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TÍTULO: La afiliación de Biraderi y la riqueza como dinámica de poder en Punjab: un estudio de caso del distrito de Khushab.

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RESUMEN: Este artículo discute el papel de la riqueza y la afiliación Biraderi en la asunción del poder en la cultura política de Punjab. Se basa en el estudio de caso del distrito Khushab. El documento trata de responder dos preguntas principales. Al principio, se comparará si la riqueza o el parentesco son importantes en relación con la obtención del poder en el área de nuestro estudio de caso: Khushab. El segundo aspecto es si la riqueza se ha concentrado en los principales biraderis que a su vez logran captar el poder en el área. La alianza entre riqueza y biraderi se ha convertido en un importante agente de poder en la política de Punjab. Entrevistas y los documentos primarios son fuentes básicas de este estudio histórico.

PALABRAS CLAVES: Biradari, riqueza, partido político, condiciones económicas, poder.

TITLE: Biraderi affiliation and wealth as dynamics of power in Punjab: A case study of Khushab District.

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ABSTRACT: This paper discusses the role of wealth and biraderi affiliation in the assumption of power in political culture of Punjab. It is based on the case study of district Khushab. The paper tries to answer two major questions. At first, it will be compared whether riches or kinship is significant in relation to securing power in the area of our case study – Khushab. Second aspect is if wealth has been concentrated in major biraderis who in turn manage to grasp the power in the area. Thus, the alliance between wealth and biraderi has emerged as major power broker in the politics of Punjab. Interviews and primary documents are basic sources of this historical study.

KEY WORDS: Biradari, wealth, political party, Economic conditions, power.

INTRODUCTION.

Significance of *Biraderi* compared with wealth.

Being collectivist in nature, the culture of Pakistan prefers a tightly knit framework of society where individuals expect their clan, relatives and other in-group to take care of theirs in exchange for their unquestioning loyalty. One norm of the *biraderi* is need for provision of the economic wellbeing of the *biraderi*. Members of *biraderi* are mutually obligated to support one another in feuds and conflicts regardless of justice (Afghan, 2011).

Economic occupation is one of the bases for the formation of a *biraderi* in Pakistani villages. Though all possible occupational castes are not represented in most villages, yet the wealth is also associated with the claim of *biraderis* (Lyon, 2004). On the other hand, *biraderi* is understood as hierarchically ranked interdependent groups and the notions of occupational caste hierarchy are not

applied in *biaradari* formation in Pakistan and organizational principle of *biraderi* is interpreted as a kind of caste principally based on kinship and family lineage (Chaudhary, 1999).

As far as the answer of the question whether riches become significant for getting or determining power, *biraderi* becomes significant for retaining the power, it is evident that dynamics of *biraderism* are the decisive factor that shape electoral politics and determine villagers' voting behavior. The land-owner *biraderis* practice control over local politics and leadership roles get them connected with political influential who contest elections (Usman, 2016). Large dependence of country's economy contributed to the rise of landowning class and elite groups within society before partition. Later, industrialists shared power with land-owners (Mezzera & Aftab, 2009). In Khushab *biraderi*-based power grappling undermined the wealth-based efforts of power hunting. In many cases, affiliation of the *biraderi* makes a poor or middle-class person able to get high power position in politics or institution.

One case is that of Malik Karam Bakhsh *Awan* who belonged to middle class family before entering into active politics during sixties, he founded *Tanzeem-ul-Awan*, an organization for the restoration of *Awanbiraderi*'s power and prestige. When he started his work for the upbringing of his *biraderi* the numerically less but more in wealth *Tiwanas* were dominating the power politics in the area. The majority *Awanbiraderi* was politically powerless. Malik Karam gathered the people on the name of *Awankari* (*Awan* brotherhood) and challenged the hegemony of *Tiwanas*. Propagation of *biraderism* through a monthly paper titled "*Tanzeem-ul-Awan*" in which *Awan* heroism was created, he raised the slogan of unity and superiority of *Awans*. Publishing genealogical history *Awans*, he highlighted the military services of *Awan* soldiers that could nourish the *biraderi* affiliation among the people.

Economic deprivation of *Awans* and their exploitation on the hands of former *Tiwana* rulers were the issues which filled the sense of *biraderism* in *Awans* who gathered around Malik Karam Bakhsh in a spirit of self-help, self-confidence and self-reliance for getting the power. That spirit ultimately made easier for him to win the elections of 1970 notwithstanding he possessed less wealth than his wealthy competitors - Qureshies and *Tiwanas*. On the basis of *biraderi* affiliation, this middle-class man also got the membership of *shura* during Zia regime while there were many wealthier candidates for the post. His son Malik Basheer *Awan* and grandson Shakir Basheer *Awan* succeeded him in the corridors of power (Awan M. A., 2014).

