Role of Biradari System in Election Process

A Case Study of Kotmomin District Sargodha

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Formal Declaration

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Islamabad, September 2016

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Acknowledgement

Abstract

This study mainly focuses on the voting trends in the area. The common perception in Punjabi dominated area is that voting decisions are largely determining by social factors such as traditional *Biradari* system and family ties. This study is based on both primary as well as secondary sources. The secondary data in the shape of books and journals cover the theoretical frameworks including social identity theory. The primary data in the form of in-depth interview is the original contribution of this study which explores the extent of the application of the aforementioned theory of social identity. Perhaps the most original contribution of this work is extensive qualitative analysis of electoral data. The main purpose of the present research was to analyses the role of *Biradari* system in election process.

To achieve the objectives, researcher has used different methods of data collection. A sample size of fifty respondents was selected by using the purposive sampling technique from the locale to conduct the study. The data collection methods were including interview guide, focus group discussion and observation method. Every focus group was comprised of six members. The qualitative technique was employed for the analysis of data. The locale of the present research was municipal committee Kotmomin.

The findings of the study suggest that *Biradari* served as an institution in the study area and *Biradarism* has very crucial role in the local and national politics. People are bound to follow the norms of *Biradari* otherwise they have to face social boycott or many other sanctions from the *Biradari*.

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1. INTRODUCTION

In English, word 'caste' is used for *Biradari*. The word caste means lineage, breed or race. It can also be elaborated as an unbending social arrangement in which a social pyramid is maintained generations after generations and it usually does not allow its member to move or change their caste. The *Biradari* system is a type of social system in which people are divided into different separate communities. Each *Biradari* has its own set of rules, which are followed by its member in true letter and spirit. *Biradari*sm is the most important kinship system within sub-continent. A *Biradari* is basically a group of people having blood relations. They share common traits like language, customary ways of living etc. Mostly, people of a same *Biradari* reside in a particular area but there are also some exceptions.

Moreover, *Biradari* ties are not so strong among service group or occupational castes referred as *kamins,* because they are not self-sufficient and they depend on land owners for bread and shelter. Castes are further divided in to sub-units and these sub-castes have profound impact on the routine affairs of people. In general, *Biradari* is associated with explicit occupation and, represents social stratification, which makes it endogamous[1]. *Biradari* further characterizes the distinctive attachment and social ranking of one's ancestor belongs to the similar ethnic groups and the composing of different castes. 'Aboriginal' group affiliations repeatedly discussed, including family attachment, kinship relations and *Biradari*/caste association, or affiliation with community groups or factions, play an additionally significant role to determine the voting behaviour particularly in the South Asia, than individual's political affiliations.[2]

Competition, conflict and faction formation are phenomenon all interlinked as, living in a close proximity entails exploitation of common resources which creates conditions

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[1] Hutton, J. F. (1963). Fracture of liquids in shear.

[2] Mughees, A. (2004). *Faisalabad Division keSiasat per Biradarism kayAsraat*, Ph.D Thesis, Department of Political Science and International Relations, (Multan, B. Z. University)

in which competition is likely[3].To desirability to join groups arises, to meet physical, psychological, and social needs and for cohesiveness a central property, that relates to social influence and productivity[4].

Biradari is the most noticeable characteristic of the cultural setup of the province of Punjab Pakistan, caste is alleged as a strong binder preferred to form group alliances *Biradari* within the rural settings of Punjab is affirmed to be a force, stronger than religion, ethnic or any ideological institution.

"Loyalty", is on the basis of "*Biradari*/Qaum/zat" which thus influences the socio-economic, political and cultural patterns" of that area[5]. Submission is further amplified by "in-group glorification and loyalty side of ethnocentrism shaping individual behaviours.

Thus factional groups formed within the social setting of most of the South Asian countries are on the basis of "*Biradari*". Faction is agglomeration, and coalition of people within a social setup with the purpose to strengthen that group and magnify their access to resources. *Biradari*es are dynamically involved in campaigning as representatives of specific political parties and local ruling *Biradari*[6]. The role of *Biradaries* in the overall political system of Pakistan is quite evident, it acts as a

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[3] De Waal, F. B., Aureli, F., & Judge, P. G. (2000). Coping with crowding. *Scientific American*, *282*(5), 76-81.

[4] Fisher, R. J. (1990). Needs theory, social identity and an eclectic model of conflict. In *Conflict: Human needs theory* (pp. 89-112). Palgrave Macmillan UK.

[5] Ahmed, A., Chaudhry, A. G., &Hussain, S., (2013). Educated Youth, Role of Biradarism and Local Politics: An Anthropological Analysis of Students of PMAS-Arid Agriculture University Rawalpindi, Pakistan.*(IJESR)*, *3*(2), 21-26.

[6] Heywood, P. (1997). Political corruption: Problems and perspectives. *Political studies*, *45*(3), 417-435.

criterion for selection of District administration as it is normally selected from the key *Biradari* of respective district[7].

The politics in Pakistan is influenced by various tools like 'qaumism' and religion used to manipulate the general public[8]. *Biradari* based political system is merely a covert term coined to feed personal political objectives. It has been affirmed that factional groups alter the voting behaviour, and political preferences as stated that Local *Biradarism* Punjab played their role as a pressure group and have their influence on political parties[9].

Biradari is an analogous racial group, with which one develops innate affiliation, leads to reciprocity however only within the group. Power game is common among various castes/*Biradari*s, when their aims differ leading to conflicts on and and other social and material issues with the opponent caste[10]. The role of leadership and boundary role is most apparent in case of an intergroup conflict[11]. The effectiveness of the leader thus decides the outcome of a conflict. As stated that village politics relies on factional leaders and kinship ties that manipulate and structure politics at the local level[12].

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[7] Ibrahim, M. (2009).Role of Bridari System in Power Politicsof Lahore: Post-Independence Period Department of Political Science & International Relations BahaUddinZakariya University MULTAN

[8] Nasir, A., Chaudhry, A. G., Khan, S. E., &Hadi, S. A. (2015). Biradarism And Rural Conflict as a Determinant Of Political Behavior: A Case Study Of Rural Punjab. *Science International*, *27*(1), 703-705

[9] Chaudhry, A. G., Ahmed, A., &Hussain, S. (2013). Educated Youth, Role of Biradarism and Local Politics: An Anthropological Analysis of Students of PMAS-Arid Agriculture UniversityRawalpindi, Pakistan.International Journal of Educational Scienceand Research (IJESR),3, 21-26.

[10] Chaudhry, A. G., A. Ahmed, S. E. Khan, S. Hussain. (2014). Perception of Local Community and Biradari on Panchayat; an Exploratory Anthropological Study of Biradari in Village Saroki, District Gujranwala, Pakistan. Advances in Anthropology, 4, 53-58.

[11] Fisher, R. J. (1990). Needs theory, social identity and an eclectic model of conflict. In *Conflict: Human needs theory* (pp. 89-112). Palgrave Macmillan UK.

[12] Frantz, C. (1981). Settlement and Migration among Pastoral Fulbe in Nigeria and Cameroon. *Studies in Third World Societies*, (17), 57-94.

In the social system of Pakistan's Punjab province, the main characteristic is *Biradari*sm. *Biradari* system plays its role on both local and national level politics. *Biradari* vote for the same *Biradari* that shows more significance determinant than party loyalty. The first trend is the caste, a major determinant of voting behaviour. individuals shows their endogamous and inborn ethnic association with their *Biradari*, with special respect to have social status of superior or inferior ranking position in distinction with other specific subdivisions[13].

Biradari system played an important role in different times in Pakistan during local body elections. Most important and functional *Biradarie*s in politics of Punjab are Gujjars, Jatts, Syeds, Araiens, Bloachs and Rajputs. District administration is normally selected from the key *Biradari* of respective district. Rajputs are in northern Punjab, Jatts and Araiens are in central Punjab, Balochs in southern Punjab leading the political activities. The stratification of *Biradari*s into different areas of Punjab affects outcomes of overall Pakistan's political system[14].

In Pakistani society, *Biradari* institution plays the role of most important force, authority and power and significant than religion, cultural or any sociopolitical causes. Political alliances and parties in Pakistan are normally based on *Biradari* system not ideologies. Within Pakistan, in the social system of the Punjab province the main feature is *Biradari*sm as reported earlier studies. It affects the political system at the national and local levels[15]. By formation of different groups the major purpose achieved or the benefit taken was economical as close group bonding compelled people to take care of each other in case of downfall. Walder strengthens this view through his classic

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[13] Velassery, S. (2005).Caste is man's human rights: toward an ontology of the social order. Marshall Cavendish Academic.

[14] Ian Mclean. (1996). Oxford Concise Dictionary of Politics (New York: Oxford University Press, p.291.

[15] Ahmed, A., Chaudhry, A. G., &Hussain, S., (2013). Educated Youth, Role of Biradarism and Local Politics: An Anthropological Analysis of Students of PMAS-Arid Agriculture University Rawalpindi, Pakistan.*(IJESR)*, *3*(2), 21-26.

study in which he found that due to the faction formation political control was achieved which then led to the allocation of resources like housing facility, special food and Medicare to individuals of personal choice[16].

The local power structure is inevitable in rural life because individuals and political parties with ambitions in district, provincial or national politics seek alliances with the local faction leaders that secure for them support at the gross root level.

Local governments were introduced by the British not by building on the village panchayats, but instead from scratch, following the annexation of Sindh in 1843 and of Punjab in 1849[17]. The British system of local government was the creation of a rural and urban divide. Urban local councils were established by the British to provide essential municipal services in urban areas where they resided. It appears that rural councils were explicitly used to co-opt the local elite by giving them limited representation and as a result their capacity to provide essential municipal services became even more circumscribed than the capacity found in urban areas[18].

State's social organization is mainly according to the native culture. Concepts of nation grounded on the real-world characteristics of culture. Culture is an approach of life consisting standard universal norms, values and ideologies of a particular social group of people in a meticulous region. Multi culture social societies were the feature of sub-continent. Effects of Greece, Turk Muslims, Mongols, Arabs, Dravidians and Aryans and British culture reappeared but the Aryan culture looks dominant. One of the most controversial topics of the social and cultural aspects of India and Pakistan is a strict caste system[19].

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[16] Walder, A. G. (1995). Career mobility and the communist political order.*American Sociological Review*, 309-328

[17] Tinker, H. (1968).The Foundations of Local Self-Government in India, Pakistan and Burma. New York: Praeger.

[18] Siddiqui, K. (1992). Local Government in South Asia. Dhaka: University Press Limited

[19] Niemonen, J. (2002). Race, class, and the state in contemporary sociology: the William Juliu Wilson debates. Lynne Rienner Publishers.192-97

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Election activities are highly important for democratic governments. Democracy can't flourish without election process. It is the way by which people elect their representatives for legislation and policy making. This research is concerned with the nature and extent of voting behaviour, and how *Biradari* system affects voting behaviour in the research locale. Voting for a candidate of one's own race might be a product of racism, or it may be the result of reliance on a simple, readily available cue. In other words, voters may support a candidate of their own race or ethnicity based on the assumption that a candidate who shares their racial or ethnic background also shares their basic political views[20].

1.2 Objectives of the Study

1. To explore the nature and extent of voting behaviour in the municipal committee Kotmomin.

2. To identify that how *Biradari* system affects voting behaviour in the research locale.

1.3 Conceptualization

1.3.1 *Biradari* System

A form of descent group in some societies whose members trace their descent to an unknown ancestor and in some cases to a sacred plant or animal[21].A non-corporate descent group with each member claiming descent from a common ancestor without

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[20] Michelson, M. R. (2005). Does Ethnicity Trump Party? Competing Vote Cues and Latino Voting Behavior.*J.Political Marketing*.2005,4 (4).Available online at http://www.haworthpress.com/web/JPOLM.

[21] Carmack, R. M. (2013). *Anthropology and Global History: From Tribes to the Modern World- system*. Rowman& Littlefield. 144-48

actually knowing or fully knowing the genealogical links to that ancestor and lived in municipal committee Kotmomin.

1.3.2 Voting Behaviour

Voting is the most important and main form of political participation in democratic societies. It is very important tool in democratic societies because democracy provides a chance to the people to become dynamic citizens rather than inactive subjects[22].Voting is the fundamental right of almost all citizens over the age of eighteen. It ensures that will of the people is preserved[23]. Voting behaviour is the expression of a person's preference for a candidate, or a group of candidates, as well as the person's preference of one political system rather than another.

1.4 Significance of the Study

This study will motivate the researchers, scholars and students as well to pay their attention on this crucial and important topic. It will also provide the basic information of voting behaviour and its indicators with special reference to the Pakistan. The findings of the present research will help the legislator, administrator and other concerned persons to figure out their plan of actions in order to increase the voting turnout level in research locale. It will play important role in the policy making, implementation with regard to election activities and also give an idea that how voting behaviour is correlated with *Biradari* system

1.5 Outline of the study

In order to demonstrate the importance of the study some international and national studies were reviewed in the next chapter. In review of literature different concepts i.e.

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[22] Jost, J. T. (2006). Th end of ideology. *American Psychologist*. 61: (7). 651-70.

[23] HRCP.(2008). Human right commission of Pakistan. State of human rights: An annual report Lahore, Pakistan.

Biradari system and voting behaviour were discussed and define the importance of their role in determining the voting behaviour. Conceptual framework for empirical research was also described in the same chapter upon which this thesis is based. Chapter three contains the locale of the study and research design to draw inferences from the collected information. Chapter four presents the research results using thematic analysis and statistical package social sciences about how *Biradari* system affects voting behaviour in the research locale. Finally, major findings and conclusion of the thesis has been presented.

2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Review of Literature

This chapter deals with the review of literature relevant to the research. It helps to identify the scope of study as well as enables a researcher to know which set of available literature is important to investigate the research questions. It will give the sight to conceptualize the present study with pervious researches in order to make the study important. The study in the following section is related to the "role of *Biradari* system in election process".

2.1.1 Voting Behaviour

Human actions, such as voting in a democratic election, are extremely complex phenomenon and depend on a variety of social and psychological factors. Voting in elections is the most obvious and direct way in which a whole population can affect government, sort of mass revolution. Voting is the most distinguishing imperative stuff that a citizen can do to make sure that the government operates in the way it is intended; and guaranteed that their political way of life are heard by the country's political system. Therefore, it is the main form of political participation in liberal democratic societies and the study of voting behaviour is a highly specialized sub-field within political science. Voting has become virtually a universal means by which individuals make collective decisions[24].

Voting is the main form of political participation in liberal democratic societies and the study of voting behaviour is highly specialized sub-field within political and social science. Through voting behaviour, we study the ways in which people tend to vote in public elections and to find out the reasons why they vote as they do. It is an important

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24 Evans, Jocelyn A. J. *Voters and Voting; An Introduction*, London: Sage Publications, 2004

tool because through this we can know the will of people and also the way they want to have it[25].

The analysis of voting patterns invariably focuses on the determinants of why people vote as they do and how they reached the decisions they make. Sociologists tend to look to the socio-economic determinants of support for political parties, observing the correlations between class, occupation, ethnicity, sex, age, and vote; political scientists have concentrated on the influence of political factors such as issues, political programs, electoral campaigns, and the popularity of party leaders on voting behaviour. However, both disciplines share much the same terrain and increasingly have tended to overlap in their analytical approaches[26].

Behaviour in general is an omnipresent and continuous phenomenon. People always behave in one way or other, and in fact it may be argued that it is impossible for humans not to behave. For social scientists who wish to study behaviours are equally interesting. Different social scientists used different fields of behavioural interests. Usually they select one aspect of behaviour and leave the rest of all behaviours to the other branches of social inquiry. For example the economists will be primarily interested in behaviours related to production, distribution and consumption of scare goods. Anthropologists study behaviour in specific social-culture setting. The principal target of behavioural social and political scientists is the explanation and prediction of behaviour; why do people behave as they do? The behaviour explanation requires the coupling of behaviours to antecedent causes, asking why a certain action has been performed amounts to identifying the causes of that action[27].

Among political behaviour, the study of voting behaviour over the years has occupied a central position, both in terms of quantity and quality. Its origin traced back to the beginning of this century, voting research at first was predominantly demographically

25 Jost, J. T. (2006). Th end of ideology. *American Psychologist*. 61: (7). 651-70.

26 Marshall, Gordon. "Voting Behaviour", *A Dictionary of Sociology*, 1998

27 Valentine, E. R. *Conceptual Issues in Psychology*, London: Routledge, 1992.

oriented; an orientation partly forced upon it by the aggregate nature of the available election and census data. With the advent of the first public opinion polls in the 1930s it became possible to research voting choices at the level of the individual voter. Stimulated by the emerging `behavioural persuasion', the use of opinion polls and surveys quickly proliferated to become the dominant method of inquiry in the field of electoral research, if not in most areas of political behaviour research. Placing the source of causation in a human organism poses an epistemological problem. While environmental conditions and properties and the physical behaviour of the organism are open to observation, the internal state of humans cannot be inspected (Ibid).

Thus in the electoral case, the voting analyst may, on the one hand, observe the events surrounding the election like campaigns, speeches, debates, conventions, etc. or the behaviour of voter pertaining to the elections political discussions, attendance of campaign activities, etc.. On the other hand, he may analyze the official election results, the aggregate outcome of the numerous physical movements of crossing the ballot paper or pulling the switch, which have occurred in the secrecy of the voting booth[28].

From the facts of interpersonal and intrapersonal variability of behaviour in identical situations it becomes clear, however, that the electoral environment conveys different meanings to different persons, and that therefore it is not possible to explain the election results from the antecedent environmental conditions alone. It is necessary to gain insight, at the level of the individual voter, into the factors and mechanisms which mediate between the stimulus situation on the one hand, and the physical response on the other. The epistemological problem then may be solved by postulating the existence of certain mental processes which may be helpful in the explanation of voting behaviour or put somewhat differently, by conceptualizing the variables intervening between environmental conditions and the consummator action (Ibid).

