

# BEYOND VOTING



## Voices of The Electorates and Party Workers Election 2002

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VOICES OF THE ELECTORATES  
AND PARTY WORKERS  
ELECTION 2002

Based on Focus Group Discussions

Conceived and conducted by  
PATTAN Development Organization

Report Writing by  
Institute of Social Sciences, Lahore

## Vision

To have democratic and just society where all people enjoy equal economic, political, socio-cultural and religious rights, equitable opportunities & benefits of development process without any discrimination.

## Mission statement

PATTAN is committed to facilitating the participation of marginalized & isolated communities, groups and women in mainstream development and political processes through community mobilization, networking and advocacy for structural and policy change.

This Report is  
Dedicated to  
the People's Struggle  
for Dignity, Democracy  
and Social Justice

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ELECTION 2002

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## Glossary

<b>AT</b>	.....	.Awami Tehrik (Sindh)
<b>ANP</b>	.....	.Awami National Party
<b>BNM</b>	.....	.Balochistan National Movement
<b>BNP</b>	.....	.Balochistan National Party
<b>BZU</b>	.....	.Bahauddin Zikria University, Multan
<b>FGD</b>	.....	.Focus Group Discussion
<b>MP</b>	.....	.Millat Party
<b>MMA</b>	.....	.Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal
<b>MQM</b>	.....	.Muttahida Qaumi Movement
<b>NA</b>	.....	.National Alliance
<b>PPPP</b>	.....	.Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians
<b>PML-N</b>	.....	.Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
<b>PML-Q</b>	.....	.Pakistan Muslim League (Quaid-I-Azam)
<b>PTI</b>	.....	.Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf
<b>PkMAP</b>	.....	.Pakhtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party
<b>PML-F</b>	.....	.Pakistan Muslim League Functional
<b>PAT</b>	.....	.Pakistan Awami Tehrik
<b>PPP-S</b>	.....	.Pakistan People's Party Sherpao
<b>QAU</b>	.....	.Quaid-I-Azam University, Islamabad
<b>SDA</b>	.....	.Sindh Democratic Alliance

## Acknowledgements

This report is a part of a larger research exercise that was conducted to analyze different aspects of election 2002 in Pakistan.

To capture diversity and depth of a very complex process of electoral politics, a comprehensive research methodology was adopted. It incorporated both quantitative and qualitative research tools. This included review of literature, structured questionnaires, use of focus group discussions, content analysis of print and electronic media, monitoring of polling process and exit polling etc. The research study was divided in three phases: pre-poll, polling day and post-poll. The canvas of the research study was whole of Pakistan.

This study report is an outcome of the efforts of a large number of people; the most invaluable of them are the people of Pakistan who had participated in the focus group discussions. Of this, a vast number of them will remain anonymous. We are particularly indebted to workers and office bearers of different political parties for sharing their views and opinion with us.

We had with us research methodology experts, researchers and academics from the public universities and private institutes. In the field, about 150 persons had worked. Without their dedication, hard work and interest, it would not have been possible to accomplish a time bound field surveys and focus groups. We salute their contribution. We also highly appreciate voters (men and women) for their frank and honest participation in the survey exercise. Without their valuable contribution, the study would not have depth and diversity.

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The views expressed here and omissions, if there any, are of mine.

Sarwar Bari  
Study Team Leader and  
National Coordinator PATTAN

## 1. Introduction

PATTAN Development Organisation conducted a pre-poll and exit poll survey of the National and Provincial elections. The surveys produced some interesting findings regarding the thinking and behaviour of the Pakistani electorates and the conduct of elections. The post-poll survey was a logical follow-up to this exercise, and consisted of a quantitative survey as well as a qualitative study of the elections. The present report describes the results of the qualitative survey.

This study was designed to obtain opinion of voters and workers of different parties:

- 1 Conduct of election
- 1 Voting behaviour
- 1 Impact of elections on local government
- 1 Level of satisfaction of voters regarding elected representatives, political parties and government formation
- 1 Democracy and people's participation
- 1 Level of satisfaction of party workers regarding political parties

The research team conducted **195** focus groups in target locations throughout the country between November 2002 and January 2003. The data was organised by the PATTAN research teams, while the report was prepared by the Institute of Social Sciences. The results are summarized below.

## 2. Voting behaviour

Most respondents said that people took into consideration a variety of interests, including **personal, family, biraderi (kinship), locality, friendship, political, and religious affiliation** in casting their votes. Personal interests were frequently mentioned. A large number of respondents (mainly from poorer backgrounds) said that they voted to **improve their socio-economic conditions**, while many said that they considered voting a **national and moral duty**. Some respondents highlighted the role of **political factors**, the pressure of **influentials**, and the **influence of males on female** voting.

A large number of respondents from across the country and from different sections of society expressed **disappointment with the political process** as the major reason for not casting their vote. The second major reason given was **procedural problems**, including missing names in electoral lists and lack of identity cards. Other factors mentioned included constraints of **livelihood or health** and **lack of awareness** of the importance of voting. Factors **preventing women** from casting votes included **traditional attitudes of men**, particularly religious and tribal elders

in NWFP and Balochistan, and fear of **harassment**.

A number of respondents said that they voted for candidates of different parties out of **personal liking or relationships**. Some respondents said that they voted for candidates of different parties because of **pressure** to do so. Other respondents regarded this as a strategy to **fulfil their needs**. In some cases **political expediency** was mentioned as the motivating factor.

Most respondents said that decisions regarding whom to vote for were generally taken by the **biraderi, family** (often male head of household) or the **muhalla (neighbourhood)**. However, there were a few examples of persons voting on their **own choice**. Many men and women from across the country said that **women voted on the instructions of their menfolk**.

Most respondents said that people walked to cast **if the polling station was nearby**, and went on **vehicles (generally provided by candidates) to distant polling stations**. Respondents were **divided regarding the provision of transport** to voters by candidates, with many recommending provision of transport for distant polling stations and for the **sick, elderly and women**, and others advocating having **nearby polling stations** and **ban on provision of transport** to reduce corruption and facilitate poor voters and candidates. Some were of the view that people would vote for good candidates regardless of the availability of transport.

## 3. Success factors

Generally respondents identified a complex of factors rather than a single factor contributing to the success of a candidate. Most respondents from across the country said that **influence, family background, wealth and good character** played an important role in the success of a candidate. Many respondents, (more from Punjab) said that **keeping in touch** with people and helping them to **solve their problems** were also important factors in this regard.

The **use of money** was frequently cited as a factor in winning elections. Some respondents also mentioned **election campaigning** as a factor in success. Some **negative tactics** such as rigging, establishment's support and pressure by the influential also contributed to the success of various candidates. Respondents belonging to NWFP, Balochistan and Southern Punjab said that **clan affiliation, religion and feudalism** played an important role in the success of various candidates. A number of respondents from across the country mentioned **party affiliation** or **ideological factors** as important.

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## 4. Conduct of elections

The overwhelming majority of respondents from all parts of the country said that the elections were **not held in a fair and transparent manner**. Many respondents said that the elections were rigged to **help the PML-Q win**. A number of respondents mentioned how they were **prevented from voting** through lack of ID cards or removal of name from the voter's list. Some respondents from Balochistan expressed their **distrust about the neutrality of the army**. Some respondents mentioned casting of **bogus votes**. Many respondents, mostly from Southern Punjab, said that changes were made after the completion of polling, including **vote counting and announcement of results**.

Some respondents were of the view that rigging generally took place, but they were unable to give any **concrete evidence**. Some were **not sure** about the transparency of elections or rigging.

A large number of respondents, mainly from Southern Punjab (including many councillors who support the present government) said that the elections in their localities were **fair and transparent**. Some respondents said that the **success of opposition candidates** was an indication of fair elections. Others had **mixed views** - rigging at some level but not at others.

---

## 5. System of elections

A number of respondents from across the country expressed satisfaction with the **existing system of elections**, including **lowering of voters' age, condition of graduation, holding provincial and national elections simultaneously, and women's participation**. Some respondents opposed lowering the voters age limit and women's participation in election, while some felt that **only influential and rich people** could win in the present election system.

Most respondents felt that politics was dominated by a few **feudal and elite families**. Most felt that it took **money to be elected** and that the views of the poor were ignored.

Most believed that due to corruption and lack of respect for the law there was **no accountability** in politics. Some believed that the **army interfered** in the political process due to the inefficiency of politicians.

Most respondents felt that the present political system did not reflect public opinion, rather it represented the views and decisions of the **rich and feudal elite** and the **bureaucracy**. Some believed that even when they elected **councillors** of their choice, they were not given any powers.

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## 6. Democracy

Most respondents described democracy as the formation of a **government representing the people** and as **freedom of speech**, including the expression of opposing views. Some described democracy as a process in which problems were resolved through **dialogue and consensus**, while some described it as the provision of **basic necessities to the people**. Others described democracy as **justice** that was cheaply available and the same for all people. A few described democracy as **political awareness** or the **inclusion of people in organized political parties**.

Most respondents said that democracy was not possible without the **people's active participation**. Many said that by participating in the democratic process they could **elect officials** who would serve them and look after their interests. Some felt that people's participation was necessary because only they could **properly represent themselves** and their problems. Through participation, **power was transferred** to the people and problems could be solved. Some respondents said that participation in the democratic process resulted in people having a say in the **decision-making process**.

A number of respondents said that **active participation of women** was critical to the success of the democratic process. Some felt that the establishment of the **rule of law and the rights of people** was essential for democracy. Others said that democracy depended on the formation of truly **democratic parties** that followed democratic principles themselves.

Most people were **not satisfied** with the current state of democracy in the country, because of the **suppression of the poor** by dominant elites, **misuse of office** for personal interests, **suppression of opposition**, and the control of the process by the **army**. Suggestions to make the democratic process successful included raising the level of education and **educating people** about democracy, including through the use of **media**. Other suggestions included **cooperation** amongst ruling and opposition parties, **rooting out corruption, keeping army out of politics**, and supporting the **local government system**.

---

## 7. Women's participation in political process

Most respondents said that **women's participation** in politics was a **positive change** and a good step. They felt that it **would facilitate development work for women**, especially rural women. Some respondents said that women's participation in politics would have **negative effects or none at all**. Most respondents advocated that women should be chosen by **direct vote** by the people instead of getting selected on party seats, while some favoured the existing system of **indirect election** of women on reserved seats.

Most respondents said that women's inclusion in government would have a **number of positive effects**. A number of respondents said that women would be able to **protect the rights** and **solve their problems** more effectively. Only one group said that men would face **difficulties in approaching women representatives** for help.

