

IMPACTS OF BARADRISM ON THE POLITICS OF HAZARA

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Abstract

Kinship (Baradarism) ties have been playing a vital role in man's social, economic and political life throughout ages. The existence of the biradaries (Brotherhood, clans) in the social set up of any society is an acknowledged fact. The biradari is the most predominant identity insignia in Pakistan. The objective of this research is to analysis the role of baradarism in the politics of Hazara which is recognized hub of business activities in KP, Pakistan. The research is held to analysis following hypothesis; Baradarism always influence election whether non-party or party based in Hazara Political parties give the election ticket to the dominant biradaries in Hazara region, Hazara politics cannot exist without baradarism. Qualitative approach is adapted along with descriptive and exploratory techniques during this research work. Both Primary and secondary sources e. g. gazetteers, survey reports, books and articles have been consulted. In spite of the lethal combination of business and politics, the biradari forms an imperative dynamic element in an individual's life, particularly in Hazara. The analysis and evidence reveal that the biradari system has been one of the major factors, influencing the democratic process since the inception of Pakistan and the politics of biradaries is still playing an Qimportant role in the economic and political life of Hazara.

Keywords: Biradri, Hazara, Elections, Pakistan, Politics.

Biradarism has a strong effect in rural areas as well as in urban areas of Hazara. In rural area it has its influence more because it is deeply rooted in rural biradri and their political trends. This culture is transmitted from generation to generation. It is a kind of clientele. When a biradari votes for the nominated candidate, he reciprocates

his patron ship for the biradari. This two sided relationship creates further consolidation among them. Biradarries are not fastened, but in the time of difficulty they form themselves like a tight knot. It is always led by an elder person, may be not selected by election but just the senior and respectable person of his group or biradari who gives him some rights and duties.

Political Infighting between Hazara Biradarries and Its Effects

In Hazara province in particular, Samaj and Wasib are divided on the basis of votes. By the way, all the brothers are living in peace here, but when the time comes for elections, these same biradarries put their love and brotherhood behind them and line up against each other and thus the time of peace turns into tension. Is Because there is a lack of national and collective thinking, people vote for their own biradri, but then the election-time disputes continue for a long time. In the national and provincial elections, the waving of flags of different parties also gives rise to disputes. Gujjar-Jat animosity has been fierce in the past but Chaudhry Zahoor Elahi has shown tolerance and forged relations with the Gujjar biradri which has produced positive results. However, conflicts between Jats and Kashmiris have been witnessed in some places in the district.

In the past, incidents of Gujjar Jat regional battles are found in history, but the two biradarries have generally adopted a tradition of non-interference in each other's affairs. Nowhere does it prove that all the Gujjars of the district together formed a Gujjar army or that the Jats or the Rajgans and other biradarries ever did so. The idea of such militarization has not been found in the history of Hazara for a long time. In fact, the biradri competition here began with the system of local government introduced by Lord Canning when district boards were formed under this system and seats began to be found in government courts. As the social system established by the British demanded the support of the British government, a civic elite was born in which privileged classes could be created.

That is, there was no extreme tension between the biradarries even then because in this system, despite the status given to them in the office of the Deputy Commissioner or the Governor, the other biradri or class was not harmed. As Nawab Sarfaraz Ali, despite being a Gujjar, was not a Gujjar chief. Although the British evoked his personality and an alliance of Hazara t is seems to be formed under his leadership, the turn of 'Bad shah Gree' never came. They did favor the British in recruitment or mobilization, but there is no precedent for any other biradri to reach Kazak or for the state machinery to be used against it, so the competition in Hazara was not that regional or factional. As is found in the Murree or Bugatti tribes of Sindh or Balochistan. Since no major election was held here before Ayub Khan's BD system, political awareness was not so strong.²

The BD system created a system of Chaudhry within its jurisdiction in which the

"Gujar Jat" conflicts were good but within a large biradri a new identity of the biradri based on a well-known family was created and this situation became a source of concern. This small unit benefited from the solidarity and vote bank of its larger biradri, a great example of which is the family of Chaudhry Zahoor Elahi, who was apparently a relatively weak family of Jats but became known as Jats due to various political and economic factors. Competition between biradarries has intensified since 1985, as political parties have disappeared from the scene. Candidates contesting as individuals have no party manifesto, leading to slogans of caste, biradri and local development. biradarries began to be organized for the first time, an example of which is the Kashmiri majority in the local elections in the first city.