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28 Lazarsfeld, P. F. Concept, Theory and Explanation in the Behavioural Sciences, New York: Random House, 1966.

Voting behaviour of the populace determines political power in any political system on different scales signifying the intensity of political involvement. Even if people are not aware of personal involvement in the electoral decision, they may still be induced to vote by social pressures and inner feelings of social obligations. Voting behaviour refers to factors that determine the manner in which a particular group of people vote for specific political party or candidates that are up for elections.

Therefore, voting behaviour is sum up as; a mode of legitimizing democratic rule, instancing 'participation' in the political process involving integration into political community, an act of decision making and a direct relation of the individual citizens to the formal government. Voting behaviour is rather a complex and multi-faceted subject. Many factors that comprise both political and non-political have an effect on it. Voting behaviour is determined by the political attitude, assumptions, policy preferences and partisan loyalties of individuals and the political and institutional context within which they cast their votes in an election. There are a numbers of indicators affecting voters' choice (Ibid).

Here, the contexts of class, race, caste, ethnicity, religion, rural or urban sectors gender and generation influence the voter in varying degrees and styles. In this regard, the political communications approach revolves around the issue of the construction of electoral choice for the voter [29].

Voting Behaviour is influenced by several irrational factors and pressure group in invoking religious and communal factors, influence of money or charismatic personality of a leader and a host of other irrational forces can have their definite influence on the minds of the voters. Politicians can be found invoking appeals to the religious and communal sentiments of the people; they can also be found involved in exploiting the factors of language or money to achieve the purpose of emerging successful in the war of votes. Appeals are issued and canvassing campaigns are conducted in the name of a particular policy or ideology for the same purpose. The

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29 Curtice, John. "The State of Election Studies", *Electoral Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (June 2002)

interest of the voters and accordingly their behaviour at the time of voting is also influenced by the nature or purpose of the elections or the extent of the suffrage [30].

The voting behaviour of Pakistan is duly traced observing Pakistan's electoral pattern in a historical perspective. Since long, Pakistani society has been stuck in the whirlpool of feudalism, sardari pattern, tribal malik and *Biradari*es' system, religious factions, ethnicity, class structure, pressure and interest groups, etc. In pursuit of their own ideological consideration while supporting their respective political parties, these disgruntled elements influence the voting behaviour in Pakistan. These are not only dominating the voters' minds but also shaping their decisions to cast vote in their favor against the voter's will.

This politico domineering got more accelerated and strengthened during the era of non-political governments coupled with weak political ideology. The underlying bitter reality shows that most of the 'Influenced Voters' are not freely thinking while casting their votes, denying the very fact that the right to vote is a way of expressing one's own choice or opinion, especially by officially marking a paper or by raising one's hand. To sum up, voting behaviour is a set of attitudes and beliefs towards election at the national as well as at the local level (ibid).

Voting is an integral part of political participation in democratic societies. It is very important tool in democracy which provides a chance to the people to become a dynamic citizens rather than inactive subject. It ensures that will of the people is preserved. Voting is the expression of a person's preference for a candidate or a group of candidates, as well as the person's preference of one political system rather than another. Through voting we can determine the will of the people[31].

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30 Akhtar,Zahida&YounasAh.Sheikh."Determinants of Voting Behaviour in India: Theoretical Perspective", *Public Policy and Administration Research*, Vol. No. 4, No. 8 (2014).

31 Shawar, D., &Asim, M. (2012). Voting Behavior of People Towards Different Political Parties in District Faisalabad. Global Media Journal: Pakistan Edition, 5(1).

The act of voting gives a concrete example of the individual citizen responding to stimuli, making decisions, and finally either acting or choosing not to. It provides a useful and illumination case study political behaviour. In electoral politics, a high voting turnout among the citizens is considered to be a significant indicator of the health of political system, because political participation is assumed to be essential to the proper functioning of the democracy[32].

Basic logic of voting is considered as rational choice, voters, and vote as per their self-interests and parties or candidates who receive votes are also rational because they have their own interests. Those interests are not clear but always uncertain. The uncertainty situation always becomes the backbone of electoral politics. Politicians act solely in order to attain the income, prestige, and power which come from being in office. According to rational choice theory, politicians never seek office as a means of carrying out particular policies; their only goal is to reap the rewards of holding office. They treat policies purely as means to the attainment of their private ends, which they can reach only by being elected. Political Parties formulate policies in order to win elections, rather than win elections in order to formulate policies (Ibid).

Many voting studies terminate with statements about the preferences of individual voters. The most important political phenomena are not individual choice but the aggregate distribution of seats in the national parliament, effecting control of executive government. In a country with simple two-party system the result is conceived as total victory or defeated; in multiparty system in which coalition government is the norm there are complications in converting parliamentary seats into coalition shares[33].

Many scholars in Pakistan and abroad conducted research on elections and electoral politics. Few discussed the voting behaviour in general and very few studied it in

32 Shakeel, F., & Ramadan, W. (2010).Transdermal delivery of anticancer drug caffeine from water-in-oil nanoemulsions. Colloids and Surfaces B: Biointerfaces, 75(1), 356-362.

33 Rose,Richard, ed.,*Electoral Behaviour: A Comparative Handbook*, London: Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1974.

Pakhtun dominated areas. Lack of interests of researcher in the said topic was due to many reasons. Among those the most prominent reasons were lack of education, lack of political awareness, closeness attachment with religion and most importantly lack of trusted leadership.

Wilder focused mainly on electoral history of Pakistan in general and Punjab in particular. This valuable work is directly related with voting behaviour of masses in Punjab during 1993 elections. Researcher mainly focused on primary data including polling stations and personal interviews. Social determinants of voting behaviour including feudalism and family links based on tribe, group or clans left vital effects on voting behaviour directly. It will provide electoral history of Pakistan in general and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in particular [34]

Norman D. Palmar compare the electoral politics of Pakistan with India and Bangladesh. He pointed out that India retained the same political system left by the British. Pakistan experienced four different kinds of political systems. All systems worked for time being and the driving force behind forwarding the system was searching for their own interests despite of state interests. In all those systems elections couldn't play its role[35].

Zafar and Hussain explain electoral history of Pakistan in 1993 general elections. Every single point of that election is discussed toughly including parties manifesto, party's election symbols, most importantly the list of the contested and winning candidates. They evaluate the elections with statistical data and pi-graphs. This will provide electoral data and changing voting behaviour of voters of Pakistan in general and KPK in particular Jalal analyze the state and political process in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. After transition to democracy in Pakistan and Bangladesh, political, social

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34 Wilder, Andrew R. *The Pakistani Voter: Electoral Politics and Voting Behaviour in the Punjab*, UK: Oxford University Press, 1999.

35 Palmer, N. D. (1975). Crisis Of Democracy In India. *Orbis-A Journal of World Affairs*, *19*(2), 379-401

and economic developments in subcontinent were apparently showing signs of converging. Changing voting behaviour will affect directly by social and economic factors[36].

Wilder focused on the institutions which strengthen the state. Clashes of civil and military leadership weaken the democratic process which affects the state and general masses. Lack of good leadership and political illiteracy in masses push the country into political impasse. This research work will provide data regarding political illiteracy of masses[37].

Manzur-ud-din mainly focused on political history of Pakistan in general and electoral history of Pakistan with reference to 1977 elections. The electoral process is discussed in the light of demographic data and other socioeconomic variables which determine the parties' appeals, the voter's choice and their frustration in post-election agitations and violence. The writer also analyzes the leaders programs, party's manifestoes, nature and style of leadership. This valuable work will help the researcher in post-Bangladesh electro-political scenario.

Lodhi discusses the low turnout in electoral history of Pakistan in general and 1993 elections in particular. She emphasize on the phenomenon that voting turn out is important determinant behaviour is discussed but its lack a comprehensive analysis of voting and other behaviour which is linked with electoral politics in Pakistan. This will provide the factors that will play vital role in low turnout in elections[38].

Mohammad Waseem focused on historical background of electoral politics and its relations with colonialism. He shows how the colonial legacy of bureaucratic rule has

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36 Jalal, A. (1995). Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia: A Comparative and Historical study. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

37 Wilder, Andrew R. The Pakistani Voter: Electoral Politics and Voting Behaviour in the Punjab, UK: Oxford University Press, 1999.

38 Lodhi, Maleeha.*Pakistan Encounter with Democracy*, Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1994.

enabled powerful civil-military bureaucracy to maintain its hold on power in post-independence Pakistan[39].

Hamid discuss in details the political and constitutional history of before and after creation of Pakistan. He explains every constitutional or political development that was happen in Pakistan. Most importantly he made his own legal opinions on crucial issues that damage the democracy in the country. The writer also thoroughly discussed the elections before and after creation of Pakistan. This may help in writing the constitutional history of Pakistan[40].

Alvi opined that the voting behaviour is determined more by class than traditional kinship. They argue that voters who are economically dependent on others will vote according to the dictate of those upon whom they are dependent, and only those who are economically independent are likely to vote along the lines of kinship or caste[41]. Baxter provided useful information of the background of elections, the contestants, the campaigns and the results with reference to 2002 general elections in Pakistan. He linked politics with society and economy cleverly. Both politics and society is mainly dependent on economy[42].

Mohammad Waseem focused on theoretical aspects of elections in Pakistan during 1993. This is the only scholarly work on the elections in Pakistan in which theoretical framework is established for the study of elections. He seeks to provide a historical and structural perspective on the phenomenon of electoral politics. It then moves on to look at the determinants of the 1993 political crisis, followed by a discussion of the caretaker governments of Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Balkh Sher Mazari and Moeen Qureshi. It

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39 Mohammad Wassem, *Democratization in Pakistan: A Study of 2002 Elections*, Karachi:Oxford University Press, 2006.

40 Hamid(2005). the political and constitutional history of before and after creation of Pakistan.

41 Alvi, Hamza.*Kinship in West Pakisatn Villages*, New Delhi: Vikas, 1996.

42 Baxter, Craig eds. Andrew R.Wilder. "Elections 2002: Legitimizing the Status Qui," in *Pakistan on the Brink: Politics, Economics and Society*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2005.

analyses the election campaign in terms of major actors on the political scene and the mode of electioneering at the macro and micro levels. It provides a statistical analysis of the results of 1993 elections. In addition, it looks at the formation of Benazir Bhutto government as well as the presidential elections and the by-elections. It also underlines the need for electoral reforms from time to time. The appendices concerning the Eighth Constitutional Amendment, the PPP election manifesto, the PML (N) election manifesto and the National Assembly election results, provide a valuable piece of information for the readers[43].

Lal Baha thoroughly explains the geographical location of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. He also deals with administrative set up of this province under British rule. In this historical research the writer also explain the constitutional development since its creation in 1901 till 1919. The writer discusses the Pakhtun society and its structure. He also explains the political development in the province ethnically. The writer mainly focuses on the Pakhutn politics before partition. The writer elaborates that ethnicity is more important in Pakhtun politics rather than class differences[44].

Janson explain the Pakhtun national movement before partition for independent Pakhtunistan. In this regard he discussed the Khudai Khidmatgar movement in Pakhtun dominated area. He also discussed the causes behind those pakhtun nationalist movements that were started against British. The writer also explains that constitutional development was promulgated in other provinces of India butthe area was left of such activities. This piece of work helps us the history and causes that why pakhtun dominated area was left by the British from constitutional development[45].

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43 Mohammad Wassem, *Democratization in Pakistan: A Study of 2002 Elections*, Karachi:Oxford University Press, 2006.

44 Baha, Lal.NWFP *Administration under the British Rule* (1901-1919), Islamabad: National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, 1978.

45 Janson, Erland.India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan:The National Movements in the North-West Frontier Province, 1937-47,Stockholm: Almqvist&Wikell International, 1981.

A.S Ahmed focused mainly on Pakhtun society and its sources of economy. He also explain that Pakhtun society revolve around the pursuit of power, status and honor. The writer also highlighted that politics is a central activity involving competition for power and as a model for acquiring honor and status in society. The writer further elaborated that economy is interlinked with politics. The political domination gives political status which in turn affords access to political administration, which may give direct economic benefits[46].

Rome discusses the historical development step by step. His work is an amalgamation of Pakhtun history, politics, economy and much more. The writer sketched the Pakhtun region physically and geographically. He discusses the origin of Pakhtuns and briefly elaborate *pakhtunwali* (Pakhtun Code of Life). He highlighted the political and constitutional development in the province[47].

Clientelism is a form of personal, dyadic (two persons) exchange usually characterized by a sense of obligation, and often also by an unequal balance of power between those involved. Those relationship between the two involved 'the patron providing clients with access to the basic means of subsistence and the clients reciprocating with a combination of economic goods and services (such as rent, labor, portion of their crops etc.) and social acts of deference and loyalty.' In other words, clientelism is a way of describing the pattern of unequal, hierarchical exchange characteristic of feudal society, in which patrons and clients were tied to durable relationships by a powerful sense of obligation and duty[48].

Clientelism is also defined as transactions between politicians and citizens whereby material favors are offered in return for political support in the polls. Thus, clientelism

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46 Ahmed, Akbar S. Pakhtun Economy and Society: Traditional Structure and Economic   Development in a Tribal Society, Routledge, NP, 1980.

47 Rome, Sultan-i-.The North West Frontier Province (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) Essays on History, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013.

48 Hopkin, Jonathan. "Conceptualizing Political Clientelism: Political Exchange and Democratic Theory," *APSA Annual Meeting*, 31st August- 3 September 2006.

is a form of interest-group politics that has been the focus of a large body of literature in various political cultures including American and European politics. However, while the standard interest-group politics takes place in the context of organized competition among groups that could eventually lead to the representation of a variety of interests by one political party, clientelism is characterized by the representation of narrow corporatist and local interests. In addition, while the influence of interest groups tends to be filtered by the mechanisms of checks and balance, those mechanisms tend to be absent or ineffective in the context of clientelism[49].

A large body of the comparative politics literature has investigated the nature of patron-client relationships, the inefficiency of various forms of client list redistribution, and conditions for its decay. The common conclusion is that clientelist politics is most attractive in conditions of low productivity, high inequality, and starkly hierarchical social relations[50].

Other stress the importance of culture, historical factors, levels of economic development and the size of the public sector economy. While social and economic studies determinants of clientelism can help us understand its origins and derive some general conditions for its decline, they are not very helpful in explaining variance in the intensity of clientelist linkage within countries and the prevalence of clientelism in advanced and affluent democracies[51].

The impact of clientelism on voting behaviour is important for many reasons. First, clientelism generates excessive redistribution at the expense of the provision of public goods, as politicians wastefully divert government resources to favored segments of the electorate. Second, since budgetary procedures in many countries either lack

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49 Cain, Bruce, John Ferejohn and Moris Fiorina. *The Persona Vote: Constituency Service and Electoral Independence*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997.

50 Robinson, James and Thierry Verdier, "Political Economy of Clientelism," *Working Paper* University of California, 2001.

51 Wantchekon, Leonard. "Clientelism and Voting Behaviour; Evidence from a Field expariment in Benin", *World Politics*, Issue No. 55, (April 2003).

transparency or are discretionary, clientelism tends to favor those already in control of the government and therefore consolidates incumbency advantage in democratic elections. Such advantage and the ensuing decline in political competition could incite the opposition to political violence, thereby generating political instability and possibly the collapse of the democratic process. Third, a methodical study of electoral clientelism could reveal the existence of gender or generation gap's, incumbency effects, and other results that could have important policy implications (Ibid).

In clientelism focus is on given on local politics and development. The politicians try to participate in the social gathering of the people so that to win the confidence of the people and re-elect themselves in the coming elections[52].

Clientelism is the most common phenomenon in Southeast Asia, Sothern Europe, Latin America, Africa, and in order less developed countries of the world where the society is mostly agrarian, feudal and traditional . In Pakistan clientelism is too one of the most important determinant of voting behaviour. Wilder in his study considers clientelism as most important in the rural Punjab in 1993 elections.

Religion is one of the most important determinants of voting behaviour. Religion affects the human behaviour both at individual and community level. Religion as a voting determinant in mostly existed in those societies where the society is conservative and there is less influence of secularism. The religious political parties manipulate religious issues for securing electoral preferences. It cannot be vanished away even in the most developed societies. USA is a developed country but still role of religion cannot be ignored in electoral process[53].

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52 Wilder, Andrew R. The Pakistani Voter: Electoral Politics and Voting Behaviour in the Punjab, UK: Oxford University Press, 1999.

53 Wald, Kenneth D. and Allison Calhoun-Brown, *Religion and Politics in the United States*,USA: Rowman& Littlefield Publishers, 2007.

Religion has also remained a major factor in American politics. The elections and re-elections of George W. Bush in America in 2000 and 2004 were due to his beliefs in religious conservatism. He showed himself as the main champion in defending the Christian faith against the fundamentalist Islamist. Similarly, religious democratic parties are also playing an important role in electoral studies in European parliament including countries like Belgium, Germany, Austria, Netherland and Switzerland etc. (ibid).

According to many scholars religious and social cleavages play an important role in determining voting behaviour in a country. Most of them give due importance to social cleavage with less emphasis on religious divides. They point out that in countries where secularization is more, the intensity of religion as a voting behaviour is less. Despite the fact, that secularization is more in Western countries, the influence of religion on voting behaviour cannot be vanished away completely. Political parties are mainly formed due to cleavage in the society. The religious cleavage leads to the formation of religious political parties and the social cleavage lead to the establishment of political parties based on strata[54].

Lijpart founds that religious voting is more important than class voting. He bases his argument on the basis of comparative study of religious voting in fourteen western countries He posits that religious voting is has stronger impact than linguistic and class voting. He determines the impact of these three variables by conducting the comparative study on the electoral preference in Canada, Switzerland, Belgium and South Africa. He concludes that religious turns out to be victorious, language is a stronger runner up, and class finishes a distant third [55].

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54 Raymond,Chritopher."The Continued Salience of Religious Voting in the United State, Germany and Great Britain," *Electoral Studies 30* (2011).

