

Role of Sufi Shrines in Local Politics: A Case Study of Mitthan Kot



Submitted By

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CERTIFICATE

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Dedication

Dedicated to my beloved parents, siblings and Uncle Malik Ghulam Rasool Rid, Malik Ghulam Hussian Rid (Late), Malik Muhammad Ramzan Rid and my beloved father Malik Faiz Ahamd Rid

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ABSTRACT

Sufi shrines are largely contributed to politics and in the economy of Pakistan. Sajjada Nasheen use Sufi shrines for financial and political benefits and for power. In the rural areas of Pakistan, poor, uneducated people fully support Sajjada Nasheen not only in politics but also financially more than their capacity. This study aims to investigate the role of Sufi shrines in the local community, the role of Sufi shrine in local politics and to explain the political economy of shrine. This study follows the qualitative research strategy by employing in-depth interviews from different stakeholders. Thematic analysis has been used to analyze the data. The findings of this study show that the Koreja family used the Shrine for their benefits. They are getting benefits from this shrine and never work for the shrine's development and for spreading the teachings of Khwaja Ghulam Farid. Sajjada Nasheen and family changed to behave not only with local people but also with visitors of the shrine. That is the reason that the number of visitors to the shrine is decreasing. Sajjda Nasheen and his family are enjoying the illegal income of shrine with the collusion of the Auqaf department. Koreja family is involved in politics by using shrine with the help of local politicians. This study will be helpful for policymakers to formulate a policy and implement it to resolve the problems being faced by the local community and these implementations may be used for the development of society and the political economy of the shrine.

Keywords: Sufi shrines, local Politics, Mitthan kot.

1. INTRODUCTION

Many studies have been conducted on the role of Sufi Shrines in politics (Mayer, 1967; Eaton, 1984; Ali, 2005). These studies have discussed the direct and indirect role of Sufi Shrines in politics and how people become their followers and how they give the benefit to Shrines (Eving, 1983; Aziz, 2001 and Ali, 2005).

Sufism is linked with the history of Islam in South Asia. Sufism entails specific group of beliefs and practices in Islam which focus on spiritual and personal elements of Islam. There are two main expressions of Sufism in South Asia. These are Sukr and Sobrety. The followers of Sukr are Sunni *barelvis* and the followers of Sobrety are the Sunni *deobandis*. The followers of Sufi shrines are mostly the Sunni *barelvis* (Epping, 2013).

Shrines are deeply linked to Pakistani politics. *Pirs* have power as a religious mediator because their followers think that *Pir* is the most close to God. Sufi shrines are largely found in Pakistan; mostly people are followers of these shrines. *Pir* and their Shrines have a powerful role in Pakistani politics. In the election of 1973 *Pir* and Shrine secure the victory. Ayub Khan (President of Pakistan from 1958 to 1969), Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (President of Pakistan from 1971 to 1973, and Prime Minister from 1973 to 1979) and General Zia-ul-Haq were the followers of *Pirs* and it is also well documented that they have become President through the help of *Pirs* and Shrines. In 20th-century shrine system was considered as a source of political authority. The government considers shrines as the center of political power, like in Zulfikar Ali Bhutto era government officials contribute in shrine rituals. In Pakistan mostly politicians are from *Pirs* lineage such as Syed Yusuf Raza Gilani, Makhdoom Amin Fahim, and foreign minister Syed Mahmood Qureshi, among others (Epping, 2013).

In case of rural Punjab, many people follow Sufi shrines and they travel to saints of Pakistan. These shrines affect their social, political, economic and cultural lives. They visit shrines to pray and fulfill their needs because they think that the buried saint is closer to Allah. They offer both cash and kind to the shrine that helps the hereditary administrator (*Sajjada Nashin*) to gain more power in society (Ahmed M, 2008).

The topic under research is **The Role of Sufi Shrines in Local Politics: A Case Study of Mitthan Kot** which entails to articulate the relationship between shrine and politics. The locale of my study is rural area, in which mostly people are illiterate who follow the order of their *Pirs*. For them *Pir* is everything and solves all their problems. Some people from this society, who have well-rounded knowledge about religion and are literate, migrated to urban areas; they also have faith on *Pir* but not like rural people who have *firm* faith on *Pir*.

Poor villagers visit shrine to fulfill their needs; they have different problems in life. They give *nazrana* for shrine in different forms such as cash or animals. From revenues, caretaker of the shrine (*Sajjada Nashin*) gets direct benefit, and uses poor people for their own benefit just to get power. He plays role in politics due to villagers' support. Followers have blind faith on *Sajjada Nashin*. Through this research I am motivated to explain that; (i) How and why Sufi shrine affect local people? (ii) How the political economy of Sufi Shrine affects the Sufi Shrine? (iii) How local community and their resources are used to empower Sufi Shrine and *Sajjada Nasheen*, and (iv) How local politics affects and is being effected by political economy of Sufi Shrine?

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Sufism is playing a key role in the politics of Pakistan in the context of state politics or local politics (Mayer, 1967; Gilmarten, 1988; Aziz, 2001; Ali, 2005; Malik and Mirza, 2015). A few studies discuss the role of Sufi shrine in urban context and some of the studies discuss in rural context. Mostly studies have focused on shrines influencing in the local context, because as compared to urban people local people are more followers of shrine (Gilmarten, 1988; Aziz, 2001; Ali, 2005; Malik and Mirza, 2015).

In the current research I have focused on rural community. This study has investigated the role and positioning of Sufi shrine in the context of local politics. Through this research I also intend to explain that how Sufi shrine influence local community (not only the followers but also non-followers in the context of my research locale). My research problem is also to explain the political economy of Sufi shrine. This study will also investigate that, how local community and their resources are used to empower Sufi Shrine and *Sajjada Nasheen*, and what are the effects of instrumentalizing these resources for the local community at large.

Set against this backdrop, this research aims to answer following research questions:

1.2 Research Questions

1. What is the role of Sufi Shrine in the local community of my research locale?
2. What is the political economy of Sufi Shrine in the context of my research locale?
3. What is the impact of political economy of Sufi Shrine on local politics in the context of my research locale?

1.3 Research Objectives

The objectives of my research are to:

1. Investigate the effect of Shrine in local community (including followers and non-followers).
2. To explain the political economy of Sufi shrine in the context of my study locale.
3. To articulate the impact of political economy of Sufi shrine on local politics for my research locale.

1.4 Explanation of the Key Words

1.4.1 Religion

"[Religion is] "the state of being grasped by an ultimate concern, a concern which qualifies all other concerns as preliminary, and a concern that in itself provides the answer to the question of the meaning of our existence (Paul Tillich, 1963). Religion is everything in all societies. In Pakistani context being a Muslim religion is necessary for all fields of life. In my research, religion plays a vital role; according to my locale for poor people religion is more important than their lives. So they follow Sufi Shrine as they believe that Sufi shrine is the only source for them when it comes to satiating their religious and spiritual needs.

1.4.2 Sajjada Nasheen

Sajjada Nasheen is the caretaker of any Sufi Shrine. He empowers to deal with spiritual offices and responsibilities (Christian W.Troll (Ed.), 1989, p.93.). In my study *Sajjada Nasheen* is the focal person which is the caretaker of the Sufi Shrine.

1.4.3 Sufi Shrine

Sufi Shrine is a holy place because of its associations with a divinity or a sacred person (Farida M. Pirani, Papadopoulos R., Foster J., & Leavey G., 2008). Sufi Shrine is the holy place because it is linked with buried Sufi. My research is also based on Sufi Shrine and its value is associated with the followers.

1.4.4 Politics

Politics [is] the activity by which differing interests within a given unit of the rule are conciliated by giving them a share in power in proportion to their importance to the welfare and the survival of the whole community (Crick, [1962] 2000). Politics is that activity in which politician and political parties work for the social welfare. In my study the concept of politics is important because the stakeholders involved exercise power and to maintain power *Sajjada Nasheen's* role is critical in both local politics and in maintaining locale's as well as shrine's political economy.

1.5 Units of Data Collection

UDC 1: Visitors of Shrine

UDC 2: The residents of the locale

UDC 3: Shopkeepers associated with Shrine.

UDC 4: *Sajjada Nasheen*

UDC 5: Local politicians.

UDC 1 helped to explain the purpose of visitation, the role of *Sajjada Nasheen* in the Sufi Shrine, and the contextually relevant data of the shrine (social context and history); **UDC 2** helped to explain the viewpoint of people residing in the vicinity of the Sufi Shrine. I have collected data from the head of family. **UDC 3** helped to explain the dimension of political economy of the Sufi shrine through explaining the supply and demand of the religious objects sold in the shops of the market outside Shrine. There are nearly 30 shops and I collected data from the shopkeepers of all the shops. I also collected data from *Sajjada Nasheen* (**UDC 4**) about the role of shrine in local politics as well as their own role as political agents in the local politics as the existing body of literature highlights that *Sajjada Nasheens* are important sources of generating political power formally and informally. **UDC 5** explained the data on themes related

to political economy and local politics. According to my locale only Sajjada Nasheen is involved in politics through Shrine. No other politician is involved, so it's easy for me to collect data from UDC 5.

1.6 Significance of Study

The aim of this study is to investigate the role of Sufi Shrine in local politics and to investigate the sources of Pir power in community and in politics and how these Pir used shrine for their personal benefit. The focus of this research is to find out the political economy of shrine and its effect in local community. The finding of this study also provides the estimate data about the department of Auakf that how they are enjoying the earning from shrine with Pir. This research study also provides a clear image of Feudal lords that during election how they gets vote (political power) and also present an image of police culture in rural areas. This study also helps policy makers to make a policy and implement it against the above problems facing by local community and Government and which step or implementation can be used for the development of society and political economy of shrine.

1.7 Limitation of the study

Time constraint is a challenge in my research. People of my locale were mostly uneducated; they also had an issue to record the interview or they were not willing to participate in the interviews, even some people did not agree for interviews because they were of the view that I was an employee of *Pir* or related to feudal lords. The same was the case with shopkeepers who had an issue because they thought that I belonged to the tax department or Auqaf department. People also hesitated to share information with me without reference of any local.

2. METHODOLOGY

Methodology refers to responding research questions in a logical way and in order to do that a well-framed research design is important to design as explained in the forthcoming text. Before explaining that, it is important to signify the study's research strategy/approach which in my case is qualitative. Broadly defined as the strategy using which the researcher approaches a particular topic, research strategy can be classified into quantitative, qualitative or mixed-method. My research is narrative-driven and has focused on qualitative experiences, and makes use of qualitative data to explain the role of Sufi Shrine in local politics. Hence, **qualitative research** seems to be the more appropriate choice of research strategy for the current research (Bryman, 2012).

2.1 Research Design

Research design provides a framework for the data collection and for the analysis of that data. It shows the dimensions of the research process. It includes the connection between variables; generalize the large group of data and appreciation of social phenomena and their interconnection (Bryman, 2012). There are a number of research designs used in qualitative research. For instance, (i) experimental research design and its variants, such as quasi-experiments, (ii) cross-sectional or survey design, (iii) longitudinal designs, (iv) case study and (v) comparative design (Bryman, 2012). Experimental research design is mostly used in psychology and organizational studies. Sometimes it also used in the social policy to assess the impact of new reforms or policies. It is used as an index in non-experimental research. The case study discusses the detailed and intensive examination of a single case (Bryman, 2012). According to Stake (1995) case study research is linked with the complexity and nature of the case in question. I have used case study design in the current research in which I have focused on single case study. There are different types of case study research designs such as explanatory, descriptive, or exploratory. I have chosen descriptive research design for the purpose of current research. I have chosen multiple UDCs and multiple research methods using descriptive case study as the research design. The case for my research is the process of functioning of local politics in the context of chosen shrine in the selected locale. Definitionally, descriptive case study research design deals with the research questions pertaining to *what, when, how* and *where* and this design is mostly used in the qualitative research (Babbie, 2013).

2.2 Research Methods

The tools through which the researcher collects data are called research methods. In qualitative research interviews and observations are used as methods using which the researcher collects qualitative data. Some of the research methods that I have used in the current research are stated in the following text.

2.2.1 Rapport Building

This technique hinges on building relationships with the researcher's study subjects to smooth research process which entails conducting interviews and carrying out observational studies. As a resident of Kot Mitthan, I have used my personal affiliations with people relevant for the current research to elicit data on various themes or dimensions that are relevant for the current research. I have used this technique throughout my research process.

2.2.2 Interviews

Defined as the conversational method of data elicitation, in the forthcoming text has been mentioned the interview types which were used for the current study:

2.2.2.1 Unstructured Interview

I have used unstructured interviews to extract data from UDC 1, UDC 2, and UDC 3 the reason being that these interviews are conducted when uninterrupted, detailed and contextual data is needed from study subjects. In these interviews, the frequency and flow of questions are kept free, the researcher's positionality is also fluid and the type of questions is also open-ended. One of the types of unstructured interviews is **narrative** which I had conducted with UDC 2 and UDC 3. Reissman (1993) in Bold (2012) defines narratives as conversations organized around consequential events and states that it is the researchers' role to keep the narratives whole in their analyses. Bold (2012) defines narratives as stories that give detailed accounts of events. Jovechelovitch and Bauer (2000) detail that while narrative interviewing, story-telling follows a self-generating schema which has three characteristics; detailed texture (detailed information for smooth transitions of one social event to another), specificity (inclusion of only those features of a social event or content-based narrative which are specific to a research study), and a narrative structure (the narrative extracted has to have a beginning, a middle and an end). For eliciting narratives on particular social contexts, detailed ethnographic accounts, interviews and conversations are used as narrative methods.

2.2.2.2 Semi-structured Interview

I have conducted this interview with UDC 4 and UDC 5. These interviews are conducted with information-rich cases using both closed- and open-ended questions. The use of prompts and probes is also common while conducting this interview. These interviews are also effective for extracting data from UDCs who cannot meet more than once or who have limited time to elicit data. For the reasons as specified above, I have used this interview to elicit data from UDC 4 and UDC 5.

2.2.3 Observation

I have used this technique throughout my field work. I have gain data on how and why poor people value and give money to Shrine and Sajjada Naheen, especially on specific days of shrine events such as on Fridays and Sundays.

2.2.4 Sampling

For the current research I have used both probability and non-probability sampling techniques. In the former the sample chosen is *representative* and in later the sample chosen is *relevant*. For UDC 4 and UDC 5 I have used purposive sampling which is the type of non-probability sampling used for cases which are informative and when the sample is small. Another non-probability sampling that I have used in my research is convenience sampling which is used subject to the availability of the potential respondents. For this reason I have used this technique for UDC 1. For UDC 3 I have covered all the shops so all the shopkeepers have been included in my research. For UDC 2 I have used stratified random sampling in which the population was divided into different strata and from each stratum a sample was drawn using simple random or systematic sampling. The strata were framed according to the differences marked by age, gender, and ethnic diversity, social and physical proximity with the shrine complex. For UDC1 twenty visitors have been interviewd same stands for UDC2 and UDC3. For UDC4 two respondects have been interviwed while for UDC5 six sample units have been interviewd.

2.2.5 Locale

Mithan Kot is situated near District Rajanpur (Punjab). It is situated on the right bank of Indus River. The city is famous due to the Shrine of Khawaja Ghulam Farid. It is located in the national assembly area NA- 195 and PP-296 of the provincial assembly. The population of area

is 36748 (Pakistan Population Census, 2017). The total number of voters is 13108 in Mithan Kot (ECP, 2018). The main reason to choose this locale is that people of Mitthan Kot are very poor and illiterate. They work day and night just to fulfill their basic needs. Having all these problems they always help *Sajjada Nasheen* in the form of cash and animals. They give votes to *Sajjada Nasheen* without any benefit despite the fact that they do not have access to basic necessities of life. People are the followers of Shrine and the main reason is that their belief system is fashioned in a way that they have been conditioned to think about religion through Shrine and for them *Sajjada Nasheen* is everything.

A person from Auqaf narrated:

Jethan tk gaal hy darbar di history di ya jehra kujh sakoon pta chulye o ae hy ky khwaja sahb khab vich detha ha ky Hazoor Pak(S.A.W) ethan chahel qadmi krendy hun jethan honr darbar hy, kun ky rehash hae chahran shareef khwaja sahb di ty ae darbar pehly hae kuchy wali side do pechy khwja sahb koon Hazoor Pak (S.A.W) ne furmaya ha ethane darbar bunrawurn da ty wala khwaja sahb thaen a gae ty apren bazurgen diyan darbar ve ethane bunrayon ne.baqe ae hy ky 7 riyasten dy raja khwaja sahb dy mureed hun,jinhen vich khan of kalat ty bahwalpur waly raja ve shamil hen. aj agr aukaf dy vich hazaran riyastan ayan paen khwaja sahb diyan ty ae sariyan hone rajaen ne khwaja sahb koon wakf keteyan hun. Khwaja sahb dy bary vich ae gal ve mushoor ae hy jo ap agr kethaen wanjen haa tableeg kety,ty nwab of bhawalpur 350 rupiya dendy hun lunger kety jehra ap loogen vich taqseem kr dendy hunt y wapsi da keraya udhar ghin ty andy hun. Ae darbar asady kot mithan dy looken wasty wadi ahmeyat di hamil hy, khas kr ghreeb loogen da rozgar wabsta hae darbar di wja kane, honed nal nal ae darbar asadi pehcahn ve hy.

This shrine is very old; it was built nearly 200 years ago. According to my knowledge, Hazrat Khawaja Ghulam Farid saw Hazrat Muhammad (S.A.W) in dreams many times. Khawaja Sahab saw The Holy Prophet walking on this part of earth, where now shrine has been located. Khawaja Sahab was basically from Chahran Shareef and this shrine was built in that area. One night in the dream Hazrat Muhammad (S.A.W) ordered Khawaja Sahab shifted this shrine from Chahran Shareef to Mitthan Kot. Then Khawaja Sahab shifted the shrine and also migrated with family to Mitthan Kot. Khawaja Sahab was a great Sufi. At that time the kings of seven estates were impressed

from the teachings of Khawaja Sahab. They were the followers of Khawaja Sahab such as Nawab of Kalan and Nawab of Bhawalpur. There is a famous example about Khawaja Sahab, wherever he went for teaching [to other areas], Nawab of Bhawalpur used to give 350 rupees on every visit for food, but Khawaja Sahab distributed all the money to poor people. This was the real Sufism [which is about] feeling the pain of poor people and helping them without personal interests. This shrine has a great value for Kot Mitthan especially for poor people because for them this shrine is the source of income.

The city of Mitthan Kot is famous due to the commodities sold in the shrine of Mitthan Kot. Faridi *romal* is the most sold commodity in the Mitthan Kot due to its association with Khawaja Sahab. Faridi *romal* is the red colour handkerchief which used to be worn by Khawaja Sahab. Faridi *romal* is available in Mitthan Kot city and this is the identity of shrine and city. The other most sold commodity is sweets (*elaichi*- including cardamom and dates).

One visitor shared:

Hen darbar di jehre sub toon khas sahe hy o he fareedi romal jehra laal colour da he, fareedi romal tosan pate wady hovo na sirf Pakistan vich balky bahr waly country dy vich vet y pta chul wendy jo ae romal kot mitthan da he, kun jo ae romal sirf vikda hen darbar ty he biya kethae kane wikda.

The most important religious commodity of shrine is Faridi Romal, a red color romal which is the specific symbol of Khawaja Sahab. This romal was used by Khawaja Sahab and now followers buy it in sense of respect. People buy and wear faridi romal not only in Pakistan but they also take it along to foreign countries. This commodity is available and being sold in Mitthan Kot only.

Another visitor shared:

Aqedat mund insan wasty darbadr di hur hik shae apren value rkhendi hy, choti jahn missal he jo tosan aam dokan ton ghidhe wae shae khao ty kahen darbar toon ghidhe wae khao, jehra aqedat mund he hon de kety darbar wali shae bahun ziyada maani rakhese ty o honkon kha ty bahun khush thende. Asan ap khud khwaja sahb dy munr wale haun ty asady kane aj jehra kujh ve he o hen darbar dy sudqy he, ae darbar he taan asan haun

sada rozgar he na ty kasha ve kaine. Baqe jehry look anden o hur kisam di methae ghin wenden darbar toon ya ethae wadenden lakin mushoor methae hy lachi daren ty chowanre mix, o look bahun ghinden ty ghr ve bahun look cha wenden. Baqe hen darbar di sub toon ahem shae jehre hy o he Fareedi romal jehra jo hur jah ty mushoor hae sirf khwaja sahb di wja kane. Tosan kahen ve dokan ty wanju pae towakun fareedi romal zaror milse, bae kasha mile ya na mile look honkon zaror wechendy ve hen ty nal khud ve pate wuden.

Each thing associated with shrine has religious significance for the followers, but according to me the most important product is laachi daane (cardamom seeds) which every visitor must buy. For example, we buy sweets from other cities or from other shops, but when we buy the same thing from shrine, we eat it like a religious commodity and we feel [as if] something has changed in our bodies. [T]his is the importance of shrine and product selling near the shrine. I am also a great follower of Khawaja Sahab and all the things that I have are the miracle (karamat) of Khawaja Sahab. The most sold commodity of shrine is faridi romal, which is famous due to the name of Khawaja Sahab. You will find [faridi] romal from [any shop] in the market.

Regarding Sajjada Nasheen, the respondents stated that the Sajjada Nasheen has a great influence in Mitthan Kot. People respect him due to shrine. But when they got involved in politics gaining benefits from people through shrine, the Sajjada Nasheen lost respect. Currently, Sajjada Nasheen and family influence rural areas of Mitthan Kot or other cities but people living near shrine are limited to visit the shrine. One of the members of Koreja family named as Khawaja Ghulam Farid who is the president of Sariki Qaomi Itehad is still influential in whole Mitthan Kot. People love him because he always helps the people and tries best to spread the teachings of Khawaja Sahab. The role of Sajjada Nasheen is critical but due to their involvement in politics for self driven interests, people have lost trust in them. One respondent shared that Khawaja Ghulam Farid's teachings were based on serving the humanity without benefits. Now these care takers of shrine (Khawajgan) only gain benefits.

Figure No 1: Map of Mitthan Kot



Figure 1: Main road of Shrine.

This picture shows the main road from bus stop to shrine.



Figure 2: Entrance gate of Shrine.

This picture shows the main gate of shrine. Through this gate visitors enter in the shrine.



Figure 3



Figure 4



Figure 3, 4 and 5 are the photos of shrine.

The above three pictures provide the clear views of shrine. This tomb was constructed by Nawab of Bahawalpur Sadiq Khan Abbasi. Furthermore, the shrine was renovated by different politicians, feudal lords and followers.

