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## **Political Dynamics of Biraderi Politics An Empirical Analysis of District Toba Tek Singh**

**Dr. Nabila Akhtar**

Assistant Professor

Department of Political Science

Lahore College for Women University, Lahore

**Dr. Qamar Fatima**

Associate Professor & Chairperson

Department of Political Science

Lahore College for Women University, Lahore

**Correspondence:** [gamar.fatima@lcwu.edu.pk](mailto:gamar.fatima@lcwu.edu.pk)

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### **ABSTRACT**

*The political behaviours of individuals towards the process of democratization of Punjab depend on the basic institutions of the society, i.e. family lineage, caste, clan and biraderies, etc. Being foremost institutions for political socialization of the individual, these have great impact on his/her political behaviour influencing his/her choice to elect a representative in electoral politics. Thus the individual does not fully enjoy his/her rational choice indeed. The aim of the study is to probe through applying the theory of rational choice, what are the political dynamics that strengthen and weaken the emancipating power of the individuals? To what extent these dynamics are significant predictors of biraderism in the process of democratization. For this empirical, descriptive and analytical research District Toba Tek Singh is selected for a case study with a minimum respondent 220 for the set of questionnaire scale PDBPQ\* has made.*

**Keywords:** *Biraderism, political behaviour, Rational Choice, Process of Democratization*

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### **Introduction**

The *biraderi* is the foremost identity motif in Pakistan. The *biraderi* forms an imperative dynamic element in an individual's life, particularly in the central parts of the Punjab. The analysis and evidences reveal that the *biraderi* system has been one of the major factors influencing the democratic process since inception of Pakistan and the politics of *biraderies* is still playing a very important role in the political socialisation of the individuals of Toba Tek Singh. In contemporary Punjab the hierarchal structure of the *biraderi* system is plainly breaking down to some extent – but in political process the significance of *biraderi* politics has augmented rather than declining in post-independence period that is primarily a colonial product and the post-independence state continued to use the existing 'over-developed' state structure that protected, projected and entrenched the *biraderies* in this system of

power. People do not select these identities rather they are innate attributes that are largely fixed in the entire life of an individual. These socio-ethnic compositions have variation in the national mould of any state. Its variegated ethnic groups are more identifiable in the “*Biraderies*” which are based on caste, clan, lineage and family in sub-continent. This dynamic gained more importance in Pakistan in the era of non-political governments. Societal system of the state basically effects directly local political system. This entire puts effect on the output of democratization and may cause the deterioration and disrupts the political process.

The impact of cultural norms directly affects the politics and the patronizing character of the phenomenon of the *biraderies* in local level politics with special reference to Punjab and particularly in District Toba Tek Singh. There are different dynamics of the political aspect of *biraderi* politics, like political participation, political awareness of the people and the role of political parties’ then electoral process. In all these aspects *biraderi* politics is apparent through its preponderant role in empowering or disempowering the people. But mostly it is witnessed that it checks human emancipating power due to integrating force of *biraderi* system. It asserts that power should be dispersed among *biraderi* members. For the sake of *biraderi* sanctuary, power should not be apprehended from those who have kinship connections and must be circulated only among those who are tied with blood relations as well.

### Literature Review

There is a sumptuous work on the colonial Punjab and much has been written down national level about Pakistani Punjab but there is very narrow work available on *biraderi* politics because a very little work is done on a local micro level district analysis in that kind of study. Thus, there is a major gap with respect to local level studies about the origin and domineering dynamics of *biraderies* and their politics. L.C. Tupper traces the piece of writing about the mind-set of the colonial power of Punjab and the argument of Punjab’s social system which is served in the preservation of customary law and said that was a “Patriarch” lineage that summarized the progeny of common descents and support them in other words supports *biraderi* system. (Robert Cust, 1866 & L.C. Tupper, 1880). Ibbetson (1916) Maclegan E.D and Rose H A (1911) Griffin Leppel H (1909) and Thourburn S.S. (1886) all counterparts write about social inequalities of society in terms of race, culture and class, caste and creed system. These narratives are presented the personal cognitive insights of the administrative officers and written in their own perspective.

Oscar Lewis (1965) writes that in academia behind the democratic system the hypothesis on voting is that the individual is a self-determining, by having a capable thinking and set to take his own choice. But, in a kinship structured society..... it is the large extended family, which is the basic component of most decision making. So the preeminent is that voting becomes an extended family process. Gilmartin’s (1979) study, on the other hand, is looking towards the particularity of colonial rule and says the British had no option other than to rely on local groups’ loyalties to rule.

Rais opens the debate about parliament and says it is dominated by landed elites in which “ties to clan, tribe, or *biraderi* and feudal social basis, in particular, largely determined the outcome of elections.” (Rais, 1985) A detailed work on the politics of Pakistan is done by Waseem reveals the theoretical explanation of Pakistan’s

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politics and highlights the undemocratic role of political parties and argues about the elections 1993 that they had no contact with the masses. (Waseem, 1994) *Biraderi* politics do not feature in great deal in his book.