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## 8. Impact of elections on local government

A number of respondents expressed **apprehensions** about the impact of elections on the local government system, fearing that the district government would become **dependent on MNAs and MPAs**. However, some were more **hopeful** in this regard if the district governments were provided **necessary powers and funds**. Some were of the view that the local government system was formed to **shift the responsibilities of the government** to the local councillors.

A number of respondents said that **MNAs and MPAs should legislate** whereas the local **councillors should solve the local problems**. However, some respondents said that MNAs, MPAs and local councillors should **work together to solve the problems** of the people.

Most respondents were of the view that since the elected representatives at various levels were **related** to each other, they would **cooperate** with each other. However, some expressed frustration about elected representatives being from the same family and politics being **dominated by a few families**.

Some respondents said that the relationship between local government and MNA/MPA were **not friendly** because they were hostile to one another on political basis. A number of respondents felt that politicians were absorbed in **revengeful politics** while ignoring the problems of the people.

The majority of respondents felt that conflicts between the elected representatives would have a **negative impact on development work**. However, a number of respondents expressed the hope that the representatives will **put their differences aside** and work for the betterment of the country. Some respondents said that the democratic governments should be **allowed to complete their tenure**.

---

## 9. Formation of central government and expectations from successful candidates and new government

Many respondents from across the country expressed **confidence in the successful candidates**. Some

expressed **positive hopes** from the successful candidates. On the other hand many respondents from across the country expressed **disenchantment** with the successful candidates. Many of them were **wary of candidates' past digressions** and had a suspicious attitude towards them. Some were **not sure**, while some exhorted the elected representatives to **change for the better**.

Many respondents expressed **positive expectations** from the newly elected people at the national level, with some expressing positive hopes from the MMA candidates. On the other hand many respondents from across the country were **not hopeful** of anything positive coming out of the national elections. Many expressed **suspicion of the elections** and its outcome, specially pointing out that the government had used its influence, especially by **supporting the PML-Q**, while some thought that the **agencies supported the MMA**. Some respondents said that they were only aware of local candidates and had **no idea** about national parties.

Most respondents from across the country felt that the process of formation of central government was engineered by the military government to **bring the PML-Q into power**. However, a number of respondents from Southern Punjab (mostly councillors), expressed **satisfaction over the outcome** of the formation of the government.

Respondents were found divided when asked about their expectations from the new government. While many from across the country said that **things would improve** with the formation of the new government, and some expressed the hope that the new government would **continue the policies of Pervez Musharraf** and many respondents from NWFP and Punjab expressed a **lack of hope** from the new government. Several respondents wanted to adopt a **wait and see attitude**, while others expressed the **hope that the new government would succeed**. Several respondents expressed the hope that the new government would do something about **American influence and image** in Pakistan.

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## 10 Political parties and workers

Most party workers cited party **ideology** and **manifesto, pro-people progressive policies**, impressive **personality of leadership, family affiliation** and **struggle and sacrifices** for restoration of democracy as the major reasons for party affiliation, while workers of religious parties mentioned **religious policies** and family affiliation. Families of most party workers were attached to one or the other political party due to **attachment of elders** and **pressure by the head of the family**. Other reasons included **ideological affiliation** and better **manifesto, good leadership** and **personal liking**. Most party workers said that they

had **not changed their political affiliations**. Those workers who had changed affiliations cited **poor performance** and **lack of intra-party democracy** as the main reasons for leaving their previous party.

Most workers said that they served their parties through voluntary donation of **time, money and services**. They organized and registered **new members** of the party at grass roots level, publicised **party programme** in the public and participated in **social welfare activities**.

Most workers expressed **satisfaction** with the way their parties were being run. They said that the **membership procedures** were adequate, **elections** were held **regularly**, decisions were taken by **majority vote**, parties had separate **women wings**, and a **good and caring leadership**. They appreciated the **process of decision making** in the party. Most said that they were **consulted**, and were satisfied with the party **policies and manifestos**. However, workers of some mainstream parties said that their expectations were **not fulfilled as the party manifesto was not followed** and **decision-making process was unsatisfactory**.

Party workers identified the following issues that were highlighted by their parties: **unemployment**, lack of **education** and **health facilities**, **high prices**, non-availability of **gas, water and electricity**, and negative behavior of **feudals and police**.

There were significant variations in the level of **satisfaction** of party workers with the **performance** of their parties in the 2002 **elections**. The **religious parties** and the BNP expressed the greatest amount of **satisfaction**, while the remaining party workers were generally **not satisfied** or only partially satisfied. The overwhelming majority of workers expressed **satisfaction** with the way the **party tickets** were distributed.

The majority of workers said that they wanted to see their own party as the **biggest** and the **ruling party** of the country that would struggle to **restore and strengthen democracy** in Pakistan.

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## 11. Conclusions

The study is an **indictment** of the electoral process. There is widespread disenchantment with the political process, and an increasing feeling among people that no matter who is elected, it will not make any difference to their lives. This situation also provides an opportunity for democratic political parties to organize themselves, mobilize the people, and work towards the establishment of a truly democratic Pakistan. The struggle is likely to be long, but do we have any other choice?

**BEYOND VOTING**

VOICES OF THE ELECTORATES AND PARTY WORKERS  
ELECTION 2002



Chapter 1  
*Introduction*

## Chapter 1

# Introduction

### 1.1 Background and Objectives

PATTAN Development Organisation conducted a pre-poll and exit poll survey of the National and Provincial elections. The surveys, which were of a pioneering nature, produced some interesting findings regarding the thinking and behaviour of the Pakistani electorate and the conduct of elections. The post-poll survey was a logical follow-up to this exercise, and consisted of a quantitative survey as well as a qualitative study of the elections. The present report describes the results of the qualitative survey.

This study was designed to ascertain opinion of voters and workers and office-bearers of different political parties on the following issues:

- 1 Conduct of election
- 1 Determinants of voting behaviour
- 1 Participation of women in the electoral process
- 1 Impact of elections on local government
- 1 Level of satisfaction of voters regarding elected representatives, political parties and government formation
- 1 Democracy and people's participation
- 1 Level of satisfaction of party workers regarding political parties

The report describes the methodology of the study, the problems involved in data collection, and presents the findings of the study comprising eight chapters, covering all the above-mentioned topics. Each chapter summarizes the views of the respondents, and provides verbal evidence of their summarized views. The results have been presented keeping in view certain key variables, e.g. location (urban-rural, district), gender, target group (e.g. voter, student, etc.)

### 1.2 Research Methodology

The research study involved training of the research team, collection and organisation of data, conversion of organised data into Urdu, and report writing. The research team, consisting of PATTAN staff and some partner NGOs, attended a training workshop on focus

group research (12-14 November 2002) in Lahore conducted by the Institute of Social Sciences. The training included preparation of FGD topic guides, practice of skills in the classroom and a nearby community, feedback on moderator performance, and practice in organising data for the focus group report. They learnt how to identify key information from a focus group and provide verbal evidence of this information.

The research team conducted 195 focus groups in the target locations throughout the country (see Table 1) between November 2002 and January 2003. Some research topics were conducted with all target groups (e.g. voter behaviour and conduct of elections) while some topics such as democracy were only conducted with specific groups with greater knowledge of the issues (see **Annex 1** for details).

The team then assembled in the PATTAN office in Multan to organise the data with the assistance of the ISS training staff. Data related to the same question from different focus groups was cut and pasted on charts, along with identification information (location, target group).

In the next stage the ISS research team further organised the data so that similar responses of different focus groups were put together. During this process they also translated the data into English. In the last stage the author of this report and the ISS team leader prepared the report with the assistance of his colleagues.

### 1.3 Observations on Political Parties During Data Collection

While reviewing the process of data collection the research team members made a number of comments (detailed responses in Table 2):

Office bearers attended FGDs instead of party workers in many cases.

The PML-Q and the PML-N, and to a lesser extent the PPP, were the most disorganised parties, with many of them lacking proper organisational structure

**Table 1: Showing district-wise Focus Group held with different political parties**

District	PPPP	PML-N	PML-Q	MMA	PTI	NA	PKMAP	MQM	PML-F	PAT	BNP	PPP-S	SDA	NAPP	BNM	ANP	Total
Islamabad	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Rawalpindi	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Attock	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Qujrat	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Hafizabaad	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Narowal	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Lahore	1	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
Vehari	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Jhang	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Sahiwal	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Mianwali	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Bhakkar	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
D.I.Khan	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
D.G.Khan	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Rajanpur	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Bahawalpur	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Multan	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Faisalabad	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Sargodha	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Muzafarghar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Khanewal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Quetta	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	6
Khuzdar	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	3
Kech-Gawader	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Peshwar	1	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	9
Haripur	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Nowshera	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	5
Mardan	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4
Kohat	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3
Karachi	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8
Hyderabad	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Larkana	1	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Tharparker	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3
Sanghar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Mansohra	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>123</b>

and office space, not turning up for FGDs after giving time, and workers having confusion about party affiliations (between the PML-Q and the PML-N and PPP Parliamentarians and Patriots and their policies. (The PPPP was relatively more organised in conducting FGDs).

The team often experienced difficulties in reaching workers through party offices. A number of workers (more of the PPPP) expressed an emotional attachment with their leaders. Most of the well-organised parties (e.g. MQM and some religious parties) were unwilling to attend FGDs without leadership approval

**Some other observations:**

- 1 Party workers were critical of party leadership (PPPP, PTI, PML-N, PML-Q)
- 1 PATTAN's exit poll was criticised by the PML-Q.
- 1 Religious leaders were apprehensive of being converted to Christianity (MMA)
- 1 Some respondents asked what they would get for the interview, while some expressed a desire for their name to be included in the report.
- 1 FGDs with religious parties helped clarify the role of NGOs. Now they have become aware of the work of NGOs.