Its disadvantages include increasing expediency and hypocrisy. As a result, the contracting system has been strengthened and the practice of substandard construction work has taken root. Now the ruling biradri is trying to harm other rival biradarries in every possible way. The support and patronage of criminals to increase the power of their own camps is not avoided. As a result, crime rates have risen and people with negative attitudes have become stronger. Hypocrisy and family feuds have erupted in the area. This factor has also had a devastating effect on politics, journalism, trade and the economy. An estimated 1.5 million people have been killed since the law and order situation deteriorated, as political animosities have now spread from generation to generation in biradarries.

The political culture of the district has also changed due to the establishment of dominations and power pockets in different areas on the basis of biradarries. The work and scope of political parties is also limited because they are living under a big political tree in the district where it has become difficult for them to flourish politically. A disadvantage of biradri involvement in politics.³ It has also happened that the oppressed middle and lower class people are now deprived of their rights as individuals. The reason is that a small but powerful unit within a united and strong biradri, the votes of this biradri and others has been created to capture. Apart from the 1970 elections, the lower classes were not given a chance to reach the parliament as now the political parties also give their tickets to those belonging to the strong biradri. They have to gain power and they cannot risk losing.⁴ The social gap has become so deep that Menial is on one side and Chaudhry on the other. Even now the scarcity has become a biradri. He has his own votes but due to his political incompetence he is not aware and no people's political party is there to support and utilize him. He is seduced and disappearing for the purpose. As political parties now rely on the vote bank of the larger biradarries themselves, the representation of the lower classes is out of the question. In such a situation, the middle class and the intelligentsia also did not play their role because they feel comfortable in working with the upper classes.

Involvement in the political process of biradarries as a whole has increased prejudice. A few years ago, the basis of conflicts was based on race, language and provincialism, but now it is limited to Hazara.⁵ This situation has harshly damaged national unity and solidarity. Biradri prejudice has increased due to the weakening of the political process and the lack of due industry for honest political leaders. Which is unlikely to end in the near future?

Participation of Biradarism in Politics

Politics in Hazara has been influenced by many factors, of which "Biradarism" is a very important factor, but no political party openly expresses it or includes it in its manifesto or program. But it is clear that biradarries are involved in local, local, provincial and national politics in Hazara even the forward alliances formed in governments today are formed on the basis of biradri. As far as Abbottabad district is concerned, the brothers have always been present here, but their distribution has never been as intense as it has been in the last fifty years. Behind such a situation is the hand of those who had personal abilities and no political background or family services. Therefore, steps were taken to increase tensions between the biradarries. One biradri would be against the other if it could be organized and united on the basis of this difference.

Thus the slogan of biradarism was strengthened and a particular biradri was promoted. One of the reasons for this is that a few of its members have come to power at the provincial and national levels. The involvement of biradarries in the local politics of Abbottabad started in the fifties and it is not correct to say that only the non-partisan elections of 1985 resulted in the involvement of biradarries in politics, even though these elections were non-partisan.⁶ The decision to hold on to the grounds was not welcome and the political parties also declined on the same basis. Because our parties do not follow their manifesto and only revolve around personalities, they themselves are promoting biradarism and taking into aim the specific biradri of the candidate when giving tickets.

With regard to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, no party can finalize its vote bank because everything is based on personalities, family and biradari. Although the people rejected biradarism in the 1970 general elections, this element was like a temporary wave in our politics and cannot be considered permanent in any way. Thus the people returned to biradarism. The role of biradarism has become very much in the politics of the province in general and in the politics of Abbottabad district in particular. After 1985, it increased significantly.⁷ The reason for the involvement of biradarism in politics is that each person has a deep connection with their biradri, feelings of kinship, loyalty and love. In addition, the old prejudice that has been going on with other rival biradarries or biradarries for a long time is also responsible for it.

The Jatt have a million complaints from the Jatt family of Chaudhry Zahoor

Elahi. They vote for him only because in case of defeat, Gujar will come to power, which not only affected the people of the Jat biradari politically and economically, but also Pride, arrogance and they will be hurt. These opinions are not only of Jats but also of other biradaries. Because there is a saying in Punjabi language that even crows love caste. In the opinion of an intellectual, the desire to see or bring one's biradri to power is found in the members of every biradri.⁸ Especially in an area where rival biradaries have existed for centuries. In the 1937 elections, Chaudhry Sultan Ali of Hariwala and in 1951, Muzaffar Khan of Jalalpur Jattan used to raise the issue that we Jats are still in the majority in this area.

