

Historical Understanding of Electoral Politics of Kanju Family of District Lodhran (1947-2018)

Muhammad Yasir Ali

Assistant Professor, Department of History and Civilization Studies, BZU, Multan

Farhat Naz

PhD Scholar, Department of History and Civilization Studies, BZU, Multan

Abstract

Kanju family is among the prominent political families of South Punjab. Their political career starts from the colonial period. They have a significant contribution in the development of political culture in South Punjab throughout the history of Pakistan. They have a list of prominent politicians and the most prominent of them are Siddique Khan Kanju and his son Abdul Rahman Khan. Currently they are leading 'Shaheed Kanju Group' in District Lodhran. This paper focuses on the electoral politics of Kanju family by creating a piece of historical understanding of family's political development. It argues that their political contributions are not solely based on the absolute claims of family but are built on the caste based affiliations, management of ethnic identities and electoral adjustments. This argument is tested by following historical, dialectical and phenomenological research methods. Understanding different patterns of their electoral politics reveals the presence of people's real participation in politics under the so-called banners of dynastic politics.

Keywords: Electoral politics, Punjab, Kanju Family, District Lodhran, Shaheed Kanju Group

I. Introduction

Kanju family plays a vital role in the politics of Lodhran District. Kanjus also have political influence in the neighboring Districts. This political influence is evident from the fact that they have matrimonial relations with the influential families of South Punjab. They have close relations with Pir Zada, Joya, Tareen and Qazalbash families.¹ So, their political role is important and requires an academic analysis. This paper analyses their electoral politics. It describes and analyses the ways in which Kanjus participate in electoral politics. This analysis includes the social and historical aspects of the family politics. Historical aspect of politics of Kanju family is linked with the British colonial period and social aspect includes both traditional and recent means of social contact. It also includes theoretical impressions of the dynastic politics. A general understanding of this historical and social aspect is narrated as,

Regional politics emerged as a contest of elites, having feudal decorum with those having masses temper and contacts. The success was won by those who had mass-contacts. The success of political parties was subject to the support of those groups who had mass contacts.²

Recent history of political development in Pakistan maintains that political parties, manifestoes, ideas, thoughts and developmental plans require support from individual personalities and group based alliances. This gives strength to dynastic politics and that is why, still, politics in South Punjab is dominated by political families.³ It does not mean that dynastic politics is the only face but other trends are also getting their place. Even the dynastic politics that carries the impression of absolute presence of an influential family is a myth in contemporary politics. Dynastic politics has gone through many structural changes and exhibits underlying patterns of people's participation in political process. This research argues that politically prominent families are surviving on the basis of construction of political networks that involve real public participation and the political agency can be found only in these networks rather than considering single family as political agent. Kanju family is a significant example in this regard. They contain both traditional and popular political trends and are a suitable example of the shift of political agency from political individuals and families to the political networks that involve the participation of different social classes.

This article initiates the discussion by narrating a brief history of political participation of Kanju family. It maintains that their political stature owes to their social uplift during colonial period when their social and political authority was established by land grants and conferment of different titles and honorary offices by the colonial administration. This part is followed by the description of their electoral politics that mentions different personalities and the events of their success. Final parts analyses their

electoral politics by following the argument that their dynastic politics is strengthened by the construction of political networks that involve caste based politics, ethnic negotiations and political adjustments.

