

Electoral Politics of District Khushab: A Comparative Analysis of 2013 and 2018 Elections

Muhammad Safdar Hussain¹

Kashif Ijaz²

Muhammad Akram Ul Haq³

1. Ph.D. Scholar of Political Science, University of Sargodha, Sargodha, Punjab, Pakistan, safdarshahin@gmail.com
2. Ph.D. Scholar of Political Science, University of Sargodha, Sargodha, Punjab, Pakistan
3. Ph.D. Scholar of Political Science, University of Sargodha, Sargodha, Punjab, Pakistan

Abstract

The objective of this paper is to compare the electoral performance of major political parties in district Khushab in the recently held elections 2013 and 2018. The comparison of electoral outcome provides a guideline to political parties to assess their graph of popularity in a specific area or province. Unlike the results of 2013 election, the polling outcome of recently held 2018 election, was of immense importance as it changed completely the traditional political atmosphere of the country. Like other parts of the land, a visible shift in voting behavior in district Khushab was also observed during this election. Though this region (District Khushab) has had been a stronghold of Muslim League in the past, yet PTI's slogan *change*, changed the minds of people who ignored *vote ko izzat do* and voted for *naya Pakistan*. Comparative research method has been applied to infer the outcome. District Khushab has been taken as a case-study. The paper concludes that like previous electoral results, monopoly of few families continued and the tug of power-politics remained in the clutches of biradarism but in a changed political party. It enables them to review their strategies adopted in the past and renew political activities to gain maximum balloting support in future.

Key Words: Electoral Politics, Political Party, Election, District Khushab, PTI, Muslim League

Introduction

Khushab is located between the districts of Sargodha and Mianwali. The word "Khushab" is the derivative of two Persian words "*Khush*" and "*Aab*" which means sweet and refreshing water. Owing to its landscape, topography, wild life and abundant mineral resources, Khushab has a prominent place in the Punjab Province. Soon Valley, a hilly region of this district, is famous for its recreational places. Sakesar with 4946 feet height is the strategic site while Amb temple's attraction is worth mentioning (Awais, 2021).

It is said by local tradition that the city was constructed in 1503 A.D and was partly surrounded by a wall with four gates. This was a prosperous place in the time of Babar, first emperor of Mughal dynasty. From the past two centuries, the river Jhelum has been slowly cutting away its right bank at this spot, and with it have vanished the gardens implanted by Ahmed Yar Khan and the fort built by Jaffar Khan Baloch. The Khushab was again built by Captain Davies, in 1865. New city was established. The bazaars of the new city had the width of thirty feet and more than half-a-mile length. Ahmad Yar Khan was the Governor of Khushab during the reign of Muhammad Shah (gazetteers.punjab.gov.pk).

From ethnic context, Awan is a major tribe which is predominantly living in this district. H.A. Rose, an American writer, declares that *Awans* are indeed said to be of Arabian origin and offspring of Qutab Shah. Throwing light on the ancestors of Awans, Sir Lepel H. Griffin in his book *The Punjab Chiefs*, states that all twigs of the tribe (Awans) are agreed upon stating that they originally came from region of Ghazni to India, and all trace their descent to Hazrat Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet. Qutab Shah who came from Ghazni with Sultan Mehmud, was the common ancestor of the Awans (Griffin, 1865)

Establishment of Thal Development Authority (TDA)

As a result of partition of united India, approximately fifteen million people migrated to Pakistan (William, 1953). Pakistan, the newly born country had to face many hardships including the bulk of refugees. The statistical data shows that 7.15 million people migrated from India to Pakistan. Among them, 4.8 million are in Punjab Province that is 68.22 per cent of the total strength of refugees (Census of Pakistan, 1951). Consequently, the provincial government of Punjab took initiative to settle the refugees permanently in the less populated region of Thal (Leel, 2019) whose total area consists of five million acres (Bedi, 1934). Though some portion of Thal consists of the districts like Khushab, Mianwali, Jhang and Muzaffargarh but most portion lies in District Bhakkar and Layyah. As a result, the shape of Thal becomes like an irregular triangle with 175 miles length and 65 miles width (Abdul Haq, 2003).

In order to cope with the settlement of refugees, a corporate body, namely Thal Development Authority (TDA) was established in 1949. This institution was headed by a chairman while Deputy Commissioners of Sargodha, Mianwali and Muzaffargarh were the members of this (TDA) Board. After twenty years and having completed its assigned task, it was dissolved in 1969 by the Government of Punjab (The West Pakistan Gazette, 1969).

Abadkari plan was also initiated to settle the refugees in 1955. The respective deputy commissioners were responsible to implement the scheme in their jurisdiction while military authorities were responsible for settling the military personals. As a result, the allotments were made 15 acres per lot (Maqsood, 2017).

Development of the Thal Desert

TDA, during its specified time (1949-69) performed well and established 1110 villages in the desert of Thal. Besides allotting agricultural land through different schemes, residential plots were also given to new settlers (Qureshi, 1995). Basic infrastructure for social services like health, education and communication was developed. TDA constructed 8002 houses, 2570 cattle sheds and 1712 huts for artisans in the villages. Overall, 31,377 families of migrants were settled in Thal (Statistics of TDA, 1969).

