

PalArch's Journal of Archaeology  
of Egypt / Egyptology

**ROLE OF ETHNICITY IN ELECTTORAL POLITICS OF PAKISTAN: A CASE OF DERA GHAZI KHAN DURIING ELECTIONS 1982-1997**

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**Keywords: Ethnicity, Politics, Reciprocal, Region, Elections, Dera Ghazi Khan etc.**

**Abstract**

The last half of the twentieth century is marked by the rise of the concept of ethnicity in the world. The world War-II promoted ethnonational concept of polity and as a result many new ethnic states emerged on the world map by the end of the World War-II. Ethnicity is a major tool of electoral politics in plural societies especially in authoritarian democracy. In Pakistan as other post-colonial states of the world ethnicity is a deep rooted concept and has a strong impact on political development. Intra-ethnic differences lead the ethnic groups towards ethnic politics to get their representation. In modern democratic states ethnic groups try to pressurize the state for representation while state controlled them through forcefully or negotiate with them to establish its writ. The relation between ethnicity and politics is reciprocal. This research paper is an attempt to understand the nature of relationship between ethnicity and political development in Pakistan with a regional case study; Dera Ghazi Khan District is one of the regions of Pakistan, which has multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-lingual formation of society. Major ethnic groups inhabiting district Dera Ghazi Khan are divided on lingual, racial settlement bases as Baloch, Saraiki, Muhajir and Pashtoon. The relations between these groups have promoted the politics of ethnicity in the region. The electoral results show the role of ethnicity in politics in District Dera Ghazi Khan.

**Introduction**

Pakistan is a multi-ethnic country where ethnic groups played an important role in the politics and the roots of ethnic dilemma in Pakistan is basically the continuation of historical process which could be seen in Subcontinent. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century a wave of nationalism rose in India which was a new effort of identity. Muslims of India formed a new identity for the preservation of their socio-political rights. Without any ethnic discrimination they had become united against the Hindu identity and all these ethnic communities were demanding for

an independent, autonomous and sovereign status.<sup>1</sup> Pakistan and the establishment of Bangladesh proved that ethnicity was a big reality in Pakistan. In this context, this study focuses on the view that multicultural interaction, partition, migration and social mobility enhanced the level of mutual interaction and the social harmony. As a result there emerged several areas with multi-ethnic population consists of different ethnic groups of local population, migrants, settlers and allottees. In a democratic Political system, the politics always evolves around those ethnic groups which are dominant. Dera Ghazi Khan is one of such regions, representing a multiethnic composition, developed as a result of a long process of socio-political and cultural assimilation. As the basic assumption of the study is that the regional, racial and economic concerns look behind the ethnic politics were strongly than the national or Party politics in the District Dera Ghazi Khan. To understand the issue of ethnicity and political development the dissertation focuses on the role of different ethnic groups residing in this region with a view that ethnic groups are playing important role in the regional politics of Pakistan.

In this paper it is tried to explore the role of ethnicity in politics as a tool to dominate on the basis of ethnic strength through electoral process in the existing political system of authoritarian democracy. All dominant groups always tried to show their powers. In 1982 Dera Ghazi Khan formed as a new administrative division of Punjab. General Zia announced on 1<sup>st</sup> July 1982.<sup>1</sup> In this period the district had seen various ethno-political, geographical and administrative changes, while ethnic factors could be seen in the National and Provincial elections in this focus region. The ethnic influence is dominant in electoral politics of the district. The chapter also explores the ethnic based electoral constituencies in the district with ethnic concerns, ethnic affiliation of the candidates and ethno-political alliances during election.

#### **Political Formation of New Division and District**

The formation of new division was the strong demand of People of this region and president of Pakistan General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq announced it during his visit. Politically and administratively the region faced two main changes as the formation of Dera Ghazi Khan Division with Rajanpur and Layyah Districts on 1<sup>st</sup> July 1982.<sup>2</sup> It was important demand of the people of the region. Dera Ghazi Khan as a Divisional Headquarter and it has comprises on District Dera Ghazi Khan, Rajanpur, Muzaffargarh and Layyah. Before this Rajanpur was a Tehsil of Dera Ghazi Khan and Layyah was also a Tehsil of District Muzaffargarh. The formation of this unite reduced the administrative issues of the people. This political formation changed the geo-ethnic nature of electoral constituencies in the region for the various settled ethnic groups.<sup>3</sup>

#### **Political Parties and Role of Ethnicity**

Political Parties have major role in politics especially in electoral democracy. In Dera Ghazi Khan the several ethnic groups especially Baloch ethnic group play important role in the district politics. Therefore, politicians of the district always played their role in politics by seeking a strong socio-political background and ethnic affiliation. Baloch ethnic groups are politically dominant in the district

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<sup>1</sup>. Stephen Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan*, Lahore, Vanguard Books, 2005, p. 201.

politics.<sup>4</sup> In Dera Ghazi Khan Political parties are not strong and they always tried to search and involve major personalities and families for their survival and politics. All the Baloch tribes participate in the election with the minor support of Political parties because these personalities are stronger than parties. It is observed that Families changed political parties many times according to the time. But people largely have no interest with the parties they only supported the personality because Politics has been not based on the political parties. The leading families mostly looked their local interests with ethnic concern. All groups join and leave their party with the changing circumstances. Now it has become a political culture to change a party. In the district internal conflicts are also important reason of this culture. If a group joins a party then, other group which is rival he leaves the party and will join other party. Now members of some groups and families are joining different parties. All the main ethnic groups joined PPP but after some time the local loyalties divided them. Even Zulfiqar Khosa was in PMLN and his son Saif Khosa joined PPP and then PTI.<sup>5</sup> Farooq Leghari was in PPP his close relative joined PMLN or PMLQ in the past. Some time they all have become combining and join same. So it is a clear ideology that there is only ethnic affiliation of family based politics in the district with Political Parties while no concept of party politics has promoted in the district yet due the less popularity of the political parties.<sup>6</sup>