Despite this, even this desire and propaganda could not organize the Jats at that time. Historically, it has been observed that opportunistic people have always been present in both the Jat and Gujar biradaries and whichever biradari remained in the government was not opposed by the other biradri. In 1946, the Muslims won six seats in the region from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, but that was an ideological period after which the nation turned to biradarism, so all the 1951 elections were held on the basis of Gujar Jat. There was a wave of change in 1971, but with the interrupt of the political process in 1985, people exited back to "biradarism" and have not returned.

One of the most important factors that is overlooked in this regard is the element of government support. For example, even in the time of the British, the Jats were in the majority but could not come to power despite their desire and majority. But it was to be a shadow of British power. A recent study of Hazara shows that although people are aware in Hazara cities and towns, politicians in rural areas have divided people into biradaries, groups and parties, leading to the fact that most people belong to the biradri.⁹ Have become convinced of Islam, in addition, it has been observed that more than half of the illiterate people voted at the behest of their families' biradaries. Perchance this is the reason why only two Hazara brothers won elections from 1985 to 2002. In the meanwhile, Syed or Kashmiri have also been successful, but in general, only Jats and Gujars are prominent in this period.

It is also notable that after winning, these leaders forget the voters of their biradaries due to which the situation in the district is like that of the Aryan or Jat voters like Dr. Ashfaq-ur-Rehman who belongs to the Jat biradri and nowadays the provincial he is the Minister of Forests. His Jat voters complain to him that they are not doing their job. There is politics of important biradaries in the district and it is unlikely to change for many years to come as the political parties themselves are rich or candidates armed with Kalashnikovs.¹⁰ There is a lack of education in the backward areas of the district, so voting is done in these places under the influence of biradarism, language, local refugees and spiritual mates. Therefore, denying the element of biradarism is not accurate. Workers are not elected because of biradarism because the people respect

them but do not vote for them under the influence of biradarism. Biradri politics is expected to continue in the near future and is largely concerned with local affairs as well as local concerns. It is a fact that when individuals are insecure, justice will not be provided to their accesses and they will be forced to take refuge in their own biradaries and tribes for their own protection, such as an individual in a tribal society. He follows the tradition of his tribe only to get justice.

Power Struggle in Biradries

In his beloved homeland, Arbab Ikhtiar from time to time supported his biradaries and established an undemocratic tradition of biradarism here, so General Zia-ul-Haq, General Sarwar Khan and General Rau Farman Ali promoted the Aryans, Gujjars and Rajputs respectively. In this way, there was a sense of competition, rivalry and hostility between the different biradaries in the society, which led to a power struggle between them. Hazara, like other parts of the country, has been plagued by the epidemic, especially since the 1985 non-partisan elections, where biradaries have become more active in politics. After the views of General Zia-ul-Haq, the inter-communal conflict intensified and this trend is still going on. Thus, the rise of the Hazara Chaudhry's in the 2002 elections was well received by the Jat biradri.

Even today, Dr. Ashfaq-ur-Rehman of the Jat biradri is the Provincial Minister of Forests. It is noteworthy that no group in Hazara is in a position to win alone, so the biradaries here are forced to rely on each other. For example, if a Jat member is elected to the Provincial Assembly from the Waraich family (Jat biradri), the chances increase that the Member of the National Assembly (MNA) will also be a Jat, but other constituencies, especially from Constituency 85-PP, must have members. There will be a Provincial Assembly (MPA). Similarly, if M. Hamza (Arai) is a Member of the National Assembly, he will be accompanied by a Member of the Provincial Assembly, Jat. Jat is the only MPA elected. In contrast, the provincial constituency PP-85 / TT-ii is also home to a significant number of Gujjars, Aryans and Rajputs, while Gujjars are relatively numerous. ¹¹

Gujjar candidates have been elected as MPAs. Thus, the Jat biradri will win the provincial seat in 84-PP but will lose the MNA seat if it does not have the support of the Aryan biradri, will happen when the Arain group will support them. Thus the Arain biradri has the power of decisive vote in this tehsil but this has been observed. ¹² That the Jat biradri in Hazara does not usually vote for other biradarism because of their emotional attachment to the Jat candidate, so it is compulsory on the biradaries to support the Jats on the principle of "take something and give something". During the elections in Hazara, temporary enmity and rivalry between biradaries arises when local, non-local, cultural and linguistic differences are dispersed, and leaders and candidates of major political parties across the country use slogans including biradarism.

