

**RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION TOWARDS SHRINES AND
ROLE OF SHRINES IN POLITICS AND POLITICAL
PARTICIPATION A CASE STUDY OF MULTAN
PUNJAB PAKISTAN**



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Master of Science in Sociology.”**

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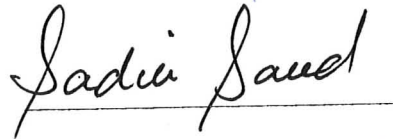
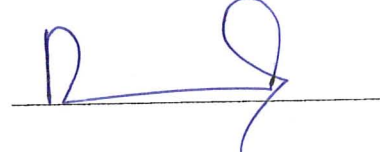
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FINAL APPROVAL OF THESIS

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Abstract

Shrine is the sacred place which is associated with any saint or spiritual priest. This is the basic unit of faith of the people of South Asia who visit the shrines to run their desires through the bliss of the sanctuary. These sanctuaries are centers of maximum activity from early until midnight. It attracts the attention of a large gathering of citizens from all over the country. Therefore, the preservation of holy sites is considered an act of public service. Quantitative method of research was conducted in Multan, Pakistan. The Sample size of the researcher was 120 respondents. Convenient sampling technique was used a sample technique. Interview schedule was used as a tool for data collection. SPSS was used as a tool for data analysis. Sufi shrines work in a multidimensional manner, so that the political, social, cultural and economic effects have been and will remain significant. Since time immemorial, the tradition of visiting holy places has been imitated to religious merit, washed away sins and made common practice wishes around the world. The visit is traditionally regarded as sacred sites, places and noble buildings, often equated with purifying the body and mind, and achieving merit.

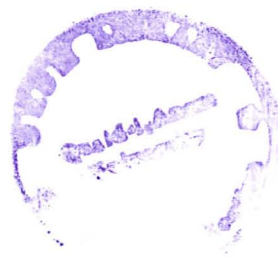


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Chapter No. 1
INTRODUCTION

Pakistan is one of the states where the role of religious institution is quite inevitable. The religious key figures in Pakistani context are much active in politics. Majority of religious parties started participation in general elections after 1956. The impact of religious affiliation in the political participation is playing an effective role in the country. The religious authorities such as *Pir*, are important source to change the voting behavior of the people. The impact of religious affiliation in politics in the rural areas is more effective as compared to the urban areas and the people perception about the religious leader is different from people of the urban areas (Faridi 2002).

Religion can be related to politics in a number of ways. For instance, religion has been found to legitimate regimes, to divert social grievances into other-worldly concerns, to yield support for social movements, and to provide understandings of justice which have given rise to social change. Thus, the many relationships between religion and politics may depend on both the contents and levels of the various religious and political systems, and their different socio-cultural contexts (Williams 1996).

Role of religion in political participation is important aspect and also change the perceptions of the voters. Religions have made a worldwide political come-back. Apart from personal religious faith which respects the democratic rule of law, the role of religion is important in all cultures and in some places is even making leading role for state power. It also serves as an ideological justification for terrorist violence.

With regard to the future relationship between religion and politics there are two options: political co-operation between religious and cultural traditions, on the one hand, and a fundamentalist policy of conflict, on the other.

The source of success for these two opposing options will be determined by a large and indeterminate number of peoples who are attached with religion in different part of the world. They include states and transnational institutions, parties, civil societies, religious communities and, above all, the mass media. In politics the role of religion always there and change the voting behavior of the people. First of all in the impacts of religious affiliation in politics the role of religious sects is important that change the voting behavior of the voters (Peterson 1992).

1.2 Role of Religion, Shrines, Pirs and religious leaders in Politics

In the political history of Pakistan the role of religion and religious sects always play an important role and the characteristic feature of political life. In Pakistan there are two groups one is religious pressure group and the other is modernist elite. The role of religious sects in the pre partition India there were two associations one was traditionalist *Ulema* and in this association (Jamiatul-Ulema-i-Islam) JUI that represent the Deobandi School and (Jamait-Ulema-i-Pakistan) JUP that represent the Barelvi School these two parties represent the two different sects and play an important role in politics of Pakistan. The role of religion and religious leaders always effective and source of changing voting behavior for the people and religious shrines and the background of the leaders is also helpful for them in politics (Saeed 2002).

The religious shrines are the Holy places and the *Pirs* and other religious *Mullahs* are religiously active and people support them on religious basis. The importance of the political context on the types of religious leadership provided at such rural shrines can be seen even more clear in the development and the people of rural areas are closely attach to religious authority and the religious shrines and this will help the religious people like *Pirs* in the elections because the people support them because of

religion and the voting behavior of the people in the rural areas is changed as compared to the urban areas. These Pirs unlike the reformist Ulema, did not understand significance of the political context in which shrines religious leadership was experienced but offer instead new Standard of religious commitment in the local context. The role of religious *Mullahs* is also important in the politics because they are the source of religious education for the people and the politics at the *Madrassa* level is so important to change the voting behavior of the people (Andrabi et al. 2006).

1.3 Sources of Individual Voting Behavior

On what basis do voters decide how they will cast their votes? Several basic factors can be identified as reasons for choosing a candidate in elections. A voter may choose a candidate on the basis of one or more of the following considerations: Orientation on public issues, Knowledge about government performance and Role of character and performance of candidate.

When voters are asked what they like or dislike about a specific candidate such as what might make them vote for or against that candidate most of their responses fall into one of the above three categories. Party identification and ideology are more general, religion is the factor that influenced voting behavior primarily by affecting the attitudes that are more immediate to the vote decision in a particular year and emotions of the people who are religious (Lednum 2006).

The various factors that influence the vote decision vary in their stability over time. Evaluations of candidate qualities and government performance are also important, capable of substantial shifts from one election to the next. Party identification and ideology are much more stable in the short term. Not many voters change their party identification or ideology and

attitude toward the religious thinking and voting behavior from one election to the next, and the changes that do occur often are small ones.

The attitudes and orientations that affect voting behavior are related to a number of social and demographic factors. Thus, social groups differ in their voting patterns. The most important social and demographic factors in elections are race and ethnicity, social class or socio-economic status, Religion and region these factors play an important role in election and voting behavior of the people and most important religion and religious authority are play effecting role in the elections and changing the behavior of the voters (Gallup Survey 2008).

Religion influences political behavior in both directly shaping views on political issues and indirectly implying support for specific policies. Religion can thus function not only as a source of changing behavior and shared identity and understandings, but also as a powerful ideology. "Religion" is frequently included in a battery of control variables in regressions examining political behavior, along with education. Moreover, belief, participation, and belonging are three distinct dimensions of religiosity (Layman 2001).

The most interesting questions about an election are not concerned with who won but with why people voted the way that they did or what the implications of the results are looking only at the campaign events and incidents will not suffice. The unique aspects of the election must be blended with a more general understanding of electoral behavior to create a full explanation. So, basic concepts and ideas used in the study of voting behavior as a basis for analyzing the results of the elections. Two major concerns characterize the study of electoral behavior. One concern is with explaining the election result by identifying the sources of individual voting behavior. To understand the election outcome by understanding

how and why the voters made up their minds. Another major concern in voting research emphasizes changes in voting patterns over time, usually with an attempt to determine what the election results tell us about the direction in politics. In this case the major focus is on the dynamics of electoral behavior, especially in terms of role of religion and religious authority and present and future developments (Samad 1995).

Role of Religious shrines in Political Participation in the World Context

There are so many religions today and everyone believes their religion is the right one. Every person alive today has some sort of belief in something. They may either believe in God or they don't, they may choose to ignore religion or have many questions. In politics, there are the individuals, who are the democrats, the republicans, and those who don't really care at all. All of these groups have a lot to say when it comes to the politicians. In this situation when the politicians are don't care the public in this way only source that the most of the people prefer is the religion and when religion and religious authorities take part in the politics they try to change the behavior of the people who are influenced by the religion (Dalton 2000).

in the U.S the role of religion is so effective. Interest in the relationship between religion and politics has been especially well developed in the United States, which has long appeared exceptional in the degree to which religion has influenced social and political life. Americans routinely claim higher levels of church membership and attendance at religious services and are more likely to believe in God and claim that religion is of considerable importance in Their lives than citizens in other postindustrial capitalist democracies (Burnham ET al.1981).