**Geo-Ethnic Nature of Constituencies 1982-1997.**

After the formation of Rajanpur as a new district, one constituency of National Assembly and three constituencies of provincial Assembly reduced for District Dera Ghazi Khan in elections 1985 and conducted under military administration on non-party bases but ethnicity proved an important factor in election. The nature of constituencies were supporting to different ethnic groups for National and Provincial assembly. NA-124 was consisted on northern area of Dera Ghazi Khan Tehsil Taunsa and some part of Tehsil Dera Ghazi Khan. There were many famous ethnic groups i.e. Khawaja, Khosa, Leghari, Qaisrani, Buzdar, Khetran and Loand with other several Minor groups. Khawaja appeared as a most strong candidate with the help of religious influence due to his countless followers. In NA-125, started from city to end of south. Leghari ethnic group was mostly dominant in this constituency as in election 1970 and 1977. In other groups Khosa and other minor groups were populated i.e. Urdu speaking in city, Syed , Qureshi, Ahmadani, Changwani, Sakhani, Birmani, Chandia, Mastoi and Malkani etc. Leghari groups succeeded against Anwar Hassan Qureshi Advocate a fresh entry in National politics. While in provincial Constituencies, Khosa group was dominant in PP-184 of urban and related area and Zulfiqar Khosa won this constituency. PP-185 was dominantly located in Tuman Leghari and Leghari group won this comfortably. In PP-186, Tehsil Tunsa and Qaisrani was the largest group in this area while Buzdar, Khetran and other were secondary groups in strength. PP-186 was won by Qaisrani group. PP-187 was consist of the northern portion of Tehsil Dera Ghazi Khan and a completely Tuman Khosa, won by Khosa group of Amjad Farooq Khosa.<sup>7</sup>

**Geo-Ethnic Nature of Electoral Constituencies in 1985**

N A	P P	1 <sup>st</sup> Groups	2 <sup>nd</sup> Groups	Tehsils Taunsa/ D.G K / Tribal Area Main Areas
12 4		Khosa	Khawaja	Tehsil Taunsa

	186	Qaisrani	Buzdar Khetran Khawaja	Balb Janobi, Dahar, Dalana, Gaj, Sori, Basti Khosa, Basti Leghari, , Zinda Pir, Barthi, Marhki, Kulrachi,Basti Buzdar, Malana, Langah, Taunsa,Mangrotha, Kaar Buzdar, Tub,Bohar,Dona, Hero, Bughlani,
	187			Basti Hot,Jarwar, Kot Mubark,Batil, Bhindi Bahadur Garh, Umrani, Shekhani, Pati Ghazi, Jhangeel,Gurmani, Ahmadani, Shadan Loand, Shero, Ganjani, Kala, Kot Daud, Paki, Pir Aadil, Masu Sakhani, Notak Sakhani, Ramin, Dhaou, Kotha Mir, Sadar Din, Bhati Metla
<b>125</b>		<b>Leghari</b>	<b>Khosa</b>	<b>D. G. Khan/</b>
	184	Khosa	Leghari	Samina, Darahama, Hajai Ghazi, Khakhi, , Purana Dera, Kot Haibat, Sindh Shumali and Janobi, Bela, Dagar, Dalana Khas, Bandoani, Wador, Basti Khosa, Qaimwala,Chorhata Pachadh,Wadani, Mamori, Gadai Shumali,Gadai Sharqi Gadai Gharbi, City
	185	Leghari	Khosa	Anari, Bakhar,Bwata, Birmani, Basti Foja,Bela,Bandoani, Bakharwah, Khanpur,Mian Phero,Chak Chandia, Dagar, Chabri Bala&Zarin, Notak,F.Minro,Mubarki,Drkhast Jamal ,Khar.Paigah,Kotla Sakhani, Rekra Sakhani wala, Kotla Ahmad, Mana , Aaliwala,Ghausabad, Hazara, Basti Malana , Kot Chuta, Haji Kmand, Qaimwala,Jakhar Imam, Malkani,

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In election the major ethnic groups were almost winner and they were supported by their tribes as in NA-124 Khawaja Ghulam Moen-u-Din won with the help of other groups i.e. Buzdar, Khetran and Jafar Pathan. In NA-125 Maqsood Leghari won very easily of Leghari group against Anwar Hassan Qureshi. In Provincial constituencies PP-186 by Buzdar, PP-184 and PP-186 by Khosa and PP-185 by Leghari Groups won without any hard challenge easily. On Geo ethnic base of results were as following.

Election	NA	PP	Major Groups	Second Groups	Area/ Tehsils	Winner
1985	124		Khosa/ Qaisrani	Khawaja/ Buzdar	Taunsa/DGK	Khawaja
		184	Khosa	Leghari	D.G. Khan	Khosa
		185	Leghari	Khosa	D.G. Khan	Leghari
	125		Leghari	Khosa	D.G. Khan	Leghari
		186	Buzdar/Khetran	Qaisrani/Khawaja	Taunsa	Buzdar
		187	Khosa	Loand	D.G Khan	Khosa

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### Geo-Ethnic Nature of Electoral Constituencies in Elections (1988, 1990, 1993 &1997)

In 1988 before the election the election commission worked on demarcation and a seat of provincial was increased. With demarcation of constituencies of National Assembly remained same two in numbers. But the constituencies of the Provincial Assembly were changed were PP-184-PP-187 to PP-199-PP203.Now there were two sets for National and five for provincial Assembly. The constituencies for National Assembly were NA-132 DGK-1 was consisted of Tehsil Taunsa and the northern part of almost near about the north of Dera Ghazi Khan City. Vast area of Tuman Khosa is including in this constituency, with Khosa group, Khawaja group were the main players of this NA-132 but for the alliance Qaisrani, Buzdar, Khetran and Loand always played important role. But Khosa and Khawaja group remained political rival and Khawaja Kamal-u-Din

Anwar of Khawaja group got this constituency in 1988 and 1993 against Sardar Muhammad Amjad Farooq Khan Khosa. While Khawaja Kamal Anwar also lost twice against Sardar Amjad Farooq Khosa in 1990 and 1997.

