

**Ethnic Politics in Pakistan: The Case of Elections in Dera
Ghazi Khan District (2002-2013)**

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Abstract

Ethnicity is a very important and vibrant concept, constructing the core of political, social, cultural and economic areas of modern society. The concept has been affiliated with so many symbols and institutions. During 21st century ethnicity has been proved an important tool of politics in developing countries due to polarized societies, especially the states where multi-ethnic and multi-cultural groups are inhabiting. Due to authoritarian democratic environment the marginalized groups are trying to use ethnicity in politics not only for their identity but through the slogan of ethnic stance they are trying to receive a representation in political system. Pakistan is considered a country of multi-ethnic and multi-lingual groups. At the time of the creation of Pakistan all regional groups i.e., Bengali, Punjabi, Pashtun, Baloch and Sindhi, which were unified in the name of religion. However, ethnicity proved to be a major problem for the new state. On the one hand if ethnicity proved to be a powerful-resistant in the political development of the community, on the other hand state mechanism proved itself incapable of dealing with ethnic problem but after few years with the downfall of east Pakistan proved the ethnic reality in different region of Pakistan. Dera Ghazi Khan District is a region, representing a multiethnic composition, as the basic assumption of the study, it is very clear that the regional, racial and economic concern are responsible for the ethnic politics than the national or Party politics. Major ethnic groups inhabiting district Dera Ghazi Khan are divided in lingual, racial settlement bases as Baloch, Saraiki, Muhajir and Pashtoon, while in the district different Baloch ethnic groups

i.e Khosa, Leghari, Qaisrani, Buzdar, Loand, are dominant in politics due to their strength. The intra-ethnic relations between these groups have promoted the politics of ethnicity in the region. Due to their strength, tribal structure and dominant role in politics these ethnic groups are the major players of politics in the region and the politics always revolve around these ethnic groups. The candidates of these ethnic groups considered victorious in elections and that's why these ethnic groups are dominant in the electoral history of Pakistan since election 1970 due their ethnic card which they have been used in politics. This paper highlights the nature of ethnic politics with the help of electoral results of elections 2002 & 2013 as a model study on ethnic politics.

Keywords: Ethnicity, Politics, Political Development, Pakistan, Dera Ghazi Khan

Introduction

The word ethnicity is perceived in a very wide meaning. The word 'ethnicity' is derived from 'ethnic' originated from Greek noun 'ethnos' which may be translated as 'people' or 'nation'¹. It is used for the social groups identified with a common political or cultural tradition². According to James Bialy³ "all the members of an ethnic group have similar qualities and characteristics. It mean the membership of an ethnic group tends to be associated with shared cultural heritage, ancestry, history, homeland, language , ideology and with symbolic systems such as religion, mythology and ritual, cuisine, dressing style, physical appearance" Ethnicity refers to the combination of racial, cultural, and historical characteristics by which societies are occasionally divided into separate and probably hostile, political families. In its simplest form the idea is exemplified by racial grouping where skin color alone is the separating characteristics. In the Webster's New World Dictionary, ethnic is defined as 'designating of any of generous population, as distinguished by customs, characteristics, language, common history'⁴. According to Paul Brass⁵ "ethnic group is objectively distinct from their neighbors, subjectively self conscious of their distinctness, and lying claims to status

and recognition either as a superior group or as a group at least equal to other group” Brass divided ethnic groups within three definitional parameters. First parameter is in term of objectives attributes, some distinguishing cultural, religious or linguistic features that separates one group from another. Second one is in terms of feelings which arises subjective self-consciousness in a particular group. Third parameter in relation to behavior is that how ethnic groups behave or do not behave with other groups, since cultural and other distinctions really come to the fare in one group’s interaction with other group”. In the Chambers Dictionary, ethnic is concerning to nations or race; ‘pertaining to gentiles or the heathen; pertaining to the customs, dress, and food, etc of a particular racial group; or involving different racial groups’⁶. According to Ali Hassan’s Practical Dictionary , ethnic is ‘the ability to have identification with one’s ethnic group; the ability to take overt actions that show conscious identification with one’s ethnic group’⁷.

Ethnicity is considered more important in developing countries especially in in countries of plural societies where different ethnic groups always try to receive a share of political representation from the existing system and in this regard ethnicity plays and important role in their unity against dominant groups. Many scholars identified the problems of democracy in developing countries and that’s why ethnic groups always emphasized to improve the institutions and political representation for the provision of equal rights. While Pakistani reflects the conflict of ethnic differences and conflict in Political system. The military rule provide an umbrella to various ethnic groups for power and due to this political leadership has become weak and the regional elites have become strong and they used ethnic card in different region in their politics as Keith⁸, Rizvi⁹ and Ziring¹⁰ considered.¹¹