There is another very prominent study by Wilder gives a comprehensive historical view of the electoral processes of Punjab and point out that here in Punjab *biraderi* is the main social determinant in setting the voting trends of people and also highlights the entirely change the pattern of electoral behaviours in Central and Southern areas of Punjab that here politics subjugated by the Clientilism i.e. *biraderi* linkages and infers the non-party base elections promoted *biraderism* and there is no room for individualism. He interprets that political dynamic of voting behaviour like party based in urban areas and in the rural paternalistic orientation and the social dynamic is rising. (Wilder, 1999)

According to Ian Talbot (2006), *biraderism* was the main cause of the British to rule over Punjab. Thus the state nullifies the emancipation powers of individuals to become the rationalize participant of a democratic state. The individuals feel secure under the *biraderi* identification as *biraderi* supports and separate them in all their domestic, socioeconomic problems and conflicts.

Tahir Kamran's study (2009) on the 1985 elections show that the non-party bases elections also aggravated the *biraderi* differences. He claims that in 1985 elections rather than the debates on manifesto of the political parties the contenders tried to win elections on prejudices despite that they had no any national or international issues to address. Ahmad Mughees (2004) is also showing the glimpses of *biraderi* politics at division level. Ahmad Mughees and Fouzia Naseem (2011) in their joint effort to describe that "Casteism and *Biraderism* are the main component of the culture of Sub-Continent that had a deep impact on the political alignment of the people." Mohmand (2011), study explores "Biraderi and vote bloc-based politics fragments voters and discourages class or party-based identification".

The *biraderi* is the guiding element of an individual's life in the social and political arena. An individual's free will does not matter as it is a family issue of prestige, and family is a part of *biraderi* it is nothing without it. *Biraderi* plays an overarching role in decision making. This study develops links between local politics with *biraderi* politics and argue that in local level elections *biraderies* play a pivotal role. They are right in their argument that *biraderism* the main component of the local culture' does influence the local bodies' electorate and it does affect the political system of the state. It offers a new dimension of comparative study of political science. But it is limited and need to address the national level comparison. This can be very helpful in micro local level study.

In order to riposte the query of why this is so, for the hypothesis uses an empirical approach to test how and why in colonial state and aftermath these landed *biraderies* rise to dominate the process of formal political development in Punjab.

**District Toba Tek Singh:** In this background, Toba Tek Singh is also a classical example of social-political manoeuvring of colonial rule and has offered an insight to understand the dynamics of major *biraderies* politics that is also vital to pay off the dynamics of the broader, state level politics. Before partition, Toba Tek Singh is basically a canal colony, district; the settlement policy of British worked in this area.

The distribution of land policy among settlers (*Abadkar*) was held on the basis of Land Alienation Act 1901 which had left a deep impact in this area. This policy created difference between agricultural and nonagricultural *biraderies* hence land becomes the hallmark of superiority in society. More to this administrative power was also given to local landed elite *biraderies* which played an intermediary role between local people and the British.

In this respect, Toba Tek Singh has gone through a visible demographic change in the aftermath of Partition in 1947. As after partition; the “*Mahajir*” (the Migrants) *biraderies* along with already settled “*Abadkar*” *biraderies* shaped a different purview to this area through dominating dynamics of *biraderi* politics. This is a small district formerly a Tehsil of district Faisal Abad, which was separated from Faisal Abad for administration purposes in Zia era. Here the *biraderi* ties are very strong, even though the land holdings are not as large as in the southern areas of Punjab even though the manipulation of *biraderies* is evident.

The present work in this context is a district level study in which kinship, politics or *biraderi* system is to be studied as manoeuvring factor that seized the emancipation powers of individuals and do not let them to participate in the democratization process on the behalf of their free will and it further along within the representative democratization process only represents the upper strata of the *biraderies*.

**Methodology:** To conduct this study the objective is to document and assess through a survey, to what extent the political dynamics, i.e. political Awareness, political participation, elections, voting behaviour, political parties, social conflicts, etc. of *biraderi* politics is considered to be a hurdle in the process of democratization or is it subsidized this process of Toba Tek Singh. The Rational Choice Theory is applied in this empirical study and the data was entered into the (SPSS), version 16.0. This software was also useful to get Percentage Based Data Analysis of the collected data and draw tables to support the findings.

**Data Collection:** In order to avoid systematic bias, an appropriate frame of the sample was ensured. Thus the reporting sample units, the respondents are selected on stratified random along with convenient basis that are of different age groups and also belong to different *biraderies* but the rural and urban division is made approximately 58% and 42% respectively and male /female is selected equally in the sample of 220 as the phenomenon under study is related to the whole population and the location where this population resident is a large area of whole district so, it is not possible to observe and interview every individual. Therefore, to acquire a reliable sample only a sample of 220 respondents is selected from the registered voters who are the political participants.