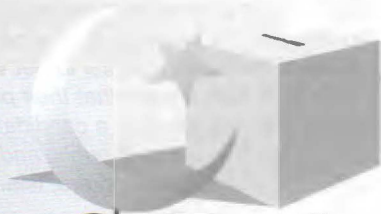
**Table 2: Observations about Political Parties in Organising Focus Groups**

	PML-Q	PML-N	PPPP	JUI	JI	MQM	MP	JUP	PTI	SDA	PPP-S	PML-F	PAT	ANP	PKMAP	BNM
Parties do not have proper offices	SPN	N	PN	P			P			S						
Office bearers attended instead of party workers	SPN	PN	PB	N	PN			P	P	S	N			N	B	B
Gave time but did not turn up	PN	PN	PBN	N	P	S			P							
Workers unaware of party policies	SPN	SN	SP	B			P			S						
Party office bearers but no workers	PNB	SB			S		B		PB	S				N		
No proper organisational structure of party	SB	SB	BN				P			S	N					
Parties more organised in conducting FGDs			SP	S	N	S		PS			N		P	N	B	B
Difficulty in reaching workers through party offices	SPN	SPN	PNB	B	P				P							
Party workers confused about their affiliation	SPN	SPN	P													
Party offices in madrasah or masjid				SPB	S			SP								
Emotional attachment to party leaders		P	SPN	S		S	P		P				P	N	B	B
Office bearers insisting to be interviewed	S		PB	NB						S						
Workers unwilling to attend FG without leadership approval	P			B	P	S		P								
Workers express their weaknesses			NB		P				P					N		B
Worker of one party but in the office of another party	SP	SP	P													
Mixed FG of men and women	P	P							P							
Hesitation of party workers to disclose affiliations	N						P									

S= Sindh, P=Punjab, N= NWFP, B=Balochistan

**BEYOND VOTING**

VOICES OF THE ELECTORATES AND PARTY WORKERS  
ELECTION 2002



Chapter 2  
*Voting Behaviour*

## Chapter 2

# Voting Behaviour

*"We labourers have been helpless for past 56 years. No one has the courage to change our fortune. The capitalist invests his capital to get votes, while the voters vote with a hope that their problems may be solved. We see whether a candidate will be helpful in doing collective tasks of public and achieving basic rights."* - urban male workers, Islamabad

*"I wanted to give my opinion. In politics everyone gets a chance to give one's opinion that's why I cast my vote."* - urban housewife, Muzaffargarh

The following questions were explored under this topic:

- 1 Why do some voters cast their votes while others do not?
- 1 Why do people in some areas cast their vote for a provincial assembly candidate belonging to one party and for National Assembly candidate belonging to another party?
- 1 Who decides whom to vote for?
- 1 How do voters get to polling stations?

### 2.1 Reasons for voting

Most respondents from across the country said that people took into consideration a **variety of interests**, including personal, family, *biraderi* (kinship), locality, friendship, political, and religious affiliation while casting their vote.

*"People vote due to friendship, relationships, party or on some one else's persuasion."* (small farmers, Sargodha; educated unemployed youth, Hyderabad rural, Larkana; male students Larkana, Multan; working women, Quetta, Peshawar, Islamabad; urban male factory workers, Rawalpindi)

*"They are candidates' relatives, friends or associated with political parties."* (urban labourers, Peshawar; female university students, Multan)

*"I voted as my cousin/uncle was contesting the*

*elections."* (urban housewives, Muzaffargarh)

*"Some people have made promises to parties."* (working women, Quetta, Peshawar, Islamabad)

*"People vote due to their personal and collective interests."* (minorities, Quetta, Islamabad, Tharparker)

*"People take personal, collective & political advantages."* (small farmers, women councillors, Jhang; female university students, Multan)

*"People vote for the personality, biraderi, welfare of the state, political and personal interests."* (labourers, landless farmers, Multan, Peshawar)

*"People vote due to political and religious commitment, friendship or relationship with the candidate and pressure from some candidates or party."* (technocrats, Karachi)

*"People vote keeping in mind their personal, familial, regional interests, biraderi & political party."* (students, Multan, Larkana; rural factory workers, Multan)

*"Biradari heads decide to vote for a particular person and rest of the members follow them."*

*"Most people cast vote on the personality of a candidate, while some think that people vote on the basis of Piri Muridi (saint and follower) and relationships."* (farm labourers, skilled males)

*"Because of factions in rural areas, people have to join some group so that they can solve their problems through them, thus more votes are cast in the villages."*

*"Some people vote because candidates approach them personally."* (rural women councillors, Muzaffargarh)

*Some respondents, mainly from Southern Punjab, laid greater emphasis on political considerations.*

*"People have been voting for the same party since generations."* (female university students, Multan)

"People vote to make candidate/party strong & successful." (women councillors, Jhang)

"I voted to get rid of military rule and promote democracy." (urban women councillors, Muzaffargarh, Jhang; rural male councillors, Khanewal)

"I vote with the hope that perhaps political govt. may give importance to women councillors." (urban women councillors, Muzaffargarh)

"In some cases decision to vote is made on the basis of political affiliations" (urban male factory workers, Rawalpindi)

A large number of respondents (mainly from poorer backgrounds) said that they voted to improve their socio-economic conditions.

"I vote so that some one understands our problems and solve them in a better way. I vote to have prosperity, elimination of poverty and unemployment and reduction in inflation in the country." (urban women councillors, Jhang)

"I vote so that the big problems of my country are reduced." (farmers, farm labourers, skilled persons, Multan)

"I vote so that my country/area/basti can be developed." (urban housewives, Muzaffargarh; urban women councillors, Muzaffargarh; urban male councillors, Muzaffargarh, Jhang)

"People vote so that their area is represented and their problems are solved." (rural women councillors, Khanewal, Jhang, Muzaffargarh; rural male councillors, Khanewal; housewives, Muzaffargarh)

"People want to choose better representatives." (small farmers, women councillors, Jhang)

"I voted to choose good representatives. I want to make successful better personalities of Khanewal. I want to see my favourite party successful." (rural male councillors, Khanewal)

"I want to choose my favourite candidate." (small rural shopkeepers, Mianwali; farmers, farm labourers, skilled persons, Multan; urban women councillors, Jhang)

"People think their vote is a power to change economic and political situation." (urban labourers Peshawar)

"The candidates assure the voters that they will make developmental plans, e.g. metalled roads for them. It is based on give and take basis."

A number of respondents from different parts of the country said that they considered voting a **national and moral duty**.

"Vote is a sacred thing; casting vote is a moral duty." (rural women councillors, Khanewal, Muzaffargarh; urban housewives and women councillors, Muzaffargarh; farmers, farm labourers, skilled persons, Multan; male factory workers, Rawalpindi; male university students, Multan; small rural shopkeepers, Mianwali)

"Vote is a national duty; cast it in spite of sickness." (small farmers, Sargodha; women councillors, Jhang)

"Most people in our area cast vote and take interest in politics" (urban shopkeepers, Turbat; Mianwali)

A large number of respondents from different parts of the country said that people voted to fulfil **personal interests alone**.

"To take personal advantages. Sometimes people are involved in court cases. Sometimes revengeful politics is also a factor. People vote for a person having authority so as to use him for their police and court cases." (rural shopkeepers, Mianwali)

"To get financial benefits." (urban male factory workers, Rawalpindi; urban shopkeepers, Turbat)

"In some areas votes are cast as voters have attended feasts arranged by candidates." (farm workers, Multan)

"People do not vote for political reasons or political interests. They vote for a particular candidate for personal vested interest and greed e.g. perhaps they will get jobs or some money." (urban male labourer, Quetta)

"People vote to get benefits, e.g. jobs, Zakat, dowry fund." (women councillors, Jhang)

"People vote for candidates who solve their personal problems." (minority females, Islamabad)

"They take money from the party."

Some respondents said that people voted because of **pressures of influential** or **religious** reasons.

"People have to vote for local feudal and pir." (rural women councillors, Muzaffargarh)

"Some people vote for pirs because they respect them greatly and not voting for them is considered a sin."

"People vote on the persuasion of influential. The

*people are under their influence and are helpless.”*  
(farm workers, Hyderabad)

*“As poor cannot participate in politics only rich can. They (candidates) make false promises (greed) that they will work for poor, give them jobs, money and poor are also afraid of rich and so vote for them helplessly.”*

*“This time people considered religion also and voted for religious parties.”*

*“The Maulvis misled voters in the name of religion. They changed the electoral symbol of book into the Holy book Quran.”* (factory workers, Rawalpindi)

Some respondents said that **women voted according to the decisions of the male** household head.

*“Women live in extended families of 15-20 members where one male makes decisions and the rest of the family accepts it. For voting, the head of the family meets the selected candidates and their supporters and the candidate from whom some gains are expected. Some people vote for new candidates with a new hope, that perhaps they will get some benefit or solve some problems.”* (minority women voters, Islamabad)

*“Women cast their vote under the pressure of their men.”* (working women, Quetta, Peshawar, Islamabad)

*“I vote on the instructions of my husband/family.”*  
(urban housewives, Muzaffargarh)

*“Some women vote on the instructions of their husbands or neighbours.”* (rural male councillors, Khanewal; urban women councillors, Muzaffargarh; urban working women, Jhang)

Very few respondents mentioned the qualities of a candidate.

*“I was motivated by the attractive speeches of the candidates... I think new people are educated. I expect something better from them, wanted to try new faces.”* (urban housewives, Muzaffargarh)

## Summary

Most respondents said that people took into consideration a variety of interests, including **personal, family, biraderi (kinship), locality, friendship, political, and religious affiliation** when casting their vote. Personal interests were frequently mentioned. A large number of respondents (mainly from poorer backgrounds) said that they voted to **improve their socio-economic conditions**, while many said that they considered voting a **national and moral duty**. Some respondents highlighted the role of **political factors**, the pressure of **influential**, and the **influence of males on female** voting. Religion and personal qualities of candidates were mentioned

by very few respondents.

## 2.2 Reasons for not voting

*“Nobody listens to the poor. Why should they cast vote?”* (rural women councillors, Muzaffargarh, Sargodha)

To the question why some people did not cast their votes most respondents said that people were fed up with politicians and elections, and were disappointed with the political process. Other reasons included people's lack of awareness of the importance of vote, faulty voters lists, inadequate security and election arrangements, defamation of political parties by the military and bureaucracy, departure of winning candidates from locality, and prevention of women from voting by religious and tribal groups.

A large number of respondents from across the country and from different sections of society expressed **disappointment with the political process**:

*“People are fed up with politicians because they make false promises.”* (rural women councillors, Muzaffargarh, Sargodha, Jhang; rural male councillors, DG Khan, Khanewal; farm workers, Hyderabad; male urban labourers, Peshawar; minority female, Tharparker; male university students, Multan; housewives, Muzaffargarh; female students, Multan, Larkana; technocrats, Quetta; shopkeepers, Mianwali, Khuzdar; women workers, Peshawar)

*“I was disappointed by the politicians. I did not expect that any new person would work for the betterment of people. As some persons were contesting elections I didn't vote for them. Though people were new, in reality the old faces were replaced by new faces. As my political consciousness had increased I did not vote for the same person.”* (male and female university students, Multan)

*“People are fed up with frequent elections because elections do not solve their problems.”* (Unemployed educated youth, Larkana; urban male labourers, Quetta; farm labourers, Hyderabad, Multan, Peshawar; male and female university students, Multan; small farmers, Sargodha; working women, Quetta, Peshawar, Islamabad; technocrats, Karachi, Quetta; shopkeepers, Khuzdar, Turbat; minority, Quetta)

*“Increased inflation, corruption, the country is under debt that's why people have no trust on politics, politicians and elections.”*

*“In rural areas people who come into politics and power make their opponents victim of police and court, suppress the poor and increase their problems.”*

*“Every elected representative is corrupt and does not*

work." (male university students, Multan)

"What have previous leaders done, and what will present leaders do. The candidates win elections and go away; the problems of the public remain unresolved. That's why people do not expect much from them." (small farmers, Tando Allah Yar)

"The businessmen, shopkeepers and workers do not cast vote as it is of no use. It will increase expenditure that means more taxes and inflation." (women councillors, Jhang)

"Military and bureaucracy has defiled the political parties. Thus people have a tendency to stay away from political activities." (shopkeepers, Khuzdar)

"People believe that instead of election, selection is done here." (minorities, Quetta; women workers, Peshawar)

"Voter has no interest now because his point of view is not valued. People are disappointed by the value of the vote. When vote is not valued then there is no use of casting it." (rural male councillors, D.G.Khan)

"Most educated persons do not cast their votes. On election day they watch T.V or go out for picnic." (minorities, Quetta)

"Our relatives cannot contest elections; no party gives us any money. The winner will do nothing for us. Therefore, to vote or not to vote will not make any difference." (small farmers, Sargodha)

A large number of respondents from across the country mentioned **procedural problems** in casting votes.