Theoretical & Conceptual Framework

There are different questions about ethnicity, its origin and its continuation. In this respective different schools of thought have their own opinion. The two major primordialist and instrumentalists defined ethnicity in different perspective. Primordialists consider ethnicity to be based on culture or it as

something ingrained in human nature, while the instrumentalists suggested that ethnicity is socially constructed and it is the elites of a group who construct ethnic identities. Some other scholars said by claiming that ethnicity has both objective and subjective dimensions. To them, it is the relative weight of each that counts in various situations.¹² Pakistan is a country of multi-cultural, fragmented, polarized and multi-ethnic groups. Different ethnic groups raised their voice for representation within the state. In Pakistani context ethnicity is defined as a common language, culture and distinctive social traits, which differentiate or distinguish each from other similar groups.¹³ Modern Dictionary of Sociology define ethnic group as a “a group with a common cultural tradition and a sense of identity which exists as a subgroup of a large society. The members of an ethnic group differ with regard to certain cultural characteristics from the other members of their society”.¹⁴ But Alvi pointed that over-developed state structure, weak political institutions, and the perception of “Punjabi hostility” as major causes of regional-ethnic conflicts in provinces as south Punjab”.¹⁵ The relationship between democracy and multi-ethnic polarized society is interactive. The ethnic character of society would influence first and foremost the political ordering of the community, determine rules of politics and shape the general patterns of political behaviour; a degree of democratic maturity would mitigate ethnic tensions.¹⁶ Ethnicity was promoted more rapidly during the undemocratic rule and the political policies of dictators marginalized the different groups due to centralizing policy of state by creating an authoritarian system as one unit scheme which deprived the small provinces. During the regime of Yahya Khan ethnic conflict also created between state and Bengali community, as a result it was ended on the downfall of east Pakistan.¹⁷

Nature & Problems of Ethnic Politics In Pakistan

Ethnicity is something like “conscious community” “identity” “identification” and comes out of “power relations between the groups” then it emerges as a politics with an aim of defending the interests of a community. This political nature of the

concept has wider history as Thompson explains that an ethnic group can also expect a continuance of ethno-territorial politics because of its importance, especially when its ethno-national competitors can be presumed to be ready to take advantage of regional dissatisfaction in the continuous powers of elections every four or five years.¹⁸

The rise of ethnic nationalism and the formation of ethnic political movements in many developing states can be in large part attributed to the legacy of western colonization and decolonization which created sovereign states incorporating many ethnic groups by ignoring existing ethnic and cultural division, and popular political aspiration. This rise of nationalistic feelings on the part of ethnic minorities often preceded hand to hand with the growing assertion on the part of majority or dominant ethnic communities for the promotion and in some cases the restoration of their political issues.¹⁹

Pakistan is facing a multitude of ethnic composition problems, these ethnic groups seek aspiration for different identities-races, religion, tribes, language, interest etc. The problem is so deep rooted that it even reflects itself in the form of tribes and castes. These groups have grievances not only among themselves, but with government and struggling to either how to get established a sort of affinity with the national interest or over challenging the main spread political stream. The different ethnic groups in Pakistan do not have an identical class composition. Nor do they have an equal, or even proportional, representation in the higher echelons of military and bureaucracy. Therefore, the various elements of Pakistan's ruling class have a disproportionate representation of the various ethnic groups in society.²⁰

Ethnic groups in Pakistani society has remained overwhelmingly Muslim yet ethnically diverse, Thus Punjabis; Pathans, Baluchis and Sindhis in Pakistan can be viewed as distinct ethnic communities with the tribal and non-tribal divisions among them underscoring the existence of several ethnic groups. In the case of Baluchis for instance, the distinction between Marries ,. Bugtis, Bizenjos and Mengals,

appears to impart to them a distinctiveness, necessitating their treatment as separate ethnic groups. So is the case with the Yusufzais, Muhammadans, Khattaks, etc, among the Pathans. Further, census and demographic data on the Pathans and Baluchis is inadequate. To take the census data first-in the first three censuses of 1951, 1961 and 1972, no comprehensive record of the frontier tribal area was attempted-only rough estimates based on the information of tribal chiefs were available.²¹

Demographically, the Punjabis comprise the largest single ethnic group in Pakistan's population, followed by Pushtoons, Sindhis, Saraikis, Urdu-speaking, Baluchis and Hindko-speaking. The government of Pakistan does not published data on ethnic demography, but on regional. Although it would be safe to equate Punjab with Punjabis and Saraikis, and NWFP with Pushtoons and Hindko-speaking Pathans, in Sindh and Balochistan the overlapping between ethnicity and region is not so understandable. Simultaneously, the region have become mixed ethnic of one province represent its identical ethnic composition in majority, others also involve in the structure but in minority form, that is the point when either problem become evident not only in its relation with the other provinces, but also with the province and even within local unit of political administration: District & Municipal Committees.