Figure 5



Figure 6: Inner part of shrine, where Khawaja Ghulam Farid was buried



Figure 7: Sajjada Nasheen and followers.

This photo was taken on Friday, when Pir Sahab came for *qawali* and for collecting *nazrana* from visitors. Sajjada Nasheen is sitting near the fan. The picture is not very

clear due to ban on mobile phone within the premises of Shrine on Fridays.



Figure 8: An old man with young boy is collecting *nazrana* from followers of shrine in the hand, not in box from Auqaf department. This happens on Fridays in the hall of shrine, during *qawali* session.



Figure 9: Number of followers visiting shrine



Figure 10: In this picture people taking water from pool, washing their faces and drinking water from pool. This water is famous as *Abb E Shifa*.

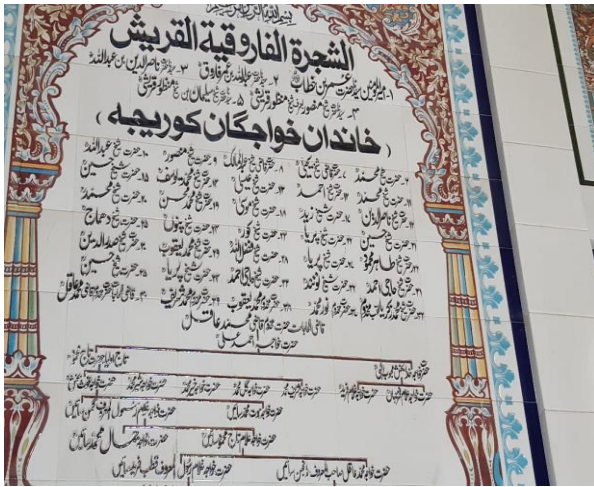


Figure 11: Pedigree of Khawaja Ghulam Farid.

This image presents the Pedigree of Khawaja Sahab that starts from Hazrat Umar e Farooq (R.A) and end at the Khawaja Ghulam Rasool that buried near Khawaja Ghulam Farid.



Figure 12: Lunger Khana.

This picture shows *lunger khana* that was built with the name of Khawaja Ghulam Farid and run by Sajjada Nasheen, this is also a source of income for Koreja family.



Figure 13: Market of shrine.

This is the market of shrine; followers buy different things from this market. Auqaf department collects the rent of these shops. This also signifies shrine's political economy.



Figure 14: A man selling Faridi Romal

A family is buying Faridi Romal that is the most selling religious commodity of shrine. This *romal* is famous due to Khawaja Sahab because Khawaja Sahab wore a red colour *romal* like this.

3. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

To understand the area of research literature review is initial impression of the topic. The purpose of literature review is that researcher does not know everything about topic in advance. After literature review researcher is able to understand what one is doing in one's research and what research gap is (Geertz, 1973a). There are two forms of literature review; one is narrative review and the other is systematic review. Narrative review is an overview of field of study through a sensibly comprehensive assessment and critical reading of the literature (Holbrook et al. 2007). In this research researcher takes an interpretative stance which is more flexible in terms of changing the boundaries of study (Noblit and Hare, 1988). There are four themes of my review, 1st is local politics, 2nd is global politics, 3rd is power and power dynamic and the last is political economy. These four themes, I have discussed in detail in my entire literature.

3.1 Local Politics

Religion is very important for the human being and without religion life is not completed. According to B.R. Ambedkar religion is an institution that helps society which is in its hold; to ignore religion means to ignore the connection with life. Religion contains many existing religions like Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Christianity etc. In India, religion based politics ideology had always issue for secular forces. Their constitution cannot distinguish their citizens on the basis of religion that is the reason their state claims to give protection to every religion, but the violence against every religion is the reality of India. In India, secularism and communalism are involved in the conflict. There is a strong relationship between religion and politics throughout history. The Muslim leaders used their religious identity for their political power from the eleventh century to the fourteenth century, when the British East India Company came they lost it. Christians used a different method to spread their religion in India during the British era. British introduced a newer method to divide Indians on a religious basis in the nineteenth century. They placed Hindu Muslim at the opposite side of politics through communal electorate. India has political power so they supported the British. British started Hindu Muslim conflicts on the bases of religion.. Millions of people died when Pakistan become independent. By using their religion Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs all wanted political power. On the basis of religion political parties supported their election candidates. In the 1980s in India, development of religion-based politics in the election and public affairs increased and also social division

increased in the name of religion. Till now, Indian political parties use Muslim and Hindus in the name of religion for their own benefit.

There is a strong relationship between religion and politics. When Mahatma Gandhi became the leader he said, unity is necessary between people from different societies. He wanted to develop coordination between every religion in India. The other political parties have communal goals and they used their supporters on the basis of these goals. There is a different meaning of secularism in India and in the West. Jawaharlal Nehru said that secularism means freedom for all religions. As official India is a secular state and state does not perceive any religion but rather it doesn't separate from religion. Communalization of political issues amid the 1980s was the consequence of various political groups and division of individuals on religious lines. In 1980s Congress presented a bill to amend the structure of Aligarh University. The reservation expressed by Muslims prompted the government, for confirmed Muslim individuality.

The Muslims are constantly utilized as vote bank; even Muslim politicians officials just consideration about their character, not society. Muslim age was bothered to coordinate with others being developed. After independent to value Muslim politically, Muslim politicians combined to take care of their issues and structure an association name as Majlis-e-Mushawarat. The association displayed their requests to the administration like Muslim law, the status of Urdu and change of book and so on. In 1977 election Muslim help Janata gathering and they distributed two seats to Muslim Majlis. In Uttar Pradesh, they apportioned 10 situations out of 425 to Muslim. Be that as it may, after the race they can't take care of Muslim issues. At the point when Congress won from the vote bank of Muslims, their director apologized for the benefit of all gathering not to spare Babri Masjid. The Congress mentality dependably for Muslim is that 'votes in favor of us however do not anticipate anything from us.

National warfare, universal warfare and different types of exceptional dissolve in that period when the flow of capital and methods for interchanges expanded. To clarify this confusion there are two primary models. Marxist vision is about the legislative issues of class and class struggle. This vision is internationalist and does not require for the development of the country state, so Marx was politically pragmatist. The other vision was after 1945; the improvement and modernization that is identified with western advancement and all-inclusive talks of training and innovation exchange. A verity of different dreams presently courses all around. Some are

religious, culturist, non-regional and bureaucratic. Nearly these are non-administrative on-screen characters and need to make new models of global governance. The unions and divisions in this model are difficult to secure. From one viewpoint, bunches have selected outfitted answers for their issues of interest. Then again those gatherings they chose for the political issues of associations among state and workers. The partnership of global activities has a place with the last gathering and is a piece of the building up the procedure in which globalization is made.

Huntington's classification of conflicting civilization gives the significance of social and religious powers in governmental issues (Der Derian and Shapiro 1989). These writers examine social hypothesis for understanding the issue of world political issues (Darby 1998; Doty 1996). Edward Said's landmark content Orientalism (1978) said that culture and power are connected with historically settled world order. Culture is not one factor to understand world Political issues, yet global political issues are culture (Buruma and Margalit 2004). Tariq Ali said that it is important to think about fundamentalism since it is associated with religion particularly with Islam. During the 1980s this term developed as a typical term of threat by different Islamist movements (Ali, T (2003). Ali's explanation of fundamentalism takes a different track. To struggle with the possibility of religious characters or political rights in term of religion, demonstrate the understanding of what we think as the political reason. In a few countries like Turkey and Indonesia, whose political stage is characterized as far as removing government corruption, talk as Islam as a source of public morality without public concern (Mandaville, 2013).

The Zia Ul Haque government was a mix of Mullah and Military affiliation, where he utilized Islam to approve his rule. The inner element of Mullah-Military affiliation was identified with Government requirement and externally identified with Soviet Military presence in Afghanistan. Pakistan's military help the Jihadi's to battle Pakistan's proxy war against the Soviet Union. Islamisation was creating solid origins inside the nation due to Zia approaches (Amin, 1982: 25). The Military command utilized Islam inside to get religio-political laws, the idea of *jihad* utilized internally to expand religious and groups of Mujahideen. In 1980s Pakistan's Mullah Military rose through Jamaat-i-Islami (JI). Zia pursued the Islamic belief system of Jamaat-I – Islami and consolidated religion and politics (Chengappa, 2004: 1-2). Pakistan Army and JI make a relationship for end working with one another. JI aim was to make an Islamic state as indicated

by Shariah. The election of 1970, the JI offers to penetrate urban associations and Social structure (Ahmad, 1978). The connection between Pak-Army and ISI take the shape and ultimately brought about the Islamisation of Pakistan (Chengappa, 2004: 46-7).

The majority of the wars in history battled for the sake of religion. Religious extremist said that they are right and acting for the sake of Allah (Jalalzai, 2002: 15). As per Al-Qaeda, the triumph won't finish with Afghanistan and Jihad will proceed until all the land of Muslim come back to them (2002, 52). The connection between religion and world change has been issued for both social science and humanities. The social sciences support the job of religion in tradition and existing social structure and security (Schwartz and Huismans, 1995). Various scholars view for political and social equivalence as profound battle trying to acknowledge GOD Empire on earth (Pargament, Maton and Hess, 1992:19-36). As per Smith (1996), religious inspired social activities to improve the general public and I can appear numerous precedents like Black Civil war and development for India freedom. It can likewise be seen in interreligious talks among religious leaders and activists in both national and universal fields to encourage the assurance of wars (Gopin, 2000: 20-24 and Silberman, Higgins, and Dweck, 2005). intensive activism was for the sake of religion appeared numerous models like Hindu and Muslim in India, Jews and Muslim in the Middle East and Christen against killing medicinal specialists (Kimball, 2008: 4 and Fox, 2002: 34-35). There is a general understanding that organizational resources set by religious organizations for activation from different points of view. Religion further helps individuals through an arrangement for peaceful activism (Silberman, Higgins, and Dweck, 2005). According to Schwartz and Huismans (1995), religion encourages violent from numerous points of view like religion more often than not contain estimations of selected and advantaged society and emphasize the other who don't follow the religion. Religious terrorism is redefined through philosophical reinterpretation like blessed wars or battled for Allah, they said its religious fight for equity and for just world (Salengut, 2003: 2-5, 11). According to Silberman (2004), religion has solid potential for conflict solving and harmony. It incorporates values, selfless love, and self-examination.

General Zia-Ul-Haque was the first leader of Pakistan, who made strong strides for Islamisation. Zia and his colleagues were first to choose that Islam could turn into the central factor in their nation. The anti- Bhutto activities which organized fundamentalist gatherings like JI and

compose in these focuses. Zia developed an idea of a woman that women are bound inside the house (Rabbani, 2002: 496-97). Zia showed his interest to Islamize Pakistan on September 1, 1977, and his words 'A presidential type of government storage room to an Islamic belief system with a president chosen by the entire country was best for Pakistan. The president will be checked by parliament and coordinated by the sentiment of 'Ijma, in the 'majlis-e-mushawarat' the chamber of consultants (Kaushik, 1993: 54). Zia military order put significance on giving Pakistan a genuine Islamic framework. On December 2, 1978, in a national order General Zia blamed government officials the name for Islam, saying different rulers did for the sake of Islam what they pleased, Pakistan created for the sake of Islam (Rabbani, 2002: 496). Relation with the Middle East at the government level and migration of labor prompted more noteworthy awareness of possible choices (Piscatori, 1989: 105). Zia's concept of an Islamic state was like Jamaat-I-Islami, Maudoodi, and effect of his religious philosophy like non-property state with the oppressive president. In 1978 Zia helped some of JI leaders for real implementation of Islam, which they not acknowledge but rather said that it is a brilliant chance for Islamic framework (Rabbani, 2002: 503). On April 7, 1979, Federal Cabinet passed the national education policy and restricted new English schools and changes their mechanism of study English to Urdu (Chengappa, 2004: 15). In the post-military law, Zia utilized Islam as a weapon against democracy in 1986 Blasphemy law and unapproved Shariah Bill on June 15, 1988 (Zaidi, 2002).

Under the law, the punishment of custody in existing Pakistan penal for burglary the cut of the right hand and for theft right hand and left foot (Kamran, 2008: 121). In 1979 drinking and selling wine through Muslims was restricted, something else, a half year punish prison and Rs.5000/fine in law yet this law does not for non-Muslims (The Prohibition Order, 1979). General Zia-Ul-Haque changes in constitutions gave the meaning of 'Muslim means an individual who has to believe in solidarity and unity of Almighty Allah and Hazrat Muhammad (SAW) as the last prophet (2008: 120). Zia-Ul-Haque set up Majlis-e-Shora in 1980, most individuals were scholars, ulema, financial expert and different scholars identified with the different field of life (Shahid, M. I. also, Shahid M., 2005: 257).

Islamic values in Pakistan across the board social and political effects and new laws were created for financial development and equity. Some particular Islamic laws and projects changed the

public atmosphere (Mahmood, 1989: 139). Government official generally utilized the name of Islam to win their election by impressing societies (Sayeed, 1967: 162).

Pakistan needs "Religion" or "Religious Rule" since Pakistan is politically unstable, economically weak and the foundations of democracy are powerless. Most of the general populations are a non-educated and emotional connection with the religion that politicians utilized for their advantages, so has no sense to respect the law but however have an inconspicuous fair of Allah (Shah, 2012).

Sufism played a critical role in Pakistani governmental issues. At one phase they stay away from the political stage and another they include in political issues to get control. From the most recent ten years, Barelvis include strongly in governmental issues to secure their religious traditions. General Zia ul-Haq was the Deobandi and set government support to moderate Islamic groups. In 2002 there were more than 7000 Deobandi madrassas in Pakistan and from 1778 to 1988 this development is 294%, while Barelvi Madrassas just 121% development in a similar period. In 1990 Saleem Qadri and Barelvi youth established Sunni Tehreek (ST). The principal reason for ST is to ensure Ahle Sunnat beliefs, rights, mosques, and Shrines. To understand religion and governmental issues in Pakistan, West drew closer in religion and political issues of Pakistan. The sympathy of Sufism engendered by America that West ought to interface with belief system against Islamic militancy, that Sufi's are followers of West. The starting Sufism as an answer for Islamic violence faces numerous issues and it failed to understand the challenges of Sufism in Pakistan (Epping, 2013).

The organizer of Pakistan Muhammad Ali Jinnah had a religious difference and this was the fundamental thought for the different nation. 11 August 1947 he said that you're allowed to go to your temples, mosques or some other worship place in Pakistan. You may belong from any religion or cast yet we as a whole just citizen of one state (Speeches of Mr. Jinnah, Vol. 2, 1976: 403-4). The constitution of 1956 expressed that Pakistan is an Islamic republic and its leader just a Muslim.

In any case, the third constitution expressed that the president, as well as PM, should Muslim. In 1974, the Pakistan National Assembly confirmed the Ahmadiyya group non-Muslims. Pakistan had emerged on a regional religious basis since Hindus were 66.54 percent and Muslim 23.99

percent. Being a minority Muslims shaped a greater part in five out of eleven areas before partition, North West Frontier Province (NWFP), Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan was in Northwest and other two were Assam and Bengal. After becoming of Pakistan, the two geologically separated part of the nation, this was 1000 miles separated turned out to be sovereign in 1971. About minorities, the constitution of Pakistan promises them the opportunity to practice their religions and build up their way of life. After the passing of Quaid-I-Azam, Muslim leadership of Pakistan divides into two groups. One group needed Pakistan as liberal and different needs Nizam-I-Mustafa as indicated by the Quran and Sunnah.

Pakistan comprised 97% Muslim population and all have a one GOD and the same prophet, however, there are different varieties between Muslims. Muslims are divided into two branches Sunnis and Shias. About 80% are Sunni and 20% are Shiah Muslims. These are divided into their subcategories. Shiah Madaris are unique in relation to Sunni Madaris. They teach their Fiqah-I-jafriah and there are additionally four classifications of Sunni madaris named as Hanafi, Shafi, Maliki, Hanbali. Government authority over private and religious institutions is powerless. The fundamental purpose behind this is the absence of funds since Pakistan spends through 2% of GDP on education.

Barelvis developed as a movement in the nineteenth century and its leader was Mawlana Shah Muhammad Ahmad Raza Khan Barelwi (1856-1921). In Pakistan Barelwis impact viewed as to largely rural since they are connected with the Sufi request. In any case, they likewise have devotees in urban territories. In 1948 Pakistan first political party framed by Barelwis in Multan named as Markazi Jam'iyat ul-Ulama-I-Pakistan (MJUP). Till 1972 Barelwis had no seat in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan (CAP), yet they indirectly impact in making Islamic character. Out of thirty-one Ulama in making twenty-two rules of Islamic constitutions five were Barelwis. After the military law of 1958, the Barelwis repeated their interest in having a law dependent on the Quran and Sunnah. In 1961 Martial law authority faced a harsh analysis by Barelwis with respect to the issuance of Muslim family laws. 1965 presidential election influenced the authoritative structure of MJUP because of serious conflicts of some Ulama during the election. Several were against the competitor of Miss Fatima Jinnah and some supporting Muhammad Ayub Khan for their advantage. The imposition of Martial law in March 1969 stopped political works. Expert declared general race in 1970. The Barelwis divided into various groups for

success in the election. In 1972 Barelwis first time in parliamentary Politics, and it was their struggle that Islam was announced authority religion of Pakistan in 1973 constitution. Presently in Pakistani politics, there are four groups working at the name of Jamiat Ulema-I-Pakistan (JUP). They are first JUP by Sahibzada Muhammad Shah Anas Nurani, second JUP (Nifadh-I-Shari'at Group) by Engineer Salimullah Khan, third JUP (Niazi Group) by Pir Anis Haider Shah and fourth MJUP by Sahibzada Muhammad Fazl-I- - Karim.

In January 2002 Jamiat Ulema-I-Islam Fazalul Rehman, Jamiat Ulema-I-Islam Samiul Haq, Jamaat Islami Pakistan, Jamiat Ulema-I-Pakistan, Tahrike Islami Pakistan, and Jamiat Ahle Hadith Pakistan united to setup Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal – well known MMA. Its primary theme is the interpretation of Islamic laws in Pakistan. In the election campaign, MMA made a solid appeal against US enrolment in Pakistan. MMA president Shah Ahmad Noorani stress in Karachi stop the shackles of America in Pakistan. The MMA stalwart Mulana Fazalul Rehman said that Ulemas were fighting for securing the nation against the US. He said today our airports; seaports were given to the US, and after that how we said we are free. MMA additionally pressure to the Government of Pakistan not to help the USA amid an attack in Iraq, and their pressure worked and idea to send Pakistan Army to Iraq was dropped. The larger scale battle of MMA worked and the USA feel that no advantage in the war of Afghanistan and Iraq. Alan Greenspan the head of US national bank said that the battle with Iraq is about oil. The Australian Defense minister said that the real intention in Iraq was oil.

Muslim league was set up in 1906 at Dhaka and its founder was Nawab Waqar-UI-Mulk and Sir. Aga Khan. In 1916 Lukhnow Declaration accepted separate electorates, 30% seats in focus, half in Punjab and 40% in Bengal. Where Muslims were in minority their representation was more. In 1940 Pakistan resolution was accepted in Lahore and its leader was Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Many Christian was participating in this event. Ch.Chandu Lal requested that full rights of minorities that accepted by Quaid-e-Azam. All India Christian Association had supported Quaid-e-Azam and dismissing the British offer of a different country. On 21st June 1947 Quaid-e-Azam, Miss Fatima Jinnah and Nawab of Mamdot had a meeting with the Christian chiefs at the Lahore. Diwan Bahadur S.P. Singha ensured the Quaid-e-Azam that they vote in favor of the addition of West Punjab in Pakistan.

The state will protect the rights and interest of minorities and their representations in administrations. One thing must be understood that all Muslims, Christians and different minorities are born in this soil. Christians and Muslims in the Indo-Pakistan are converts from living. Progressive leaders in Pakistan pacify the religious groups to expand their rule, and they made a law which created discrimination among religions in Pakistan.

The religion is essential in the political history of Pakistan. It played the main job in Pakistan's movement and constitutional advancement of Pakistan. The significance of religion in administration issues of Pakistan has major significance. Beginning from the ideology of Pakistan to objective administration religion has remained regulatory power for administration. The individuals who are in the garb of religion sectarianism are responsible for social division. For the arrangement of policies like population welfare, well-being, and social improvement religious guidance play a major role. We are facing administration issue from start and not think about the general public that was uneducated but follows the Holy Prophet (SAW) and becomes civilized (Cheema, Nuri & Mahmud et al, 2007).

This study by Werbner (1995) is about the political elements of Sufi shrines at the local level. According to Sufi rituals, the followers follow their spiritual masters, and this gives highly satisfaction to murshid (Werbner 1995). Consequently, murshid turns into a traditional leader with high power. This blind believe of supporters offered authority to Sufi saints and they use it for their very own advantages, they said nothing happens without Pir permission and following of Pir is fundamental for the fulfillment of religious practices (Ali 2005). However this blind belief from followers in Saints, rule supporters their Saints to keep up their position powerful (Ali 2005).

The saint gives political help to rulers to keep up their standard and ruler give an advantage to Saint to keep up their capacity (Aziz 2001; Ali 2005 and Hassnali 2009). Some scholars view that some early Sufi saint's people stay untouched from governmental issues and they focus on the prosperity of peoples (Chittick 2000; Khanam 2006). While a few scholars said that early saints used to get financial advantages from rulers to keep up their khanqahs (Aziz 2001; Ali 2005 and Hassnali 2009). The state for peace and stability turns to Pirs. The Mughals, the British and the Sultan of Delhi couldn't rule without Pirs support (Gilmartin 1988). At the point when British annexed Punjab, they utilize Sufi followers in religious and political impact for

administration (Gilmartin 1988 and Ali 2005). Aziz (2001) define that British were cleverer and a chance to Pirs according to their loyal followers. If Pir had large local followers he turns into the members of provincial Darbar and if Pir had small local followers he turns into the member of lower darbar(Aziz 2001). The British gave more incentive to Sufi saint people to administer in an election of 1920 and 1946 because they represent 19 percent of the rural population (Aziz2001). After Pakistan, to divert Pir politics Ayub khan builds up a department of Auqaf to change traditional principle into modern and secular. He tried to decrease the power of Sajjada Nasheen but no vain (Ewing 1983 and Hassan 1987). He utilizes the local power of sajjada Nasheen and gets the advantage to his political interest, in view of him he himself followers of Pir Dewal Sharif (Aziz 2001). Things continue as before in the government of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and government commitment in shrine remain the same (Ewing 1983; Hassan 1987 and Rehman 2006). Moreover, in the history of Pakistan the Sufi shrines playing a different role in Muslim social orders, for example, social help and financial support (Kurin 1983; Rehman and LundThomsen 2014) (Ali Kalhoro& Saleem, 2016).

