

## **Establishing Alternate Authority: Ghulam Bibi Bharwana's Electoral Campaign 2018**

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### **Abstract**

*Woman participation in politics in Muslim societies is not a new phenomenon. Woman have active role in political affairs during the medieval period of Muslim rule in India. It is arguable that whether they were able to establish an alternative feminist authority or not. Modern period witnesses a limited woman participation in different walks of life. Political discourse in colonial period exhibits ethnic, racial, regional and religious arguments giving no room to gender political discursivity. This paper intends to analyze the myth of woman empowerment which is celebrated through the politicization of woman in Pakistan. The discussion in this research paper is strictly limited to the examination of political career and status of Ghulam Bibi Bharwana. She is being continuously elected for National Assembly from 2002-2018. She has also served as state minister for education. Currently she is elected as member of National Assembly besides her mother's election on a provincial seat. This paper conducts the study by arguing that woman, although, are participating in politics, yet, they are still playing within traditional structures of human identity and development.*

**Key Words:** Election, society, Women Empowerment, Political party,

### **Introduction:**

Woman participation in politics in Muslim societies is not a recent phenomenon but there are many examples from the early period to medieval period and from medieval to the modern world. Woman had active role in political affairs during the medieval period of Muslim rule in India. This role had variety of expressions and representations i.e. direct, indirect and representational modes of woman political influences.<sup>1</sup> Razia Sultana established emperorship; Noor Jahan represented her husband and the women like *Shah Turkan* and *Maham Anga* had indirect influences on the political development of their particular times.<sup>2</sup> It is assessed that these examples of woman participation could not be quoted in favor of woman empowerment due to their deep existence in the patriarchal political structures. Their womanhood only rose to prominence at the level of extension of their role to immediate audiences of those times. Their political emergence was not criticized as it was being backed by the royal authority of respective families.<sup>3</sup> Till the exercise of authority, they were 'beings' detached from their gender attributes. They became *woman* as their authority got reflected through unpopularity and criticism. It is debatable that whether they were able to establish an alternate feminist authority or not. So called modern period could offer no reasonable political participation and representation to woman.<sup>4</sup> Political discourse in colonial period had ethnic, racial, regional and religious arguments giving limited room to gender political discursivity.<sup>5</sup> The case of woman empowerment again came to prominence with the advent of post colonialism and in the wake of alternative modernity.<sup>6</sup> Woman got political space both from the modern Islam and liberal democrats.<sup>7</sup> Both of these two expressions could not do with the feminist discursivities. It is needless to mention that a pure secular political space in Pakistan is still a myth. This paper intends to analyze the myth of woman empowerment which is celebrated through the politicization of woman in Pakistan. The discussion in this research paper is strictly limited to the examination of political career and status of Ghulam Bibi Bharwana. She has been

continuously elected for National Assembly from 2002-2018.<sup>8</sup> She has also served as state minister for education. Currently she is elected as member of National Assembly besides her mother's election on a provincial seat. This paper conducts the study by arguing that woman, although, are participating in politics, yet, they are still playing within traditional structures of human identity and development which are blamed to be patriarchal.

Ghulam Bibi was born on 5 May, 1977 in village Satiana. She opened her eyes in a prominent Bharwana family of District Jhang.<sup>9</sup> She was the only child of her parents Iqbal Haider and Salim Bibi. She received her education from Satiana village and afterwards moved to Lahore. She graduated from Lahore College for women and then did her law graduation from University of Punjab. She joined politics in the general elections for national assembly held in 2002 from the platform of PML-Q.<sup>10</sup> She defeated Syed Asad Hayat of Peoples party parliamentarians. Syed Asad Hayat is the younger brother of Syed Faisal Saleh Hayat.<sup>11</sup> Her victorious entry in politics brought her more success and she was selected as state minister for education. In 2008 she again won the election and her party became the ally of PPP government in the federal national government. She joined PML-N in 2013 general elections and was again successful in securing the seat of National Assembly for her. Her fourth consecutive victory in 2018 made her more prominent due to the change in constituency and the ticket of Pakistan Tehreek i Insaf. She has been continuously sitting on the government benches from the start of her political career to date. Her successful political career, her constituency and ever changing political affiliations encourages the researchers to choose her for a brief case study focused on the woman's position in the establishment of alternate authority in Pakistan.