2. History of Kanju Family

Kanju family is a political family of Tehsil Kehror Pacca of District Lodhran. From British period till to date, this family is playing an important role in administration and politics of the region. Like many castes in Punjab, different claims about the origin of Kanjus are present. Sir Edward claims that Kanju is an agricultural Jat clan.⁴ According to other traditions Kanju family belongs to Rajputs. They state that Kanjus are descendants of Rajput Raja Wadhan. They were settled in Ganjhi near Dehli. After sometimes, Raja Waddhan with his tribe left Dehli owing to certain political conditions and settled in Bhatner.⁵ Bhatner is located in Rajistan and was a seat of power of Bhatti Rajputs. It was named as Hanumangarh in 1805. "Sir Edward Maclagan saw a manuscript of genealogy in which Utra, Kanju, And Kalyar are mentioned as the brothers of Noon.⁶ In 11th century A.D Raja Waddhen settled in Chamb Kalyar near the bank of River Sutluj and embraced Islam with his family. From Mughal period to present scenario, Utra, Kanju, and Noon are the names of three well-known castes in Lodhran and Shuja Abad. Another tradition narrates that Kanju was also descendant of Raja Bikeramjeet who is famous for his entanglement with Zahir al-Din Babur. Syed Aulad Ali Gilani mentions that after the defeat of Bikeramjeet, the clan migrated towards Multan.⁷ They were allotted lands by the local rulers and they enjoyed the similar status during the period of Nawab Muzaffar Khan and during Sikh Rule in Punjab. Initially, they were settled in area that is presently known as Alipur Kanju and then shifted in the present day Lodhran. Inayat Ali Khan, a prominent figure laid the foundations of a new locality near Kahror Pacca namely Inayat Abad and settled there.⁸ It is claimed that Ali Pur Kanju is the new name of Inayat Abad. From that time till today, Kanju maintained a credible place in politics of this region. So, from the time of their settlement in this region they had been in the influential sections of society but their present role in politics owes its existence to the colonial socio-political formations.

3. Political Participation and Contribution

Recent political contribution and participation of Kanju family is divided into two phases i.e. 'pre and post-independence'. The political voyage of Kanjus started in the colonial period, when they got titles and responsibilities. The paterfamilias of Kanju's politics Pir Baksh Kanju was appointed as Zaildar of Kehror and Lumberdar of Nine villages.⁹ He also had been the member of District Board Multan.¹⁰ It was starting point of local politics and their political influence. He was a very courageous representative of Lodhran Municipality. His son Ahmad Yar had also good terms with officials. But this was the period when Kanju family had started grown to two different streams. A personality Amin Khan Kanju emerged on political stage on the platform of All India Muslim League. During 1940s communists had hold in Kehror and its surrounding areas. Amin Khan Kanju and other main personalities of Lodhran established the Muslim League Branch in Kehror Pacca in 1946.¹¹ This step brought Kanjus more close to the Gilani family of Multan. Amin Khan's position in All India Muslim League enabled him to substitute Ahmad Yar Khan. Amin Khan worked hard for All India Muslim League in his locality and made it a popular party in Lodhran Tehsil. After creation of Pakistan the first provincial elections were held in 1951, and Gilanis selected Amin Khan Kanju for Lodhran Constituency.¹² Due to popularity of Muslim League and Amin Khan, he won this election and became MLA after defeating Ahmad Yar Kanju who was contesting as an independent candidate. Amin Khan Kanju delivered honestly to his people. He was newcomer in politics but he tried his best in his first experience to work for welfare of the people of his constituency. As a result he was again elected in 1962 from Kehror Pacca. In 1964, he was defeated. Amin Khan Kanju supported Ayub Khan in presidential elections. He was polling agent at Kehror Pacca. Shaheen Kehrori writes that Gilani family was supporting the Ayub Khan instead of Fatima Jinnah so Kanjus of Kehror Pacca were also supporting Ayub Khan.¹³ Till now the politics of Kanju family was under the influence of politics of Multan. Amin Kanju died in 1969. His career strengthened family's role in the future politics of the region. Kanjus were branded as Muslim Leaguers.

In 1970, the first general elections were announced. Pakistan People's Party was flourishing in West Pakistan. Kanjus remained intact with Muslim League. Kabir Khan Kanju (brother of Amin Khan Kanju) contested election but was defeated. During 1970s, Kanju family got split and three factions emerged as a result.¹⁴ Prominent personalities in this period were Ahmad Yar Kanju, Khurshid Khan Kanju and new one Siddique Khan Kanju. Khurshid Khan Kanju joined Jamat-i-Islami and onward Siddique Khan was the representative of Muslim League. He not only represented Muslim League in the local units but also became part of government as Parliamentary Secretary Food and Agriculture and Chairman of District Development Committee Multan.

