

**UNDERSTANDING POLITICAL DISCOURSE IN MOWARA  
VILLAGE OF RAWALPINDI, PUNJAB- PAKISTAN: PATTERNS,  
SYMBOLS AND CONTESTATIONS**



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ISLAMABAD - PAKISTAN**

**2021**

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VILLAGE OF RAWALPINDI, PUNJAB- PAKISTAN: PATTERNS,  
SYMBOLS AND CONTESTATIONS**



Thesis submitted to the Department of Anthropology, Quaid-i-Azam  
University Islamabad, in partial fulfillment of the degree of Philosophical  
Doctor in Anthropology

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**QUAID-I-AZAM UNIVERSITY**

**ISLAMABAD - PAKISTAN**

**2021**



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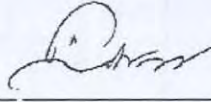
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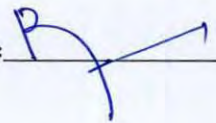
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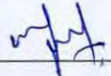
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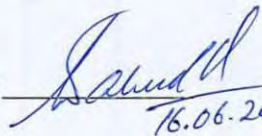
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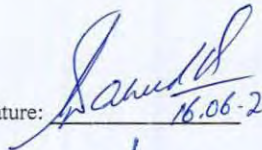
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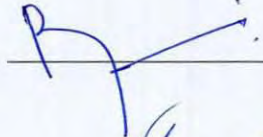
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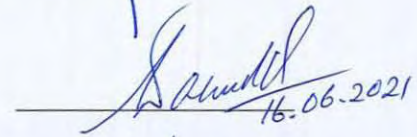
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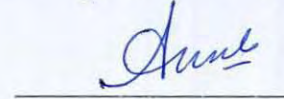


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**Muhammad Waqas Saleem**

## **DEDICATION**

**To My Father and Mother**

(Prof. Rana Azam and Shams-ul-Qamar)



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# 1. INTRODUCTION

Political discourse is a relevant discussion in contemporary society, especially in third world countries like Pakistan, where still democracy exists in procedural context and politicians are not equally at par with non-elected institutions. It leads to a rift between state and society, and masses are reduced to electorates only. The obscurity in sociopolitical landscape intrigue people into political discussions, debates, arguments and discourse given there is no marked distinction between what is political and what is not?

“Politics is viewed as a struggle for power, between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it. Some states are conspicuously based on struggles for power; whether democracies are essentially so constituted is disputable. On the other hand, politics is viewed as cooperation, as the practices and institutions a society has for resolving clashes of interest over money, power, liberty and the like (Chilton & Schaffner, 2002).”

Politics resonates in everyday discussions of common men in Pakistan. The social gatherings primarily male dominant indulges into discussions revolving around politicians, their alliances/ networks, maneuverings, support mechanisms, party choices, new alignments and boils down to personal character rather interactions with locals.

Power is expressed through political relationship, caste and kinship. As of asymmetrical relationships exist in the communities of Punjab and can be best understood as a form of patronage. This patron/client relationship makes it easy to understand the dynamics of politics in Pakistan (Lyon, *An Anthropological Analysis of Local Politics and Patronage in Pakistani Village*, 2004).

This consumption of political affairs can be substantiated from the news channels loaded with political content. However, this most profoundly discussed domain is enveloped in ambiguity. Though discussed and participated at large, political discourse in Pakistan carries an impression of negativity. Even common eateries carry inscriptions like ‘refrain

from political and religious talk' explain mindset stemming out from political discussions. In normal day to day discussions every cunning action is termed political. Everyday statements are differentiated as politically correct and incorrect. In everyday sphere of life, politics is a hazy construct. For instance, in rural areas, people gossip about politics during evening get-togethers, weddings and deaths. The candidates from different political parties for upcoming elections or past elections actively take part into political conversations. Dos and Don'ts are also discussed. Ultimately all this is put up as unsavory arena of maneuvering, manipulation and deceit. Politics is perceived as something fraudulent, disingenuous and obscure construct.

Keeping in view Pakistani society several rationales can be proffered as explanations to this phenomenon. Historically the Indian subcontinent remained under the direct rule of kings where masses were not involved in the matrix of political decision making. The Mughal dynasty was overthrown by British colonizers systemically which subsequently led to institution of political institutions and gradual democratic political representation. However, the confidence of the masses could not be achieved in the democratic nuance as decisions were taken by colonial administration in British Parliament and enforced in India. The form of democracy was indirect and authoritarian one. The formation of Pakistan resulted in the asymmetrical institutional inheritance and subsequent inorganic growth. The non-elected institutions have been directly and indirectly ruling Pakistan for seven decades. This institutional imbalance has resulted in the fragile civil institutions. The civilian leadership has also become timid over the years (Arif, 2019).

The military controlled democracy could not take roots in the country due to political instability, repressive control and closed political sphere. For instance, the allegations of harassment by former MNA Miss Ayesha Gulalai against her own party chief Imran Khan. The issue was politicized and sensationalized to an extent that this was described as Miss Gulalai's ambition for power, money and limelight. Secondly, the disqualification of Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, the former Prime Minister followed by his march on Grand Trunk Road and public gatherings corroborate the fact that the electorate is not concerned

about the morality politicians and corruption. The popular slogan about Sharif was ‘*Khaata hai tou lgata bhi hai*’ (he siphons off, yet he spends on development) narrative. Despite all the negativity about politics in private and public sphere, this

is one of the most discussed and celebrated. Though masses take it with cynical lens but still participate in the political arena.

## **1.1. Statement of the Problem**

The conceptualization of political discourse in the given context of obscurity and value judgments became a contested notion. Different people have diverging understanding of politics and political processes. The obfuscation in political discourse leads to a haphazard political trajectory which reduces democracy to a procedural and façade discourse rather than a consolidative one. The rural settings of the country where literacy and urbanization are not ubiquitous become potential contexts of confused democratic trajectory with a precarious understanding of the political processed and functioning of the statecraft. In the broader context the realm of politics is stereotypically defined and branded as an act of chicanery and politicians are presented and connoted as ruthless power grabbers and kleptocrats masquerading as vanguard of the political system. The political discourse in a society is rather identified through the following:

“Political discourse is identified through actors viz. politicians-people elected in the polity-and masses as citizens and voters, pressure groups and associations or practices of all participants in the political process (Dijk T. V., 1997).”

Politicians, the most important stakeholder in political landscape are construed as thugs, usurpers and mafias. This study focuses on taking account of the social and political processes in the society which have contributed towards the flawed understanding of democracy, politics, politicians and all associated contexts as dirt or to be specific “*gand*”. Along with it also encompasses all factors acting as impediments in active participation of masses in the political ambit. Notwithstanding this stereotyping at large in

the decision-making process this undercurrent has a bearing on political participation as people are unable to decide about their future course of action and are into a confused relationship with the state and its concomitant processes. In anthropology, it is not possible to understand without understanding the social structure of the society. this can be studied through patterns of participation through normative and symbolic cultural constructs.

The landlords invest into non-productive things to maintain power like loans to poor, collective rituals, armed guards. They invest in supra political relations. They control state apparatus for accumulation and domination through power (Martin, Politics, Landlords and Islam in Pakistan, 2016).

These dominations are symbolically expressed in the village by the actors. Symbols as are one of the most effective way of studying this structure. As symbol is intrinsically unrelated to the reality it represents but is understood by the practitioners of the culture. Clifford Geertz has called this as thick description and central to understanding culture (Geertz, 1973).

The hazy understanding of the political arena as a double edged as people start seeking more information regarding candidate or outrightly stay away from politics. In this case, society is kin-oriented, and people take a reductionist view and cut their participation to the local polling station. This steering away of people from the political process undermine the notion of extended representation in a functional democracy.

People hold divided views about the understanding of political phenomenon. This division puts them into contestation, either on personal or collective level. For-instance people tend to be more involved in local politics and abhor provincial and national landscape of politics. The voting preferences of people are symptomatic of this obfuscation, and they prefer to vote in a focalized manner while taking reductionist/exclusivist view. The electorate becomes not issue centric but personality centric. Every aspect of personality is assessed in a general and broader political preview.

Negativity becomes intrinsic aspect of the political arena given all associated structures, institutions, narratives, strategies and actors are tagged wicked as their end result is presumed as pursuit of power for self-interest. People at large consider sloganeering of public welfare as political/electoral tool to hoodwink masses. This develops ambivalence in people's attitude towards political arena in general and politicians in particular, e.g. people consider candidate's behavior as good but policy bad. Religion is deeply knitted into the lives of people, but this notion is generally contested, especially in a traditional society.

In the preference for constituency people generally decide based on the past decisions or their family's political orientation. Masses succumb to the structures of kinship and many normative factors affect their voting choice. The strength and position of the group is more important in comparison to the individual position.

The ambit of politics or political discourse is quite broad; however, the study under question takes political discourse as common men's and politician's description of political understanding and its subsequent translation at electoral level. The political discourse is about the text, talk, perception and understanding of professional politicians at local, national and international levels.

The general discourse analysis of political power is power abuse or domination. It includes various forms of resistance or counter-power against such forms of discursive dominance. Particularly, such an analysis deals with the discursive conditions and consequences of social and political inequality those results from such domination (Fairclough 1995; van Dijk 1993b). People are generally perceived as recipients/objects of the political discourse and yet out of the matrix of decision making. It is very important to understand this ambivalence has a deep impinging on the contours of state and society in Pakistan with all avenues of political representation getting an impetus and resultantly makes democracy as a limited and façade discourse.

Politics inside Pakistan at micro level has different dynamics as compared to macro level

politics. Ideas of change, rhetoric, jargons and lexicon attract the attention of the people but rarely translate into actions. While voting, people consider their constituency and village level politics as topmost priority. Politicians competing for elections are considered as people of their own area who they adhere loyalty to. In this pretext of general elections 2018, even Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf has to opt for elect-able (a person considered for securing a seat in legislature) to make headway into parliament. Dynamics of elections at micro level are simultaneously intertwined to macro politics. People at large remain connected to the mainstream politics. The present study is an effort to explore the reasons behind this conceptualization of political discourse which debars people to enter into politics, especially the common man. The politics has turned into a business of elite in Pakistan.

This is unique study because it used the anthropological lens to observe the political context(s) and discourses. Context is utmost important in understanding the discourse as it is influenced by socio-

cultural factors. Discourse gives meaning once understood in societal domain (Dijk T. V., *Society and Discourse: How Social Context Influence Text and Talk*, 2009).

## **1.2. Locale**

The research has been carried out in the village (*mouza*)<sup>1</sup> *Mowara* of union council<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In Pakistan, farming communities are inhabiting in compact and or in scattered units called mouza or deh. The area of each mouza/deh is properly demarcated, measured and recorded by ownership and documents of the revenue department. Each mouza/deh has a unique name as well as number as referred as smallest and grass root level revenue estate. Existence of socio-economic infrastructure has a reflection on the overall development as well as on agriculture development.

*Mowara*, Tehsil *Kahuta*<sup>3</sup>, District<sup>4</sup> *Rawalpindi* of Punjab Province, Pakistan. *Rawalpindi* is the garrison town and 4<sup>th</sup> largest of Pakistan 2, 098, 231 million (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 2018). The district is divided into eight tehsils<sup>5</sup> and one hundred twenty union councils. The district is divided into seven national assembly seats<sup>6</sup> and fourteen provincial assembly seats<sup>7</sup>.

The research locale falls in national assembly constituency (NA 57, *Rawalpindi-1*) which comprises of Tehsil *Murree*, *Kotli Sattian*, *Kahuta*, *Kallar Syedan*, excluding *Choa Khalsa Qanongo Halqa*, *Sagri Qanongo Halqa* of Tehsil *Rawalpindi*. In Provincial assembly constituency, tehsil *Kahuta* and union council *Mowara* falls in PP 7, *Rawalpindi-II*. Total number of registered voters in *Rawalpindi* are 3,125,669 with male and female division as 1,647,507 and 1,478,162 respectively (Election Commission of Pakistan, 2018).

Geographically it is the southern slopes of the north-western edges of the Himalayas, including large mountain tracts with rich valleys traversed by mountain rivers. Linguistically, the district is very rich as variety of languages and dialects are spoken

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<sup>2</sup> Elected local government at the lowest level of administration.

<sup>3</sup> The word is derived from a medicinal plant found in the area. It falls on the south-east side of the district. It comprises of fourteen union councils.

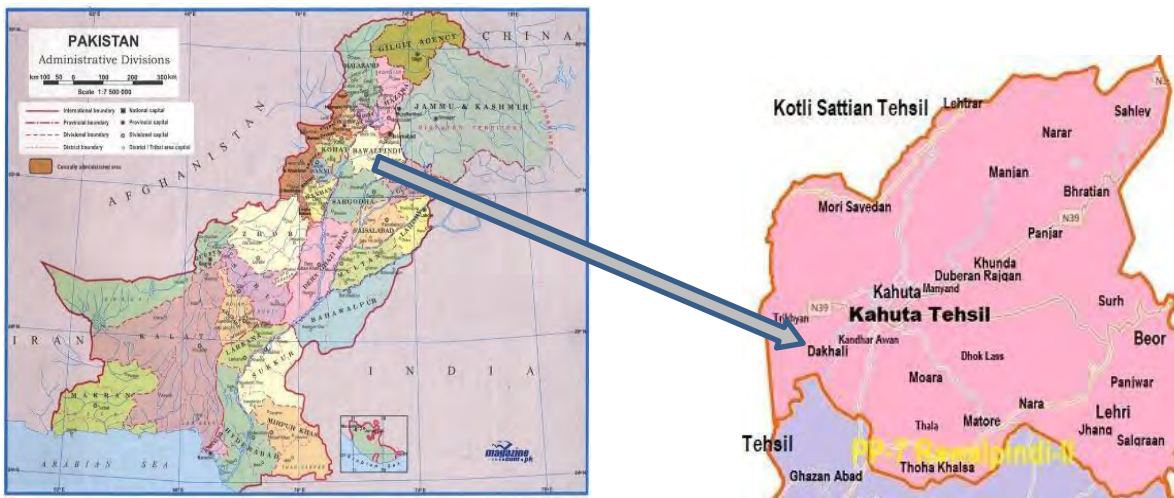
<sup>4</sup> The third-tier administrative unit below Province and Division, but first tier in district government.

<sup>5</sup> Rawalpindi, Murre, Kahuta, Kotli-Sattian, Kallar Syedan, Gujar Khan and Taxila

<sup>6</sup> NA 50-57

including at Punjabi dialects including *Pothohari, Majhi, Pahari, Shahpuri, Dhani and Kashmiri*. Urdu being national language of the country is spoken and understood by wide population. Good number of Pashtuns also reside in the area and therefore Pashto is also a significant language now (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 2018). Three routes to Azad Jammu and Kashmir passes through the tehsil.

The main town is inhabited by the local baradaris like *Janjua, Abbasi, Satti*, and migrants (*mohajirs*) and locally migrated people for educational or livelihood purpose. The city is almost 30 kilometers away from *Rawalpindi*. The city is also home to Dr.



A.Q. Khan Research Laboratories.

**Figure 1: Locating Mowara**

### 1.3. Objectives

The major objective is to understand the construction and sharing of the political discourse in the context of rural Punjab. The understanding of political discourse through symbolic communication is necessary in rural setting where social landscape is intrinsically entangled with political. At secondary level the objective of this study is to explore the intertwining of the political symbols, contestations and patterns. The



discourses are the reflection of crossroads between conceptual constructs.

Tertiary objective is to identify the role and relationships of the actors in the political arena. The relationships are regulated and contested through discourse in this arena; slogans, metaphors and symbolic language are implied that requires hermeneutic treatment to decipher the role centric imagery.

## **1.4. Significance**

This research underscores all those aspects about governing and functioning of democracy and political discourse in the rural areas of Pakistan. The study explores issue areas associated with the conceptualization of political discourse in Pakistan. It analyzes the role of public opinion of rural areas in strengthening Pakistan's democratic equation. It also highlights the questionable gaps which state and society must bridge to make democratic landscape a functional, substantial and consolidative one. The study informs the readers about democracy, its theory, role of public opinion, rural settings and their impact on country's democratic progression. The extensive literature review and field research makes it a credible and authentic study its own kind.

The outcome of the research is very important as it will discuss the issue of democratic conceptualization in rural settings and its impact on political landscape in Pakistan. It would analyze the role of public opinion in strengthening democracy in Pakistan. The byproduct of this research will propose the possible avenues where Pakistan can insinuate a functional democratic framework. The role of common men's perception under the democratic discourse would be discussed primarily. The research undertaken is very significant and very relevant given the fact that Pakistan is struggling in evoking a functional democratic political system and faces certain obstructions ranging from institutional imbalance and overarching powerful institutions interfering in the political pretext hence making democratic dispensation a questionable and precarious one. Furthermore, it will help to find out reasons to consolidate the democracy in the country.

## 1.5. Review of Relevant Literature

The thematic undercurrents in the literature review is broadly divided into different categories i.e. discourses, theoretical explications and its functionality, political discourse with reference to ethnographic evidence with special emphasis on ambivalence and relationship of state and society's contextualization. With the evolution of human civilization, the vitality of political situation has increased the importance of politics and political discourse hereinafter referred as (PD) for interdisciplinary researcher (Nimmo & Combs 1983; Wodak 1989; Bayley & Miller 1993; Wodak & Chilton 2005; De Landtsheer & Feldman 2000; Chilton & Schäffner 2002; Bayley 2004; Kirvalidze 2012). Along with the increasing importance of political discourse, social demand towards PD led politicians and other stakeholders to analyze and use linguistic as well as rhetoric meanings of political thought to control /amend public opinion. This is also important for understanding underpinning of political system in the society.

As per the work of devoted researchers of PD reveals four viewpoints regarding the research and study of PD. In the first viewpoint, PD is analyzed through political lens wherein politico-logical conclusions are made. Secondly, researchers dig into the text of PD, properly maintaining linguistic viewpoint wherein PD is considered as a verbal micro-sign in its socio-cultural and political context. Thirdly, as per psychological point of view, researchers analyze covert/overt strategies used by politicians in their speeches to gather public support. Lastly, researchers reveal politicians' personal attitude towards political situation in the individual-hermeneutic viewpoint.

Out of these four, we consider semantic investigations of foremost significance since political idea and activities are indivisible from PD. Words, activities, and occasions cooperate; words decipher occasions or activities, just as political realities, while activities in different ways help words gain their political viability. The examination of political talk should regard talk as an instrument of doing governmental issues, either in a key or constitutive sense. Truth be told, any political thought or activity is conceived, arranged,

acknowledged and controlled with the assistance of language. The cozy connection among language and governmental issues has consistently been integral to both Western political idea and logical convention.

In the Politics, Aristotle broadly likened the very plausibility of governmental issues with the ownership of language: "Man is essentially a political creature" whom Nature, "has supplied

with the endowment of discourse" (Aristotle 1943). In reality, language seems vital to the constitution and support of human networks, the working of associations and establishments, the exercises of legislators, and the metro lives of normal individuals. As James Farr specifies, governmental issues would not exclusively be indefinable without language, it would be incomprehensible. Developing countries couldn't proclaim autonomy, pioneers train partisans, residents dissent war, or courts sentence hoodlums. Neither would we be able to censure, argue, guarantee, contend, admonish, request, arrange, deal, bargain, counsel, brief, question, exhort nor assent. To envision governmental issues without these activities is envision no unmistakable legislative issues by any stretch of the imagination" (Farr, 1989).

Teun A. van Dijk in his research work on "*What is Political Discourse Analysis*", defines discourse in terms of a communicative event. A discourse can have numerous meanings that make Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) very ambiguous. In this sense, the paper tries to answer very naïve questions. From defining what is PDA, the paper also aims at providing a framework/adequate way to conduct PDA. Moreover, the paper also draws a clear distinction between PDA and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). While PDA only focuses upon analysis of Political Discourse (PD), CDA undergoes critical analysis of political discourse. In critical-political discourse analysis, CDA "deals especially with the reproduction of political power, power abuse or domination through political discourse, including the various forms of resistance or counter-power against such forms of discursive dominance. In particular, such an analysis deals with the discursive conditions

and consequences of social and political inequality that result from such domination.” Dijk, to make analysis more authentic, not only gives a framework to critically analyse PD but also asserts that PDA should contribute to political science and the socially science more broadly by comprehending genuine political question. Furthermore, Dijk points out the problems with the delimitation of politics as not only professional politicians are usually involved in politics but also individuals and votes. These individuals are not just pressure groups. They are critical part of political process because they are involved in political discourse. As Dijk’s word defines PD in a multi-dimension manner, therefore, it will be very helpful in my research work (Dijk T. V., [www.discourses.org](http://www.discourses.org)).

Isabela Fairclough and Norman Fairclough in their book titled, "Political Discourse Analysis: A Method for Advanced Studies" display another way to deal with breaking down PD as a commitment to the improvement of CDA as it sees PD as essentially a type of argumentation. The authors are not proposing that PD contains just reasonable contentions, or that it just comprises of contentions. Hypothetically, the authors are making a commitment to argumentation hypothesis in building up a unique perspective on the structure and assessment of practical argumentation. As for approach, the authors present a structure for examining argumentation in an adequately unequivocal and clear manner, working through a large number of models, for understudies and specialists to have the option to utilize it as a model for doing examination of argumentation in their very own work. Their emphasis on examination and assessment of practical argumentation is another one, and they show how progressively commonplace focuses (for example on portrayals, characters, story, representations) can be consolidated in examination of argumentation in manners which record much better for their political centrality and viability. “An innovative and important extension of the reach of research into political language and discourse. Sure to become an essential reference point, this book will make possible new collaboration (not to mention arguments) involving scholars of linguistics, political theorists of deliberations, discourse or ideology and political scientists” (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012).

Chilton and Schaffner assert that this virtual distinguishing proof of political movement with semantic action infers a nearby collusion of the investigation of legislative issues with the investigation of language. The developing examination enthusiasm towards political talk has brought the introduction of another pattern in semantics in the pattern of supposed "political etymology". Such a circumstance is very normal as all through various phases of its advancement etymological hypothesis has constantly shown extraordinary enthusiasm for the useful investigations of the language framework in different circles of reality. In fact, it is hard to distinguish any circle of social or institutional life in which language doesn't assume a fundamental job. As indicated by Threadgold, "demonstrations of correspondence are types of social talk which keep up and manage social exercises, and characterize status and power relations. All things considered they are a piece of and an analogy for the social activities and conviction frameworks of a given culture" (Threadgold 1986).

Comparative articulation has been made as the exercises of a government official, for example, looking for accord, expounding approach, arranging and intervening in clashes, speaking to interests and contradicting the arrangement of others with crucial phonetic exercises.

Paul Chilton and Christina Schaffner likewise center around the complementary idea of the connections among language and governmental issues. On one event these researchers note that political action doesn't exist without the utilization of language, while on another event they recommend that "it is most likely the case that the utilization of language in the constitution of social gatherings prompts what we call 'governmental issues' in a wide sense" (Chilton and Schaffner, 2002).

Costas M. Constantinou's book titled "Conditions of Political Discourse: Words, Regimes, Sedition", offers investigations into the legislative issues of present-day political probability, which shows a particularly creative and academic commitment. His is a world where beginnings are rarely totally fixed and alternatives are rarely totally shut. He

properly demands that old style works, similar to those of Machiavelli and Hobbes, which can be perused as demonstrations of dissidence towards the generalizations that have been built in their name. He properly opposes the bias against poetics and folklores that has been such a significant piece of the governmental issues that discloses to us what legislative issues must be since the times of Plato. He is alive to the Catch 22s, logical inconsistencies, unintended results, movements of importance and choices taken or not taken that we are so regularly urged to tear from the various narratives that have created us in order to ensure that we are what we are. He is properly touchy to the micro practices at work in the most sudden destinations that enlighten us so much regarding the activities of obviously a lot more excellent procedures. Regardless of his eye for the assortment of telling destinations and for the richness of etymological signs in numerous specific circumstances, he is particularly constant in his cross examination of the contemporary status of what we so effectively call the state, which has never been what it should be. As his stories and historical underpinnings unfurl, we are urged to interface with an expansive scope of authors who have figured out how to ask what it may now mean to take part in political life on increasingly inventive and less rough terms. The outcomes are provocative, and absolutely neither certain nor indisputable. The author asks some pertinent questions: How are states made conceivable, developed in principle and practice, and what elective potential outcomes are surrendered by giving authenticity on states? This interdisciplinary volume guilefully blends universal relations with reasoning, analysis, folklore and expressions of the human experience. Constantinou's work doesn't make a difference in a solitary way of thinking however builds up an exploratory structure to ponder world governmental issues and, in doing as such, expands the points of confinement of our political creative mind and praxis (Constantinou C. M., 2004). Marcu (2000) in his book concurs that intelligent writings have inner structure and that this structure is helpfully described by discourse/expository relations, i.e., relations that reflect semantic and practical decisions about the content traverses they associate. However, regardless of huge advancement in understanding the etymological marvels over the sentence limit, the discourse parsing of free, unhindered content stays a subtle

objective. Until this point, most scientists have accepted that so as to determine the discourse structure of writings, one needs full semantics. In this book, Marcu investigate an elective way to deal with discourse preparing that need not be grounded in a full semantic record of sentence handling (Marcu, 2000).

What is political talk? The meaning of this term is firmly associated with two understandings of governmental issues – wide and restricted. A wide meaning of governmental issues incorporates the exercises of those associations that have a place with society, which are not really controlled by the state and yet go after assets – exchanges associations, business affiliations, ecological gatherings, and so forth. It can likewise incorporate the action of the media since they produce talk on, for instance, governmental issues, social clash, and worldwide relations. Non-institutional entertainers in social clash may, correspondingly, be viewed as occupied with governmental issues. Additionally, numerous evidently non-political foundations, for example, schools, colleges and medical clinics are the results of open strategy, which is thusly controlled by ideological decisions. Such organizations are controlled by enormous organizations which produce their own type of open talk.

In his book "Talk and Social Change" (1995), Fairclough examinations various semantic and social wonders, for example, the adjustments in the talk of instructive foundations, which, he claims are changing the job of an understudy into that of a client or a customer. Such marvels might be credited to social change, and yet they can likewise be deciphered as being political, not just on the grounds that instruction is one of the routes through which assets are circulated, yet additionally in light of the fact that such change is the aftereffect of an intricate arrangement of political and ideological talk rehearses. At long last, political socialization happens in the open circle, yet additionally in the private circle; the home, the working environment and open gathering spots are on the whole locales at which political talk may occur. In its most straightforward definition, legislative issues are constrained to the action of the establishments, for example, government, parliament, and gatherings, satisfying their job of appropriating assets. To

supplement this, it could be characterized as a battle for power among the individuals from these establishments through decisions, parties, parliamentary techniques and purposeful publicity. In like manner, there are two ways to deal with the meaning of political talk: wide and tight. Such double understanding of political talk is inferred in the announcement made by Paul Bayley: "There is nothing of the sort as political language, yet a wide and differing set of talks, or classifications, or registers that can be named types of political language. It is achievable to distinguish a lot of 'accepted' types of political talk: approach papers, addresses, government official statements or question and answer sessions, parliamentary talk, party pronouncements (or stages), appointive discourses, and so forth. They are altogether portrayed by the way that they are spoken or composed by (or for) essential political on-screen characters – individuals from the administration, individuals from parliament, leaders of ideological groups, possibility for office" (Chilton, 2004).

The investigation of political talk, similar to that of different zones of talk examination, covers a wide scope of topic, and draws on a wide scope of systematic strategies. Maybe more than with different territories of talk, in any case, one needs at the beginning to consider the reflexive and conceivably equivocal nature of the term political talk. The term is reminiscent of in any event two conceivable outcomes: initial, a talk which itself is political; and second, an examination of political talk as just a model talk type, without express reference to political substance or political setting. Be that as it may, things might be significantly additionally confounding. Given that on certain definitions practically all talk might be viewed as political at that point all examinations of talk are conceivably political, and, in this manner, on one level, all talk is political talk (Shapiro, 1981).

Present day logical investigations are progressively unsure, be that as it may, and interface with parts of correspondence science, chronicled development, social hypothesis, and political theory. While there has been a long convention of enthusiasm for political talk, on the off chance that one carefully characterizes PD in comprehensively semantic terms (as maybe all types of PD investigation ought to be characterized: see



Fairclough and Wodak (1997), it is just since the mid 1980s or 1990s that work around there has gone to the fore. For sure, Geis (1987) contends that this is the principal content with a really etymological spotlight on political language/talk. There is some legitimacy in this contention, yet without opening up issues about what is and what isn't phonetics, a considerable lot of the previous examinations in social semiotics and basic etymology ought to likewise be incorporated into a general etymological perspective on PD (Fowler et al. 1979; Chilton 1990, 1985; Steiner 1985). While language is in every case plainly vital to political talk, what movements is the harmony between phonetic investigation and political remark. Recognizing the heading of this parity, in any case, isn't constantly direct (Georgakopoulou, 2004).

Now, along with conceptualizing PD, understanding the role of ambivalence in a society is also very important (Coe, 1990). When faced with competing arguments in politics, some will immediately take one side of the debate. For others, the decision is harder to make. Seeing merit in both sides of the argument, these individuals have difficulty deciding where they stand. If a person is unable to resolve his or her competing interests, the consequence is attitudinal ambivalence. Those who are ambivalent require more time to make political decisions, and their resulting choices will be less predictable and less stable (Alvarez & Brehm, 2002; Lavine, 2001).

Ambivalence can also lead to moderation in evaluations (Meffert, Guge, & Lodge (2004) and influence how issues are used in candidate appraisals (Basinger & Lavine, 2005; Craig, Martinez, Kane, & Gainous, 2005; Lavine, 2001). Despite widespread evidence calculated outcomes, we have only conflict. The roots for ambivalence driven by factors such as possible, however, that attitudinal propensity to internalize competing arguments in the political environment. It is important to understand our consequences for political implications of this kind of and undesirable properties. sions of a lesser quality. Unable voters might make their decision appearance rather than on conflict caused by ambivalence activism (Mutz, 2002). But at Those who easily take a position in their decision making and are ambivalent are more likely to be balanced (Tetlock, 2000).

The sources of opinion instability individuals. But perhaps different narration of competing claims. Using survey Study combined with measures lens is simply a reflection political environment also promotes a multilevel modeling strategy factors that contribute to ambivalence. Seeing legitimacy in the two sides of the contention, these people experience issues choosing where they stand. On the off chance that an individual can't resolve their contending advantages, the consequence is attitudinal inner conflict. The individuals who are undecided require more opportunity to settle on political choices, and their subsequent decisions will be less unsurprising and less steady (Alvarez and Brehm, 2002; Lavine, 2001). Vacillation can likewise prompt balance in assessments (Meffert, Guge, and Lodge, 2004) and impact how issues are utilized in applicant examinations (Basinger and Lavine, 2005; Craig, Martinez, Kane, and Gainous, 2005; Lavine, 2001).