### **Theoretical Insights:**

Theory of Social Practices locates the social in practice rather than mind, discourse, and social interaction, the expositions of Mentalism, Textualism, and Inter-subjectivism.<sup>12</sup> It seems,

initially, very confusing that what this term, practices, stands for. Whether it is a synonym of the already existing terms like tradition, norms, paradigm and discourse or it offers something new.<sup>13</sup> This confusion is also due to the fact that this theory and the concept of practices is relatively new and is getting maturity by defending its philosophical basis and paying serious attention to the critique it attracts. As it has been discussed above that it locates social in practice than it is necessary to see in what way social theory defines Practice. Reckwitz defines the practice as,

“A practice is thus a routinized way in which bodies are moved, objects are handled, subjects are treated, things are described and the world is understood”.<sup>14</sup>

It explains that practice means an understanding that is manifested bodily repeatedly. Handling of the objects is basically an understanding but this understanding will only describe itself when it will be performed.<sup>15</sup> Performance is more an action than an understanding. Handling of the objects is an action but it cannot be materialized without a prior or acquired understanding. Holland and Lave identify this 'prior knowledge' as 'history in person'.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand treatment of subject may or may need a bodily performance. Description of things brings the concepts of eminence of objects in a practice. Understanding of the world also needs the observation of the world in some phenomenon or the objects that can be defined as worldly. So according to the above definition a practice needs a mind, a body, certain objects and repeated performances of the consensual ways are relations that have emerged from the consensus of mind, body and objects. So if theory of social practice places the social in practice, practice equally divides it among mind, body and objects. As practice cannot be reduced only to one of its ingredients so is the case with social that it also cannot be confined to one particular place like mind or body. Joseph Rouse explains the scope of the concept of practice as, “Applications of the practice idiom extend from the most mundane aspects of everyday life to highly structured activities in institutional settings”.<sup>17</sup>

So according to this aspect, practice theory observes the various aspects of human life in the mirror of performed activities and it ranges from simple to complex phenomenon. Its application is pure cultural and more anthropological than the rest of theoretical models. Theory of social practices connects past and present in historical terms. It stresses the historicity of practice rather than presenting it as a time bound phenomenon. It elaborates that it is this phenomenon of practice that gets birth, lives, maintains and mutates, and acquire changes through different bodies and minds (person). It does not reduce the status of person just to the level of a mere carrier of the practice but confers upon him the freedom to move from one practice to other. At one end humans owes their performance to the practice and on the other hand a practice survives only with the involvement of persons in it. Holland and Lave explains it as,

“Put in simple terms: people place cultural artifacts in the environment to stimulate their memory, to guide their problem solving, to shape their feelings, to remember their goals, to remind themselves who they are, or to otherwise affect their thoughts and emotions. Members new to the environmental groups became acquainted with the artifacts and activities that their group had for thinking and feeling and acting toward the environment. Over time, they became able to use the cultural symbols to modify the way they acted with respect to the earth”<sup>18</sup>.

So this theory maintains that social is located in practices that are the product of both body and mind and human performance and cognitive understanding, which are historical in their nature, and cannot be set apart from each other to define the knowledge and ‘social’. How theory of social practices defines its different terms and its ingredient features is described in the preceding section describing its rationale for the present study of sectarian discourse.

### **GBB's political practice:**

Based on the above narrated theoretical insights, one can discuss the GBB's political practice by dividing her participation into two sections. She exhibits her prior knowledge or 'history' in person when she herself contextualizes her political career. This also depicts that how her 'social mind' works. Contextualization, both in actual and announced terms can be deterministic but the handling of objects and utilization of objects give some room to individual authority as well. It is here that one can either stick to tradition or can make an alternative route. Second part of the discussion comprises of her political handling of objects and symbols for a successful political practice. Further debate is equally divided into two parts before analyzing the basic argument of the study in third part.