Similarly, TDA, in order to sale agricultural products, intended to construct 13 market towns in Jauharabad, Liaqatabad, Kalurkot, Darya Khan, Kot Addu, Quaid Abad, Ghulaman, Layyah, Bhakkar, Sarai Muhajir, , Pattal Munda, Fatehpur and Karor but unfortunately could complete only seven market towns like Jauharabad, Liaquat abad, Quaid Abad, Rakh Ghulaman, Sarai Muhajir, Layyah and Bhakkar. All these market town were equipped with modern facilities of that time (Thind, 2009). In order to provide the employment opportunities to the refugees, Government intended to establish a heavy industry in every market town but unfortunately, owing to shortage of funds, this scheme could not be materialized fully. Similarly, TDA set up many power houses with 8800KW to provide electricity to Mandi Towns, tube well scheme and heavy industries (West Pakistan Year Book, 1963). TDA, in order to provide the cheap labor and fulfill the meat requirement, established livestock farms and eight animal dispensaries to cure the diseased animals (West Pakistan Year Book, 1965).

AS regards health sector, TDA established thirty-four rural dispensaries, six hospitals, three health care centers and a mobile dispensary. Moreover the said authority played its role in increasing the rate of literacy from 6.2 to 16.71 by establishing 124 primary schools, one junior model school, six middle schools and five high schools (West Pakistan Year Book, 1968).

Emergence of District

Khushab is a unique district of Punjab where traditional Biradari power is an established phenomenon. In British Punjab, Khushab was mostly the Shahpur district. Khushab's location is 229 kilometers away from Lahore and 246 kilometers from Islamabad. This district comprises of beautiful

plains, green mountains with natural beauty of its valleys, especially the Soon valley and the desert. Quaid Abad, Jauharabad, Nowshehra and Mitha Tiwana are its populous regions. The lakes of Uchali, Khabbaki and Sodhi Joy Wali, are adding flavor of tourism to this region. People of Khushab speak Shahpuri, Pothohari, Balochi, Majhi and Jandai dialects of Punjabi language. Khushab achieved the status of district on 1st July 1982 (Wilson, J. 1984).

Administratively, it has four tehsils. In the beginning, Khushab and Noor Pur Thal were its two tehsils but later on Quaid Abad became its third tehsil in 2007 and Naushehra in 2013. District headquarter is Jauharabad which was founded on 13th February 1951 while its development started in 1953. This city was basically chosen to be the new federal capital of Pakistan until the place at Islamabad was selected to replace it in 1958. Like Faisalabad, Sargodha, Islamabad and Gawader, Jauharabad is also a planned city of Pakistan. At present, it has two constituencies of National Assembly (NA-93 and NA-94) while three constituencies (PP-82, PP-83 and PP-84) of provincial assembly. Moreover, one special seat is also allocated each for National and provincial assembly (khushab.punjab.gov.pk/district-profile).

Electoral Politics of District Khushab

Electoral politics of Khushab is dominated by Biradarism. The prominent clans of the district include Awan, Baluch, Bandial, Gunjial, Kallu and Tiwana. The Tiwana family has a long history of cooperation with the British in India. The heads of this family were the prominent leaders of the Unionist party of India. Awan is another Biradari which has unique status in the political scenario of Khushab. After independence, the Awan tribe had prominent representation at national, provincial and local level. The other tribes like Bandial, Baluch, Qureshi and Gunjial have also their share in politics but not equal to the Tiwana or Awan family. Awan and Tiwana have a long history of power struggle. In the past, both clans endeavoured to dominate the region (Waris and Rizwan, 2016). According to Talbot, Noons and Tiwana have provided full support to the British during their conflict with Sikhs in 1845-46 and 1848-49 (Talbot, 2013). In 1970s, Tiwana, Awan, Baloch and Khokar families represented the district at provincial level but in 1985 the traditional influence of Awan and Tiwana weakened. Since 1985, caste-system, family status, struggle for authority and control over resources affected the dynamics of the local politics at national as well as provincial level till the elections of 2008. It is quite interesting that the structure of caste-system is declining at social level in contemporary Punjab but its significance has increased in politics (Ibrahim, 2009).

In the general elections 1985, Naseem Ahmad Aheer became MNA from Khushab. However, it is worth-mentioning that inspite of having PPP's ticket in general election 1970, he was defeated by Malik Karam Bakhsh Awan, the candidate of council Muslim League. Malik Naseem Ahmad Aheer from Khushab and Malik Noor Hayat Khan Noon from Sargodha were among those successful candidates of 1985 elections, who had already won the election in 1977 on PPP's ticket. In 1985 election, Malik Naseem Ahmad Aheer defeated Azizul-Haq Qureshi from NA-53 Khushab-I while Malik Naem Khan Awan defeated Malik Karam Bakhsh Awan from NA-54 Khushab-II. The tenure of the Punjab Assembly was from March 12, 1985 to May 30, 1988. Mian Manzoor Ahmad Watto from Okara while Mian Manazir Ali Ranjha from Sargodha were elected as speaker and deputy speaker of Punjab assembly respectively. Mian Nawaz Sharif was the Chief Minister of this assembly. Among the successful candidates of Khushab district for provincial assembly were Malik Khuda Bakhsh Tiwana from PP-39, Malik Mukhtar Awan from PP-37 and Sardar Shujah Muhammad Khan Baloch were from PP-38(American Psychology Association[APA], n.d.).

