" *Baradrism and Politics of Sargodha District.*" Pakistan Journal of History and Culture. Vol.XXXVIII.No.1(2017) <http://www.nihcr.edu.pk> Accessed March Sunday, 2020

candidates is their personal influence and community support. Unlike the villages, Sargodha city and other major cities seek to support specific communities or Baradaris rather than grouping and factions. Although it is not necessary that a candidate gets all the votes of a single Baradari, but Baradari support is considered an essential factor. He writes it is well known that one candidate who is not eligible to get vote for his Baradari, can get the votes of others? Moreover he writes about the victory in election that it is always happen in political history of the district that one Baradari cannot be relied upon for complete victory¹³.

Thair Kamran writes in his research “Early Phase of Electoral Politics in Pakistan: 1950s” he discusses that Quaid-e-Azam neglect castes and religion differences very clearly after independence in Pakistan. Through his paper he highlights the electoral politics of caste base politics during the early phase of Pakistan which further promote the rule of elite in main stream politics of the country. The active participation of dominant castes in politics later on promote this culture and they become necessity in the form of electable for a political party¹⁴.

Tahir Mahmood discussed in his research paper “Army Recruitment and Patron – Client Relationship in Colonial Punjab: A Grassroots Perspective” where he highlight the patron-client relationship. The impact of this relationship on enrollment process of the British Army in Punjab. In his paper he highlighted the Shahpur District (Sargodha) of Colonial Punjab he clarify the functioning of alliances and collaboration in rural and urban settings in Punjab¹⁵.

Ian Talbot, writes in his book “Punjab Ghulami say Azadi Tak” about Baradarism a big reason of British raj due to which they ruled over Punjab. British administratively paly a successful role by using this social factor of Punjab. They allocated revenue collection responsibilities to the head of tribe or members of influential families¹⁶.

¹³ Chaudhary Zahoor Ahmad. 2013.”*Punjab Main Baradrion Ki Siasat: 1947-2002*”. Vol.1: nihcr Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad. Accessed March Tuesday, 2020

¹⁴ Tahir Kamran, “Early Phase of Electoral Politics in Pakistan: 1950s,” *South Asian Studies, A Research Journal of South Asian Studies*, (257-282) vol. 24, No.2, July-December 2009, pp 259

¹⁵ Tahir Mahmood, “Army Recruitment and Patron – Client Relationship in Colonial Punjab: A Grassroots Perspective,” *Pakistan Vision Vol. 16 No. 2*

¹⁶ Ian Talbot. “*Punjab Ghulami say Azadi Tak*”, 1999. (Trans) Lahore: Takhliqat.

Ian Talbot writes in his book “Pakistan a Modern History 1947-1997” about the reason of domination of Baradries. According to him that reason of dominancy of Baradrism or some influential families in Pakistan is due to huge money they spent on elections which further prolong their influence in the politics of Pakistan. Writer views that actually they invest in this way and after the victory in elections they get back their expenditure in the form of different authorities in government that enhance their wealth. He also discuss the role of some families such as Noon, Daultana and Tiwana in politics and remains on high administrative authorities in Pakistan and in past as well¹⁷.

In a book “Khizar Hayat Tiwana Punjab Unionist Party and Partition of India” written by Talbot and translated by Tahir Kamran, about the evolution of a dominant political Baradari ‘Tiwana’ in Punjab. In his book, he writes about political life of Khizar Hayat who remains the prime minister of the colonial Punjab. He writes that people of same Baradari did not differ on the bases of religious affiliation, he highlights the Baradari affiliation in Tiwana that where there Tiwana lived in different areas of the region with any religious affiliation they bound to vote and support their Baradari candidate Khizar Hayat Tiwana¹⁸.

Gilmartin’s in his scholarly study, “Tribe Land and Religion in the Punjab: Muslim Politics and the Making of Pakistan” narrates about the particularity colonial administration and highlight the importance of local groups and key role of Baradarries that involve to strengthen the British rule in the sub-continent. Due to much influence of Baradarries in the social setup of the communities in this region which bound British with no other option to strengthen their administrative power and rule in this region so they rely on local groups¹⁹.

David Gilmartin writes about power full elite and powerful authority in Punjab in his studies “The Strange Career of the Rule of Law in Colonial Punjab”. According to him about

¹⁷ Ian Talbot, “*Pakistan A Modern History 1947-1997*”, 2003. (London: C. Hurst & Co., 2003)

¹⁸ Ian Talbot, “*Khizar Hayat Tiwana Punjab Unionist Party and Partition of India*”, translated by Tahir Kamran (Lahore: Fiction House, 1998), Pp39

¹⁹ David Paul, “Gilmartin. (1979)*Tribe Land and Religion In the Punjab: Muslim Politics and the Making of Pakistan*”, PhD Thesis: Berkeley; University of California. Chapter. 1

Punjab, British official considered that its society in under influence of tribe and tribal heads than other parts of sub-continent. Though British policies that singled out Punjab's "martial races" and "martial tribes", they felt the loyalty of people of this region always towards tribe and tribal head²⁰.

Yasir Javed translated Denzil Ibbetson's book "Punjab Castes" in Urdu language with the title of "Punjab key Zatain". In this book writer describes historical perspective of the role of dominant families in their consistencies. He writes about this influential class setup of Punjab where social setup consist of different classes. He discussed in a very detailed way about the caste system and its relation with the economy. Writer relates occupations with castes that they are primary basis of caste because different caste ranges have different occupations so they tritely bound with their specific group. In this occupation-economical relation value the economic and social status of an individual²¹.

Abid Ghafoor Chaudhry and Hafeez-ur-Rehman Chaudhry in their study "Power Brokers in a Punjabi Village: A Case Study of Power Manifestation," writes about a Punjabi village named Sacha Soda and discuss its power structure. In this study they discuss about Baradari's decisions about vote for elections where they vote to a specific Baradari member/candidate not on the bases of party loyalty. No consideration of education and affiliation with any party dominancy and prominence in politics and in community only matters in such social setup. In rural areas, dominant caste pay role in leadership²².

Rasool Bakhsh Raees writes in his article "Politics in Punjab" about power politics and political elites of Punjab, he writes that feudal political families are the centerpiece of Punjab politics. Due to factions, political parties contest them for elections. The culture of power, honor and patronage at local levels makes feudal families essential to stay in politics, they have no concern what the cast they paid for coalition they just want to stay closer to the ruling party. Regardless of how strong their own individual political base is, their connection to power since

²⁰ David Gilmartin, "The Strange Career of the Rule of Law in Colonial Punjab," *Pakistan Vision*, Vol. 10 No. 2, 3.

²¹ Denzil Ibbetson, "Punjab Castes", Mubarak Ali Publishers, 1916, Lahore: This book was translated in Urdu language in 1998 by Yasir Jawad with the title of *Punjab key Zatain* from Fiction House, Lahore

²² Abid Ghafoor Chaudhry & Hafeez-ur-Rahman Chaudhry, "Power Brokers in a Punjabi Village: A Case Study of Power Manifestation," *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Vol.XXXI, No.2, 2010, 92.

British raj in India which gives an edge over the opponent. Political loyalties become hurdles for feudal political figures but on the other side stay in power is a political culture and material imperative for political elites. The power politics abolish the principle, ideology and even democracy itself. The political waves in Punjab have continuously shaped and reshaped political shifts among the electable political figures and families²³.

Waris and Kokab in their scholarly study “Baradarism and Politics of Sargodha District”, writes about Baradarism is the main cause of successful administrative rule of British in Punjab. He writes that Baradarism is strengthen due to some influential families in Pakistan. These families’ remains in politics due to their investment strategy in elections and after victory by taking administrative and other authorities in government they get back their investment and increase their wealth also prolong their influence in politics. He writes about various political families of the region such as Noon, Daultana and Tiwana that had been ruling over Pakistan in the past. He also discusses about Baradari affiliation that members of a Baradari always prefer to support their Baradari member especially in elections²⁴.

Rehman in his article “When Pirs Seek People’s Blessings”, which is published in daily DAWN, he writes about the role of Pirs and its influence in democracy he says that in Punjab Pirs are central characters in Urban and Rural areas. Pirs attached to shrines which spread throughout the province and their followers support towards their spiritual head/sajada nasheen. British adopt the policies by knowing about this social set up where spiritual leader/ influential person remain dominant and powerful. When they distributed administrative authorities and opened the door for politics in this way, at that time the Pirs as spiritual and feudal lords got prefer and considered dominant candidate for power and archived rewards and various administrative authorities. The combination of religious personalities and feudalists and give them different role to make them an important political strength in the region so later on they become an asset in a political party. It

²³ Rasul Bakhsh Rais. “Politics in Punjab”.1 Nov 2017. <http://tribune.com/story>. Accessed date Tuesday, 24 Nov 2020.

²⁴ Waris, Muhammad & Kokab, Rizwan. (2017). “Baradarism and Politics of Sargodha District”. Pakistan Journal of History and Culture, Vol. XXXVIII, No.1, 2017. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/334415023>. Accessed on 8 March, Tuesday 2020

wass not wealth alone, it was actually wealth including kinship or spiritual status and respect, that collectively made them as a political power. Moreover he writes about the role of Pirs and spiritual figures in the society which facilitate through shrine and provide an ideal platform.

These influential families and religious heads have the facility to change seasonally different parties and protect their interests and enjoy power in every government. He writes that the pirs were considered so vital to maintain the balance between the two opponents pursued by the two opposing parties and this is far from an ideal political discourse. He writes that that the pirs acts as middleman or negotiator who connect rulers and their subjects, and for this cause they provide favor in a way that they “kneel down” in respect to the “jamhoor (democracy)” and ask them for their votes. Moreover he writes in his article that such situation is present in all over Punjab where Baradari become a useful platform to a party for the collection of their vote bank in reward of power full author share in government after victory. In elections Baradari is one of the basic units that weakened the role of individual opinion or democracy when benefits become prior specially in case when opponents or other groups convinced and bring bonded like-mind under their flag for achieving benefits²⁵.

In September 2002, daily DAWN published an editorial column with the title “Clan continue to Hold sway on Sargodha Politics” about the election that was held in October 2002, paper writes about the participation of political families in general election from district Sargodha.

Editorial column shows a clear image of Baradari base politics, political ups and downs in this constituency and their personal interest about power politics which according to ‘political wave’ in the country. It is written that the political co-alliance of Piracha and Noon family was brake away in the 1990 elections. Because Anwarul Haq Piracha defeated Malik Ahmed Khan Noon for the provincial assembly seat and Piracha family lost their hold in constituency when Ehsanul Haq Piracha who was the candidate of PPP was defeated by Brig Ghulam Hussain Cheema the candidate of PML-N in the 1993 elections. The Pirachas helped Mian Naseer Ahmed win the elections of Bhalwal tehsil Nazim in 2001, although Mian Naseer had in past lost all the elections

²⁵ Ashaar Rehman. “When Pirs Seek People’s Blessings”. Jun 27, 2018. <http://www.dawn.com> Accessed date March 20, 2020

against them. To avail benefit of authority and funds of Bhalwal tehsil Nazim, the Pirachas offered the provincial assembly seat to his son. Similarly Chaudhry Muhammad Ali chairman of the Neelibar group of industries and managing director of the Noon Textile Mills Bhalwal was also a dominant figure in the district due to social activities also participated in local politics. Former minister Ehsanul Haq Piracha, influential politician of the district support his brother Inamul Haq Piracha in elections to win the seat but they face a strong challenge from Chaudhry Muhammad Ali, who will definitely take advantage of the anti-Piracha lobby. Similarly PML-N's Pir Muhammad Ibrahim Shah has an advantage of his religious background so the support of religious groups towards his side as his father Pir Muhammad Karam Shah Al Azhari (late) was a famous religious scholar and served as a judge of the Shariat Appellate Court. Newspaper writes the political analyst views that former MNA Malik Adnan Hayat Noon and District Nazim Malik Amjad Ali Noon would supported by the Pirachas in elections because the Noons would not like to allow the entrance of an outsider in politics and take influence in their constituencies²⁶.

Rasool Bakhsh Rais in his article "The Punjab: Old Power Politics in Naya Pakistan", published in Arab news on 25 November 2018 writes that since the second transition to democracy in 1988 appears on political scenario when the traditional political elites participate in politics in the form of alliances and coalitions. It is obvious that the success of political figures lies on the social support in the form of 'votes' for this cause they need their public support for victory. This public support based on caste, tribe, clan and ethnicity through which political transaction run. It is available only to those members who have the support of the ruling party. This is why the electable political elites shift loyalties according to political 'waves' in the country and more specifically in Punjab province. In reward of political support in election and in case of victory these political elite demand dominant administrative seats in the district such as in police, and in other higher government institutes. He writes about these traditional electable also demand infrastructure programs and development in their constituency. These actions make them political strong in the country where they become necessity of a party for co-alignment in every election. Since the independence of Pakistan, the elites of Punjab have mastered the art of coalition in power

²⁶ "Clan continue to Hold sway on Sargodha Politics." Daily Dawn. <http://www.dawn.com> Accessed March Thursday, 2020.

politics. These things defines the actual scenario of power politics and political factions of the Punjab. These factions never stop to exist, smartly they modify themselves according to political interests, condition, requirement and crises. It does not matter how powerful a party and its party head, the factionalism is not avoid provincial and national able and un-noticed²⁷.

Dr. Waseem write in his book “Democratization in Pakistan 2006: A study of 2002 Election” that social groups play a major role in election. These social groups included tribe, caste, sub caste, sect, sub-sect, faction and trade unions. They play a key role in the success of a candidate or party in elections. According to him candidates influence the head person or any responsible person of a tribe in the community for electoral achievement. He discussed and concluded that the Pakistani voters in 1993 election, was not a national voter rather he was closedminded in this aspect and was under influence to the local power structure and caste/Baradari. The author considers that there is no single factor responsible to form the voting behavior many factors are involved in this formation²⁸.

Lieven highlights in a book with the title of “Pakistan: A Hard Country” that Kinship is the main weakness of the Pakistani State, and for its stability. It has a close tie with social class system. Political elites of Pakistan rely for their strong influence in the society not just due wealth but to keep influence on their leadership of their birdari from which they belong. Lieven more writes about kinship that it plays a vital role in maintaining the dominance of the ‘Feudal’ elites. Patronage and kinship are the basic elements of the Pakistani political system. According to writer political factions are very important, but they exist dominantly to seek patronage and have kinship links provide most important foundations. Writer also gives analyses of the local culture conflict which influences the voting behavior in the Punjab. The conflicting attitude remain alive between two groups of castes and sects. He concluded that both the rural and urban areas are influenced by localism as the voting behavior of the people is concerned. Writer touched the Punjab politics generally and throws light on castes and sects in particular²⁹.

²⁷ Rasul Bakhsh Rais. “The Punjab: Old Power Politics in Naya Pakistan.” <http://arabnews.pk> Accessed March Wednesday, 2020.

²⁸ M. Waseem, “*Democratization in Pakistan: A study of 2002 Election*”, 2006 Oxford University Press, Karachi.

²⁹ Anatol Lieven, “*Pakistan: A Hard Country*” 2012, London: Penguin Books. Pp 30-250

In a scholarly study “The Pakistan people’s party” Maleeha Lodhi writes about the role of political elites in politics that the person centered nature of politics closely related to the dominant position of individual which is attractive in the society. She writes that this dominancy remains attractive and enjoyable throughout Pakistan’s history. These political elites are feudalist and tribal head and has remained elite in politics as well. She writes that power sharing brings an impact with to do better for urban groups and the urban rich functions much like their rural corresponding with their efforts for political activities resting more on working ancestry, family and Baradari connections and alliances than representing wider urban interests³⁰.

Alvi writes and concludes by adding in Inayat-Ullah study in “The Politics of Dependence a Village in West Punjab” about the voter’s decision under the influence of Baradari base environment that only wealthy voters who have social and economically strong hold consider to make voting decisions in Baradari/caste. The author claimed that economically dependent voters, vote accordingly to the voting decisions of those whom they dependent in other words they are voter’s employers. He writes about an important factor that the economic position of an individual is even more fundamental factor of voting behavior³¹.

Mughees Ahmed in his article “Voting behavior in rural and urban areas of Punjab” gives historical perspective and factors detail that involve in voting decision in Punjab Pakistan .He writes that historically, many factors are involve which affect decision of voter in Punjab’s general elections including the Baradari, religious sects, party affiliation, community interests etc. Many voters especially in rural areas consider their local community or Baradari as an important factor in elections. In Punjab, Pakistan the most important agents of voting are Baradaris and area lobbies which put pressure on the voters. He highlights that the Baradari impact becomes more important during the polls administered by military dictators in the country. Furthermore, according to

³⁰ MaleehaLodhi, “The Pakistan people’s party”, 1979. PhD. Thesis, Lodin School of Economics P 51.

³¹ Alavi, H, “*The Politics Of Dependence A Village In West Punjab*”, 1997 .V 4thEidtion: South Asian.

writer's point of view that the conduction of election on non-party basis were another cause of weakening of the political ideology and strengthening of caste, kinship or Baradari based voting³².

Akhtar investigated in his study "Media, religion, and politics in Pakistan" about the relationship of media, politics and religion in Pakistan. He concludes that in many areas of Pakistan landlords control the political choices of the people. He said during the colonial age landlordism increased in the country and became a significant part of the social values to guide the behavior of people. He stated that landlordism penetrated to the system roots.³³

Lawrence Ziring discusses in his book "Pakistan at the Cross Current of History" writes that Pakistan is in struggling state internally and externally. He discusses these internal and external factors that affect the progress of country. According to his study that failure of electoral system for proper political progress is internally damaging the development in democratic aspect. He highlighted in his study the nature of Pakistani society which is diverse and socially divided into different groups, culturally and religiously as well. Hence these all factors combines to become a one nation which creates distance between the ruler and the ruled³⁴.

1.8 SCHEME OF THE STUDY

The present research has been conducted on following scheme of study; research consists of four chapters which has a significant impact on the study. Introduction which elaborated the importance and elaborate the way through which this research study the problem, introduction, research questions that cover the all study.

In the **1st chapter** that deals the historical background of Sargodha, role of major Baradararies in the politics of the region pre and post-independence era, population of the district, constituencies, political background of the district with respect to the participation in politics from colonial period to until now. This chapter deals with electoral politics of the district as well including the position and participation of various mainstream political parties in general Elections

³² M.Ahmed, "*Voting behaviour in rural and urban areas of Punjab*", 2012. Journal of Political Studies, pp 45-53
Retrieved from: [http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/pols/Currentissue pdf/voting%20behaviour.pdf](http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/pols/Currentissue%20pdf/voting%20behaviour.pdf)

³³ Akhtar, R. S. "*Media, religion, and politics in Pakistan*", 2000. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

³⁴ Lawrence Ziring, "*Pakistan At The Cross Current Of History*" 2004 ONE WORLD PUBLICATION.
Pp 50-300

2013 & 2018. This chapter also elaborate the party position and candidates cast/ Baradari of the different five constituencies.

