

**The Patron-Client Politics and Voters Behaviours: A Case of
Rajanpur District, Punjab**



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CERTIFICATE

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Dedicated to
My Beloved Parents,

Acknowledgment

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Abstract

This study investigates the patron-client structure and their impact on voter behaviors in the 2013 general election in Rajanpur of Punjab province. It evaluates the relationship of voting behavior with ethnicity/ caste, religious sects/ peers, local issues, money factors, Patrons/Sardar, mass illiteracy, reconstruction and development, and election campaigns. The patron-client structure emerges in relations of ethnic/caste leaders, religious leaders/ peers and their followers, money lenders and their clients, landlords, and their tenants. The descriptive and explanatory research design has been employed to obtain the required sufficient information to analyze the impact of patron-client relation and its effect on voting behavior. The data collected from two constituencies NA-174 and NA-175. Each of the constituency consisted of 40 urban and 40 rural respondents' with combine gender segregation made a total of 160 respondents. It is found that less vote casting in male participants are inaccessible voting stations, laziness, and disappointment. Whereas the female voters have unapproachability to voting stations disenchantment (in that order) and apathy is the reasons for less vote casting. Even the people feel hesitation for giving remarks on political matters and there are fewer chances that their opinions influence other political workers. The social location of voters did not appear to be a defining factor for voting attitude as regards electoral contribution. According to respondents their participation in political forums and conversations are considered as a determinant for socialization and it influences performance of people. The results from the survey conclude that participants mostly make discussions on political situations with their family and friends as compared to other institutions. The findings of the study indicate that the different forms of patron-client relations - patrimonialism, clientelism, opaque procurement, rent seeking behaviour, and pork barrelling- have a significant positive impact on overall governance system- poor governance, corruption, and unfair civil service practice. Therefore, special mechanism and action should be developed to break the relationships and ties between the patron and client.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

Clientelism is more or less viewed as an effective, personalized and reciprocal relationship between different sets of actors or even individuals' actors. The bases of such relationship are due to their command over the unequal resources. These relationships also involve mutually beneficial transactions with political outcomes or interested vested beyond the sphere of immediate relationships" (Lemarchand and Legg, 1972). On the bases of his field experiment in Africa, the Wantchekon concluded that there exists positive response to clientelist by regional or ethnic candidates. It appears to indicate that clientelist bargains may be derived from the ethnic solidarities (Wantchekon, 2003).

Kanchan Chandra has studied patronage politics as the ethnic mobilization in Uttar Pradesh. It is a north Indian state. He found out that one-one interactions are vital and necessary in patronage redistribution scenarios at group level but not at a personal or individual level. In her views, "The voters magnify the value of her vote by joining a group. It can be said that a group of organized individuals can lobby and bargain for the services more effectively. They can influence the candidates who are contesting elections by their collective strength and collective demands as well. It would not be easy for them to bargain if they would vote in an individual capacity. The membership of a particular group makes the individual members capable to increase their odds. They create opportunities for themselves and for their micro-communities to whom they represent with the allocation of better benefits as compared to individuals who are outside the group." (Chandra, 2004: 55).

Clientelism itself holds diverse types with which it operates and exists in different parts of the world. These are contrary findings of the characteristics of clientelism. The logic of having societal and spatial modifications of clientelism like that of Africa, Latin America, and India are key examples. It is due to these stated reasons clientelism has become an interesting area of investigation in comparative politics.

1.2. Historical Development of Clientelism

The concept of totality becomes necessary to understand any modern phenomenon from its emergence. In modern political societies, the patron-client relations are not new developments. These are found to have existed in early chiefdoms, in feudal systems, empires, in ancient city-states, in western and in third world democracies. These have traces in modern socialist states and in military dictatorships (Lande, 1983). The findings of the authors like Critchley, Carl H. Lande reflected that “European history possessed very important examples of Patron-client relationships. These relationships appeared in the forms of early Germanic warrior – fellowship, in Roman clientage, in medieval vassalage and serfdom in unbroken successions.

In later phases of European history, there are found ample evidence on the importance of patron-client relationships. Although, such relationships appeared in different institutional settings depending upon somewhat versions of clientelism (Lande, 1983). The patron-client relationship as apart of political science literature has been seen largely through the prism of political clientelism. It is defined as a pillar of oligarchic domination. It perpetuates and reinforces the role of political elites having roots traditional settings.

The reciprocity factor differentiates between any other traditional coercive bond and a patron-client relation. This factor not only determines the logic of such bond but also defines this relation. James Scott pointed out the patron and the client power imbalance. He defined the reasons from which the two parties enter into an unequal exchange relation, where the client is unable to reciprocate fully. The patron’s ability to supply goods and services causes the power imbalance because the client needs these services for survival and well-being of his/her family.

The power imbalance between patron-client often leads the client to face a debt of obligation. It results in favoring the patron to enjoy compliance of the client. It is another important feature of a patron-client relationship. It means the power imbalance gap widened between the client and the patron, the client has to face greater compliance (Scott, 1972).

The daily face-to-face interaction and the diffuseness between the patron and the client are two more characteristics of a patron-client relation as explained by the Scott. He argued that these relationships succeeded as long as both have something to offer each other. The effective

nature of such relationships owes it a legitimacy. Although, it is denied to other power relationships of a coercive nature. The dynamics of traditional patron-client relations are as simple as the client always hunt for better services and prefers those promising leaders who can deliver better goods, compared to existing patron. This is the point where the traditional ones seek a conjuncture with the modern patron-client relations. This modern clientelist exchange has driven the clients to shift to a better patron. This pattern of relationship is credited to the initiation of democracy in societies where patron-client relationships have deep roots.

Competitive electoral politics or the democracy has improved the client's bargaining position. The client can lobby with a patron on the basis of adding resources. As the number of prospective patrons increases, the client can be seen in a better position to choose from (Scott, 1972). Scholars like Simona Piattoni and Martin Shefter believe that democracy undercuts clientelism. It gives more lobbying power to the voters as compared to the politicians. The politicians do not see clientelism as an effective vote mobilizing strategy. The secret ballot system has made clientelism more ineffective tool to convince the voter (Wilkinson and Kitschelt 2007).

The institutional and legal nature of the democratic system with the passage of time has made clientelism a shameful feature of the informal sector (Chavez and Stoller, 2002). It was assumed by early modern development that Clientelism would be a vestige. It was believed that economic and political modernization would render it obsolete and finally will diminish it (Roniger, 2004). In practical terms, it is quite evident from all parts of the world that clientelism is still functioning. Although, it is operational with different types, with different degrees, with different meanings, and at different levels.

The countries like the United Kingdom and the United States of America, where vote – buying in the form of bribery is strictly prohibited particularly in elections as per their respective constitutions. It is well established that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, clientelism in the form of patronage and pork-barreling was popular in the absence of comprehensive programmatic policies and their implementation (Kuo, 2011). The research on political science behaviors has witnessed recent times that advanced democracies in USA and UK actually created institutional legacies by replacing clientelist practices like patronage and

pork-barrelling. These constitutional and institutional legacies were favorable to the emergence of programmatic politics (Kuo, 2011). The evolution of progressive clientelist politics from patronage and pork-barrelling has given rise to programmatic politics. It can be viewed as a reason for the legalizing of lobbying and interest-group politics in such advanced democracies.

In Latin American democracies, it is widely believed that clientelism inhibits the power of well-organized popular groups in presence of new political rules. It frustrates the commitments of institutional change (Escobar, 2002). The major debate in Latin America on clientelism is reflected in Susan Stokes point of view. It states “does clientelism gives rise to poverty or poverty gives rise to clientelism?” (Stokes, 2007). The origin of this question is found in the belief that political parties in Latin American countries like Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina, traditionally try to convince poor voters by giving them tangible private good or cheap monetary benefits. These benefits hold a higher value for the poor voters as compared to other relatively well-off voters (Brusco et. al, 2004, Desposato 2007 and Fox, 1994).

In fact, with the passage of time, semi-clientelism and distributive clientelism evolved as the new forms of clientelism. The traditional ideas of clientelist relations in Latin American countries are replaced by dominating authoritarian to subordination clientelism (Fox, 1994 and Rubio, 1997). This type of semi-clientelism in Mexico enabled the poor people to gain access to material resources whatever the state can offer without articulating their interests and have to forfeit their right autonomously (Fox, 1994).

Clientelism has limitations in terms of massive vote-getting capacity as its dominance depends on strong and everyday face-to-face interactions (Auyero, 1999). In modern republican societies now a day, clientelism has no longer a formal institutional character. These societies are based on the separation of powers and electoral systems. It is also evident from the above-stated example that clientelism has maintained its currency through new and ever subtler informal forms. It depends on the political system and the level of economic development. In today’s world Clientelism is found in many different versions like pork-barrel spending, Allocational policies, vote buying and traditional patronage etc. (Schaffer, 2007).

It can be concluded that underlying objective of different types of clientelism as discussed above are similar in nature. It means the clientelism serves the purpose by providing

benefits in the form of tangible material to the voter or a select group of voters. The hidden objectives behind all these tangible benefits are to attain electoral support from voters. While pork-barrel spending and allocational policies are targeted towards a particular class of voters, patronage, and communities in general. The vote-buying deals in the clientelist relationships happen at a more individual level.

1.3. Clientelism in Pakistani Politics

In Pakistani political system, personalism and clientelism lead to the weak political parties. It is a consensus that weak political parties trends were mainly strengthened by the politics of the 1980s and 1990s. In 1979, Zia ul Haq initiated local government elections on a non-party basis and took extensive actions to limit political party activity at local level. Consequently, local candidates had strengthened the local networks based on clientelism and Biraderi-ism in order to win their elections for the District Councils. Since Zia ul Haq relied on legitimacy through this tier of electoral politics on which he established political patronage by giving significant supremacies to collect and spend money at the local level by District Councils.

The political parties were missing in local elections where electoral competition between individual local power holders was witnessed that two rounds of local government elections held within such framework that lead to a decentralized structure of political clientelism (Cheema and Mohmand 2003). Therefore, politics of Pakistan in this era was revolved around political personalities and not political parties. A few years later, Zia ul Haq transplanted this local system of political clientelism to the national stage where he decided to hold Provincial and National Assembly elections on non-party basis.

In the 1985 National and Provincial Assembly elections, Zia ul Haq excluded many political members from the electoral competition and banned political parties to participate in the electoral race. The political candidate of the local government from district councils captured the assemblies in the absence of many major politicians. In the 1985 Punjab assembly elections, nearly half of all elected candidates were sitting local councilors. This “helped transplant the culture of local body politics to the provincial and national levels” (Cheema and Mohmand 2003) and these assemblies emerged as patronage structure of political fragmentation. One minister

during the 1985 National Assembly's first budget session elucidate this situation as, "We don't have one party, or ten parties, we have two hundred parties. Each member of the assembly considers himself responsible only to himself" (Cheema and Mohmand 2003: 10). In the Zia era, all interventions that weaken political parties resulted in the localization of politics even in 1988 elections that were party-based national elections. After Zia's regime that ended in 1988 with his death, Pakistan went through four national elections in 11 years period. One after another, unstable and short-lived governments of Benazir Bhutto's Pakistan People Party and Nawaz Sharif's Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz came to power twice. This political transitional period did its part to strengthen the political parties and its organizational structure to some extent. Jalal (1999: 322) argues that Zia had weakened the organizations of political parties and encouraged the politics of personalization. He also kept his rural political landed allies happy through the mobility of rural vote blocs. These local allies wanted access to powerful political without disciplines that were imposed by external party structures. Even after the Zia era, the reliance of political parties on individuals continued in politics (Cheema et al 2006).

Wilder, however, points out that local power brokers were no longer able to rely on their economic wealth to get votes. Their landholdings had been significantly reduced by land reforms, sales, and land fragmentation. Alternatively, they had to start catering to demands for private and club goods and services from their clients, who had discovered that they possessed something of value, their vote which could be exchanged for material benefits. Wilder's further illuminate with his research that the tendency to vote in response to targeted material inducements became stronger with each successive election through the 1990s, popularly known as "thana katcheri kee siyasat" (literally, politics of access to the police and courts).

In fact, it was a general contention that factionalism in Punjab often referred to as its most formidable form of local political activity, is now surpassed by a record of delivery. Wilder quotes a politician to explain this; "All dharmas [factions] disappear if I have given them the delivery of electricity or roads. All the dharas are there for local feuds but if I've done a lot of development everyone will vote for me" (1999: 197). Interestingly, such clientelism revived political parties in Punjab and re-politicised voters.

Wilder (1999) claims, were true for rural areas where politics became focused more and more on political parties, rather than simply around powerful local personalities. The reason for this was simple — patrons could only provide services, such as electricity, roads or schools, and benefits, such as public jobs, only if they made it into government. Therefore, patrons had to be linked with parties because “politicians only have access to patronage if they win an election, and in particular, if they end up in the winning party” (Wilder 1999: 193).

This proved to be true during the four elections of the 1990s when the trend of vote base became evident. Based on the perception that each government was not dismissed simply to be brought back into power by the “establishment”, voters swung in large numbers between the PPP and the PML-N looking for services, in what came to be seen as an anti-incumbency bias, especially in Punjab.

This political clientelism, while it signals the breaking down of old ties of dependence and kinship hence the re-emergence of political parties. It meant that the politics of ideology or policy has little relevance in rural politics. Voters evaluate each political party at an election by how much the individual candidates were able to deliver in their particular area, rather than on the policies that the party was able to formulate, pass and implement while in power. Therefore, a government’s foreign policy, such as its relations with India or the US, or the extent of a government’s bent towards religion, and other such national issues count for little if it is able to deliver targeted services.

The one exception to this may be a policy that is able to lower the prices of basic goods. Other than that, elections are now mainly won through a record of local, targeted delivery. Wilder observes that the fact that even the Chief Minister of Punjab’s office functions as a personal *darbar* (royal court), in which his Political Secretary personally listens to individual requests and hands out the all-important “*chit*” (recommendation) or makes calls to various government departments on behalf of supplicants, shows a recognition even on the part of the highest office in the province that its legitimacy is based on how much it can deliver to each voter and not on the quality of its policy-making (1999: 199).

This analysis of national-level political clientelism is didactic but it leaves a probing question unaddressed — has individual rural Punjabi voters really broken out of their ties of

dependence and kinship? Can they strategically evaluate candidates and their delivery record to negotiate benefits before they cast their vote? How does their contact with a patron of higher status with whom they have regular face-to-face interaction affect their ability to carry out such strategic evaluations? For answers to that, we will have to move this analysis to a more localized level of a village and thus return to Powell's definition of clientelism. Only then we can evaluate the extent of the particularistic linkage between clients and patrons at the micro level that affects how rural citizens vote.

1.4. Exploring Voting Behavior in Pakistan

Numerous explanations for voting behavior are asserted by citing the literature on Pakistani politics that are often disseminated by the media without any in-depth study and certainly not empirically. The most quotidian of these is the explanation that the voting behavior of Pakistan's rural majority is controlled by "feudalism", which is not surprising given the nature of Pakistani politics. The relationship between a concentration of power in the hands of the landed elite and a host of political issues is well-documented.

History tells us that feudalism can lead to different things like A lack of political modernity (Moore 1966), an oligarchic political order (Scott 1972), lack of democratization (Rueschemeyer 1992), ineffective political institutions (Kurtz 2006) and the perpetuation of poverty (World Bank 2002). Pakistan has been a victim of almost all of these yet there exist scholars who articulate that the feudal controlling the popular vote is exaggerated. Instead, they suggest that the behavior of Pakistani citizens is determined to a much greater extent by political relationships that are formed around identities of kinship (Baradari).

Proponents of this idea argue that it is the most important institution in Pakistan's social structure and also the root of a political organization like Alavi 1971; Ahmad 1977; Talbot 1998 etc. Yet others believe that the voting behavior of Pakistani citizens is a response to material inducements and clientelism, linkages with political patrons such as Wilder 1999; Keefer-et-al 2003. Kitschelt describes it in the following way: "Pakistani voters are therefore described as dependent and coerced. As over-socialized members of kin groups and as vote-selling clients of political patrons all at the same time.

In this dissertation, it is contended that these ideas are deployed in a generalized manner at a macro level of analysis. Hence, they are unable to give us much insight about why Pakistani citizens vote as they do, or what separates the choices and decisions of one type of voter from another. They also tell us little about how captivating these ideas are: Are all voters led by considerations of feudalism, kinship, and clientelism, or are some voters able to build more programmatic, ideological ties with political parties and candidates? If it is the former, which of these often-competing linkages is the most important to them? Unfortunately, we do not know much about how rural citizens vote, and how much agency is given to the arguments on feudalism, clientelism when making electoral decisions.

While carrying out this multilevel analysis, it is viewed as the voting behavior rather differently from how it is dealt with in most literature. Lipset and Rokkan (1967) and most studies that take off from their framework look at voting behavior as it is expressed in the Act of Voting for a particular candidate or political party. In this assessment, it is explored voting behavior at a lower level. It is expressed as not in the vote but in a voter's membership of village-level political institutions that is called vote blocs. Instead of asking why a rural citizen voted for one political party over another, the researcher further asked instead why they chose one vote bloc over another.

Though their membership in a voting bloc does end up in the act of voting, it is argued that the logic of this vote is entirely altered by the fact that an intervening institution (vote bloc and its leader) exists between the voter and the political party. Furthermore, the fact that the relationship between the intervening actors and voters is based on, (a) everyday contact, and (b) relations outside the political arena, makes this a very different type of voting behavior from that more commonly studied between voters, and the formation of party support. In this dissertation, it is posited that in any political system in which such intervening actors and institutions exist, the study of voting behavior has very different requirements and needs to focus not on formal political institutions but rather on these informal institutions that organize, influence and shape the vote.

In this investigation, it is found that a majority of rural Punjabi citizens vote as members of these vote blocs that are organized by local power holders with whom they engage every day.

These vote bloc leaders are generally part of the old landed elite of the village. However, it is found that a majority of rural Punjabi voters do not participate in vote blocs because of socio-economic dependence. Instead, their membership is the result of either of clientelist negotiations aimed at access to public services and other material benefits, or it is a form of collective action. It is further investigated that vote blocs are thus either vertical networks of patrons and clients, or horizontal networks of social solidarity. They are very rarely expressions of dependence or of political party support.

It is found that voting behavior varies significantly across villages that lie close together and across households within the same village. Most of the variation between villages is explained by differences in social structure and varying levels of historical and current land inequality, while the fact that households that lie within the same village and thus face the same structural constraints but behave differently from one another are explained mainly by their wealth and caste status.

The rural landed elite of Punjab was the special constituency of the British colonial state, which created and protected both their landed power and their social dominance. In the post-colonial political environment of Pakistan which was first unstable, then authoritarian. These elites were able to transform their economic and social power into political influence and became central figures within national politics. Bhutto, himself part of this elite, challenged and circumscribed this power of the land in the 1970s by appealing to rural discontent, a strategy that allowed the fledgling PPP to sweep a national election and be brought into power by an electorate that had never before, and has not since, voted so obviously and overwhelmingly along class lines. The tipping of the scales against the rich, landed class during Bhutto's regime proved, however, to be but a short-lived interlude in Pakistan's political history.

The next section explains how Zia's subsequent regime reversed all hope of the end of the landed elite's control over politics, and of voting behavior organized along horizontal, class identity. However, this interlude was not without impact. Jalal (1994) notes that the landed classes' politics had undergone a change through the 1970s, in that there was greater realization that political alignments that ignored the rural middle and lower classes were no longer feasible. Jones summarizes the impact of PPP's 1970s campaign by pointing out that, "...The political

situation in Punjab has been changed and the landscape is no more a traditional place in case of political support where vast bodies of political people would submissively support their traditional leaders (2003: 243). Wilder claims that landholders have understood the fact that political parties [still] need strong persons as their candidates in rural areas and these strong candidates progressively need strong parties for winning the election. (Wilder 1999: 218). After the election held in 1970, the analysis of the politics in Pakistan is divided in two different ways. The first part of analysis includes that now it is possible that 'feudal' or elite persons in villages are beatable in elections such that their political influence and economic positions were mostly constrained by external political power. The second part includes that this step enables to go beyond the debate of structural change which includes that land reforms are a precondition for political change and for empowering the poor people of villages.

The election of 1970 is being held just before the 2nd phase of land reforms of 1972 due to this reason there was a bit change but landholdings were still large than a fair proportion. The previous literature has some clear signs that the poor people in villages had been empowered because of reconfiguration of political forces through a new political party and not by structural reforms which had to bring equality. This new political party chooses to interact with the voters in the rural area directly and not by the landlords. When provides with an opportunity, the interests of rural voters had surpassed all other magnets of feudalism, and clientelism and Baradari-ism but other sides are seemed unchanged.