Ethnic religious institutions promote psychological effects, similar to

group consciousness, is play a leading role in political participation. Therefore the levels of group consciousness promote political activity. The group consciousness varies among subgroups. The religious institutions affect the politics and change the people psychologically and make a sufficient impact on the politics. The religious institutions are the source to bring a social and political change in the society (Stokes 2003).

The role of religion and religious authorities play an important role in the world politics as well like in many religious countries where the religious authorities are in the politics they change the voting behavior of the people because of the religion. Like in the U.S electoral politics the Republican Candidates and liberal Protestants, the changing voting behavior and function of their increasingly liberal views of social issues. The religion and the role of religious institution play a sufficient role in the politics of the different countries of the world because in every country religion and religious authorities exist (Miller ET al.1996).

1.4 Role of Religious Shrines in Political Participation in the Pakistani Context

Role of religion in the politics can be seen from Independence Day and in getting the new state Pakistan the religious authorities play a vital role but at some points they were against the Quaid-e-Azam (the founder of Pakistan). During the independence movement, some religious leaders opposed the independence movement in general and Mr. Jinnah in particular. One of their arguments was that Jinnah was Western educated and wears Western dresses so he will not be able to run the newly created country within the framework of religion. The role of religion and the religious ideologies are so important for every nation and in the politics if the religion and religious authorities participate, they imposed their ideologies and change the voting behavior of the people. In Pakistan the

Muslims are in majority and the religious parties are taking part in the politics and get the support of the people but not the majority of the people. The role of religion in politics is from the first day of independence and the religious parties and religious leader play effective role in the politics of Pakistan (Nasr 1996).

In October 2002, for the first time in the history of Pakistan, a sizeable share of the population voted for religious parties. Some Pakistanis, and most western analysts, interpret this as the rise of a major fundamentalist religious movement in Pakistan. The suggestions about this phenomenon can be viewed as a protest vote, to give the signal to the major political parties, which have failed so far to provide any solutions to Pakistan's poverty and misery that they will become more active and play effective role in the politics of Pakistan and this was the warning to the major parties (Tanwir 2002)

Islam has been a strong social force in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent since the 7th century and the Islamic leaders play effective role in it. After the arrival of Arab traders it subsequently spread in wide regions through Islamic conquests during 12th century, with Muslim rule lasting for many centuries, until the British occupation of India. Under British rule, the Muslims of this region struggled to attain an independent state until 1947, when Pakistan was born and the more effective role in the independence is the role of religion and is the basic source of independence (Ahmad 1988). There are many religious parties in Pakistan and religious authorities are attached with these parties but the religious authorities are also attached with some other parties like there are many other parties (Pakistan People Party) PPP, (Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz) PML (N), (Pakistan Muslim League Quaid-e-Azam) PML (Q), (Pakistan Muslim League functional) PML (F), (Pakistan Muslim League Zia) PML (Z) etc. In

Pakistan there are many

Cities where the voting system is on religious thinking like to give vote to the religious people because of the religion and caste system like “Salad”. So, in Pakistan the trend of the religious myths is exist and in many areas the religious people change the voting behavior on the basis of religion. According to a research the voting behavior of the people is like in the elections of 1990 the religious parties get only 1.76% votes and in 1993 it became 6.75%. In the recent research in 2002 the percentage of voting to religious parties is 11.23% (Warriach 2002:27-35).

So, it is very low percentage than the other parties of the Pakistan. So the trend of voting to the religious parties is not increasing like the other parties but in some areas the strong religious authorities get vote on religious basis. The religious parties have always tried to get some role in Pakistani politics. Sometimes they formed alliance with other parties like PML and some time they tried their fate independently. They had very limited success in all elections except the most recent ones, when the six major religious parties formed an alliance to contest the elections jointly. The two major religious parties in this alliance were (Jamar-e-Islami) JI and (Jamiat-Ullemma-Pakistan) JUP, and they campaigned under the name (Muthida Majlis Amil) MMA which could be translated literally as the “Joint Action Organization;” we will refer to them as the Religious Alliance. The Religious Alliance shattered precedent by winning 46 seats in the national assembly and 80 seats in the four provinces (Tanwir 2002). The religion and religious leaders always play an important role in the politics. The religious affiliations are also play an important role in casting votes to these religious authorities. The religious *Pirs* and Shrines play a key role in casting votes and the trend of voting to religious leaders and support their religious thoughts.



1.5 Role of Religious Shrines and Leaders in Political Participation in the Multan

Role of religion in politics play a key role in the elections in all developed countries and in Punjab, Pakistan the religious authorities take part in politics and change voting behavior of the people. Role of religion in the election campaign also change the voting behavior and results of the elections. The trend of voting to the religious authority is increasing day by day and people caste vote on the basis of religion to these religious authorities.

So, the present study was based on impacts of religious affiliation and religious authority in the politics in which the different trends of voting behavior on religious basis prevailed in located rural areas of district Multan. But confidently no one knows the high trends of voting to the religious authority. The people of Multan believed in Sufism and follow the Pirs and the Saints. They have trend of voting to the Pirs and Sajama Nasheens. Due to these and the *Pirs* who take part in the politics change the voting behavior of the people. The religious authorities have also a religious background and because of the inspiration of people from their forefathers they support them and in Multan there are few religious families and people support them because of their religious position not on the base of their political party.

Mostly in the rural areas the people of rural areas are mostly attached with the Holy shrines, *Pirs* and religious *Mullahs* and support the religious leaders. So, the religious affiliations of the people change the voting behavior of the people of rural District Multan. The religious leaders like *Mullahs*, *Pirs* and those who have the religious background are participate in the politics and election campaign and the people who are attached with

these religious leaders support them in the elections

1.6 Statement of the Problem

Religion is one of the major forces which directly and indirectly influence the voting behavior. Role of religion in political participation is very important and in most of the cases change the voting behavior of the people. Religion play a vital role in the development of society and the religious leaders give support to the people and almost people satisfied with their decision of voting to religious leaders. A society cannot progress without religion. In District Multan mostly the people who lived in rural areas were prefer the religious leaders and Pirs for voting and were not aware of the importance of their votes. Present study aims to understand the role of religious leaders and masses affiliation with these key religious in the process of politics. More specifically how this association affect the voting behavior of the people. The role of *Pirs* and religious shrines also change the voting behavior of the people and the religious background of some religious leaders also helpful in casting votes. If these religious authorities take part in politics they get majority of votes. The role of religion and religious thinking is playing an important role to support the religious leaders. In the process of election the religious leaders play an important role and also change the voting behavior of the Important role and the religious authorities change the voting behavior on religious basis. The people of rural areas are mostly attached with the religious authorities like *Pirs* and the shrines and they also cast their votes on the basis of their religious belief and the religious affiliation effect the voting behavior of the people.

1.7 Objectives of the Study

1. To understand the role of religious shrines affiliation in political process

2. To study the role of religious leaders in the process of election
3. To highlight the influence of religious leaders in vote casting behaviors of the rural people.

1.8 Significance of the Study

The main aim behind this research was to understand the role religion in the political process in rural settings of Multan. On the one side this research adds up to the existing body of knowledge and on the other side it will provide the insights about the people's behaviors and will suggest that how a free and fair political process can be achieved. The present study was conducted in rural areas of District Multan where majority of the people were in favor of Pirs and Sajadasheens and they were not aware about the importance of their votes. In District Multan the majority of the people are divided into different sects and they support the leader of their sect in the election. Through this study, the people of District Multan would get awareness and political and religious benefits as well. The present study could also play an important role in changing voting behavior and trend of casting votes and create awareness in the people to cast vote on their own opinion not with the consent of religious leaders. The research will fill the gap regarding the importance of shrines in political process. Moreover further research can be done on other related areas as well to deeply explore the topic in rural and urban areas.



Chapter No. 2

REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE

In this chapter the researcher tries to critically examine existing research studies on the concerned topic. There is a reasonable number of studies in the context of rural Pakistan which directly or indirectly shows a positive association between religious affiliation and the vote casting behavior of the masses. The below mentioned studies focuses on that under what circumstances the vote casting behavior of the masses is being influenced because of the religious affiliations.