As the questionnaire is the same for all respondents, so a cumulative finding is analysed to determine the political dynamics of *biraderi* politics. A structured survey, based on Likert type scale questionnaire the PDBPQ of 20 items was made and data was collected by the researchers. It is necessary to locate and clarify how much an item of the *Political Dynamics of Biraderi Politics Questionnaire* (PDBPQ) has significance in establishing relationship with *biraderi* politics in democratization. In order to explain the validity of the query, the Factor Analysis, Reliability statistics test and item to total correlation test have been applied to the collected data.

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**Psychometric Properties of the Scale**

A factor analysis was carried out to identify the factor structure of the Biraderi Politics Questionnaire. Factor analysis with Varimax rotation\*\* was run on the Biraderi politics to determine the Factor Structure of the scale. The political factor solution emerged as the most meaningful. The Kaiser –Meyer Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was 0.61 above the recommended value of 0.60. Bartlett’s test of Sphericity indicated a significantly large correlation between the items of analysis (Neill, 1994).

The political factor explained a cumulative variance of 8.56 %. The items having the loading of more than 0.25 were considered for inclusion in the factor. This solution was meaningful and the items that clustered in the same parts made sense of representing common themes. These themes were mainly based on an existing theoretical framework according to the political dynamics of biraderi politics affecting the democratization process. Thus the factor was labelled as Political Dynamics of Biraderi Politics in Democratization. The factor structure of the PDBPQ Scale along with their loadings, Eigen values and alpha coefficients are given.

**The reliability of PDBPQ Scale was determined under computing Cronbach’s Alpha** Second set of analysis in the table below was performed an item analysis by using the item total correlation technique on the PDBPQ Scale’s internal consistency. The internal consistency of the whole Scale was used Cronbach’s alpha.

**Table 1**

*Reliability Analysis of All measures*

Scale	<i>K</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>M(SD)</i>
Political Dynamics	20	0.80	77.56 (7.9)

Reliability of the PDBP of the BPQ scale was also computed and found significantly reliable; Political Dynamics scale  $\alpha = 0.80$

**Inter-correlation among Dynamics of Biraderi Politics\*\***

A Pearson correlation coefficient is computed to assess the relationship between the all variables or dimensions within the subparts of the *Biraderi Politics* Questionnaire. There was a positive correlation between the many of its variables, maximum  $r = 0.68$ ,  $n = 220$ , Overall, there was a strong, positive correlation between the variables of the political dynamics of *biraderi* politics. An increase in one was correlated with increases in rating of others as mentioned in detail below.

**The Pearson correlation coefficient\*\*:** is also computed to assess the relationship between the democratization process and the Political dynamics of *biraderi* politics. There was a positive correlation with the democratization process with the political variables, maximum  $r = 0.33$ ,  $n = 220$ , Overall, there was a strong, positive correlation between the variables of political dynamics. Increases by one were correlated with increases in rating of other as mentioned below;

**Table 2**

*Correlation of Democratization with Political Dynamics of Biraderi Politics*

No	Factors	1	2
1	Democratization Process affects by PDBP	----	.33**
2	Political Dynamics of <i>Biraderi</i> Politics		----

Note. \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ .

As the variable is correlated with the criterion that is “democratization process does affect” the Multiple Regression Analysis has been run.

**Table 3**

*Regression Analysis for predictors of Democratization (N=220)*

Predictors	R <sup>2</sup>	R <sup>2</sup> Δ	B
Step 1	.04	.03	
Age			-.20**
Gender			.03
Step 2	.22	.20	
Age			-.13*
Political Dynamics of <i>biraderi</i> Politics			.30***

Note. \*\* $p < .01$  \*\*\* $p < .001$

A Multiple Regression Analysis was performed to determine the predictive power of the political dynamics of *biraderi* politics the functional factors in the process of democratization. The result shows that Political dynamics is the strongest factor in predicting,  $F(5, 214) = 4.4$ ,  $p < .001$ .

**Table 4**

*T- TEST Showing Gender Differences in the political dynamics of BPQ Functioning (N= 220)*

	Male(n=112) M (SD)	Female (n=108) M (SD)	T	P
Political Dynamics of <i>Biraderi</i> Politics	77.62 (7.1)	77.42 (8.6)	.19	.84

Note.  $p = n. s$

Results show that there is no significant difference in the male, female opinion regarding Political Dynamics of *Biraderi* Politics as the thinkings of them is same. It is pertinent to mention as male is domineering in the *biraderi* discourse so the thinking of the male is reflected in the female opinion. Females fully own what the male think regarding political dynamics of *biraderi* politics. Both genders fully

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agreed that in District Toba Tek Singh, *biraderi* politics is dominated and covering the political aspect of the democratization process. Patriarchy is significantly overwhelming rule in the social set up of Toba Tek Singh.