Politics of District Khushab during Civil Governments (1988-99)

As a result of non-party elections 1985, Mr. Muhammad Khan Junejo was elected as the Prime Minister. Unfortunately, after three years, President Zia-Ul-Haq dissolved national assembly by exercising the article 58(2b) and formed the care-taker government. Owing to the sudden death of President Zia, there happened many political changes. Chairman Senate Ghulam Ishaq Khan took over the charge of President and pledged to conduct elections in time (Farooq and Ahmad, 2022). In 1988

elections, 27 political parties nominated their candidates for national assembly while 705 candidates contested independently. 1202 candidates filed their papers for 207 seats of National Assembly. On 16th November, 1988, the election for national assembly was conducted in which PPP got 93 seats while IJI got 54 seats. IJI candidate Malik Naeem Khan Awan from NA-51 Sargodha/Khushab won the seat by defeating PPP's candidate Mian Sultan Awan. Similarly, Malik Khuda Bakhsh Tiwana, an independent candidate from NA-52, defeated Naseem Ahmad Aheer, candidate of IJI (Malik, 2014).

Punjab Assembly remained functional from 30th November, 1988 to August 6, 1990. Mian Manzoor Ahmad Watto and Hassan Akhtar Mo'akkil were its speaker and deputy speaker respectively. Mian Nawaz Sharif became second time Chief Minister. In this assembly, independent candidate Malik Muhammad Bashir Awan from PP-33 Khushab-I, Malik Ghulam Muhammad Tiwana (Independent) from PP-34 Khushab-II and Capt. (R) Dr. Rafique (Jammat-a-Islami) PP-33 were successful candidates (American Psychology Association [APA], n.d.).

General Elections 1990

As a result of 1988 elections, Chairperson PPP Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto became the first lady prime minister of Pakistan. In Punjab, there was IJI Government which was strong opposition alliance against PPP in elections 1988. As a result, Punjab-center confrontation was also observed during this era. Owing to this and some other reasons, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan dissolved the PPP government and all the four provincial assemblies on August 6, 1990. The caretaker government conducted the GE of national assembly on 24th October and of provincial assemblies on 27th October, 1990. In 1990 elections, 106 candidates of IJI out of 154 while only 44 candidates of PDA (Peoples Democratic Alliance) out of 82 could win the election. In these elections, Malik Naeem Awan (from IJI) was elected from NA-51 Sargodha/ Khushab. Similarly, second candidate of IJI Malik Khuda Bakhsh Tiwana won the election by defeating Sardar Shuja Khan Baloch. The most interesting fact was that in these elections 27 people completed their hatrick of winning the election. Malik Naeem Awan (NA-51) was one of those popular parliamentarians (Malik, 2014).

Punjab assembly worked from November 5, 1990 to June 28, 1993. Mian Manzoor Ahmad Watto and Mian Manazir Ali Ranjha were its speaker and deputy speaker respectively. The MPA of IJI, Mian Ghulam Haider Waen, later on Manzoor Ahmad Wattoo was its Chief Minister while Rana Akram Rabbani was its opposition leader. In this assembly, Malik Mukhtar Awan of IJI from PP-33 while Malik Khuda Bakhsh Tiwana (independent) from PP-34 represented the district. Later on he joined IJI and became provincial minister of Jail, Excise and taxation (American Psychology Association [APA], n.d.).

General Elections 1993

As a result of electoral alliance of IJI, Mian Nawaz Sharif became Prime Minister in 1990 but unfortunately, president Ishaq Khan dismissed the national and provincial assemblies on April 18, 1993. Gohar Ayub, the then speaker national assembly, challenged the presidential act in Supreme Court. The Chief Justice of Supreme Court restored the assemblies by declaring the presidential act null and void. In spite of restoration of Nawaz government by Supreme Court, the confrontation between president and PM remained there which culminated in the resignation of both the heads of state and government. Caretaker government was formed which conducted the elections of national assembly on October 4, and of provincial assemblies on 9 October, 1993. The general elections were conducted for 201 seats in which PPP got 86 while PML(N) got 72 seats. Malik Naeem Awan of PML (N) won the election from NA-51 Sargodha/Khushab and PPP candidate Sardar Shuja Ahmad Khan Baloch succeeded from NA-52 while his opponent candidate Malik Ghulam Muhammad Tiwana (PML-N) could get only 51563 votes (na.gov.pk). The Punjab assembly worked from 18th October, 1993 to November 17, 1996. Hanif Ramy from PPP was its speaker while PML (J)'s Mian Manazir Ahmad was its deputy speaker. Mian Manzoor Ahmad Watto and later on Sardar Arif Nakai was Chief Minister while Mian Shahbaz Sharif was opposition leader. Malik Mukhtar Ahmad Awan (PML-N) from PP-33, Saleh Muhammad Gunjial

(PML-N) from PP-34 and Capt. (R) Dr. Muhammad Rafique from PP-35 represented the Khushab (American Psychology Association[APA], n.d.).