From 1985 to 1999, Siddique Khan Kanju played a key role in national politics and also in politics of Lodhran. After military coup of 1999, Siddique Kanju joined the PML-Q in 2001 and participated in Local Bodies Election. He was assassinated during the election campaign.¹⁵ He was replaced by his son Abdul Rahman Khan. He won the elections for District Nazim in the local body elections of 2001. In the general elections of 2002, he nominated his uncle Akhtar Khan Kanju for the party ticket of PML-Q. Akhtar Kanju won the election.¹⁶ Abdul Rahman Khan and Akhtar Khan parted ways in 2013. Abdul Rahman Kanju established 'Shaheed Kanju Group' and contested 2013 election as independent candidate and defeated Akhtar Khan Kanju, PML-N candidate. In 2018, Abdul Rahman again defeated Akhtar Khan (PTI) and Akram Khan (PPP) on the national seat from Lodhran. He lost his recent election in 2024. So the politics of Kanju family is a success story that started from Pir Baksh and is being carried by Abdul Rahman Khan.

4. Electoral Politics

Kanju's politics can be divided into different frames that can be detached from each other to enhance the level of clarity. Electoral politics, Party politics and parliamentary politics are the major portion in which the political participation and contribution of a dynastic politics can be explained. They have participated in all these ranks. They are a constant part of electoral politics in the region and are contesting the elections from the earliest to the latest elections in Pakistan.

In democracies, we expect the people to voice their opinion through voting. Voting is important because this is the process through which the politicians can be held answerable and the probable candidates are encouraged to deliver to the people. Therefore, many studies highlight the political participation of public. However, political participation and its determinations is an understudied area in Pakistan's case. Most of the studies discussing the electoral politics analyze election results and discuss the electoral politics on the basis of numeric data. This study focuses on empirical, discursive and phenomenological aspects of the electoral politics of Kanju family. Empirical data is collected from the election results. Discursive analysis is based on the political debates in the shape of academic books and research article. The main focus of the study is on the phenomenological aspects which provides with the actual and on ground electoral dynamics that play a vital role in the electoral success of Kanju family.

Dynastic electoral politics is a well discussed topic and most of studies deal it with the power and influence of the family and also with the access of politically influential families in the national corridors of power. It is also a common perception that feudal families in South Punjab, for example, overpower the political and social liberty of voters with the use of absolute means of power. Traditional structures of dynastic politics that were formed in colonial period, also, confirm these kinds of deterministic perceptions. This study reveals that even the use of traditional factors in the electoral politics is not that much absolute as is normally understood.¹⁷ These traditional factors are working with new tactics rationalized under the existing socio-cultural dynamics. It argues that electoral politics of dynastic families in the recent times is based on sharing and negotiation of electoral space instead of using traditional so-called absolute power. Discussion is divided in three parts that analyze the role of birādarīsm, linguistic trends and electoral adjustments.

4.1. Caste based politics

Caste system is one of the major structures of social existence and identity in Pakistan. The term means a caste based brotherhood. At one end it integrates a human being with the other individuals of his caste or clan.¹⁸ On the other hand it hinders the way of universal sense of social integration and harmony. Birādarīsm (caste based brotherhood) is a product of socio-cultural and political circumstance and vice versa. One can argue that birādarīsm, from an angle, results from the political instability in a modern state. People rely on their fellow kinsman when they are disappointed from the political system. On the other hand birādarīsm affects the political development as well. In Pakistani context, people are more aware of the later aspect where birādarīsm is working as a political agent. Its status as a political agent is significantly influential. The story of electoral politics, especially in Punjab, relies on birādarīsm. Pakistan.¹⁹ Electoral politics in District Lodhran is not an exception in this regard.²⁰ Socially, Kehror Pacca has also been based on such community system as Kanju, Joya, Noon, Baloch, Jat, Gujjar, Dogar, Arain, Nawab and Mirza etc. Joya, Baloch and migrated Jat birādarīes are always with Kanju family especially with the Amin Khan Kanju. The electoral politics of Kanju family is dominantly based on birādarīsm. This method or strategy was highly appreciated in 1985's non-party election. Role of birādarīsm in the electoral politics reflects both positive and negative aspects. This part discusses both supporting and conflicting aspects of birādarīsm. Birādarīsm in Punjab manifest itself in two ways. *Sharīkā-birādarī* is an ignored aspect as it contains conflicting tone.²¹ This trends negatively impacts the caste based brotherhood and maintain rivalry and conflict inside a clan. It represents the competitive trends inside a caste group.²² In 1964, Amin Khan Kanju was defeated because his electoral base, Kanju clan, was divided. Ahmad Yar Khan Kanju contested election against Amin Khan Kanju. This internal conflict remains alive till the general election of 2018.²³