In Sindh, a sizeable proportion settled Punjabis. For example, of the forty three rural Sindh officers in the secretariat and office management groups in 1986, one out of two grade 22 officers, five out of eight grade-21 officers, seven out of twenty-four grade-20 officers, and two out of nine grade- 19 officers were not Sindhis. Although most of the urban Sindh quota jobs go to the Urdu-speaking person or Muhajir by any designation, Punjabi, Sindhi and Baloch individuals are hired on urban quotas. Similarly, in Baluchistan, not only a large proportion of the province's job quotas are filled by local Pushtoons, but many Punjabis and Urdu-speaking individual are also recruited on Baluchistan domicile. Baluchis in fact, are appointed to very few, of the positions on Baluchistan's quota.. This sort of

problem has accelerated the trend of ethnic division. The data provides only a partial picture of the enumeration of various ethnic groups because language has been an important but not the only variable in ethnic groups community identification. A suitable example in this context is that of the Balochis in Sind who speak Sindhi as well as some Baluchi dialects. In numerical Punjab is predominant in Pakistan, accounting for about two-thirds of the total population. Though Muslims, they have caste divisions, as have the Muhajirs the Muslim migrants from India- who accounting for about 10 percent of the total population, are concentrated in Sindh and with their commercial insight and ability is a class by themselves. Tension between the old Sindhis and new Sindhis continue to persevere, reflecting linguistic as well as class cleavages among these groups.

Pakistan did little to improve a multitude of ethnic problem plaguing the country. Pakistan's ethnic problems have primarily resulted from an over-centralized political system and decision-making apparatus, a legacy of the long periods of military rule, which granted little autonomy to the provinces as the central government continued to exercise enormous control over political power, economic resources and finances. "Given the predominance of the Punjabis in the armed forces and in the civilian bureaucracy, the two most powerful institutions in Pakistani politics, a highly centralized form of governance actually favored the Punjabis over other ethnic groups." Moreover, a high defense expenditure and inadequate socioeconomic development and redistribution that the interests of the dominant ethnic group, the Punjabis, took priority over other ethnic groups. Inter provincial and center-state competition and problems has always been sensitive in Pakistan.

Several ethnic problems resurfaced in the major in Pakistan. In order to conciliate its ethnic constituency, the federal government had been implementing preferential policies that encouraged more ethnic-oriented employment in the federal bureaucracy and state-controlled center prize. The other communities saw such policies as being discriminatory

towards their community. The sense of discrimination and deprivation felt by the ethnic communities was further exacerbated when central government could not meet several demands made by ethnicity groups. Consequently, ethnic tensions increased among and within provinces which was further exploited by the military and the minority groups responded with force to ethnic activists by law enforcement agencies. The situation also did not change ever today.

The federal government in Pakistan tried to keep the cover on ethnic grievances and problems through several methods-bargaining and negotiation with ethnic groups, political manipulation of ethnic leaders, divide-and-rule policies to create inter-and intra-group divisions, centralized control of the economy and preferential employment and distributive policies, and the use of coercion and force. Overall, the Pakistani state has been able to contain ethnic conflict through policies of cooptation and coercion. But as Ahmed has correctly noted ethnic problems in Pakistan, because the state's leaders have failed to address the country's ethnic problems. The contradictions within the system work at two levels: the center and provinces/regions and within the provinces/regions. At center, the ethnic dimension assumed salience because of the dominance of Punjabis in the power structure and their penetration in various provinces, in this context, if the issue of official language brought the inner-ethnic group conflict, the discourse on Islam and Islamisation challenged the demand for cultural autonomy within its umbrella. The emergence of regional center nationalism was a reaction to the dominant perceived as Punjabi nation state. The process continued after the breakup state. The negation of party politics and electoral system till 1985, added to the simmering ethnic tension.⁴⁷ The ethnic struggle is defining the political game in Pakistan. The Punjabi dominance is challenged by Sindh, Baluchistan and Pathans of north-west frontier province. Furthermore, it is challenged by the Muhajirs (immigrants from India), who originally constituted a bureaucratic backbone of the Pakistani state and as such were strongly committed to the nation-state

project but now claim status as the fifth nation of Pakistan with a kind of territorial base in the former capital of Karachi.²²

In Pakistan the historical and sociological facts of ethnic diversity are denied for too long. Pakistan's constitution does not recognize nationalities or ethnic groups. In-fact a law passed in 1975 prescribes a punishment of seven years imprisonment for persons advocating the existence of more than one nationality in Pakistan.²³ Ethnicity considers important in political development due to reciprocal relation with political development as political development refers to the process of politicization: increasing participation or involvement of the citizens in state activities, in power calculations, and its consequences. There is a great importance of organizational strength for political development. However, the strength of political organizations and procedures vary with their scope of support and their level of institutionalization. Ethnicity plays a role in Political development and emphasizes the process of modernization and is a closely related phenomena of social mobilization with increasing political participation of the people.