In modern democratic system of the world, vote matters. However, vote cannot be isolated from the 'self' of the voter. Voter's participation and heavy turnout translates into the confidence and understanding of the masses towards the importance and inevitability of the modern-day democracy for the contemporary complex world. The confidence of the people into the system strengthens the system. However, in countries like Pakistan, unfortunately democracy has been unable to establish itself as the only solution to the problems of the people. General masses still wait for a messiah to enter societal realm miraculously and free them from the evils being brought about by democracy. This lack of confidence into the system and its components and constituents is affecting the decision-making process of the people. On every election, government has to run advocacy for the importance of vote and ensure maximum participation of the people into the election process to add legitimacy to the process of election. However, every time voter is reluctant for voting and if voting still not sure about the decision. It is hampering the institution of democracy into our country. Furthermore, it is giving space to other and factors peep into the system. Thus, we can rightfully put this into place that this ambivalent attitude of Pakistani voter is indirectly affecting the political scenario of the country.

Jay L. Lemke in his book titled "Printed Politics: Discourse and Social Dynamics" is a key advance in the improvement of a political social semiotics. It is a ground-breaking book and it is a political book. It extends broadly from investigations of catchphrases to point by point content examination, from rational papers on equity to banter on instructional method and social arrangement. For those working in the fields of semantics, teaching method, social investigations and semiotics, it offers numerous exceptional juxtapositions of hypotheses and thoughts. For newcomers to these fields, it gives an available prologue to discourse investigation and pertinent social hypothesis. Discussing the political isn't in every case simple, and it is demonstrating progressively troublesome in applied fields like training and social strategy. As Lemke's exchange of American instructive arrangement here demonstrates, the additionally squeezing and pressing issues of intensity and access for minor gatherings become, the more grounded the inclination to reclassify issues of training and contrast in technocratic, administrative terms. Where this happens, scientists and strategy creators will in general observe language and education as far as impartial aptitudes and skills, autonomous of wholesale inquiries concerning the social dispersion of assets.

Lemke depicts his own social position and outlook. Mentally, Lemke descended the way of M.A.K. Halliday's useful etymology to inescapable experiences with Foucault and Bourdieu. In his view, belief system doesn't simply concern false cognizance, yet rather is attached legitimately to control. Its power is dependent upon 'our weakness to agony and our requirement for the help of others'. Consequently, any model of literary governmental issues would need to clarify how 'desultory ideological methods of intensity are current options in contrast to the utilization of material power and physical savagery'. To demonstrate the 'ideological working of discourses' grinding away specifically networks, Lemke goes to a variety of writings, including fundamentalist analyses on homosexuality and Reagan-period. He demonstrates how such messages skillfully mix a scope of disciplinary discourses to build up truth claims. Every investigation concentrates on the legislative issues of portrayal, on how semiotic codes remain in a vital association with politics. Which means potential is acknowledged socially, and the political world

comprises of a lot of logical limitations on potential activities and potential implications. All through, Lemke reveals new insight into the operations of what sociolinguists and scholarly pundits have called 'interpretive networks'. He sees networks as material biological systems, with complex social ecologies of social demeanors, convictions and qualities. Simultaneously, Lemke needs to keep away from a Eurocentric thought of network, to avoid the supposition of homogeneity that has driven sociological speculations from Dürkheim. Lemke here is going for a model of discourse network as solidarity: 'what makes a network isn't homogeneity, however sorted out heterogeneity ... the precise enunciation of contrasts'. Where this is the situation, networks are held together not by people, but instead by intercultural, different collections of social practice. The thought of a social practice, Lemke brings up, is itself a deliberation. Yet, in a given case of social practice, relations of importance are material—that is, they are physical, compound, organic and environmental relations. Lemke isn't upholding a reductionist way to deal with social association. A remarkable opposite, he is proposing the social and half-bred character of all collaboration. Ways to deal with basic teaching method and proficiency have languished over need of a hypothesis. Foreshadowed in his previous volume *Discursing Science* (1990), Lemke's work recommends that study halls can be reconceptualized as 'dynamic open biological systems'. As needs be, study halls can be reclassified as destinations where understudies and instructors attempt exchanges by delivering discourse and social capital. *Literary Politics* is a critical commitment to useful etymology and semiotics. It is likewise an incredible book for contemporary training. Both Lemke and Wilden refer to Bateson's (1972) meaning of data as 'a distinction that has any kind of effect'. Postmodern and postcolonial societies progressively have moved toward becoming spots where we can see and hear, discourse and compose contrast—contrasts in language and character, contrasts in sexuality and sex, contrasts in shading and culture.

Jan Renkema in his book "Prologue to Discourse Studies" endeavors to acquaint the imminent understudies with the most significant ideas and the significant issues in the field of discourse analyses. Learning of the essential ideas will fill in as a logical toolbox

that the understudies can use in discourse studies. This book comprises of fifteen chapters spread over four sections. The demand is enlivened by the similitude of the understudy who should attempt a logical adventure. After this basic section, Part I gives data about the essential qualities of this voyage through the different scenes of discourse studies. Part II welcomes understudies to fill their knapsacks with some basic voyaging material. In Part III the various methods for making a logical adventure are exhibited. In Part IV some particular spaces of research can be picked. In Part I, Chapters 2 and 3 give a general direction towards the field. The emphasis is on the last piece of the harsh definition. Given before: discourse studies are the investigation of verbal correspondence. Section 2, correspondence as activity, is the most philosophical part in the book. It attempts to address speeches as is: What (verbal) correspondence? what are the standards overseeing the utilization of the instrument "language"? What are the systems that are brought to hold up under when we convey? Verbal correspondence is exhibited as the presentation of acts which must have some importance for accomplices engaged with it. This section animates the understudy to consider what verbal correspondence is about (Renkema, 2004).

Terry Locke in his book "Basic Discourse Analysis" undergoes basic discourse examination as an exploration strategy. In any case, CDA may be better depicted as an insightful direction with the possibility to change the usual methodology of a scope of research philosophies. In regard of instructive research, it can possibly uncover the manner in which power is diffused through predominance of different discourses all through a training framework, at both the smaller level of individual homerooms and the full-scale change. As in different settings, CDA must be viewed as a political intercession with its very own socially transformative motivation. CDA is about perspectives an overarching social request as truly arranged and relative, socially built and alterable. The author sees a predominant social request and social procedures as established and supported less by the desire of people than by the inescapability of specific developments or renditions of the real world - regularly alluded to as discourses. The author views discourse as hued by and gainful of philosophy (anyway 'belief system')

is conceptualized). He further sees human subjectivity as built or engraved by discourse. He sees reality as literarily and intertextually interceded by means of verbal and non-verbal language frameworks, and messages as locales for both the teaching and the contestation of discourses. Locke sees the methodical investigation and translation of writings as conceivably brilliant of manners by which discourses combine control and colonize human subjects through frequently secret position calls (Terry, 2004).

Paul A. Chilton and Christina Schaffner in their book titled "Legislative issues as Text and Discourse: Analytical Approaches to Political Discourse" argues that governmental issues and language are personally interlaced. To connect the investigation of these measurements is to look to comprehend something key to human conduct. Individuals are political creatures and are lucid creatures. The inquiry emerges as in which ways and to what degree these two viewpoints are connected. This is an inquiry that has not been highly investigated, and what is required is to make a beginning in researching the subtleties of the utilization of language in those circumstances which we, casually and naturally, call political. Such a methodology would, we may expect, be uncovering for governmental issues itself as well as for the human language limit. The purposes of this book are the accompanying: – to give an example of the most noticeable essayists in this field, to acquaint newcomers with this field, to witness a portion of the ideas and procedures that investigators of political discourse are creating right now. This inspecting of techniques and ideas merits two remarks: first, it is obviously specific. A few approaches, specifically those that are hesitantly postmodern and for the most part get rid of nitty gritty phonetic apparatuses, are excluded here. Second, the looking over of assorted points of view has the fascinating capability of uncovering both the devices that are required and the particular idea of political discourse itself. The exchange of the philosophies and devices is in this manner seen as a significant point. Methodologies have been and still are fairly mixed. Notwithstanding, it is currently maybe the time to attempt to portray the developing approach of the field. There are three inquiries that we can pose in looking into the work. 1. Which logical apparatuses repeat as the most valuable? 2. Which phonetic, verbose and political marvels do those devices

repetitively manage? 3. Is any image rising of the idea of the connection among language and what people, in their different dialects and societies, call 'governmental issues'? These are extremely wide questions and concerning. Be that as it may, the examination of political discourse has now existed in its few appearances for a few decades. The time has come to start to assess the situation and to think about the outcomes and headings of the world (Chilton & Christina, 2002).

Guess (1981) tries to find a clear comprehension of what a basic hypothesis should be. In light of a legitimate concern, he concentrates on one indicated occurrence of a basic hypothesis, the 'basic hypothesis of society' which as far as anyone knows emerged from the work of Marx and limits himself to just intermittent passing references to analysis. The very heart of the Critical Theory of society is its analysis of philosophy. Their belief system is the thing that keeps the operators in the general public from accurately seeing their actual circumstance and genuine interests; in the event that they are to liberate themselves from social restraint, the specialists must free themselves of ideological dream. The author attempted to stay away from the subject of whether the Frankfurt perusing of Marx is or isn't right. To respond to this inquiry would require a full scale investigation of Marx's work in more detail, and it isn't clear how the response to this verifiable inquiry would bear on my principle concern, the probability of a basic hypothesis (Guess, 1981).

Samuel Gyasi Obeng and Beverly A. S. Hartford in their edited book "Political Discourse Analysis" shows the examination of language (conceivably related to other semiotic frameworks) in course of our lives as nations of different degrees. It incorporates social or human sciences (counting political theory, research, human science, discourse investigation, semantics, abstract and social examinations, training, and so on.) to the extent that they manage discourse as politic conduct. The articles extend from an investigation of similitude in Albanian interpretations, which submits its general direction to psychological semantics (Rista-Dema), to a basic investigation of the ramifications of ESL preparing as socially authoritative practice (Hadley). Two examinations utilize

subjective (discourse with) information to investigate members' feeling of their political position: Alidou investigates the significance of education in a multilingual setting in West Africa, while Teye indicates how Ghanaians experience political and monetary distance through their utilization of English as an "official" language. At long last, two of the articles share an attention on broad communications: Agyekum examines how radio impacts the utilization of the neighborhood language blended with the frontier language, while Mbisike utilizes discourse to investigate political consequences of promoting discourse in Nigeria. Part 1 - This paper focuses on the capacities and employments of English in the political discourse of Albania before the 1990s. Its attention is on the English interpretations of the diaries of the Albanian political pioneers during the Socialist Period (1945-1990). Political diaries are portrayed by rich metaphorical language which is recognized for its complex influence and casual register. Concentrating on the utilization of analogies, allegories, and casual language, this paper indicates how certain parts of correspondence are influenced by interpretation. While keeping up the allegory of language, the interpreted content as a rule loses the casualness that describes the source content. Part 2 - Momentous occasions of the late twentieth and mid-21st century have prompted the development and in some cases upsetting development of American impact over the globe. This casual domain both unequivocally rewards and verifiably undermines those living in countries of the extending circle, contingent on their authority of the English language and their adjustment to Anglo- American social standards. Rewards frequently come as more prominent access to political, monetary and social power. Dangers go from monetary underestimation to social disconnection. As teachers morally consider their job, in what capacity will their choices support or subvert the points of the individuals who have a stake in the quality of the English language? The author discourses about techniques utilized in finding the terms and the advanced ideas and strategies utilized in deciphering parts of the Ghanaian media into Akan. The investigation depends on a program at "Radio Universe", a nearby FM station at the University of Ghana, Legon. The paper likewise examines the effect of the Afisem program and the issues in question.



This research investigates the effect of different patterns on the transaction between language use, orality, and skill levels as identified with Muslim ladies in postcolonial Niger. The primary hypothetical push of the paper is to exhibit that in spite of the regularly held view about multilingualism as a hindrance to trans-ethnic national correspondence in Africa, the social, instructive and semantic substances of Muslim ladies in Niger lead to the perception that multilingualism and code-exchanging can fill in as an aggregate most widely used language. The initial segment of the paper exhibits a hypothetical outline of the historical backdrop of ladies' instruction/proficiency and its exchange with sex in (post)colonial Niger Republic. The subsequent part gives an ethnographic record of the effect of the various and covering conventions of multilingualism and proficiencies as they shape contrastingly the life of one Nigerian lady. From these semantic and proficiency encounters, we start to perceive how the idea of multilingual most widely used language works (Obeng & Hartford, 2008).

Teun A. van Dijk in his book titled "Society and Discourse: How Social Contexts Influence Text and Discourse" clarifies how content and discourse are adjusted to their social condition. He contends that rather than the standard direct relationship being built up among society and discourse, this impact is aberrant and relies upon how language clients themselves characterize the informative circumstance. The new idea van Dijk presents for such definitions is that of setting models. These models control all language generation and understanding and clarify how discourse is made proper in every circumstance. They are the missing connection among language and society so far disregarded in pragmatics and sociolinguistics. In this interdisciplinary book, the new hypothesis of setting is created by analyzing the examination of the structure of social circumstances in social brain research and human science and their social variety in humanities. The hypothesis is applied to the space of governmental issues, including the discussion about the war in Iraq, where political pioneers' discourses fill in as a contextual investigation for nitty gritty logical examination. In another book distributed by Cambridge University Press, *Discourse and Context*, Teun A. van Dijk presents the (socio) etymological and psychological establishments of this multidisciplinary

hypothesis of setting and the manner in which the setting impacts language use and discourse (Dijk T. A., 2009).

Duranti (1990) explained that the joint effort is fundamental for an understanding the job of language in encircling connections between social characters and occasions both in unremarkable cooperation and in those political and legitimate procedures that comprise the "framework" social anthropologists enthusiastically attempt to get in. In this article, this article added to this exploration pattern by giving a contextual analysis of the portrayal of "office" implied as the causal connection between members' activities and certain situation or procedures. I will demonstrate that the specific manners by which office is linguistically communicated in Samoan political discourse are associated not exclusively to various perspectives or casings, yet to political praxis. Phonetic, or morpho-syntactic and lexical, encoding of organization is a significant part of the legislative issues of portrayal in some random network. In Foucault's (1980, 1989) terms, such assets are a piece of the innovation of intensity: they comprise authority and chains of command. Methodologically, the author proposed that by giving close consideration to how speakers encode members' jobs and how they outline occasions, political and social anthropologists can advance the manners by which they separate among ostensible and genuine power relations in some random network. The theory of this examination is that a great part of the political and legal executive, subsequently moral, process in peace making settings include the making of generally short story sections in which certain "realities" are built and certain on-screen characters are relegated specific semantic jobs. While reproducing the situation where this occurs, we have the chance to reevaluate the explanatory procedures that add to the meaning of specific occasions as pertinent or significant and of certain political figures as "leaders" or "activists". Through this technique, we can secure a basic affectability to the strings of discourse that both continue and challenge what Giddens (1979, 1984) has called "duality of structure"- to be specific, the dialogical connection between degrees of activity and bigger financial structures. We along these lines become acclimated with the subtleties of the production of the social demand from inside the framework (Duranti, 1990).

Obeyesekere (1992) argued that the previous decade has been a period of serious and savage political change in Sri Lanka. Disturbances happened at each degree of society. Socio-cultural changes have been sensational. However in this environment of anomie and disturbance, developing imperativeness of the Sinhala theater and the significant job it has come to per-structure (based on the crowd bolster it gets) is as unforeseen. In the previous three or four years, the author was astounded at the sheer number of Sinhala plays (Obeyesekere, 1992).

R. Michael Alvarez and John Brehm in their examination article titled "American Ambivalence Towards Abortion Policy: Development of a Heteroskedastic Probit Model of Competing Values" demonstrate that clashing convictions lead to inner conflict about decisions. Policy decisions about premature birth are heterogeneous. This heterogeneity crosswise over people is an element of the hidden clash in their convictions about the job of ladies and the sacredness of human life. A heteroskedastic probit model is created to test the theories. Heterogeneity is watched for six of seven fetus removal strategy decisions; when fundamental beliefs strife, respondents are increasingly undecided in their approach reactions and progressively hard for author's standard models to anticipate (Craig & Martinez, 2005).

Scratch Llewellyn in his paper titled "Group of spectators Participation in Political Discourse: A Study of Public Meetings" portrays logical and consecutive assets utilized by crowds who take interest in political discourse. In past examinations, discussion investigators have portrayed how spectators partake in political discourse. The fundamental subject of the exploration has been the association between the logical association of discourse making and the beginning of aggregate practices, for example, commendation or booing. At the point when research has considered interactional conditions where crowds produce more than gross showcases of connection or disaffiliation, the accentuation has stayed on the explanatory association of open discourse, on how group of spectator individuals build 'total contentions'. What has not been delivered is a record of the cut and push of political discussion, how spectators mediate in

and endeavor to upset the discussion of open speakers, the unconstrained discourse that develops when group of individuals pester their direction into the discussion of a speaker, etc. This article investigates crowd cooperation in open gatherings (Lewellen, 2005).

Suzanne Oakdale in his exploration article titled "The Culture-Conscious Brazilian Indian: Representing and Reworking Indianness in Kayabi Political Discourse" inspect a Brazilian indigenous individuals' reluctant utilization of the thoughts of "culture" and "Indian ethnicity." Whereas investigators more often than not examine indigenous utilization of these ideas with regards to prominent national or transnational intercultural occasions, the author takes a gander at how review records of support in such occasions are woven into neighborhood political discourse. Author's research centers around how two Amazonian leaders speak to their investment in past occasions of social presentation as a method for mounting very different contentions about their qualification in their region. The author contends that those identified with the socially suitable lead of legislative issues, must be considered in evaluating the essentialness and significance of social exhibitions, in any event, when the arranging of indigenous culture is performed basically for a nonlocal crowd (Oakdale, 2004).

Formisano (1983) comprehended that the idea of political culture has pulled in a long queue of scrutinizes from political researchers, however this paper, by a student of history, is not one more revisionist attack. Students of history at any rate should be educated by a comprehension of the idea's tangled history in both history and political theory (particularly). They should turn out to be progressively unsure and increasingly similar in standpoint. Despite of fact that the political culture approach has frequently been utilized such that insults issues of authority and power, that blemish is not really characteristic in the idea or approach (Formisano R. P., 1983).

Stephen Chilton in his paper titled "Characterizing Political Culture" argues that in spite its overt simplicity, political culture has displayed surprisingly complex applied issues. Almond's (1956: 396) starting formulation characterized political culture as the "specific

example of directions to political activity." Almond and Verba (1963) changed this definition to the "conveyance of examples of direction". Since those definitions, numerous hypothetical works have noted issues in characterizing, estimating, and testing speculations in political culture, this flood of reactions parallels and somewhat covers a second stream of new meanings of the idea. These new definitions don't resign more established ones; they just shake them for consideration. Such a multiplication of definitions is normal for a significant, generally utilized concept like political culture, yet thirty years of definitions and hypothetical reactions have now gone without the previous guarantee of the idea being recovered. Political culture stays intriguing instead of a scientific idea. The issue is twofold: social researchers look for both agreement over the term's significance and recovery of the term's guarantee. Accord can be accomplished by fiat, by dominating use, and by examination. However, consensus by fiat is preposterous, in light of the fact that social researchers recognize no philosophical Leviathan. Regardless of whether they did, such a Leviathan would not really make a definition having the hypothetical qualities that social researchers expect of it. Agreement by overwhelming use is likewise unrealistic. Political culture is right now in a state where the main methodology (that of Almond and Verba 1963) has just a humble majority and may have that simply because of its methodological ease. For any situation, the power of a definition does not ensure its helpfulness. An expository methodology might have the option to make both accord and usefulness (Chilton S., 1988).

This paper adopts such a strategy. In the first place, it presents nine criteria for political culture originations. Experts of political culture, regardless of whether theoreticians or scientists, have shared basic desires for the idea, notwithstanding flawed fulfillment of those desires by the investigators' originations. In any event, when such expectations have appeared to be difficult to satisfy, the numerous studies of past originations have explained them. The nine criteria should, at that point, give a typical beginning stage to assessing elective originations. In addition, if the criteria surely speak to hypothetically focal issues, their fulfillment should yield a helpful origination. Given boundless concernment on hypothetically focal issues, a systematic methodology could make accord

on a definition that reclaims political culture's hypothetical guarantee. Second, this article assesses two significant originations against these criteria. Neither one of the conceptions fulfills each of the nine criteria, in spite of the fact that Lowell Dittmer's image framework approach can fulfill seven of the nine. Third, taking a gander at social conduct from the point of view of representative interactionism, the article proposes another origination of political culture as far as examples of important activity. The proposed origination utilizes the Piagetian psychological structure of these examples to fulfill the two criteria not fulfilled by Dittmer's origination, while generally holding its qualities. The paper looks at its proposed origination's ramifications for research. Information gathering techniques change when considering connections rather than images. Since subjective improvement does not seem to stop until well into adulthood, socialization concentrates must be both extraordinarily extended and refocused to recognize intellectual auxiliary changes.

Riedwaan (2010) was worried about the indecision that saturates freedom. Through analyzing what was about the slaughtering of suspected colleagues as well as necklacing during the mid-late 1980s by leaders of the African National Congress (ANC) and the United Democratic Front (UDF), author contends that those open positions delivered vacillation- how this composition from uncertainty was created and why inner conflict is apparently rendered elusive. However, this uncertainty was not only a strategic one in that lying the freedom discourse on the act of necklacing was/is an innate plan of the double of obstruction and mistreatment/suppression. Driving from this, the author contends that the viciousness and going to inner conflict inside the ANC has a history that originates before the course around necklacing (Riedwaan, 2010).

Luke Keele and Jennifer Wolak in their examination work titled "Logical Sources of Ambivalence" ponder on the query: When will individuals become irresolute about governmental issues? One probability is that the underlying foundations of uncertainty exist in the person, with contrasts in political learning and mentality quality anticipating whether an individual disguise the contentions of legislative issues. On the other hand,

attitudinal inner conflict could result from basic contrasts in the manner political decisions are introduced in the more extensive world of politics. They investigate how much various conditions advance or utmost indecision utilizing a coordinating methodology related to a lot of staggered models. They find that crusade situations can prompt competitor vacillation. In presidential decisions, battle endeavors advance inner conflict most when rivalry between divided endeavors is high. In House races, crusade spending directly affects levels of applicant irresoluteness, where a spending diminishes vacillation about that competitor and builds inner conflict about rivals (Keele & Wolak, 2008).

Discourse is one of the most important areas to be studied (Brown, 2017). Discourse is the study of relationship between form and function in verbal studies (Renkema , Introduction to Discourse Studies , 2004). Context is fundamental in the study of language, discourse and cognition (Dijk T.A., 2009).

In order to conceptualize discourse, another very important aspect is understanding of context. Without bringing context into debate the incorporation of form and symbol is incomplete. Pragmatics is an excellent and rich approach to study relationship of form and function in certain context. Pragmatics, a study of acts is part of the approach to study phenomenon sign, especially the question that how linguistics sign functions (Renkema, Introduction to Discourse Studies, 2004).

The relationship of state and society has a history. From the colonial times, the state patronized elitism in the society. local leaders were deliberately created and a culture of patronage instituted in the society. The state responded to the intermediaries instead of common people. All the basic institutions like police, health, works and land record were made to respond to local leadership. These intermediaries acted as a bridge between state and masses. The colonial government endowed them with large tracts of land as well, thus, creating a new landlord class. This created inequality and asymmetry in the society. subsequent developments aggravated this notion of inequality. Even after the creation of

Pakistan, this can be viewed at state and society level. The asymmetrical institutional growth at the level of state clearly demarcates inequality between elected and non-elected institutions. This has impacted the solidification of democracy in the country. Alvi (2001) writes about the relationship of idea of person in the Muslim society, as a strict dichotomy of we vs them exists. In west, the idea of self is more individualistic, whereas, in Muslim society the self is explained in connection with multiplicity of relationship. Thus, Muslim societies are based on the principle of collectivism. Such a society is called as holistic society and phenomenon as holism as compared to individualistic western ideology of the society. This collective ethos translates into political sphere as well. votes are given jointly in blocks (Alvi, 2001).

However, Shandana Khan in her dissertation argues that kinship networks do not play a significant role in deciding about national elections. rather, they are political negotiators who vote to maximize their benefits (Mohmand, 2011).

There is a gradual shift in the society as elite has been overtaken by farmers and businessmen. The landlord still has powers, but shifts are obvious within the system. Previously landlords instead in supra political relationships like loans and patronage. The deliberate control of the government and state apparatus institutions by Jats is quite central to accumulation and consolidation of power. The *Biradri* binds them together, but this solidarity becomes dominance for other castes (Martin, 2016).

Ammara Maqsood writes about new middle class in Pakistan as this class has gradually asserted itself while struggling between the traditional identity and western values (Maqsood, 2017). The phenomenon of emergence of new middle and realignments of state and society in Pakistan. He says that patronage-based relationship has started to change from 1960's. He refers to the regime of military dictator Zia-ul-Haq as an era of rehabilitation of power structures and resurgence of politics of left in the country. He sees power as an dialectical entity and state-society as one side of coin (Akhtar, 2018).



## 1.6. Theoretical Framework

In a society, we can learn about democracy by asking questions to the people about how it works. Despite the resurgence of democracy worldwide until 1990s, Larry Jay Diamond, an American political sociologist believes that before it spreads to other countries, democracy must improve where it already exists. Instead of economy, it is governance which needs to be improved first in a democracy. Every democratic country needs to be held responsible for good governance, not just when it suits them (Diamond, 2015).

It is also a tested hypothesis that without significant improvements in governance, economic growth will not be sustainable. In his book, he suggests:

"For democratic structures to endure – and be worthy of endurance – they must listen to their citizens' voices, engage their participation, tolerate their protests, protect their freedoms, and respond to their needs" (Diamond, 2008)."

According to Larry Diamond, people in a society where issues of governance and rule of law exists, find alternatives to attain power. He also believes that we as the responsible members of this society has to learn a lot about democracy by asking questions regarding ordinary people, particularly in places where democracy is a relatively a new form of the government. In principle, this does seem to be a pragmatic way to proceed. We can learn more as how democracy works in practice, by learning about people's attitudes towards it. It is likely that these attitudes will be rationally explicable in terms of the objective conditions facing the country. For example, if voters perceive their government as being economically unsuccessful, then it is entirely likely that the economic indicators will show this to be so. If that is the case, then we can specify what objective conditions are likely to orient public opinion in a given way (Linz & Stefan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America*, 1996).

There is, however, always some irrationality in politics, and it may well be that there is

some lack of fit between what people believe to be the case and that is actually the case. If such a lack of fit

exists, then we will not be able to explain democratic legitimation purely in terms of objective conditions (Dahl, 1972).

We may need to look for more complex kinds of explanation. It is also important that the notion of non-consolidated democracy does not become a theory of stages. We really cannot know whether democratic systems that today seem non-consolidated will in the future: become consolidated, break down altogether, remain non-consolidated. It is consolidated in some ways and de-consolidated in others. Not only is democracy a complex category in itself, but the dynamics of democratization or non-democratization in some aspects remain obscure. There are limits to our possible knowledge of these things (Seymour, 1959).

### **1.6.1. Economic Development, Literacy and Democracy**

Liberal democracy is associated with wealth as far as its level is concerned in the developed world. The pattern of democratization is linked to economic wellbeing in historical time frame with peculiar problems and conflicts. Urbanization does lay foundation for democracy in terms of wealth accumulation and its impacts on social growth, alteration in identity, differentiation of meaning and symbols according to the need of industrialization and market orientation. On the contrary it is not a prerequisite for democracy there are some poor countries which also endorse democratic values.

The evolution of a political system is linked to economic patterns, nature of market and social response. Democracy is fundamentally linked to free market and accumulation of wealth. It is believed that economic development ultimately leads to adherence of democratic values as propagated by USA. As opposed to communism which attempted to be an alternative to colonialism the liberal model contested and with appeal of democracy dominated the political order. The reason was this association of development and

democracy that attracted the states and populace. The linkage of development and democracy is also criticized for being too general and not addressing the specific social, historical and political context. Every region has a distinguishing character in terms of society, evolution and politics. It is believed that the world's most affluent societies typically suffer from less internal inequality and a greater diffusion of economic power than poorer societies. (ibid) Democratic stability is achieved by social structures which endorses income generation dynamics as standards social growth. The pursuit of happiness is adopted as

social norm linked to income values which avert conflicts among individuals and societies. People are wealthy, happy and thus peaceful. The chances of social conflicts and political wars are reduced with flow of capital and its abundance (Beaud, 2001).

Literacy is a key factor in the establishment of democracy as a core political value in any country. Since communication is very important social factor in democracy it is dependent upon the level of sophistication, intellect and learning in a society. In social structures, where population has grown exponentially communication uses various tools for greater outreach, the most prevalent has been written content. For understanding this written content, it is important to be literate to understand manifestos of political forces. In addition, it also plays important role in an electoral structure which is a pivotal systematic characteristic of modern democracy (Ahmed, 2018).

Literacy is fundamentally linked with democracy in terms of communication in various ways written, oral and symbols but this relationship is relative. There are democracies which are not much literate, and they are poor as well but as systematic factor higher literacy pave way for transformation into modernity and fortune (Polanyi, 2001).

Abundance of capital provide more space for spending on education while poverty may push masses more inclined towards subsistence rather than literacy.

### **1.6.2. Urbanization and Diffusion of Power**

According to Vanhanen's view of modernization the most significant aspect of democracy is diffusion of power closely linked to economic development (Vanhanen, 1997). Its societal impact empowers the individual in a class structure and denies space for traditional elites. Development brings empowerment and that strengthens democracy thus broadening the distribution of power structure. Traditional elites find it difficult to control resources in such a scenario resource allocation is extended to wider section of population (Halperin & Lomasney, 1998). This empowers the middle class to take part in active politics and gain meaningful say in a democratic system.

Industrialization particularly in Europe boosted urbanization which brought a significant social change in every aspect of anthropology. From individual to community life everything drastically changed and moved towards democratization. Since development was linked to industrialization

and that brought urbanization which required peculiar market dynamics individual will gain more importance in political mindset.

Democracy provided an ideological platform which linked all of the above and even it was adopted in developing world where urbanization was slowly taking place (Wagner, 2011).

According to modernization theories the political behavior of individuals in urban centers is very pragmatic and based on a development agenda. On the contrary the dynamics in rural settings are based on different considerations like religious affiliations, clan or tribal pressures, class differentiations, and local identity constructions. Urban structures are usually free from such social pressures which enables the individual to have more independent opinion, space to communicate and do activism as well. However urban political mindset is to rational and not able to change the system or regime strong political movements have often emerged in rural settings that can change a system (Cardoso,

2001).

The belief of the people that democracy is the best form of government further cement the democratic ethos in the society. This notion entails that procedural, illiberal, biased states of the system are mere transitional. The democracy will situate itself overarchingly. This is only possible if people have belief in their own democratic institutions. The belief can only be consolidated in democracy by ensuring freedom of association and communication, by free and inclusive electoral contestation, rule of law and economic equality (Linz & Stepan, 1996).

Participation in the political process that leads to choose representatives responsible for decision making for the society is important as it gives people a sense of inclusivity and acceptance of law and authority becomes easy. Political process makes governance easy, and culture of consensus stands in favor of the society. The system that comes in place after thorough participation from every corner of the society is called as democracy and considered an epitome personal freedom, human rights, indiscriminatory religious laws, equal opportunities for participation and fair electoral competition (Prezewski, 2003).