Are But the great artist-politician is the one who takes the votes by flouting biradarism and also remains neutral in general. So all the politicians here seem to call themselves seemingly neutral, chanting slogans on stage that the idols of the biradri have come to break, but secretly and secretly gain the sympathy of their biradarism. It has often been observed that people standing on stitches are shouting slogans of neutrality and joining hands and feet in front of the biradri at night. This is the worst example of hypocrisy and double standards. It is also worth noting that no single biradri fully votes for its candidate.¹³ The worst opponents of the candidate are also present in the same biradri as property, honor, partners, relationship disputes, mutual disputes and litigation are found in the same biradri.

These elements completely prevent the same biradri from supporting a particular candidate of their own. That is why the votes of two opposing candidates belonging to the same biradri differ by thousands. Sometimes consciously and sometimes unconsciously, there is prejudice in the biradarism, as in the time of General Zia-ul-Haq, other biradarism were born out of the Aryan biradri because the general impression was that General Zia's ideas were stronger and more active. Are done Competition between two opposing candidates from the same biradri in the district suggests that the biradri is being divided and that biradarism seems to be weakening, but this is not the case because the winning candidate belongs to the dominant and majority party.¹⁴ It happens. In 1990, General Zia-ul-Haq's son had contested for the National Assembly from the constituency.

The tug-of-war for power biradarism is usually at its peak in local elections because constituencies are small, votes are limited and the candidate is well-known. Secondly, due to the lack of education in our society, there is very little tolerance among the people. The Bald Yati candidate knows the number of his supporters and when this number is not in his favor, not voting will lead to family feuds and hatred. Although the class of spiritual leaders in Hazara does not come under the definition of traditional biradri, they are subject to a spiritual service. The Pir brothers function as a biradri. Most of the undemocratic environment in the country has given rise to biradri politics. But one thing can be said with certainty that when a biradri is in the minority, no matter how united they may be, they do not usually use the slogan of biradarism happens.

But the process of division and disintegration is also more driven by the majority biradri. Nevertheless, it can be said that not all voters vote on the basis of biradri, but there are also a significant number of ideologically and non-partisan voters in Hazara.¹⁵ Those who vote based on biradri service and character. Regarding local governments, it is safe to say that apart from current and former military strategies, political governments also decided to form these institutions in a non-partitions an

manner out of political interest, which neither promotes a culture of partisan politics in Pakistan. Neither Pasco nor the basic democratic institutions became schools of democracy and these institutions fell victim to biradarism and local mafias. Recent institutions have also emerged on the basis of purely biradarism. And it is fruitless to expect them to promote democracy. There was a need for these institutions to be formed on a party basis. If these are basic democratic institutions, then how is democracy of political parties possible?

ThQe Effect of Local Elections on National and Provincial Elections

The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Assembly has 124 elected members, 99 regular seats, 22 seats reserved for women and 3 seats for Non-Muslims. The Chief Minister of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa elected by the Chief Minister of the Province who forms a Cabinet of Ministers to oversee various Departments. The Chief Minister is also the Chief Executive of the Province. The Federal Government appoints a Governor as head of the Provincial Government. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is divided into 24 districts. Each district has a Zillah Nazim assisted by a District Coordination Officer. In a District the functions are devolved further to the Tehsil, Town and Union Council Governments. Each District has an elected Zilla Council, elected Tehsil, Town and Union Councils who looks after various activities at their respective levels. At district level a District Police Officer looks after matters of Law and Order and he/she reports to the Zilla Nazim. Each district has a Public Safety Commission which addresses public complaints against the Police. There is a Provincial Police Officer who is in charge of the Police system at the provincial level.