General Election 1997

As a result of 1997 elections, PPP once again came to power and Mohtaram Benazir Bhutto became the PM of Pakistan second time but unfortunately owing to some allegations, President Farooq Ahmad Laghari dismissed Benazir Butto's government by exercising 58(2b) on 5th November, 1996. Malik Mairaj Khalid, the caretaker PM of Pakistan, conducted the general elections of national and provincial assemblies on the same day i.e. February 3, 1997. In these elections, PML (N) got 137 seats while PPP could get only 18 seats. On February 18, 1997, Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif became Prime Minister of Pakistan for second time by getting 177 votes. Malik Umar Aslam Khan and Sardar Shuja Khan Baloch became MNA of PML (N) from NA-51 and NA-52 respectively (na.gov.pk). The Punjab assembly remained functional from February 18, 1997 to October 12, 1999. Ch. Pervez Ilahi was its speaker while Hassan Akhtar was its deputy speaker. Mian Shahbaz Sharif was Chief Minister while Saeed Ahmad Minhas was the leader of opposition. Malik Mukhtar Ahmad Awan (PML-N) from PP-33 Khushab-I, Muhammad Hayat Uttra from PP-34 and Tasawar Ali Khan (PML-N) from PP-35 represented district Khushab in Punjab Assembly (American Psychology Association[APA], n.d.).

Electoral Phase of Military Government (1999-2008)

Elected government of Nawaz Sharif was dismissed by military coup d'état on 12th October, 1999. Army Chief General Pervez Musharraf took over the charge of country as a chief executive. Supreme Court passed a verdict on 12th May, 2000 to conduct the general election till 12th October, 2002. General Musharraf got mandate of Presidentship for five years by holding referendum on 13th April, 2002. In August, 2001, General Musharraf issued a legal framework order, according to which general elections were conducted on 10th October 2002 (Abbasi, 1999).

Before the general elections 2002, delimitations of constituencies was done all over the country. The electoral constituencies of district Khushab were renamed from NA-51 and NA-52 to NA-69 and NA-70. Mrs. Sumaira Malik, the candidate of Pakistan National Alliance and Malik Saif Ulla Tiwana, the independent candidate from NA-70 Khushab-II were elected. (na.gov.pk). Fourteenth provincial assembly of Punjab worked from 2002 to 2007 under the Chief Minister-ship of Ch. Pervez Ilahi. In these elections, Malik Javed Iqbal Awan (PML-Q), Saleh Muhammad Gunjial (National Alliance), Malik Asif Bah (PML-Q) and Malik Waris Kallu (independent) won the election from PP-39 (Khushab-I), PP-40 (Khushab-II), PP-41 (Khushab-III) and PP-42 (Khushab-IV) respectively (American Psychology Association[APA], n.d.).

Electoral Phase of PPP's Government (2008-13)

On 10th October, 2002, eighth general elections were conducted in which more than 70 political parties participated. PPP, PML (N), MQM, PML (Q), MMA and National Alliance (comprising six parties) contested the election. PML (Q) with 126 seats was at the top, while PPP got 81 seats. Coalition government was formed with MQM and few independent members under the premiership of Mir Zafarullah Jamali of PML (Q) (Syed and Khan, 2020). Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali, the first ever prime minister from Baluchistan took the charge of his office in November, 2002 and resigned on June 26, 2004. Ch. Shujaat Hussain was nominated as care-taker prime minister and remained in office from June 30, 2004 to August 26, 2004. After having the membership of national assembly through electoral process, Shokat Aziz was elected as PM on 26th August, 2004. He resigned from the office on the completion of parliamentary tenure of assembly on 16th November, 2007 (American Psychology Association[APA], n.d.).

Owing to the assassination of Benazir Bhutto on 27th December, 2007, the scheduled election of 8th January, 2008 were postponed. On 19th February, 2008 general elections were held in which PPP got 91 seats, PML(Q) 38, PML(N) 69, MQM 19, MMA 07, ANP 10 while independent got 30 seats

(gallup.com.pk). In these elections PML (Q)'s candidate Mrs. Sumaira Malik from NA-69 and PML (N)'s candidate Malik Shaker Awan from NA-70 were elected. In the Punjab Provincial Assembly elections, Malik Javed Iqbal Awan (PML-N) from PP-39 Khushab-I, Malik Karam Ilahi Bandial (PML-N) from PP-40 Khushab-II, Malik Asif Bha (PML-N) Khushab-III and Malik Waris Kalu (PML-N) Khushab-IV represented Khushab district in provincial assembly of Punjab (American Psychology Association[APA], n.d.).