"ID card is lost or not issued." (urban male shopkeepers, Turbat; women councillors, Jhang; unemployed educated youth, Larkana; shopkeepers, Turbat, Mianwali)

"The poor can not afford to get ID cards because the procedure is very difficult and they cannot go again and again to get ID card." (male university students Multan)

"Voters' lists are faulty. Wrong entries of names and ages in the list. This prevents people from using their votes." (rural women councillors, Jhang, Muzaffargarh; rural male councillors, Khanewal; urban male shopkeepers, Turbat; minority women, Islamabad; urban housewives, Muzaffargarh; male university students Multan)

"We stood in a long queue and when we reached to cast the vote, our names were not on the list. Then we came to know that our vote was listed at another polling station. It wasted a lot of time." (urban unemployed educated youth, Lahore)

"I took my daughter-in-law to cast vote, tried to find her name in all lists but in vain and we came back without casting vote." (women councillor, Jhang)

"The method of postal ballot was complicated for govt. employees; therefore some could not cast their votes."

"Though I am 23 years old but my name was not entered in voters' list. I had no ID card." (male university student, Multan)

Factors preventing women from casting votes included traditional attitudes of men, particularly religious and tribal elders in NWFP and Balochistan, and **fear of harassment**.

"Often women are imprisoned in their houses and cannot go out. They have no information about politics and politicians. Therefore, they have no interest in casting the vote. Besides this they have domestic problems. The work load at home is so heavy that they do not have any spare time for voting and purdah is also a problem. Some women vote on their men's persuasion. If they forbid women they do not go for voting." (urban women workers, Quetta)

"The young girls are afraid of misbehaviour at polling stations and do not go to cast votes. Some families do not allow women to go for polling due to religious traditions" (women councillors, Jhang)

"Religious families and people residing in tribal areas do not allow their women to cast votes." (minorities, Quetta; women workers, Peshawar)

"Lack of security prevents people from casting their vote." (women workers, Peshawar)

Some women also pinned their hopes on the local councillors as opposed to provincial and national representatives.

"People think that representatives of local governments can be more helpful in solving their problems." (rural women workers, Hyderabad)

Some respondents mentioned the **constraints of livelihood or health**.

"Voters are sick or old." (shopkeepers, Turbat, Mianwali)

"The poor are busy in earning their livelihood and are unable to cast their vote." (male university students Multan)

"Many people have gone to Karachi to work. They cannot cast their votes." (shopkeepers, Mianwali)

Some respondents mentioned **lack of awareness of**

### the importance of voting.

"People are not aware of the importance of vote so they abstain from using their votes." (rural women councillors, Khanewal, Muzaffargarh; rural male councillors, Khanewal; technocrats, Karachi, Quetta; shopkeepers, Khuzdar)

"People lack political awareness." (male urban labourers, Peshawar; technocrats, Quetta)

A few respondents also mentioned the factor of uncertainty regarding the holding of elections.

"There was uncertainty till the last moment whether the election will be held or not. Both voters and candidates were not sure about holding of elections on the fixed date, that's why candidates' campaign of motivating people was slow." (female university students, Multan)

#### Summary

A large number of respondents from across the country and from different sections of society expressed **disappointment with the political process** as the major reason for not casting their vote. The second major reason given was **procedural problems**, including missing names in electoral lists and lack of identity cards. Other factors mentioned included constraints of **livelihood or health** and **lack of awareness** of the importance of voting. Factors **preventing women** from casting votes included **traditional attitudes of men**, particularly religious and tribal elders in NWFP and Balochistan, and fear of **harassment**.

### 2.3 Reasons for voting for candidates of different parties

A number of respondents said that they voted for candidates of different parties in the elections for National and Provincial Assemblies out of **personal liking or relationships**.

"People vote because of their personal relationship. Thus they may vote for two candidates belonging to different parties." (housewives, Muzaffargarh; male labourers, Hyderabad; unemployed females, Hyderabad)

"People do so to please two different candidates." (women councillors, Muzaffargarh; labourers, Rawalpindi)

"Some people vote on the basis of their liking." (female students, Multan)

Some respondents said that they voted for candidates of different parties because of pressure to do so.

"People promise to vote for particular candidates." (women councillors, Muzaffargarh)

"People vote for different candidates due to social pressure." (labourers, Rawalpindi)

"People do so because of pressure by local influential." (male students, Multan; women workers, Peshawar; shopkeepers, Khuzdar)

Other respondents regarded this as a strategy to **fulfill their needs**.

"In village people vote for different parties to please them and to get their problems solved." (women councillors, Muzaffargarh)

"In our area we voted for an independent candidate for the National Assembly and for a party for the provincial assembly. It was our men's decision." (rural women, Sindh)

"For the National Assembly people voted for the party which they hoped would work on legislation and for provincial party, a candidate who could solve their local and regional problems." (urban trade union, Peshawar)

In some cases **political expediency** was mentioned as the motivating factor.

"Some people did so because of seat adjustment by their parties." (male students, Multan; male labourers, Hyderabad; professionals, Karachi; shopkeepers, Khuzdar)

"Popular local leaders contest election from the platform of two different parties and people vote for them." (women councillors, Jhang)

"Party gave ticket to a wrong person." (professionals, Karachi)

#### Summary

A number of respondents said that they voted for candidates of different parties out of **personal liking or relationships**. Some respondents said that they voted for candidates of different parties because of **pressure** to do so. Other respondents regarded this as a strategy to **fulfil their needs**. In some cases **political expediency** was mentioned as the motivating factor.

### 2.4 Who decides whom to vote for

"I know that in many households women are not only forced to vote but also ordered to vote for a specific person."

Most respondents said that decisions regarding whom to vote for were generally taken by the **biraderi**,

**family** (often male head of household) or the *muhalla* (**neighbourhood**).

*"Heads of biraderi or local Biraderi or households decide, so they can make the candidates do their work. In some villages each biraderi decides together and give responsibility to one person."* (urban shopkeepers, Mianwali; farm/factory workers, rural Multan; small farmers, Tando Allah Yar; rural male councillors, Khanewal; rural women councillors, Muzaffargarh; technocrats, Quetta; male/female university students, Multan)

*"The head/biraderies decides whom to vote for. It is not an order and also every individual is independent."* (female university students, Multan)

*"People vote on instruction of Sardars."* (rural male councillors, D.G.Khan; urban house wives, Muzaffargarh)

*"Ten to fifteen days before election a congregation of the biraderi is held and the head with others' consultation decides whom to vote for. We obey the household head and vote on his instructions as it involves his honour. Some times the biraderi is divided and votes are also divided."* (farm workers, Multan)

*"Muhalla walas decided together whom to vote for? Four or five men in the village gathered other men by an announcement and decided about the vote. Biraderi men gather and consult each other regarding the vote."* (urban women councillors, Muzaffargarh)

*"I voted on the instructions of my neighbours."* (urban housewives, Muzaffargarh)

*"In some areas all the street men and Mohalla walas decide together whom to vote for."* (technocrats, Quetta; urban women councillors, Muzaffargarh)

Most respondents said that decisions regarding whom to vote for were generally taken by the **biraderi**, **family** (often male head of household) or the *muhalla* (**neighbourhood**).

However, there were a few examples of persons voting on their **own choice**.

*"Some people vote on their own and do not listen to the biraderi or head."* (urban house-wives, Muzaffargarh, rural male councillors, Khanewal)

*"We decide ourselves by observing the personality of the candidate."* (urban male factory workers, Rawalpindi; urban shopkeepers, Turbat)

A large number of people, including men and women from different parts of the country, said that **women voted on the instructions of their men folk**.

*"The family head tells women and youth whom to vote for."* (urban shopkeepers, Mianwali)

*"We do what our male members decide to do."* (urban working women, Quetta)

*"Our elders say that whom to vote for is family's point of view."* (urban working women, Peshawar; urban women councillors, Jhang)

*"Females only vote on the instructions of men."* (female university students, Multan; urban house-wives, Muzaffargarh; technocrats, Quetta)

*"Women vote on instructions of their husband or father-in-law."* (urban women councillors, Jhang; rural women councillors, Muzaffargarh)

*"Young women vote after consulting their fathers or friends. A Muslim woman never votes against the decision of her man."* (urban women councillors, Jhang)

*"Women have no knowledge of a candidate, as they are uneducated."* (urban women councillors, Jhang, Muzaffargarh; rural women councillors, Muzaffargarh; rural male councillors, Khanewal)

*"Females do not possess political awareness that's why votes are cast on males' instructions."* (rural male councillors, Khanewal)

*"In cities educated families consult each other."* (urban working women, Peshawar)

*"When candidates come they meet the household heads. If the heads promise to vote for a candidate, they order the rest of the family especially women to vote for him. We have to honour their commitments. Making decisions is the job of a man. Our men decided to vote for the candidate who promised to give Sui gas and ownership rights and ordered the women to vote for him."* (minority females, Islamabad)

## Summary

Most respondents said that decisions regarding whom to vote for were generally taken by the **biraderi**, **family** (often male head of household) or the *muhalla* (**neighbourhood**). However, there were a few examples of persons voting on their **own choice**. Many men and women from across the country said that **women voted on the instructions of their men folk**.

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## 2.5 How do People Reach Polling Stations?