Ethnicity & Politics of Dera Ghazi Khan

Dera Ghazi Khan district is one of the small regions of Pakistan and it is located in the extreme south west of Punjab. Demographically the region is inhabited by different ethnic groups and they are spread in all part of this district from hills to the bank of Indus.²⁴ The ethnic problems which we looked in Pakistan and at provincial level, they are same for regional politics. All the political models which we identify at National or provincial level are also meet very similar at regional or district level. Dera Ghazi Khan is a region of multi-ethnic and multi-lingual groups. The ethnic structure of these ethnic groups are divided in different major and minor groups. In the election 2002 to 2013 ethnicity played its role dominant role and proved a compulsory element of Pakistani politics. In the district ethnic based local units were created as Tehsil tribal area and Tehsil Kot Chutta. Ethnicity also effected geo-political formation of tehsil Kot Chutta and the several ethnic groups of southern portion of Tehsil Dera Ghazi Khan has been demanded a new tehsil as Sakhi Sarwar or Choti Zareen. But

due to Khosa Leghari intra-interest in electoral constituencies and ethnic politics motivated Khosa group to form Kot Chutta as tehsil headquarter, which was in their electoral constituency. About 18 Kilometres away in the south of Dera Ghazi Khan, the well populated village was a formed as Tehsil of District Dera Ghazi Khan in 2011 by Chief Minister Punjab on the demand of Khosa group. It is remembered that it was the strong demand of the people especially people of Tuman Leghari to form a new Tehsil in this region.

Nawaz Sharif elected second time Prime Minister in general election 1997, with heavy mandate of two-third majority. Unfortunately, his government was again dismissed by General Pervez Musharaf on 12th October 1999. General Pervez Musharaf assumed the post of chief executive of Pakistan. During his government he introduced and presented a system of local self-government program in July 2001 on the slogan Devolution of powers to gross root level for the people in Pakistan. With local government the delimitation of electoral constituencies were formed for new general election of National and Provincial Assemblies. In this era with other political Parties, Pervez Musharaf, formed Pakistan Muslim League Quaid-e-Azam as a King party and almost politicians joined this party before the election schedule 2002. Pervez Musharaf also banned non- Graduate candidates and declared graduation compulsory qualification for election in 2002 and several old and traditional politicians were out from electoral process.

An important characteristics of district politics was that high number of independent candidates are always winning on National and Provincial Assembly seats rather than of party politics in the district. The National Alliance led by Farooq Leghari's Millat Party won two national assembly seats in the 2002 elections, which is a new phenomenon in the district. The National Alliance had an electoral understanding with the PML (Q) which won the third national assembly seat. The two parties also split the provincial assembly seats b/w each other with the same ratio.

D.G. Khan has seen many administrative changes which has

impacted the electoral constituencies in the district for the national assembly. Different districts have been carved out of what used to be Tehsils of D.G. Khan since 1988. These changes have reflected in shifting of the electoral constituency boundaries in the district as well. The main competition was once again b/w the PPP and the NA led by Millat Party of Former President Farooq Leghari. The new Kings party was the PML (Q) , which successfully fielded a candidate on one of the three national assembly seats in the district. The PML (Q) had an electoral understanding with the NA under which they divided the seats b/w the two parties and did not field candidates against each other. PPP and the NA were running neck to neck on the remaining two seats from the district. The NA however, won both the remaining national assembly seats from the district.

The elections were held in the 3rd year of the Military coup which had ousted the Govt. of Nawaz Sharif in 1999. There were many administrative changes and the national assembly constituencies were also freshly demarcated. The district got a third national assembly seat. This made it difficult to correlate results with earlier trends as the new constituencies differed from the older ones. But in the result day of election 2002 National Alliance got victory on Kings Party PMLQ by 2-1. Same party ratio was in provincial constituencies. Provincial Assembly Elections have been even more charged than the contests for National Assembly seats. The two main contestants have been the PPP and the PML (N). The district had 7 Provincial Assembly seats after demarcation of constituencies with three National Assembly seats. The trend was mixed in 2002 as the PPP and PML (N) could not win any seat while National Alliance was winner with four seats out of the total 7, while PML (Q) won two seats from the district. One seat goes to independent candidate.