District Khushab's Electoral Politics in General Elections 2013

As a result of general election, PPP won 118 seats and formed the coalition Government under the premiership of Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani. In 2008, Asif Ali Zardari became the president of Pakistan with the support of MQM and ANP. On 26th April, 2012, Supreme Court dismissed PM Yousaf Raza Gilani in a contempt of court case. Consequently Raja Pervez Ashraf was nominated the next PM by PPPP and Pervez Ilahi (of PML-Q) was appointed as first ever deputy Prime Minister (Akhtar, 2017). On the completion of Parliamentary tenure of national assembly in 2013, both government and opposition could not agree on the name of Justice (R) Nasir Aslam Zahid as a care-taker PM. The ECP appointed a retired Chief Justice of Federal Shariat Court, Mir Hazar Khan Khooso as the care-taker PM of Pakistan who conducted the General Election of national and provincial assemblies on 11th May, 2013. Pakistan Muslim League (N) got 130 seats out of 272 and formed the government with the support of 17 independent candidates, 06 minority seats and 35 women seats. (Sajid, M.A., 2021). Besides forming the government at center by securing 188 seats in 342-membered national assembly, PML (N) formed its provincial governments in Punjab and Baluchistan also. Like other parts of the country, PML (N) performed well in district Khushab also. Mrs. Sumaira Malik from NA-69 Khushab-I succeeded in securing her seat but quite after few months she was disqualified by Supreme Court owing to fake degree. Later on, in the bye-election, her son Uzair Muhammad Khan became MNA from the same seat. From NA-70 Khushab-II, Malik Shakir Bashir Awan was elected. For the provincial assembly, Malik Javed Iqbal Awan from PP-39 Khushab-I, Malik Karam Ilahi Bandial PP-40 Khushab-II, Malik Muhammad Asif Bha PP-41 Khushab-III and Malik Waris Kalu PP-42 Khushab-IV were elected. It is pertinent to mention that all of the above said elected members of national and provincial assembly belonged to PML (N) (American Psychology Association[APA], n.d.).

Electoral Politics of District Khushab in General Elections 2018

Before the general elections of 2018, delimitations of all the constituencies of national and provincial assemblies were conducted. Consequently, like other districts of the country, it affected the district Khushab also and one provincial constituency of this district was reduced while both the national constituencies remained same. In the General Elections 2018, Malik Umar Aslam Awan from NA-93 Khushab-I and Malik Ehsan Ullah Tiwana from NA-94 Khushab-II won the election from PTI's tickets. (American Psychology Association[APA], n.d.).

Table 1
Electoral Results of District Khushab in National Assembly

Sr. No.	Tenure	constituencies	Names of candidates	Party	Biradari
1	1985-88	NA-53 Kb-I NA-54 Kb-II	Malik Naseem Ahmad Malik Naeem Khan	Non-party Basis	Aheer Awan
2	1988-90	NA-51 Sgd/Kb NA-52 Kb	Malik Naeem Khan Malik Khuda Bakhsh	IJI Independent	Awan Tiwana
3	1990-93	NA-51Sgd/Kb NA-52 Kb	Malik Naeem Khan Malik Khuda Bakhsh	IJI IJI	Awan Tiwana
4	1993-96	NA-51Sgd/Kb NA-52 Kb	Malik Naeem Khan Sardar Shujah Khan	PML(N) PPP	Awan Baloch
5	1996-99	NA-51Sgd/Kb NA-52 Kb	Malik Umer Aslm Sardar Shuja Khan	PML(N) PML(N)	Awan Baloch
6	2002-07	NA-69Kb-I	Sumaira Malik	PNA	Awan

		NA-70Kb-II	Malik Saif-Ullah	Independent	Tiwana
7	2008-13	NA-69Kb-I	Sumaira Malik	PML(Q)	Awan
		NA-70Kb-II	Malik Shakir Bashir	PML(N)	Awan
8	2013-18	NA-69Kb-I	Sumaira Malik/ Uzair M Khan	PML(N)	Awan
		NA-70Kb-II	Malik Shakir Bashir	PML(N)	Awan
9	2018-23	NA-93Kb-I	Malik Umar Aslam	PTI	Awan
		NA-94Kb-II	Malik Ihsan-Ullah	PTI	Tiwana

Source: Prepared by the researcher based on the data from ECP website

Table 2
Electoral Results of District Khushab in Punjab Assembly

Sr. #	Elections	constituencies	Names of candidates	Party	Biradari
1	1985	PP-37 Kb-I	Malik Mukhtar	Non-party-Basis Elections	Awan
		PP-38 Kb-II	Shujah Muhammad Khan		Baloch
		PP-39 Kb-III	Malik Khuda Bakhsh		Tiwana
2	1988	PP-33 Kb-I	Malik Muhammad Bashir	Independent	Awan
		PP-34 Kb-II	Malik Khuda Bakhsh	Independent	Tiwana
		PP-35 Kb-III	Captain (R) Dr. Muhammad Rafiq	IJI	IJI
3	1990	PP-33 Kb-I	Malik Mukhtar Ahmad	IJI	Awan
		PP-34 Kb-II	Malik Khuda Bakhsh	IJI	Tiwana
		PP-35 Kb-III	Malik Khuda Bakhsh	Independent	Wadhwal
4	1993	PP-33 Kb-I	Malik Mukhtar Ahmad	PML(N)	Awan
		PP-34 Kb-II	Malik Saleh Muhammad	PML(N)	Gunjial
		PP-35 Kb-III	Captain (R) Dr. Muhammad Rafiq	PIF	PIF
5	1997	PP-33 Kb-I	Malik Mukhtar Ahmad	PML(N)	Awan
		PP-34 Kb-II	Malik Muhammad Hayat	PML(N)	Utra
		PP-35 Kb-III	Tasawar Ali Khan	PML(N)	Awan
6	2002	PP-39 Kb-I	Malik Muhammad Javed Iqbal	PML(Q)	Awan
		PP-40 Kb-II	Malik Saleh Muhammad	PNA	Gunjial
		PP-41 Kb-III	Muhammad Asif Malik	PML(Q)	Awan
		PP-42 Kb-IV	Malik Muhammad Waris	Independent	Kallu
7	2008	PP-39 Kb-I	Malik Muhammad Javed Iqbal	PML(N)	Awan
		PP-40 Kb-II	Karam Ilahi Bandial	PML(N)	Bandial
		PP-41 Kb-III	Muhammad Asif Malik	PML(N)	Awan
		PP-42 Kb-IV	Malik Muhammad Waris Kallu	PML(N)	Kallu
8	2013	PP-39 Kb-I	Malik Muhammad Javed Iqbal	PML(N)	Awan
		PP-40 Kb-II	Karam Ilahi	PML(N)	Bandial
		PP-41 Kb-III	Muhammad Asif Malik	PML(N)	Awan
		PP-42 Kb-IV	Malik Muhammad Waris	PML(N)	Kallu
9	2018	PP-82 Kb-I	Fateh Khaliq	PTI	Bandial
		PP-83 Kb-II	Hassan Malik	PTI	Awan
		PP-84 Kb-III	Moazzam Sher	PML(N)	Kallu

