



RESEARCH PAPER

**British Colonial Legacies and Manifestations of Power Politics:
A Case Study of Walled City of Lahore**

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ABSTRACT

The underlying study is an endeavor to trace the role of British colonial legacies and its offshoot in formulation of political authority and power politics in Lahore. The various administrative, recruitment and socio-economic policies of British in United India were one of the key determinant factors for shaping influential local identities and economic classes among the indigenous population. These led to manifest the role of local kinship in politics and its ability to control the distribution of resources in post-colonial Punjab. It has been observed that British's attempt to define and redefine local identities for their sake of their administrative and political control over the colonial territory played a vital role for the materialization of power configuration in post-colonial societies in general and specifically in Lahore. This research primarily deals with notion that how British's deliberate patronage to two significant identities; Kashmiris and Arians led to strengthen the role of these respective biraderis (caste) in electoral politics of Lahore in later years especially in the Walled city of Lahore. This study highlights that these two biraderis are leading the contemporary power politics of National and Provincial assemblies in the respective constituency as voting preferences of electorates and ticket allocation by key political parties are largely shaped by influence of biraderis. This study is primarily qualitative as historical and explanatory approaches have been incorporated while employing empirical evidences from the primary and secondary resources. This research aims to identify the link between British policies of using local power apparatus for the colonial objectives and its role to shape the power patterns of electoral politics of Lahore.

KEYWORDS Arian, British, Biraderi, Caste, Colonial, Kashmiri, Power Politics, Walled City of Lahore, Pakistan, Punjab

Introduction

The political use of Biraderi loyalties to mobilize electoral support has always been a continual feature of politics of Punjab. The pattern of biraderi politics is primarily a colonial offshoot however these trends were augmented through 'post-colonial state' structures that endorsed and ingrained these existed power alliances largely built on group identities (Ibrahim, 2009: iii). This research primarily focuses on role of British legacies for augmenting the power configuration through kinship in Lahore. It is an evident fact that along with long-standing fallouts of colonial legacies, demographic transformation of city of Lahore during partition and post-partition periods served as an additional aspect of enhancement of role of biraderis in electoral politics in later years. The principal argument of underlying research is that in post-colonial Punjab, certain biraderis like Kashmiris and Arians remained influential and dominating in electoral politics of Lahore as a part of British legacies. These groups were primarily used as an instrument of controlling the indigenous population for protecting the vested interests of state elite. The research is an attempt to understand the relationship of British colonial legacies to the manifestation of power structures in post-colonial state within the context of case study of Walled city of Lahore. This inquiry identified the pattern of continuity

and change in electoral politics in the respective constituency of Lahore while understanding the role of biraderi as one of the key determinants of assertion of political authority.

Literature Review

Biraderi as the most frequent expression of kinship system in Pakistan primarily defined as 'The Descent Group' which has links of common descent traced by the parental line. In simpler words, Biraderi is group of various families (larger than a social group composed of families) having blood relations, speaking similar language, living in a community or adjacent villages (Alvi, 1972; Gilmartin, 1994). Paul Rollier's work, "The Lion's Share: Elections and Democracy in Pakistan," provides a critical analysis of the electoral processes and democratic evolution in Pakistan. Rollier delves into the complexities of Pakistan's political landscape, examining the historical and contemporary challenges that shape its democracy. He discusses the interplay between civilian and military influences, the role of political dynasties, and the impact of electoral malpractices on the democratic process. Rollier's research is grounded in extensive fieldwork, including interviews and case studies, which offer a nuanced understanding of the voters' perspectives and the socio-political dynamics at play. His study highlights the resilience of democratic aspirations among the populace despite recurring political instability and authoritarian interruptions. By situating Pakistan's democratic struggles within a broader geopolitical and cultural context, Rollier contributes to a deeper understanding of the obstacles and potentials for democratic consolidation in the region. His work is a significant addition to the discourse on South Asian politics, providing valuable insights for scholars, policymakers, and those interested in the development of democratic institutions in Pakistan (Rollier, 2020).

In his seminal work on voting behavior in Punjab, Dr. Mughees Ahmed delves into the contrasting electoral dynamics between rural and urban areas within the region. His comprehensive analysis highlights the multifaceted factors that influence voter preferences and turnout. In rural areas, Ahmed identifies the predominance of traditional influences, such as caste affiliations, local leadership, and agrarian concerns, which play a pivotal role in shaping electoral outcomes. Conversely, in urban centers, voting behavior is significantly influenced by issues related to economic development, education, and employment opportunities. Ahmed's research underscores the importance of understanding these regional disparities to grasp the overall political landscape of Punjab, suggesting that policymakers need to consider these nuanced differences when addressing voter concerns and formulating electoral strategies. His work provides valuable insights into the socio-political fabric of Punjab, emphasizing the need for a differentiated approach in studying and engaging with rural and urban electorates (Ahmed, 2008). Similarly, Muhammad Ibrahim (2009), in his work, argues that the biradari system has been a major factor influencing elections in Punjab since independence. He provides analysis and evidence showing that the impact of biradari divisions surpasses other social, economic, and political influences. Ibrahim's study aims to uncover why the biradari system remains so influential despite the growth of education and other modernizing factors that should logically diminish its importance. He explores whether the dominance of the biradari system is primarily due to social and psychological reasons or if it also has economic roots, particularly in terms of land and property ownership. Muhammad Ibrahim, in his work, argues that the biradari system has been a major factor influencing elections in Punjab since independence. He provides analysis and evidence showing that the impact of biradari divisions surpasses other social, economic, and political influences. Ibrahim's study aims to uncover why the biradari system remains so influential despite the growth of education and other

modernizing factors that should logically diminish its importance. He explores whether the dominance of the biradari system is primarily due to social and psychological reasons or if it also has economic roots, particularly in terms of land and property ownership.