However, globally different variants of democracy are in place due to different historical processes. As, Huntington uses the phrase of 'wave', so it important to mention the characteristics of wave that it moves towards the shore and vice-versa. The same principle can be applied to the world democracies as this transition has always remained arbitrary. As imperial powers withdrew from the world, several former colonies did not democratize due to plethora of reasons. For example, Brazil gained independence in 1820 from Portugal but did not democratize itself until 1980.

Geographic history is a very important reason behind the impediment in democratic transition. It is because the new states had experienced a different geographical history. The creation of borders in the post-colonial era is more permanent and durable. Though the territorial boundaries are externally influenced but they have created an indigenous allegiance of people. As the empirical age was coercive in nature, they had imposed their

rule on an ethnically and religiously divided territories. The decline of an empire, has, thus, been subjected to upsurge of religious or ethnic conflict. India and Pakistan can be best cited for this explanation. Monarchy, military governments and rule of main parties are other factors that contribute as obstacles to the culture of participation and inclusivity (Hagopian, 1996).

Political sociologist Larry Diamond considers four key elements as democracy: a political system for choosing and replacing the government through free and fair elections; the active participation of the people, as citizens, in politics and civic life; protection of the human rights of all citizens.

Narrowing it down to the South Asian context, democracy has different manifestations. In Pakistan, democracy is still struggling and exists in procedural or limited domain. An electoral process is followed to instill a government but ends up tainted. There are elections but government is unable to control the state with full spectrum. The police and courts work at the behest of the powerful (Philip, 1999).

In Pakistan, the electoral process is always questioned, and role of non-elected institutions is widely perceived to be more overarching in comparison to elected institutions of the country. The politics of *Thana and Katchery* is a dominant factor. On the parallel, India, Pakistan's neighboring country is regarded as a stable and world's largest democracy.

In Pakistan, a strict dichotomy of sacred and profane exists between non-elected and elected institutions in the political arena, respectively. This debate has gone vociferous after advent of several social media platforms. The non-elected institutions are popularly regarded as ultimate savior of nation. Consequently, the incapacity of the politicians has made them less in number and as insignificant other in the political arena. Though, the political arena is espoused of dirt and

contamination while politicians are actively playing this dirt game - people still

participate in the electoral process. People's choice is the core of the democratic ethos and this choice is relegated through vote. There is no doubt in believing that in modern democratic sense, vote is the ultimate instrument of the exercise of individual's power as representative government is one the basic principles of democracy (Linz & Stepan, Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America and post-communist Europe, 1996).

People are guided by an internal sense of right and wrong at the time of political crisis (Schumpeter, 1978). In a modern society, freedom of association and freedom of communication, inclusive electoral contestation, rule of law, legal procedures and freedom to earn are the principles important for consolidation of democracy in any country. Since, democracy is a complex system in which various forces are operating to create an equilibrium. In this system one of the basic premises is to understand the voter's attitude towards democratic processes with a fundamental question of their satisfaction and confidence towards democracy (Diamond, 1999).

### **1.6.3. Democratic Governance in Pakistan**

Pakistan, too, is facing grave problems vis-à-vis governance. The rule of law is not persistent, rather it is precarious. It further weakens the democratic footprint in the society. Especially, in South-Asian region democracy has diverging conceptualizations (Jalal, 1995).

In Pakistan, democracy is still struggling and exists in procedural or limited domain. An electoral process is followed to instill a government but ends up having institutional paraphernalia without the undercurrents of democracy. Elections are held freely but government is unable to control the state with full authority. At the same time state is irresponsive to the issues of a common man which consequently leads to disconnect between the state and society at large. The administrative institutions operate on the notion of brutal use of power and authority. In Pakistan, the electoral process is always questionable, and role of non-elected institutions is widely perceived to be more

overarching in comparison to elected institutions of the country (Talbot, 2012). The politics of *Thana and Katchery* is a dominant factor. People are guided by an internal sense of right and wrong at the time of political crisis. In modern society, freedom of association and freedom of communication, inclusive electoral contestation, rule of law, legal procedures and freedom to earn are the principle tenets for consolidation of democracy in any polity. Democracy is a complex system in which competing forces are operating and tussle for power is always underway.

In Pakistan, a strict dichotomy and a deeply grounded rift exist between non-elected and elected institutions in the political ambit (Jafferlot, 2015). This debate has gone vociferous after advent of several social media platforms which has reshaped the understanding and conceptualization of a common man about political system and its operative dispensation (Ahmed, *Democracy in Pakistan: From Rhetoric to Reality*, 2014). The non-elected institutions are marked intrusive in the larger landscape of democratic modus operandi. The politicians are also perceived as power manipulators. Notwithstanding this deeply intrinsic mistrust and ambivalent relationship people still participate in the electoral process. The participation of public is the core of the democratic ethos, and this choice is manifested through vote which is the ultimate instrument of the exercise of individual's power given representative government is one the basic principles of democracy (Dahl, 1991). Democracy has a fundamental problem which is ubiquitous in rural areas and i.e., is its inefficiency as if, government is unable to provide level playing field to the people, and economic development is not achieved at parity and uniformity. Authoritarianism becomes an alternative as a public choice at a time when democratic states lack the good governance, and this insinuation is profoundly felt in rural areas where governance structures are not intact. The authoritarian alternative can change into a predatory state leading to creation of predatory society. Power and privilege become the mean of praetorian state. It often makes people irresponsible and non-abiding to the state laws. In this situation, state institutions and their functionality in rural areas further endure the perception of democratic system as an ambivalent discourse.



The democratic system is partially felt and revived and sustains at bare minimum in the rural areas. The state's obtrusive narrative to strengthen democracy by giving financial aid and politics of patronization does not improve the governance. The stated issues to invest in basic health care and education, and dispensation of justice don't let democracy precipitate as a grand substantive discourse. However, the important thing to keep in mind is democracy remains a viable alternative despite all odds. This process though stumbled but keeps people participative albeit does not deliver substantively. This research attempts to explore the factors and processes which shape the understanding of democracy and its concomitant aspects which hinder the consolidation of democracy in rural areas of Pakistan. It is a qualitative study which adopts narrative analysis as research methodology. Furthermore, in-depth interviews and participation observation have been carried out to collect data in Village Mowara, Tehsil *Kahuta*, District *Rawalpindi*, Pakistan. However, with an understanding, the motives of the participation in rural areas of Pakistan this study not only explores diverse cultural factors underpinning people's participation and choice in the democratic process of the country, it also helps to understand hindrances behind the consolidation of democracy in Pakistan.

## **2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

Ethnography has a long tradition of fieldwork-based data collection practice from Bronislaw Malinowski to contemporary anthropologists. There are many changes since the beginning, one of the reasons was introduction of new sub-disciplines within anthropology, e.g., cyber anthropology and corporate anthropology, and another reason is converging social sciences is borrowing data collection methods from multiple disciplines. Methodology has been one of the most important components of any study, ethnographic lens has been employed in this study to collect data and conceptualize political discourse and its subsequent patterns, symbols and contestations. Ethnography traditionally relies on following sequential steps of Rapport building, key informants, participant observation and in-depth interviews were used to collect basic and detailed information from the people. Ethnography in contemporary anthropology has evolved from four field methods to more specific issue based holistic research with an aim to relate it to culture and decipher patterns emergent in its praxis. Ethnography is the primary methodology in this research; it focuses on an entire cultural group; this study is focused on rural population of union council Mowara and they are the cultural group for this study.

It is very important to plan the research and design tools before making an entry into the field. The ethnographic data collection was carried out from January to December 2017. The present research has been conducted in phases. The first phase of the research involved building rapport and credibility among the villagers to pave way for smooth collection of data. Secondly, it included basic understanding of the social organization, family size, household pattern, descent and demographic information. It can rightly be said as baseline phase of the research.

The second phase started with investigations into political context of the locale. The village is a kin-oriented settlement and influence is primarily based on lineage and

economic status, thus in- depth interviews were conducted with voters, lineage heads, *Numberdar*, electoral candidates and other influential of the community. This phase helped in exploring the voting patterns, alliances, associations and other mechanism. Focus Group Discussions were also carried out to understand the cross section of the community's views on political arena.

## **2.1. Rapport for Participant Observation**

Participant observation is one of the key elements of the data collection. It helps anthropologists to have lived experience. In order to be a participant observer, one of the important prerequisites is to establish rapport in the research settings. I made inroads to the village through Mr. *Mota*<sup>8</sup>, a government officer and resident of the village. He took me to key people and spaces in the community in first instance like office of the union council, tea stalls, utility store, schools, basic health unit and shrines. This helped people to relate with me. Participatory mapping/transect helped to identify the key spaces in the community.

The residents of the village welcomed me without resistance. I had deliberately spent some days in the community just gossiping and roaming around with the people to overcome the alien factor. It's a kin-oriented society and believe in caste superiority so I revealed my caste-which is same as of majority of the village- and it turned out to be a

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<sup>8</sup> This is a pseudo name. Throughout the research, pseudo names have been used to maintain the confidentiality of the respondents in compliance with research ethics. However, name appearing on the posters are used with consent.

blessing as it overarchingly transformed our relationship. *Rajputs*<sup>9</sup> developed a sense of ownership and now I became part of them.

Studies have shown that research population prefer to establish contacts with researchers who come from similar categories to themselves and perceive those who resemble them with regard to their social identity as less threatening (Shagrir, 2017).

In this phase, I also discovered spaces of political discussion which included shops, trees, union council office, post office, outside of mosque, utility store, teashops, waiting areas of local transport, school ground, gatherings (weddings-funerals), guest rooms, houses of political candidates and their supporters, trust office and households. All these places were instrumental in data collection. The first phase of the data collection was helpful in formulating research questions for the second phase of the study.

After living for few days in the field and establishing rapport with the community, I started to visit different people, places, households to understand their discussions about politics in general and specifically their political ideology, association, affiliation and above all their participation. Most of the people are busy in the morning due to office jobs. Old age males used to be available in the morning. Life starts very early in the village. One of the limitations being a male researcher was the access inside the households.

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<sup>9</sup> The Rajput genealogical memory lies with Bardic tradition, that they made by lord Ram. According captain James Todd, In the second century AD, the descendants of Lord Ram's son Luv moved from their home in Lahore in west Punjab (now Pakistan) to Gujarat. Documents provided by the locals in village narrates that their great grand ancestor migrated as Gujrat-Jehlum-Kahuta.

Females generally drape themselves in long piece of clothes called *chaddars*. The interaction with them within household to observe their daily routines and political participation was almost negligible. Though, I stayed in the guest room termed as *baithak* of one of the households in the village. they accorded very warm behavior but I was not allowed inside the household. The wife of the head of the household used to serve food to me. With the help of this lady, I managed to interact with few females of the community. Since, these females took care of the chores outside the household, i.e. caring cattle, bringing fodder, escorting females of lesser age to various places like school, hospital and market. I could only observe these activities of the females. During the course of field work, however, I participated in several weddings, funerals, social gatherings in the locality. These gatherings gave an insight into social and political alignments, reciprocity mechanisms and political discussions and participation. It is almost mandatory for the politically active people to participate in these ceremonies.

Participant observation involves going out and staying out, learning a new language (or a new dialect of a language you already know) and experiencing the lives of the people you are studying as much as you can. Participant observation is about stalking culture in the wild—establishing rapport and learning to act so that people go about their business as usual when you show up. If you are a successful participant observer, you will know when to laugh at what people think is funny; and when people laugh at what you say, it will be because you *meant* it to be a joke (Bernard, 2006).

I also participated in the *Urs* of Wadday baba ji and Bukhari sb in the village. In order to further the horizontally understand the locale, I visited Basic Health Unit BHU, Post Office, Utility Store, Schools, Mosques, Tea Stalls etc. and observed activities. Interestingly, when I visited utility store, I met a retired government servant who always sits with utility store staff. His presence was so permanent that incase the utility store's staff phones did not respond; the high-ups would call at the number of this old man. I entered with an impression that majority of the people must be buying from this facility,

but the actual situation was contrary to the fact. Since, other shop keepers offer credit facility seasonally and annually, so people preferred others over government facility despite quality and subsidized rates. The old man used to work in Karachi, a city in the south of the country, and was ideologically aligned with Pakistan People's Party (PPP). He voted for PPP thrice. After retirement, he returned to village and PPP had no strong basis here. So, realizing the insignificance of his vote, he had started to vote as per the aspirations of the people around. To further my understanding of political discourse in the locale, I conducted in-depth interviews. In-depth interviews helped to solicit detailed information about political actions and thoughts.

With the help of the participant observation, I was able to understand their behavioral patterns regarding politics i.e., understanding of politics, ideology orientations and manifestations, subsequent associations and affiliations, and above all political participation. One of the very important factors here is that participant observation enabled me to observe the difference between their actual behavior and what they reported during conversations and interviews. I observed their political actions as firsthand data. The participant observation enabled the researcher to gain in-depth insight into the community.

This study efforts to explore the political discourse in rural politics with special emphasis on rural settings by employing holistic approach of anthropology. People have different reasons to understand political context. The motives and methods should be studied to improve people's participation and confidence in political process of the country. There are plenty of questions surrounding the phenomenon. It observed people on Ideology orientations -manifestos, party orientations at the lines of ideology, basic conceptualization of democracy -mean of exploitation or legitimate political system, socio-economic awareness pre-requisites -education, rights, input- output model, politic-legal mechanisms/systems-laws, legislation, knowledge about legislation etc.

## 2.2. Key Informants

This is vital to ethnographic research as people hold significant social position in the research settings with an extensive knowledge of the people, events and happening. They become valuable source of information for the research (Payne & Payne, 2004).

The key informant is a gate way to information and people in the locale. The key informants are crucial in data collection especially for ethnographic studies. For the present research three key informants were chosen. Mr. *Mota*, a young professional hailing from the village, works in Islamabad and belongs to a reputable family of the Rajput Clan of the village.

*Mr. Numberdar*, He was a very valuable source of information about village especially lineages and associations. *Numberdar* was an important choice as the key informant. This family had been holding this position since six generations. The people of the village have confidence in their family as they consider them as their representative. They reside in *Kahuta* city, i.e. around 16 kilometers away from the locale. People from the village used to visit them for their issues in court and police stations. This *Numberdar* turned out to be living encyclopedia of the history of the people and locale. Keeping in view the richness of information about the people and lifestyle, he fits into the role of a key informant.

The shopkeeper from local grocery shop was another valuable source of information. His shop sales were highest in the town implying that large number of people visit his shop daily. His dealings were on credit.

Miss Sabira, a female in late 50's of the village. she is an active member of the community. She is very social and loves engaging with females. She readily introduced the researcher with different females. Only aged females were accessible to the researcher. One of the basic reasons for this was *Pardha and* honor. The younger females avoid stranger males. The researcher could only interact with females of old age i.e.

above fifty.

Thirdly, *Nikkah* Registrar of the village was the third key informant. He has larger headway into the young and religious people of the village. he remained pivotal source to connect with the youth of the village.

### **2.3. Socio-economic Survey**

In the contemporary world, quantitative and qualitative methods to cover the broad spectrum of issues complementing the research topic. The locale under study is a big village. so systematic random sampling with an interval of ten was used. The socio-economic survey solicited basic demographic information i.e. household size and structure, number of members, marriage and

family patterns, average monthly/seasonal income, education levels, employment patterns. The survey also carried few questions regarding political ideology and its practical manifestation.

### **2.4. In-depth Interviews**

In-depth interviews were carried out with 50 respondents in the field. The purposive sampling was used to conduct interviews. The objective was to include a sample representative of the population in the village. the interviews were conducted with the local politicians. By local politicians means people contesting local bodies in any position. Though, some of the local politicians contested provincial and national legislature elections. Another set of in-depth interviews was carried out with the active supporters. By active, it means those people who contribute in the election campaign in kind or in cash. In kind means printing pamphlets, giving vehicle etc.

Thirdly, in-depth interviews were carried out with those people who participated in the election process ensuring participation from every division. Fourthly, in-depth interviews



were carried from those who did not participate in the electoral process. Other set of interviews were conducted with pressure groups like of transport union, welfare trust and people anonymous running social media pages regarding the political activities of the locale. Since in-depth interviews included a lot of information about their personal choices and actions. The respondents were reluctant to share this out of confidentiality concerns. However, I tried to assure them that the data along with their identity will be kept secret. If anything, requires reporting, that will be done using pseudo name. This information relieved the respondents. They used to say:

*“Asan ty ethay ei rehna ey, tusan murri ky nae ana*

*We will live here, whereas, you will never return.”*

This shows the extent of social pressure in collective settings. while, referring me they expressed that you operate without any strings attached in the society. whereas, we have all the burden of social relations, reciprocities etc.

The interviews gave an insight into the lived experience of the people about political text and talk, rhetoric and reality. the interviews were conducted in *Urdu* and *Potohari*. Both the languages are spoken in the community. It added ease to the interviews because naturally, it was easy for natives to conversate and relate in the local language. The interview used to be 70 to 90 minutes in duration. During interviews, people always prefer to sit with either one or two of their friends and relatives. It was almost impossible to interact with people in extreme privacy or one to one setting. People sitting along generally give their feedback as well. During the course of interview, this was a limitation as well. Politicians generally talked in individual settings. Later on, I discovered that while talking to stranger in complete confidentiality may raise eyebrows of the community. They ensured the presence of any other person just to counter this factor.

## **2.5. Jotting**

In anthropological field work, jotting is crucially important. Since field work spans over longer period and hundreds of observations are made during the process. It is not possible to retain all important and rich data. So, jotting holds its significance throughout. Even during analysis, one has to refer to jotting time and again just to reconfirm the facts. One of the limitations was the shyness of respondents from the jotting pad. I used to take permission from the respondents about jotting after explaining it to them. As I took notes, it also boosted their confidence on the pretext that their sayings are significant.

## **2.6. Narrative Analysis**

Political narratives were utilized to understand the gist of human lived experience. Since, narration is a meaning making process and symbolizes a relationship of culture and individual. It also serves to understand the experience of life in its social context. It is an important way to understand social world.

In the locale, people are connected to each other through blood and affinity. Cultural connections are through shared knowledge of each phenomenon that existed around. People share common understanding of culture specific. Common cultural understanding makes it helpful to share their narratives with each other. The shared stories that connected them with each other. Shared narratives. Furthermore, narrative is very purposeful to understand the psychological and social dimensions of the political phenomenon in the society. It also helps to deeply understand the individuals' political experiences shared with each other constructing their common knowledge of the political arena, participation, process.

Every political system is embedded in a particular pattern of orientations to political action"; he referred to this pattern as "political culture." He also suggested that the then popular term, "ideology," be confined to "the systematic and explicit formulation of a

general orientation to politics," leaving political culture to encompass "the vaguer and more implicit orientation (Formisano R. P., 2001).

It also gives productive framework for comprehending people's reason of communicating with each other their political experiences and develop an interpretation as per local rules. The experiences of people political sphere regarding ideology orientations, association, support and participation can be analyzed in a better way by employing narrative approach. It provides a rich description of the ways people understand and conceptualize their political rights and what linkages exist between their perception and ground realities. People construct political sphere according to their culture and understanding through communication within their agency. Narratives further clarified the position of the masses in the society. through narratives people express their collective and individual understanding of the political sphere and related phenomenon, especially their ambivalent attitudes.

## **2.7. Discourse Analysis**

Discourse Analysis is used to decipher key terms, proverbs, quotations, key sentences and local terms were used in in-depth interviews in Potohari language. The socio-cultural content was considered during the translation, and everything recorded was not taken literally. The data has been categorized thematically based on discourses such as associations based on baradari, disputes, symbols and contestations.

## **2.8. Ethical Considerations**

There are certain methodological issues related to ethnographic research that demand certain ethical considerations, these include: issues of informed consent, privacy, bias, appropriate research methods, correct reporting, honesty, and the suitable use of information.

Ethical considerations were followed during the course of field work. Informed consent was taken before any interaction with the respondents. The respondents were also briefed about their voluntary participation. The purpose of the research was also explained to the respondents before interviews. The confidentiality of the respondents was also strictly maintained in the field and data. The data has been reported keeping the confidentiality of the respondents. Since, interaction of an outsider male with females of the community was not quite frequently possible, consequently, I adhered to this norm. Females with grandchildren interacted with me during the course of the fieldwork. They also interacted during male company of their household.

Based on the fundamental principles that person always be treated as ends in themselves, never merely as means. A framework that strives individual autonomy (implying authenticity and independence) must make the interaction between the researcher and the subject of his focus. It is the individual actions and the quality of these actions that must be scrutinized and evaluated throughout the field work (Wei Li Fang and Ellwein, 1990).

### 3. UNDERSTANDING *MOUZA MOWARA*

Mouza Mowara lies in union council *Mowara*<sup>10</sup> which comprises of *Mouza Asloha, Tarnoosh, Janjur, Garhat, Nala Brahmnan, Bamlot, Dhian Pur, Gagari, Sahi* and *Mowara* with a population of 11739 persons. Total population of *Mouza Mawara* is 2244 people, whereas total number of households remain 421 as per unannounced results of census 2017.<sup>10</sup>

#### 3.1. Union Council *Mouza Mowara*

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The total number of registered voters of *Mouza Mowara* are **1262, with 645 males and 617 females** (voters list for general elections 2018). Total land holdings of the village are 5510 kanals<sup>11</sup>, however, 2010 is owned and 3500 is *Shamilat*<sup>12</sup> respectively. There are around 40 canals of land distributed to people belonging to other castes called as occupational castes including *Qasbi, Kumhar, Qutab Shahi etc.* Majority of the land is uncultivable and hence used as common grazing area.

Children of the bother of *Bhulu Rao* are settled in two sub-lineages called *gora goa* and

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<sup>10</sup> The local legends suggest that the place was historically known as *Dharmor*<sup>10</sup>, later-on, *Pir Hashim of Baghar Shareef*<sup>10</sup> changed its name as *Mee-Wala* due to an abundant fruit tree called *Garanda-* in 1860. The name took its shape as *Mee-Wara* as *ara* in local language is called as uneven surface. With the passage of the time, the name took to its present form as *Mowara*.

<sup>11</sup> One canal equals 605 square yards

<sup>12</sup> It is defined as per Punjab land disposition (saving of *shamilat*) ordinance 1959 as unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context, the expression “*shamilat*” means land described as such in the record of rights, and the land so described, shall be deemed to be *shamilat*, notwithstanding that the whole or part of it is in the possession of one or more of the proprietors in the estate, or of any other person.

*garhait*. Caste endogamy is a preferable marriage choice among *Rajputs*<sup>13</sup>.

Marriage is a strategic tool and is often done to seek maximal political advantage and minimal household disruption. (Lyon, Network and Alliance: Formal Model of Alliance, Descent and inheritance in Pakistani Punjabi Village , 2013).

Marriages within the six sub-lineages<sup>14</sup> of the village also creates a political faction and strong in- group. This is also one of the factors that influences voting behavior of the villagers. Whereas, denial of marriage proposal also causes frictions called as *narazgi*<sup>15</sup> in the local context. *Narazgi* also influences the political choices.

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<sup>13</sup> The *Rajputs of Mouza Mowara* are *Kadaal* – a sub-lineage of *Janjua Rajput* clan. *Kadaal* was son of *Dada Pir Kala*. It is believed in the village that he was the first *Rajput* who relocated himself from the salt mine range of *Jehlum* to this area. *Rajputs of Mouza Mowara* are descendants of *Bhulu Rao*. His six sons were *Fazal khan*, *Basharat khan*, *Amanat khan*, *Paras khan*, *Ashraf khan* and *Sadda Khan*. *Mouza Mowara* and its adjoining areas are descendants of these brothers. The six major sub lineages in the names of above-mentioned sons of *Bhulu Rao* are *chalial*, *nambardaran*, *paari channi*, *bagla*, *sakhalan* respectively.

<sup>14</sup> Detailed lineage tree attached in annexure as provided by village *numberdar*

<sup>15</sup> Everyday friction starting from severing of social ties

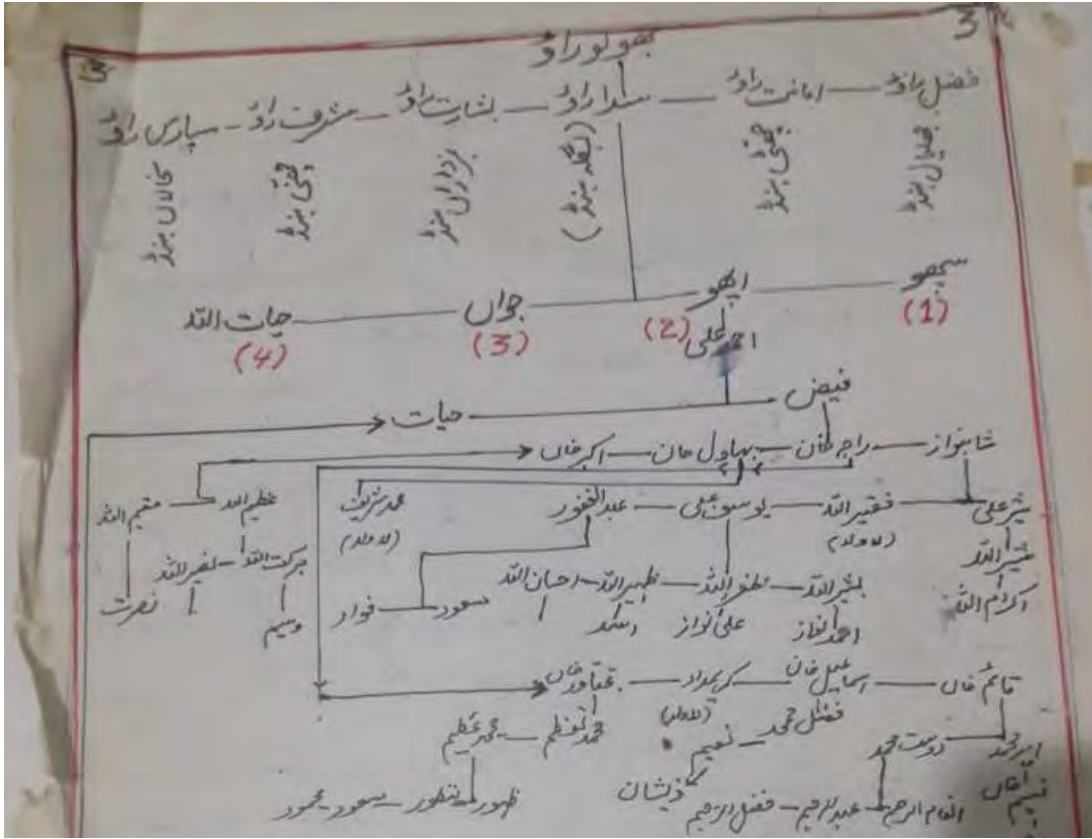


Figure 2: Sub-lineages of Mowara

To substantiate this argument one of the family from sub-lineage *bagla* had been voters of former union council chairman from *chalial*. However, in 2013 the family married their daughter in *gora*. In the local body election of 2015, uncle of the groom planned to contest elections. This matrimonial relation turned into political alliance. The whole family of the bride voted for the uncle of the groom.

*Mouza Mowara* is considered as the driving political force in the political landscape of UC *Mowara*. Historically, in the Local Bodies elections, majority of chairmen of the UC *Mowara* belonged to the *Mouza*<sup>1616</sup>. The other *Mouzas* of the UC have been predominantly inhabited by the migrants of *Mouza Mowara*. The relocation of people from *Mouza Mowara* to other *Mouzas* have been taking place owing to the extension in the families. The demographic landscape of UC *Mowara* primarily represents the section or division (*baand*) system wherein many *Mouzas* of the UC are inhabited by the main six sections (*baand*) originating from *Mouza Mowara*.

The people of the village are settled within the proximal boundaries of their immediate blood relatives. This blood relationship *Baand* and the settlement pattern is called *dhok*. In *Mouza Mowara*, twelve *dhoks* exist as *Bagla, Channi, Thandal, Chalial, Mohra, Haveli Parri, Baen-di- Kessi, Duaal, Marota and Gora*. The biggest lineage as per population is *Pir-Paniah*. The names of the lineages and *dhoks*-settlement patterns coincide. *Bagla* is a *baand* and *dhok* as well. The politically active bands are *gora gora* and *Mohra*. The three candidates for the union council chairmanship hailed from *gora gora, chalial* and *Mohra*. *Dhok* and *baand* are used in everyday settings to address and recognize each other.

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<sup>16</sup> In the last four elections of the local bodies, chairman of the union council belonged to *Mouza Mowara*





***Figure 3: Signboard of blood line and settlement pattern***

The social structure is patriarchal in nature. Lineage is traced through father thus society is patrilineal. The post marriage residence pattern is patrilocal. The girl moves with groom's family after marriage. The females are generally housewives but also take care of the livestock. Parallel and cross cousin marriages are preferred; however, people are open for marriage in any sub-lineage of their respective broader caste i.e. *Rajput*. Financial status coupled with family reputation and respect are selection criteria both for males and females. Interestingly, in male dominated society of the village, the female members of the household are empowered to select a spouse for the boy of the household and this expedition is led by mother of the groom. In some cases, post marriage patterns are reversed, and groom moves with the bride's family. This often happens in overseas marriages.

People prefer to live in joint and extended families. A new room is generally built for newly married in the vicinity of the household. Sometimes, relatively affluent families built a bigger structure for the new couples. The ancestral home belongs to the youngest male child of the family; however, family land is distributed among the siblings as per Islamic law. Females are generally given inheritance share in papers only, practically they did not get anything. It is considered that dowry is major investment that a family has to carry-out so in-lieu of dowry and lifelong social obligations required to maintain relationships, land is withheld.

The occupational castes live separately alongside road. One of the basic reasons behind their settlement alongside road is that previously people did not like to live by roadside. They *Rajputs* of the village gave these occupational castes land alongside roadside. These linages and hamlets become very obvious and relevant patterns in electoral politics. This association is especially mentioned in the political support.

A poster mentioning the road approval and praise for premier. This also carries the name of the union council chairman and supporter as both hails from *gora gora* sub-lineage. The poster carries that a road is being approved from *Mouza Mowara* to *Mouza Garhait* and its adjoining *dhoks barhari, darh* and *pamnah*. The Picture in the poster is of local bodies candidate. The poster is from a person who hail from *gora gora*. Road also originates from *gora gora*. The posters accord accolades to premier Abbasi. The underlying and indirect message is the connectivity of the local bodies candidate with upper circles of power.



*Figure 4: Development work and settlement patterns*

According to the accounts of *Nambardar*, these lands were given to the occupational castes by the Rajputs in response to their occupational services. A large trek of land, adjacent to the road, is owned by the occupational castes. The ownership is a later transferred and this has empowered occupational castes. There are several disputes between the occupational castes and *Rajput* but a sense of ownership and presence of legal system does not allow the Rajput caste to subjugate the land of a member of an occupational caste. There are also disputes within the occupational castes that are entire litigated in the court under the state laws or solved by mediation of dispute resolution council, predominantly represented by Rajput caste. The occupational caste also plays a significant role in electoral politics. The village falls in arid area. The occupational castes cannot be coerced into a decision. The Islamic inheritance system has also weakened the landed class of the village. maximum land owned by an individual is 50 kanal in the village. this is a very small piece as compared to the plain areas of Punjab. Every panel of electoral candidates try to have at least one candidate from the occupational castes.