2.1 Factors affecting the role of religion in political participation

The present's section is quoted on critical review about role of religion in political participation in Multan and empirical findings of various studies on the religious attainment from the disciplines of sociology. The religious impact on society about religious outcome of individuals from various societies is elaborated in the light of the objectives of the present study.

2.2 Impacts of Pirs and religious leaders on Politics

Hassan (1987) stated that, "The Ulema represent the central or "purist" tradition of Islam. They perceive "popular" Islam based on the pir-murid Paradigm as misleading, superstitious, and vulgar, and they believe it needs to be replaced by "purer" or true Islam based on Quran and Shariat and for which they are the principal spokesman."

Marsden (2005) concluded that, "The ulama, the urban youth, and the rural as well as 'Diaspora' disciples (*muridan*) of Sufi cults. Importantly, they show convincingly how Pakistan people trained as 'religious scholars', supporters of ethnic-based parties, and the disciples of saint-like figures of spiritual charisma and authority are not simple automatons instrumentally directed either by the Pakistan state or unchanging and static religious and cultural traditions and values."

Hassan (1987) asserted that, "The social structure of the Muslim society in Pakistan has been profoundly influenced and shaped by the "popular"

Islam, which has played a pivotal role in the evolution of the rural elite—the *Pirs* and *Zamindars*, who together have been one of the pillars of Pakistani state.”

Jost (2006) mentioned that, “Man is a social being, and as such he always contributes in social life. But this contribution is not constant: the intensity and types of participation are relevant variables in political analysis. Voting behavior is very important topic because through this we can know the will of people and also the way they want to have it. Voting is very important tool in democratic societies. Democracy provides a chance to the people to become a dynamic citizens rather than inactive subjects.”

Cohen (2003) said that the voting decisions are the most important decisions that public make, they decide who will rule the country and how the resources and capital are allocated. Voters do not know all of the issues. They only rely on informational cues. Demographic factors do effect the voting decisions like gender, race are more important than socioeconomic factors like education. In the last few years ethnic and racial influence on voting decisions was studied more than other issues. Race and ethnicity had great influence on voting behavior.

The role of religious affiliation in the political participation the religious leaders and beliefs of people on these leaders like *Ulema*, *Pirs* and ethnic groups play an important role to effect the politics of the country. The religious *Pirs* are totally control the minds of the people and they are called “*Mureeds*”. These are the voters of the religious leaders and cast their votes on religious basis because of their *Pirs* and ethnic leaders such as *Sayad* and they mostly get the vote on the basis of their religious background. The *Pirs* as a group however have remained the symbols of their dominant religious and cultural tradition, and Pakistan state has both

Relied on their political support and, in its functioning, reflected and served their class interest. The *Ulema* are committed to build relationship the gap between the state and popular Islam and replacing it with the purist Islam. On the other hand the categories such as *Sayad*, a descendant of the Prophet (PBUH), a self-designation frequently used by the local *Pir* families similarly became labeled as castes. The caste system like *Sayad* and the *pir* are involve in the politics and the people support them on religious basis and they change the voting behavior of the voters.

2.3 Impact of Shrines on Politics

Platteau (2011) stated that, “Sufi shrines work in multidimensional ways thus their political, social, cultural and economic implications have always been, and will continue to be, substantial. Since time immemorial, the tradition of visiting sacred places to attain religious merit, washing off the sins and accomplishment of desires has been a common practice across the world.”

Rozehnal (2006) opines that, “Most of the Pakistanis view Sufi saints as the embodiment of Islamic virtue and consider them true Faqirs (impoverished ones) characterized by a life of piety, self-sacrifice and public service.”

Durkheim (1965) asserted that, “The other major function of shrine is social cohesion. People who have a “bayat” on specific shrine or *Pir* come under the circle of *Pir bhai* (those who share same spiritual leaders). This promote social cohesion in the society. Further, people promote working relations, affinity and ceremonial relations. As a result of ritual performance form a group which emphasis the unity of group.”

Pirani et al (2008) concluded that, “Many attendees described their living situation as stressful due to poverty, violent and abusive family relationships, feeling of being dependent upon their children, ongoing

health problems which remained untreated, lack of inner peace and satisfaction and so forth these worries were perceived to provoke deterioration in their physical and mental health.”

Malik (1990) stated that, “Followers of Sufi shrines engage themselves in different rituals and religious practices which include prayer, attending mosque, Quranic study, Langer (feast), Mannat (divine intercession), Qawwali, Sufiana Kalam, Drumming and Dhamal (ritual trance dance) etc. Moreover, other religious ritual performed by the people at Sufi shrines is Bayat or having oath in the Pirs, touching the tomb, tasting or Licking the salt and other sacred items placed at shines, knotting the thread, offering prayers.”

The role of religious shrines in politics and in the elections is so important and these shrines make an impact on the voting behavior of the people who are religiously affiliated to Th shrines. The religious shrines are source of implications of social, political and cultural unity in the people. Mostly the people who are in the circle of shrines or in the same shrine they become Pir bhai and they are closely attached with each other. In the elections these people are in the favor of those religious leaders who are also under the circle of the same shrine so the voting behavior of the people influenced by these shrines. The religious shrines are also source of social and political stability and create social cohesion in the society. In the Pakistan context the Sufis are considered impoverished and full of self-sacrifice and in the elections the concept of Sufism and shrines play an important role because people who are the followers of the shrines are in the favor of religious leaders because of religious affiliation to these shrines. If the religious leader belong to the Pir family or to the shrines in this way they get majority of votes. So, the role of religious shrines in casting votes is so important and affects the voting behavior of the people

of that area.

2.4 Impact of Sufism and rituals on Politics

In Pakistan, the ownership and maintenance of Sufi tombs fell to the family members. The devotion of many pilgrims created a class of hereditary custodians who were in charge of the finances and operations of the tomb-shrines.

Hassanali (2010) stated that, “Sufi orders are not inherently driven by competing and exclusive ideologies, although competition in the sociopolitical arena is certainly not unknown. The majority of Sufi orders have a Sunni orientation, although Shia orders do exist as well. While it has been suggested that the Sufi orders played an important role in spreading Islam on a popular level, there is little historical evidence to suggest that premier Sufi leaders took any interest in seeking the conversion of non-Muslims.”

Ibbetson (1974) stated that, “This is perfectly miscellaneous assortment of people, many of whom cannot claim to have any priestly character. Any divine learned in the faith of Islam claims the title of Alims. But on the frontier any person who can read and write and possesses sufficient religious knowledge to enable to conduct the devotions in the mosque claims the little.”

Gazetteer of Peshawar (1989) stated that, “Everywhere Mullahs, Sheikhs and Sayads are objects of reverence, who’s temporal wants are freely attended to. Mullahs of note attract to their mosques a number of wandering adventurers from other countries known as talib-ilm or seekers after learning.”

Alam (2009) stated that, “while acknowledging that the term “Sufi” was not current at the time of the Prophet, Sufi theorists maintained that this specialization in spirituality arose in parallel with other disciplines such as

Islamic law and Koranic exegesis. Sufism was inspired by the Koran. A believer meditating on the meaning of the Koran would be filled with Allah's overwhelming transcendence, realize his total dependence on Allah, and as a result would completely surrender to Allah's will. While objects in nature submit to Allah's will unconsciously, the Sufi does so consciously. He is like the birds and the flowers in his yielding to the Creator; like them, he reflects the Divine Intellect to his own degree. However, he reflects it actively, they passively. The Sufi thus strives to understand Divine Reality "from the inside." Sufism also entails ethical and spiritual goals that function to open the possibilities of the soul."

Ewing (1983) stated that, "The institutional spread of Sufism offered the community the prospect of a Spiritual community organized around a charismatic teacher whose authority was derived from a lineage going back to the Prophet himself. While dedicated membership in Sufi orders remained confined to an elite, mass participation in the reverence for saints at their tombs has been (and continues to be) a typical feature of Sufi organizations. Complicating this situation is the phenomenon of multiple initiation through which individual Sufis could receive instruction in the methods of various orders while maintaining a primary allegiance to one. Sufi orders are not inherently driven by competing and exclusive ideologies, although competition in the sociopolitical arena is certainly not unknown."