55 Lijpart, Arned. "Religious vs Linguistic vs Class Voting, The "Crucial Experiment of Comparing Belgium, Canada, South Africa and Switzerland," *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No.3 (Sep. 1971).

Religion has also played a vital role in Pakistan. It was the religion that provided a common base for the Muslims of the subcontinent to struggle jointly for a separate homeland for the projection of their rights. However, no one was sure about the Islamic character of the new state. As a result controversies started among the various sections of the society more particularly among the western educated intelligentsia and the *Ulema*. Consequently, various political parties were formed for getting electoral support of the people on the nature of polity. Keeping in this backdrop religious political parties emerged so that to propagate their own brand of ideas regarding state[56].

Ethnicity has been derived from a Greek word '*ethnos*' which means 'tribe', 'race', 'people' or 'nation'. It refers to the people living and acting collectively in a way that we can apply to a people or nation. Ethnicity is based on culture, language, ancestry notions, historical stories, physical attributes and religion. Ethnicity classifies and organizes individuals into various factions of strata. Each stratum has its own unique features. It has its own perceptions and its members are similar to each other but different from other ethnic group[57].

There are two views regarding the emergence of ethnicity in society. The first one is the primordial view which claims that ethnicity is inherent in human beings because possess immutable traits. Though many sociologists and anthropologists support this view but this view has been rejected due to various flaws in it. The second view is the situation view of ethnicity which states that ethnicity is constructed in the society due to socio-economic and political situation. Most of the social scientists support this view because this is more acceptable in comparison to inherent theory of ethnicity. However, still controversies exist among the scholars regarding the application of these theories (ibid).

56 Binder, Leonard. *Religion and Politics in Pakistan* ,California: University of California Press, 1963.

57 Macdonald, Jason. *American Ethnicity: Theory and Perspective*, Edinburg: Edinburg University Press, 2007.

Ethnic voting plays an important role in electoral studies. Ethnic cleavages lead to the formation of various ethnic parties in a multi-ethnic and multi-race society which provide ground for the emergence of ethnic politics. Ethnic political parties exist both in developed and developing countries such as United Kingdom, Canada, South Africa, India and Sri Lanka etc[58].

Few anthropologists opined that, ethnic voting takes place in those ethnic groups where the groups are subjected to homogenous socio-economic status. The ethnic voting will decline when members of an ethnic group attain different socio-economic status[59].

Some other sociologists are of the views that, greater the ethnic groups in a society, greater will be the number of the ethnic political parties in it. Keeping in view the ethnic demands of the people, the ethnic parties launch various ethnic programs for getting electoral support[60].

Rare number of sociologists rejects the point of view that ethnic divisions lead to the destabilization of democracy. They argue that ethnic parties cannot destroy the democracy if they are institutionally supported and backed. The institutions which are attributed with single ethnic identity structure must be replaced with a structure of multi-ethnic identities[61].

Pakistan is a developing country having multi-cultural, multi-lingual, and multi-ethnic state. There are ethnic diversities in its four provinces. The ethnic landscape in Pakistan is that Punjabis constitute the largest ethnic group (48.2 %) in Pakistan, followed by

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58 Chandra, Kanchan.Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India,UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

59 Miller, Abraham H. "Ethnicity and Political Behaviour: A Review of Theories and an Attempt at Reformulation," *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (Sep., 1971).

60 Cott, Donna Lee Van. "Institutional Change and Ethnic Parties in South America*," Latin American Politics and Society*, Vol. 45, No. 2 (summer, 2003).

61 Chandra,Kanchan "Ethnic Parties and Democratic Stability," *Perspective on Politics,* Vol. 3, No. 2 (June, 2005).

Pakhtuns (13.1 %), Sindhis (11.8 %), Siraikis (9.8 %), Urdu-speaking (7.6 %), Baloch-Brahuis (4.2 %), and Hindko-speaking (2.4 %).

Issue voting is one of the most important voting determinants of voting behaviour. It came into being as a reaction to the theory of party identification. It refers to the situation when issues are preferred more than party loyalty in the electoral behaviour. The electoral preferences are made on the basis of issues rather than partnership. It is the reason that the politicians and political parties try to cover recent and burning issues in their electoral campaigns. The political actors try to issue such stances on the issues which are closer to the stances of the public so that a heavy mandate could be secured in the elections. Issue voting theory is mostly applicable in countries with multi-party system and less applicable in countries with bi-party system where political incumbents are elected on the basis of their policy stance on the issue[62].

Easy issues are those which remain for long time on political agenda related with the policy ends than means, symbolic and which are easily comprehendible for the voters. Hard issues are those which are complex, technical, related with the policy of means and comprehended by a less numbers sophisticated voter[63].

Many writers also argue that issue voting plays a vital role in rewarding or punishing a political party or candidate in elections. They give the example of Netherland where the political parties are mainly elected on the basis of issue- priority trend. They posit that inflation and unemployment are the main problems in issue priority voting in Netherland since 1970. The voters evaluate the incumbents on the bases of these two issues.

Sometime voter's cast his vote to that candidate or party which he finds closest to his own issue stance in which his dimensional spaces. The candidates and political parties

62 Anderson, Cameron D. and Laura B. Stephenson.*VotingBehaviour in Canada.*Canada: UBC Press, 2010

63 Carmines, Edward G. and James A. Stimson. "The Two Faces of Issue Voting," *The American Political Science Review,* Vol. 74, No. 1 (March 1980).

also try to issue policies of such nature which are closest to voter's policy preferences in their dimensional spaces. This theory is also known as proximity theory of voting because it is based on the closeness of the issue stances of the voter and political party in the dimensional space[64].

Some social scientist relates political economy with electoral choice. He posits that political arena is like a profit seeking market where consumers (voters) want their maximum utility and the companies (political parties, candidates) seek their own maximum benefits. Both the voters and the political parties or candidates apply the rational approach for maximizing its own benefits. Usually all the electoral decisions which are made by the voters and the political parties or candidates are based on rationalism i.e. all the political actors seek their self-interest and want to maximize their action's utility as much as possible. The political system is attributed by the element of consistency which can support predictions about the implications of electoral choices made by the voters and the political parties or candidates[65].

A central tenet of democratic theory holds that public policy should be in accordance with citizen's preferences. A close relationship between public policy and public preferences in modern democracies cannot be taken for granted, however. Instead, it is an empirical issue whether the public policy decisions that are primarily made by elected elites closely correspond to citizens preferences[66]. The closeness of the mass elite linkage depends, inter alia, upon whether elites have incentives to pay close attention to and be responsive to public preferences[67].

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64 Merrill III, Samuel and Bernard Grofman.*A Unified Theory of Voting: Directional and Proximity SpatialModels*,USA: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

65 Bergson,Abraham. Review of an Economic Theory of Democracy, by Anthony Downs, *The American Economic Review*, Vol. 48, No. 3 9 (June 1958)

66 Powell, G. Bingham. 2000. Elections as Instruments of Democracy: *Majoritarian and Proportional Visions*. New Haven CT: Yale University Press

67 Pennock, J. R. (1979). *Democratic political theory.*Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

According to political theorists, democratic governments maintain stability and legitimacy because citizens elect representatives who implement government policies that they favor[68]. This is presumed to occur because voters' candidate preferences are determined in part by the match between their attitudes toward government policies (called policy attitudes) and their perceptions of candidates attitudes toward those policies. This notion, referred to as policy voting, is consistent with the many social psychological theories that assert that social attraction is based in part on attitudinal similarity[69].

The incentives, in turn, depend on whether policy preferences play a role in citizens' political behaviour. Leaving aside referenda on policy issues and issue-related direct political action, voting behaviour is of crucial importance for the linkage between citizen preferences and policy decisions. When casting their votes, citizens might signal policy salience to elites. To this end, they can vote in accordance with their policy preferences or with their evaluations of representative's prior performance. Thereby, they hold politicians accountable and provide them with incentives for policy responsiveness. If citizens do not rely on policy attitudes, however, politicians will hardly have any incentive to respond to public opinion when making policy decisions. As a result, the connection between public opinion and public policy is likely to become tenuous or even inexistent. The smooth working of representative democracy is thus an empirical issue[70].

When elections became the vehicle for citizens to elect political elites, politicians, pundits, and scholars alike began to speculate about the factors driving voting behaviour. Leaving aside early works, e.g., Siegfried's analysis of voting behaviour in France, the determinants of vote choice became a subject of scholarly studies in the mid-20th century.

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68 Dahl, Robert A. (1956).*Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*. New Haven CT:

69 Byrne, D. (1971). *The attraction paradigm.*New York: Academic Press.

70 Key, Valdimer O. 1961. Public Opinion and American Democracy. New York: Knopf.

Utilizing data from an innovative seven-wave regional panel survey, Paul Lazarsfeld and his colleagues demonstrated in their ingenious analysis of electoral decision-making "The People's Choice" that many voters had already made up their mind several months before the 1940 US-presidential election[71]. They found only a small number of party changers during the campaign and thus concluded that the campaign primarily served to reinforce already existing political predispositions. Moreover, these political predispositions were found to be determined by stable socio-demographic characteristics, including Socio economic status, religious denomination, and place of residence. Their often cited conclusion was thus: "A man thinks, politically, as he is, socially." It is tempting to read the study as suggesting some kind of social-determinism. Yet, this interpretation is at odds with the author's line of argument which accounted for their findings in terms of interpersonal communication[72].

Lipset et al. findings on US elections dovetail nicely with research on voting behaviour in Europe. Given the continent's history, accounting for European voting behaviour in terms of social characteristics appears quite obvious. It thus does not come as a surprise that in their account of the evolution of Western European party systems[73].

In their landmark study "The American Voter", Angus Campbell, Philip Converse, Warren Miller, and Donald Stokes built on contemporary social psychology to account for voter choice. In their model, voter choice is determined by political perceptions and evaluations which in turn are affected by prior experience. Fully understanding the evolution of a person's voting behaviour thus requires studying a host of past events included in the famous notion of a "funnel of causality". However, it suffices to

71 Lazarsfeld, Paul F., Bernard Berelson and Hazel Gaudet. 1944. *The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign*. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce.

72 Berelson, Bernard R., Paul F. Lazarsfeld and William N. McPhee. *1954. Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

73 Lipset, Seymour and Stein Rokkan. 1967. "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems and Voter Alignments." Pp. 1-64. In *Party Systems and Voter Alignments,* edited by Seymour Lipset and Stein Rokkan. New York: Free Press.

examine political attitudes at the time of voting to explain voter choice. The researchers further identified three proximate motivational factors as particularly important: party identification, issue orientation, and candidate orientation. They conceptualized party identification as a longstanding psychological attachment to a political party that serves as a perceptual filter and is thus resistant to change, but not completely immutable. While this factor lends stability to attitudes and voting behaviour, issue and candidate orientations explain party changes. In contrast to more anthropological accounts, this model is thus better suited to explain both stable and changing voting behaviour.

Rabinowitz and MacDonald argued that voters employ a directional calculus, i.e. they vote for the party which takes (within a reasonable range) their preferred position with greater intensity. Another important distinction refers to the temporal dimension of issue voting. Accordingly, retrospective orientations describe evaluations of past accomplishments. Whereas, prospective orientations refer to future expectations. Position issues in general have a smaller impact than valence issues. Moreover, retrospective evaluations appear to be more influential than prospective ones. Taken together, voters appear to hold representatives accountable by rewarding or punishing them for past performance, rather than providing them with mandates for future policy[74].

2.1.2 Historical Narratives

Almost all scholars on Pakistan's political history, including Jalal (1995, 1999), Ali (1983) and Rizvi (2003), believe that the seeds of Pakistan's political trouble were sown at the time of its independence. They argue that the major political party that represented the idea of Pakistan in the Subcontinent's efforts of independence the PML failed to amass broad-based support from the Muslims of India . Jalal (1999) claims that PML lacked organizational machinery in the Muslim provinces at the time of the independence movement. As a result, in order to gain mass support, the leadership of

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74 Rabinowitz, George and Stuart Elaine MacDonald. 1989. "A Directional Theory of Issue Voting." *American Political Science Review* 83:93-121.

the League communicated with the masses through landlords and continued to rely on the colonial administrative structure .

Consequently, the majority of the League members came from feudal or semi-feudal backgrounds. The ethos of the party was based on patronage rather than consensus on the operation norms of the polity. Only a handful of the League politicians, who were not landlords, came from Muslim minority provinces of India, and therefore they lacked broad-based support in the new state.

Given the weaknesses of the political forces, Muhammad Ali Jinnah the leader of All India Muslim League turned to the bureaucratic elite, which gradually gained an upper hand in policy making. This subservience of democratic forces to bureaucratic power coupled with the attraction of already established and tested patronage, caste, and communal modes of mobilizing voters prevented the League from developing itself into an effective political party. Consequently, it was never able to develop mechanisms to aggregate diverse interests and identities into a plural and participatory national framework.

The ascendancy of the military is another primary component of every historical narrative, and is also explained as a consequence of political, security, and economic exigencies at the time of independence. After partition, the new state inherited next to nothing of the administrative structure of the Subcontinent. There was a severe lack of financial resources, almost no industrial base, and an influx of millions of refugees who needed to be accommodated[75].

2.1.3   Changes in Voting Behaviour

Aside from conceptual issues, scholars explored the possibility of long-term changes in voting behaviour. Building on the cleavage concept, one line of research addressed

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75 Symonds, R. (1950). "State Making in Pakistan." Far Eastern Survey 19(5): 45-50.

the changing role of cleavages and socio-demographic characteristics in shaping vote choice[76].

The debate led to findings that are not easily reconciled. Classical cleavages appear to have declined until the start of the 21st century (Franklin, 1992)[77]. Yet, socio-demographic characteristics have not ceased to affect voting behaviour[78].

Evidence even points to newly emerging alignments between social groupings and political parties[79]. Moreover, the explanatory power of socio-demographic characteristics varies across elections and responds to party platforms, suggesting a considerable role for political maneuvering[80].Taken together, the relationship between socio demographic characteristics and vote choice appears to be more complex than earlier accounts implied. In the Michigan framework, scholars demonstrated a decline in the number of partisan identifiers in many Western democracies[81]. This partisan realignment led to a larger number of voters being responsive to short-term factors and thus potentially volatile. The nature of this process, however, is controversial. In an optimistic interpretation, which builds on the notion of cognitive mobilization, new

76 Evans, G., & Norris, P. (1999).Critical elections.British Parties and Voters in Long-Term Perspective.

77 Franklin, Mark N. (1992). Electoral change: Responses to Evolving social and Attitudinal Structures in Western Countries. Cambridge MA: Cambridge University Press

78 Manza, Jeff and Clem Brooks (1999).Social Cleavages and Political Change: VoterAlignmentsand U.S. Party Coalitions. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

79 Kriesi, Hanspeter, Edgar Grande, RomainLachat, Martin Dolezal, Simon Bornschier and Timotheos Frey.(2008). *West European Politics in the Age of Globalization*. Cambridge MA: Cambridge University Press.

80 Elff, Martin. (2009). "Social divisions, party positions, and electoral behaviour."*ElectoralStudies* 28:297-308

81 Dalton, Russell J. (1984). "Cognitive Mobilization and Partisan DE alignment in Advanced Industrial Democracies. *"Journal of Politics* 46:264-84.

Dalton, Russell J. (2000). "The Decline of Party Identifications." Pp. 19-36. In *Parties without Partisans.Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies,* edited by R.J. Dalton and Martin P. Wattenberg. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

partisans resemble closely ideal "rational" voters casting their votes after a thorough and objective analysis of issue positions. A competing interpretation maintains that partisan independence is not increasingly intertwined with political sophistication, rather the opposite is true. Existing evidence supports the latter, rather than the former, notion[82].

2.1.4   Electoral Activities

Many people have little or no voice in the political process and perceive the process to be controlled by powerful interest groups; they feel that "public life is beyond their control, that their own values and interests are not reflected in the policies that shape the larger society" [83]. As people feel cut out and unheard, some have opted out of the traditional political process[84]. Others have looked to confrontation and advocacy to influence the forces that affect their lives. Advocacy gives people a way to draw attention to issues that would otherwise be ignored. But, when the politics of interest groups goes too far, it can hinder, rather than strengthen, community problem solving[85].

Election turnout remains an important marker for the health of any democracy because democratic systems are premised on the participation of a significant number of citizens in their processes. And elections are a democratic process requiring very little in the way of individual effort. Importantly, however, elections are only one element of participation; research attention has also been focused on rates of participation in additional processes and across various organizations.

82 Albright, Jeremy J. (2009). "Does Political Knowledge Erode Party Attachments? A Review of the Cognitive Mobilization Thesis."*Electoral Studies* 28:248-60

83 Brint, S., & Levy, C. S. (1999). Professions and civic engagement: Trends in rhetoric and practice, 1875-1995. Civic engagement in American democracy, 15(1) 163-210.

84 Chrislip, D. D. (1994). American renewal: Reconnecting citizens with public life.*National Civic Review*, 83(1), 25-31.

85 Chrislip, D. D. (2002). *The collaborative leadership fieldbook* (Vol. 255).John Wiley & Sons, 51-53.

Key & Crouch concluded that supporters of direct democracy have averred that the use of ballot initiatives strengthens democracy by encouraging a more engaged and active citizenry. At the apex of the progressive Era, Professor Reinsch stated "this institution will assist the people, the body of electorate in the development of its political consciousness" because "it will make the body of electorate more familiar with legislative programs and more interested". Advocates argued that the initiative process would help reform voters by encouraging them to participate directly in the making of public policy. Even today, proponents argue that allowing citizens to act as law makers heightens their interest in politics[86].

At the start of 21st century participation is again an important theme in civic discourse as policy makers and social commentators search for more democratic and collective mechanisms for sending signals to government[87]. There has been considerable interest, among both policy networks and academics, in public participation and deliberative democracy. But where progressive reformers at the turn of 20th century focused on creating hierarchical, bureaucratic, rule based organizations to prevent political corruption, today's reformers back less hierarchical governmental organizations to increase citizen participation in policy making and enhance government responsiveness to citizen demands[88]. This participatory model suggest that strengthening relations between citizens and policy makers will improve policy making and is therefore a core element of good governance.