Internal conflict of family compelled the leadership of the family to maintain reliable relationship with other caste groups in their constituencies. This fact is evident from the list of their supporters belonging to different castes. They have maintained extraordinary social contacts with Joya, Utra, Khawaja, Baloch, Arain, Jats, Doger and Awan clans. These connections are translated in electoral politics. Sajjad Hussain Khan, Fiaz Khan and Allah Ditta Khan represented Joya family in Kanju group. Some people opined during field visits that Joya family is the electoral backbone of the Kanju group. Siddique Khan and Ahmad Khan represent Baloch caste in Kanju group.²⁴ Siddique Khan had been contesting the elections for national assembly and Ahmad Khan has been elected member of provincial assembly. Malik Tayyib is prominent figure of Awans. List of prominent supporters of Kanju group include the names of Sarwar Khan Lodhi, Rana Faiz Ahmad, Bashir Ahmad Toor, Raja Faiz Ali, Mian Abdul Majid Jhandir, Sami Ullah Arain, Malik Shah Nawaz Bhutta, Mian Faiz Sukhaira, Qasim Khan Malezai, and Amin Shah Bukhari. They have been active in the period of Siddique Khan Kanju. Siddique Khan had extraordinary skills in maintaining the social contacts. He is still admired by his friends who cherish the memories of his support and hospitalities.²⁵

The relations developed by the Siddique Khan Kanju proved very helpful for his son Abdul Rahman Kanju. His all electoral success depends on strong System of birādarīes.²⁶ Abdul Rahman Kanju twice elected as District Nazim in 2001 and 2005. During this period, he made strong relations with local birādarīes. His political credibility established during his tenure of local politics. It enabled him to win the national assembly elections in 2013. He was contesting as an independent candidate after the denial of ticket from PML (N). It was a challenge to contest election in the absence of the ticket of their traditional party. He met with this challenge by organizing the support of different caste groups in his constituency. So he made a group of Baloch, Joya and Bhutta families and contested election under the banner of 'Shaheed Kanju Group'. He with his companions went to every door, met every

major heads of birādarīes. And they made a historic victory in electoral history of Lodhran. Shaheed Kanju Group won all seats of Lodhran. He validated the role of birādarīes, even, in the campaign for the seat of national assembly in 2018, after securing the nomination by PML (N). He while addressing to a corner meeting said,

“Ab āap aur main alag nahī hain, balkay ab tamām birūdariyān ham ban kar kām Karain gē. Yeh baithnay kā waqt nahī hay. Door to door campaign kā waqt hay. āap mainā harāwal dastā hain. Gilay shikway khatam karū aur aik hou kay kām karū. Agar mujh say sābiqā adwār main kūī kautāhī hūī tau ab nahī hau gē. Jaisay āap sab pahlay sūth thay ab bhī waisay hī rahain. Pahlay bhī birūdariyān ikahū hūien tau ham kāmīyāb hūay. Ab bhī ham sab kī baqā mushtarkāh hay aur ikathay chalnay main hay yah ticket mainī nahī āapkī hay. Mainī jeet āapkī jeet hau gē”²⁷

Translation

We are not separate and we should make a combine effort. It is right time to conduct door-to-door campaign. You people are my vanguard. Please unite and keep your internal conflicts aside, before this election. I request you to forget, if you have any complaint regarding my behavior in past. I promise to abstain from my earlier mistakes. Please maintain your unity. Your (caste groups) unity was a key to our success in past. Our unity, in present, will ensure our success in future. My success is all yours.

He validated the role of caste groups by saying that the nomination of PML (N), in fact, owes to the support of different caste groups affiliated with him. He is accepting that his success would be neither on the basis of a political party or his personal charisma but would be based on the support of birādarīes. Detachment of personality and party affiliation from the electoral performance is not a simple phenomenon and it always requires a careful handling on the part of candidate.