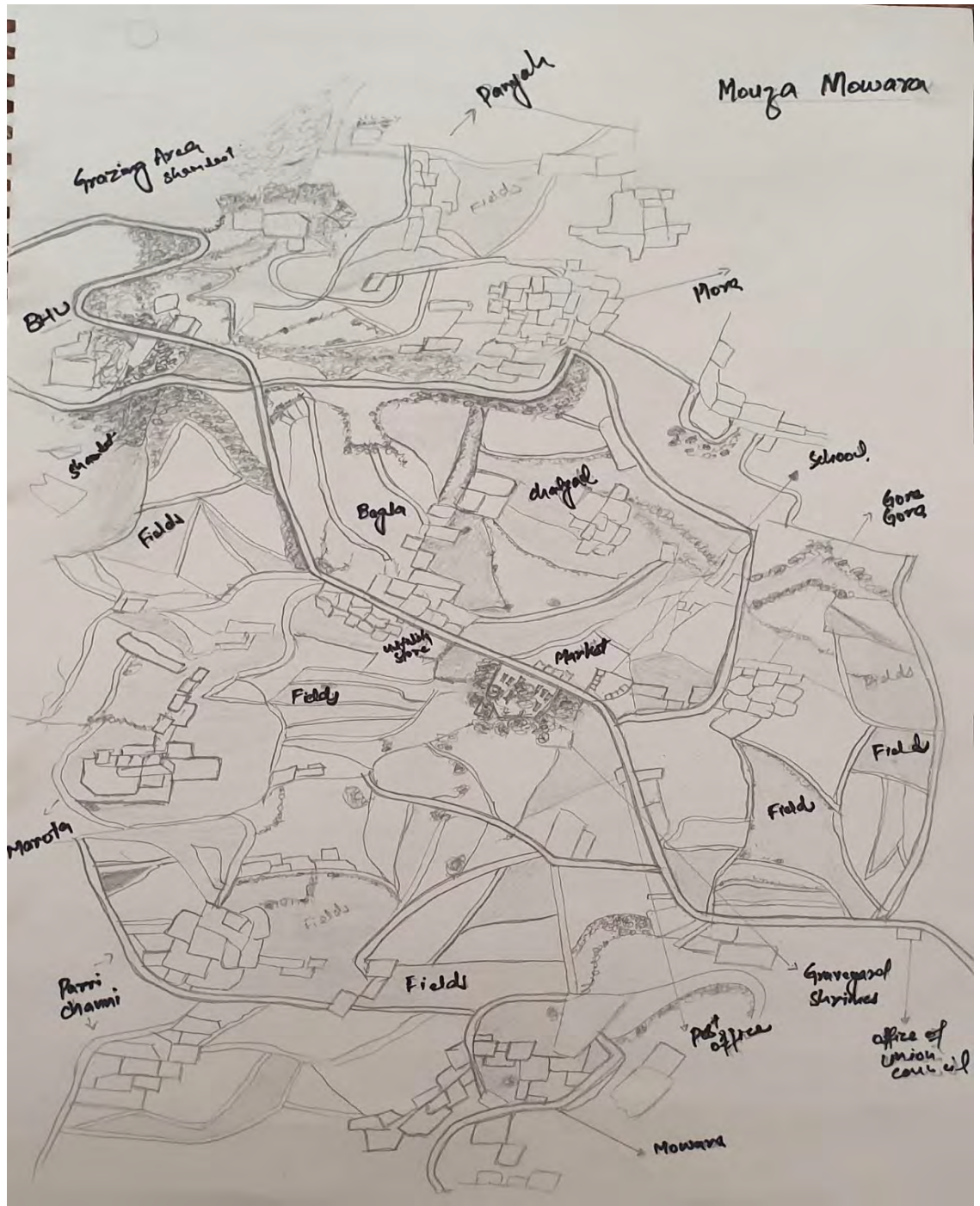


Figure 5: Layout of Mouza Mowara

### 3.2. Household Structure

Household structure is generally semi-cemented. Kiln bricks and stones are used to erect walls whereas mud and cement is used as adhesive as per the affordability. The mud mixed with milk is used to plaster the walls. It gives nice finish to the walls. Roofs are generally built using cemented slabs. Iron and wood doors are used. Kitchen and washroom areas are separate from the main house. A courtyard separates house from kitchen and washroom. However, in some newly constructed structures washrooms are attached to guest and living rooms. The rooms have big shelf called *kans* to showcase expensive pottery. Handmade beds called *Khats* are generally preferred. Double story houses are also in vogue these days and upstairs rooms are being called as *chobara*.

The courtyards are a center of political discussion but only for female members of the family. Male members often discuss the politics in markets or specific places like shops, under trees and playground of boy's high school. As female choice for political candidate is influenced by the male members, the female members of the society develop the similar opinion as of their male members. However, a contesting debate may start with a female from the neighborhood if the male member of the neighborhood is the voter of an opponent candidate. The female members bet each other that the candidate supported by their male members would win the elections. this contest is limited to gossips and does not translate into a conflict or social boycott.



*Figure 6: Outside and inside view of the house-veranda, room, and store room*

### 3.3. Apparel and Food Patterns

*Tanbi-kurta* (loose pant-long shirt) is a regular dress for both male and females. Young females wear bright colors with floral patterns. whereas older females usually wear light colors and with imprints and motifs. Young males usually wear dark colors, whereas older males wear light and often white dress. Older males cover their heads with round caps or short sheet of loose cloth called *parna*. Usually plastic slippers are worn both by male and females at home. However, *kheri* (a local semi open shoe) is worn for going outside home and community. New clothes are usually purchased at occasions of *Eid* or wedding.

Since it is an arid area, the eating pattern are organic based on dairy products, vegetables and poultry. Regular eating comprises mainly three times a day. In the morning, *desi ghee*, egg (home reared hens), left over gravy coupled with fried bread is consumed in the morning. Majority of the males are away during the day; thus, lunch is kept simple and local concoction of simplicity is *Lon-Marchi* (salt and pepper). In summers season corn bread, mango *chatni* and pickle and *lassi* (diluted milk) is consumed. People usually take supper right after sunset prayer (*Maghrib*) and comprises of pulses, vegetables and meat. Meat is specially cooked on Thursday as people attach reverence to this day and pray for deceased and distribute cooked meat to neighbors and prayer leader as well. Males usually consume a cup of milk before going to bed.

Guests are served with cooked poultry meat, rice and custard or *sweyian*. Males are served first in the household whereas females either eat afterwards or along. Fruits are generally for kids and older people. However, young ones can also eat. People buy grocery from local shopkeepers on monthly credit as most of them are government servants, pension holders or overseas. A small number of people are landowners in central Punjab-the land has been distributed among them for their military services before and after partition.

Food and dress also represent social class as well. Kitchens are away from the courtyard. Food is served outside kitchen in the courtyard. Political discussion in the household starts here. People discuss conduct of candidates in the household. Females while serving food give their opinions on the political issues of the village. personal associations and rivalries are also discussed here. Foodtime is political time as well. The guest rooms of political candidates are important as political space. Political candidates make it sure that food is available for visitors all the time as notions of hospitality is associated with it. During election period, this drive gets momentum. *Biryani*-specific type of rice-are widely served. On the election day, it is the duty of the candidates to provide voters with food.

### 3.4. Travelling Patterns

Local mobility is pedestrian both for male and females. Wedding, funeral or everyday interaction within the community is managed on foot. Local Suzuki van and buses ply to *Kahuta* city during day. Some families move either on their own vehicles or rented ones. Motorcycles are also mode of traveling for job holders. In case of medical emergency, almost everyone has to rent a vehicle to reach hospital or vehicle is provided by influential people of the community. There are almost fifty five Suzuki vans in the village with an exclusive Suzuki stop wherefrom a vehicle moves after every 20 minutes to *Kahuta* city. The female job holders frequently move on Suzuki carriage van turned into passenger van but some people move only when required to visit the *Kahuta* city for shopping or legal purposes. Women also frequently move to the *Kahuta* city for shopping but presence of male member of the family along is loosely followed.

Suzuki vans are often overloaded with males using the outer space of the van whereas females occupy inner side of the van. The front seat is often considered privileged and reserved for some respected members of the community, but this is not a strictly followed practice. Age, professional position and political stature are basic variables that are used to measure respect in the area. The transporters are mostly young local boys, thus easily available in the time of any emergency. In the morning, many Suzuki vans are permanently hired by the students moving to schools and colleges in *Kahuta* city. The hired van is also supposed to drop the students back at home after study hours. Besides public transportation, Suzuki vans are used for loading purposes as well where daily households, cattle and grocery is transported from *Rawalpindi* or *Kahuta* to the village.

The Suzuki van union is led by a local leader. He is politically aligned with Raja Sagheer, a local politician who contested provincial assembly seats. The transport union act as a pressure group for local politicians. One hundred and ten staff members of vans and their families vote after their leader. Thus, the transport union has nuisance for local politicians as he can make or break elections.



### 3.5. Roles and Responsibilities

The villagers usually are on low paid government and semi govt jobs like teaching in schools both private and government, colleges, officer and ordinary ranks in army, clerical jobs, *Kahuta* Research Laboratories, overseas and labor. A considerable number of people are self-employed as they have adopted the traditional profession of cattle farming. Their subsistence is based on milk-sale on daily basis and cattle sale on the eve of *Eid-Ul-Adha*. Many youngsters have travelled to gulf countries for their livelihood. Very few among them have managed to make it to European countries through illegal channels. People complement their low income with poultry and livestock rearing and this responsibility is often taken by female members of the family. Females go out in the field to bring fodder for cattle. Females have the responsibility of household chores like cooking, cleaning, dishwashing, clothes (washing and ironing) and child rearing. Males often contribute in child rearing by taking them out during evenings. Average income of the household is 18000 PKR per month.

Committee system is well in place. An agreed upon amount by specific number of people is submitted to one person of integrity. out of this group, one member gets total money every month. This is how people save money for weddings and other big expenses. The committee system is more prevalent among the female members of the village. The committee system is prevalent in a way that most of the female keep participating in this system for years to collect the money for the dowry of their daughters. There is an unwritten commitment that all the participant female members obliged each other by relinquishing their turn to a lady more needy in the particular month.

Division of labor exists between males and females. Female are supposed to perform household chores, child caring and rearing and cattle work. Males are supposed to be main bread earners of the family. Decision making lies with males ranging from everyday matters to issues of reproduction, voting, marriage alliances etc. However, females can indirectly influence the decision. Women are important and significant part of the village. Women are active contributors in the household economy. Females generally

do all household work but rear cattle and poultry. The products are being used to fulfil the dairy and protein requirements of the family. This is a major contribution.

Female education is given importance. Teaching in schools and women colleges is preferred employment option for females. Few women work in health department as doctors, nurses and lady health workers. Although, majority of women remain work as housewives, but it is not because of the strict masculine control but due to limited professions for women. The women teachers are the most respected members of the village and the driving force of women development. Females also do jobs in various organizations and positions both autonomous, government and semi government

The female mobility within the village is based on the age where elder women can freely move to the village or to the city but young females have to move either with their parents. Female students move together for the local high school in the village. The female students studying in the city have to move in a rented Suzuki van. *Abaya* is mandatory for the females, but a complete face veil is not mandatory. Females generally hide their faces from strangers. However, this principle does not apply for the males of same *Baand*. A stranger is a person from different *baand* and outsider. Long unstitched light colored piece of cloth is used by the females to cover head, body and face from strangers. Males use a small piece of cloth over their shoulders. This is a multipurpose cloth that is used to cover head, safety from scorching heat etc.

Dowry is mandatory for the family of the bride but amount and volume of the commodities depends upon their choice and financial status. The basic commodities given as gift in the dowry include furniture i.e., bed, sofa set, cupboard, crockery, blankets, mattress, clothes<sup>18</sup>, jewelry and electronics. The dowry reflects the socio-economic status of the family of the bride.

The family of the groom cannot demand dowry as it is considered inappropriate in the society, however, bride's family takes it as mandatory. Dowry is also a reason for caste endogamy. People prefer to marry within their lineage. This creates cohesion and solidarity in the society.

### 3.6. Belief and Rituals

Muslims from Sunni (both *Deobandi* and *Brailvi*) sects dwell in the village. Learning of *Holy Quran's* recitation is compulsory for everybody in the village. People send their children to mosques for Quran recitation. Other aspects of religious education like ablution, prayer, fasting is also informally and formally relegated. There are ten mosques in the village. Two are *Jamia* or big mosques-each for *Deobandi* and *Brailvi* factions respectively. *Imam* of the mosque are either local elders or hired *moulvis* working under the guidance of local committee.

Nominal attendance of people is observed during everyday prayer's, but it swells significantly on Fridays and *Ramzan*<sup>17</sup>. The mosque has a political significance as well. People send their children for religious education to the mosque of their respective belief system. This has a bearing on voting patterns. There are two major shrines in the village's main graveyard. Each shrine carries its own ethno- religious legacy. One of the main is of *Dharmasi Khan alias Bara Baba's* shrine attributed to the forefathers of the village's main clan. Second, is the shrine of *Sakhi Pir Syed Bukari Badshah*, presumably the Arab family which migrated with *Sultan Ahmed alias dada pir kaala (forefather of Janjua Rajputs in Tehsil Kahuta)* and settled in *Mowara*.

The people of the village observe separate religious gatherings called as *Mela* on 24<sup>th</sup> June of every year. The gathering on *Pir bukhari's* shrine is primarily religious wherein *langar*<sup>18</sup> is arranged by affluent people of the community. However, the gathering on the

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<sup>17</sup> Fasting month among Muslims

<sup>18</sup> Food distributed at the shrine

shrine of *Bara Bawa* is ethno- religious wherein cultural activities e.g. *kabbadi*, *shair khwani* or *qawwali* are also happen.

The gathering on the shrine of *Bara Baawa* is larger than of *Pir Bukhari*. The participation in the gathering on the shrine of *Pir Bukhari* is overwhelmingly of *Barailvi* factions whereas the gathering on the shrine of *Bara Baawa* is from both *Barailvi* and *Deobandi* factions. People are also connected with major sufi shrines of the area. The most famous *sufi* shrine is of *Baghaar Sharif* situated in the village *Baghaar*, seven kilometers away from *Mowara*. The shrine of *Baghaar Sharif* is headed by *Sahibzada Sajid Ur Rehman*, a famous religious scholar of Pakistan. The people of *Mowara* village have a reverence for *Sahibzada Sajid Ur Rehman* not only for his inherent religious background but also for his national stature. Another aspect of *Sahibzada Sajid Ur Rehman* is his relationship with politically influential family of Raja Zafar Ul Haq, the current leader of opposition in the senate.

A large number of people are emotionally attached with another shrine of *Baba Gulam Badshah*, in an adjacent Tehsil of *Kalar Syedian*. However, this attachment is among the lower middle or poor classes. Notwithstanding, the lower middle or poor classes do attribute their savings or belongings (goats, cattle) on the Shrine of *Baba Ghulam Badshah*. The gatherings on the shrines of *Bara Baawa* and *Baba Ghulam Badshah* are on 22 June and 24 June, every year, respectively.



Figure 7: Shrine and grave of baray baba sahib and hazrat pir shah bukhari,

Women pray at home. The factional attachment of the women is dominated by the choices of their male heads. Similarly, the attachment with the shrines is also in line with the male. The religious education of female child is as compulsory as of male child. Male and female children are often taught in coeducation environment, but female child is taken of the coeducation before she enters the age of puberty. Annual gatherings on shrine are male dominant but women have a controlled liberty of visiting the shrines during routine days.

Graveyard is also on the right side of main road that passes through the village and leads to *Matore*, the next union council. It is in middle of the village. residents of the village bury their deceased in the graveyard but a clear division as per settlement patterns of *dhoks* exist here as well. People prefer to bury closer to near and dears. The surface patterns of graves have significantly changed as well. It is also a matter of social recognition of care and submission the way one visits and adores the graves of deceased. The following picture depicts the evolution of grave patterns in thevillage.



*Figure 8: Graveyard*

### **3.7. Education**

The education is an important aspect of the life of the people in the village. There are two government high schools; each for boys and girls. There is also a private school in the village with co-education. The enrollment in the government high schools is quite limited as 240 and 231 in boys and girls respectively as majority of the people send their children in private schools to Tehsil *Kahuta* – most of them are in coeducation. The literacy rate among the youth, both male and female, is almost 90 percent.

Most of the students make it to matriculation but after that the trend of higher education

is decreasing. Many male students are preferably sent to technical institutions e.g. vocational training centers, polytechnical colleges as it broadens the prospects of technical jobs in gulf states. People also prefer to send their male children to army in ordinary ranks. The literacy trend among females towards higher education is comparatively better than male students. Education is very important for the people that even one of the candidates took it as election manifesto in his campaign.

Major ® Abdul Rauf, former union council chairman said that improving the plight of education is one of the reasons of his entering into political arena. He said, I matriculated in 1964 and till my retirement, the status of the school remained at the primary level. Improving education facilities of the people was one of his election manifestos. Education of the children is one of the very important concerns as class mobility is widely attributed with education. However, affordability is one of the biggest concerns as well.

### **3.8. Civic Amenities**

The union council has basic services and that too in *Mouza Mowara*. office of the union council, basic health unit, post office, utility store, gas, water supply, electricity, high schools for male and female. The provision of these services has a political bearing. It is important to mention here these amenities as they hold important position in political landscape of the area.

#### **3.8.1. Basic Health Unit**

Basic health unit (BHU) of union council *Mowara* is situated in *Mouza Mowara*. Total of 14 staff members work in BHU including MBBS doctor, dispenser, lady health workers, supervisors, nutrition expert and support staff. Basic health facilities are provided free of cost to the patients. Average daily patient influx is 41 in BHU. Labor room facility is also provided at the BHU. Staff is also provided with the residential facilities at the BHU. The BHU also manages and monitors awareness campaigns, epidemic outbreaks, vaccination and family planning drives. Only two lady health workers belong to the *mouza*, rest of the staff belong to other areas. Health is a major issue. Poor people do not afford health

facilities in the city of *Kahuta*. this also becomes an important factor in shaping political discourse of the area.

### 3.8.2. Post Office

The post office facility is also provided to the people of *Mouza Mowara*. pension, postal services, prize bonds services are provided by the post office. Post office is instrumental in promoting distance education in the village. Post office is also used as political space. The picture is of newsclipping that appeared on a local newspaper states that chairman Abdul Rauf Janjua has another feather in the cap. Waiting area has been created for senior pensioners outside post office. Previously, there was no shade available for the senior citizens. Senior pensioners have also thanked the chairmen for this great task. Political and social personalities of the *Mowara* have also thanked the chairman for this task.



*Figure 9: Newspaper clipping reporting installation of waiting area for senior citizens*



### 3.8.3. Water Supply

The water supply is available for every *dhok* of *Mouza Mowara*. The provision of clean drinking and utility water for every household. The water supply came to the village in 1998. Raja Altaf, twice chairman of the union council takes this development on his credit. However, this credit is contested by sitting chairman. The water supply pipes are rusted and water is no more potent to drink. Secondly the population has increased as well so the water supply does not cater the needs of the people now. Thus

### 3.8.4. Gas

The natural gas has also been provided to the *mouza*. This is primarily used for cooking. This is used to warm rooms and water using heaters and geysers respectively. This facility has drastically changed the dependence on wood as fuel, thus altering the division of labor patterns, cooking time and effort in the society. the provision of gas an important electoral issue. The gas was connected to the village in 2016. The provision of gas is taken as a major milestone in the electoral politics.



*Figure 10: Gas meter being installed*



*Figure 11: Chairman and local people with gas pipes*

### کہوٹہ: یوسی مواڑہ کے 5 گاؤں کی گیس درخواستیں منظور

عوام کی خدمت کرنا ہی میرا اولین فرض ہے: چیئرمین یونین کوئٹل مواڑہ عبدالرؤف راجہ کہوٹہ (تعمیراتی نئی بات) یوسی مواڑہ کے 5 گاؤں کی گیس رسیدیں آگئی، جگر گیس کے آفسر نے چیئرمین میجر راجہ عبدالرؤف جنجوعہ کے حوالے کر دیں۔ اہلیان علاقہ کی طرف سے مسلم لیگ ن حلقہ ٹی بی ٹو کے رہنما یحییٰ مین کوئٹل مواڑہ کے چیئرمین میجر راجہ عبدالرؤف جنجوعہ کو شاعرانہ الفاظ میں خراج تحسین۔ یحییٰ مین کوئٹل مواڑہ کے چیئرمین عبدالرؤف راجہ نے اپنے دفتر میں گفتگو کرتے ہوئے کہا کہ عوام کی خدمت کرنا ہی میرا اولین فرض ہے اور اسکے مسائل اگلی دہائی پر حل ہونگے۔ اس موقع پر اسلام آباد یوسی گیس آفس سے آئے وفد کو یوسی مواڑہ کی سوئی گیس فائیکولٹ کی رسیدیں اگلے حوالے کی، وفد نے چیئرمین کو یحییٰ مین کوئٹل سے کہا کہ سوئی گیس کے تمام ضابطہ فوٹس بہت جلد آچکے دفتر پہنچ جائیں گے اور کسی صارف کو دفتر چکر لگانے نہیں پڑے گئے اس چیئرمین عبدالرؤف راجہ نے وفد کا شکریہ ادا کیا اس موقع پر مقامی افراد کے علاوہ کونسلر راجہ ریاض، مصالحتی کمیٹی کے صدر راجہ احسان الحق جنجوعہ بھی موجود تھے۔



کوئٹہ یوسی کے 5 گاؤں کی گیس رسیدیں آگئی، جگر گیس کے آفسر نے چیئرمین کوئٹل مواڑہ عبدالرؤف راجہ سے چارج

Figure 12: Government official handing over receipts of gas connection to UC Chairman



Figure 13: Sign board thanking then premier Shahid Khaqan Abbasi for development work

The provision of gas work is very important that it resonates in the national politics as well. This sign board from the chairman of the union council depicts his broader party, connectivity with the leadership.

### **3.8.5. Electricity**

The electricity has been provided to the people of the mouza. The electricity has become backbone of everyday life as major dependence of the household is on electronic appliances like bulbs, fans, irons, television, water pumps and in very few houses air-conditioner is being used. The facility of electricity was transmitted in 1986 and since then it has been expanding in other areas. This facility is now considered as a domestic need as it is the third generation living in the lights. The billing of the electricity is the regular feature of the villagers who pay the bills as a legal responsibility. There is no concept of electricity theft among the villagers, and everyone tries to use the electricity smartly so that there is no excess usage. A few people cannot pay the bill on time, but some affluent families have taken the responsibility of paying the bills of poor families. Widows and patients with no source of income are taken care by the affluent people.

Television Cable and Dish (Free dish) are also main sources of entertainment and information in the village. A large number of people have not preferred to avail the Dish or Cable facilities due to un-censored content. They prefer watching Pakistan Television (PTV) and the basic source of information on television is state driven. This is one of the reasons that village people are more aligned with the government's policies and state institutions. However, in the recent past, the Cable network and Dish TV have become a meager part of entertainment and infotainment. The people who are watching Dish TV and Cable TV are more aware and critical as compared to PTV viewers. Female members of the family tend to watch the morning shows or prime time dramas but when there is a time of political talk shows, females have to relinquish their space from TV for male members of the family. Few families tend to watch TV together, but a larger number of people do not prefer watching TV with female members. Some male gatherings also watch Indian or Hollywood movies together especially on the eve of Eid or marriages, but female member cannot afford to watch movies on TV at home. Resultantly, TV

becomes a male privilege where they are at the forefront of receiving the political opinion generated on media. It leads to a male dominant political opinion at home where female members are dominated to make a political choice at the time of elections. Electricity is also a matter of privilege in the village.

The politicians take credit of the provision of electricity. In the village, electricity was provided in 1986. These days electricity is low in national grid. Thus, politicians struggle to keep area in scheduled power outage instead of un-scheduled. This is also matter of great importance to satisfy the voters with low electricity supply.

### **3.8.6. Streets**

The streets are bricked and mettled as well. Concrete is used for durability and avoid sliding. Since, *mouza* is semi mountainous so natural slope is also utilized for sanitation and sewer. Whereas substreets are bricked. In the middle of the street flows the used water from kitchen and washing. Sub-streets are narrow and haphazard. Apart from street passages are carved out in between the fields called as *Arrian*.



***Figure 14: Street with sanitation channel***

The naali or waterway is a source of dispute among the people as well. Asan tusi ki naali daksan, we will stop your drainage water is a common cause of dispute. Concreted, bricked or paved streets are also depiction of association with the political candidate. The street is also a space for political contestation in electoral politics. The disputes emerging on streets are obvious during elections. The pavement of street is also a political favor as concrete and brick are also a matter of vote, support and closeness to the contestant.

### **3.8.7. Shops and Tea-Stalls**

The *mouza* has a lot of grocery shops. There is one utility store. However, the sale at utility store is quite low as compared to private shops. Private shopkeepers offer daily groceries on monthly, seasonal and yearly credit basis whereas this facility is absent at utility store. Monthly credit is also limited to economically established families. Shopkeepers have to assess, before making a commitment of monthly grocery, the economic condition. There are many families who do not have the required trusteeship of buying the grocery on monthly basis. It is because of their poor background or mis-commitment in the past. Therefore, very poor families do not have the facility of monthly credit. Similarly, highly rich families, whose relatives are settled in UK or US, do not tend to buy grocery on monthly credit. Instead, they prefer shopping on cash from the village shop or buy the monthly grocery from *Kahuta* City. Barber shops are also in the *mouza*. apart from professional work at shop, barbers (*Nai* families) have some additional responsibilities to the villagers. At the time of a death or marriage, a barber is sent to different areas with 'Sadda' (invitation) or attending the *Qul* or *Walima* of respectively. At the same time, barber families are supposed to wash the dishes on the *Qul* or *Walima* for which they are paid.

Two tea stalls/bars exist in the main market of the village where some people sit for chats. Daily newspaper reading is hall mark of the tea stall. One person reads the newspaper and other listen to it and comment. People generally discuss national politics at the tea bar.

During election season, the tea bar becomes the epicenter of politics at the village. The

influx of people generally increases during the season and election offices of the different factions are closeto tea bars.

### **3.8.8. Cellular Connectivity Phone and Internet**

Mobilink, Telenor, Ufone and Zong have network coverage in the area. They offer 3G active internet services in the area as well. The cellular connectivity has transformed the communication patterns in the village. Every adult male and female have mobile a phone. Young generation prefer to use smart phones. The mobile internet has enabled people to use social media platforms quite frequently. Facebook is very popular among the youth. However, females of the village create their profiles anonymously. The social media has also become a contested arena for politics in the village. Every social and political issue is posted and discussed at social media. Associations, support network is managed as face-book as well. politics of *Mouza Mowara* resonates on social media platforms of the villagers. Political candidates avidly use face-book to project their development work, alliances and associations. The associations of the candidates beyond local body constituency are also projected at their social media platforms. The social media acts as an alternate space for villagers to connect with people remotely. Especially, expatriates connect to the village and its politics through social media platforms.

### **3.8.9. Charity Organization (Roshan Mowara Welfare Trust)**

*Raja Sakhawat* a contestant of 2015 local bodies election has opened this welfare trust for the local people in 2016. Raja Sakhawat is politically aligned with the sitting member of the provincial assembly. Trust distributes monthly ration of groceries to different poor families. This January this trust distributed 43<sup>rd</sup> round to ration in the village. Around fifty people of the village contribute to the trust.



Figure 15: Families waiting for ration at the trust's office



Figure 16: Newspaper clipping reporting that lists are being prepared



The news story says that people are being served through roshan mowara welfare trust. Fifty households have been provided with two thousand per person taking it to a total of thirty-five.



Figure 17: News clipping of 38th round of ration distribution

This news clipping highlights the 38<sup>th</sup> round of ration distribution to the poor families of the area. It further says that cash has been distributed among the poor families in order to enable them to buy groceries. Praises to God, Roshan Mowara trust’s journey of helping devastated humanity is on. Philanthropic people are appealed to participate in this noble cause in the end of this poster.

Gift giving is a way of asserting asymmetry between giver and receiver, which can be transformed into roles of patronage. The ritualistic gifts giving either challenges an already

existing asymmetry or introduce relationship of asymmetry in an equal relationship that cannot be disrupted through normal gift giving (Lyon, 2004).

The welfare trust on one side helps poor but on the other side a certain form of patronage is associated to this matter. The people who get support from the trust are also considered to be voting for the candidate supported by the proprietors of the trust.

## 4. PATTERNS AND CONTESTATIONS

What an anthropologist has to do with political discourse? Anthropology takes human as the subject matter and his life, including religious, social, economic and political, is observed in person by an anthropologist. Anthropologist brings forth the minute details in a holistic manner; extracted from subjectivities and inter-subjectivities from the locale of his study. He describes these observations as a cultural broker. Thus, political discourse is one major concern for interpretive reasons as it gives a chance to peep into the personal and social aspects of interlocutors of the study. In anthropological sense, thick description entails a picturesque imagery of the society with every institution integrated into another.

“In a sense, then, these researchers can be compared with intelligence personnel who analyze aerial photographs—they tried to look at society from above, as a whole, and to map the interconnections between the various subsystems of the society, including kinship, marriage, religion, politics, and so forth” (Lewellen, 2003). On the parallel this study looks at the individuals within the larger political arena as in the words of Lewellen:

“The individual involved in this process might be a named person who was described with as much depth of characterization as one would find in a good novel, or he might be an abstraction: Political Man. In contrast to his close cousin, Economic Man, Political Man does not maximize wealth or profit, but rather power. Place two or more of these beings in the same arena (which is redundant, because it is their presence that in fact creates a political arena) and we have the personae for a *social drama* or, if one prefers, for a *game* in which various moves are restricted by rules and in which there can be but one winner at a time (ibid).”

The basic understanding of the people of the term politics or political culture is of utmost importance to this study. This provides as basis for to further understanding of the beliefs, values, processes in its context. Furthermore, it improves our understanding of basic patterns, symbols and contestations involved in the political arena. This also serves as gateway to contextualize political arena through its unique history and structure.

Several interactions and interviews were conducted in the locale to understand the idiosyncratic features of this political arena and the patterns. I interacted with the people in the locale to decipher and interpret the usage of symbolic language, actions and interactions. There were frictions and contestations at all levels that were keeping the political arena alive even before or after the elections.

#### **4.1. Political Affairs (*Siyasi Muamlaat*)**

One of the very first notion that creates a binary of political and non-political affairs or space in the village is '*siyasi and ghair siyasi muamlaat*' respectively. This is very important categorization of political space in the village. The subsequent discussion further highlights the intricacies and dynamics of the political space and recurring patterns manifested through certain symbols and resultant contestations.

In the context of village *Mowara*, politics affairs or *siyasi muamlaat* revolve around conduct of elections of the local bodies, provincial and national assemblies. The three tiers of electoral politics have simultaneously exclusive and overlapping dynamics. The election for provincial and national assemblies are conducted on party, whereas, the local bodies election on no-party basis. The constituencies are delimited at every level by the election commission of the country after every census (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2020).

The geographical coverage of constituencies also differs in all three categories and sets different dynamics for constituency politics. The realm of politics is discussed as an outside realm though it is always influenced by kinship and blood. Political participation is everyone's business, whereas, contestations have different subtleties of lineage coupled with power and prestige. '*Siyasi banday*' (Political Persons) is a term associated to those who actively take part in the political contest either as candidate or active supporter. Everyone cannot be a political person (*siyasi banda*), rather certain prerequisites are to be met to become a political person, which I will be discussing later in this chapter.