Pakistani government claim authority over religious institutions for their political power. some scholars view that involvement of political people groups in religious issues for their political power (Shah 1996; Ewing 1997; Wink 1991; Jawed1988). A few scholars demonstrate a connection among common and military and religion in Pakistan and its impact on global relations (Haqqani 2005; Abbas 2005). Ayub Khan's government (1958_69) made the ministry of Auqaf that control Sufi shrine like different religious departments. Department of Auqaf aimed to advise country individuals about the role of Sufi and away from Shrine authority (Gilmartin 1984; Ewing 1997). The cash from supporters was spent on various projects and not reaches the poor who helped through these contributions (Malik 1990). The state gives security to any hazardous circumstance on shrine; they confined their policies to shrine leadership (Ewing 1983:261).

Followers of shrine have same Muslim character as non-Muslim; however, their understanding of Islam comes through practices, which assume a critical role in their lives. Their attitude through various practices deal with problems of wellbeing, economy undertaken in shrines from any tradition (See Raj and Harman 2006). In South Asia, Sufi shrine is named as *dargah*, *mazar*, *ziyartgah* and so forth (see Troll 1989). Dargah is built around the tomb of the saint; it is a holy

place and devotees for connection (Gottschalk 2006:231). Today the Sufi tradition is found a huge number of dargah visited by a large number of people. These shrines perform different functions attracts to the desires of people and their work. In south Asia shrines associated with local traditions with the rule of Islam (Gilmartin 1984:225). The Piri muridi is deeply associated in villages of all Pakistan. The relationship discovers justification from Quran life of Hazrat Muhammad (PBUH) (Chaudhry 1996). A pir job is as a mediator among saint and followers, a curer of physical and spiritual illnesses (Ewing 1984a). In the world of lived Sufism one who serves saint or shrine has more respect (Frembgen 2004:255). Shrines are visited by various people like Darvish, faquir or Malang who visited the shrine to shrine and some homeless people lived in the shrine (Ewing 1984b; Frembgen 2004). In Punjabi and Sindhi knew as the heartland of Sufism, people show admiration to the saint with no regard (Frembgen 2004). Some Sikh shrines related to Baba Guru Nanak are visited by numerous Muslims (Gottschalk 2006:214). This show the solid open connection with religious shrines their beliefs with Muslim as well as non-Muslim shrines (Rehman, 2006).

After a large struggle of Muslim leagues, Pakistan moves toward becoming in 1947 as a different Muslim state. Party viewpoint was that India was the country of two nations Hindu and Muslim. After it's establishing its founder Muhammad Ali Jinnah said that Muslim concludes to be Muslims on basis of political sense as a separate state. After Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan on March 7, 1949, present objective resolution to the constitution that depended on the rule of democracy, fairness, social equity and different rights of minorities based on Islam. In reality, as a general rule, the value is given to Islam in political and public activity and makes limits for non-Muslim. As indicated by Abdul Ala Mawdudi, leader of Jamaat-e-Islami non-Muslims should not play important role in Pakistan and they can't hold senior government posts. This thing partitions into two classes. In 1952, Bhupendra Kumar Datta represented to Hindu in Constituent Assembly of Pakistan gives consideration of rights of minorities to state and institution of democracy. In search of national identity in Pakistan, religion played a fundamental role. One nation, one language, and one state, this was the possibility of Muslim class about personality. In February 1948 Dharendra Nath Datta, a member from constitution assembly present a bill about the Bengali language as the state language, however, it can't pass because of the issue of Hindu Muslim.

According to an expert on Pakistan Lawrence Ziring, Bhutto rule about Pakistan was the formation of an Islamic state. To follow this rule General Zia-ul-Haq head of Pakistan armed force become the leader of Pakistan. In 1979 Zia-ul-Haq said that it is a moral change that required first and done on the premise of Islam, that Islam is a national character and solution of all problems. In 1988, Zia-ul-Haq presents the sharia law which concludes Pakistan as an Islamic state. This thing gives the right to court to study laws in their view and not follow Islamic rules. During Zia-ul-Haq,s rules problem among Shia and Sunnis. Both fight on the name of religion and can't agree with one another. Somewhere between 1990 and 1997, 580 people were killed and 1600 were injured in different battles (Topychkanov, 2009).

3.2 Global Politics

Religion was the key ideology that inspired political war among social groups during the eighteen century. In 1948 in Western Europe and the rest of the world to develop a centralized state, the political significance of religion decreased. In early first century religion again gets value like the Iranian revolution 1978 and in Turkey Sunni Muslim majority and secular development model. In 1970s political involvement of religion in various countries increased. Much focus was on Islamic fundamentalism that differentiates religious and politics among Jews and Muslim. Islam is not just religion, who follows a religion with politics. Indian also follows and its example is Babri Masjid incident in 1992. This was from the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), to develop its politics on the name of religion. Now different religious actors are associated with political issues. Religious actors avoid politics and global relations and government experts agree that all the things changed in various ways. Most investigations of politics and religion focus on social, cultural and economic problems. In past different interfaith religious groups focus on social development issues like World Faiths Development Dialog (WFDD) that made by the help of World Bank for religious faith development. In 2005 Katherine Marshall, the World Bank member said that World Bank recognize the issues of good and bad that related to financial justice. In October 2002 World Bank leader George Carey held a meeting in England, focusing bring to gather all faith's leader and improvement organizations (Marshall and March 2003). Religion involves conflict and furthermore, religion solves the conflict in various parts of the World (Kurtz 1995: 238). Different religions make clashes between groups, classes, and nations by increasing standard relations in family, law, politics, and teaching (Kurtz 1995: 170). In some cases, religion becomes an important factor in politics and

global relations. Different religions play the main role to determine international conflict and they always discourage conflict (my accentuation; Ellis and Ter Haar 2004).

Buddhists explain the connection between politics and Buddhism and they said that their Buddha was a leader of the world when he born (Khosla 1989: 32; Walshe 1987:205). Religion and politics are two distinct things in India, they think about true things of nature (Rahula 1974: 181). In 1999 Harris said that when we talking about Buddhism religion and politics are two distinct things (Harris 1999: vii). Buddhist formula that clarifies Buddhism has three perspectives, the Buddha, the dharma and the sangha. These are interlinked with one another. Buddhism and state clearly the link between king and community and different models of government (Rahula 1985: 84– 85). Buddhist was influenced in South and South East Asia and its impact in their way of life. At the point when Buddhist was established in China and afterward move to India for teaching, then move to Sri Lankan and Burmese traditions. During the Colonial period changes in Buddhism and its relationship occurred (David Hewaviratne 1864– 1893). Buddhism has changed in Asia during the colonial period by modern ideologies. In India, there are seven to ten million Buddhist and they involve in the politics of Uttar Pradesh (Omvedt 2003). Buddhism always focuses on local societies however globalization crosses the boundaries of localized societies. In the USA Buddhist started a movement Mindful politics and the main reason is to present Buddhist potential in politics (McLeod 2006). Later on, it is difficult to construct a relation between Buddhism and politics in light of the fact because there are many issues between them.

Protestantism increased financial and social difference in societies because of the absence of law (Bruce 2003: 225). Protestantism's relationship to politics depends on two components, first it challenges against spiritual and dominant faith; second, it gets Western Christian civilizations. Western and Eastern Christianity were recipients of the fourth century and it became popular with the help of their member. Religious freedom is identified with human rights. Protestantism focuses on human rights as compared to different religions. According to Williams the state is natural, human and civil not based on any religion. The early faith societies were represented by an independent secular state (Coffey 2000: 57). Protestantism has politically advantage and disadvantage. It was the first religion who accepts secular state and civil society. Hill stresses that from a reading of Bible no new political philosophy could raise, which stops political

activity (Hill 1993: 145). The main challenge for global Protestantism for attaining political effect at the national and global level will be to combine institutional majority.

Hinduism was most focused religion on the bases of its sacred places and its followers to the Indian subcontinent. 98 percent Hindus and their religious places are situated in sub-landmass (O'Brien and Palmer 1993: 24– 25). Hinduism is the belief and ceremonies of the Indian subcontinent as opposed to the singular religious system. The Indian culture is divided into four Varna's in the Rig Veda, Brahmins (clerics), Kshatriyas (warriors/rulers), Vaisyas (traders) and Sudras (cultivators), these produce perfect typology. European revelation of Hinduism created a modern idea of thought of traditional religion (Marshall 1970: 43). In 1828, the Hindu social reform movement starts in Bengal from Raja Ram Mohun Roy's Brahmo Samaj, in which upper caste and middle-class coach national political identity. The connection between Hindu reform and Indian nationalism was shown by Indian National Congress 1885. On the base of the regional social and political gap, Congress was a divide in Moderates and Extremists, in Western India, Punjab and Bengal. After First World War Mahatma Gandhi become the leader of Congress and they use language and symbols to make strong to their group (Congress under Gandhi adopted the Indian Muslim Khilafat development to protect the status of the Ottoman Caliph in 1920– 22). Gandhi way to deal with politics and religion was different against the caste system (Gandhi 1980: 15). In 1980s Indira Gandhi came into power and use religion and politics for the stronger of Congress, also for Hinduism ideology as modernization (Thapar 1989: 23). It is not clear that Hinduism characterized as a different culture of Indian religion or social organizations that impacts Indian politics.

In the Middle of nineteenth-century religion appeared as a strong force in European societies. Through secularization, liberal democracies are less religious from the past. The decrease in popularity of religion different from society to society however this decrease is a general. Secularization is a social general process that is provided as a help to the failure of the Christian Church (Heelas and Woodhead 2005). Those countries that were dominated by the history of socialism were different in the relation of Church and state from Western nations. Modernization includes structural differentiation as a society created they utilized specific roles to deal with specific problems (Parsons 1964). Secularization not explained by character but by a general social process. As indicated by Wilson religion gets its power from society (1982: 154).

Separation and socialization decline the credibility of the religious system. Both have much private experience yet don't have involvement with a social system like private. Secularization is not the main cause of political background for developing nations. This issue is still now in politics. It is the selection of people and motivation to which people respond.

The relationship between religion and state is the reason for different traditions and ethical derives that began from these two. Modernization theory restored on evolutionary assumptions, which suggested the interlinked of economics, social and political development for differentiation of modern societies. Bellah presented five phases of religious advancement; archaic, historic, primitive, early modern, all from belief, practice, and association (Bellah 1964). In 1970 D.E Smith explained the relations among religion and political development, in which sacral societies directed by the religiopolitical system (Smith 1970: 1).

It is difficult to discuss religion and the political group as a result of a conceptual difference between them. Religious organizations contain various hierarchical bodies in different nations (Byrnes 2002; Manuel et al. 2006). The importance of these institutions is the best administration of denominations (Wald et al. 1988; Wald et al. 1990). Religion is more than institutions and can generate associational nexus to help religious groups (Rosenblum 2003). Religion provides energy to social movement and social movement spark to political parties, and these groups sparkle social developments and social movement cut religious institutions (Wilcox 2007b). Religion can influence the party system, where secular parties made in conflict with religious forces (Bolce and DeMaio 2007). Religious institutions create relations that engaged with community work to increase religious activities. Some religious organizations are better in the deal with political parties like the Catholic Church, which is better to discuss democratic parties (Jelen and Wilcox 2002; Kalyvas 2000). In the US many dispersed association connection results in differs religious interests like Christian right. In the Middle East Muslim, religious social activation interrelates because of insufficient number and power of groups.

Civil society means a system of associations located between state and political society. It can't be controlled by a state, and market relations also rejected (Gellner 1994; Bryant 1994). In another sense, it is a region of free association. civil society begins from Greek. civil society turns into the main locus for religion in modern society. In the West Islam consider the fundamental traditional religious (Halliday 1996). After the incidence of 11 September, this

perception becomes stronger. Islam isn't unsuited with basic differentiation and many Muslim societies support civil society and democracy system like in Egypt. As like communist Poland, the interpretation of religion in civil society in Egypt has followed by the government. Their parliament serves as an instrument for state policy (Wickham 1997: 121). Religion circulated by new media as a powerful address in public domains. It largely spread in post-colonial context however not limits them (Meyer and Moors 2006). Religion gives identities and offers to person's social combination and direction (Willaime 2004: 375– 7; Haynes, 2008).

Darwin's impact ruled the development of cultural anthropology in the second half of the nineteenth century. Plato, Aristotle, Hobbes, Rousseau and other different philosophers of politics was that government and governmental issues were the product of civilization. This view was challenged by Sir Henry Maine (1861), accepted that primitive society was made along the types of relationship. The evaluation was in the course of secularization and society put together not with the relationship but on the region. Maine's important vision, the relationship is a primary social-political structure developed by Louis Henry Morgan in *Ancient Society* (1877). He describes and category the relationship system is itself a long term impact. He built up an evolutionary arrangement based on the method of existence, the stages of which he named savagery, barbarism, and civilization. The social organization started with the immoral groups that formed into kin-based units, organized along sexual lines. In focusing on the role of exogamy he influenced on the start of inters group bonds formed through marriage. Exogamy means marriage with a similar tribe not without a tribe. Progressive limitation of marriage partner directed to the development of the same community. Socio-political structures depended on close relations among people. Morgan's discovery of genes as a corporate lineage was limited in a group, following common people either male or the female. Morgan's ideas later utilized by Frederick Engels' *'The Origin of the Family, Private property and the State, ([1891] 1972)*, the view of Marx on the starting of the capital system.

During the 1930s in England, two types of functionalist were dominant. Malinowski's strategy for participant observation became the model for the generation of British field workers, they analysis African societies and establish political anthropology. Radcliffe-Brown's famous in England, where academic chairmanships close to the equivalent of theoretical fiefdoms. According to him, society was an equilibrium system in which everybody works for them all.

The anthropologist was studying a society public that changed by colonialism and by Pax Britannica forced by English guns. Pax Britannica means British peace upon forceful societies, particularly in the nineteenth century. Meyer Fortes and E.E. Evans-Pritchard recognize two kinds of African Politics, first were those with centralized expert and judicial institution and second without from these two. A major distinction between these two is the role of society. In stateless societies, basic leadership depended on the lower level. In state societies, basic leadership depended on administrative groups on political structure. A.L. Southall (1953), said that, the segmentary system in which authority was discrete among various groups always distributed.

Britain was famous in political anthropology during its initial two decades. But, in the United States, arising and fairly different political anthropology was animating. Les-lie White (1943, 1959) developed a complex planning principle of agricultural strength through private people, class stratification, and political centralization. Julian Steward (1965) use the term multilineal assessment in his theory just helped to valid an unnecessary contrast. Multilineal evolution theory is also called neo-evolution theory contended that there are different ways to social change. American anthropologist starts with the idea of contrast that was natural and materialist. White focuses evaluation in terms of energy competence and considered technology to be a big change. Stewards cultural biography discussed on social principle, the maintenance and economic works that characterize the social structure. The political evaluation was almost identical political grouping. Elman Service's Primitive Social Organization (1962) and Morton Fried's The Evolution of Political Society (1967), were increasingly expressive then fundamental, the significance was on the features of various dimensions of the sociocultural mixture. The archeological and social patterns came together in administrations Orgins of the State and Civilization.

Max Gluckman researched with the person in qualification to ethnographic group norms and social structures. Clarifying this statement, Victor Turner, in Schism and Continuity in an African Society (1957), followed individual and community management of roles and ethics. Gluckman and Leach said that individual decision making detected in an emergencies circumstance. Janet Bujra (1973: 43) expressed the early functionalist and assumption that social unity was the normal state of exercises and conflict was a difficult situation. Further studies show

that conflict is the norm and difficult to explain. Conflict and consensus are opposite sides of the same coin as Gluckman highlighted. By the increase of postcolonial state within larger political society's new issue appear. The serious investigation of specific circumstances emerged the limited concept of the political field, where individual and political term competes for power and administration.

The most important development was the rise of feminist anthropology. The majority of the writers in the field were considering the power of women. Not only was the idea of overall male power challenged but other anthropological assumptions like Man the Hunter model of physical guidance. For cross culture statistical judgments two imperative theoretic schools built up within feminist anthropology. One school examines the social structure; second, examine the historical structures of sexual orientation stratification. Eric Wolf's *Europe and the People without History* (1982) took the world system into the distinctive anthropology. Wolf said that cultures can be understood in relation to the development of European private capitalism.

The Nyae area of the Kalahari Desert in southwest Africa, where there was no water stream and river and just a few lakes for rainy water Kung Bushman lived in 36 or 37 groups. About 80percent food was provided by ladies while men occupation was hunting. Various political issues were started to the protection and distribution of water. Each band claimed to a particular spot that had water and food neat it. All men's have equal rights for administration and headman ship moved from dad to son. Headman ship had responsibility without benefit since it was the King ideal that nobody is greater than the other. Effective initiative moved by the situation, a brilliant hunt leader has little power over community decisions (Marshall 1967).

The vast territory involved by traditional Eskimo from Siberia to Greenland they have been characterized as their political and social society. Their main focus was on developing the family, which could take advantage of relationships with different families in the impermanent band. A family unit was containing on family 12 however joined groups of 270 at any time. Leadership outside the family unit was essential for society and group unity was kept up by kinfolk (Weyer 1959). Variation in social orders like hunting or on places near water and so many create sociopolitical varieties (Damas 1968).

Morton Fried wrote (1967: 154), "I would need to pass over 'tribe' for 'race.' There were three complaints to the idea of Tribe. First, it can exclude the group of societies that share a common characteristic, second, it was not different from others like bond or chiefdoms and third, it advocates a level of social combination or least limitless (Helm 1968). According to Elman Service (1962), the fundamental nature of the tribe that separates it from the band was the reality of pan-tribal sodalities. Pan tribe is the tribe that exists through clan not characterizes by a family member of society. There were two types of sodalities the individuals who got from kinship and the individuals who were not. Religion was essential in tribes and their custom stratification was the key component of integration.

Napo-leon Chagnon (1968) described that the general population of Yanomamo groups were aggressive and war lover because of the absence of marriageable women.in the village, the men were killed by one another and the political system in the area was worst. Killing other tribe people was their daily practice for catching women. In the normal situation of war politics in their village wind up troublesome. To keep up a balance of power with enemies, village sometime forms groups. This occurs in three periods; the first exchange of goods, second shared feasting and third exchange of wives. Now and then they likewise executed to their siblings for spouses. Chiefdoms levels with social integration exceed the tribal expect into two ways. First it had a higher population by more effective productivity; second, it was more complex with some procedure of centralized expert. The position of head of the band was the position of minimal power. The chief was the last authority in the distribution of land, financially coordinator of redistribution system like a collection of tax and so on. According to Service (1971: 145), the main character of chiefdoms as identified with tribes and groups was the disparity in the society. A person who is close to the chief has a great value in society. Between two conflicting groups to keep up chief position was so risky. Herbert Lewis (1968), criticized the Service and said that in most society chiefdoms were not strong, different strong leaders come and go back.

The eight aboriginal Hawaii was under the intensity of various rigidly stratified chiefdoms. The boss was supreme leader, ranked to their introduction to the world or closer with the chief. The second chief controlled the distribution of assets because much of the land was irrigated, yet the respect was given to the high chief. Chief has a power which some distributed to lower boss and after boss passing, his son becomes the main chief. So State was lack of variety of political

sphere. So the government cannot be stable, chiefdoms overthrown and the Noble class replaced by higher class (Davenport 1967; Seaton 1978; Service 1975).

In this regard, Franz Boas studied the Indian Kwakiutl first time in their history in 1885. At that time they were the big supplier of food in North America. They were divided into 25 towns and each and every town comprises of three to seven families. Kwakiutl recommends different characteristic of classical chiefdoms like a system of ranking, activities of government and relocation. The potlatch was the center of an economic system dependent on the loaner and debater connection. Potlatch is the ceremony of North America where the host gives gifts to show her wealth and with the desire for return. Thus potlatch introduces the system of reciprocity (Codere 1950, 1957; Drucker and Heizer 1967).

The Inca was combined as much by the arrangement of economic redistribution by military or politician. Food production was extending through efficient labor. Three bureaucracies were kept up Inca economy. At the top were central bureaucracies second religious administration and third provincial administration based on religious groups. Bureaucracy system of Inca shows that Inca State totally dominated. The ayllu was a basic socioeconomic unit of Inca society. Each ayllu had its own leader who required impressive authority. Ayllu were united into various tribes and helped them for trade and security. According to John Murra (1958), the high belief of the Inca nation was divided into groups dependent on fraction. The Inca state does not represent a sudden increase in social association and this was drawing together whole traditional units (Mason 1957; Murra 1958; Shadel 1978) entire book reference (Lewellen, 2003).

Economic and political developments both are interlinked. The subject of political theory contains social significances and public response to policies. Economic policies are made in political institutions and to assist political groups. The political economy changed political resources into economic resources and economic resources into political resources. Economist has been given attention to political conditions for economic growth. Economist said that the developing nations required a strong organization to manage assets for Growth. According to Karl de Schweinitz economic development and democracy are necessary for progressive Western economies. If underdeveloped nations need to develop economically they should stop democratic influence in political issues. Jagdish Bhagwati in his book, *The Economics of Underdeveloped Countries*, said that socialist nations have a great advantage; their authoritarian

development protects the government from a conservative judgment of the electorate. The normal perspective of authoritarian about socialist or capitalist, both were more effective for managing assets for development than democracies. During the 1950s, Walt W. Rostow develops a theory of five phases of economic development on the history of Western economies for their empirical support. These stages are (1) traditional society which depends on the agricultural economy, intensive labor, and low dimensions of trading and population lack of technology. (2) Preconditions to Takeoff which means important changes in the social, political and financial fields. (3) Take-off means a time of development in which industrialization emerge and the requirement for more enterprises. (4) Drive to Maturity. In this period the way of life rise, technology increase, and the national economy increase over a long period of time. (5) Age of High Mass Consumption means output level increase, expenditure increase and new industries producing a substitute for individuals. According to Adelman and Morris role of political institution measured through, government role of domestic economic, the political stability, foreign economic dependence, and colonial status. The 1960s was a great development period in the field of political science. The idea of the political system was developed through political work. In 1970s political specialist's interest in political issues was low and no donation and funds were given to political development. Robert T. Holt and John E. Turner challenge the technique of research utilized under the SSRC/CCP. The analytic deductive approach was utilized for the development of the theory of political development. The deductive approach used moving from specific to general or building up a hypothesis from theory. According to Robert A. Packenham Political development was recognized with the characteristic of English and American democracy. Anglo-American model measured the political development of the country. This model based on the rule that government participation in the economy should be minor. Huntington clarifies that political development based on the political institutions that working understate. He writes that if we want to classify how an association works, we measure their flexibility, independence, and consistency of government institutions. If we meet the above criteria then we compared political organizations in their own institutions. According to Eckstein by open competition modern democracy improved a sense of freedoms, rights and open link. Andre Gunder Frank said that trade between the center and periphery countries were responsible for under developing in the Third World. Huntington's clarified that institutions focus on the process of political development rather than the outcome. In 1960s Raul Prebisch presented

dependency theory, based on the view of Karl Marx about globalization, capital market, and cheap labor. He explains that underdevelopment is due to lack of contribution to the World Economy from underdeveloped countries. Underdeveloped countries focus on developed countries and developed gets their own benefit from underdeveloped so they become more and poorer. In the 1950s and 60s, a number of studies were taken by using a large number of statistical analysis. Underdeveloped countries considered having low political institutions, low level of income, low level of growth and low political density. A quantitative study of Abbas Pourgerami finds a link between development and democracy. A growing market economy has a progressive influence on the creation of democracy and democratic institutions. These all bring positive impact on growth. In the middle of-1960s, Robert T. Holt and John Turner said that to control the variable that focuses us we focused on France, China, Japan, and England. Rapid industrialization from Japan and England and wrapped behind in variable degrees from China and France, if there were no technological factors involved between these countries, then we expect political similarities between France and China and different in Japan and England. Cultural play an important role in political development, it does not remain explicit in political development literature. In political development power always grows. Since the 1950s it has a positive role in the works of political science for its clarification. Economic resources were changed into political resources and many politicians were working in societies to get more economic resources (Ruttan, 1989).