**Table 5**

*One Way ANOVA for Caste (N=220)*

	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
Political Dynamics of <i>Biraderi</i> Politics	13362.886	59.751	1.77	.11

Note. *df*= 6, 214, *p*= *n.s*

Results indicate that caste reported brings no significant variance in thinking about the *biraderi* politics among the different castes. The intensity of the phenomenon is evident from the upper table that thinking of all castes is the same and they all believe that social institution *biraderi* is covering the Political facets of the individual.

**Table 6**

*One Way Anova for Rural Urban Areas (N=220)*

	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
Political Dynamics of <i>Biraderi</i> Politics	13362.886	60.81	1.37	.26

Note. *df*= 1, 219, *p*<.05

Results specify that rural, urban reported that there is no significant variance in thinking about the Political Dynamics of *Biraderi* politics of the *Biraderi* politics among the difference of rural /urban area's population. The intensity of the phenomenon is evident from the upper table that thinking of the people is the same regarding political dynamics.

**Table No. 7 One Way Anova for Education (N=220)**

	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
Political dynamics of <i>Biraderi</i> Politics	13362.886	59.90	2.37	.07

Note. *df* = 3, 216, *p*= *n.s*

Results postulate that education reported Analysis of variance that there is no any significant difference regarding *the Political Dynamics of biraderi politics*. The strength of the phenomenon is evident from the above that thinking of the people is the same regarding political dynamics of *biraderi* politics. Illiterate to higher degree holders cannot think that there is any other thing apart them from *biraderism* and that may supersede in respect of *biraderi* politics.

The next analysis of the survey is the Percentage Basis Data Analysis results are given as below:

### Percentage Basis Data Analysis of the Findings

It is pertinent to mention here that before collecting the data a pilot study is also held to get more reliable data. The items for analysis are extracted through the Varimax Rotation Factor Analysis after a careful examination of their expression and conceptual relevance they were retained in PBD means Percentage Based Data Analysis as the inter item correlation support their significance. A cumulative table has made to present the percentages of the responses.

**Table 8**

#### Percentage Basis Data Analysis

<b>Question statements</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>SA</b>
<i>Biraderi</i> is a trend setter whom to vote.	1.8	6.8	8.6	57.7	25.5
<i>Biraderies</i> are trend setters at local level elections.	2.3	4.1	14.1	67.3	12.3
Element of <i>Biraderism</i> becomes more intensified in Local level elections.	2.3	6.8	10.5	62.7	17.7
Voting behaviours of people are conditioned to the <i>biraderi</i> affiliations.	2.7	9.5	10.0	65.9	11.8
People do not use their free will for electing their members rather they consider <i>biraderi</i> affiliations.	2.3	7.7	11.4	62.7	15.9
People prefer the <i>biraderi</i> affiliation of the contestant than his capabilities.	2.3	6.8	9.5	60.9	20.5
People do not bother about the party affiliation of any candidate while voting rather they are interested in the affiliation of candidate's <i>biraderi</i> .	2.3	5.5	12.5	57.7	23.0
Political parties select those political candidates and workers whose <i>biraderies</i> are dominant in the constituency	1.8	5.0	19.1	52.7	21.4
Political parties keep in view the vote bank of candidate's <i>biraderi</i> while issuing the party tickets.	2.3	5	12.7	55.0	24.1
If people do not vote to their <i>biraderies</i> they will be faced social boycott from their respective <i>biraderies</i> .	2.3	6.8	15.9	54.5	20.5
People vote to their respective <i>biraderies</i> as it is a prestige matter for them to support them.	1.8	9.5	13.6	56.8	18.2
People vote to their respective <i>biraderies</i> as they think only their <i>biraderies</i> shelter them and solve their personal problems and conflicts, i.e.(Lands, Pitwar, Thana, Kachehri, employment)	1.8	6.8	8.6	57.7	25.5
Political parties used the tool of delimitation for rearrangement of constituencies in elections to gain more votes from their respective <i>biraderies</i> .	1.8	6.4	13.6	59.1	19.1

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Only those biraderies take part in contesting the elections that are politically dynamic rather who are inactive in politics.	1.4	8.6	13.6	57.7	18
Biraderism becomes intensified in non-Party based elections.	1.4	5.0	8.6	68.2	16.8
In Martial law rules, Biraderism has been promoted extensively in Toba Tek Singh.	0.9	4.5	7.3	73.5	13.6
People vote on biraderies affiliations that may cause political, economic and social corruption in society.	1.4	6.8	17.3	52.7	21.8
Politicians used their biraderi titles in elections to gain maximum votes.	1.8	9.5	21.4	48.6	18.6
The involvement of Biraderism in local level elections is affecting the process of democratization.	1.8	5.0	10.0	57.3	25.9
Biraderi should not be considered in voting if you feel there is a need to promote democracy.	2.3	5.0	7.7	58.6	26.4

