

# **DETERMINANTS OF ELECTION OUTCOMES: AN EVIDENCE FROM PAKPATTAN**



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# Pakistan Institute of Development Economics

## CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this thesis entitled: “**Determinants of Election Outcomes: An Evidence from Pakpattan**” submitted by Mr. Muhammad Asad Khan Akhunzad is accepted in its present form by the Department of Economics, Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE), Islamabad as satisfying the requirements for partial fulfillment of the degree of **Master of Economics**.

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**To Baba and Mama and all the people who have supported me in  
hard times**

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**MSc Economics**

# Contents

## Chapter 1

<b>1.1. Introduction</b>	1
1.2. Hypothesis of the Study	2
1.3 Contribution or Significance of the Study	3
1.4. Conclusion	3

## Chapter 2

### Literature Review

2.1. Introduction	4
2.2. Literature for Spending and Election Outcomes	5
2.3. Literature for Brothery and Election Outcomes	8
2.4. Literature for religious Affiliation and Election Outcomes	11
2.5. Literature for Advertisements and Election Outcomes	12
2.6. Conclusion	14

## Chapter 3

### Theoretical Framework, Methodology and Data

3.1. Introduction	17
3.2. Theoretical Framework or Hypothesis of the Study	17
3.3. Regression Model	19
3.4. Construction of Variables	19
3.4.1. Construction of Dependent Variable	21
3.4.2. Construction of Main Dependent Variable	22
a) Campaign Spending	
3.4.3. Construction of Sub Dependent variables	23
b) Biradri	23
c) Experience	24
d) Age	24

e) Party Affiliation	25
3.5. Data	25
3.6. Conclusion	27
Chapter 4	
<b>Results and Discussion</b>	
4.1. Introduction	28
4.2. Discussion on Selected variables	28
4.3. Data Analysis and Discussion	29
4.4. Conclusion	35
Chapter 5	36
<b>Conclusions and Policy Recommendations</b>	37
• <b>References</b>	

## List of Tables

Table 1: Results for Logit Model	29
Table 2: Calculations of Marginal Effects from the Binary logit Model:	31
Table 3: Total Election Campaign Cost in Different Categories	33
Table 4: Ratio of successful candidates	<b>33</b>
Figure 4.1. Analysis of Campaign Spending Across the Winning Positions	34
figure 4.2. Analysis of winning ratio of Party Positions	34

## ABSTRACT

Following is a study that captures the effect of independent variables such as campaign spending, in specific and all the allied variables that has a marginal effect on helping a candidates capture the majority votes such as Biradri, Religious Affiliation, Party affiliation, Age and experience .The results were based on the data collected through surveys from 54 Union Councils of district Pakpattan contesting for the position of Chairman and Vice Chairman. During the course of the study, we found out that Campaign spending plays a major role in determining the wining tendency of the candidates .Furthermore candidates who tends to get majority of votes from the Biradri,, possess Experience in contesting the Polls before and have a strong Party Affiliation are more likely to win the polls as compared to the candidates that does not. However the study showed that there is a negative relationship of getting maximum Votes with Age.



## Chapter 1

### 1.1. Introduction

An Electoral Process is shaped somehow that there are many different techniques and means; one can easily want to get the popular votes or to get the majority votes of the public to get into the Office of the Government. Political Parties and Candidates have developed new ways to Campaign and some loopholes exist in the political system that easily mold the popular sentiments and Votes in the favor of the influential candidate. Every individual has the right to contest Election. Election campaign is a process about the candidate informing its voters about the mandate and Programme that the Candidate would implement when he sworn in to the Office of the government thus influencing them to vote for the contesting individual. Thus, the process of Campaign becomes very important, as it is the way that the Candidate can influence the Public before the elections to Vote for him.

There are many legal and illegal tactics that the Candidates exercises to Influence the Election Outcome in order to get the majority of the votes , From heavy Spending on the election campaign in the wake of the Electronic and Print Media Advertisement, Heavy funding of the development projects from his own pockets, Gifts and Scholarships that in other words could be termed as the buying of the votes, using the Religious cards to get the popular votes , having the support from Majority of the Community , these all determinants carry the effect on the results of the Elections.

Dynamics of Campaign Spending have changed in the recent times due to the broader scope of the Campaign Strategies that is only possible with better monetary resources and is considered as a main discussing point in the Electoral Campaign. The study further depicts that Effective

Campaign Financing and Campaign spending is influential in determining the Outcomes of an Election. Campaign is a pre depiction of how the Election Outcomes would result. Effective Campaigning would mean that Majority of the Votes would fall in the favor of an well organized and well diversified campaign .In order to run an effective campaign, the contesting candidate or the party needs to hire party workers to spread the mandate of the Party, hold Processions and Corners meetings, effective Advertisement in the print and Electronic Media and all other means that would enhance their popularity among the general public and would mold their opinions in their favor by getting more thumbs.

However, Monetary Spending alone cannot guarantee the p\outcome of the results. There are many other factors such as Support from Biradri (Brotherly) and getting the maximum number of votes to Religious affiliations with the party where the Islamic card can be used to bag a majority of the votes.

Similarly ,Party Affiliations is very important in the Outcome of the election not only because of the fact that the Incumbent Candidates pose a higher advantage in campaign due to the government influence and the fact the Government before handing over the charge to the Interim Governments announces heavy funds to the candidates to spend in their respective constituencies. Similarly General Public has strong Political roots with the party tracing from their ancestors depicting their loyalty to the political parties. Opinion Leaders and Party Leaders also has an significant effect on the sentiments of the general public.

In this study, we will focus on the determinants that influence the outcome of the results in detail and will find out the marginal effects of each of the variables on the Win and lose of the Contesting Candidate.

## **1.2. Hypothesis of the Study:**

In this study we will discuss all the possible factors and Variables that are going to influence the outcomes results of the election, to catch a Proper effect of Total Spending , which is our main Independent Variable in this study , Campaign Spending is further divided into **Advertisement costs in the wake of Bill Board Signings, Advertisements in the Local news Paper, Media advertisement** .In a country as Pakistan where people are less concerned about polls and more concerned about their routine problems, to get the voters out on the Polling day has always been a great concern for the Candidates as the Turn outs trend in the Pakistani Elections is not an Significant one and is less than the Fifty percent, A Candidate has to Spend hefty in the wake of Transport Charges on the days of Polling Day and Prior to the Polling day in the wake of arranging corner Meetings, , Announcing Sponsorships – Gifts –Developmental Work at the own expense because the benefits that he will get after he sworn the office of the Government is far much greater than the Cost itself.