*"It is interesting that our politicians do not greet*

people after winning or even in routine. But as the election days are near they call people as their "Jigar Ka Tukra" and provide them transport, even take ordinary people in their costly cars for voting. And after winning they refuse transport to people." (urban male workers, Quetta)

"We used the transport of one candidate and voted for another candidate and came back on foot as our candidate was not very resourceful and could not provide transport." (urban male trade union workers, Peshawar)

"People used to vote even going on foot. Now there is no spirit. The distance of polling stations does not matter." (rural male councillors, D.G Khan)

Respondents were asked how they reached the polling stations. Most respondents from across the country said that they **cast their votes after reaching the polling station on foot** if it was nearby, and went on **vehicles (generally provided by candidates)** to distant polling stations.

"As the polling stations are near we go on foot and cast votes." (skilled farmers/labourers, Multan; urban trade union workers, Peshawar)

"In our area people went to polling stations on foot. In fact they have such a spirit to make party successful that they did not care for the transport." (urban women councillors, Jhang)

"Most people went on foot while very few people went on vehicles as polling stations were nearby." (small farmers, Sargodha; minority women, Islamabad; urban trade union workers, Peshawar; urban factory workers, Rawalpindi; technocrats, Quetta)

"In my area people went themselves to vote for their favourite candidates." (rural male councillors, Khanewal)

"Although transport was available, people either went on foot or used own transport." (rural women councillors, Sargodha)

"People went to polling stations on foot with happiness and excitement because they had the spirit to vote. They did not give any importance to a vehicle to vote for their favourite candidate." (urban women councillor, Jhang)

"Here people go to the nearby polling stations themselves, especially males. If a polling station is far away then party or candidates provide the transport." (urban shopkeepers, Turbat; urban women workers, Quetta; female university students, Larkana; rural male factory workers, Hyderabad; professionals, Karachi; urban women councillors, Muzaffargarh)

"As all the women were educated, most went in their

own vehicles and some went in candidates' buses and peacefully cast the vote and came back." (urban women councillors, Haripur)

"Some went on foot and did not wait for transport as they want their candidate to win." (urban housewives, Muzaffargarh)

"As this time there was more awareness that's why some went on foot so that the vote was not wasted." (urban women councillors, Muzaffargarh)

"The candidates, families went on their own vehicles; rest of the people went on foot. Polling stations should be nearby, as it was this time. That's why more votes were cast." (rural women councillors, Muzaffargarh)

"Interested people go themselves to vote and for non interested people transport comes to take them." (urban women workers, Peshawar)

Most respondents said that **transport was provided for women and elderly** voters when the polling station was at a distance.

"The females are provided transport in any case. Mostly men go themselves." (male urban shopkeepers, Turbat)

"The women went to nearby polling stations themselves and candidates provided transport for far away areas." (women workers, urban, Quetta)

"We had no problem in casting votes because candidates provided vehicles for us." (women councillors, urban, Haripur)

"Only women and elderly were going in vehicles. The old and sick were transported to the polling stations as they were unable to walk." (urban women councillors, Jhang)

"The vehicle was used only for the disabled. People who did not want to come out of their houses, the vehicle was also used for them." (rural male councillors, Khanewal)

Many voters from across the country said that they used **transport provided by candidates**.

"The candidate provided transport to reach the polling stations." (rural unemployed youth, Hyderabad; rural women minorities, Sindh; small farmers, Sargodha)

"People went to vote on tractor-trolley, provided by the candidate. Some people even then did not go while they used to go on foot in the past." (rural male councillors, D.G.Khan)

"I saw people going to cast their votes on transport provided by candidates. I was a polling agent for one

party and we were bringing people on vehicles to increase our vote bank." (urban women councillors, Jhang)

"Most of the people went to vote on transport provided by the candidates and some went on transport on insistence of candidates' supporters." (female university students, Multan)

"The supporters and candidates took people in vehicles in order to get their votes." (female university students, Multan; minority women, Islamabad)

"Some went to vote just because of transport otherwise they might not have gone." (urban housewives, Muzaffargarh)

"The majority went on transport provided by candidates as they thought if a facility is provided then why they should walk." (female university students, Multan)

"Another method of rigging was to provide transport to voters so that they cast votes in other polling stations." (urban male factory workers, Rawalpindi)

"Here transport is often provided by candidates as polling stations are far away in Balochistan." (urban male minority, Quetta)

"Majority went to vote on transport provided by the candidates on their insistence, and very few went on foot. Because they consider voting a duty and they also wanted to make their candidate successful." (urban housewives, Muzaffargarh)

"People went to vote on vehicles. In these days people do not go to vote on foot. I think in coming years people will decide which car is big and comfortable and they will go in the car they like and vote for that person." (urban male councillors, Muzaffargarh)

"Voters have no choice but to vote for the candidate who provides transport." (skilled farmers, labourers, Multan)

"People went on transport as the polling stations were far away. The candidate gave money for diesel. Only male members were able to cast votes due to non-availability of transport. When the polling booth is 6 km away how could ladies go? Polling stations should be located nearby so that more people can vote." (educated male youth, rural D. G. Khan)

"Many people go to vote on foot under candidate's pressure." (female university students, Multan)

A number of respondents from across the country advocated having **polling stations** in nearby areas to facilitate the voters and reduce the expenses of

candidates.

"People find it easier to use their votes if polling stations are located in their localities. We think there should be one polling booth for about 350 voters in each area." (rural women councillors, Sargodha)

"The polling stations should be located nearby in rural areas so that people may not face difficulties. Increase the number of polling stations." (skilled farmers/labourers Multan; urban women councillors, Jhang, Muzaffargarh; urban male factory workers, Rawalpindi; technocrats, Quetta; urban women workers, Peshawar)

"There are lots of advantages of a nearby polling station as it reduces candidates' expenses and also facilitates the voters." (minority women, Islamabad)

Many respondents from all over the country, particularly from Southern Punjab, suggested that **transport be provided** if the polling station was situated at a distance, especially for **women, the sick and the old**.

"Workers/ladies could not vote as the polling stations were far away." (small shopkeepers, rural, Mianwali)

"Women will not go to vote if polling station is far away. In a nearby polling station they can go after finishing their chores or go and come quickly. Even labourers and shopkeepers will vote." (small farmers, Sargodha; urban women minority, Islamabad)

"Candidates should provide transport especially to females as they observe purdah and also for sick persons." (small farmers, Sargodha; urban women councillors, Jhang)

"The candidates should provide transport to the voters especially to women because they do not go to far away places to vote without transport." (urban women workers, Quetta)

"Most people did not go out for voting as the polling station was far away. If polling station is far away then candidates must provide vehicles. Even if the government does not provide vehicles we will cooperate with the poor and voters." (rural women councillors, Muzaffargarh)

"The poor cannot go for voting if polling station is far away, therefore, transport should be provided. The candidates should provide vehicles because one feels respected in the vehicle and candidates should give respect to the voters. Government should provide transport to old and sick people." (skilled farmers/labourers, Multan)

"If candidates will not provide transport it will affect the vote bank." (urban women councillors, Jhang)

"Candidates should provide transport otherwise

people will not come out of their houses.” (urban male councillors, Muzaffargarh; urban women councillors, Jhang; female university students, Multan)

“Due to lack of transport facility people will waste their votes instead of going far away. If transport is not provided only those people will cast their vote who have to fulfill their friendship or relations.” (urban male councillors, Muzaffargarh)

“If transport is not available then no one will go. If polling station is nearby then perhaps all will go.” (women workers urban, Peshawar)

A number of respondents, particularly councillors from Southern Punjab, **opposed provision of transport by candidates**, and advocated that voters should go on their own to vote.

“Snatching of vehicles should be stopped so that passengers do not face difficulties and candidates are saved from their scolding. Provision of transport increases corruption. Instead of providing transport one should see voters spirit. It will show the importance of a candidate. The govt. should put a ban on election expenditures.” (urban women councillors, Muzaffargarh)

“To elect poor and a good representative we will go on foot and ask others to do the same, so that he wins and does good tasks for our area.” (rural women councillors, Muzaffargarh)

“People should go to polling stations by themselves to cast vote. The vote is a sacred trust of the nation, people should go themselves to cast vote. The provision of vehicles creates corruption. Therefore, people should go themselves. The transport should be only for disabled persons.” (rural male councillors, Khanewal)

“If a candidate possesses a good character people will definitely vote for him.” (urban women councillors, Jhang)

“If candidates spend more on transport, they will do more corruption. Elections should be held in a very simple manner so that poor can also contest and do not have to bear the expenses of vehicles.” (skilled farmers/labourers, Multan)

“Either transport should be provided for everyone or there should be complete ban on it.” (urban women councillors, Jhang)

“It was difficult to go out to cast vote, as there were transport problems.” (male and female university students, Multan)

“In rural areas polling stations are far away and most of the voters used candidates’ transport. We think

that transport be provided to voters so that everyone can use his/her right of vote independently.” (urban businessmen/shopkeepers, Khuzdar)

## Summary

Most respondents said that people went to cast their **votes on foot if the polling station was nearby**, and went on **vehicles (generally provided by candidates) to distant polling stations**. Respondents were **divided regarding the provision of transport** to voters by candidates, with many recommending provision of transport for distant polling stations and for the **sick, elderly and women**, and others advocating having **nearby polling stations and ban on provision of transport** to reduce corruption and facilitate poor voters and candidates. Some were of the view that people would vote for good candidates regardless of the availability of transport. Interestingly, these conflicting views were expressed most vocally by councillors of Southern Punjab.

## 2.6 Factors contributing to success of a candidate

“Candidates bought votes from poor voters by giving some enticement. Ghias Mela of the PML-Q gave ration to poor voters to get votes. People’s brains were rigged. The voters made promise to one and voted for another person. When people congratulated the winning candidates they said, “You voted because of ration (ghee, sugar, tea), your sympathies were with others.” - urban working women, Sargodha

When asked about the factors contributing to the success of a candidate, respondents generally identified a **complex of factors** rather than a single factor.

Most respondents from across the country said that **influence, family background, wealth and good character** played an important role in the success of a candidate.

“Candidate’s personality, character and family background play an important role in his success.” (women councillors, Sargodha; farmers, labourers, skilled, Multan; rural factory workers, Multan; women councillors, Jhang, Muzaffargarh; urban male councillors, Muzaffargarh; urban housewives, Muzaffargarh; rural male councillors, DG Khan; unemployed youth, D.G.Khan; trade union and factory workers, Peshawar; farmers, labourers, Khuzdar)

“We vote for a person who has contacts.” (rural male councillors, D.G.Khan; urban housewives, Muzaffargarh; rural shopkeepers, Mianwali; male university students, Multan; urban shopkeepers, Turbat)

“People vote for a person who has the authority so

that he can help them in difficult times. We also see the wealth of a candidate whether he/she will be able to do our work." (female university students, Multan; farm workers, Multan)

"Instead of education we see candidate or his/her family's reputation, as Benazir has become famous because of Bhutto." (female university students, Multan)

"We give importance to family background. If a candidate is Gadi Nasheen we definitely vote for him." (male university students, Multan)

"Voters like to vote for influentials and rich people." (male councillors, D.G.Khan; (minority females rural, Tharparker; women councillors, Jhang, rural Muzaffargarh, Haripur; house-wives, Muzaffargarh; unemployed youth, D.I.Khan)

"Some candidates win because of their feudal background." (minority male, Tharparker; shopkeepers, D.I.Khan)

"Candidate's education is also important." (shopkeepers; women councillors, Jhang, rural Muzaffargarh)

Many respondents (more from Punjab) said that **keeping in touch** with people and helping them to **solve their problems** were also important factors in the success of candidates.