There is another very important division of political actors i.e., contestants, active supporters and voters. Voters act in duality i.e. citizen and voter. Vote, support, alliances,

associations, frictions pressure groups and candidates fall in the ambit of political space. In the local landscape, people discuss political parties in connection with local candidates, their lineage and conduct. The conduct of elections is regarded as arena of competition among the residents that brings frictions. The society is in a constant tension where centrifugal and centripetal forces interplay. The tension between fission and cohesion becomes acute a crisis develops. Temporarily resolved, society remains in continuous tension (McGlynn & Tuden, 1991).

One of the interlocutors aged 70 said about elections:

*“Hun election aye na, hun narazgi paisi. Ey aapas ich bhirsan. Asaanka  
ta kisay nal vi na behnay.*

*Now elections have arrived, now differences start; These will fight with  
each-other. We do not sit with anybody.”*

In order to understand the political discourse of the village *Mowara*, it is very important to start with this narrative. Here, the mention is of the election's arrival or season. With the announcement of elections, the political activity gears up in the village as mentioned earlier, the political realm revolves around conduct of elections. This also associates election activity with differences or specifically *narazgi*. In the local context *narazgi* often starts with severing of social ties. One thing is important to mention that during election season either new differences arise, or previous differences come upfront. The individual *narazgi* immediately translates into familial one and often involves close relatives and vice-versa. *Narazgi* or differences starts with cutting talking terms in first instance. Public display of warmth is not shown in greeting each other. The second step of *narazgi* leads to exchange of hot words due to minor issue. Thirdly the interlocutor talks about distances himself from publicly siding with any contestant. Interlocutor is speaking out of experience of previous elections as well.

By further looking deep into the context of this narration, the conduct of elections is also taken as outside realm. In local bodies, contestants belong to the same Union Council but in Provincial and National Assembly elections, contestants are generally from outside of

the area or caste. This is often used as people fighting for outsider interest in the village.

Another competing and mutually supporting expression shared by another interlocutor aged 30 states that:

“Siasyatdan ny ty tur jana election tou baad, assan murri ky panj saal ik dojay ki nae bulana Politician will leave after elections we will not talk to each other for five years.”

This creates an important binary between politicians and the local people. *Assan* means we. Here it is used in connection with the people living in the village. This notion is also used for blood relatives, immediate family members etc. Here, it specifies the binary between politicians as **they** and those who are not competing as **we**. Political roles will end after elections but the differences started during the process would live for next five years and we (the residents of village supporting different candidates) will not talk to each other. Here is another mention that politicians or political man turns up only during election period. One of the respondents said that:

*“Ey siyasi kisay ny nae honay, sirf siyasat ny honay*

*The politicians do not belong to anyone. They just belong to politics.”*

Political associations are termed as impermanent whereas the blood relations are permanent one. The relationship of politician is with politics i.e., pursuit of power. Belonging to someone; incorporates association and relationship in the society especially through blood and affinity. Social actors are representative of two spheres i.e., political and non-political. In order to contest in the political arena, relationship boundaries are crossed. Despite of the fact that politics is considered outside phenomenon introduced into the society by state. Another very important explanation of the contestation into the political sphere is given as by one of the interlocutors, a retired schoolteacher and in his late seventies as. The disputes and overarching belief that politicians belong to no one gives way to encapsulate another space for politicians.

The season of election is taken as period of creating new, associations and carving

previous frictions. As majority of the villagers enjoy good fraternity in their larger association, the beginning of the election campaign often puts them in an indecisive state of making a clear choice. This is also a special socio-economic class that don not afford difference due to certain reasons.

With the announcement of elections starts the contemplations, discussions and questions in the village about voting choices with regards to the candidates. The probable candidature is discussed in connection with the family, influence and economic status of the candidates. People start asking each other.

#### **4.1.1. Politics as a Fighting Arena**

It is important to explicate the perception of politics as a fighting ring and politicians as players. The support from a voter personalizes the relationship between voter and politician. Just as the relationship between individual and the cock in Balinese cock fight. It is not the cock that is fighting in the ring rather individual. It is a contest between ego and self-esteem of the villagers. The discourse that explains this phenomenon is as under:

*“Maaraais saraay alaa*

*Our candidate will definitely win.”*

This is an important notion that explains the association with the candidate. The candidate is considered as a player fighting in the arena. The political candidature is taken symbolically translating as of the voter himself or herself is contesting elections. *Saraa* is a pronoun used for collective identity. Since, the society operates on the collective ethos and votes are given in the block. The support is collective as well. Success and defeat are collective as well.

One of the participants explained the political fight as:

*“Pir Pae Gaya*

*The Competition has begun and tough.”*

The competition is termed as *pir*. However, this term is often used for neck to neck or tough competition. It strengthens the group dynamics based on blood and lineage. The notion of social distance comes in force. The proximity of relationship comes into play. People force their relatives, near and dear ones to vote. The competition is internalized and turns into an issue of honor and respect.

One of the respondents explained:

*“Ey ty je hun, izat bezati da masla hoi gya*

*This has become an issue of honor and dishonor.”*

Honor and disrespect in political contest are matters of social status. The active supporters of a candidate attach with their selves. Despite kinships and family friendships political contest gets egoistic posture and aggravates the political process. Though the issue of honor and dishonor is masculine and often interplayed in male gatherings, it transmits the emotions in the female members of the contesting sides. In this situation, even the poorest and the most irrelevant of the society, gets the equal importance in terms of their votes. The notion of honor and dishonor at political level drags the candidates to go to the those whom they have social boycott on certain family matters. As one of the participants said:

*“Jadon Jeeta San, Dhool Maray san, Iss baar asan jitsan ty dhol  
marsan*

*When their elders had won the elections, they had beaten drums in  
front of our house. This time, God Willing, we will win the elections  
and beat drums.”*

This will satisfy our ego and settle the score with these people. The population of the village can be divided into different categories. The first basic dichotomy is landowners and tenants. Second is people in jobs, especially in government jobs and private jobs. With government people divided on the base of their permanent and contractual



employees. People working with defense organizations. Since the land is arid and rain fed. The productivity is low as compared to the plain areas of the Punjab. However, land ownership is considered a privilege in the area. People with no or less land are positively discriminated in the area.

## 4.2. Vote

Vote, by dictionary means to ‘express your choice or opinion, especially by officially writing a mark on a paper, or by raising your hand or speaking in the meeting’ (Cambridge Dictionary, 2019). According to the election act of 2017 passed by the parliament of the country, suffrage is granted to an individual of eighteen years whereas voting has to take place secretly. A presiding officer is bound to decide in the polling station to ensure the secrecy of the ballot (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2019). Interestingly, the people of the locale have clear but different understanding of the vote as mentioned in the country’s law.

People of the constituency consider vote as collective duty instead of individual entity. The vote is considered as a weapon to vent out collective anger or likeness against rivalries, associations, kinship etc. One of the respondents mentioned his voting choice as follows:

*“Iss wari, vote kis ko deso*

*Whom will you vote for this time?”*

This is very important, as individual is very important in political arena. Contestation are generally viewed in individual roles as well. An individual is a father, brother, and bread earner simultaneously.

This question sets stage of competition among the villagers, by answering this question, people must announce which team they are siding along with their broader kin group. In *mouza Mowara*, the social position of the individual changes with position of the candidate. In the local political divide, several people are undecided voters. They are not

the active participant in the political process, but they do vote at the election day. This larger chunk of voters not only focus on the contestants. In some cases, this confusion makes some voters not to vote for any of the candidate as voting would make them partial. At the same time, many voters keep pledging all the candidates that they will vote for them but there is an unannounced understanding at the family level that where its vote would go. One of the important patterns is of women vote in the constituency as decided by the male members of the family.

Here it is important to understand disputes in the society. These disputes not only give space to contestation within political realm but also gives space to politicians to manage and manipulate state apparatus for them.

Employment is a bigger issue in the locale. One of the female respondents, while talking about the significance of the vote, said our priority is economic security. We live without land. Our house belongs to one of the landowners of the area. He was kind enough to offer this place to us. In return, we try to facilitate the gentleman in his daily chores etc. we have nothing to give but just vote. We try to reciprocate our vote with any of the benefit. We belong to a caste that is not well respected in the community. Neither, we are in majority. In such circumstances, we are left with no other option but to trade our vote further explained:

*“Mein vote uski desan, jis maaray puttari ki naukri lawaya*

*I will give vote to a person, who will get my son employed.”*

She hailed from a poor background and her son was not educated enough to secure employment for himself. They bargain their vote for employment. She told that:

*“Jiss welay kaam paina ey, uss welay ey ghaeb ho janday ny*

*In the need of hour, they just disappear.”*

Accessibility of the candidate is also another very important factor in the politics of village. People face difficulty as their knowledge of rules, regulations and law is limited.

Secondly, there is a culture of *sifarish* (approaching someone to influence to get their work done) as well. Civil bureaucracy requires reference of some influential to do the required in certain cases. In such situations, the support of politicians become inevitable. Politicians always offer the support of their good office in the need of hour. Here it is pertinent to mention that since people have very limited knowledge of the rules relating so they have at times missed some important date or procedure etc. especially, during police cases, this support really becomes crucial. Police raiding someone is considered bad in the community. Politicians generally go to police station and negotiate on the behalf of the people.

Out of such factors, reciprocity starts between the local politicians and people. People reciprocate their favors on the voting day. instead of voting on collective issues and custodians of law and makers of law, politicians are confined to facilitation of the masses in the general local bureaucratic offices. this understanding of the vote for local bodies, provincial and national assembly level is seriously hampering the democratic culture in our society.

Another important factor while voting pattern is associational obligations due to affinal or consanguineal terms. One of the respondents, while referring to his vote for the UC vote, said that:

*“Assan ni dhi viyai ey major sb walay, asaan na vote ty majboori hoyo*

*Our daughter is married in the family of major, we have a compulsion to vote for them.”*

Vote becomes a compulsion in matrimonial relationships. Since, matrimony is decided by the family, so it is more of a relationship between families as well. Thus, in such a situation, it becomes a collective matter of the family. In order to increase the respect of their daughter in the household of the groom. Secondly, they vote to create a collective family nuisance in the vicinity. Vote and support turn out to be a compulsion in such a scenario. All above mentioned factors comes automatically into play. Even females had the audacity to resist and refuse the call for vote in case a from lineage was contesting

elections.

*“Raja Bashir na aik tout Maa Jannat (90 years old) si vote mangan aya ty Raja Bashir na tout Maa ki akhna k Raja Bashir ar elections larny py is dafa, vote iski dia ay, maa akhya k sarra patriya khalta va elections wich asan uski vote desan Raja Bashir ki votena dene. Asan un apna parra ty na chori skny na.*

*During an election campaign in 1998, Raja Bashir (the contestant of UC elections) visited Maa Jannat Bibi (90 years old women) during the election campaign. One of the touts of Raja Bashir asked Maa Jannat to vote for Raja Bashir as he was contesting the elections. Maa Jannat sternly replied that her nephew was also contesting the elections and she would vote for him and not to Raja Bashir. She further explained that she could not leave his brother (nephew’s father) alone in the elections. Personal Relationship/Association as a convergence and divergence.”*

#### **4.2.1. Friendship (Dostana)**

Personal relations are also of utmost importance in making a political choice. The most bonding aspect of personal relationship is ‘Dostana’, the friendships which develop among the males on marriages. *Dostana* not only creates a family to family relationship but also creates a larger clan affiliation because it is considered the most explicit form of personal relationship and association. Although, the females also get into such relationship (*Dowain*) with each other, but it is a weaker link to make a political choice.

Sharafat Hussain is the resident of dhok Bagla. When he got married in 2003, he had a friend (Shadi ka dost) Anwar Ahmad in Chalyal Ba’and. Both the families cherish the relationship since then. In the local-bodies elections of 2004, the contesting candidate was from Chalyal Ba’and and a very close relative of Anwar Ahmad. In this case, the political choice was made as Dostama played a pivotal role in making Sharafat Hussain’s family

to vote for the candidate of Chalyal Ba'and. The vote casting did not limit to the nucleus family rather the entire kins of Sharafat Hussain also voted for the same candidate.

Personal relationship / association develops among the professionals of one field i.e. teachers and military soldiers and other professions. This personal association is enduring as it often starts from the young age. As most of the professionals work together throughout their life, the professional relationship does not only convert into a family relationship but also becomes an influencing factor in making the political choice.

Muhammad Ishtiaq is a retired schoolteacher from the Government Boys High School *Mowara*. He served in the education department for almost 35 years. He belongs to *Pari Ba'and* but is a close relative of Raja Altaf Hussain, the former Nazim of UC *Mowara*. He has a friend Sabir Hussain from *Pir Panya Ba'and* who is also a retired teacher. When Sabir Hussain was asked about his political choice during the elections, he told that he and his family had voted for Raja Altaf Hussain on the influence of Muhammad Ishtiaq as the Nazim had visited along with Muhammad Ishtiaq during the election campaign.

Raja Shoukat is a retired soldier from Pakistan army. He belongs to *Gora Ba'and*. He served with Colonel Naseer Janjua (retired) in a posting in Lahore cantonment in 1990s. Colonel Naseer Janjua also belongs to *Gora Gora Ba'and* but is a close relative of Raja Altaf Hussain, the former Nazim belonging to Chalyal Ba'and. I interviewed Raja Shoukat in the main market of the village. He told that he also voted for Raja Altaf Hussain because Colonel Naseer Janjua had asked him to vote for him. Not only that but also the entire extended family of Raja Shoukat voted for Raja Altaf Hussain on the influence of Colonel Naseer. When inquired further, Raja Shoukat told that his son and two other boys of his family were inducted in the army on the reference of Colonel Naseer Janjua. He says that voting against the choice of Colonel Naseer Janjua would be a disloyalty to a person who had strived for the jobs of their children. Another dimension of personal relationship is overseas diaspora in Gulf in specific and in England in general. There are 110 families who have an individual working in Gulf and almost 30 families are permanently settled in European countries and America. The overseas professionals from

the village live at the same place in the Gulf states which also creates a personal relationship. That personal relationship becomes a determining factor to influence the political choices back in Pakistan. Similarly, the families living abroad (Europe and America) are implicitly catering many poor families and their children. This implicit care also becomes a natural influencer for the poor families to vote for the candidate told by the families settled abroad.

#### **4.2.2. Affinity**

The contesting candidates not only campaign for vote in the village but also connect with the overseas villagers. In some cases, the overseas villagers are the close relatives of the contesting candidates and sometime old personal associations get into play for electoral campaign. The overseas professionals, especially the relatives of contesting candidates, are tasked to influence the other overseas professionals to vote for a particular candidate. Though there is no trend of voting from overseas through postal ballot, but the overseas professionals often influence their respective families to vote for a particular candidate.

Raja Waris is working in United Arab Emirates as a steel technician. He belongs to *Thandal Ba'and*. He shares a room with Mohsin Qayyum a member of *Chalyal Ba'and* and close relative of Raja Altaf Hussain. In 2015 local bodies elections, Raja Waris's family voted for Raja Altaf Hussain. When asked why he had voted for Altaf Hussain, he said that he and the nephew, Mohsin Qayyum, of Raja Altaf Hussain were living in the same room and spending a very good time over there. Mohsin Qayyum influenced him to vote for his uncle and he called his entire family to vote for Raja Altaf Hussain at the election day.

Haji Shakil Ahmad is a British Pakistani national who is residing in United Kingdom from 1970s. By the virtue of his wealthy background, he has been catering a few families back in village. During the field research, Khadim Hussain was interviewed about his political choice during the elections. He told that he voted for a candidate on the influence of Haji Shaikl Ahmad because Haji Saab had been catering him and his family for the the

last 15 years. While inquiring further, it was revealed by another villager that the contesting candidates keep contacting the overseas Pakistanis to influence their relatives or those who are being catered by them. One of the respondents said that:

*“Kadhay nae sochia iss baray ch, loki rishtadari taki ty vote dainay.  
Asan ny major ki vote issmarian deta ky asaaan ki daad pootri othay  
behai sei*

*Never thought about this. People vote while looking after  
relationships. We voted for major because our girl was married  
there.”*

The affinal relationship is much important in decision making for vote. The immediate and extended family of the bride is compulsorily vote for the candidate from groom's family.

Family is pivotal institution of the field. Everything revolves around family. Everything political starts with family and end at family. In political process, the family has very crucial role to play in determining the voting behavior and ultimately the voting choice. Since the rural structure is based on traditional family structures, where male head (father) dominates, the family members are loosely bound to follow the footsteps of male head. In most of the cases, the choice of the male head is also organic due to his affiliation with a particular *ba'and*. Furthermore, the male head makes his political choice by keeping in view the choice of Dera (each *ba'and* is divided into different deras) he belongs to. Once the male head makes a political choice, it becomes the choice of the entire family.

The institution of family is very much influenced by the intra-clan or inter-clan kinships as well. Intra-clan or inter-clan marriages become another dimension of making political choice. If a family has its female member married in the candidate's family, the male head has to make an inorganic choice for the sake of his daughter. This is where the female factor comes into play. It is not the male members of the candidate's family asking or forcing the girl's family to vote rather it is the female members who come into play. The

above practice can be illustrated from this case.

Raja Sarwar is the member of Chalyal Ba'and. He had her daughter married in Gora Ba'and in 2013. In the local bodies' elections of 2000 and 2004, he and his family had voted for Raja Altaf Hussain, a member of Chalyal Ba'and, who finally won the LB elections and became Nazim. However, in the 2015 LB elections, despite his organic choices of voting for Raja Altaf Hussain, he made an inorganic choice by voting to Raja Abdul Rauf, a member of Gora Gora Ba'and. There is no culture of family debate on making political choices. Since the choices are organically or inorganically made, the loyalty is expressed publicly. The male members of the family go to the election offices of their chosen candidates and campaign for their candidates in their kinships. The pronounced political loyalty is, however, limited to mainstream Janjua clan and not in the non-Janjua clans. Since, the non-Janjua clans are ethnic minorities they tend to be at the vulnerable position to publicly express their loyalties. Notwithstanding, there is a silent understanding within a family of non-Janjua clan that it would vote on the choice of male head.

Muhammad Mehboob is an elder of one of the Qasbi (a non-Janjua clan) families. At the day of elections, the entire family votes but prior to the elections the family does not specifically express whom it going to vote for. Muhammad Mehboob says that he cannot express his political choice because of the fear of a social boycott from either of the candidates' families. Interestingly, the candidates always remain hopeful of being voted by non-Janjua clans in *Mouza Mowara* because this is the vote which ultimately affects the electoral outcome. Thus, the non-Janjua clans become not only important but also the most powerful vote bank turning out to be the casting vote.

### **4.2.3. Development Work**

The development work is also given much importance in the village. People consider this to be a only benefit they can mine out of politicians. This is also explained in heading 3.9 of the previous chapter. One of the respondents aged 45, during the field visit:



*“Ina kera miki roti chai deni, sarauk bna dewan eia bara*

*They will not need feed us, just making road would be enough.”*

The only benefit that one can reap from politicians is that development work can be solicited for the community. They are not going to provide us with the food. People consider election as the only effective mean to press for their demands. The development i.e., provision roads, gas and sanitation network had always been at priority. With passage of time, clean drinking water has also become one of the basic demands as well. This has also kept changing, previously telephone connectivity through landline or provision of electricity had remained in the demand list of the people. Since, electricity is almost everywhere and landline has been replaced by mobile telephones, so this demand has been dropped. People also consider development work as reciprocity of the taxes collected. Provision of security, health and other services are less regarded. Development is always weighed in physical terms thus building of infrastructure falls into this ambit. Subsequently, politicians always erect plaques carrying the construction money, span and facilitators on it. So that in the memory of the people, the development work keeps resonating. Since, the village had access to basic civic amenities like roads, sanitation, hospital, post office, water supply, utility store and gas from the government. The provision of basic facilities is one of the basic factors in affecting people's decision making for vote.

Shahid Khaqan Abbasi, former prime minister remained member of the national assembly from the area. Though he contested elections from Lahore this time. He managed funds of few hundred thousand for the boys' school and provided the area with natural gas. This gesture triggered a support base for Mr. Abbasi in the area. I met a retired schoolteacher and his two sons. The schoolteacher took pride in holding elections as presiding officers. His sons were government servants. One was working in *Kahuta* research laboratories and other in some civil government office. His nephew in United Kingdom for the last 20 years. One of his sons also contested elections as councilor in 2015 local bodies but could not win. One of the very important factors in contesting of their election was their personal relationships with personal assistant of ex-premier Shahid Khaqan Abbasi. They

mentioned multiple times about this relationship. They preferably mentioned that Mr.PA often visits their home. Their term their vote as the voice of their conscience and amanat of Mr. Abbasi because he brought ease to their life. Secondly, they had a personal relationship with his pa and out of this relationship managed to meet Mr. Abbasi number of times.

#### **4.2.4. Personal Visits (*Gham-Khushi*)**

Since, the vote is collective entity and given in block. The social presence of the candidate is regarded in high esteem in the society. It is also boosted as nuisance in the society. as accessibility of the candidate brings empowerment because closeness of relationship with the influential people holds significance and importance in the society. It was told by an elder participant that:

*“asan vote una ki chaana, jis maray naal ghami khushi keti, maari  
sarak bnai*

*I will give vote to a person who comes to share grief and  
happiness, and construct our road.”*

The above narrative clearly outlines the significance of reciprocity of the candidate with the community and development work. a candidate is supposed to maintain a close liaison with the community. They are also supposed to create a good will among the people as well. Attending marriages and funerals is one way of doing this. So consequently, candidates generally in Mowara attend different ceremonies and occasions. While I was conducting field work, one of the basic reasons of the success of the candidate of Pakistan Tehreek Insaf was the widespread presence in the length and breadth of the constituency.

The former UC chairman, who lived in Islamabad used to visit the locale quite less especially after the expiry of the term. People had resentment about this attitude.

Happiness or grief are not personal rather collective matters in village life. There is a trend

in every family that it invites the entire clan on the marriages. Similarly, every family expects everyone to be present at the time of grief, especially on deaths. What makes a difference between the presence of a common man and a politically influential person is that the presence of influential person adds pride or solace at the time of happiness or grief respectively. However, it is not the expectation of a common villager to have the presence of a politician, but politicians also desire to be invited or be present at the marriages or deaths. It not only provides them with a larger gathering to interact with from political perspective but also ensures a silent consent of the family they are visiting.

In the local bodies' context, all the candidates; the winners and the losers, make sure their presence at the marriages or deaths because they belong to the same clan or area. For example, the trend of attending the death funerals and marriages become more prominent in the election season. It is also possible that two or three opponent candidates visit the aggrieved family to console for the diseased family member. However, it becomes difficult to make a choice of the subject family to choose, whom to vote. Since the local bodies elections becomes a reference point to strengthen or weaken the kinship or relationship, the subject family may also be dragged not to vote for either of the candidate.

In the General Elections, common families do expect the candidate of National Assembly and Provincial Assembly to attend the funerals of their families. However, the influential people from the village also invite the candidates of NA and PA to the marriages. Since, the provincial assembly and national assembly are the bigger constituencies as compare to the UCs, it is difficult for the candidates of NA and PA to coup up with all the families' funerals or marriages. To fulfill this gap throughout the constituency, the candidates of NA and PA must select some of their aides from different areas to be present at the funerals in the villages.

In 2018 General Election, the candidate in Provincial Assembly who won the election was Raja Saghir Ahmad. He is famous in the entire area and especially in *Mouza Mowara* for his maximum presence at funeral prayers. During the interviews in *Mouza Mowara*, almost eighty percent of the respondents were the voters of Raja Saghir Ahmad. The only common reason, they told about choosing Raja Saghir was his presence at every Khushi Ghami. Moreover, Raja Saghir, himself is a local transporter by profession. He knows almost everyone in the village due to his frequent travelling in the areas as transporter since his youth. As the majority of voters in *Mouza Mowara* is comprised of laborer or low scale worker class, Raja Saghir was an emotional choice for them– a candidate who sits with them, eats with them, and shares a professional baggage.



*Figure 18: Political leaders attending funeral prayers*

#### **4.2.5. Monetary Support**

This is interesting one of the very phenomena is that votes exist in clouts or blocks. Although vote is individual decision, however, here, the vote is considered as a collective issue and normally with the choice of the elder of the household. Another very important aspect mentioned here is the price of the vote. Often votes are sold by people of downtrodden or poor back grounds. This selling of vote makes this aspect of the study

very crucial. One of the respondents said as:

*“Majj Keni Dio, Tan Panj Vote Desan*

*Buy a buffalo, I’ll give five votes then.*

Once a vote is sold or bought, it basically opens and closes simultaneously gateway for affluent class and poor class to contest elections. On one side affluent people are considered well connected with a capability to represent people in the hour of need in police station, court or *thana-katchery*. Secondly, affluent people can buy votes and poor cannot thus paving and furthering way for rich to be part of election process. This renders arena of political participation specific to influential in the society. the poor confine their role specific to voting day as they receive remuneration to their votes and consider themselves done with the political process. It encourages candidates to inject more money into election process. Political candidates must add different types of benefits to lure more people towards them. one of the candidates who runs a transport offers free transport t the poor in times of needs such as hospitaletc. Food is generously offered during campaign.

Votes are in blocks. Votes are not given in individual capacity. The jist of vote in western democracy is purely individual in nature. However, in these circumstances, the votes are offered in blocks to increase the bargain on the vote. The higher the number of votes, the maximum will be the value for money.

#### **4.2.6. Choice of lady Councilor**

In 2002, it was the first time, local bodies elections that special seats for lady counselor was allocated in every union council as part of general Pervez Musharraf’s agenda of women empowerment. This empowerment was vaguely received in *Mowara* village. At the first instance, there was an issue of choice for lady counselor. The contestants approached many influential families to allow their female members to become the part of the panel. However, no one, allowed their female members to be the part of the panel. Ultimately, one group selected a woman from a less influential family. *Jabbran Bibi*, a

midwife by profession, accepted the challenge to contest elections. the other group selected a young female, from a minority community. Her family allowed her to become, the part of panel as it would alleviate the family status with the mainstream Janjua clan. Consequently, Jabraan bibi, won the elections with overwhelming majority against the minority candidate as the members of the opponent group did not vote for a lady hailing from minority community. The participant shared that:

*“Assan hun kamian ki vote chaey diay! Jbaran kam sy kam rajian  
vichon ty hai*

*should we vote for minority! At-least Jabran belongs to greater Rajput  
clan.”*

Mostly people do not confront each other in the village to avoid clashes between parties. The contestants agree to publicly check their strength.

Different teams operate within the political arena. As suggested by F.G. Bailey that contract and moral teams. The leaders have to buy loyalties. In the village, Mowara, poor and non-rajput people have purely transactional relationship with those who are entitled to contest. The contestants buy loyalty through a process. The transactional nature relationship involves food, loan during illnesses, arrangement of job. Loose form of contract also among the people exist. People value the connectivity and social position of the village. somehow, the nature of transaction exists in every political relationship. The candidate is operating to get vote and support. The active supporters are in operation to earn closeness with the candidate and watch their interest. The voter is voting in hope of development work, jobs. To sum it up, reciprocity in different forms and manifestations exist in every relationship in the society (Bailey, 2001).

Second type of team is moral team, the team is connected through ideology, nationalism whereas in village *Mowara*, the morality or broader connecting line is blood lineage. The people vote to keep their lineage and caste in power circles. The contestation can be within lineage but not outside. Three of the candidates for local bodies had Rajput origin. They are united due to shared ethics of blood, matrimony and caste.

### 4.3. Pressure Groups

In the context of local bodies and the general elections, the only pressure group in *Mouza Mowarais* transport union. There are 55 Suzuki vans in the village. Raja Tanveer Sabir is the unopposed president of the transport union. Although the owners of the vans hail from different sub lineages, there is a strong fraternity within the union on professional ground. There is a specific van stop in the village and in *Kahuta* dedicated for the transporters. The transportation starts from early in the morning and continues late night. At the same time, almost 90 % of the students of Mouza, who are studying in *Kahuta*, use to travel from the rented Suzuki vans. Thus, the transporters have a good relationship with people especially the parents of those students who travel in the Suzuki vans.

At the time of elections, the transport union has become a deciding factor in the electoral outcome of the entire Mouza. For example, in 2018 general elections, the transport union of *Mouza Mowara* decided to vote for Raja Saghir Ahmad. The decision had some professional fraternity as well as the emotional attachment. Although the other candidate for the provincial assembly was Raja Muhammad Ali, from the same village as Raja Saghir, but transport union campaigned for Raja Saghir Ahmad. This campaign was quite prominent and dominating because each van was decorated with the photos and elections symbol (*Baalti*) of Raja Saghir Ahmad.

The campaign of transport union also influenced the educated families as well. This influence was indirect as the children of educated families used to travel in the Suzuki vans. However, this influence was not coercive rather the van transportation transported the political campaign at every doorstep without any effort of contesting candidate. Another aspect of transport union support for Raja Saghir was an incident when Raja Muhammad Ali's active supporters in the area challenged the president of transport union that the entire clan would not stand by a driver. This was not a challenge to a driver but the entire union as it triggered the union's sense of inferiority as transportation is often attributed to uneducated people. Raja Tanveer Sabir told that he and his union took that challenge and campaign against Raja Muhammad Ali to teach the lesson to the supporters

of Raja Muhammad Ali. The electoral result of the polling stations of *Mouza Mowara* in 2018 general elections illustrate that Raja Saghir won with a heavy margin. Transport union mobilized the entire village for Raja Saghir in a pretext that he shared a lot in common with them. Moreover, the population in the village is illiterate which also shows the influence of transport mafia a likely factor.

#### **4.4. Differences/Dispute (*Narazgi*)**

The preceding discussion creates a binary between political/ non-political space and subsequent impact on the village life in terms of *narazgi*-varies in degree and intensity-due to nature of difference. Election season not only creates new tensions and carve out previous as we. It is important to understand this phenomenon. There are basically different kinds of disputes like matrimonial and land. Three kinds of land involve when it comes to disputes; residential, agricultural and grazing land. The nature of dispute varies from the nature of land. In residential land dispute, most of the disputes erupt on a shared wall between two houses or sanitation of water from one's residential land to the other's residential or agricultural land. However, there is always a social matter behind the beginning of a land dispute. For example, friction between two females at a ceremony, dispute between two boys in a sport.

Disputes are a permanent feature of the village life. There are different forms of disputes i.e. familial relating to matrimony and land which may escalate into a conflict. This is initial informal expression of difference of opinion among the people of the village as '*narazgi pae gae*'. *In the initial phases of the process, coldness in greetings especially in gatherings starts. Once the dispute lingers on and seems irresolvable, the term used to denounce is called 'maran jeevan mukna'* means that reciprocities finish publicly. The intensity of the nature is also expressed through *another expression 'kabran dy phat pai gae'* means that graves have been divided. In case, a dispute reaches a court of law, that it surpasses all informal kinship networks and local dispute resolution mechanism. These disputes are very well translated into political arena of the village.



#### 4.4.1. Matrimonial Disputes

Caste endogamy is practiced among the villagers. the competition on marriage proposals translate into social life. Divorce is another issue that involves difference in social life.