There was a historic turning point in Punjabi politics of Pakistan in 1970. Before and after this era the literature said that rural people have political affiliations depended upon economic situation, kinship or benefaction. This is not a state of the 1970s, which said that there was a change in the voting behavior of rural people for a very short period. This period of 1970 has a significance for our analysis is such a way that this year election campaign marked as the point of change which is a previous era of the elite in politics to bring a new age of mass politics in Pakistan (Jones 2003: 7).

After the end of Bhutto's regime in 1977, Pakistan again faced two eras of authoritarian military rule first under General Zia-ul-Haq started from 1977 to 1988 and second includes General Pervez Musharraf's era from 1999 to 2008. Between these two autocracies, there was an

eleven-year period in which the democratic governments of Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif have played a game of ‘musical chairs’ in parliament. In this period of musical chairs, elections are being held four times. First elections were won by Benazir Bhutto (1988), then by Mr. Nawaz Sharif in (1990), then again by Benazir Bhutto (1993) and finally by Nawaz Sharif in (1997). This term of Nawaz Sharif was ended by General Musharraf in 1999. The Bhutto regime had brought significant change in Pakistani electorate. The dictators such as Ayub, Zia, and Musharraf also could not rule the state without elections and they also held various elections during their eras. The period starting from 1977 till 2008 was patent by seven alternating elections for national and provincial assemblies and also four elections are held for building local governments in the country. Through periods of such democracies and autocracies, the people of Pakistan citizens are now busy for voting.

Regardless of these reasons and electoral activities the voting attitude of Pakistani people is still understudied. A few studies have been conducted in this regard and particularly in rural areas, a few researchers have completed empirical studies on citizen’s voting behavior. If we analyze the findings of various studies in this context which describe the voting behavior these studies would provide three main pillars for determining the voting attitude in villages side which includes feudalism, Baradari-ism, and clientelism.

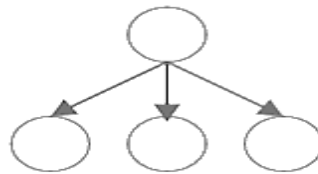
The current chapter of the study reviewed the findings of studies in these contexts and explains the reasons for historical political developments in Pakistan which give an upsurge to these things. However, when one tries to explain these things at macro-level and analyze the national political situation these things are woolly and awkward. In national level politics, these things give us an unclear picture of voting attitude. A point is also highlighted in the previous studies that these concepts explain the relationships which exist at the micro level. The relationships between the small number of voter and landlords, kin brothers and patrons which play an important role in determining their voting attitude but studies also use these concepts to explain national level political situations. Another argument is that when these concepts are being used at the micro level, e.g. at a village level to untie relationships build on the political basis these things have some outcome and also help in determining the pressures that play a role on election day. The researcher in the current chapter has given attention to the need for rigorous and micro-level analysis of these notions and relationships.

The interpersonal relationships between voters (clients) and politicians (patrons) can be explored through the study of patron-client politics. Each participant in this relationship is benefited and it is universally applicable to their personal concerns. James Scott established three factors of a patron-client relationship.

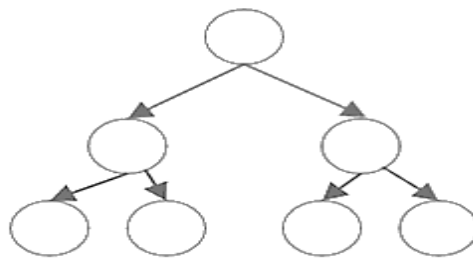
1. Its basis in inequality—the patron supplies goods and services to the clients who need them for their survival or well-being;
2. Its face-to-face character—the trust and affection that exists between the patron and clients are based on a continuing pattern of reciprocity;
3. Its diffuse flexibility—it is a strong "multiplex" relationship, unintentionally built between the two parties; such relationships may be created by a personal connection, tenancy, friendship, past exchange of services, or family ties.

For Scott, patron-client relationships can be divided into two modes, a patron-client cluster, and a patron-client pyramid

Patron Client Structure



Patron Client Pyramid



Source: Scott, James C., "Patron-Client Politics and Political Change in Southeast Asia," *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 66, (1972), p. 96

The generality of patronage-based voter linkages is documented by Kitschelt and Wilkinson's (2007) studies from Africa, Japan, Latin America and India. "In many political

systems, citizen-politician linkages are based on direct material inducements targeted to individuals and small groups of citizens whom politicians know to be highly responsive to such side-payments and willing to surrender their vote for the right price... Clientelistic accountability represents a transaction, the direct exchange of a citizen's vote in return for direct payments or continuing access to employment, goods, and services." (op.cit, p.2)

Kitschelt and Wilkinson draw attention to a key problem of execution towards the implicit arrangement of votes require on both side: With a secret ballot where it is difficult to monitor individual votes, the elected candidates may not complete their promises and voters may not vote them upon received services. They explicate expensive organizational inspection and execution structures that build by politicians. The public support monitored and enforced through participation in political rallies, party colors, and badges: "By forcing members of a group to publicly pledge support to the incumbent party rather than the opposition, for example, group members are then effectively cut off from any expectation of rewards if the opposition should win. This increases the probability that group members, in general, will actually vote for the incumbents in order to avoid punishment if the opposition wins and increase their chances of a reward if the incumbent is reelected." (op.cit., p.15)

Kitschelt and Wilkinson also quote ethnographic studies of the electoral process which describe how political leaders determine the ways particular voters voted. The political leaders also monitor voters counts in specific election polls.

Ghoshal (2000) in an edited book posits that voter behavior of some voters is manipulated by political brokers or local influential and behaviors of some other voters are influenced by the state of understanding of the reason to participate in the election. The rewards and benefits provided to the voters in the first case direct the voting behavior. While in the second case political parties and Government directs the voting behavior.

A central tenet of democratic theory holds that public policy should be in accordance with citizens' preferences. A close relationship between public policy and public preferences in modern democracies cannot be taken for granted, however. Instead, it is an empirical issue whether the public policy decisions that are primarily made by elected elites closely correspond to citizens' preferences (Powell 2000). The closeness of the mass-elite linkage depends, inter

alia, upon whether elites have incentives to pay close attention to and be responsive to public preferences (see e.g. Soroka and Wlezien 2010). The incentives, in turn, depend on whether policy preferences play a role in citizens' political behavior. Leaving aside referenda on policy issues and issue-related direct political action, voting behavior is of crucial importance for the linkage between citizen preferences and policy decisions. When casting their votes, citizens might signal policy salience to elites. To this end, they can vote in accordance with their policy preferences or with their evaluations of representatives' prior performance. Thereby, they hold politicians accountable and provide them with incentives for policy responsiveness. If citizens do not rely on policy attitudes, however, politicians will hardly have any incentive to respond to public opinion when making policy decisions. As a result, the connection between public opinion and public policy is likely to become tenuous or even inexistent. The smooth working of representative democracy is thus an empirical issue (see as a classic Key 1961).

The nature of the political system can be learned through the study of voting behaviors. It also discourses about the process of the political system. "Voting is the main form of political participation in democratic societies and its study in political science is highly specialized in the subfields" (Cohen, 2003). The analysis of voting patterns can be done through the factors such as, why people cast vote and how the voting decisions are made consistently focused on literature. The socio-economic determinants are studied by sociolinguists such as parallel relationships between the classes, vote, and age, support for political parties, ethnicity, and gender (Lednum, 2006). "While, political scientists focused on political factors that influence voting behavior, for instance, political programs, electoral campaign, and popularity of candidate contesting elections" (Jost, 2006).

"In the countries like Pakistan, non-political factors are more dominant than the political factors. These non-political factors are economics, culture, religion, ethnicity and factionalism" (Adma&Schoresch, 2007). The politicization of the individuals is more needed in such states. "The politicization is the orientation of the people to political acts and political perspectives and people are politicized in such a way that politics is given sufficient importance" (Pildat, 2008). In Pakistan, the electoral processes are not carried out on regular basis and the democratic institutions are unable to take root due to military interventions. "Even with these hurdles, voters have the opportunity to develop political contacts with the political parties and candidates in

Pakistan". The voters have now politically aware with the election procedures and strategies to some extent. (Chauvet, Lisa & Paul, (2009).

1.5. Research Problem

The Pakistani society is diverse and complex; hence the variety of determinants shape the voters' decisions during elections. Thus, the purpose of this study is to investigate the patron-client structure and their impact on voter behaviors in the 2013 general election in Rajanpur of Punjab province.

1.6. Objectives of the Study

This study is designed to understand the relationship between patron-client and the influence of this relation on voters' political choices and the extent of each factor's influence. It is believed that the analyses in this study contribute to the understanding of formal and informal institutions, political science and relevant disciplines. Moreover, the study is expected to help academicians and political actors for better understand the voters, their choices, and determinants that influence their political choices.

The objective of this study are;

- Identify political attitudes that may have an association with voting behavior in Rajanpur, Punjab.
- To identify the patron-client structure approaches to their relationships and use of their relations for political benefits.

1.7. The significance of the Study

It is important to understand the impact of patron-client structure on voting behaviors and political participation through examine different determinants of voting behaviors at the local level. The outcomes of the elections can be better understood through a comprehensive exploration of different variables that affect voter behaviors. There are many factors that influence voting behaviors, but this study particularly explores the relationship of voting behavior s with ethnicity/ caste, religious sects/ peers, local issues, money factors,

patrons/sardars, mass illiteracy, reconstruction and development, and election campaigns. Political participation is one component of civic engagement an important mechanism of accountability so it is significant to understand this process.

Furthermore, political participation of voters also defines the intent of political leaders towards public policies. A little work has done on the impact of patron-client structure on voting behaviors so this study contributes an important topic of civic engagement and political accountability that resulted in political intentions towards public policies. This study also appeals the interest of the academic community as it supports the body of work in public policy and political sciences and also fills the existing knowledge gap.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the related literature on the patron-client relationship that impacts on voters' choices. A strong relationship exists between Democracy, Election and voting behavior. The citizen has right to participate in the political life through democracy, the process through which citizens participate in political life is called elections. Therefore, voting behavior of the mass cannot be determined without an election.

2.2. Democracy

Democracy is an old concept that originated from the ancient Greek-city states. The concept came from the two Greek words “Demos” and “crazy” which means “the people” and “rule” or “government” respectively (Gaub, O.P, 2003). Thus, democracy means the rule of the people.

The concept of democracy has been discussed among academics in the social sciences. Despite this, a generally acceptable definition of democracy has not attained. According to professor Takashi Inoguchi (2004) stated differences in the institutions of democracy and in the style of democracy. He further stated that there are differences in existing democracies in the world from each other.

Even though democracy has not universal definition and differences and types of democracy, the participants of the conference (Democracy in Asia, Europe, and America: Towards a universal definition, 2004) agreed on some common key features of democracy. They include; civil society, free and fair elections, a multi-party system, the rule of law, an independent judiciary and a free and independent media. The democracy may be explained as a government system where the people use their governing power either through representatives or directly elected by themselves. Therefore, a country may be termed democratic if it provides

institutions for the expression and the elected leader will on basic questions of social direction and social policy (Appadorai 1974).

Larry Diamond (2004) discussed four key elements of democracy: (1) A political system for choosing and replacing the government through free and fair elections, (2) The active participation of the people, as citizens in politics and civic life, (3) protection of the human rights of all the citizens, (4) a rule of law in which the laws apply equally to all citizens. In his view, a state can be democratic where these four elements exist.

Democracy nurtures with free and fair elections but rigged stolen mandates harm the democratic process (Ahmad, 2013). Therefore, development of democratic process is possible through free and fair elections that is one major element among many.

2.3. Elections

The free and fair election is one of the important pillars of democracy (Etannbi and shola, 2007). They further suggest that election is a compulsory condition for democracy because it provides the sovereignty of the citizens, freedom of choices and accountability of political leaders. It is the process through which a representative has been chosen by citizens either directly or indirectly who govern on their behalf and in line with their wishes.

There are many ways of electing leaders or elections such as voting by showing of hands, thump print on a ballot paper, or stand behind their candidates.

According to Omonijo et al (2007), The activity of choosing public officers who govern the state through votes is an election. Etannibi and Shola (2008), suggests that there are several conditions of free and fair elections these conditions are the absence of manipulation, fraud, and violence such as neutrality of election management authority and active participation of electorates during each stage of the electoral process. To them, free and fair elections refers to electoral process where all citizens who are eligible voters can vote freely, exercise their right to cast vote without illegitimate, coercion and inducement, process and outcomes of elections are not manipulated by anyone, and outcomes of the elections should be determined only by the votes of electorate.

Norman D. Palmer's book "Elections and Political Development: The South Asian Experience" is a survey of the political development and elections in Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and India. This book finds general principles of elections that are hard to discover. The author opines that elections in South Asia can be stabilizing or de-stabilizing and it can be linked to development or deterioration. The survey data indicate that expectations of elections are raised that raised radicalize.

2.3.1. Why Do We Vote?

Before looking how we cast vote, we must look first why we cast vote. Here, we discuss casting vote as a habit and as self-expression that is a rational choice theory.

"We vote because it is the rational thing to do"

Anthony Downs in his book *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (1957) outlined rational choice theory, every voter makes a cost-benefit analysis of casting vote or not. The voter tries to maximize utility as a rational actor. This analysis is explained in an equation:

$$R = (B)(P) - C + D$$

where R represents the total benefit an individual gets from voting, B is the expected benefit to gain from the desired outcome (i.e., the person's candidate actually wins), P is the belief of the person's vote that will be decisive in the election, C is the individual cost involved by voting which includes the time spent to register as a voter, the money spending for obtaining forms and documents required for voting process and registration where D is the psychological satisfaction an individual gets from the vote casting. As it is assumed in this theory that an individual is rational, the more positive the value of R is, the more individual likely to cast vote (Hardner & Krosnick, 2008).

Conventional rational choice explicates that the probability that an individual's vote will be decisive in the election results is infinitesimal, in any large-scale election the value of R should be negative. This is because there is little chance that one person's vote out of millions of voters will change the outcome. One must weigh tangible costs of voting which includes the time spent by an individual in lining up to register themselves as voters and the money spending for

obtaining documents and forms required for voting and the opportunity cost in terms of money, time and effort for one's selection of candidates.

Voter turnout is much higher than rational choice theory predicts but it never 100%. Are we then irrational in casting vote?

Well, the short answer for above question is no. There is a way to modify the rational choice theory by including a social motivation for voting. The assumption of the rational choice models is that a voter cast vote on selfish preferences. When the person cares about the other people during casting vote is also be rational. Here B, or the expected benefit to receive, is shaped by the formula

$$B = B_{\text{self}} + aNB_{\text{soc}}$$

Where the expected benefit to the self is represented by B_{self} , while the ration of B_{soc} to B_{self} is represented by discounting factor a , the number of people in the population to be benefited is represented by N , and the expected benefit to the population is represented by B_{soc} . In this case, P is very low which is offset by N that is extremely large, because the number of those who cast votes is always less than the entire population (N) that is the inverse of P (Edlin, Gelman, & Kaplan, 2008). According to the social-benefit model of the rational choice theory, voters make vote choices based on benefits for people that they care about like disables and prisoners and not only selfish benefits. The question arises to answer of why voters still cast their vote even when their vote seems like worthless. For selfish voters, the higher turnout leads to the less benefit they get from elections and voting is not worth in large elections. While the social voters acquire benefits and voter turnout is not matters (Edlin et al., 2008).

2.3.2. We Vote Out of Habit

Melton (2014) posited that casting vote once increases the probability that a voter will vote again. According to him, the probability to cast vote again has two levels of explanation. The first is that the future voting will be less costly because eased institutional barriers once a person is voted. A person has a better understanding about the registration process and how

voting works, so there is less cost in the voting process, from seeking information, what documents needed, how to locate polling stations, even how to use the ballot and cast vote.

The second explains the psychological level of habitual voting. Voting influences people to think of themselves more as voters, and to think of the act of voting as “something that people like me do on election day”. By turning out, they increase their feelings of civic-mindedness and thereby modify their political orientation towards the specific behavior of voting (Melton, 2014).
We vote to express ourselves

People go to great lengths to present themselves as a certain kind of person. Image management is usually associated with social media because on such platforms we post pictures and statuses that we believe are consistent with our identity or the identity we want to project.

However, self-expression goes further than Instagram posts, Starbucks shots, selfies, and the like. Self-expression also happens in the precincts.

We are motivated to behave in ways that affirm our identity with a group, experiencing cognitive dissonance when we act in ways that are inconsistent with our attitudes. The very act of voting, as well as the candidate or party we vote for, may serve as a signal to ourselves and to others about who we are as citizens of a country (Rogers, Fox, & Gerber, 2012). If we think that voting is an act that responsible and concerned citizens engage in, and being a good citizen is an important part of our identity, we will be motivated to participate and turn out on Election Day.

2.4. The Use of Patron-Client Relation

There are a variety of forms in which patron-client relation has been practiced. According to Plateau (1995:768), this relationship has been a core element of rural segments of most developing countries such as Asia and Latin America. In traditional social orders, many tribal societies in Africa has also practiced some form of this relationship. Hence, the patron offered protection and material benefits in exchange for support to the dominating societal roles and local empires (Leonard et al., 2010: 477).

In modern times, the patron-client has adapted new forms as it has been apparent in the political arena. Scott (1972) notes that it is important to understand the existent of these informal

systems in the developing world, as it has a significant impact on the political situation of the modern era. Hence, an informal system of social order may also have termed as patron-client relations.

2.5. Voting Behavior

According to Balogun and Olapegba (2007), voting behavior is the act of voters to make their choices for candidate or political party in elections and associated factors that inform the final decisions of voters to vote particular candidate.

Many scholars and academics have studied and analyzed voting behavior and unable to agree on which factors influence voting behavior the most. There are many factors such as ethnicity, personality, religion, support in local issues, party affiliation, political campaign, and level of education have higher inspiration on voting behavior.

The influence of ethnicity on voting behavior has been studied in recent years. Brandon (2004) looked at the effect of ethnicity and racial diversity on elections. In her view, minority, and majority ethnic groups interpret the effects of issues differently so they tend to vote in different manners. Ogundiya (2003), posits that ideologies, merits or party programs of political candidates has less influence on voting behaviors but it was a political calculus of ethnic geopolitics.

Brandon (2004) also takes into consideration economic benefits that are also driving force for the influence of voting behaviors. She claims that voters will vote for their self-interests what they think is best for their interests. She further argued that it is less likely for voters to make the link between the benefits of their ethnic groups and their vote.

The voting behavior of citizens has been influenced by the religion in many studies. Fastnow et al (1999) posited that religion has to affect voter choices in the House of Representatives in the United States of America. It was observed that “member votes” that represent their own religious groups and religious affiliation within their districts. The religious topic of abortion has used to understand the religion on voting behavior. Fox et al (2001), also observed at the religion impact on voting on abortion topic in the United States of America. Four

variables used to assess the voting behavior related to abortion. The variable is a religious affiliation, age, rural-urban constituency and political party. It was observed that religious affiliation had more influence on voting behavior than other three variables.

Rev. Fr. Mathew Hassan Kukah (2006) posited that voters' behavior influenced by financial inducement as a major factor. Regarding this, late chief M.K.O Abiola candidate for presidential election said that time was too short for him to cover all of the countries during his electoral campaign for the 1993 presidential election, where I can't have reached, I am sure my money has reached Nigeria. Therefore, Kukah concluded that we shall gain all that on Election Day what we have done years before the elections.

Downs (1957), discussed the rational choice perspective where voters' cast their vote to a candidate or party based on benefits that they are expected to enjoy when that candidate or party win the election. He further stated that these electoral choices are based on the ideologies, philosophies, and policies of the political party.

According to Herbert (1984), voting behavior influences by "Issues". He emphasized that the citizen make his decisions or choices on convincing issues rather than to rely on group affiliation as the reason for voting. The core of this argument is that in every election issues that determine the voting behavior of the voters to a reasonable extent. In addition, Campbell et al (1964) discussed many analytical issues related to convincing issues in voting choices. He stated that there are three requirements to influence voting behavior and further he determines that how electorates satisfy these requirements in a better way. He argued that the citizen must be aware of the issues that influence their voting decisions and they perceive that these issues that are on stake represent his or her own interests. Otherwise, issues may not influence the unaware electorates. However, vicious level of poverty and illiteracy in the third world countries like Pakistan electorates make voting decisions based on primordial tendencies rather than issues that stake their own interests.