### **Expressions of 'history in person:**

This part deals with the question of her self-proclaimed identity and secondly the way she comprehends her past. Her self-identification reflects her past, conception of past and script for the present situations. This part examines her speeches during the campaign for the election of National Assembly in 2018. Following the theoretical insight, examination of her speeches gives clear expressions of 'her' 'history in person'. Her past, derived from these speeches is a threefold story. This triangle is constructed among spirituality, her spiritual affiliations and her opponent's deviations from the promised spirituality. She remembers that her past fortune is a blessing bestowed upon her by the '*faizan e murshid*'. Besides, she also remembers that her opponent is not sincere with the real agents of spirituality and so is not loyal to the sacred cause. While addressing a gathering at *Data Darbar* Lahore, she reveals the above mentioned triangle of her 'history in person'. She referred to the visit of Moin ad Din Chishti of Ajmer on the shrine of Data Ganj Baksh. She analogized the recent gathering of *Khatam e Nabawat* Conference with the visit of Moin ad Din Chishti.

“Following the precedent of Sultan e Hind  
(Moin ad Din), who stayed at the shrine of Data

Ganj Baksh and performed a *chilah* (forty days ritual), we are here to seek peace for this life and hereafter. We also seek Data Ganj Baksh to inflict curse upon those who have either intended or have tried to make changes in the laws regarding the finality of Prophet Hood.”<sup>19</sup>

Spirituality according to her had been the only language to guide humanity. After establishing the link of past and spirituality and highlighting the role of religio-spiritual traditions, she tried to ornament this situation with her presence in the scene. Here ‘her’ is not only she herself but her maternal grandfather as well. She explains that her affiliation with the cause of *Khatam e Nabowat* is not recently developed but contains some historicity as well. Her grandfather, Mehr Ghulam Haider Bharwana was the Member of Parliament when Qadianis were excommunicated in the parliament.<sup>20</sup>

“I feel it necessary to mention that I am proud of the event held in 1974. My maternal grandfather, who was known for his submissiveness to Khawaja Qamar ad Din Sialvi, signed the law of finality of Prophet Hood. I am proud of sustaining that tradition in 2017 under the leadership of Khawaja Hameed ad Din Sialvi”.

So the foundations that were laid with the help of her maternal grandfather recently are being defended by her in 2018. She remembers that her political opponent also pledged to be sincere with the cause of ‘Finality of Prophet hood but they were unable to fulfil their promise. She criticizes them for being disloyal to a cause which is above than any other social and political benefit.

“When your (her opponent’s) heart was not strong and your belief was not consolidated, then, why you deceived the people on this nobles cause. Why you promised to resign if you could not practice it. Our mission is to fight

against the deserters of the cause of finality of Prophet Hood.”<sup>21</sup>

All this discussion reveals the way she contextualizes herself in the contemporary social and political scenario. She has developed a clear structure of her past and has institutionalized her ‘history in person’. It helps her in handling the materiality of the situation she is faced with. Following part describes her utilizing and managing the materiality of the political situation in her campaigns during the general elections of July, 2018.

**Handling of objects and embodiment of practice:**

This part examines the way she utilizes her ‘history’ in practicing politics. Her slogans and placements of different symbols whether she negotiates tradition for the sake of tradition or ‘mutates’ the tradition with a new script for a political practice. This part specifically describes her location and construction of objects and their handling. Initially, she appears to be a shrewd manager of the objects and symbols but the exact situation will be clear after going through her practices in detail. As it has been mentioned above that she properly structured her ‘history in person’ so is the case with her handling the material situation. She defines the objects strictly on the basis of her ‘history in mind’ and maintains her limits and boundaries. She seldom goes beyond her expressed understanding of past. This fixation enables her to ritualize her practice with an intensity of routinization. It can also be regarded as one of the major causes of her successful political career. Following are the main aspects regarding her identification, location, construction and handling of the real political objects and symbols.