Research Methodology

The underlying study is primarily qualitative in nature as it involved explanatory, historical and analytical approaches. The primary and secondary data has been used to accomplish this research. Data about members of pre-partition legislative body from Punjab with their respective association with biraderis, all national and provincial elections from 1947 to 2024 in Walled city of Lahore is collected and later analyzed in order to understand the different aspects of biraderi influences in electoral politics in the constituency. The primary data was collected from 200 respondents while using simple random sampling in different areas of respective constituency through interviewer administered structured and close-ended questionnaire. The prime objective of this survey was measuring the responses of local voters about the role of biraderi in shaping and influencing their voting preferences. This study does not claim that voting for biraderi backed candidate is the only indication of biraderi's influence on political behavior as the survey is just the smaller part of a broader research question that how certain biradaris continued to assert their influence in power politics in post-colonial Lahore.

Profile of Case Study

From 1951 onward, marking and delimitation of constituencies added more areas in constituency of walled city. In the general elections of 1970, Lahore was divided into 8 constituencies whereas in 1988 elections, Lahore had 9 constituencies. In 2002, after the delimitations, the number of these constituencies in city was increased to 13. In 2018, the delimitation further expanded the number of constituencies from 13 to 14 (Iftikhar, 2022:53-9). The constituency was identified as NA-119 in general election of 2013, which had been formed by merging parts of NA-92, NA-96, and NA-95 in 2002. Under delimitations, NA-119 then became part of NA-124 in 2018 (Rollier, 2020:135). In most recent general elections of 2024, the contemporary Walled city of Lahore is electorally represented by the NA-118 Lahore II and PP-147 at National and provincial Assembly. This constituency largely consisted of areas like; 'Badami Bagh, Walled City, Shad Bagh, Misri Shah, Railway Station, Qilla Gujjar Singh, Lakshmi Chowk, Guwal Madni, Railway Road, Kachi Abadi Badami Bagh, Usman Ganj Shairan wala Gate, Gumti Bazar Rang Mahal and Andron Lohari Gate' (Ali, 2018). The estimated registers voters in this constituency stand at 735,251 with 394,224 male and 341,027 female voters (Daily Pakistan, February 8, 2024) The middle-class traders and businessmen are inclined to vote for PML-N whereas lower socio-economic groups usually are more attracted to other parties like PPP, PTI and religious parties.

Table 1
Demographic Profile of Respondents

Gender	Percent %
Male	71.5
Female	28.5
Total	100.0
Age Group	Percent %
18-30	21.0
31-40	25.0
41-50	20.5

51-60	33.5
Total	100.0
Qualification	Percent %
Illiterate	36.5
Middle	21.5
Matric	20.5
F. A	7.0
B. A	9.0
M.A	5.5
Total	100.0
Profession	Percent %
Government Job	12.0
Private Job	82.0
Jobless	6.0
Total	100.0

Table 2
Respondents' Association with Caste

Caste	Percent %
Kashmiri	28.0
Arain	19.0
Sheikh	10.0
Kakazai	6.0
Rajpoot	8.0
Malik	6.0
Gujar	11.5
Jutt	3.5
Mughal	4.5
Qureshi	2.5
Kamboh	1.0
Total	100.0

Table 3
Most Important Consideration for Deciding about Voting Decision

Response	Percent %
Party Leader	27.0
Party	23.0
Candidate	14.0
Biraderi/Caste	36.0
Total	100.0

Table 4
Association of the Candidate with Respondents Biraderi for which they casted vote in Previous elections.

Response	Percent %
Yes	46.5
No	13.0
May be	31.0
Don't know	9.5
Total	100.0

Table 5
Influence of Biraderis on voting Preferences in Respondents' Constituency

Response	Percent %
Yes	57.5
No	10.5
May be	26.5
Don't know	5.5
Total	100.0

Table 6
Parties Prefer to Allocate Tickets to Candidates with Strong Biraderi

Response	Percent %
Yes	58.5
No	39.0
May be	2.0
Don't know	0.5
Total	100.0

Table No. 7
Influence of Biraderi meetings on Voting Decisions of Respondents

Response	Percent %
Yes	46.0
No	39.5
May be	9.0
Don't know	5.5
Total	100.0

Survey results provided that a substantial number (36 percent) considers biraderi as key consideration for their voting decision whereas 46 percent expounded that in previous elections, they voted for the candidate which was from their own biraderi. This does not mean that party leader or party is not important however, they often use biraderi's backing for their candidate's electoral success. 57.5 percent believe that biraderi is one of the key factors to shape voting decision of voter in this constituency. Almost 58 percent respondent said that usually in elections, key parties in this constituency give tickets to candidates from Kashmiri and Arian biradaris. 46 percent mentioned that baradari's meetup before elections influence their decision to vote.

Discussion

Punjab remained a significant region for the British rulers for several reasons ranging from economic, political and strategic considerations. Punjab under British was compromised of almost 85 % rural population with fertile land largely depending upon agriculture. Along with its chief production of cotton, it was also viewed as the favorable market for the consumption of British goods. Furthermore, it also provided opportunities of employment to the British civilians. Its longest and oldest Grand trunk Road (G.T. Road) made Punjab a gateway of India by connecting the eastern and western areas of Sub-Continent and a key source of transportation from Central Asia. Punjab also served as the important base for training of British troops and establishment of cantonments (Awan, 2016). The strategic importance of Punjab was amplified for British rulers due to the loyalty provided by the Sikh and Muslim population during the revolt of 1857 which facilitated the imposition of British authority. Talbot (2007) highlighted while referring to Tiwana family (Jat clan of Punjab) that this provided British rulers a class of

collaborators from rural landlords. He further added that this also led to shape a nexus between military service and landholding which later helped the process of Punjabization of British Army in 1870s and onwards while wielding profound impact on power politics in contemporary Pakistan (p.4).