In the **2nd chapter** which elaborate the political parties that provide the platform to the candidates of the district Sargodha to play their role in national politics. Party slogans and manifesto of the top three political parties according to rank of their Election results (PML-N, PPPP, PTI) also discussed and their impact on their election results as well.

In the **3rd chapter** study deals with role of Baradries in Election's 2013 &2018. This chapter elaborate the background of the Baradari institution in Pakistan and in Punjab politics as well. The study enlighten the impact and key role of Baradarism in the politics of the province at local and national level. Chapter discussed various Baradarries of the district and their members' role in main stream politics pre and post-independence era. Impact of Baradrism on political life of the district Sargodha and in Election results of 2013 & 2018. A survey through questionnaire to know the public views about the importance of party manifesto and slogans also held and analyze the opinion of the voters.

Last **Chapter 4** is a comparative study of Election 2013 & 2018 gives the key analysis of this scholarly study. Role of Elections in a society and the society which is based on kinship and feudalist environment also important to analyze this chapter did this analysis through recent Election 2013 & n 2018 held in Pakistan in this decade. Election results of the five constituencies of National Assembly seats discussed and analyze the participation of political parties and party position. Analysis of repeatedly winner candidates of the relevant constituency and their Baradari also take place. **Interviews of candidates** also held out to find the reason of choice and continuously nomination and winning of a candidate and party from the constituency. Analysis base on the results of the answers.

CHAPTER-1

1.9 HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

1.10 Introduction

This chapter examines the way through which British promote and build the Baradari system and use this social setup as a support to stability of their raj. Dominate Baradarries and their role in politics of the Sargodha region, total area, tehsil wise and total population according to the census 2017, election constituencies, political parties of the district and electoral politics is discussed in this chapter.

Baradari is a term that originated from the Persian word “Baradar” which means “brother” and defined as “brotherhood”. It is also defined as “an association, attachment, emotional linkage and sharing common characteristics by an individual being a part of a particular group descended of the same ancestor”. Punjab province consist of a social setup where Baradari, qaum, zat play an important role to establish social status of an individual so it is considered to be most important and strongest tie in the society. It became most favorable while making political alliances in election. In community loyalty of people tends towards the same caste group from where they belong and live in that region³⁵.

Having more or less the same meaning tribe clan, caste and baraderi are the used for the explanation of old political systems in different ages and regions. Where clan is a group of people or families who come from the common ancestors and have the same name or a big family. It is also a group of people or big family who live together and share the same interest. While the word “tribe” originated from the ancient Greek time having the meaning of ‘group of human beings who

³⁵ Ghafoor & Aftab , *“BARADARI’S FUNCTION AND SIGNIFICANCE: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF GENDER OPINIONS”*. Sci.Int. (Lahore), 26(4), 1863-1865, 2014.

live together as community, belong to same ancestor.’ Tribe is a group of people of a big family who have common professions, habit or interest and further culture, language and history. In subcontinent caste establish the distribution of community on the bases of wealth, occupation, inherited rank of an individual in society. All above mentioned terms have a limited and close circle in social setup of this region³⁶.

In subcontinent caste system not influence suddenly or through any revolution it transfer gradually and local population identifies themselves in a new association in community and society where they live which named as Baradarism. It considered as a symbol of unity which identifies their cultural and religious similarity. After 1947, Pakistan inherited this social and political setup which has significant marks of Muslim and colonial rules, trends and norms with the mixture of local traditions. Despite the fact that Islam weakened the old cast system of Hindus but the appearance of new groups which base on the religion and other social norms and values that establish a personal status in the society. The most influenced system among them remains Baradarism which mostly influence the urban Punjab politics, although these areas were far from the feudal control. Politics of Punjab is divided into two parts as rural politics and urban politics both the communities having different trends and thinking. According to Messon, “people who live in cities give much importance to Baradarism whereas the rural areas are stuck with ethnic and sectarian identities, too.” Punjab politics is consider to be the Baradari politics. Baradari influence the national and local politics significantly even district administration authorities chosen normally from the key Baradarism of the district³⁷.

The word 'caste' use in two different senses by sociologists and anthropologists. It is also used without any specific geographical limitation to classify the class system in which social and family hierarchal set up tightly defined the boundaries of these layers of hierarchal setup. A ruling class may be described its social value that define its class as well. This type of situation is mostly arise when the dominant influential group in a community become different from the inferior

³⁶ Ahmed & Naseem, *“Social system influences Political System: A comparative study of sub-continent”*. Berkeley Journal of Social Sciences. 2011. Pp 11

³⁷ Humaira Dar, and Qudsia Batool. *“The Role of Baradarism in Punjab: A Case Study of Sialkot”*. 2020 *The Punjab History and Culture* Vol.II (6-8 January 2020): 648-653.

group/groups including differences in the living standard that label their condition in the social set up³⁸.

2.1 Historical Background

Punjab is the largest region which was finally merged in India when British ruled in the subcontinent 1849³⁹.

History of India explains that the caste system represent the groups of people by their religion, particular area of the community, gender, language, profession of the group members or community, clan and socio-economic status. This class system and its further subdivisions also exist in all human societies.⁴⁰

In Punjab (Pakistan) Baradari is an important key feature of social organization. The influence of casteism and Baradari system at gross-root level in social and political set-up. So they affect socio-political activities through their key role in main stream politics. In this scenario Baradarism becomes an influential factor in voting behavior of voter than that of his party affiliation. This situation may change in case of two candidates when they belongs to same caste and participate in election⁴¹.

The Sargodha district is located in Do Aaba “Chaj” which is the combination of the initials of Chenab River and Jhelum. Geographically, it is located between 30-31 degrees latitude and 73-15 degrees longitude⁴².

The Expression ‘Sargodha’ with its starting points in words of “sar” representing “lake” and “godha” signifying “sadhu”. There are few opinions or rumors about the origin of this name. One assumption is that it is gotten from the Sanskrit “svargadhama” demonstrate it as” wonderful

³⁸ Leach, Edmund R. "Introduction: What Should We Mean by Caste?" 1960 In E.R. Leach, (ed.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Aspects of Castes in South India, Ceylon and North-west Pakistan, pp. 2-10.

³⁹ Chaudhary, Zahoor Ahmed. 2013. *Punjab Main Baradriyon Ki Syasat*. 1st ed. Islamabad: nihcr.

⁴⁰ Sekhon, Joti, "Modern India". Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2000.

⁴¹ Andrew R. W. "The Pakistani Voter: Electoral Politics and Voting Behaviour in the Punjab", 1999. Karachi: Oxford University Press. Pp177-185.

⁴² Abdul Rasul, Sahibzada. 2006. *The History of Sargodha*. University of Sargodha.

habitation”. The most trusted supposition is that there was a lake in the center of village where Hindu named “Godha” was lived. In Punjabi “sar” is used for lake, so it named as “Sargodha” which signifies as “lake of godha” and was established in 1903 by a British named ‘Lady Trooper’. This city being a district headquarter since 1940 and was moved up to status of divisional headquarter in the year 1960. It is one of the arranged urban communities district of Pakistan. Sargodha district is administratively divided into seven tehsils (Sargodha, Kot Momin, Bhalwal, Shahapur, Sillanwali, Sahiwal, Bhera) which contain 186 Union Councils. Electoral constituencies of the district consists of five national and ten provincial seats. In 2018 general elections the following electoral constituencies of district Sargodha mentioned in table below⁴³:

1.11 Table 1.1 Electoral Constituencies in 2013

National	NA(64,65,66,67,68)
Provincial	11(28,29,30,31,32,33,34,35,36,37,38)

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan

In 2013 general elections Sargodha district was divided into five constituencies. District was divided into five seats for national assembly and eleven constituencies for provincial assembly seats⁴⁴.

1.12 Table 1.2 Electoral Constituencies in 2018

National	05 (NA- 88,89,90,91 , 92)
Provincial	10 (PP- 72,73,74,75,76,77,78,79,80 , 81)

Source: District Sargodha Government of the Punjab

Where as in 2018 general elections district was divided into five national and ten provincial assembly seats⁴⁵.

⁴³ "District Sargodha". 2021. *Sargodha.Punjab.Gov.Pk*. <https://sargodha.punjab.gov.pk>. Assessed date 20 March 2021

⁴⁴ <http://www.ecp.pk> Assessed date 20March 2021

⁴⁵ <http://www.ecp.pk> Assessed date 20March 2021

1.13 District Sargodha Map:

District Sargodha administratively divided into seven Tehsils. Sargodha is city and the capital of Sargodha district which is located in the province of Punjab Pakistan. Boundaries of district Sargodha are connected to Khushab district, Jhelum district, Jhang district, Hafizabad district and Mandi Bhauddin district⁴⁶:

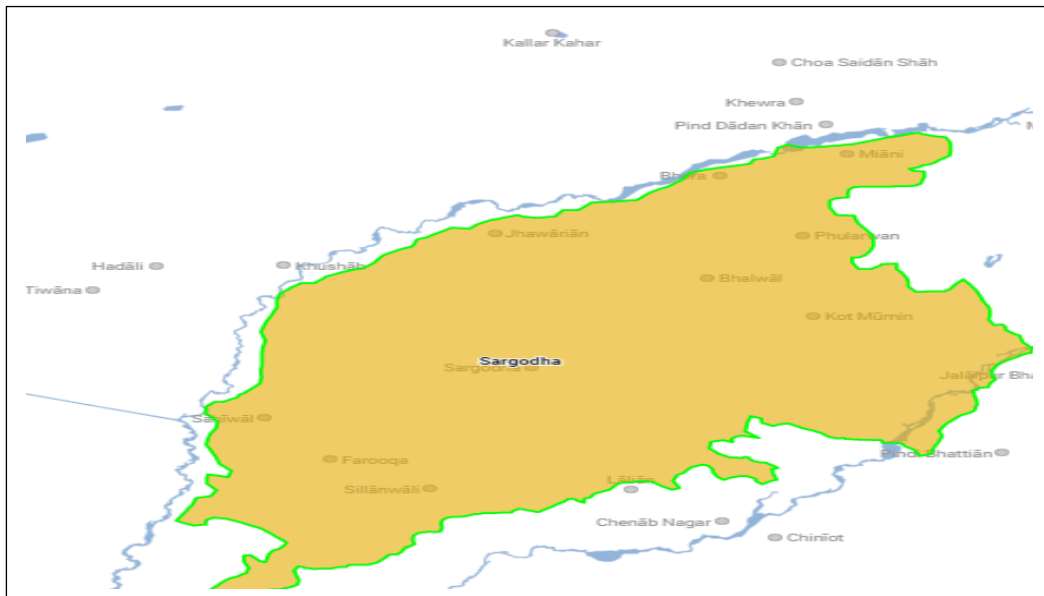


Fig: District Sargodha Map Source: <https://www.citypopulation.de>

1.14 Voters' strength in 2013 & 2018:

Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) periodically create, managed and updated voters' lists/electoral rolls especially before a general election. The purpose these is to enlist all eligible voters residing in a particular constituency of the district and ensuring their identities verification on Election Day.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ "City Population - Population Statistics In Maps And Charts For Cities, Agglomerations And Administrative Divisions Of All Countries Of The World". 2022. *City population. De* <https://www.citypopulation.de>. https://www.citypopulation.de/en/pakistan/admin/punjab/730_sargodha/?mode=literacy&map=simple&opacity=0.6 Access 15 March 2021.

⁴⁷ "Home — Pakvoter". 2022. *Pakvoter*. <http://pakvoter.org>. Accessed 4 April,2022

The table of the electoral rolls for Election 2013 and 2018 of district Sargodha prepared by the ECP are shown below.

1.15 Table 1.3 Voters' strength in District Sargodha (2013)

District	Male Voters	Female Voters	Total Voters
Sargodha	1,033,464	800,089	1,833,553

Source: Pakvoter.org

Table represent the total voters strength of the district where strength of male voters is maximum than female voters.

1.16 Table 1.4 Voters Strength in district Sargodha (2018)

District	Male Voters	Female Voters	Total Voters
Sargodha	1,253,168	1,029,745	2,282,913

Source: Pakvoter.org

Above table shows that voter strength increased in 2018 in the five constituencies of the district. Similarly male voters' strength is up as compare to female voters of the total voters' strength in both general elections.

1.17 Population:

Sargodha district is the capital of Sargodha division and administrative unit of 5,856 square km, having some 3,696,212 people divided among castes, tribes, Baradarries and rural and urban settings⁴⁸.

⁴⁸"Pakistan Bureau of Statistics". Census-2017. Detailed Tables Sargodha District. *Pbs.Gov.Pk*. <https://www.pbs.gov.pk>

1.18 Table 1.5 Sargodha District Census 1998

	Rural	Urban	Total
Inhabitants	1,915,947	750,032	2,665,979
Male	1,372,883 (51.50%)		
Female	1,293,096 (48.50 %)		

Source: Pakistan Bureau of Statistics

Re-researcher of this study observed from Table 2.2 shows the census report of 1998 that maximum population of the district Sargodha belongs to rural area and less number of population belongs to urban area. Male strength is also high as compare to female which increase male voters' strength in the district.

1.19 Table 1.6 Sargodha District Census 2017

	Rural	Urban	Total
Inhabitants	2,608,007	1,088,205	3,696,212
Male	1,316,960	550,764	1,867,724
Female	1,290,851	537,223	1,828,074
Transgender	196	218	414

Source: Pakistan Bureau of Statistics

Table 2.3 shows census report of inhabitants' detail of male and female of the district, re-researcher of the study observe male strength is up as compared to female and the overall strength of male and female from rural side is high as compare to urban areas. Strength of trans-genders in urban area is high as compare to rural area of the district. This table give a clear image that overall strength of male is high as compare to other genders that increase the number of male voters in the district.

1.20

Table 1.7 Tehsil wise population

1	Sargodha	1,535,152
2	Bhalwal	356,206
3	Bhera	314,369
4	Kotmomin	451,978
5	Sahiwal	340,695
6	Shahpur	353,325
7	Sillanwali	344,487
	Total Population	3,69,212

Source: Pakistan Bureau of Statistics

Colonial period in sub-continent brought a major change in administrative structure especially in Punjab. To prolong British rule they requires such type of power structure through which they controlled the Punjab. Their primary goal was to collect revenue and for this purpose it is necessary to maintain law and order in the region. So they devised the system of authority, formulated and implemented certain policies which brought a social change throughout the Punjab that change the existing pattern of life. This change occurred as a result of various policies which were adopted in colonial period. Different capacities collectively contributed to bring this social change even institutions which were established and influenced authoritative who controlled these affairs are collectively contribute to strengthen this social change authoritative individual are responsible to make decisions in a society such as in Punjab.

According to social conditions of Indians British experienced administrative rule with good knowledge of their local values especially in Punjab where they formulated their policies more skillfully. Under British rule in Punjab the administrative organizational setup was based on various factors which showed its affects in mid of the 19th century. After taken the definite shape and settlement of upper India the maximum part of the Punjab due to the nature where feudalist

and influenced figures have authority in their region came under the British revenue administrative set up⁴⁹.

In colonial period number of chiefs from the honorable families whose right has been protected by grant of assignments of land revenue called “jagirs”. Many “jagirdars” hold this assignments in reward for political services provided in the past for such services or as member of honorable political families now wanted to help especially in term of good influence can use such persons in their districts⁵⁰.

In this way new rulers gained more influence of various groups and local elites with limited administrative authorities in Punjab. These local superior bodied were mostly the heads of various casts, tribes and Baradarries. In subcontinent admire and caste system present naturally which shows a strong bonding in these communities or groups. These communities present as a “village republics”⁵¹.

British dealt with rural and urban settings very intellectually and in awell planned way. Rural areas were their primary focus where land revenue was their main interest so they involved rural heads and elites to collect revenue. Indian villages socially base on traditional cast system, so the present social setup in which Baradrism is deep rooted can be said as a product of British Raj⁵².

Due to its location in the middle, Sargodha district is a hotbed of various foreign invaders from the northwest. Apart from this, the field was also the abode of elements which were absorbed peacefully in Punjab⁵³.

This region was the gateway to Mughal and Afghan emperors, and most of them encamped at Bhera a historical and ancient settlement on the bank of the Jhelum River in district Sargodha. By the end of 18th century the Sikh warrior Ranjeet Singh son of Maha Singh his rule was

⁴⁹ B. H. Baden-Powell, *“The Land System of British India”*, Vol.II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893), Pp 532

⁵⁰ B. H. Baden-Powell, pp 606.

⁵¹ Lawrence James, *Raj - The making and unmaking of British India* (New York: St. Martin Press,1997), p-177

⁵² Christopher J. Fuller, *“The oxford India companion to Sociology and Social Anthropology”*, edited by Veena Das.

⁵³ Sahibzada Abdul Rasul, *History of Sargodha*, pp.12.

established as Maharaja of Punjab and select Lahore where he fixed his court for the stability of his emperor. Following in the footsteps of his father Maha Singh, he decided to occupy Bhera (district Sargodha). Jodh Singh, the ruler of Bhera (who inherited this area from his father Dhan Singh), was accused of committing atrocities there. In 1808, Ranjeet Singh left Miani (town near Bhera) and took control of the area on both sides of the Jhelum River, excepted Bhera, upto Jhawrian⁵⁴.

If we look at how the Sikhs and British got support of local elite by allotting them jagir, the names of Langar Khan Son of Sardar Fateh Khan Baloch and Malik Khan Muhammad Tawana, are noteworthy. In 1810, Maharaja Ranjit Singh invaded the independent state of Sahiwal (Sargodha) and under a conspiracy defeated Fateh Khan Baloch and occupied the area and arrested him. He was later released him and given a jagir in Jhang and then on the right bank of the river Jhelum opposite Bhera (Sargodha). In 1822, his son Langar Khan was summoned by Ranjit Singh and given a jagir. He took part in the Afghan war on behalf of the Sikhs. He later received a permanent estate and a lifetime pension of Rs.1200 for his outstanding services to British government⁵⁵.

In 1914 at the start of First World War, British government wanted to send maximum Indians in army on the war. The local dignitaries and feudal lords took an active part in the government's forced mobilization. In addition to recruiting youth from their respective areas, they helped the government in Dama, Darma, Kadma and Sakhna in return for which they were rewarded with valuable land.

According to a report, these feudal lords and big landlords of Sargodha acquired a total of 84 sq. Ft. (12,100 sq. M) of land⁵⁶.

⁵⁴ *Rasul, 2001*, p.161

⁵⁵ *Rasul, 2001*, p.162

⁵⁶ Muhammad Iqbal Awan, *Sargodha main Muslim Syasat*, Misal Publisher, Faisalabad, 2004,p.28

1.21 Major Baradarries of Sargodha District

After administrative changes various Baradarries of district Sargodha can be describe in this way: Awan, Bajwa, Bali, Baloch, Bandial, Bhati, Chadhar, Chatha, Cheema, Cheena, Dhudi, Dogar, Haral, Hargan, Hattar, Janjua, Jhamat, Joia, Kahilu, Kaliyar, Kamboh, Kharal, Khichi, Khokar, Lack, Qurashi, Rajpoot, Ranjha, Sahi, Sipra, Sheikh, Sayal, Sayed, Tarrar, Tatri, Ghuman, Gondal, Goraya, Gujar, Gunjial, Hanjra, Lalli, Malana, Mahota, Mekan, Noon, Pathan, Waien, Warich, Bharrat, Wirk and Piracha Baradari are also noteworthy which is also involved in business⁵⁷.