While the provincial constituencies PP-199 Tehsil Taunsa Khawaja, Buzdar, Qaisrani and Khetran are important ethnic groups and they contested the elections with the support of alliance and minor groups. In PP-199, Khawaja Daud a candidate of Khawaja group won in 1988, 1993 against Sardar Zahor Ahmad Khan Qaisrani and Ahmad Nawaz Khan Khetran, while in 1990 and 1997 Sardar Zahoor Ahmad Khan Qaisrani elected on PP-199. In PP-200 which is defined in the northern portion and located in Tuman Khosa and Tuman Loand, Khosa and Loand are major groups. Khosa group remained victorious due to its ethnic strength from 1988-1997 in all four elections. While PP-201, was almost consisted of urban area and its adjoining areas and Khosa group almost won this constituency continually.

Dera Ghazi Khan City and all the southern part till the boundary of Rajanpur was NA-133. It was the area of Tuman Leghari. From 1988-1997 Leghari Ethnic group won this constituency by Ex. President Sardar Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari. The Relevant Provincial constituencies were PP-201 was under Khosa group. Sardar Zulfiqar Ali Khan Khosa was victorious on this constituency from 1988-1997 in all four elections. PPP-202 and 203 were located in Tuman Leghari. Both the constituencies were won by Leghari group from 1988-1997 by different Leghari chief family members. From geo-ethnic point of the constituencies were consisted of these areas.

**Geo-Ethnic Nature of Electoral Constituencies in Election 1988, 1990, 1993 & 1997**

N A	P P	1 <sup>st</sup> Groups	2nd Groups	Tehsils Taunsa/ D.G K / Tribal Area Main Areas
132		Khosa	Khawaja	Tehsil Taunsa
	199	Qaisrani Khetran	Buzdar Khawaja	Balb Janobi, Dahar, Dalana, Gaj, Sori, Basti Khosa, Basti Leghari, Zinda Pir, Barthi, Marhki, Kulrachi, Basti Buzdar, Malana, Langah, Taunsa, Mangrotha, Kaar Buzdar, Tub, Bohar, Dona, Hero, Bughlani,
	200	Khosa	Loand	Basti Hot, Jarwar, Batil, Bahadur Garh, Umrani, Shekhani, Pati Ghazi, Jhangeel, Gurmani, Ahmadani, Shadan Loand, Gajani, Kala, Kot Daud, Pir Adil, Masu Sakhani, Notak Sakhani, Ramin, Dhaou, Kotha Mir, Sadar Din,
133		Leghari	Khosa	D. G. Khan/
	201	Khosa	Leghari	Samina, Darahama, Haji Ghazi, Khakhi, Purana Dera, Kot Haibat, Sindh Shumali and Janobi, Bandoani, Wador, Basti Khosa, Qaimwala, Chorhata Pachadh, Mamori, Gadai Shumali, Gadai Sharqi Gadai Gharbi, City
	202	Leghari	Khosa	Paigah, Kotla Sakhani, Sukhera Arain, Kotla Ahmad, Mana, Rekra Sakhani, Aaliwala, Ghausabad, Haider Wahan, Hazara, Basti Malana, Kot Chutta, Haji Kmand, Qaim wala Jakhar Imam, Malkani, Notak.
	203	Leghari	.....	Anari, Bakharwah, Bwata, Basti Foja, Bela, Bandoani, Bakharwah, Choti, Khanpur, Mian Phero, Dgar, Fort Minro, Mubarki, Darkhwast Jamal, Khar.

After the demarcation, the geo-ethnic nature of electoral constituencies and located areas remained unchanged in elections from, 1988-1997. Due to these National and Provincial constituencies ethnic groups became powerful and they hold their grip on politics. The impact of geo-ethnic based constituencies on election results can be seen in the following table.

**Positions of ethnic Groups in Elections 1988, 1990, 1993 & 1997**

Election	NA	PP	Major Groups	Second Groups	Area/ Tehsils	Winner	Winning Times
1988-1997	132		Khosa/ Qaisrani	Khawaja/ Buzdar	Taunsa/DGK	Khawaja/ Khosa	2+2
		199	Qaisrani, Khawaja	Buzdar, Khetran	D.G. Khan	Qaisrani/Khawaja	2+2
		200	Khosa	Loand/Buzdar	D.G. Khan	Khosa	04
	133		Leghari	Khosa	D.G. Khan	Leghari	04
		201	Khosa	Leghari	D.G.K. City	Buzdar	04
		202	Leghari	Leghari	D.G Khan	Khosa	04
		203	Leghari	Leghari	D.G Khan		04

(11)

The above table is the clear picture of ethnic based electoral constituencies and these constituencies the major ethnic groups were dominant during elections 1988-2000 for all types of elections. It proves that the constituencies were drawn and defined as the ethnic groups were accommodated and these constituencies were suitable for regional politics.

### Politics of Ethnicity in Election 1985-1997

The electoral politics of the district is generally not very much under the control of the common man. It is always centralized around the traditional politicians which are feudal and Tumandar of the different areas. The nature of the boundaries of electoral constituencies were also supported the regional ethnic groups which are spread in the whole district and the tribal head mostly won the election in their own constituency i.e. Khosa, Leghari, Loand, Qaisrani Buzdar, Mazari, Dareshak, Gurchani and Khetran. In the whole electoral history of the region only Dr. Nazeer Ahmad in 1970 and Bashir-u-Din Salar in 1977 was the couple of common men, who won the election against the feudal lords, besides this example, there is no space for a common man to win the election. Because the Baloch ethnic groups are very strong due to their ethnic interaction and affiliation. The Baloch ethnic groups are resided in the whole region. With major groups, are also several sub-groups and they are under a Chief or Sardar. Basically Sardar or chief is the headman of the ethnic group.