The prime objective of British rule in Punjab was to administer the colonial territories through maintaining the law and order along with collection of revenue which needed to devise the authority to certain individuals and groups which led to initiate social change in Indian society. When British came into power in Sub-Continent, there was already an ongoing process of elite transformation since post-Mughal period where older elite had major Muslim component whereas new elite construction was primarily developing on social structures. The British rulers primarily executed a mix policy of pacification and force in Punjab where they stationed the large troops near Lahore while suppressing any possibility of opposition to their policies. However, they did not rely on coercion as the only expression of their power but also linked their colonial state to the indigenous society by providing representation on the bases of kinship connections. The task of revenue collection especially required assertion of British control over villages but due to the fact that in comparison with the indigenous population, British were few and they had to rely on dominant people of the local communities for the sake of putting their administrative decisions into operation. The Jats, Rajput and Arians were considered as the noble tribes largely had socio-cultural and mutual relationship between them without having any discrimination based on religious beliefs. However, around 83% population of Punjab was comprised of Muslims. The dominant elite of Punjab in politics were the land owners who had control over the larger part of agricultural land primarily lacked the widespread biraderi links; however established alliances with other land holder families through inter marriages (Talbot,1988:56).

In colonial Punjab, biraderi, caste or tribes were important determinants for the decisions of social, religious life of individuals, land inheritance traditions and occupational choices. This was evident that association with a biraderi was leading to shape the continuum of behavior of its members which helped British rulers to use biraderi as the institutional source to regulate the Punjabi society. Noons, Tiwanas, Daultans, Qureshies, Lagharies, Mazaries, Momdots, Gardazies, Kharals, Gilanies, Sails and Rajas were prominent Muslim landlord families (Talbot, 1988: 56; Khurshid, 1992). It has been noted that British developed 'colonial sociology' largely to facilitate its administrative and political structures by using census surveys, classification of tribes, castes, languages and religion to strengthen their power (Cohen, 1996:57-6). The British policies in Punjab, the institution of administration which they established and individuals which they choose as intermediary rural elite to execute their policies were the key agent of social change. The British rulers strengthened support system by obtaining the loyalties of local chiefs and their biraderis while providing the rewards and privileges. These included the generously distribution of land and favorable irrigation and commercial policies largely facilitating to those who were supportive to the British administrative policies (Ibrahim, 2009:16). The support of respective social groups was largely won by giving them government jobs to the leading members which not only developed power relations between certain biraderis and British colonizers but also commenced the competition for the patronage among these biraderis. This collaborative linkage system enabled British rulers to manage their administration over the vast area, huge population with comparatively small army and administrative body.

The British policy of canal colonies project aimed to turn barren land into fertile land which paved grounds for the settlement of millions of Punjabis in respective areas and led to develop infrastructures and agricultural activities. It has been argued that

along with resultant development, economic stability of the region, these canal colonies supported the political loyalties of Punjab with British rulers. In a reciprocal way, British allotted large area of land to the landed elite and Martial races (Ali, 2003:81-2). Later the 'Punjab Land Alienation Act of 1900 recognized the political relationship between British and importance of Landed elite as they provided massive support to the British administration. This Act divided the local population into the tribes categorized as agriculturist and non-agriculturalist which provided that moneylenders (Which were largely Hindus) couldn't confiscate to the agriculture owners of the land and all the mortgages of the land by agriculturist to non-agriculturalist were declared illegal. Furthermore, it also established that land couldn't lease for more than five years. The key agriculturist tribes were Arians, Gujars, Jats, Kambohs, Syeds, Shiekhs and Qureshis. The British enforced protective measures like Act of 1900, on the basis of their concern that agricultural indebtedness might destabilize the political economy of the region (Gilmartin, 1979). This Act was viewed as the British endeavors to protect the interests of landed and rural aristocracy as in later period these rural tribes were allowed to provide candidates for the rural constituencies in Punjab. The Landlords of Punjab remained significantly loyal to the British administration which later facilitated them to emerge as a political entity when dominant agrarian alliance established the Punjab National Unionist Party (PNUP) in 1923 as the most influential political entity of Punjab. This gradually developed strong roots in various communities of the region due to its agriculturist ideology and governed Punjab until the partition of Sub-Continent (Awan, 2016: 78; Salamat,1997:28-9). Consequently, British policies of facilitating landed aristocracy for the convenient administration and politics of Punjab primarily revolved around few personalities. It is noted that though British rulers invested in Punjab extensively in comparison with other provinces of United India, the middle class of the region grew slowly due to the predominance of rural ruling elite especially in Western Punjab. The malign growth encouraged the utilization of resources for the military and political objectives which disadvantaged the economic development of the Punjab.