"Remaining in touch with people plays a role in success." (women councillors, Sargodha, Muzaffargarh; female students, Multan; male councillors, urban Muzaffargarh; shopkeepers, Khuzdar)

"Candidates succeed because of their social welfare work." (unemployed youth D.G.Khan; women councillors, Sargodha, Jhang, rural Muzaffargarh; male councillors, Khanewal, urban Muzaffargarh; farmers labourers, skilled, Multan; female students, Multan; house wives, Muzaffargarh; minority males, Quetta, Tharparker)

"In personal decision candidate's education and collective deeds are also considered. As in our constituency, people voted for the candidate who had established a girls college, etc." (urban male factory workers, Rawalpindi)

"Based on the work done in the constituency." (rural male councillors, D.G.Khan; urban house wives, Muzaffargarh; shopkeepers rural Mianwali, urban Turbat; male/female university students, Multan; farm workers, Multan)

One factor, which was mentioned by respondents from all over the country, was the **use of money** to

win elections.

"A candidate who spends money to provide food and transport to the people wins." (house wives, Muzaffargarh; farmers, labourers, skilled, Multan; women councillors, Jhang, Muzaffargarh; farmers, labourers, Khuzdar)

"Spending money plays an important role in success." (minority male, Tharparker, Quetta; minority females, Islamabad; labourers, Peshawar, Quetta, Rawalpindi; unemployed youth, farmers, shop keepers, D.I.Khan; women councillors, Sargodha, Peshawar, Haripur, rural Muzaffargarh; male councillors, Quetta; shopkeepers, female labourers, Khuzdar; house wives, Muzaffargarh; unemployed youth, Lahore; trade union, Peshawar)

"The opposition used lots of money." (small rural shopkeepers, Mianwali)

"The candidates did lots of corruption especially the PML-Q bought votes." (female university students, Multan)

Some respondents also regarded **effective election campaigning** as a factor in success.

"Effective election campaign is also important for success." (farmers, labourer, skilled, Multan; male councillors, Khanewal; male students, Multan)

"Campaigning through female workers is important." (Labourers, Rawalpindi)

"Aggressive and manipulative candidates succeed." (farmers labourers, D.I.Khan; minority male, Tharparker)

"One who comes first to the door step to ask for vote, we vote for him whether he is good or bad." (women councillors, urban Jhang, urban and rural Muzaffargarh; rural male councillors, Khanewal)

Some **negative tactics** such as rigging, establishment's support and pressure by the influentials also contributed to the success of various candidates.

"In some cases pressure, rigging and government's support play an important role. (shopkeepers, Isakhel, Mianwali, D.I. Khan; professionals, Karachi; labourers, Quetta, Rawalpindi; unemployed youth, Lahore; farmers, D.I.Khan; women councillors, Sargodha)

"Support by the government plays an important role." (male councillors, Quetta, D.G.Khan; farmers, labourer, shopkeepers, Khuzdar; minority males, Tharparker)

"Local councillor's support is also important in winning." (unemployed youth, Lahore; male councillors, Khanewal)

*"Developmental works just before election."*  
(unemployed youth, Lahore; women councillors, Sargodha)

*"Band wagon effect" also plays a role. For example, in the present election it was believed that the PML-Q is going to win.*" (male students, Multan)

Respondents belonging to NWFP, Balochistan and Southern Punjab said that **clan affiliation, religion and feudalism** played an important role in the success of various candidates.

*"In one public meeting, the MMA equated their election symbol "book" with Quran and declared that voting for them is voting for Quran. In the same manner some candidates used the words Quaid-i-Azam and Islam."* (male students, Multan)

*"In Balochistan tribal influence plays an important role. People are uneducated and religious minded. They vote due to religious minded affiliation."* (farmers labourers, Khuzdar)

*"Clan affiliation plays an important role in success."*  
(house wives, Muzaffargarh; unemployed rural females, Hyderabad; shopkeepers, Khuzdar; farmers, skilled, D.I.Khan)

*"Tribal affiliation and influence."* (minority male, Quetta)

*"We vote for candidates whom our elders support."*  
(unemployment youth, D.G.Khan)

*"People vote due to religious affiliation."* (women councillors and labourers, Peshawar; female students, shopkeepers, farm shopkeepers, farmers and skilled labourers D.I. Khan; shopkeepers and farm labourers Khuzdar)

A number of respondents from across the country mentioned **party affiliation** or **ideological factors** as important.

*"In Pakistan two political parties have vote bank and their tickets play an important role. People vote for the party."* (female university students, Multan; farm workers, Multan)

*"We vote for some candidates or party as we do not consider education or Biraderi. Biraderi has no importance in our area."* (shopkeepers urban, Turbat)

*"Candidate's affiliation with a political party also plays a role."* (urban male councillors, Muzaffargarh; unemployed youth, Hyderabad; minority males, Tharparker)

*"Manifesto of a candidate's political party plays a role in success."* (trade union, Peshawar; women

councillors, Sargodha)

*"People vote to promote democratic system."*  
(unemployed rural female, Hyderabad)

*"Some candidates won because of their anti-American policy."* (unemployed youth, D.I.Khan)

*"I voted for the person because of his attractive personality."* (farm labourer, Multan)

## Summary

Generally respondents identified a **complex of factors** rather than a single factor contributing to the success of a candidate. Most respondents from across the country said that **influence, family background, wealth and good character** played an important role in the success of a candidate. Many respondents (more from Punjab) said that **keeping in touch** with people and helping them to **solve their problems** were also important factors in this regard.

One factor, which was mentioned by the majority of the respondents from all over the country, was the **use of money** to win elections. Some respondents also mentioned **election campaigning** as a factor in success. Some **negative tactics** such as rigging, establishment's support and pressure by the influentials also contributed to the success of various candidates. Respondents belonging to NWFP, Balochistan and Southern Punjab said that **clan affiliation, religion and feudalism** played an important role in the success of various candidates. A number of respondents from across the country mentioned **party affiliation** or **ideological factors** as important factors.

**BEYOND VOTING**

VOICES OF THE ELECTORATES AND PARTY WORKERS  
ELECTION 2002



Chapter 3

*The Electoral Process*

## Chapter 3

# The Electoral Process

*"The election competition was like a ring in which one wrestler was given full freedom while the other had to fight with hands tied. For example, there were restrictions on the PML-N & the PPPP while the PML-Q had full freedom with govt. support, e.g. PML-Q's long duration advertisements were being shown on TV." (male university student, Multan)*

The following questions were explored under this topic:

1. Were the elections conducted fairly and in a transparent manner?
2. What is your view about the present system of elections?

### 3.1 Conduct of Election

*"What we say about rigging in elections does not make any difference. If we say there was rigging we have no proof to present. Our politicians have become so experienced in rigging that a layman cannot come to know about it. Now some previously elected candidates have won again and it can not happen without rigging as they did nothing for the public." (urban labourers, Quetta)*

Respondents were asked to give their opinions regarding the fairness and transparency of the elections.

The overwhelming majority of respondents from all parts of the country said that the elections were **not held in a fair and transparent manner**.

Many respondents said that the elections were rigged to **help PML-Q win**.

*"PML-Q made all sorts of fair and unfair efforts to win more seats." (women councillors, Jhang)*

*"The govt. was dishonest on national level and supported the PML-Q. The govt. supported the PML-Q openly. (farmers, labourers, rural, Multan) (men councillors, rural, Khanewal)*

*"In the areas of PML-Q candidates, District, Tehsil and Union council Nazims initiated some development work and made some announcement of future plans, which affected the voters' opinion." (university students male, Multan)*

*"The PML-Q was made to win by the government through rigging." (male councillors, Jhang)*

*"The elections were not transparent because for National Assembly elections the government made its utmost efforts to make the PML-Q win and rigging took place. The govt. was heavy and used every trick, e.g. it seemed apparent from media and official machinery that official staff was instructed strictly to vote for the PML-Q. There was announcement in our city whether vote is cast or not, Dasti Sahib and Shahid Jamil of the PML-Q will win. That's why the official staff stamped the ballots themselves and stopped the voters." (urban women councillors, Muzaffargarh)*

*"People who have won the elections, were supported by the govt. and they pressurized people at the end." (urban minority males, Quetta)*

*"Here District Nazims and provincial ministers did rigging openly and tried to make their favourites win." (minority women, Tharparker)*

*"It has been estimated from the results that whoever has won its planning was done six months earlier as important party leaders were kept out of the country." (factory workers, Rawalpindi)*

A number of respondents mentioned how they were **prevented from voting** due to lack of ID card or removal of name from voter's list.