After the formation of Khushab district, there was a clear change in the communities of Sargodha are for example, influential political and feudal community like the Tawana were excluded from the politics of Sargodha district because their native areas moved to the territorial boundaries of Khushab district⁵⁸.

1.22 Political Background

The Sargodha area has the distinction of representing all Pakistani Punjab's outside the Lahore. Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk selected 35 Muslim personalities from different parts of India for the Shimla delegation, of which Malik Umer Hayat Tawana (Shahpur District) was third⁵⁹.

After the creation of Muslim League in Dhaka, Sargodha district represent actively in Punjab Provincial Muslim political activities by its two prominent personalities of the district who were appointed vice president of the league. One of them was Malik Umar Hayat Tawana (Kalra State) while the other was Mubarirz Khan (Jhan Abaad state)⁶⁰.

Umar Hayat Tiwana was nominated in 1906 as a member of Punjab legislative council after completion two years term, he was re-nominated to the same council. From 1909-1919 he remained the member of the Imperial Legislative Council. He was remain the member of council

⁵⁷ Sahibzada Abdul Rasul, *History of Sargodha*, Op. Cit., pp.233.

⁵⁸ Interview, Professor Raja Abdul Waheed, Principal Government Degree College chak 90 Janobi Sargodha,10 January 2007." *Punjab Main Baradrion Ki Siasat: 1947-2002* by Chaudhary Zahoor Ahmad, published by nihcr, 2013

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*,pp.198-200

⁶⁰ Muhammad Iqbal Awan, *Sargodha main Muslim Syasat*, Misal Publisher, Faisalabad, 2004,p.99

of state for the 10 years and in 1929 he was nominated for the Indian National Council. It is a great honor for an Indian and especially for a remote area like Sargodha to have the opportunity of continuous representation in such important political institutions of the country for 25 years⁶¹.

Other members of Punjab council from this district were Malik Mumtaz Ahmed Doltana, Nawab Muhammad Hayat Qureshi, Malik Khuda Bakhsh Tawana, Malik Feroz Khan Noon, and Malik Allah Bakhs Tawana⁶².

The big landlords, dignitaries, sijnada nasheens and ulema of Sargodha also played an important role in the Khilafat movement. In Sargodha, 141 Khilafat committees were formed, which included dignitaries and religious scholars. Meetings were held in Khushab, Bhalwal and Sahilwal etc. in which condemnatory resolutions were presented⁶³.

In 1930 elections from Sargodha, Malik Feroz Khan Noon and Nawab Muhammad Khan were elected and Feroz Khan Noon became the minister of education again after 1921 elections victory. Later he was appointed as the High Commissioner of India⁶⁴. The Unionist successfully ruled the Punjab from 1920 to another quarter of a century. In 1930, Mian Fazal Hussain was appointed Minister at the Center and was replaced by Sir Sikandar Hayat, who succeeded in extending the power of the Unionist Party for another 13 years⁶⁵.

After the death of Mian Fazal Hussain (1936), Sir Sikandar Hayat formed the government in Punjab and became the Prime Minister of the province. Sir Khizar Hayat Tawana from Sargodha district was also a minister in his cabinet. Thus the region maintained its tradition of influence in provincial politics⁶⁶.

If we look towards the various nominations of political figures in the administrative authorities of various institutes of government including prime ministers to ministers and senators from 1947 to 2003 Malik Feroz Khan Noon (governor East Pakistan 1947, Chief Minister of Punjab 1952-55, Prime minister of Pakistan 1955-1958), Malik Noor Hayat Noon (federal minister

⁶¹ Iqbal Awan, 2004 pp.294-296.

⁶² Sahibzada Abdul Rasul, *History of Sargodha*, Op. Cit., pp.204.

⁶³ Muhammad Iqbal Awan, *Sargodha main Muslim Syasat*, Misal Publisher, Faisalabad, 2004,pp. 138-143

⁶⁴ Malik Feroz Khan Noon, *Chashm-E-Deed*, Feroz Sons, Lahore: 1997.p. 114

⁶⁵ Dr anwar Iqbal Qureshi, *Asi Bulandi Yah Pasti*, Aziz Book Depot, Lahore, 1973. p.47

⁶⁶ Sahibzada Abdul Rasul, *History of Sargodha*, Op. Cit., p.218

of communication 1985-1988), Doctor Khalid Ranjha (federal minister of law 2002), Mian Manazir Ali Ranjha (Deputy speaker provincial assembly 1985-1988).

In 1977 nine senators were present in senate from Sargodha division they were Malik Anjrid Ali Noon, Lt(Col) Ahmed Iqbal Khan Tiwana, Sheikh Anwar-ul-Haq Piracha, Mehar Khuda dad Khan Lack, Malik MAnzoor Hayat Noon, Malik Muhammad Anwar Tawana, Mian Muhammad Saeed Querashi, Sayed Nusrat Ali Shah, Lalla Nawab Khan.

Similarly in 1985-88 senate, four senators were present they were Haji Ameer Haider Qureshi, Mehar Khuda Dad Khan Lack, Sheikh Ihsan-ul-Haq Piracha, Mian Muhammad Saeed Qureshi. In 1988-1990 senator Khwaja Muhammad Hameed-ud-din Sialwi, 1997-2000 senator Sheikh Ihsan-ul-Haq Piracha and in 2003 senator Dr.Khalid Ranjha and Sajjad Hussain Bukhari were allocated senator from the Sargodha division. Hamid Ali Noon remain the ambassador in Bhutto period. A female representation of this district was Begum Waqar-un-nisa she was the wife Feroz Khan Noon (minister of tourism) in Zia era. Malik Imtiaz Ahmed Bharath was the tehsil nazim in 2002⁶⁷.

1.23 Political Parties of Sargodha District

Until 1947, political life in Sargodha was dominated by the Congress, Muslim League and Unionist Party⁶⁸.

Moreover if we take overview of other political parties after 1947 era, in 1970's and 77's elections Pakistan People's Party was dominant in this region. During 1985-2000 period PPP and PML (N) remain dominant in district Sargodha. In 2002 elections PML (Q) candidate was winner due to personal influence and coordination's of Baradaris⁶⁹. By taking an overview in Punjab assembly representation of district Sargodha from 2008 2018 following political parties remain dominant:

⁶⁷ Chaudhary, Zahoor Ahmed. 2013. *Punjab Main Baradrion Ki Syasat*. 1st ed. Islamabad: nihcr. pp.124-174

⁶⁸ Muhammad Iqbal Awan, *Sargodha Main Muslim Syasat*, Op.Cit., pp.193

⁶⁹ Chaudhary, Zahoor Ahmed. 2013. *Punjab Main Baradrion Ki Syasat*. 1st ed. Islamabad: nihcr. pp.163-168

- In general election 2008-13 out of 10 seats PML (N) won 5 seats and remain dominant in the district politics as well. PML, PPP (Parliamentarian) and an independent candidate also show representation of their parties by getting one seat at provincial level.
- In 2013-18 general election out of 11(28,29,30,31,32,33,34,35,36,37,38) seats of district Sargodha 10 seats won by PML (N) and 1 seat won by PML.
- In 2018 general elections out of 10 (PP- 72,73,74,75,76,77,78,79,80 , 81)seats 5 seats won by PML (N) and 5 seats won by PTI⁷⁰.

Above mention detail shows clear that in 2013 PML (N) remain dominant while in 2018 PTI got equal number of seats in Punjab assembly.

In case of National assembly the following political parties took participation in the general elections 2013 & 18:

- In 2013-18 in the constituencies of district Sargodha NA(64,65,66,67,68) PML(N) won 5seats out of 5 seats and remained dominant political party of the district while other political parties i.e. PPP, PTI, JUP(Noorani), MQM, PML, MMA,PST, MDM, AWP, JI, AMPL Jinah and independent candidates without any political party representation also took participation in elections.
- In 2018 general elections, district Sargodha was divided into 5 constituencies for the national assembly elections (NA- 88,89,90,91, 92). PML (N) remained dominant and won 4 seats and PTI won 1 seat in these five constituencies.
- Other political parties that took participation in election were PPP, TLP (Tehreek-e-Labaik Pakistan), MMA, PTI, MMA, AAT (Allah-o-Akbar Tehreek), PFP-Falah, AMPL Jinnah, PPPP and independent candidates also took participation in general election 2018⁷¹.

⁷⁰ <https://www.pap.gov.pk> Assesses date 8 November , 2021

⁷¹ <https://electionpakistan.com> Accessed date 20 March, 2022

1.24 Electoral Politics:

Sargodha districts of Sargodha division included in central Punjab. 1970, 1988, 1990 and 1993 national assembly election results showed the critical importance of central Punjab in the electoral politics of both provincial and national level. In historical perspective the electoral results were much effected by the candidates rather than by the party. By taking an overview from 1970-1993 elections, in 1970's PPP showed consistently less in district Sargodha by comparing its result percentage with other districts of central Punjab due to the political influence of conservative landed elites. In 1988 and 1993 PPP hold remained strong in the district but in 1990 IJI was prominent. At that time the central Punjab region was undergoing the most rapid socio-economic changes. Region also rapidly change due to vast industry and speedy increasing urbanization changes that effects increase in population density rates. These all factors brought most rapid political changes as in the district. These changes harness the future ruling party in Punjab to its political advantages⁷².

The Urban and Rural divide in the Punjab's election results always gave a clear view that population is under the influence of Baradari base politics. . This division was clear in 1988, 1990 and 1993 election results when PML-N support in urban areas increase as compare to PPP⁷³.

In 1955 fourteen candidates contested elections in Shahpur (Sargodha) for eight provincial assembly seats⁷⁴.

In electoral history dominant political figures of the district succeeded in elections because they were landlords and fully supported by their Baradararies. These personalities including Saleh Muhammad, Sheikh Fazal Elahi Piracha, Qazi Mureed Ahmed Awan, Fateh Muhammad Tiwana, Saeed Ahmad Qureshi, Ahmed Yar Khan Lak, Faiz Ahmed.Ch and Hakim Khursheed Qureshi. In the elections of May 1962, Kalyar, Awan, Nangyana and Mela Baradararies proved dominance over the politics of Sargodha all these were dominant political figures. It is a fact that elections were held on non-party basis so all candidates belonging to different Baradararies participated in the

⁷² Andrew R.Wilder, "The Pakistani Voter Electoral Politics and Voting Behaviour in the Punjab". 1999. 1st ed. Karachi: Oxford University Press. pp.37-47

⁷³ Andrew R.Wilder, 1999.p.79-80

⁷⁴ Ahmad, "Politics of Baradarism (Clans) in the Selected Districts of Punjab", p.156.

elections as independent candidates such as Khan Muhammad Kalyar was elected from Sargodha⁷⁵.

In a social system where Baradari influence remains alive in elections, PPP won the elections of 1970 and 1977 on ideological basis and it was considered that wiped out the Baradari politics. But this was also a fact that the leadership of the PPP had an issue of tickets allocation to the members of the most influential Baradari in tehsil Bhalwal. These elections raised the party politics but even then the role of Baradarism remained a powerful instrument behind the success of the candidates. In election campaign, every candidate has to focus upon his Baradari affiliations during corner meetings and public speeches⁷⁶.

In 2013 and 2018 elections electoral politics of district Sargodha consist on nomination of candidates, party tickets of dominated political parties and Baradaries affiliation and support towards a candidate. Influence of Baradaries in rural and urban areas of the Sargodha in both elections (2013 & 2018) clear that some Baradaries repeatedly participated and winning the elections.

⁷⁵ Jafari, *Pakistan ki Intekhabi Tarikh*, pp.110, 348.

⁷⁶ Interview by Muhammad Waris, Rizwan Ullah Kokab, Chaudhry Muhammad Khan Jaspal (*Gondal*) Former MPA and Minister (care-taker) in the Punjab, May 2015.

National and provincial assembly results and dominated Baradaris of the elections 2013 and 2018 are mentioned in the tables below⁷⁷:

1.25 Table 1.8 Successful Baradari's Candidate in Election 2013 (National Assembly).

Constituency Number	Successful Candidate and Political Party	Successful Bardari
NA-64 SARGODHA I	Pir M.Amin-ul-Hasnat (PML-N)	Pir
NA-65 SARGODHA II	Mohsin Shah Nawaz Ranjha (PMLN)	Ranjha
NA-66 SARGODHA III	Ch. Hamid Hameed (PML-N)	Chaudhary
NA-67 SARGODHA IV	Dr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhatti (PML-N)	Bhatti
NA-68 SARGODHA V	Muhammad Nawaz Sharif (PML-N)	President (PML-N)

Source: Election commission Pakistan

Researcher observe that the Table 2.3 reflects the successful candidates of five constituencies of National Assembly belongs to different Baradaris. Table column describe the list of various dominated Baradaris of the district that reflect the dominance of Baradarism or famous casts of the district as political history of the district such as: Ranjha, Bhatti, Pir (sjada nasheen).

Another important participation of this election is observed by the researcher is that from NA-68 president of PML-N and former prime minster of Pakistan Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif also win the National Assembly seat and in 2013 he also became the prime minster of Pakistan after his last tenure that ends in 1999.

⁷⁷ <https://www.ecp.gov.pk> Accessed April 2021

**1.26 Table 1.9 Successful Baradari's Candidates in Election 2013
(Provincial Assembly)**

Constituency Number	Successful Candidate and Political Party	Successful Bardari
PP-28 SARGODHA I	Doc. Mukhtar Ahmed Bharat (PML-N)	Bharat
PP-29 SARGODHA II	Ghulam Dastagir Lak (PML-N)	Mahar/ Lak
PP-30 SARGODHA III	Ch. Tahir Ahmad Sindhu (PML-N)	Sindhu
PP-31 SARGODHA IV	Mian Munazir Ali Ranjha (PML-N)	Ranjha
PP-32 SARGODHA V	Ch. Amir Sultan Cheema (PML)	Cheema
PP-33 SARGODHA VI	Chaudhry Abdul Razaq Dhiloon (PML-N)	Dhiloon
PP-34 SARGODHA VII	Dr Nadia Aziz (PML-N)	
PP-35 SARGODHA VIII	Ch. Faisal Farooq Cheema (Independent)	Cheema
PP-36 SARGODHA IX	Rana Munawar Hussain Alias Rana Munawar Ghous (PML-N)	Rana/Rajpoot
PP-37 SARGODHA X	Sahabzada Ghulam Nizam Ud Deen Sialvi (PML-N)	Sajada Nasheen
PP-38 SARGODHA XI	Sardar Bahadar Khan Maikan (Independent)	Maiken

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan

In case of Provincial Assembly election result 2013 as mentioned in above table researcher observe the column of successful Baradari shows the list of winner candidate's Baradari which provides the name of dominant and well known casts of the district.

These candidates belongs to political families that took participate as in past in the politics of the district. Major Baradaries that remains dominant in the politics of district were as shown in table column are: Ranjha, Cheema, Bharat, Lak, Sindhu, Dhiloon, Rajpoot Maiken and Sjada Nasheen of Sial Sharif. Moreover researcher observed that all winner candidates belongs to dominant Baradaries no one is unfamiliar or working class member. According to researcher observation this table shows the supremacy of feudalism, dominant Baradari and powerful authority influence in political race of the district.

**1.27 Table 1.10 Successful Baradari's Candidates in Election 2018
(National Assembly)**

Constituency Number	Successful Candidate and Political Party	Successful Bardari
NA-88 SARGODHA I	Mukhtar Ahmad Malik Bharat (PML-N)	Bharat/ Malik
NA-89 SARGODHA II	Mohsin Shah Nawaz Ranjha (PMLN)	Ranjha
NA-90 SARGODHA III	Ch. Hamid Hameed (PML-N)	Chaudhary
NA-91 SARGODHA IV	Dr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhatti (PML-N)	Bhatti
NA-92 SARGODHA V	Sayed Javed Hussain (PML-N)	Sayed

Source: Election commission Pakistan

Researcher finds that in the electoral results of National Assembly 2018 in all five constituencies of the district Sargodha almost same Baradaries remain dominant and win the national assembly seats. Researcher concludes that this consistency in the winning list of same Baradaries shows clear image of the political nature of the district in 2018. People vote the dominant and influence political figures in-spite of any other experience.

1.28 Table 1.11 Successful Baradari's Candidates in 2018 (Provincial Assembly)

Constituency Number	Successful Candidate and Political Party	Successful Bardari
PP-72 SARGODHA I	Sohaib Ahmed Malik (PML-N)	Bharat
PP-73 SARGODHA II	Yasir Zafar Sandhu (PML-N)	Sandhu
PP-74 SARGODHA III	Mian Manazar Hussain Ranjha (PML-N)	Ranjha
PP-75 SARGODHA IV	Muhammad muneeb Sultan Cheema (PTI)	Cheema
PP-76 SARGODHA V	Ch. Faisal Farooq Cheema (PTI)	Cheema
PP-77 SARGODHA VI	Liaqat Ali Khan (PML-N)	Khan
PP-78 SARGODHA VII	Ansar Majeed Khan Niazi (PTI)	Niazi
PP-79 SARGODHA VIII	Rana Munawar Hussain (PML-N)	Rana/Rajpoot
PP-80 SARGODHA XI	Ghulam Ali Asghar Khan Lahry (PTI)	Khan, Lahry
PP-81 SARGODHA X	Ch. Iftakhar Hussain (PTI)	Chaudhary

Source: Election commission Pakistan

Researcher observed the above mentioned table of Provincial Assembly election results 2018 that shows same Baradaries i.e. Ranjha, Bharat, Sandhu and Cheema repeatedly participated and winning elections at National and Provincial assembly level. Moreover Niazi, Khan Chaudhary Baradari also win the seats in their constituency. Researcher observed that Party tickets and Baradari affiliation showing major influence on the electoral results.

CHAPTER 2

1.29 POLITICAL PARTIES, SLOGANS AND MANIFESTO

1.30 Introduction

A widely believe about in the Punjab that social and political factors determined the voting behavior. Presence of traditional groups, loyalties of family, faction or Baradari have influence on the voting decisions more than ‘modern’ or political factors such as party loyalty, patronage or towards current issues⁷⁸.

Process of voting is an important democratic measure in democratic societies that give the opportunity to an individual to caste vote for the determination of suitable candidate for democratic government. This process also provide a chance to the people to be as an active citizens they participate in the procedure for the betterment of community and region where they live⁷⁹.

A manifesto is a program of those action that use to uplift the role of the state and the people. Some parties are basing their claim of public support on single catchy slogans so they made different promises. Political parties do promises with catchy slogans in the heat of elections and these promises are welcomed as they are like ropes by which political parties can hang themselves⁸⁰.

Slogans are the composition of words that utilize briefly and in short terms. These terms and words smartly use to convince people towards a political party. Politician use this tact through slogans in a way they attract and motivate people⁸¹.