The political structures in British India became perceptible in mid 1940s which evidently reflected the role of social authority in political activities through organization and mobilization of various interest groups. The provincial legislatures especially in post-Government Indian Act of 1935 represented a much wider social base of Indian society. However, the poor sections of both rural and urban population were largely out of this representation due to non-availability of adult franchise under British rule. The landowning peasantry class, landowners of upper social class and urban bourgeoisie were largely the electorates so the competing political and social classes elected their nominees to represent their group interests in these provincial legislatures. Although due to emergent tendencies of nationalism, the regional peculiarities and social causes were outshined for the time being. (Imran Ali: 29). The most important aspect of politics of Punjab during this era was the continued influence and strength of landed aristocracy who were largely pro-British. PNUP was a dominating political force in Punjab legislature primarily with its pro-British stances, representing the interests of landed elite who obtained votes from franchised peasantry class of Punjab. Ali (1991) called it primarily a caucus of pro-British politicians, lacking formal party organization and grassroots membership. The members of PNUP were largely the nominees of landowning elite based on ancestry or biradari factor of respective area. As a result of 1937, elections, PNUP secured almost 100 seats out of 186 in Punjab legislature (Ali, 1991). Nevertheless, the progresses of political awakening of Punjab in wake of nationalism in United India primarily remained different and slower from other provinces. This can be attributed to the fact that urban bourgeoisies and landed aristocracy of Punjab primary formed the elite structure and largely aligned with British in reciprocal relationship

emphasizing the interests of both sides. Furthermore, Punjab in general and some of its districts in particular was hub of recruitment of British-Indian army which strengthened the cordiality between Punjab elite and British rulers. The 'Punjabization' of army and Canal colony projects as a source of patronage was equally supportive to provide a significant class of loyal to the British rulers (Mahmood & Khan, 2017: 27). These power structures involving biraderis largely extended from competition of winning rewards and awards to the urge for share in political power as since 1920s these groups became one of the key dynamics of electoral politics. The British policies till the elections of 1946 largely facilitated few groups by deliberately shaping the electoral constituencies in favor of them while drawing the electoral constituencies; the small urban areas were connected to the larger rural territories to ensure the control of landlords and local Chiefs over the respective urban locale. This was aimed to offset the emerging urban middle class for the sake of dejecting the potential opposition to the colonial policies.

Emergence of Prominent Biraderis in Lahore's Political and Social life

Lahore always remained strategically important in Sub-Continent due to its connection to trade routes while making it an attraction for traders, religious pilgrim, craftsmen as well as ambitious invaders who intended to head towards Delhi (Haroon et al, 2019: 290). Around 1849, Lahore fell under British rule which brought a significant shift in its construction style while reflecting more the administrative traits rather than cultural one (Rahmaan, 2017). The status of Lahore as the provincial headquarter under British Raj was much enhanced as high-level policies were formulated in the city and then implemented throughout the Punjab. This provided enough significance to the local politics and configuration of local interests through biraderi and role of state to manipulate these group identities to facilitate its administrative and political objectives. Another key transformation in Lahore was massive ethnographic transition primarily caused by partition of 1947 of United India. In 1947, Lahore's population was estimated as 700,000 which increased to 120,0000 in 1953 (Talbot, 2006: 72). The larger section of Hindu and Sikhs communities who constituted almost one-third population of Lahore while having control of almost 80 percent of city's assets migrated to India whereas Muslim refugees from India replaced them in the city. The Hindus were 16.3 percent according to census of 1941 and their population decreased to 1 percent as per census of 1951. In a similar fashion, Sikh population of Lahore according to census of 1941 was 18.4 percent which was drastically reached to zero percent in census of 1951. The Hindu-Sikh parity existed in 1890s in Lahore turned into an absolute Muslim majority in 1940s (Singh, 2018). Previously, in 1833 a substantial number of Kashmiris also migrated towards neighboring Punjab and NWFP especially to Lahore, Sialkot, Rawalpindi (West Punjab) Amritsar and Ludhiana (East Punjab) in the backdrop of famine, poor living conditions and ill-treatment of Muslim population under Hindu Dogra Raj in Kashmir Valley (Sevea, 2012:16). It was provided that according to census of 1911; approximately 177,549 Kashmiris Muslims were residing in Punjab (Jalal, 2000: 352). Later, partition of United India in 1947 forced Muslim Kashmiris living in East Punjab to migrate to West Punjab. In 1883-1884, The Gazetteer of Lahore identified the numerical dominance of Jats and Arians in the city (Saunders, 1873: 68-69). In post-colonial period, the legacy of relationship between Punjab's landowning elite and state was evidently continued. The political power in post-colonial state was often through their 'implied sources' like access to land and social and traditional position via network of kinship (Javid, 2012:18). Initially, the conception of biraderi was largely associated with land owning and agricultural activities although with the passage these biraderis started to excel in other professions. In the case of Punjab, especially in its rural areas, Biraderi is not only denoted to the kinship connections of landowning elite but also represents the different occupational groups which lead to use these respective social connections by its members

to elevate their social status, power and privileged. The key biraderis of Lahore included Kashmiris, Arians, Kakkezai, Kambohs, Jats, Syed, Rajput, Pathan, Shiekh, Mughal, Gujjar and Meos (Ibrahim, 2009:9). The numerical dominance of Arian and Kashmiri biraderi is evident in Lahore as according to Census of 2017, Kashmiris constitute 30 percent (3.33 million) and Arian are comprised of 40 percent (4.45 million) out of over 11 million population of Lahore (District Profile, Government of Punjab).