Source: Prepared by the researcher based on the data from ECP website

Comparative Analysis

As compare to 2013 election, a decrease in the voter turnout in 2018 election was observed. National voter turnout declined marginally from 53.62% in 2013 to 51.99% in General Election 2018. , An addition of 8.45 million voters was observed which turned out to vote as compared to General Election 2013. This increment indicates the people's commitment to elect their representatives. The important rise in voters is primarily owing to an unprecedented increase in voters' registration between the two general elections (from 86.18 million in 2013 to 105.96 million in 2018). The increase in the number of registered voters in the five years between the 2013 and 2018 elections (19.77 million) was more than the increase in the 10 years between the 2002 and 2013 elections (14.27 million). On the otherhand,the female voter turnout in 2018 was comparatively lower than male voter turnout across the country. Only 46.89% of registered women voters cast their ballots for the National Assembly as compared to 56.07% registered men voters(FAFEN Election Observation Report, August 12, 2018).

District Khushab has had been the stronghold of Pakistan Muslim League (N) from 1985 to 2013. Though, in 2002 PML (Q) and PNA got success but it proved quite momentary as in the upcoming elections (of 2008 and 2013), PML (N) again dominated the electoral and political landscape of this district by occupying all the seats at national as well as provincial assemblies. In 2018, PTI's political slogan *change* defeated the PML(N)'s slogan *vote ko izzat do*. PTI, like other parts of the country, emerged as the major party in the parliament.

Table 3
Comparison of 2013 and 2018 Elections of National Assembly in District Khushab
(Constituency-wise)

Election	Constituency	Sr. No.	Contesting Candidates	Party	Votes Polled	
2013 Election	NA-69 Khushab-I	1	Malik Nazir Khan Awan	Awami Workers Party	628	
		2	Umar Aslam Khan	PTI	80331	
		3	Alhaj Malik Zaffar Iqbal Awan	APML	1307	
		4	Sumaira Malik	PML(N)	119193	
	NA-70 Khushab-II	1	Malik Shakir Bashir Awan	PML(N)	94594	
		2	Abdullah Ahmed	JUI(F)	7954	
		3	Syed Imran Hyder Shah	MQM	588	
		4	Doctor Muhammad Rashid	PPPP	2939	
		5	Sardar Shujja Muhammad Khan	Independent	64885	
		6	Gul Asghar Khan	PTI	38099	
		7	Malik Zafar Iqbal Borana	Independent	347	
		8	Khalil Ahmad	Independent	736	
	2018 Election	NA-93 Khushab-I	1	Abdullah Ahmad	MMA	8144
			2	Bahadar Khan	ANP	897
			3	Haji Fateh Deen	Independent	1078
			4	Malik Mazhar Iqbal Awan	Independent	32515
5			Muhammad Ali Sanwal	Independent	23492	
6			Naseem Abbas	PPPP	3182	
7			Sumaira Malik	PML(N)	70,435	
8			Umar Aslam Awan	PTI	100,626	
NA-94 Khushab-II		1	Anwar Khan	Independent	476	
		2	Ghaus Muhammad Khan Niazi	Independent	936	
		3	Gul Asghar Khan Baghoor	Independent	43779	
		4	Malik M Ehsan Ullah Tiwana	PTI	94088	
		5	Malik Shakir Bashir Awan	PML(N)	85228	
		6	Safdar Ali	PPPP	3125	
		7	Shahid Iqbal	Independent	116	
		8	Uzair Muhammad Khan	Independent	1734	

Source: Prepared by the researcher based on the data from ECP website

Table 4
Comparison of 2013 and 2018 Elections of Provincial Assembly in District Khushab
(Constituency-wise)

Election	Sr.	Contesting Candidates	Party	Votes Polled
PP-39 Khushab-I				
	1	Malik Mehmood Ul Hassan Awan	Independent	9854