In this study, we will focus on the determinants such as Party affiliations, Religious Affiliations, Support from Biradri, and Family Position of the Contesting Candidate that influence the outcome of the results .We also tend to find out the marginal effects of each of these variables on the Win and lose of the Contesting Candidate

## **1.3. Contribution or Significance of the Study**

Taking the case of Pakistan will help us to have a clear objective of how other determinants would affect the outcomes because the dimensions of politics here has changed over the course of the history in the mix of Democracy and Dictatorship. Certain Military and Democratic

regimes has impacted the polling system according to their policies of interests .The Culture of Biardrism and Religious affiliation often finds strong roots here. This study will help us find all the possible determinants that the candidate would incorporate in his Election Campaign to turn out to be an effective one and is successful in getting him the popular Votes.

#### **1.4. Conclusion**

Various studies have proved that candidates with the higher monetary resources stands a greater chance of contesting the elections effectively because the Politics of votes has become the politics of the Money. It is mainly due to the fact that majority of the Pakistani population lives below the poverty belt. The pillars of Social and Power structure is based upon Monetary resources Scholars that the Money Spending alone is not significant to secure the maximum votes in the election, although from the literature review, we get that Higher Campaign Spending increases the chances of winning the election. Other Variables such as Biradri, Religious Affiliation have to be looked upon as they largely determine the Outcome of any particular Election.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Literature Review**

#### **2.1 Introduction:**

In this Chapter, we will review the relevant literature that shows the relationship between Monetary Spending on Electoral Campaign with the Outcome of the election results. Furthermore, we will study the relevant literature Studies that captures the effect of all the associated independent variables that are detrimental in influencing the results of the Elections such as Religion, Biradri, and Political Party Affiliation. Furthermore, sub factors are also taken into study to calculate micro level influence on the Outcome the Winning criteria for the Election Polls.

According to study conducted by Howell the campaign falls under five cluster of activities i.e. Research, Personal Contact, Mass mobilization, Elite mobilization and Advertising and the most important one mostly is the elite mobilization and personal contact i.e. the support of other officials, their staff, business people, and members of political organization. Thus, when the economy faces more cost than returns it is because the candidates have spent a huge amount of money on advertisement which is not even a reliable method to win the elections. **Howell (1982).**

#### **2.2: Literature for Campaign Spending & its Effect on Election Outcome:**

Advertisement Boards, Rallies, Corners Meetings, Public gatherings, Freshly Furnished Billboards of Development Work, Party Flags is what you will find a month prior to the Elections in Pakistan just to depict that how the Election Campaign is pivotal in Pakistan and is a

depiction of how the elections outcome would come out being the reason that the Election Process in Pakistan is vigorously effected by the Monetary Spending.

Dynamics of Campaign Spending have come in to discussion in the recent times due to the broader scope of the Campaign Strategies that is only possible with better monetary resources and is considered as a main discussing point in the Electoral Campaign. The study further depicts that Effective Campaign Financing and Campaign spending is influential in determining the Outcomes of an Election (**Bike, 2012, Ohman and Zain Ul Bhai (2009)**).

Similarly ,in his work (**Ahmed Usman –et all ,2013**) suggests that Campaign Activities in the elections is a depiction of how the Election Outcomes will fall in the favor of a well-managed and well diversified campaign .To Achieve the goal, The Contesting party or the Individual Candidate needs to hire Party workers for mandate and literature distribution and to hold procession, advertisement Campaign both in the Print as well as Electronic Media, Developmental works that are a day to day requirements of the People, arranging A public gathering for a Party or an opinion Leader and this can be only done with well financial Resources.

A number of studies have been done to venture upon this relationship like the study of Cox, (2002) enlighten one with the fact that in local level the higher the spending the more votes the candidate gets (how more spending benefit the spender when it comes to election campaigns (Pattie et al; 1994, Johnston and Pattie; 1997, Green and Krasno, 1988). Though in all these works the rent seeking activities are given less attention yet the evidence of it comes from survey

of the series of election held in countries like Canada (Palda, 1973), Britain (Pattie et al, 1995) and in the United State (Jacobson;1980, Grier; 1989) in

**Jhonston (1978)** following the study of Palda and Welch research about the casual relationship between the campaign expenditure and election results furthermore, the writer also tries to coup up the results with the changing in time and perspectives.

It is gauged by the writer that in Quebec, Scotland and Wales, California, and United States the more the spending in advertisement the more the votes one get. It is rather kind of buying the votes which the electorates and the candidates are actually rationally unaware of (**Jhonston-1978- Campaign spending and votes: a reconsideration**)

In his study - (**Lawrence Shepherd – (Does Campaign spending really matters)**) have found a relationship between the Financial Spending in the wake of election campaign and the Voting Behavior patterns of the Democrats and Republicans in the 1972 Congressional elections in California. The voters had to choose between the Democrats and the Republicans Contestants, The studies showed that in spite of the Political spending by the Political Parties or the Individual Contestants, Political Contributions are plays a role in the shaping of elections because that would ensure enough funds in going toward the second phase of the elections .

Additionally In his studies, He also found that those constituencies, where strong Democrats candidates were awarded the tickets, It inhibited the Contribution Spending by the Republican Candidates. In his Empirical Evidences on the study, It showed that 1 percent increased Spending by the Democratic Yielded .19% of the Voters Participation to .15% of the Republican Candidates yielding the result that campaign Spending is an Important Factor in the outcomes of

Result but it is not the sole factor, Other Factors such as Predilection, Incumbency and Previous Performance also needs to be taken on board (**Lawrence Shepherd-1977**)

### **2.3: Literature for Biradri and its Effect on Election Outcome**

Why would the Individual Spend heavily on the Election Campaign. It is obviously evident that in order to get the Popular Votes which is only possible when the candidate gets to know the Voters Preferences. Pakistan is a diversified mix of urban and rural communities where the Politic of urban Locality is completely different that from the rural areas due to Educational Constraints. Availability of Print and Electronic Media, Diversified set of Needs etc.