Overall, the data in the above table depict that in respect of all statements approx. 1-10 % respondents go against the argument raised disagree and about 7-20 % respondents are neutral in their opinion. Whereas, about 60-80 % agreed to strongly agree with the political dynamics of biraderi politics

Following is the analysis of the PBD:

**1. Biraderi is a trend setter whom to vote.**

Through the PBD\* table appears that *biraderism* is a very strong factor that persuades in an individual's life as it is playing a leading role which provides shelter from birth to death. It further guides him in his political socialization throughout, in his / her upbringing via family identification the *biraderi* name. The prejudices work here and nobody goes against his /her *biraderi* contestant. If some families have some conflicts at that time they are also being resolved and people participate in elections for the success of their *biraderi* member. Wasim, Wilder, Rsaul Bukhush Rais; all renowned scholars, although admitted, but a partial role of factional or *biraderi* affiliations in the election process.

But it is vindicated through this empirical study as the result shows *biraderi* is the main factor that dictate the people to come and vote for that contestant which *biraderi* has decided. Here it is a positive aspect of the *biraderi* politics as it seems apparent that it is filling the gap of political parties, but the role that should be played by political parties it is played by *Biraderies* to mobilise its members to participate in elections even though it is a directed participation. But this participation is limited not rationalize people vote in elections on the bases of their biraderi prejudices that is against the norms of democratic values.

**2. Biraderies are trend setters at local level elections.**

This PBD table presents that at the local indigenous level the influence of the *biraderies* intensified so it is pertinent to ask the respondents about their point of view to what extent they are agreed or not agreed with the statement.

Actually, at that micro level relationships are much closed and it is easy to force *biraderies* to its member families to whom they vote. Along with that the upper strata of *biraderies* do influence lower strata for voting. That is the main reason for the hype of the phenomenon that *biraderi* is trendsetters at local level politics more. The influential voting in elections promotes favouritism. This favouritism leads towards malfunctioning of the state institutions. That hampers the democratization process through discriminatory actions in state institutions and also in justice.

### **3. Element of *Biraderism* becomes more intensified in Local level elections.**

According to the PBD table it is relevant to explain here that at a very gross root level people have a very close association with each other and *biraderies* are also have connections at the doorstep to its members despite the family relation. Here it is significant to mention that the term *biraderi* is used as an extended relationship regardless of blood ties or distance as described in previous chapter one can say that the brand name of *biraderi* does matter that get support and promote *biraderism* at the local level elections, for its members individually. The previous two statements and the third this one are interconnected arguments to get the real picture of the psyche of the respondents what they actually think. Hence it is clear that *Biraderism*, the prejudices of the *biraderi* identifications are intensified for the participation in local elections in district TTS.

### **4. Voting behaviours of people are conditioned to the *biraderi* affiliations.**

The upper table specifies the percentages of the assumption that voting behaviours of the people are conditioned by the *biraderi* affiliations. So, the voting trends of the people of the district TTS are replication of their *biraderi* identification. They do not think beyond their prejudices and ethnicity. That kind of thinking of the people does not promote democratic values in the society.

### **5. People do not use their free will for electing their members rather they consider *biraderi* affiliations.**

Regarding results in the PBD table that the majority of the respondents endorsed the statement and as the result shows the effectiveness of the statement that people in Toab Tek Singh do not cast their votes on the bases of their emancipating powers that makes them to whom they vote and for what reasons. They just think in the mindset of *biraderism* and only put stamps on the ballot paper on their *biraderi*'s decision.

### **6. People prefer the *biraderi* affiliation of the contestant than his capabilities**

The above table depicts that people prefer the *biraderi* affiliation of the contestant than his credentials and capabilities. Actually generally people vote for those candidates who are belonging to renowned *biraderies*. The perspective of the demand side, it is also the desire or wish of the people to choose that person who has a renowned, economically and politically powerful *biraderi* background. It is noticeable that when the voter does not use his/her free, independent will in elections rather than blindly vote to their respective *biraderies* then how he/she thinks about the rationality and validity of the vote. The result of reporting sample units of the survey also depicts the same and it is quite possible that a voter in a mind-set of *biraderi* relationship may be selected a person that is not capable. The emancipation powers of individuals are the vital for the success of democratic norms to introduce.