Gordan Marshall (1988) point out four kinds of approaches to understand the voting behavior. These approaches are structural, social psychological, ecological, and rational choice. In structural approaches the relationship between social structure and individual matter, the social context that effects the voting of individuals can be placed as social class, language,

religion and rural-urban differences. In ecological approaches, the voting patterns relate to a geographical area. In social psychological approaches, the voting decisions relate to the voter's psychological attitudes or predispositions. In rational-choice approaches, the voters assess cost-benefit calculations and estimate their interest satisfaction that direct their voting behavior.

Manoj Sarma (2004) discussed the important factors that influence the voters' behavior and these important factors are caste, regionalism, religion, and ideology. According to him, caste dominance is the key factors to decide the seat to a candidate contesting an election. He opines that the communal parties for their political interest influence percentage of people by religious slogans. According to him the behaviors of the voters also influenced by regionalism. Despite the voters' ideology, he votes for a candidate who is related to him. In the same manner, a voter caring little for the political party and usually vote a person of his own community. Thus, ethnicity, regionalism, religion, and community are the important influencing factors of voting behavior than the political ideology of the party.

Meenu Roy's (2000) book is an attempt for an in-depth study of all dimensions of electoral process and behavior that is the basis of ballot battle. She opines that selection of candidate is not voter choice as the political parties impose their candidates that falling the interest of the voter in casting vote. There are two categories of a citizen who don't vote such as privileged people who know that they will meet their interests in other ways and the second category of people don't cast vote as they know their interests will not be met anyway.

Marcus and MacKuen posited the effective intelligence theory that suggests that voter pay closer attention and bring more information about political situations and elections when he or she experiences the anxiety emotion about politics.

This means that for the optimum satisfaction of self-interest, voter process all political information to make an informed decision. the voter will take the time to process all the information needed to make a fully informed political decision. This theory suggests that anxious citizens are more rational and likely to cast their vote.

On the other hand, the voters make political decisions without key changes using heuristics in the absence of anxiety. The candidates who wish to develop interest and anxiety in their political campaign adopt an attacking and negative attitude for their opposite candidates

Numerous models have been constructed in the hopes of explaining why we vote the way we do. There are three main schools of thought, namely the sociological or Columbia model, the psychological or Michigan model, and the rational choice or Downsian model. Here we shall look at the three, and discuss one other model, the heuristic-systematic model, which uses psychological mechanisms to explain electoral behavior.

2.5.1. The Sociological Model

Also called the Columbia model (after the university from whence came the researchers), the sociological model of voting behavior was constructed with the intention of studying the effect of media on voting choice. They had initially thought that decision-making would be influenced most by personality and exposure to mass media, with emphasis on the latter.

Their findings, published in 1944 in their book *The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign*, showed otherwise. It was the social groups they belonged to that determined whom they decided to vote (Antunes, 2010; Rosema, 2004). These groups are fairly homogenous and encourage political conformity (Bartels, 1996). It turns out that voters are influenced mainly by their social characteristics, and some of these characteristics are especially telling. Three were found to predict voters' choices: socioeconomic status, religious affiliation, and area of residence.

While *The People's Choice* showed that certain social characteristics influenced voters, *Voting* (1954) explained why this happens. Vote preferences come about because people interact with those with whom they share political interests and social characteristics, and this arises from three principles: first, people belong to different groups that have different interests (social differentiation); second, people inherit political preferences from their families (transmission); and third, people have frequent contact with people from the same social groups (social and physical proximity) (Antunes, 2010; Rosema, 2004).

The researchers also found that the majority of voters stuck with their decision, with only 54 out of 600 subjects changing their vote over time. Apparently, election campaigns served more to reinforce people's commitments to their respective party affiliations than to convert people from other political groups. The target audience of campaign propaganda is the same group of people who are not likely to read or listen to it in the first place. Those who do pay attention are the ones who are already convinced (Antunes, 2010).

While the Columbia studies paint the average partisan voter as simply being swept back and forth by the forces of his social environment, the researchers do not describe independent voters, those who do not have a definite vote until late into the elections, any more favorably. They were just as influenced by social forces (e.g. the people they talked to on Election Day, pressure from social groups) as those who had made their decisions from the beginning (Antunes, 2010).

2.5.2. The Psychological Model

The psychological model of voting had a problem that it only described the input (social characteristics) and the output (choice of voters) but didn't describe the whole process and left a mystery (Rosema, 2004). This model was given by the Scholars (Converse, Stokes, Campbell, and Miller) of Michigan University in 1960. The psychosocial or psychological model focuses on three factors which are the identification of party or partisanship, orientation towards the issue and candidate orientation (Rosema, 2004; Antunes, 2010).

The definition of partisanship according to psychological model is as "a psychological attraction with a political party that does not necessarily translate to behavior such as registration or consistent voting" (Antunes, 2010). It does not decide through the real voting behavior of a person, but her or his self-affiliation towards the parties. It is attained through socialization, just like we attain religion. This is not social identity but it is a cognitive shortcut.

Candidate orientation and issue orientation are other two motivational factors which were seen to affect the choice of the voter (Rosema, 2004). The factors which affect the issue orientation relate to up to what extent the voter is satisfied with the policies applied by the incumbent of a particular party. Candidate orientation is, simply put, the appeal of a candidate

that comes from personal attributes. Candidate orientation depicts the candidate's appeal which comes from personal qualities. All of these factors are knotted collectively into a decision making an instrument which is called the channel of causality. First of all, a person is got influenced by his sociological environment which determines his partiality (Antunes, 2010). Then he got influenced by the orientation that he has towards candidate and issue and leads him to give attention to particular information and reject or ignore others. This is the specific attention that brings biases in receiving and handling information and finally controls the vote.

2.5.3. The Rational Choice Model

This model contains two decisions which are made during elections. The first decision is about whether to vote or to refrain and second decision is about whom to vote if someone agrees to vote. When a voter faces two or more parties or individuals standing in the elections then the rational voter just think about the situations in which each individual or party wins. After this, the voter compares the possible outcomes and their differences from their personal appraisals. Positive difference means a vote will be cast to the former, negative difference mean another party will receive the vote and zero difference means it is better to abstain from voting because the voter will not gain anything from voting.

2.5.4. The Heuristic-Systematic Model

This model is similar to the psychological model. In this model, the voters also have choices of the range of candidates and go through from series of stages. In this model, voter goes through a two-step process where at each stage of the process a changed processing style is used by assuming that humans just get satisfied and do not optimize, and this process would lessen the cognitive effort (Steenbergen, Hangartner, & de Vries, 2011).

The stage one is called the consideration stage in which the voters consider a preliminary choice set of the candidate by narrowing down from the range of candidates. Voters rely on long-standing heuristics like general ideology and narrow-mindedness at stage one. The size of this choice set may be expanded if a voter is indifferent, in which case the candidates all look the same, or if a voter is ambivalent, in which case he cannot readily choose between the two using heuristic processing. In case of an indifferent voter, the choice set may be increased because all

the candidates look same to the indifferent voter. If a voter is indecisive he is unable to choose between two using heuristic processes. Political knowledge and interest may play a role in the determination of the size of choice set. Although it does not clear in the way it will work, however, it might be possible that a voter has much information about the candidates so he/she is not in a position to choose easily among them (Steenbergen et al., 2011).

Stage two is called choice stage, here, the choice set is got narrowed down further to one candidate. In this stage, the voters use cues i.e information about present-day and specific issues to select their candidate from a set of feasible candidates with analytic and systematic reasoning (Steenbergen et al., 2011).

2.6. What Influence Our Vote?

Although, our decision of vote got influenced from many factors but here the following three types of factors; i) social environment, ii) individual factors, and the attributes of election and campaign are discussed.

2.6.1. Social Environment

The role of family is significant in voting behavior. Voting preferences are inherited from family (Rosema, 2004). The children with high socioeconomic status acquire voting preference form their parents. (Plutzer, 2002).

It was seen that the voter turnout increases due to participation in civic organizations. Participating in cooperative work encourage the people to participate in voting and cast their votes. Students' participation in student organizations particularly such as religious youth groups, scouts predicts whether the students will vote in their first election in which they are eligible to play a part. The scout group significantly affects the voter turnout even after controlling the academic attainment and socioeconomic status (Frisco, Muller, & Dodson, 2004).

The context of the neighborhood also impacts the voting behavior. As previously mentioned, educational attainment comparative to one's neighbors predicts whether one turns out. Educational attainment as compare to neighbor's context predicts whether one will cast vote or not (Harder & Krosnick, 2008).

Both the psychosocial and sociological models of voting behavior overtly identify that the social group of anyone affect the voting preference. It was found that the social messages mobilize more people than informational messages. The social messages are playing a significantly influencing the voting behavior (Bond et al., 2012).

The real-life relations with the family, close friends or even with the colleagues who were not their close relatives are significant players of the interpersonal talks networks (Beck, Dalton, Greene, & Huckfeldt, 2002).

Gender and religion along with other social categories are also determinants of voting preferences. Abortion is a certain dividing issue. Pro-choice voters gave the vote to John Kerry and pro-life voters voted George W. Bush in the US presidential election of 2004 (Gibbs, 2005). Differences are also found across genders in terms of issue appreciation: Kaufmann (2000) found that issues such as reproductive health, gender equality, and legal protection for the LGBT are increasingly important determinants of partisanship (as cited in Gibbs, 2005) for women. Gender equality, reproductive health and legal protection for LGBT are also the determinants of voting preference (Kaufmann, 2000). The study also found that women are more liberal than men on the basis of these issues. It was seen that biased women are more likely to cross the party limits on the day of election by backing a woman from another party. Democratic female candidates received support from females of Republican Party (Brians, 2005).

2.6.2. Individual Factors

Many factors contribute in turn out on Election Day. People who are highly educated are more likely to vote. As it is believed that the education enhances the sense of civic duty and put the public in a framework where voting is normative (Harder & Krosnick, 2008). It was found that voters who attended social science classes in college were more responsible to perform the civic duty (Harder & Krosnick, 2008). Comparative educational attainment is a better predictor of voter turnout than the absolute educational attainment (Tenn, 2005).

Financial stability is another determinant of voter turnout as the wealthier people are freer to search for information about the candidates. Older people are more likely to cast vote because they have to bear less cost to get information as they have already much information about the

candidates and details of the bureaucracy involve in voting. People are also more likely to vote as they get older, which may be because informational costs are lower because they know more about the candidates and the intricacies of the bureaucracy involved in voting (Harder & Krosnick, 2008).

Personality is also another determinant of political self-efficacy. An association was found between extraversion and political self-efficacy. Extraversion is an important predictor of political participation of adult people (Vecchione & Caprara, 2008).

Habit is also a good predictor of whether people vote and whom they vote for. People are more likely to cast vote if they have cast vote in last elections because people face fewer institutional barriers than their first few elections (Melton, 2014).

2.6.3. Election and Campaign Characteristics

Voter turnout is hindered by the institutional barriers occurs in the way of voting. People's motivation to vote increases as the election date comes near. The National Voter Registration Act of 1993 which is also famous as Motor Voter Act, lessen the institutional cost of voting. This Act allowed people to register themselves for voting at the same time when they apply for or renew of driving license (Harder & Krosnick, 2008).

Voter preference is also got influenced by the characteristics of candidates. The voter gets inference from the facial features and to cast vote to the candidates who are perceived to be competent as the competence is considered the most important quality of a politician should have (Hall, Goren, Chaiken, & Todorov, 2009). Incumbency is another candidate specific factor that can affect the preference of voters. Incumbent candidates have an advantage in races (Hall et al., 2009).

Campaigning is another determinant of voters turn out as negative campaigning may affect the mobilization. It spreads awareness about the problem, nervousness about the candidate and these factors have an impact on turn out (Martin, 2004).

Chapter 3

Research Methodology

In this chapter, the conceptual and theoretical issues regarding the study topic the impact of Patron-Client on Voting Behavior have been discussed. The conceptual foundation of this study reviewed through previous research on this topic and related factors. This chapter discusses the research methodology of this study. It presents the sample selection and study unit, research design, conceptual framework of the study, research questions and hypotheses, models and variables, and data collection and analysis tools and techniques.

3.1. Profile of Rajanpur District

District Rajanpur is mainly a rural district of Punjab. The overall population of the district was 1.104 million in 1998, with a population density of 90 persons per square kilometer. Geographically, Rajanpur is bounded on the north by DG Khan; on its east are Muzaffargarh and Rahimyar Khan and on south lies district Jacobabad while on the west are the districts of Dera Bugti and Barkan of Balochistan province.

It comprised of three tehsils: Jampur, Rajanpur, and Rojhan. Ethnically, the district is inhabited by following main land-owning tribes: Gorchani, Mazari, Tummons, Darishak, Gopang, Pathan and Mughals (Population Census Organization, 2000). Rajanpur is situated on the main Indus highway which passes through Peshawar up to Karachi. All of the three tehsils are interlinked with metalled roads. There is a well-developed railway network in Rajanpur district. In the Planning Commission's Millennium Development Goals report, 2006, Rajanpur stood 65th on literacy; 62nd on immunization; 38th on water supply; and 71th on sanitation in national rankings.

3.2. Research Design

The descriptive and explanatory research design has been employed to obtain the required sufficient information to analyze the impact of patron-client relation and its effect on voting behavior. The study of the patron-client relationship, as well as voting behavior, needs special

attention and more research techniques and designs that helped in exploring and understanding the various aspects regarding this relationship and associated factors of voting behaviors. That is why a mixed method of research design has adopted to seek all the possible aspects and answers.

3.3. Conceptual Framework

This study established the impact of patron-client structure on voting behaviors in Rajanpur district. Particularly in social and political research, a theory is very important. Hence, for the study of the impact of patron-client structure on voting behaviors nature and nurture theory is employed.

A British scientist Francis Galton devised the concepts “nature and nurture in his discussion on the influence of environment on social advancement and the heredity of the individual. The individual’s native features/ characteristic or biological makeup refer to nature while on the other hand, the social or environmental factors that influence individual behavior refer to nurture. Therefore, the combination of nature and nurture explains the way individuals behave politically.

There were various factors (both personality and environmental factors) influenced voters’ decision in the 2013 general election. Therefore, for exploration of the factors that shape political human behavior during the election, nature and nurture theory is best suitable.

The ethnicity/ biradderi head, religion, patrons/ sarddars, money factors, local issues, mass illiteracy, election campaigns and the vote for development are the independent variables of the study that has potential influences on voter choices.

3.4. Research Hypotheses

- *Ethnic groups are less likely to vote for political leaders from other ethnic groups.*
- *The better candidates nurture patron-client relations, the greater their chance of winning the election.*
- *Respondents are less likely to vote for the political leader that does not share their religious interest.*

3.5. Research Questions

The research questions of this study are;

- How political leader's ethnicity has an impact on voting behaviors of voters?
- What is the role of religious leaders in voting behaviors of voters?
- How money factor has an effect on voter behaviors?
- How mass illiteracy effect the voting behaviors of voters?
- How involvement of political leaders in local issues affect voting behaviors of voters?
- How the relationship between reconstruction and development has effect voting behaviors of voters?

A well-structured questionnaire consisting of open and closed-ended questions prepared. Descriptive analysis such as percentage distribution, frequency distribution and bi-variate analysis made by using SPSS. Significant relationship tested through chi-square and gamma test.

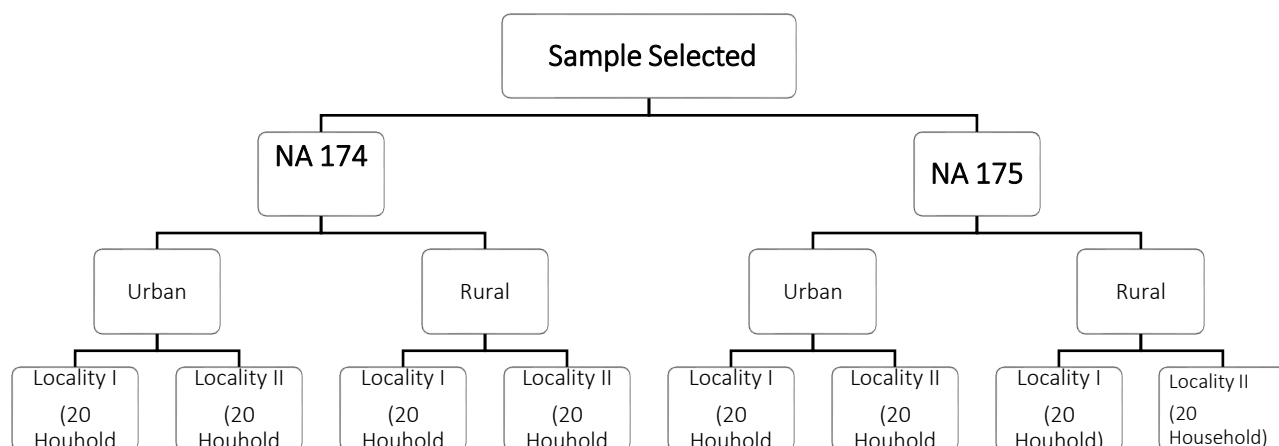
The questionnaire was first used with a control group of 30 people. Subsequently, unclear or inadequate questions were edited. In the field, a questionnaire was asked to each participant individually and their responses were recorded accordingly. The participants were not asked to give their names or ID details to ensure the objectivity and accuracy of their answers.

3.6. Sample Selection and Unit of analysis

This research used a statistically valid random sample of 160 respondents to study the impact of patron-client relation on the voting behavior of the respondents in Rajanpur. The study is carried out in all two National Assembly Constituencies of the district. The universe of the present study is all urban and rural household of the Rajanpur district. The purpose was to explore their formal and informal relationship with political candidates that influence their voting choices. The respondent demographic characteristics included: age (low, high), location (urban, rural), sex (male, female), education (low, high) and income (low, high) specifies through sampling procedure. The number of wards selected in urban areas and the number of villages selected in rural areas through convenient random sampling technique are presented in Table. A

total of 8 wards/villages were selected, with 20 households selected per ward/village. The selection procedure is described below.

Targeted Area	NA 174			NA 175		
	Urban	Rural Union Councils	Total	Urban	Rural Union Councils	Total
Total	24 Wards	14 UCs	38	24 Wards	19 UCs	43
Sample wards/villages	2 Wards	2 Villages	4	2 Wards	2 Villages	4
Households interviewed	40	40	80	40	40	80



3.6.1. Urban Sample

The survey wards were selected through convenient sampling technique. The maps of these wards were obtained from The Population Census Organization and it was already divided

into wards of 250-300 households depending on the number of households in each ward. The household listing of each ward has been carried out by the researcher before the selection of sample household. Then a fixed number of 20 households were selected from each sample ward using the systematic random technique.

3.6.2. Rural Sample

The rural sample selected through the listing of villages in the 1998 Population Census. Villages in the rural sample have been nominated as Primary Sampling Unit (PSUs). A sample of PSUs was selected through convenient sampling technique. The secondary sample unit was households within PSUs. The household listing of each village has been carried out by the researcher before the selection of sample household. Then a fixed number of 20 households were selected from each sample village using the systematic random technique.

3.7. Data Collection Techniques and Tools

Studying the impact of patron-client structure and political behavior in Rajanpur district is quite challenging. It is needed to address several important concerns regarding the evidence to be collected. For example, the question is how yield valid measures could be trusted? The sufficient data is not likely to produce through one source of data, nor one method of analysis to address a sensitive concept such as religious, money and ethnicity. The precautions to produce the most reliable findings, study adopted multiple methods for data collection. A triangulated method of surveys, focus group discussions, political leaders' interviews and documents review are used to gather data.

Data collection for this study proceeds in two stages. In the first stage, random household sample survey is conducted among a population of both constituencies of district Rajanpur. A sample of 160 randomly sampled respondents drawn from the population of the targeted area.

The in-depth interviews with political leaders conducted. A number of possible questions were asked of them like main reason that inspires them to join their party? What is their role in their political party? What are the rewards that they received from their political party? What is their political vision for their constituency? And the most important what are their favorite

political messages or tools to attract voters in their favor. The third data collection exercise consisted of analysis of secondary documents.

Focus Group Discussions conducted in the second stage of the data collection. The objectives of the focus group discussion are to compare and test some of the initial findings of the survey. The researcher conducted these four sessions in four union councils of the two targeted constituencies. The researcher selected ten to twelve persons for each focus group session. These groups were diversified in age, level of education and income.