As in the election 2002 PMLQ, PMLN and PPP were the major Political Parties in the district and the traditional electable elite class were the part of these political Parties. With these Parties Former President Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari also formed his own Political Party “Millat Party” before the election and he decided to

form an alliance with other small political parties. This alliance called as National Alliance. District Dera Ghazi Khan District consisted on three constituencies of National Assembly and seven constituencies of Provincial Assembly according to the new demarcation of electoral constituencies. In the election of 2002, National alliance occupied couple of seats for National Assembly and four seat of provincial assembly in the district. One seat of National Assembly was won by PMLQ with the support of Farooq Leghari. Two seats of Provincial Assembly were also won by Muslim league (Q) PP-240 Mir Badshah Qaisrani and PP-241 by Fatih Muhammad Buzdar due to their personal vote bank.. In 2008 PMLQ won by two seats of National Assembly and three seats of Provincial Assembly, PMLN won a single seat of National Assembly and three of Provincial Assembly. While a seat of provincial Assembly PP-242 was won by Independent candidate Sardar Amjad Farooq Khosa. In 2013 PMLN was victorious on two seats of National Assembly and one seat of Provincial Assembly while in Bye-election PMLN lost this provincial seat and PTI won this seat. Four seats were won by independent, one JUIF, One PPP respectively.

Ethnicity has strongly influenced during the elections 2002-2013 because there are five Major ethnic groups and they are dominant in the national and provincial politics. These racial groups also formed alliance with several small groups. The constituencies are very much clear due to the geo-ethnic nature .Therefore every major group is dominant in its concerning constituency as Qaisrani in PP-240, Buzdar in PP241, Loand in PP-242, Khosa in PP-243 and 244 , Leghari in PP-245 and PP-246. But after 2001 the electoral change had been seen in PP-244 and Abdul Aleem Shah has won the constituency twice in 2002 and 2013. Abdul Aleem Shah has strong support of Leghari group and Urdu Speaking community due to urban constituency. In Dera Ghazi Khan after general Election the candidate of PMLQ Khawaja Sheraz Mehmood ex-Tehsil Nazim won the election against Sardar Amjad Farooq Khosa of PMLN, In NA-172 Sardar Farooq Ahmad khan Leghari again won the constituency of NA plate farm against Independent Sardar Muhammad Khan Leghari while in NA-173 Sardar Awes Ahmad Khan Leghari of NA, won his constituency against Sardar Saif

Khosa of PMLN. In the National Assembly election National Alliance won two seats out of three due to ethnic politics because they have sufficient votes of their tribe and supporters in the two constituencies, even they supported Khawaja Sheraz Mehmood against Amjad Farooq Khosa.

In provincial constituencies local elite or tribal chief looked most strong and they were again winning horse in almost constituencies. But these electoral personalities and electable promoted not only ethnic politics but also got favour of political parties too. Among the provincial constituencies PP-240 was mostly consisted of Tehsil Taunsa and ethnically Qaisrani tribe is dominant in this electoral constituency, therefore Mir Badshah Qaisrani won the election from different plate farm 2002-1013 against different candidates of different parties, PP-241 Tehsil Tribal Area, Sardar Fatih Muhammad Buzdar the chief of Buzdar ethnic group is powerful and he also won this constituency in 2002 and 2008 against Khawaja Mudasir of PPP and Khawaja Nizam of MMA. His son lost in 2013 due to intra family differences. In PP-242 Javed Akhtar Loand , also won against Salah-u-Din Khosa IND and Mohsin Atta Khosa in 2002 and 2013 due to ethnic votes, In PP-243 Sardar Muhammad Khan Leghari , won against his uncle Jafar Khan Leghari and MMA candidate Liaqat Ali Yousfi, In PP-244 Abdul Aleem Shah of NA, won against Saif Khosa of PMLN in 2002 and Akhwand Humayun of PTI and Hasam Khosa of PMLN in 2013 due to the full support of all Urdu speaking groups of city, while Aleem Shah of PMLQ lost in 2008 against Dost Muhammad Khosa of PMLN. In PP-244 Urdu speaking voters are in remarkable strength and also played important role in the victory of Abdul Aleem Shah because he also belongs to this community. PP-245 Sardar Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari of NA in 2002, Mohsin Khan Leghari in 2008 and Jamal Khan Leghari won in 2013 against Muhammad Khan IND candidate respectively. PP-246 Sardar Yousaf Leghari of NA, won the election against Sardar Saif Khan Khosa in 2002 and 2008 while in 2013 this constituency was occupied by Mehmood Qadir Leghari IND against Rashid Kamran Malana of Pakistan People's Party²⁵. The above mention figure mentioned that in 2002-2013 all political parties did not try to test new candidates but also relayed on the traditional and electable politicians.

Geo-Ethnic Nature of Constituencies in Election (2002-2013)