Providing a different outlook on the 'politicization' process, James Ferguson's research on Lesotho is critical. Mostly the agencies under this project worked on the chosen locale with no relation to economic and social realities of Lesotho. In 1975 the World Bank created a report on a loan received by Lesotho. In the report they also mentioned demand of grain held by producers and shopkeepers in Basutoland that were fallen. In 1950s livestock sold animal from central Lesotho by Basotho. At the time of independence, they were untouched by modern development and colonial rule had introduced western commodities. The decline in agricultural surplus was due to a lack of cash money and large scale migration. From the 1870s to 1920s crop production increased but worker also migrated. People were supposed to have migrated for food but in reality to buy guns, clothing, and for cattle.

Lesotho's development presented by development agencies was not right and in control of neutral and national government. The state worked on plans implementing and the government provides social facilities and manufacturing. The development came through government. According to World Bank GNP of Lesotho was based on government plans that work or not. Agricultural production was low due to lack of agriculture development plans. The political character of the state was based on favors. All good jobs and facilities were given to politicians or to their relatives. Inefficiency and corruption increased. The state wanted development while bureaucracy was a big issue. So it's not a political problem but its lack of organization and training. Political parties never wanted development institutions because these institutions work as networks. Structural changes occurred in which educating or convincing people to change their minds. When a project was developed and the farmer is not interested in it then its too hard to improve them. In reality development projects neither increased economic growth. When the World Bank and Canada started their agricultural projects Lesotho Basotho national party (BNP) said that these were their hard work. In public meetings and speeches, they gave credit to the ruling party. So these projects were given to BNP Village Development Committees (VDC). It seems that development was based on politics.

The reasons for the failure of projects in Lesotho that presented by the World Bank and development organizations are not real. By increasing wages in South Africa, local people thought that incomes earned from agriculture are lower as related to work in South African gold mines. Their agriculture land is small hilly land so not much crop growing has fallen place there. Thaba Tseka project looks like a simple to the planner for the needs of people but it failed due to own benefits of bureaucracy. Like this, another project according to vehicles from Canada but due to political intervention, the project was not successful. The government hired their own project director and rejected the Canadian director. But planners showed the reasons for project failure that the government cannot understand the project for lack of the organizational chart. Political parties blamed to government and through government as a machine for giving services but cannot accept their interventions in projects.

The people of Lesotho (who secured money) preferred to buy animals but women preferred to buy a dress or furniture. Men knew that investment in livestock is better for the future or for bad times. The decrease in the sale of animals in Lesotho is a sign of an increase in their income but

it is not development. In 1970s wages increased in African mines People invested in livestock so cattle selling stopped but this is not a development because this is also a source of food for Lesotho army. Within one year of the project some former damage the area of the project even they want to kill Canadian project director. Though the project was failed it had a larger impact on the region. It built a link road between Thaba Tseka and capital. It did not bring devolution or participation but it gave the government much stronger existence. Development means to aid capitalist penetration into Third World counties. In Lesotho, they cannot focus on modernization or economic transformation. World Bank focused on boosting production and its export but it's not possible without access in the market or without connecting to an area. Canadian government promoted rural development because it helped them to find an export market for farm machinery. Canadian role in Thaba Tseka is not a machine for removing poverty with state bureaucracy. It is for expanding the power of state bureaucracy. The state wanted more power to implement its orders or programs. When American and Canadian left the village people again started their old way of production and work in mines. When a project completed and had no effect then it called anti-politics machine which based on the model of antigravity. In another sense bureaucracy and politician wanted everything for their own benefit. In this situation, planners don't know what happened and who involved in this and what doing (Ferguson, 1990).

In the Third World, the capital system did not become more beneficial through the separation of economic and political domains. On the conflicting, political pressure was necessary for overcoming people, current state and organizations. This reduction was essential for making and maintaining the unequal relation of trade and raw materials. The capitalist empire creators paid for developing both commercial integrations of economic and political spheres. Capitalism in the Third World not same as Europe, but as a type of political and economic spheres which had damaged in West. This was the source of the relationship between political and economic spheres which was the same in many countries of developing nation.

The relationship between economic and political spheres became a central problem to develop. Capitalist did not grow strongly to economic and political power. Without capitalist conventional revolution was dominant. Third World revolution counterpart to the conventional revolution of Europe and became nation revolutions through politics. The political struggle against imperialist affects independent nation-state. These nations would be able to go for industrial development

and anti-feudal land reforms. Such change helped the Third World to conventional revolution and modernization process. The colonial economic change was insufficient for colonialist political pressure, but opposition prefers political work and establishing to get anywhere. This was the reason that economic and political domains in the Third World developed.

In developing countries, projects for their better life had not worked as per desired results. Central planning was failed, and the poor became poorer. More than a decade the thing is to be developed civil society and decrease in the political sphere. French revolution ended with terror and historically significant through rationalism and correlates the modern national revolutions of the Third World. These revolutions achieved by modernization development in the West and in communist countries. A good part of these revolutions improves their own cultures and religions. To become ordinary people in their own countries they combine optimistic elements from their societies so that they could improve their living standard. Struggle for democracy and human rights in the Third World varied through nation state constructors. According to history deregulation had not occurred through increase asset and freedom of businessmen. This group becomes powerful and political associates establish as private capitalist. Economic and social change in the Third World was due to powerful and effective political regulation. Crises in the Third World were due to the absence of efficient guideline. In the end, the main problem of the Third World was the intervention of too much politics or risky political shortcuts. The relationship between political and economic spheres was always worse but very important for developing countries.

Political development is associated with disputed modernization. The existing point of studies of political development was the work of it in European and North American nation-states. In modern societies important functions to control the political development were care of institutions and associations of interest groups, parties, and mass media. There were normative thoughts to the stable and legitimate political system, to prevent the repetition of dictatorship and representative of the political system. In the late fifties and early sixties, studies and ideas of the West applied to the non-Western World. Universal political function disturbs the social mobilization, economic development and social welfare of the non-Western World. In the development of modern politics in Europe and North America, Historians found reasons that did not appropriate in these countries. Karl Marx study of political development also nominated the

same problems. In Southern and Eastern Europe, Latin America during the eighties and nineties normative studies of political development got a new way of life, in the origin of rules. Previous studies show that normative studies of political institutions improve the importance of society, well-being, and good governance.

In the study of political modernization, scholars rejected to focus on universal theories and concepts, they prefer to study institutions, organizations, policies and their histories. This may apply through different methods, some say that focus only on grand theorizing while others said that focus on explorative history. Political families were identified so ignore them and focus on large societies. Large societies were surrounded by the economic and political sphere. The economic sphere contains the production of different goods and services and trades those in the market. Political sphere in which people gather for their interest and decide what they have common and how they managed it. This is called a political economy.

Politics has been found in state, civil society, international organizations, and business companies. Three forms of politics, institutions, structures, and organizations that found on various levels. Politics include in institutions as the form of organizations. The political actors cooperate and contest their efforts to defend their plans. Their actions affect scope, forms, and content of politics. Political experts in the Third World countries construct observational experiments without following European or North American studies. Other political scholars adopt these methods but they did not repeat the mistakes done by IMF experts. A few years ago international agencies and the European Union added the above methods to the knowledge of underdeveloped countries. Academic and political development covered the way for political science inquires in the Third World countries and regions. Both types have a lack of knowledge and important problems as well. The fundamental issue of North and South institutions is that the study of the Third World based on external funding's and interest of political economy, so making creative and concerned adventure rather than difficult.

Study of political modernizations and Third World shows that the main problems of development were due to short minded political experts. They do not know the fruitful use of available resources. Politics studied the overall process of development. The empirical focus is not fruitful all the time. Social Sciences focus on important factors of life, sociologists and anthropologists study norms and social movements. Economics focus on production and

distribution of goods, while a political expert focuses on the management of society and struggles for development. Politics and development debate solved to study politics as an interdisciplinary kind of development. Political economy had great significance after the war in Japan to rebuild it. Role of state and helps from students of politics of development needed limited division from political science. Useful studies of political development helped to build a new Social Science discipline. In political science, we mostly focus on politics and links between politics and development and also their problems. If we know how politics relate with features of development then we focus on political components. In simple words, political development is the specific study of political institutions, structures, and processes that affect the Third World problem of development. Structural adjustment is a specific kind of politics and development that privatize and deregulate public resources.

The major problem of Third World countries was that they only focus on the empirical foundation from the West, not on theoretical. If we want to know the upside-down of Third World politics and development we follow this. First, start within widen issues of politics and development not with the narrow. Always start with relevant questions when people effort to their assets. Second, do not start with empirical views based on European and North America but start from empirical views of Third World politics and development (Törnquist, 1998).

After the Iranian revolution, 1979 and the incidence of September 11, 2001, political Islam discuss mostly in all world. Increasing Global War on terror and targeting jihadis and terrorists, who use the name of Islam for their own benefits and getting power in the Muslim world was meant to end them. Different events like increasing popularity of radical Muslim party in Bangladesh and the violence of the Muslim majority in Thailand give greater attention to political development in the Muslim world. Against all this Malaysia appears with its developing economy and political stability to support Muslim politics. Malaysian leaders said that religious deviancy from state explains the norms of different Islamic practices. As compared to other different countries Malaysia has a low rate of religious conflict. Malaysia received a report card from the Organization of Islamic Conferences (OIC) on the basis of Islamic leadership. Malaysian society swing to Islamic conservatism increasing Sharia in public and not have authority to challenge Islamic court, increasing Islam in Malaysian society and politics not only by Islamist opposition party and also by those parties who moderate Islam.

In the Middle East and North Africa, political Islam has dominated, and only 14 percent of the Muslim populations live there. In the Middle East and North Africa, the growth of Islamism was on the two bases first were the failure of secular nationalism in Arab and the existence of authoritarian rules. In South, Asia Malaysia emerges Islam under different circumstances like the mobilization of Islamic symbols for political ends and modernization projects to drive phenomena. The rise of Islamism in the Muslim community stopped from the younger generation, then Malaysia supports Muslim majority through education and career opportunities.

There were several points to the start of Muslim political consciousness in Malaysia. Religious teachers, scholars, and students imbibed the ideas of Egyptian scholar Muhammad Abduh and his student Rashid Rida, they bring back such ideas which provide the foundation for Islamic social and political movements. They bring Islamic reform for regenerating Malay-Muslim identity better by Western colonialism. George Kahin noted the impact of Mohammedan religion on Malay world; it was sort of in-group symbol and authoritarian of a different religion.

In the Islamic reform movement, the Islamist movement in colonial Malaya emerged by the Malay Nationalist Party (MNP). This party formed in 1945 and these movements were the first movements after post-war. Its leaders were some socialists such as Ishak Haji Mohammad, Moktarrudin Laso, and Musa Ahmad, who would become chairman of the Malayan Communist Party (MCP). After party formation in 1946, the United Malays National Organization (UMNO) gives sufficient importance to Islam. In reaction to Britain's Malayan Union plan of 1946, Majlis Agama Tertinggi Malaya (MATA) in 1948 discusses issues like formation of Islamic political party and formation of an Islamic university. Hizbul Muslimin's organization formed for the creation of an Islamic state for Malaya. In 1948 they established their branches in all states. UMNO played a critical role in the shaping of Malay politics according to Islam, they established Ulama wing in 1946 and the chairperson was Shaikh Abdullah Pahim. A department for religious affairs was established and its leader was Haji Ahmad Fuad Hassan.

In November 1950 Persatuan Islam Se-Tanah Malay (PMIA) organization was made by different ulama and imam supporter of Malaya rights. PMIA give voting rights to non-Malays and rejected the Malayan citizenship because to give voting right is their birthright. PMIA criticized the different laws that were harmful to Malay Muslims. These laws include a national requirement for government posts like the prime minister and different policies that have no

benefit for Muslim society. Focus on Malay cause PMIA play role as the victor of Islamism in Malaya. It criticized UMNO for not introducing Islamism and not defining the Quran and Sunnah as the main reason for public law. The party more criticized UMNO's support of churches and temples. The significance of religion increased in PMI's announcement to establish a new government that supported Islamic values in Malay. This was achieved by religious value in politics, social and education of language of Qur'an. PMIA resolved to work with organizations for democracy and human rights. The PMIA's protect the Malay rights for an Islamic state and dominate its platform for 1955 elections, and PMIA listed as Pan-Malayan Islamic Party (PMIP) or Parti Islam SeTanah Melayu (PAS). UMNO president Tunku Abdul Rahman asked about PAS formation as UMNO alternative, first president of PAS Haji Ahmad Faud Hassan said that party goal was to fulfill what UMNO could not achieve.

PAS projected itself as the voice of Islam and Malay interests to integrate Islamic values and governance. It tries to present UMNO as the secular party that had no interest in the Malay community. PAS religious teachers played an important role through community build and through a network of Pondok and mosques. To get achievement through these network PAS dialogue in small towns rather than the public. Before launching into politics these dialogues begin with the religious lecture. PAS was popular among rural Malay but the party still in issues in formative years. Member of PAS includes a motley crew of Islamic-nationalists from Hizbul Muslimin. Furthermore, the party tries to decrease UMNO, and try to distinguish from UMNO and formed in 1951 the Independence of Malaya Party (IMP), its founder was President Dato Onn bin Jaafar. The result of the 1955 elections shows PAS's weakness of their leadership and need well-managed leadership. Burhanuddin al Helmy new president of the party had a lot of experience in different nationalist organizations. He was an Islamist. Burhanuddin was committed to a strict Islamist agenda, his influence and ideology was a mix of leftist socialism and Islamic reformism and Indonesian nationalist concept of NASAKOM (Nasionalisme, Agama, Komunisme, or Nationalism, Religion, and Communism). In 1957 Safi e Ibrahim noted five basic rules that were articulated by PAS to design a constitution for Malaya. This was the PAS agenda under Burhanuddin, in which Islam as the identity of Malay. The Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) had pressed UMNO for Mandarin as an official language. When PAS decided to lower profile in local politics, this brings less support in Malay Muslim heartland.

In May 1969 general election results were most studied in Malaysian history. In this election, the ruling government lost two-thirds parliament seats. PAS was the recipient of Malay discontent and UMNO denied more than half of Malay society votes. In 1969 election PAS start movement for Malay rights in which they use Islam. In 1969 PAS was a success again in the election on the name of Islam. Religion was the main in their campaign. In early 1970s Malaysia was trapped by politics and this thing shows PAS failure for its struggle to make an Islamic state. The Leaders of UMNO and PAS visited their students to the Middle East, Britain and the USA to talk with different students on Islamization and local politics. The main difference between the Islamic revolution in Iran 1979 and other Islamic revolution in different countries was that these create different problems for Iranian people from Ulama. Like other countries, the Islamic revolution of Iran was not by the Military. This was for freedom that was compulsory the implementation the all rule of ALLAH in all field of life. In PAS the Ulema rue was not brought change and it brings a new area in PAS politics by religious political dialog. This showed in the takfir to Malaysian politics. State chief Mustapha was strained to sharia court for giving a fatwa without permission which broke religious laws in Malaysia. The court ruling against Mustapha and order that Muslim try to separate religion from politics and make prefer laws from GOD's laws will be punished. In 1986 Islam started to replace Malay society as orientation for PAS politics. PAS leaders criticized and issued a fatwa against UMNO and started a jihad against them. In 1986 Islamic state step get the main role in Malaysian politics.

There were some issues in non-governmental organizations that worked in Malaysia for Islam. These issues like their unity, modernization and rapid economic growth that disturb Malay Muslim society. The nature of dakwah with different groups like Jamaat Tabligh and Al Arqam was to remain in politics. One feature of dakwah elements in Malaysia was that they were non-established groups; they have no basis for authority but grow freely. They were not recognized by the government and have all rights of political power. Religious power was secured by those who had it long like ulema religious and councils. Islamic revivalism and dakwah movement bring major changes in PAS ideology and its structure. The UMNO led government concern for Islamization, it increased after Mahathir Mohamad party leadership. He moved to direct these social services from Islamic revivalism. In the study of Mahathirism Khoo Boo said that it is not easy to divide politician and his religion, he also said that Mahathir's policies were for social-political orbit. Institute Kefahaman Islam Malaysia (IKIM) established in 1992 and its objectives

Idea Islam detailed in its publication merged with Mahathir's objectives of Islam. On 6 July 2001, they launched their own radio station. The purpose of this station is to raise the understanding of Islam among both Muslim and non-Muslim communities by different radio programs. They started programs for youth and elders that focus on politics, economics, and education. The program is funded by FELDA foundation which encourages community and social service for Malaysia. Milne and Mauzy observed that IKIM's objective also create a discussion with non-Muslim inside and outside Malaysia, that's the reason they involve other religious people. They want to create an understanding of Islam on both levels. They continue their effort with the non-Islamic organization for Islam as an official religion of Malaysia. International Islamic University of Malaysia (IIUM) playing an important role in Malaysia Islamic education and university protected to the wider flow of politics. The university had allocated a major power base for Anwar Ibrahim that impacts Muslim youths. Operation Lalang was carried out by Malaysian police on 27 October 1987 against opposition leader and social activists. It was not related to Mahathir's policies and this indicates that operation was strong against those who related to Islam. This incident provides the Mahathir government to power on politics by limiting fundamental rights.

In the mid of 1990s political Islam scholars said that many changes are taken place in the different rules of the Muslim world. In Malaysia PAS the Islamist political opposition that defeat in 1986, they exemplify political atmosphere to an Islamic state. One method that was used by PAS leaders to make a difference from UMNO was social welfare and analysis of their own statement through political office. From this approach, UMNO was under pressure from money politics by the involvement of different politicians. PAS was the emerging Brand of Islamic politics in Malaysia after 1999 by calling UMNO Malay unity talks. The agenda of reform allowed PAS to dominant in Malay-Muslim constituency. In national election best performance from Islamist opposition was the alarming situation for PAS on different positions. The debate on Islamism through Quran and Sunna consider the heart of political Islamism. This situation is the same in Malaysia but in other countries like Indonesia, Morocco and Egypt debate on this base that an Islamic state is a truthful option for Muslim politics. Major Muslim parties in Malaysia took the Islamic state concept and from this, they define their political projects. Mahathir explains Malaysia as an Islamic state and important shift in its politics of Islamism, while UMNO president pressure on the formation of Muslim state and said this is not good for

non-Muslim living in Malaya. Islam Hadhari was an effort to encourage the worldview on the part of Malay-Muslim that gives them better economic and scientific successes. In the development of Malaysia Abdullah taken step back to the ideas of Ibn Khaldun. Those who following Malaysian politics, Abdullah ideas of Islam similar to Mahathir ideas when he was president of UMNO; those ideas were to build an Islamic brand based on Quran without reference of past Islamic philosophers. The Barisan Nasional's victory was a tribute by international media; they showed his role of Islamism in Malaya Muslim politics. This role for moderation was the election result called by CNN and it's a good model for the Muslim World. Malaysian elections were suitable and effective by religion. This shows during the election of 2004 in Malaysia when parties use Islamic ideas for increasing political support. This change outdid the role of Islam in Malaysian politics. The increase of Islamist dissertation and praxis in Malaysia and UMNO and PAS change a major shift in the role of Islam in Malaysia politics. In 1990 PAS came into power in Kelantan in the form of Islamic rules. These were power by a party and Islamic laws applicable to all residents of Kelantan. They put a restriction on live entertainment and bans on gambling. In 1999 PAS success and they also worked for non-Muslim for a good image.

The 1980s were a major crisis for Malaysia because the invigorations of Islamic factor in the politics of Islam are in troubled. The increase of UMNO_PAS competition by the rule of Islam was the result of this process. A similar Islamic discourse rooted in civil society that includes NGOs for Islamic realization. The deeply rooted politics of UMNO and PAS meet an equivalent form of civic activism which merged not only political parties but also professional society and religious institution. Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia (ABIM) formed in August 1971 and it's the most widely Islamist civil society movement in Malaysia. It was established by student organizations like Persatuan Bahasa Melayu Universiti Malaya and Persatuan Kebangsaan Pelajar-PelajarIslam Malaysia and it is the largest movement in Malaysia. ABIM was the signaled of shifts in the group of Malay-Muslim politics. They challenged the traditional support of Malay-Muslim leadership that revolved round ulama and took guru against secular education. Saliha Hassan explains that INGOs and ABIM's was the loudest and best known. The group explained the key issues of state like Islamic education and Islamic way of life and Malaysia involvement in international politics. To engage partisan politics ABIM viewed Muslim parties by its popularity and influence. In the 1970s after some decision from PAS to for government

ABIM become a place for PAS members. In 1978 ABIM openly campaigned for Islamist opposition in the election. Persatuan Ulama Malaysia (PUM) formed 8 April 1972 as a result of ulama politicization during Islamic Economics. At initial stage ulema was agreed that late Tan Sri Ahmad Ibrahim become the advisor to PUM, the late Haji Nik Muhd Muhyiddin Haji Musa become the president. Some scholars from UMNO also joined PUM like late Fadzil Noor, Harun Din, Abdul Hamid Othman, and Taib Azamuddin. This leader moves into politics in both UMNO and PAS. Jemaah Islah Malaysia (JIM) expressed political issues with reasons. In 1999 general election JIM for a strong position works with Malaysian people's movement for justice. Now it participates in party politics to develop its Islamic agenda with the Anwar-inspired Parti Keadilan Rakyat. Hizbut Tahrir Malaysia (HTM) was one of most private Islamist groups in Malaysia, and it is the part of worldwide organization Hizbut Tahrir (HT) made in 1953 in Jerusalem. The rising of Islamism has not been stopped by high politics. This shows from Malaysia that faces many political problems from different sectors and parties like UMNO-PAS Islamization race. Civil society has raised cyberspace between political and private citizens with social-political trends. This dissertation is further added by independent media source and news to help critical examination of media to provide other views (Liow, 2009).