3.8. Data Processing, Analysis, and Testing of Hypotheses

After collecting data, the next goal of this study was to use appropriate data analysis methodology to understand the impact of patron-client structure on voting behaviors of the targeted population. As my research methodology consists of quantitative and qualitative methods so data analysis was also being carried both quantitative and qualitative.

The quantitative method of data analysis allowed the researcher to work with N-sample of respondents and statistical relationships between variables explored. While on the other hand, the qualitative method allowed me to examine the political contexts that will help me to explain the patron-client structure and its impacts on electorates in the targeted population. The smaller sample of political candidates, local patrons/ sarddars, and religious leaders/peers are excluded from the quantitative analysis of my survey data. Adopting both kinds of data analysis was complement analytical efforts and explained more comprehensive results of the impact of patron-client structure on political behaviors.

The research questions and hypotheses were tested through univariate, bivariate and multivariate analysis. Firstly, univariate, bivariate and multivariate tables were generated through quantitative data entry in SPSS and the assumptions of the multivariate regression model were analyzed in SAS.

Chapter 4

Data Analysis

The data were collected from two constituencies NA-174 and NA-175. Both of the constituencies were won by PMLN in 2013 General Elections. From each constituency 40 urban and 40 rural respondents were taken that made a total of 160 respondents. The respondent data were coded and recorded according to questionnaire into the data sheets of Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) 20 that were used for further analysis.

In this chapter, the data are analyzed with different type statistical tests. These analyses are divided into three parts: deceptive statistics, reliability analysis, and regression analysis. Firstly, exploratory data analysis (EDA) is used for analyzing data. Secondly, the reliability of the scale used for measuring variable is tested by using Cronbach's Alpha. Thirdly, the regression analysis and hypothesis testing that consists of a multivariate analysis of five independent variables and voter behavior in relation with their patron.

4.1. Exploratory Data Analysis

For the critical analysis of the collected data, exploratory data analysis can be the first step. It helps to get through the basic feature of data and provide a better understanding of the responses. It also helps in error detection, understanding direction, and the relationship among the variables. This method doesn't include formal statistical modeling and simple inferential and descriptive statistics are used. In this technique, certain aspects of data are clarified. Firstly, both graphical and non-graphical methods are used. Secondly, the univariate or bivariate analysis is undertaken (Seltman, 2015).

4.2. Results and Discussion

In this section, all the responses to the questionnaire are analyzed one by one separately by using headcount and percentage method. This type of EDA is easy to understand the behavior of masses under study. The response is recorded in various scales according to the nature of question therefore that are examined with reference to their scale.

4.3. The Ethnicity and Voting Behavior

The rise of ethnic (briars) politics has been an important characteristic of Punjab's political history, especially in South Punjab. Mostly, many political parties and politicians have progressively integrated racial plead into their political projects and movements in Pakistan. These applicants have found an association with essential organizations, run essential voters and specific policy demands, and create features of their personal and political identities in racial terms, widely defined. In many cases, such racial plead have been united into wider exponent platforms while the most electorally successful indigenous political applicant has combined racial and populist plead.

This type of ethnic populism has the possibility to plead across a wide section of the electorate – too many lower-class groups of people of the same area, tradition, and race as well as essential voters – and it has appeared as a key component of electoral politics in Rajanpur. This speculation has intrigued on the concussion of racial politics in the electoral field and specifically in general elections. It has argued that the occurrence and nature of racial voting in the Rajanpur and perhaps Punjab more generally – customize by three sets of components: the region's specific ethnic landscape; the way in which race has been politicized; and both the specific electoral and wider political atmosphere of the movements in question. It has insisted that wide similarities in each of these opinions, both across electorates and over time have made frames of electoral behavior in many different ways. However, it has also insisted that differences in these general contextual circumstances may explain differences which are observed in voting frameworks among electorates.

With regard to electoral behavior specifically; this speculation has insisted that racial voting in recent Rajanpur's general elections can be explained in terms of three wide unplanned mechanisms: the meaningful model, in which voting compose a major or less unconditional expression of racial group loyalty; the formula or rule model, where voters use race as an information shortcut; and the indirect model , where racial background helps control wide political choices and material circumstances, which in turn effect vote option. Comparing documentation in support of each of these three abstract models has been a key objective of the interpretation, and one that may provide important perception into the workings of latest

democratic politics in the district. Certainly, the constancy of one or another form of racial voting has an expressive hint for assessing the nature and terms of democratic representation and accountability, the effectiveness of different movement strategies, and the wider capability for democratic strength and social peace. As such, settling the nature of racial voting in general elections has both a direct actual indication for Rajanpur democracies and wider abstract indication for studies of racial politics at a different place. This interpretation income as follows. First, it outlines the key elements of racial politicization in Rajanpur and how it affects the voting behavior through the features of three vote models design.

The fact from General Elections is proved that (array bandi) exists in rural Punjab which was stated by Hamza Alavi (1921- 2003), a famous socialist activist. The evidence from past also showed that disarray band has played a vital role in all General Election phases of Punjab which include the nomination of candidates, electioneering of voting behavior and panel formation. The loyalties associated with political parties are proved to be like water under the sun. The heat of native dynamics has effects on the most known supporters of political parties taking part in elections. But interestingly the leaders from political parties look at some other side because they could not annoy the electable. So, it seems imperative to find the role of disarray band in the election process and local development. The talks of politics in the country are mostly concerning about politicians and hardly any statement given on political parties.

This difference has vigorous importance for its consequences on government. As the access to electronic and social media is extensively increased and coverage is also given to politician but still, the hospitality for people is increased from leaders of political parties. Political parties are intended to build their party offices at local levels to make interaction with the general public to reduce alienation. But in reality most of the political parties have a little focus on this point. The votes to these parties are being guaranteed by heads of local groups such as briadris, sects, and clans. These factions exist in all Punjab but in different forms. The leaders of these factions are in contact with political workers and easily accessible to them and political leaders respond to their needs. They sum up their needs and present them collectively to political leaders and also to govt. officials on behalf of their society. These groups play a vital role in their jurisdiction in the absence of parties there but these also have some

externality associated with them which eliminates the competition. This is also hindering in way of societal progress and allows to racism. When the non-partisan civil society administrations do not exist at the ground level then these factions play an important role in election process and governance. The govt. officials do not give much attention to the actions of such grouping even if these are going against the purpose of public policy. For instance, the National Action Plan struggles to remove the extremism and sectarianism form society but politicians continue to promote sectional factions.

In Jhang, for instance, the ruling party supporters collaborated with a banned outfit in local polls. For example, in Jhang district the supporters from governing party made collaboration with the banned organization in local govt. polls.

The important question arises here is that what makes these ancient networks so popular amongst politicians? Some Western scholars have developed ‘proximity model’ which is beneficial for us in understanding this phenomenon. There are some proponents of the model which state that people give preference to political candidates who are much closer to them. The contexture of the model is much different in Western society than ours but it is useful in considering the voting behavior of people in our culture. In our country, political parties do not make contact at the local level. Because here these factions do this job for political parties. The leaders of these networks are most likely to be close with the leader of families in the local jurisdiction which has a strong grip with the voters. He also has some other concerns from the people beside their votes in elections. Despite this connection, the leader of a network gives the issues of people some serious concern. Sometimes the wise leader of factions holds a consultative session and get the consent of other members of society before declaring their support to a particular political party.

Very often, the whole process is diligently manipulated. During general elections, most factional leaders would support nominees of political parties, but in local elections, they would prefer to contest as candidates themselves. No wonder we had more independent candidates in the LG polls than those nominated by parties. The traditional political leaders make a heavy investment on heads of factions because such investment is fruitful for them in shape of votes. When there exists an association between any political party and leaders of factions the order

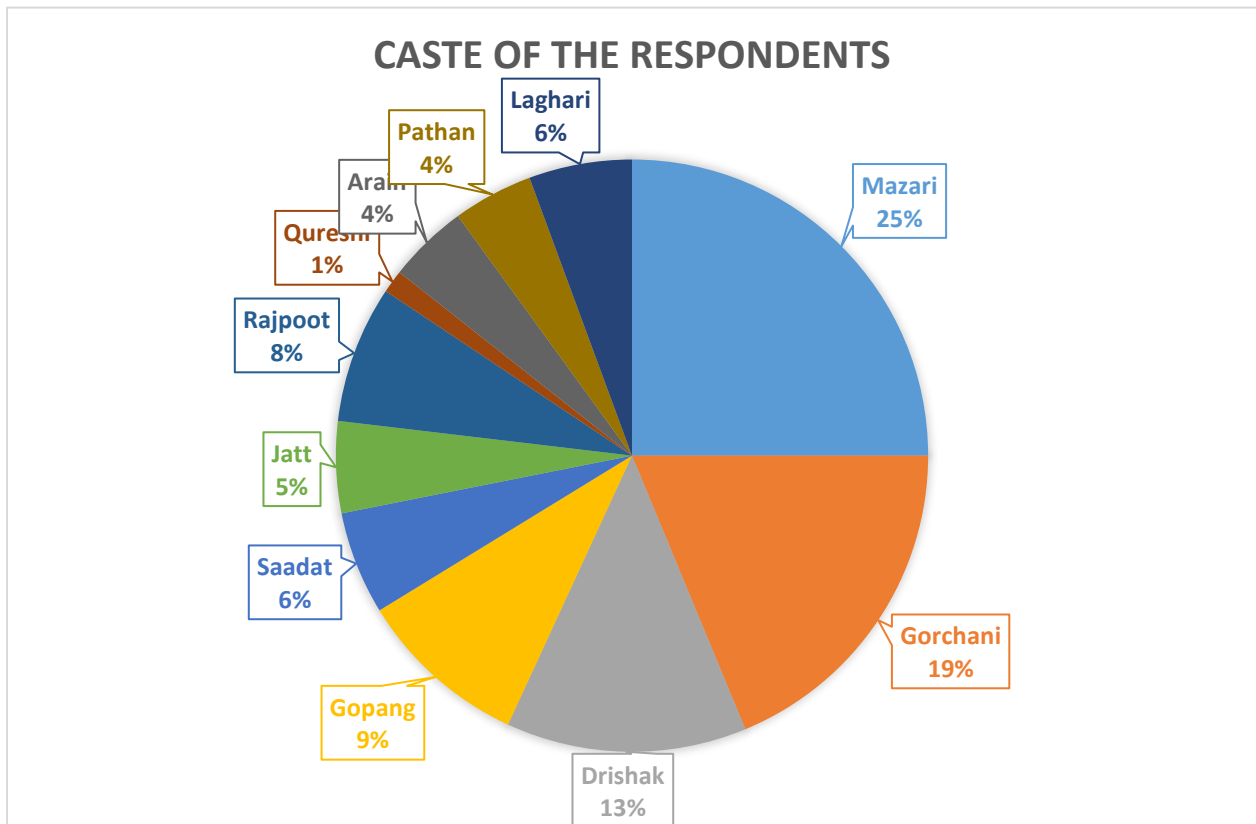
of part remains the same but the predictions of success are higher. The ruling party (PML-N) has adopted this concept in many places of Punjab and result is not hidden. On the other hand, PTI was divided into ideological supporters and traditional politicians that's why it faces failure in many jurisdictions. In short, no political party in the country have mobilized potential of primitive networks due to their closeness and tradeoff with the local people.

Interestingly, the bureaucracies also have a heavy dependence on the factional system and during election days the officials of local administration and the police also support these factional heads. As a result of this phenomenon, a connection is being established between politicians, heads of prehistoric factions and the civil administration. This connection is also successful in promoting certain cultural customs which are strengthening of power structures and its subordination. It is also wondering that govt. officials often interrupt rules and regulations to please the leader of factions. These things are more seen in election days because the staff appointed from election commission fulfill the needs of leaders of factions and govt. officials instead of applying the code of conduct. The politicians whose political work is reliant on the leader of factions would not give attention to the violation of rules and laws. Due to such practices, the reforms are failed and political reigns are being upsurged. With the completion of every election, these factional networks are becoming stronger than political parties. An important fact about term 'electable' is that in the 1970s it was rarely known to some people but from onward 2002 it has got acceptance in election framework.

A fact regarding electable reigns should be accepted by the leader of political parties that these factional networks cannot be alternative to political parties and these also have a threat for reforms. Social solidity is also considered under risk because of factional networks and sectarianism. The leaders from political parties should give the concern to convert these networks into formal institutions. The steps should include motivation given to councilors for joining the political parties, not for their own purposes such as getting seats of mayors and chairmen but to promote the principles of party politics in the state. Continuous efforts are required for such purpose to be fulfilled including the beginning a membership campaign, establishing party offices, conducting the internal elections of the party from time to time and organizing party conventions every year and so on. This will be beneficial in transforming these networks and factions into formal and modern politics. Any political party which has a

serious concern about reforms, removal of gender disparities, extending of democracy and promoting good governance will not earn much attention from the leader of factions who has strength in proximity and reciprocity to the people. But these foundations of proximity and reciprocity should be distorted in such a way that is able to serve all people.

Ethnically, the district is inhabited by following main land-owning tribes: Gorchani, Mazari, Tummons, Darishak, Gopang, Pathan and Mughals (Population Census Organization, 2000). Among the respondents, the majority was from Mazari 40(25%) followed by Gorchani 30(18.8%), Drisihik 21(13.1%) and Gopang 15(9.4%) clans followed by others as shown in table



Source: Author's Calculation

The respondents were asked to let us know their opinion about how likely are the chances that you today to vote for someone from a different ethnic group if you think that individual is the right person for the job. About 27% female and 24% hold the opinion that it is very highly likely that they vote for that particular candidate. About 61% female and 46% male were of the

view that it is very likely that they vote for that particular candidate. About 12% female and 21% male were of the view that it is unlikely that they vote for that particular candidate. About 9% male was of the view that it is very unlikely that they vote for that particular candidate. It means people prefer to vote for a candidate having high morals.

The respondents of the study were asked while casting vote, they prefer ethnicity of the political candidate and how the voter felt about his/her ethnic interest. 21% of the respondents strongly agree with the question while 22% of the respondents were just agreed. 18% of the respondents disagreed and 21% strongly disagreed. The table also posited that male respondents had more ethnic preferences are compared to their female counterpart. Brandon (2004) also looked at the effect of ethnicity and racial diversity on elections. In her view, minority, and majority ethnic groups interpret the effects of issues differently so they tend to vote in different manners. From the discussion with respondents, ethnicity is the main aspect of voting behavior in Rajanpur. It is a significant basis of social relations at different societal levels that also has deep roots in the society. Voters are attracted in the name of their caste. “Dreshik ka vote Dreshik he ko.” Laghari votes vs Dreshik votes or Gurchani votes vs Mazari votes etc. can be commonly used ‘election slogans’ in planning election campaigns.

4.4. Religious Interests and Voting Behaviours

Religion interest is still one of the most important augurs of political applicant option, as is confirmed in the literature. But still, we are not exactly knowing that how truly religion effects. According to studies three different pathways may arise cooperation between religion and political applicant option; two of which are informal: A direct effect related to historical belonging and an indirect effect related to shared values. Regardless of literary theory or assuming a strong indirect effect, the study concludes that religion has no indirect effect on party preference but it works through group belonging.

In this survey, we have attested that religion has to affect candidate preference indirectly through worth of degree that parties adopt extreme views on issues of concernment to the values, and/or highlight these views. Study of two electoral constituencies of District Rajanpur confirmed that religion does indeed apply indirect effect through the political values of citizens, although this varies between applicants. Size of indirect effect clearly depends on the behavior of

candidate and its political party. This has important democratic implications; Religious interest may give good indications for electoral behavior when political applicants and its parties hold clear and applicable policy positions.

The conclusions are perfectly compatible with recent conclusions from other studies. They are also compatible with recent conclusions in the class voting literature, which have set that applicants and its political party behavior effects class voting in different ways. Although more work is needed, mainly over time and outside of Rajanpur district, because now we have to know about how and under what circumstances one of the most important bases of electoral behavior has effects on people's political liking. The suppositional discussion is also applicable to all kinds of group differences in party liking that are related to political values, such as; class, urban-rural residences or gender.

This study has shed light on how structural inequality forms contemporary development outcomes in the province of Punjab, which is defined by influential formation of religion, politics, and land. We have provided the arguments which consider the different ways in which religious places such as shrines in remote areas have an influence on literacy and also give critical space into the subject under consideration. From a unique set of data of different shrines in riverine tehsils which captures their current, historical and political aspect a conclusion can be drawn that shrines in these areas are accompanying with lower literacy rate. The results are robust in controlling of different factors such as land inequality which is associated with significant correlation with literacy. Another significant contribution of the study is its focus on possible channels of transmission. The study concluded that the effect of riverine shrines on literacy is mainly intermediated through their impact on politics.

The effect of these shrines is mostly driven through tehsils where famous families holding the shrines have a direct concern in politics. There seems a good association between peers and politics which is established through huge land holdings. These results also testify importance of the relationship between religious landholders and political power. Additionally, we also review the factors for political selection and found that shrines are historically important in such scenario. These have recognition with and patronage of British colonial authorities. This colonial benefaction of shrines was a portion of long-term plan of pleasing shrine protectors, It

was also conveyed beneath British rule with structural changes in property rights through the incorporation of the 1900 Land Alienation Act.

A concrete connection among the religious persons and landlords of Punjab was significantly entrenched by colonial rule. While we are taking care here not to give a fundamental interpretation of results but the primary statistical patterns are both robust and consistent. We are also taking care of strong statements here; the assigned qualitative and quantitative signs give a strong justification for the existence of political economy at shrines. The current study gives the first organized application for development as the previous literature has analyzed the effect of shrines through non-economics channels. The findings of the study are in support of perception of both the historian and modern observer (from Darling to Aziz). These people professed that peer and zamindars are a hurdle in way of literacy.

Apart from elevating the address on the political economy of development in Punjab the current study also shed light on the vast literature concerning the religion and development. Slightly giving a miserable picture of shrines, we give the arguments on the relationship of religion and development that facilitated by the causal power structure. The comparison with some shrines of Sufi in northern India can also provide some information on this matter. While these practices were doing in the same way as it is now a day as the past rulers give revenue-free land grants.

The establishment of Sufi shrines in India has substantially reduced in their material affluence under British rules and with the introduction of land reforms of the 1950s. Jafri (2006) showed in his study that how the financial affluence of a very famous shrine in southern Awadh got down after the application of UP Zamindari Eradication and Land Reforms Act 1952. After freedom in India, the association between the religion, politics, and land was decoupled and it was in the structural association of Pakistan. Future studies can take into account such evaluations in much wider details. In the current study, the focus of analysis is mainly on Punjab province it can be extended to south Sindh because the mixture of religion, politics, and land is stronger in Sindh. The current research has good policy implications.

There are persistent education problems in the country the possible reasons for such issue are less spending on education and poor performance of indicators of education. A recent report

from UNESCO highlighted Pakistan as the second top country among those which have the highest fraction of population out of school, (UNESCO 2014). The country is also lagging in completing the goal of universal education. Under such circumstances, educational expansion is not being fulfilled by increasing the resources available for education but it also seeks attention regarding structural inequalities. Malcolm Darling in 1928 gives the fact that “in agriculture, the social factor is as important as the economic”. Some people might disagree but the same is true for education today.

For decades, the descendants and sajjada nations of shrines are leading the local and regional partisan landscape of Punjab. As well as the religious acceptability in Rajanpur which seems to be the main foundation for political power beyond this there are some other factors which also builds shrines to be politically empowered. These factors include deraydari system, poverty, political economy, biradari system, political ideology, prevalent of myths, feudalism, and government patronage. These are the most important determinants which give insight for shrine and politics connection. Remarkably, both peers and their murid or non-murid actively operate such situational causes.

One can say that besides religious affiliation and spiritual comfort these murids and non-murids have some other socio-economic and political concerns. The peers which are known as spiritual leaders take much care of these concerns of people to keep their status. In NA-175 & NA-174 of Rajanpur district, the sajjada nation takes care of his poor murid and even provide him financial support. He also gives him social support while in return murid takes care of their political benefits. Also, the sajjada nation takes much care of socio-political status of biradari chief, feudalism, and deraydar. He also satisfies their demands while in return these people do the similar thing for sajjada nation.

Besides these explained facts, the remaining factor which is the political economy, government patronage, prevalent of spiritual myths and political ideology also play their role in the process of building political dominance of sajjada nation. In this way, all these socio-political determinants work in the agenda controlled by the religious and spiritual legality of sajjada nation. Besides his religious status, the sajjada nation also got the traditional socio-political structure same as the other political workers. Although there is transformation process started in

urban localities but in rural areas of NA-174 & NA-175, the socio-political structure is mostly traditional as being highlighted by the current research. The political leadership of sajjada nations and peers is a reason for different social, political, religious and cultural issues.