The expansion of education opportunities in Lahore played vital role for the development of middle class and migrants coming to city in search of employment paved grounds for new social classes. Kashmiris are largely consisted of merchants' class and identified as the urban biraderi in Lahore tied through primordial connections which rose to power primarily as a result of their earned wealth in the process of urbanization of Lahore and inclusion in urban administration. Unlike, Arians, Kashmiri identity was initially connected through geographical origin however their biraderi was nurtured on the blood relations (Gilmartin, 1989: 82-8). The Kashmiris asserted their political influences through wealth, connections and patronage provided by British. The first Kashmiri resident of Lahore was Muhammad Sultan, a wrestler and soap merchant and as a contractor of public good work programs, he earned good name and wealth which led his appointment to first Municipal Committee of Lahore (MCL) in 1862. (Latif, 2005: 254)

The Arians are urban as well rural though primarily have rural background while categorized as the hereditary agricultural class. Arians around 1 million largely originated from the districts of Jalandhar, Ferozepur, Lahore & Ambala in British Punjab; accommodated in canal colonies of Lyallpur under British Rule (Ashish, 2016). In the backdrop of involvement of Shah Abdul Qadir Ludhianvi belonged of Arian biraderi in Indian Revolt of 1857, British started to view respective community as disloyal while categorizing them as a non-martial race and restricted their entry into British Indian army. However, later due to robust lobbying of Arian as an organized community, they were re-classified as 'agricultural tribe' (Mazumder, 2003:104-5). Burki (1988) pointed out that due to new land openings under British and emergence of irrigated colonies; they settled Arian in these colonies for cultivation. Later the enhanced urbanization leading to development of towns and cities, landowning Arian thrived while securing educational opportunities and prospered in legal profession and politics (p.1083). In Lahore, the British primarily paid much focus to the rural elite to strengthen their control but also provided patronage to the city elite generally known as 'Rias or Urban Magnates'. Arians were also one of those influential classes of gardeners and hereditary custodians of famous Shalimar Garden which continued under British. Muhammad Ishaq, an Arian gave his property to Emperor voluntarily for construction of Shalimar Garden. The Mughal Emperor gifted him the surrounding area near his property which developed as Baghbanpura. All the people in lineage remained connected with rulers in coming years; with Sikh rulers and British government. The empowerment of Arian biraderi was resultant when Mohammad Shah Din and Mian Mohammad Shafi of Baghban Pura, who were Barristers by profession, nominated as the members of 1st Punjab Legislative Council (PLC). (See Table 8) Both were also influential and active in politics of All India Muslim League. Majority of Arian were traditionally small holding agriculturist but associated with economic activities of Punjab and participated in politics as well. The strength of Arian biraderi was emphasized with the gradual expansion of Lahore as they owned lands in villages surrounding the city. In Lahore, they mostly concentrated in the areas of Baghban Pura, Icchra and Sanda Kalan. Their formal growth as a biraderi was resultant in 1890s when an organization 'Anjuman-e-Arian was formed. In 1920, they were significant strength of the population of Punjab comprised of people associated to variety of professions (Javid, 2012:76-7). The establishment of Anjuman was

attributed to the British army directive for not considering the Arian for recruitment. (Gilmartin, 1994: 26)

It is important to note that from 1897 to 1926, different person of Arian biraderi served as the members of Council of Governor and PLC from the same constituency, however from 1927-1930, Mohammad Iqbal, a barrister with Kashmiri origin became the member of PLC for the respective area. Iqbal (1984) highlighted that in 1920s, Punjab politics was heavily characterized by divisions between biraderis such as Jat, Rajput, Awan, Mughal, Gujjar, Gakhar, Pushtun etc. In a similar fashion, it was not likely for anyone to secure popular support without backing of his biraderi like Kashmiris, Arian, and Kakezai etc. in Lahore's politics. The great Muslim Poet and philosopher; Muhammad Iqbal also remained associated with 'Anjuman-i-Kashmiri Musalman' however these internal biraderis based divisions in Lahore for the time being receded in the wake of increased Hindu-Muslim estranged relations in late 1920s. This was evident when Barrister Mian Abdul Aziz; an Arian and the first Lord Mayor of the Corporation of the City of Lahore convinced Muhammad Iqbal to contest election for PLC from his strong hold while assuring him by a written pronouncement of withdrawal in favor of Iqbal published in 'Zamindar' on July 15, 1926 (p.395-96). Although Iqbal was a member of Kashmiri Anjuman, but his success owes great deal to the campaign which was run by Mian Abdul Aziz as number of Arains also voted for Iqbal.

In 1930 to 1937, Malik Mohamaad Din from Arian biraderi served as member of PLC. In 1937 Mian Amir-ud-Din; from a highly influential Kashmiri family of Mian Karim Bakhsh became the member of PLC. Later, he was elected as Chairman of MCL and also secured a seat in the Punjab Legislative Assembly in 1941 on Unionist party ticket (Javid, 2012:82). The Unionist party preferred him for the ticket over an Arain, Maik M. Din because of his strong biraderi support. In terms of biraderi patterns, the strongest Kashmiri leader was Mian Salahudin; son of Amir-ud-din and son-in-law of Muhammad Iqbal who belonged to a notable Taksali Darwaza family. Mian Amiruddin had also contested the election for MCL. He served as a Mayor of Lahore from 1947 to 1949. In 1951 his real brother Aminuddin also served as Governor of West Pakistan. He also elected as a member to LMC in 1951 and formed a Kashmiri opposition group during the mayor-ship of Malik Shaukat Ali and Hadi Ali Shah. 'After 1958 military coup d'état, and following the appointment of Nawab of Kalabagh as the West Pakistan Governorship, the Taksali Mians became a local pillar of the Ayub's Regime and Salahuddin was elected to the national assembly in both 1962 and 1965.