Another notable case is Mian Sultan *Awan* who started his career as a minor commission agent but won elections for provincial assembly against the wealthier *Tiwana* candidate in 1960s. The support of *Awanbiraderi* made him get not only power but also wealth as he developed his business and owned *Awan Transport* (Sultan, 2014). Again, there is example of WarisKaluJoyyia who was not a wealthy person in 2002 but he defeated wealthier Shuja Muhammad *Baluch* in elections due the support of *biraderi*. He then could continue winning elections in 2008 and 2013 (Kallu, 2014).

Ameer Mukhtar Sangah, well known owner of the mines and mineral resources, lost the elections for the provincial assembly in 2008 against Malik Javed *Awan* because the heads of *Awan* tribes decided to support their *biraderi* fellow (Sangha, 2014). The initiator of *Awan Kari* Malik Karam Bakhsh later lost to less wealthy Malik Mukhtar Ahmad who managed to get the support of *baradari* heads.

The gradual accumulation of resources with Karam Bakhsh family could not keep them winning sans family heads' support (Awan, 2014). With the help of *biraderi* cult, in 1993 Malik Mukhtar *Awan* defeated owner of Hajveri Airlines Malik Tanveer Sultan *Awan* and If thikhar *Awan* who used his riches during the elections in form of scholarships, dining parties, employment, publicity and media (Awan K. K., 2015).

DEVELOPMENT.

Concentration of wealth in influential *Biraderis*.

The kinship becomes a source of accumulation of wealth even when there is competition to become wealthy. The tool of *biraderi*-based intermarriages of one wealthy family with other one is instrumental in continuous concentration of wealth. Even when there is tough competition among family members on financial, business and other resources they keep enjoying intermarriages within the same *biraderi*. Despite tensions during negotiation and property division phase, the issues are settled and *biraderi* ties become dominant as well as useful in concentration of wealth as well as settlement of issues (Afghan, 2011).

Affiliation of the *biraderi* also helps the gain of riches. *Biraderi* affiliation makes it easy for middle class man to collect wealth on the grounds of links formed on the basis of *biraderi* affiliation. The area of Salt Range is major economic source in district Khushab as most part of Salt Range 47 miles is situated in present district and old tehsil Khushab.

Along with the fertile land, there are the mountains of sandstone. The salt produced from Warhcha district Khushab is better in quality than that of Kheora (Willson, 2014). The economy of the district relies over the agriculture, forests and mineral resources. The industry shares less in the income of the district. The possessors of the fertile land, forests or the mines in the district hold almost ninety percent of the source of production and income in the district.

The major *biraderis* also have been able to acquire major sources of economy in their hand. The acquisition of the resources thus enables them to enjoy the power that economic resources promise. Major *biraderis* of the district have managed to acquire the forests in the area. They are major shareholders in parallel to government administered forest areas in the district. Following table shows the figures and proportion of the total land in the area and ownership of the forest land by government and non-government entities which are mostly major *biraderis*.

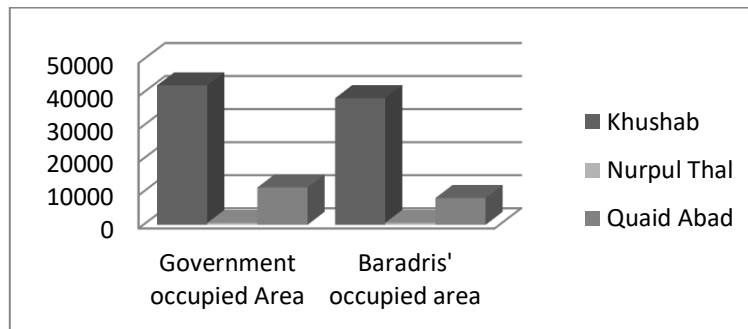
Forest Land.

Table 1: Forest Land of District Khushab occupied by Government and *Biraderis*.

Tehsil	Total Forest Area (In Acres)	Government occupied area	Area under <i>Biraderis</i>
Khushab	80540	42213	38327
NurpurThal	1178	567	611
Quaid Abad	19450	11322	8128
Total	101168	54102	47066

Source: District Forest Officer Jauhar Abad (Khushab), Official Record.

Graph 1 Forest Land of District Khushab occupied by Government and *Biraderis*.



One can see that *biraderis* of the district share major portion of the forest land with the government.

The share of the *Biraderis* in the forest land of the district is 46.52 percent. Thus, major *biraderis* of the area occupy a major source of income as well as the means of production in their control.

Following table shows the share of the different *biraderis* in forest land of the district.

Table 2: Possession of Forest Land by *Biraderis*.