In one incident, two *dadhpotray*-grandsons of ego- wants to marry one of their *phuphair*-father's sister daughter- due to her beauty. She was married to one of them. ultimately, this matrimony was a binding force with one family and a source of dispute for another. Ultimately, this friction was translated into dispute in land. The previous cooperation was withdrawn between *dadhpotray*. The land was claimed through court. Since, in *Potohar* plateau, land is uneven and patched. Consequently, the whole land is divided among the families. Even, the land of one household is divided among different families living within one household or separately. This dispute are inherited and lingers on to next generation even. In electoral politics, this is translated into supporting rival factions. In this case, the boy whose proposal is accepted is a schoolteacher in the only school of the village. The children of the rival family have been admitted to another village's school. The personal choices, ego and self is more important in this case.

Raja Amjad (Pseudonym) is member of *Pir Panya Ba'and* had a longstanding *narazgi* with family of a bus driver of *Pir Panya Ba'and*. The *narazgi* was entirely conjugal (*shadi-biyah*) and related to divorce. Raja had divorced the sister of bus driver in 2001. After this development, both families severed social ties and even stopped attending funerals of each-other. The *narazgi* was even passed onto next generation as the children of bus driver and Raja remained on social boycott. However, the generational shift, had mitigated the intensity of the dispute as the children were not directly witness to this happening. Moreover, the children of Raja are grown-ups and doing jobs in Islamabad. Ultimately, younger generation (male) decided to resolve the *narazgi* by approaching the lady divorced by Raja. The lady forgave Raja and asked her brothers and their sons to end the boycott, at least for the sake of her children. Raja had children from the divorced women as well.

In another dispute, some local families helped to resolve a matrimonial *narazgi* between

two families. The Imam Masjid of the *Markazi Jamia Masjid*<sup>19</sup>, along with a schoolteacher and two shopkeepers mediated between a wife and a husband who had been living separately for the last 10 years.

#### **4.4.2. Land Disputes**

A close survey of the village substantiates the disputes related to the land. The land in the village is divided into different *Khasras*. There is not a collective trek of land for an individual rather each individual landowner owns a tiny share in a *Khasra*. Thus, each *Khasra* is distributed among many individuals and almost every *Khasra* is disputed, if not legally than, at least socially. Within every unit of land, the location of the land i.e., *baari-trak* of land divided by *aari*-there no dispute on *baari* but it is the *aari* which comes into play initiating a land dispute.

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<sup>19</sup> Central mosque of the village. Prayer leader holds a respectable position among the villagers



*Figure 19: Piece of land called baari and the division called aari.*

Residential land disputes often involve the entire families from both sides including children and women and matters often gets into bilateral social boycott. Residential land disputes often resolved due to interventions by the elders of the immediate families or lineages. Residential disputes trigger on daily or weekly basis often turning into scuffles indulging both male and female members of the families. However, such disputes, less often, gets into a legal battle in the court or police stations and remain unresolved for long. At social level, the primary reason of the disputes in the village is matrimony. it remains limited to two families and does not get into a legal form of dispute. However, it leads not only to a social boycott of each other but also to scuffles times and again. The nature of scuffle is often verbal but sometimes it gets into physical scuffles leading to a legal matter in the courts. Apart from matrimony, social disputes might also lead to non-attendance of funerals of each other making the dispute even worse. Such disputes are uneasy to solve as the dispute resolution at social level have less chances of solution. It is so because most of the families live at parity and there is a lack of a socially established authority to mediate between the two parties. It does not mean that there is no dispute resolution at all. There are certain instances where disputes have been resolved.

The dispute over the land is endemic and inherent due to unclarity in the land record. Secondly in certain cases land in certain *khasras* belongs number of people. In this scenario, location of the land becomes a dispute. Dispute over passage

Associations on the base of political affiliation falls either or during elections. Shortly, afterwards the dispute fades in public sphere. The people meet and greet each other despite political differences. Egos are boosted and flexed but disputes are not held permanently. One of the interlocutors aged 38 said during a fight:

*“Asaan Tusaan ny Dangar Apni Baari tou daksan*

*We will not let your animals pass through our land.”*

Since the area is uneven, so flow of sewage water is an important task. Consequently, obstruction of the sewage water becomes a major threat during disputes. During a dispute between two households, one of the residents said:

*“Asaan tusi ni naali na paani band karsaan*

*We will stop your sewer water.”*

The agricultural land disputes originate from a local discourse of ‘*Aari* and *Barri*’ (*Barri* is a trek of land whereas *aari* is the dividing point that divides two *barris*). In agricultural land disputes, there is no dispute on *barri* (trek of land) rather disputes start from *aari* (from the dividing points). These disputes often erupt in harvesting season or the season of grass cutting. *Aari* is a thin line that divides two *barris* and most of the *barris* exist upper-lower divide. It is a local custom that the owner of lower *barri* has a right to cut the grass from the *aari* dividing two *barris*. However, this custom is not generally accepted, and people tend to divide the grass on *aari* in half. As most of the grass cutters are female, the dispute on grass cutting starts between the female members of two families. Another dimension of dispute starts in the harvesting season when tractors are used for harvesting the crops. If the tractor exceeds the limits and plough a foot from an *aari*, the other party can object this act as an act of encroachment. However, these disputes do not get into a severe

fight. The distribution of agricultural land between two paternal families often gets into a legal dispute as the local *Patwaris*, *Tehsildar* or *Nambardar* are involved prior to making any final decision on how to distribute the land. One of the residents said:

*“Assan Tusan ki apni baaari aalay paasay, gate na laan desan*

*We will not let you put a gate on our land.”*

The dispute on grazing land starts from the cattle sneaking into others' grazing land. This kind of disputes are rare because there a few people go with their cattle in grazing lands. However, the existing grazing land disputes are much severe and often gets into violent scuffle. As most of the people carry axe while grazing their cattle, a small dispute might trigger someone to use his axe on cattle or the owner of the cattle. There are instances when people were murdered in such disputes. Sometime, the dispute might start from the cutting of a tree (*palai* or *kahu*) from others' grazing land. Such disputes on grazing land also get into a violent scuffle culminating into wounding or murders. As the grazing is a masculine job, these disputes often take place among the male members of the village and women do not get into such disputes directly, but they remain consistently supportive to their male members in their social boycott.

Land disputes considerably alter the political choices of villagers. Political contestants often downplay the land disputes by supporting one family. support does not mean legally siding with one party or coming in to support at the time of dispute rather support mean inviting the male members of a family to sit in a planning meeting before the elections. in some cases, a family decides to vote for a candidate because the family with a dispute has decided to vote for other candidate. This is not the case in every matter rather a political contestant might come to bury the hatches between the two disputing families to collect the votes from both sides.

#### **4.4.3. Disputes Translating into Political Sphere**

The dispute over the land is endemic and inherent due to unclarity in the land record. Secondly in certain cases land in certain *khasras* belongs number of people. In this

scenario, location of the land becomes a dispute. One of the basic disputes is over land claim by children of a mother from their maternal family.

Disputes during the election process are far reaching and impacting in the nature. The fractures can during the electioneering process have deep impacts on the society. The family of raja always supported *Rajputs* candidates in the area. The family of raja had a political clout in the village and Union Council due to their good reputation in the community. The parameters of good reputation include spirit of help in matters relating to thana *katchery*, family disputes, loan-personal and bank-help in jobs, availability of space for social gatherings etc. the family of x always remained forthcoming in matters related above. Consequently, they earned very good repute in the community. Their provision of above support has deep impact on the alignments during the elections. The family of raja had a dispute with another family of the village on the issue of a murder of female. The family of the female killed alleged that the son of family of x is involved in the murder of the lady, which is being denied. This dispute was taken to police station but the influence of family of raja did not let police build this accusation. Subsequently, the son of killed lady attacked the son of family of raja with a short gun. The son of family of x, escaped the attack and other one got arrested.

The incident was well taken up by the family of killed lady with political opponents of the family of raja. Their political opponents used the matter to politically exploit the matter. They started a smear campaign in the village to tarnish the image of the family in the village. Secondly, they instigated the police to make an immediate arrest of the accused without any proof. Thirdly, they requested opponent politicians to pressurize police to make arrest or make a raid on the family x. Police raid is used as means to undermine repute of any family. The coming of police to the door of any household is considered very bad in the society at large. They started a social pressure through relatives of the murdered lady. The only motive was to discredit the family socially so that people should stop the political support of the family of raja. Later, it came to the knowledge of the people that the attack on the house of raja by the son of murdered lady was also instigated by the political opponents of family of raja. They ensured him that if

he kills the son of family of raja, he will be provided with every type of legal, moral and social support from their side. The ultimate motive was to eradicate the family's political clout from the community.

Another very interesting case study is again of family of raja. The son was attacked at a nearby bus station by youth of the opponents. He was badly beaten and was hospitalized for few days. Since, the boys who had beaten the boy lived in proximity, so the family of raja planned a firing on their house. They rained their houses with bullets making sure that nobody gets injured. They aggrieved party called the political opponents to activate police but in vain. Thus, the issue was resolved through negotiations at the local level.

Later, it was also revealed that the fight was instigated by the political opponents of the family of raja. Every incident was orchestrated and planned just to discredit the family of the raja in the eyes of the people at large so that they withdraw local support in elections.

The great grandparents of the family of the raja had given a piece of land to a poor person so that he can start his small business in the shape of grocery store. The terms of the agreement were verbal in nature. After almost 20 years, the son that poor man tried to sale this land to a political opponent of the family of raja. it is pertinent to mention that the land is part of the plot owned by family of raja in the middle of the village. the registration was with family of the raja. the brawl turned into a fiasco in the village. the party who bought the land said that they will take hold of the land at every cost, whereas, the family of raja announced that it is their land and any effort to sale of purchase will be considered as act of aggression. The situation worsened when both parties started to accumulate weapons and manpower. The social support of both the parties reached their respective places. The buyers had started moving towards the family of raja. subsequently, they started aerial firing as alarming shots. Apprehending the situation, they turned back. Ultimately, the family of the raja managed to pay the construction cost to the son of the poor man. The land remained with the family of the raja.

Later, it was also revealed that this issue was also political in nature and people wanted to undermine the social support of the family. it was also created to test the muscles of the

family of raja. the elections were about to be announced at that time and the opponents wanted to create a situation for the family of raja so that they get busy in this situation. Thus, making them susceptible for electioneering. the strategy did not work in this case. The politics is cross cutting theme in this situation. Everything is political. The underlying base of issue is political support that complements social support.

#### **4.5. Culture of Patronage (*Kharpainchi*)**

This is also very important competing political discourse. The politicians are deemed working on self-interest and to gain prominence and power or influence in the area. *kharpainch*, is a word used for a person with an influential clout. Influence has different connotations in the village. In very first instance, it is the ability of mediation in familial, residential or land disputes among the village people. Secondly, influence is required for *thana-katchery* or legal and administrative matters. Thirdly influence is required in getting connections of the sui-gas and electricity connections. This is rooted in the very structure of the society which predominantly exists in social and economic parity. *Kharpainchi* is a lower word in the local context but a *Kharpanich* remains a *same* without announcement or claim. It is not the powerful who calls himself a *Kharpanich* rather it is the people who make a *Kharpainch* for themselves. However, someone must be a leader ultimately. One of the respondents said:

*“Vote laitay hain yeah loug, Kharpainch Banany ky liay, Ghareeb ki  
kisi ko fikar nae*

*They get votes for their nuisance value, Nobody cares for poor.”*

“*Yeah loug*” means these people. Once again, the people who contest elections are categorized as others. However, this connotation is reducing the social distance as the interlocutor was referring to the local body election. In Urdu an important categorization of this (yeah) and that (who) exists. As already mentioned, the electoral process is three tier i.e. local body or union council, provincial and national assembly constituencies so is the social distance.



One of the important categorizations of nuisance is knowledge and access to the government quarters in *Kahuta*, for instance, the family of *Numberdar* is *Kharpainch*. They hold legal powers like attestation of documents, access to government offices. *Kharpainchi* is not attached with political power only rather it is also substantiated by economic means. To become a *Kharpainch*, one must be affluent enough to spend money on people like in courts or hospitals. The ability to resolve local disputes, the influential people tend to resolve issue either through mediation, persuasion or social pressure. Once a dispute arises and community is unable to resolve it locally. The disputants have decided to consult government's dispute resolution mechanism, the role of *Kharpainch* becomes more crucial. He has to side with one party. At the time of a dispute resolution, warring parties are called at the residence of a *Kharpainch* who not only arrange the tea-break or lunch for the warring parties but also makes his best effort to solve the issue. Once, the issue is brought before the *Kharpainch*, it becomes an "*Izzat Beyzti Ka Masla*" (a matter of respect and disrespect) for a *Kharpainch*, if the matter is not solved. Thus, the *Kharpainch* always keeps some high profiles from the village in loop at the time of a dispute resolution so that the disputants cannot disobey the decision made by the *Kharpainch*. However, any of the decision is subjected to the consent of both the sides as even a *Kharpainch* and a middle ground is taken to resolve the issue.

One of the local leaders who contested elections local bodies elections said:

*"Thanay Katchery gal javay ty saadi naal pooraygaraan ny bezti ey.  
Loki kehney ky othay ik vi banda aisa nae jera mamlay ki hal karai  
sakay*

*If a matter reaches police/court, it is disrespect not only for us but for whole village. People say that there is not even a single person withan ability to solve the problem."The nuisance value of the contesting candidates is one of the most intriguing factors that compels the candidates to participate in the election process, either in favour or against candidate."*

Nuisance is of great value in local context. People generally prefer to have a certain degree of nuisance to keep away unnecessary poking in their lives. Another aspect of nuisance is of the candidates and their supporters. The candidates tease the people through certain means. In everyday sphere of life to incidents like fights, issues of land etc.

The very nuisance in the sample area was observed on the intra-*ba'and* division. Candidates in the local bodies are voted on the basis of voters' affiliation with their intra-*ba'and* loyalty. Apart from personal grudges of influential, the socio-cultural relations among the intra-clan also determine the voting behavior.

The intra-*ba'and* relations produce a nuisance due to the locations they are inhabited. The *ba'and Parri*, *Channi* and *Mowara* are located on the Northeast of the village, whereas the *ba'ands* like *Gora-Gora* and *Chalyal* are located in the south of the village. *Bagla ba'and* is located in the center (on road).

In the last four local bodies elections of 1998, 2000, 2004 and 2015, candidates for chairmen of union council were from *Parri*, *Chalyal* and *Gora Gora* respectively. These *Dhoks* are situated within the premises of *Mouza Mowara*. It denotes two notions of nuisance; one that power should remain within *Mouza Mowara*, two the power centers shift from *Dhok-to-Dhok*. However, the devolved system of local bodies with Nazim, Naib Nazim and councilors has enabled the influential groups to share the power to maximize their votes in the electoral process. The local nuisance is signified not in the context of local relationship only rather it brings the winner's family into mainstream at Tehsil level. The police station, Tehsildar's office, the office of assistant commissioner and session court are located at Tehsil level wherein any kind of political influence brings back a lot of respect to the village. For example, two of the *ba'and* i.e., *Pir Panya*, *Thandal* have never come out to be the dominating political forces despite the fact that *Pir Panya* shares the largest vote in the *Mouza*. the reason behind it that *Thandal* and *Pir Panya* are less literate and under-developed.

*Kharpainch* is the most powerful individual of the entire *Biradri* who might also be

elected in the local bodies' elections. *Kharpanchi* is not seen as an authority within the village only rather it is also seen as an authority at Tehsil level. Once the elections are held the representatives are elected, Kharpanich represents the entire Biradri at Tehsil level. The scope of Kharpanchi is quite enhanced as a Kharpanich is seen as an umbrella in the police station, courts and government offices. The notion of Kharpanich is not of a tyrant but of an accommodationist who is readily available for everyone in the time of legal or social problem.

The candidate or the relatives of the candidates also use pressure tactics to convince a voter to vote for a candidate. The pressure tactic is often based on economic disparity at certain level where a relatively poor and least influential family is influenced by the potentially rich individual. Similarly, as most of the female are illiterate in the village, some literate or influential female members might influence them to vote for a candidate. The pressure tactics is further strengthened by posturing a social boycott '*Marn Jeen Khatam Karna*', which might not be affordable for a poor family. The swing voters do make a choice but keeping in view that who they can afford to annoy by not voting to him.

As there are ethnic minorities living in the village, a large number of swing voters belongs to the ethnic minorities in the village. Since most of them live in separate locations (*Dhoks*), their area become the epicenter of political campaign. A voter of minority communities less vulnerable as compared to a voter of majority community in terms of losing the fraternity. Minority communities are socially integrated in the local setup but there is no trend of cross ethnic marriages in the village. Similarly, members of minority community do not visit the majority community and viceversa, the choice in the minority community is more pronounced than a voter from majority community. In some cases, the *Nambardar* family of the village influence a few minority groups i.e., *Nai* (barbers) and *Khumyar* (potter) because they were dwelled by Nambardar family.

At the very first instance, there are three potential *Ba'ands*; *Pari Ba'and*, *Chalyal Ba'and* and *Gora Gora Ba'and* to contest the elections. The reason behind the potential is social as they are more integrated in terms of grand family structures. Moreover, there are

potential families within these *Ba'ands* with many votes and supporters for campaign. Prior to the elections, a candidate calls the entire *Ba'and* asking the members whether he should contest the elections or not. It is more of a political trick by the candidate where other members may feel privileged that they are being asked for their consent before he announce his candidacy. Once, the entire *Ba'and* (represented by the male members) gives its consent to the candidate, he announces his candidacy. The collective consent is called '*Dua-e-Khair*' after which it becomes a moral and social responsibility of every member to campaign for their candidate in the entire union council.



***Figure 20: Dua-i-khair***

This picture is of *dua-kher*, or public announcement of support and vote. The incidents leading to this dua explains *kharpainchi*. A road was announced in the mouza few years back by previous chairman of the union council. However, the road had to pass through *dhok gora* and personal land of the someone. The dispute lingered and the in order to obstruct road, people buried their dead in that land. However, before the elections of 2015, candidate for chairman along-with someother influential people made efforts for the

road. The residents of *dhok gora gora* gave alternative land for road. This picture is of the announcement of the consensus. One of the major reasons was that the candidate belongs to gora gora.



*Figure 21: Inauguration of road*

#### **4.6. Affluent (*Wela*)**

Politics is considered as realm of those people who are free of responsibilities. Especially, political contestation is associated to such people. Participation in political process is deemed as right of everyone. To further the discussion, the contextualization of the ambit of responsibility is necessary here. By responsibility, people generally mean financial independence. A person who can think beyond basic bread and butter. People either are in government services or abroad. In government services, the office requirements are 8 to 4 during day. Further, a government servant cannot contest elections by virtue of service rules. Other office jobs require tough routines. Consequently, this socio-economic class is bound in routine thus not free (*weli*). Secondly, poor people do not afford to contest elections. their financial dependency on relatives is also a hurdle in making them independently decide about their association and alignments. Thirdly, family responsibilities as of health and marriage of siblings and children do not let people think

freely.

Contesting election is not everybody's realm. One of the respondents, who was not active supporter of the candidate said:

*“Siyasat ty ji Welian na Kam ey*

*Politics is a realm of people who are free of responsibility.”*

Thus, *wela* or free is primarily a person who has got enough resources to allocate for public dealing, attending funerals and marriages etc. keeping social relationship has a cost in the social structure of the village. the cost is financial and in term of time as well. Firstly, people tend to keep their relationships limited as they cannot reciprocate in larger circle. Whereas politicians tend to participate in the wider social networks in the area. They can bear the cost mentioned above.

Secondly, in another context, politicians keep their facilitators in the area for moving around in the constituency. People are required for pasting the pamphlets, managing political canvassing and keep their office open. The number of people's presence is also considered to be a sign of support. They require people who can boost their image at tea stalls and other places of people's presence.

Normally youth are kept by politicians to manage their campaign in this context. Those people who accompany politicians are also considered *wela*.

Politics is contextualized in terms of deliverance at social level. In the rural context, political discourse is driven by the development projects of the politicians yet there is always an un- certainty of political slogans to be fulfilled. Political participation in local bodies elections is more enthusiastic than national elections, the turnout remain almost similar. Local bodies politics make an impact on the local bodies' politics make an impact on the national elections and vice-versa. Political understanding exists at parity at rural level where general population takes politics as an electoral process empowering them to vote at their choice.

I have recoded that people have confused definition of democratic process and due to which they feel disenchantment towards political process. They start questioning the political leaders etc. an important dichotomy observed by the researcher that people did not like politics at macro level but at local level as they are embedded in relationship they start liking and participating in it.

Politicians is person working to who prepares to contest elections. during the are normally people hailing from affluent background. The one who can afford to politics. Affordance is considered in terms of financial and social means. Financial means include affordability in terms running an election campaign which includes fleet cars including drivers, fuel, maintenance, food etc. managing people required to fill the cars. A dera open 24/7 with ample food supply.

#### **4.6.1. Social Cost**

A politician has to meet large number of people on daily basis and do their *Kam* (requests) of all sorts ranging from *thana-katchery* to health, water and power development authority (wapda), gas, and family disputes etc. Politicians are supposed to attend weddings, deaths and other events throughout the constituency round the year. This is termed as 'work' or *Mehnat* by a candidate. Social connectivity is one of the most dominating factors in political context. A hardworking politician is one who keeps himself connected to the people at large throughout his political career. This is one of the basic pre-requisites of becoming a politician. Politicians are also considered to visit locals through their local support. In the context of the present study, this is elder of the *baa'nd*.

The politicians regard political arena as an opportunity to grab power, influence, association, affiliations and above all allegiance. This pursuit of power is in order to materialize their goal to pursuit of power or winning the election, politicians employ every possible strategy i.e. blood, lineage, development work, morality. Their socialization in the village becomes politically motivated like their participation in the weddings, funerals, *eid* and *juma* prayers. They view every interaction as an opportunity of securing their political support. Their participation is given significant importance by

their voters and supporters and they interpret it as his care for them and it strengthens their association' otherwise in case of failure to attend such an event generates taunts and complaints. It was told by a participant that:

*“Agar ty mein election jitna ty fer miki poori baradri ni Khushi ghami vich bila tafreeeq gashna paisi. asan ethay jamay, asan ethay rehna ty ethay ei marna, ey saday lok ny, ey saaday parra ny*

*If I intend to win elections, I have to share happiness and grief with all biradrai indiscriminately. We have been born here, we must live and die here. These are our people and brothers” (Quote from Interlocutor ref. personal interview).”*

*“Siyasi logoun ki duty sakt honi. Lokan na maaray par haq ey, lokan ny zariay izzat milni, har jagah pohnachna hona*

*The duty of political people is very strict. People have right on us as out of them we earn respect. We have to reach every place.”*

The notion of izzat is very important in the political arena. This predicament is translated as recognition, triumph and above all access in the area. There is continuity of candidature in the families.

In another incident narrated by one of the respondents, he said, before elections; the candidate came to our home to ask for support. In order to invoke the proximity of our relationship with himself, he narrated an old incident:

*‘Mein jis elay ikhatar di jang larna pia sa border oper. Raja Ghaffar hori border pr gachay, ky maara saangi kala hosi*

*“When I was fighting a war of 1971. Raja Ghaffar—your father – came to border saying my friend will be all alone fighting the enemy.”*

This narration was only invoked to create a proximity of relationship. Since, vote cannot



be solicited without introducing the closeness of the relationship apart from being hailing from the same lineage. This is the core value of the political narratives in Pakistani politics that the contestants try to win loyalty through the expressions that can prove the closeness and bond between the voters and the candidate.

One of the candidates joined politics after retiring from government services. He retired from Pakistan army as a Major and Deputy Director General from Intelligence Bureau. The reasons he cited to join politics was that the government boys' school of the village, has a middle status – offers education till 8<sup>th</sup> standard- since 1926. He graduated from the school in 1964 and till his joining of the politics in 2011 the school status was not upgraded. Secondly, the drugs culture in the area is gaining momentum. Thirdly, the culture of *thana-katchery*<sup>20</sup> has plagued the area. So, he decided to fight against these evils and serve the area; politics were the best pathway to provide him with the platform to serve the people. His deceased brother also remained active in local politics when he was alive. He campaigned against the previous candidates of the same lineage. He easily managed to defeat other candidates of the village. Now, he is planning to contest elections for provincial assembly seat.

Another candidate, who lost local bodies elections in 2015. He is a lawyer by profession with specialization in tax matters. He also runs welfare trust in the village. He contested against a person of his own lineage. He considers politics as realm of *khidmat of the people*. One of the active supporters of the contestant said:

*“Thanay, katchery, bemari ty lokan naal gachna painda. Koi akhda*

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<sup>20</sup> *Thana* is police station and *Katchery* is the court – when expressed as *Thana-Katchery* it refers to the process of blaming someone and trying to involve the opponents into the (often false) accusation. This leads to increased expenditure and wastage of time to prove one not guilty.

*assan ki panj soo chaey dio*

*We must go with people to Police Station, Court and Hospital. Some asks for 500 PKR.”*

This is also important that people ask for help during issues of police, courts and hospital. At times, few people ask for 500 PKR. This is kind of social support people require from politicians. Police culture is nuisance for people. Police take bribes. The legal knowledge of the people is very less. People don't afford to go to hospital. So, they require assistance and support in these matters. People are so poor that they do not have another development further substantiates the class cohesion and integration. During the field work, one of the gathering, arranged in the honor of ex-chairman by a counselor. During the gathering, while addressing, the host underscored class dynamics and said that:

*“Mein beshak major sb ky mukhalif group ka houn, lekin inho ny pehlay ijlas mein hei hamaraydil jeet liay thay. Yeah bohat hei buhadar aur imandaar leader ky tor par samnay aye hain. Mein osay welay decide kar lita ky mein major sb naal chalna*

*I belong to the rival group of major sb. He won our hearts in the first session. He turned up as brave and honest. I had decided in the first session, that I will side with him during the whole term”.*

Another speaker highlighted the achievements of the host as follows:

*“Raja saeed sb ny astay taalian, inna ky tralay pooray Pakistan na phirnay oper likhya hona ky Fakhr-i-Garhat. Itna business astay mehnat lagni*

*Please clap for Raja Saeed. His carriage vehicles ` as one of the speakers after mentioning that his carriage vehicles ply across the country with an inscription of Fakhr-i-Garhat—Pride of Garhat.”*

In order to establish a business of this strength takes a lot of risk which is characterized as

courage. His entrepreneurial skills and business were cherished as his success.

#### **4.6.2. Active Supporters**

In the community, they are termed as '*chelay chantay*' of the candidate. The sense of attachment of the supporter with the candidate is a sense of privilege. This privilege is empowerment for the supporter. Supporters are of two types, one who actively move with the contestant in their everyday affairs, whereas, others are passive supporters, who do not move around but support the candidate through their vote. The supporters use their clout to maximize votes for the candidate.

*“Saraay gharan ny izat wadsi. Sarray taluq baray puranay. Assan  
buzurgan ny taluq na chori saqnay*

*Honor of our family will increase by supporting him. Our relationship  
is very old. We cannot abandon our ancestral relationship with him.”*

The voting for a candidate is enshrouded as an honor and respect for the entire family and clan. Another variable that basically determines the decision for voting is the relationship age. The older the relationship, more chances exist for voting patterns. Active supporters brag their muscles in the society due to their relationship with the influential. This privilege of the availability of the candidate at a phone call is also a privilege. During emergency like surprise police raid, active supporters become more relevant as they can directly access the candidate. During a health emergency, people need to go to government or private hospital. In government hospital, the processes are cumbersome and patient load requires a call from influential people. In private hospital, the budgetary constraints push the people to have support from the influential people. The active supporters do different kind of activities in the community to keep the candidate's activities high pitched. They lobby, arrange corner meetings, communicate the issues of people to the candidate, inform them about deaths, weddings and other events in the area. They even keep an eye on the activities of the rival candidates. In nutshell, they are ear and eyes of the candidate.

Due to face-book and other social media platforms political squabbles have become more often.

Other supporters are financial supports. They finance the campaign of the candidate and the support is either in kind or cash.

According to constitution of the country, suffrage rights are endowed to a person who reaches an age of eighteen. However, every free. This company requires a lot of time and money as well. Thus, the unavailability of the general people to participate in the political process makes it a no-go area for majority of the people. Thus, associate this realm to *wela*.

During the research process, I managed to interview, few of the politicians of the union council *mowara*. after having looked at their profiles, it can be safely said that they belong to affluent socio-economic class of the village. their financial independence qualifies them for political contestation.

The ex-chairman of the union council is a retired military official. He retired from second job. His family is abroad as well. He owns a house in Islamabad. The humble background of his paternal family makes him more suitable for political candidature.

Another candidate, *raja saeed* is a famous transporter of the area. He owns carriage trucks and petrol tankers in the area. He started as truck and bus driver. He gradually built his own business at mass scale. Another candidate, who won the elections of provincial assembly as independent candidate and later on joined Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaaf. He is also a transporter. His buses ply through *Kahuta* city to Islamabad and *Rawalpindi*.

Raja Altaf, owns a travel agency in *Rawalpindi*. Another budding candidate, *Raja Sakhawat* is an advocate. He has started *Roshan Mowara Trust* for the welfare of the local people.

All the candidates, hail from influential and respected families of the area. Furthermore, they all belong to Rajput clan of the area. They hail from affluent socio-economic

background with an average income of five lac per month and assets both moveable and immoveable worth millions of rupees. This financial independence provides a great leverage to participate in the electoral politics. This further outline the notion of *wela*, a person free of financial responsibility.

### **4.6.3. Campaign Financers**

Supports of the campaign are either in person or through financial means. Financers are required in different ways. Printing of posters, stickers, banners etc. arranging public gatherings followed by food etc. financial support is required in other matters as well like buying of votes. Charity works to boost public image. Arrangement of Public gatherings and corner meetings is entirely left on the financial supporters. Such type of supporters keeps their relations with the candidates either on personal friendships, *rishtaydari* (consanguinity or affinity) or to keep their nuisance intact in the society. Generally, people earn money but lack in relationships especially with the political people. It is important for upward class mobility etc.

The most active campaign can be observed on the election day. as a lot of voters are swing voters, the supporters of respective candidates keep their hope alive on the election day that they will convince the voters to vote for their candidates. In the election camp and in the polling stations, the supporters of candidates keep pursuing the voters, even at the 11<sup>th</sup> hour, to change the mind and vote for their candidate. Swing voters always remain a mystery and no one can predict whom they will vote. The supporters go to any extent to change the voters' behavior and use to trick like '*Pair Pakarna and Thuddi Pakarna*' (touching the feet or chin) of the voters pleading them to vote as losing the elections would bring a lot of disrespect to their panel.

Even the female supporters go to any extent on the election day at the female polling stations. As most of the female members of the village are illiterate, the influential females i.e. family members of the candidates or the schoolteachers keep pursuing the female voters to vote for their respective candidate. Keeping in view this aspect, the opponent candidates post their male supporters in the female polling stations so that the female

supporters will not influence the female voters. There are instances, when female supporters of opponent groups scuffled against each other leading to the involvement of the male members to ease the environment. Thus, on the election day, both male and female supporters become catalyzing factor to shape electoral outcome.