**(Ahmed and Wilder, 1999)** in their studies find out the Evidences on how the Biradri and the Caste System is influential in not only decisive in finding the Winning Horses for the Election campaign but also overcasts the Whole Electoral Process from The Award of Ticket to a Contestant, setting the course for the Dynamics of the Electoral Campaign and for the factional Patronage.

**(Ahmed- et all 2013)** further explains that the decision to vote in the elections of a particular Biradri entirely rests with the Few Well Known Figures (Industrialists, Land Owners to be specific) of the Biradri, In turn the Winning Candidate is bound to serve the Interests of those well Known figures and the Biradri members look up to the Elders to help them acquire Political Support in Institutions Specially Police, Courts, Administrative and helping them to acquire job opportunities. **(Ahmed, 2007; Usman, Munawar & Amjad, 2013)**

Rural Politics have been a hub for the Biradri (Caste System) due to the diversified Social Status. Dynamics of Biradrism and Caste Hierarchy are always detrimental in the rural politics.



Usually the Power and Social Structure is divided between the Land Owners (Zammindars) and the Service Providers ( Kammi Zaats ), the latter offers services to the former as they are taken as to be their Servants (Mazairas) , The Service Providers cannot afford to contest the elections due to their financial constraints and the Power Structure so developed .(**Ahmed Usman , 2016- Marginalized Voters and Supporters: Biradri System, Caste Hierarchy and Rights to Political Participation in Rural Punjab**)

Further in his study , Usman defines the Electoral Process .Service Providers (Kammi Zaats are normally invited to the function by the Land Owners in which the Service Providers anonymously Announce its support to the Zammindars in expectation of the Financial Help and Political Patronage as they cannot access the Politicians by itself.

The results of the study showed about the Service Providers being playing smartly by distributing the total votes in a portfolio of the Local Zammindars to not make them all angry and to gather the Support of the Winning Candidate that they can look up to in times of need. (**Ahmed Usman-2016**)

Furthermore, (**Haider -2015**) in his empirical Study conducted over four major Cities of Punjab (Kasur, Sheikhpura, Okara and Bahawalpur has found out that Biradrism and caste system in Punjab have hijacked the Political System of the Punjab carry authoritarian socio-political structure and, therefore, their role in political participation is passive .

Local bodies systems in developing countries is the only way of disseminating the public information so, no wonder a French scholar, De Tocqueville called it a sign of free nation. Yet in Pakistan it gets to be a symbol of anything but free nation. Though known as an uncouth country Pakistan has its well settled local governments that work accordingly and keep tracks of many

events but its dominance in elections has given it a path to act notoriously. As adage by Andrew Wilder; 'in the 1985 National and Provincial elections 124 out of 240 elected members were of local bodies. **(Haider 2015)**

Local body system or Biradrism is within the roots of Punjab and in each election, it has played its vital role in changing and unbalancing the pertinent results of it which is called 'machine politics by **Ahmed (2009)**. By machine politics, Ahmed means the politics where people and institution do not abide by the rules and regulations defined by the legislators and administrator but by the local bodies i.e. by panchayats, katcheri, Thana so on and so forth.

Pakistan cannot get away with its domestic and external problems because in Pakistan all the parties are packed with the members of local government due to which no political party is strong enough to torment the latter and move on.

During elections majority of the seats are win by the biradri members, now the problem arises that after winning the personalities and ideologies get throttled by the heads of baradaris. In such biradrism system the loss and victory get to the quest of self-esteem because the loss in election will be the lose of the whole biradri. In such cases no good mind can work properly and can never be able to get out of the cursed circle of his. And just as it is said their work is to do nothing and look busy; all such things effect the standard of recruitment of Pakistan and lead to no betterment of policy change.

Local bodies, no doubt, in many countries are the backbone of democracy like in United States but in Pakistan each government has rather abused it in an extreme sense. Like in the regime of Zia, depending heavily on local bodies he brought a new way to weaken strong leadership. Thus, the local bodies elections must be on party bases to on biradrism as it is discouraging and gets to elect the particular elites rather than the common man like it is seen in the current situation of Pakistan.

#### **2.4: Literature on Religious Affiliation and its effects on Election Outcomes:**

Religion, from the recent times have influenced politics and has played an important role in the political Dimensions of the country .Throughout the course of the History , it is evident that Religious Parties have enjoyed a good success in the Electoral History of the **country (Ahmed Usman –et all ,2013)**

One accepts it or not but most of our lives are run by mere prejudices, by assuming and by calculating the unpredictable future. These kinds of gauging get to stereotype certain actions and people. And it results is nothing but the negative externality for the society and the economy e.g. even in elections majority of the people vote on the basis of religion because according to their assumption people who share the religion of citizen could understand their life standard and so on and so forth **(Layman, 1997; Miller and Hoffman, 1999)**

McDermott, 2009 in his study states about the same kind of scenario that religion as always has entwined with politics a lot but in America it has kind of reached the zenith of it. The study further states that this action of trying to penetrate in the future situations through shortcuts e.g.

religious affiliations, is termed usually as 'heuristics' and that is always in the type of generalization and stereotyping (Fiske and Taylor, 1991).

Furthermore, it is stated that among the various religious groups in America, evangelicals have found to have stronger influence with religious matters than any other religious groups. And because of this connection their behavior is driven by religious knowledge and so they are called the most conservative of all and thus they are always with the Republics in the elections **(Kellstedt and Green, 1993; Layman, 1997)**

The study of Guth et al, (2004) is very interesting. They have taken up the election of 2004 in America to see the impact of religious affiliation on the winning of votes and it was very clear that Bush at that time sly enough used religion as a weapon to win.

Bush as sharing the majority religious background, presented himself in the elections of 2004 as a part of the conservative religious community, thus using religious clichés, rhetoric and so on and so forth. While on the other hand his competitor senator Kerry, tried to remain silent on using the general themes of religious because in his point of view it was rather a personal matter.

Furthermore, using ethnoreligious and religious restructuring concepts Guth et al summed up that it is the dominate ethnoreligious community like the protestants that give votes to their religious candidates while on the other hand those who do not share their views get to be termed as liberals or progressive which is not popular at all. **(Religious Influences in the 2004 Presidential Election)**

## **2.5: Literature for Advertisement and its effects on Campaign Spending:**

As Richard Nixon, the Former American president once said that the American People does not believe anything unless and until they saw it on television. The same has been case everywhere, hence Advertisement is considered as an important component in the Election campaign.