Biraderis also played a vital role in diminishing the support to Unionist party who won provincial elections in 1936-37 as Arian and Jat supporters of the party in eastern districts were not happy with Unionist government due to inflation and high prices in the backdrop of second world war. Keeping in view the importance of Biraderi allegiances to mobilize popular support, AIML along with religious appeal, Sufi networks and Piri-Mureedi loyalties also employed biraderi ties to replace Unionist party in provincial elections of 1946. Before the elections of 1946, to secure the popular strength in Arian constituencies of the Lahore, Jullundur and Ferozepore, provincial elite of AIML convinced Jinnah to uplift the ban on Begum Shah Nawaz's membership of the party to utilize her influence as 'Vice- President of the Provincial Arian Conference' in these areas (Talbot, 1980 :72-87). In 1946, Begum Salma Tassaduq Hussain of Ghakar family was elected for the Punjab Legislative Assembly on the ticket of AIML Begum Salma Tassaduq rose from Gujranwala as a member of MCL defeated Baji Rashida Latif who left League for not being awarded ticket. Baji Rashida had won this seat previously in 1935 on the ticket of Unionist party. This was the exceptional case in comparison with the previous records of members either from Arian or Kashmiris as this was the era of an

unprecedented peak of Muslim Nationalism projected by ALML which surpassed all other identities in Punjab. Begum Salma again won from this constituency in 1951.

Table: 8
Members of Pre-Partition Legislator

Name of Member	Legislature	Year Elected/Nominated	Party/Organization	Biraderi	Status
Muhammad Sultan	Lahore's 1 st Municipal Committee	1862 Nominated	-----	Kashmiri	Businessman
Mian Muhammad Shah Din (Descendant of Muhammad Ishaq)	Council of Lieutenant Governor of Punjab	1897-1909 Nominated	Anjuman-e-Islamia & Anjuman-e-Araiyan	Arain	Barrister/Landowner
Mian Muhammad Shafi Khan Bahadur (Descendant of Muhammad Ishaq)	Council of Lieutenant Governor of Punjab	1897-1909 Nominated	Anjuman-e-Islamia & Anjuman-e-Araiyan	Arain	Barrister/Landowner
Mian Muhammad Shafi Khan Bahadur	2 nd Council of Lieutenant Governor of Punjab	1910-1912 Nominated	Anjuman-e-Islamia & Anjuman-e-Araiyan	Arain	Barrister/Landowner
Mian Muhammad Shafi Khan Bahadur	3 rd Council of Lieutenant Governor of Punjab	1913-16 Nominated	Anjuman-e-Araiyan & Punjab Muslim League	Arain	Governor of Punjab
Mian Abdul Aziz (Migrated from Amritsar, known as Mian Abdul Aziz Malwada)	Punjab Legislative Council	1924-1926 Urban	Anjuman-e-Araiyan & Muslim League	Arain	Barrister & Member of Lahore Municipal Corporation
Muhammad Iqbal	Punjab Legislative Council	1927-1930 Urban	Anjuman-e-Kashmiri & Musalman Unionist	Kashmiri	Barrister
Malak Muhammad Din	Punjab Legislative Council	1930-1936	Anjuman-e-Araiyan	Arain	Barrister
Mian Amiruddin (Descendant of Mian Karim Baksh)	Punjab Legislative Assembly	1937-1945 Inner Lahore	Anjuman-e-Kashmiri & Musalman Unionist	Kashmiri	Sub-registrar
Sardar Muhammad Hussain	Punjab Legislative Assembly	1937 Rural Lahore 1946	Unionist Party AIML	Arian	
Begum Tassaduq Hussain	Punjab Legislative Assembly	1946-1947 Inner Lahore	All India Muslim League	Gakhar family	Member of Lahore Municipal Corporation

Table 8 provides that from 1897 to 1945, members of Legislative council originated either from Arian biraderi or Kashmiri biraderi. It has been noted that British patronage to influential person of these respective biraderi were one of the significant factors to provide them political spaces and these patterns of power remained consistent almost till the end of British Raj. This is evident by the fact as shown in table 9 that, all the elected Lord Mayors of Lahore since 1947 have either been Kashmiris or Arains, with the exceptions of Malik Shaukat, Syed Hadi Ali Shah and Mubashar Javed (Shah, 2015)

Table 9
List of Mayors of Post-Colonial Lahore

Sr. No	Name	Caste	Time Period
1	Mian Ameer-ud-din	Kashmiri	May 30, 1946- January 22, 1948
2	Mian Abdul Aziz	Arian	January 23, 1948- May 16, 1949
3	Mian Mushtaq Ahmed	Arian	May 17, 1949- May 28, 1950
4	Malik Shaukat Ali	Kakkezai	May 17, 1950- May 23, 1952.
5	Ch. Abdul Kareem	-----	May 24, 1952- May 29, 1953
6	Syed Hadi Ali Shah Bukhari	Qizalbash	May 30, 1953- July 19, 1953
7	Ch Kaleem-ud-din	Kashmiri	July 20, 1953 - September 20, 1953.
8	Syed Hadi Ali Shah	Qizalbash	September 21, 1953- August 7-1954
9	Mian Mehmood Said	Arian	1964-71
10	Ch. Kaleem-ud-din	Kashmiri	January 17, 1980- October 12, 1983
11	Mian Shuja-ur-Rehman	Arian	November 14, 1983- November 27, 1983. & 1983-87
12	Mian Muhammad Azhar	Arian	January 21, 1988- August 6, 1990
13	Khawaja Riaz Mahmood	Kashmiri	August 7, 1992 and August 6, 1990
14	Mian Abdul Abdul Majeed	Arian	January 30, 1992- August 15, 1993
15	Khawaja Ahmad Hassan	Kashmiri	May 30, 1998- November 1999
16	Mian Amir Mehmood	Arian	2001-09
17	Mubashar Javed	Rajput	2016-21

Source: Shah, S. (November 2, 2015). Kh Ahmed Hassan tipped as next Mayor of Lahore. The News. <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/70954-kh-ahmed-hassan-tipped-as-next-mayor-of-lahore>

Ibrahim, M. (2009). Role of Biraderi System in Power Politics of Lahore: Post Independence Period. A thesis submitted to Department of Political Science, Bahauddin Zakariya University.p.172-73.