4.2. Managing Ethnic Identities

The ethnic politics refers to a situation in which politicians tend to mobilize support on the basis of an appeal to ethnic identity and people tend to support leaders from the same ethnic group. Political history of Pakistan contains different colors of ethnic politics. At first, ethnic politics is attached with the nationalist claims of certain nationalist parties in small provinces in Pakistan. Nationalist political parties rally the support of people on the basis of their Pashtun, Balochi, Sindhi and Punjabi ethnic identity. Major argument behind their political struggle is the deprivation of their ethnic group and soul purpose of their political participation is to meet the challenge of political marginalization of their ethnic group. Nationalist claims are problematized with emergence of language and culture as an identity marker. In Pakistan, one can find a Pashtun with Saraiki as his mother language, a Baloch with Punjabi as his mother language. Pashtun tribes in Multan prefer their Saraiki identity and similarly Baloch tribes in Faisalabad and Sahiwal Divisions identify themselves as Punjabis. So the nationalist claims are challenged by the lingual diversity. Although nationalist political claims are present in all provinces, yet their nationalist ethnic identities are structured differently. Baloch and Pashtun ethnic groups in KPK and Baluchistan have coherent lingual, social and cultural structures. On the other hand Sindhi, Punjabi and Saraiki ethnicity lacks the social and cultural cohesion and exhibit the trends of hybridity. Electoral politics in Pakistan manifests this hybridity and in each constituency ethnic identity and claims are cautiously managed by the contestants.

Kanju family, in the context of South Punjab, also faces the challenge of ethnic claims as the movement for the establishment of separate province for Saraiki Belt is on rise. Saraiki identity has attained cultural and social structural position and is striving for political claims as well. Political claims and question of Saraiki identity is divided into two parts. First part links it with the political struggle to achieve the status of province for the region of South Punjab. Second part links it with the attainment of electoral support on the basis of language. Discussion in this part is based on the second aspect. Question of identity is so much significant that it compels the ‘migrated’ politicians to utilize Saraiki lingual and cultural symbols and adherence to the demand for separate province for Saraikis.²⁸ In some constituencies the situation is different. Some contestants have to be silent regarding the ethnic identities and to be careful while demanding the separate province. Kanjus fall in this category. They have considerable number of Punjabi voters in their constituencies so they are very careful in this regard.

Kanju family of Lodhran is beyond of ethnic and linguistic electoral politics. They are Saraiki with Rajput origins.²⁹ This trend is common in the District Lodhran that one finds different Rajput clans with Saraiki language and culture. There is also a considerable number of Punjabi speaking castes like Arain, Gujjar, Khokhar, Langrial, Waraich, Gonadals. Punjabis are inhabited in the surroundings of Dunya Pur. It is interesting that the main constituency of Kanju family consists of Kehror and mostly Dunya Pur area with Punjabi population.³⁰ It is observed that these areas with majority of Punjabi voters are backbone of the electoral politics of Kanju family. Siddique Khan Kanju, Akhtar Khan Kanju, and Abdul Rahman Kanju have maintained their popularity both in Saraiki and Punjabi communities.³¹ The Kanju politicians have major political alliances with Saraiki Clans like Joya, Baloch and Bhutta without any Saraiki claim³². They have maintained the strength of their ‘political’ end that compensated the necessity of ethnic and linguistic claims.

4.3. Electoral Adjustments

Family plays a central role in dynastic politics. Political families become essential and gain a cultural credibility. This credibility plays a vital role in extending the electoral hegemony. This credibility is usually specific to the members of that political family. It is a complicated phenomenon. It becomes difficult in a case when this credit is utilized to support an outsider. Kanju family, especially, under the leadership of Siddique Khan and Abdul Rahman Khan shred their political credits with the politicians

from other castes and families. They have extended their politics from Kanju family to Kanju group. Presence of Joya and Baloch politicians proves that Kanjus assign essential position to politics instead of their own family. It is only possible when political place is shared and negotiated. Although this phenomenon is present in various parts of Punjab yet, Kanjus distinction lies in the fact that they have maintained long standing relations with their allies. Ijaz Khan Sahu rightly observes,