*"Every government trick was used. 81000 ID cards of NA-71 were not delivered to people." (small rural shopkeepers, Mianwali)*

*"In my area the Vadera (feudal) took ID cards of many people and said that he would make chits for them. He returned the ID cards after the elections and said*

*that these had been lost and now he had found them. This was done so that people could not vote.*" (rural women councillors, Muzaffargarh)

*"We already knew that they would never let anyone come forward. They made officials supervise opposition's houses and through planning made changes in the voters' lists so that voters could not find their names."* (urban women councillors, Muzaffargarh)

*"In my area the Vaderas made the voters' lists disappear so that people could not vote."* (women councillors, rural, Muzaffargarh)

Some respondents from Balochistan expressed their **distrust about the neutrality of the army.**

*"Elections, held under military rule, cannot be trusted. The military brings candidates of its own choice to make its own government. This is an undemocratic process."* (urban businessmen, shopkeepers, Khuzdar)

*"Corps commanders pressurized people in elections. Candidates who got govt. support won elections."* (urban minority males, Quetta)

*"Here we have Biraderi and tribal system. This time we were under the pressure of Hazara tribe and the tribe was under the pressure of the corps commander. There was king's party and we knew it would win."* (Balochistan)

Some respondents mentioned casting of **bogus votes.**

*"ID cards of dead people were used to cast votes."* (minority male, Tharparker)

*"There was rigging in my area because everywhere candidates who got govt. support changed ID cards and created problems in them. Dead people's ID cards were used for bogus voting. For example, my daughter was dead and they insisted to take her ID card from me."* (urban women councillors, Muzaffargarh)

*"In my area many parties made others cast bogus votes but in spite of that lost."* (women councillors rural, Muzaffargarh)

*"The vote of one person was entered in many places."* (small rural shopkeepers, Mianwali)

Many respondents, mostly from Southern Punjab, said that changes were made after the completion of polling, including **vote counting** and **announcement of results.**

*"The change was made in counting, e.g. in the evening Sultan Khan's success was announced*

*and afterwards Shahid Jamil of the PML-Q was declared successful."* (urban women councillors, Muzaffargarh)

*"At some polling stations discrepancies in counting of votes took place. In this constituency the returning officer wrote 19 instead of 109 votes bagged by a candidate while compiling results."* (factory workers, Rawalpindi)

*"I was a polling agent and the presiding officer said before me that rigging would take place in counting. In our area at three polling stations 100% votes were cast which was not possible. This shows outside interference in polling."* (male university students, Multan)

*"An MPA was winning with 1035 votes according to the given records and Election Commission made him a loser with 350 votes."* (rural male shopkeepers, D.I.Khan)

*"In our area every tactic was used. In Karshani and Kalabagh ballot boxes were taken from village to village. The ballot boxes were brought out after getting govt. patting. In one area of Shadikhel 40% men work as labourers in Karachi, yet 100% votes were cast."* (small rural shopkeepers, Mianwali)

*"The polling was smooth but lots of rigging took place during compilation of the results at the top level. The election results in the evening were different from the next morning results."* (female university students, Multan)

*"For the first time in the history of Pakistan results were announced after two days which was an open rigging."* (university students male, Multan)

*"The PPPP was working hard everywhere to get votes, but lost at the end because the results were changed."* (rural women councillors, Muzaffargarh)

*"By delaying the results, rigging was done against the PPPP."* (female university students, Multan)

Some respondents were of the view that rigging generally took place, but were unable to give any **concrete evidence.**

*"There is always dishonesty in elections. In fact there were not so many people at the polling stations as shown on television."* (urban working women, Peshawar)

*"Before election day it was believed that the ANP and the PPPP would win most of the seats. But winning most seats by the MMA made the election doubtful."* (male labourers, Peshawar)

*"The candidate whom we voted for was obviously*

*winning but eventually lost. It is difficult to identify the nature of rigging but rigging definitely took place in the area. How did Maulvis win in our area? Minorities cannot work with Maulvis.*" (minority females, Islamabad)

*"Elections were engineered."* (male labourers, councillors, Quetta; women councillors, female students, urban working women, Peshawar)  
*"There is interference everywhere in Pakistan. Our area is also a part of Pakistan. That's why the same thing happened which often happens in Pakistan."* (professionals, Karachi)

Some were **not sure** about the transparency of elections or rigging.

*"We all cast vote. What can we say about rigging. The opinion is given only if it is valued, we have no importance. The elections are over and influentials have come into power."* (labourers, urban, Quetta)

*"We do not know how many votes were put into the ballot boxes because empty boxes were not shown to us. But the procedure looked alright."* (unemployed urban males, Haripur)

A large number of respondents, mainly from Southern Punjab (including many councillors who support the present government), said that the elections in their locality were **fair and transparent**.

*"There was no rigging on election day. It was a transparent process,"* (urban women councillors, Haripur; urban house-wives, Muzaffargarh; male councillors, D.G.Khan)

*"Elections were held smoothly and properly. There was no fight and no dishonesty in counting. The staff was present. The results were correct. There was no interference of any sort. The politicians came but had no interference in polling."* (rural women councillors, Sargodha)

*"When I went to cast my vote I saw no rigging over there."* (farmers, labourers, Multan)

*"There was no rigging in my area and I have not heard about it."* (women councillors, rural, Muzaffargarh)

*"I went to cast vote and did not see any rigging."* (house-wives urban, Muzaffargarh)

*"The elections were transparent in our area as well as in the whole district. The polling agents of the parties were very clever and got the results compiled in front of them. It hadn't been brought to our notice that any candidate won through rigging."* (rural male councillors, Khanewal)

*"I think where there were good polling agents no rigging took place. The losers cry foul while the winners never do."* (male councillors, Jhang)

*"The elections were transparent. No one was under any pressure."* (urban housewives, Muzaffargarh)

*"There were many inspection teams. The results were not changed. Much rigging was not done."* (urban working women, Jhang)

*"The elections were transparent due to EU delegations, because their monitors were very strict."* (female university students, Multan)

*"We saw the process of counting which was transparent. For example, at many polling stations the number of votes polled was between 200 and 250. If there was rigging then there would have been more votes."* (male university students, Multan)

Some respondents said that the **success of opposition candidates** was an indication of fair elections.

*"The MMA got more seats, which showed that the government conducted elections fairly. The success of Tahirul Qadri and Imran Khan also shows the fairness of election."* (male university students, Multan)

*"We did not cast the vote as we were on duty. But elections were transparent."* (urban working women, Sargodha)

*"I think that the PML-Q has made efforts to win just like every party does."* (women councillors, Jhang)

Some respondents had **mixed views** - rigging at some level but not at others.

*"There was not much rigging."* (urban working women, Peshawar)

*"Elections were transparent in our area, while the government supported the PML-Q to some extent at the national level."* (farmers, labourers, Multan; male councillors, Jhang)

*"There was no dishonesty in counting. However, before the election if someone black-mailed by giving some money or getting some work done then this was dishonesty. A pucca drain was made and some development activities were started in the area and in return candidates asked for votes."* (male councillors, D.G.Khan)

## Summary

The overwhelming majority of respondents from all parts of the country said that the elections were **not held in a fair and transparent** manner. Many respondents said that the elections were rigged to

**help the PML-Q win.** A number of respondents mentioned how they were **prevented from voting** through lack of ID card or removal of name from voter's list. Some respondents from Balochistan expressed their **distrust about the neutrality of the army.** Some respondents mentioned casting of **bogus votes.** Many respondents, mostly from Southern Punjab, said that changes were made after the completion of polling, including **vote counting and announcement of results.**

Some respondents were of the view that rigging generally took place, but were unable to give any **concrete evidence.** Some were **not sure** about the transparency of elections or rigging.

**A large number of respondents, mainly from Southern Punjab (including many councillors who support the present government) said that the elections in their locality were fair and transparent. Some respondents said that the success of opposition candidates was an indication of fair elections. Others had mixed views about rigging at some level but not at others.**

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### 3.2 System of Elections

When asked about the present system of election the views of the respondents were mixed, with more respondents supporting different aspects of the existing electoral system.

A number of respondents from across the country expressed satisfaction over the existing system of elections, including **lowering of voters' age, condition of graduation, holding provincial and national elections simultaneously, and women's participation.**

*"Most of us are satisfied with the present system."*  
(minority males, Tharparker)

*"Holding the election for both the assemblies on the same day was good. It will decrease expenditure."*  
(skilled rural males, D.I.Khan; women councillors, Sargodha, Quetta)

*"Lowering voter's age to 18 years was a good step."*  
(skilled rural males, D.I.Khan; female students, Peshawar; women councillors, Sargodha; male councillors, Quetta)

*"The result was announced in time."* (women councillors, Peshawar)

*"Imposition of B.A. condition is good. New people have emerged."* (women workers, Peshawar)

*"Women's participation in elections is good."* (male councillors, Quetta; female students, Peshawar;

women councillors, Sargodha)

Some respondents were **not satisfied** with certain aspects of the electoral system.

*"The Election Commission's role was not fair."*

*"Giving representation to women was useless. It would not succeed."* (skilled rural males, D.I.Khan)

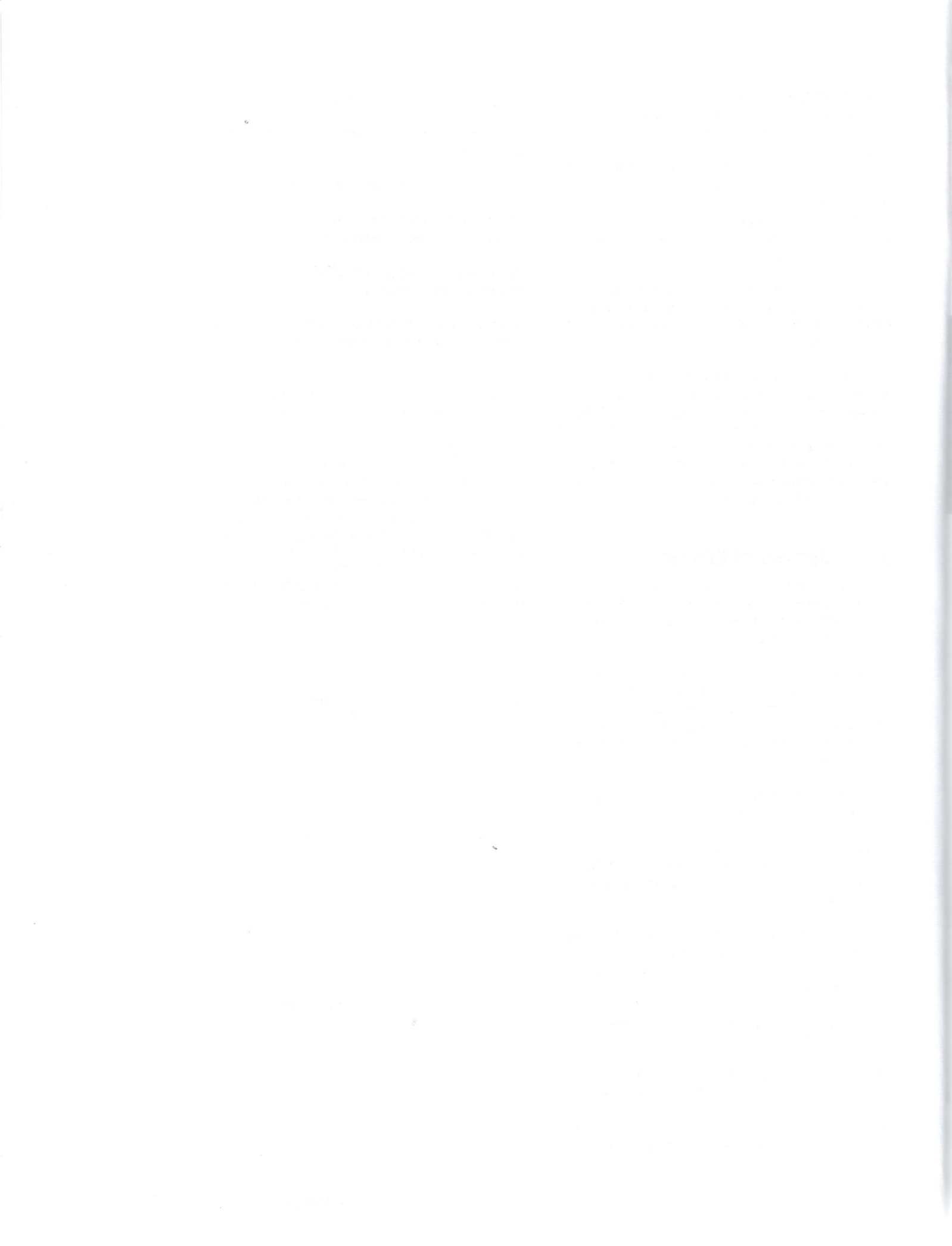
*"Lowering voter's age to 18 years is not good."*  
(female students, Peshawar)

*"Voters lack the ability to use their vote effectively. Politicians manipulate people."* (male labourers, Quetta)

*"In this system only rich people and feudals win."*  
(minority male, Tharparker; male councillors, Quetta)

### Summary

A number of respondents from across the country expressed satisfaction with the existing system of elections, including **lowering of voters' age, condition of graduation, holding provincial and national elections simultaneously, and women's participation.** Some respondents opposed lowering the voter's age limit and women's participation in election, while some felt that **only influential and rich people** could win in the present election system.