Sr. No.	NA	PP	Major Groups	Second Groups	Tehsils Taunsa/ D.G K / Tribal Area Main Areas
1	171		Khosa	Khawaja	Tehsil Taunsa/ Dera Ghazi Khan
		240	Qaisrani	Khawaja	anghra, Mari, Taunsa, Trimin, Jalo wali ,Kotani, Wohwa, Khetran, Qaisrani, Litra, Lakhani, Kot Qaisrani, Moro Jhangi, Nari,Nutkani, Bohar,Panjgrahi,Basti Nasir, Jhok Bodo, Kath Garh,
		241	Buzdar	Khetran Khawaja	Salb Janobi,Dahar, Dalana, Gaj, Sori, Basti Khosa, Basti Leghari, Rekhani, Zinda Pir, Barthi, Marhki, Kulrachi,Basti Buzdar, Malana, Langah, Taunsa, Mangrotha, Karar Buzdar, Tub, Bohar,Dona, Hero, Bohar, Bughlani, Kliri,
	242				Basti Hot,Jarwar, Kot Mubark,Jiani, Batil, Bhindi Bahadur Garh, Umrani, Shekhani, Pati Ghazi, Jhangeel, Waha,Gurmani
2	172		Leghari	Khosa	D. G. Khan/ Tribal Area
		243			Bela, Dagar, Dalana Khas, Bandoani, Nor waha, Wador, Basti Khosa, Qaimwala,Chorhatta Pachadh,Kach Wadani, Mamori,
		244	Khosa	Leghari	Gadai Shumali,Gadai Sharqi Gadai Gharbi, City

		245	Khosa	Leghari	Anari, Bati, Bakhar, Bwata, Birmani, Basti Foja, Bela, Bandoani, Bakharwah, Khanpur, Mian Phero, Chak Chandia, Dagar, Fort Minro, Gadani, Mubarki, Marha, Choti, Darkhwast Jamal, Khar.
3	173		Leghari	Khosa	Tehsil Dera Ghazi Khan
		242	Loand	Khosa	Ahmadani, Shadan Loand, Shero, Ganjani, Kala, Kot Daud, Paki, Pir Aadil, Masu Sakhani, Notak Sakhani, Ramin, Dhaou, Kotha Mir, Sadar Din, Bhati Metla, Chabri Bala and Zareen.
		243	Khosa	Leghari	Shekhani, Ladan, Samina, Darahama, Hajai Ghazi, Khakhi, Gagu, Purana Dera, Chorhata Kot Haibat, Churhata Sindh Shumali and Janobi, Paigah, Kotla Sakhani, Sukhera Arain,
		44	Leghari	Khosa	Gadai and adjoining Rural Area
		246	Leghari	Khosa	Kotla Ahmad, Mana, Rekra, Ara Jafar, Aaliwala, Eason Guraha, Ghaus Abad, Haider Wahan, Hazara, Basti Malana, Kot Chutta, Jalbani, Haji Kamand, Hala, Qaim wala, Jakhar Imam, Jhok Utra, Malkani, Notak, Shahjmal, Machiwala, Lakha.

(26)

Election 2002, if we look the election 2002, NA-171 was NA-131 before this election Khawaja Kamal-u-Din Anwar (late) who was the father of Khawaja Sheraz of Taunsa, won in 1988 and 1993 while also lost this constituency twice in 1990 and 1997 against Amjad Khosa. He had strong religious influence of Pir and his tribe Jafar Pathan. Now it was won by PMLQ candidate Khawaja Sheraz Mehmood and he again defeated same Sardar Amjad Farooq Khosa of PMLN in 2002, in NA-172 Sardar Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari (NA) won against Muhammad Khan Leghari IND. Farooq Leghari was unbeatable in this constituency since 1988. NA-173 created first time and Sardar Awes Ahmad Leghari (NA) the son of ex. President Sardar Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari defeated Saif Khosa of PMLN. In provincial assembly PP-240 was won by Mir Badshah of PMLQ and against Imam Bakhsh Qaisrani of PMLN, Fatih Muhammad Khan Buzdar PMLQ won PP-241 against Khawaja Mudasir of PPP, In PP-242 first time Javed Akhtar Loand (NA) won against Sardar Salahuddin Khan Khosa IND, in PP-243, Sardar Muhammad Khan Leghari defeated Sardar Jafar Khan Leghari. Syed Abdul Aleem Shah of (NA) won against Saif Khosa of PMLN and Khosa group first time lost this constituency PP-244. Due to uncertain political situation Sardar Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari also contested on PP-245 and won against his nephew. In PP-246, Sardar Yousaf Leghari got victory against Sardar Saif Khosa of PMLN.

Election 2008

Election of 2008 was not very much different than 2002 and NA-171 was again won by Khawaja Sheraz Mehmood of PMLQ against Sardar Amjad Farooq Khosa of PMLN, In NA-172 Sardar Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari of PMLQ defeated Hafiz Abdul Kareem of PMLN and in NA-173 Sardar Saif Khosa the son of former Governor Punjab Sardar Zulfiqar Khan Khosa won against Sardar Awes Khan Leghari the son of Former President Farooq Leghari of PMLQ with a margin of four hundred votes. While in provincial constituencies Mir Badshah of PMLN won the election against Javed Iqbal Qaisrani IND and Khawaja Sheraz Mehmood of PMLQ. In PP-241 Sardar Fatih Muhammad Buzdar of PMLQ defeated Khawaja Nizam of MMA. In PP-242 Sardar Amjad Farooq Khosa IND candidate defeated Javed Akhtar Loand of PMLQ. In

PP-243 Sardar Saif Khosa won the election against Sardar Awes Leghari of PMLQ. In PP-244 Dost Muhammad Khosa PMLN defeated Aleem Shah PMLQ, while in PP-245 Mohsin Leghari of PMLQ won against Saeed Buzdar of PPP and in PP-246 Yousaf Khan Leghari of PMLQ won against Rashid Kamran Malana of PMLN.