The role of Sufis is so effective in the politics and these are the people who are strongly attached with the religion and have more knowledge about the religion and are the source of religious knowledge for the people

and people have respect for these religious authorities and if those authorities have religious background and take part in elections people support them on religious basis the Sufis have religious edge and the people of rural areas support them because of the religious position of these authorities and these are the source of changing voting behavior of the people. The voters are in favor of these religious leaders because of their religious position. So, the participation of religious authorities in the election campaigns and politics affect the voting behavior of the people. The ulama perceived “popular” Islam based on the *piri-muridi* paradigm as misleading, superstitious, and vulgar, and they believed it needed to be replaced by a “purer” or true Islam based on the Koran and Sharia, and for which they were the principal spokesmen. They frequently denounced pilgrimage to Sufi tombs as idolatry, and rejected the notion that saints are able to intercede with Allah on behalf of believers. However popular Islam was the dominant religious tradition and as such it permeated Pakistani cultural life. The evolution of the state in Pakistan was profoundly affected by the predominance of popular Islam. While criticizing Sufism, it is remarkable that some fundamentalist movements adapted certain organizational techniques and leadership styles from Sufism. The main difference was that these movements substituted political ideology for Sufi Spirituality, to become mass parties in the modern political arena, So, the Sufism affects the politics as well as the voting behavior of the people.

2.5 Impacts of Religious proliferation on Politics

Smith (1996) stated that, “Religiously provoked social actions to change the society for the better can be shown in numerous examples of religiously based charitable activities and political activism like the significant contribution of people and religious organizations to the mobilization of major movements such as the Black Civil Rights

Movement, Poland's Solidarity Movement, the South African Anti-apartheid Movement and the Movement for Indian Independence.”

Amin (1982) concluded that, “The Zia-ul-Haque regime was a combination of the mullah and military alliance where he used Islam to legitimize his dictatorial rule. The internal dimension of the Mullah-Military alliance was linked to the regime's requirement to appease the right wing religio-political groups so as to remain in power. So, Islamisation was able to develop strong roots within the country due to the Zia policies in Pakistan.”

Ahmad (1978) concluded that, “Jamaat-i-Islami infiltrated the officer corps which had been facilitated by practice introduced under Zia of Sending combat officers to universities in Pakistan, over many of which the JI has pervasive influence. Zia, himself a close relative of Mian Tufail, the then chief of JI, provided ample protection for secret cells of the JI inside the armed force. It was the only political organization which had such opportunities. Most important however, is perhaps the fact that the JI propoganda among vast number of troops was officially sanctioned by commanding officers.”

The impacts of religious proliferation influenced the country because religion is basic and important institution of the world. Religious proliferation in Pakistan increase in the era of Zia-Ul-Haq the events of 1979 provided an opportunity to Zia to initiate a process of Islamisation mainly for two reasons; firstly to stabilize and legitimize his regime and secondly to acquire international acceptance. In that era he promotes Islam in Pakistani society. The religious affiliation affects the politics of the country because of the Islamization in the country the religious leaders take part in the politics and change the voting behavior of the people. Religion is also a source of social interaction for the people and on the

religious basis people and countries and interacts with each other and it creates unity in the people like in the independence people sacrifice for their religious freedom. After the proliferation of Islam and independence of Pakistan the religious leaders take part in elections and people support them on the religious basis. Pakistan needs “Religion” or “Religious Supremacy” because Pakistan is politically instable, economically weak, strategically or military vulnerable and the roots of democracy are very weak. The majority of the people is illiterate and backward, has emotional attachment with the religion and has no sense to respect law of the land but have an unseen fear of Allah.

2.6 Assumptions

1. After literature review following assumptions can be made about the topic.
2. Religious beliefs of people on religious leaders affect the politics and voting behavior.
3. Religious affiliation with *Pirs* like *Muridan* affects the politics and voting behavior.
4. The religious affiliation with the Shrines and rituals leads toward political participation.
5. Religious affiliation of the people affects behavior of people toward religious leaders.
6. Religious institutions like *Shrines* and religious personalities like *Pirs* change the people perception about vote casting.

7. Religious background like Sufism affects the politics and voting behavior of people.
8. The religious proliferation and traditions affect the politics

Chapter No. 3
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework is very important tool to guide your research in a proper way. On the base of theory assumptions is made and on the basis of this assumption hypothesis is made which are tested by statistical tools. Theory guide and direct your research in a proper line to prove your hypotheses. The impact of religious affiliation in politics can be visualized in the context of multiple theoretical perspectives because of its complexity of nature. In this research religious affiliation in politics are related with different theories.

3.1 Functionalist perspective

3.1.1 Emile Durkheim

The functionalist view focuses on the role of social objects or actors, on what they do. Durkheim believed that harmony, rather than conflict, defined society. He examines social phenomena with regard to their function in producing or facilitating social cohesion. He studied the division of labor, religion and suicide from this perspective. Durkheim argued that it was the function of religion to distinguish the sacred from the profane. This shared sense of the sacred helps to bind societies

Together. Durkheim's analysis of religion also centers on social integration. In fact, he sees this as the primary function of religion. He recognized that modern societies were becoming less formally religious (i.e., more secular) and this was a cause of concern. He believed that modern societies need to develop a civic religion to replace the traditional forms.

In the "Elementary Forms of Religious Life," Durkheim attempts to understand the effects of religion on social solidarity by studying religion in primitive society in 1912. This is an opportunity to see how religion functions to bind individuals to groups, regulate their behavior, and

connect them to the symbolic order and social structure. An examination of the function of religion in primitive society, then, reveals the manner by which religion produces integration.

Durkheim identified three essential elements of religion: (1) belief in the sacred; (2) religious groups, or cults; and (3) ritual. Religion emerged, he says, when humans began to assemble into larger groups. One effect of this new interaction was a collective sense of a larger force which controlled their lives. This perception was the beginning of the notion of the sacred. Durkheim believed that religious belief represents the original form of scientific knowledge. The basic categories of experience and rational thought, such as causation, time and space, emerged after religion. As societies become more secular, knowledge takes the form of science, and these basic categories are grounded in its distinctive idiom. Because religion provides or, rather, provided a means of understanding the world, it plays a key role in the creation of social solidarity. Religious beliefs are internalized; they are accepted as a part of one's own knowledge. In this way, social norms are also internalized. Cohesion is facilitated because control over behavior becomes a matter of self-regulation. In Durkheim's view, religion originated as a form of social self-worship. Religious feeling emerged as a result of social interaction outside the clan, and the symbols and practices of religion function to enhance attachment to the group. The totem is a symbolic representation of the group, even if it appears to stand for the "higher powers" that control the group. Ritual reinforces collective identity through affinity to the sacred.

3.2 Talcott Parsons

American Functionalist Talcott Parsons said that religion provides "core values" for societies, and tries to make sense of unanswerable questions about death and the meaning of life in 1939-40. By strengthening norms,

Religion creates cultural homogeneity. This approach looks at society through a macro-level orientation, which is a broad focus on the social structures that shape society as a whole, and believes that society has evolved like organisms. This approach looks at both social structure and social functions. In the most basic terms, it simply emphasizes “the effort to impute, as rigorously as possible, to each feature, custom, or practice, its effect on the functioning of a supposedly stable, cohesive system.”

3.3 Application

Functionalist perspective tells that there is social solidarity in people of the society because of their religion. Religion is basic institution of the society and the people belong to same religion have social solidarity. In religion the social structure that regard to the function in producing or facilitating social cohesion in the society. People of research located have strong religious affiliation with the religion, shrines, Pirs and religious leaders. They prefer religious leaders on the religious basis. The effects of religion on social solidarity were there in the primitive societies. This is an opportunity to see how religion functions to bind individuals to groups, regulate their behavior, and connect them to the symbolic order and social structure. In this way religion become the source to make the people close with each

Other and people of same religion have strong social solidarity and they support the religious leaders.