It has been explained and researched that the spending in elections and the chance of winning a have positive relationship with each other. And as it is because of that spending the expenditure of the economy increases the return that economy, for instance one of the studies of Abrams and Settle, (1976) states that from 1948 to 1972 the annual spending grew to 10 percentage but on the other hand it also made a change in the coming elections i.e. in 1952 the first of year of television made a significant change due to which the usage of radio and television increased in times of election and so does the total spending of the economy.

It was due to these spending that the Act of 1971 limited expenditure on advertisement and all kinds of broadcastings in times of elections because in time many of the political parties were blaming the undesirable results on the undesirable spending on the campaigns like congress **(Abrams and Settle, 1976)**. Furthermore, it states clearly that these methods are nothing but the abuse of democracy and democratic process.

The minimal effect describes that the role of campaigning and media coverage get to play a large role when the elections and specifically closed elections **(Holbrook; 1996, Campbell 2000)**. The authors further divide the campaign process in two respective ways that is presidential campaigns and congressional campaigns. In the former, scholar engage with a top-down approach i.e. information flow from candidates to the media and then finally to the citizens. While in the latter, there was found an endogeneity in the relationship between the campaign expenditure and the voters support i.e. the fact that the spending to election increases the votes so

does the voters support increases donation for further campaigning (**Gerber 1998, Erikson and Palfrey 1998, 2000; Jacobson 1978, 1980, 1990**).

Thus, unlike any other study it states the fact that the interaction of the three main actors not only influence each other's movement in times of election but in day to day bases. That it is not just the monetary resources that matters but the sly intention of each actor itself matter a lot for winning any election. As it is their day-to-day interaction and day to day activities that create consensus among common people and bring about a image in front of the people and in the coverage of socio-political media.

## **2.6. CONCLUSIONS:**

From the above thorough study of the Literature Different Variables on the Outcome of the results, we have seen that the Money Spending alone is not significant to secure the maximum votes in the election, although from the literature review, we get that Higher Campaign Spending increases the chances of winning the election. Other Variables such as Biradri, Religious Affiliation have to be looked upon as they largely determine the Outcome of any particular Election. However, It can be also seen that Media Advertisements has also played an significant role in influencing the election Outcomes.

## Chapter 3

### **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK, METHODOLOGY AND DATA**

#### **3.1. Introduction:**

In order to calculate the Effects of the Determinants of the Election Outcomes that includes the Election Spending, Brothery (Biradrism) , Education , Land Owners ,Education ,party Influence , we calculate the Net Effect of these Variables on the Outcome of the Election Results.

For this reason, Primary data of Local Bodies Elections in District Pak Pattan of Punjab was collected through the Surveys from the candidates contesting for the Punjab Local Bodies Election 2013 .All the variables are taken into account that would affect the Outcomes of The Local Bodies election.

The Study was extended to 324 Candidates of the District Pak Pattan out of 340 Total Contesting Candidates contesting for the Position of Chairman and Vice Chairman in 54 union councils Across the District.

#### **3.2.Theoretical Frame Work and Hypothesis of the study:**

While Contesting the Election Outcomes, Outcomes are being overpowered by Different Determinants such as Total Campaign Spending. Campaign Spending is further divided into Advertisement costs in the wake of Bill Board Signings, Advertisements in the Local news Paper, Media advertisement .To get the voters out on the Polling day has always been a great concern for the Candidates as the Turn outs trend in the Pakistani Elections is not an Significant one, A Candidate has to Spend hefty in the wake of Transport Charges on the days of Polling Day and Prior to the Polling day in the wake of arranging corner Meetings, Taking the

Supporters to the Jalsas , arranging Public Gathering – Other than that , Announcing Sponsorships – Gifts –Developmental Work at the own expense of the Contesting Candidate also makes the Majority of the Spending in the Local Bodies Election because it is an indication of the Loyalty with the Particular Clan or Community .

We also know that only Election Spending does not guarantee a Winning Result however it influences the Results as effective Campaign Spending would mean an Effective Electoral Campaign. However, many more determinants shapes the Outcomes of the Results such as Biradrism (Brotherly) which is a common phenomenon in the Regions of the Punjab meaning that Support from a Majority Biradri in the Locality would mean guaranteed winning election Outcomes.

Data on the Family Assets of the Candidate has also been taken that would cover the aspect of the Family Status of an Individual candidate helping us to have an overview of the Financial Strength of a candidate going into the election with more Monetary Powers to spend it on the Electoral Campaign.

We also know that Family politics play an important role in the Elections and it is very difficult to contest the Elections if the Contesting Individual is fresh into the Main stream Politics without prior Experience or the Family Backing. This comes into importance, that an already Experienced Candidates knows the dynamics of the Election and has already gathered a public image in the Locality.

Party Affiliations and the Role of an Opinion Leader too have a great influence on the Outcomes of the Election Polls. In the recent times we have seen that the Backing of a Strong Party Position in the locality helps to secure a good position in the Elections.



We assume that a Contesting Candidate is a Rational Economic Agent. The Objective is clear to maximize his gains and that would be only possible with the Candidate winning the Elections .The Candidate would keep all the variable in his mind before contesting the Elections and would cover all the aspects of an effective Campaign that would see him through to secure a winning Position in the Local Bodies Election .It has also been seen that Candidates Spend many much more than the Limit that has been set by the Election Commission of Pakistan for the position of the Chairman and Vice Chairman because each candidate is trying to spend more to run an effective campaign that would see them through to the positions of Chairman and Vice Chairman in the Local Bodies Election.