#### **4.7. Social Media as Political Space**

Social Media is an important political space in the village dynamics. Especially youth use this medium to brag alliances, associations and disputes. Few pages are run by anonymous persons scrutinize and voice issues which otherwise are difficult. The issue of drugs and aerial firing were deep-rooted in the village. This issue has taken a toll in the village. Keeping in view, the gravity of the situation, the chairman of the union council called a general meeting in the union council through social media. The pretext of the meeting was the below mentioned social media post on an anonymously run page.

*“Hamari Naujwan Nasal Kidher Ja rae hai, Major Sb ko Sb pata  
honay ky bawjood bhi chup hain*

*Where our young generation is heading, despite knowing, why major sb  
has kept silent.”*

This was the alarm raised on the social media by *Mowara Ki Sachai* page. The chairman of the union council was directly addressed in the speech. Consequently, a meeting was called by the leadership of all blood lineages. Since this issue concerns public at large, all local leadership participated in the meeting.

# اطلاع عام

یونین کونسل موڑہ کی عوام کو مطلع کیا جاتا ہے کہ مورخہ 16 دسمبر 17 بروز ہفتہ  
یوسی موڑہ کے دفتر میں ایک اہم میٹنگ کا اہتمام کیا جا رہا ہے جس میں منشیات  
کی روک تھام اور بلاوجہ فائرنگ کے مسائل عوام کو درپیش ہیں۔

ان مسائل پر کیسے قابو پایا جاسکتا ہے؟  
اپنی قیمتی رائے سے آگاہ کریں۔

تمام برادری اس اہم میٹنگ میں ضرور شامل ہو کر اپنی رائے دیں۔

موڑہ کو ان جرائم سے پاک کرنا ہم سب کا فرض ہے۔

آئیں سب ملکر ان جرائم کے خلاف متحد ہو کر جہاد کریں اور اپنی نسلوں کو ایک  
محفوظ مستقبل دیں۔

عبدالرؤف راجہ  
چیئر مین یوسی موڑہ

Figure 22: Poster for collective Action at social media

Translation:

-Public Call-

"The people of union council Mowara are informed that on Saturday, December 16<sup>th</sup> 2017, an important meeting is going to be organized in the union council mowara's office. In the meeting, it will be discussed that how eradication of drugs and unnecessary aerial firing can be materialized.

Please give your precious opinion by participation. All Baradari should give participate and give opinion.

*It's our collective duty to free Mowara of these evils.*

*Come! Let's fight (Jihad) against these crimes together and secure future of our future generations. From- Abdul Rauf Raja, Chairman UC Mowara."*

The response of the public was by and large positive and overwhelming. One of the supporters of chairman wrote on his face book wall to neutralize the effect of the social media post:

*"Chairman raja abdul rauf ki azmat ko salam jinhoun ny, apni UC sy jaraim ky khatmay ky liay, apnay mukhalif election larnay walay umeedwaran, sabiq nazimraja Altaf Hussain aur raja sakhwat ali advocate ko ijlas mein dawat dei. Orr in dono umeedwaran ky baray pan ko salam, jinho ny tamam siyasi muamlat ko bala-i-tak rakh kar apni UC ky awam ky falah-o-behbood ky liay Chairman UCMowara, Major Raja abdul rauf Janjua ki awaz par lababik kaha. Awam ny tawaqo zahir kei hai ky INSHALLAH UC Mowara sy ab Tamam Jaraim ab Jar sy Khatam Ho jaen gy.*

*We salute raja abdul rauf's greatness that in order to eradicate crimes from his unioncouncil, he invited his political opponents, ex-nazim Raja Altaf Hussain and Raja Sakhawat Advocate to a meeting. We salute the greatness of both the candidates that keeping aside all political affairs they responded to the call of Raja Abdul Rauffor broader welfare of the people of Mowara. People have shown expectations thatby the will of God, all crimes will be uprooted from UC Mowara."*

In response to this development, an anonymous face-book page Mowara ki Sachai raised the issueagain on the social media saying:

*" Ik saal pehlay, mowara mein manshiat ky khatmay ky liay meeting kei gae. Baradriny hissa lia. Iss mein manshiat aur hawai firing ky masly ko point out kia gya. Faisal hoa ky jo bhi inkamo mein mulawis ho ga,*



*iss ko girftar karwain gy. Inko jochuwaey ga, is sky khilaf poori biradri apna kirdaar ada karay gei. Chand din baad, Major Rauf ki daftar ky chat py kharay ho kar sadar muslim league noon UCMowara, Nahid Razzaque ka beta firing kar raha tha ky police moqa par pohanchgae aur issay girftar kar lia gya. Beghair FIR tees hazar rupay dy kar kiss bandayny isko churwaya. Sara Mowara Gawah hai ky woh kaisay giraftaar hoa aur kaisaybaahir aya. Koi himat karay gai ss kahani mein kirdaroun ko benaqab karnay ki*

*An year ago, one meeting was convened to eradicate drugs. Baradri also participated in this. Drugs and aerial firing were highlighted in the meeting. It was decided that who so ever participated in such activities will be given to police. What happened after few days on the roof top of Raja Rauf's office, the son of President Muslim League N, Nahid Razzaque's did aerial firing. Police reached the spot and arrested the culprits. Without FIR, after giving thirty thousand rupees, who rescued the guy. Whole Mowara is witness to the fact of his arrest and rescue. Will anybody muster courage to speak against this?"*

Excerpt from Facebook page Mowara ki Sachai (Truth of Mowara).

As a response, and to score political mileage, local politician, Raja Altaf, opponent took to the face-book to broadcast a public message. The message was as under:

*" Mowara vich jithay tak manshiat na taluq aa, woh had sy xiada ei kohsih ny bawjood ey nae khatam ho rae. Recently, vi sarri meeting hoi DSP naal aur uss nokeha ky toun manshiat peenay alian ki pakrna ey mashiyaat ferooshan kin a pakrna. Main supplier ki to na pakrna piya. uss saday naal waada kita ky mein pandra din ny andar ey supply line torsan. Agar uss ey na kita, aan ehlian mowara ussny daftar jasan aur uss ny khilaf jiss had tak jaey sakay, assan iss ny khilaf karwaikarsan. Police susti ty monopoly da mazahra karni pai, aur manshaiat ferooshi*

*police ny asheer wad tou beghair nae hoi sakni*

*As far as issue of drugs in Mowara is concerned, despite extreme efforts it is not ending. Recently, we met Deputy Superintendent of police and communicated that you are arresting drug users instead of drug peddlers. He has promised that within fifteen days, police will cut the supply line. If he fails to keep his words, the people of Mowara, will go to his office and will go any extent and complain against him. Police is acting with sluggishness and monopoly as drug peddling cannot continue without their support.”*

In another example, a member of the community from *Kumhar*, an occupational caste, has very different perspective on leadership. The youth is really on a different track. Issues of youth are access to education, employment and bright future. In this context they sound alienated from the rhetoric of people’s interest. They are up for change in the society. they want to challenge the status quo. while talking to one of the young boys who is doing ACCA in Islamabad and daily commutes to the capital on public transport-also called as local transport- said that:

*“Khushk Leaderoun sy Jaan Churao*

*Please get rid of dry leaders.”*

I further, asked him to explain the word ‘dry’. He says that I get up at 5 in the morning and get ready for my class. I don’t afford to live in a hostel. I take van from my village to *Kahuta* city. From there I ride a small bus till airport crossing in *Rawalpindi*. I again change the bus for Islamabad. It takes almost 2 hours to reach my college. The same ordeal is repeated in the evening. I am hell tired as I get back and hardly find any time to study at home. My degree is tough, but job market is shrinking. I have no other option, so I am continuing this. My point is that the leadership, who failed to provide us with reasonable transport and education system at doorstep is a dry leadership. We immediately require getting rid of such kind of leadership. Since, we don’t belong to majority caste, so our say is limited in this context. We find social media as an effective

mean to vent out our anger, frustration and even desires.

#### **4.7.1. Save *Kahuta* Movement**

During the premiership of Shahid Khaqan Abbasi of Pakistan Muslim League in 2017, an effort was underway to declare tehsil Murree (a nearby hill station and tourist attraction) as district *Kohsar* and *Kahuta* as its tehsil. Murree is also a native town of the premier as well. The announcement created unrest among the masses as primarily the population of *Kahuta* is dominated by *Rajputs*, whereas Murree is inhabited by *Abbasi* and *Satti baradari*. So, it was unacceptable for the *Rajputs* to accept the administrative dominance of another *baradari*. Resultantly, agitation against this apprehended move of the government started under the banner of *Kahuta Bachao Tehreek*. Under the leadership of Abdullah Ibrahim Advocate-a practicing lawyer hailing from *Rajputs*- movement gained momentum. *Matur Chowk*<sup>21</sup> was the epicenter of the movement.

Everyday gatherings, termed as *Jalsa* in the local language used to be a regular feature. All the union councils dominated by *Rajputs* participated in the everyday gatherings. During one of the overwhelmingly, participated by *Rajputs*. The leadership used the following rhetoric:

*“Agar zila kohsar bana aur uska headquarter muree ho tou hum wazir-i-azam house ky samay aur governor house ky samnay bhi ehtjaj karein gy. Agar noon league ky chairman, raja zafar-ul-haq ny khamoshi na tori tou unki rehaisgah k bahir bhi ehtjaj karein gy. Yeah kisi jamat ka ehtjaj nae hai, yeah kisi dharay ka ehtjaj nae hai, yeaj*

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<sup>21</sup> Cross road

*awam ka ehtjaj hai. Tum bilal yamen satti, apnay aap ko haji samjhty hou. Hum ameen hain aur hamari kankarioun sy tum phus ho gy.<sup>22</sup>  
Yeah yaad rakhan, Kahuta hamara shhehr hai, awam ka shser hai.  
Hum jawaz bahkshty hain tou tb leader bnat hai*

*If district kohsar constituted and Muree as it administrative center, we will protest in front of Prime Minister and Governor House. If Chairperson of N-League, Raja Zafar-ul-Haq<sup>23</sup> did not break his silence, we would even protest in-front of his house as well. This protest is not of any party or faction rather from the public of Kahuta. We are custodians of this land. Bilal Yameen<sup>24</sup> considers himself as pious but will dwindle through our stones. Remember, Kahuta is our city, it's the city of public and we give you right to lead."*

Two things are very important to understand in here. One is the metaphoric use of stones against Satan and its correlation with Bilal Yameen. The Leadership of the movement used this metaphor to represent right and wrong. Secondly, invoking a sense of public ownership among the masses about the movement by transcending beyond the lines of family and kinship.

This specific movement was started to save the dominance of Rajput's against Satti's and Abbasi's. The nuisance behind the movement was purely ethnic (based on Biradari) where the entire gatherings were predominantly represented by the members of Janjua clan from

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<sup>22</sup> This has been used as metaphor. Stone pelting at Satan during Pilgrimage is a tradition in Islam

<sup>23</sup> He belongs to *Kahuta* and held a key position in ruling party of the time

<sup>24</sup> A leader active for District Kohsa

different Union Councils of Tehsil *Kahuta*. Though Raja Zafar Ul Haq and Shahid Khaqan Abbasi belong to the same party – PMLN – but there has been a silent contest between the two personalities as both belong to the two different ethnic communities: Janjua and Abbasi. The personality clash between Raja Zafar Ul Haq and Shahid Khaqan Abbasi has divided the entire PMLN in the constituency, but the clash has been managed since 2002 by power sharing. Since 2002, Shahid Khaqan Abbasi contested for the National Assembly seat from NA-50 (Now NA-57) whereas the son of Raja Zafar Ul Haq, Raja Muhammad Ali contested the election for the provincial seat of PP-2 (Now PP-7). Despite the power sharing, both the personalities (Raja Zafar Ul Haq and Shahid Khaqan Abbasi) have been campaigning behind the scenes by asking their respective factions not to vote for the opponent group of the same party. *Kahuta Bachao Tehreek* was purely a *Rajput* resentment initiated by local middle class comprising of lawyers, shopkeepers and schoolteachers.

The veteran leadership of PMLN did not participate in the movement rather it was represented and led by youth and new emerging leadership of *Kahuta*. The large gatherings sent strong messages to both then premier Shahid Khaqan Abbasi and Raja Zafar Ul Haq-sitting senator or member of upper house from PML-N. since, the general elections of 2018 were approaching and Shahid Khaqan Abbasi had to contest the elections from NA-57 (former NA-50) against another strong candidate from Murree's Abbasi family, Sadaqat Abbasi of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf, so, the move thwarted. This left a sour memory on the minds of people and Shahid Khaqan Abbasi lost elections- he was holding this seat since 1993- to young candidate of Pakistan Tehreek Insaaf.

## **5. POLITICAL SPACES AND SYMBOLS**

In the political processes, the politicians involve canvassing. In order to broaden our understanding of the political discourse, it is significant to study the way political symbols are presented to the public, using certain lexicon, metaphors and pictographs.

### **5.1. Configuration of Political Spaces**

The political messages are relegated through various means. One of the very important mean is posters. Posters are designed to attract voters with pictures of supporters and the candidate. Supporters want to show their true affiliation with the candidate and to remain in good books of the candidate.

#### **5.1.1. Posters**

Posters are colourfull and pictures of the supports are printed in the small size so that focus remains on the candidate. The supporter who is financing the printing of these posters decide about the pictures of supporters on the poster. He might design the poster where his picture is almost equal in size as that of the candidate. Still, it is considered that the size of the chief supporter remains slightly smaller than the candidate's picture.



**Figure 23: Election Poster**

The couplet on the previous page says: We carve out stones leading to destination ourselves. We are not the ones carved by time. God-willing Chairman Union Council *Mowara*. Major (R) Abdul Rauf Raja (Candidate for Chairman) Chief Supporter Raja Muhammad Saeed Janjua (General Secretary, All Pakistan Tankers Association). The pictures underneath is of sons; cousins and friends of Raja Saeed who will vote for the candidate under the influence of chief supporter. *Intekhabi Nishan Balti*: Election Symbol Bucket

The above election poster speaks about candidature and support mechanisms for the candidate. Photos of active supporters i.e., people who invest in the election through cash or kind are also symbolically signify their proximity of social relationship with the candidate. The electoral symbol i.e., bucket also signify the candidate because these symbols are carefully chosen.



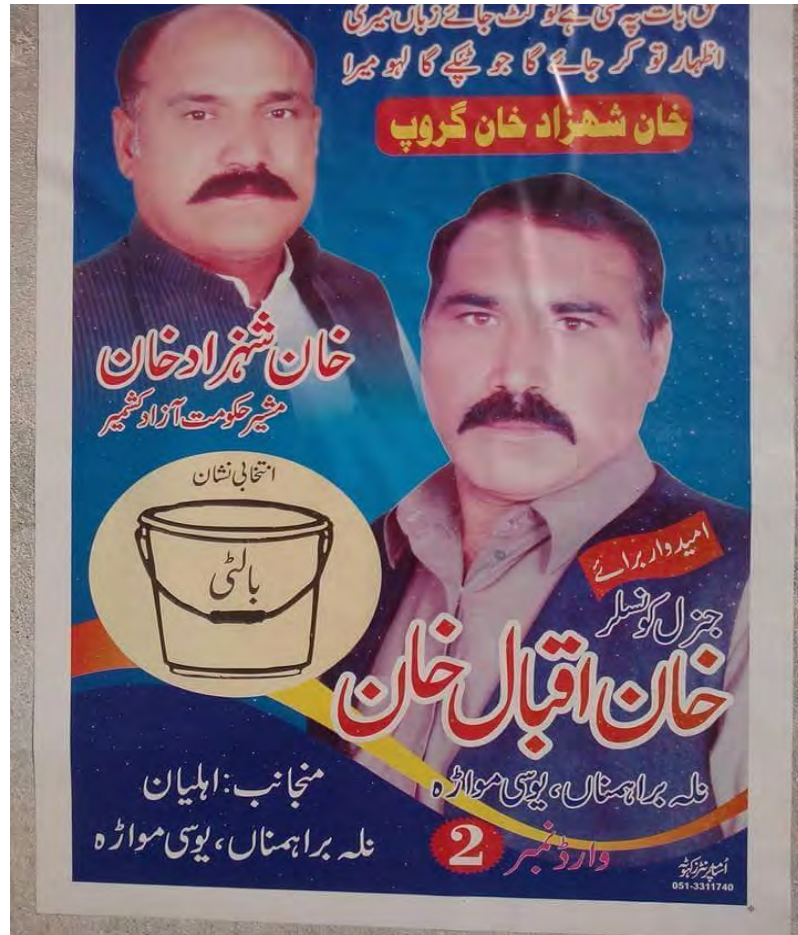
**Figure 24: The poster wishing birthday of Prophet (SAW)**

The significance of the bucket will be discussed later in this section.

This is also another important political rhetoric being used in the village. The green color signifies the association with the *Barelvi* faction. The upper Arabic text is called as *salat*. It sends peace on last prophet. The pictures of two hold mosques of Muslims in Saudi Arabia. This is from famous social worker, Raja Sakhawat Advocate-a lawyer entitled to



practice at higher courts of the country-and famous political and social personality of provincial assembly constituency pp-7. Multiple identities of the candidate have been projected in one single poster. A religious dimension that too with emphasis on specific faction. Birthday of the Prophet that is sacred for all Muslims. Social work for public welfare highlighted in the text.



**Figure 25: Non-Rajput Councilor**

This is another important issue. Political contestation for non-Rajputs. This is a group contesting election from outside Rajputs. The wider support network for the candidate is missing here. The electoral process of the entire Union Council is incomplete without the non-Rajput castes especially the Muhajirs living in Nala Barahmana. There is always one contesting chairman who must choose his vice chairman from Muhajir tribe because the tribe has much influence in Moza Janjur and both sides make around 1000 votes of the

UC. Khan Shahzad Khan is the central figure of the Muhajir tribe who had contested two elections as vice chairman but lost. In the 2015 local body elections, he projected his brother Khan Iqbal Khan for the seat of general councilor in the panel of Major Rauf.

### 5.1.2. Office

In the poster above, the local leadership is sitting with the close relatives. This is a public portrayal of association of people with a certain political party. They may have sat here



for many days to support it.

*Figure 26: Support for provincial assembly candidate*



*Figure 27: Election office*

The above picture shows the election office of another candidate. It customary in the village politics to keep an election office filled with people to flex support among the villagers. The office for campaign should serve tea, water and food for the all the persons sitting in the office till the election day at least. This is symbolic display of support and hospitality in the village.

### 5.1.3. Vehicles

Vehicles are used as political space in the village. personal and commercial vehicles carry political posters, slogans and messages during routine and especially election days. This is also a public display of support and association. This is also a sign of symbolic violence perpetrated by rich on the poor. This obvious support through vehicles.



*Figure 28: Election poster on the back screen of car*

This poster again starts with a couplet. It says:

“The lamps you have turned off- because you consider them unimportant - will lit and make light for you and others.”

The election candidate under the panel is of Major (R) Abdul Rauf and his chief supporters. Their family names show that they belong to same lineage. They not only support each other but also present the generational dimension of political affiliations.

One of the supporters in the panel also displays a victory sign which shows that they are sure about winning the elections. His beard is also a symbol of his religious affiliation and beliefs which attract voters to vote for them.



*Figure 29: Use of car trunk as political space*

The make and model of the car also signify the wealth of the candidate and supporters. Since, car is a mobile entity, so it becomes a significant medium to advertise the political candidature. Normally cars are rented for election campaign. The cars are used to in entourage of the candidate in the constituency. Latently, cars represent wealth of the candidate. Supporters of the candidate roam around in the vehicles and mostly influence their relatives and friends. It is also an emblem of vote bank, the bigger the entourage of a candidate, greater is the number of voters. One of the respondents told that moving in the

big fancy cars gives them energy to advocate for the candidate.

### 5.1.4. Newspapers

The village is a strong hold of Pakistan Muslim League sue to the next-door presence of Raja Zafar-ul-Haq-a veteran leader from Rajput. In the general elections of 2018, Pakistan Tehreek-i- Insaaf’s candidate could not win from the union council.



Figure 30: Newspaper clipping

The major ® Abdul Rauf, ex-chairman of the union council announced a meeting of the local leadership of Pakistan Muslim league against the existing leadership from the same party.

Translation of the news clipping above is as follows:

“Major (R) Abdul Rauf Janjua, chairman union council Mowara led the joint meeting of 10 elected union council Chairmen. First meeting of ten elected Chairmen from ten union councils of Kahuta pledged to side with PML-N and put forth demands to MPA and MNA. Members of provincial and national assemblies will decide in consultation for district

council elections. chief minister Punjab should be invited to *Kahuta* and we will bear expenses of the visit. Muslim leagues leadership and elected members should consult for development work. we are also from Muslim league. The emergency service 1122 should be brought to *Kahuta*. Departments of Police, Revenue and WAPDA should be held accountable due to large number of public complaints. The meeting was attended by Major (R) Abdul Rauf Chairman UC Mowara, Chairman UC Narr Bilal Yameen Abbasi, Chairman UC Khadbot Sajjad Satti, Master Zahoor Abbasi Chairman UC, Raja Amir Mazhar Chairman UC Thala, and Raja Shokat chairman UC Dakhali. Elections were not held in two union councils.”

This meeting was generally called to emphasize personal political weight. As in union council Mowara, member of provincial assembly distributed development funds through Raja Sakhawat. This was not acceptable to chairman. The member provincial assembly was trying to curb the influence of major sb as he intends to contest for provincial assembly seat. Keeping in view, this personal competition among the patronage.

## **5.2. Slogans**

Another way of broadening our understating of the political discourse can be a detailed analysis of the slogans being used in the locale. Slogans are important in political arena as they carry narrative of the people and political elite. Slogans of national and local context are used interchangeably in the field. All the fault lines, structural realities, associations are evident in the political sloganeering.

Politics is a personal matter and people are either involved in politics due to personal associations or enmity either directly or indirectly with candidates, their relatives, supporters or clan. Secondly, electoral politics is regarded at two levels, one is at basic democracies level and other at provincial and national assembly level.

### **5.2.1. Personal Traits**

The Lion is a party symbol of Pakistan Muslim League (N). Whenever, any candidate of the party visits the area, this slogan is used. The candidates of the party are given a

connotation of a Lion. Otherwise, Lion is used to present bravery and courage. Leadership, bravery, courage, dominance, vigour, strength etc. are often regarded as masculine traits and candidates as *Babar-Shairs*. Lion is a connotation of bravery, courage and strength in the area. Above all, the area is traditionally a stronghold of Pakistan Muslim League N. They put it like this:

*“Kis shair ki amad hai ky run kanp raha hai,*

*Run tou bari baat, charkh kahun kanp raha hai”*

*“Raja Rauf Zindabad*

*Raja Rauf live long.”*

Personality is given a central position in the local political discourse of a village. Since, the society is kin-oriented and broader social structure is based on *Baand*. The personality is basically determined with regards to social distance in this context. This political slogan based on the personality of the candidate in the village is taken as something that cherishes the whole lineage. The victory and defeat of a candidate is associated as victory and defeat of all the lineage. Since, *raja* is a title carried by *Janjua Rajputs* of the area and Rauf is name of the candidate. This is one of the widely used slogan boosting the associational personality of the candidate. Voters can personally associate to the candidate with all the social entourage i.e. lineage as said by one of the participants:

*“Major saada shair ey, baki hair phair ey*

*Our Major is a Lion and rest are cheats.”*

This slogan is widely used by the supporters in the area. This slogan creates a ‘we’ feel between the voter and the candidate. *Saada* means ‘ours or from within’ in the local context means belonging to our blood, lineage and area. This is very important because people primarily consider social proximity one of the deciding factors in deciding about vote. All three candidates belonged to Janjua Rajput clan. Two hailed from same subdivision whereas one from another. Secondly, this slogan used allegory. The

candidate is termed as lion. The lion is always characterized as undisputed king of the jungle. Thus, use of this allegory is very famous in the area. Though candidates belong to the caste but major is preferred over others because of his connectivity, influence and wealth. The candidate spent around 2.5 million rupees in the election whereas others spent three hundred to four hundred thousand rupees. Another famous slogan chanted by the supporters was:

*“Ah gya major, chaa gya major*

*Major has come and prevailed.”*

This again talks about the unflinching success of the candidate. It says that the candidate has won the election by defeating all the contestants. He is not only a winner but a person who will stay in this position for long and will keep defeating his opponents by winning the hearts of the locals. He is a ruler; he will outnumber anyone coming in his way. He is welcomed by all in his constituency and his winning position will benefit all.

### **5.2.2. Political Dissent**

It is made sure by the supporters of one candidate to make slogans that are derogatory for the opponents. Humiliating and insulting tone and words are used for the opposite candidates. One of the slogan told by a participant was:

*“Nara Maaro Kas ky, Lootay Saaray Naas Gaey*

*Say loud that all distractors have run away.”*

*Loota* is a political term often used for a person who switches loyalties. This *Naara* or loud slogan or shout out whereas *Kas* in Punjabi is to put more emphasis further outlines the importance of public statement about voting decision. Such sloganeering is an outburst after the announcement of the election result which also shows the mounting tensions between the two or more than two factions before the election and during the election campaign. However, the celebrations and sloganeering remained limited to the election offices and on the road and no one dares to shout in front of the opponent's house



or in front of females. Moreover, the sloganeering and shouting is often done by the youngsters, but their choice of words is controlled by the veterans of the winningside.

Though election rules take vote as individual and secret act. The secret balloting is just to uphold this trust of the voting process. However, in contradiction to the election rules, the social structure demands a public statement about the loyalty. The performance of the candidate is gauged in terms of his presence in local matters of marriage and death etc., behavior with people, development work and provision of jobs.

Furthermore, loyalty is lineal and generational. A famous slogan was:

*“Ik, dou, teen, char, chao baalti, Julo Khaar*

*One, two, three, four, pick the bucket and go home.”*

Bucket was a political symbol of a losing candidate. This was used by the supporters of winning candidate. At the very first instance, Balti is not a respectable symbol in the local or national political landscape. In a country like Pakistan where only reverent symbols are tiger (wrongly translated as Sher, lion), arrow (teer) and bat (balla), the symbols like bucket are belittled in comparison. The context in which the slogan like “chao baalti, julo khaar” are raised is teasing and annoying in vernacular nuisance. The sloganeering is more than celebration as slogans are articulated for massaging to the opponents. This massaging often leads to a brawl between the opponents (mostly young supporters) but tensions are managed by the involvement of the political leaders. Some time the losing candidate instigates his supporters to confront the supporters of a winning candidate. The purpose is solely to signify his self as a mediator despite losing the elections. If the brawl exceeds the limits, the winning candidate must request the loser to intervene in the matter and restrain his supporter. Another slogan was:

*“Ragra ty Ragra, Dy Ragra*

*Grinding, grinding and keep grinding.”*

*Ragra* is basically a term used to mix herbs with the help of a round stick in a round

shaped pot. It is also used to grind things into tiny pieces and making pastes. Abrasion of round stick is used to mix herbs in an even manner. This process is referred as a connotation in political discourse. The Ragra is used in multiple humiliating ways. One of the most important usage is of victory i.e. *ragardaina*. Secondly, it is used in the meanings of teasing the opponents through different means like playing loud music in front of their door after victory or by withdrawing their support. Thirdly in extreme cases, it is also used as connotation of killing. However, in political context of the society under discussion, this thing is used as teasing opponents by different means as told by one of the participants:

*“Bibi dy naray wajan gy, lotay saray nasan gy*

*Winning slogans for Benazir will echo, and all turncoats will run.”*

The word *Bibi* in local context is used for women but in general Pakistani political landscape, this term is being used for Benazir Bhutto, the slain leader of Pakistan People’s Party. The party has lost its strong political hold in Punjab. The very few loyal of the party are still alive in the vicinity. They still cherish the old glory and legacy of the party. These dim slogans could be heard still in the vicinity.

### **5.2.3. Success Emphasis**

The name may be changed with each winning candidate, but this slogan has been a generational legacy since the past elections. This sloganeering is again louder than words as the voice echoes in the air with supporters of winning candidate trying to satisfy the candidate’s ego. The above slogan is more introvert and contains no ostensible meanings for the opponents. However, the nuisance of factionalism and political grouping always remain an active part of political conscience of the supporters and the candidates. One of such slogan was:

*“Ik hei role py gaya, Major seat ly gaya*

*Only one noise all across, Major has won the seat.”*

Sloganeering is not done without beating drums. Sloganeering also includes dancing,

firework and rallies across all the polling stations of the union council. Supporters of the winning candidate keep gathering at the main election office at Mowara. As there are more than 20 polling stations of the union council, the celebrations continue till all the supporters from all the polling stations get together at the main office. It often follows a victory speech by the candidate and remarks by veterans of different polling stations of the union council.

In the national and provincial assembly elections, the mainstream political parties directly pitch their candidates using the party symbols. The famous slogans told by different respondents were:

*“Aei Aei, PTI*

*PTI is coming.”*

*“Gaali mein shor hai, Nawaz Shareef Chor hai*

*There is noise in every street, Nawaz Shareef is a thief.”*

*“Gaali mein shor hai, Sara Tabar chor hai*

*There is noise in every street, The members of entire family (referring to Nawaz Sharif) are thieves.”*

*“Daikho dailho kon aya, shair aya, shair aya PPP no chakar fair aya,  
shair aya, shair aya*

*See, the lion is coming, PPP is in distress because lion is coming.”*

*“Gali Nagar Nagar, Ali Ali Ali Ali*

*Every street, everywhere, Ali Ali Ali Ali.”*

#### **5.2.4. Religious Interplay**

The society is fatalistic; it believes in fate and destiny as decided by God Almighty. Thus,

this belief has a widespread implication for every political activity as well especially where control is less. In the political realm thus, it becomes more relevant as people promise vote, but votes are given secretly. This puts candidates in vulnerability and smooths inroads for religious domain. The usage of scripture puts more impression on the people at large as this is regarded as reverence in the society.

*“InShAllah Chairman*

*God willing, Chairman.”*

*“Ali ka Muqadar Ali ka Naseeb, Nasrum minallah hei wa fathun  
qareeb*

*The help of God will ensure victory to Ali (candidate) Destiny.”*



*Figure 31: Election poster*

As mentioned earlier, people in Pakistan are Muslim and fatalistic in their belief system. Thus the victory of Raja Muhammad Ali, a candidate for provincial assembly elections is tied to the help of God. This attachment of scripture to the candidature highly benefits.

### **5.2.5. Character Assassination**

All the efforts of supporters of one candidate were put in the insult of the opponent candidate, and humiliation sometimes cross all the ethical boundaries. Praising of the favourite candidate was also exaggerating. One of the slogan told by a participant was:

*“Dasna Taali, Ty Kapna Cheer, Raja Sagheer, Raja Sagheer*

*He tells the Shesham and cuts down the Cheer, Raja Sagheer, Raja Sagheer.”*

This slogan was invented by the opponents of current member of provincial assembly Raja Saghir Ahmad who has been accused of timber smuggling. Raja Saghir is a transporter by profession, but he has been allegedly involved in cutting the most expensive trees from a nearby forest to sell them in the timber market in *Rawalpindi*. The slogan depicts Saghir's treachery as he tells the people that he is doing a legal timber business by purchasing the Shesham from the locals and selling it into the market but in actual, he is involved in cutting Cheer from the government forest in connivance with the government servant of forest department.

During the election process or canvassing, the social reputation of a candidate is uncashed and mutilated as well. This political sloganeering speaks about the manipulative and deceitful nature of one of the candidates. These are negative attributes as per the local notions.