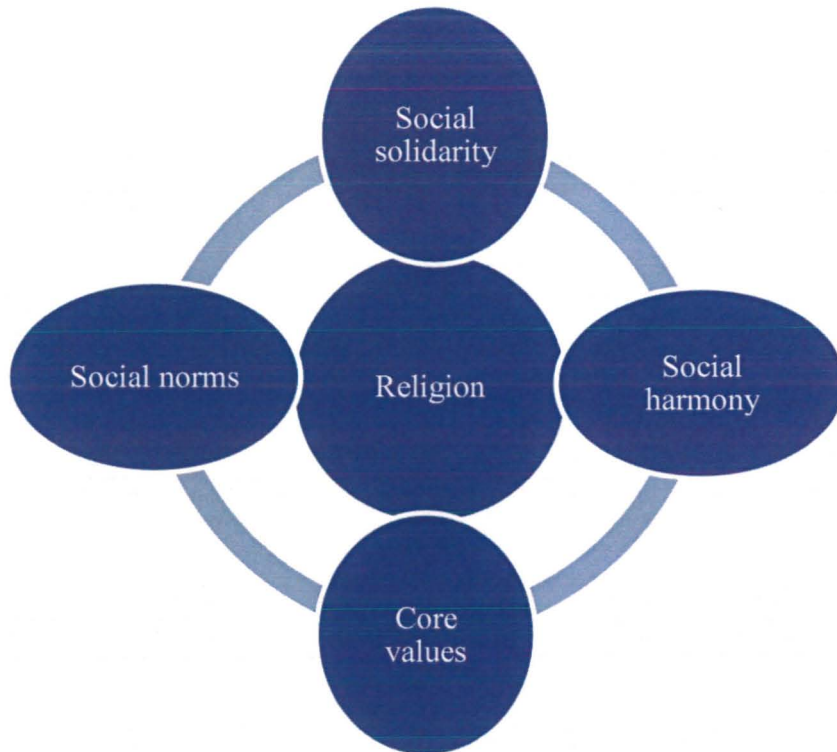


Figure 1

Religion provides "core values" for societies, and because of these core values the people are strongly attached with their religion. By strengthening norms, religion creates cultural homogeneity. Because of the strong social norms the people are in favor of their religious leaders because of their strong religious affiliation with them. This approach looks at society through a macro-level orientation, which is a broad focus on the social structures that shape society as a whole, and believes that society has linked like organisms and each organism is important to run the society this approach looks at both social structure and social functions. Because of the core values of the religion the people from that religion are socially and politically attached with each other that's why they support the religious leaders in the elections. So the religion creates social harmony not conflict in the society and because of social harmony people of the

society have strong social network with each other. The core values and many other social values and norms make the affiliation of people with their religious authorities and when these authorities take part in elections majority of people support them.

3.4 Proposition

Religion creates social solidarity that leads toward political participation.

Religious affiliation is the source of social harmony.

Religious affiliation makes the strong social interactions.

Religion is the source to regulate the functions of society.

3.5 Hypothesis Alternate Hypothesis

“The religious affiliations lead toward selective political participation.”

3.6 Null Hypothesis

“There is no impact of religious affiliation in the process of selective political participation.”

Chapter No. 4
CONCEPTUALIZATION & OPERATIONALIZATION



In the research there had been used some key words which describe the main contextual theme of the research with relation to its research locale. Different definitions from different perspective have been given and then Operationalization of these definitions was described in accordance with the locale.

4.1 Conceptualization

Conceptualization is the process of development and clarification of concepts. In this process the researcher gives all definitions of concepts that mentions in his study.

4.1.1 Religion

1. According to Williams (1996) “Religion is a system of beliefs and practices oriented toward the sacred or supernatural, through which the life experiences of groups of people are given meaning and direction.”

2. According to Collins Dictionary (2009), belief in, worship of, or to super natural power or powers considered to be divine or to have control of human destiny.

3. According to Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (2010), religion is the belief of a god or gods, and the activities that are connected with the worship of them or a particular interest or influence that is very important in your life.

4. According to Chamber’s Dictionary (2009), belief in, recognition of an awakened sense of a higher unseen controlling power or powers, with the emotions and morality connected with such rites or worship.

4.1.2 Affiliation:

1. According to Collins Dictionary (2009), to receive into close connection or association (with a large body, group, organization, etc) adopt as a member, branch, etc.

2. According to Chamber’s Dictionary (2009), to adopt or attach as a

member or branch or become closely connected with some organization or club etc.

3. According to New Webster Dictionary (2000), affiliating or being connected with an organization, club etc. To take in as a member or branch.

4. According to Concise Oxford Dictionary (1982), Affiliation means attach to or connect with some group or organization.

4.1.3 Politics

1. According to Collins Dictionary (2009), the practice or study of the art and science of forming direction, and administrating states and other political units.

2. According to Chamber's Dictionary (2009), the art or science of government, the management of a political party or political affairs or opinion.

3. According to Concise Oxford Dictionary (1982), state or similarly organized system or having organized form of a society or government.

4. According to New Webster's Dictionary (2000), the science and art of political government affairs, often as a profession, political opinions principle, or party connections.

4.1.4 Participation

1. According to Chamber's Dictionary (2009), To have share, or take part in, take part in some organization or club etc.

2. According to Concise Oxford Dictionary (1982), participation is to have share or take part and share in some group or organization etc.

3. According to Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2010), Act of taking part in an activity or event.

4. According to New Webster's Dictionary (2000), to take part or involved in an activity or to take part in some organization or group etc.

4.2 Operationalization

Operationalization is a process to define the measurement of phenomenon that is not directly measurable, but its existence is indicated by other phenomena. It is the process of defining a fuzzy concept so as to make the theoretical concept clearly distinguishable or measurable and to understand it in terms of empirical observations. In a wider sense, it refers to the process of specifying the extension of a concept describing what is and is not a part of that concept.

4.2.1 Religion:

Religion in this study is the main factor which affects the voting behavior of the people. Multan is called the land of Sufi saints where people love and are affiliated with the Sufi version of Islam. It is a system of beliefs and practices that make the human being able choose the good and bad ways of the life. Religion is the source of satisfaction for the followers and gives them the meaning and directions of life. If someone talks about the religion of the research located area, the people are closely attached with the religion and religious leaders. They are traditionally attached with the leaders. They support the religious leaders on religious basis. They cast their votes because they are religiously affiliated with the religious leaders. Because of disciplines and

Religious affiliation with the religious leader's people support them and religion become the source of political participation. Religion I the source of casting votes for the people of located area.

4.2.2 Affiliation:

The people of the locale have great attachment and affiliation with the religion and religious leaders. Affiliation is to adopt or attach as a member

or branch of any group or become closely connected with some organization or club etc. When people of the society are closely linked with some group or organization then they are affiliated with that organization. When the people follow the rules and regulation of any religion or any group they are affiliated with that religion or group. the role of religious shrines affiliation in political process is high.

Further the role of religious leaders in the process of election is great and influence of religious leaders in vote casting behaviors of the rural people is high as a result. Religious beliefs of people on religious leaders affect the politics and voting behavior and religious affiliation with Pirs like Muridan affects the politics and voting behavior.

The religious affiliation with the Shrines and rituals leads toward political participation and religious affiliation of the people affects behavior of people toward religious leaders.

4.2.3 Politics:

It is found that Religious institutions like Shrines and religious personalities like Pirs change the people perception about vote casting and political behavior of the people. Religious background like Sufism affects the politics and voting behavior of people.

The religious proliferation and traditions affect the politics. The people of located area are religiously affiliated and cast vote on religious basis of politics is the practice or study of the art and science of forming direction, and administrating states and other political units. It is the source of forming a democratic state. Politics is the way of administrating states and make the state to work as a democratic state. Politics is that institution of The society that helps in forming the government and makes the rules and directions for the state. Politics is that institution in which the community's decisions are made, rules for the group behavior are

established and competition for positions of leadership is regulated.