The results are depicting that 48% respondents disagreed and 21% were strongly disagreed from the statement that they cast vote for the candidate because he/she represented their religion interest. While 18% were agreed and 8% strongly agreed with the statement that they cast vote because the candidate represented their religion interest. 6% refused to give an answer. Despite the Pakistan state is guaranteeing the right of religious freedom to everyone, it has not been succeeded as the religious sect is the determinant of voting behavior s. Voters behavior influenced by their religious affiliations with their religious leaders/ peers.

The responses of the respondents about the statement '**I have contacted a religious leader**' have been presented in above table. Total one hundred and sixty respondents were approached. In response to the statement, 22% of respondents were agreed with the statement that they have never contacted by religious leaders for political support. 24% of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement that they have been contacted once. 29% of respondents were shared that they have been contacted a few times, while 16% of the respondents were often contacted. On another hand, 9% of the respondents refused to give a response. The table shows that 69% of the respondents were contacted by religious leaders often, a few times and only once for political support. The religious sect has an important role in voting. Despite the Pakistan state is guaranteeing the right of religious freedom to everyone, it has not been succeeded as the religious sect is the determinant of voting behavior s. Voters behavior influenced by their religious affiliations with their religious leaders/ peers.

4.5. Socio-Economic Status and Voting Behaviours

Sociological and psychological school of thoughts are the major dominated voting behavior theories. Sociological school of thoughts is also called the Columbia model (after the university from whence came the researchers), the sociological model of voting behavior was constructed with the intention of studying the effect of media on voting choice. They had initially thought that decision-making would be influenced most by personality and exposure to mass media, with emphasis on the latter. Their findings, published in 1944 in their book *The People's*

Choice: How the Voter Makes up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign, showed otherwise. It was the social groups they belonged to that determined whom they decided to vote (Antunes, 2010; Rosema, 2004). These groups are fairly homogenous and encourage political conformity (Bartels, 1996). It turns out that voters are influenced mainly by their social characteristics, and some of these characteristics are especially telling. Three were found to predict voters' choices: socioeconomic status, religious affiliation, and area of residence.

While the People's Choice showed that certain social characteristics influenced voters, Voting explained why this happens. Vote preferences come about because people interact with those with whom they share political interests and social characteristics, and this arises from three principles: first, people belong to different groups that have different interests (social differentiation); second, people inherit political preferences from their families (transmission); and third, people have frequent contact with people from the same social groups (social and physical proximity).

The psychological model of voting had a problem that it only described the input (social characteristics) and the output (choice of voters) but didn't describe the whole process and left a mystery. This model was given by the Scholars (Converse, Stokes, Campbell, and Miller) of Michigan University in 1960. The psychosocial or psychological model focuses on three factors which are the identification of party or partisanship, orientation towards the issue and candidate orientation. The definition of partisanship according to psychological model is as "a psychological attraction with a political party that does not necessarily translate to behavior such as registration or consistent voting" (Antunes, 2010). It does not decide through the real voting behavior of a person, but her or his self-affiliation towards the parties. It is attained through socialization, just like we attain religion. This is not social identity but it is a cognitive shortcut.

Candidate orientation and issue orientation are other two motivational factors which were seen to affect the choice of the voter. The factors which affect the issue orientation relate to up to what extent the voter is satisfied with the policies applied by the incumbent of a particular party. Candidate orientation is, simply put, the appeal of a candidate that comes from personal attributes. Candidate orientation depicts the candidate's appeal which comes from personal qualities. All of these factors are knotted collectively into a decision-making instrument which is

called the channel of causality. First of all, a person is got influenced by his sociological environment which determines his partiality. Then he got influenced by the orientation that he has towards candidate and issue and leads him to give attention to particular information and reject or ignore others. This is the specific attention that brings biases in receiving and handling information and finally controls the vote.

In this study four variables of socioeconomic factors of voting behaviors are extracted that are;

- Education
- Gender
- Occupation
- Locality (Rural/Urban)

The researcher asked the questions, how these factors influence the choice of the voters.

In this study, it is found that most of the respondents are not actively participate in the political activities. More than half of the respondents said that they disagree with the statement that they were politically active in elections. In the study, the responses of the respondents are separately discussed with their socioeconomic characteristics like their gender, occupation, age, and locality.

When we discuss the results of our findings with respect to the gender of the respondents, females' voters are less active politically as compared to their counterparts. When it matters with the education of the respondents and their political participation, the illiterate and less educated respondents are more actively participated in politics as compared with the educated one. The higher level of the education indicated the less actively political participation. When we discuss the profession of the respondents and their active political participation, results of the study showed that the respondents with agriculture and laborer are more actively participate in politics as compared to the other professions.

The one of the major reason behind these results is the informal relations that bound them for political interests sharing. When we discussed the age of the respondents and his/her political

participation, the results showed that the age interval between 31-45 are more active in political participation and above this age are less active. These age intervals are working age group that has many formal and informal relations with political actors. The locality of the respondents showed interesting results in this analysis. The rural respondents are more active in political activities as compared to their urban counterparts. The findings of this analysis showed that there is a strong association between political participation and some socio-economic factors, namely education, gender, occupation, and locality of the respondents. These results are consistent to some extent with past studies on political participation. These results are limited to the sample population of Rajanpur district and may not be generalized to other areas of Punjab and Pakistan.

As the researcher further asked the question about the active political participation of the respondents, more than one response is given by the respondents. A number of possible questions were asked. About 10% of the male and 9% of the female from the sample were of the view that they did not support any candidate. About 20% male and 18% of the female were of the view that they campaigned for a particular candidate in general elections of 2013. About 17% male and 10% were of the view that they established an office to run the political campaign of their political candidate. About 61% male and 78% of the female held the opinion that they voted them. About 5% male and 9% female were of the view that they managed financial resources for them one way or the other to support their candidate.

4.6. The Political Spending and Voting Behaviours

Early discussion in the study discussed the rational choice perspective where voters' cast their vote to a candidate or party based on benefits that they are expected to enjoy when that candidate or party win the election. He further stated that these electoral choices are based on the ideologies, philosophies, and policies of the political party.

Therefore, voting behavior influences by "Issues". He emphasized that the citizen make his decisions or choices on convincing issues rather than to rely on group affiliation as the reason for voting. The core of this argument is that in every election issues that determine the voting behavior of the voters to a reasonable extent. In addition, this study discussed many analytical issues related to convincing issues in voting choices. The analysis of this study is accord to Campbell et al (1964) who stated that there are three requirements to influence voting behavior

and further he determines that how electorates satisfy these requirements in a better way. He argued that the citizen must be aware of the issues that influence their voting decisions and they perceive that these issues that are on stake represent his or her own interests. Otherwise, issues may not influence the unaware electorates. However, vicious level of poverty and illiteracy in the third world countries like Pakistan electorates make voting decisions based on primordial tendencies rather than issues that stake their own interests.

The results are showing that 51% respondents made an agreement and 18% made an agreement with the statement that they cast vote because the candidate made development work like building roads, clinics and bringing electricity in their area while 9% refused to give an answer. The remaining 23% made disagreement with the statement that they cast voted to the candidate because he made developmental work in their area. The tangible development of hospitals, roads, sewerage lines, and parks by the political candidate may have given the opportunity to exploit the sentiment of voters. This independent variable is measured by such statements, "you voted the particular leader because your leader is interested in developed roads, hospitals, sewerage lines and parks.

In this study, I direct to focus understanding of political ad movements and voting behavior. I also wanted to assess the effect of applicant's political ad movements on voters behavior in the 2013 general elections in Rajanpur. Conclusions from the study showed that political advertising plays some role in affecting the people. However, this effect is weak and could be a purposeful effect. From this, it is concluded that political and movements have some effect on voting behavior. In addition, political ad movements remain common, which means they are still used in the election movement process; radio and tv remain the most effective means of advertising.

The conclusions also show that the use of theme songs of the party in political ad campaigns is useful in gripping the electorate's attention, which could, in turn, mean a change of candidate's option. Based on these conclusions, I would suggest that political applicants should plan something different and impressive and also invest in election campaign strategies instead of wasting a lot of money on political ad movements. This does not mean political applicants should ignore ad campaigns totally. However, it is important that applicants use the most effective ways to affect the voting behavior. In addition, after political applicants and parties

have chosen the best media to reach out to the voter – which are most likely radio, tv and social media , they should also use theme song strategy such that as of PTI, to gain appreciable popularity. They should also have focused on different factors and strategies which affect voting behavior in good ways.

At last, voters should be free to receiving political advertising information so they can make better choices. Adherent to a party or applicant they have chosen from the start might they turn down the chance to understand the stability of other applicants- who might really be a better choice.

The aim of current study was to review the results of research on the role of political communication (through party campaigns and media) for voters' choices in general elections of 2013. The area selected for study is district Rajanpur. Findings of broad-minded social structural and prejudiced de-alignment in Rajanpur seem to imply that the voters in this district are more available and interested to communication inspirations in recent periods. Though, it is still a question that in which way and how strongly electoral attitude of people are responsive to the information given by parties' election campaign and mass media. Prolonged Paper more frequent biasedness of media, especially television (cf. <http://www.mediasystemsineurope.org>). However, one must admit that studies concerning the role of media and election campaign remain dispersed in general and separated across Rajanpur, so what we know is about how people respond to info reaching them from the plate form of parties and mass media at elections. In research, election campaigns by political parties and mass media cannot be implicitly studied as broad categories.

To measure the political relevance of these two, there is need to decompose them into theoretically appropriate dimensions. Before studying the effects regarding the provision of information, there is also a need to clarify on a theoretical basis that what qualities of providers of election info is expected to make them significant in attracting the voting attitude. Existing research in case of Pakistan has observed a limited number of such traits whose choice was mainly determined by constituency-specific norms or research pragmatics such as data availability. In the research questions, researchers naturally answer to specific the institutional context of their states. Therefore, studies from different territories have a concentration on various aspects of political parties and candidates or mass media.

For example, the interest of British campaign research particularly focused on the impact of campaigning in the constituencies, a country which holds its electoral process under SMDP

electoral system this is quite natural for such countries. Therefore, for different countries, we have varying dimensions of knowledge in this area. It seems quite difficult for identification of commonalities between voting behavior of countries. Findings from different studies conducted in several countries unambiguously give suggestions that election campaigns mostly endorse homing propensities of predisposed but vague voters. It also seems that election campaigns mostly strengthen and mobilize supporters but it has little effect to convert voters. These things rarely change the preferences of voters but these have become frequent and might in coming time it will have decisive outcomes for elections.

The responses of the respondents about the statement 'He is the candidate whose election campaign inspired me' have been shown in above table. Total one hundred and sixty respondents were approached. In response to the statement, 24% of respondents were agreed with the statement, that they were inspired by the election campaign of the candidate. 27% of respondents were strongly agreed with the statement. 15% of respondents were disagreed with the statement, while 16% of respondents were strongly disagreed with the statement. On another hand, only 19% of respondents were neutral in their responses.

From the discussion during FGDs with respondents, they shared that a strong campaign has been launched by political leaders to influence their voters through mass meetings, personal contacts, street meetings, posters, speeches by religious leaders/ peers and local sarddars, newspapers advertisements and propaganda. These tools adopted to attract voters particularly floating voters during their election campaigns. The objective of election campaigns is to make the beliefs of the voters that their interests can be best addressed by the political candidate of the contesting party. Election campaign can be an important independent variable of this study.

4.7. The Clientelism and Voting Behavior

When voters use the family link as a rule for choosing whom they prop up at polls, they have many different reasons for doing this. It may be due to some fewer facts of election they accept the applicant by their family name or maybe they have some confidence on those people in their widespread family to obey or have an option of policy platform of their interests. These and some other similar causes may play a very effective role in why voters prop up the members of their widespread family. Thus, it is not undeniable that what's the character of clientelism? In

this study, we have taken on an intense exploration of the role of clientelism in why voters prop up members of their widespread family. First, we imitated Curz, Labonne, and Querubin (2016) in displaying that applicants who are approaching too many voters in local widespread families are doing much better than those voters who are not approaching. Next, we unwind help for these applicants before the movement interval from help for them at polls to observe and assess the difference. The report defends the objective that clientelism is most effective by binding with voters of widespread families

Our conclusion also explains why depending on family bond as a rule so consummate assist the clientelist interchange of money for votes during elections. From the applicant's attitude: widespread families give organized benefit for the issuance of particular motivations and the social model of attachment and reciprocity between widespread relatives can backup for more difficult mechanisms of observing that are frequently mandatory in other surroundings. From the voter's attitude: where our study makes the biggest beneficiation and that social model of attachment and reciprocity runs through the whole widespread family help them to negotiate to keep their end of dealing.

The voters closer to the applicants have more benefits, thus approaching in the social networks make voters more focusing - they are for whom the more excitement for money vote-value of money and other particular motivations are greatest. These conclusions have major significance for our understanding of clientelism in the Rajanpur and democracies widely. First, though this study has intrigued on family bonds, other types of links likely used in same manners. How applicants assign and voters reply to clientelist calls from co-ethnics and co-religionists, for example, may obey the same plan. Second, the conclusion in this study is may explain why clientelism survives in some surroundings but not in others. Long lasting bonds binding applicants and voters could create dominant democratic law by a command of the citizens.

The current political clientelism which provides the signs of the breaking of old ties of kinship and dependence but it is the return of political parties. It also states that ideological or policy based politics has a little bit resemblance with rural politics. In the election days, people evaluate the political parties from the work done by their candidates in that particular jurisdiction rather than the policies formulated and implemented by the party. In this way, the other policies

of government such as foreign policy concerning the relationship with India or US, or the policies regarding religion and other national interest have very less value for these voters.

The exception to this concept is that which includes the policy concerning with the lower prices of goods. Furthermore, now a day's elections are won through targeted delivery. Wilder investigated the fact that the office of Chief Minister Punjab works as a royal court because his Political Secretary personally snoops the individual demands and give the recommendations on his personal will. He also listens to different Govt. departments on basis of supplicants which shows that recognition in the highest office of is based on how much is delivered to voters and not based on policy making (1999: 199).

The current analysis of national political clientelism is moralistic but it leaves some questions which is needed to be answered which include: how much voters in rural areas of Punjab have broken stalemates of dependence and kinship? Are they evaluating the political candidate based on what they have delivered in past? If they have a contact with political supporter which is well off and they have a regular interaction with him can this thing affect such kind of evaluations? To answer these questions the analysis can be extended to more localized level and consider the clientelism as defined by Powell. In this way, we can evaluate the links between clients and political supporters at the local level which has a good influence on the voting attitude of villagers.

“Therefore, voters in Pakistan are described as coerced and dependent at the same time as over-socialized members of ethnic groups and as vote-selling clients of political patrons”. It is opposed that such political ideas are deployed in generalize manners at the macro level of analysis in this study. Hence, these studies are unable to give us the trends about Pakistani citizens vote choices as they do, or analysis of different voter choices and their political decisions that are a different one from other voters. These studies also tell us very little about appealing ideas such as whether all voters led by reflection of ethnicity, clientelism, and feudalism, or whether some voters are able to mature ideological ties with a political candidate and parties? Unfortunately, in Pakistan, we do not know much about voting choices and even don't know how much intervention is given to the arguments on clientelism, ethnicity, and feudalism when voters are making political decisions.

The voting behavior viewed differently from most literature during carrying multilevel analysis. Lipset and Rokkan (1967) and most studies that expressed the voting behavior to take off from their framework in the act of voting for a particular political party or candidate. Voting behavior is explored at a lower level in this study that is not expressed as the only vote but as in a village level political institution of membership that is called vote blocs. The researcher asked the respondents why they choose one vote bloc over the other rather ask why voters voted for particular political parties or candidate.

Therefore, the membership in vote bloc resulted in the act of voting and there is an informal intervening institution that is consisted of vote blocs and its political leader existed. Furthermore, this study explores the relationship of voters and the intervening actors that is based on a relationship outside the political arena and everyday contacts which makes this relationship a different type of voting behavior that commonly studies between the formation of political parties and voters. In this study of voting behavior, the focus is also on informal institutions (intervening actors and vote blocs) that shape, organize and influence vote choices with that of formal institutions.

In this study of voting behavior, it is found that a majority of voters from district Rajanpur cast their vote as members of this informal institution (vote blocs) that are organized by local power holders with whom they engage every day. The leaders of the vote bloc members are usually part of the landed elites of the area. However, it is also found in this study that a majority of the voters in targeted study area do not actively participate in vote blocs because of their socioeconomic dependencies.

Instead, their membership is the result of either of clientelist negotiations aimed at access to public services and other material benefits, or it is a form of collective action. It is further investigated that vote blocs are thus either vertical networks of patrons and clients, or horizontal networks of social solidarity. They are very rarely expressions of dependence or of political party support.

It is found that voting behavior varies significantly across villages that lie close together and across households within the same village. Most of the variation between villages is explained by differences in social structure and varying levels of historical and current land inequality, while the fact that households that lie within the same village and thus face the same

structural constraints but behave differently from one another are explained mainly by their wealth and caste status.

The rural landed elite of Punjab was the special constituency of the British colonial state, which created and protected both their landed power and their social dominance. In the post-colonial political environment of Pakistan which was first unstable, then authoritarian. These elites were able to transform their economic and social power into political influence and became central figures within national politics. Bhutto, himself part of this elite, challenged and circumscribed this power of the land in the 1970s by appealing to rural discontent, a strategy that allowed the fledgling PPP to sweep a national election and be brought into power by an electorate that had never before, and has not since, voted so obviously and overwhelmingly along class lines. The tipping of the scales against the rich, landed class during Bhutto's regime proved, however, to be but a short-lived interlude in Pakistan's political history.

However, it is argued that as concepts deployed at a macro-level of analysis to explain national politics these terms are woolly and unwieldy, and leave us with an unclear picture of voting behavior that conceals more than it reveals. It is also pointed out that the main problem with these concepts is that they refer to relationships that exist at a micro level between groups of voters and the landlords, kin brothers, and patrons that play an important role in how they vote but use these to explain macro phenomenon, such as political change at the national level. It is further argued that it is when they are used at a micro level, such as within a village, to unravel political relationships that they become useful and can help us sort through the various pressures that work on voters and determine how they vote on Election Day.

The responses of the respondents when it was asked them is this candidate good friend of your Sardar? Out of total respondents 39% made agree that the candidate is a good friend of my Sardar, 17% respondents replied that they strongly agree that the candidate is a good friend of Sardar while 10% respondents refused to give an answer. The remaining 34% respondents made disagreement with the statement that the candidate is a good friend of their Sardar. So more than half of the total respondents cast the vote to the candidate because he/her was a good friend of their Sardar. Majority of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed 56% with the notion. James Scott (1972) explained this behavior in patron-client relationships that is due to several socioeconomic reasons. He also notes that it is important to understand the existent of these

informal systems in the developing world, as it has a significant impact on the political situation of the modern era. Hence, an informal system of social order may also have termed as patron-client relations. Conversely, there is another argument that citizens prefer to vote on the basis of satisfaction over the resolution of issues and how the candidate convinces rather than their group affiliations, therefore, every issue related to election determine voting behavior (Herbert 1984).

The table is showing that 12% strongly agreed and 23% agreed that they cast their vote for the candidate because he/she supported them in their local issues. While 18% were made strongly disagreement and 21% just made disagreement with that they cast vote to a candidate because he/she supported them in their local issues. The remaining 28% respondents refused to give an answer to this question.

From the discussion with respondents in FGDs, Local issues and the potential involvement of their leaders always influences the choices of their voters. Political candidates always try to involve themselves in local issues and follow such issues according to the needs and demands of their voters. The voters usually need political supports in Thanna Kachari (police and courts), family and land disputes, and their unemployment etc.

In addition, Campbell et al (1964) discussed many analytical issues related to convincing issues in voting choices. He stated that there are three requirements to influence voting behavior and further he determines that how electorates satisfy these requirements in a better way. He argued that the citizen must be aware of the issues that influence their voting decisions and they perceive that these issues that are on stake represent his or her own interests. Otherwise, issues may not influence the unaware electorates. However, vicious level of poverty and illiteracy in the third world countries like Pakistan electorates make voting decisions based on primordial tendencies rather than issues that stake their own interests.