The Shaheed Kanju Group has also proved its mettle as an independent one and has also achieved success on the N-League ticket. Unlike the PTI, there is no manager between the leaders of the Shaheed Kanju group and the people. Abdul Rehman Kanju knows how to play politics at the local level. He can increase his vote bank in the next elections. Because Abdul Rehman Kanju is first in NA-160, he has personally made his bank vote so much that there is less need to campaign. It remains the same and in every election, he is seen campaigning more for his candidates than for his constituency.³³

Political groups also provide structures of identity for their supporters. People are not only identified on the basis of their castes and sects but local political group is also a part of their social identity. Kanju group, as a political alliance not only benefits the Kanju, Joya and Baloch contestants but also benefit the different strata of the supporters of the group. In a way it reflects the socio-cultural trends as well. Animosities and friendships in a particular area are manifested in the political groups and alliances.³⁴ The Alliance of Kanju, Bhutta, Joya and Baloch has strong bonding in district Lodhran. They twice captured the position of Nazim of Lodhran in 2001 and 2005³⁵, and got all MNA seats in the 2002 and 2008 elections. Even before 2013 elections, the Kanju group led by Abdul Rahman and Siddique Baloch was engaged in two month long negotiations to join the PML-N³⁶. However, things did not materialize since the Kanju group wanted absolute control of Lodhran whereas the PML-N wanted space for its nonexistent rank and file.³⁷ The group decided to contest independently and defeated both the PTI and the PML-N on all the two National Assembly seats and five MPAs seats. Later, they en-bloc joined the PML-N, putting a seal of undeniability of their total control of local politics, the point they again proved in recent local elections once again.³⁸ 2018 elections also witnessed the effective working of Kanju group and again, Abdul Rahman Kanju was elected as member of National Assembly of Pakistan. Abdul Rahman became loyal to his group during the elections in 2024. It is said that he lost his seat for national assemble just to save the political interests of Siddiqui Khan Baloch who was contesting against Jahangir Khan Tareen.

5. Conclusion:

Study of electoral politics of Kanju family in District Lodhran presents some new angles to examine the politics of dynastic politics. To an extent it challenges the traditional understandings of the dynastic, birādarī-based and ethnic politics. Certain trends appear as opposite of whatever has been understood in the name of politics of traditional families in South Punjab. At first, it discovers that birādarīsm is not always beneficial but it also appears in the shape of immediate opposition of a contestant. In many cases, a contestant faces opposition from his or her own caste group. In the case of Kanjus, Khurshid Khan and Akhtar Khan are the main figures who are opposing the political existence of the family of Siddique Khan Kanju. At second, it also refutes the impression of linguistic and nationalist politics in South Punjab and shows liberal trends in this regard. Kanjus do not raise the question of lingual identity but have cordial relations with the Punjabi speaking politicians and voters. This trend is also maintained by the Pirzada family of Lodhran and Bahawalpur. They do not indulge in ethnic politics and avoid using the symbols of linguistic affiliations. At third, it gives a new orientation to the politics of coalitions and adjustments. The establishment of regional politics groups, apparently, seems to be dominated by particular families but, in fact, other families and personalities involve in collaboration also share political agency with the leading family.

¹ Nadeem Shah, "Triangular Battle in NA-154 Lodhran-I as key clans hold sway", *The News International*, February 2, 2024. <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/1153784-triangular-battle-in-na-154-lodhran-i-as-key-clans-hold-sway>

² Muhammad Shafique Bhatti, Lubna Kanwal, "Regional Muslim Politics in Multan under the British", *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences*, 34, No. 2 (2014): 743-752.

³ Saneela Jawad, "Feudal Lords continue to dominate the 'democratic' system", *Pakistan Today*, Aug. 21, 2016.

⁴ Yasir Jawad (tr.), *Zātūn Kā Encyclopedia*, (Lahore: Book Home, 2004), 105.

⁵ Muhammad Taqqi Shamim, *Tarīkh-i-Lodhran*, (Lodhran, 1993), 286.

⁶ Government of Punjab *Punjab District Gazetteers, Multan District 1923-24*. (Lahore: Government Printing Punjab, 1925), 96.

⁷ Aulad Ali Gilani, *Muraqqa'-i-Multan*, (Multan, 1938), 486.