4.2.4 Participation:

People of the area participate in politics and political activities but their perceptions and vote casting is influenced by their religion and religious leaders in the area. Participation is the way to have share or take part and share in some group or organization etc. The political participation exists in the located area on the basis of religious affiliation. The religious leaders of the located area are participate in the politics and the voters cast their votes on religious basis and the political participation of the religious leaders on the religious basis become the source of casting votes for the people.

Chapter No. 5
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY



For the present research quantitative research technique was used. Every scientific discipline has a set of rules and procedures, which have to be followed in conducting an effective research. Sociology is a discipline, based on mostly quantitative research methodology. Moreover, survey research method was used in which association of variables of hypothesis were tested. The data was analyzed through SPSS version 20.0.

5.1 Universe of the Research

The universe for present research was rural areas of district Multan. Initially one out of three tehsils was randomly selected. From selected tehsil a union council was randomly selected. From sampled union council 7 villages were randomly selected keeping in view the affiliation of masses to the religious leaders and their shrines. Following criterion were set to take sampled respondents from the selected villages; a) religious affiliation, b) involvement in politics, c) the influence of Pirs on voting behavior of people, and d) the role of shrines and religious authorities like Pirs and Mullah in changing voting behavior of the people.

5.2 Target Population

Target population means the specific area where the interviewer collected data or conducts a research. So in the present research only voters who have casted their votes by the influence of religious authorities on the basis of sects, shrines and other religious affiliations were interviewed.

5.3 Sampling Technique

In this research the, researcher was used the “Theoretical purposive sampling.” The main reason behind selecting this technique was that the researcher needs to consult only those respondents who have been involved in the process of vote casting on the basis of religious affiliations. This type of sampling is useful when population is higher and researcher just do selective respondents interviews.



5.4 Sample Size

The sample for the study consisted of people who cast their votes to religious leaders or to those who have been supported by the religious leaders. 140 respondents were interviewed from 7 villages. Further from each village 20 respondents who have casted their votes on the base of religious affiliation were sampled.

5.5 Tools of Data Collection

For the purpose to interview the villagers about their affiliations to the religious leaders and shires an interview schedule was devised. The main reason to use the interview schedule as a tool to collect data from rural settings was lower levels of literacy. Most of them were unable to understand Urdu that is why research used interview schedule for the collection data.

5.6 Technique for Data Collection

Survey method was used for the present research for the collection of the data from respondents in rural Multan. Interview schedule was further divided into different phases; a) demographic information of the respondents, b) education of respondent, c) total family members, d) voting behavior, and e) religious affiliations of the respondents.

5.7 Pre-Testing

Pre-testing is a method to test research tool before formal start of the data collection. For said purpose researcher conducted 10 interviews and accordingly changes were made in the interview schedule.

5.8 Data Analyses

Data was entered into the data sheet on Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) for the purpose to draw frequencies and cross-tabulation. The main reason for the using of SPSS for data analysis was that to draw

Scientific inference and to test the already set hypotheses of current research.

5.9 Opportunities and Limitations of the Study

To explore the nature and extent of impact of religious affiliation in political participation in rural areas was very difficult because of the religious and social barriers. Researcher focused on those people who are religiously affiliated with religious leaders and religious shrines, so the access to the traditional people was very difficult. The freedom of casting vote was very low.

5.10 Ethical Concerns

The study settings were exhibiting traditional rural setup therefore the researcher had to come across many ethical dilemmas. As during day time the people were used to go to fields so researcher scheduled the interviews in afternoon and evening time. In many cases people were reluctant to give interview because of their religious and traditional nature. Moreover, prior to set interviews the researcher assured the respondent about the pretext of this research and affirmed them about the confidentiality of their name and details. Furthermore, asking people about the religious affiliation and religious rituals and sects was very difficult. Asking people about their religious sect and the influence of religious leaders on them in election campaign and voting behavior was also not easy because people avoid giving the details of their personal information and not having time to give the information about voting behavior.

Chapter No. 6
RESULTS AND MAJOR FINDINGS

This chapter is divided into two main parts; the first part deals with the frequencies distribution of the major findings of research and second phase focus on the cross-tabulation of the selective variable to see the association.

Table No. 6.1.1 Age of the Respondent

Category	Frequency	Percent
18-30	12	8.6
30-40	27	19.3
40-50	68	48.5
Above	33	23.6
Total	140	100.0

The above table describes the percentage of respondents according to age. 48.5% of the respondents were between the ages of 40-50, 23.6% of the respondents were above from the age of 50, 19.3% of the respondents were between the ages of 30-40, 8.6% of the respondents were between the ages of 18-30.

Table No. 6.1.2 Religion of the Respondent

Category	Frequency	Percent
Islam	132	94.3
Christianity	2	1.4
Ahmadism	5	3.6
Others	1	0.7
Total	140	100.0

The above table describes the percentage of respondents according to religion. 94.3% of the respondents were the Muslims, religion of 3.6% of the respondent was Ahmadism, religion of respondent and religion of 1.4% of the respondent was Christianity, 0.7% of respondents were from other religions.

Table No. 6.1.3 Family structure of the Respondent

Category	Frequency	Percent
Nuclear	19	13.5
Joint	96	68.6
Extended	25	17.9
Total	140	100.0

The above table describes the percentage of respondents according to family type.68.6% were belong to joint family, 17.9% belong to extended family,13.5% of the respondents belong to nuclear family. Majority of the respondents were in extended family because of the influence of the country life.

Table No.6.1.4 Qualification of the Respondent

Category	Frequency	Percent
Illiterate	75	53.6
Primary	25	17.9
Secondary	15	10.7
Matriculation	10	7.1
Bachelor	9	6.4
Masters	6	4.3
Total	140	100.0

The above table describes the percentage of respondents according to qualification. 53.6 of respondents were illiterate, 17.9% were primary passed, 10.7% were secondary passed, 7.1% were matric passed, 6.4% were bachelor passed, and 4.3% were intermediate passed. Majority of the respondents were illiterate

Table No.6.1.5 Influence of religious beliefs on voting behavior

Category	Frequency	Percent
To great extent	65	46.4
To some extent	60	42.9
Not at all	15	10.7
Total	140	100.0

The above table describes the percentage of respondents according to the religious belief directly/indirectly influence the voting behavior. 46.4% of the respondents were agreed to great extent, 42.9% of the respondents

were agreed to some extent and 10.7% of the respondents were not agreed.

Table 6.1.6 effects of religious affiliation on voting behavior

Category	Frequency	Percent
To great extent	83	59.3
To some extent	37	26.4
Not at all	20	14.3
Total	140	100.0

The above table describes the percentage of respondents according to the effects of religious affiliation on voting behavior or not. 59.3% of the respondents were agreed to great extent, 26.4% of the respondents were agreed to some extent and 14.3% of the respondents were not agreed.

Table 6.1.7 Social dependence of respondents on religious leaders

Category	Frequency	Percent
Yes	105	75
No	35	25
Total	140	100.0

The above table describes the percentage of respondents according to the social dependence of respondent on religious leaders.75% of the respondents were socially dependent on their religious leaders and 25% of the respondents were not socially dependent on religious leaders.

Table 6.1.8 Economic dependence of respondents on religious leaders and Pirs

Category	Frequency	Percent
Yes	52	37.1
No	110	62.9
Total	140	100.0

The above table describes the percentage of respondents according to the economic dependence of respondents on religious leaders or not. 37.1% of the respondents were economically dependent on their religious leaders and 62.9% of the respondents were not economically dependent on religious leaders.

Table 6.1.9 Political dependence of respondent on Pirs

Category	Frequency	Percent
Yes	90	64.3
No	50	35.7
Total	140	100.0

The above table describes the percentage of respondents according to the Political dependence of respondent on religious leaders. 64.3% of the respondents were politically dependent on their religious leaders and 35.7% of the respondents were not politically dependent on religious leaders.

Table 6.1.10 Social dependence of respondent on religious shrines

Category	Frequency	Percent
Yes	112	80
No	28	20
Total	140	100.0

The above table describes the percentage of respondents according to the social dependence of respondent on religious shrine.80% of the respondents were socially dependent on their religious shrines and 20% of the respondents were not socially dependent on religious shrines.