Architects of the low-information rationality thesis, show that citizens with low levels of information cannot follow public discussion of issues, are less accepting of the give and take of democratic policy debates, make judgments on the basis of character rather

86 Goebel, T. (2002). A government by the people: Direct democracy in America, 1890, 1940, University of North Carolina Press.

87 Skocpol, T., & Fiorina, M. P. (1999).Making sense of the civic engagement debate. *Civic engagement in American democracy*,7, 1-26.

88 Peters, B. Guy. (1996). *The future of Governing; four emerging Models*. Lawrence, KS; university press of Kansas.

than issues, and are significantly less inclined to participate in politics at all. But Shapiro, one of the chief proponents of the aggregate rationality thesis states explicitly that the stability of public opinion over time is no guarantee of the quality of these attitudes[89].

Traditional pathways of voting and voluntary service carry limitations for youth. Several studies show that youth voting and interest in politics are at an all-time low. However, youth participation in community service is high. The puzzle over how to interpret the apparent contradiction between youth apathy toward voting and high commitment to voluntary service has been explained as lack of specific youth- focused agendas devised by political candidates[90].

2.1.5   Role of *Biradari* system in Election Process

In the recent years within developmental psychology there has been an increasing interest in the development of adolescent electoral activities, which is seen as a critical aspect of identity formation process. In general elections *Biradari* affiliations are being manipulated but in local level of politics, *Biradari* is still playing a very important role[91].

Palmer concluded in his study that voting behaviour is not static and with time new divisions may emerge or old ones became less salient. Generational change may lead to political realignments. Rapid urbanization and industrialization may increase the political relevance of the urban rural divide and industry versus agricultural cleavages and decrease those based on kinship or faction. Furthermore, new cross-cutting issues such as inflation or environmental concerns may emerge that do not immediately lend

89 Shapiro, R. Y. (1998). Public opinion, elites, and democracy. *Critical Review Journal of democracy*,12(4), 501-528.

90 Boyle, P. (2000). Parties serve youth cold pizza and a hunk: Youths hunger to be heard from the sidelines at conventions, only to reach their Nader. *Youth Today*, 9(8), 1.

91 Ibrahim, M. (2009).Role of Bridari System in Power Politicsof Lahore: Post-Independence Period .Department of Political Science & International Relations Baha Uddin Zakariya University MULTAN

themselves to existing categories but could lead instead to "issue-oriented" voting. Finally new political parties could emerge, create new political alignments and transform the political landscape.[92] He indicates the heavy influence of caste factors in electoral activities, even in an essentially metropolitan area of the political determinants and candidate orientation, and of the role of money, and there is some evidence that even in rural areas voters are acting more independently and are less influenced by family and kinship factors and an amazingly small degree from caste affiliation. They are less influenced by pressure groups and considerations.

Dr. Mughees Ahmad finalized that *Biradari* seems to be stronger than political fidelity as far as motivations for voting behaviour are concerned. Two elements are required for the victory of a candidate; one is the ticket of a major political party and the other is the favor of a major *Biradari*. *Biradari* determines voting behaviour in the rural areas of Faisalabad like other areas of the Punjab. Individualism in voting behaviour does not exist in the voting system in the politics of rural areas comparatively more than in the urban areas. The tendency of voter is limited to major political parties or to major *Biradari*s. Generally in Pakistan and especially in Punjab *Biradari*s are playing the role of pressure groups and providing a contesting atmosphere which is necessary for democracy.

It also fills the leadership gap because of the weakness of the ideological connections of the political parties. Non- political powers use this trend in their favor to expand and prolong their sphere of authority and this trend became a challenge to the concept of genuine democracy in the country. The strong and national level political parties are expected to wipe out the influence of *Biradari*sm. Political parties assure an individual citizen that his general interests will be safeguarded with minimum of personal involvement and if the need arises, the citizens would participate actively.

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92 Palmer, N. D. (1975). Crisis Of Democracy In India. *Orbis-A Journal of World Affairs*, *19*(2), 379-401.

Jost based on the evidence provided by the survey and ecological researches in the field by lipset research, it gives a table of the correlates of voting turnout that is quite complete and exhaustive. According to it, lower turnout is related to low income, low education, unskilled workers, servants, service workers, peasants, Negroes, women, young people, newcomers in community, workers in the United States, single and isolated individuals, and normal situations. Social factors affecting rates of voting turnout are the relevance of government policies to the individual, access to information, group pressures to vote and the presence of cross-pressures of different kinds.

Voting is always an important democratic measure in democratic societies. Voting enables the people to get active role in country development by selecting the suitable individuals for democratic government and democracy also creates a chance for the people to become an active citizens rather than inactive subjects[93]. Voting behaviour that gives support to a candidate of one's own ethnic group might be a creation of racism, or it may be the product of confidence on a simple, readily available cue. In simple words, a voter may support a candidate who belongs to their own race or ethnicity with this point of view that a political candidate who shares their racial or ethnic features and background also shares their basic political views[94].

Political system of sub-continent is concerned; caste system is very much concerned to observe the voting behaviour of the masses. In Pakistan, especially in Punjab fabric of *Biradari* is very rigid to select a candidate of the same *Biradari* during general and local body's election. Political parties always take into consideration the major, dominant, authoritative and powerful caste groups during their whole life and especially when election is going to be held at national level or district level. *Biradari*s not only support candidate of the same *Biradari* but also run campaign for him and

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93 Jost, J. T. (2006). Th end of ideology. *American Psychologist*. 61: (7). 651-70.

94 Michelson, M. R. (2005). Does Ethnicity Trump Party? Competing Vote Cues and Latino Voting Behavior.*J.Political   Marketing*.2005,   4   (4).Available   online   at http://www.haworthpress.com/web/JPOLM.

gathered the vote for his victory. It was observed that no clear research was taken into account with special focus on gender behaviour to cast their vote on the basis of *Biradari* during election.

The growing interest in the study of electoral activities is based in part on empirical evidence showing that adolescent civic behaviour is associated with the better social and cognitive adjustment in adolescence [95]. The researcher further stressed that researchers of adolescent development identify the transition into an active and contributing citizen as an important developmental maker of adulthood. In the positive youth development literature specifically "Contribution" is argued to emerge out of the five other aspects of individual development, mainly the development of character, competence, caring, confidence and connections (ibid).

Family and parental factors may be one of the important areas influencing children's voting behaviour. The family environment is one of the primary socializing agents in adolescence. Previous research has also shown that parental engagement in civic and social causes for example supporting civic rights, immigrant integration or equality is associated with their children's civic commitment, although the mechanisms responsible for this association are not well understood[96].

Parents influence on adolescent civic responsibility has also underlined the importance of parental warmth and the affective climate of family interactions. A stronger connection with parents was found to be associated with a higher likelihood of adolescents endorsing civic values as well as participating in a wide range of civic

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95 Lerner, R. M., Lerner, J. V., Almerigi, J. B., Theokas, C., Phelps, E., Gestsdottir, S., & von Eye, A. (2005). Positive Youth Development, Participation in community youth development programs, and community contributions of fifth-grade adolescents findings from the first wave Of the 4-H study of Positive Youth Development. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, 25(1), 17-71.

96 Frazer, E. (2000). Citizenship education: anti-political culture and political education in Britain. *Political studies*, 48(1), 88-103.

activities[97]. Indeed the extent to which adolescents are connected with their primary socializing domain is likely to influence the development of their electoral responsibility and membership in the broader society and provide them with support in their civic activities[98].

Smetana and Metzge pointed out the influence of different parental characteristics may interact in promoting or hindering adolescents civic development[99]. Grusec & Goodnow find that parenting is a Tran's active process. They further stressed that studied examining the transmission of civic values from parents to children should examine aspects such as parental civic knowledge on parent child communication[100].

The positive influence of parent youth political discussion on youth political knowledge was greater when parents have high levels of political knowledge. It is believable that the transmission of civic values is stronger when the parent child relationship is characterized by high levels of warmth and support, a condition that may favor the endorsement of values within the family[101].

Democratic forms of governance are by now commonplace in low-income countries but the quality of their elected governments, as measured by corruption indicators and social sector performance, remains significantly worse than in high-income

97 Duke, N. N., Skay, C. L., Pettingell, S. L., &Borowsky, I. W. (2009). From adolescent connections to social capital: Predictors of civic engagement in young adulthood. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, *44*(2), 161-168.

98 Flanagan, C. A., & Sherrod, L. R. (1998). Youth political development: An introduction. *Journal of social issues*, 54(3), 447-456.

99 Smetana, J. G., & Metzger,A. (2005). Family and religious antecedents of civic involvement in middle class African American late adolescents. *Journal of Research on Adolescence,* 15(3), 325-352.

100 Smetana, J. G., & Metzger,A. (2005). Family and religious antecedents of civic involvement in middle class African American late adolescents. *Journal of Research on Adolescence,* 15(3), 325-352.

101 McIntosh, H., Hart, D., &Youniss, J. (2007). The influence of family political discussion on youth civic development: Which parent qualities matter? *PS: Political Science & Politics, 40(03), 495-499.*

democracies (Mauro, 1995; Hall and Jones, 1999; UNDP, 2002). Low levels of education cause low-income countries to have more poorly functioning democracies[102]. Almond and Verba, for instance, famously wrote, "The uneducated man or the man with limited education is a different political actor from the man who has achieved a higher level of education. Lipset, 1959 higher levels of education improve a country's civic culture and citizens' ability to make rational electoral choices. Furthermore, by increasing income levels education may indirectly raise the value of high quality politicians for citizens[103].

The political and economic developments are instead codetermined, potentially by a country's institution and levels of economic development will be accompanied by weak institutions. Elections, even if they occur, will be marred by electoral malpractices and largely captured by the ruling elite[104].

2.2 Theoretical Framework

2.2.1 Social Identity Theory

Social Identity Theory was presented by Tajfel and Turner in 1979. This theory is an attempt to describe that people have inbuilt tendency to relate themselves in to one or more "in-groups", people construct their identity on the basis of membership of that group and enforcing boundaries with other groups and they keep on trying to maintain their identity[105]. Social identity theory suggests that people identify with groups in such a way as to maximize positive distinctiveness; furthermore groups' offer self-esteem

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102 Seymor, M., Lipset(1959). Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy." American Political Science,100(04):675 – 676

103 Almond,&Verba Sidney (Eds.). (1989). The civic culture: Political attitudes and democracy in five nations. Sage Publishing Company.

104 Simpser, A. (2008). Cheating big: On the logic of electoral corruption in developing countries. *University of Chicago, Department of Political Science*.

105 Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979).An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. *The social psychology of intergroup relations*, *33*(47), 74.

(feeling good about us) along identity. The theory has had a substantial effect on many areas of social psychology, including group dynamics, prejudice, stereotyping and intergroup relations[106].

Three variables identified by Tajfel and Turner (1979) are here below whose contribution is important to the emergence of in-group favoritism:

1. The extent to which individuals identify with an in-group to internalize that group membership as an aspect of their self-concept.

2. The extent to which the prevailing context provides ground for comparison between groups.

3. The perceived relevance of the comparison group, which itself is shaped by the relative and absolute status of the in-group.

Individuals are likely to show favoritism to when an in-group is chief to their self-definition. Turner says that in the Social identity Theory, a person has not one, "personal self" but he has many selves which correspond to widening circles of group membership. Whereas he further says that different social contexts may trigger an individual to think, feel and act on basis of his personal, family or national "level of self" . Hogg and Vaughan are contributors of Social Identity Theory they explained it as social identity is the individual's self-concept derived from perceived membership of social groups and apart the "level of self", an individual has more than one "social identity". It is an individual based-perception of what defines the "us" associated with any internalized group membership[107].

The Theory of Social Identity claims that group membership creates in-group/self-categorization and enhancement in ways that favor the in-group at the cost of the out-group. Turner and Tajfel gave many examples of acts of individuals categorizing

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106 Tajfel, H. (1982). Social psychology of intergroup relations. *Annual review of psychology*, *33*(1), 1-39.

107 Hogg, M. A., & Vaughan, G. (2002).*Social psychology: An introduction*. Pearson Education.

themselves as group which are sufficient to declare their in-group favoritism. Tajfel and Turner describe that after being categorizing of a group membership, individuals next look for to get positive self-esteem by positively differentiating their in-group from a comparison out-group on some valued dimension. This search for positive distinctiveness means that people's sense of who they are is defined in terms of 'we' rather than 'I'. In Social Identity Theory the self is reflexive in that it looks back on itself as an object and categorizes, classifies, or names itself in particular ways that contrasts itself with other social categories or classifications. This is the process of self-categorization[108]. For social identity theory, self-categorization are cognitive groupings of oneself and an aggregate of stimuli as identical, in contrast to another group of stimuli. Persons who differ from the self are classified as the out-group. Turner further says that central process in social identity theory is depersonalization or seeing the as an embodiment of the in-group concerns rather than as a unique entity (ibid)

Main contributors of the theory Terry and Hogg , Reicher declared that social identity theory addresses cognitive outcomes such as stereotyping and ethnocentrism. In those instances where social identity theory has been concerned with processes leading to behavioural outcomes, two different sources of the behaviour have been discussed. In one, behaviour depends upon persons perceiving normative aspects of group membership in the prototype and then acting in accordance with these norms. This is similar to identity theory in which persons act in accordance with the norms and expectations for the role held in the identity standards. Self-esteem maintenance and its enhancement is a second source of behaviour in a theory of social identity. As Turner says when a social identity is activated, people try to enhance the evaluation of the in-group[109].. Another contributor of the theory is Abrams who considered self-esteem is the idea which is main to the initial formulation and development of social identity theory, but it has not received much empirical support and thus has been downplayed

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108 Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1986). The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior.

109 Turner, J. C. (1987). Some current issues in research on social identity and self-categorization theories. *Social identity: Context, commitment, content*, 6-34.

in more recent work. As a substitute for the self-esteem motive, there are other motives suggested including a collective self-esteem motive, a self-knowledge motive, a self-efficiency motive, a self-consistency motive. In the present study this theory is linked with another core addressing theme of the current research that *Biradari* system affects voting behaviour in the Municipal committee Kotmomin and role of *Biradari* in identity negotiation of respondents of municipal committee Kotmomin.

Biradari motives are brought into play when the identity is activated. For example, with respect to the self-regulation motive, when a social identity is active and attended to, responses are deliberate and self- regulated. Group members act to match their behaviour to the standards relevant to the social identity to confirm and enhance their social identification with the group.

Figure 1. Figurative illustration of Social Identity Theory

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                    ┌─────────────────────────┐
                    │   Personal Identity     │
                    └─────────────────────────┘
                                │
                                ▼
                        Definition of Self
                    ┌─────────────────────────┐
                    │     Social Identity     │
                    └─────────────────────────┘
                                │
                                ▼
                               Via
                    ┌─────────────────────────┐
                    │  Social Categorization  │
                    └─────────────────────────┘
                                │
                                ▼
                            Facilities

        "We"                                    "They"

   ┌──────────────────────┐            ┌──────────────────────┐
   │ Distinct Social Group│            │      Out-Group       │
   └──────────────────────┘            └──────────────────────┘
             │                                   │
             ▼                                   ▼
   ┌──────────────────────┐            ┌──────────────────────┐
   │      In-Group        │            │     Intergroup       │
   │                      │            │    Comparisons       │
   └──────────────────────┘            └──────────────────────┘

   Favorable to In-Group               Favorable to Out-Group

   ┌──────────────────────┐            ┌──────────────────────┐
   │ Satisfied Social     │            │ Dissatisfied Social  │
   │ Identity             │            │ identity             │
   └──────────────────────┘            └──────────────────────┘
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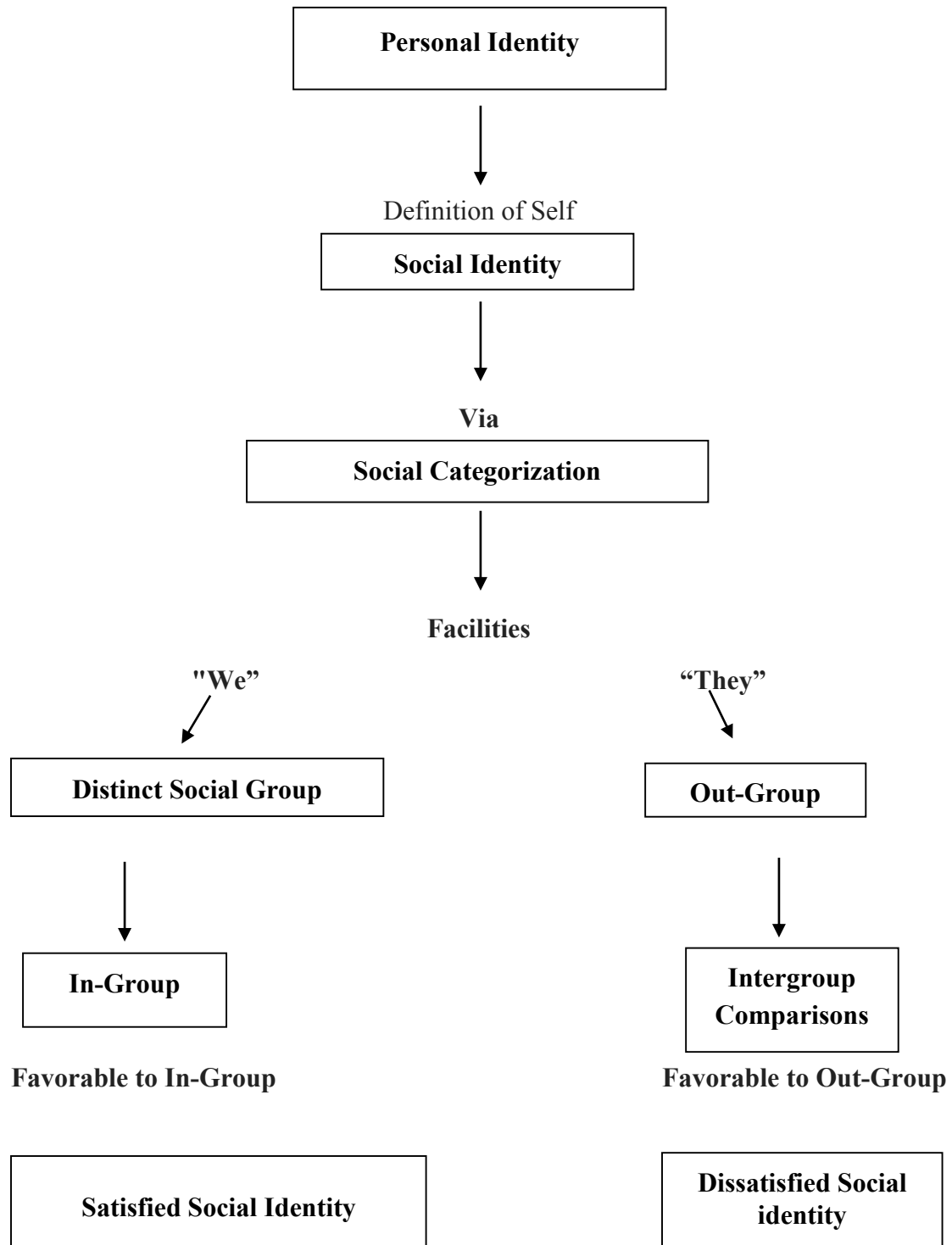
(Source: Tajfel& Turner (1979)

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND LOCALE OF THE STUDY

The ultimate goals of a research are to formulate questions and to find answers to those questions. Nestled within these goals are other goals, which researchers strive. No one can ask all of questions and no one can find answers to even a single question, so researchers need to find some way to limit what we are attempting to do. The immediate goal of research exploration, description, explanation, and action provide us with a strategy for figuring out which questions to ask and which answers to seek[110].