The respective constituency is heavily influenced by Kashmiris which are non-agricultural biraderi and largely related to trading, business, manufacturing and shopkeeping. A substantial number of Kashmiris have small units of manufacturing inside the walled city of Lahore (Ibrahim, 2009: 99). Khatlani (2023) pointed out that entrepreneurial urge among Kashmiris provided them disproportionate economic power to their numerical strength which empowered them beyond Punjab. Under Kashmiri Sharif brothers' governments at national and provincial levels, Kashmiris recurrently secured key ministerial positions such as; Ishaq Dar, Khawaja Asif, Khawaja

Saad Rafique etc. Amir Mateen, a well-known Pakistani journalist observed that rise of Amritsari Kashmiris in Lahore is attributed to their strong families, cultural, economic relations and 'they virtually run the city now' (A Pakistani Journalist's India's Diary Part II, 2012). In the decade of 1990s, with having the advantage of numerical strength of Kashmiri biradari, Sharif brothers patronized locals by awarding them jobs, resources, vehicles and positions in administration which shaped their strong hold over the constituency politics. This is one of the reasons that PML-N backed candidates always won in old city even when PTI swept national polls in 2018 and 2024, this constituency remained with PML-N. Since 2008, young heir of Sharif family; Hamza Shahbaz Shariq has won in this constituency consecutive fourth time in 2024. Rollier (2020) explicated that PML-N electoral success in this constituency like many other constituencies in Punjab is largely attributed to the local network of patronage established during last three decades by Sharif family and reflects the hereditary and parochial politics (p.126). In most recent election of 2024, despite the fact that PML-N was comparatively a less popular party than PTI however PTI candidates for NA; Aliya Hamza Malik (Rajput by caste) while securing 100803 votes did not win in this Kashmiri majority constituency against Hamza Sehbaz who obtained 105960 votes. The contemporary politics of walled city of Lahore is largely characterized by party manifesto, personality cult, populist narratives, religiosity however still biraderis are one of the key drivers of politics of this area. The role of biraderi partially decreased during the limited period of charismatic politics in Pakistan however revived due to non-party elections under Zia regime which refurnished people's associations to biraderi and regional identities (Crossette, 1990). In the 2008 general elections, Gallup Survey provided that biraderis existed as an important civil society institution as respective report estimated that almost 37 percent in rural and 27 percent in urban voters attended the meetings of their biraderis to reflect on whom to vote (Gallup Pakistan, 2008: 39). Table 10 shows clearly that in the post-partition period, the pattern of support was not much changed and social classes remained the key source of political authority. The data clearly provides that Arian and Kashmiris are key dynamics of politics of this area. The records of elections for the constituency of Walled city of Lahore provided that still Arian and Kashmiri biraderi are one of the determining factors for the voting behavior and direction of electoral politics. Though there were some exceptions but largely political parties contesting in this constituency primarily relied and focused on the biraderi by nominating their candidate from these biradaris

Table 10
Provincial Legislators from 1953-2013

Name of Candidate	Legislature	Year	Elected/Nominated	Party	Biraderi	Status
Mian Amir-ud-Din	Punjab Legislative Assembly	1951-1955	Corporation of City of Lahore 2	Jinnah Awami League	Kashmiri	Mayor of Lahore from (1946-1948)
Malik Ghulam Nabi (Migrated from Amritsar)	Punjab Legislative Assembly	1951-1955	Elected, Refugee Reserved Seat (Corporation of City of Lahore 1)	Jinnah Awami League	Kashmiri	Councilor Lahore Municipal Corporation
Iftikhar Hussain Khan	Punjab Legislative Assembly	1951-1955	Elected (Corporation of City of Lahore 1)	Jinnah Awami League	Mamdoot Family	Landowner
Sheikh Muhammad Amin Paracha (Migrated from Amritsar)	Punjab Legislative Assembly	1951-1955	Elected, Refugee Reserve Seat (Corporation of City of Lahore 2)	Jinnah Awami League	Sheik	Owner of Hides & Skins, Member of Lahore Municipal Corporation

Mian Amir-ud-Din	Provincial Assembly of West Pakistan	1956-1958	Lahore District	Basic Democracies	Kashmiri	Member of Provincial Assembly
Sardar Ahmad Ali	Provincial Assembly of West Pakistan	1962-1965	Lahore 1	Basic Democracies	Arain	Landowner, President of Anjuman-e-Araiyian Pakistan
Mian Miraj Din	Provincial Assembly of West Pakistan	1965-1969	Lahore 1 (Elected Uncontested)	Conventional League	Arain	Landowner, Businessman
Malik Ghulam Nabi	Provincial Assembly of Punjab	1972-1977	PP 73	PPP	Kashmiri	Member of Provincial Assembly
Malik Iftikhar Ahmad Tari	Provincial Assembly of Punjab	1972-1977	PP 74	PPP	Kashmiri	Political Worker
Sheikh Rafique Ahmad	Provincial Assembly of Punjab	April 1977-July 1977	PP 105	PPP	Sheikh	Advocate
Chudhary Eid Muhammad (Migrated From Ambala)	Provincial Assembly of Punjab	April 1977-July 1977	PP 106	PPP	Jat	Cinema Proprietor, Councilor Lahore Municipal Corporation
Haji Maqsood Ahmad Butt	Provincial Assembly of Punjab	1985-1988	PP 107	Non-Party	Kashmiri	President All Pakistan Anjuman-e-Tajiran, Councilor Lahore Municipal Corporation
Begum Farhat Khawaja Rafique (wife of Khawaja Muhammad Rafique)	Provincial Assembly of Punjab	1985-1988	PP 106	Non-Party	Kashmiri	Teacher, Councilor Lahore Municipal Corporation
Mian Yousaf Salah-ud-din (Descendent of Mian Amir-ud-Din)	Provincial Assembly of Punjab	1988-1990	PP 125	PPP	Kashmiri	Businessman, Councilor Municipal Corporation Lahore
Jahangir Badar	Provincial Assembly of Punjab	1988-1990	PP 124	PPP	Arain	Businessman
Mian Muhammad Shahbaz Sharif	Provincial Assembly of Punjab	1993-1996	PP 125	PML(N)	Kashmiri	Businessman
Mian Abdul Sattar (Originally from Lyallpur)	Provincial Assembly of Punjab	1993-1996	PP 124	PML(N)	Arain	advocate
Mian Muhammad Shahbaz Sharif	Provincial Assembly of Punjab	1997-1999	PP 125	PML(N)	Kashmiri	Businessman