**Engaging ‘spirituality’:**

Spirituality being the foremost aspect of her cultural memory contains the highest level of importance in the management of objects for the electoral support. Sufi families of *Sial Sharif*, *Golra* and *Taunsa* are highly revered by her besides the expression of enormous love and respect for the rest of sufi orders and shrines.<sup>22</sup> This is also evident from the fact that she



remained conscious in her words and practices against her former political opponents from the house of Shah Jewna. Haider Ali, an advocate by profession and resident of Ghulam Bibi's constituency expressed his views as,

“Our family is enunciated with the syeds of Shah Jewna. We have never witnessed Ghulam Bibi Bharwana challenging the spritulaity of Syeds of Shah Jewna. She always maintains their respects even in the days of her electoral campaigns against Syeda Sughra Imam and Syed Asad Hayat”<sup>23</sup>

She structured her competitive strategies against the Syeds of Shah Jewna by maintaining a level of respect for them. She opposed them on the basis of their extra-territorial affiliation with her former constituency instead of criticizing them on their ‘pseudo-spirituality’. This attitude strengthens her position in a society which holds incredible respects for the spiritual families. At occasions she gives an utterance to her womanhood but constructed within the male-dominated structures of spirituality which confers upon her agency on the basis of her relation to the dominant male i.e. daughter, sister, wife or mother.

#### **Integrating the ‘denominational traditions’:**

Keeping prime focus on maintaining expression of spirituality she also strives for the synthesis or integration of different traditions and manage their symbols and objects in a way that creates, at least, a situation which can be manipulated in her favor. She, for example synthesized the traditions of *pir sial* and local Shiite tradition which in the local discourse are in clear contrast from each other. Cultural memory of the people show hatred and distrust between shias and followers of Sial Sharif.<sup>24</sup> So this integration for an electoral benefit is not an easy task. Her election posters and advertisements contain three slogans for example ‘*Ya Ali Madad*’ (Seeking Help from Ali) and ‘*Mujahida e Khatam e Naboat*’ (Struggling for the cause of finality of Prophet hood).<sup>25</sup> Both these symbols apparently have

nothing in contrast but culturally they belong to altogether different traditions. The other thing she does is the situational integration of sufism and puritan Islam.

**Managing the ‘Political Affiliation’:**

Ghulam Bibi Bharwana changes the political parties keeping in view the tides. She started her career from the platform of Muslim League (Q). In 2013 she joined Pakistan Muslim League (N). In the recent elections of July 2018 she joined Pakistan Tehrik e Insaf. She remained in the government benches in the parliament throughout her political career. She had congenial presence in Muslim League (Q) but she left the party on the onset of PML (N). In the last days of Nawaz regime, Chief Minister Punjab, Shehbaz Shareef, visited her to show party’s position in the wake of growing conflict between Ghulam Bibi and Sheikh Waqas Akram.<sup>26</sup> This visit proved fatal for the electoral politics of Sheikh Waqas Akram and added to the glory of Ghulam Bibi. But as soon as the tide changed its direction after the controversial statement of Rana Sana Ullah, provincial law minister and amendment in the article ... which deals with the finality of Prophet, she left PML (N) and joined the *Tehrik e khatam e Naboat* under the leadership of Hamid ad Din Sialvi.<sup>27</sup> After becoming the part of this movement the next success was the issuance of ticket of Pakistan *Tehrik e Insaf* for the most prominent urban constituency of District Jhang.<sup>28</sup> In doing so she succeeded in managing the two trends prevalent in the area. She secured the two main currents *Khatam Naboat* and the slogan of change raised by PTI, leaving no space for the opponents candidates. She revealed in an interview that she changes parties for the benefits of the people of her area.