The responses of the respondents about the statement '**He is the "big person," renowned personality or most important politician from our area**' have been shown in above table. Total one hundred and sixty respondents were approached. In response to the statement, 24% of respondents agreed with the statement. 22% of respondents strongly agreed with the statement. 15% of respondents disagreed with the statement, while 21% of respondents strongly disagreed with the statement. On other 19%, respondents were neutral in their responses.

The respondents of the targeted constituencies were asked to let us know their views whether they supported any candidate or not in general election 2013. More than one response is given by the respondents. A number of possible questions were asked. About 10% of the male and 9% of the female from the sample were of the view that they did not support any candidate. About 20% male and 18% of the female were of the view that they campaigned for a particular candidate in general elections of 2013. About 17% male and 10% were of the view that they established an office to run the political campaign of their political candidate. About 61% male and 78% of the female held the opinion that they voted them. About 5% male and 9% female were of the view that they managed financial resources for them one way or the other to support their candidate.

The respondents were asked to let us know their opinion about their communication or closeness to a political candidate whom they voted. About 9% female and 6% hold the opinion that they were very close to political candidates. About 33% female and 20% male were of the view that they were somehow close to their political candidate. About 12% female and 17% male hold their opinion reserved. It means, it is evident from the responses of the target groups that affiliation with the particular candidate is a key factor in voting behavior. People in this area prefer to vote that candidate to whom they have a certain affiliation.

This particular phenomenon is discussed in the role of power politics already. Again, the respondents were asked to let us know their opinion about any benefit if they received from their political candidate. About 3% female and 4% hold the opinion that they received cash gifts from their political candidates. About 9% female and 3% male were of the view that they received in-kind support from their political candidate. About 21% female and 39% male were of the view that their political candidate promised for future support if elected. About 67% female and 54% male were of the view that they did not receive any kind of support from their political candidate. It means there is a trend of buying a vote in Rajanpur or people prefer to vote based on economic benefits. These benefits to some extent are personal, not accumulative. The money factor cannot be ignored while studying voting behavior. Despite the poorest district of Punjab, election spending of the political leaders is in crores. Downs (1957), discussed the rational choice perspective where voters' cast their vote to a candidate or party based on benefits that they are

expected to enjoy when that candidate or party win the election. He further stated that these electoral choices are based on the ideologies, philosophies, and policies of the political party.

The responses of the respondents about the statement '**I have contacted other influential person**' have been presented in above table. Total one hundred and sixty respondents were approached. In response to the statement, 84% of respondents were agreed with the statement that they have never contacted by religious leaders for political support. 4% of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement that they have been contacted once. 9% of respondents were shared that they have been contacted a few times, while 2% of the respondents were often contacted. On another hand, 1% of the respondents refused to give a response.

The responses of the respondents about the statement 'The political party matters to me more than the candidate of the party' have been presented in above table. Total one hundred and sixty respondents were approached. In response to the statement, 48% of respondents agreed with the statement. 52% of respondents strongly agreed with the statement. Downs (1957) also discussed the rational choice perspective where voters' cast their vote to a candidate or party based on benefits that they are expected to enjoy when that candidate or party win the election. He further stated that these electoral choices are based on the ideologies, philosophies, and policies of the political party.

Meenu Roy's (2000) book is an attempt for an in-depth study of all dimensions of electoral process and behavior that is the basis of ballot battle. She opines that selection of candidate is not voter choice as the political parties impose their candidates that falling the interest of the voter in casting vote. There are two categories of a citizen who don't vote such as privileged people who know that they will meet their interests in other ways and the second category of people don't cast vote as they know their interests will not be met anyway.

4.8. Political Manifesto and Voting Behaviours

The temperament of political parties and their election campaign can be decided at two levels: which includes the election policy and the speeches delivered by upper management of party, and the questions and problems which are being raised in the constituency-based electioneering. Another important thing of concern is that how the political candidates present themselves in front of voters and what the voters demand from them. The problems at two levels

of headship and constituency are not essentially identical which sometimes create problems for the parties after the election period is over, especially for that party which got the power. The party policies are high-flown, catch-all documents which show the dreams of a bright future. The impression which is created by political manifestos is that the parties have practical solutions for the issues of the society as well as state problems.

The political manifestos play a significant role as they show the concern of top leadership on the state and global issues and it also delivers a reflection of their preferences on administrative direction, economic issues and political situation of the state. The political manifestos for the 2013 general elections were solid on promises and dreams of the future but the plans of action were not well delivered to realize these goals. The ground realities of Pakistani society, its political system, and economic issues are not well understood. The capacity of the state to perform its basic job is declining and there is no acknowledgment of this thing. The effectiveness and application capability of state has also declined.

Therefore, the dream to upsurge the tax-to-GDP ratio from a very low level of 9 percent to 15 percent, as shown by the current govt. of PMLN appeared impractical. The reasons for not fulfillment of this objective are undocumented nature of the economy, increasing political power of the traders and businessmen, and most important one is their power to strike which includes shutting down of markets and blocking of main roads in urban areas. Moreover, the PML-N govt. have a heavy dependency in the political domain of Punjab which includes businessmen and traders community and govt said it wants to implement a tax on these people.

When one inspects agendas of major parties in Pakistan regarding the socio-economic issues there is not the much ideological difference between them is seen. In fact, the concept of ideology is being missed from the election context. The political parties which are known as Islamic parties (such as JUI-F) are concentrating on socio-economic agendas like other political parties. These Islamic parties also highlight the topic of application of the Sharia rules and converting Pakistan into a pure Islamic state. But these things are just based on words they did not provide the details of the process through which they established their sort of Islamic state. Some of them emphasize the word 'Islam in the crisis' and do not permit the secular system in the

country. Ideology outsiders in the election campaign, when one incorporates the violence caused by Taliban and their associates in the path of the election campaign.

The liberals and democratic parties were on the target of Taliban which includes PPP, ANP, and MQM. The election gatherings of these parties, their offices and leaders are being targeted by Taliban by suicide attackers and bomb blasts. Both the Islamic and other parties which have sympathetic behavior towards the Taliban such as PML-N and PTI are bit safer than the liberals and Democrats. Both these parties also adopt significant security measures for their public gatherings on election days.

Electricity shortage which was a serious issue in 2013, the leaders from PML-N promise to tackle this issue in just two years and while on the other hand, PTI would require three years' time to resolve the issue. The leaders from PPP give blame to PML-N for the interruption in the electricity generation in the past. However, none of the parties give a solid plan with actions to generate power for the fulfillment of electricity requirement and save line losses. On above-explained facts, how would these parties have mobilized resources? How PTI and PML-N have got the aid from western (especially U.S) when they would rewrite the relation of U.S and Pakistan? The aim of PTI is to end the banner of 'American slavery' and also wants to finish 'American-sponsored' war on terrorism. Except for PPP, ANP and MQM other political parties have ambiguous posture on terrorism in Pakistan. All parties find guilty terrorism but no one other than these three parties is willing to criticize anyone indulged in terror activities even when a group takes the responsibility for the terror attack. Islamic parties and Jamaat-i-Islami which include Wahabbi/Deobandi and Ahle-Hadith (Hadees) have either strong sympathizes or supporting the Taliban group. The people and parties which includes the Barelvi and Shia are more critical to Taliban.

The surprising effect of PTI candidate is its silence on the militant Islamic groups but it considers terrorism as an internal security matter and it also wants to eliminate militant groups between the political parties. The PTI's point of view on the war against terrorism and operations in the tribal areas joins with the Pakistani Taliban point-of-view.

There is ambiguity in the opinion of PML-N against Taliban and militant groups but it finds guilty terrorism-related activities. Both parties including the PML-N and PTI speak about

changes of government policy on terrorism and long-term socio-economic development of rural areas. These parties do not focus on the direct threat of terrorism from Taliban and other militant groups. Considering the strong presence of the conventional and hardliner Islamic groups and the interregional organizations in Punjab, PMLN and PTI are flirting.

There is a long line of goals set by PML-N govt. to rescue the Pakistan economy. It also takes into consideration the privatization and restructuring of state enterprises which are suffering from huge losses. But the question arises here is that what is the practical implication of this suggestion when there are labor unions in these enterprises? Another point is that other two political parties PTI and PPP will not support the PML-N in this step. A major point of concern is that all the political persons do not talk about the land reforms.

Their policy of famous political parties is that they want to maintain friendly relation with the rest of world and especially in South Asia. There seems no aggression in policy towards India. In their public gathering and party meetings, there is hardly any statement given by political leaders against India or on the issue of Kashmir. Besides these political parties, even the Islamic parties are also not highlighting the issue of Kashmir but they might talk about water issue regarding Kashmir. India and Kashmir are not being seen on political eyes of the famous parties. The anti-American thoughts delivered by PTI and Islamic parties did not get much famous. The main focus of many parties is a domestic issue of the country. When we make a comparison of leadership dissertation and policies with election campaign these seem to be far away.

Almost all the participants have the knowledge about the candidate of PML-N and PPP. Possibly this might be the reason that the election campaign of PML-N was built on a practical issue which is to reduce the electricity shortage which is against the policies of other parties. This thing has created awareness among voters for the manifesto of PML-N than any other party. The main rival party of PML-N is PPP which also change the structure of its election campaign to counter the PML-N and the manifesto of the party was also known to the people. Though, the policies of two political parties PTI and PPP were the least known to the public. Participants have a good knowledge of manifestos of political parties and the main focus of their concern is policies of PML-N and PPP.

The main reason behind this phenomenon as seen from respondents' point of view is that people said that general election was a horse race between two main political parties. One reason can also be that the election campaign of PTI and PPPP was not that much extensive as did by PML-N.

Secondly, it is also come out clearly that the participants got knowledge of manifestos of political parties from media which includes television and radio. This fact is possible due to increasing access of radio and televisions in the city, besides this one possible reason is that some of these broadcasters are providing the material in the local languages which could be easily understood by even uneducated people. Therefore, this prevents the need for leaders as the two-step flow theory advocates. Most of the participants showed that they did not get information from their families or friends. But they were also some respondents which said that family and friends are the major sources of info regarding the election manifestos. Therefore, it can be said that there seems a threat of modification of information provided to these people by the so-called "opinion leaders" which are mentioned by the two steps flow theory and the information provided by these "opinion leaders" could influence their voting attitude.

Thirdly, from the answers of people, it seems that they used many sources of information which includes mass media, posters, and party administrators at the constituency, billboards and other ways to communicate the people. It also observed that some political parties give more concentration on election campaign than others in the electorate but the lowest line is that these parties used unified strategies to communicate with the voters. Though, it was clear that some methods of communication are more popular in public than others. The internet source was a least popular source of information for the voters.

Finally, it came into a discussion that personal traits of political candidates play more role than manifestos in influencing the electoral choice of people. Participants showed that they are motivated to give the vote to a candidate **who they consider to be trustworthy rather than a person with excellent manifesto**; most of the people said that they give the vote to their favorite person as he got their trust. Moreover, a little bit beyond the one-third respondents said that they give the vote to the candidate based on their manifestos. However, it can be analyzed that voters who give vote on the basis of manifesto are divided into two categories; There are the people

who gave votes based on knowledge of strategies of the party to whom they supported or it is based on the knowledge of manifestos of PML-N and PPP which is against those people who give votes based on the knowledge of manifestos of all political parties.

The voters who give their opinion in elections based on the knowledge of strategies of all political parties are rational voters as described by the rational choice theory. “This theory contains two decisions which are made during elections. The first decision is about whether to vote or to refrain and second decision is about whom to vote if someone agrees to vote. When a voter faces two or more parties or individuals standing in the elections then the rational voter just think about the situations in which each individual or party wins. After this, the voter compares the possible outcomes and their differences from their personal appraisals. Positive difference means a vote will be cast to the former, negative difference mean another party will receive the vote and zero difference means it is better to abstain from voting because the voter will not gain anything from voting. This type of voters is very small in numbers among the participants.

The second type of voters which give their votes based on manifesto is attributed to two responses given by participants as to why they unsuccessful in getting information regarding the strategies of political parties. They said that they were interested in just two parties PML-N and PPPP regarding the elections or they showed their interest in the candidate to whom they are supporting. This phenomenon is sighted that PML-N and PPPP are the only parties that matter is attributable to the happenings on the electoral landscape in the past fixed with sympathies for these two famous parties and also strengthened by their connections within the society and “electoral realities” which are being shown by media. These two parties PML-N and PPPP are famous for the elections in the past as well as their interactions within the community, as well as for their love and the "electoral commission" shaped by translators. Apparently, people from the smaller political parties would disagree with the fact that election in the district being studied is held almost between PML-N and PPPP. This difference in truths of these two different sets of “political animals” enlightens the central idea of Social Constructionism.

The people of Rajanpur have the knowledge of strategies of the political parties in the 2013 election year but facts show that mainly they have information about manifestos of PML-N and PPPP. There is not the much significant role played by these manifestos in changing voting

behavior of people. Because people have some other considerations which influence their voting behavior most important one is personal tactics of candidates. Ethnicity, religious affiliations, and social bondages are among the main personal tactics which influence the voting attitude of people.

Respondents were asked about their main source of information on a manifesto of political parties during 2013 general elections. The information from friends and family topped this list with percentage of 34.4%. This is an informal structure where electorates shared their thoughts about the manifesto and build opinions for political parties. While probing during the FGDs, they shared that they have spent their free time times with friends and family regularly and shared the new political developments with each other. It is quite clear that despite poor district of Punjab province, television is the major source of information for electorates of Rajanpur district during the elections. Television is the source of information for 31.9% respondents in this study. The campaign rallies are not major sources of political information during elections as it relates to the findings of Jonah (1998). 18.2% of the respondents depend on newspapers and campaigns rallies as political information.

When respondents were asked about the information collecting of the manifesto of all the political parties involved in 2013 general elections, 66.9% of the respondents said that they did not involve in seeking information about manifesto of all political parties contesting in 2013 general elections. When these 69.1% respondents have further probed the reason for not seeking information of political manifesto, 51.3% respondents said that I already decided their political candidate and party so they did not go to seek information for other parties. 20% of the respondents said that they don't have enough time to seek information for the political manifesto. 28.8% said they have other reasons for not seeking political information. When probing these 28.8% respondents, they said they even don't know about the manifesto and less interest in politics. However, 33.1% respondents said they seek information about the manifesto of the political parties.

Election Promises by PPP

Date	Leader	Place/ Venue	Sector	Statement	Link
6/3/2013	Asif Ali Zardari	Multan	Governance	South Punjab a new province.	The Nation
2/4/2013	Shazia Aurangzeb	Mardan	Women Empowerment	1. Establishment of a university 2. Separate transport system 3. Vocational centers for women in Mardan city.	Dawn News
15-04-2013	Bilawal Bhutto Zardari	Islamabad	Social welfare	Will expand the BISP to complete its second phase.	Tribune
15/04/2013	Bilawal Bhutto Zardari	Islamabad	Social Development	BISP stipend will be increased to Rs 2,000 per month.	Tribune
10/5/2013	Bilawal Bhutto Zardari	Islamabad	Governance	PPP would form South Punjab province.	Dunyanews.tv

Former President of Pakistan Asif Ali Zardari said that people want to get their issue solved but on the other hand there are some other forces which are playing their role in changing people's considerations from real problems. He also said that their govt. fulfilled the promise to highlight the issue of Bahawalpur South Punjab province in the parliament and also exposed the people, not in favor of a separate province. He also hoped that "The people will reject them in

the coming elections,” He stated that this resolution will be proved as a milestone in creating a separate province.

The candidate of PPPP in NA-9 was Shazia Aurangzeb who said that she will establish a university, vocational training center for women and also separate transport system for them in Mardan city if she would be selected in next election. The Chairman of PPP Bilawal Bhutto Zardari stated that his party will win the upcoming general elections with significant margin and will also make the next government take the country “according to the vision of Shaheed Benazir Bhutto and Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto by making forward position in the community of nations”. In another political speech in public gathering at Islamabad through video link, the chairperson of PPP lashed out at PML-N. He said that PML-N government did nothing for the welfare of people in Punjab without wasting the money on useless projects such as Sasti Roti and Metro Bus Service.

Election Promises by PML-N

Date	Leader	Place	Sector	Statement	Link
7/3/2013	Mian Nawaz Sharif	Lahore	Local Governance System	Establishment of Local Governments System.	Dawn
7/3/2013	Mian Nawaz Sharif	Lahore	Educators Salaries	Increase in Teachers Salaries.	Dawn
9/3/2013	Mian Nawaz Sharif	Mardan	Transport / Power Generation/ Education	Additional 25000 Mega Watt electricity will be added, Motorway network will be expended to Karachi and Gawadarand BulletTrainwillbe launched across the country, reducing travel time between Peshawar and Karachi to nearly 7 hours in 5 years. Metro Bus Service will be launched in all the provinces.	Tribune
17/3/2013	Mian Shahbaz Sharif	Islamabad	RTI / Law	The first legislation to be passed by the next Punjab Assembly will be the Right to Information law.	The News
7/4/2013	Mian Shahbaz Sharif	Lahore	Women Empowerment	Allocation of Rs. 4 billion for women through Bank of Punjab to support self-employment schemes and small businesses for Women.	Express - News
16/04/2013	Mian Shahbaz Sharif	Lahore	Education	1. Allocation of Rs. 700 billion in next 5 years 2. Legislation for ensuring 100% admission for 8 th class and 80% for Matric 3. Two Danish schools in every district of Pakistan (one for boys and one for girls).	Express - News
17/04/2013	Mian Shahbaz Sharif	Lahore	Accountability	Accountability of PPP rulers.	Nation
20/04/2013	Mian Shahbaz Sharif	Lahore	Women Empowerment	Enhancing women role in legislation as well as other affairs of the state.	The Nation
20/04/2013	Mian Shahbaz Sharif	Lahore	Rural Development/	Turning Youhanaabad into Model Village -Extension of Metro Bus Service to Kahna.	The Nation

			Transport		
20/04/2013	Mian Nawaz Sharif	Lahore	Women's Right	1. Protection of Women rights in inheritance through legislation; 2. Care centers and women entrepreneurship financing for businesswomen would be established to facilitate this important segment of the society.	<u>The Nation</u>
20/04/2013	Mian Nawaz Sharif	Lahore	Women Empowerment	Soft loans and every incentive necessary to facilitate women in business, education and other professions.	<u>The Nation</u>
20/04/2013	Mian Nawaz Sharif	Lahore	Women's Right	Check through legislation about 1. Torture of women 2. Discriminatory treatment against them in inheritance as well as in society.	<u>The Nation</u>
8/5/2013	Mian Nawaz Sharif	KPK/ Different districts	Transport/ Economy	1. Motorway from Peshawar to Kabul and its extension to Tashkent 2. Rejuvenate the economy and overtake India.	<u>The News</u>
8/5/2013	Mian Nawaz Sharif	Haripur	New Province	Hazara to be made new province.	<u>The News</u>
8/5/2013	Mian Nawaz Sharif	Haripur	Education	Medical College and University in Abbottabad	<u>The News</u>
15/5/2013	Mian Shahbaz Sharif	Karachi	Transport	Metro Bus Service in Karachi.	<u>The News</u>

The PML-N leadership announced its policies during the election campaign which includes revitalization of economy and resolve of the energy crisis. The policies suggest the parliamentary oversight of intelligence services and give a prediction about the institutional mechanism which will make a better coordination between the agencies. In his speech, Nawaz Sharif lashed out at the government of PPPP and stated that PML-N has solid solutions for countless problems faced by Pakistani people.

During his speech at a public gathering, he made a promise that if PML-N got into power they will give their best to restore peace in the country and eliminate the shortage of power

within two years' time. Complete solution of problems has been predicted out from election vision of party. CM Punjab Shahbaz Sharif made a promise that if his party got power in next election then the first legislation will be on the Right to Information law, which revitalize the hope of media agencies and civil society organizations which are struggling for this type of legislation. In another political speech, Muhammad Nawaz Sharif stated that his party will make efforts for the participation of women in legislation as well as other matters of the country. PML-N leader Shahbaz Sharif give a statement that Karachi Metro Bus project will be started soon.