### **3.3: Model:**

We intend to find the effect of the Independent Variables on the Election Outcome of the 2013 Local Bodies Election. To quantify the effect of the Independent variable on the Win/Lose scenario, we have only two Scenarios for dependent Variable i.e. either Lose or win Situation. we would use Logit Model. Where dependent variable is in binary (1, 0) form. The study has estimated binary logistic regression to present more effective results for the given set of variables

$$W|L = \beta_1 + \beta_2 EXP + \beta_3 EDU + \beta_4 AGE + \beta_5 PMLn + \beta_6 PTI + \beta_7 IND + \beta_8 TS + \beta_9 BRA + \mu$$

**More:** The logistic distribution constrains the estimated probabilities to lie between 0 and

**1. The estimated probability is:**

$$p = 1/[1 + \exp (-\alpha - \beta X)]$$

If you let  $\alpha + \beta X = 0$ , then  $p = .50$

As  $\alpha + \beta X$  gets big  $p$  approaches 1

As  $\alpha + \beta X$  gets small,  $p$  approaches 0

Variables	Description
W/L	<b>Win</b> or Lose .Win is a dummy variable and takes the value 1 if candidate captures higher number of votes and 0 if he don't attains highest number of votes
EXP	Experience, have contested the Polls before. 0 if he is contesting for the first time, Otherwise Zero
EDU	Education Level, 1 if he has attended College or University, 0 if he has only attended School or Zero education
AGE	Age of the Contesting candidate: 0 if he is above 35, 1 for Below 35
PML N	Candidate Contesting elections from the Ticket of PML N: 1 if he is contesting on PML N , 0 for PTI and IND
PTI	Candidate Contesting elections from the Ticket of PTI: 1 if he is contesting on PTI , 0 for IND and PML N

IND	Candidate Contesting elections as an Independent: 1 if he is contesting on IND, 0 for PTI and PML N
TS	Total Spending: 0 when Campaign Spending for a Candidate is above 2 Millions, Otherwise 0
BRA	Biradri votes: 1 If he gets the Majority Votes from Biradri, otherwise 0

### **3.4. Constructions of the Variables for the Model:**

Each Variable that has been taken into the Model is well capable of capturing the effect on the determination of the Outcome of the Election results .It covers all the other possible variables and factors that could shape and effect the Polling Day results apart from the Costs that are incurred on account of Campaign expenditures .

#### **3.4.1 Dependent variable:**

The dependent variable in this study is Win/Lose.

We have 2 Outcomes to determine the outcomes of the Results.

Win is a Dummy variable and takes the Value 1 if the candidate Captures the highest number of votes , If the Candidates Gains votes other than the Highest position, It is taken as Zero.

#### **3.4.2. Construction of Independent Variables:**

All the Independent variables that has been taken into account in this study affects the outcomes of the Election Results in one way or another way.

## **CONSTRUCTION OF MAIN VARIABLE:**

It is the total Expenditure incurred by the Candidates over the course of the Election Process. Campaign Spending can be further broken down in to the Following categories covering the Polling day Expenses and Costs incurred on the Election campaign in terms of advertisements and Allied Expenses such as Gifts, Donations and Sponsorships on the day of the Election.

Costs can be broken down into the Following components.

### **a. Advertisement Costs :**

The Majority of the Money is spent in the wake of Advertisements in the locality . It is commonly perceived as that higher the Advertisement, higher would be the popularity of the Candidate and Higher would be the chances of him winning the Election. Due to the very same reason , Candidates Spent Heavily on the Advertisement .However, Advertisement Cost can be broken as :

- 1. Advertisement on News Paper**
- 2. Advertisement on Cable Charges**
- 3. Advertisement on Bill Boards and party Flags**
- 4. Cost on badges**

### **b. Transportation Cost:**

Transportation Cost includes the Transport arranged for the Public gatherings and Meeting and also Services engaged on the day of polling to get the voters into the polling Station.

**c. Arranging Public Meetings**

Public and Corner Meetings are arranged through the election process to gain the support of the majority and it is also considered as a sign of Political Power.

**d. Gifts or Donation :**

A lot of Expenditure is incurred on the account of Gifts and Donations given to the Biradris and Locality to carry out some developmental work or to gift the amount to the Biradri Clan as a gesture of Gratitude expecting loyalty in the elections to gain votes .

**3.4.3. CONSTRUCTION OF SUB VARIABLES:**

**b) BIRADRISM:**

Biradrism is one of the most important factor that can Shape the course of the winning of the election Results. Every candidate belongs to a Biradri, Either Support or Dis support from the Particular Biradri would mean that the candidate would have either majority of the votes or would not have the majority of its votes of his biradri. Meaning the number of votes that he is getting, hence this variable has an important effect on the Results of the Election.

Hence we assigned value 1 if the Candidate gets the majority votes from the Biradri where as it takes binary value of 0 if the Candidates do not get the majority of Votes from the Biradri

**c) EXPERIENCE:**

Experience also plays a role in the determination of the Election outcome. We define Experience for a Candidate if he has already contest Local Bodies or General elections before, we want to find out that what Effect Experience has on the Outcome of the Results of the Candidate

We assign the binary value of 0 to candidate who do not possess Experience and is contesting the elections for the First time and it takes the binary value of 1 if the candidate possess Experience and has already contested the elections.

**d) AGE:**

By using this variable, we want to find out that what age Group possess the chance to win the Elections. Age also plays a role in determining the outcome of the election results.

We assign the value 0 to candidates above 35 years of age where as we have assigned 1 to the Candidates below the Age of 35.

**e) PARTY POSITIONS:**

We have taken three independent Variables to show the relationship between the Outcome of Election Result with the affiliation with a particular party.

As evident from the data, we take the 3 parties i.e. Pakistan Muslim League (N) , Pakistan Tehreek Insaf and Independent Candidates as majority of the candidates were contesting under these heads.

**a) PAKISTAN MUSLIM LEAGUE:**

We want to know the chances of the Pakistan Muslim Leagues Candidate on winning the election . We assign Binary Value of 1 to the candidate belonging from the Pakistan Muslim League N and assign 0 to Pakistan Tehreek Insaf and Independent Candidates.

**b) PAKISTAN TEHREEK INSAF:**

We want to know the chances of the Pakistan Tehreek Insaf Candidate on winning the election. We assign Binary Value of 1 to the candidate belonging from the Pakistan Tehreek Insaf and assign 0 to Pakistan Muslim League N and Independent Candidates.

**c) INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES:**

We want to know the chances of the Pakistan Independent Candidates on winning the election. We assign Binary Value of 1 to the candidate belonging from the Independent Candidates. And assign 0 to Pakistan Muslim League N and Pakistan Tehreek Insaf candidates.