This chapter describes the locale of the study and research methodology adopted to examine the role of *Biradari* system in election. This study combines, as Neuman & Block explains a set of principles, outlooks, and ideas (methodology) with a collection of specific, techniques, and strategies (method of inquiry) to produce knowledge about the topic[111].

3.1 Research Settings

The locale of the present research was Municipal committee Kotmomin of district Sargodha, Punjab province of Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Before going in detail about District Sargodha and the Municipal committee Kotmomin the researcher elaborates some information about the Province Punjab because the locale of the present research fall in the territory of mentioned province.

3.1.1 Punjab

The word "Punjab" comprises of the two Persian words. Punjab literally means the land of five rivers. The five rivers are Chenab, Jehulm, Ravi, Beas, and Satluj which

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110 Dane, F. C. (1990). *Research methods*. Thomson Brooks/Cole Publishing Co.

111 Neuman, K. C. & Block, S. M.(2004). Optical trapping.Revies of scientific instruments, 75(9), 2787-2809.

commence from Indus River and end up in the Arabian Sea. In the 17th century Mughals emperors used this word initially. Punjab is the second largest province of Pakistan (79,284 square miles) and is located in the north western edge of geologic Indian plate in South Asia. Punjab is the most populous province of the country having almost sixty per cent of the total population. Lahore is the capital city of the province.

Figure 2. Map of Punjab Province
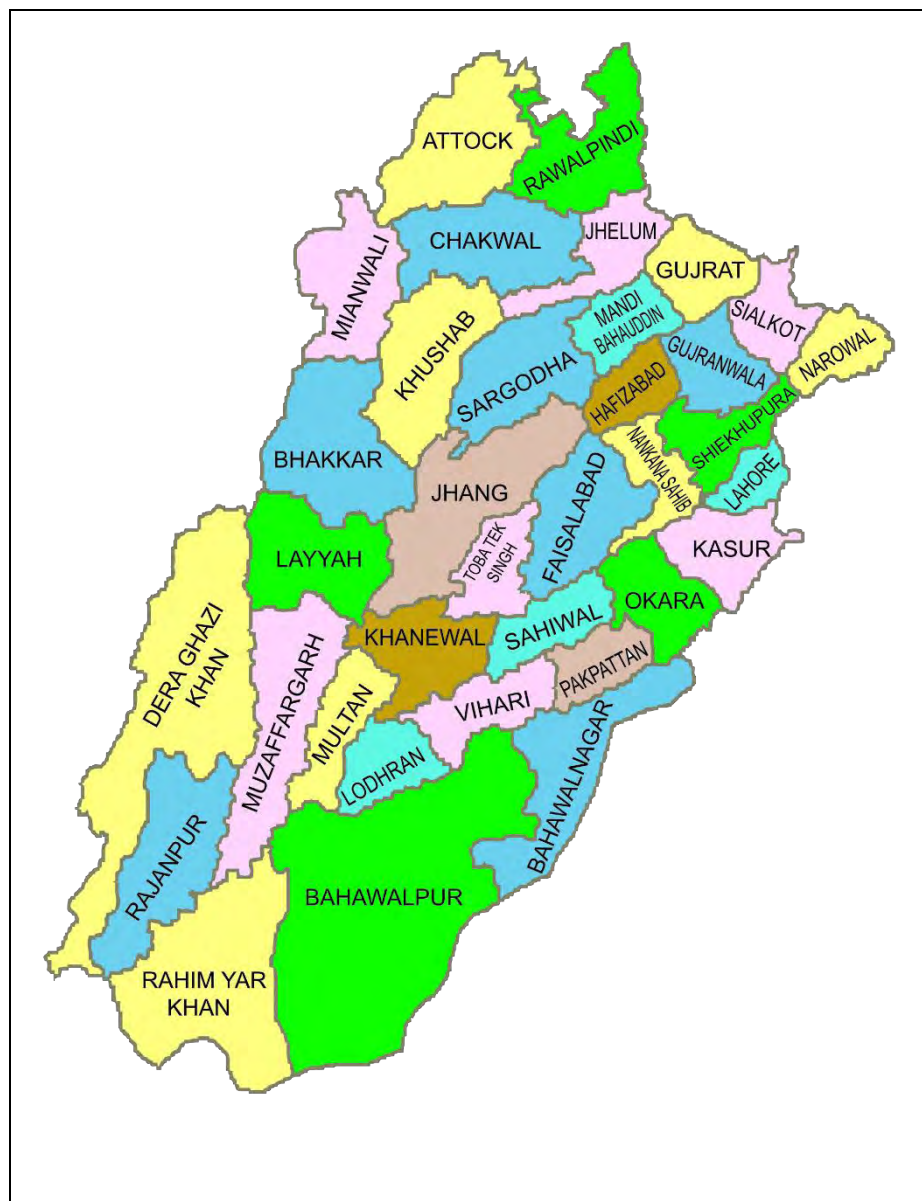
(Source: Google, 2015, Punjab)

3.1.1 Locale of the Study

The locale of the present study is Municipal committee Kotmomin of District Sargodha (Punjab Pakistan). Its population is consists on both rural and urban setting. The rural area is inhabited by zamindars mostly jatts and are agrarian people. The major production of this area is citrus. People belonging to different castes are residing in this area since ages. Among these castes the most prominent is gondal. Gondals are the proper natives of Kotmomin because the Momin Khan who settled here and turned the jungle in to the cultivated land was a gondal. Moreover, gondals have different sub-divisions. Most notably among them are soneyky, saghrany, gara, salaonky, sherany, jahankhanany, dhanyky, shahabalky. Except dhanyky and janahankhanany, all others have same ancestor which have been mentioned above. These families have dominated the local politics of Kotmomin.

The people of these families are mostly educated and especially literacy rate of new generation is very high, as children of these families are getting education from good universities of Lahore and Islamabad.

In domain of provincial and national politics, they are lagging behind because of these internal conflicts among them. In history; only three times gondals contested for provincial assembly. Though got 80 percent of votes from Kotmomin, they failed to get elected. Apart from gondals the second biggest caste is lak. They migrated from sakesar to Kotmomin long time ago. There is unity among them but they failed to get as many seats as gondals get in local politics. They are also zamindars. The third caste is ranjha. They are very few in numbers.

On the other hand urban is developed by outsiders on lands which were sold by zamindars. Now, the population of urban area is three times more than rural area. Major castes in urban area are Gujjars, Rajpoot, Arian, Syed, Sheikh, Quraishi, Poali, Taili, and Muslim Sheikh. The largest caste among above is Gujjars. They are much educated and very active in politics. The other major cate of the urban area is Rajpoot; they are

support gujjars in elections. These all people are mostly belonged to business profession.

Kotmomin has population of around 50000. The elected MNA and MPA are not from Kotmomin but are from nearby villages. Tahir sandhu is sitting MPA n sitting MNA is Mohsin Shahnawaz Ranjha,. Ghias Meela (late) was ex MNA and he remained MNA for three consecutive terms.

Kotmomin is considered as fort of Muslim league (N) because credit of all major developments goes to this party. Nawaz Sharif himself contested election from this area in 1998 and from that time to onwards in national and provincial elections (N) league always gain highest number of votes except if the opposite candidate is from local gondal caste. In the previous local government elections Kotmomin was divided in two union councils. But in recent elections it has become a municipal committee consisting of 15 wards. The members elected from these wards will elect chairman of Kotmomin. In the current local body election six seats have won by gondals, three by laks, one by gujjars, one by sheikhs, one by teli,one by poly, one by rana, one by tarar. As in the other regions of Pakistan patriarchal system exist in the village. Gender role are defined as the household activities are performed by the female and outdoor tasks are male centered.

3.1.2 Physical Feature

The village has no mineral production but the soil is impregnated with soda. The prominent feature is lush green area covered with trees of orange, it is famous for the production of citrus.

3.1.3 Language

Punjabi is the most widely spoken and understood language in the entire Kotmomin. Some migrated families cannot speak Punjabi language fluently, so they use Urdu for conversation.

3.1.4 Castes

The major castes of the rural area of Kotmomin are Gondals, Laks, and Ranjha and in urban area are Gujjars, Rajpoot, Arian, Syed, Sheikh, Quraishi, Poali, Taili, and Muslim Sheikh.

3.1.5 Food Patterns

The most common food of the village is bread (Roti) which they daily eat twice or thrice a day. Boiled rice mix with milk and sugar plus curry is also an important diet. In the breakfast villagers utilize milk, butter and curd.

3.1.6 Religion & Sects

The municipal committee has total 9990 households including 7942 Sunni Muslims 1998 Shia and only 50 are Qadiani.

Figure 3. Map of District Sargodha

Source: Google Map

3.2 Ethnography as Interpretive Inquiry

Voting behaviour remains a historical, social as well private issue for the contemporary world. It is a result of the connection of social factors and the personal choices. For the present study researcher used an interpretive and particularly ethnographic research design. As Jax explained the aim of interpretive research is to systematically search for an understanding of the ways people subjectively experience (perceive, interpret, plan, feel, value, construe) their world. The interpretive researches focuses on understanding of people and lived experiences and in the case of the present research an interpretive approach allowed for an in depth investigation of the topic of role of Biradari system in elections; as they are individuals having knowledge and experience of this phenomenon[112].

Ethnography is an in depth study of the culture of a people, group, or community. Ethnography has the potential to address the meaning and power of culture in people's everyday life. Ethnography is built upon interpreting lived experience and furthering an understanding of cultural diversity. Ethnography allows understanding activates of people, which requires a careful observation in the field, it helps researcher a lot in this research. Malinowski maintained his definition that ethnography has to grasp the native's pint of view, his relation to life, to realize his vision of his world[113].

How the respondents of Municipal committee are dealing with election activities and experiences to maintain their political life, ethnography makes possible for the researcher to analyzing the role of Biradari system influences voting behaviour by intense observation in the field, understanding activities, conduct of respondents and

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112 Jax, J. (1989). The need for interpretive science as a paradigm for Home Economics inquiry. In F. Hultgren& D. Coomer (Eds.), *Alternative modes of inquiry in Home Economics research . Peoria, IL: Glencoe.*

113 Lassiter, L. (1998). *The power of Kiowa song*. Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press.

interpreting opinions, values, motivations, recollections, experiences and feelings. Biradari system as a part of life in Municipal committee Kotmomin and their lived experiences attached to it provide a sight into what voting behaviour means for social expression, an ethnographic approach allowed researcher to understand these meanings from their particular perspective.

3.3 Population of the Study

The broad class of units that are covered in a hypothesis, all the units to which the findings of the study might be generalized[114]. The unit of analysis of the present study was household head of the family member that is similar to the research of Wangle and Uday (2006) on the topic of "Political participation and civic engagement in Kathmandu". According to the researchers only household head have a sufficient knowledge and information regarding to economic, social and political behaviour of the family.

3.4 Key Informant

For making the study more anthropologically valuable the researcher has selected key informants. According to the ethics of the research, key informants should be aware of research nature, its requirements so that they may be able to provide information to the researcher accordingly. They are not only source of information but also considered as sponsor of research. The selection of key informants was based on their knowledge, reliability, accessibility and their acceptance in the community. According to Pelto and Peltokey informant is a person who has complete knowledge about his community[115].

Keeping in view the importance of key informants the researcher has selected four key informants including; School teacher, Numberdar of village, Lady Health worker and

114 Neuman, K. C. & Block, S. M.(2004). Optical trapping.Revies of scientific instruments, 75(9), 2787-2809.

115 Pelto, P. J., &Pelto, G. H. (1978). *Anthropological research: The structure of inquiry*. Cambridge University Press.

a government servant. All the key informants not only provide access to the community during the field work but also provide valuable information about the community and guidance towards exploring research objectives.

3.5   Sample Technique

Empirically supported generalizations are usually based on partial information. This is the case because often it is impossible/ impractical to collect data from all potential unit of analysis encompassed in the research problem. So the precise inferences on all the units based on relatively small number of units can be drawn when subset accurately represent the relative attributes of the whole set. There are different methods to precise the population which is referred as sampling procedure.

3.5.1   Purposive Sampling

Purposive sampling technique was used to draw a sample from the population because the sampling frame was not available to the researcher. In this method of sampling; respondents are selected from the population for a particular purpose. Respondents might be selected deliberately so that they could serve as informants and also could provide the exclusive information about the study to the researcher. According to Wangle and Uday (2006) only household head have a sufficient knowledge and information regarding to economic, social and political behaviour of the family. The presented study is particularly focusing on the voting behaviour with special focus to the household head of the family.

3.5.2   Sample Size

A sample of fifty respondents was selected from the total population. Out of theses fifty respondents thirty two respondents were selected for in-depth interviews and eighteen respondents were selected for the focus group discussion.

3.6   Tools for Data Collection

Data collection is simply methods of gathering information from the respondents. There are various ways of data collection which could be used separately or combined; depending upon the nature of the study. According to Good and Hatt it's a technical procedure which enables a social scientist to get accurate information. In the present study different tools of data collection has been employed for the collection of data[116].

3.6.1   Participant Observation

The participant observation is a technique that enables the researcher in the locale to assemble information about the society and its people by getting closer to them so that they may feel comfortable while talking to the researcher. In order to jumble with people, a cordially relationship need to build by talking to them into confidence about the researcher's academic purposes. Participant observation involves getting to people and making them feel comfortable enough with your presence so that you can serve and record information about the world's lives.

Participant observation is one of the key methods of data collection in the anthropological researches. Some information could not be gathered through other methods. After entering in the field the researcher is supposed to establish good rapport in with the community members in which he supposed to conduct research. Since it is quite difficult for an outsider to get information from the respondents, rapport building with community members is very crucial.

The researcher entered in the community as a stranger having no stake, but with the passage of time and with help of influential person he became familiar among the members of community. Researcher submerged in the union council Kotmomin and was able to understand the exact situation as what they say and what they do.

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116 Good,W.J. &Hatt, P. (1952). *Methods in Social research*.Mexico McGraw hill book company, New York.

As the researcher has spent four months in the field and he has tried to be more close to the community to get actual information through attending social obligations. For the sake of participant observation the researcher has participated in the council committee, graveyard committee, ten to fifteen people were usually participated in this committee meeting.

3.6.2   In-depth Interviews

Interviewing is the most important method of data collection but it was observed that only formal interview was not enough and reliable source of data collection. So the researcher applied in-depth interview method on thirty two respondents. By doing so the researcher had asked questions directly.

3.6.3   Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

Focus group discussion was also used to get information about the respondents and related to the research topic. This method was employed for the authenticity and deep understanding of the issue. Researcher has conducted three focus group discussions for the present study. Each focus group comprised on six respondents and they were selected on their deliberate availability and willingness. The main topic for discussion was; membership, role of caste system in different aspect of social life, volunteering, how caste system affects election process, election process, informed voting.

3.6.4   Medium of Communication

Most of the communication is the research locale was made through medium of Urdu. Interviews were also conducted in Urdu and the key informants who were well versed in Urdu also assisted as translators where necessary.

3.7   Ethical Consideration

For the present research the researcher used more than one technique in order for avail information from the respondents. In-depth interviews, FGDs and participant observation (which is considered to get data beyond verbal as about environment, body

gestures and postures convey much worthy information) is a useful technique of qualitative method. There is inherent biasness in every method of data collection by using different ways of data collection. So the researcher tried to validate data and minimize the biasness so researcher arranged FGDs after collecting data from In-depth interviews from the respondents. It is beneficial to have information by more than one method in a research to provide a better picture of human behaviour and experience[117]. The purpose of using mixed method approach in the present study is as Ross and Onwuegbuzie explained that it is not replace any of these approaches but to draw from strength and minimize the weakness of both in a particular research study. Researcher found this approach appropriate for present study purpose as from respondents whom researcher already done interviews in FGDs gave valuable information of their voting behaviour in privately and publicly[118].

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117 Teddlie, C., &Tashakkori, A. (2003).Major issues and controversies in the use of mixed methods in the social and behvioral sciences. Handbook of mixed methods in social & behavioral research, 3-50.Wiley Blackwell Publishing.