Table 6.1.11 Economic dependence of respondents on religious shrines

Category	Frequency	Percent
Yes	42	30
No	98	70
Total	140	100.0

The above table describes the percentage of respondents according to the economic dependence of respondents on religious shrines.30% of the respondents were economically dependent on their religious shrines and 62.9% of the respondents were not economically dependent on religious leaders.

Table 6.1.12 Political dependence of respondents on religious shrines

Category	Frequency	Percent
Yes	72	51.4
No	68	48.6
Total	140	100.0

The above table describes the percentage of respondents according to the political dependence of respondents on religious shrines or not. 51.4% of the respondents were politically dependent on their religious shrines and 48.6% of the respondents were not economically dependent on religious leaders.

Table 6.1.13 Respondents regarding casting vote

Category	Frequency	Percent
Yes	128	91.4
No	12	8.6
Total	140	100.0

The above table describes the percentage of respondents according to the respondents regarding casting vote. 91.4% of the respondents were cast their votes and 8.6% of the respondents were not cast their votes. Majority of the respondents were cast their votes.

Table 6.1.14 Respondents regarding casting vote independently or not

Category	Frequency	Percent
Yes	36	25.8
No	104	74.2
Total	140	100.0

The above table describes the percentage of respondents according to the respondents regarding casting vote independently or not. 74.2% of the respondents were not cast their votes independently and 25.8% of the respondents were cast their votes independently. Majority of the respondents were cast not cast their votes independently.

Table 6.1.15 Respondents casting vote with the consent of religious leaders

Category	Frequency	Percent
To great extent	65	46.4
To some extent	35	25
Not at all	40	28.6
Total	140	100.0

The above table describes the percentage of respondents according to the respondents casting vote with the consent of religious leaders. 65% of the respondents were agreed at great extent and 35% of the respondents were agreed at some extent and 40% of the respondent were not cast their votes with the consent of religious leaders. Majority of the respondents were cast their votes with the consent of religious leaders.

Table 6.1.16 Respondents casting vote with the consent of religious shrines

Category	Frequency	Percent
Yes	103	73.6
No	37	26.4
Total	140	100.0

The above table describes the percentage of respondents according to that do you cast your vote with the consent of religious shrines.73.6% of the respondents were cast their votes with the consent of religious shrines and 26.4% of the respondents were not cast their votes with the consent of religious shrines. Majority of the respondents were cast their votes with the consent of religious shrines.

Table 6.1.17 Respondents that influenced by the religious leaders in the elections

Category	Frequency	Percent
To great extent	89	63.6
To some extent	31	22.1
Not at all	20	14.3
Total	140	100.0

The above table describes the percentage of respondents according to the respondents that were influenced by the religious leaders in the elections 63.6% of the respondents were agreed at great extent, 22.1% of the respondents were agreed at some extent that the they are influenced by religious leaders in the elections and 14.3%nof the respondents were not agreed that they were influenced by religious leaders in the elections.

Majority of the respondents were influenced by religious leaders in the elections.

Table 6.1.18 Respondents regarding believe in the political usage of shrines

Category	Frequency	Percent
To great extent	64	45.7
To some extent	56	40
Not at all	20	14.3
Total	140	100.0

The above table describes the percentage of respondents according to the respondents regarding believe in political usage of shrines. 45.7% of the respondents were agreed at great extent, 40% of the respondents were agreed at some extent at the political usage of shrines and 14.3% of the respondents were not agreed at the political usage of shrines.

Table 6.1.19 Religious Pirs influence the voting behavior in elections

Category	Frequency	Percent
To great extent	77	55
To some extent	53	37.9
Not at all	10	7.1
Total	140	100.0

The above table describes the percentage of respondents according to that religious *Pirs* influence the voting behavior in elections or not. 55% of the respondents were agreed at great extent, 37.1% of the respondents were agreed at some extent that the religious *Pirs* influence the voting behavior in the elections and 14.3% of the respondents were not agreed that the

religious *Pirs* influence the voting behavior in the elections. Majority of the respondents were agreed that religious leaders affect the voting behavior in the elections

Table 6.1.20 Respondents regarding casting vote because of disciplines

Category	Frequency	Percent
Yes	97	69.3
No	43	30.7
Total	140	100.0

The above table describes the percentage of respondents according to the respondents regarding casting vote because of disciplines. 69.3% were take direction from their religious leaders because of disciplines, 30.7% of the respondents were not take direction from religious leaders because of disciplines. Majority of respondents were support religious leaders in the elections because of disciplines.

Table 6.1.21 Affiliation of respondents with religious Pirs and shrines

Category	Frequency	Percent
To great extent	67	47.9
To some extent	53	37.9
Not at all	20	14.2
Total	140	100.0

The above table describes the percentage of respondents according to the affiliation of respondent with religious *Pirs* and shrines. 47.9% of the respondents were agreed at great extent, 37.9% of the respondents were agreed at some extent that religious affiliations and religious beliefs

change the voting behavior in the elections and 14.2% of the respondents were not agreed that they are affiliated with religious Pirs and shrines. Majority of the respondents were agreed that they are affiliated with religious Pirs and shrines.

Table 6.1.22 Religious leaders should take part in politics or not

Category	Frequency	Percent
Yes	87	62.1
No	53	37.9
Total	140	100.0

The above table describes the percentage of respondents according to whether religious leaders should take part in politics or not. 62.1% of the respondents were agreed that religious leaders should take part in politics, 37.9% of the respondents were not agreed that religious leaders should take part in politics.

Table 6.1.23 Respondents who were satisfied on casting vote to religious leaders

Category	Frequency	Percent
To great extent	79	47.9
To some extent	33	37.9
Not at all	28	14.2
Total	140	100.0

The above table describes the percentage of respondents according to the respondents who were satisfied on casting vote to Religious leaders or not. 47.9% of the respondents were satisfied at great extent, 37.1% of the respondents were satisfied at some extent on casting votes to religious

leaders and 14.2% of the respondents were not satisfied on casting voted to religious leaders.

Table 6.1.24 Religious leaders are better than other political leaders or not

Category	Frequency	Percent
To great extent	58	41.4
To some extent	43	30.7
Not at all	39	27.9
Total	140	100.0

The above table describes the percentage of respondents according to that religious leaders are better than political leaders or not. 41.4% of the respondents were agreed at great extent, 30.7% of the respondents were agreed at some extent that religious leaders are better than political leaders and 27.9% of the respondents were not agreed that religious leaders are better than political leaders.

Table 6.1.25 Religious affiliations leads toward political participation

Category	Frequency	Percent
To great extent	68	48.6
To some extent	46	32.9
Not at all	26	18.5
Total	140	100.0

The above table describes the percentage of respondents according to that religious affiliations leads toward political participation or not. 48.6% of the respondents were satisfied at great extent, 32.9% of the respondents were satisfied at some extent that religious affiliations leads toward political participation and 18.5% of the respondents were not satisfied that religious affiliations leads toward political participation

6.2 Hypothesis testing

H₁: The religious affiliations lead toward selective political participation.

H₀: There is no impact of religious affiliation in the process of selective political participation.

Table No 6.2.1 Religious affiliation affects behavior of people regarding casting votes

Crosstab

		To what extent you cast your vote with the consent of religious leaders			Total
		To a great extent	To some extent	Not at all	
Do you feel that religious Pirs influence the voting	To a great extent	65	12	0	77
	To some extent	0	23	30	53
	Not at all	0	0	10	10
Total		65	35	40	140

The above table describes that 65(46.4%) respondents were cast vote with the consent of these leaders and were agreed at great extent, 35(25%) respondents were agreed at some extent that they cast vote because of religious affiliation with leaders, 40(28.5%) were not cast vote with the Consent of religious leaders. According to this table, 77(55%) of the respondents were strongly affiliated with the religious leaders like Pirs and cast vote with the consent of these leaders, 53(37.8%) were at some extent affiliated with religious leaders and 10(7.1) were not affiliated with religious leaders. It is concluded that religious affiliation leads toward political participation regarding casting votes.

Level of Significance:

$$\alpha = 0.05$$

Statistical test: Chi-Square test was used to test the hypothesis.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	symp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	120.021 ^a	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	157.821	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear	100.003	1	.000
Association			
N of Valid Cases	140		

a. 3 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.50.