3.3 Power and Power Dynamics

Scholars have identified various types of interest group that affect local politics. First business interest the classic works on diversity (e.g., Dahl 1961; Lynd and Lynd 1937; Hunter 1953). They debated the role of business interests in local politics. Research suggests that local organizations were very dynamic in local politics (Dilger 1992; Elkins 1995). They lobby public officials, organize citizens to participate in meetings engaged in local governance (mesh and Schwirian 1996).In addition to business groups faith-based organizations (Button, Rienzo, and Wald 1997; Sharp 1999; 2003), labor unions (DeLeon 1992; Regalado 1991) and minority groups (Browning, Marshall, and Tabb 2003) vary in local politics. It postulates three hypotheses. 1 business groups were most active groups in local politics.2 local organization were also active in local politics. 3 Faith-based organizations was an influence in local politics but less than above two.

Scholars of local politics discussed the influence of governmental structure but not reached a consensus Desantis and Renner 2002). Abney and Lauth (1985) accomplish that structure makes

no difference. There is a difference among urban scholars activity in manager governments. Interest groups have become major actors in referendum campaigns (Bowler, Donovan, and Tolbert 1998; Bowler and Donovan 1998; Gerber 1999). This hypothesis dates from David Truman's (1951), shows that when policies were put for a vote, interesting groups affect voters. In some areas where citizens were active find a friendlier environment. Citizen's interest in politics and interest groups activity were theorized positively interrelated.

Governmental and city structure do not affect levels of interest group effect and activity. The data also provide new visions into nature for providing support to many hypotheses. The finding shows that multicity approach to local politics was useless. In issues of police and law implementation produce high levels of interest group activity. Scholars who wish to understand influence in local politics focused on policy area. Recent research suggests that rise of CAOs city structure less important and then used (MacManus and Bullock 2003; DeSantis and Renner 2002; Frederickson and Johnson 2001). Conventional knowledge in local politics was less important, interest groups slack. Scholars reexamine the issues by using more objective to measure interest group activity. This study highlights the inconsistency of local groups. It shows that something that citizens look to like is linked with citizens not to like. Political improvements consider increasing social capital. Putnam (2000) discusses the social capital promoted by social groups but he cannot differ between politically active interest groups. Whole Article reference is (Cooper, Nownes, & Roberts, 2005).

Marxists have examined power concept in many ways. But four interrelated approaches describe overall concepts. The 1st is a concern with power relation as the formation of class power and all form of power always exercised by a different class for their interest. Second Marxist concerned with links between economic, political and ideological class power. According to different Marxists approach power mainly in social relation for production to control over state and then logically in heart and mind. Third Marxist introduces the limitation of power during exercise from one class to another. Fourthly Marxist addresses the inquiry of approach and strategies.

Marxists were interested in power as capacities and focus on capacities organized as a social relation. These social relations involve long-term relations. Here best example is Hegel's master-slave conflict in which the master depends on slave and slave depends on the master. In Marx study this example shows the relationship between capital and labor, both are interdependent.

Labor selling power for capital and capital depend on buyers so there is a positive relationship between them. Capacities to exercise power depend on their actualization on specific conditions. (1987:96).

Marxism differs from others analysis of power because of its main focus on class power. It cannot focus on only one class; it focuses on the whole society. Marxists believe political or ethical domination originate less or more from economic domination, other stress complexity of relations among these three class methods of domination. Through Political revolution that the current design of class dominance will be defeated. The state is responsible for preserving the overall construction of class domination and social consistency, without which capitalisms contradictions cause revolutionary crises.

Marxism is premised on the different modes of production. A mode of production includes a specific combination of forces and social relations of production. Forces of production include raw materials, means of production, a division of labor for production, and the relation between producers and means of production. Social relations of production include the distribution of production, productive activities, and means of production. Some Marxist stress the power relations fixed in the organization of labor development. Marxist studies the overall production process and its articulation to another part of the circuit of capital. Different modes of economic growth are related to different forms of power, for example, a virtuous circle of mass production and mass consumption is closed economies.

Marxist political role begins with state and its role for securing condition of economic class power. The state is responsible for market growth and its failure. The economic and political struggle between capital necessities is very necessary for collective interest. Marxist says that if the state only secures the social consistency and institutional combination, will be benefited for extra economic condition and secured capital. There are three main approaches to the state: intuitionist, structuralist and strategic-relational. Intuitionist says the modern state as a state of capital. (Moore 1957; Barrow 1993; Gramsci 1971; Offe 1984; Poulantzas 1978; and Jessop 1990). Ralph Miliband state that the dominant class of society is that class which owns and regulate means of production, and uses economic power and state instruments to control over society. Structuralist says that the state is capitalist because it characteristically capitalist and work on the behalf of capital. They also say that the modern state is that which organize capital

and disorder the class work. State direct control means of production means that its revenue depends on strong private sectors. (1969: 22). The strategic-relational approach used by Nicos Poulantzas which means that capital is not a thing but is a social relation to suggesting state as the social relation. (Poulantzas 1978). Marx showed how sustained reproduction form of material and institutional form of capital showed the relation between change in capital and economic class struggle. The idea is that state social relation is important theoretically and politically, the state is by no means a class-neutral instrumentarium.

According to Marx and Engels the German ideology that the dominant class of any age is the ideas of governing class and related this phenomenon over the means of intellectual production (1845-6). In the late nineteenth century, Marx interest in the methods and modalities of ideological class domination increase stronger with democratic government and mass politics. An Italian Communist Antonio Gramsci developed a different approach to the analysis of class power. His main concern was to develop an independent Marxist science of politics in capitalist societies, to make a difference between state and politics. He identified that the state in its narrow sense with people, government formal decision-making procedures and its policies. Gramsci defined the state as the whole complex of theoretical and complex activities in which power class maintains its dominance. He said that the state always based on variable combinations of force and harmony. One of his key arguments is the need in the advanced capitalist equalities for a long-term war of position. If power gets early then this would be sharp but a shorter process (1971: 244).

The relation between economic, social and ideological domination can be measured in terms of domination and the policies that help to undermine these selectivities. The particular form of state privilege some policies over others, this type of state will be more accessible to some powers. According to Gramsci, there was a mutual relationship between the economic base and its politico moral structure. He studied this problem in terms of structure and superstructure through specific intellectual, moral and political follows (1971: 366-7). Ethico- political not only co-constitutes economic constructions but also provides them with their rational and strength. Ethico- political is that in which ethics and politics both are involved. Such a mutual relationship occurs between base and superstructure. He introduced the concept of power bloc and hegemonic bloc to examine the associations among dominant classes. The concept of hegemonic bloc means

the historical harmony not of construction but of social forces. He also emphasized the need for a significant economic nucleus for long-term domination and assessed to build a willing power which ignored economic realities.

Marx approach to power and it exercises four benefits. 1st power and class authority, 2nd the interventions among political, economic and ideological class domination, 3rd the paradox and restriction of power that naturally as capitalism and system of social relation and 4th role of policy and strategies. These all show the power and weakness of approach. These all have been explained in depth in the preceding text.

3.4 Political Economy

The main reason to study development is to expand the economy rather than society or culture. To improve all these factors economic anthropology introduced the concept of political economy. Political economy intersects with development thinking for a comprehensive understanding of this articulation. Some economic anthropologists adopt political economy as a process in which social, political, economic and cultural factors are mixed. The impact of capitalism and its socio-economic significances has two consequences, first it emphasis on micro level to include a method of historian and second it saves anthropology from fate assigned (e.g. Wolf, 1969). In the form of the political economy many conventional disciplinary boundaries are highly random especially sociology of development. The various forms of neo-Marxist thinking on development and highpoint of French Marxist anthropology had great effects for the modification of theory on that field (Seddon, 1978 and Clammer, 1978). Anthropology is a major factor in explaining the relationships between economic anthropology and development. To involve anthropology in social development means to reduce the costs of economic improvement (ibid., p. 97). Simple is that economic anthropology is not a tool of development planner but it is a tool for socio-cultural significances of economic change.

The difference between old and new anthropology is that new anthropology has a connection with new structuralism. To understand the value of economic anthropology and Marxism source of anthropology, there is a need to understand its nature and condition. Transaction of goods is temporary in social relationships because of social relation exerts governance. Preoccupation with the instrument of distribution and production is the main feature of the classical or liberal situation. It contains several elements first is the economics of gifts and the role of gifts. A

second element is that material dimension of the economy lies in the communications that contain express and modification. Primitive economic behavior is an aspect of relationship behavior different from capitalist production and market connections. Class relations are characterised only by capitalism. In primitive society, exploitation does not occur within the productive situations. In a primitive exchange economy, the capacity of the economy is limited, so surplus does not occur. Any kind of asset is capital (Hill, 1970) and any transfer of goods are exchanges (Sahlins, 1965). Anthropology is itself a historical science because it always lies in history from every prospect. The most associated with primitive society is that major impact of the relations between different patterns of productive forces within any given society which they are part. The notion of exploitation is related to a concept of mode of production and connects with ideas of relationships between means of production. The idea of surplus is obscured and people think that there is a connection between the existences of surplus. This increases the problems of distribution. In social production, a class is defined by functions of its member.

According to Andre Gunder Frank's relationships between Metropolis or neo-colonial satellites are lies between modes of production within pre- or non-capitalist economic systems. Economic anthropology has been subjected through its concepts from classical to an anthropological sphere. There are some following positions of economic anthropology. First, there is a difference between primitive society and economic anthropology. Second, there is a suggestion about economic problems. The third social system only achieved when social system achieved by the particular economic system. Role of material things is basic to every economy and there is a relationship between the social system and economic system. Firth's says that anthropology is a comparative study that makes its problem important. The evidence of gross root economic system is clear. The choice in use of the resource is a variety of behavior over human economic systems. Firth says that in every society people face the same problem, like how to use their resources. Economic anthropology studies this thing that how men solve these problems. Primitive economics forms a relationship that how people allocate and produces resources. This relationship works as a system of social involvements that usually found in industrial societies. Anthropologist recognizing that much learned from other disciplines and those disciplines developed themselves. Economic anthropology must develop their own concepts for the sake of their own needs. Primitive economic organizations are those, in which competition for status

separate subsistence level. So Frank needs variation for the decomposition of pre capitalists. Whole book reference (Clammer, 1985).

According to (Kottak, 2002), many religions focus on their shrines and other sacred places, where followers perform rituals. According to (Platteau, 2011), Sufi shrines in Pakistan are common places for celebrating rituals for their religious satisfaction. Over the last period's government involve in shrines and also collect income giving from visitors for shrines. People who come to shrines think that their all problems are due to cut from religion, so they think Sufi is more close to Allah, he helped him to resolve their problems.

In Punjab and Baluchistan people donate due to fear of God and religious satisfaction, while in KPK people donate due to affordability. This study shows that people follow their religious sects or may be cultural background; there is not a single reason behind this.

There are many things that affect the behavior of people like a place of residence, earning an education. In the visitor of shrines mostly people are less educated and poor. There are few household issues giving at shrines but individual character and education also matter. It is generally thought that household with high income devotes much as compared to low income. But sometimes this perception proves wrong because poor people much giving as compared to rich people.

Education is also an important factor like income. In this regard, it is suggested that people (less educated) having less opportunity and also faces many social problems more visiting to shrines to solve their problems. Another view is that to increase the level of job or income educated people to visit shrines. These two perceptions are based on survey data given by different household.

In rural areas, people are less educated and have low income as compared to urban areas. They face many problems like socioeconomic so they visit mostly at a shrine to solve their problems. In the form of donation, a cash donation is so important that mostly giving by Punjab. Another fact to visit shrines is the personal beliefs of people and motivation to solve problems. In all giving regard ministry of religions and Auqaf work at shrines but not all shrines only registered shrines. For the social welfare of people's, it is important to register all shrines and having the

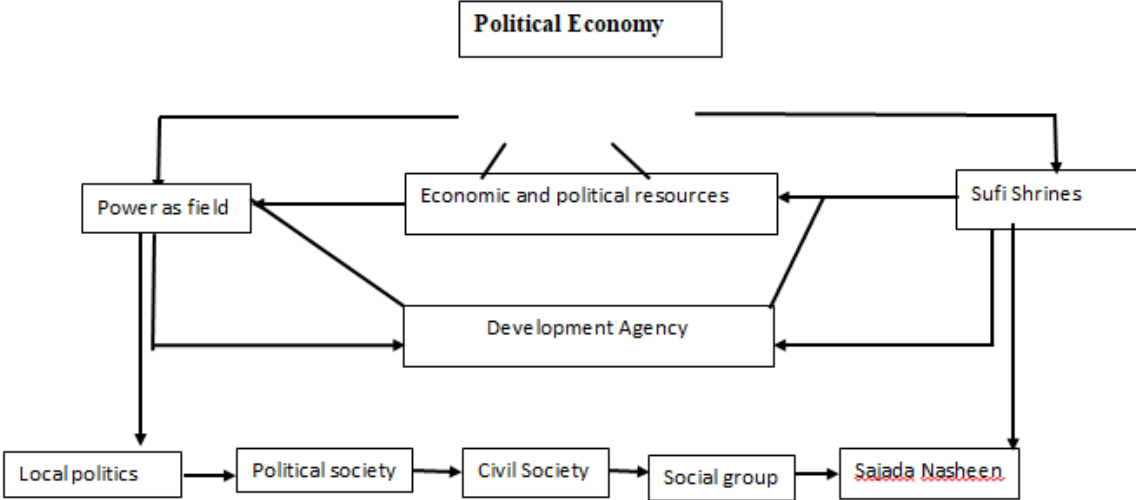
complete record of visitors and giving by them. This is also better for community development and shrines development.

Residential status also matters to visit and giving at a shrine. Urban residential are mostly educated and having a good income to they visit less as compared to rural residential. Another reason is that shrines are usually located in rural areas and rural people attached spiritually and ritually with shrines. Reference of article is (Pakistan Centre for Philanthropy, 2016)

Conceptual Framework

The Sufi Shrines are connected with political institutions; these institutions make policies for development and applicable laws for the peace, they include both government and politics. Political institutions and Sufi Shrines connected with economic and political resources and development agencies. Political resources are those resources which influence public policy and governance process, while economic resources are those resources which influence economic activities. Development agencies are those agencies, which support social progress and economic growth of an area that is underdeveloped. The main aim of political institutions and Sufi Shrines is to get power and they connect with development agencies to get power. Sufi shrines get power through involve themselves in local politics by using local people through religion. Local politics is lined with political society. Political society means a society with political ideology or political philosophy. Political society linked with civil society that promotes state-run institutions, community groups, and different aid organizations. Civil society connected with social groups and social groups is linked with *Sajjada Nasheen* (caretaker of Sufi Shrines) that are linked with Sufi Shrines. Sufi Shrines are linked with above all sects just to get political power.

Figure 2: Pictographic Exposition of Conceptual Framework



4. Results and Discussion

4.1. POLITICS

Under this theme variant views on politics have been explained. A few respondents equate politics with worship. To others politics is nothing without a politician who helps the needy people and work for the welfare of society at large, because of his/her selection by the people. The respondents also talked through different types of politics in Pakistan such as City Politics, Rural Politics and Feudal Lord Politics. One of the recurrent themes which came out of the understanding of politics as defined by the locals is that in Pakistan there are no specific criteria of running politics and political associations or parties, and politicians are elected through their party tickets.

One of such views was:

Siyast he taqrebun 2,3 type di, hik politics hy city politics like metropolitan area di politics like Multan Lahore, honed dy log vote denden party demand ty ya kahen zazreya dy oty, o look apran vote focus kr ghinden jo asan vote kekon denveren. Dojhe politics hy rural area di like upper Punjab side, o look maqami logen dy asar rasookh koon dekh ty vote denden. Trejhe politics hy sadi area de like south Punjab rural area jethan fudal system dominant hy, ty ae politics ve baqe politics ali kar pory Pakistan vich he, hen poltics vich looken kane koi option kaine Honda vote da sewae sardaren koon dewanr dy. Asal politics medi nazr vich ae hy ky jehry parliamentary hen, jehry awam da dukh dard rakhenden o assembly vich wunj ky kanoon sazi Karen, like health ty education dy bary vich ground level ty ya baqe ve jitna musly musael hen looken dy sub dy oty koi ache jahn kanoon sazi kren. Medi nazr vich asal politics ty hy ae ky awam di khidmat ty falah lakin jehri sadi Pakistan di politics hy Honda ty koi criteria ae kaine, hur party da apran criteria hy ty o affiliation dy nal he vote denden bus, head of family decision hy vote devanur ten.¹

I am the chairman of Mitthan Kot and belong to PML (N) and also the advocate. In Pakistan, there are 2 [or] 3 types of politics, number one is city politics like metropolitan area politics, the people of that area focus their vote to which they select and what are their demands. Second type of politics is rural area politics [such as] Upper Punjab politics; they select a candidate to a local person. Third type of politics is Southern Punjab politics or rural Sindh politics or the areas where the feudal system is dominated; in this politics people only have one option for the vote that is [determined by] feudal lord. According to me, original politics is related to parliamentarian[s] [who are] attached with people [and] make laws for poor people especially the law where they provide health and education facilities on the ground level. In

¹ This respondent is a chariman of Mitthan kot and Lawyer by profession, 40 years. Party affiliation is PML(N).

Pakistan there are no specific criteria for politics, each party has its own criteria and the voting system is Head of family decision.

This respondent told me that in Pakistan, there are three types of politics, named as city politics, rural politics and feudal politics. Among these, the worst politics is feudal politics which is extractive in nature and in which the feudal lords expropriate resources from poor villagers. Also, evident in this regard is the instrumentalization of politics for personal gains and using tacit tactics (such as electing politicians through party tickets) along with making use of personal resources for accruing political gains.

Another respondent shared his views on politics as:

Mn haji pur darbadr (sain naru wali) da gadi nasheen family vichun han ty chairman han haji pur da PTI di ticket ty ketiyan hoon ton pehly PMLN dy nal hum. Medi nazr vich taan siyast hik ibadat he aise ibadat jendy vich tosan looken di khidmat kredou, jehra jo towada hen dunyan ty avunr da maqsad he. Sakoon loken da elect krun ve Allah taala di turfun hik izzat milunr hondy ty nal loken da aitmad ve hondy. Lakin aj kal loken siyast kon business bnra ghidhy, o bus apnran faida kadhenden ghreeb awam vichun, medy oty Allah da shukr hy Allah sain hur shae dhair deti hy zameedara ve hy, nal job ve hy, jendi wja kane meda target ziyada kane ziyada awam di khidmat ty hone da dukh darad vundavunr he hy.²

I belong from care taker (Sajjada Nasheen) family of Pir Naru Wali Sain Shrine in Haji Pur, Rajanpur. I am the chairman of Haji Pur and contest election through PTI ticket and also an advocate by profession. I am new in PTI and before [joining] PTI, I was in PML (N). To me, politics is a prayer, a prayer in which you help the poor, the needy people [which is] the actual meaning of your creation. People elect us and give us vote, in a real sense this is the respect from God. Today politics is a business just to get benefits from poor people. I am very thankful to Allah; I have everything, a job and [I am] also a land lord in Haji Pur, so I focus on poor community that is the reason they elect me in every election.

This quote clearly brings in three perspectives: firstly, the domination of economically affluent and socially resourceful politicians in the local political scene; secondly, the normative roles that a politician should take responsibility of and fulfill as well as explained in the above quote, and lastly the reverberation of the same view that politics has turned into a business for politicians merely to confiscate and extract.

The definition as provided by Crick (2000) resonates that politics is embedded in power praxis in which different political factions bearing different political interests share power in relation to

² Sajjada Nasheen of Haji pur (Pir Naru wali) and lawyer by profession, 45 years, and party affiliation is PTI.

their intent for welfare of the community or society at large. This theorization of normative order of politics has been illustrated through the above quotes as well. However, the view that power is produced, maintained, practised, and reinforced only for meeting the needs of the society is minimal and myopic for the fact that both respondents have asserted that politicians control to govern and dominate for personal gains (personal and political both).

4.1.1. POLITICS AND MITTHAN KOT

Regarding politics in Mitthan Kot, one respondent said:

Vote asan majbori kaine apnren zamindar kon dendon, pehly honda piyo ha, honr honda putr hy, jy kr vote na diyon ty o dhkwa khrenden ya chori krwa ghinden. Asan hik dafa vote kaine deta ha ty hoon asan 11 bandiyen ty purcha kara deta ha, wala asan vote devenr di haami bhre hae hony naal ty pechy hoon sakon churwaya ha. Apren ghr vicho vote da faisla asan khud krendon bus majbori hy jo vote zameendar kon dendon. Bus look mutlb tk vote ghinden ty wala bus goum the wenden.

We give vote to a feudal lord through force, because he once sent eleven members of my family into jail by another person without any reason, and he also helped us for judicial bail on the demand of election support. If somebody does not give a vote to him, he may steal animals or send them into the jail through illegal allegations. In my family, I take the decision of voting but if I explain you the whole situation, no one takes the decision of voting and vote is for feudal.

In addition, another respondent shared:

Asan vote dareshak kon dendon, ty vote da faisla medy walid sahib krenden. Dareshk sady sardar sahb haen ty o asady kum kaar ve kra denden.³

My father takes the decision of voting and we give the vote to Nasrullah Dareshak. He is our land owner and he always helped us in problems.

Contrarily, another person shared:

Ethan ty jehra koi ve vote vich othdy o sirf or sirf apran faida golendy, honon kiya koi ghreeb mury ya jevy. Sade nazr dy vich vote hik amant hy ty asan vote hokon dendon jehra 10 feesad ve koi chungu kum kr ghne. Mede nazr vich taan siyasut ehyo kujh hy jo loken ko lut ty apran kum kuthdo, koi mure ya bhaven jevy apran kum nikal ave bus.⁴

³ Two men, between 35 to 40 years of age. One is supporter of feudal and other is from PTI.