⁷⁸ Andrew R.Wilder, 1999.p.149

⁷⁹ Jost, J. T. *“The end of the end of ideology. American Psychologist”*, 2006. 61: (7).pp 32-78
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/291577221_The_End_of_the_End_of_Ideology Assessed date
 10August 2022

⁸⁰ I.A.Rehman, *“Mottos and Manifestos”*, 10May 2018, daily dawn.

⁸¹Akram, A.G., & Iqbal,L, *“A semantic Analysis of the Political Slogans of Pakistan Tehreek-Insaf and Pakistan Muslim League-Noon. Global Political Review”*, 2020. V(III), 100-114.[https://doi.org/10.31703/gpr.2020\(V-III\).10](https://doi.org/10.31703/gpr.2020(V-III).10)

Success of a candidate based on successful electoral campaign in this regard manifesto has key importance in order to compete the election. It is an essential part of campaign strategy as well. In this regard parties address the current issues and attract the voters by presenting future political agenda through manifesto⁸².

Party manifesto is a primary document through which political parties characterize themselves. Manifesto differentiate a political with other political parties in apolitical system. The campaigning process by leadership is to influencing a group towards the achievement of political goals. Achievements of goal is success of the party or its candidate to get power in the country.by using different platforms like through media politician without direct link with any constituency they spread their message and do election campaign. A charismatic leadership not only influence campaign but also impressed general public in this regard. A charismatic leadership play key role and impact on promote the party aims and mobilizing their voters⁸³.

A rich candidate is able to campaign, win votes and reward his voters in various ways, such as jobs in the constituency, administrative officials if they vote for a particular candidate. This give and take theory implemented when a candidate increase his vote bank in the constituency in election days. With access to power, funds can be diverted to obtain additional resources such as people to attend rallies, or in certain contexts, the desired muscle power will be more easily accessible. They announce various welfare schemes before election could be aligned with the election calendar. A campaign is a means for a candidate to communicate his vision and demonstrate his leadership and organizational skills and strengths, compared to competing candidates, to the electorate in order to win votes. This definition provides the essential ingredients for any campaign such as candidate's vision, organization, communication, leadership⁸⁴.

⁸² Ahmed, Ishtiaq, and Muhammad Ishaq. 2018. "Manifestoes Importance In Election Campaign In 2013". *Journal of Politics and International Studies* Vol. 4 (No. 1): pp.91– 110. doi:<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/326635518>.

⁸³ Ahmad Usman, Riffat Munawar, and Aaisha Amjad, "*Determinants Of Effective Electoral Campaign*", 2013. *South Asian Studies* Vol. 28.No. 1: pp.107-126.

⁸⁴ Soumendra Narain Bagchi. "*Election Campaign: A Strategic theory*". 2013.1st ed. Patna: Foundation Publishing House. P. 13.

Researcher in this chapter deals with the comparison of political parties' party manifestos and slogans in both elections also deals to find the effects of political slogans and manifesto on voters of district Sargodha in election 2013 & 2018. In this chapter the manifestoes of three major political parties of Pakistan are PPP, PML-N and PTI in 2013 and 2018 described in detail. Through these parties platforms political campaign of a candidate belongs so this chapter also shows the detail of crucial issues in 2013 & 2018 and mindset of the major political parties to tackle them after coming into power. The issues were to attract the voters by presenting future political agenda through manifesto. This chapter also deals that either voters influenced with slogans or cast their vote on the previous performance of the party? Analysis based on the survey to get public opinion about the above mentioned questions, interviews of candidates were taken by a journalist Sayed Tallat Hussain in a Geo news channel program "Naya Pakistan" before election 2018.

1.31 Pakistan's Electoral Politics and Role of Slogans and Symbols in Historical Background:

"Elections are one of the defining characteristics of democracies and provide the primary mechanism by which democratic governments obtain the authority to rule" William Roberts Clark.⁸⁵

A common thinking about politics provides a platform to make collective decision for the people of the community through inserting influence by a group members and power assertion. The primary focus of the politicians is to gain influence and power so that they use slogans and symbols to attract the people. So in the elections environment, it becomes necessary to influence public choice for vote to give them some manifesto and new ideological slogans.

In Pakistan, political parties used ideological preferences or liking, use of cultural symbols and celebration of historical events on different occasions to deliver their political messages and to create the political awareness among people as well. In this way they get sympathies of the

⁸⁵ William Roberts Clark, Matt Golder, and Sona Nadenichek, "Golder, *Principles of Comparative Politics*". 2nd ed. (London: SAGE Publications, 2013), pp535.

crowded to which they addressed by manipulating social conditions of that time and exploit situational factors.

Historically, Muslim nationalism was a main slogan to mobilize people during independence movement. People of this region easily attracted by using the name of their religion. In Pakistan people traditionally attracted by use of Islamic symbols. This weakness of public attraction catches by politician so they use such slogans and use of Islamic symbols in the politics of Pakistan. Different factors are dominant in political culture of Pakistan including ethnicity, language, geography and traditional elitism dominant. During first general elections in 1970 all political parties tried to feat print media and social means for winning in the elections. These were first nationwide general elections so all parties tried their best to attract voters through catchy slogans and themes.⁸⁶

In Pakistan a voter may support a candidate who belongs to their own class or Baradari or even religion. This voting behavior gives support to a candidate on which bases he considers his position in elections.⁸⁷.

In general election 2013 and 2018 all-important parties covered the key issues in their manifesto whether they were left wing or right wing parties. The following parties that took part in 2013 and 2018 general elections from Sargodha district:

1.32 Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz

1.33 Background

PML-N is perhaps the largest political party in Pakistan. It is one of the party that has factions that have emergence in the region since the All India Muslim League became the Muslim League in 1947. Its fragmentation starts from post-pre independence era. It was the party

⁸⁶ Khalid, Zeeshan, and Dr. Mahboob Hussain. "Politics Of Symbols & Slogans: It'S Impact On Elections Of 1970", 2017. *Journal Of Historical Studies*. Vol.3 (II): pp 1-14. <https://jhs.bzu.edu.pk>.

⁸⁷ Michelson, M. R. "Does Ethnicity Trump Party? Competing Vote Cues and Latino Voting Behavior, *Political Marketing*". 2005, 4 (4). <http://www.haworthpress.com/web/JPOLM>

of Pakistan founders but after 1947 it faced multiple breakages and almost vanished in the 1970s. Revival of Muslim League began in the mid-90s and today PMLN is one of its factions.

Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif was the member of 1985 PML. The PML became the part of IJI that was a right wing alliance during elections in 1988. The elections was won by PPP. IJI won the 1990 elections and Nawz Sharif became the PM. In 1993 after the separation of a faction with the name PML-Junejo from PML, the remaining party was renamed with PML-Nawaz. It became the ruling party again in 1997 till 1999. PML-N lost its momentum in the mid of 2000 but came back actively in main stream politics in 2008 at the end of Musharraf regime. It won the 2013 elections and Nawaz Sharif became the PM again. PML-N remains to be the largest PML faction. It continue to support its ideology of economically liberal and developed country along with liberal democracy. The party now influenced in a moderate religious outlook⁸⁸.

1.34 2013 & 2018 Elections: Part Manifesto, Symbols, Slogans and Results:

Symbol:

Lion⁸⁹

1.35 Party Manifesto 2013:

PML-N manifesto was launched by chief of party Nawaz Sharif who said that their manifesto hinges on three main points. One of them of these was about the conduction of local body election after assuming office.

By giving the summery of manifesto PML-N chief said their party had most qualified and able people in its rank. PML-N manifesto of 2013 consist of following eight concrete targets:

I. Economy

- Focus on the increase on annual growth rate of GDP

II. Energy

88 PARACHA, NADEEM F. 2017. "The Muslim League: A Factional History". Daily Dawn, 2017. <https://www.dawn.com>.

89 Election Commission of Pakistan. <http://www.ecp.gov.pk> Accessed 4 April,2021

- Mobilize fresh investment of \$ 20 billion for power plants and related infrastructure for the generation of 10,000 MW additional electricity.

III. Agriculture and Food Security

- Accelerate agricultural growth.

IV. Education

- To Rise the education level expenditure on education will increase to fulfill the requirement of Article 25-A of the Constitution which makes “right to education”. Increase computer lab in all government schools. To promote education in far areas ‘Danish schools’ will be setup in Pakistan and increase the number of girls’ high school in all union councils. Distribution of laptops for students in public universities and scholarships will be awarded to needy students from low income families.

V. Health

- Expenditure on health will increase, medical insurance cards, 100% assurance of under 5 years children, 1000 mobile health units, in each district at least one hospital with diagnostic facilities and required specialist and establishment of district health authority.

VI. Information Technology

- Introduction of I.C.T in all ministries and departments.

VII. Employment

VIII. To reduce unemployment different opportunities will be provided and minimum wages will be increased at least 15000 per month.

IX. Overseas Pakistanis

- At least 50% of annual allowances will be allocated for productive investment in the country⁹⁰.

PML-N decaled the following areas as its national priorities for the next five years in 2013 for the campaigning of general elections.

⁹⁰ Express Tribune.6 March 2013. "PML-N Launches Its Election Manifesto Economy, Tax Reforms, Local Body Elections Key Component of Manifesto." 2013. <http://tribune.com.pk>. Assessed on 25 August 2021

- Extremism to be combated and terrorism eliminated
- Education for all
- Energy better management
- Employment for youth
- Empowerment for woman
- Economy revival to reduce poverty, curbing inflation
- Eliminating corruption

PLM-N manifesto 2013 “Building a Better Tomorrow” by focusing on 7 E’s (Extremism, Education, Energy, Employment, Empowerment, Economy, and Eliminating)⁹¹ .

Researcher finds that leading their description what would be control and what would be apply and give strengthen in relevant field. Manifesto highlighted the infrastructure projects, education, health and social welfare projects vision for the next five years.

Slogan:

“Building a Better Tomorrow”⁹²

1.36 Manifesto 2018:

For upcoming elections 2018, PML-N launched its party manifesto with a new slogan “Vote KO Izzat Do- Khidmat KO Vote Do” which gave a clear message on the manifesto “our Struggle for Sanctity of the Ballot”. This slogan behind the scenario of a controversy of dismiss of Nawaz Sharif from the seat of Prime Minister after a court decision. Party claimed that an elected prime minister was remove from the office by neglecting the dignity of ballot with organized conspiracy planning. The manifesto 2018 consist of new promises and previous performance description.

Manifesto consist of following promises for the 2018-2023:

- Revolution in the economic field

⁹¹ PML-N MANIFESTO (ENGLISH) 2013. <http://www.cpd-pakistan.org>. Assessed Date 18 July 2021

⁹² Election Commission of Pakistan <http://www.ecp.gov.pk> Assessed Date 20 July 2021

- Enhance and provide opportunities of investment in various business fields and for infrastructure programs in Pakistan
- Link Pakistan over the globe for the advancement in every field of life.
- Minimize losses in state-owned enterprises and leave no behind to decrease the value of the country. All measures will be taken by the party if ruled the country that moves country forward.
- In the country provide opportunities to enable enterprise creation and promote employment by taking all measures to overcome unemployment.
- Party will take all measures to increase per capital income and its easy availability to everyone to enhance their income.
- Party plane in their manifesto about the technical education and technical training in the country. This plane is taken to increase skillful capacity of people in the society. That help the people to earn locally and internationally in different fields.
- Nourish and enhance local market for the upgradation of business and public approach to the variety of goods.
- Tax collection and tax paying culture is much effected and needs attention so party plane to continue tax reforms in this regards.
- Party manifesto about business activities for the traders and investors they plane to provide such environment in which they can promote and get a free environment to enhance their business.
- Party plane to give nourishment and strengthen the new clusters in the various fields of life in the country to give opportunity to the new ideas.
- Speedy completion of long term CPEC plan.
- Promote value addition in agriculture
- Increase productivity
- Support farmers
- Increase funding and access to credit
- Unleash the IT industry
- Expand E-governance and citizen centric services
- Expand support for IT entrepreneurship

- Bridge the digital divide
- Provide un-sustainable livelihood
- Develop relevant skills
- Increase youth representation in democratic forums
- Enhance sport infrastructure
- Open Pakistan to the world
- Scale infrastructure
- Rebrand Pakistan
- More power to the poor
- Ubiquitous power
- Lowest cost to the end consumer
- Go-Green- Improve Health and Environment
- Meet Consumer Needs & Enhance Services
- No Poor Left Behind (Affordability/ Price Reduction)
- Universal Access
- Seem less Transmission/ distribution
- Go-Green Health and Environment First
- Energy Security Through Domestic Unleashing
- Integrate Water Strategy and Plans
- Bolster Storage Capacity
- Leverage water Technology for Efficiency
- Develop Water Conservation Methods
- Supply Clean Drinking water
- Create world class railway system
- Connect cities , town and village seamlessly
- Integrate urban and rural transport system
- Seize the full potential of aviation and maritime
- Extend access beyond the basics
- Cultivate higher order learning

- Bring about a pedagogical revolution
- Improve financing and governance
- Higher education for all
- Ensure world class quality
- Encourage cutting- edge and innovative research
- Improve efficiency and incentivize performance
- Create linkage
- Establish new centers of excellence dedicated to research and innovation
- Increase scale of technological research and innovation through commercialization.
- Ensure the proliferation of technology
- Protect all from preventable diseases
- Provide universal health access
- Build evidence and quality
- Enhance health workforce and finance
- Ensure sustainable population growth
- Improve legislative frame work and compliance
- Ensure effective enforcement of climate change reforms through institution building and expansion.
- Expand scope of environmental conservation efforts
- Religious education
- Interfaith harmony
- Facilitation and protection of all pilgrims
- Protect human rights
- Moving towards inclusivity
- Transform social programs
- Bring justice to people's door step
- Assert fundamental rights
- Strengthen democracy
- Build an impenetrable security

- Build formidable defense and deterrence
- Align institutions
- Foreign relations
- Strengthen peaceful self-defense capabilities
- Opportunities for overseas Pakistanis
- Strengthen the federation
- Bring all provinces at par in terms of development
- Review legislation
- Restructure institutional framework
- Develop a policy framework
- Initiate reforms for film and cinema industry
- Enhance art culture and national heritage
- Showcase Pakistan⁹³

1.37 Electoral Results:

In the electoral history of Pakistan the 8th general elections were held on 2013. Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz participated in these elections and compete for the national and provincial elections by allocating party tickets to their members. Sargodha district was divided into five constituencies (NA-64, 65, 66, 67, and 68) for the national assembly elections and eleven constituencies (PP-28,29,30,31,32,33,34,35,36,37,38) for provincial assembly elections. At national assembly seats all five constituencies elections won by PML-N whereas out of eleven seats of provisional assembly seats, eight seats won by PML-N in this region. In 2018 Sargodha district was divided into 5 national and 10 provincial assembly constituencies. PML-N won all 5 national assembly seats and out of 10 won 5 provincial assembly seats.

⁹³ "PMLN – Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz". 2018. *Pmln.Org*. <http://www.pmln.org>. Assessed Date 18 July 2021

Following tables show the electoral results and party position of PML-N in general elections 2013 & 2018⁹⁴.

1.38 Table 2.1 PML-N Party Position in National Assembly 2013 & 2018:

S.No	Party Position	National Assembly Seats Election 2013	Party Position	National Assembly Seats Election 2018
1	1 st	NA-64 SARGODHA I (PML-N)	1 st	NA-88 SARGODHA I (PML-N)
2	1 st	NA-65 SARGODHA II (PML-N)	1 st	NA-89 SARGODHA II (PML-N)
3	1 st	NA-66 SARGODHA III (PML-N)	1 st	NA-90 SARGODHA III (PML-N)
4	1 st	NA-67 SARGODHA IV (PML-N)	1 st	NA-91 SARGODHA IV (PML-N)
5	1 st	NA-68 SARGODHA V (PML-N)	1 st	NA-92 SARGODHA V (PML-N)

Source: Election commission Pakistan

Researcher of this study observe after studding party manifestos in both elections and from above mentioned table which shows the party position in National Assembly seats of 2013 and 2018 general Elections. Where all five seats are gained by PML-N that highlights the party position and hold in the district in all constituencies.

⁹⁴ Election commission of Pakistan <http://www.ecp.gov.pk> assessed date 5 April 2021

1.39 Table 2.2 PML-N Party Position in Provincial Assembly in 2013 &2018:

S.No	Party Position	Punjab Assembly Seats Election 2013	Party Position	Punjab Assembly Seats Election 2018
1	1 st	PP-28 SARGODHA I (PML-N)	1 st	PP-72 SARGODHA I (PML-N)
2	1 st	PP-29 SARGODHA II (PML-N)	1 st	PP-73 SARGODHA II (PML-N)
3	1 st	PP-30 SARGODHA III (PML-N)	1 st	PP-74 SARGODHA III (PML-N)
4	1 st	PP-31 SARGODHA IV (PML-N)	2 nd	PP-75 SARGODHA IV (PML-N)
5	2 nd	PP-32 SARGODHA V (PML-N)	2 nd	PP-76 SARGODHA V (PTI)
6	1 st	PP-33 SARGODHA VI (PML-N)	1 st	PP-77 SARGODHA VI (PML-N)
7	1 st	PP-34 SARGODHA VII (PML-N)	2 nd	PP-78 SARGODHA VII (PTI)
8	2 nd	PP-35 SARGODHA VIII (PML-N)	1 st	PP-79 SARGODHA VIII (PML-N)
9	1 st	PP-36 SARGODHA IX (PML-N)	2 nd	PP-80 SARGODHA XI (PML-N)
10	1 st	PP-37 SARGODHA X (PML-N)	2 nd	PP-81 SARGODHA X (PML-N)
11	2 nd	PP-38 SARGODHA XI (PML-N)		

Source: Election commission Pakistan

Re-researcher of the study after reviewing the party position in both general Elections and manifesto as well that in 2013 General Election on Provincial Assembly seats out of 11 on 8 seats PML-N remain on winner seats. Similarly in 2018 Election party position I Provincial Assembly out of 10, 5 seats achieved by PML-N candidates. Their a difference found in party position that as compare to 2013 in 2018 party loses its position in Provincial Assembly.

1.40 Pakistan People's Party

1.41 Background

Pakistan People's Party was established on November 30, 1967 by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, who was its first chairman also. Its core objectives are that Islam is faith of Muslims, organizational structure of society base on democracy, and economy base on socialism where all power goes to the people. In 1971 after the resignation of General Yahya Khan resigned from his presidency Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto became the first civilian chief martial laws president of Pakistan. Later on, he became the Prime Minister of Pakistan on 14th August 1973. The first term of Pakistan People's Party government was started from December 20, 1971 to July 5, 1977. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto called the 2nd general elections in the country on March 7, 1977. On July 5, 1977 Gen. Zia overthrew the government of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and after Bhutto's death his daughter Benazir Bhutto became head of Pakistan People's Party.