	Total Forest Land	Government Occupied Land	Area Occupied by <i>Biraderis</i>					
			<i>Bandial</i>	<i>Awan</i>	<i>Tiwana</i>	<i>Gunjial</i>	<i>Joiya/Kallu</i>	<i>Baluch</i>
Khushab	80540	42213	7123	15330	6245	4530	0	5099
NurpurThal	1178	567	0	0	387	0	64	160
Quaid Abad	19450	11322	2076	1427	3513	764	0	348
	101168	54102	9199	16757	10145	5294	64	5607

Source: Additional District Collector Khushab, Annual Land Use (Milan-e-Raqba) 2013-14.

Cultivated Land.

Landholding structure in Khushab, like in other parts of Pakistan, is skewed toward large landholding. Only 5 percent of landholding families hold more than 70 percent of the total agriculture land of country (Hijazi, 1999).

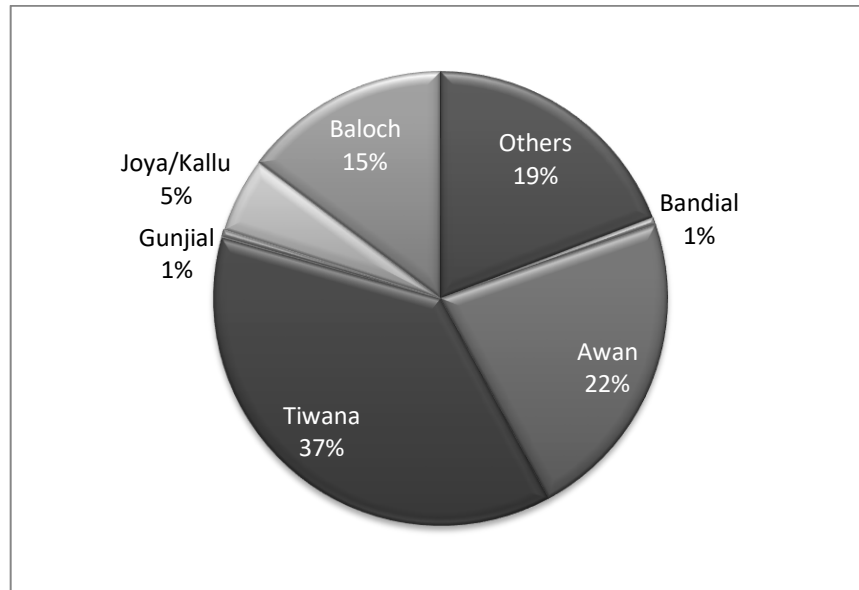
The occupation of sown agriculture land in Khushab marks the domination of big *Biraderis*. The landlords of the district are *Tiwanabiraderi*. Malik Sahib Khan, ancestor of *Tiwanas*, was rewarded by the British a grant of over 8000 acres of crown wasteland. It was from this that he carved out the Kalra estate. His son, Umar *Tiwana* was made a ward and Kalra estate was administered by the Court of Wards from March 1879 onwards. By 1895, the Court of Wards was managing sixty-five estates with a total area of over 344000 acres (Talbot, 2002).

While the income from mines is collected with *Awanbiraderi*, they and *Tiwanas* together possess more than half of the fertile agriculture land. Eighty-one percent of the agricultural land is in possession of five major *biraderis* -*Tiwana*, *Awan*, *Baluch*, *Bandial* and *Gunjial* and *Joiya*. The possession of these lands is major source of economic power that in turn helps in getting political power as well as social prestige in terms of provision of livelihood to poor farmers and labourers. The poor farmers (*mazareen*) become vote bank for their landowner in elections.

Table 3: Cultivated Land Occupied by Major *Biraderis*.

		Others	<i>Bandial</i>	<i>Awan</i>	<i>Tiwana</i>	<i>Gunjial</i>	<i>Joiya/Kallu</i>	<i>Baluch</i>
Khushab	415789	69567	264	211423	45140	5047	3054	81294
NurpurThal	516314	88234	0	856	299660	0	53242	74322
Quaid Abad	128545	45837	5580	24978	49872	870	443	965
	1060648	203638	5844	237257	394672	5917	56739	156581

Source: Additional District Collector Khushab, Latest Register Haqdaranzameen (Land possessors) and Recorded in Lal Kitab (Red Book) District Khushab 2013-14 NTO 868, 20-11-2014.

Graph 2: Net Land Sown by *Biraderis*.**Mines and minerals.**

There are huge coal deposits in whole Salt Range. “The Salt deposits of the Salt-Range have been one of the most remarkable and wonderful features. Nowhere else in the world are deposits of such vast extent and purity known to exist? From the earliest ages, to which any records extend, they have formed the source of supply of this valuable article to all the adjoin country, and since they passed under British control, the amount raised from these mines vastly increased (Oldham, 1864)”. District Khushab is one of those districts (Mianwali, Jehlum, Attock and Chakwal) where main coal deposits exist.