2013 Election	2	Malik Ameer Mukhtar Sangha Awan	PTI	38475
	3	Malik Muhammad Javed Iqbal Awan	PML(N)	42635
	4	Malik Muhammad Asghar Awan	APML	417
	5	Malik Mukhtar Ahmad Awan	Independent	4490
	6	Dr. Malik Naeem Sadiq Awan	PPPP	1418
	7	Faisal Aziz Malik	Independent	5707
	PP-40 Khushab-II			
	1	Qazi Ghayas Ud Din	PPPP	613
	2	Karam Elahi Bandial	PML(N)	45,854
	3	Muhammad Din Ayub Tiwana	Independent	7328
	4	Muhammad Zahoor Malik	JI	207
	5	Muhammad Naveed Akhtar Mughal	MQM	60
	6	Malik Hassan Nawaz Gunjial	PTI	3392
	7	Saleh Muammad Gunjial	Independent	38541
PP-41 Khushab-II				
2013 Election	1	Tanzir Ul Hassan	JI	1921
	2	Haji Muhammad Sharif Khan	Independent	21626
	3	Muhammad Umar Ali Khan	Independent	15021
	4	Muhammad Akbar Butt	MQM	116
	5	Anwar Arain	Independent	6954
	6	Ubaid Ur Rehman Zia	Independent	49
	7	Syed Imran Hyder Shah Bukhari	Independent	56
	8	Amer Javed Randhawa	Independent	28
	9	Dr. M. Khalid Bashir Awan	PTI	6647
	10	Muhammad Asif Malik	PML(N)	40082
	11	Pir Abid Hussain Hashmi	Pakistan Falah Party	43534
	12	Muhammad Faisal Yaqoob	Independent	50
	13	Malik Naveed Aslam Awan	Independent	1154
	14	Atta Muhammad Thaheem	Independent	67
	15	Muhammad Ilyas Awan	PML	278
	16	Rana Qamar Uz Zaman Chand	APML	519
	17	Bahadar Khan	ANP	4078
	18	Sajjad Hussain Khan	PPPP	99115
PP-42 Khushab-IV				
2013 Election	1	Abdur Razzaq	JUI(F)	538
	2	Malik Khuda Bakhsh Tiwana	Independent	50148
	3	Muhammad Imran	MQM	83
	4	Muhammad Waris Kallu	PML(N)	50616
	5	Gul Asghar Khan	PTI	7797
	6	Malik Zafar Iqbal Borana	Independent	27
	7	Muhammad Anwar Khan	PPPP	229
	8	Muhammad Ismail	PML	166
	9	Malik Ghulam Muhammad Tiwana	Independent	134
	10	Syed Ghulam Hasnain Shah	APML	48

Source: Prepared by the researcher based on the data from ECP website

Table No.5
Comparison of 2013 and 2018 Elections of Provincial Assembly in District Khushab

		ELECTION 2018	PP-82 Khushab-I	
2018 Election	1	Fateh Khaliq	PTI	71925
	2	Karam Elahi Bandial	PML(N)	43244
	3	Muhammad Sagheer	Independent	10071
	4	Muhammad Mumtaz	AAT	1491
	5	Malik Muhammad Sher Afzal	Independent	1296
	6	Nasir Khan Awan	TLP	25208

PP-83 Khushab-II				
2018 Election	1	Bahadar Khan	Independent	67
	2	Dildar Hussain Rizwi	TLP	9576
	3	Saif Ullah Khan	Independent	1660
	4	Shazia Kausar	AAT	2544
	5	Gul Asghar Khan	PTI	8537
	6	Muhammad Asif Malik	PML(N)	47764
	7	Muhammad Ilyas Awan	Independent	707
	8	Muhammad Saleem Iqbal	Independent	2791
	9	Malik Zafar Ullah Khan Bugti	Independent	10876
	10	Malik Ghulam Rasool Sangha	Independent	69036
	11	Nisar Ahmad Khan	PPPP	1899
PP-84 Khushab-III				
2018 Election	1	Hafiz Sher Muhammad Sialvi	TLP	12346
	2	Rana Kalid Mehmood	Independent	10796
	3	Sardar Shujah Muammad Khan	PTI	60288
	4	Muhammad Anwar Khan	PPPP	1365
	5	Muhammad Hasnain	Independent	1024
	6	Muhammad Imran Farooq	Independent	1731
	7	Muhammad Moazzam Sher	Independent	203
	8	Muhammad Waris	MMA	4856
	9	Muhammad Waris Shad	PML(N)	66775

Source: Prepared by the researcher based on the data from ECP website

Conclusion

Owing to its distinct terrain and topography, district Khushab has unique position in the Punjab province. Before the establishment as a district on July 1, 1982, Khushab was the tehsil of district Sargodha. Currently, it has four tehsils including Khushab, Noor Pur, Quaid Abad and Nowshehra. Being situated along the right bank of River Jehlum, Khushab comprises picturesque mountains and fertile plains. It is a centuries-old settlement. The word Khushab derives its nomenclature from two Persian words *khush* means sweet and *Aab* means water. Rich with mineral resources and wild life, Soon Valley is one of the most beautiful places of district Khushab while the desert of Thal is famous for gram cultivation. Thal Development Authority (TDA) was established in 1949 to settle the refugees in the desert of Thal. It developed basic infrastructure for social services within its stipulated time of twenty years. Biradarism is not only an effective phenomenon in political and electoral life of Khushab but also the gauge to assess the voting behavior of the voters. Politics of this district revolves around few families like Awan, Tiwanas, Kallu, Aheer, Baloch, Gunjial and Bandial who have had been dominating the political arena since long. Irrespective of party affiliations, Personal vote-bank and traditional dominancy of few families have made the politicians electables. Electoral history reflects that Khushab has had been a stronghold of PML (N) at national and provincial level. Finally, it can be concluded that like previous polling results, monopoly of few families continued and the tug of power-politics remined in the clutches of biradarism but in different political party.