After the result of third general elections held on November 16, 1988, Pakistan People's Party obtained the majority of seats in the parliament. In this regard, Pakistan People's Party established the government with co-alliance of other political parties and independent groups. Benazir Bhutto, chairperson of Pakistan People's Party became the first woman Prime Minister of a Muslim country and remained in power up to 1990.

In October, 6th & 9th 1993 the elections were scheduled respectively and PPP again formed the coalition government and Benazir Bhutto became P.M of Pakistan. But in 1996, the government of Pakistan People's Party was dissolved by Farooq Khan Laghari President of Pakistan. After the 10 years state emergency declared by General Pervez Musharraf in the country after the overthrow of government of Nawaz Sharif. During this period, Benazir Bhutto, the Chairperson of Pakistan People's Party killed in the incident at Liaquat Abad Rawalpindi on December 27, 2007.

General elections 2008 were scheduled in the country to be held on January 8, 2008 and re-scheduled on February 18, 2008 due to state emergency in Pakistan. In these elections, Pakistan People's Party obtained the majority of seats in the parliament and formed the coalition government with Pakistan Muslim League (PML-N). Syed Yousaf Razza Gallani became the Prime Minister and Asif Ali Zardari became the President of Pakistan. In this era of PPP, Asif Ali Zardari was the

first ever democratically elected President of Pakistan who had completed his five year term⁹⁵. After Pervez Musharraf's military dictatorship imposed restrictions on the PPP the Pakistan People's Party has formed a separate entity called the Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians to meet the requirements. So Pakistan People's Party (PPP) in 2002 has an electoral extension for the election purpose with the name Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians⁹⁶.

1.42 2013 & 2018 Elections: Part Manifesto, Symbols, Slogans and Results:

Symbol:

Arrow⁹⁷

The foundation of PPP was led on the basis of following manifesto:

- i. Islam is our faith
- ii. Democracy is our politics
- iii. Socialism is our economy
- iv. All power to the people

These points signified the vital goal of the party. The main theme of Pakistan People's Party was to introduce the idea of true democracy in Pakistan and transfer of power to the grass root level through the process of elections. The major object of Pakistan People's Party was to resolve the socio-economic problem in the country, particularly the grievances of common people⁹⁸.

⁹⁵ Dawood, Muhammad, Kashif Suhail Malik. "Political Parties In Pakistan: A Case Study Of Pakistan People's Party" 2017. *UCT JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE AND HUMANITIES RESEARCH* 2017(03) 22-27. Assessed date 24 April 2021 <http://journals.researchhub.org>.

⁹⁶ "Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians – History". 2022. <http://pppp.org.pk> Assessed date 15 May 2022

⁹⁷ Election Commission of Pakistan. Party Symbol

⁹⁸ Dawood, Muhammad, Kashif Suhail Malik. 2017. "Political Parties In Pakistan: A Case Study Of Pakistan People's Party". *UCT JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE AND HUMANITIES RESEARCH* 2017(03) 22-27. <http://journals.researchhub.org>.

1.43 Party Manifesto 2013:

Title page of manifesto 2013 presented a slogan message:

Roti, Kapra Aur Makan

Ilam, Sehat Sab Ko Kaam

Dehsat Sai Mahfooz Awam

Ooncha Ho Jamhoor Ka Naam

The following seven core priorities forwarded for the manifesto 2013 by Pakistan People's Party:

1. Ensuring basic needs
2. Empowerment for all
3. Inclusive and equitable growth
4. Infrastructure for the future
5. Towards a new social contract
6. Protecting the people of Pakistan
7. Engaging with the world⁹⁹.

1.44 PPP party manifesto 2018:

PPP presented detailed ambitious manifesto for upcoming general election 2018. The manifesto build upon Z.A.Bhutto's original slogan "Roti-Kaapra oar Makaan" including education, health and mass employment as well.

Title page highlighted a slogan "BB KA WAADA NIBHANA HAI PAKISTAN BACHANA HAI" Party manifesto covered the following promises:

1. Freeing all people from hunger and helplessness
2. Naujawan Pakistan: opening opportunities for our children and our youth
3. Economic justice : rebuilding economy that work for all
4. Strengthening democracy: Harmon sing relation between people and institutions.

⁹⁹ "Pakistan People's Party". 2013. *Pakistan People's Party*. <http://www.ppp.org.pk>

5. Ensuring rights, securing peace: for our state and our people
6. Reclaiming our rightful placing in the world.

1.45 Electoral Results and Party Position in election 2013& 2018

Party position in all constituencies of Sargodha district at national and provincial assembly in election 2013 & 2018 are following:

1.46 Table 2.3 PPP Party Position in National Assembly 2013 & 2018:

S.No	Party Position	National Assembly Seats Election 2013	Party Position	National Assembly Seats Election 2018
1	2 nd	NA-64 SARGODHA I (PPP)	3 rd	NA-88 SARGODHA I (PPP)
2	NO	NA-65 SARGODHA II (PPP)	3 rd	NA-89 SARGODHA II (PPP)
3	3 rd	NA-66 SARGODHA III (PPP)	3 rd	NA-90 SARGODHA III (PPP)
4	No	NA-67 SARGODHA IV (PPP)	4 th	NA-91 SARGODHA IV (PPP)
5	3 rd	NA-68 SARGODHA V (PPP)	4 th	NA-92 SARGODHA V (PPP)

Source: Election commission of Pakistan

Re-searcher of the study after analyzing party manifesto and party position in Election 2013 & 2018 find that in 2013 after the end of PPPP tenure Part position in district Sargodha was not dominant out of five constituencies PPPP remains on three seats on 2nd and 3rd position respectively.

1.47 Table 2.4 PPP Party Position in Provincial Assembly 2013 &2018:

S.No	Party Position	Punjab Assembly Seats Election 2013	Party Position	Punjab Assembly Seats Election 2018
1	3 rd	PP-28 SARGODHA I (PPP)	3 rd	PP-72 SARGODHA I (PPP)
2	2 nd	PP-29 SARGODHA II (PPP)	4 th	PP-73 SARGODHA II (PPP)
3	5 th	PP-30 SARGODHA III (PPP)	3 rd	PP-74 SARGODHA III (PPP)
4	No	PP-31 SARGODHA IV (PPP)	No	PP-75 SARGODHA IV (PPP)
5	No	PP-32 SARGODHA V (PPP)	3 rd	PP-76 SARGODHA V (PPP)
6	3 rd	PP-33 SARGODHA VI (PPP)	3 rd	PP-77 SARGODHA VI (PPP)
7	4 th	PP-34 SARGODHA VII (PPP)	3 rd	PP-78 SARGODHA VII (PPP)
8	3 rd	PP-35 SARGODHA VIII (PPP)	5 th	PP-79 SARGODHA VIII (PPP)
9	6 th	PP-36 SARGODHA IX (PPP)	3 rd	PP-80 SARGODHA XI (PPP)
10	5 th	PP-37 SARGODHA X (PPP)	4 th	PP-81 SARGODHA X (PPP)
11	4 th	PP-38 SARGODHA XI (PPP)		

Source: Election commission of Pakistan

Similarly researcher of the this study after taking review of Provincial assembly results of 2013 & 2018 general Elections party remains from 2nd to 6th position in various constituencies. Researcher finds that it is not suitable to say that party is totally vanish out from the district politics. It remains with strong competition in various constituencies such as in 2013 Elections in NA-64, NA-66 and NA-68 PPPP remains with 2nd and 3rd position similarly in 2018 general Elections in all five constituencies party position stands on 3rd and 4th position as well, which shows that party votes present with majority. Similarly in case of Provincial Assembly in both general Elections party remains on 2nd to 6th position that also shows the presence of party voters in the constituency with leading competitive position.

1.48 Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf (PTI):

1.49 Background:

Former cricketer Imran Khan is the chairman of Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf. PTI was founded on April 25, 1996 in Lahore. First seat won by PTI during the 2002 Elections when Imran Khan won the National Assembly seat of Mianwali. PTI turned into new political momentum when Imran Khan's political fate turned for good when he held his Lahore rally on October 30, 2011 at Minar-e-Pakistan. PTI boycotted the 2008 elections but this party participated in general election 2013 and received 7.5 million votes, second highest votes in the elections. In 2013 PTI made the Government in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa¹⁰⁰.

1.50 2013 & 2018 Elections: Part Manifesto, Symbols, Slogans and Results:

Imran Khan sold all sorts of dreams to both the people and the media to bring them to his side. Although PTI's provincial government in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa was hardly representative or a model to show the public what his agenda and performance, it still announced a '100-day agenda' which it planned to implement if elected to power after 2018 elections. He used religious references from the model state of Medina, the agenda virtually promised to fetch the moon, presenting crucial challenges in simple and populist terms¹⁰¹.

Symbol:

Bat¹⁰²

1.51 Election Manifesto 2013:

PTI addressed different issues to attract the voters including economic issues, to attract unemployed persons, for the decreasing of poverty According to PTI, government will give opportunities to enable experts for doing jobs in government sectors. They promise that they will

¹⁰⁰ "History Pakistan Tehreek-E-Insaf". 2022. *Pakistan Tehreek-E-Insaf*. <http://www.insaf.pk>.

¹⁰¹ Rao, Zulfiquar. "A Brief History of The PTI". 2018 *Daily Times*, 30 August 2018. <http://dailytimes.com.pk>.

¹⁰² Election commission of Pakistan. Party symbols <http://www.ecp.gov.pk> Assessed date 10 October 2021

generate the economic activity at grass root level and will enable the communities and societies. For this purpose they will empower the communities. For agriculture development PTI argue that they will facilitate farmer by offering like taxes or amenities. They will computerize the record of land and improve the infrastructure and encourage the farmer regarding good seeds. In energy sector PTI planned that if they will come in power their government will establish new policies to encourage the foreign investors. In the perspective of PTI, they will resolve economic issues and solve the load shedding problem on priority basis in this regard all resources will be used to increase the production of energy. On political issues PTI promised that their government will maintain and give balance among all institutions of states and encourage the civilian authority.

They promise if they will come in power they will politically solve Baluchistan issue because they believe military solution is not required there. In local body government planning PTI's promise that they will ensure the active participation of people in the local body government and bottom up system. Village councils would be strengthened and they would govern every village. They claim when will come in power the municipal committees and city government will be organized in efficient way for public service so that they can generate funds for effective programs. PTI focus in its manifesto to bring FATA in mainstream. About policy to counter terrorism PTI will offer the security to general public so that the militants may not mix in public for this purpose they will offer militant a dialogue table to resolve the issue of militancy. Pakistan should be apart from US war on terror Government will be weaponless the country. For media independency PTI will finish the ministry of information and will not use government advertisement as a strategy to tease and control media. In education sector according to PTI, allocation of GDP will be increased and introduced voucher system for needy students. For the betterment of health sector PTI promised the allocation of GDP will be increased by 86% to 2.5% in health sector and increase level of health facilities also provide clean drinking water to all the masses¹⁰³.

PTI officially announce the following manifesto points for upcoming general elections 2013:

1. Transform Governance
2. Strengthen the Federation

¹⁰³ Ahmed, Ishtiaq, and Muhammad Ishaq. 2018. "Manifestoes Importance in Election Campaign In 2013". *Journal of Politics and International Studies* Vol. 4 (No. 1): pp.91– 110. <https://prdb.pk/article/manifestoes-importance-in-election-campaign-in-2013-4321>

3. Inclusive Economic Growth
4. Uplift Agriculture, Build Dams and Conserve Water
5. Revolutionize Social Services
6. Ensure Pakistan's National Security

All manifesto agenda points are further arranged in each chapter which describe further planning and description of each promise¹⁰⁴.

1.52 Election Manifesto 2018:

Imran Khan's anti-corruption agenda has created a new support base for him before the 2018 elections, his party probably did not have any particular vote bank. But he has been able to reach out to the liberals as well as the conservatives. Imran's appeal to all class level create an attractive massive crowd in his rallies and campaign. According to United Nations' data, 63% of the Pakistani population is under the age of 25 so his online campaigns reached out to the youngsters and literate people. Through his campaign strategies he has successfully projected the PTI as an alternative third force capable of bringing change from feudalistic and hereditary politics rule. He considers and declare in his campaigns both PPP and PML (N) as corrupt, which have stolen and robbed the country's resources. His attack on the feudal dynastic politics of these two parties has been harsh and struck a chord with the masses looking for an alternative.

Imran Khan's politics reflect anti-corruption agenda with soft Islamism and anti-Westernize. Despite the Islamic affectation, he is considered as a centrist the party's main objective is to make Pakistan a classless modern, Islamic democratic welfare state, which upholds the fundamental rights of the people in which all citizens regardless of gender, caste, creed or religion can live in peace, harmony and happiness. In the manifesto released for the 2013 elections, the party gave the slogan for *Naya Pakistan* (new Pakistan) promising to bring a change that continue and include in its 2018 manifesto. It establish a *Naya Pakistan* on 'Iqbal's dream and Jinnah's vision captured for the dream of an Islamic welfare state'. Party manifesto claimed that the foundations of *Naya Pakistan* would be the principles of 'justice, peace and prosperity'.

¹⁰⁴ "The Manifesto Of Pakistan Tehreek-E-Insaf". 2013. *Centre For Peace And Development Initiatives*. <http://cpdi-pakistan.org>.

In an interview to the magazine, Herald, Imran Khan clarified that his ideology is based on justice rather than the left or right. Imran Khan gave reference to Islamic welfare state in the context of caliphate of Medina acknowledged to be the golden age for Muslims. He elaborated it that in caliphate era socio-economic justice, where everyone was equal before the law, every individual was accountable, and there was no honored class.

By admiring west and impressed with a western party he said that the politics of PTI resembles that of Jeremy Corbyn's Labour Party in the UK. His vision admire Allama Iqbal thoughts, according to him any Muslim who wants justice and socio-economic equality should left-of-Centre. He disagrees with capitalism and neo-liberal economics and says it is nothing more than greed¹⁰⁵.

1.53 Table 2.5 PTI Party Position in National Assembly 2013 &2018:

S.No	Party Position	National Assembly Seats Election 2013	Party Position	National Assembly Seats Election 2018
1	3 rd	NA-64 SARGODHA I (PTI)	2 nd	NA-88 SARGODHA I (PTI)
2	4 th	NA-65 SARGODHA II (PTI)	2 nd	NA-89 SARGODHA II (PTI)
3	2 nd	NA-66 SARGODHA III (PTI)	2 nd	NA-90 SARGODHA III (PTI)
4	3 rd	NA-67 SARGODHA IV (PTI)	2 nd	NA-91 SARGODHA IV (PTI)
5	2 nd	NA-68 SARGODHA V (PTI)	2 nd	NA-92 SARGODHA V (PTI)

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan

¹⁰⁵ Behera, Ajay Darshan. 2018. "Pakistan General Elections 2018: Clear Signs of A Guided Democracy". *International Studies SAGE Publications*, no. 55(3): pp.238-252.
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0020881718803433?journalCode=isga>

Researcher of the study observed from the above mentioned table about party position of PTI in general election 2013 in district Sargodha that party becoming strong in the constituencies of the district where in all it stands on 2nd position. Local political elites tending towards upcoming party in the district politics and presence of PTI supporter rising day by day. That bring a change after long time in the district politics as in past PML-N and people's party among with religious parties' influence, this party getting its space and stands in runner up position.

1.54 Table 2.6 PTI Party Position & Electoral result of Provincial Assembly 2013 &2018:

S.No	Party Position	Punjab Assembly Seats Election 2013	Party Position	Punjab Assembly Seats Election 2018
1	2 nd	PP-28 SARGODHA I (PTI)	2 nd	PP-72 SARGODHA I (PTI)
2	4 th	PP-29 SARGODHA II (PTI)	2 nd	PP-73 SARGODHA II (PTI)
3	6 th	PP-30 SARGODHA III (PTI)	2 nd	PP-74 SARGODHA III (PTI)
4	4 th	PP-31 SARGODHA IV (PTI)	1 st	PP-75 SARGODHA IV (PTI)
5	4 th	PP-32 SARGODHA V (PTI)	1 st	PP-76 SARGODHA V (PTI)
6	2 nd	PP-33 SARGODHA VI (PTI)	2 nd	PP-77 SARGODHA VI (PTI)
7	2 nd	PP-34 SARGODHA VII (PTI)	1 st	PP-78 SARGODHA VII (PTI)
8	4 th	PP-35 SARGODHA VIII (PTI)	2 nd	PP-79 SARGODHA VIII (PTI)
9	5 th	PP-36 SARGODHA IX (PTI)	1 st	PP-80 SARGODHA XI (PTI)
10	2 nd	PP-37 SARGODHA X (PTI)	1 st	PP-81 SARGODHA X (PTI)
11	3 rd	PP-38 SARGODHA XI (PTI)		

Source: Election commission Pakistan

On July 20, 2018 an organization FAFEN release a report that FAFEN observing the electoral and political environment in the country since January 2018 on the bases of election announcements for general election 2018 through expanding the scope of its election observation from the district to constituency level. The organization reported that the election campaign monitor is based on the direct observation of election campaign activities and implementation of code of conduct for political parties and Contesting Candidates media monitoring of electoral violence and citizens interviews on electioneering, voter freedom, women's enjoyment of voting rights and voter inducement.

Researcher of this study conducted interviews with the candidates of the district Sargodha to know their views about impact of manifesto and political slogans on the voters in the elections. In this regard an interview was conducted on 22-11-2022 Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed Bharat (MNA-PMLN) NA-88 Sargodha-I said that no matter what is given in party manifesto, especially in rural areas people considered candidate's personal character, relations with constituency members, participation of a member in social activities of the constituency, influence in "Thana Kachahri" through which he/she facilitate the voters in different cases and no doubt influence in politics of the region involve for the support of a candidate in the constituency. Similarly Mohsin Shaha Nawaz Ranjha NA-89 Sargodha II also have same opinion about the support of the candidate in a constituency that character and socially active candidate remain preferable in the electoral choice whatever the manifesto is... catchy slogans effects the electoral campaign but manifesto which highlight the agricultural reforms, health and jobs announcement also effect the voter as well.

CHAPTER 3

1.55 THE ROLE OF BARADARIES IN ELECTIONS 2013 & 2018

1.56 Introduction:

The word biradar has been derived from Persian word 'Biradar' which means brotherhood¹⁰⁶. In Pakistan and India, a number of social classes are separated on the basis of Baradari. According to the author Anatol Lieven, in Pakistani society Baradari play its role as most important force which stronger and significant than religion, ethnic or any ideological causes. In Pakistan political alliances and parties are normally based on Baradari system not on ideologies. So in Punjabi cultural scenario the consideration of Baradari/qaum/zat plays most important role during election when they make alliance towards a political party¹⁰⁷.

As far as the political system of the subcontinent is concerned, the caste system is of great concern to observe the voting behavior of the people. In Pakistan, especially in Punjab, the fabric of Baradari is too tight to elect a candidate of the same gender or tribe during general and local elections of Political. Political parties throughout their life always keep in mind the large, dominant, empowered and powerful caste groups are necessity of their political activities and especially when elections are going to be held at national level or district level. Beradaris not only support the candidate of their beradari but also campaign for him and collect votes for his victory. It was observed that no clear research has been taken into consideration with special focus on gender behavior for voting on the basis of Baradari during elections ¹⁰⁸.