Current Provincial Assembly 2013

2013 Elections, Emerging Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf as the Largest Party in the Province.

| Party | Elected | Reserved | Total |
|---|---------|----------|-------|
| <u>Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf</u> | 44 | 11 | 55 |
| <u>Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (F)</u> | 13 | 4 | 17 |
| <u>Pakistan Muslim League (N)</u> | 13 | 4 | 17 |
| <u>Qaumi Watan Party</u> | 8 | 2 | 10 |
| <u>Jamaat-e-Islami</u> | 7 | 1 | 8 |
| <u>Awami National Party</u> | 4 | 1 | 5 |

| Party | Elected | Reserved | Total |
|---|---------|----------|-------|
| Awami Jamhuri Ittehad Pakistan | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| <u>Pakistan People's Party</u> | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| <u>All Pakistan Muslim League</u> | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Total | 97 | 25 | 124 |

Source: Dissolution order – The assembly stands dissolved after completing its term 28 may 2018 as per article 107 of the constitution of Islamic republic of Pakistan –kpk assembly -files

Trends of biradarism in Major Political Parties Whether it is voter access in our political culture or the issue of electoral machinery, biradarism exists at the tehsil and district level. So it is not surprising that our political parties are influenced by local references when issuing tickets to their candidates.¹⁶ That is why when selecting candidates, where their academic ability, social and financial status is taken into consideration, their biradri in the candidate's home constituency is also taken into consideration and it is a common notion that a candidate who gets a thousand votes from home, the chances of success are bright. Although in some places there are influential people besides the biradri who succeed due to personal influence, their number is limited.

Another thing that has been observed is that if a candidate is given a ticket in such a constituency where there is no majority of his biradri or there is a biradri against him, he loses. Since political parties want to win as many seats as possible to form a government, they do not risk giving a party ticket to a candidate who is likely to lose. So with the elements like popularity, wealth and social status in the constituency, if the biradri is involved, then gold is a must. Some people do not agree with the fact that there are tendencies of biradarism in the major political parties.

He said that the element of wealth has become more involved in the distribution of tickets, followed by elements like fame, recommendation and loyalty to ideas. However, due to the majority of a particular biradri in a particular constituency, May also consider the biradri. But this is usually less in urban areas and the situation is different in rural areas because rural people are generally not convinced of ideas¹⁷. They have their own priorities which include agriculture, land, police station, Patwaris and courts and the role of the biradri is more important there. The past few elections have also shown that political parties have not paid attention to their manifestos, while in other countries political parties always formulate their strategies

according to their manifestos and objectives.

If it is not clear, then the whole dependence will be on the support of the biradaries or personal influence, the issuance of tickets to the candidates contesting the elections on the basis of Peri Moridi and wealth. At the distribution of tickets, tickets are issued to strong candidates with the support of the biradri, putting the party's manifesto and qualifications behind them. Another disadvantage of this is that when such a strong candidate is elected with the help of the biradri, then he does not become a candidate from this constituency forever and after that only one of his heirs Takes place When the condition of graduating in previous elections disqualified the old politicians, the majority of them contested the elections for their daughters and women and ran their own election campaigns, so a virus spread in politics that educated and suffering people, Lack of resources, lack of biradri support, etc. were ignored and they could not get involved in politics even if they wanted to.

That is why our national political parties take into account the biradri rate in the areas when distributing tickets. The two major political parties in our country, the Pakistan People's Party and the Pakistan Muslim League-N, are also prone to biradarism. Every political party wants party tickets to be given to members of large biradri or families, especially in rural areas, so that the vote bank of the existing biradri falls in the swing of the party candidate.¹⁸ It can be said that the major political parties in the rural areas of Hazara Province cannot easily ignore the element of biradri as the politics here revolves around the biradri, family, extended families and interests. Another aspect of the subject under consideration is that even in Pakistan's major political parties and sometimes even smaller political parties, leadership is limited to one family.

In PML-Q, many examples can be given like Chaudhry family of Gujarat, descendants of Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan in Pakistan Democratic Party, son of Shah Ahmad Noorani in Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan, his son Maulana Fazlur Rehman after Mufti Mahmud in Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam. Thus, the objection of some quarters is correct that some influential and big political personalities claiming democracy in the country do not give a chance to drink democracy in their own political parties. ¹⁹

The Monopoly of biradaries in Practical Politics and its Total Impact biradaries existed even before the partition of the Indian subcontinent and played a significant role in local politics. Seen after non-party elections, biradries are regularly dragged into politics, otherwise biradarism does not enter politics automatically or without effort. The overall impact of the monopoly of biradaries at the national level on the practical politics has remained negative, leading to incompetent and rude people incoming politics and inculcating high qualities such as tolerance, dignity, tolerance, patience and solidarity in the national politics. Were born and on the contrary

nepotism, investment, bribery and corruption flourished. The disadvantages of this monopoly of biradarries have been felt by the society in the form of hatred, enmity, factionalism, sectarianism and anarchy. When a representative is elected with the help of a particular biradri, it naturally separates itself from other biradarries. The biradri that made him successful expects him to be responsible for all his legitimate and illegitimate work, while the opposing biradri fears that after he is empowered,

It will benefit the biradri but it will use good campaigns to harass the opponents. Thus the effects of biradarism on the supporters of the elected candidate in this constituency individually will be positive as far as the benefits are concerned but the overall effects of this monopoly on other biradarries and the nation will be negative as merit and merit are forgotten. This will be done and individuals or specific areas will be able to enjoy the benefits of democracy equally. Funds will only be used for specific biradarries, individuals or areas, and relatives will be given priority in providing employment contracts and other benefits.