118 Ross, A., &Onwuegbuzie, A. J. (2014). Complexity of quantitative analyses used inMixed research articles published in flagship mathematics education journal. *International Journal of Multiple Research Approaches*, *8*(1), 63-73.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter data analysis and findings are presented. After the collection of actual data it was edited and coded. The analysis of demographic questions was done with the help of Statistical Package for Social Sciences and frequency tables and percentages were drawn to describe the results. Remaining questions were analysed through thematic analysis.

4.1 Demographic Profile of the Respondents

This part deals with the demographic profile of the families and migrants. It includes age of the respondents, education of the respondents, income of the respondents, family size, family structure, education and occupation.

Table 1. Age Distribution of the Respondents

Age (Completed Years)	Frequency	Percentage
20 – 29	06	12
291 – 39	22	44
391 – 49	14	28
50 & Above	08	16
Total	50	100

Source: Field data

Table 1 presents the age distribution of the respondents. According to the data almost half 44 percent respondents were in age 30-39, 28 percent were of 40-49, 16 percent were 50 and only 12 percent were 20-29 years. It was concluded that most of the respondents were young and were economically contributing to their families.

Table 2. Educational Level of the Respondents

Educational Level	Frequency	Percentage
Illiterate	06	12
Primary	14	28
Middle	06	12
Matric	14	28
Inter	04	08
B.A	04	08
M.A & Above	02	04
Total	**50**	**100**

Source: Field data

Table 2 shows the level of education the respondents. According to the findings of the table 28 percent respondents had primary education, 28 percent were matriculation, six percent were illiterate, four percent were secondary and only six percent were graduate. It was concluded that most of the respondents were literate but had very low education.

Table 3. Average Household Monthly Income

Income (Rs.)	Frequency	Percentage
Up to 20000	04	08
20001-40000	12	24
40001-60000	20	40
60001-80000	08	16
80001-100000	04	08
100001 & Above	02	04
Total	**50**	**100**

Source: Field data

Table 3 shows the average monthly household income of the respondents. According to the findings of the table 40 percent respondents had 40001-60000, 24 percent had 20001-40000, 16 percent had 60001-80000, and eight percent had up to 20000, eight per cent had 80001-100000 and only four percent had above 100001. From the findings of the data it was concluded that most of the respondents had 40001-60000 average monthly income.

Table 4. Family Structure of the Respondent

Family Structure	Frequency	Percentage
Nuclear	34	68
Joint	06	12
Extended	10	20
Total	**50**	**100**

Source: Field data

Family structure was presented in table number four. The findings of the table shows that 68 percent families were living in nuclear family system, 20 percent were extended and only 12 percent were in joint. It was observed from the data more than half percent families were nuclear and a few were joint and extended.

Table 5. Fmily Size (Number) of the Respondent

Family Size	Frequency	Percentage
Up to 3	16	32
4-5	32	64
6& Above	12	24
Total	50	100

Source: Field data

Table 5 shows the family size of the respondents. According to data 64 percent respondents have 4-5 family members, 32 percent had up to three, and only 24 percent had seven and above family members. It was concluded that most of the respondents have 4-6 family member which was an ideal family size.

Table 6. Occupation of the Respondents

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
Labourer	14	28.00
Self-employed	16	32.00
Agriculture	12	24.00
Govt. Employed	08	16.00
Total	50	100

Source: Field data

Table 6 presents the occupation of the respondents. According to the findings of the table 32 percent were self-employed, 28 percent were labourers, 24 percent were agriculturists, and only 16 percent were Government employed. It means that of the respondents had their own business and all of the respondents were economically contributing to their families.

4.2   Role of *Biradari* in Election Campaign

In Punjab, *Biradari* is considered to be most important and strongest tie while making political alliances and loyalty of people within the same caste group. In the history of Indo-Pak, caste system has prevailed here from centuries. People usually belong to a *Biradari* that is supposed to be guiding them in their daily social lives by a set of rules and regulation. It can also be expressed as norms and values that relate to marriage patterns, work, enjoyment, recreation and many other social concerns. In the present part of study an effort has been made to measure the impact of *Biradari* on election campaign through asking different questions from the respondents. For instance

respondents were asked "How your *Biradari* influence you to cast vote in last general or by elections". In response to this question on of the respondents' said;

"Humary haan jub bhe election hoty hain to sab log mil k faisla krty hain k kis ko vote dainy hain. Is lye kabhi bhe aisa nahi hwa k main ya meri family ne baqi Biradari k faisly k begair vote dia ho."

At election times all people in the *Biradari* collectively decide to whom they will cast vote Therefore it did not happen even a single time that I or my family cast vote without taking decision from *Biradari*.

Another respondent said that;

"Jaisy humari khushi ghami Biradari main hoti hai isi terha hum election main bhe ekathy hoty hain. General election main sab mil k faisla kerty hain kis ko vote dain hai aur locale election main bhe Biradari ki base pee candidate khara kiya jat hai"

We remain all together in election just like in the times of ceremonies of joy and sorrows. In both general and local Government election *Biradari* decide to whom *Biradari* members cast vote.

Another respondent said that;

"Humary haan Biradari system itni strong hai k aam toar pe rishty bhe pooch k kiye jaty hain. Aur ager main election ki bat krun to woh bhe mil ke faisla krty hai k kis ko vote dena hai. Is k sab se bari waja yeh hai k hum sab ki apas main rishta darian hain aur ager ko Biradari k failsy k mukhalif jata hai to usk lye kafi masail paida ho jaty hain".

Our family system is much stronger that even the marriages are collectively decided by *Biradari*, and if I talk about election, the same procedure (Collective Decision) followed to cast vote. The major reason of this *Biradari* decision is that if anyone violates that decision one has to face a lot of problems because all have relationships with others.

Another respondent said;

"Humary elaqy main Biradari ki bahot ehmiyat hai. Log apni rishtdarian apni Biradari main rakhty hain. Koe bhe failsa ho zindgi ka to us main Biradari eham kirdar ada krti hai. Vote daina aur mangna donu Biradari ki base pe hoty hain"

In our area *Biradari* has much importance. People have relationships only in *Biradari*. *Biradari* plays very important role in all decisions of life. Vote casting and campaigning are both backed by *Biradari*.When the researcher asked from the respondents that "How your *Biradari* decide to whom they will support in election" one of the respondents said that;

"Jab bary election hoty hain to un se pehly poori Biradari ko ekatha kiya jatahai aur sab mil ker faisla kerty hain k kis umeedwar ko vote deny hain. Isi terha jab baldiyati election hoty hain to un se pehly bhe Biradari mil k faisla kerti hai k kis admi ko election pe khara krna hai"

Before the general elections whole *Biradari* get together at a place and collectively decide that which one candidate will get their vote. Likewise in local government elections candidate is selected collectively by the *Biradari*.

Similarly another respondent said that;

"Her Biradari main koe na koe sarbrah hota hai jo logun k court kachehri k kaam krwata hai. aur us k siyasi logun k sath taluqat hoty hain to jab bhe election hoty hain to woh sari Biradari ko ekatha ker k jis candidate ko vote deny hun usko bulata hai aur sab ki terf se hami bharta hai k apko vote dain gye".

In every *Biradari* there is a head that help the members of in their problems related to court and Kachehri.The head has links with political personalities and at times of election he call the candidate in gathering of family and assure him that whole *Biradari* will cast vote in favor of him.

Another respondent said that;

"Humary mulak main bahot e kam log hain jo kisi candidate ko vote usk vision ki base pe dety hain. Mostly log Biradari ki base pe vote daity hain aur yahi humary mulak ki tabahi ki wajah hai. hum bhe ki base pe candidate ko support krty hain".

In our country the people who cast votes by analyzing the vision of candidate are very less in numbers. Most of the people cast vote with the decision of the family and its one of the reason of underdevelopment of the country. We also support candidate by *Biradari* decision.

Another respondent said that;

"yahan per koe political agendy ki zarurat nahi bas Biradari ki sarbarah k sath taluqat achy rakh lu to vote mil e jaty hain q k poori Biradari ki terf se usi ne faisla krna hota hai aur yahi kuch hum bhe ker rhy pichly kae salun se"

When the researcher asked from the respondents that "What kinds of role family play to your decision of supporting some specific political party" one of the respondents replied that;

"Khandan ka bahot eham kirdar hota hai election main, Humary elaqy main Gondal, Ranjha aur Rajpoot families e faisla krti hain k kis ko vote dany hain baqi unk ird gird jitney bhe kammi ya ghareeb log hain woh unki merzi se vote daity hain".

Family has important role in election, in our area Gondal, Ranjha and Rajpoot families decide to whom they are going to cast vote, and rest of people that includes the members of lower casts also follow them.

Another respondent said that;

"Mery khyal main yeh aik chain hai poory ki poori jo election main decide krti hai k kis ko vote daina hai. Missal k toar per her khandan ka sarbrah faisla krta hai k kis ko vote dainy hai aur uska faisla bhe uska zati nahi hota woh apni Biradari k sarbrah ya apny elaqy k chaudhary ki merzi k mutabiq faisla krta   hai".

I think it is chain process of decision about vote, for example the head of the each family decide about vote, and this decision is not purely his own but lies with the decision of *Biradari* head or Chaudhary.

Another respondent said that;

"Humary mulak main kahen bhe chaly jao khas toar per dehat main to vote Biradari ki base pe diye jaty hain. Ghar ka sarbrah yeh faisla krta hai k poori family ne kis ko vote daina hai aur sarbrah humesha baap ya dada hota hai jo beshak unparh bhe ho to faisla usi ne krna hota hai aur bahot sary parhy likhy log bhe vote apny baap ki merzi se daity hain".

In our country votes are casted on the bases of *Biradari* especially in rural areas. Household head decide the about casting vote and that head is father of grandfather of the family. He has to decide either he educated or not. Many educated persons cast vote by the decision of their father.

Similarly another respondent said that;

"Humary mulak ki nakami ki aik bari wajah yahan k political system main Biradarism ka hona hai.yahan pe log merit ki base pe vote nahi daity balky apny ghar walun ki merzi se ya apni Biradari ki merzi se daity hain. Mian aik parha likha admi hoon but main bhe vote apny walid ki merzi se daita hoon hum"

The existence of the *Biradari* system is a big reason of underdevelopment of our country. People did not cast vote on merit but by the decision of *Biradari*. I am an educated person but I too cast vote with my father's decision.

When the researcher asked from the respondents that "How do your family support the election campaign"; one of the respondents said that;

"Han g general election main hum jis party ko support krty hain usk lye banners bhe banwaty hain aur humari aik gari aur mery abu bhe poori election campaign k doran

us candidate k sath rehti hai aur baldiyati election main to humari family main se koe khara hota hai is lye usk lye to hum sab mil k campaign krty hain".

In general election we made flexes of the party to whom we support. My father accompanies the candidate with his own vehicle during the whole election campaign. In local elections the candidate belongs to our own family so whole family supports him using all efforts.

Another respondent said that;

"Nahi hum kisi bhe election main campaign main hissa nahi lety humara chaudhary jisko kehta hai hum chup ker k us umeedwar ko vote dalty hain".

We did not participate in election campaign. Our chaudhary tells us about the candidate and then we silently cast vote in favor of him.

Another respondent said that;

"Hum to khair kisi bhe election pe campaign nahi krty but humary taya kerty hai aur choon-keh taya family k sab se bary hain to woh jis ko kahen hum us umeedwar ko vote daity hai".

We did not participate in election campaign but our uncle did. And as uncle is the head of the family so we cast the vote to candidate about which we are instructed.

Another respondent said;

"Humary elaqy main Biradari system bahot strong hai aur her Biradari ka koesarbrah hota hai jo election mn siyasi logun k sath mil ker poori Biradari se vote mangta hai aur hum to apni Biradari k kehny pe vote dal daity hain kabhi kisi campaign pe nahi gaye"

In our area *Biradari* system is much stronger and head of the each *Biradari* campaigned for vote with other politicians. We just cast vote to the candidate to about which we are instructed but not participate in campaign.

When the researcher asked from the respondents that "What are the consequences you face if you do not accept the influence of *Biradari* in casting vote"; one of respondents said that;

"Humary area main Biradari system aur caste system bahot strong hai aur Biradari ko bahot ehmiyat di jati hai.humari sari rishty darian shadian wagaira aam toar per Biradari main e hoti hai is lye koe bhe kaam Biradari k khilaf ja k kerna munasib nahi samjha jata. Election k doran bhe sab mil k e kisi aik umeedwar ko support krty hain aur ager ko banda Biradari k mukhalif ja k vote deta hai to usk sath salam dua khatm ki jati hai aur kuch cases main to logun ki talaqain bhe hoe hain is waja se".

In our area *Biradari* and caste has much importance. Normally our marriages are arranged within *Biradari* so to do anything against family is considered bad. During election whole *Biradari* support one candidate, and if someone goes against it *Biradari* cut off with him and in some cases men divorce their women.

Another respondent said that;

"Humari apni Biradari ka to kuch khas masla nahi hota q k hum to ghareeb log hain aur humain kisi k harny ya jeetny se koe farq nahi parhta lekan hum agr apny chaudhary k khilaf agr vote dalty hain to ho skta hai humain yeh area bhe chorna parhy q k hum usi ki zameen main bethy hain aur aur usi k khaitoon main kaam kerty hain".

Our own *Biradari* creates no issues because we are poor people we get no benefits whether any one won but if we go against the chaudhary, it may be possible we have to left the community because we live and work on his land.

Another respondent said;

"Biradari aik bahot e mazboot aur eham cheez hai q k humari sari khushian aur gham isi k Ander hoty hain aur bahot sari jaghon pe yeh bahot eham role play krti hai. Aur agr election ki bat ki jaye to Biradari ka ekatha hona jahan aik strength show kerta hai wahan is k kuch nuqsan bhe hain jaisy k Biradari k mushtarka faisly se bahot sary logun ki azadi raye khatum ho jati hai aur unhen na chahty howye bhe Biradari ki

merzi se vote dalna parhta hai aur agr ko Biradari k faisly k against jany ki koshish krta hai to us bahot sary masail ka samna krna parhta hai".

Biradari is very important thing because we have our joys and sorrows with it and it plays important role. The collective decision of *Biradari* has its own benefits but it also has drawbacks as many people loss their suffrage right. If someone tries to go against *Biradari* decision he has to face many problems.

Another respondent said;

"Biradari k khilaf jana aisy e hai k apny sary rishty darun ko naraz krna is lye koe bhe yeh nahi chahta k woh apni Biradari ko naraz kry"

Going against the *Biradari* meant to be cut off from all relations therefore no one go against the *Biradari*.It was concluded from the findings that *Biradari* has great influence on voting campaign. People select their candidate on the basis of *Biradari* and in national or provisional assembly election all the *Biradari* members gathered at one place which is locally referred as *Dara or Daira* and collectively decide about their candidate. This decision is usually taken by the head or chaudhary of *Biradari* and other *Biradari* members gathered as formality. Chaudhary or household head publically announce about his choice candidate through *Biradari* gathering. After the formally announcement the selected candidate is invited at *Dara* and ensured him to support in election and everyone is supposed to vote that particular candidate..A similar kind of findings was gathered by Duke et al in (2009)[119]. They had concluded that parents influence on adolescent civic responsibility has also underlined the importance of parental warmth and the affective climate of family interactions. A stronger connection

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119 Duke, N. N., Skay, C. L., Pettingell, S. L., &Borowsky, I. W. (2009). From adolescent connections to social capital: Predictors of civic engagement in young adulthood. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, *44*(2), 161-168.

with parents was found to be associated with a higher likelihood of adolescents endorsing civic values as well as participating in a wide range of election activities.

The findings of the study also suggest that those respondents were more involved in election activities, which have less communication gap with their children. It was observed that young members learn through healthy discussion with their parents and also adopt the norms of their family. On the other hand those families which have communication gap with their young members were less engaged in election activities. They even don't adopt the other family norms because they don't feel comfortable with normative structure of their family. Finding of the present research favors the argument of Flanagan et al (1998)[120]. They had also concluded that adolescents are connected with their primary socializing domain is likely to influence the development of their civic responsibility and membership in the broader society and provide them with support in their civic activities.

Similarly in locale body election all the *Biradari*es are invited at and they collectively decide about the candidate. When the decision is made every *Biradari* and its members are supposed to follow this decision. So on the basis of findings it was concluded that *Biradari* has great role in the selection of candidate and election campaign.

4.3 Role of *Biradari* on Election Day

Biradari system played an important role in different times in Pakistan during local body elections. Most important and functional *Biradari* in politics of Punjab are Gujjars, Jatts, Syeds, Araiens and Rajputs. District administration is normally selected from the key *Birada   ri* of respective district. Rajputs are in northern Punjab, Jatts and Araiens are in central Punjab, Balochs in southern Punjab leading the political

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120 Flanagan, C. A., & Sherrod, L. R. (1998). Youth political development: An introduction. *Journal of social issues*, 54(3), 447-456.

activities. The stratification of *Biradari* into different areas of Punjab affects outcomes of overall Pakistan's political system. In the present study an effort has been made to know the role of *Biradari* on Election Day. To gain the objectives of the study the researcher has asked different questions from the respondents and has gathered data from them.

For instance the researcher has asked "What kind of tasks your family asks you to perform on Election Day (Related to elections)"; in response to this question one of the respondents said that;

"Election ka din humara bahot masroof hota hai q k jitney bhe log vote dalny waly hoty hain unko pick and drop dena, unhn khana wagaira khilana hota hai aur main aam toar per election agent bhe khara hota hun apni party ki tarf se".

We are very busy on the day of election as we have to pick and drop the voters, serve them meal and I also represent as election agent for my party usually.