¹⁰⁶ Maulvi Feroz-ud-Din, Feroz-ul-Lughat(Lahore: feroz sons Limited 2012), pp203.

¹⁰⁷ Chaudhry, Abid Ghafoor, and Aftab Ahmed. 2014. "BARADARI'S FUNCTION AND SIGNIFICANCE: ANANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF GENDER OPINIONS". *Sci.Int(Lahore)*, no. 1013-5316: 1863-1865. <http://www.academia.edu>. Assessed date 8 January 2022

¹⁰⁸ Ahmed, A. F. T. A. B., A. G. Chaudhry, Z. Fatima, S. Hussain, and H. Haris Farooq. "Gender and Voting Behavior: A Study of Baradari Based Politics of Punjab." *Austria: European Academic Research 2*, no. 8 (2014):10187-10195. https://www.academia.edu/12904564/Gender_and_Voting_Behavior_A_Study_of_Baradari_Based_Politics_of_Punjab Assessed date 10January 2022

In Pakistan this argument is most commonly heard that Baradari plays an important role in the politics of Punjab, during elections this system functioning in the Punjab. Throughout the twentieth century Baradari has a historical role in Muslim politics in the Punjab. If we look at the colonial policies that were organized on the basis of caste and beradari, the Land Alienation Act of 1900 is an example in this regard which strengthened the political importance of caste or beradari.

In colonial period administrative duties were allocated to various Baradaris in the district. This action gave more strengthen to local elites and feudalists, tribal or Baradari heads that they are in priority to rule in the district. These boundaries are for the landed elite and Baradari chiefs who were appointed to maintain political stability in their area. Therefore precision that traditional elites usually remain dominant in elections become strong. Theodore Wright in his article 'Baradaris in Punjab Elections' discuss press accounts that Baradari is a big factor of voting behavior than a party allegiance but when two major candidates of same Baradari were participating in the same constituency situation become change. Ticket balancing set through Baradari deals this is done between the candidates for a national assembly seats and the provincial assembly seats in the same constituencies. Voters, without distinction, tend to vote against candidates who have neglected their constituencies in previous elections or who have not delivered on promises. The importance of Baradari highlighted when parties select national and provincial assembly candidates from a constituency. In election days Baradari decides which candidate is awarded a party ticket. During election campaign when candidate more intouch within the community or their specific Baradaris they try to win the support of Baradari heads in their constituency to gain vote bank which describes candidates influence in the tribe or community.¹⁰⁹.

Researcher of this study in this chapter deals with popular perception of the importance of Baradari in determining voter behavior. To find the role of Baradari in general elections 2013 and 2018 this chapter deals the comparison of electoral results of five constituencies of national and provincial assembly in both elections, these constituencies are (NA-64, 65, 66, 67 & 68), A comparative study is studied by the re-searcher in which study of different representatives in assembly who belong to various Baradaris of a constituency. Some members belong to same

¹⁰⁹ Andrew R.Wilder, *The Pakistani Voter Electoral Politics and Voting Behaviour in the Punjab*. 1999. 1st ed. Karachi: Oxford University Press. pp.177-185

Baradari the study deals the role of Baradari in winning candidate's results either it attract party ticket or the performance of the candidate in previous government in the relevant constituency. Some members of a biradary or cast repeatedly won the election of both national and provincial assembly this chapter deals it is due to performance of political representative in or Baradari influence in the relevant constituency. Similarly in this study researcher will study if a party continuously winning the election from a constituency need to observe it is loyalty of the voter towards a party or leader, party affiliation, ideological vote or party performance in previous elections.

1.57 Baradari System and politics in Punjab:

Punjab politics is much influenced with Baradarries and Baradari politics which influenced national and local politics expressively¹¹⁰.

Baradarries has a significant role in general elections in Pakistan. The district administration is usually elected from the key Baradarries of the target district. The distribution of these Baradarries in Punjab affects the results of Pakistani politics. The British reinforced the seeds of fraternity by implementing the Land Alienation Act of 1900 in Punjab. Thus, the rural-urban divide of the population as well as the widening economic gap between the landholders and the landless further widened the gulf. Division of population as locals and settlers through the British colony settlement policy. This had the effect that after the partition of the subcontinent in 1947, the refugees from East Punjab were called Muhajirs and considered a threat to the economic interests of the local population. As a result, both sections of society began to depend upon the power of Baradari in order to protect their interests. The turning point for the politics in Punjab was the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact 1937 because after that Muslim League in the Punjab got the support of strong competing rural party, 'The Unionist Party'. It was an inter-communal party having support of the landlords, pirs and almost 80 percent of the rural population. In this way AIML entered in the field of Punjab politics and voiced slogan of Pakistan on the basis of religion¹¹¹.

¹¹⁰ Impact of Baradarism on Punjab Politics", accessed April 5, 2022,

http://results.pu.edu.pk/images/journal/studies/PDF-FLIES/Artical-10_v14_no2_13.pdf.188

¹¹¹ Muhammad waris, Rizwan Ullah Kokab. 2017. "Baradarism and Politics of Sargodha District". Accessed April 5, 2021, <http://researchgate.net>.

Social structures in Punjab and other regions of Pakistan are feudal, agrarian, tribal and caste-based and define politics. A salient feature of elite politics in Punjab is that it operates in the form of horizontal and vertical alliances and coalitions. The success of influential figures and political families lies in building and maintaining voting blocs and social networks of support. Contrary to the view that these networks are based on caste, tribe and race, they are generally transactional. It is available only to members who are in the ruling party. This is why elected political elites shift loyalties according to political 'waves' in the country and especially in the largest province Punjab. The political elite want to keep the district government and Punjab government departments with them. Thus the members of the voting block try to interfere in the district administration of their representatives, especially with the police. To prolong their political stability and influence in constituency this become their need that development of villages, requiring power lines, water, sanitation, and availability of natural gas pipelines right into their kitchens and homes. Punjab's elites have mastered the art and science of coalition building since Pakistan's early years. This is what defines Punjab's power politics and political factions no party, however powerful its top leader, is immune to communalism¹¹².

1.58 The politics of Sargodha:

For this study to study the politics of Sargodha it is essential to know about the history, demography of major Baradarries and dominant parties and political figures of the district as well. In this way it will be easy for to understand how the emergence of political elite in this region occur and take part to continue this culture where dominant political figures and Baradarries remain present throughout the history and in present era as well.

1.59 History and demography of major Baradarries in Sargodha:

Sargodha is situated in central Punjab. Sargodha is one of the prominent district of Punjab. In the politics of district Sargodha some prominent families have been enjoying power and played a vital role in local, provincial and national politics. The dominant families of the district Sargodha which play a role in politics are Tiwana, Noon, Sayed, Qureshi, Awan, Kalyar, Piracha, Mela, Lak,

¹¹² RASUL BAKHSH RAIS. 2018. "*The Punjab: Old Power Politics in Naya Pakistan*". ARAB NEWS Pakistan, 2018. <http://arabnews.pk>. Accessed date 18 March 2020.

Ranjha, Nangyana and Baloch. They make a ruling elite of Punjab since the pre-partition era. Baradarism is one of the effective elements of the electoral history of Sargodha. It did not emerge on the political scene shortly, its current shape in subcontinent and especially in present day Punjab emerged through various stages. In tehsil Bhalwal, Noon family is playing an effective political role since pre-partition era. Similarly Bhera tehsil is also under influence of Piracha family. These families contributed in mainstream politics and share influential positions in the government. Malik Feroz Khan Noon, Malik Mumtaz Khan Tiwana, Malik Khuda Bukhsh, Tiwana and Nawab Muhammad Hayat Qureshi were also elected from Sargodha constituencies in the elections under the Government of India Act 1919 which were held in 1921.

At that time the influence of politicians of Sargodha in the politics of Punjab was not acceptable for prominent figures of Multan and Attock. Feroz Khan Noon who served as a prime-minister of Pakistan (1957-1958) also served as Indian High Commissioner in Britain before partition of subcontinent. Muslim League was established in Sargodha in 1938 as this district was under the strong hold of the Unionists. Shahpur/Sargodha was represented in all political activities of Muslim League by two vice-presidents Malik Umar Hayat Tiwana of Kalra state and Malik Mubariz Tiwana of Jahanabad branch of Tiwana family.¹¹³

1.60 Impact of Baradarism on political life of Sargodha:

Researcher of this study analyzes the impact of Baradarism on political life of Sargodha. For this purpose study of each constituency of National and Provincial Assembly with respect to Baradarism, political affiliation of a candidate, party position in each Election is also observed.

1.61 Electoral Results of National Assembly in District Sargodha 2013 & 2018 and Role of Baradarism:

Discussion on constituency winner candidate and his/her Baradari. Major Baradarism of the constituencies who took part in elections and got tickets of political parties.

¹¹³ Rais, 2018. <http://arabnews.pk>

1.62 Sargodha I:

NA-64 SARGODHA-I in 2013 general election is the constituency of Sargodha district and in 2018 it is marked as NA-88¹¹⁴.

1.63 Table 3.1: SARGODHA-I Election Results (Major Baradarries & Candidates at top three positions in Election 2013 & 2018 National Assembly)

Election Year & Constituency	Candidate Name	Party	Candidate Vote	Baradari	Position
2013 General Election NA-64	Pir-Amin-ul-Hasnat	PML-N	151690	Pir	1
	Nadeem Afzal Gonda	PPPP	67212	Gondal	2
	Waseem Abbas	PTI	11813	Gondal	3
2018 General Election NA-88	Mukhtar Ahmed Malik	PML-N	130,302	Bharat	1
	Nadeem Afzal Gonda	PTI	116420	Gondal	2
	Izhar UI Hassan	PPPP	12784	Gondal	3

Source: Election commission Pakistan

¹¹⁴ <http://www.ecp.pk> Election Commission of Pakistan. Accessed 20 April 2021

Researcher of this study observed from above table of both elections 2013 & 2018 that Sargodha-I constituency results in general election 2013 shows the dominant party and well known political figures lead in in top three positions. Party ticket candidate profile counts for the voter in this constituency. Pir Amin ul Hasnat shah is the shajada nasheen of sharine Pir Karam Shah Alzahri who has a famous background of justice of sharia court and shajada nasheen also. Nadeem Afzal Gondal who was the candidate from this constituency in election 2008 from the PPP platform but overall party performance in previous government effects on his constituency vote and he stood on 2nd position. Similarly in the general election 2018 Mukhtar Ahmed Malik (Bharat) lead with party ticket PML-N this results shows that candidate profile and party ticket count as well. Mukhtar Ahmed Bharat was also winner candidate from this constituency on PP-28 Sargodha-I in election 2013. Nadeem Afzal Gondal remains on 2nd number in 2018 general elections even though he change his party ticket and participate on PTI ticket but not succeeded.

1.64 Sargodha II:

NA-65 in 2013 is the constituency of Sargodha district for the National Assembly and in 2018 marked as NA-89. Participants from this constituency in both elections are given below in the table which give a brief description of their party name, each candidate's polled votes, Baradari and party position as well¹¹⁵.

1.65 Table 3.2: SARGODHA-II Election Results 2013 & 2018 of National Assembly and major Baradarries of Candidates at top three positions.

Election Year & Constituency	Candidate Name	Party	Candidate Vote	Baradari	Position
2013 General - Election NA-65	Mohsin Shah Nawaz Ranjha	PML-N	102871	Ranjha	1
	Ghias Ahmad Mela	PML-Q	60558	Mela	2
	Madiha Mazhar Ali Ranjha	Independent	10395	Ranjha	3
2018 General - Election NA-89	Mohsin Shah Nawaz Ranjha	PML-N	116275	Ranjha	1
	Usama Ahmad Mela	PTI	113975	Mela	2
	Muhammad Aslam	PPP	19313	Midhiana	3

Source: Election commission Pakistan

Researcher analyze that in 2013 general elections in the constituency Sargodha-II two candidates from the same Baradari Mohsin Shah Nawaz Ranjha and Madiha Mazhar Ali Ranjha participated, but Mohsin Shah Nawaz Ranjha won the elections on PML-N party ticket and female candidate of the same Baradari participate as an independent candidate but not succeed this result

¹¹⁵ Election Commission of Pakistan <http://www.ecp.gov.pk> Assessed date 20 April 2021

shows that Baradari and party ticket of a main stream party count for winning and to attract the voters.

1.66 Sargodha-III:

NA-66 in 2013 and NA-90 in 2018 general Elections were the constituencies of Sargodha district. The given table represent the detail of top three candidates with respect to their party position, Baradari and the polled votes of each candidate in both Elections¹¹⁶.

1.67 Table 3.3: SARGODHA-III Election 2013 & 2018 results of National assembly (Major Baradarries & candidates on top three positions).

Election Year & Constituency	Candidate Name	Party	Candidate's Vote	Baradari	Position
2013 General Election NA-66	Ch. Hamid Hameed	PML-N	133085	Chaudhary	1
	Barrister Abdullah Mumtaz Kahloon	PTI	36296	Kahloon	2
	Tasneem Ahmed Qureshi	PPPP	29624	Qureshi	3
2018 General Election NA-90	Ch. Hamid Hameed	PML-N	94053	Chaudhary	1
	Dr.Nadia Aziz	PTI	85539		2
	Tasneem Ahmed Qureshi	PPPP	21378	Qureshi	3

Source: Election commission Pakistan

Researcher finds through this table about the top three representatives of the electoral constituency Sargodha-III where in election 2013 NA-66 Ch. Hamid Hameed Hameed remain winner with PML-N party ticket, PTI and PPPP stands on 2nd and 3rd position. The overall result of this constituency in election 2013 shows that candidates of main stream parties remains stands

¹¹⁶ Election Commission of Pakistan <http://www.ecp.gov.pk> Assessed date 20 April 2021

on top three positions that shows the voting behaviors of the constituency attract towards candidate profile and party ticket.

Researcher finds through this study of table that all three Baradaris Chaudhary, Kahloon and Querashi are dominant Baradaris who took part in electoral process in past as well. Similarly in election 2018 Ch. Hamid Hameed won again on national assembly seat on same party PML-N, Tasneem Ahmed Qureshi again on 3rd position in the constituency and PTI with different candidate remained on 2nd as in previous elections 2013. The electoral results of this constituency describes the scenario that party ticket and candidate profile remains dominant.

1.68 Sargodha IV:

NA-67 and NA-91 were the constituencies of the district Sargodha in 2013 and 2018 general Elections respectively. The table given below shows the candidate's position including political party, their party position and total votes polled to each candidate¹¹⁷.

1.69 Table 3.4: SARGODHA- IV Election 2013 & 2018 results of National assembly and major Baradaris candidates on top three positions.

Election Year & Constituency	Candidate Name	Party	Candidate Vote	Baradari	Position
2013 General Election NA-67	Doctor Zulfiqar Ali Bhatti	PML-N	109132	Bhatti	1
	Ch. Anwar Ali Cheema	PML-Q	97361	Cheema	2
	Sardar Ahsan Raza Advocate	PTI	7011	Baloch	3
2018 General Election NA-91	Doctor Zulfiqar Ali Bhatti	PML-N	110654	Bhatti	1
	Ch. Amir Sultan Cheema	PTI	110567	Cheema	2
	Hafiz Talha Saeed	AAT	11414	Son of Hafiz Saeed	3

Source: Election commission Pakistan

¹¹⁷ Election Commission of Pakistan <http://www.ecp.gov.pk> Assessed date 20 April 2021

Through the results of this table re-searcher finds the political and party position of each candidate of the constituency. NA-67 and NA-91 were the constituencies of National Assembly for this region of Sargodha district. In both Elections Bhatti, Cheema and Baloch Baradari remain dominant on the top three positions. A religious party AAT's representation by Hafiz Talha Saeed son of Hafiz Saeed head of Jamat-ud-Dawa also participant of this political race and remains on 3rd position in Election 2018 that shows the clear image that religious vote in 2018 has a dominant position in the district politics.

1.70 Sargodha V:

The last constituency of the district Sargodha for the National Assembly seat is Sargodha V. NA-68 in 2013 and NA-92 in 2018 general Elections were allocated for National Assembly seats¹¹⁸.

1.71 Table 3.5: SARGODHA-V Election 2013 & 2018 results of National Assembly and major Baradaries of candidates on top three positions.

Election Year & Constituency	Candidate Name	Party	Candidate Vote	Baradari	Position
2013 General Election NA-68	Muhammad Nawaz Sharif	PML-N	140828	Party Chairman (PML-N)	1
	Noor Hayat Kalyar	PTI	45584	Kalyar	2
	Sayed Nusrat Ali Shah	PPPP	21418	Baloch	3
2018 General Election NA-92	Sayed Javed Hussain	PML-N	97266	Sayed	1
	Sahibzada Naemuddin Sialvi	PTI	65741	Pir/ Sajada Nasheen	2
	Zafar Ahmad	IND	57064		3

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan

¹¹⁸ Election Commission of Pakistan <http://www.ecp.gov.pk> Assessed date 20 April 2021

Through this table results researcher finds that Baloch, Kalyar, Sayed, Pir/ Sajada Nasheen and PML-N party head were reaminon leading position. This shows a clear image of dominance of political elite and Baradaries in the district. PTI is new entry in top three positions of the Election results at National Assembly seats which shows that arrival of new political wave affect the vote and voters in district as compare to past for this party.

About the role of Baradaries in elections specially related to election 2013 & 2018 how much this role is present researcher conducted open ended interviews with different candidates of the district Sargodha constituencies Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed Bharat candidate of Sargodha-I NA-88 said that no doubt support of Baradries, Dhara Bandi (factions) and party ticket count including candidates' personal image. He said that if a candidate has all sour-ties but these sour ties are not sufficient even in the last hours of elections because if you have support of Baradries, factions or a healthy election campaign inspite of all these anything is possible till last moment. Nadeem Afzal Chan, Mohsin Shaha Nawaz Ranjha and other candidates have same opinion about the support of a factions, Bradaries and no doubt party ticket including party or candidate's previous performance in the constituency also matter in the victory of a candidate.