Implications of Rural to Urban Migration on Biradri Politics

The role of cities in human life is cosmopolitan in nature and the distinctions of people's identity, Biradri, sect and family etc. disappear when they come to cities. By the way, with the increase in the population, the identity of the village has also changed. Identity is based on literary, cultural, commercial or employment rather than biradri. The nature of the relationship changes and life becomes official. Due to the change in education and traditions, marriages take place in other biradarries and there is no endogamy. However, in urban life, sometimes there are differences between children and parents over the choice of marriage or the opposition to marriage in another Biradri. Exposure to the media in civic life opens the mind and weakens the feelings of pride and prejudice about one's biradri. Cinemas, hotels, parks, entertainment venues, libraries and literary and cultural events are the same for all, which leads the society towards collectivism, As well as elements of tolerance and endurance. One of the reasons for the migration of the rural population to the cities is the monopoly of the larger biradri and the contempt of other smaller or weaker biradarries. In the big cities, the biradri is no longer such an important factor for victory, so in cities where the biradri had a strong grip on politics, reading the populations affected their role.

But it is worth noting that there is a difference in the impact of rural population migration in big cities and small towns. Granted, the impact of biradri politics has diminished, but the pace of this process has been slow due to the instability of the democratic system. Another reason for the migration of rural population to urban areas is that the majority of such population cannot afford to live in the posh areas of the city, so they settle in the suburbs of the city or in the slums. After getting

employment, the greatest desire of these rural "refugees" is to find a permanent place of refuge in every city where they and their families can live. Therefore, they want to get the property rights of the slums. These populations, sometimes numbering in the millions, have a rich vote bank that every political party wants to achieve. These voters also support a party that meets their demands, grants them the property rights of the slums and provides them with basic amenities. The Pakistan People's Party (PPP) has often won the sympathy of such voters during its tenure and the PML-N and now the PML-Q have also invested in the vote bank of such biradarries by giving them property rights.²⁰

The intensity of communal sentiments in Hazara is not a word in the fact that the biradri system in Hazara was and is strong from the beginning. In matters of marriage, this system becomes even more intense. In modern times, although education has caused some turmoil in the system, the biradri panchayat is still strong. This biradri panchayat deals with inheritance and other domestic disputes. It also takes disciplinary action and, as a punishment, can order a member of the biradri to cut off water (social boycott). No member of the biradri dares to rebel against it. This panchayat became a means of communication between the biradri and the government during the British rule. Representation of the biradri in the councils at various levels created competition among the biradarries. The competition was often personal and sometimes political. The poor laborers and the landless Mazar-i-Ain, as they could not compete economically with the big landlords, were no more than limitations. Thus the feudal lords had set up a system for the settlement of disputes, parallel to the panchayat. The post-partition Pakistani Hazara had a dominant culture and maintained its traditional political role. In this system inherited from United India, the caste biradri have strengthened the feudal lords and landlords and these classes are intertwined. Therefore, when a feudal lord comes to power, he has taken full care of the interests of his biradri. These include jobs, promotions, electrification of the area, construction of canals, grants and contracts for the benefit of the biradri. It was in this spirit of biradarism that the State Bank of Pakistan employed a large number of Lahore-based activists. It is very difficult to exclude biradri from the normal social life of Hazara. People here usually but they call each other by the name of the biradri rather than by name and remember, for example, Mr. Butt did not come today, etc. Most of the successful National and Provincial Assembly candidates in the recent 2008 elections include biradri names such as Chaudhry, Raja, Abbasi, Malik, Awan, etc.