### Election 1985

General Zia left Martial Law and announced non-party election. Ethnicity became most important element in this election. The members of several elite families of ethnic group nominated their headmen in election. Due to strong political background and being feudal lords, political parties also nominated them in election due to the geo-ethnic nature of constituencies. In election 1985 there were couple of seats for National Assembly and four for Provincial Assembly. NA-124 was the first constituency and this mostly it was the area of northern part of Tehsil Dera Ghazi Khan and Tehsil Taunsa. Ethnically Khosa, Loand, Buzdar, Qaisrani and Khetran were the major ethnic groups. With them Khawaja group was also strong due to religious support. Khawaja group nominated Khawaja Moen-u-Din contested election against Muhammad Ramzan Bhatti and Khwaja Moen elected MNA in election 1985 from NA-124. Under this NA seat, PP-186 was multi-ethnic constituency where Buzdar and Qaisrani were largest groups. Khetran and Khawaja were also second largest groups. Sardar Fatih Muhammad Khan Buzdar won the election against Sardar Manzoor Ahmad Khan Qaisrani and Sardar Ahmad Nawaz Khan Khetran. In PP-187- Sardar Amjad Farooq Khosa won the election. In NA-125 was south portion of Dera Ghazi Khan a dominant area of Tuman Leghari. Sardar Maqsood Ahmad Khan Leghari won the elections very easily. He also won PP-185 against a weak candidate In-PP-

184 Khosa group remained successful. The following table shows the ethnic based result as;

**Ethnic Based Success of Groups in Elections 1985**

N A	PP	Winner	Ethnic Group	Seats		Runner Up	Ethnic Group
				NA	PA		
12 4		Khawaja Moen-u-Din	Jafar Pathan	01	---	Muhammad Ramzan	Bhatti
	186	Sardar Fatih Muhd. Khan	Buzdar	----	01	Manzoor Khan	Qaisrani
	187	Sardar Amjad Farooq	Khosa		01	Sardar Inam Ullah	Khosa
12 5		Sardar Maqsood Ahmad	Leghari	01	---	Anwar Hassan	Qureshi
	184	Sardar Zulfiqar Ali Khan	Khosa		01	Mian M.Umer	Bodla
	185	Maqsood Ahmad Leghari	Leghari		01	M. Baqir Shah	Syed

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**Constituency Wise detail of General elections 1985**

Elections 1985 were non-party basis and ethnic issue was important factor in this election. Every ethnic group contested the elections on his strength and with the help of coalition groups. The constituency wise result of election 1985 is as under,

(13)

Total Votes		Polled Votes		Valid Votes		Rejected Votes	
191469		84513		101071		2420	
Election	Sr. No.	Candidates	Votes	Position			
1985 NA- 124	1	Khawaja. Ghulam Moen-u-din	60251	Winner			
	2	M. Ramzan Adv.	20932	Runner up			
	3	Dilshad Ahmad Khan	910	3 <sup>rd</sup>			

In NA-124, Khawaja Ghulam Moen-u-Din was very important and religious personality. He belonged to the noble family of Hazrat Khawaja Muhammad Suleman of Pir Pathan. In this constituency his followers are in thousands along with his tribe Jafar Pathan. With religious and ethnic votes he also got favor of Buzdar, Qaisrani and Khetran ethnic groups. While his rival was not a strong candidate and he won very easily.

Total Votes	Polled Votes	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Turnout
208742	110744	107892	2852	53%
Election	Sr. No.	Candidates	Votes	Position
1985 NA-125	1	Maqsood Ahmad Leghari	61430	Winner
	2	Anwar Hassan Qureshi	35753	Runner up

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The Constituency was situated almost consisted of Tuman Leghari. In this election Sardar Maqsood Ahmad Khan Leghari elected MNA due to ethnic factor because the opponent candidate had no strong political background. The runner candidate Sahibzada Anwar Hassan<sup>15</sup> Qureshi Advocate belongs to religious personality. He is the famous son of famous Scholar Hazrat Molana Ghulam Jahanian and also the grandson of Hazrat Pir Khawaja Faiz Muhammad Shah Jamali (RA) but he lost the election. According to him during election it was not possible for him to go for election campaign in several areas of Tuman Leghari, even people said Pir you are very noble but is only for Sardar. He also stated in his interview to contest election against Leghari Sardar was not easy. On poling day his poling agents was not allowed in faraway areas of Tuman Leghari especially in tribal areas. At end he lost the election due to huge rigging although he had a lead of 12 thousand in city.

### Election Results of Provincial Assembly Punjab, District Dera Ghazi Khan

<b>PP-184-I Election 1985</b>	Total Votes		Polled Votes	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Turnout
	102928		28534	55722	2812	57%
	Sr. No.	Candidates		Votes	Position	
	1	<b>Sardar Zulfiqar Ali Khan Khosa</b>		26358	Winner	
	2	Mian M. Umer Bodla		12768	Runner Up	
3	Syed Ghulam Abbas Shah		10113	3rd		

#### 1985

Sardar Zulfiqar Ali Khan Khosa won the election due to large support of his Khosa ethnic group because in the constituency majority of population belong to Khosa ethnic group. Zulfiqar Khosa as a Tumandar has strong influence than all other candidates.

<b>PP-185- II Election 1985</b>	Total Votes		Polled Votes	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Turnout
	105814		56098	55052	1046	53%
	Sr. No.	Candidates		Votes	Position	
	1	Maqsood Ahmad Leghari		39661	Winner	
	2	Syed. M. Baqir Shah		13534	Runner Up	
3	Sardar Atta M. Khan Leghari		1214	3 <sup>rd</sup>		

PP-185 was the southern constituency of Dera Ghazi Khan and in almost areas of this constituency population of Leghari ethnic group was in majority, Maqsood Leghari not only won this constituency of provincial assembly but he also won NA-125 in this election too.

<b>PP-186-III Election 1985</b>	Total Votes		Polled Votes	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Turnout
	103539		62870	61726	1144	61%
	Sr. No.	Candidates		Votes	Position	
	1	Sardar Fatih Muhammad Buzdar		19153	Winner	
	2	Sardar Manzoor Ahmad Qaisrani		16349	Runner Up	
3	Sardar Ahmad Nawaz Khetran		11044	3 <sup>rd</sup>		

Sardar Fatih Muhammad Khan Buzdar Tumandar elected from PP-186 .