Mian Abdul Sattar	Provincial Assembly of Punjab	1997-1999	PP 124	PML(N)	Arain	Advocate
Khawaja Saad Rafique (Son of Begum Farhat Rafique)	Provincial Assembly of Punjab	2002-2007	PP 142	PML(N)	Kashmiri	Businessman, Leader of Student Federation
Khawaja Salman Rafique (Son of Begum Farhat Rafique)	Provincial Assembly of Punjab	2008-2013	PP 142	PML(N)	Kashmiri	Businessman
Hamza Shahbaz Sharif By-Election Khawaja Salman Rafique	Provincial Assembly of Punjab	2013-2018	PP 142	PML(N)	Kashmiri	Businessman
Hamza Shahbaz Sharif	Provincial Assembly of Punjab	2023	PP-147	PML(N)	Kashmiri	Businessman

Table 11
National Assembly Data (1970-2018)

Name	Legislature	Year	Elected/Nominated	Party	Biraderi	Status
Malik M. Akhtar	National Assembly	1970	NW-58 I	PPP	Kekeyzai	-----
S.M. Mahmood	National Assembly	1977	NA -81 Lahore-I	PPP	-----	-----
Pir M. Ashraf	National Assembly	1985	NA-81 Lahore	Non-Party Base	-----	-----
Muhammad Hussain Ansari	National Assembly	1988	NA 92- Lahore I	PAI	Ansari	-----
Humayun Akhtar Khan	National Assembly	1990	NA 92- Lahore I	IJI	Pathan	Businessman
Mian Nawaz Sharif	National Assembly	1993	NA 92-Lahore I	PML(N)	Kashmiri	Businessman
Mian M. Azhar	National Assembly	1997	NA 92-Lahore I	PML(N)	Arain	Landlord/Businessman
Khawaja Saad Rafique	National Assembly	2002	NA 119-Lahore II	PML (N)	Kashmiri	Businessman
Hamza Shahbaz Sharif	National Assembly	2008	NA 119-Lahore II	PML (N)	Kashmiri	Businessman
Hamza Shahbaz Sharif	National Assembly	2013	NA 119-Lahore II	PML(N)	Kashmiri	Businessman
Hamza Shahbaz Sharif By-Election Shahid Khaqan Abbasi	National Assembly	2018	NA 124-Lahore II	PML(N)	Kashmiri	Businessman
Hamza Shahbaz Sharif By-Election	National Assembly	2023	NA 118-Lahore II	PML(N)	Kashmiri	Businessman

Conclusion

The socio-cultural association based on biraderi from time to time overshadows the other forms of identities like religious, ethnic, cultural, ideological etc. The groups based on biraderis are connected through their sense of loyalty to their clan and kinship which play its role in shaping the political, social, economic and cultural patterns of these communities and their voting preferences. Biraderi as one of the key pressure groups while having a strong hold of social network shapes political affiliations, alliances and voting decisions significantly in certain rural and urban constituencies in Punjab such as Walled city of Lahore. The communities and groups significantly identified by their caste or biraderi living in a close proximity have more probability to have similar political associations and voting preferences. It is noted that attribute of political control of British in colonial Punjab was primarily characterized by the patron-client relationship which comparatively empowered two key biraderis such as Arian and Kashmiris that made them to organize in political and socio-economic manner while making these communities as one of the key dynamics of the politics of those areas where live in large numbers. The expansion and development of Lahore under colonial period in the terms of commercial and educational activities facilitated these biradaris to continue to assert their political and socio-economic influences in power politics of city. The personalization of power was resultant of British policy of patronizing some individuals and communities in Lahore which created unequal socio-economic development and these structures of power politics are not significantly changed in the city. This research asserts that role of biradari cannot be merely analyzed by looking at the electoral results in the favor of Kashmiri and Arian candidates. Biraderi's political empowerment in Old city of Lahore is result of decades of social and economic patronizing; firstly, by British and then by key individuals of these biraderis in post-colonial Lahore. The emergence of populist politics in in the backdrop of increasing popularity and unprecedented following of PTI leader Imran Khan, kinship links became comparatively weaker at certain urban centers in Punjab however, they are not entirely extraneous. In most recent elections of 2024 Pakistani youth seemed more supportive to Imran Khan's party which is indicating that this might apparently lessen the role of biraderi. Though in next elections, the need for electable to contest electoral battles in the backdrop of strong influence of Establishment, increasing unpopularity of mainstream parties and absence of local or regional parties in Punjab can push PTI and other key parties to rely on kinship networks to secure popular vote.

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