#### **5.2.6. Social Distance**

Another factor that was emphasized by people of the constituency was the relationship with candidates. The person who lived in the same constituency and was taking part in all the rituals happening there was considered the better option.

*“Toada Aziz, Sada Aziz, Raja Sagheer, Raja Sagheer*

*Your relative and beloved, our relative and beloved, Raja Saghir Raja Saghir.”*

This emphasizes the relationship of the candidate with every individual of the society. It also shows that the social distance of the candidate is very less as compared to the others rather he is beloved and connected to everyone.

### **5.3. Use of Poetry as a Political Tool**

Poetry is always used in the election campaign of the candidates actively. The poetic symbolism is used primarily to project character, actions, lineage, and success of the candidates. Poetry is used in the election posters, corner meetings and face-book posts. Active supporters aggressively post it on the face book pages and Whats-app groups. The poetry generally exhibits scenario of competition like the poem underneath says voice of *Moawara* and appreciation of personality traits of the candidate. He is fearless once enters competition. He leaves opponents shockingly surprised, as balls in the field. Spectators are left astonished as he bolds out. By the will of God, he will win this time as everybody chants. The rhyming ends with the name of the candidate. This poem relates political competition with the cricket match. The candidate is equated with bowler with extraordinary and matchless bowling skills. His good bowling skills leaves nobody in the field.



Figure 32: Poetry poster





*Figure 33: Poetry poster*

This poem talks about election symbol that with fortune the candidate has received a public symbol. This symbol i.e., bucket is present in everyone's house. This is a connotation of symbolic presence of the candidate in every one's house. Subsequent couplets mention electoral constituency i.e., *Darh, Barhiari, Garhat, Pir-Panah* and *Thangar*. In the last couplet, the poet talks himself saying that you do not need to worry as Rauf (the candidate) forecast victory.

*“Andheron ky Muqabil Aftab aya karta hai, Bashar jb Bechain hou  
tou Inqalaab ayaKarta hai*

*There is moonlight for darkness, and there is revolution when humans  
are restless.”*

*“Jafa ki Taigh sy Gardan Wafa Shuaron ki, Kaati hai Barsar I Maidaan  
lekin Jhuki tounahi*

*Sincere and loyal candidates got hurt during electoral processes,  
however they are resilient and never defeated.”*

Resilience is portrayed as an additional characteristic of the candidature. Though they got hurt and betrayed by many, but they are strong enough to bear hardships and prove themselves as winners. This couplet is printed on the stickers used during electioneering. This says that a person with stands difficulties of the time but never surrenders.

*“Woh Jin ky Hotay hain Khursheed Asteno mein, Unhein Kahein sy  
dhond ky lao bara Andherahai*

*Search them who have suns in their pockets, so they bring light and  
hope.”*

This is a couplet that portrays leadership characteristics of an individual. This is often used in the electioneering campaign as well. This says that person who has the capability of leading people in dark times are required. Leadership trait is associated with sun as it brings light and warmth. Contemporary era requires leaders and politicians who have hope and vision for the betterment of the society.

## 6. SEXUALIZING POLITICAL DISCOURSE

Use of sexual connotations in everyday slang is a dominant factor. The very personal communication among people is primarily full of these references. There is also an underlying hatred towards politicians that is expressed through these expressions. The society is patriarchal and male dominance translates into everyday sexual expressions as well. The male sexual organs are depictions of power, strength and dominance.

The sexual acts are also male dominated in social discourse. Ideally, females are always on the receiving end of the sexuality. Female sexual organs are associated with shame and subaltern positions. This notion is projected in the political acts and discussions. Symbolic violence is explained by Bourdieu and different forms and manifestations exist in society (Burawoy, 2019).

People do not use sexual connotations publicly. Villagers normally express these terms within immediate informal company. In public sphere, the use of sexual connotations, metaphors and icons is strictly prohibited. Since, politics is time consuming and money intensive enterprise, pursuit of power is the goal of the political arena and in order to grab the power position; association and rivalry come into play through manipulation, deceit, rifts.

Contestation and participation bring competition in the society. So, in order to operationalize this notion in the society. One of the widely used phrase by local people in personal communication about their understanding of political is as below. One of the male interlocutors aged 24, hailing from Bagla, working at a local school said:

*“Bawa Ji! Sab Pehan Yakki na Baja ey*

*Oh man! Everything is trumpet of incestual relationship.”*

Symbolic meaning: "Oh Man, everything is trumpet of deception.”

It was also told by a respondent that in a different tone the meaning differs as follows: in slightly different tone:

*“Bawa ji! sab pehan yaki hai*

*Oh Man, its trumpet of shit.”*

Pehan-yaki is the slang word used in Punjabi language. It is an abuse. *Pehan* is sister and *yak* is a connotation used for a person who indulge into incest. In the present context *Pehanyak* means a person indulging sexually with the sister. The incest is prohibited in Islam and regarded unnatural in the society. Here, it is used in the meaning of deception and trick. In other words, close social relations should not be deceived. The realm of politics is described as illusionary and tricky rampant with deception. Usually, the art of playing deception is also associated with *Yaki*. However, the degree and intensity of the word cannot be ascertained without context and tone. Since, politics in general and electoral politics in-particularis considered as an effort to become part of the governance structure of the country i.e., ultimately engaging with decision makers of the country and creating an influence in the society. All the upcoming efforts of mobilization seemed to be as mean to win seat for an individual. The governance structure or government is considered as outside realm. The policeman, doctor, post man, patwari (land record keeper) have this notion of ‘other’ attached in the society. This alienates local population from the governance structure. Though through, democracy, it is efforted to ensure the representation of the people in the decision-making process. This lack of connectivity makes it less obvious for the people to relate to the political structure of the society. Through lexicon, the political arena, actors and agency is very unclear. As Norman Fairclough argues in such communication, real agents are obscured. Here in the present context, the interlocutor cannot contest elections, neither support nor vote as per his own individual will.

This statement is often used by young people to describe the generic political scene. *Bawaji* or *Babaji* is slang word used to address other by young people. *Pehan yaaki* is also slang that is used to describe deceit, cleverness, shrewdness and self-centeredness of an individual. In this context the term is used to describe politics as a phenomenon of deceit. It is termed as illusion. Out of few reasons, everyone cannot contest elections due to financial restraints. So, there is a general feeling of alienation from the politics.

Secondly politics require a lot of time and energy, visiting people for their marriages, deaths and other events. The situation turns out to be tricky in case of conflict among people belonging to same caste. It becomes very difficult for a politician to take side of the either party. If he takes side of either party, loose the other. The politician is termed a crook by the opposing party and personal enmity starts.

One of the very important factors that further our understanding of the electoral process in the locality is of election as a cause of frictions in the community. It was also told by a respondent that:

*“Behan yaki na dour ey, har banda chor ey*

*It’s an era of deceit, every man is a thief.”*

This slang has been already explained but there is an addition i.e., every man is a thief. This is an expression of mistrust of the people at politicians. During the last few years, the discourse that politicians are corrupt is momentous. Before, 2018 general elections, Imran khan, the sitting primeminster of the country, kept this as election mantra. financial corruption has been cited as one of a leading cause of poverty, inequality and lack of development in the country. Electronic channels have aggressively and openly sided with political parties. This has confused people about the actuality of the situation. This confusion results in the above statement of the people. While, interviewing, one of the respondents said:

*“Ary taki ky lagna saara masla Nawaz Sharif ty Zardari da ey. Ossi Welay Geo Lao ty lagna ky Nawaz shareef ty masoom ey ty Imran khan jhot marna. Asan ty saari umer ei takia ny ky jeravi hakomat vich ah rehna, oi lokan dy baray ich na sochna fer*

*If you watch ARY, it seems that Nawaz Shareef and Zardai are the issues. Whereas, at the same time geo declares Nawaz shareef as innocent and Imran Khan as Liar. We have witnessed all our life that who so ever becomes part of the government than stops thinking about*

*masses.”*

However, the youth hold former president Asif Ali Zardai and his political party Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) and Mian Muhammad Nawaz Shareef and his political party, Pakistan Muslim League (PML-N) accountable for the mess in the country. Youth view Imran is a robin-hood, a savior, a messiah who will save them from the grim hands of the corrupt elements. However, as per old age people of the locale that youth has not witnessed historical role of political parties in the country. They have not seen how Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto rose to power in the country. They still cherish the mammoth crowds, Bhutto used to address. They associate the contemporary attitude of the young lot of the village as another repetition of the history. They lament lack of historical insight on the part of young people and term their decision as a temporary emotional burst. They relate that Bhutto came with the notion of poor friendly policies in the country but gradually succumbed to the pressure of structural realities of the electoral politics. His reformist agenda was set aside in very first phase of the government. One of the respondents said:

*“Asan Bhutto sb no vi taakia. Jis welay Bhutto aya ty oss welay Imran  
tou vi waday jalsay hondansan. Bhutto vi bohat mashoor sei. Ona vi sirf  
gallan ketian*

*We have seen Bhutto sb<sup>25</sup> as well. When Bhutto rose to prominence,  
public gatherings used to be larger than of Imran khan. Bhutto was very  
famous as well. He also just used rhetoric.”*

By rhetoric, he meant that he talked about empowering youth and poor. The slogan of

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<sup>25</sup> This is used to *urdu* language to call some-one with respect

*roti, kapra aur makaan* lured people towards Bhutto. However, all such promises proved to be mere illusions. Bhutto really dented the social structure by making people aware of the strength of their vote. But ultimately left us in more trouble. His awareness could not do anything but leaving us in sheer hopelessness and despair. He managed all those electable in his government against whom all election campaign was crafted. We were young and enthusiastic at that time like the youth of our village. there is also one difference of social media.

During Bhutto's era, flow of information was either through newspapers, radio or television. Electricity was not provided to every society. despite, Bhutto rose to unprecedented prominence at that time with the help of young and poor people of the country. Now, history seems to be repeating itself again in our country. Young people are again disillusioned. Zia came with another slogan of Islam.

All the leadership in our country comes with rhetoric of people's welfare and national interest. However, every passing day plight of common man is worsening. In such a situation, I have lost all my faith the in civil and military leadership. I am just counting days of my life and living in despair. This narrative of older people of the community is to give awareness and convince the youth about their lack of historical insight. One of the participants told that:

*"Banjay Oper Chaarsan*

*They will make you ride their penis."*

*Banja* is a connotation of male sexual organ penis. The hatred is expressed by employing sexuality. Whereas *Bund* is anal area. *Pharna* is to tear off and *Marna* means to hit. In order to defeat and outclass somebody decisively, these sexual connotations are employed. In another connotation, this is also taken as teaching a lesson. Since, the society is patriarchal and sexuality. The connotation of teaching a lesson is masculine—primarily lesson is taught through lobbying and voting against a certain candidate. This is often employed to express hatred for rivals. Due to personal issues, may be of matrimony, people express to defeat. These metaphors are important in private discussion of the

people.

In one incident in the village. There was a contest between two individuals over a beautiful boy. The contest moved to face-book. The respondent told that:

*“Dowan lokna na ik sonay jatkaan oper pir oi gya. Ona facebook opar dp competition karai ginta. Ik bnday apnay dostan ta sangian koloun vote karai election jiti ginta. Doay akhya ky agaly election ich mein iski banjay opar charsaan*

*Two people had an issue over a boy. They announced elections on display pictures of face book. One man managed to win elections by votes of his close friends and acquaintances. Other said that in next elections, I will teach him a lesson.”*

This rivalry is manifested in the political sphere of the village. In the next election, both sided with opposite candidates. They actively campaigned for their candidates. The reason for the political rivalry was personal.

If the strategy of giving tough time to opposite political candidate is materialized, the victory is prophesized again through sexual connotations. One of the very important slang used for this purpose was:

*“Tattay Sangay ich ah Gaey*

*Testicles stuck in throat.”*

Symbolic meaning: “Stunned or Astonished (with no idea of what to do next)”.

Another way of describing the triumph over the other is:

***“Chankla Desan”***

***Translation:*** *Chankla* is baby toy in the local language. However, in political vocabulary, it is devoted to penismean if a politician win election he would give nothing to his voter.



So, penis is attributed to nothingness or something very useless. The term '*Chankla Desan*' is often contextualized in political slang not by descent people. The term is used in many contexts. For example, a voter can also say '*Chankla Desan*' meaning he would not vote for a candidate. Similarly, a voter can use '*Chankla Desan*' in response to a question what he expects from a politician after the elections. *Chankla Desan* is also attributed to powerlessness of the local politicians. A chairman of the union council is compared with other chairmen of other union councils. If he is found weaker in terms of his presence at tehsil level than people lose confidence in the candidate which often costs him the next elections. Another slogan told by one of the participants was:

*"Bund Maari Chori-s/ Phar Dee*

*Connotation of anal sex."*

This is another expression of hatred towards politicians. The anal sex is always taken as low in the society. Any person a boy or girl who indulges into anal sex is considered bad in the society. This connotation is associated to the opponent/politician who is defeated by vote. since, political affairs are taken as contested arena. Victory and defeat are considered personal. Forceful anal sex is associated with this phenomenon and another derogatory word is:

*"Gaandu*

*An individual indulged in passive anal sex."*

This is considered very inferior in the society. If you want to ridicule someone and undermine his political candidature in the society. One of the respondents said that once upon I falsely claimed in front of a staunch supporter of our chairman that his rival candidate will win. He got annoyed and responded in haste saying:

*"Iski kon vote desi. Nika honday mein iski thaloun kadian sei. Ey ty  
gandu sa*

*Who will vote for him? When he was young, I rescued him from sexual*

*aggressor. He was a bottom.”*

This slang carries masculine if someone is put into trouble; especially, in the electoral process, these terms are interchangeably used in private conversations. This is also used with an intent to give tough time to political candidate. If someone wants to lobby and vote against someone due to personal reasons in the election process. The following term is also used:

*“Jetan tou baad, logaan ki lanaay par nae likhnay*

*They don't listen to the issues and grievances after winning elections.”*

This is a slang normally used in the normal political discourse during everyday life among the male members of the society. *Lun* or penis is a notion of masculinity among the people. The use of penis in everyday slang is quite common. In this particular phrase this context is applied to the unavailability of the candidates after election process. People generally need candidates support during issues relating to police station and court. It is a widespread belief that *sifarish* or approach is highly advisable during such matters. Thus, availability of the support during such matter is of utmost importance.

## 7. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The present study understands political discourse in a Punjabi village of Pakistan through patterns, symbols and contestations. The construction of political discourse shared through symbolic communication is central to this study as symbols manifest thick details of the society in a latent way. The discourse is understood through actors i.e., politicians, voters and supporters so they have been given primary importance during data collection.

Anthropological lens has been used to explore the discourses about politics in the village. Participant Observations, Key Informants and In-depth interviews were used to collect data for one year stay at the field. Discourse analysis coupled with narrative analysis have been used to decipher the discourses emanating from collected narratives in the field.

Mouza Mowara is a village in union council Mowara, tehsil *Kahuta*, district *Rawalpindi* of Punjab province, Pakistan. Mowara is arid village, total population of *Mouza Mawara* is 2244 people, whereas total number of households remain 421 as per unannounced results of census 2017. The total number of registered voters of *Mouza Mowara* are 1262, with 645 males and 617 (voters list for general elections 2018). Total land holdings of the village are 5510 kanals, however, 2010 is owned and 3500 is *Shamilat* respectively. There are around 40 canals of land distributed to people belonging to other castes called as occupational castes including *Qasbi*, *Kumhar*, *Qutab Shahi* etc. Majority of the land is uncultivable and hence used as common grazing area. The Rajput population is settled in different *dhoks* across the village. This settlement patterns have a bearing on political system of the village. Mouza is headquarter of the union council and houses offices of primary government services like basic health unit, post office, utility store, office of union council, government high school for boys and girls. Population consists of Sunni Muslims. Mouza have two shrines as well.

The politics is considered as *siyasi muamlat* and revolves around conduct of elections at local, provincial and national assembly level. The season of election is taken as time of disputes which creates the frictions among the village people.

The politicians are taken as wicked people operating selfishly for pursuit of power. Since politics create rifts among people so it is considered dirt. This notion keeps people away from active participation in the politics. However, it is one of the basic principles that consolidates faith of the people in the democracy. Elections are also considered to be creating permanent fault lines in the village.

The current study further explains the voting choices and its subsequent impact on the social fabric of the village. In order to make a choice for vote, the first contemplation is of *baradari*, blood, family are uniting and dividing factors simultaneously. The positioning and disputes determine the voting preference in the village. The development work is also given as factor to make a voting choice. *Dostana* or personal friendship, Employment affinity, enmity are few other factors that compel decision to vote.

The study discusses personalization of social as political and how everyday interactions, reciprocity turns out to be political in nature. It studies politics from different social positions in the society i.e., voter, supporter and politician. It discusses social positions who qualifies to be a politician in the society. What efforts are being employed by politicians to enter political arena. How much social cost has to be borne out by the politicians to remain relevant in the political sphere. Politicians regard politics as a sacred arena attached to the honor of the family. Participation in the wedding and funeral is considered mandatory. This is rather broadly a political activity carried out throughout the year. It further explains that why political arena is considered dirt generally by the people. Everybody cannot contest elections due to socio-economic cost. Contesting elections requires money, resources and connectivity.

Politicians buy loyalties by participating in the social gatherings of the village. Furthermore, they provide loans directly or indirectly through charity to manage loyalties of the people. They also facilitate access to the government services like law enforcement agencies, court of law and health. On one hand, politicians make state accessible to the people but on the other side they buy loyalty to remain relevant to the government as well. Politicians also influence the disputes among the people. Disputes are of different types like matrimonial, residential and land. All these disputes are

resolved at local level by the politicians. In local language this influence is called as *kharpainchi*.

The study discusses political space in the village. It considers household as primary space for generation of the political discourse. Streets, waterways, post office, basic health unit, union council office, school, graveyard, shrines, roads, gas, electricity, water supply and land are all taken as spaces where political discourse is generated.

It further discusses interplay of politics through symbolic manifestations in the village. Slogans have also been taken as symbols producing political discourse. The personalization of politics, interplay of dispute, blood, friendship, money, connectivity is manifested through symbolic gestures in the field as well. poetry is also an effective medium in political arena and widely used in the locale.

Politics is regarded as legal way of earning money. The candidates after coming to office are often considered as minting money from development projects. Entrepreneurship is regarded as something great and equivalent to leadership role. People generally envy rich people. Thus, they consider that by presenting the benefit of people in their election, the politicians are legitimizing their role in the politics.

Party manifesto is the key document that is a prelude to party thinking. This underscores important policy guidelines and issue areas. Party manifesto is relevant in general elections for national and provincial assembly seats. Whereas this stands irrelevant in local body elections.

During the process of research, this question was asked from sixty people during in depth interviews. The respondents had an idea about party manifesto's existence. Only 7 respondents have seen the title page of party manifesto on social media platform. No one had read the party manifesto, but they were generally known to the rhetoric propagated.

During the campaign of general elections, the mainstream party leadership does not reach out to local voters. They are reached through touts (local representatives) for seeking votes. As touts engage with the candidates based on local rivalry, they do not tend to read

the party manifestos. When they visit the voters during campaign, they do not ask for vote by reading the manifesto or distributing the booklets of manifestos. Instead, they ask for votes based on local kinship and interpersonal relations. On the other hand, the voters do not ask for the party manifesto. They vote for a candidate not because of direct link to the party rather on the base of their relationships with the touts.

Although, a considerable number of people are literate, the voters' choice is less likely to be shaped by reading the manifestos. However, it is not the case that something substantial is not presented to the voters during the campaign. It is sometimes the previous development works of the candidates or the unwritten pledges made by the touts. Most of the time, the pledges are for development work including the provision of water supply, cemented road, upgradation of schools or pledge of jobs for young members of families. Similarly, voters do want their candidates making some verbal pledges on development work.

The role of media in general and social media particularly is very important in this regard. Youth post material related to the candidate and the party. The posts are generally picked from the page of any candidate or party, generally talk about policy of the party, in this way, directly, the party policy and manifesto are under discussion. '*Naya Pakistan*' mantra was known to people in the field. The narrative of Pakistan Muslim League is also known to the people in the area. When asked about their source of knowledge about these issues, 70 percent of the respondents referred towards media, either electronic or social.

Youngsters are politically charged based on their family choices. The youth is divided into two categories; one that has been enfranchised after 18 years of age and second is the one that has not reached to the enfranchised age. The voting behavior and choice of the youth in local bodies and in general elections is predominantly in line with the choices of their family choices. Youth is exposed to many socio-cultural aspects to be influenced for political choices, but its choice is ultimately altered by the family choice.

There are 70% of youngsters who have reached to the matriculation level but 90 % of the matriculated youngsters are educated at village or Tehsil level.

Ideology is very important factor in politics. Ideology helps to make an informed decision in the political sphere. Here in *Mouza Mowara*, in order to understand the knowledge of the ideology orientations of the people of locale. Majority of the people supported Pakistan Muslim League-N in the village. During the general elections of 2018, Pakistan Tehreek-I-Insaaf supported candidate won the election. When enquired about their knowledge of the party manifesto of PML-N or any other party, only 50 people had an idea about the manifesto. However, they had not read the party manifesto in their entire life. Few have seen title page of the manifesto either on any social media platform or election poster. Thus, this clearly indicates that manifesto that outlines the party policy in postelection scenario holds insignificant importance to the people. What bothers them is the candidate with all social baggage i.e. personality, conduct, lineage, economic status, family and personal reputation, connectivity, social presence, reciprocity etc. All these factors cumulatively influence the decision of an individual towards voting a certain candidate. Instead of ideology i.e. left, centrist or rightist, the above-mentioned criteria are the benchmark for deciding about a vote. It is pertinent to talk about part ideology in political discourse of the constituency. Section process and associations based on political affiliation falls either or during elections. Shortly, afterwards the dispute fades in public sphere. The people meet and greet each other despite political differences. Egos are boosted and flexed but disputes are not held permanently.

Local bodies level, people think about development i.e., personal development which includes water supply, cemented street in front of his house, sanitation/sewerage etc. The politics at provincial and national assembly level is for purposes construction work of roads to and from city, educational and health facilities and above all securing jobs for near and dear ones.

Politics is generally regarded as dirt game where only crock and clever can make their way. As a lot of social cost is involved to become a politician. everybody cannot enter political arena. This hatred is expressed in different ways in the society. resultantly, few people enter active politics terming it useless work. this lack of interest pushes them into halfhearted participation of democracy. Despite the fact, that people have migrated to the

cities and abroad, but their understanding of the democracy is reduced to procedure only. Politicians consider it as an opportunity to wield more power and influence in the society. This hinders the consolidation of democracy in the country. Active participation of the masses in electoral procedures is very important for democracy to prevail in the country.



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## Annexures

### PROVISIONAL RESULTS OF CENSUS - 2017

NAME OF UNION COUNCIL / CENSUS AREA / MOUZA / VILLAGE	CENSUS-2017		
	ALL SEXES	MALE	FEMALE
1	2	3	4
MAWARA UC	11739	5570	6169
ASLOHA	1411	698	713
BAMLOT	1056	488	568
DHIAN PUR	604	283	321
GAGARI	526	260	266
GORHAT	979	477	502
JANJOOR	1036	472	564
MAWARA	2244	1066	1178
NALA BRAHMNAN	1228	588	640
SAHI	1947	913	1034
TARNOCH	708	325	383

## شجرہ نسبت خاندان چند بنی راجپوت

حضرت آدم علیہ السلام

حائل ہایل حضرت شیث علیہ السلام یافت نزلہ

انوش

قنباں

مہل ہیل

مارو

حضرت ادریس علیہ السلام

شلخ

بتک

تمک

حضرت نوح علیہ السلام

حام سام یافت ارخت ارقت کنعان

شلخ

مابہ

فارخ

ام عنہ

مخور

آزر بہت بہت

تارخ — حضرت ابراہیم علیہ السلام — یازان

حضرت اسماعیل علیہ السلام — حضرت اسحاق علیہ السلام — حضرت لوط علیہ السلام — حضرت سارہ

قطورہ

زمزان — نعوام — آرابند — مرال — دریا — موح

(سورج) — (سورج) — (معر) — (معر) — (فخسان)

سورج بنی خاندان — سمندر چند بنی — چند بنی را شور سے نیک 162 ہز پر راجہ مل دیو

چندر عرف سوم پر مل جاتا ہے

پیش پستی

بدھ

پہلڑہ

الوتائو

پنس الودف منوگر

جگاہل

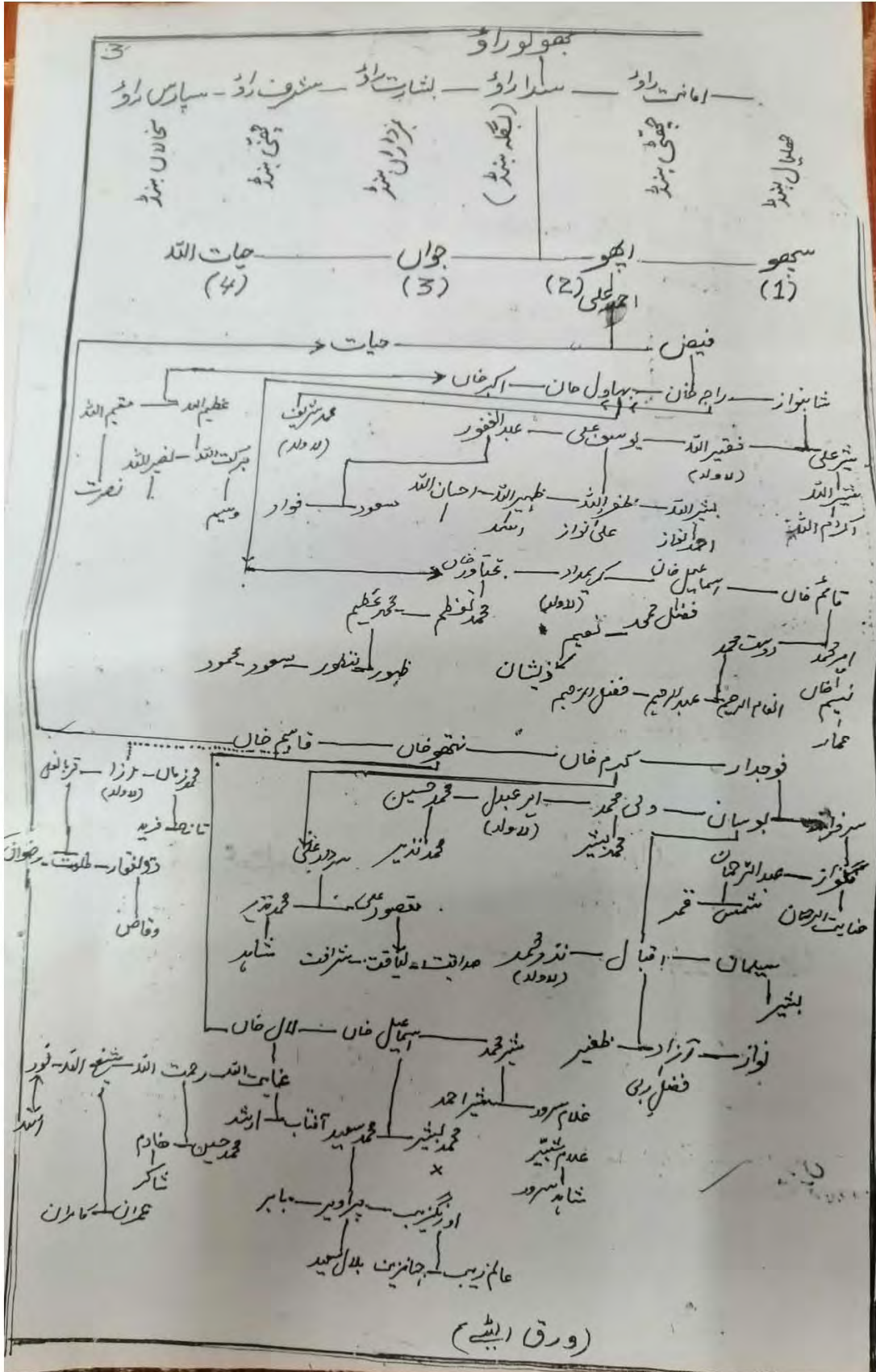
(جگاہل کے چالسویں پڑھی میں رام شانتو ہوا)

ورق الیڈ . ہز شمار 31 دیکھئے

تجره لیسٹ چندر بنسی خاندان اجپوت (مجموعہ)

نمبر	نام	رقم	تاریخ	راج اجمل دیا
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 123 جترانگلا - جترانگلا - بیٹیم پانام - پدھنٹا  
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## Glossary

Aari	Division
Aei	Come
Aftab	Sun
Andhera	Dark
Aziz	Relative
Baa'nd	Lineage
Baalti	Bucket
Baari	Land
Banda	Person
Bara	Elder/Enough
Behna	Sit
Beshak	Without Doubt
Cheer	Tree
Dad-Pootra	Lineage Referral
Dakna	Forceful Stop
Dangar	Cattle
Dhok	Hemlet/Small Settlement of Larger Village

Dhol	Drum
Dhool	Drum
Dostana	Friendship
Dua-I-Khair	Prayer For Blessing
Fakhar	Pride
Gaali	Street
Gal	Issue
Garaan	Village
Inshallah	God Wiling
Izzat-Behti	Respect/Disrespect
Jeetna	Victory
Jul	Go
Kabaddi	Local Wrestling
Khaar	Home
Kharpaich	Influential
Lannay	Penis
Loon Marchi	Salt and Red Chilies
Loota	Globular water container used in wash room
Loug	People

Maamla	Issue
Maaris	Win
Majj	Buffalo
Miki	Myself
Muqabil	Competitor
Naali	Water Drain
Naara	Slogan
Nai	Barber
Narazgi	Dispute
Nhaas	Run
Nujwan Nasal	Young Generation
Numberdar	Government Representative In The Village
Pardha	Veil
Pir	Competition
Qul	Post Death Ritual
Ragra	Abrasion
Raja	Title Carried By Rajputs Of Area
Rishtaydari	Consanguines/Affines
Roola	Noise
Roti	Specific Round Bread Made Of Wheat



Saara	Ours (Blood)
Shair-Khwani	Poetry Recitation
Shoor	Noise
Sifarish	Commendation
Siyasat	Politics
Siyastdan	Politician
Sochna	Think
Taali	Tree
Taalian	Clapping
Thana-Katchery	Police Station-Court
Wajna	Bang Into
Walima	Post Marriage feast hosted by the Groom.
Wela	Free

## **In-depth Interview Guide**

Name Age Sex Sect Caste

Marital Status Settlement Occupation Education

Average Monthly Income

What is Politics?

Who is a Politician?

Would you like to become a politician? If yes, why?

Have you ever voted?

To whom you have voted and why?

To whom you have voted in the last local bodies' elections? Why have you voted for the mentioned candidate?

Why have you not voted for the other candidates?

To whom have you voted in the second last local bodies' elections? Why have you voted for the mentioned candidate?

Why have you not voted for the other candidates? Have you voted in provincial assembly elections? To whom you have voted and why?

To whom you have voted in the last provincial assembly elections? Have you voted in national assembly elections?

To whom you have voted and why?

To whom you have voted in the last national assembly elections? What motivates you to vote?

What impact do you feel that your vote will have on the election? What would you like to change in our political system?