⁴ An old man with his family from Chachran Shareef, farmer by profession, 50 years old.

Politics is the name of serving and helping poor people. People give the vote to those people who do better for them if someone doing 10% better for society people cast vote. A vote is necessary to cast and responsibility for the selection of the right person.

The two quotes stated above explain the contradictory remarks with the first explaining the forced supremacy of political leaders in Mitthan Kot and the second one is more about taking a responsible position.

Voten da system jehra hy o ethan sardaren wala he hy. Sardar kahen by bandy kon avunr ve nae dendy. Khawjgan ty tohry bahun vote zaror hen lakin kajgan hone voten nal jeet nae sagdy pechy o ve kahen sardar dy nal rul wenden ty vote apnren sary hone kon chadenden. Jehra bnda wala sardaren kon vote naen denda pechy sardar hone koon noqsan deton ne, kahen dy janwar chekwa ghedy, kkahen da motor cycle ty kahen di kasha. peeren di bjae look vote malik kmal koon denden jehra etho da nazim ve reh gae, o looken di khidmat krenda haa looken dy kum krenda ha jehre wja kane look honkon jetwadenden hun, hunr Honda beta hamza kmal hy jehra nazim hy look honkon ve vote painden o ve onven kum krendy looken dy. Hamza kmal jehra hy o hunre khwaja amir fareed koreja ty khwaja ghulam fareed koreja dy nal rul ty siyast krendy. ehye sardar he hen jehry kum nae thenwanr dendy, ae pull kaafi arsy di munzoor thae pae hae jehre jo sardar na bunren dendy hun, hunr bunr gae hy hunr awam ko faida hy sardar murden.⁵

Here, feudal system is dominant and vote is for feudal lord. No third person contests in election without the permission of a feudal lord. Some of the educated people or people living in city Mitthan Kot give vote to a person who is doing development work. People living in city Mitthan Kot voted Malik Kamal in local bodies' election [who] does a lot of development work for Mitthan Kot. Now after his demise they support their son Hamza Kamal. If someone does not support feudals then they pick their animals, motorbikes, charge them with illegal allegations and create other problems for them.

As can be easily seen through the above quote that in Mitthan Kot feudal lords are dominant, without their help or permission no one can contest in election or can even vote against their discretion. Poor and uneducated villagers must follow him, and the educated ones have to migrate from the areas due to feudal system.

Kot Mithan da halka kaafi wada hy siyast dy lehaaz nal ae shahwali kane ghin ty rojhaz wala kot mithan shamil thend. Awam dy vich pechly chund salen kane shaoor a gae jo vote hoon kon deveren jehra kum krese jehra na krese hoonkon vote devran ve kaine. rajanpur district dy vich hur hik cheez maojood hy bus kami hy taan hik suchy leader di, ethan jehra ve ae hoon apran mafad goleye, sardari nizam taruqe krunr ve nae

⁵ 35 years old professional of college and a supporter of feudal lord.

denda, gudo biraj bnrna rojhan vich ha jehra sardaren nae bunren deta, Islamic university bunrne rajanpur vich hae jehre sardaren naen bunrun deti.⁶

Mitthan Kot is a large area, in this area three big villages are Shahwali, Rojhan and Mitthan Kot. Since four years people have become sensible in the selection of election candidate and in casting of vote. Our Rajanpur district is rich from minerals and production of crops. The one thing that the region is in dire need of is a sincere leader. Feudal lords are dominant here, they do not want to develop this area, they only get their benefit; the best example is International Islamic University that is now [located] in Islamabad, its groundwork started in Rajanpur but due to feudal lords university has been shifted to Islamabad.

Another person shared:

Sardaren dy hondy hoven aam bnda siyast vich nae a sugda kun jo ae elaqa sara sardaren da hy, bus siyast ehne dy gird he hy. pehly wady hen, wala hene dy bal wala hene dy bal hen siyast dy vich. Hendy dhair sary factor hen, hik jo sardaren da apus vich ethad hy jo ae aam bndy ko agun nae avern dendy, dojha sady kane education di kami hy, business facilities kaine millan hen ty o ve hene sardaren diyan hen, jende wja kane looken da mental level othaen he khry thiya. Hene sardaren diyan juran ethan bahun mazboot hen ae look angraiz daor dy andy paen, ethan koi ve bnda hene da moqabla naen kur sgda, etho di siyast smjho hene da vursa hy, chahye kum kren ya na hene jeetren. Ethan hik university jende hali tk ve zameen pae hy thae o hene sardaren nae bunrun dete jehri jo sadi qismat jag wunjy ha. Kun ky sardar nae chahnden jo awam taruqe kry. Haa honr kujh loogen vich shaoor hy, lakin musla lack of education, ya wala jehry bndy purhye hoe hen o sary bahr settle hen purh likh ty, ethun da wala o sochendy kaine. Peeren di siyast fail thevur di wja hene di na chaki ve he jo ae jeet ty budel gaen sardaren wali siyast kurn pae gaen jende wja kane fail thaen. Dojha sahir dy looken vich shaor hy jo o sardaren kon vote naen dendy lakin sardar dehat vich dominant hen ty sadi side da vote bank dehat hy shahr kaine. Hunr peer apren power buchavenr kety sardaren nal mil gaen bus guzara kete paen. Ha agr dehate koi sardar kon vote na devy ty raat kon honed chori ya police koor ty pukr wese. Wala peeren da apus vich ve koi atfak kaine hur bnda mukhtalif party vich hy, honr awam vote devy ty kehry peer koon devy smjh nae andi. Ae Benazir pull ve makhdoom shahbud din bunrwae hy paar waly PPP dy MNA hen ty yousif raza gilane dy rishty dar ve hen, naty ae sardar ty hendy ve khilaf hunk y ae na bunre, hen pull di wja kane honren looken kon bahun faida hy ty rozgar dy maoqy ve bahun the gaen. Pull di wja kane paar do ya division bhwalpur do sadi side waly look rozgar kete wenden ty apren zarae product ve hon side do aram nal sale krenden. Biya pul dy siyasi faida ae thesn ky othun dy look election lursen sadi side toon, jehra jo sardaren di power ve kum these ya wala sardar kum kresen ty vote ghinsen, kun jo othon waly sardar sady sardaren kane kaafi bhtr hen ty kum ve krenden.⁷

⁶ 30 years old professional from Auqaf department of Mitthan Kot.

⁷ A 50 years old farmer from Mitthan Kot.

In our region feudal politics is more dominated. Nobody wins election without the support of feudal lord. Now feudal politics is like a heredity politics, and feudal lords have dominated generation to generation in this region. Feudal lords have strong political base in this region, in which many factors are involved like they have their factories in this area, poor people work there and lack of education is also a main factor. Feudal lords think that if we poor people become educated than they can lose their power, and best example [for this] is International Islamic University, that got approved in Rajanpur which still has a land there, but due to feudal lords university shifted in Islamabad. If someone is educated in our region, he/she is shifted in the developed city... [A]fter the completion of Benazir Bridge, the situation of district Rajanpur has changed slightly. People connect with Rahim Yar Khan and Sadiq Abad, their job opportunities have increased and their access to markets for selling their agricultural products has also increased. The credit goes to Makhdoom Sahab ud Din [who is] the MNA of Rahim Yar Khan and the relative of Syed Yousif Raza Gilani. The other benefit of this bridge is that political competition has increased because people from Rahim Yar Khan and Sadiq Abad also contest in election from District Rajanpur. This bridge is a hope for development in Rajanpur and also a hope to free locals from from feudal lords.

Similarly, another respondent claimed:

Jahan tak politics ki bat hy to hmary es sariki khita mn feudals dominant hn, unhn ne logon ko dabya hoa hy un ky haqooq tk un ki rusae nh hone dety, wsael py qabez hn, zamene hn funds aty hn sub who kha jaty hn, to yeh sub kuch dekh kr baa mar majbori hm ne socha ky siyasut m nana chahye aur logon ki awaz bunna chahye, ta ky logon ko ek sahe rasta mily jo ky fudels ne bund kiye hoe hn. Sub sy afsos nak bat yeh hy ky Pakistan mn healty politics ka koi rasta hy he nh, rasta ek he h yap kuch edary short list kren than koi party short list kren phr ja k rap MNA bnty hn, voten sy MNA bnne waly logon ki percentage kum hy.

In our southern Punjab feudal system is dominant, feudals enjoy funds of poor people and they treat people like [their] servants. When I see [this] happening around, I think of joining politics for poor people, for their welfare and for giving them justice. I feel sorry to inform you that in Pakistan there is no culture of healthy politics, to join politics or for MNA you select institute for support [and after that] you join the party and then you become the MNA. Through vote, no one can become [an] MNA.

These conversations are reflective of development of the region being completely contingent on the interests of political elite, the running of extractive institutions by the feudal lords under the auspices of feudal politics, and the fact that status quo is always given an edge over projects of human and infrastructural development.

Sharing the dichotomy of politics and religious ethos of a common man, another respondent shared:

Mn hen dfa PTI koon vote dety, tabdili wasty, ha peer othy ty vote desun jo humsaya hy lakin look peeren kane tung hen jehra jo jetanr mushkil hy. Peer da kum kar peere mureedi hy vote ty kaine, siyasi looken da kum hy vote ala ty adalt thanren, peer taan kaina wese thanren, wala hur koi hondy nal hondy jenda pulra bhari honed.⁸

I cast my vote to PTI for change, Sajjada Nasheen is my neighbor, and if he contests in election I give vote to him. But he cannot win the election because people do not agree with him; people think he is a pir and his job is pir-muridi not politics.

Similarly, another respondent stated:

Asan vote PTI koon deta haa, naven tabdili dekhunr chahendy hasy. Asan peeren kon aj tk vote nae deta jo o taan peer hen hone da kiya siyasut nal, asady hisab vich taan o siyasut kene door thek hen.

I cast my vote to PTI for change. I never support to Pir in any election because they are Pir and politics is not their job.

These respondents seem adamant that the role of a sajjada nasheen is to look after the administrative matters of shrine not to be in politics. And, for this reason he preferred a formal political party for casting vote over a shrine's sajjada nasheen.

Coming back to the rhetoric of political supremacy and public vs. personal interests another respondent stated:

Honr Benazir Pull di wja kane sardaren koon mar aose jo honren paar waly look ve voten vich aosen kot mitthan vichun, hunr kujh tareqe di ummed hy. Agr koi biya bnda sardaren dy khilaaf thenda ve hy taan sardar honkon jevaunr nae dendy, kahen di chori kra ghidhe kahen dy khilaf purcha kra ghidha wgera wgera. Asan hen dfa vote PTI koon dety jo change avy mutan. Ethan jub tk sardari nizam hy koi tareqe mumkin kaine wala musibt ae hy jo khajgan ve sardaren dy Kathy milye paen. Ae taan o bndy hen jehre nazr ve sirf voten vich anden agy pechy taan ae kadahen road ty nazer nae ae, na pir ty na hone di aulad. Peeren da vote bank jehra hy ae hur election vich kahen na kahen sardar koon vote denden sary ty wala hondy kane apran benefit ghidha. Bus peeren di hiko qanoon he jo tosan ve khao ty sakoon ve kha wunr diyo.⁹

Benazir Bridge is like a game changer for district Rajanpur, because through this bridge division DG Khan and division Bahwalpur have been combined. If we talk about employment, people from our region work in different mills in division Bhawalpur. In agricultural sector as well, our people sell agri-products in their markets. If we talk about politics, in division Bhawalpur feudal lords are better than

⁸ A 50 plus years old media person from Rajanpur.

⁹ A 40 years old entrepreneur from Mitthan Kot and a supporter of PTI.

division DG Khan, at least they work for their area and people. They seem also interested in Rajanpur politics and want to contest in election from Rajanpur. We are happy that we shall be free from feudal culture. I give vote to PTI for a change. Change on upper level [is needed] or maybe we may gain economic benefits, but there [seems] no change for area's development, because feudal system is dominating [the political scene] and the big feudal lord Dareshak wins through the ticket of PTI. The big issue of this area is lack of education; people are servant through generation to generation of these feudal lords.

The issues of party politics, public versus private interests, projects of development, and cyclical and inter-generational subservience to feudal lords by succumbing to their politics have been reverberated by the respondent in the above quote. Moreover, the respondent also clearly stated that the politics of sajjada nasheen is also like feudal lords; self-interest driven, extractive, and feudal. For this reason, people have voted PTI to see the change and for freeing themselves from the orthodoxy of feudal lords.

Another respondent while explaining the true spirit of politics stated:

Politics ka haqeeq muqsad bhe sirf aur sirf awam ki falah o behbood hy, who bhe bina kisi laluch ky. Lakin log kiya krty hain awam sy vote lety hain aur phr unhi logon sy apna maqsad nikalty hain, yahe aj kal ki siyast hy.¹⁰

The real meaning of politics is the welfare of people and the betterment of society without any benefit. Today the meaning of politics has changed; politicians get vote from people just for their own benefit. It is today's politics.

While defining politics, a sajjada nasheen's brother stated:

Medi nigh wich siyast hy equal rights hur insan ko milye wanjy, equal bases ty oty, asan chahndon ky Pakistan vich wakaf motwazen hovy, sady jhundy dy do rung hen hik subz rung ty dojha sofaid rung, subz rung di dy hmesha gal keti wendi hy lakin sofaid rung di gal koi nae krenda mtlb ky manorities di, tosan ae dekho ky mulk vich jehri shidat pasndi wadhdi pae hy agr honkon rokren tey sakon minorities kon hone ty mukamal rights devren posen.

I am the chairman of Sariki Qamoi Ithhad, Tehreek e Farid and Sariki Soba Mahaz, Mitthan Kot. According to me the meaning of politics is to give equal rights to all. We want that in Pakistan, federal system should give equal rights to all the provinces, provinces [should] give these rights to local politicians and then local politicians to people. Our flag has two colors: green and white and unfortunately we always talk about green color but we never talk about white color; we don't talk about minorities.

¹⁰ A 35 years old owning electric shop in Mitthan Kot.

If we want to stop violence in our country, we must give equal rights to minorities. We want Pakistan, where everyone has equal rights [to practice their] religion.

This conversation brings in critical factor of decentralizing role of politics from state to locals for the latter's benefits. It also talks us through the importance of minority representation in local politics.

The cousin of the same sajjada nasheen said:

Medi nazr vich siyast aan ibadat hy, Mn taqrebun 40,45 salen kanie siyast vich han, jehry time Pakistan people party bnre hae mn hon time siyast vich ayan o ve Bhutto sahb kane mutasir the ty. Hen mulk da hur bnada jehra ba shaor hy ty awam na hammad rkhendy o bnada siyast krenda pae. Kujh logen siyast kon budnam kr dety siyasut nal mayeshut kon rala dety ne ae thek kaine. Vote system ty bahun porana system hy jeven Hazoor (S.A.W) dy daur vich baeyat thendy hun look ty o ve hik kisam da vote ha ky bai sakun aitmad he hen shakhsiyat ty, vote da mutlab ve aitmad he hy. Asada people party da ve munshoor ain Islam dy oty he hy, ky hur kahen kon hondy hakook milye wanjy o ve brabar.

I am the president of Pakistan People Party in Punjab. According to my view, politics is worship. I joined PPP 40 to 50 years ago, when I was a college student. I got impressed from Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto then I joined PPP. Each and every person in this country who is helping poor people is a politician. Some people changed the meaning of politics due to their personal benefits. Vote system is a very old system, in the era of Hazrat Muhammad (S.A.W) people also used to cast vote that was called Bayeyat hona. The meaning of casting a vote was also linked to satisfaction on the selection of the related person. The aim of PPP is as per Islamic teaching and this is to give equal rights to all people.

4.2. Politics and Shrine

According to respondents actual meaning of politics and Sufim is same. The meaning of politics is to understand the problems of poor people and help them to solve problems. This is also the meaning of Sufism. That is the reason politics of shrine and politics is same as narrated by the respondents. Now the situation has changed. A politician and shrine politician both can use local community for their benefit. They get vote from people by using force or by capitalizing on emotions of the people. The Koreja family and Sajjada Nasheen of Mitthan Kot have been involved in politics with the name of shrine to solve the issues of society but after gaining power they have totally changed. They are only enjoying luxuries of life through the power bestowed upon them by people. If Koreja family is in power and they have been elected in elections through party ticket of Pakistan People Party that is also due to shrine because Banazir Bhutto

was the followers of Khawaja Ghulam Farid. Koreja family masks this reality and says that shrine is just an additional factor and that they have secured party ticket with struggle. Under this theme it has also been discussed that poor villagers think that politics is the job of fake persons, and that the role of Pir is piri-muridi; the diversion from piri-muridi are some of the reasons of their failure in politics. The respondents have clearly stated that the manager of Auqaf department and Pir both are enjoying *nazranas* of shrine. Both have never used a single rupee for the development of shrine.

4.2.1. Sajjada Nasheen and Politics

About the role of sajjada nasheen in politics, one respondent shared:

Ae jehry khwajgan haen ae taan voten vich sirf apren mafad wasty he uthden, ty heen waste look hene kon vote ve bahon ghut denden. Ethan ty jehra koi ve vote vich othdy o sirf or sirf apran faida golendy, honon kiya koi ghreeb mury ya jevy.

The Sajjada Nasheen of Shrine does not do any politics; they only do business through this shrine and through politics. According to my information, pirs only get their benefit from poor people; they do not help the poor [or] needy people.

Another respondent said:

Vote asan honkon dendon jekon sain honre akhden, sain honren akhen dareshak kon diyo vote ty asan dareshak ko deson agr sain honren akhen mazari ko vote diyo ty asan mazari kon deson.

Yes, we support Sajjada Nasheen in the election. We give the vote to that person whom Sajjada Nasheen extends support to.

Another respondent shared:

Vote da faisal ghr dy wady krenden ty bus pir sain dy nal doa khair di akh deti ty gal khtm. Waisy peer sain hoon bndy da ahden jekon Pakistan People Party ticket deve, peer sain honed huq vich beh wenden ty sary vote hone dy

My father makes the decision to vote and we give the vote to Sajjada Nasheen because he is our neighbor or to give the vote to that person to whom Sajjada Nasheen supports.

The role of sajjada nasheen in shrine is important as far as securing a powerful position and governing the local political scene is concerned. The rest, they do not seem to be interested in bringing about a normative change in the lives of people or do something for their betterment. The channel which the above respondent seems to build up is that becoming part of the politics is important as it re-affirms their powerful status and shrine helps in re-affirming their position.

The above respondent also claims that politics has now merely turned into a business and association with shrine and through this association becoming part of the formal political associations brings in more economic perks. The support by public is not only extended to a sajjada nasheen but also to the people who the sajjada nasheen is in support of. So the household decision of whom to vote is taken by the household's male head and his decision in turn has been contingent whom sajjada nasheen is in support of. Hence, the voting decision making power of public has been completely hijacked by the sajjada nasheen. The dynamics of how this happens will be described in the immediate text and explained under forthcoming sub-heading.

Regarding the role of Sajjada Nasheen, one respondent said:

Amir fareed sain koreja 2 dafa election jetyen PPP di ticket ton choti seat ty, o ve sirf logen di aqadat hy darbar dy nal. O jeet ty wala loken ty kum na krendy hun jende wja kane loken vote ve nae dita. Khjgan jehra ve hy hene kon jitna vote mildy ya izzat hy ae sara kujh darbar di wja kane hy, haan jehra khwaja ghulam fareed sain hy o loken dy kum ve krendy jehre wja kane looken dy vich mushoor ziyada hy ty look honed izzat ve ziyada krenden. Kaleem ud din koreja jehra sajjada nasheen da bahi hy o election vich khra thendy ty hokon ve vote apren bahi di wja kane he mildy.

Sajjada Nasheen is doing politics as a business, but one of them named Khawaja Ghulam Farid, the chairman of Sariki Qaomi Ithad (SQI), always helps the poor people, [and] always talks about the rights of poor people. The younger brother of Sajjada Nasheen Khwaja Kaleem ud Din Koreja contested in election through the ticket of Pakistan People Party. The other is Amir Farid Koreja who lives in Lahore; he won two times in local bodies' election and became a chairman. Right after becoming a chairman, he changed his attitude, refrained from meeting poor people, helping them, [and] doing positive for the local community. People supported him due to Shrine and he belongs to Koreja family but after this attitude people cannot support him [anymore].

This quote is a good illustration of dichotomized role of sajjada nasheen in formal political scenario. One sajjada nasheen is supportive of the rights of the poor. While the rest, though over-claiming to public before election, under-delivered after winning the election. They did not bother to fulfill their responsibility of meeting the needs of locals. But the people have now decided not to support them in the name of shrine or lineage.

Similar views were shared with me by another respondent:

Jehre darbar di siyast he o sirf aur sirf koor hy ethan, mehnat khwaja sahab kete hy Allah taala dy piyare bndy bunryen ty ae look hunr hon mehnat ko apren mafad wasty istmal kete paen, ae khud mehnat kren ty wala gal hy.

Now the Sajjada Nasheen and their family only cash the name of Khawaja sahab to get benefit. Poor people helped them in the name of shrine and with respect of Khawaja sahab, [but now] they are only enjoying that money.

This respondent explained to me that followers of Khawaja Ghulam Farid helped the Sajjada Nasheen and family in the respect of Khawaja Sahab. Now they are enjoying the money of shrine secured from people.

Bringing in comparative view of those sajjada nasheen who work for the local community and those who are extractive by nature, one respondent enlightens:

Darbar koon ty siyast nal na ralwen apren mehnat kren siyast vich. Ae khawjgan jende Kathy khur theven o bnda election jeet wendy, hene looken kon ziyada tur vote humdardi da mildy, aqadat da mildy, haa hene vichon khwaja ghulam fareed sain koreja jehry hen o apran hik alug wajood rakhenden ty o looken di khidmat ve krenden, SQI dy bane ve hene sarikistan qaomi ithad.

No doubt Sajjada Nasheen and family have a political power, they also have strong vote bank. In general election they won because of the public support. One man from Khwajgan is Khawaja Ghulam Farid Sain, has his own identity, he is the chairman of Sariki Qaomi Ithad (SQI), and he always helps the needy, poor people. Local community does not have any issue from him. He does not behave like feudal lord. The rest do not work for community development or for poor people. They only get benefit from Shrine and from followers.