In that area thickness of coal seams generally ranges from some centimeters to one and half meters. The coal found in the area is of sub-bituminous quality. Salt Range Coal fields extend from 12.5 miles north of Khushab to about 15 mile north of Khewra within an area approximately 100 square miles. Coal occurs in the Patala Formation. Coal seam ranging in thickness from few inches to a maximum of five feet is available in the whole Salt Range. The coal has been classified as high volatile bituminous with high ash and Sulphur contents. Its calorific value in BTU varies from 7100

to 11100. Reserves have been estimated to be 75 million tons. Moreover, coal reservoirs fireclay deposits are also found in District Khushab. Chambal, Padhrar, Katha Saghral are important places where fireclay deposits are found (Govt. of Punjab Mines and Minerals, 2015).

Tiwana landholdings extended to right up to the area of rock salt deposits at the base of the Salt range encampment. Revenue from the salt mines supplemented the Tiwans' rental income. The Warcha salt mine came into the control of *Tiwana* family through their marital alliances with the Noons (Talbot, 2002).

The production of minerals (in hundred metric tons) in Khushab district during 2009-10 marked that 2143 hmt coal was produced in district Khushab. The production of limestone stood at 16687 hmt. 9049 hmt rock salt was also produced from the area. Land of mines and minerals is government property and cannot be sold and bought. These mines and mineral resources are auctioned by the government. Different people and companies acquire the mines through auctions.

Different influential families of major *biraderis* struggle to keep control over the contracts of these resources. The deposits from mines where less technicality or lower technology is required are utilized by the small enterprises of local people.

For difficult and high technological mines, the companies from out of Khushab have the capacity to produce minerals. However, middle-class production that is almost 46 percent of total production of the minerals is in possession of major *biraderis* of Khushab district. Following table shows how much production of the mineral resources is in possession of the elite families of major *biraderis*.

Table 4: Mineral Production in District Khushab in Hundred Metric Tons for 2009-10.

	Production (hundred metric tons) 2009-10	Government	Local <i>Biradaris</i>	Companies Outside Khushab	Common People
Argillaceous Clay	1909	0	1330	509	70
Bauxite	78	0	0	78	0
Bentonite	44	0	20	17	7
Coal	2143	0	1687	309	147
Fireclay	396	0	226	113	57
Gypsum	773	0	400	295	78
Lime Stone	16687	0	9345	3267	4075
Marble	30	0	30	0	0
Ochers	44	0	0	44	0
Rock Salt	9049	7450	1100	385	114
Silica Sand	348	0	301	0	47
Latrit	65	65	0	0	0
Total	31566	7515	14439	5017	4595

Source: Bureau of Statistics Government of the Punjab, 2011 Statistical Pocket Book of the Punjab,
p. 278.