A detailed look at the role of biradri in the politics of selected districts since, the formation of Pakistan, most governments have focused on solving the problems of the people and providing justice, so individuals, frustrated with the state administrative

machinery, seek social and economic security in their caste, biradri and tribe, as well as political privileges. Obtaining and bargaining for the overall interests of the biradri also enhances a biradri reputation, strength and stature. We can say that biradarism is actually the name of an individual fear that is used to defend one's rights as a whole. Therefore, whenever national, provincial or local elections are held, the role of local political biradri other than national political and religious parties cannot be ignored in any way. This is because Hazara is an area of mixed races and diverse biradaries that have always played an influential role in its politics." Before 1971, the biradri system in the Hazara districts was very strong, but its impact on politics was not universal and profound, as the country's first general election was held in 1970, 23 years after its inception. The first elections in Pakistan were held in 1951. Elections for the second Constituent Assembly in 1954 were also not held on the basis of adult suffrage and none of the elections held in 1962 and 1965 under General Ayub Khan. It was not a public status but a pledge of the electoral body of the basic democracies. But a new identity of the biradri was born. This small unit benefited from the solidarity of the larger biradri and the vote bank. A great example of this is the family of Chaudhry Zahoor Elahi, due to various political and economic factors, the Jats became known. In other parts of the province too, due to the BD system, monopolies of different biradaries and Chaudhryites began to emerge. However, the trend of biradarism in Hazara politics took place during the time of General Zia-ul-Haq. The outpouring of political parties and the intense trend of regionalism gave the dominant role to the role of biradaries in Hazara politics. In politics here, the traditional political feudal lords and families are active who get elected in every election and succeed in suppressing the elements against them. A clear example of this is their defeat against the Pakistan People's Party in the 1970 elections, which reduced the dominance of these families in politics to some extent. The percentage of nominated candidates who lost to PPP candidates in 1970.

Hazara's political culture is still ruling and dictatorial thanks to these families. In the 1985 non-partisan general elections, most of the elected members belonged to traditional Hazara families, powerful groups and Sajjada Nasheens, but behind the scenes they must have been supported by one political party and the majority had no political background. By 1977, the less influential sections had re-emerged as a result of these non-partisan elections due to their caste, wealth, status and traditional political family. After these elections, the importance of ideology in Hazara politics diminished and influential people with personal power in their areas took over Hazara politics. Caste, regionalism, sectarianism, linguistic prejudice and personal influence the party flourished to an astonishing extent, leaving party politics and ideological politics behind. The next general election of 1988 can also be considered as a

continuation of the non-partisan elections of 1985 as it also strengthened the power of these particular families and biradaries. The 1990 elections saw the emergence of another class on the Hazara political horizon that had grown under martial law. The class included big traders, transporters, industrialists and drug smugglers.

In the rural areas of the district, the people have been divided into groups and parties by the politicians, which is why the people are mostly convinced of biradarism. One view is that biradaries have always existed here but for half a century. Biradarism has been created and those responsible for it are those who do not have any personal ability or competence, so biradarism was created under a deliberate plan. One large biradri was turned against the other in order to organize the biradri. Since it was difficult to compete with them in these arenas, attempts were made to gain political power by resorting to "biradarism". Biradarism has divided the district, damaged unity and family feuds, strengthened the contracting system and brought nepotism to an end. People's faith has risen from God and that biradarism.

Have started to rely on attempts are now being made to build homes where there is a majority of one's biradri. Identity crisis is also one of the reasons for the intensity of biradarism in the region. Because they are biradri brothers, another reason for biradarism is that there is a growing tendency among the people to take personal work from close people and members of the biradri. Backward areas of the district, where education is lacking. There is also a different dimension to biradarism because there is a difference in language, there is a difference between the locals and the immigrants, and there is also the influence of spiritual matriarchs whose followers also play a biradri role in voting. The district as a whole is also a victim of biradarism and is unlikely to change for many years to come.

The Future of Biradaries Politics

When I put the question of "future of biradri politics" to an intellectual of Pakistan People's Party in Hazara province, his answer was what is the future of what has been negative and harmful in terms of results in the past and present. May be? Biradri politics has no basis or scientific focus, nor is it included in the scope of any philosophy or political science. In the coming days, if non-democratic rulers continue to come in with the same frequency, it is not possible to end such politics soon; however, the future of biradri politics will be in danger due to the flourishing of stable democracy. Biradaries always play their game in the era of military dictators and non-representative governments of the people because under the umbrella of such governments they get good opportunities to flourish. A political leader said that values are changing according to time and global situation. biradrism is not an eternal disease and its future depends on our political parties, how many days they want to run it? A retired general said in a recent interview that almost 70% of the people of Punjab used to vote on the basis of biradaries, but the recent elections of 2008 pushed back biradri

politics because the people. The idea of changing the system has arisen. This time people have voted for two major political parties instead of biradaris, so biradarism, has started to weaken.²¹