⁸ Some historian and researchers narrate that Inayat Abad is known as Ali Pur Kanju. In fact Inayat Abad is situated in the periphery of Ali Pur Kanju. Descendants of Pir Baksh Kanju live in Inayat Abad and descendants of Ameen Khan Kanju lives in Ali Pur Kanju/

⁹ Muhammad Yousaf Chughtai, *Tarīkh-i-Kehror Sharīf Al- Ma'arūf Kehror Pacca*, (Kehror Pacca: Maktab Al-Shafā, 1970), 56.

¹⁰ Ibid, 38

¹¹ Ibid, 37.

¹² Interview with Aun Muhammad Pirzada, August 19, 2020

¹³ Shaheen Kehrori, *The History Of District Lodhran*, (Lodhran: Bazm- i- 'Ilm-o-fun, 2000), 151

¹⁴ Interview with Aun Muhammad Pirzada

¹⁵ Kanju, Amina, "Remembering Siddique Kanju", *Daily Times*, August 1, 2023.

<https://dailytimes.com.pk/1118832/remembering-siddique-kanju/>

- ¹⁶ Manan, Abdul, “Former MNAs eyeing return”, *The Express Tribune*, August 4, 2010.
<https://tribune.com.pk/story/34516/former-mnas-eyeing-return>
- ¹⁷ Nicolas Martin, *Politics, Landlords and Islam in Pakistan*, (New York: Routledge, 2016), 66-70.
- ¹⁸ Mohammad A. Qadeer, *Pakistan: Social and Cultural Transformations in a Muslim Nation*, (London: Routledge, 2006), 189.
- ¹⁹ Adnan Nasir & Others, “Biradarism and Rural Conflict as a Determinant of Political Behavior: A Case Study of Rural Punjab”, *Journal Pakistan Association of Anthropology*, 27, no.1 (2015): 703-705.
- ²⁰ Nasir, Adnan & Others, “Rural Conflicts and Alliance Formation: A Cultural Strategy”, *Global Journal of Human –Social Science*, xiv, no.8 (2014).
- ²¹ This is a unique aspect of social ‘othering’ in Punjab. It connotes to the immediate competitors within the particular caste group. Academically, it is an ignored aspect of social life in the region.
- ²² Muhammad Ibrahim & Aftab Gillani, “Ethnic Impact in Electoral Politics: A Case Study of District Bahawalnager”, *Pakistan Vision*, 19, no. 2 (2018):101.
- ²³ Interview with Muhammad Akram Khan Kanju, September 10, 2020.
- ²⁴ Butt, Tariq, “Lodhran By-Polls: A clash between local personalities”, *The News International*, December 23, 2015.
<https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/83749-Lodhran-by-polls-a-clash-between-local-personalities>
- ²⁵ Interview with Anwar Dogar, August 25, 2020.
- ²⁶ Belokrenitsky, V.Y. & Moskalenko, V.N., *A Political History of Pakistan 1947-2007*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013), 372.
- ²⁷ Abdul Rahman Kanju/www.youtube.com/be/GECQT2Y50eYabdul
- ²⁸ Aamir doger, a migrated member of National Assemblé raised the cause of separate province for the people of South Punjab based on Saraiki identity. Similarly Senator Rana Mahmood al-Hassan from Multan also put his weight with Saraiki cause.
- ²⁹ Muhammad Yousaf Chughtai, *Tarikh-i-Kehror Sharif Al Ma`arūf Kehror Pacca*, (Kehror Pacca: Maktab Al Shafa, 1970), 36.
- ³⁰ Interview with Sheraz Ahmad, June 20, 2022.
- ³¹ Interview with Khurshid Khan Kanju . September 10,2020.
- ³² Interview with Sheraz Ahmad.
- ³³ Sahu, Ijaz Khan, “Jehangir Tareen faces political isolation in hometown Lodhran”, *Daily Times*, July 19,2021.
<https://dailytimes.com.pk/794264/jehangir-tareen-faces-political-isolation/>
- ³⁵ Information collect from Local bodies Election/Election Office Lodhran
- ³⁶ Interview with Abdul Rahman Kanju, September 15, 2020.
- ³⁷ Ibid
- ³⁸ Ibid