“Our utmost need is the welfare of people and development of the area. We will support the people (parties) who will help us to bring development in Jhnag and Chiniot districts. I cannot comprise the religious sentiments as well, she added.”<sup>29</sup>

**Routinization of Electoral practice:**

Her management of spirituality, integration of denominational traditions and situating the political affiliation blended well and paved way for her remarkable victory. She got approximately ninety thousand votes and defeated her rivals with the heavy margins. To clarify the effects of the blending of the above mentioned factors, this part deals with the analysis of productive mechanism of her success. It examines the way Ghulam Bibi Bharwana constructed her practice by going through and synthesizing the already existing socio-cultural, religious and political practices. This part analyses three main trends in which she routinized her practice.

**At first**, by managing the spirituality, she demarcated a boundary which not only gave her a proper identification but at the same time it distinguished her from some of the contesting candidates e.g. Ahmad Ludhyanvi and Sughra Imam. The repeated expressions of spirituality and affiliation with Sufis helped her in two ways. In one way she distanced herself from the Deobandi politics and on the other hand she confused the spiritual claims of Sughra Imam.<sup>30</sup> Sughra Imam, a potential rival, had left with no space to translate her spiritual lineage of Shah Jewna into electoral support. Amidst of sectarian structured politics of the urban constituency of Jhang, apparently, she needed no evidence to justify her anti-Sipah-e-Sahaba but her focus on spirituality and sufism strengthened her position against the similar claims of Syeda Sughra Imam and Sheikh Waqas Akram. By distancing her from the Sipah's electoral base she managed to monopolies the remaining majority of brelvi and shia voters. At second she also detached Syeda Sughra Imam from her Sufi base of Shah Jewna and left no space for her voice to be listened. Syeda Sughra Imam engaged a number of shrines for her support but was unable to routinize that support into an electoral practice.<sup>31</sup>

**At second**, besides managing *Ludhyanvi* and Sughra Imam she directed herself to her most potential contestant. In a way her election was dominantly fought against the electoral claims of

Sheikh Waqas Akram. The main reason behind this contest was the shared electoral base of the both contestants. They had to appeal similar individuals and groups. Their electoral population includes urban shia-barelvi and rural land owning class. Initially it seemed that the election was going in the favor of *Ludhyanvi* because of the division of anti-sipah vote between three potential candidates.<sup>32</sup> Ghulam Bibi devised a three-way policy to break this myth. She defeated sheikh Waqas Akram by establishing herself, as '*mujahida e Khatam e Naboat*', '*Zaira e Imam Hussain*' and by getting the most favourite ticket of Pakistan Tehrik e Insaf. By declaring herself as '*Mujahuida e Khatam e Naboat*' she succeeded in reviving the Barelvi politics in the District Jhang which was silenced in the post Zia era.<sup>33</sup> From 1947 to 1985 the major contestants and dominantly victorious candidates belonged to the Barelvi Sunnite families of Sultan Baho and from the religious scholarship of *Muhammadi Shareef*.<sup>34</sup> This was the binary which paved way for her grandfather Ghulam Haider Bharwana to defeat the undefeatable Col. Syed Abid Hussain (grandfather of Syeda Sughra Imam).<sup>35</sup> Barelvi politics witnessed an unprecedented revival in the last three decades.<sup>36</sup> This revival helped her to defeat her rivals in the urban areas of her constituency. Shia population was going to divide among three candidates equally but she attracted the majority by raising the Shiite symbols through her advertisements in the posters and banners. She generously used the Shiite terms of '*Ya Ali Madad*', '*Salam Ya Hussain*' and also utilized her photos of visiting *Karabala*. She was successful in engaging some persons from prominent Shia families in her campaign. Syed Hassan Tirmazi, nephew of Syed Sana-ul-Haq Tirmazi, became an integral part of her campaign.<sup>37</sup> She also paid visit to the shrine of Imam Hussain after her success in the elections. The other thing that made her popular in the Shiite circles was the ticket of Pakistan Tehrik e Insaf.