<b>PP-187- IV Election 1985</b>	Total Votes		Polled Votes	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Turnout
	87930		38762	37949	813	44%
	Sr. No.	Candidates		Votes	Position	
	1	Amjad Farooq Khosa		13969	Winner	
	2	M. Inam Ullah Khosa		11235	Runner Up	

#### Election 1988

Election 1988, in Dera Ghazi Khan Khosa, Leghari, Loand, Khawaja, Buzdar and Qaisrani groups joined different parties to contest the election. With demarcation NA-132 was the first constituency of Dera Ghazi Khan and several candidates contested the election. In this election 1988 Khawaja Kamal- u-Din Anwar of Khawaja group on the ticket of IJI and Manzoor Ahmad Khan Loand was the candidate of Pakistan People's Party contested the election. Khawaja Kamal Anwar elected MNA and Khawaja group succeeded to win this constituency. With NA-132 there were two constituencies of Provincial Assembly. In PP-199, Khawaja, Buzdar, Qaisrani and Khetran groups were in competition. Khawaja group nominated Khawaja Muhammad Daud independent candidate against Sardar Manzoor Ahmad Qaisrani of PPP and Sardar Ahmad Nawaz Khan Khetran of JUIF. But with support of Buzdar, Sakhani, Jafar,



Lashari, and urban votes of Taunsa where he had enough influence he won the election. In PP-200, Khosa and Buzdar groups were in contest, Sardar Amjad Farooq Khosa of IJI won the election with the support of Khosa and Loand groups. Although his close contest was with his cousin Sardar Salah-u-Din Khosa of Pakistan People's Party. While Sardar Fatih Muhammad Buzdar of Buzdar group was at number three.

In NA-133, the constituency of Tuman Leghari, Sardar Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari of PPP, won against his aunt Madam Afifa Mamdot of IJI. In-pp-201 Sardar Zulfiqar Ali Khan Khosa of IJI won against Sardar Alam Khan Khetran of PPP. PP-202 was won by Sardar Maqsood Ahmad Khan Leghari and on PPP-203, Sardar Farooq Ahmad Khan a cumulative Picture of election results was as following,

Elections 1988						
NA	PP	Major Groups	Second Groups	Area/ Tehsils	Winner	Party
132		Khawaja	Loand	Taunsa/D.G K	Khawaja	IJI
	199	Buzdar, Khawaja	Qaisrani/Khetran	Taunsa	Khawaja	IND
	200	Khosa	Loand/Qaisrani	Taunsa	Khosa	IJI
133		Leghari	Khosa/Loand/	D. G. Khan	Leghari	PPP
	201	Khosa	Leghari	D.G Khan	Khosa	IJI
	202	Leghari	Khosa	D.G Khan	Leghari	PPP
	203	Leghari	Khosa	D.G. Khan	Leghari	PPP

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### Constituency Wise Result General Election 1988, Results NA-132 Dera Ghazi Khan-1

(18)

Total Votes	Polled Votes	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Turnout	
342196	121988	120234	1754	35.6%	
1988 NA-132	Sr. #	Candidates	Party	Votes	Position
	1	Khawaja. Kamal-u-Din	IJI	60251	Winner
	2	Manzoor Ahmad Loand	PPP	45590	Runner up

With the revival of PPP, there was some hope that PPP candidate will win the election. But Khawaja Kamal-u-Din Anwar of IJI won the election. Manzoor Ahmad Khan Loand also contested with full ethnic support of his group.

### General Election 1988, Results NA-133 Dera Ghazi Khan- II

Total Votes	Polled Votes	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Turnout	
208742	110744	107892	2852	53%	
Election 1988 NA-133	Sr. No.	Candidates	Party	Votes	Position
	1	Farooq Ahmad Leghari	PPP	76099	Winner
	2	Begum Afifa Mamdoot	IJI	35997	Runner up

(19)

### Election Results of Provincial Assembly Punjab, Dera Ghazi Khan 1988

PP-199-I Election 1988	Total Votes	Polled Votes	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Turnout
	117671	47285	46375	910	40%
	Sr. No.	Candidates	Votes	Party	Position
	1	Khawaja M. Daud	17655	IND.	Winner
	2	Manzoor Ahmad Qaisrani	14162	PPP	Runner up
	3	Ahmad Nawaz Khan Khetran	11671	JUIF	3rd

Khawaja Muhammad Daud won as Independent candidate.

PP-200-II Election 1988	Total Votes	Polled Votes	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Turnout
	121965	41657	41113	544	34%

Sr. No.	Candidates	Votes	Party	Position
1	Amjad Farooq Khosa	16118	IJI	Winner
2	Salahudin Khan Khosa	9957	PPP	Runner Up
3	Fateh M. Khan Buzdar	6411	IND	3 <sup>rd</sup>

Amjad Farooq Khan Khosa of IJI elected MPA due to major strength of Khosa Group.

PP-201-III Election 1988	Total Votes		Polled Votes	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Turnout
	135082		49161	48666	495	38
	Sr. No.	Candidates	Votes	Party	Position	
	1	Zulfiqar Khan Khosa	28041	IJI	Winner	
	2	Sardar Alam Khitran	19105	PPP	Runner Up	
	3	Mr. M. Iqbal Saqib	1520	PAI	3 <sup>rd</sup>	

PP-202-IV Election 1988	Total Votes		Polled Votes	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Turnout
	109030		35570	35237	333	32.6%
	Sr. No.	Candidates	Votes	Party	Position	
	1	Maqsood Ahmad Leghari	25479	IJI	Winner	
	2	Ghulam Rasul Hassan	3539	TNFJ	Runner Up	
	3	Mr. M. Ameer	3269	PPP	3 <sup>rd</sup>	

The constituency was won by Maqsood Leghari due to the large strength of his ethnic group

PP-202-V Election 1988	Total Votes		Polled Votes	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Turnout
	102583		30081	29811	270	29%
	Sr. No.	Candidates	Votes	Party	Position	
	1	Farooq Ahmad Leghari	23246	PPP	Winner	
	2	Afifa Mamdot	4079	IJI	Runner Up	
	3	Mr. Ahmad Khan	2486	PAI	3 <sup>rd</sup>	