Another respondent sahed:

Asadi family wese taan chachran sahreef di hy lakin asan ethan 10-15 saal kane rehaeshe hoon. Chachran sahreef jethan khwaja sahab rahendy hun o asady ghr dy nal he. (khwaja sahab dy bary vich kujh malomat) Jethan tk sadi malomat hy taan khwaja sahab apren daor dy azeem insan hun, hon daur vich hone di wadi izzat hae, lain honr jehry pechly vorsa hun hone chachren dy vich hone dy naa koon khtam kr dety. Hone da ghr hik khandart di shakal vich bunr gae, ethan tk ky khali chaar diwari ve naen snbhal sugye. Khajgan aqtedar vich ve reh gain lakin hene khwaja sahab wasty keta kasha kaine. Chachran shareef hik tareekhe shaher ha hene looken barbad kr dety, na koi gali change hy na road.

According to my knowledge Khawaja sahab was a great person of that time, his teachings were very impressive. Now Koreja family uses their name just for personal interests. Khawaja sahab's old house is now a desolate place; even they do not rebuild walls of Khawaja sahab's house. These Khajgan have been in political power, but they are doing nothing for Khawaja sahab.

These respondents shared that Koreja family has their vote bank due to association with shrine only and this is the reason due to which they get support in election and they win. They are only getting benefit from shrine. From Koreja family one person named as Khawaja Ghulam Farid Koreja (the chairman of SQI) always helps the poor without any benefit. Visitors and locals are very satisfied with his work.

4.2.2. Politics and the Role of Auqaf

Regarding politics and the role of Auqaf in this, one respondent tells in details:

Peer kon vote nesy denty jo ae Allah wali mukhlook hy peer da siyast nal kiya. Bus asan ty sain dy na ton wekaren bethon bus. Darbar di koi taraqe kaine, na koi pevunr da paren hy na koi pukha hy ty na kusha. Ae darbar hy aukaf dy vich jehra paisa anda pae aukaf khunda pae, kum ve koi kaine krendy. Sarkar dy ruqby ve hin hondy paisy ve aukaf khundy. Peer jehra jummy jummy qawali ty bethy o Malik hy, asan honkon paisy he waste denon jo o malik hin, agy je kr qawali thende hae to o sary paisy qawal ghinda ha,,hunr ty sary paisy peer cha ghindy. Mn darbar dy guly vich paisy pavunr piyan ty o galy dy nal bnda khra ha hon hath cha detey mn akhaye na mn guly vich satendan huth vich nimi denda,, pechy hon akhye thek hy sain. Ethan peer ty aukaf aly sary dohven rulye paen mil ty paisy khadhe wenden, biya kusha kaine ethan.

Sajjada Nasheen is respectable for us but why is pir involved in politics! His duty is to help needy people, spread the teachings of Khawaja Sahab and caretaking of Shrine. There is no development in the Shrine, not even a water cooler for the Shine and not a single fan for summer. Department of Auqaf and Sajjada Nasheen get benefits from Shrine. Every Friday Sajjada Nasheen comes to Shrine for Qawali, after Qawali people give him money (nazrana). In the past, this nazrana was for Qawal but now this is taken by Pir sahab. Today when I was putting my nazrana in the box, a man standing near box who was associated with pir and Aukaf [instructed] me “Give this nazrana in my hand.” I replied, “No, I will put it in the box.” The manager of Aukaf and pir sahab both are getting financial benefit from Shrine. None of them works for the development of Shrine.

This respondent clearly told me that being followers of Khawaja Ghulam Farid, the Sajjada Nasheen gains many benefits; they gain political power, extract money from shrine, and build alliances with Auqaf to extract. There is no development of Shrine from the Auqaf department or from Sajjada Nasheen. In this day and age, even the pir enjoys the money of Qawali that in the past was given to the Qawal.

Resonating on the role of Auqaf another respondent said:

Jethan tk darbar di development da tauloq hy taan hakomat darbar dy paisy khadi wende hy, ty khurch kujh ve nae krende. Na koi proper rehaseh gaah hy, na koi lunger khana hy, ehyo tk ky koi panri da system ve khaas kaine. Ethan rehaes gah ve peer sain honre khud braen hy ty lunger khana ve khud braen paen, jehra jo sarkar di kramat di wja kane chulda pae.

The shrine is not developed yet now, the department of Auqaf earns a lot of money from this Shrine but spends nothing for development. There is no proper system for visitors, not a water system and not even a fan for summer. Sajjada Nasheen provides rooms to visitors and food on his own behalf.

This respondent told me that there is no such development in the shrine from Auqaf department which indicates that it is not performing its duties responsibly. Sajjada Nasheen provides facilities to visitors on his own behalf, if he feels doing it for the people.

On describing the role of government, one respondent shared:

Hakomat heen darbar dy paisy khande pae hy bus, biya keta kasha kanese. Ae darbar da fursh pta nae kitna saal poranra hy, hali tk oven da oven hy, kamry jehry 5,6 hen ae ve pta nh kitna saal poranre hin lakin hin oven dy oven, looke wduhda pae, hakomt kon paisy mildy paen lakin paisy kum nae lende pae hakomt.

Shrine is not developed; government only takes out its chunk. Auqaf earns a lot of money from here but does not spend a single rupee for its [shrine's] development. There are only 5 to 6 rooms for visitors that are very old; there is no fan in these rooms and no drinking water for visitors. The number of visitors is increasing day by day but the government does not develop this shrine.

4.2.3. Articulating Politics and Shrine in Mitthan Kot

The data collected from field work revealed that Khawaja Ghulam Farid was born in Chachran Shareef. Khawaja Sahab's father's name was Khawaja Khuda Bukhs Sain and elder brother's name was Khawaja Fakhr Jahn Sain. This shrine was built by Khawaja Fakhr Jahn Sain nearly 195 years ago. Initially, this shrine was in Chachran Shareef but later it was shifted to Mitthan Kot. Some people also say that a river flowed near the shrine in Chachran Shareef that damaged the wall of shrine, the reason for which Khawaja Sahab shifted it in Mitthan Kot. Khawaja Sahab's followers were the king of seven states who further developed the shrine. Among these is the famous Nawab of Bhawalpur. Some feudal lords also developed shrine after the death of Khawaja Sahab, but now feudal lords are limited only to visiting the shrine. Khawaja Sahab had no lineage and care taking of shrine was given to the relatives of Khawaja Sahab. Khawaja

Moeen ud Din Koreja was the first Sajjada Nasheen and the second one was his first cousin named Khawaja Amir Farid.

On articulating the relationship between politics and shrine in Mitthan Kot, one respondent shared:

Darbar da siyast dy vich amal dakhul oven hy ty kaina bus ae jehry khajgan hen zarbardsti amal dakhl kete paen. Hene kon vote ve thora bahun jehra look denden o ve darbar ty naa ty he mildy.

In general, there is no relationship between shrine and politics but in Mitthan Kot Koreja family involves shrine forcefully in politics. People support them in election due to respect of Shrine.

This respondent shared that there is no such relationship between sajjada nasheen and politics but Khawajgan uses shrine for political benefits because of people's devotion with Khawaja Ghulam Farid. Another important factor which can be understood from this quote is that shrine has been dragged into politics in Mitthan Kot by the sajjada nasheen to expand the range of their power and for accruing more economic benefits.

Reflecting on the state of local politics in Mitthan Kot and feudalism, one respondent said:

Waisy meda nae khayal ky shrine di it self koi khas political involvemtn hovy kun ky ethan o bnda kamyab hy jehra zameendaren dy Kathy hae ethan kane sara fudel system dominant hy. Fudel culture shrine politics ty ve dominant hy ty nal nal social setup ty ve. Haa peer aprin power wasty wala politicians nal milye wae hen jo sada ve thora bahun asar reh wanjy society dy vich. Acha wala peeren da ae hal hy jo peer ve apus vich divide haen, koi hik bnda ve hik party vich kaine, Amir fareed ty faiz fareed koreja linguistic line vich hen mutlb sariki party vich, jub ky gadi nasheen di family o PPP dy nal hy. Ethan wala gap hye like shrine involve itna kaine Honda hik aspect khud khwaja sahb di teaching ve the sagdiyen like hone da durs sirf logen di eslah ha biya kujh kaina ha. Peeren di siyast ty bus guzara he hy, ae look sirf aur sirf mazar ty he apren siyast krendy khren, na ty ae koi kum krenden na he looken di koi khidmat krenden. Ae bus mazar dy paisy khenden, galy ty apren bndy rakhe khren, aukaf diyan zameena hen o ve ty nal lunger dy paisy ve khendy khren. Shoru vich siyast vich khwaja kaleem aya ha, wala Amir Koreja ae dohven fail the gaen kun jo ethan hik taan hye sardari siyast ty dojha peer jeet ty kum ve na krendy hun jeven sardar nae krendy.

I do not think that Shrine has an impact on the politics of Mitthan Kot, because here feudal system is dominant, and only that person will be successful who has been backed by the feudal lord. Feudal culture is not only dominant in shrine politics but also in the society at large. Koreja family supports feudal lord just to maintain their power in society. The other factor about Koreja family is that they are also divided into different parties. Followers are confused whom they should extend support to. Koreja family has no major contribution in the politics of Mitthan Kot, they only have a minor

contribution. If we say that they practise fake politics then it [will not] be wrong. They only enjoy money which they earn from shrine; they do not help [the poor]. In the start Khawaja Kaleem ud Din contested in election, then Khawaja Amir entered into politics but both failed due to feudal politics. When they eventually won the election, they totally changed; the poor having waiting for real change to happen but it is not happening anytime.

Again, this respondent (like the previous one) does not find an organic articulation between shrine and politics in Mitthan Kot. The Koreja family forcefully brings in this articulation by involving feudal lords into this relational dynamic. Feudalism being the dominant form of power field operating in Mitthan Kot becomes an easy way out for Koreja family to increase their vote bank, and to become more powerful in the local political scene. Having said this, the actual vote bank is often difficult to rise as the family has been divided into different political factions due to internal conflicts and competing political alliances. The respondent also told me that Koreja family failed in politics due to feudal system. In the beginning, people had cast their votes but when Koreja family changed their behaviour and did not help the poor people, then local community stopped supporting them. Now they are not doing any politics; they are just enjoying the money of shrine and use the name of shrine in fake politics.

Another person re-asserted:

Siyast da mutlb taan bemani koor wgera hy peeren koon kethan siyasut ande he, ae bus even he tung thae wuden. Baqe hur election vich ae honkon support krenden jehra bnda hene kon acha lugdy faidy dendy, ae apren mooreden dy through honkon support krenden. Baqe rahe gal peeren di ty hone da siyasut nal kiya, peeri mooridi kren siyast krun pae wenden, jendi wja kane look hene kon pasnd nae krendy. Jethan tk darbar da siyast nal tauloq hy tan maojuda khajgan kete darbar he siyast hy ty siyast he darbar hy. Ethan sari gunda gardi aala chukr hy, aukaaf hovy ya sardar ya khajgan sary hik dojhy nal rulye paen.

According to me politics is the job of a fake person. It is not a good job for pir, because the job of Pir is based on the teachings of Islam and love. That is the reason people dislike Koreja family. In every election Pir supports feudals just to maintain power and personal benefit. Now for koreja family this shrine is politics and politics is this shrine. Sajjada Nasheen benefits from poor people, enjoying money on the bases of Nazrana...feudal, Auqaf and Sajjada Nasheen all are enjoying shrine income.

An interview with a politician sajjada nasheen gave interesting insights as explained in the following text:

Shrine ka role politics mn bahot zarori hy bahot positive hy, mn Punjab ki hud tk kahun ga ky yahn to bahot positive role hy baq dosry areas ka idea nh mjhy, mera interaction Punjab mn hy to ap dekh len shah mehmood qureshi sahb ko, unhn ne hmesha positive politics ki hy, esi trha gilani sahb ko dekh len who bhe national level tk gae hn, so yeh jo Punjab ki hen un ka bahot positive role hy. yeh jo darbar ki siyast hy yeh muheb ae waton logon ki hy, aj tk en per koi aisa allegation nh lgay, yeh apny following ki wja sy logon ky sath touch mn rehty hn, logon ki khawahishat en tk direct ati hn kun ky log attach hoty hn en ky sath. Han aik yeh bhe hy aisy logon ko awam khud select krty hy bina kisi laluch ky aur en ky pas paisy nab he hoon fudels ki trha tb bhe yeh log kamyab hn. Baq agr ap dekhen to Pakistan mn yeh culture hy ky billions hon to ap politics mn a skty hn wgrna nh, because vote khredny party hn but hmara as such koi aisa scene nh hota. (ap ki politics mn shrine ka role hy ya nh) Mera agr zati pochna hy to mn party ki ticket py aya tha aur mjhy vote party ki wja sy milta hy mn party politics krta hn, baq khidmat ki wja sy vote milna ya phr shrine ki wja sy milna to who additional factors hn.

Shrine's role in politics is very important. In Punjab shrine has an important influence in politics, like Shah Mehmood Quershi Sahab and Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani Sahab, they both have a positive role in Pakistani politics. Shrine politics is about patriotism. Shrine politicians should not be accused because they are linked with their voters and are doing work for their development. That is why people cast votes to them and select them. Another thing that is different between politics and shrine politics is this; shrine politicians cannot buy a single vote because people are attached to them emotionally and we are also attached with them, other politicians spend billions for buying votes. I was selected with the party ticket, people gave me votes due to my party and I contested in every election through my party. My work for community welfare and shrine are additional factors in my politics; the main factor is my party. Politics of this shrine is like that...to give equal rights to everyone, spread peace and love and provide education to poor villagers. My influence in politics is due to the shrine, people give their votes in respect of shrine and my work and personality are additional factors.

This extract provides a different view on the role of local politics in the context of shrine. The normative role of *sajjada nasheen* in local politics, the organic articulation between politics and shrine, the importance of party politics in elections, and the unconditional relational dynamic between shrine politicians and their devotees are the important themes from this extract.

Speaking of the role of biradiri, one respondent specified:

Waisy ty local politics dy vich buradri system ve count thendy, kun ky bradri ve wada effect krendi he. Wese hene dy follower indus river kane parle side ty bahun look hen khwaja sahb dy wesya taan hur jah ty mureed hen lakin o basically othaun dy hen jendi wja kane follwers ve othan ziyada hen. lakin aj kal system change the gae look vote honkon paenden jehra vote kon ghin ty chuldy, chaye o shrine da bnda hovy cahye o koi biya hovy, ha look shrine nal muhbt aqadat zaror rkhenden, paisy wgera ve denden per vote nae dendy kun jo kum kaine. shrine di power apren jahn muqadas hy ty oven he hy henkon koi nae kum kr sgda.

In local politics biradiri system is also included, because this system has a great influence in local politics. Shrine has power and we all respect the shrine, people respect Koreja family, they give nazrana and other different benefits to pir but in the voting system, they only give the vote to that person who did work for them, and helped them in troubles.

This respondent though emphasizing on the role of biradiri in local politics, also made her point very clear that people cannot be further fooled in the name of *biradiri*, kinship, and feudalism. People are now perceptive to cast their votes to only those to promise before elections and then deliver after elections.

Another politician sajjada nasheen told me that the actual meaning of politics and Sufism is same. Politics is about serving people and understanding problems of society and Sufi does the same. In the past shrine feeds poor people and passengers. Poor people live in the shrine and eat from Sufi or care taker of shrine. Now the care takers of shrine are into personal benefits, they use people for their own benefits. Koreja family is known due to shrine of Hazrat Khawaja Ghulam Farid. Their political power is through shrine and Pakistan People Party's Banazir Bhutto was the follower of Hazrat Khawaja Ghulam Farid as well. She gave party ticket to Sajjada Nasheen in the respect for shrine. Now Koreja family uses shrine for benefit, they enjoy money of shrine and acquire votes from people in the name of shrine. They forget that if people cast vote, they also demand for help. Koreja family is living a luxurious life forgetting to fulfill their responsibilities and that is the reason they are failing in politics.

4.3. Political Economy of Shrine

As stated in the literature that political economy of shrine plays an important role not only in local community but also in the power of Pir. According to Ali (2005) and Hassan and Kamal (2010), the annual ceremony of Urs is the big source of income for Sajjada Nasheen. The followers earning high income give more at shrine as compared to lower income and the well educated give less at shrine as compared to people having low education.

The summary of interviews conducted in this research reveals that the shrine feeds the whole Mitthan Kot city. After the completion of Banazir Bridge, many people are doing different jobs in the shrine and have different shops near shrine because number of followers and visitors has increased on daily basis. The data also reveal that department of Auqaf and Sajjada Nasheen are

repaing economic benefits spending nothing on shrine's development. Poor people help in lunger and also give nazrana to Sajjada Nasheen. The sajjada nasheen also receive financial assistance for lunger and shrine from different donors but nothing is being spent on people. Respondents also shared that the manager of Auqaf enjoys nazrana given by people with the help of Pir and also enjoys the rents of shops and income of other assets of shrine. On each Friday money is poured into the shrine in different forms by the vistors. The rent of shops is high due to this reason prices are also very high. Now, Koreja family is in power and is enjoying luxurious life being over-confident that people will always be with them due to family's association with the shrine.

4.3.1. Visitors and Political Economy of Shrine

About economic contribution of visitors, one respondent said:

Biya ethan look mantan maneden jo sakon aolad theve ya wala koi jehra the giya ty sada banda chut avey. Jehly manat pori thae gae pechy jaen jeven jeven manne hon oven oven adda kete, daig dete, lachi danre dety ya wala koi paisy paa dety peer kon.

When their wishes are fulfilled, they come here and give money or animal to Sajjada Nasheen or distributing rice according to their financial power.

Another respondent corroborated:

Asan bus hur saal peeren kon daren ya paisy dendon jo bele sada hissa ve lunger vich milae ao

Yes, at any cost we support the Sajjada Naheen in the form of wheat or money every year to contribute to Langar.

A farmer claimed:

Asan dohven hur saal lunger vich daanre ya paisy zaror milendon jo sain di sady oty bahun sari maherbani hy.

Yes, we both support financially to Sajjada Naheen in the contribution of Langar or after fulfilling of Mannat.

A visitor in a group interview stated:

Asan kane ve jehra kujh husb e taukeef the wendy asan o ve etha dy dendon. Lunger ve nal chuldy piya lakin asan khundy kainse.

Yes we contribute into langar according to our financial power, through money, animal or wheat.

A visitor from Khan e wal said:

Asan hur saal lunger vich, daanre, nal paisy ya koi janwar wgera khajgan ko dendon. Aj ve asan maanat vich bakri dety sain hone koon.

We do not give too much to Sajjada Nasheen but when we come we give some money to contribute into langar. Today we gave a goat to Sajjada Nasheen to offer Mannat.

Another farmer from Khan e wal said:

Asan ghreeb look hn ziyada na ty thora bahun apran hissa lunger vich zaror dy dendon, fusal di mosum danren, ya koi paharun wgera dy deta wady sain honre kon. Putr a sada jehra maal hy o hy ty sain honre da, biya kenda hy.

We are poor people we just support in the season of wheat according to our power. All the things that we are having are due to Khawaja Sahab, we are nothing without him.

A visitor from Rojhan said:

Asan lunger wgera vich khud taan kasha nae dendy baqe ghr waliyen da pta naen, ha baqe tail chraghe 20, 30 gale vich deti aya ty taveez di mookh ve desun peer sain kon.
We do not know about family support, but when we visit shrine we put some money in the box or give money in the form of of amulet.

All the quotes above resonate the fact that visitors incur expenditures within the premises of shrine benefitting the sajjada nasheen and Auqaf. In order to accrue benefits from people there are different channels within a well as outside the premises of shrine (in the form of shops selling religious commodities, box to offer money, or nazranas offered by the visitors).

4.3.2. Shrine Politics and Political Economy Therein

A school teacher from Muhammad Pur narrated:

Peeren di jehre ve power hy o sari di sari bahr dy looken di wja kane hy, jitna ve aqadat mund hen. mehboob sain ne mehkma aukaf kane building kerae ty ghidhe hoe hy jehre pehly old home barenden hun o nae bnryan ty honr o lunger khana bunr gae. Othan kane daily 3 time lunger mildy loken koon, jehre wehly toosan lunger kha ghindon pechy sain dy karendy kiya akhden jo lunger vich hissa milae wunjo. Asal dy vich paar di hik sugar mil hy hamza sugar mil, jehre aqadat dy naa ty hene ko lunger dy paisy dende hy ya sara saman dende hy, ethoon waly look hen wasty ve tung hen jo ae lunger khawa ty paisy kun ghinden, a darbar koon rozi da zariya kiyn bnrae kharin. Kaafi looken mill waleyen kon akhya ve hy jo tosan ty lunger free dendoo ty khane vich ache cheezen dy paisy dendo, ae ethan loken kon dal khwenden ty paisy ve ghinden, o ahden khair hy sada ty aqeda hy peer sain nal sakon kiya. Darbar di sari amdun Lahore account ve wende hy, khwaja sahb dy ruqby itna ziyada hen khanpur jo jenden entha hy sari amdun aukaf kane hy, hondy naal naal darbar ty theky wgera di amdun ya zaireen jehry paisy denden o sary aukaf kane. Sajjada nasheen kon sirf 15 hzar mahene da mildy hakomat di turfon bus. Lakin jehra aukaf da manegar ande o peeren dy nal rul wendey, peeren di private kami

vich hone dy nal the wendy, jehre jo peer jumma jumma karenden, tosan dekho darbar dy sary camery puthi jah ty ludy khren hik ve camera galy do ya darbar dy andur kaine sary sahen dy vich ty enjhe jah ty jethan koi faida ve kaine. Aukaaf da system enjha khrab hy ethan jo koi kum nae krendy pevunr da paren ve mul da, hur hik cheez da aukaf private theka deta weya hy, jende wja kane o looken ko saholiyat ve nae dendy jo sada theka chuly piya.

Sajjada Nasheen Moeen ud Din Koreja hired a building from Auqaf, their first plan was to build an old home but now they made a langar khana for visitors. In langar khana they give three times food to visitors and after food they are asked to contribute monetarily in langar. But in reality a sugar mill in Rahim Yar Khan by the name of Hamza Sugar Mill gives all the things for langar out of respect, fondness and love of Khawaja Sahab. Many people complained to Mill owner about this but they only said we give this in respect of Khawaja Sahab. Department of Auqaf gives fifteen thousand per month to Sajjada Nasheen as care taker of shrine. Auqaf manager and Sajjada Nasheen are involved in looting and plundering the income of Shrine. Every Friday, there is festival of qawali in the shrine, [in which a] number of followers visit the shrine. Pir sahab comes here for prayers and receives nazrana from people. People offer nazrana which should technically go to the box installed by Auqaf but [nazrana] is taken by the private personnel of pir sahib who is especially allotted to do this job. Even cameras installed [within] the shrine are on wrong side [as per the] instructions of Auqaf manager.