**At third**, she managed the party politics in a very shrewd manner. In the last days of previous N-League regime, she successfully defeated the claims of Sheikh Waqas Akram by inviting Chief Minister of Punjab at breakfast. It gave a strong political message to the politicians as well as the public that she

bears more influence as compared to the Sheikh family. In the wake of *Tehrik e Khatam e Naboot* both Ghulam Bibi and Sheikh Akram (Father of Sheikh Waqas Akram) joined the stage set by *Pir Sial Sharif* but former defeated the sheikhs even at this stage. She resigned from the parliament and supported the claims of *Pir Sial* against the N-League government but Sheikh Akram could not follow her steps. Finally, Pakistan Tehrik e Insaf appeared as the most favorite party in the election of 2018. Syeda Sughra Imam, Sheikh Waqas Akram and Ghulam Bibi Bharwana were contesting for the ticket of PTI. Sheikh Waqas Akram was quite confident for getting the ticket and they also released photographs of their meeting with Fawad Chaudhery but the overall district politics and grouping paved way for Ghulam Bibi and she finally got the ticket. On replying to a question regarding her changing party positions she said that she would not support any deviator (PML-N) of the belief of finality of Prophet hood.<sup>38</sup> It not only enabled her to collect the majority votes but at the same time helped her to restrict the way of any support from the municipal and district councils to Sheikh Waqas Akram. It is said that if Sheikh Waqas Akram could get PTI ticket, he might had been able to translate his success in the local body's elections in the general elections.<sup>39</sup> His independent candidature raised serious questions on the future of the Chairman of District Council and Municipal committee.

So it can be established that she was successful in devising her electoral contest by utilizing her past history, by managing and embodying the spiritual, denominational and political symbols and finally by routinizing these two aspects into a practice. Establishment of a practice can be equated with her success in the general elections of 2018.

**Conclusion:**

As described in the introductory part that this paper intends to evaluate and examine the establishment of alternate authority of women in a male dominated Punjabi society. This issue needs volumes to be discussed properly but in this test case and for

clarity of idea the topic has been discussed by confining its boundaries to a single personality and her campaigns in general elections of National Assembly held in July, 2018. The political practice of Ghulam Bibi Bharwana strengthens the argument of the research that she is no exception as far as the establishment of alternate authority of woman is concerned. As narrated in the introductory part that history bestowed space upon many women who rose to prominence but this elevation was not based on their gender. Elevation of woman in history, in most of cases, is witnessed in patriarchal structures. The whole political/electoral practice of Ghulam Bibi involves no evidence of handling or utilization of feminine objects and symbols. She is just succeeded in the utilization of male dominated objects and symbols of spirituality, sectarianism, caste affiliations and above all political slogans. It is important because of she is not a new comer in politics but as described above that she has a successful sixteen years political career. In a way her sixteen year political career has concluded itself in the general elections of 2018. Even after sixteen years of parliamentary experience the objective realities of her constituencies did not allow her to raise woman's voice. She only spoke what the situation led her to speak. So it is established here that the women participation and involvement in our society still needs more attention to gain a real structural place.