**3.5. DATA:**

As the Study Indicates: Determinants of Election Outcome: An evidence from Pak Pattan. To determine the effects of the Independent Variables such as Total Campaign Spending, Biradrism, age, experience, Party Position .To test the influence of the above mentioned variables we have Conducted Survey in district Pak Pattan, a District in Punjab which falls between the Cities of Lahore and Multan .It is 210 Kilo meters far away from Lahore and is 205 Kilometers away from Multan. It shares the borders with the Okara and Sahiwal.

The Population of District Pak Pattan is about 1.6 Million according to the Census of Pakistan 1998, in which 14 percent of the population lives in the Urban Areas. Punjabi is 95% more spoken language in district Pak Pattan.

The Population of the 1.6 Million is divided above 200 Biradris. Biradrism takes strong roots in the Political Scenario of the district. The Most dominant Clans here are Chan, Baluch , Wattoo, Dogar, Rajpoot, Aryin, Khagga, Sukhera, Hottiyana, Jutt, Gujjar and Chaudhry.

The Land of Pak Pattan is very fertile due to this reason Majority of the Urban Population is engaged in Agriculture.

Survey was conducted in Pak Pattan District from all the candidates that were Contesting the local Bodies election of 2013 for the positions of Chairman and Vice Chairman according to the Local Government Body Elections from 54 Union councils divided into two tehsils.

Candidates from all the 26 Union Councils from the Arif Wala Tehsil and 28 Union Council of the Pak Pattan tehsil were surveyed .The Total Number of Candidates contesting for the polls were 340 , Out of which 324 candidates were surveyed through Questionnaires as well as Direct Meeting with all of the Candidates .

Our sample size contained Contestants from all of the Political Parties i.e. Pakistan Muslim League N, Pakistan Tehreek Insaf, Pakistan Awami Tehreek, Jamat e Islami , Pakistan People's Party and as well as Independent Candidates.

Detailed Surveys were conducted through that mainly highlighted the Following Information from the Contesting Candidates.

1. Total Campaign Spending



2. Total Number of Received votes
3. Biradri and Votes Received from the Biradri
4. Education Level
5. Political Affiliation with the Party
6. Experience Before the Election
7. Sponsor Ships or Donations announced.

### **3-6 Conclusion:**

In this Chapter , the focus was to determine the determinants that influence the Election Outcome Results and for this , Independent Variables have been constructed to check the effect on the Winning the Local Bodies Election in District Pak Pattan of Punjab for the post of Chairman and Vice Chairman among 340 Contesting Independent Candidates .

It was also made sure to calculate all the possible variables that would determine the determinants from Winning the Elections and for this , Logit Model is constructed to capture the over all significance of the Independent variable on the results of the Elections and to capture the Marginal Effect of each on the Model

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS**

### **4.1. Introduction:**

In this Chapter, it has been made to discuss all the Results that has been obtained from the Model, that have been run through the Logit Model. Furthermore, the marginal effects of the independent Variable on the Dependent Variable would be discussed in this chapter. In depth review of how the determinants Variables effect the Outcome of any Particular Election has been carried out and would be discussed. All the Variables are well described here in this chapter and Numerical presentations would be done in the Chapter.

Additionally, A Tabulated presentation of different Scenarios comparing the Variables and its relative effect on the Outcome of The Election Results has been carried out.

### **4.2. Discussion on Selected Variables:**

As in the study, we tried to find the effect of the Independent variables such as Campaign Spending, Biradriism, Assets, experience, and education on the Dependent Variable i.e. 1, which had only two effects. Win was designated as 1 and Lose was termed as 0.

Firstly, the data for the win or lose of the candidates have been selected as per to the Winning position of the Candidate. Candidate with the highest numbers of votes has been termed as 1<sup>st</sup> and the rest have been set as according to the number of votes from highest to the lowest. The Winning candidate has been assigned as the binary Value of 1 in the Probit Logit Model where as the candidate not winning the seats of the Chairman and Vice Chairman is assigned the Binary value of Zero in the Model.

The Independent Variable such as Biradrism has been taken in such a way that majority of Contesting candidates belong to particular Biradri that , as there are many Biradris in the District of Pak Pattan . It is also implied that more there are more than one Candidates from a particular Biradri that is contesting for the Polls so we assume that the candidate that has the majority of support from the particular Biradri would win the polls, which would be discussed.

### 4.3. DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION:

We had earlier supposed the Following Model and after running the regression through the Binary Logit Model we came to the Conclusion:

**Table 4.1: Results from Binary Logit Model:**

Y (WIN/LOSE)	Co-efficient	Standard Error	Z
<b>Experience</b>	1.183597	.5087098	2.33
<b>Education</b>	.5330913	.449249	1.19
<b>Age</b>	-.0526645	.0157833	-3.34
<b>Independent</b>	-1.277532	.6791846	-1.88
<b>PML N</b>	1.701725	.7755738	2.19
<b>PTI</b>	-1.450909	.5686041	-2.55
<b>Total Spending</b>	.9256665	.5512251	1.86
<b>BRA</b>	.6159913	.1246219	4.94

#### a) RELATIONSHIP OF ELECTION OUTCOME WITH EXPERIENCE:

As evident from the Table 4.1, it is clear that there is a positive significant relationship of election outcome the Experience implying that candidates who are more experienced and have contested the election Before are more likely to win the elections as compared to the Ones who are only Contesting elections for the First time

**b) RELATIONSHIP OF ELECTION OUTCOME WITH EDUCATION:**

Candidates that are educated and have completed College Level or University level education are more likely to win the Results as compared to those who are less educated and have been only to School implying that there is a positive relationship between the Education and chances of Winning the Elections.

**c) RELATIONSHIP OF ELECTION OUTCOME WITH PARTY POSITIONS:**

Similarly, Candidates with the More Age than the less age are less likely to win the elections as there is a negative relationship of Win with the Age.