Election Promises by PTI

Date	Leader	Place/ Venue	Sector	Statement	Link
4/3/2013	Imran Khan	Islamabad	Economic Policy	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 10 million new jobs for youth over the next five years. 2. To reduce fiscal deficit to 4.5 percent of the DP 3. Allocation of land for special economic zones around every major urban center. 	Pakistan Today
4/03/2013	Asad Umar	Islamabad	Skill Development	PTI Skill Development Strategy will scale up technical skills enrollment to 2 million workers from less than 0.3 million rupees.	Tribune
23/03/2013	Imran	Lahore	Management	1. I and my	News

	Khan			<p>government will wage a 'Jihad' against injustice in the country.</p> <p>2. I will keep all my wealth in Pakistan, I will not be like other leaders who rule in Pakistan but keep their wealth abroad.</p> <p>3. I will not take or allow others to take unfair benefit during PTI's tenure in the government.</p> <p>4. I will guard the nation's tax. It will not be spent on Governor, PM, and CM houses.</p> <p>5. The PTI government will break the walls of the Governor houses.</p> <p>6. We will stand by overseas Pakistanis.</p>	Pakistan
31/03/2013	Imran Khan	Swat	Education	Rs 2,500 billion would be spent on the education sector in	Saach.tv/Web Page

				next 5 years.	
31/03/2013	Imran Khan	Swat	Defense/Conflict Resolution	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To establish peace in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa & FATA 2. To end US-led war. 3. Manage talks with militants. 	Saach.tv
31/03/2013	Imran Khan	Mingora	Education	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Will spend five times more money in education and will invest in the government schools, 2. Increase employment opportunities, 3. will promote technical education. 	Tribune
31/03/2013	Imran Khan	Swat	Educational Curriculum	Uniform curriculum would be set up.	Saach.tv
31/03/2013	Imran Khan	Swat	Justice/ Law and Order	Will introduce pre/1974 justice system in Swat.	Saach.tv/Web Page
1/4/2013	Imran Khan	Mingora	Local Government System	No MPA or MNA will be given funds for development projects and only local authorities will have access to	Express-News

				money.	
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Reporting the Industrial Policy of the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI), Chairman Imran Khan pledge that if accompanying the true power, then his government would in action to establish the country's economy by re-established industrial sector and restoring the interest of investors by giving jobs to new 10 million youth based on skills. Chairman Imran Khan also assure 1000 of his admirers to make Pakistan corruption free country and also taking promise by them not to involve in any corrupt activity. In another speech Chairman Imran Khan has guaranteed to entrenched peace in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and the tribal region, except initiate improvement in the structure of education, health, and police.

Chapter 5

Discussion, Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1. Discussion

The main reasons for less vote casting in male participants are inaccessible voting stations, laziness, and disappointment. Whereas the female voters have unapproachability to voting stations disenchantment (in that order) and apathy is the reasons for less vote casting. Majority of the sample (including male and female) selected for the current study showed that they will be voting in upcoming elections. The selected sample also revealed the results that the registered voters included in study half of them have given votes in the general election held in 2013. The facts about interest in politics are that male participants have more interest in politics than female respondents. Male respondents also provide the arguments that condition in Rajanpur has been made better over years. Due to which both the genders have shown interest in politics.

The participants of this survey feel hesitation for giving instructions on political matters and there are fewer chances that their opinions influence other political workers. However, if there comes a question of influencing other people on political concerns than female respondents are less than their male counterparts. Another important question arises here is that whether the gender plays an important role in determining political ethics and voting behavior of people, the current study comes on a point that there is a significant difference in political ethics and voting behavior of male and female participants. Another result from focus group conversation on the issue of voter registration, voting, and political interest reveals that male respondent has a positive attitude in this regard. On the other hand, female participants are seemed to be less participated in such activities which include discussion of political issues and participation in political actions. Another result drawn here is that female participant have negative views about government for performing its duties.

It is found that differences in voting and political behavior between the genders. Male participants have a positive attitude for the electoral process but on the other hand female part,

more respondents are reserved. Besides, the political behavior is also different between ethnic groups. In general, the participants from small groups have a positive attitude. However, on the question of voting these ethnic groups have no significant difference. Therefore, in the light of the foregoing, it is possible, especially in the case of gender, to notice the difference between the electoral behavior of members who have some social characteristics and other members.

As for as voting attitude is concerned, the social location of voters did not appear to be a defining factor for voting attitude as regards electoral contribution. In such a way one difference between rural respondent and urban participants is related to what these contributors considered an an important issue in their societies. The current study presented that basic needs and services are observed as an important factor in rural areas, while the urban area has some other important concerns which include construction of roads and parks. The above-stated issues are different in both rural and urban localities which give an indication about different political opinions. As their needs vary according to social locations that's why their concern about government priorities differ. Thus, regarding voting behavior specifically, there were no significant differences between respondents of rural or urban areas. This is only of difference in their political opinion, which circled around other important matters of their localities. These views on important issues are very much relevant, as the requirements of rural people are different than their counterpart living in urban localities.

The answers provided by respondents regarding their participation in political forums and conversations are considered as a determinant for socialization and its influence on the voting performance of people. The results from the survey can be drawn that participants mostly make discussions on political situations with their family and friends as compare to other institutions. As the respondents of the current study are concerned more than 70 % of them made discussion on 2013 general elections earlier and almost above 90 % debated with their family and close friends. Another result drawn from the selected sample is that above 60% respondents are those who did not talk about the general election held in 2013 with party supporters and any official. Near 28 % of participants from the selected sample said that they often debated politics with their fathers and almost 29 % often conversed it with their mothers.

As the matter of discussion on politics with other family member is concerned 28.4 % respondent did it sometimes, on the other hand, 21.5 % participants talked often and 20.6% discussed rarely. Participant of the survey said that they debated politics very often with their friends and colleagues which have same political concerns. These findings of the study are similar as the Michigan Model holds for partisanship and socialization. But these participants most of the times made discussion on politics with close friends and family.

The participant engaged on focus group discussion stated that they have the desire to take part on political negotiations but they were not provided with a platform for such activities by their political candidates and this was seemed as a method to “overwhelm” political dialogue. However, the participants which try to take part in political dialogues, it is not clear yet that how much this action affects their attitude regarding votes.

As for as voting attitude is concerned there are no real significant differences among participants from rural and urban localities, and they are different in political belief on the grounds of most important matters in their own communities. These findings of the study are similar to what the Michigan Model grasps on partisanship and socialization. Certainly, these participants mostly talked elections and political conditions with their family and close friends (who most possibly also tell about their social location). However, the important issue of concern is regarding the voter registration, voting attitude of people and their participation in general elections. Another result drawn here is that participants from different social circumstances displayed similar attitude to the extent that there are no real changes between their voting performances and therefore the Michigan Model is not entirely pertinent in this framework.

A large number of respondents of the study showed that they have a support for the party and the majority of them does not have a membership of any party. When the results of general elections held in 2013 are studied, most votes are being taken by Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PMLN) and the second position was taken by independent candidates. In both national assembly seats, NA 174 and NA 175 PMLN has got 46 % and 48.3 % votes respectively, whereas the number of parties taking part in elections was 16 in NA 174 and 14 in NA 175. In both constituencies, the number of votes taken by independent candidates was 28 % and 32.2 % respectively, on the other hand, Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarian (PPPP) and Pakistan

Tehreek e Insaf (PTI) took 11.5 % and 6 % votes respectively in NA 174. Except these famous political parties' other parties took secured the 10 % consent of voters in NA 174 and 7.2% in NA 175. The number of invalid votes was 4.6 % and 6.1 % respectively in NA 174 and NA 17. When we come to discuss the consent of survey participants 55.6 % of them given their opinion to PMLN, 24.4 % voted for independent candidates, whereas PPPP and PTI took 16.3 % and 3.8 % votes from the respondents.

The results of the current study are a bit different than those of general elections the possible reason might be due to small sample properties of data. Another clear result drawn from the study is that ethnic segments of the population are identified on basis of political parties.

The elections held in a selected sample of the study were based for supporting particular parties, but this does not imply that political support of people leads to identification with the leaders. In the selected sample of study, most of the participants (irrespective of social groupings) are of the view that political candidates were respected.

As for as present political leaders are concerned, the participants of focus group conversations have concerns about the competency and level of education of these people. The leaders who are working for the betterment of society and not just for groups of their parties are being admired in focus group discussion. The important requirements for political leaders and people serving in top government positions irrespective of their social characteristics including religious believe, ethnicity, and gender is education (which includes education for creating leadership skills) and training. The participants of the survey have also concerns about efforts and work of previous political leaders, but they also valued the need of moving forward and raising their standards and another concern is that current political leaders have not met their standards.

The study also discloses that, while participants from Rajanpur recognize and admire previous political leaders but they have some concern in identifying the current leaders. From massive support and appreciation for previous leaders, it can be stated that a leader who has the ability to fulfill the interests and standards of social groups will get a lot of respect from all walks of society regardless of their personal social affiliations such as ethnicity.

Another result can be drawn that the respondents of study have their own political norms and ethics on the basis of which they gauge the performance of govt. and democracy in the area under consideration. These political values can be determined from their opinions on the most important issues of concern, as well as from the answers provided during the focus group discussions. Additionally, this study revealed that basic needs, service delivery and preservation of infrastructure were considered important to participants.

These political norms and ethics can be determined by their perception of key topics and reactions in focus group discussions. In addition, the study shows that basic needs, preservation of infrastructure, and service delivery are important to participants. The accountability of leaders was essential and required a common approach in Rajanpur, which was not necessary to build rather than work rather. In addition, the debate of the Focus group demonstrates that respondents make a difference between equality and rights and reveal that those are involved in criminal activities have more rights and protection as opposed to their victims.

The participants of the survey said that convicted enjoy many rights but they should get punishment for their activities. Another fact drawn from the focus group is that people grasp traditional family norms and they propose that these norms should be lodged in government policies.

For example, according to the opinion of respondents, female bear the responsibility of taking care of their children, but on the other hand, they have the disadvantage of not getting proper skills for top management positions. It is also stated that women should be given some powers and they should also be given some recognition in their families. For example, one respondent said the women should be given proper training and power to hold offices, but their office timing should be less than the men as they have some responsibilities at home.

The respondents of Rajanpur hold strong political values which include equal opportunities, tolerance, education and skills development, while they also identify with political parties and leaders (although mostly historical).

The respondents do not recognize with any of present political party which is the reason of lack of electoral participation and present political parties also do not efficiently integrate their

political norms. In this context, we can say that the Party Identification Model is applicable to some extent; even there is no leader with an identification in the present scenario. To get the application possibility of this model in Rajanpur a few questions can be taken into consideration which is: whether the participants are in concern with the issue of their societies, and how good is a government in performing its duties. This will give us a signal that how well the respondents are informed. Additionally, it should also be taken into consideration that whether the voting attitude and decisions of respondent are grounded on rational thoughts.

This model contains two decisions which are made during elections. The first decision is about whether to vote or to refrain and second decision is about whom to vote if someone agrees to vote. When a voter faces two or more parties or individuals standing in the elections then the rational voter just think about the situations in which each individual or party wins. After this, the voter compares the possible outcomes and their differences from their personal appraisals. Positive difference mean a vote will be cast to the former, negative difference mean another party will receive the vote and zero difference means it is better to abstain from voting because the voter will not gain anything from voting.

The behavior of respondent included in the study reflects that they are well aware of the social issues of basic needs, taking care of construction, service delivery, and crime.

The results drawn from focus group discussion are that the participants of focus group debates are well aware of social problems in their societies and they also have knowledge of governmental carelessness for these problems. They suggested a type of government which is “procedural democracy” which will have priorities for education, training and proper usage of resources. People of this district also showed that there is need for proper political education and they made a misunderstanding about democracy and bearing the consequences. They also show concern that if democracy is well understood and realities of these things it can give powers to people to mobilize politically.

The study draws a conclusion here is that 60 % of respondents said that their district has been upgraded in last five years, the majority of respondent said that local government bodies are a failure to give a response on basic needs and provision of services. Most of the people included in the sample showed that they are not pleased with government actions and they said these

authorities are unsuccessful in performing their functions. The result drawn from the focus group is that this district is going in right direction but there is still a lot of work to be done. The respondent from focus group showed positive attitude for getting a chance to lead but they have less concern for minorities. Respondent has shown awareness for government performance in providing social services and most of them said that government is unsuccessful in the provision of such things.

The participants of study have shown awareness for serious issues of worry within their societies and they also have knowledge of governmental action regarding these issues. Moreover, whether or not the attitude of participants regarding votes is rational is a debatable issue. However, a lot of members of this society have not registered votes and that's why do not participate in elections, one possibility for such actions is that they made such decisions on rational considerations. Under such circumstances, a concept named "rationally apathetic" comes into consideration here which leads to the conclusion that due to lack of appropriate and genuine alternatives participants have no reason to consider registration and casting of the vote a serious matter. Under such circumstances, the Rational Choice Model can be appropriate but how much it is, this is uncertain.

5.2. Conclusion

The models to gauge voting attitude and various effects on the voting attitude of people were individually estimated which are based on analytical framework discussed in chapter 4. The Sociological Model of voting attitude has been proven to be relevant in case of Rajanpur. But not entirely. It is proved in a study that there are some variations in voting attitude of some groups who have common social characteristics, however, in the other groups, the social characteristics did not make any variation. It seems a bit different in voting and political attitude of male and female participants, while male participants have a positive attitude regarding electoral process and female participants are withdrawn. As for as languages are concerned the people with Urdu and Punjabi as their language have a positive attitude for voter registration. But for some other thoughts on voting behavior and politics, the differences of languages do not have clear sights regarding on this issue.

The specific concern of Michigan Model in the study is on the voting behavior of respondent, which incorporates electoral participation and voter registration, participants from various social circumstances presented similar attitude and there was no significant difference in their voting attitude and under such situations, this model cannot be completely applicable. The participants from urban and rural localities did not show much difference in their political and voting attitude except on the issue of some serious concerns in their communities.

The application of Michigan Model in the current study can be seen in a way that participants most of the time make discussion on elections and politics with the people who share their social location. The Party Identification Model is proved to be applicable in the current district being studied but the extent to which application is considered is uncertain here.

The participants from this district have strong political norms and they appreciate the previous political leaders. The less participation in the election is an indication that people do not have much attraction with current leaders and their political norms or we can say that participants up to some extent have given respond to the questions in the way they perceived. The Rational Choice Model is considered to be relevant but here its application to participants of Rajanpur remains uncertain. There is a possibility that participants do not choose to participate in elections and such decision is based on their rational choice. However, many persons have not registered votes in 2013 and did not take part in the general election. The members of household still have significant awareness on serious issues within their societies and also the performance of govt., they also have knowledge of political matters discussed in media. It leads to a conclusion that people of Rajanpur will not take part in elections if there is no rational motive for them.

Majority of the voters vote for the candidate from their ethnicity that is clear from exploratory data analysis. Further, correlation and regression analysis also suggest a significant relationship of voters, therefore, hypothesis of an ethnic group are less likely to vote for other ethnic group is accepted. The candidate who nurtures patron-client relationship and utilized vote bloc in a better way has their greater chances of winning elections. Religious has a significant impact especially shrines and sajjada nations on behaviors of the voters. The sajjada nation takes care of his poor murid and even provide him financial support. He also gives him social support

while in return murid takes care of their political benefits. The voters also vote for development and political spending. It deals with a rational choice perspective where voters' cast their vote to a candidate or party based on benefits that they are expected to enjoy when that candidate or party win the election.

5.3. Recommendation

Based on the findings of the study I make following recommendations for the policy makers to deal with the issue.

- ❖ State needs to focus on the provision of basic services on universal basis to minimize dependence of the electorates for such resources and services. If this happens, the electorates will not have to exchange their vote for such resources and services. This will reduce their dependence, make them less clientelistic and increase their accountability capacity to hold their members of legislative assemblies accountable.
- ❖ Campaigns meant to make the voter better aware need to be undertaken.
- ❖ Political parties need to develop their organizational structure at the grass root level to establish direct linkages with the electorates instead of through vote bloc leaders.
- ❖ A ban should be imposed on allocation of constituency development funds to the members of legislative assemblies. These funds are discretionary and targeted for political bargains. It promotes politics of exclusion and the kind of development which is not inclusive in nature.
- ❖ Local government system should be in place and the development funds currently being allocated to members of legislative assemblies should instead be routed through the local governments. Their allocation and spending should be subject to the rule of law. This will minimize the abuse of such funds for political gains.
- ❖ A ban should also be imposed on discretionary allocation of offices such as chairman *Zakat* committee, and chairman market committee etc. Such discretionary allocation of offices is used as bargaining chip by political parties and candidates for political deals.

- ❖ Transfers of public sector employees should be subject to the rule of Law. Politics of transfers is also used to buy political favours. Public servants who supported the candidate or political party in the power get postings of their choice while opponents are punished with non-desired postings.
- ❖ Mass orientation or education of electorates' should be carried out by the Election Commission of Pakistan, political parties, and other relevant agencies so that they can vote or participate based on issues that affect them rather primordial tendencies.
- ❖ Laws should be put in place that will effectively monitor the role of religious leaders and religious institutions in order to avoid all forms of manipulations for political gains. Seminars and conferences should be organized in order for these personalities to see the need for oneness.
- ❖ The institutions, structures, and laws are in place but they are not effective in practice. The integrity of state institutions is very low. This low integrity has resulted in low level of public trust towards the state institutions. State institutions should, therefore, be more accountable, responsive, and ethical.
- ❖ The findings of the study indicate that the different forms of patron-client relations - patrimonialism, clientelism, opaque procurement, rent seeking behaviour, and pork barrelling- have a significant positive impact on overall governance system- poor governance, corruption, and unfair civil service practice. Therefore, special mechanism and action should be developed to break the relationships and ties between the patron and client.

5.4. The Limitations of the Study

This study has drawn its theoretical and conceptual frameworks from other democratic societies so it may limit the explanatory or predictive influences of its findings. The next limitation can be the generalizability of this study to other societies even other districts. The unique political characteristics of the targeted population placed limits on the generalizability of its results for other societies.

The problem of human memory may be an important limitation of this study as the last general election was conducted three years back. It might be a possibility that some respondents forgot the determinants and reasons of their casting ballots. This study has controlled this limitation through different means. First, the question will design to gauge some repeat questions with slight modification in order to assess if the respondents varied their answers. The researcher checked these “response traps” during the conduction of interviews. The contradictory responses of such questions disqualified the questionnaire during the coding phase.

5.5. Way Forward

This conclusion is somewhat ironic since our review was being inspired by the principle that the seizure of political disposition, such as group membership, the bias of voters or ideology, has now been weakened in both old and new democracies, leading to the anticipation of much greater freedom than it was in the past. The most constant result of our review for the current study is that a few other clarifications appear to stand out. Both the election campaigns and media play a role in voting behavior but not in all circumstances these produce similar results. For example, the concern of political parties regarding the elections matters play a role and their election campaign in contacting voters serve as a good influence on vote choices of people. A good difference is also made by the news reporting on elections and finding the point of relevance for biased voters (supporters of a party).

These results have clear implications by giving indications about the capacity of parties, media role and their election campaign effects on voting choices of people and mobilization of resources might be significant for their election predictions. These findings also suggest that how mass media parallelism or control of govt. over media such as TV, broadcasting might lead to uneven competitions. Election campaign and media have multi-level effects as one speaking about the conceptual view of these two methods.

They are concerned with social outcomes of distinct citizens which have interaction with institutions which play the functions of as organizer for information provision regarding elections and features of these institutions are determined by national regulatory frameworks. In such circumstances, comparative methods are very important but unfortunately still deeply missing. When we talk about many features of campaign information it can be said that we are

dealing with only one context. According to our knowledge, there is hardly any comparative study being completed in this field which narrated national elections.

Though constituencies-specific research mostly does not consider the same analytical consequences of media effects during elections, not they incorporate implicit comparative knowledge. Irrespective of the fact that there exists a gap in the previous literature due to lack of actual research in the world or publication bias is a reason for the phenomenon and it is also impossible to tell the facts of the election campaign and mass media on national contexture. Finally, there seems lack of long-term longitudinal research, so there is no proof regarding the influence of election campaigns and mass media.

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Annexures

Annexure 1: Summary of Questionnaire Results

Case Processing Summary

	N	%
Valid	160	100.0
Cases Excluded ^a	0	.0
Total	160	100.0

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.811	6

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
RELD/SEC	160	1.00	4.00	1.3000	.58061
PAT/SAR	160	1.00	4.00	1.2438	.51085
MONF	160	1.00	4.00	1.2562	.54075
MIOV	160	1.00	4.00	1.6188	.78405
INLOC	160	1.00	4.00	1.2125	.46767
ELCC	160	1.00	4.00	1.2562	.49204
ETC/BH	160	1.00	4.00	1.2875	.56510
Valid N (listwise)	160				

Correlations

		RELD	PAT/SAR	MONF	MIOV	INVLOC	ELCC
ETC/BH	Pearson Correlation	.981**	.823**	.601**	.675**	.767**	.706**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	160	160	160	160	160	160

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Variables Entered/Removed

Mode	Variables Entered	Variables Removed	Method
1	PAT/SAR, MIOV, MONF, ELCC, RELD/SEC, INLOC ^b		. Enter

a. Dependent Variable: ETC/BH

b. All requested variables entered.