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But the situation in District TTS is differing and people do believe that in elections the brand name or prominent name of *biraderi* is more important than the capabilities of the contestant. That situation also gets support from the evidence that in 1988 elections Pakistan People's Party gave party ticket on ideological bases to Gias-ud-Din Janabaz. The main cause of his defeat in the election was that he was not belonged to a renowned *biraderi* and had no *biraderi* support, that's why his counter contestant on the bases of his *Biraderi* succeeded. It is clear that capability criteria do not matter in casting the votes.

This same dynamic has played a significant role for the over first-generation politicians. Feinstein examined the elections held between 1994 and 2006 in America, that hereditary elite politicians revel in "brand name advantages," that support them significantly, as compare to non-hereditary rivals. (Feinstein & Brian, 2010)

**7. People do not bother about the party affiliation of any candidate while voting rather they are interested in the affiliation of candidate's *biraderi*.**

The above table portrays that people do not bother about the party affiliation of any candidate while voting rather they are interested in the affiliation of candidate's *biraderies'* attachments. It is also correlated with the previous argument that people have only concern with *biraderies* of the contenders. They set aside contenders all qualities and potentials, and also the party platform of a political party from where he is contesting the elections. Due to that in 1977 elections Bhutto took the assistance of the landed aristocracy for his success and give party tickets on the basis *biraderies'* credentials.

**8. Political parties select those political candidates and workers whose *biraderies* are dominant in the constituency**

The above PBD table reveals that political parties select those political candidates and workers whose supportive *biraderies* are dominant in the constituency. The previous statements 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> are linking with the demand side of political recruitment in the process of democratization whereas the above assumption is denoting the supply side of the political recruitment. When we compare both the demands and supply edges of recruitment process *biraderi* is the main predominantly focused on the two sides. Hence the *biraderi* politics are a dynamic element that subjugates both sides. There is an eye catching example of recent elections 2013 Pakistan Tahrik-e-Insaf also cannot apart itself from this dogma of *biraderi* politics. The inclusion of Mukhdoms and other renowned *biraderies* is the biggest example of it. And if one has a look at the Pakistan movement during the 1946 elections the Muslim league also relied on the support of the landed aristocracy who was dominant in their regions that's why they got support from Unionist Party in rural areas for their success. Hence, it is clear that political parties keep in view the *biraderi* strength and domination of the candidates and works while issuing party ticket in elections.

**9. Political parties keep in view the vote bank of candidate's *biraderi* while issuing the party ticket.**

The above table describes that political parties keep in view the vote bank of candidate's *biraderi* while issuing him the party ticket. This assumption is also on

the supply side of the political recruitment. Basically the political process of democratization has not paved its path. The role of political parties is also undemocratic these are just interested in their success due to that these also select those contenders who may win in their respective *biraderies* on the bases of their vote bank. The more a *biraderi* gets the voters the more its chances to have the party tickets.

**10. If people do not vote to their *biraderies* they will be faced social boycott from their respective *biraderies*.**

The PBD table represents the results of the responses of the argument that if people do not vote to their *biraderies* they will be faced social boycott from their respective *biraderies*. At local bodies elections due to the close association of the people with each other as already described in this chapter people know it individually to which candidate, he /she voted. Even the balloting procedure is held confidentially. Due to that fear of social boycott people do not use their free will. In any kind of problem their respective *biraderi* do not support them who cast their vote against them or against the *biraderi* decision.

**11. People vote to their respective *biraderies* as it is a prestige matter for them to support them.**

The above data table portrays from the responses that people vote to their respective *biraderies* as it is a cachet or a prestige matter for them. As all the ethnic identities keep themselves distinguished from others same is in the case of *biraderi* politics. People due to sustain their pride, honour and reverence in the society does not go against their *biraderi* decisions. They consider it a matter of their status and prestige to vote to their respective *biraderies*.

**12. People vote to their respective *biraderies* as they think only their *biraderies* shelter them and solve their personal problems and conflicts, i.e. (Lands, *Pitwar*, *Thana*, *Kachehri*, employment)**

The PBD represents the fallouts of the responses of the argument that people vote to their respective *biraderies* as they think only their *biraderies* provide them shelter in troubles and solve their personal problems and clashes i.e. (Lands, *Pitwar*, *Thana*, *Kachehri*, employment). As the matter of fact, most people vote to their *biraderies* as they seek shelter and support from them in troubles or even in the matters related to local level formal institutions because these *biraderies* have access to these institutions. In the absence of the government institutions efficacy people do not have trust in them as a state is not helping them even in their genuine problems so the lack of confidence creates trust over their concerned *biraderies*. It is also a proverb in Punjabi that “*apna maray ga ta chawien sotay ga*” (If the relative ever hurt even then he cares).

**13. Political parties used the tool of delimitation for rearrangement of constituencies in elections to gain more votes from their respective *biraderies*.**

From the above data table, it signifies that Political parties used the tool of delimitation or rearrangement of constituencies in elections to gain more votes from their respective *biraderies*.