One of the shopkeepers selling religious commodities explained in details the internal shrine politics of accruing, extracting and plundering.

Personnel from Auqaf department also corroborated:

Baqe ae darbar he khajgan di rozi da zariya hy ty sara kujh hy, honr 7 April koon mehboob sain dy do putren di shadi hy ty ethan hur bnda Pakistan da political party da ha piya. Gilani sahb, mulana fazlul rehman, shah mehmoood etc sary hun pae ethan. Maqsad hy itna awam ty itna khurcha peeren kon darbar kane ae biya hene di rozi da zariya ty kujh ve kaine.

This shrine is only source of income for Sajjada Nasheen. On 7th April; there was a marriage ceremony of two sons of Sajjada Nasheen. Politicians from all Pakistani political parties, ulema karam from all over Pakistan and many other people from rich families, attended the marriage ceremony. Koreja family spent a lot of money on this marriage and this is due to shrine...all power is only through shrine.

4.3.3. Market Economy and Shrine

A person who is a tailor by profession in Mitthan Kot shared:

Baqe kum karobar taze the gae judur di pull bnre hy, pul kane pehly tk koi hal kaina ha. Darbar da faida khwajgan koon ty aukaf kon. Khwaja sahb di darbar ty nazrane kane hut ty ve peeren ko bahun faida hy khwaja sahb di jaidad kane, lakin darbar di koi taruqe

kaine paisy bus khadhe wenden. Baqe aukaf dy hissy wich bahun ziyda ruqby hen jehra jo aukaf ve kujh kane krendi. Baqe gal ae hy jo asadi taan ehya soch hy jo peeren da siyasut nal koi taluq kaine ae door ve reh wanjen taan thek hy.

Benazir Bridge has great benefit for us. It creates job opportunity for the people of District Rajanapur and also eases access to market for agricultural products. This bridge is also beneficial for Auqaf and Sajjada Nasheen because a number of visitors increase due to [this] bridge. This is also beneficial for shopkeepers; they earn lot of money from visitors.

About the significance of owning a shop selling religious commodities, a shopkeeper from Rajanpur stated:

Darbar di hur hik cheez mazbhi hwaly nal kaafi ehmiyat rkhendi hy, jeven mukhtalif methaiyan hen jehriyan kaafi aursy toon wikdiyan paen, honed vich laachi daren ty chohare bahun ziyada ahem hen. Waqt dy nal nal cheezan ve wudhdiyan wenden ty sada karobar ve, ae darbar bahun mushoor the gae he hunr itna pehly kaina hae, ethan Pakistan dy hur elaqy toon ty hur muzhab da bnda andy.

Every product sold in the shops has religious importance. Followers buy products in the name of religion like most bought products are sweet items (cardamom and dates). The number of followers increases our product sales.

A shopkeeper from market outside the shrine premises explained:

Rush jehrey welhy ziyada honed saaf zaher hy sakoon munafa ziyada thendy ty sadi sale wdhs ty asan ve factriyen kane saman ghinsu. Muqsad he jo sada ty factreyen waliyen da rozgar darbar nal he jurya pae, darbar he taan look ande paen look andy paen taan sada kum chulda pae.

The more the followers increase the more we earn. Our shops run with followers. In real meaning, we are not only attached with shrine but also factories where we buy products from to sell within and outside the shrine premises.

Another shopkeeper while explaining to me the price range of religious commodities detailed:

Ha pehly asan auqaf dy kraen di wja kane rate ve ziyada rkhendy hase kun jo rush sirf sardiyan da Honda ha, lakin honr garmiyen sardiyan rush di wja kane sady khurchy ve pore thendy paen ty asan rate veg hut kr dety.

In the past, we charged high prices from visitors due to high rent asked by Auqaf and visitors visited in winters only. But now visitors come here whole year and we charge reasonable prices. The greater number of visitors also gives benefit to Aukaf and Sajjada Nasheen they also earn money like Nazrana etc.

A member of Koreja family, chairman of SQI explained to me that:

Agr shrine da economically benefit dehdo ty ae dekho ky itna wadi shadi ve sirf shrine di wja kane thae he, hen toon alawa mureed ve hene kon bahun hud tk support krenden o ve muhabt nal ty shrine nal aqadat di wja kane, wala power ae he jo elaqy da jehra DCO,

DPO hose o hene kane zaror aose sirf shrine di wja kane, hene di sari value he ve khwaja sahb di wja kane biya hene kane kiya lathy , hene da ty koi kum karobar ve kaine. Local community koon bahun faida he jo kot mitthan dy vich roz ba roz zaareen wady wendy darbar ty avenr waly, judunr da pull bnrye daily ethan 5 ton 7 hzar bnda andy zarat wasty, ephly sardiyen vich wood bridge Honda ha ty even he rush Honda ha lakin honr garmiyen sardiyen rush hondy. Khwaja sahb dy urs dy maoqy ty taqrebun 6 ton 7 lakh bnda hondy darbar ty, jendi waja kane ethun waly looken da 6 mahene saal da rozgar akhta the wendy. Baqe community koon hene kane koi threat kaine, ha thory bahun flahe kum ve krenden jendi wja kane look izzat ve krenden.

If we look at the economic benefit of shrine, then we all know that the huge marriage ceremony, different cars and having a good house these are all due to shrine. Koreja family does not have any job; they are all enjoying money from shrine. The local community also has the benefit of shrine, they earn money from this shrine; after the completion of Benazir Bridge, six to seven thousand people daily visit the shrine. In the past, people only visited in winters but now people visit here during every season. At the time of Urs almost 6 to 7 lacs people visited in [just] three days and people earned a lot of money in these [three days].

The quotes as stated above explained in-detail about the market forces functioning in the market. Both on the supply and demand sides, buyers and sellers are active as shrine provides with ample economic opportunities for people to earn livelihood. For the powerful position holders such as sajjada nasheens, politician sajjada nasheens and Auqaf, shrine is also an economically lucrative enterprise. In the lungar system of the shrine, different donors are involved. The main donor is the owner of Ashraf Sugar Mill (as stated earlier), who is the great follower of Khawaja Sahab. He has given a house to Sajjada Nasheen and also gives monthly money for lungar. Hence capitalizing on people's emotive forces is one of the critical features of both supply and demand sides of those linked to the shrine in any capacity.

4.4. POWER

The summary of interviews highlights that shrine gives the identity to Koreja family. When they were not the care taker of shrine (Sajjada Nasheen), rarely people knew about them. Now they have financial power and political power due to shrine. Koreja family is getting benefit from shrine and earning the income of shrine. Due to shrine Sajjada Nasheen became the president of international Ulema e Mashaikh. They also portray a bad image for shrine, because they are doing politics through shrine and they are involved in education and health sectors just for benefits. Now after this attitude of Sajjada Nasheens and family numbers, the number of followers is decreasing and people visit shrine for emotional affiliation with the Khawaja Sahab.

One respondent shared that in real sense Khawaja Sahab has no lineage and Sajjada Nasheens are not the real followers of Khawaja Ghulam Farid. Auqaf department also holds power through shrine and earns income from shrine and assets of shrine but spends nothing on its development.

4.4.1. Power and religion

A respondent who was a lawyer by profession stated:

Kot Mitthan dy level tk peeren di bahun izzat hy o sirf darbar di wja kaine. Honr recently mehoob koreja sain dy do putren di shadi hae, ty ethan hur community da bnda aya wada ha pory Pakistan vichun, taqrebun hik hzar dy qareeb umlema kram hun. Pehly hene di ae postion hae jo koi salam na krenda han judren dy ae sajjda nasheen bunryen hene di power wudh gae hy o sirf shrine di wja kane, ty hen shadi di wja kane ty mazeed ae powerful the gaen, shrine di wja kane hene dy hur bndy na relation bunr gae kiya fzul ur reham, sirj ul huq, liyaqat baloch, shah mehmoood qureshi ya wala yousaf raza gilani sub nal achy tauloq bnra gaen sirf shrine di wja kane.

Shrine has great power; the Koreja family has earned a lot of respect, love and economic benefits that are the result of affiliation with the shrine. Recently the marriage ceremony of two sons of Mehboob Koreja was in Mitthan Kot. From all Pakistan, almost ten thousand people came... from different communities, like Siraj ul Haq, Mulana Fazlul Rehman, Shah Mehmood Qureshi, Syed Yousif Raza Gilani, and Liyaqat Baloch, etc. Before becoming Sajjada Nasheen they didn't have any identity. But now they are powerful.

To what extent this power which is directly derived from religious lineage associated with shrine is translating into performing normative politics is like an open secret.

4.4.2. Power over resources

Ethan girls boys college ve hen ty nal sarkari hospital ve hy lakin dohven dy vich saholiyat hin kaina, sardar ahden sada bnda hovy ethan dy khajgan ahden sada area hy ty sada bnda hove. ethon dy look bus mutmaen hen ve sae ty kane ve sae, kun jo koi gal nae krendy na peeren dy khilaf ty na sardaren ty khilaf. Jehra koi gal krendy hokon enjhy case vich phusa deta wendey ky o sari zindgi nikal ve nae sagda. Jehra ghulam fareed sain hy sariki ethan da o bnda ve ehyo kujh chahedy jo sakon sada huq deta wanjy lakin hony nal koi nae thenda. Ethan pehly sardiyan da rush Honda ha garmiyen da look ghut ande hun, lakin jaduren di pul banre hy hunr look sardiyan garmiyen honedn pae, khas kr look rahem yar khan, sadiqabad ty darya day paar waly look ziyada anden. Pull bunren naal ae faida the gae jo zila Rahim yar khan ty zila rajanpur apus vich mil gaen, mutlb ky division bhawalpur kon division dera ghazi khan nal mila dety. 2010 dy vich sailab mazar tuk aya haa, jende naal imadad ve kaafi mili hae, looken wasty vet y darbar wasty ve, jehre ek zameendar ty khajgan mil ty kha gaen, turken dy truk saman dy ghaib kr detene.

Shrine is the only source of income for Khwajgan; they do not have any other source of income. Through shrine now they have other source of income that is politics. There are both girls and boys colleges, a hospital, but lack of staff due to personal interest of Sajjada Nasheen and feudals. People are satisfied because they do not say anything about Pir and feudals. If someone says against them, he will face many hurdles in his life. In 2010 flood, different non-governmental organizations and government gave a lot of money and other things for poor people and for the development of shrine, but pir and feudals have used this money for their personal benefit and they don't bother to spend a single rupee on poor people.

Despite having access over resources which the sajjada nasheen accrue from Auqaf, visitors, followers, governmental and non-governmental sources, the amounts have rarely been allocated to where they belong. The power over resources has rarely been translated into power to and power into for meeting the communal practical or strategic needs.

Aty khajgan dy heen behave di wja kane ethon dy rehaeshe hene kon pasnd nae karende sewae khwaja Ghulam fareed sain dy jehry sariki party dy hen. Ethon da jehra ve rehaeshe hy honed muhbat sirf aur sirf darbar nal he hy baqe khajgan nal hone di koi aqadat kane ty na heen o koi nazar niyaz denden

At this time Sajjada Nasheen himself is in power because he is the president of international ulama e mashaikh. People of Mitthan Kot are very disappointed from Sajjada Nasheen's family, they only respect shrine. Local communities that are followers of Khawaja Sahab are the main source of pir power.

Here, the respondent talks us through the fact that despite holding economic power, the sajjada nasheen have not met the promises and they feel disappointed over their dismal performance and that they respect shrine for its religious history and emotional connection with the saint.

Another respondent stated that if the sajjada nasheen wants to have a successful political career then at least shrine must not be used a coil. Rather, they should do well for community.

Hen darbar da asal sajjada nasheen ty hae koi kaina, jehra khwaja moeen uddin hy o ty even qabza smjho kete pae. Hene da rozgar da zariya sirf peere moridi hy bus biya kujh kene, ty ae lungar dy na ty paisy khunden. Ty kujh awkaaf waliyan zamana ve hene dy na hen khwaja sahb waliyan. (hene di wja kane koi musla elaqy waliyen kon) Baqe hene di wja kane looken kon koi khas musla kaine bus ae he ky kum nae krendy baqe sardari system kaine mutlb zulm ya jubar etc.

There is no original Sajjada Nasheen of this shrine. Khawaja Moeen ud din has possessed the shrine. We people say this that at least they do not use shrine for their political benefit. If they want to be successful in politics they do [good] work for community, for poor people.

A respondent doing job in Mitthan Kot in Auqaf said:

Auqaf wala theky wali zamene toon security waliyen koon ty nal by jehry kumkar waly hen hone koon benefit denden, lakin honr ae asakon pta lugye jo peer akhden theky vich sakoon ve shamil keta wunjy, jendi wja kane peeren da ty hakomat da apus vich mohaeda nae the sugya. Sakoon ty ethan tk pta lugye jo jehre ghreeb awam saal dy saal nazrana dendi he peer ahden jo honur nzaran double deso ty qabool kresun na ty towada nzrana qabool ve kaine krendy.

In the Past, Government arranged the festival of Mila. That Mila was the source of income not only for Mitthan Kot people and also for many other people. We earned lot of money from Mila that we used to use for six months. When the Pirs became powerful they influenced festival of Mila due to personal interest. Government put a ban on mila in Mitthan Kot. Since last two to three years Sajjada Nasheen has also changed the rule of Nazrana, they said to follower to give the Nazrana double otherwise we cannot accept it. If you give one animal or ten thousand etc every year, now you give double to this amount.

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

This study identifies how Sajjada Nasheen used Sufi Shrine for their political and financial benefits. This study also shows that the manager of the Auqaf department with the help of Pir also gets benefits from Shrine. This is the policy failure and also the failure of the check and balance of the Auqaf department.

In the past, the different king used Sufi Shrine for benefits, especially for political ones. They also used Pirs to get political power. After this, Sajjada Nasheen involved in politics through the Shrine. When we talk about the role of Sufi Shrines in Pakistan, these are playing a significant role in the social, political and economic activities of Pakistan.

The topic under study is 'The role of Sufi Shrines in local politics: A case study of Mitthan Kot'. Mitthan Kot is found in the district Rajanpur. District Rajanpur is a rural area, and feudal lords are dominant in politics. In Mitthan Kot, Sajjada Nasheen and feudal lords are dominant in politics to get political power through Sufi Shrine.

The data also revealed about the festivals of shrine. There are different small festivals arranged in the shrine by Auqaf department such as festivals of *qawali* on Fridays. But the big shrine festival is *Urs* which has been stopped due to issue between Sajjada Nasheen and Auqaf department. The Urs ceremony which used to be celebrated in shrine held on 6th, 7th and 8th Rabe us Saani each year. Many visitors visit shrine every day, but the specific days are Monday and Friday. The most crowded day is Friday because people come from other cities for Friday prayers and festival of Qawali happens on every Friday in the shrine. One respondent sated that in the past government arranged *mela* in the shrine for three days and in these three days many followers used to pay visit. The shopkeepers used to earn almost six month's income in these three days. But due to issues of Khawajgan (explained in the next section) with Auqaf, Auqaf can no longer arrange *mela* festival in the festival. Spiritual practices performed at shrine are different. Some people visit the shrine in the quest of curing illness for instance one respondent shared of spending nine nights in the shrine for curing illness. Some came for marriage, some came for children and some came for poverty reduction. The water of pool in the shrine is used to cure diseases. People also get amulet (*taveez*) for different purposes. People visit the shrine when they are facing an issue for which remedy is required. The shrine of Khawaja Sahab is very important for the entire region. People visit shrine when they are face issue to solve those issues

through spiritual practices. After the completion of Benazir Bridge, a number of visitors have increased at the shrine. Many people are engaged in different jobs through this shrine. Followers of Khawaja Sahab are not only Muslims but also non-Muslims who visit shrine. This Shrine is not only famous in Pakistan but also in different countries due to Khawaja Sahab. Shrine of Mitthan Kot is the identity of city Mitthan Kot and whole district Rajanpur as shared by one respondent.

The data from Farida M. Pirani, Papadopoulos R., Foster J., & Leavey G, show that Sufi Shrine is a sacred place due to the buried sacred person (2008). My findings show the same result that a Sufi shrine is a sacred place. The buried Sufi Hazrat Khawaja Ghulam Farid was a great Sufi. He always gives the teachings of love and peace. After Khawaja Sahab, the shrine is under the caretaking of Khawaja Moeen ud Din. Now he is the caretaker of Shrine.

The data about Sajjada Nasheen from Hafeez-ur-Rehman shows that Sajjada Nasheen is the spiritual authority and caretaker of Sufi Shrine. He educates religious and spiritual teachings (2013). My findings are the opposite, according to my findings Sajjada Nasheen is the caretaker of Sufi Shrine but he only gets benefit from Shrine. Sajjada Nasheen is enjoying political power and financial benefit from Shrine. When we talk about religious and spiritual education, Sajjada Nasheen stops the education process in the Shrine. Due to Sajjada Nasheen, the number of visitors decreases day by day in the Shrine, because they also get benefit from visitors.

These Sajjada Nasheens are connected with social groups to get power. Social groups perform different activities in the Shrine. The data from Rehman about spiritual practices performed by social groups show that followers perform spiritual practices to manage their daily lives according to religion and society. People also perform spiritual practices to solve problems such as health, poverty, and marriage, etc. My finding shows the same result that people perform spiritual practices for different problems according to religion and society. Some people spend 9 nights at the shrine for illness, some drinking water from the pool to get freedom from different diseases, some get amulet from Pir sahab for different purposes and many other practices. But the main problem in my locale is that sajjada nasheen engaged with people through these practices to get benefit from followers. In this regard, my findings are opposite to the findings of Rehman.

The social groups are connected with local politics. A data from the report of Nasir Jamal in Dawn news state that, in Mitthan Kot feudal lords are dominant and people support them in the election because they helped them in judicial matters. People never demand development from politicians. My findings are somehow the same as this but also against this report. According to my findings, people living in the rural area are mostly uneducated and they cast their vote to feudal lords or Pir sahab because they only want to help them in problems like court issues and they never demand the area development. While some educated people living in the city Mitthan Kot cast their vote on the basis of development. They never want any other help, they want development. This concept is new in Mitthan Kot to cast the vote based on development that is the reason feudal lords are still having power in the area.

Local politics is connected with power because a politician involves in politics is to get power. My data about power from John French & Bertram Raven shows that power is the ability to affect believes, behaves and values of someone (1959). My findings show that through this shrine Koreja family has power and identity. They are enjoying luxury life through this shrine and using people for their benefits especially political and financial benefits. My findings are the same as data. Local politicians used local people through religion to get political power.

Local politics and Sufi shrines are connected with political economy for benefit. My data from Ali (2005), Hassan and Kamal (2010) about the political economy of shrines shows Urs is the main source of income for Sajjada Nasheen. Followers give money more than their financial power. People having education give less as compared to low education. My findings show that Urs was a main source of income but now Pir has many other sources of income, like Nazrana, Qawali, and langer, etc. Pir involves in politics through this shrine just to get power. The income of shrine not only feeds the Sajjada Nasheen but also many people that are associated with shrine through different shops. The Department of Aukaf also enjoys the income of shrine, manager of Aukaf with the help of Pir enjoying the income of Shrine.

Sajjada Nasheen through politics by using shrine and the political economy of shrine gets power. They also use civil society for benefit. They are enjoying the economic and political resources of the shrine.

5.1 Recommendations

Recommendations has been made on the basis of results

- There is need to regulate the role of Sajjada Nasheen involvement in politics but also in their city to get political power. Government should restrict and monitor the role of Sajjada Nasheen in politics.
- Government should make a policy to give the religious education to people, so that the influence of Sajjada Nasheen in local community should decrease.
- Government should improve the Police system in rural areas, to decrease the power of feudal lords. The other benefit is that people support in election to which they want to support, in this way the political power of feudal lords also decrease.
- Government should make a proper check and balance of Auqaf department. Government should also stop the involvement of Sajjada Nasheen in shrine.
- Government shoul relocate the camera for effective survelience.
- Government should take steps against Sajjada Naheen in order to provide living rooms and foods for visitors.

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CHAPTER - 1 INTRODUCTION- RELIGION AND POLITICS IN INDIA : A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE (a) (b) (c) (d) The Interface between Religion and Politics The Role of Religion in Indian Politics The Emergence of Hindu Nationalism The Genesis of Muslim Politi. (n.d.), (c).

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APPENDIX

UDC1: Visitors of Shrine

1. Name, age, gender, and occupation?
2. Where do you live?
3. For how long time you have been visiting the shrine?
4. What is your purpose of visitation?
5. What is importance of Shrine for this?
6. What spiritual practices have been performed by you in the Shrine?
7. To whom you case vote and any specific reason?
8. What is the history of Shrine?

Local people/residential

1. How long you have been living here?
2. How many family members do you have?
3. Can you share with history of Shrine?
4. What is importance of Shrine in your life?
5. To whom you give vote and any specific reason for your choice?
6. What informs your decision for voting?
7. Is there any involvement of Shrine in Politics?
8. Is Shrine beneficial for local politicians? What kind of benefit does Shrine give to a local politician?
9. Are you satisfied from the politics of Sajjada Nasheen?

10. Are there some troubles in the leadership of Sajjada Nasheen for public?

Shopkeepers of Shrine

1. For how long you have been shopping here?
2. What are the important religious commodities of Shrine?
3. What is the value of Shrine before and now?
4. What is the value of things and why people buy those?
5. What is the most selling commodity of Shrine and why?
6. What is the economic impact of heavy visitors?
7. Are there any specific days that are crowded in the Shrine? If yes, then explain.

Sajjada Nasheen

1. For long you have been serving as Sajjada Nasheen?
2. What is your role as Sajjada Nasheen?
3. What is politics to you?
4. What is Shrine politics to you?
5. What is your involvement in politics?
6. What is the role of politics in Mitthan Kot?
7. What is the role of politics of Kot Mitthan in Shrine politics?
8. Is this Shrine is a political institution?
9. Does this shrine have a power?
10. If yes then what is the power of this Shrine?
11. What are the political resources of Shrine?

12. What are the economic resources of Shrine?

Local politicians

1. What is Politics?

2. What is your involvement of Shrine in politics?

3. What is the situation of politics in Mitthan Kot?

4. What is the politics of Shrine?

5. What is the role of politics of Mitthan Kot in Shrine Politics?

6. What do you think about the leadership of Sajjada Nasheen?

7. What kinds of benefits do you think the leadership of Sajjada Nasheen has?

8. Did you support the Sajjada Nahseen in General Elections? If yes, then why?

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