Another respondent said that;

"Mera talluq aik ghareeb khandan se hai aur meri ghar walun ki tarf se to koe khas zimdari nahi hoti mujh pe haan humary area k chaudhary koe na koe kaam zima laga deta hai jaisa k jo log unki party k hoon unko khana wagaira dena ya un k anay janay ka intezam krna"

I belong to a poor family and do not have any family responsibility. The Chaudhary of our area assigns me the responsibility to serve the meal and provide pick and drop to the people who belong to his party.

Another respondent said that;

"Main apni union council ka chairman hun aur qoumi aur subae assembly k election ka intezam main khud krta hun election agent khara krna logun k khanay aur Bethany ka bandubast krna, aur jab main khud election main khara hwa hoon to meri poori

Biradari mil k mery yeh kaam krti rhi hai main to sary polling station pe chaker lagata rha hoon".

I am the chairman of my union council and I myself arrange for the elections of provincial and national assembly like to select the election agent, make sitting arrangements for people and serve them food.When I stand for election my whole *Biradari* together do all these tasks for me. I only take rounds of the polling stations.

Another respondent said that;

"Main Gondal family se belong krta hoon aur main ne Law kiya howa hai. Jabbhe election hoty hain to mery abu mujhy apni party ki tarf se polling agent khara krty hain aur main ne observe kia hai k polling agent bahot eham role play krta hai election waly din. Bahot sary log polling agent ki shaksiyat ko dekh ker on th spot apna opinion change krty hain".

I belong to a Gondal family and have read law. Whenever there are elections my father nominates me as election agent and I have observed that election agent plays a very important role on the day of election. Many people change their opinion on the spot by looking at the personality of polling agent.

When the researcher asked from the respondents that "What kind of help you provided to voters on poling day" in response to this question one of the respondents said that;

"Main sabka chairman hoon aur main apny halqy k logun ko her trha se facilitate krta hoon kisi k pas swari na ho to usk polling station tak lany aur lejany ka intezam krta hun aur door se aye howye logun k lye khany ka bandubast krta hun".

I am ex-chairman of my union council and facilitate the people of my area in every way. If anyone does not have transport means then I arrange for their pick and drop and serve the people with meal who come from far away.

Another respondent said that;

"Main rikshaw chalata hoon aur election waly din petrol chaudhary dalwa k deta hai aur main logun ko polling station tak le k ata jata hoon. Is k elawa ob he zimadari chaudhary laga day woh poori krta hoon".

I drive rickshaw and Chaudhary gives the money for petrol on the day of election and I pick and drop the people to polling station. A part from it whatever Chaudhary assigns to me I do it.

Another respondent said that;

"Election waly din main aam toar pe apni party ki tarf se poling agent khara hota hn aur mera kaam hota hai k job he vote dalny jaye usy apny umeedwar ka intekhabi nishan batana aur usy batana k ballet paper pe stamp kis trha lagaty hain aur usy kis trha fold krty hain q k bahot sary log ballet paper pe stamp ki bajaye angootha laga k a jaty hai aur is terha unka vote zaya ho jata hai".

I usually work as polling agent from my party on Election Day and my role is to tell the voters about the candidate and guide them how to stamp the ballet papers and how to fold them because I have seen many voters give thumb impression on ballet papers rather than stamp and they waste their vote.

Another respondent said that;

"Hum khud na to kabhi election main khary howye hain aur na kabhi kisi ki election campaign main gaye hain q k yeh sary kaam humara chairman krta hai apny election main bhe aur bary election main bhe. Albatta woh agr ko zimadari day deta hai election waly din to woh zaroor poori krta hoon".

We never stood in elections nor did we participate in election campaign because our chairman does all these tasks in local as well as main elections. If he assigns me some work on the day of election then I do it.

When the researcher asked from the respondents that "What kind of role you play as family participation to stop rigging" in response to this question one of the respondents said that;

"Election main rigging ko rokna khass mushkil kaam hota hai main apny halqy ka chairman hoon aur main agr apna experience baton to us k mutabiq agr election waly din apka polling agent active banda ho to voters aur polling staff pe nazar rakh rigging ko control kr skta hai aur dosary number pe jo umeedwar hai usy chahye k woh her polling station khud visit kry aur sar situation ka andaza lagata rhy".

To stop rigging in election is very difficult task. I am the chairman of my area and I share from my experience if the polling agent is active enough to keep an eye on the voters and the polling staff and the second thing the person who is standing in the election should personally visit the polling station and know the situation.

Another respondent said that;

"Main aik ghareeb admi hoon main kabhi khud na to dhandli ki hai aur na main usy rokny k le kuch ker skta hoon. Haan main yeh zaroor kahun ga k yahan her election main dhandli zarur hoti hai q k kisi ko uski merzi k mutabiq vote na dalny dena bhe aik qism ki dhandli hai aur humary jitney bhe chaudhary hain woh hum sab ghareeb logun k vote apni merzi k umeedwar ko dilwaty hain".

I am a poor man. I never did rigging but I cannot do anything to stop it.I strongly argue here that there is rigging in every election. Restraining someone to cast vote according to his willingness is also rigging. Our all Chaudharies dictate the poor people to cast vote for the person whom they support.

Another respondent said that;

"Humaary han Biradari ki base pe vote diye jaty hain jo k aik bahot abri dhandli hai aur is dhandli ko rokna asan kaam nahi hai isy sirf isi surat main khtam kiya ja skta hai k logun k pas taleem ho aur un k ander awareness paida ki jaye".

In our society we cast vote on the basis of *Biradari*. To stop this practice is very difficult. It can only be done when people are educated and have awareness.

Another respondent said that;

"Main apni party ki terf se polling agent khara hota hun q k mujhy lgta hai k ager polling agent strong ho to rigging ko roka ja skta hai q k rigging ya to vote dalty waqt hoti hai aur ya ginti k waqat hoti hai to yeh donu kaam polling agent k samny hoty hain".

I represent myself as polling agent for my party and I know if polling agent is strong enough he can stop rigging because is mostly done when people cast their votes or when votes are counted. These two tasks are performed in front of polling agent.

When the researcher asked from the respondents that "What is your own experience of casting vote with respect to your *Biradari*" in response to this question one of the respondents said that;

"Main ne graduation ki hoe hai aur jab bhe election hota hai main apny walid ki merzi se vote dalta hoon jo k ultimately Biradari ki base pe hota hai. Humary mulak main Biradarism bahot strong hai aur bahot kam logun ko azadi-raye hasil hai kuch log apny khandan ki wajah se exploit hoty hain to kuch apny elaqy k choudharyun k hathun".

I have done graduation and I always cast vote on the recommendation of my father which is ultimately based on *Biradari*. In our country *Biradari* system is very strong and very few people have freedom of opinion. People are exploited whether in the hands of their family or in the hands of chaudharies.

Another respondent said that;

"Meri age 47 years hai aur main ne apni zindgi main jitney bhe elections main vote dala hai apni merzi se nahi dala balky apny ghar walun ki merzi se ya apni Biradari ki passand k umeedwar ko dala hai".

I am forty seven years old and in my whole life whenever there were elections I casted vote for the person whom my family and my *Biradari* supported.

Another respondent said that;

"Main aik mazdoor admi hoon main jis jagah pe rehta hoon woh humary area k chaudhary ki hai is lye jab koe election hota hai to jis umeedwar ko chaudhary sab kehty hain usi ko vote deta hoon".

I am a laborer and the place where I live is the ownership of Chaudhary so whenever there is election I cast the vote for the person whom Chaudhary recommends.

Another respondent said that;

"Humare mulak main Biradari ki jarhain bahot taqatwar hain inko khatum krna bahot mushkil hai aur Biradari ki faisly humary zindgi k her pehlu main asar andaz hoty hain woh chahy koe shadi biyah ho, koe fotagi ho ya election ho. So main bhe apni Biradari ki merzi se e vote dalta hoon"

In our country Biraderi is deeply rooted. To eliminate is very difficult. *Biradari* system has an influence in every matter of life whether it is related to marriage, death or elections. So I also cast vote for my Biraderi.

It was observed that on Election Day major roles are performed by the locale *Biradari* heads or chaudhary. They give pick and drop to those people who have to come from far areas and have no transport facility. They also providing sitting arrangement to voters and provide even food to their *Biradari* members. Furthermore the most sensible person is supposed to perform polling agent duty from the party side because it is considered that polling agent is very important person on Election Day. It was also observed that people cast their vote on the basis of their *Biradari* because they have social ties in the *Biradari*. The *Biradari* system in the study area is so strong that even educated people could not cast their vote according to their choice rather they have to follow their family and *Biradari* norms.

The roots of pro-social behaviour are embedded in the family of origin. Family and parental factors may be one of the important areas influencing children's civic engagement. The family environment is one of the primary socializing agents in adolescence. It was observed during the field people who have less communication among family members been more socially engaged and their participation level in the electoral activities were very high. They also make rational decision during election and select candidate according to their choices. They also help people during election through registration their votes and providing transportation. On the other hand those families which have strict environment in the family were less engaged in electoral activities.

Those parent have close connection/interaction with children were more likely to be able to engage their children electoral activities. So it was concluded from the findings of the data family has significant impact on the participation level of electoral activities of the respondents. The findings of the study relate to the study conducted by Flanagan et al; in which they had concluded that parents influence on adolescent civic responsibility had also underlined the importance of parental warmth and the affective climate of family interactions. A stronger connection with parents was found to be associated with a higher likelihood of adolescents endorsing electoral values as well as participating in a wide range of civic activities. Indeed the extent to which adolescents are connected with their primary socializing domain was likely to influence the development of their civic responsibility and membership in the broader society and provide them with support in their civic and election activities.

On the other hand poor or people from the lower cast their vote according to the will of their chaudhary. They have no right to decide or give vote according to their own choice. On the basis of field data it was concluded that *Biradari* system in the study is very strong and has profound role on Election Day.

4.4 *Biradari* response to post election

In this part of study an effort has been made to know the response of *Biradari* after election. In order to gain the objective of the study different questions were asked from the respondents and their response was analyzed. For instance they were asked that "What kind of reward you expect from your *Biradari* after election"; in response to this question one of the respondents said that;

"Her Biradari main koe na koe sarbrah hota hai aur wohi qoumi ya subae election k doran apny umeedwar k lye campaign krta hai aur us k siyasi logun k sath achy talluqat hoty hain jo k election k baad baqi Biradarik jitney bhe court kachehri k kaam hoty hain krwata hai".

In every *Biradari* there is a head that campaigned for candidate during national and provincial elections. He has the links with the politicians who then help to solve the problem of members of the *Biradari* after election which are related to courts.

Another respondent said that;

"Humary ghar ko jo road ati hai yeh bahot khrab the aur election k doran poori Biradari ne jis bandy ko election k lye khara kiya tha usy kaha k agr ap jeet gaye to yeh road banwao gaye. Is k elawa bhe agr koe chota mota kaam ho to yeh uski zimadari hoti hai k woh kry".

The road near our house was spoiled and the whole Baradari's support to candidate was conditioned with the reconstruction of the road and other small works. If the candidate won then he has to work for all problems related to *Biradari*.

Another respondent said;

"Hum apny Biradari k head se election k bad yahi ummed rakhty hain k agr koe humain chota mota court kachehri ka kaam ho to krwa day ya phir agr koe road bijli gas chahye ho to woh government se dilwa day".

After casting vote according to the decision of *Biradari* head, we expect from him that k he will help to solve our problems related to courts and Kachehri or convince Government about reconstruction of roads and problems related to electricity and gas.

Another respondent said that;

"Hum ghareeb log hain humari to kisi bhe government k bandy tak ponch nahi hoti is lye hum jisy vote daity hain us k zaraye apny kaam krwaty hain".

We are poor people and don't have links with the representatives of the Government so we use the candidate as reference to solve our problem to whom we cast vote.

When the researcher asked from the respondents that "How the work of elected member influence your *Biradari* attitude" in response to this question one of the respondents said that;

"Jis ko vote diye hoon woh agr kaam na krwaye to agli dafa Biradari usko vote nahi daiti aur humain mulki siyasat se koe lena dena nahi hota humary job he banda kaam krta hai hum usy vote daity hain"

We have no concern with the countries' politics. We cast vote in favor of that person who will helps us to solve our problems. If the candidate will not help us then *Biradari* will not cast vote in favor of that person again.

Another respondent said that;

"Humary mulak main ziada ter umeedwar locale Baraderyun k apas k ikhalafat ki wajah se vote lety hain ya phir locle level pe logun k kaam krwany ki wajah se humary haan to aisa hai log beshak N league k khilaf hoon mager locale candidate agr unk kaam krta hai to woh again usy vote dain gaye".

In our country mostly candidate get votes due to the enmity of different *Biradari*es or they work to solve the problems of people at local level to get votes. In our area if people support the for example PML-N at national level but the candidate who work

for them at local level belongs to another party they will not cast the vote to PML-N's candidate.

Another respondent said;

"Election se pehly jab koe umeedwar vote mangny ata hai to poori Biradari mil k usy apna job he kaam hota hai batati haiaur kehti hai k hum apko tab vote dain gaye agr ap kamyab hony k baad humara yeh kaam kru gaye, to is terha ager woh umeedwar kamyab hony k bad kaam krta hai to agli dafa election k doran usy ziada mehnat nahi kerni parhti voters pe aur ager nahi krta to usy phr Biradari vote nahi deti"

When any candidate come to ask for votes then whole *Biradari* tell him problems, and the casting vote in favor of him is conditioned with the solution of the problems. If the candidate won and solve the problems of the people after election then he don't need to be campaigned in next election but if he do not solve the problems the *Biradari* will not cast vote in favor of him.

Another respondent said;

"Main aik ghareeb admi hoon main apny chaudhry k kehny pe e vote daita hoon aur agr koe kaam ho to usi k pas jata hoon mera kabhi khud to un se wasta nahi rha lekun jo locale level pe kaam krwata hai humara chaudhary usi k sath hota hai"

I am a poor person and cast vote with the decision of chaudhary and to solve my problem I again to the chaudhary. I don't have link the local politician but chaudhary has the links with him.

When the researcher asked from the respondents that "How your *Biradari* helps you to access to the elected members for your personal work" in response to this question one of the respondents said that;

"Hum aik dehati elaqy main rehty hain aur yahan pe wohi chaudhary hota hai jis k pas zameen ziada hoon yap hr koe business wagara acha ho aur usi ka apny elaqy main asar rasookh ziada hota hai logun per. Isi lye election k doran umeedwar usi k pas aty

hain vote many aur usi k siyasi logun k sath talluqat hoty hain aur agr kisi bandy ko siyasi logun se kaam ho to woh elaqy k chaudhary k zariye e krwata hai".

We live in rural area and here the chaudhary is that person who owned more property or have good business and who have more influence on the people. Therefore candidate came to those influential persons and request for vote. Chaudhary has the links with politicians and if someone has work with the politician he comes to chaudhary for the solution of his problem.

Another respondent said that;

"Sary logun ki to ponch nahi hoti siyasi logun tak hamesha Biradari k sarbrah ya chaudhry k zariye e apny kaam niklwaye jaty hain".

All people don't have access to the politicians so people solve their problems through the *Biradari* head and Chaudhary.

Another respondent said that;

"Humari ponch to apny chairman tak hai job he kaam ho us k pas chaly jaty hain aur usy e kehty hain agy uski merzi k woh kis se aur kaisy kaam niklwata hai q k hum to usi k kehny pe vote daity hain".

We have approach only to our chairman, if we have any problem we ask him to solve that problem than it depends on him that how he solve our problems.

Another respondent said that;

"Mian shuru se apni Biradari k kehny pe vote day rha hoon lekun Allah ka shuker hai kabhi koe kaam parha e nahi ab tak. Ager kabhi koe parhy ga to Biradari k zareye e krwaon ga waisy yeh siyasi log kamyab hony k bad kahan kisi ko pehchanty hain".

I always cast vote with the decision of *Biradari* and by the blessing of Allah I don't have problems. If I face any problem in the future then I will solve that problem through the *Biradari*. The politicians rarely visit us when they won.

When the researcher asked from the respondents that "How your *Biradari* get benefits for their welfare from the elected member" in response to this question one of the respondents said that;

"Siyasi logun se kaam lena koe asan nahi hota in se sirf taqatwar log e faida uthaty hain. Agr humary jasiy bandy ko kaam ho to woh Biradari ki base pe he krwa skta hai direct to siyasi log hum jaisun ko pehchanty tak nahi".

To get benefit from the politicians is not an easy task only powerful person can solve problem through them. If we face any problem then we have to go to the *Biradari* because politicians do not even recognize us.

Another respondent said that;

"Siyasi log sirf awam ko vote lety waqt milty hain aur un k sath bahot bary bary waday ker k jaty hain us k baad pehchanty tak nahi kaam kerna to door ki bat hai. yeh sirf un logun k kaam krty hain aur unhi ko pehchanty hain jo ameer hoon aur elaqy k chaudhary hoon q k inhen pata hota hai k yahi log inhn ghareebun se vote le k dain gaye".

Politicians met general public only when they have to request for vote otherwise they don't even recognize, assistance in problem solving is rather far away. They only listen to the chaudhary and *Biradari* head because they know that these persons will convince the poor people to cast vote in favor of them.

Another respondent said that;

"Main ne poori zindgi vote diye hain jab bhe election howa hai lekan kabhi koe kaam nahi kiya in logun ne elect hony k baad balky yeh to pehchanty tak nahi thy. Haan jab se PTI ae hai ab yeh logun ko pehchan'ny bhe lagy hain aur unki baat bhe sunty hain beshak koe khud e uth k chala jaye MNA k pas"

I always cast vote in election but candidate did not solve my problem even they do not recognize. By the development of PTI they now started recognizing people and listen to them even if someone approach the MNA by himself.

Another respondent said that;

"Hum to apny chairman k zariye e koe bhe kaam lena ho to lety hain q k humari ponch sirf usi tak hai".