This is called “*Gerrymandering*” in political science. The political parties influence election commission and change the boundaries of the election constituencies to get

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their desired results in the elections. Basically, by doing this the political parties, in return, get a huge vote bank from the delimited areas. Mostly this is witnessed in military rules. Gerrymandering is a trademark of power politics. This tactic works for the self-interests of the party that is in power, and has become thoroughly embedded in the political process. That's why this segment is more witnessed in army rules as the authoritative ruler when want to be legitimised he done so, but it is not in developing countries where democracy is not rooted in political system then the political party that is in power do so.

**14. Only those *biraderies* take part in contesting the elections that are politically dynamic rather who are inactive in politics.**

The above data table indicates that only those *biraderies* take part in the elections that are politically dynamic rather who are inactive in politics. In district Toba Tek Singh mostly renowned *biraderies* take part in the electoral process, for example *Jatt, Arain, Sayed, Kharral* or *Beloch*, etc. there are a number of people who belongs to another *biraderies* but they do not come forward and to become the part of the realm of elections. That means people want only these *biraderies* to come forward who already part of the system and also dominating. If any other comes forward he / she is eliminated due to not having a vote bank.

**15. *Biraderism* becomes intensified in non-Party based elections.**

The PBD indicates that *Biraderism* becomes intensified in non-Party based elections. Whenever in history of Pakistan elections were held under military regimes they were on the bases of non-Party bases. Despite that, when civilian governments also support the local level elections the outcomes would be the same. In these elections the contenders have no any agenda, no any policy to attract the people rather than to support the ruler. So there is only one option remains at the credited potentials of the contender to use their riches and raise the *biraderi* prejudices and allure the voters. That's why in non-Party bases elections are ostensibly surged with *biraderism*. Previous studies on election politics also support this marvel, i.e. Wilder, Waseem, Tahir. The results of this data set also predict that non-Party based elections are flared the *biraderi* politics in the locales of District Toba Tek Singh. Even the *biraderies* mutually decided on the majority *biraderi* area and the minority of the other will support, and in turn they support the other in the same way.

**16. In Martial law rules, *Biraderism* has been promoted extensively in Toba Tek Singh.**

The above data table indicates the results of the replies of the argument that in Martial Law rules, *Biraderism* has been promoted extensively in Toba Tek Singh. This question statement correlates with the previous one as the non-party based elections were held in Martial Law regimes in the political history of Pakistan. During Ayub, Zia and Musharraf 's martial regimes the elections held on single party bases that support the Martial Law dictators. These parties have no any manifestos for people. That single party is also patronised by the dictator so the contestants promote *biraderism* to win. The results reveal the effectiveness of the district Toba Tek Singh that during Martial Laws the phenomenon of *biraderi* politics intensified and entrenched its roots.

**17. People vote on *biraderies* affiliations that may cause political, economic and social corruption in society.**

The PBD indicates that people vote on the base of *biraderies* affiliations that may cause political, economic and social corruption in society. The strong cohesion and solidarity in *biraderi* system leads towards corruption and venality. It can be divided into two dimensions, one is at the part of the elected *biraderi* as being a power full politician and second at the part of the demands of the voters who elected him. From first the first dimension the elected *biraderi* member wants to sustain his position along with becoming more powerful both for prestige and economic domination too, and second to satisfy the aspirations of the voters he uses his domination, authority to influence the state institutions so that to gratify the voters in order to re-elect by getting their support again in the next elections and sustain his fame. Whereas after electing most of the member's desire more political and economic authority and hence misuses their powers not only for their self-interest but to resolve the matters legal or illegality of the voters they use their influence to satisfy them. They recruit their favourite persons in government institutions and hence benefited from them.

**18. Politicians used their *biraderi* titles in elections to gain maximum votes.**

The PBD shows that Politicians used their *biraderi* titles in elections to gain maximum votes. That data set also depicts that contenders also used their *biraderi* titles to allure the voters. Brand names are used after their full names for example Mian Nur Allah *Arain* used with his name the "*biraderi title Arain*" in 1946 elections. Who defeated Pir Nasir-ud-Din according to Ian Talbot (1999) in the election 1946, Mian Nur-Allah had registered 8000 *Arain* votes in the voter list. This identification works as a trademark like *Sayed* always attach their *biraderi*'s brand name with (after or before) their actual names. He same is done by *Gadhies*, *Kharral*, *Dogers*, *Gujjars* and *Fityana* etc. From the demand side voters also aspire to the brand name of a family. This factor for Brand-name advantage is formed by voters, who might have an additional preference for hereditary candidates due to their family's generosity, prestige and goodness in their particular political area. (Hilde Van Liefferinge, Carl Dvos & Kristof Stayers, 2010) in their article support this argument that from demand side the brand-name or name identification is also very advantageous for the families or biraderies.