And it will be weaker in the future. It was the opinion of a leader of Jamaat-e-Islami that there is no supporter biradri. He further said that with the passage of time biradarism is declining. In urban areas, it is decreasing day by day, while in rural areas, under the influence of media, it has started falling. National politics is prevailing over group politics and due to the continuity and frequency of elections, fraternalism will almost disappear provided that no military general seizes power. A prominent legal expert and leader of the Aryan biradri said that it is certain that urbanization and industrialization are breaking the social fiber and due to the modernization of the society, biradarism is decreasing.

Due to modernization, major changes are taking place in our society. Modernization refers to all kinds of changes that come in the society psychologically, economically, culturally and politically, and as a result of this complex social process, the entire society is affected. The development of communication has brought about a change. Adoption of new values and routines has affected the family institution and the influence of family and biradri has decreased in urban areas. Practices like arranged and intermarriage are declining. The education and employment of girls is not considered as bad, but now it is called "need of time". These unusual changes are clearly against the social norms of the traditional biradri system. Even in rural areas social changes are coming due to modern technology education, communication with urban areas and mass media due to which biradri system is losing its influence. Another research has also proved the hypothesis that the more the tendency of individuals to the above mentioned factors and motivations, the less positive their attitudes towards biradarism will be. The above mentioned research also proves that 71% of the people under the influence of modernity strongly disliked the practice of caste-based voting at the behest of biradri leaders and 96% did not like it. That any biradri member should be helped in getting a job.

CONCLUSION

The winning and running political parties in all the elections gave party tickets to the candidates belonging to the biradari which dominated in the concerned constituency. Although the other factors like party affiliation, education, political awareness, personal interests, religious ascription and capital to launch election campaign play an important role in shaping the voting behavior of the masses but the role of biradari plays a vital role from gaining party ticket and winning the election. It has also been observed that a large number of voters in the Hazara intend to survive as a group for their vested interests and social security. Individualism in the process of

voting is very rare in Hazara. If a group or biradari is supporting X party, the other is bound to join Y party and vice versa. As a result floor-crossing and breakage of alliances is a common day to day matter in the Hazara politics. Scarcity of political fidelity is the order of the day. The voting behavior in most parts of Hazara seems static when analyzed on the basis of role of biradarries in elections.

Establishment of society by man is a unique phenomenon and its gradual progress from Hunting and gathering stage to the industrial and scientific development has a long trail of recessions, digressions and advancement. The filialties of family, kinship, clan and tribe still play an important role in formation of voting behavior. The Hazara is deeply entrenched in biradari politics and kinship affinities. The overall scenario of different districts shows the vital role of this phenomenon. There are several biradarries in Hazara like Jatt, Gujjar, Awan, Kashmiri, Arain, Rajput, Sayyad etc. The successful political parties use this aspect for their own benefit. Most of the leadership of political parties in Hazara belongs to the numerically top biradarries.

This assessment of the ongoing politics and role of biradarries in these selected districts of Hazara proves that

1: There is a clear but negative role of "biradarism" in the politics of the province and it has emerged since the non-party elections of 1985. It was achieved which continues till today in one form and another.

2: Candidates do not spare any effort to get the votes of the local biradarries for success.

3: Almost all political parties issue tickets for candidates who have a strong background in terms of the biradri to get the votes of the biradarries. Although Jamaat-e-Islami and Pakistan People's Party have some exceptions in this regard and their voters theoretically vote for them, but this percentage is overall low.

4: There is no democracy within political parties. Inherited Leader Ship did not encourage inter-party elections. In general, one family dominates the black and white policies of a party.) on Chaudhary brothers, Khan Abdul Wali Khan family on ANP, Altaf Hussain on MQM, and Nawabzada and Nasrullah Khan family on Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP) are examples of this occupation. Factors like presenting the manifesto and preventing it from being implemented have put a question mark on the role of political parties.

Due to insecurity, economic inequality and lack of access to justice, people have been forced to take refuge in biradarries and tribes, which has led the country's society towards narrow-mindedness, selfishness and tribalism. The feelings of tolerance, tolerance and brotherhood are diminishing day by day, which has given rise to hatred, chaos, anxiety and tension.



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