In a TV program (Geo News "Naya Pakistan" 29 June 2018) journalist Sayed Tallat Hussain put some questions in front of all five constituencies' candidates of district Sargodha. He said that new faces belongs to old factions, Baradaries that already participated in politics from their constituencies like Usma Giasa Mela son of Ghias Mela from Na-89 a PTI candidate and for provincial assembly seat another candidate Muneeb Sultan Cheema son of Anwar Cheema PP-75 candidate of PTI is also a young candidates these candidates belong to traditional families in politics they said that in past PTI has not much turn out but now according to new political wave they have much support in the region. Journalist asked about the edge of established family background and Baradari vote Usma Giasa Mela and Muneeb Sultan Cheema said that it is fact inspite of all Baradari support and family background people vote to a leading party ticket holder candidate. Muneeb Sultan Cheema son of Anwar Cheema said that it is not sufficient that only political background for a victory of candidate is enough his father remains seven time MNA but development vote is countable, their role in the development projects in the constituency has

a big reason for their vote bank. About new constituencies they said they are supporting their PTI candidates in new constituencies so it has no much effect on their vote bank. Similarly about new constituencies Mohsin Shaha Nawaz Ranjha NA-89 candidate of PML-N said that in his constituency Baradri vote is divided due to participation of candidates from traditional families in elections so candidates not only rely on Baradari support his performance is also counted. Shah Nawaz Ranjha said that in rural areas his opponent candidates Aslam Midhiana and Ghias Ahmad Mela belongs to strong families specially in politics so delivery base vote and performance is much countable in this tough competition. In case of Baradri support Aslam Midhian's family is relative of Nadeem Afzal Chan who is candidate of PTI from NA-88 but here they are not supporting PTI because PTI not allocated him party ticket in past they were ally of Mela family in politics so their vote bank is divided. This vote bank division of Mela and Midhiana affect the party vote as well. From NA-90 Sargodha –III Hamid Hameed has the ticket of PML-N and consider that he has support of different pressure groups, factions and due to active participation in development of constituency so he is confident for victory.

CHAPTER 4

1.72 COMPARISON OF ELECTION 2013 & 2018 (Five Constituencies National Assembly)

1.73 Introduction:

State elections are considered to be the backbone of the legislative system of democratic countries to provide their citizens with a legitimate opportunity to elect their representatives through a fair and free process within their constitutional and administrative frameworks. This organizational structure needs to be independent, impartial, efficient and effective through regular reviews and necessary modifications under modern administrative and management measures. This is not only to ensure compliance with international standards and obligations, but also to reflect a broader political system, involve public participation and maintain their confidence in the performance of a better democratic system. It is further observed that political and democratic structures are always strengthened by ensuring an acceptable and inclusive electoral process. Furthermore, a fair and free electoral process generally increases voter confidence in the electoral system. Also, candidates easily accept the results without major blames on the opponents and allegations on election commissioners. In Pakistan from 1962 to 2018 twelve elections held.¹¹⁹

According to universal declaration of human rights over the age of eighteen voting is the fundamental right of almost all citizens. It ensures that will of the people is preserved"¹²⁰.

The first elections in Punjab were held in 1883, with the colonial government introducing limited forms of representative government in the province as part of an attempt to rule more effectively. The electoral dominance of the Punjabi landowning elite in the decades after independence from colonial rule shows how much politics has changed since the colonial era. Based on limited suffrage, voting was granted only to large feudal lords, these elections brought

¹¹⁹Muhammad Yasir Arslan, 2017, "*Electoral Reforms in Pakistan. Drawing upon previous experience and building for the future*", Munich, GRIN Verlag, <https://www.grin.com/document/419491>

¹²⁰ HRCP. (2008). Human right commission of Pakistan. State of human rights: An annual report Lahore, Pakistan.

to power a small number of leaders who were able to act in an advisory capacity to the provincial governor.

In the decades that followed, both the suffrage and scope of elected representatives were gradually expanded, although institutional constraints were introduced that ensured the continued reproduction of the political power of governments' land allies. By 1937, repeated rounds of elections at the district and provincial levels consistently returned candidates who were members of the Punjabi landowning elite. The 1946 elections showed similar results despite the fact that they were won by the nationalist Muslim League. While it can be argued that the electoral success of the Punjabi elite was a result of the preferential treatment they received from the colonial government, it was the existing power of the landed classes that would ultimately make them the cornerstone of colonial rule in the province. In pre-colonial India, where agricultural surpluses formed the main source of income and wealth, control over land and, more importantly, the cultivators and their produce, was of central importance to any ruling authority (Fuller, 1989).

Lacking the infrastructural capacity to centralize control over land, the Mughal emperors in India relied on a complex chain of intermediaries, ranging from provincial governors and feudal lords to local-level clan leaders and landlords. Were, in order to provide the means by which to establish indirect rule over the land empire¹²¹.

An analysis has found in daily Dawn a report of Pildat that the quality of the 2013 elections was better than the recent elections that were marred by complaints about the failure of the Result Transmission System (RTS) and vote counting process¹²².

In this chapter researcher finds that various reasons effects on electoral results of constituencies of Sargodha district as shows through its previous results. Influence of dominated parties and candidates from the dominant Baradaris have its vast influence and effect on electoral

¹²¹ D'SOUZA R 2002 "*Crisis before the fall: Some Speculations on the Decline of the Ottomans, Safavids and Mughals*", in *Social Scientist*, Vol. 30, No. 9/10, pp. 3- 30. HINTZE, A 1997 *The Mughal Empire and its Decline: An Interpretation of the Sources of Social Power*, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Ltd
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/269532011_Crisis_before_the_Fall_Some_Speculations_on_the_Decline_of_the_Ottomans_Safavids_and_Mughals Assessed date 20 December 2021

¹²² Iftikhar A.Khan, "*Quality of 2018 Elections declined compared to 2013: Pildat*", Dawn Newspaper 10 August 2018. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1426016> Accessed 26 November 2020

results. In general elections 2013 and 2018 this shadow prominently seen on the electoral results of both elections. In this chapter researcher deal with the comparative study of electoral results of both elections 2013 and 2018. Total five constituencies of this district at National Assembly seats discussed, this chapter also deals with the comparative results of both elections and the analysis of top three political parties' results and candidate of Baradari/ cast. Researcher in this study analyze either the party or Baradari candidate with a dominant political background highlighted and continue sly participated in elections.

1.74 PML-N 2013-2018:

It is necessary for comparison of election results of PML-N to make a comparative analysis of both elections (2013 & 2018) with respect to party position as well. The table give the results of all five Constituencies NA (64, 65, 66, 67, and 68)¹²³

1.75 Table 4.1: PML-N Party Position in District Sargodha (Election Results 2013 National Assembly)

Constituency Number	Successful Candidate and Political Party	Party Position
NA-64 SARGODHA I	Pir M.Amin-ul-Hasnat (PML-N)	Winner
NA-65 SARGODHA II	Mohsin Shah Nawaz Ranjha (PMLN)	Winner
NA-66 SARGODHA III	Ch. Hamid Hameed (PML-N)	Winner
NA-67 SARGODHA IV	Dr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhatti (PML-N)	Winner
NA-68 SARGODHA V	Muhammad Nawaz Sharif (PML-N)	Winner

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan

Researcher after analyzing this table find out the party position of PML-N in all five constituencies of the district where party remain dominant in the Election 2013. All dominant and

¹²³ Election Commission of Pakistan <http://www.ecp.gov.pk> Assessed date 10 January 2022

well known political figures remains on winning seats in this election and dominant party of the country also leads in all constituencies.

1.76 Table 4.2: PML-N Party Position in District Sargodha (Election Results 2018 National Assembly)

Constituency Number	Successful Candidate and Political Party	Party Position
NA-88 SARGODHA I	Mukhtar Ahmad Malik Bharat (PML-N)	Winner
NA-89 SARGODHA II	Mohsin Shah Nawaz Ranjha (PMLN)	Winner
NA-90 SARGODHA III	Ch. Hamid Hameed (PML-N)	Winner
NA-91 SARGODHA IV	Dr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhatti (PML-N)	Winner
NA-92 SARGODHA V	Sayed Javed Hussain (PML-N)	Winner

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan

Table shows the party position and name of successful candidates along with constituency number. Researcher observe the results and find out the winning position of PML-N where all seats won by this party. By doing comparison of both elections(2013 & 2018) researcher find out that in both elections party position and candidates of the constituency remains same as the winner in past. Only at NA-68 in 2013 and at NA-92 in 2018 members change but winner party position remains same, similar situation present in 2013 in NA-64 and in 2018 in NA-88 where candidate change but party position remains same. Researcher after this comparison conclude that party ticket and dominant political figure of these constituencies is a big factor of the electoral position and voters of a party.

1.77 PPPP 2013-2018:

Pakistan People's Party has a dominant political background in this region in past. Researcher in this comparative study of both elections of the district Sargodha researcher make a comparison through tabular representation. The detail of candidates of PPPP participant from the

five constituencies of district Sargodha in both elections (2013 & 2018) and their winning position is discussed in table given below¹²⁴:

1.78 Table 4.3: PPPP Party Position in District Sargodha (Election Results 2013 National Assembly)

S.No	National Assembly Seats Election 2013	Candidate's Name	Party Position
1	NA-64 SARGODHA I (PPP)	Nadeem Afzal Gondal	2 nd
2	NA-65 SARGODHA II (PPP)	NO	NO
3	NA-66 SARGODHA III (PPP)	Tasneem Ahmed Querashi	3 rd
4	NA-67 SARGODHA IV (PPP)	No	No
5	NA-68 SARGODHA V (PPP)	Sayed Nusrat Ali Shah	3 rd

Source: Election Commission Pakistan

Re-researcher of this study after a comparison PPPP position in Elections 2013 with other parties position from this above table finds that after the end of PPPP five year tenure out of five constituencies in two constituencies PPPP representation was null and in remaining three, on two constituencies party position remains on 3rd position and on only one it remains 2nd. This shows party performance in the region and in the country as well which effect the party position in elections. Although all three candidates are dominant political figures of the district but no one can lead on winning position. It is satisfactory that party is not vanish out in all three constituencies and remain present on top three leading positions.

¹²⁴ Election Commission of Pakistan <http://www.ecp.gov.pk> Assessed date 10 January 2022

1.79 Table 4.4: PPPP Party position in District Sargodha (Election Results 2018 National Assembly)

Sr.No	National Assembly Seats Election 2018	Candidate's Name	Party Position
1	NA-88 SARGODHA I (PPP)	Izhar Ul Hasan	3 rd
2	NA-89 SARGODHA II (PPP)	Muhammad Aslam	3 rd
3	NA-90 SARGODHA III (PPP)	Tasneem Ahmed Querashi	3 rd
4	NA-91 SARGODHA IV (PPP)	Tariq Mehmood	4 th
5	NA-92 SARGODHA V (PPP)	Muhammad Jamshed	4 th

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan

After the comparison of electoral results of general elections 2018 with 2013 researcher of this study observe that PPPP remains on 3rd and on 4th position in all five constituencies of the district for the National assembly seats. An improved situation shows in 2018 general elections where PPPP candidates participate in all five constituencies. Which shows the party presence and their vote bank in the district.

1.80 PTI Election 2013:

Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf participation in electoral politics is new entry in district politics of the Sargodha. Its candidate's party position in all five constituencies given below¹²⁵:

¹²⁵ Election Commission Of Pakistan <http://www.ecp.gov.pk> Assessed date 10 January 2022

1.81 Table 4.5: PTI Party Position in District Sargodha (Election Results 2013 National Assembly)

S.No	National Assembly Seats Election 2013	Candidate's Name	Party Position
1	NA-64 SARGODHA I (PTI)	Waseem Abbas	3 rd
2	NA-65 SARGODHA II (PTI)	Colonel Ejaz Hussain Minhas	4 th
3	NA-66 SARGODHA III (PTI)	Barister Abdullah Mumtaz Kahloon	2 nd
4	NA-67 SARGODHA IV (PTI)	Sirdar Ahsan raza Advocate	3 rd
5	NA-68 SARGODHA V (PTI)	Noor Hayat Kalyar	2 nd

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan

After a comparative study of election result 2013 re-searcher of the study observe the party position of PTI in the district for the National assembly seats. Although a new entry in district politics with the competition of PML-N and PPPP, PTI stands on top four positions. In four constituencies it stands on 2nd and on 3rd position where as only in one constituency of NA-65 it remains on 4th position.

1.82 Table 4.6: PTI Party Position in District Sargodha (Election Results 2018 National Assembly).

S.No	National Assembly Seats Election 2018	Candidate's Name	Party Position
1	NA-88 SARGODHA I (PTI)	Nadeem Afzal Gondal	2 nd
2	NA-89 SARGODHA II (PTI)	Usama Ahmed Mela	2 nd
3	NA-90 SARGODHA III (PTI)	Nadia Aziz	2 nd
4	NA-91 SARGODHA IV (PTI)	Ch. Amir Sultan Cheema	2 nd
5	NA-92 SARGODHA V (PTI)	Sahibzada Nameemudin Sialvi	2 nd

Source: Election Commission Pakistan

Above table shows the PTI party position in 2018 general Elections, it is notify that in 2018 PTI hype is at maximum level with new political slogans and manifesto. Party represent its self as a political revival in the country in this scenario researcher of this study observe that including maximum media campaigns and use of social media in public to build easily public opinion towards a party PTI remains on 2nd position throughout the five constituencies. It is an achievement for the party that after two dominant parties PML-N and PPP of the district, PTI stands on 2nd position and give tough competition in political ground to the opponents.

Researcher of this study observe from this comparison of PTI electoral position in the district that all dominant political figures belong to dominant biaradaries were allocated for party ticket who run in this political race. It is clear that any party with the slogan of revolution, change or whatever any catchy slogans and manifesto they choose electable from dominant Baradaries that have influence on local politics and community.

1.83 General Election 2013:

As in general elections 2013 Sargodha district was divide into five constituencies that were discussed above in this chapter by the researcher of the study. In this area of study each constituency of the district and its top three candidates who got majority of votes in general elections 2013.

1.84 SARGODHA I:

NA-64 Sargodha-I consist of 415,520 registered voters in 2013 with 73% population residing in rural area. Bhalwal tehsil reside in this constituency, comprises 53 union councils. Over all turn out in election 2013 from this constituency was 59.7%¹²⁶.

Major Casts/ Tribes:

The Parachas and Noons are two most influential families in this area. Gondal, Arain, Rajput and main are major casts in the constituency. Top three candidates' electoral result detail of the prescribed constituency is given below¹²⁷:

¹²⁶ <http://www.fafen.org> Assessed date 13 March 2022

¹²⁷ <http://www.fafen.org> Assessed date 13 March 2022

1.85 Table 4.7: Candidates Votes and Party position (Sargodha-I Election results 2013)

Constituency	Registered Voter	Polled votes	Valid Votes	Voting Turn out
NA-64 SARGODHA-I	415,491	247,865	238,820	59.7%
Candidate Name	Candidates Votes	Candidate % vote Share	Position	Party
Pir M. Amin-ul-Hasnat	151,690	61.2	Winner	PML-N
Nadeem Afzal Gondal	67,212	27.1	2	PPPP
Waseem Abbas	11,813	4.8	3	PTI

Source: electionsPakistan.com TDEA-FAFEN

Above table shows the detail analysis of 2013 election results of this constituency where out of 10 parties and their candidates contesting the polls. It is clear that PML-N won the seat with 61.2% of the polled votes, PPPP was at 2nd position with 27.1% votes. The remaining parties and their candidates received a combined share of 8% in polled votes and in all these results 3.6% of the polled votes were rejected. The votes polled have increased consistently between 2002 and 2013 which are in increasing side i.e. 10.1% and between 2008 and 2013 this become despite decrease with 3.4%. The voting trend shows a predominant support for PPPP and PML-N which have clinched the top two positions in the three general elections. PTI stands on 3rd number in electoral results of Sargodha-I¹²⁸.

1.86 SARGODHA II:

NA-65 is one of the constituency where 91% population residing in rural areas, in this area political influenced families including Mela, Ranjha, Madhiana and Lak are present in this region.

¹²⁸ <http://www.fafen.org> Assessed date November 14 2021

Farmer Prime Minister Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif was elected from this constituency in 1990¹²⁹.

1.87 Table 4.8: Candidates Votes and Party Position (Sargodha-II Election Results 2013)

Constituency	Registered Voter	Polled votes	Valid Votes	Voting Turn out
NA-65 SARGODHA-II	323,341	196,657	187,710	60.8%
Candidate Name	Candidates Votes	Candidate % vote Share	Position	Party
Mohsin Shah Nawaz Ranjha	102,871	52.3	Winner	PML-N
Ghais Ahmed Mela	60,558	30.8	2	PML
Madiha Mazhar Ali Ranjha	10,395	5.3	3	IND

Source: electionsPakistan.com TDEA-FAFEN

Out of six parties that participated in elections from this constituency, PML-N stand 1st with 52.3% of polled votes. PML was the runner-up with 30.8% votes, while an independent candidate get 5.3% of the polled votes and stands on 3rd position¹³⁰.

1.88 SARGODHA III:

In this constituency around 85 % of population belongs to urban area. Major Baradarries are Arain, Mirza and Sheikh Community¹³¹.

¹²⁹ <http://www.fafen.org> Assessed date 15 November 2021

¹³⁰ <http://www.fafen.org> Assessed date 15 November 2021

¹³¹ <http://www.fafen.org> Assessed date 15 November 2021

1.89 Table 4.9: Candidates Votes and Party position (Sargodha-III Election results 2013)

Constituency	Registered	Polled votes	Valid Votes	Voting Turn
NA-66 SARGODHA-III	Voter			out
	384,131	215,237	212,172	56.0%
Candidate Name	Candidates Votes	Candidate % vote Share	Position	Party
Ch. Muhammad Hamid Hameed	133,058	61.8	Winner	PML-N
Abdullah Mumtaz Kahloon	36,296	16.9	2	PTI
Tasneem Ahmed Querashi	26,624	13.8	3	PPPP

Source: electionsPakistan.com TDEA-FAFEN

After the comparative study of electoral results of this constituency the above mentioned table shows that out of 15 parties and candidates top three candidates and their relevant party is discussed here. In 2013, PML-N won the seat with 61.8% of the polled votes while PTI was on second with 16.9% votes and PPPP managed to get 13.8% of the polled votes and on 3rd position¹³².

1.90 SARGODHA IV:

This rural area known as “Constituency of Cheema” Mjour Baradaries of this constituency are: Araiien, Rana, Rajpoot, Gujar, Bhatti, Bajwa, Malik and Khokhars are present in this area. Ch. Anwar Ali Cheema is the single most powerful politician in the area and has been elected seven times from the constituency. However, he lost his seat in 2013 by PML-N¹³³.

¹³² <http://www.fafen.org> Assessed date 20 October 2021

¹³³ <http://www.fafen.org> Assessed date 20 October 2021

1.91 Table 4.10: Candidate's Vote and party Position (Sargodha-IV Election results 2013)

Constituency	Registered Voter	Polled votes	Valid Votes	Voting Turn out
NA-67 SARGODHA-IV	365,609	231,001	222,840	63.2%
Candidate Name	Candidate's Votes	Candidate % vote Share	Position	Party
Dr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhatti	109,132	47.2	Winner	PML-N
Ch. Anwar Ali Cheema	97,361	42.1	2	PML
Sardar Ahsan Raza	7,011	3	3	PTI

Source: electionsPakistan.com TDEA-FAFEN

Total 12 parties participated in the election 2013 from this constituency top three parties discussed here in this table. PML-N won the seta with 47.2 % vote while PML and PTI managed 2nd and 3rd position¹³⁴.

1.92 SARGODHA V:

In this constituency 81% lives in rural area in 2013 general elections where Tiwana, Awan, Qutbis, Qazi, Bukhars and Sayed are dominant Baradararies of the constituency. Gondal, Bhuttas, Siaal and Rana have strong hold in urban area of this region.