Model Summary

Mode	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. The error of the Estimate
1	.987 ^a	.974	.973	.09255

a. Predictors: (Constant), PAT/SAR, MIOV, MONF,
ELCC, RELD/SEC, INLOC

ANOVA

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	49.464	6	8.244	962.464	.000 ^b
	Residual	1.311	153	.009		
	Total	50.775	159			

a. Dependent Variable: ETC/BH

b. Predictors: (Constant), PAT/SAR, MIOV, MONF, ELCC, RELD/SEC,
INLOC

Coefficients

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	-.013	.022		-.591	.556
	RELD/SEC	.971	.026	.997	37.335	.000
	MONF	-.037	.022	-.035	-1.646	.102
	MIOV	-.026	.014	-.036	-1.863	.064
	INLOC	.203	.038	.168	5.308	.000
	ELCC	.121	.029	.106	4.240	.000
	PAT/SAR	-.218	.041	-.197	-5.295	.000

a. Dependent Variable: ETC/BH

Coefficients

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B	
	B	Std. Error	Beta			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
(Constant)	-.013	.022		-.591	.556	-.056	.030
RELD/SEC	.971	.026	.997	37.335	.000	.919	1.022
PAT/SAR	-.218	.041	-.197	-5.295	.000	-.299	-.136
MONF	-.037	.022	-.035	-1.646	.102	-.081	.007
MIOV	-.026	.014	-.036	-1.863	.064	-.054	.002
INLOC	.203	.038	.168	5.308	.000	.127	.278
ELCC	.121	.029	.106	4.240	.000	.065	.178

a. Dependent Variable: ETC/BH

Frequencies SPSS Output

Gender

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Male	135	84.4	84.4	84.4
Female	25	15.6	15.6	100.0
Total	160	100.0	100.0	

Household Head/Member

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Household Head	123	76.9	76.9	76.9
Household Member	37	23.1	23.1	100.0
Total	160	100.0	100.0	

Household Head/Member

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Household Head	123	76.9	76.9	76.9
Household Member	37	23.1	23.1	100.0
Total	160	100.0	100.0	

Age of Responder

GENDER

		N	%
Gender	Female	33	21
	Male	127	79
	Total	160	100

EDUCATION BY GENDER

		Gender					
		Female		Male		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Education	MA/MSc	0	0	3	2	3	2
	BA/BSc	0	0	6	5	6	4
	FA/FSC	1	3	9	7	10	6

Matric or below	0	0	28	22	28	18
Middle or below	4	12	19	15	23	14
Primary or below	1	3	20	16	21	13
Illiterate	27	82	42	33	69	43
Total	33	100	127	100	160	100

PROFESSION BY GENDER

		Gender					
		Female		Male		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Profession	Agriculture	2	6	69	54	71	44
	Business/shop/Self-Employed	1	3	19	15	20	13
	Govt. job	5	15	8	6	13	8
	Housewife	24	73	1	1	25	16
	Labourer	0	0	18	14	18	11
	Private job	0	0	5	4	5	3
	Retired	1	3	7	6	8	5
	Total	33	100	127	100	160	100

Did you support the political candidate in any other way, if yes, how? BY GENDER

		Gender					
		Female		Male		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Did you support the political candidate in any other way, if yes, how?	Demonstrated	7	21	31	24	38	24
	Attended a political rally hosted by this political candidate	8	24	47	37	55	34
	Made financial donations to this political candidate	3	9	6	5	9	6
	I voted for them	22	67	78	61	100	63
	I establish their political office in my locality	7	21	22	17	29	18
	I campaigned for this political candidate	6	18	26	20	32	20
	I did not support them in any other way	3	9	13	10	16	10
	Total	33	100	127	100	160	100

Support from Political Candidate BY GENDER

		Gender					
		Female		Male		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Support from Political Candidate	Cash Gifts	1	3	5	4	6	4
	In Kind Support	3	9	4	3	7	4
	Promise for Future Support	7	21	50	39	57	36
	Did not receive any support	22	67	68	54	90	56
	Total	33	100	127	100	160	100

How much do you feel close to the candidate you voted for in general elections 2013? BY GENDER

		Gender					
		Female		Male		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
How much do you feel close to the candidate	Very Close	3	9	8	6	11	7
	Somewhat close	11	33	26	20	37	23

you voted for in general elections 2013?	Not very close	15	45	72	57	87	54
	Refused to answer	4	12	21	17	25	16
	Total	33	100	127	100	160	100

He is the candidate representing the interests of my ethnic group BY GENDER

		Gender					
		Female		Male		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
He is the candidate representing the interests of my ethnic group	Strongly Agree	4	12	30	24	34	21
	Agree	7	21	28	22	35	22
	Disagree	3	9	26	20	29	18
	Strongly Disagree	12	36	21	17	33	21
	Refused to answer	7	21	22	17	29	18
	Total	33	100	127	100	160	100

He is the candidate who a good friend of my Sardar BY GENDER

		Gender					
		Female		Male		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
He is the candidate who a good friend of my Sardar	Strongly Agree	5	15	22	17	27	17
	Agree	9	27	54	43	63	39
	Disagree	5	15	27	21	32	20
	Strongly Disagree	7	21	15	12	22	14
	Refused to answer	7	21	9	7	16	10
	Total	33	100	127	100	160	100

He is the candidate who involves and support us in local issues BY GENDER

		Gender					
		Female		Male		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
He is the candidate who involves and support us in local issues	Strongly Agree	6	18	13	10	19	12
	Agree	11	33	25	20	36	23
	Disagree	3	9	30	24	33	21
	Strongly Disagree	8	24	21	17	29	18
	Refused to answer	5	15	38	30	43	27
	Total	33	100	127	100	160	100

He is the candidate that is most likely to develop the area by building roads, clinics and bringing electricity to our area

BY GENDER

		Gender					
		Female		Male		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
He is the candidate that is most likely to develop the area by building roads, clinics and bringing electricity to our area	Strongly Agree	2	6	26	20	28	18
	Agree	24	73	57	45	81	51
	Disagree	2	6	11	9	13	8
	Strongly Disagree	3	9	21	17	24	15
	Refused to answer	2	6	12	9	14	9
	Total	33	100	127	100	160	100

He is the candidate that represents the interests of my religion BY GENDER

		Gender					
		Female		Male		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
He is the candidate that represents the interests of my religion	Strongly Agree	0	0	12	9	12	8
	Agree	7	21	22	17	29	18
	Disagree	15	45	61	48	76	48
	Strongly Disagree	8	24	26	20	34	21
	Refused to answer	3	9	6	5	9	6
	Total	33	100	127	100	160	100

He is the candidate whose election campaign inspired me BY GENDER

		Gender					
		Female		Male		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
He is the candidate whose election campaign inspired me	Strongly Agree	5	15	38	30	43	27
	Agree	11	33	27	21	38	24
	Disagree	5	15	19	15	24	15
	Strongly Disagree	4	12	21	17	25	16
	Refused to answer	8	24	22	17	30	19
	Total	33	100	127	100	160	100

I don't have any reason, I just voted for them BY GENDER

		Gender					
		Female		Male		Total	

		N	%	N	%	N	%
I don't have any reason, I just voted for them	Strongly Agree	5	15	25	20	30	19
	Agree	6	18	27	21	33	21
	Disagree	9	27	28	22	37	23
	Strongly Disagree	8	24	22	17	30	19
	Refused to answer	5	15	25	20	30	19
	Total	33	100	127	100	160	100

He is the "big person," renowned personality or most important politician from our area BY GENDER

		Gender					
		Female		Male		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
He is the "big person," renowned personality or most important politician from our area	Strongly Agree	9	27	26	20	35	22
	Agree	12	36	26	20	38	24
	Disagree	4	12	20	16	24	15
	Strongly Disagree	4	12	29	23	33	21
	Refused to answer	4	12	26	20	30	19
	Total	33	100	127	100	160	100

When you vote, what matters to you most, the political party itself or the candidate of the party? BY GENDER

		Gender					
		Female		Male		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
When you vote, what matters to you most, the political party itself or the candidate of the party?	The political party matters to me more than the candidate of the party	17	52	60	47	77	48
	The candidate of the party matters to me more than the political party itself	16	48	67	53	83	52
	Refused to answer	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	33	100	127	100	160	100

In your opinion, were the general elections free and fair? BY GENDER

		Gender					
		Female		Male		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%

In your opinion, were the general elections free and fair?	Yes, the last elections were free and fair	5	15	30	24	35	22
	No, the last elections were not free and fair	3	9	14	11	17	11
	I don't know/cannot tell	13	39	48	38	61	38
	Refused to answer	12	36	35	28	47	29
	Total	33	100	127	100	160	100

Did you accept the outcome of the last elections? BY GENDER

		Gender					
		Female		Male		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Did you accept the outcome of the last elections?	Yes, I accepted the outcome of the last elections	21	64	65	51	86	54
	No, I did not accept the outcome of the last elections	4	12	30	24	34	21
	Refused to answer	8	24	32	25	40	25
	Total	33	100	127	100	160	100

How likely are you today to vote for someone from a different ethnic group if you think that individual is the right person for the job? BY GENDER

		Gender					
		Female		Male		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
How likely are you today to vote for someone from a different ethnic group if you think that individual is the right person for the job?	Highly likely	9	27	30	24	39	24
	Likely	20	61	58	46	78	49
	Unlikely	4	12	27	21	31	19
	Very unlikely	0	0	12	9	12	8
	Missing Data	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	33	100	127	100	160	100

How often have you contacted a local government councilor BY GENDER

		Gender					
		Female		Male		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
How often have you	Never	18	55	62	49	80	50

contacted a local government councilor	Only once	5	15	21	17	26	16
	A few times	4	12	12	9	16	10
	Often	3	9	16	13	19	12
	No response	3	9	16	13	19	12
	Total	33	100	127	100	160	100

How often have you contacted a member of the national parliament BY GENDER

		Gender					
		Female		Male		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
How often have you contacted a member of the national parliament	Never	22	67	87	69	109	68
	Only once	4	12	14	11	18	11
	A few times	2	6	2	2	4	3
	Often	4	12	15	12	19	12
	No response	1	3	9	7	10	6
	Total	33	100	127	100	160	100

How often have you contacted an official of a government ministry BY GENDER

		Gender					
		Female		Male		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
How often have you contacted an official of a government ministry	Never	12	36	60	47	72	45
	Only once	11	33	30	24	41	26
	A few times	2	6	4	3	6	4
	Often	2	6	6	5	8	5
	No response	6	18	27	21	33	21
	Total	33	100	127	100	160	100

How often have you contacted a political party official BY GENDER

		Gender					
		Female		Male		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
How often have you contacted a political party official	Never	15	45	28	22	43	27
	Only once	4	12	35	28	39	24
	A few times	6	18	24	19	30	19
	Often	6	18	20	16	26	16
	No response	2	6	20	16	22	14

Total	33	100	127	100	160	100
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How often have you contacted a religious leader BY GENDER

		Gender					
		Female		Male		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
How often have you contacted a religious leader	Never	4	12	31	24	35	22
	Only once	11	33	27	21	38	24
	A few times	13	39	34	27	47	29
	Often	4	12	22	17	26	16
	No response	1	3	13	10	14	9
	Total	33	100	127	100	160	100

How often have you contacted a traditional ruler BY GENDER

		Gender					
		Female		Male		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
How often have you contacted a traditional ruler	Never	6	18	26	20	32	20
	Only once	9	27	27	21	36	23
	A few times	5	15	27	21	32	20
	Often	6	18	24	19	30	19
	No response	7	21	23	18	30	19
	Total	33	100	127	100	160	100

How often have you contacted some other influential person BY GENDER

		Gender					
		Female		Male		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
How often have you contacted some other influential person	Never	28	85	106	83	134	84
	Only once	1	3	6	5	7	4
	A few times	2	6	12	9	14	9
	Often	1	3	2	2	3	2
	No response	1	3	1	1	2	1
	Total	33	100	127	100	160	100

SOURCES OF INFORMATION DURING ELECTIONS	N	%
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Radio	19	11.9
Campaign Rallies	15	9.4
Newspapers	14	8.8
Television	51	31.9
The Internet	6	3.8
Friends & Family	55	34.4
Total	160	100
RESPONSES ON SEEKING INFORMATION ON MANIFESTOS OF ALL POLITICAL PARTIES	N	%
Yes	53	33.1
No	107	66.9
Total	160	100.0
REASONS FOR NOT SEEKING INFORMATION ON ALL MANIFESTOS	N	%
Interested in only the party/candidate I supported	82	51.3
I Do not have Time	32	20.0
Others	46	28.8
Total	160	100

Annexure 2: Questionnaire

RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear respondent,

I am a final year student of the School of Public Policy, Pakistan Institute of Development Economics Islamabad, Khizar Abbas currently conducting a research on the topic **“THE PATRON CLIENT POLITICS AND VOTERS BEHAVIOUR: A CASE OF RAJANPUR DISTRICT, PUNJAB”**. The project will be in partial fulfillment for the award of M.Phil. Public Policy, and all the information provided shall be treated with utmost confidentiality and strictly for this research. Your maximum cooperation to answer the following questions with all sincerity will be appreciated.

Thanks

Please tick where it is applicable.

Questionnaire # _____

Dated ____, ____, _____

Did you vote in the general elections of 2013?	
Yes, I voted in the elections of 2013	
No, I did not vote in the elections of 2013	

SECTION A: PERSONAL INFORMATION OF THE RESPONDENT.

Name of the Respondent: _____ Gender: _____
 (Optional) (1=Male, 2=Female)

Household Status: _____ Age of the Respondent(Years): _____
 (1=House Hold Head, 2=House Hold Member) (See Code below)

Educational level of HHH : _____ No. of Household Members _____
 (See codes below)

No. of Registered Vote in your HH: _____ Land ownership of HH: _____
 (Number of Acres)

Caste/Biraderi: _____ Phone # _____
 (See codes below) (Optional)

Occupation of the HHH: _____ Religion of the HH _____
 (See Code below) (See Code below)

Age of the Respondent(Years)		
1= 18-25	2= 26-30	3= 31-35
4= 36-40	5= 41-45	6= 46-50
7= 51+		

Educational level of HHH	
1= illiterate	2= Primary Class
3= Middle Class	4= Matric
7= Graduate	8= Postgraduate

Caste/Biraderi of HHH	
1= Mazari	2= Gorchani
3= Drishak	4= Gopang
5= Saadat,	6= Jat
7= Rajpoot	8= Qreshi
9= Arain	10= Pathan
11= Mughal	12= Laghari
13= Qazi	14= others

Occupation of the HHH	
1= Farming	2= Civil servant
3= Private Job	4= Trader
5= Other	

Religious of the HHH	
1= Islam	2= Christianity
3= Hinduism	4= Other

Support for Political Parties and Vote Choice

In this section interviewer, will talk about some events that happened about four years ago. Some of the details may or may not have been lost on the respondents. Please let the respondent know that they should feel very comfortable to ask to skip questions that they cannot recall answers to or that they feel uncomfortable answering. Thank you.

Item 2. Which Political Party did you vote in the general elections of 2013?

1. Pakistan Muslim League (N)
2. Pakistan People's Party.
3. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf.
4. Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan.
5. Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM)
6. Independent Candidate
7. Refused to answer
8. Missing Data

Item 6. Why did you vote for this particular political candidate in the parliamentary elections of 2013? [Interviewer, initially, do not prompt. Code from responses. However, if respondent is unsure, gently probe using the following choices. Ask them by reading out the following response options to them, "You voted for this particular party because...?"] More than one response is appropriate.

Reasons of Voting	1= Strongly Agree	2= Agree	3= Disagree	4= Strongly Disagree
He is the candidate representing the interests of my ethnic group				
He is the candidate who good friend of my Sardar				
He is the candidate who involve and support us in local issues				
He is the candidate that are most likely to develop the area by building roads, clinics and bringing electricity to our area				
He is the candidate that represents the interests of my religion				
He is the candidate whose election campaign inspired me				
I don't have any reason, I just voted for them				
He is the "big person," renowned personality or most important politician from our area				
Other _____ _____				
Refused to answer				
Missing Data				

Item 7. When you vote, what matters to you most, the political party itself or the candidate of the party?

1. The political party matters to me more than the candidate of the party
2. The candidate of the party matters to me more than political party itself
3. Refused to answer
4. Missing Data

Item 3. Did you support the political candidate in any other way, if so how? [Interviewer: clarify the question as "how do you show that you support this candidate? " Have you done any one of the following activities political candidate? More than one response is appropriate for this item].

Support for Political Candidate	1= Yes	2= No
Demonstrated		
Attended a political rally hosted by this political candidate		
Made financial donations to this political candidate		
I voted for them		
I establish their political office in my locality		
I campaigned for this political candidate		
I did not support them in any other way.		
Any Other Form of Support _____ _____		
Refused to answer		
Missing Data		

Item 4. Did you receive any support from political candidate in return of your political support during their election campaign? [Interviewer: clarify the question as “did you get any gift (monetary) or any other form of support?” More than one response is appropriate for this item].

Support from Political Candidate	1= Yes	2= No
Cash Gifts		
In Kind Support		
Promise for Future Support		
Any Other Form of Support _____ _____		
Refused to answer		
Missing Data		

Item 5. Do you feel "very close," "somewhat close" or "not very close" to the political candidate you voted for in the general elections of 2013?

1. Very Close
2. Somewhat Close
3. Not very Close
4. Refused to answer
5. Missing Data

Item 8. In your opinion, were the general elections free and fair?

1. Yes, the last elections were free and fair

2. No, the last elections were not free and fair
3. I don't know/cannot tell
4. Refused to answer
5. Missing Data

Item 9. [Interviewer: Ask this question only if answer to Item 8 was "No. "Why do you say the last elections were not free and fair?

Item 10. Did you accept the outcome of the last elections?

1. Yes, I accepted the outcome of the last elections
2. No, I did not accept the outcome of the last elections
3. Refused to answer
4. Missing Data

Item 11. [Interviewer: ask this question only if response to Item 10 is "No. " This is an open-ended response] If you did not accept the outcome of the last election, is there anything you plan to do about it? What are you most likely to do to ensure a fair outcome next election?

Item 12. [Interviewer: ask this question only if response to Item 10 is "No". Do you think anything can and should be done to ensure a fair outcome next time?

1. Yes, something can be done to ensure the elections are free and fair next time
2. No, nothing can be done to ensure that the elections are free and fair next time
3. I don't know what can be done to ensure that the elections are free and fair next time
4. Refused to answer
5. Missing Data

Item 13. [Interviewer: If answer is "yes " to Item 12 then probe respondent some more and ask the following, if not, skip to the next item] what is that thing you feel should be done next time to ensure a fair outcome?

Item 14. Why do you feel close to this particular personality or "big person?" in Rajanpur politics today and not to the others listed? [Interviewer: if the respondent indicates that they feel close to more than one "big person, "please

rephrase the question and ask them why do they feel close to the names they have listed and not others. Do not prompt for answers.

Item 15. How likely are you today to vote for someone from a different ethnic group if you think that individual is the right person for the job?

1. Highly likely
2. Likely
3. Unlikely
4. Very unlikely
5. Missing Data

Item 16. What do you think are the most important problems or issues facing Rajanpur today? [Interviewer: rank order responses from "1=the most important problems or issues facing Rajanpur today is ... " down through the least important issue. Allow up to five responses.]

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
6. Refused to answer
7. Missing Data

Item 17. During the past year, how often have you contacted any of the following persons about some important problem or to give them your views? [Readout options].

1. A local government councilor. 0=Never; 1=only once; 2=a few times; 3=often; 9=no response.
2. A member of the national parliament. 0=Never; 1=only once; 2=a few times; 3=often; 9=no response.
3. An official of a government ministry. 0=Never; 1=only once; 2=a few times; 3=often; 9=no response.
4. A political party official. 0=Never; 1=only once; 2=a few times; 3=often; 9=no response.
5. A religious leader. 0=Never; 1=only once; 2=a few times; 3=often; 9=no response.
6. A traditional ruler. 0=Never; 1=only once; 2=a few times; 3=often; 9=no response.
7. Some other influential person (prompt if necessary: you know, someone with more money or power than you who can speak on your behalf.) 0=Never; 1=only once; 2=a few times; 3=often; 9=no response.
8. Missing Data