The Results further shows that Independent Candidates contesting for the Polls are less likely to win the Election Results whereas the PTI and PML N candidates are more likely to win the Polls

**d) RELATIONSHIP OF ELECTION OUTCOME WITH SPENDING:**

An Important finding of the Results shows that there is a positive relationship between the Total Spending's and the dependent variable Win implying the results that Candidates who spend

Heavily stands a higher chance to win the Elections as it is evident from The Probit Logit Model

**Table 4.2: Calculations of Marginal Effects from the Binary logit Model:**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Marginal Effects</b>
<b>EXP</b>	3.266101
<b>EDU</b>	1.704192
<b>AGE</b>	.9486982
<b>IND</b>	.2787244
<b>PML (N )</b>	.1823688
<b>PTI</b>	.2343571
<b>TS</b>	.4292712
<b>BWA</b>	.46

**B) ANALYSIS:**

Here we calculated the Marginal effects of the Independent variables on the Dependent variable that is the Win or Lose of the Candidate in the Local bodies Lection in Pak Pattan in 2013.

**(i) Marginal Effects of Total Spending on Outcome of Elections:**

It can be seen from the table that Candidates Who spends more are 42% more likely to win the Elections as compared to those who spends less and it confirms our Hypothesis that Candidates that spends more have a higher Chance of winning the Elections.

**(ii) Marginal Effects of Biradri Votes on Outcome of Elections:**

Candidates with the Higher Biradri Vote are 46% more likely to win the Elections as compared to the Candidates who have managed to get Less Votes from the Biradri.

**(iii) Marginal Effects of Education on Outcome of Elections:**

Candidates with College and University Life Education are 170% more likely to win the Election Results as compared to the Candidates that are slightly less educated.

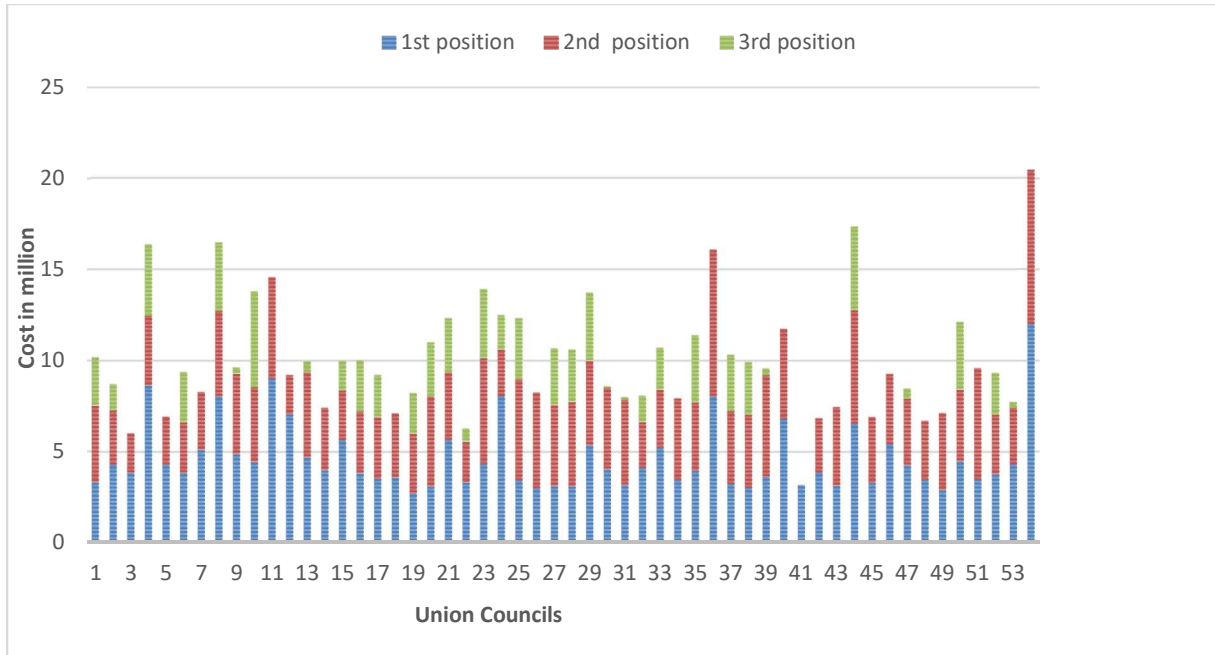
**(iv) Marginal Effects of Party Positions on Outcome of Elections:**

PML N Supporters are 18.23% more likely to win the elections as compared to the PTI and Independent candidates where as PTI candidates are 23.4% less likely to win the elections as compared to PML N and Independent Candidates where as Independent Candidates are 27.87% less likely to win the elections as compared to the PML N and PTI Candidates.

**(v) Marginal Effects of Experience on Outcome of Elections:**

However candidates with Experience are 326 % are more likely to win the elections as compared to the In Experienced Candidate

**Figure 4.1: Analysis of Campaign Spending Across the Winning Positions:**



**Analysis:**

From the above table, it is clearly evident that Campaign Spending are very important in determining the outcomes of Election. Here we have compared Campaign Spending in Millions against position Standings in the Local Bodies Election 2018 .The First Three Position are taken here to compare the Spending among the First Three Position Holders in the Union Councils for the Post of Chairman and Vice Chairman in District Pak Pattan of Punjab.

] It is evident that the Average Cost of the First Position candidate is greater than the average Costs of the Second and Third Position Holders. It can be seen from the Graph that the Average Spending of the Second Position Holder is greater than the Average Spending of the Third Position Holder. Hence it can be implied from the results that the Candidates who spend more on

the Campaign are more likely to win the Elections as compared to those who spends less on the Campaign.

### **BREAK DOWN OF TOTAL SPENDINGS INTO DIFFERENT CATEGORIES**

Category	Total Cost (Millions)	Average Cost (Millions)
Advertisement	121.70	0.75
Transportation Cost	96.09	0.59
Public Meetings	99.211	0.61
Agent and Staff Cost	0.54	0.004
Gifts and Donations	171.41	1.06
Polling Station Cost	6.41	0.04
Personal Cost	59.60	0.37
Chief Guest Cost	12.66	0.08
Donations Received	1.03	0.0064