We solve our problems through our chairman because we have access only to chairman.It was observed that people were not much concerned about national politics rather they vote on the basis of their Biraderi and locale candidate. They don't get any benefit directly from their elected candidate. In case of any emergency they contact to their Biraderi head and it's his responsibility to resolve their problems. The positive influence of parent youth political discussion on youth political knowledge was greater when parents have high levels of political knowledge. It is believable that the transmission of civic values is stronger when the parent child relationship is characterized by high levels of warmth and support, a condition that may favor the endorsement of values within the family (McIntosh et al., 2007)[121].

Furthermore it was observed that Biraderi system in the study area is very strong and it has great influence on its members in every sphere of their lives. People of supposed to follow the normative structure of their Biraderi because they have social ties between each other. They even are not free to select the candidate of their own choice. They vote according to the collective decision of their *Biradari* and if someone violates the decision; he has to face many sanctions from his Biraderi. It was observed that in some cases their daughters were divorced due to the violation of *Biradari* decision. On the basis of evidences it was concluded that Biraderi system plays backbone role in the political system and especially in election process in the study area.

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121 McIntosh, H., Hart, D., &Youniss, J. (2007). The influence of family political discussion on youth civic development: Which parent qualities matter?. *PS: Political Science & Politics, 40(03), 495-499.*

4.5   Electoral Activities

Electoral participation level has been measured through level of participation in election process, level of creating awareness regarding the importance of their vote; providing facilitation to people in their vote registration process, and providing services on election through transportation etc. for instance the researcher has asked from the respondents that "Do you think public should participate in election process; if yes then how frequently you participate?". In response to this question one of the respondents said that;

"Haan g logun ko election main hissa lena chahye q k apni raye dena her aik ka haq hai, main to her election main hissa leta hun, apni party k lye vote bhe mangta hun aur paisy bhe deta hun party funds k lye"

Yes, people should take part in election because to give one's opinion is every

one right. I take part in every election, and also contribute with cash in party fund.

Another respondent said that;

"Humary mulk main ghreeb awam k election main hissa leny ya na leny se koe farq nahi parhta, yahan to election sirf ameer logun k lye hai aur mera nahi khyal k aj tak koe bhe election sahee hwa ho her election main dhandli hoti hai aur apni merzi k nataij hasil kye jaty hain is lye main to sirf vote dalny ki had tak hissa leta hun"

In our country, it make no difference whether a common man take part in election or not. Here, election is only for rich ones and I don't think that any fair election has ever held till date, every election was rigged to get a favorable result that's why I only take part as a voter.

Another respondent said that;

"Logun ko ziada se ziada election main hissa lena chahye q k election k zarye woh apny lye namainda chun rhy hoty hain. Main to her dafa election campaign main hissa leta hun aur apni party ki trf se polling agent bhe khara hota hun"

People should maximum take part in elections because this is people who Choose their representatives. I take part in election every time and serve as a polling agent for my party.

Another respondent, aged 45 years from middle class family said that;

"Mery khyal mian logun ka election process main hissa lena bahot zaruri hai q k agr log sahee tareeky se apny vote ka istamal kren to hum apny lye behter namaindy chun skty hain jo k mulk ki behtri k lye behter kaam ker sken. Main to koshish krta hun k ziada se ziada involve ho ker logun ko behter party k haq main vote dalny k lye tyar krun"

In my view, it's very important for people to take part in election because if we use our vote properly, we can select better representatives for us, who can better perform for progress of country. I try maximum to get involve and make people ready for a better party.

Furthermore, researcher have asked from the respondents "Do you think that people should help the masses in creating awareness regarding the importance of their vote; if yes then how you have worked on it?" In response to this question on of the respondents replied that;

"Dunia main election main log party manshoor ki bunyad pe vote dety hai lekun humary han badqismati se aisa nahi hota, yahan pe log baradri ya shakhsiyat ki bunyad pe vote dety hai aur is trha hum humaisha sahee aur haqdar logun ko vote nahi dety, is ki waja yeh hai k yahan k logun ko unk vote ki qader ka andaza nahi hai is lye mery khyal main logun unk vote ki ifadiyat btani chahye ta k woh apny vote ka sahee istamal ker sken, aur main is moamly main bahot had tak koshish kerta hun"

In world, people gives vote on basis of party manifesto but unfortunately our case is not same. People here cast their vote on basis of cast and personality. This is how we never give vote for good and deserving people. The reason behind is that, people don't

even know the value of their vote, that's why they should be brief about it so that they can use their vote right. I try for it my level best.

Another respondent said that;

"Mery khyal main humary mulk main bahot kam logun vote ki ehmiyat aur usk istamal ka pta hai aur ziada ter log is k bary main nahi janty is lye unhain is k bary main btany ki zarurat hai, main aik mazdoor admi hun awal to mery pas itna time nahi k main logun ko guide krun aur ager main koshish ker k unhain btany k lye time nikalun bhe to mery jaisy ghareeb admi ki koe bhe bat suny ga nahi"

According to my view in our country, least people know about the importance of their vote and its proper use and most people don't about it so there is need to make them aware about it. I am a worker, so first of all I don't have time for all this but if I somehow manage to do this then no one even bother to listen a common man like me.

Another respondent said that;

"G han logun vote ki ehmiyat ka andaza nahi hai is lye yeh un logun ka akhlaqi faraz hai jo parhly likhy hain aur vote ki ehmiyat janty hain k aisy logun ko vote ki ehmiyat btaen jin ko pta nahi hai, main to apny toar pe bahot koshish krta hun k unhain kuch na kuch btaon"

Yes, people don't know about the importance of the votes so this is moral duty of those who are educated and know its importance to educate such people. I try according to my capacity to make them aware about its importance.

Another respondent said that;

"Vote ki ehmiyat btany ka kia faida jab koe apni merzi se deny e nahi *deta hai humary jaisy ghreeb logun ko, main ne jb se hosh sambhala hai aur mera card bana hai main vote to dal rha hun lekan aik dafa bhe apni merzi se nahi day paya kisi ko vote, jahan humary gaon k chaudhry kehty hain us party ko day deta hain"*

It's useless to tell the importance to vote when no one allow a poor man like me to cast the vote according to his will. As far s my memory concerns, and I got my card, I don't even cast my vote with my choice for a single time.

Further researcher have asked from the respondents "Do you think that its moral responsibility of individual to facilitate masses to access polling station on election; if yes then what you have contributed in this regard?" In response to this question on of the respondents said that;

"Han g election pe logun ko polling station pe jany ka masla hota hai khas toar pe aurtun aur bazurgun ko, is lye yeh humari akhalaqi zimadari hai k hum aisy logun ki madad kren ta k sab log election main hissa le saken, main her dafa logun k any jany k lye gari keraye pe leta hun"

Yes, people specially aged and women faces problem of transportation for polling stations. So it's our moral duty to help such people so that everyone could take part in elections. Every time I rent out a car for the transportation of people.

Another respondent said that;

"Humary to ghar k pas e polling station banta hai her dafa is lye humary ird gird k logun ko ponchny main koe dishware nahi hoti lekan aisy logun ki madad zarur krni chahye jin k ghar polling station se door hun, mery pas to itny wasail nahi hain k main logun ki madad krun yeh to un logun ki zimadari hai jo party mn bary name grami log hoty hain"

Every time polling station held nearby our residence so convince doesn't a problem for surrounding peoples. But we should help such people whose residence is away from polling stations. I don't have such resources; this is the duty of such people who are well known in party.

Chaudhary Sheraz said that;

"Han g mery khyal main yeh humari akhalqi zimadari hai k hum logun ko *polling station per ponchny main unki madad kren, main her dafa logun k anay jany k lye aik bus ka intazam krta hun*"

Yes, in my view it's our moral duty to help people in transportation for polling station. Every time I arrange a bus for convince of people.

Another respondent said that;

"Yeh to un logun ki zimadari hoti hai jo party k namaindy ya phr aisy log jin k pas wasail hoty hain humary jaisy ghareeb log to chah ker bhe kuch nahi ker skty"

This is the duty of such people who are representatives of party or have resources. Poor people like me can't even do anything if they even want to.Further researcher have asked from the respondents "Do you feel people needs awareness about their better election choice; if yes then what is your contribution level?" In response to this question on of the respondents said that;

"Mery khyal main humary mulk main log kabhi bhe merit pe vote nahi dety balky baradri ki base pe ya phir chaudhryun ki merzi se dety hain, isi lye humari parliament main ziada ter log nalaiq hain aur jahan tak awareness ki bat hai to logun ko awareness ki bahot zarurat hai aur main apni family ki had tak to try krta hun k unhain vote ka sahee istamal bataon"

In my view, people never cast vote on merit in our country, in fact they cast vote on creed basis or according to the will of 'Chaudhry. This is why most of the people in our parliament are incompetent and as far as we talk about awareness, it's very necessary. I try to create awareness regarding fair use of vote within my family.

Another respondent said that;

"Jin logun k pas awareness hai unhain bhe koe nahi vote apni merzi se dalny deta is lye awareness hona ya na hona baraber hai, ab ager main apni bat baton to main aik parha likha nojawan hoon aur main bhe vote apni family ki merzi k mutabiq deta hun"

People who have awareness about this, they can't even cast their vote according to their will so there is no use of awareness. If I talk about myself, I am an educated man but I am not allow to cast vote without consent of my family.

Another respondent said that;

"G mery khyal main to humary mulk main ziada ter logun ko nahi pta hota k konsa candidate behter hai q k badqismati se humary mulk main un k pas na to party manshoor hota hai aur na e koe unka zati agenda aur agr koe qabil banda election pe khara ho jata hai to usy vote koe nahi deta q k logun k pas utna shaoor e nahi hai is mery khyal main yeh humara qaomi masla hai aur is pe khasusi tawaju deny ki zarurat hai, main apny elaqy main bahot koshish krta hun lekun logun koe khatir kha change nahi ae"

In my view, most of the people don't even know that which candidate is better because unfortunately, neither they have party manifesto nor personal motive. If a competent person contests in election, no one give vote to him because people don't have such sense and in I think it's our national issue which needs a keen interest. I try very hard in my area but there is no effective change in people.

Another respondent said that;

"Humary mulk main aj bhe log kisi candidate ki qabliyat ya usk manshoor ko *vote nahi dety balky woh apni passand na passand dekhty hain ya phir barardri base pe vote dety hai, is lye unki rahnamae zaruri hai ta behter namaindy muntakhib kye ja skain, main agr is main apny role ki bat krun to main aik ghareeb admi hun meri kon sunta hai"*

Even now a days, people don't even give their vote on merit or manifesto in fact, they keep in view their personal choice or on creed basis. So it's necessary to guide them so that better representatives could be selected. As far as I talk about my role in it, I am a common man and none even bother me.

Further researcher has asked from the respondents "Do you think people need guidance during their vote registration; if yes then how you have facilitated?" In response to this question on of the respondents said that;

"G han main is dafa polling ko doran logun ki list check kr k unk vote number bta rha tha aur main ne dekha hai k bahot se logun k vote register nahi thy aur un se poochny pe pta chala k unhain is bary main pta e nahi hai, is lye mery khyal main logun ko guidance ki bahot zarurat hai, election k bad main ne gaon k teacher se keh ker jisne voting list tyar ki the logun k vote register krwaye thy"

In recent elections, I was performing the duty to check voter lists and guiding people regarding vote number and I observe that many people don't had registered votes and later it discovered that they don't even know about it. This is why there is need for guidance. After election, I registered vote of such people with help of that teacher in our village who prepared voter lists.

Arshad Ali said that;

"Han g main ne dekha hai k bahot sary logun k vote register nahi hoty aur *unhain pta bhe nahi hai k kaisy vote register kerwaya jata hai, aur mery khayal main jab nadra shankhti card banta hai to sath e vote bhe register ho jana chahye q k aam toar per teachers ki dutyan lagti hain vote register krny pe to woh us kaam se jaan churwa rhy hoty hain aur bahot se logun k vote darj nahi kerty, main to apni family k khud vote darj krwaye thy"*

Yes, I know that most of people don't register in voter lists and they don't even know how to get registered. In my view, when NADRA issue identity cards then vote should also register because, usually teachers have responsibility to register votes but they considers it as burden and doesn't register many voters. I personally register my family votes.

Another respondent said that;

"G logun ko guide krny ki bahot zarurat hai is moamly main q k na to vote register kerny waly emandari se kaam kert k woh her bandy k pas ja ker us ka vote darj kren aur na e logun ko itna shaoor hota hai is lye bahot sary logun k vote darj e nahi hoty, mujhy bhe pehly nahi tha pta is election main logun ki bari tadad dekh ker pta chal hai k yeh to bahot bara masla hai jis k lye kuch krny ki zarurat hai"

It's very important to guide people regarding this because neither responsible people don't work properly nor people have such sense. This is why many people don't get registered. I also didn't know about it but in recent election, after watching majority of the people I realize that this is a serious issue which need to get resolved.

Another respondent said that;

"Han g logun ko waqya e nahi pta aur unhain rahnumae ki zarurat hai, main pichly teen election main hissa lia tha to mujhy is masly k bahot achy se andaza ho gya tha is lye last election se pehly jab vote darj kerny k lye aye to main baqaida elan krwaya tha ta k kisi ka vote darj hony se reh na jaye"

Yes, people really don't know and need guidance; I took a part in last three elections so I was fully aware of this issue. So, in last election when they came for voter registration, I formally made an announcement so no one left behind.

In the present study, level of participation in electoral activities include voting, running for office, volunteering for a candidate or issue campaign, participating in discussions about candidate, contributing money to candidate or issue campaigns, and participating in rallies for or against particular candidates or issue proposals.

The variation in participation level was also recorded within the different activities. For instance most of respondents cast their votes but there were very few persons who participate in election campaign. Similarly people feel that there was need to help the voters during election to access the polling station but a few persons have reported that they have ever helped the masses to access polling station.

It was also observed that people need awareness while selecting the candidate during election. They findings of the study suggest that mostly people don't know the values of their votes. So they don't vote according to their own choice rather they were pressurized from their families or from the elite of the area to vote for their favorite candidate. So they feel that there is no need to create awareness because they were unable to vote for the candidate of their choice.

It was observed that people cast their votes on basis of *Biradari*(family) system and mostly head of the household determine the candidate. The head of the household was also directed by someone that might be the *Chaudhary* (elite member) or family member. Although young member were well aware about the political system and the importance of their vote but they were unable to give vote due to external pressure. So they don't have any interest in the election process.

It was also observed that aged people have not enough knowledge about the importance of their vote but they actively participate in the election process. They select candidate on the basis of *Biradari system.* They relate the election with their honor and prestige. They contribute economically in the election process and also go for election campaigning to support their candidate. They don't feel that there is need to create awareness among the people about the election process.

4.5.1 Family and Electoral Activities

The roots of pro-social behaviour are embedded in the family of origin. Family and parental factors may be one of the important areas influencing children's electoral activities. The family environment is one of the primary socializing agents in adolescence. It was observed during the field people who have less communication among family members been more socially engaged and their participation level in the electoral activities were very high. They also make rational decision during election and select candidate according to their choices. They also help people during election through registration their votes and providing transportation. On the other hand those

families which have strict environment in the family were less engaged in electoral activities.

Those parent have close connection/interaction with children were more likely to be able to engage their children electoral activities. So it was concluded from the findings of the data family has significant impact on the participation level of electoral activities of the respondents.

5. MAJOR FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Major Findings

The major castes of the study area include upper and lower. Upper castes comprised on Gondals, Ranjha, Rajpoot, Malik Awan, Araien and lower castes Cobblers, Mirasi, Taili, Naae and Mussali. Gondals and Laks are the most influential caste in the area and most of elected members in the locale body election are from these caste. The main reason for their domination is their economic domination. They occupy almost the two third part of the land this area.

1. Findings of the present study reveal that Baraderi system in the study area is very strong. All the major decisions are made according to the norms of the Baraderi. The dominant Baraderis have great say in the area especially in their own caste and the other lower castes.

2. In election campaigns locale Baraderi plays a crucial role. The head or chaudhary of the Baraderi makes decision on behalf of complete Baraderi and all the members are supposed to follow his decision.

3. On Election Day people cast their vote on the basis of their Baraderi rather than the caliber of candidate. It was observed that even educated people don't go against the Baraderi decision and vote according to the choice of their family heads which is ultimately the decision of Baraderi.

4. All the lower castes cast their vote according to choices of their chaudhary. They have no right to decide about their candidate. The main reason behind the domination of chaudhary system was the economic dependency of lower castes. The other reason was; they were living in the land of chaudhary. So they feared that if they will go against the will of their chaudhary than they have to move somewhere else and have to vacate the land of chaudhary.

5. Furthermore it was also observed that people don't bother about the national politics rather they vote on the basis of Baraderi or on the performance of locale candidate.

6. They don't contact to the elected candidate for their problem rather they contact to the head of their Baraderi and it's his responsibility to solve the problems of Baraderi members.

7. The Baraderi system was so strong in the area that if somebody violates the decision of Baraderi; he has to face many problems in the form social boycott.

8. Over all it was observed that Baraderi system served as backbone in the election process of study area.

5.2 Conclusion

The aim of this study has been the rationalization of the role of Biradari on the election in the study area. It is concluded that election in the study area is in actual fact is Biradari politics and with the process of local bodies system it is playing vital role. The voting has caused crucialrole within civil society by stirring up the locale chaudhary and biradarism. People are in planning how to push forward their families and clans in the coming election. For winning in election it is important for the candidate that he should better belong to a dominant 'Biradari'. In the locale body election every political party had nominated candidates belonging to larger Biradari. It is human nature to exercise ethnic preference for their own group in the form of aggression against others.

Some advantages of Biradari are also found in the study. Biradarism assumes the status of the central character in the elections. It fills the gap of political parties in the locale body election and is a type of contest which is essential feature of democracy.

In the study area the Biradari system provides security and power for its members. It gives them an identity because Biradari is not just a matter of being a Jatt or a Rajput rather it is also a kinship system.

Over all it was concluded that Biradari served as an institution in the study area and Biradarism has very crucial role in the local and national politics. People are bound to follow the norms of Biradari otherwise they have to face social boycott or many other sanctions from the Biradari.

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