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See also S K Lal, *Twilight of the Sultanate*, (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1963) 1
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[www.ecp.gov.pk](http://www.ecp.gov.pk)
  - <sup>9</sup> Bharwana is a sub-caste of Sial.
  - <sup>10</sup> See the election results of the constituencies of National Assembly on the website of Election commission of Pakistan.  
[www.ecp.gov.pk](http://www.ecp.gov.pk)
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Quotations of her speeches are presented as English translation of the actual content in Urdu and Punjabi languages.
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- <sup>23</sup> Interview with Haider Ali Advocate, Former General Secretary District Bar Association Jhang
- <sup>24</sup> Sial Sharif vs Shia is a well-known binary in Jhang, Chiniot and Sargodha District. This antagonism is expressed both in oral and written traditions. Khawaja Qamar al Din Sialvi and Muhammad Hussain Najfi have been involved in creating polemical texts against each other. This binary also manifested itself in the politics of area. See for details Tahir Kamran, “Shari’a, Shias and Chishtiya Revivalism: Contextualizing the growth of Sectarianism in the Tradition of Sialwi Saints of Punjab”, 455-77
- <sup>25</sup> ‘*Ya Ali Madad*’ and ‘*Khatam e Naboat*’ culturally bear a particularity. Their denominational affiliation with opposite sects does not allow them to perform together. *Ya Ali Madad* is a pure Shiite symbol on the other hand ‘*Khatam e Naboat*’ as a slogan and symbols is mostly confined in the Sunnite boundaries in the history of Punjab.
- <sup>26</sup> Punjab rang, Ghulam Bibi Bharwana ki janib say CM Punjab ko welcome, 4 July 2018, You Tube video, Posted 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XN1nmmtRWro>
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- <sup>29</sup> Press briefing at District Courts Jhang.
- <sup>30</sup> Syeda Sughra Imam represents Shah Jewna. She started her career by winning the election of chairperson District Council. In 2002 she got elected as member provincial assembly. She lost the seat of national assembly against Ghulam Bibi. She was elected as senator and owing to



be a senator remained away from the general elections of 2013. In 2018 elections she contested election from the urban constituency and lost.

<sup>31</sup> Pir of Hathiwan, for example

<sup>32</sup> Previous elections in the constituency show the trend that one to one competition always went against the candidate of Sipah e Sahaba. With the increase in the number of potential or notable candidates the position of Sipaha e Sahaba became strong.

<sup>33</sup> Muhammad Sa'dullah, *Tazkara Muhammad Zakir*, (Chiniot, Muhammad Zakir Academy, 2010),35

<sup>34</sup> Nusrat A. Athir, *Zikr e Zakir*, (Jhang: Zakir Academy, 1997), 201

<sup>35</sup> Bilal Zuberi, *Abid Hussain*,(Jhang: Jhang Adbi Academy, 1977), 115

<sup>36</sup> The emergence of Bareilvi politics in the District can be gauged by two main factors. At first, the *Sahibzadas* of Sultan Baho were confined to the constituencies of Shorkot and Ahmadpur Sial but in near past they proved their worth by being dominant in the District politics. *Sahibzada* Hameed Sultan remained District Nazim for two consecutive terms. Currently they have two members of National Assembly, *Sahibzada* Mehboob Sultan and *Sahibzada* Ameer Sultan. At second the entry of Ghulam Bibi Bharwana also strengthened bareilvi politics in the District.

<sup>37</sup> Syed Hasan Tirmazi is the nephew and heir of Syed Sana al Haq Tirmazi. Sana al Haq Tirmazi remained a prominent Shia leader in the days of sectarian turmoil in the District. He also had been provincial president of *Tehrik Fiqha Jafaria* under the leadership of Sajid Naqvi. Before the rise of sectarian strife in the city, Tirmazi was actively taking part in the local politics by representing the migrants. see Tahir Kamran, "Contextualizing Sectarian Militancy in Pakistan: A Case Study of Jhang", *Journal of Islamic Studies* (2009) 20 (1): 55-85

<sup>38</sup> Ghulam Shabir, Ghulam Bibi Bharwana Halqa NA 115 Jhang Lady on Sisy Partian, You Tube Video, Posted on 11 June, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZETLcr93rSs>

<sup>39</sup> Sheikh waqas akram organised a group in local bodies election. The membership included Najaf Khan (late) MNA, Khurram Khan Sial MPA, Khalid Mehmood Sargana MPA, Khalid Ghani Sheikh MPA, Ghulam Ahmad Gadi ex MPA, and Faisal Hayat Jaboana ex MPA. This group also secured support from former minister of interior Faisal Saleh

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Hayat and Ghulam Bibi against the *Pirs* of Sultan Baho. This group won the district and municipal committee elections. See for details Shamsul Islam, *Jhang Districts: Biradari politics out, independents set to sweep local government elections*, November 30,2015  
Tribune.com.pk