## **Analysis:**

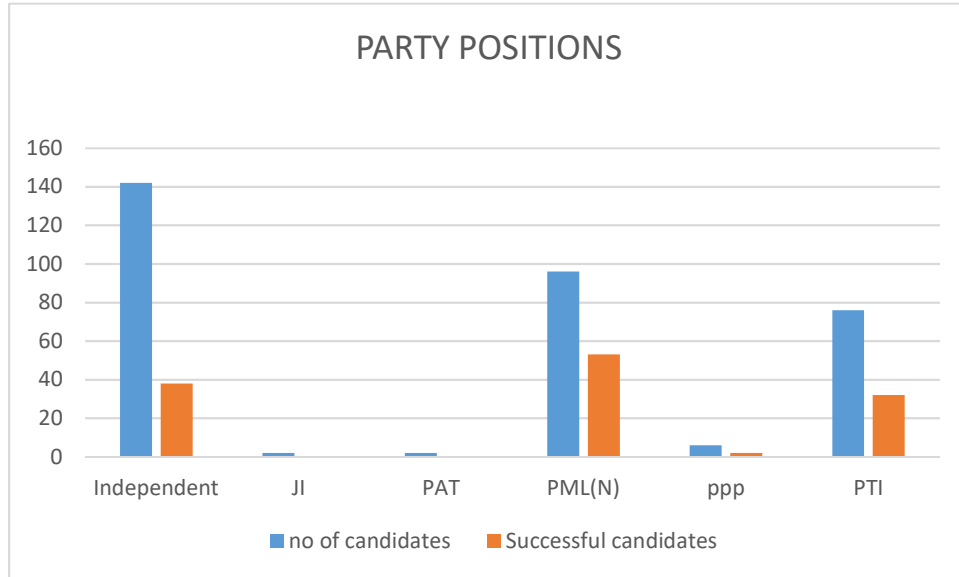
The above figure shows that Majority of the expenses are incurred on Gifts and Donations to the People during Ceremonies and Functions , It is because majority of the Candidates do give Donations or Sponsorship to a particular clan or Biradri in the wake of Developmental works or it may be a gift to the Biradri Leader ensuring Loyalty from the Particular clan in the Elections.

Additionally, Advertisements also make a major chunk of the Spending because the Candidates prefer Spending on the Advertisement as it creates an Stir in the Locality because Majority of the Common people judge it by the Bill Boards, Party Flags.

**TABLE 4.4: RATIO OF SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATES**

<b>Sr.No</b>	<b>Party Ticket holder</b>	<b>Total number of Candidates</b>	<b>Successful candidates</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>Independent candidates</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>Pakistan Muslim League (N0</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>53</b>
<b>3</b>	<b>Pakistan Peoples Party</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>4</b>	<b>Pakistan Tehreek Insaf</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>JI</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>6</b>	<b>PAT</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>

**FIGURE 4.2. ANALYSIS OF WINNING RATIO OF PARTY POSITIONS**



**ANALYSIS:**

In the above figure, an analysis of the number of candidates that appeared in the elections from the platforms of their respective parties. It can be seen that 143 Independent candidates appeared for the positions of chairman and Vice chairman and only 38 candidates were successful in winning the elections. Similarly 96 candidates appeared from the platform of the Pakistan Muslim league Nawaz and 53 candidates won the election, which is the highest ratio among all of other parties, which is also a indication that PML N has strong roots in the Central Punjab . 76 Candidates appeared under the flagship of Pakistan Tehreek Insaf , out of which only 32 Candidates remained successful in winning their respective seats.

#### **4.4. Conclusion:**

In this Chapter the basic focus was to derive an relationship between the Outcome of Election Result with the Independent Variables such as Campaign spending, Age, Experience, Biradri, education, Party Positions .

The Results showed that the Candidates that spends more on the election campaign, have College and University Level education , Posses Previous experience of the Elections , Majority Votes from the Biradri and is of lesser Age stands a high chance on winning the Elections . Furthermore, it was also found out that Among the Parties, Pakistan Muslim league Nawaz Stands a higher chance of winning the elections as compared to Pakistan Tehreek Insaf and Independent candidates.

## Chapter 5

### CONCLUSION

Political System of Pakistan in such a way that it is considered that only the rich can make it to the top brass of the Country's Political Office. Whether it is the Election of the High Office such as the National and Provincial Assemblies, Senate or it is the election on the lower level such as the Local Bodies election contesting for the posts of Chairman, Vice Chairman or Councilors.

It has been proved from the findings of the study that the Candidates who spends heavily on the Election campaign stands a higher chance to win the Elections. It is the truth else everywhere too, in order to create a perception about the polls, you have to be seen prominent throughout the election process. To achieve this, one have to spend heavily on the Advertisement- Whether it may be on the Media or it is on the Bill Boards, Party Flags, and this is not possible without the monetary resources.

We found out that Another Portion of Major Spending was on the Sponsorships, Gifts and donations to the locality. Mainly, the candidate gifts a handsome amount of money to one of the influential person in the Biradri and in turn, he asks for the loyalty of the particular Biradri in the coming elections, which is a serious question on the rights of people to exercise vote.

So Candidates spending heavily are more likely to win the elections but it is not the sole determinant there are many others determinants apart from this.

We found out that Biradrism also played an important role in the shaping of the elections .It was found out that as Pak Pattan largely consists of the rural areas so there are many Biradris existing there. The candidate that is able to get the Biradri vote is more likely to win the candidates because there is a culture that Biradris normally taken as a collective group of people whose decision rests with the Influential Person of the Biradri, weighing his support with the candidate means that all the Persons in the biradri would be liable to vote for the same contestants, otherwise he would not get any political patronage and financial loans or support from the Biradri elders.

Apart from Campaign Spending and Biradrism , Political Affiliation with the Party also plays an important role . Parties normally gives the Ticket to those Candidates that are more likely to win the polls. It all depends on a particular locality where the party has strong roots. As far as our study is concerned Pakistan Muslim League has got strong roots in the locality as PML N has got strong roots in Punjab.

Experience Also come in needful when Contesting the Polls, The Finding of our study states that Candidates who have previous experience of contesting the Elections are more likely to win the Elections other than the candidates who do not possess Experience. Normally, Candidates who have contested the polls before are well aware of the Process and they have created strong links with the influential people in the community.

We also found out that according to Punjab Local Government act 2002, the candidate for the post of Chairman and Vice Chairman is only allowed to Spend 100,000 Rupees for election campaign .If he spends more than the amount , then Election Commission reserves the right to disqualify the Candidate however , we have found through the course of the study that almost

95% of the Candidates have violated the law and have spent in Millions through the course of the Election Campaign .

Hence contestant Candidates should be made bound to Spent within the Limit set by the Punjab Local Government Act 2013 to have a greater competition and to avoid losses in the form of Rent Seeking

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