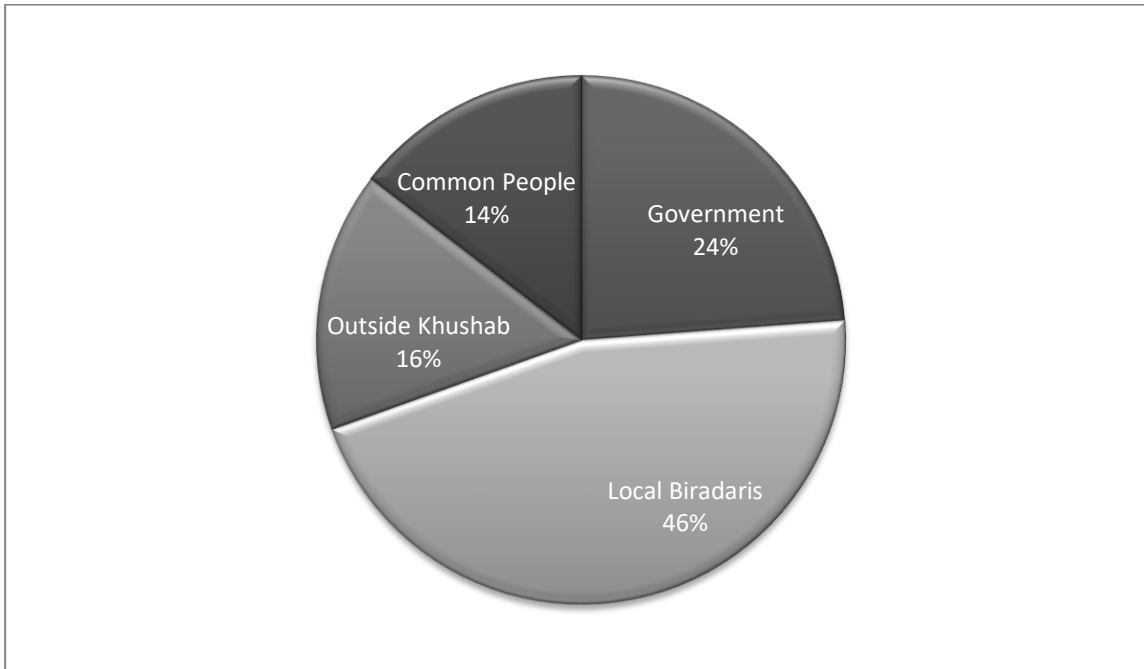
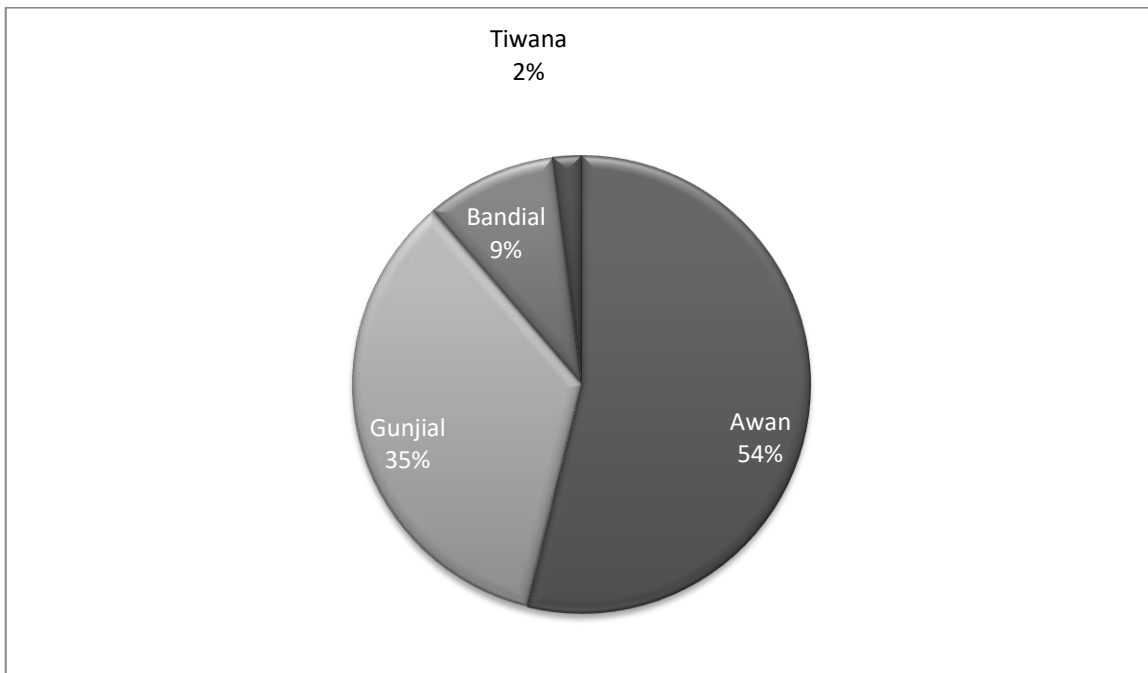
Graph3: Mineral Production in District Khushab 2009-10 (in hundred metric tons)

Table 5: Production in possession of Local *Biraderis*

	Total Production	Production owned by major <i>Biraderis</i>	<i>Awan</i>	<i>Gunjial</i>	<i>Bandial</i>	<i>Tiwana</i>
Agrillacious Clay	1909	1330	723	308	195	104
Bentonite	44	20	13	5	1	1
Coal	2143	1687	1454	114	34	85
Fireclay	396	226	180	46	0	0
Gypsum	773	400	103	90	107	100
Lime Stone	16687	9345	4453	4112	780	0
Marble	30	30	6	24	0	0
Rock Salt	9049	1100	686	219	195	0
Silica Sand	348	301	153	118	30	0
Total	31379	14439	7771	5036	1342	290

Source: Bureau of Statistics Government of the Punjab, 2011 Statistical Pocket Book of the Punjab, p. 278.

Graph 4: Production owned by Major *Biraderis*

Ownership of Factories and Influence of *Biraderis* on Labour Force.

The factories that produce heavy products in Khushab are less in number than other districts of Punjab due to specific reasons of the districts. One of the reasons is that during imperial rule the hilly part of Khushab was major source of recruitment in the army on the persuasion of *Tiwanas*. Secondly, less industrialization in this area is because of shortage of raw material sufficient for the attraction of industrialists. Thirdly less quantity and quality of the raw material is a major cause of less industrialization (Rajar, 2014).