References

- Abbasi, A.(1999, October 16). No martial law in country, *Dawn Newspapers*.
- Ahmad, M.(2009). Relationship between Political Parties and Non-Political Powers: An Analysis with Reference to Pakistan, *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences* 29, (1), 107-115
- Akhtar, N., (2017). Civil Military Relations during the Zardari Regime (2008-2012) in Pakistan: Internal and External Factors. The School of Politics and International Relations Quaid- Azam University Islamabad.
- American Psychological Association. (n.d.). *District Profile*. <https://khushab.punjab.gov.pk/>
- American Psychological Association. (n.d.). *Khushab Gazetteer* <https://gazetteers.punjab.gov.pk/uploads/flipbooks/khushab/2021/mobile/index.html>
- American Psychological Association. (n.d.). *Parliamentary History* <https://na.gov.pk/en/index.php>
- American Psychological Association. (n.d.). *Punjab Assembly* <https://www.pap.gov.pk/members/listing/en/21/?bydistrict=133>
- Awais, M.(2021). Secrets of the Soan Valley: The Amb Temples of Sakesar and Lake Uchali *Youlin Magazine*
- Bedi, T.D. (1934). *Indebtedness in the Pastoral and Agricultural Zones of the Bhakkar Thal*. Calcutta: Shadi Ram Monga Publishers
- Colony File. (1969). *Bhakkar*. Revenue Division Thal Development Authority.
- Dawn*,(2007, March 24) Tehsil Status
- FAFEN's Analysis of Voter Turnout in GE-2018, (2018, August 12) <https://fafen.org/fafens-analysis-of-voter-turnout-in-ge-2018/>
- Farooq, M.A. & Ahmad, R., (2022). Restoration of Democracy in Muslim Countries; A Case Study of Muhammad Khan Juneju Government in Pakistan (1985-88) *Al-Qamar* 5 (2), 33-48
- Griffin, L.H., (1865). *The Punjab Chiefs: Historical and Biographical Notices of the Principal Families in the Territories under the Punjab Government*, Chronicles Press
- Ibrahim, M. (2009). *Role of Biradari System in Power Politics of Lahore: Post-Independence Period Multan*, Bahauddin Zakariya University
- Ijaz, S. and Sharjeel I., (2012). *Colony Manual*, Lahore: KLR Publisher.
- Leel, F. S., (2019). *Bhakkar Ki SaqafiTareekh*. Dera Ismail Khan: Sultan Printing Press. PP. 37-39.
- Malik, R.Z., (2014). *Politics of Alliances: A Case Study of Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI)* Ph.D thesis. Quaid-a-Azam University, Islamabad
- PILDAT (2013). *The First 10 General Elections of Pakistan; A Story of Pakistan's Transition from Democracy above Rule of Law to Democracy under Rule of Law: 1970-2013* PILDAT

- Qureshi, J.M. (1995). *An Economical Survey of Eight Typical Villages of Thal*. Lahore: Board of Economic Inquiry.
- Rose, H.A. (1997). *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, Nirmal Publishers and Distributors
- Sajid, M.A., (2021). *Democratic Experience of Pakistan: A Case Study of Parliamentary Democratic Period 1988-1999* Lahore, University of the Punjab.
- Sayeed, K.B., (1995). *The Political System of Pakistan* Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi.
- Statistics Bureau of Pakistan, (1951). *Census of Pakistan 1951*. Karachi: Government of Pakistan.
- Syed, I. K. and Haider, K., (2020). Electoral Politics in Pakistan: First Half Decade of the 21st Century. *Pakistan Vision*, 21, (2), 150
- Talbot, (2013). *Khizr Tiwana, the Punjab Unionist Party and the partition of India*, London: Rutledge,
- The West Pakistan Shops And Establishments Ordinance, 1969.*
- Thind, Mehar Noor Muhammad. (1994). *Tareek Layyah. Layyah: Lok Punjab Publishers* P. 165. A Study of Settlement of Refugees in the Thal Desert (1947-1969)
- Waris and Rizwan, (2016). *Biradari and Power in Punjab; A Case Study of District Khushab* Qurtuba University the Dialogue Vol XI Number 4 page 451
- West Pakistan Year Book. (1963). *Lahore: Information Department*. P. 34.
- West Pakistan Year Book. (1965). *Lahore: Information Department*. P. 12.
- West Pakistan Year Book. (1968). *Lahore: Information Department*. P. 23.
- Wilson, J. (1984). *District Gazetteer of Khushab*, Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications page 16-18