Results: Since the p value used to determine the significance of hypothetical test here it is found that to be 0.000 which shows that it is less than the level of significance value therefore the H_0 is rejected and H_1 is accepted and conclude that the religious affiliation affect the vote casting behavior of the people and affect the Politics.

6.2.2 Religious affiliation leads toward political participation H₁: The religious affiliations lead toward political participation.

H₀: There is no impact of religious affiliation in the process of political participation.

Crosstab

		How do you believe in the political usage of shrines			Total
		To great extent	To some extent	Not at all	
Do you feel that religious Pirs influence the voting behavior in	To great extent	64	0	13	77
	To some extent	0	46	7	53
	Not at all	0	10	0	10
Total		64	56	20	140

The above table describes that 64(45.7%) respondents were religiously affiliated with shrines and believe in political usage of shrines were agreed at great extent, 56(40%) respondents were agreed at some extent that they believe in political usage of shrines, 20(14.2%) were not believe in Political usage of shrines. According to this table, 77(55%) of the respondents were strongly affiliated with the religious leaders, 53 (37.8%) Were at some extent affiliated with religious leaders and 10(7.1) were not affiliated with religious leaders. It is concluded that religious affiliation leads toward political participation regarding casting votes.

Level of Significance:

$$\alpha = 0.05$$

Statistical test: Chi-Square test was used to test the hypothesis.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	symp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	120.021 ^a	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	157.821	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear	100.003	1	.000
Association			
N of Valid Cases	140		

a. 3 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.50.

Results: Since the p value used to determine the significance of hypothetical test here it is found that to be 0.000 which shows that it is less than the level of significance value so H_0 is rejected and H_1 accepted conclude that the religious affiliation leads toward political participation.

Chapter No. 7
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Discussion

Karl Marx said that religion is opiate for masses. Masses affiliation towards remained important in almost all societies. The role of religion in the context Pakistan has an influential in political process. Religion is the need of every individual and is the source of guidance for the followers. There are many reasons of role of religion in politics and changing voting behavior of people. In research located area, majority of the people are interlinked with old traditions. They were affiliated to religious leaders and religious shrines. The religious affiliation of the people of located area changes their voting behavior. According to them, the religious authorities have right of vote because of their religious affiliation to them. So they prefer to vote religious leaders as compared to other leaders. The religious leaders are take part in politics and people cast vote because of their religious beliefs.

As Hassan (1987) stated that, "The social structure of the Muslim society in Pakistan has been profoundly influenced and shaped by the "popular" Islam, which has played a pivotal role in the evolution of the rural elite-the Pirs and Zamindars, who together have been the pillars of Pakistani state."

The objectives of the study and literature review and the results show that there is great role of religious shrines affiliation in political process in Multan. People give their votes to the religious leaders because of their affiliations towards them.

Further the role of religious leaders in the process of election is effective. They are able to influence the perceptions of people to get their support in the elections. the influence of religious leaders in vote casting behaviors of the rural people is very high than the urban people.

Religious beliefs of people on religious leaders affect the politics and

voting behavior, religious affiliation with Pirs like Muridan affects the politics and voting behavior, the religious affiliation with the Shrines and rituals leads toward political participation and religious affiliation of the people affects behavior of people toward religious leaders.

Further religious institutions like Shrines and religious personalities like Pirs change the people perception about vote casting. Religious background like Sufism affects the politics and voting behavior of people, religious proliferation and traditions affect the politics in this way.

Majority of people support the religious leaders in the elections and cast vote on the religious basis. The religious leaders and religious shrines influenced the voting behavior of the people. Religious affiliation with the Shrines and Pirs also play important role in vote casting. People prefer religious leaders on the religious basis.

According to Jost 2006 Man is a social being, and as such he always contributes in social life. But this contribution is not constant: the intensity and types of participation are relevant variables in political analysis. Voting behavior is very important topic because through this we can know the will of people and also the way they want to have it .Voting is very important tool in democratic societies. Democracy provides a chance to the people to become a dynamic citizens rather than inactive subjects. Religion is the source of social solidarity and makes a strong social network in the people that are helpful for the religious leaders and people cast vote to religious leaders on the basis of religion. Mostly those people who are strongly attached with the religious leaders like *Pirs* and *Mullahs* cast vote to religious leaders. Majority the people in this research support the religious leaders and cast vote with the consent of these religious leaders.

Like in Durkheim and Parsons functionalist perspective of religion the

religion is source of social solidarity and harmony for the people and people who are from same religion support their religious leaders. Religious Pirs are totally control the minds of the people because of the core value of the people about religion and they are called “*Mureeds*”. These are the voters of the religious leaders and cast their votes on religious basis because of their affiliation with the religious *Pirs* and religious shrines. The religious affiliation leads toward political participation and change voting behavior.

7.2 Conclusion

It is evident from the findings, literature and results that there is great role of religious shrines affiliation in political process and religious leaders in the process of election influence the people in this way and get their support.

Influence of religious leaders in vote casting behaviors of the rural people is high and religious beliefs of people on religious leaders affect the politics and voting behavior. In this way religious affiliation with Pirs like Muridan affects the politics and voting behavior. Religious affiliation with the Shrines and rituals leads toward political participation.

Religious affiliation of the people affects behavior of people toward religious leaders and religious institutions like Shrines and religious personalities like Pirs change the people perception about vote casting.

Religious background like Sufism affects the politics and voting behavior of people. The religious proliferation and traditions affect the politics

To conclude the research, one can say that religion is the tool for

development and religious affiliation leads toward political participation. Religion gives the sense of knowledge that how can be spending a successful life. Through religion, one can be socially strong. In the research located area, majority of the people are spending their living in traditional and religious way and they are more religiously affiliated with the religious leaders. They are unaware about the importance of their votes and freedom of choice for their leaders. Politics and democracy are the source of development and freedom of choice for the people in vote casting to choose their leaders. The western countries which are considered developed; they focused on the freedom of casting vote and promote the trend of casting vote independently.

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ANNEXUR

Religious Affiliation towards shrines and Role of Shrines in
Politics and Political Participation a case study of Multan,
Punjab Pakistan.

Interview Schedule

1. Age?

- (a) 18-30 (b) 30-40 (c) 40-50 (d) Others_____

2. Religion?

- (a) Islam (b) Christianity (c) Ahmadism (d) Any other_____

3. Family type?

- (a) Nuclear (b) Joint (c) Extended

4. Narrate the level of qualification?

- (a) Illiterate (b) Primary (c) Secondary
(d) Matriculation (e) Intermediate (f) Bachelors
(g) Masters (h) Others

5. To what extent religious belief directly/indirectly influence the voting
behavior?

- (a) To great extent (b) To some extent (c) Not at
all

6. To what extent you are satisfied that religious affiliation changes voting behavior?
- (b) To great extent (b) To some extent (c) Not at all
7. Do you socially depend on religious leaders?
- (a) Yes (b) No
8. Do you economically depend on religious leaders?
- (a) Yes (b) No
9. Do you politically depend on religious leaders?
- (a) Yes (b) No
10. Do you socially depend on religious shrines?
- (a) Yes (b) No
11. Do you economically depend on religious shrines?
- (a) Yes (b) No
12. Do you politically depend on religious shrines?

- (a) To great extent (b) To some extent (c) Not at all

16. Do you cast your vote with the consent of religious shrines?

- (a) Yes (b) No

17. To what extent you are influenced by the religious leaders in the elections?

- (a) To great extent (b) To some extent (c) Not at all

18. To what extent you believe in the political usage of shrines?

- To great extent (b) to some extent (c) Not at all

19. Do you feel that religious Pirs influence the voting behavior in elections?

- (a) To great extent (b) to some extent (c) Not at all

20. Do you take direction from religious leader because of disciplines?

- (a) Yes (b) No

21. To what extent you are affiliated with religious Pirs and shrines?

- (a) great extent (b) To some extent (c) Not at all

22. Do you think that religious leaders should take part in politics?

(a) Yes

(b) No

23. To what extent you are satisfied on casting vote to Religious leaders?

(c) To great extent
all

(b) To some extent

(c) Not at