During the Ayub and Zia regimes, the tax holiday was declared for the district Khushab and process of industrialization started on slow paces in jute sector and sugar and cotton sectors. This industrialization stopped due to the declaration of industrial zone of Chunian during the government of Nawaz Sharif in 1993 and the industrialists diverted their attention from Khushab to Chunian (Awan K. K., 2015).

The powerful *biraderis* did not let the industry develop in the area despite having resources to establish the industry. They thought that the industrialization might weaken their power and control of resources in the area because industrialization needed the coalition with other people and labour unions could create problem for them (Mahil, 2014). There are only 29 factories in the district till 2009 (Statistics, 2011).

Table 6: Labour force in factories.

Total factories (1947-2009)	Factories where Labour is less than 100	Factories where Labour is more than 100	Total Labour force
29	16	13	11095

Source: Bureau of Statistics Government of the Punjab, 2011 Statistical Pocket Book of the Punjab, p. 235, 270.

Despite less industrialization in the area, again major *biraderis* got control of some of the factories established in the area.

Transport business.

One of the major sources of income of Khushab district is business of transportation. Two routes - Sargodha to Rawalpindi via Khushab and Chakwal, Sargodha to Rawalpindi via Khushab and Talagang – cover vast hilly and backward areas of whole salt range and provide a lot of money to the transport companies.

Two dominating transport companies are *Awan* Bus Service and Super *Awan* Bus Service. Even the names of the companies mark the *biraderi* culture that dominates major economic source. The owner of *Awan* Bus Service, Mian Sultan *Awan*, became an MPA. Super *Awan* Bus Service is owned by Malik Gul Zaman *Awan* of Uchali village Soon valley. These *Awan* owned companies monopolize all small and big routes in area. This transport business; thus, became a weapon in the hands of *Awans* to compete the hegemony of *Tiwanas*. The rivalry between two *Awan* transport groups was aired by rival *Tiwanabiraderi* who supported Gul Zaman *Awan* group. The rivalry resulted murders and finally Gul Zaman *Awan* was killed by Mian Sultan group. The *biraderi* heads then reconciled the rival *Awan* groups that left Mian Sultan *Awan* group dominant in the transport business. This was used by Mian Sultan for promotion of his political stature (Awan, 2014).

Bandial family too inserts its control on the transport business. Lahore Mianwali via Sargodha and Khushab is in their professional control because their village *Bandial* is located at the Khushab Mianwali Road and that area is influenced by *Bandial* family. Malik Muzaffar Khan *Bandial* founded *Bandial* Bus Service and organized the *Bandial* family in this business of transport. Thus he gained wealth, fame, respect and ultimately the power and was elected as a member district council Sargodha when Khushab was not district. After 1982 when Khushab became district the role of *Bandial* family in the politics of district rose much more than previous period that is still continued (Bandial, 2015).

Important economic positions.

Awans of Khushab, especially from Padhrar village, got advantage over other *biraderis* in respect of getting economic power that one of their *biraderi* fellow was able to get the position of CEO of Fauji Fertilizer Company (FFC), the largest urea manufacturing company in Pakistan. This position made easy for *Awans* to get jobs and dealership of fertilizers (Alvi, 2014).

Dominance of *Biraderis* on economic system of Zakat and Usher.

General Zia ulHaq introduced the system of Zakat and Usher in 1981. The zakat and usher committees became a tool of economic wellbeing as well as the manifestation of the economic power in the eyes of the common people, on behalf of the state as well as the concerned committees.

The functions delegated to the zakat and usher committees also produced impression of the power of the state in the economic field. The zakat and usher committees, therefore, were considered as the show of power for the common people. The poor and needy would look to the members and chairmen of the committees as the agents who could help and assist them in way of dowry fund and student scholarship. They could enhance the economic activity through the provision of training through handicraft and small loans and funding.

Owing to the image and impression of zakat committees in the public and political spheres the powerful people got the membership of these committees. Through that membership they could on one side equalize themselves with other holders of power positions in politics and on the other hand such membership gave them control over some amount of funds. Ultimately, they could make many people bow before them for the sake of completion of their petty economic needs. Despite the opportunities of corruption for the member they could also use those funds for the increase of their support in the public (Lyon, 2004).

The village chairmen and the members of the Zakat committees were decided to be elected in the public gatherings in the mosques of respective villages and town. The members of Zakat committees in this way were representatives of the people in one sense. The politics entered in the elections of the members and in this politics the powerful *biraderis* penetrated in the zakat system too.

The powerful heads of the biradris could induct their *biraderi* fellows in the zakat committees with the help of their social influence on the basis of *biraderi* affiliations as well as their control over the powerful positions in the state and politics.

Table 7: Chairmen of District Zakat and Usher Committees Khushab 1982-2008.