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### Election 1990

On 6<sup>th</sup> August 1990, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan dissolves National Assembly and dismissed Benazir government. In mid-term election PPP and IJI was once again contested the elections as a major political rivals. In Dera ghazi Khan District, the major candidates were almost same and belonged to the major ethnic groups. Leghari, Khosa, Buzdar, Qaisrani and Khetran ethnic groups were in competition. The nature of constituencies was same in number and in order. In this election, in NA-132, Khosa and Khawaja group were main players. Ex. MPA of Khosa Group Sardar Amjad Farooq Khosa defeated Khawaja Kamal Anwar of PPP, who joined his new Party before elections. Under this national constituency provincial constituencies were PP-199 and PP-200. In PP-199, Candidate of Qaisrani groups Sardar Zahor Ahmad Khan Qaisrani elected on the ticket of IJI. He defeated Khawaja Daud of PDA and Sardar Aalam Khetran an independent candidates. In PP-200, Khosa ethnic group was populated largely and Sardar Mohsin Atta Khosa of IJI won against his cousin Sardar Salah-u-Din Khosa of PPP and Sardar Fatih Muhammad Khan Buzdar Independent candidate. NA-133 was again won by Leghari Chief, Sardar Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari of PPP. He contested against his close relative Sardar Tufail Ahmad Khan Leghari of IJI. With this the relevant provincial constituencies were PP-201, PP-

202 and PP-203. In PP-203 Khosa Candidate Sardar Zulfiqar Ali Khan Khosa of IJI, as a whole picture of result elections 1990 is as below.

Election 1990	NA	PP	Major Groups	Second Groups	Area/ Tehsils	Winner	Party
	132		Khosa	Khawaja	Taunsa/D.G K	Khosa	IJI
		199	Buzdar	Qaisrani/Khetran	Taunsa	Qaisrani	IJI
		200	Khosa	Loand	D.G Khan	Khosa	IJI
	133		Leghari	Khosa	D. G. Khan	Leghari	PDA
		201	Khosa	Leghari	D.G Khan	Khosa	IJI
		202	Leghari	Khosa	D.G Khan	Leghari	IND
		203	Leghari	Khosa	D.G. Khan	Leghari	PDA

### Constituency wise Results of General Election 1990

NA-132 Election 1990	Total Votes	Polled Votes	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Turnout
	343123	141057	139623	1434	41%
	Sr. No.	Candidates	Votes	Party	Position
	1	S Amjad Farooq Khosa	78360	IJI	Winner
	2	Khawaja. Kamal-u-Din	55711	PDA	Runner Up

The candidate of Khosa group Amjad Farooq Khosa won the election.

NA-133 Election 1990	Total Votes	Polled Votes	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Turnout
	330096	140604	138264	2340	42.6%
	Sr. No.	Candidates	Votes	Party	Position
	1	Farooq Ahmad Leghari	76378	PDA	Winner
	2	Tufail Ahmad Leghari	56342	IJI	Runner Up

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Farooq Leghari won against his cousin Tufail Leghari.

### Election Results of Provincial Assembly Punjab, District Dera Ghazi Khan 1990

PP-199 Election 1990	Total Votes	Polled Votes	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Turnout
	117855	56857	56415	442	41%
	Sr. No.	Candidates	Votes	Party	Position
	1	Sardar Zahoor Qaisrani	32066	IJI	Winner
	2	Khawaja M. Daud	16943	PDA	Runner Up
3	Sardar Alam Khan Khitran	5786	IND	3 <sup>rd</sup>	
PP-200 Election 1990	Total Votes	Polled Votes	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Turnout
	132117	51797	51417	380	42%
	Sr. No.	Candidates	Votes	Party	Position
	1	Sardar Mohsin Ata Khosa	21505	IJI	Winner
	2	Sardar Fateh M. Buzdar	13457	Ind.	Runner Up
	Total Votes	Polled Votes	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Turnout

<b>PP-201 Election 1990</b>	136491	53467	53065	402	42%
	Sr. No.	Candidates	Votes	Party	Position
	1	Zulfiqar Ali Khan Khosa	32776	IJI	Winner
	2	Sardar M. Jaffar Leghari	18222	PDA	Runner Up
	3	Qazi Waseem Ahmad	913	Ind.	3 <sup>rd</sup>
<b>PP-202 Election 1990</b>	Total Votes	Polled Votes	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Turnout
	109371	56968	56444	524	52%
	Sr. No.	Candidates	Votes	Party	Position
	1	Maqsood Ahmad Leghari	26552	IND	Winner
	2	Sardar Saif-ud-din Khosa	25815	IJI	Runner Up
	3	Malik M. Hussain	4077	IND	3 <sup>rd</sup>
<b>PP-203 Election 1990</b>	Total Votes	Polled Votes	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Turnout
	102171	41687	41229	458	39%
	Sr. No.	Candidates	Votes	Party	Position
	1	Mansoor Ahmad Leghari	26282	PDA	Winner
	2	Mr. Mansoor Ahmad	12685	PMLN	Runner Up
	3	Mr. Abdul Ghafoor	791	IND	3 <sup>rd</sup>

### Election 1993

President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Nawaz Sharif resigned in 1993. In new election almost previous candidates of election 1990 were in competition once again. In Dera ghazi Khan Major ethnic groups Leghari, Khosa, Buzdar, Qaisrani and Khetran ethnic groups were before one another in contest. In this election, in NA-132, Khawaja and Khosa group were big players. Khosa Group decided to nominate Sardar Amjad Farooq Khosa but he was defeated by Khawaja Kamal Anwar of PDA who joined his new Party before elections. Under this national constituency provincial constituencies were PP-199 and PP-200. In PP-199, Candidate of Qaisrani groups Sardar Zahor Ahmad Khan Qaisrani of PMLN was beaten by Khawaja Daud of PPP. In PP-200, Khosa ethnic group has enough population and Sardar Mohsin Atta Khosa of PMLN won against Sardar Fatih Muhammad Khan Buzdar of PPP.

Sardar Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari of PPP again won NA-133 again won against his close relative Sardar Tufail Ahmad Khan Leghari of PMLN. With this the relevant provincial constituencies were same as in election 1990, PP-201, PP-202 and PP-203. In PP-203 Khosa Candidate Sardar Zulfiqar Ali Khan Khosa of PMLN while Maqsood Leghari lost this constituency. Sardar Maqsood Ahmad Khan Leghari IND in PP-202 and PP-203 were consisted in the area of Tuman Leghari and once again Leghari group won these constituencies easily. In PP-202, Maqsood Leghari Independent won against Sardar Saif-u-Din Khosa of PMLN and PP-203 was won by Sardar Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari of PPP against Mr. Mir Mirza Muhammad Talpur of PMLN. Here is a common picture 1993 elections are given as under in tables.