From the supply side, it is also a tactic to attract the voters in elections and it is also the psyche of the voters that they want to vote those to whom they are familiar earlier. The same is then seen at national or provincial level politics where this brand name is fully utilized. The name of Bhutto family has great effect on the minds of masses that's why after the death of Benazir Bhutto, Bilawal Zardari used the surname of Bhutto after his name and also become the successor of the Bhutto family. The title of Sharif is also highly projected and finely preserved by the daughter of Nawaz Sharif, Maryam Nawaz the Vice president of PMLN.

**19. The involvement of *Biraderism* in local level elections is affecting the process of democratization.**

The PBD illustrates that the involvement of *Biraderies* in local level elections is the main hurdle in the process of democratization. This over involvement of *biraderies*

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in local bodies elections is the main impediment in the consolidation of the democracy in the state.

At gross root level intensified involvement of the *biraderies* as the previous arguments do foresee is effected on the process of democratization. People agreed with the proposition as the voters are being dictated through *biraderi* politics and they are not able to come forward and vote on their own choice. As the emancipation powers of the individuals are kept by *biraderism* and sturdy cohesion within *biraderies*.

**20. *Biraderi* should not be considered in voting if you feel there is a need to promote democracy.**

It is also revealed from PBD that *Biraderi* bound should not be considered in voting if you feel there is a need to promote democracy. It is interesting that people knew and admitted that *biraderies* should not prefer in elections to promote the democracy, but even though people blindly follow their *biraderies* and seek shelter and asylum from their respective *biraderies* for their insecurities and lack of confidence and emancipation powers.

### Conclusion

Pakistan has been striving for the democratization of its political system since its beginning. The process of its democratization has been slow, inert and continued flimsy. It has high tendency to accommodate non-democratic forces in its system. Along with that, the repetitive episodes of military regimes divert its path of democratization. Consequently, Pakistan, especially Punjab and particularly in district Toba Tek Singh have been uninterruptedly failing to offer what a democratization process needs. The non-democratic social structures reflect themselves into the nature and structure of political institutions. Political institutions don't arise in a vacuum; they are a manifestation of social institutions. Political and social compositions interplay and influence each other. That is why; it is said that democracy is not superficial, but inner most phenomenon. It cannot implant rather it can be established and facilitated through a specific process of democratization.

There are many shortfalls of the existing system that may subsidize the *biraderi* politics. For example, Colonial inheritances and institutional imbalances support the phenomenon of *biraderi* politics is extending its roots from the British era. Pakistan has leased its governmental system, political and legal legacies from British rule. As for the concern of the administrative legacies, Punjab got high institutional discrepancies characterized with strong and organized civil and military bureaucracies. After a thorough study of the phenomenon of *biraderi* politics. It has been found that it is an intrinsic, coerced and deep rooted phenomenon. But it is a rejuvenated in existent manifested form by the colonial administration, but witnesses the unleashed effects of this phenomenon over Punjab. *Biraderi* Politics or "*Biraderism*" is a pinnacle insignia of Punjab and particularly in District Toba Tek Singh and probabilities of improvement are predicted very meagre in near future due to non-democratic structure and functional abilities. As the results show in Percentage Based Data Analysis of *Biraderi* Politics Questionnaire the political dynamical constraints contributing to this phenomenon are affecting the process of democratization as the will of the participant is captured and regulated by the

dynamics of *biraderi* politics. More to this the political and especially non-political governments let this phenomenon grow more and vigorously in political fabric of society.

More to that study explores that rural /urban, gender, caste and education, no any significant difference in the thinking of the people is shown this situation is attributing that individuals do not apart themselves from their respective identity prejudices, chauvinism, and bigotries. On the whole the widespread illiteracy, lack of a sizeable middle class due to a huge gap between both extremes (have or have not), lack of civil society and lack of political culture the state institutions due to their inability are the main hurdles that do not let this system of *biraderi* politics to be eroded or mild it. Rather, these institutions are contributing in polarization of the society by intensifying the *biraderi* identities. That is undermining the democratization process.

In the light of the findings of the survey, there are few recommendations how to speed up the democratization process and mild the effects of the political dynamics of *biraderi* politics. The democratization process in Pakistan to be reliant on the development of the political system that give a sagacity of ownership of the political process. The conversion from authoritarian rule to greater participation in the political process of democratization by shattering the cohesive bond of *biraderism*. This can only be feasible if the economic and social conditions of the people improve and progress. There is a need in academia of comparative studies on micro level the phenomenon under study so that to make better policies to deal with the phenomenon.

More to that there is a need to associate and impart the emancipating power of the individuals to assimilate them on their real preference bases in the political decision making process, in political parties, in elected bodies as on rational choice bases liberate them. Then will be the process of democratization can be pave the path and may boost its speed.

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