1	24-10-1982 to 10-07-1983	Haji Malik Dost Muhammad	<i>Awan</i>	Head of powerful faction of <i>Awanbiraderi</i> from village Sodhi Soon valley. His son was Col. Hameedullah and he was son in law of Brig. Aziz of Nowshehra who brother in Law of former federal minister Naeem Khan Awan was.
2	03-02-1984 to 13-04-1988	Hafiz Muhammad Hasan	<i>Awan</i>	His family was famous owing to the religious services and were called <i>Mianey</i> . He was resident of Khushab city where he had long range of <i>biraderi</i> and social linkages.
3	14-04-1988 to 31-01-1992	Haji Abdul Quddus	<i>Awan</i>	Resident of village Kufri. He was respectable of the <i>Awanbiraderi</i> . He was real uncle of Malik Tanvir Sultan <i>Awan</i> , owner of Hajveri Airlines, who contested elections from PP 33 in 1993 and NA 51 Khushab in 1997. In 1993 just after one year of end of the term of Haji Abdul Qudus, Tanvir Sultan was able to manipulate the popularity that his uncle had gained through the position of his uncle when he contested elections. Tanvir Sultan contested elections again in 2008.
4	15-12-1992 to 24-04-1993	Brig. Retired Ata Muhammad <i>Awan</i>	<i>Awan</i>	Village Khoora. Uncle of Wing Commander Malik Safdar <i>Awan</i> . This family was staunch supporter of his <i>biraderi</i> fellow and sitting MNA Malik Naeem Khan <i>Awan</i> former federal minister.
5	28-04-1993 to 30-06-1994	Muhammad Riaz Dhuddi	<i>Awan</i>	Village Waheer. His father Malik Ghaus Muhammad was retired captain from British Army. The maternal relatives of Muhammad Riaz were <i>Mianey</i> of Khushab. His elder brother Muhammad Yousaf was Xen in Irrigation department. His brother Muhammad Aslam Advocate was among the founding members of <i>Tanzeem-ul-Awan</i> that was established in 1970s. His brother Muhammad Akram was lawyer. They possessed large patches of land in village Waheer. Another brother of his served as session judge. All of the brothers had strong affiliation with their <i>biraderi</i> fellows sitting MNA Naeem <i>Awan</i> and MPA Mukhtar <i>Awan</i> .

6	03-01-1995 to 13-10-1996	Muhammad Basheer Awan Advocate	Awan	Village Padrhar. He supported the KaramBakhshAwan faction that was anti to MNA NaeemAwan's faction. Therefore, his tenure could not prolong than to two years.
7	12-09-1997 to 16-05-2002	Brig. Retired Ata Muhammad	Awan	Again, nominated as Umar Aslam, the maternal nephew of Malik Naeem, won the elections for National Assembly and Ata Muhammad had affiliation with Malik NaeemAwan's group.
8	16-05-2002 to 30-09-2004	Malik Ehsan UllahRajar	Awan	Village Rajar. Close relative of Malik Nazeer Ahmad Rajar former member district council Khushab and Malik Muhammad AzamRajar MPA and president district bar Khushab.
9	03-10-2004 to 10-11-2007	Syed Faizul Hasan Gillani	Syed	GaddiNasheen famous shrine of GunjialShareef. He was spiritual leader of Malik Umar Aslam Awan, the runner up candidate of MNA in elections 2002.
10	11-11-2007 to 29-10-2010	Mahr Muhammad Basheer	Arain	Resident of village MithaTiwana, headquarter of famous Tiwanabiraderi. He was retired superintendent from education department. The Tiwanas needed the support of Arainbiraderi from 3 to 4 union councils of NA 70 in the national elections of 2008 against Malik Shakier Basheer Awan.

Sources: Office of the District Zakat and Usher, Khushab.

Dominance of Biraderis on Market Committees in district Khushab.

The market committees are assigned to establish any market facility connected with the sale and purchase, storage and weighment as well as processing and pressing of the agricultural products in the area. It is authorized to issue, renew, suspend and cancel the licenses to brokers, weigh men, measurers, surveyors, ware-housemen, changers, *palledars*, *boriotas*, *tolas*, *tokrewalas* and *rehriwalas* for carrying on their occupation in the market area in respect of agricultural products and without the license issued by market committee any above mentioned businessmen cannot carry their business activity in the specified market area (Punjab, 1978). A market committee consists of 10-17 members from growers, dealers and consumers. It can also levy fees on the agricultural productions bought or sold in the market. Its multiple functions are also that it can acquire land for the establishment of markets.