Election 1993	NA	PP	Major Groups	Second Groups	Area/ Tehsils	Winner	Party
	132		Khosa/Qaisrani	Khawaja/Buzdar	Taunsa/D.G K	Khawaja	PPP
		199	Buzdar	Qaisrani/Khawaja	D. G. Khan	Khawaja	PPP
		200	Khosa	Loand/Qaisrani	Taunsa	Khosa	PMLN
	133		Leghari /Khosa	Loand/Others	D. G. Khan	Leghari	PPP
		201	Khosa	Leghari	D.G Khan	Khosa	PMLN
		202	Leghari	Khosa	D.G Khan	Leghari	IND
		203	Leghari	Khosa	D.G. Khan	Leghari	PPP

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### Constituency wise Election Results 1993, Results NA-132 Dera Ghazi Khan-

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<b>NA-132 Election 1993</b>	Total Votes	Polled Votes	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Turnout
	352781	144864	142778	2086	41.6%
	Sr. No.	Candidates	Votes	Party	Position
	1	Khawaja Kamal-u-Din	67432	PPP	Winner
	2	Sardar Amjad Farooq Khosa	65002	PMLN	Runner Up
	3	Molana Abdul Qadir Dervi	9529	MDM	3rd
<b>NA-133 Election 1993</b>	Total Votes	Polled Votes	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Turnout
	385089	146082	142254	3828	38%
	Sr. No.	Candidates	Votes	Party	Position
	1	Farooq Ahmad Leghari	95943	PPP	Winner
	2	Sardar Mansor Leghari	59761	Ind.	Runner Up

In NA-133, Sardar Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari became victorious against his cousin Mansor Leghari. Later he was elected president and in by-election Mansor Ahmad Leghari became successful.

<b>NA-133 By-Election 1993</b>	Total Votes	Polled Votes	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Turnout
	367289	74647	74333	314	20%
	Sr. No.	Candidates	Votes	Party	Position
	1	Mansor Ahmad Leghari	66781	PPP	Winner
	2	Akhwand Nadir Majeed	6961	PMLN	Runner Up

In election Peoples Party formed government and they elected Farooq Leghari as president of Pakistan. In bye election Mansor Ahmad Leghari own the election in NA-133

### Election Results of Provincial Assembly Punjab, District Dera Ghazi Khan 1993

<b>PP-199 Election 1993</b>	Total Votes	Polled Votes	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Turnout
	129427	55562	54787	775	43%
	Sr. No.	Candidates	Votes	Party	Position
	1	Khawaja M. Daud	26511	PPP.	Winner
	2	Sardar Zahoor Qaisrani	22265	PMLN	Runner Up
	3	Javed Iqbal Qaisrani	5096	MDM	3 <sup>rd</sup>
<b>PP-200 Election 1993</b>	Total Votes	Polled Votes	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Turnout
	131178	52598	52024	574	41%
	Sr. No.	Candidates	Votes	Party	Position
	1	Sardar Mohsin Ata Khosa	23475	PMLN	Winner

	2	Sardar Fateh M. Buzdar	19132	PPP	Runner Up
	3	M. Akram Malghani	9417	Ind.	3 <sup>rd</sup>
<b>PP-201 Election 1993</b>	Total Votes	Polled Votes	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Turnout
	131427	60305	59831	474	45%
	Sr. No.	Candidates	Votes	Party	Position
	1	Zulfiqar Ali Khan Khosa	29130	PMLN	Winner
	2	Sardar Maqsood Leghari	23026	IND	Runner Up
	3	Mian M. Abubakar	6818	PIF	3 <sup>rd</sup>
<b>PP-202 Election 1993</b>	Total Votes	Polled Votes	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Turnout
	115874	56928	56426	502	49%
	Sr. No.	Candidates	Votes	Party	Position
	1	Maqsood Ahmad Leghari	36982	IND	Winner
	2	Sardar Saif-ud-Din Khan	19444	PMLN	Runner Up
<b>PP-203 Election 1993</b>	Total Votes	Polled Votes	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Turnout
	109181	33251	33008	243	30%
	Sr. No.	Candidates	Votes	Party	Position
	1	Farooq Ahmad Leghari	26430	PPP	Winner
	2	Mir Mirza Talpur	6572	PMLN	Runner Up

Sardar Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari elected MPA against a weak candidate Mirza Muhammad Talpur.

### Election 1997

President Sardar Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari dismissed PPP government with the charges of corruption and nepotism. He announced re-election in Pakistan and as a result of this election PMLN won the election with a heavy mandate. In this election party politics increased in the district but the tradition victorious candidate occupied their seats with a little edge of the party. In the district over all ethnicity played important role and constituency politics was under the hold of ethnic groups. Ethnic affiliation looked remarkable in various constituencies with also the personality influence. As NA-132 was won by Sardar Amjad Farooq Khosa and he defeated Sardar Mansoor Ahmad Khan Leghari. Provincial constituencies were PP-199 and PP-200. In PP-199, Candidate of Qaisrani groups Sardar Zahor Ahmad Khan Qaisrani of PMLN defeated to Khawaja Daud Independent. In PP-200, Khosa ethnic group has enough population and Sardar Mohsin Atta Khosa of PMLN won against Sardar Fatih Muhammad Khan Buzdar of independent candidate.