¹³⁴ <http://www.fafen.org> Assessed date 5 April 2022

1.93 Table 4.11: Candidate's Votes and Party position (Sargodha-V Election results 2013)

Constituency	Registered Voter	Polled votes	Valid Votes	Voting Turn out
NA-68 SARGODHA-V	373,233	230,311	223,031	61.7 %
Candidate Name	Candidates Votes	Candidate % vote Share	Position	Party
Muhamma Nawaz Sharif	140,828	61.1	Winner	PML-N
Noor Hayat Kalyar	45,584	19.8	2	PTI
Syed Nusrat Ali Shah	21,418	9.3	3	PPPP

Source: electionsPakistan.com TDEA-FAFEN

After the study of this constituency electoral results, total 15 political parties participated in election 2013 from this constituency. Out of 15 top three positions are discussed in above mentioned table. PML-N head Mian Nawaz Sharif won the seat with 61.1% of the polled votes while PTI was on second with nearly 20% votes, and PPPP managed to get 9.3% of the polled votes¹³⁵.

General Election 2018:

Sargodha district was divided into five constituencies for the National assembly in general elections 2018. The following constituency results and comparison is discussed below NA (88, 89, 90, 91 and 92)¹³⁶.

¹³⁵ <http://www.fafen.org> Assessed date 5 April 2022

¹³⁶ <http://www.ecp.pk> Assessed date 5 April 2022

SARGODHA I:

With 709,301 population NA-88 Sargodha-I is a constituency of Sargodha district. Total 363 polling stations and voting turn out remain 57%. Bharat, Piracha, Gondal, Sayed and Araen are major Baradararies of this constituency¹³⁷.

1.94 Table 4.12: Candidate's Vote and Party Position (Sargodha-I Election results 2018)

Constituency NA-88 SARGODHA-I	Registered Voter	Voting Turn out		
	496,664	57%		
Candidate Name	Candidates Votes	Candidate % vote Share	Position	Party
Mukhtar Ahmed Malik	130,302	47.04	Winner	PML-N
Nadeem Afzal Gondal	116,420	42.03	2	PTI
Izhar-UI- Hasan	12,784	4.61	3	PPPP

Source: electionsPakistan.com TDEA-FAFEN

The above mentioned table of Sargodha-I shows the electoral results of 2018 of this constituency. Researcher of this study observed that PML-N candidate with 47.4 % remain on 1st position while PTI and PPPP stands on 2nd and 3rd positions according to these polling results.

¹³⁷ <http://www.fafen.org> Assessed date 5 July 2022

1.95 Sargodha II.

With population 738,938 this constituency relies in Sargodha district. Total number of polling station of Sargodha-II were 326. Mela, Ranjha, Gondal and Chaudhary are the main Baradarries of this constituency¹³⁸.

1.96 Table 4.13: Sargodha-II Candidate's Votes and Party position (Election results 2018)

Constituency	Registered Voter	Voting Turn out		
NA-89 SARGODHA-II	443,614	59%		
Candidate Name	Candidates Votes	Candidate % vote Share	Position	Party
Mohsin Shah Nawaz Ranjha	116,257	44.9	Winner	PML-N
Usama Ahmed Mela	113,975	44.6	2	PTI
Muhammad Aslam	19,313	7.7	3	PPPP

Source: electionsPakistan.com TDEA-FAFEN

Re-researcher of the study observe through this constituency results study that dominant political parties and their candidates remains dominant on top 3 positions.

PML-N candidate leads in this constituency as in past. Re –searcher observe through this study that PTI candidate and PML-N candidate as close margin difference.

¹³⁸ <http://www.fafen.org> Assessed date 5 July 2022

1.97 SARGODHA III:

With 753, 035 population this constituency is lies in Sargodha district. Total 321 polling stations from where 15 candidates participate in electoral race for National assembly seat in general elections 2018. Major cast are Khan, Chaudhary, Qureshi and Sayed¹³⁹.

1.98 4.14 Table: Candidate's Votes and Party position (Sargodha-III Election results 2018)

Constituency NA-90 SARGODHA- III	Registered Voter	Voting Turn out		
	421,123	53%		
Candidate Name	Candidates Votes	Candidate % vote Share	Position	Party
Ch.Hamid Hameed	63,711	42.08	Winner	PML-N
Nadia Aziz	39,365	38.8	2	PTI
Tasneem ahmed Querashi	405	9.7	3	PPPP

Source: electionsPakistan.com TDEA-FAFEN

Researcher of the study observe from this constituency results that in Sargodha-III PML-N hold remains alive as in past strong competition with PTI which stands on 2nd position. PPPP alive but with low margin. As compare to other parties and their candidates' dominant parties remain on top three positions throughout the election.

¹³⁹ <http://www.fafen.org> Assessed date 8 July 2022

1.99 SARGODHA IV:

This constituency with total population 747,708 is present in district Sargodha. Major Baradararies of this constituency are Bhatti, Awan, Cheema, Khan¹⁴⁰.

1.100 4.15 Table: Candidate's Vote and Party position (Sargodha-IV Election results 2018):

Constituency	Registered	Voting Turn out		
NA-91 SARGODHA- IV	Voter	59%		
	457,921			
Candidate Name	Candidates Votes	Candidate % vote Share	Position	Party
Dr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhatti	110654	41.6	Winner	PML-N
Ch. Amir Sultan Cheema	110,567	41.5	2	PTI
Hafiz Talha Saeed	11414	4.3	3	AAT

Source: electionsPakistan.com TDEA-FAFEN

Researcher find out the electoral results from above mentioned table that new religious party with dominant religious figure Hafiz Talha Saeed son of Hafiz Saeed Ahmed replace PPPP from this constituency on 3rd position where PML-N and PTI candidates also have close gap in polled votes from this seat. Which shows a clear image of PML-N and PTI competition in future.

¹⁴⁰ <http://www.fafen.org> Assessed date 8 July 2022

1.101 SARGODHA V:

This constituency lies in Sargodha district with population 714,606. Total registered voters are 463,591. Major Baradaris are Sayed, Baloch, Khan, Silvi Sajada Nasheen and Khan¹⁴¹.

1.102 Table 4.16: Candidate's Votes and Party Position (Sargodha-V Election Results 2018)

Constituency	Registered Voter	Voting Turn out		
NA-92 SARGODHA-V	463,591	57%		
Candidate Name	Candidates Votes	Candidate % vote Share	Position	Party
Sayed Javed Hussain	97266	38.1	Winner	PML-N
Sahib Zada Naeemuddin Silavi	65741	25.7	2	PTI
Zafar Ahmed	57064	22.4	3	IND

Source: electionsPakistan.com TDEA-FAFEN

Table shows the comparative study of the electoral results of different parties where PML-N stands with strong party position. PTI has close competition in almost all constituencies. Researcher conclude that majority of candidates continually participate and has strong hold in district politics. Almost all parties nominated their candidate and allocate party ticket to dominant Baradari member.

Pakistan Muslim League (N) swept Sargodha and Gujranwala districts in general elections. Elections were held on 5 seats of the National Assembly and 10 seats of the Provincial Assembly

¹⁴¹ <http://www.fafen.org> Assessed date 8 July 2022

in Sargodha district. After the announcement of the result, a large number of PML-N workers and voters gathered at the houses and offices of the winner and enjoyed the victory¹⁴².

In the 2018 elections Punjab was expected to be the main battleground of political parties. Punjab is divided into three regions:

1. North Punjab
2. Central Punjab
3. South Punjab

Central Punjab is considered the PMLN's stronghold, the party managed to capture 50 of the 82 seats, and performed quite well. The party's vote bank remained largely intact in the region, with the sympathy factor – the conviction of Nawaz Sharif and his daughter in the Panama Papers case – working in the PMLN's favor. In this bastion, the PMLN neither split nor did any major split from the party. Despite this, PTI made significant gains in central Punjab. The party won 27 seats and the other two were won by its informal ally PMLQ. Another interesting result in Punjab was that there were spectacular gains by major parties in clusters of seats from a particular region or city. For instance, in Sialkot, Narowal, Gujranwala, Sargodha, Kasur, Okara and Pakpattan, all seats were won by PMLN¹⁴³.

¹⁴² Muhammad Babar Ch., Saleem Abbas: “PML-N Makes clean sweep in Sargodha, Gujranwala”. The Nation, July 27 2018. <https://www.nation.com.pk/27-Jul-2018/pml-n-makes-clean-sweep-in-sargodha-gujranwala?show=p...>
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¹⁴³ Kriti m. shah, Sushant Sareen, “Pakistan general elections 2018: Analysis of results ad implications”. ORF. <https://www.orfonline.org/research/pakistan-general-elections-2018-analysis-of-results-and-implications-46324/> Assessed date 8 July 2022

1.103 Repeated Candidates Winning in Election 2013 & 2018:

Following candidates repeatedly won elections in the district Sargodha.

1.104 Table 4.17: Repeated wining candidates in Election 2013 & 2018

Candidates Name	Constituency	Party
Mohsin Shah Nawaz	SARGODHA II NA-65(2013) NA-89 (2018)	PML-N
Ch. Hamid Hameed	SARGODHA III NA-66 (2013) NA-90 (2018)	PML-N
Dr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhatti	SARGODHA IV NA-67 (2013) NA-91 (2018)	PML-N

Source: Election Commission Pakistan

Researcher of the study observe that dominant party, political elite and dominant Baradarries remains have influence in the district politics during general elections 2013 and 2018 elections. Repetition of victory shows the candidates influence, connection with Baradarries and loyalty with party continues in both elections.

In a TV program (Geo News Naya Pakistan 29 June 2018) journalist Sayed Tallat Hussain cover a program on election 2018. In his program coverage he visited all five constituencies of Sargodha district and conducted interviews of the different candidates for this election. He put some questions related to new division of constituencies , UC's and their effects on electoral campaign, voters support including support of different Baradries and "Dhara bandi (factions)" of various groups and party ticket allocation as well. Sayed Tallat Hussain in his program when asked about support of Baradraies and factions Nadeem Afzal

Chan a candidate of PTI Sargodha-I NA-88 he was also candidate of PPP in 2013 from this constituency said that he has a big support of Piracha family who was his opponent in past election but due to PML-N candidate and party opposition they support him, similarly he has also support of Luk family, Mahar Ghulam Dastageer Luk who was supporter of PLM-N in 2013 elections but in 2018 PML-N not allocate him party ticket so he is supporting PTI candidate. About personal vote he said that the PTI and PPP voter support him as well. In a question about religious vote he said that in past religious vote supported PML-N but due to the emergence of TLP in electoral race it is divided now. About new division of constituencies and UC's he said it does not have much affect his vote bank due to his active role in the constituency infrastructure projects and other developments in his previous tenor. About new constituencies Mohsin shaha Nawaz NA-89 Sargodha II said he has a large vote bank in his previous UC'S and constituency. In new constituency due to emergence of new UC's he has also party vote bank and support of Baradries as well but he is also doing effort in this regard to get more support of different groups because he is facing strong opponents in this constituency.

2 Conclusion:

The present study concluded that the caste, Baradari, religious affiliations and influence of a person in the local community effects the electoral politics in the district Sargodha during elections. This effect may less or much more but remains alive in the district after British raj as well. In rural and urban areas independency of voters about candidate and party choice need more struggle to get independency or to strengthen the real soul of democracy. I have observed in my study that the nature of different gender age groups in the district and their specific preferences are also reflected. Present comparative study of election 2013 and 2018 showed that impact of voting behavior and electoral politics on general elections link with role and loyalty of each political leader in his past tenure in the constituency. The change in voting behavior and loyalty with candidate also influence with public dealing of a candidate in the constituency, party ticket and his influence in main stream politic of the country as well.

Study concluded that according to the regional historical background of Baradarism remains alive in the district where dominant political families present from British raj these families get dominance in politics from post-independence era to present period so the favors of dominance emerge in the nature of the public of this district. Public opinion about political leader/ candidate is based on this praising and appreciation of elite and towards candidate who has influence locally in the district as well.

Whatever political slogans or manifesto, how much investment on party popularity through media or social media, district remains under the influence of dominant Baradaries. People vote to the candidate who has strong hold in constituency and famous political background including feudalistic background as well. By understanding this nature of the voter parties allocate party ticket to the influenced and traditional political families or Baradari head. Use of tribal preference for one's own group in the form of aggression against others is the part of human nature.

This concluded in this study that well known parties of the country like PML-N has continuously strong hold in the district in election 2013 and 2018 where as PPP also dominant in the district but it lose its influence after 2013. PTI no doubt shows fast emergence in the district politics and has close poll gap with PML-N which shows clear image that in future these two parties give tough time to each other. Dominant elite remains dominant no matter how much awareness given by media.

Due to the presence of landlords elite and industrialist this region always attractive for the main stream politics and huge vote bank. PML-N head, Nawaz Sharif took participate in election from this district two times and won the elections. This shows the voters' trend towards dominance in politics, people vote to the elite and dominant parties not a local worker.

It is also concluded through this study that as in modern election campaign no need to door-door campaigning strategy, mostly a Baradari head do dua-e-khair in the constituency from all Baradari members' side to vote for a specific party or candidate.

Family, kinship, clan and clan ties still play an important role in shaping voting behavior in Punjab and province is deeply involved in Baradari politics and kinship. Sargodha district, despite its outstanding performance in agricultural field in Pakistan which has an impact on per capita income of the country is still largely knotted in Baradism. There are many Baradaris in Sargodha

like Lak, Ranjha, Wariach, Jat, Cheema, Gujjar, Awan, Qureshi, Arain, Piracha Rajput, Sayad, Noon, Gondal, Bharat, Kalyar, Kahlon, Mela and Tiwana etc. All political parties use this aspect for their own political benefit so most of the leadership of political parties in Sargodha belongs to the numerically superior communities/Baradaris. The major political parties cannot completely ignore the Baradari factor, so tickets are given to those candidates who belonging to such Baradari which are in majority in the particular constituency. Continuous success and presence of Hamid Hameed and Mohsin Shah Nawaz Ranjha in the central government similarly continuous participation of Nadeem Afzal Gondal (Chan) in the election is the main trend of Sargodha politics behind which various parties operate. With continuous political affiliations Baradari leaders rarely takeoff for on new political journeys with uncalculated risks. In case or rural areas of the district especially in elections, Baradaris usually form political factions at their village level and these factions, build their relationships through status, directly or through vote bank. The role of the Baradaris in political depends on the socio-economic position of its members. Socio-economically weaker Baradaris, parties, or candidates are less consistent in their political policies decisions they are influenced by feudalists and dominant Baradaris for their political decisions and vote bank.

It is also concluded from this study that ticket of a major political party and the support of a large community are essential elements for a candidate's victory in elections from any constituency of the district. In above all scenario it has been observed in rural areas, that members of Kammi communities are generally excluded from local power structures due to their inferior caste, political participation in village affairs is restricted, even open support for any candidate. Therefore, they generally do not participate in electoral politics. This exclusion of inferior communities is also a major factor in the dominance of elites in the politics of this district. So Baradarism or caste base politics is more severe in rural areas and less in urban areas. It has served as a means of alignment and realignment in political constituencies.

It is also concluded that political parties and pressure groups are essential for democracy in the country. In Punjab, the Baradaris are playing the role of pressure groups and providing an environment of competition and opposing for candidates. This challenging and arguing environment is essential for democracy. Baradarism fills the leadership vacuum due to the weakening of the ideological links of the political parties so the political powers use this trend to

extend and prolong their favor. Their jurisdiction and this trend became a challenge to the concept of true democracy in the country.

If political parties collectively solve relevant issues it will help in reducing the tendency of people to prefer politically prominent and economically powerful elites in politics especially in election. But problem is that mostly political parties are headed by dominant political elites, feudalist and industrialists that strengthen the role of elite is necessary in political success so firstly it is need to establish such parties in political field which promote welfare state not an elite dominance state.

The main finding of this research is that the voters of district Sargodha followed the trend of Baradari, dominant political party, party ticket and party head in elections 2013 & 2018. Nazar Muhammad Gondal a candidate of PTI from NA-86 in 2018 in a TV interview taken by journalist Sayed Tallat Hussain on Geo News program “Naya Pakistan” on 29 June 2018 said that party popularity is also countable in elections that a leading party always in winning position specially in case of central Punjab. “Dhara bandi (factions)” and Baradari support cash the vote bank for a candidate, without support of “Dhara” a candidate cannot win so party ticket and support of a group, Baradari and Dhara (faction) collectively play a vital role for the victory of a candidate.

3 Recommendation

Following recommendations are after this study:

- Mostly political party members of the constituency focus on the infrastructure projects in only their voters’ area or Baradari region. That strengthen the Baradarism which give image that only Baradari base political affiliation give rights to the specific group.
- **Political parties mostly allocate party tickets to the dominant Baradari members, which promote Baradari base politics in the region. This should be decrease by allocating ticket to those candidates who play role in social benefits programs in the area.**

- Media should play a vital role in this aspect through highlight constituency problems so that members of all parties from the constituency become competent to do work in their areas.
- **Election Commission of Pakistan should have to introduce some modern strategies and interwoven mechanisms to overcome the invalid vote strength in ballot box which effect the valuable public opinion.**
- **Election day issues should be solved because** in rural areas in election day the pressure of some powerful party/candidate on the election staff to change the electoral results that neglect the mandate of public of that constituency so need strong strategies and measures to overcome this issue.
- E.C.P. through implementing this rule that political parties are responsible to held intra party elections at least twice in a year so that candidates from other fields can take part in electoral race. This act helps to overcome the Baradri base politics and influence of powerful elite in politics.
- Baradarism as an ethnic, tribal or group bias must be discouraged at every level.
- Strong and national level political parties can take the initiative to erase the effects of Baradarism in politics.
- Timely local government elections based on social welfare performance of candidates in the constituency reduces the chances of communalism, casteism, feudalism and provides the possibility of further weakening of Baradari.
- **Political parties should assure the citizens that their larger interests will be protected with minimum personal interference and citizens can confidently raise their voices when needed without any pressure.**
- **Political parties actively participate against the violation of human rights and hurdles against development in the constituency.**
- It is important to ensure by the groups and communities that the political elites are also accountable in case of any violence of public rights and development of the region and bound to give respect of the human rights in their constituencies.
- After this study it is also recommendation that in case of any kind of omission in political and administrative duties and responsibilities, political parties should

restricted not to allocate party ticket in the next election to such candidate this action will gradually strengthens the democracy.

- **The issue of participation of only dominant Baradaries and elite in politic is need to be solve if it is not addressed in time, the voting behavior in the political system in future gives an impression of stagnation. This situation will continue as long as the political parties remain purely under the influence of nepotism and political elites which undermines the democracy. This should be resolve by neglecting nepotism by party head through allocation of responsibilities to active and competent candidate in the party.**
- **Baradari base politics should be overcome by establishing such parties in political field which promote welfare state not an elite dominance state.**

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3. Nadeem Afzal Chan candidate of PTI NA-88 Sargodha-I: Interview by researcher of the study 23-11-22
4. Ch.Hamid Hameed MNA NA-90 Sargodha-III: Interview by researcher of the study 23-11-22
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