Major economic activity is centered around market committee as it maintains and improves the markets including construction of storages, platforms small pullies, culverts and roads. It also collects and disseminates information regarding all matters relating to marketing in respect of the agricultural produce and propaganda in favour of agricultural improvement and thrift. It provides

facilities such as cleaning sets, plants for grading, standardization, packing and processing of agricultural produce. Moreover, for the benefit of growers, it constructs cold storages and warehouses (Punjab, 1978). Being the member or chairman of the market committee means the acquisition of major decisions of local economic activity in one's control.

Chairmen/Administrators of the market committee thus would have some influence over the business activity in the area. In the ordinary law it was prescribed that the members of the market committee would elect their chairman.

In order to play important role to serve in linking local people to state sources of power, for the necessary participation for the functions of state the *biraderi* elite would get themselves placed in market committees (Lyon, 2004). When there would have been duly elected local government in the area the chairmen of the market committee would be elected and when there was no duly elected local government the administrator would be appointed to look after the affairs of the market committee. The influential *biraderis* took firm hold of the market committees most of the time whenever there was a chairman.

Table 8: Local Administrators/Chairmen Market Committees in District Khushab.

No.	Name	Post	From	To
1	Malik Shafaat Ahmad <i>Tiwana</i>	Chairman	29-11-1982	10-12-1983
2	Nisar Ali Malik	Administrator	11-12-1983	30-06-1984
3	Ch. Nazir Ahmad	Administrator	01-07-1984	23-10-1984
4	Malik Fazal Mahmood <i>Awan</i>	Chairman	23-10-1984	18-05-1987
5	Muhammad Sharif Kasana	Administrator	19-05-1987	11-10-1988
6	Malik Nazir Khan <i>RajarAwan</i>	Chairman	12-10-1988	05-06-1993
7	Muhammad Ameer Khan Niazi	Chairman	06-06-1993	30-10-1993
8	Government officials DC/Deputy DirectorAgriculture	Administrator	14-10-1993	31-07-1997
9	Haji Muhammad Mushtaq <i>Tiwana</i>	Administrator	01-01-1998	19-10-1999
10	ACsKhushab	Administrator	20-10-1999	14-08-2001
11	Malik AyubBha <i>Awan</i>	Administrator	05-09-2001	28-01-2002
12	Malik Masood Nazir <i>RajarAwan</i>	Chairman	29-01-2002	20-05-2005
13	Saifullah Khan <i>Tiwana</i>	Administrator	21-05-2005	25-04-2008
14	government official	Administrators	26-04-2008	Now

Source: Office of the Administrator/Chairman Market Committee, Jauharabad.

Malik Shafaat Tiwana was the brother in law of Khuda Bakhsh Tiwana; then, chairman of District Council Khushab. The affiliation with the biraderi helped Malik Shafaat Tiwana to rise to the position of Excise and Taxation Officer and was retired as director Excise and Taxation Sargodha and now a member Khushab Bar.

Malik Fazal Mahmood Awan has been chairman for three long years. He was biraderi fellow and strong supporter of Malik Naeem Khan Awan, Federal Minister. Malik Nazir Khan Rajar Awan, a big mine-owner belonged to the biraderi of Malik Muhammad Azam Rajar Awan former MPA and president district Bar Khushab. He also belongs to Malik Naeem Khan Group. Malik Muhammad Ayub Bha Awan, later on, became tehsil Nazim Khushab and his nephew Malik Muhammad Asif Bha Awan is continuously elected as MPA since 2002.

Malik Masood Nazir Rajar Awan, the son of Malik Nazir Khan Rajar Awan became chairman on 20-01-2002 to 20-05-2005. He supports Sumera Malik group. Saifullah Khan Tiwana (Ad) is brother of Malik Khuda Bakhsh Tiwana former Minister and heads of Tiwanas in Punjab. Later, he chose to become MNA and district Nazim Khushab. 21-05-2005 to 25-04-2008 he remained the administrator market committee.

CONCLUSIONS.

It has been maintained in this paper that biraderi affiliation has become in district Khushab more significant in grasping of power than riches. Even if the riches is more important, the riches can be increased due to links established on grounds of biraderi affiliation.

The economic resources in district Khushab were taken into possession by major biraderis in many ways. One was the ownership of forest as well as agricultural land that was acquired by major biraderis of the district historically in British period. Mines and minerals are second major source of

production in the district. These have also been owned by the members of major biraderis right from the British period.

Industry could not flourish in the district. Notwithstanding that major biraderis were able to secure control over little number of factories established in the district. However major biraderis, especially Awanbiraderi, owns the business of transport, third major source of income of the district. Influential people of major biraderis also can be instrumental to enrich themselves as well as their biraderi fellows through funds of market economy by becoming members, chairmen and administrators of market committees. They also could use the funds of zakaat at their disposal by becoming the members and chairmen of zakat committees. Thus, economic power is concentrated in major biraderis of the district.

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