Election 2013

In the election of 2013 PMLQ was facing serious crises and its candidates lost the election badly in Pakistan. In NA-171 Sardar Amjad Farooq Khosa Joined PMLN and he won the seat against Khawaja Sheraz Mehmood of PPP, In NA-172 Sardar Jamal Khan Leghari lost his native seat against Hafiz Abdul Kareem of PMLN while in NA-173 Sardar Awes Laghari won his seat against Sardar Saif Khosa of PPP. In this election Pakistan Tahreek-e-Insaf also got healthy votes and remained runner up in various constituencies. While in provincial constituencies Mir Badshah Qaisrani of JUIF won against Imam Bakhsh Qaisrani of PMLN and Khawaja Daud IND, in PP-241, Khawaja Nizam of PPP won against Usman Buzdar of PMLN, in PP-242 Javed Akhtar Loand IND won against Irfanullah Khosa of PPP, In PP-243 Zulfiqar Khosa of PMLN won against Awes Leghari IND and Ahmad Ali Dareshak of PTI.

Latter on Zulfiqar Khosa elected Senator and in bye election Ahmad Ali Dareshak of PTI won the constituency due to the division of Khosa family because both the sons of Zulfiqar Khosa, Saif Khosa of PPP and Hasam Khosa PMLN contested the election. In PP-244 Abdul Aleem Shah won against Hasam Khosa of PMLN with the support of Leghari group. In PP-245 Sardar Jamal Khan won the election against Mirza Talpur of PMLN and in PP-246 Mehmood Qadir won the election against Rashid Kamran Malana of PMLN.

All the above mention election results clearly highlights that the electoral politics of the district is under the strong grip of the local elite and tribal chiefs. Therefore, the traditional political leadership is totally controlling the political parties due to their strong hold in electoral constituencies of the district. Before the election changing Political parties is a common trend and every party accepts these heavy weight candidates due to victory propose. Other issue is that the racial groups seem to be changing political parties to combat

with other ethnic groups in the electoral politics to get power and authority against them.

Comparative Analysis of General Election 2002, 2008 and 2013 ⁽²⁷⁾

National Assembly Elections

Election 2002			Election 2008		Election 2013	
NA	Winner	Runner Up	Winner	Runner Up	Winner	Runner Up
171	Khawaja Sheraz Mehmood	Amjad Farooq Khosa	Khawaja Sheraz Mehmood	Amjad Farooq Khosa	Amjad Farooq Khosa	Kh. Sheraz Mehmood
172	Farooq Ahmad Leghari	Muhammad Khan Leghari	Farooq Ahmad Leghari	Hafiz Abdul Kareem	Hafiz Abdul Kareem	Jamal Khan Leghari
173	Awes Ahmad Leghari	Husain Khan Leghari	Saif-u-Din Khosa	Awes Ahmad Leghari	Awes Ahmad Leghari	Saif-u-Din Khosa

Comparative Analysis of General Election 2002, 2008 and 2013 of Provincial Assembly ⁽²⁸⁾

Election 2002			Election 2008		Election 2013	
PP	Winner	Runner Up	Winner	Runner Up	Winner	2nd
	Mir	Imam	Mir	Javed	Mir	Khawaja

240	Badshah Qaisrani	Bakhsh Qaisrani	Badshah Qaisrani	Iqbal Qaisrani	Badshah Qaisrani	Daud
241	Fatih M. Buzdar	Khwaja M. Mudasir	Fatih M. Buzdar	Khwaja Nizam Mulk	Khwaja Nizam Mulk	Usman Buzdar
242	Javed Akhtar Loand	Salahudin Khosa	Amjad Khosa	Javed Akhtar Loand	Javed Akhtar Loand	Mohsin Ata Khosa
243	M. Khan Leghari	Jafar Khan Leghari	Saif-u-Din Khosa	Awes Khan Leghari	Ahmad Ali Dreshtak	Saif-u-Din Khosa
244	Abdul Aleem Shah	Saif-u-Din Khosa	Dost M. Khosa	Abdul Aleem Shah	Abdul Aleem Shah	Akhwamd Humayu
245	Farooq Ahmad Leghari	Muhammad Leghari	Mohsin Khan Leghari	Muhammad Khan Leghari	Jamal Khan Leghari	Muhammad Khan Leghari
246	Yousaf Khan Leghari	Saif-u-din Khosa	Yousaf Khan Leghari	Rashid Kamran Malana	Mehmood Qadir Leghari	Rashid Malana