The overall electoral sketch of the result was as following;

Election- 1997						
NA	PP	Major Groups	Second Groups	Area/ Tehsils	Winner	Party
132		Khosa/Qaisrani	Khawaja/Buzdar	Taunsa/D.G K	Khosa	PMLN
	199	Buzdar/ Qaisrani	Khetran/Khawaja	D. G. Khan	Qaisrani	IND
	200	Khosa	Loand/ Qaisrani	Taunsa	Khosa	PMLN
133		Leghari/Khosa	Loand/Others	D. G. Khan	Leghari	IND
	201	Khosa	Leghari	D.G Khan	Khosa	PMLN
	202	Leghari	Khosa	D.G Khan	Leghari	IND
	203	Leghari	Khosa	D.G. Khan	Leghari	IND

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<b>NA-132 Election 1997</b>	Total Votes	Polled Votes	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Turnout
	385089	146082	142254	3828	38%
	Sr. No.	Candidates	Votes	Party	Position
	1	S Amjad Farooq Khosa	PMLN	73302	Winner

<b>NA-133 Election 1997</b>	2	Mansor Ahmad Leghari	IND	59761	Runner Up
	3	Khawaja. Jamal-u-Din	PPP	3005	3rd
	Total Votes	Polled Votes	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Turnout
	208742	110744	107892	2852	53%
	Sr. No.	Candidates	Votes	Party	Position
	1	Sardar M. Jafar Leghari	95943	IND	Winner
2	Imtiaz Ahmad Leghari	59761	PMLN	Runner Up	
3	Malik Iqbal Saqib	9817	PPP	3rd	

<b>PP-199 Election 1997</b>	Total Votes	Polled Votes	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Turnout
	134799	49083	47213	1870	36.4%
	Sr. No.	Candidates	Votes	Party	Position
	1	Sardar Zahoor Qaisrani	18739	Ind.	Winner
2	Khawaja M. Daoud	14262	Ind.	Runner Up	
3	Khawaja Maqsood Ahmad	12324	PMLN	3 <sup>rd</sup>	
<b>PP-200 Election 1997</b>	Total Votes	Polled Votes	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Turnout
	137281	54671	52904	1767	39%
	Sr. No.	Candidates	Votes	Party	Position
	1	Mohasin Atta Khosaa	23882	PMLN	Winner
	2	Sardar Fateh M. Buzdar	23784	Ind.	Runner Up
3	Sardar Javid Akhtar Lund	3421	PPP	3 <sup>rd</sup>	

Mohsin Atta Khosa won PP-200 and saved his native constituency by only 98 votes.

<b>PP-201 Election 1997</b>	Total Votes	Polled Votes	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Turnout
	138102	52103	51227	876	37.7%
	Sr. No.	Candidates	Votes	Party	Position
	1	Zulfiqar Ali Khan Khosa	26423	PML(N)	Winner
	2	Sardar M. Jamal Leghari	22607	Ind.	Runner Up
3	Asif Nadeem Khan Khosa	1504	PPP	3 <sup>rd</sup>	

Sardar Zulfiqar Ali Khan Khosa beat the candidate of Leghari group Sardar Muhammad Jamal Khan Leghari the son of President Farooq Leghari.

<b>PP-202 Election 1997</b>	Total Votes	Polled Votes	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Turnout
	119430	53071	52790	1281	45%
	Sr. No.	Candidates	Votes	Party	Position
	1	Maqsood Ahmad Leghari	27482	Ind.	Winner
2	Sardar Saif-Ud-din Khosa	21371	PMLN	Runner Up	
3	Saif Ullah Khan Sadozai	2072	PPP	3 <sup>rd</sup>	
<b>PP-203 Election 1997</b>	Total Votes	Polled Votes	Valid Votes	Rejected Votes	Turnout
	112817	35329	34035	1294	31%
	Sr. No.	Candidates	Votes	Party	Position
	1	Rafiq Ahmad Leghari	16749	IND	Winner
2	Mir Mirza Khan Talpur	8880	PMLN	Runner Up	
3	Khalil Ahmad Birmani	4450	PPP		

The above mention results based on factual figures that the political elites and tradition families were the main pillars of politics in the district since 1982-2000. After the separation of Rajanpur as a District there was couple of seats for National Assembly and five seats were for Provincial Assembly. Leghari Khosa and Jafar Pathan (Khawajgan) always played dominant role for national politics while with these groups Khetran, Qaisrani, Buzdar, Loand and several other minor tribes remained active in provincial politics. Leghari and Khosa remained

undefeated in their provincial constituencies in this duration. As a whole Baloch ethnic groups dominated all other groups in the district.

### **Conclusion**

In this research paper, it is tried to sort out the role of ethnicity and political development from 1982-1997 in detail. Through a detailed discussion it has come to know that a remarkable awareness has come in the political development of the District. The demand of new administrative units, political and administrative institution, voice for representation and the electoral demarcation of constituencies show the consciousness of the people of this district. This consciousness is considerable for political development especially the regions which is thought backward and politically not sound due to the minimum progress of political parties. Dera Ghazi Khan had a multi-ethnic and plural society with different ethnic groups and these ethnic groups are the real political players in the district as I discussed these groups and their strength with intra ethnic relations in the previous chapter. Dera Ghazi Khan District is consist of three major ethnic groups i.e. Baloch, Saraiki, Urdu speaking and several minor ethnic groups with Khawaja religious based group which have also a political weight in northern part of the district. A maximum to minimum representation of these ethnic groups seems to be taking in the Dera Ghazi Khan District. Baloch ethnic groups are the most dominant ethnic groups in district due demographic condition. The electoral politics is totally seems under the hold of Baloch ethnic groups i.e. Khosa Leghari, Buzdar, Qaisrani and Loand from 1982 to 2000. Leghari and Khosa are the dominant groups of the National Assembly' constituencies and all others were dominant in their provincial constituencies. All other minor groups are looked their alleys during this period 1982-2000. Ethnicity is the major tool of electoral contest and the tradition political elite which is mostly the tribal chiefs of these major groups of Baloch, won the election with their ethnic strength and power. While the provincial assembly seats of the district are found as the ideal example of ethnic politics. All groups have representation in the provincial assembly due to the geo-nature of its electoral constituency as PP-199 to PP-203 Buzdar, Qaisrani, Khetran, Khawaja, Khosa, Leghari, and Loand with the support of minor groups respectively. The trend of ethnic politics was dominant and continued in this whole period and even the local bodies elections were the real picture of ethnic politics. With the passage of time the political situation of the district is changing day by day. A considerable political development has seen due to the involvement of several miner groups on local level politics. The growing representation of different groups is considered as an important development in the politics of Dera Ghazi Khan District. But still the ethnic politics is dominant and played vital role in the electoral politics

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