Collective Scenario of Electoral Politics in Dera Ghazi Khan 2002-2013

There were three constituencies of National Assembly and seven constituencies of Provincial Assembly of District Dera Ghazi Khan after delimitation 2002. In 2002 elections, Political circumstances were changed at regional level. Two seats National Assembly and four seat of provincial assembly got by National alliance Farooq Leghari. While a seat of national assembly and two seats for provincial assembly were occupied by Pakistan Muslim league (Q). In general election of 2008,

one seat of provincial assembly was won by an independent candidate. In 2008, PML (Q) appeared as a leading party which got three seats for Provincial Assembly and two seats for National assembly. PML (N) also won one seat of National Assembly and three seats for provincial assembly. One seat of provincial assembly was won by independent candidate in 2008. In Election 2013 Leghari Group won two seats of National Assembly and four seats of Provincial Assembly as leading group. PMLN succeeded to get one seat of National and Provincial Assembly. One seat of provincial assembly was won by JUIF and PPP respectively. All candidates were won their seat due to ethnicity and Ethnic politics had full command in all electoral constituencies.

Conclusion

Dera Ghazi Khan District is a multi-ethnic region and ethnicity has been played an important role in the politics of the region. During 2001-2013 in all level of electoral politics, ethnicity proved major tool in political development according to the modern phenomenon. In regional politics all ethnic groups were involved in politics for their representation in local self-government. Because one of the major objectives of ethnic politics is also to achieve the representation and political and economic benefits. In the District Khosa, Leghari, Loand, Qaisrani and Buzdar are major ethnic groups and they are dominant in National and Provincial politics not only but also at regional level. With these major groups minor Baloch groups Khetran, Nutkani, Sakhani, Gurmani, Chandia, Ahmdani, Changwani, Ramdani, Mastoi also played their role. These groups also considered important in local government election and also in National and Provincial election. Each group tries to form alliance in the electoral constituency. With them in urban area Urdu Speaking community and Saraiki groups also have a strong power in electoral politics. According to Geo-ethnic nature of population in Tehsil Taunsa Qaisrani, Buzdar, Khetran are most dominant ethnic groups and with them Nutkani, Sakhani, Jafar Pathan, Miana, Dona are also important. In Tehsil Dera Ghazi Khan Khosa, Leghari, Loand are Tumandars and with them Ahmadani, Changwani, Sakhani, Chandia, Pitafi, Mastoi are also important Baloch ethnic

groups. While Syed, Qureshi, Malana, Pathan and Urdu Speaking community i.e. Gujar, Rajput, Rana, Bodla are also have enough political power at local level. In Tribal Area Buzdar, Qaisrani and Leghari are mostly dominant than all groups. However, the society of the District is generally base on elite structure. In Pervaiz Musharaf regime the demarcation of constituencies provided an extended space of electoral politics to comparatively low profile sub-Ethnic groups. In this era political elite were also motivated to join specific political parties as seasonal politicians. The geo-ethnic composition of constituencies became ethnically more profound, as demographic domination of Leghari was replaced in one constituency 172 by Hafiz Abdul Kareem. The scope of representation seems extended to a maximum number of ethnic groups struggling for their representation of a political place in a social structure. However, a struggle for political role has become permanent between traditional and new political elite, as electoral politics has introduced so many new personalities from traditional elite and sub-ethnic groups in politics. Leghari groups have developed a permanent place in the national and provincial politics while Khosa group, Qaisrani, Buzdar , Khetran and Dareshak group remained confined to Provincial Politics. Leghari group won most of the Seats in election 2002, 2008 and 2013. Bri group has lost NA-172 after 1988. In this constituency Hafiz Abdul Kareem Replaced Leghari group with the support of Khosa group, other minor groups and religious groups especially Jamiat-e-Ahil Hadis. He is also a rich candidate of the constituency in 2013. However, at the local level especially at a union council level ethnic structure showed a strong foundation in the local election 2001 and 2005. But in the election of Tehsil and District Nazim Leghari and Khosa group got success in 2001 and 2005 respectively. In 2001 Leghari group won the election of District Assembly as well as all three Tehsil Assemblies But in 2005 Khosa and Maqsood Leghari Group formed alliance against Farooq Leghari and won District Nazim and Tehsil Tribal Area while Farooq Leghari group won the Nazim Ship of Tehsil Taunsa and Dera Ghazi Khan.

In short, it is very clear that the politics of Dera Ghazi Khan is considered as ethnic politics and it is still very strong due to the strength and structure of ethnic groups, because all groups have sufficient voters in their relevant constituencies, while the heads of these groups are politically powerful and a common man is not in position to challenge the political power and authority of these groups. Due to their ethnic strength these ethnic groups are dominant as compare to their political rivals.

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