**BEYOND VOTING**

VOICES OF THE ELECTORATES AND PARTY WORKERS  
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**Chapter 4**

*Democracy And People's Participation*

## Chapter 4

# Democracy And People's Participation

*"For the promotion of democracy people's participation is as essential as oxygen for human beings. All the people will have to adopt democratic attitude and develop tolerance."* (educated, jobless youth D.I.Khan)

The following questions were explored under this topic:

- 1 What is democracy? What are its essential features?
- 1 Why people's participation is necessary in democracy and the political process?
- 1 What are your views about the current state of democracy in the country?
- 1 Does the political system reflect the opinion of the people?
- 1 What are your views on the functioning of the political process in the country?

### 4.1 What is democracy?

When asked to define democracy many respondents from different parts of the country described democracy as the formation of a **government representing the people**.

*"To become a people's representative through their votes."* (skilled labourers, farmers, tenants, Kot Zafar, D.I.Khan)

*"People's government through people. Participation of people in government formation."* (educated jobless male Tergeah, D.G.Khan)

*"People's representatives from people."* (male councillors, Muddy D.I.Khan)

*"In democracy we vote and elect our representative. He sits in the parliament and can introduce reforms and watch out for public interests."* (male students, Peshawar university)

*"Democracy refers to the running of the government affairs by elected representatives of the people."* (urban male minorities, Tharparker)

*"Democracy means people's government elected by*

*the people."* (female university students, Quetta)

Many people described democracy as **freedom of speech**, including the expression of opposing views.

*"To convey our viewpoint to the government. We approach MPAs and MNAs and they convey our demands to higher authorities."* (Skilled labourers, farmers, tenants, Kot Zafar, D.I.Khan)

*"Right to express one's opinion."* (women councillors, Wadpigar, Peshawar)

*"Democracy is a style of governing where people can talk about their problems openly. Everybody has the right to speak and to use his vote."* (working women, Shantinagar, Karachi)

*"We believe democracy is freedom of expression, participation of people having different views."* (male councillors, Muddy D.I.Khan)

*"Where there is freedom of expression, religious and social freedom and the right to vote freely."* (Male councillors, Quetta)

*"In this system people's opinion is respected."* (Female university students, Quetta)

*"Respect for public opinion. Religious freedom."* (Male-shopkeeper, Puniala, D.I.Khan)

Some described democracy as a process in which problems were resolved through **dialogue and consensus**.

*"In democracy issues are discussed and consensus is achieved."* (male students, Peshawar university)

*"Democracy means to work together and to solve problems together."* (male urban minorities, Tharparker)

Some people described democracy as the provision of **basic necessities to the people**.

*"Common people should have a right to have a*

*comfortable life, to satisfy their needs and be provided a favorable environment.*" (male students, Peshawar university)

*"People's basic rights at their door."* (educated jobless male Tergeah, D.G.Khan)

Others described democracy as **justice** that is cheaply available and the same for all people.

*"Equal and cheap justice for everybody. Same rules for everybody."* (educated jobless male Tergeah, D.G.Khan)

*"Same law for everybody."* (male councillors, Muddy D.I.Khan)

*"Freedom and the same law for everybody."* (male shopkeeper, Puniala, D.I.Khan)

A few described democracy as **political awareness** or the **inclusion of people in organized political parties**.

*"Political consciousness in people. Parties should first organize themselves and then contact people."* (Women councillors, Wadpigar, Peshawar)

*"Clear policy. Manifesto to serve people."* (male shopkeeper, Puniala, D.I.Khan)

## Summary

Most respondents described democracy as the formation of a government representing the people and as freedom of speech, including the expression of opposing views. Some described democracy as a process in which problems were resolved through dialogue and consensus, while some described it as the provision of basic necessities to the people. Others described democracy as justice that is cheaply available and the same for all people. A few described democracy as political awareness or the inclusion of people in organized political parties.

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## 4.2 Essential features of democracy

When asked to identify the essential features of democracy a number of respondents said that **active participation of people** was important to elect people who could represent them.

*"People's involvement and freedom of expression for everybody."* (working women, Shantinagar, Karachi)

*"It all depends on the public that they elect wise representatives having positive thinking, so that people are represented properly."* (shopkeepers, Puniala, D.I.Khan)

*"Everybody including the minorities, the poor and the rich should be involved."* (women councillors, Sargodha)

*Some respondents said that the establishment of the rule of law and the rights of people were essential for democracy.*

*"Laws should be formulated and everybody must respect them."* (educated, jobless youth Teergarh, D.I.Khan)

*"Laws should be respected."* (women councillors, Wadpiger, Peshawar)

*"Rules of law"* (working women, Shantinagar, Karachi, Sindh)

*"Law should be respected."* (women councillors, Quetta)

*"Citizens should have their rights."* (male university students, Peshawar)

*"People's opinion should be respected."* (women councillors, Quetta)

*Many respondents believed that the participation of women was important.*

*"Women should be involved provided they are educated otherwise they will merely indulge in fashion."* (educated, jobless youth Teergarh, D.I.Khan)

*"It is hoped that elected females will deliver."* (women councillors, Wadpiger, Peshawar)

*"Women should be involved but not the way Pervez Musharraf has involved them. That is a joke."* (male councillors, Muddy D.I.Khan)

*"Women should be involved."* (male university students, Peshawar; women councillors, Sargodha)

*"Democracy is a system that teaches equality. Women should be respected and involved in democracy."* (women councillors, Quetta)

*"Women should be involved according to Islam so that problems are solved."* (shopkeepers, Puniala, D.I.Khan)

*Some respondents said that democracy depends on the formation of truly democratic parties that follow democratic principles themselves.*

*"There is no democracy even in the parties. Jamat-e-Islami is the only party which is democratic. First of all real democratic parties should be formed. Every party should have written rules and regulations which should be read in every meeting."* (male councillors, Muddy D.I.Khan)

"There should be democracy within the party. MMA is democratic to some extent." (Women councillors, Sargodha)

Some respondents said that raising the level of education and **educating people** about democracy was essential to promote democracy. They also said that the **media** could play an important role in raising awareness about democracy.

"Standard of education needs improvement. Awareness about democracy should be created." (male university students, Peshawar)

"Education should be provided to raise consciousness on national level. Mass media should play its role and publish articles to spread awareness." (shopkeepers, Puniala, D.I.Khan)

Other suggestions included **cooperation amongst ruling and opposition parties, rooting out corruption, keeping army out of politics, and supporting the local government system.**

"Ruling party should involve opposition also. This will strengthen democratic system and government will be able to complete its tenure." (Minorities, Tharparker)

"Corrupt people should be barred from taking part in politics." (women councillors, Quetta)

"Army should not interfere in politics." (women councillors, Quetta)

"People of an area should elect a representative from their own class."

"District governments should be allowed to function. Bureaucracy should not interfere in the democratic process." (female university students, Quetta)

### Summary

A number of respondents said that **active participation of people, including women**, was critical to the success of the democratic process. Some felt that the establishment of the **rule of law and the rights of people** were essential for democracy. Others said that democracy depended on the formation of truly **democratic parties** that followed democratic principles themselves.

Suggestions to make the democratic process successful include raising the level of education and **educating people** about democracy, including the use of **media**. Other suggestions included **cooperation amongst ruling and opposition parties, rooting out corruption, keeping army out of politics, and supporting the local government system.**

## 4.3 Importance of people's participation in democracy

"People's involvement will pave the way for collective decision making and as a result a developed society will emerge. Islam has stressed that we should elect a good and truthful person as our leader and consults each other. Even our Holy Prophet consulted with his people for making different decisions." - male councillor, Muddy, D.I.Khan

Most respondents said that democracy was not possible without the **people's active participation** and that progress was not possible without democracy.

"Political process and people's participation are necessary for democracy. Our country cannot make any progress without democracy and people's participation." (female, university students, Quetta)

"Democracy is not possible without people's participation." (male shopkeeper, Puniala, D.I.Khan)

"Democracy is basically people's participation." (male students, Peshawer university)

"People make a country. Unless people participate in the political process, democracy can not exist." (Women councillors, Wadpager, Peshawar)

"People's participation and respect for their opinion is a must for democracy to work." (female university students, Quetta)

Some respondents felt that people's participation was necessary because only they could **properly represent themselves** and their problems.

"Outsiders can not represent people." (male shopkeepers, Puniala, D.I.Khan)

"People's opinion should be given importance. This helps in understanding and solving problems." (working women, Shantinagar, Karachi)

Many respondents said that by participating in the democratic process they could **elect officials** who would serve them and look after their interests.

"People are wise. They use their votes carefully. They elect an MNA and judge his performance. If his performance is unsatisfactory people will not vote for him next time." (male students, Peshawer university)

"If government is managed by elected representatives then it will be called democracy otherwise its martial law or kingship." (skilled labour, small farmers, tenants, Kot Zafar, D.I.Khan)

"People participate in the democratic process by

electing their representatives." (minority, Tharparker)

*Through participation, **power** is transferred to the people and problems can be solved.*

"Because of the transfer of powers to the lower levels, country is progressing and problems are being solved at lower level." (women councillors, Sargodha)

"If people are involved in the political process, it will be good for the people, better laws will be passed and there will be opportunities for employment." (educated unemployed youth, Tergarh, D.I.Khan)

Some respondents believed that **without people's participation** a democratically elected government could not survive, because people's opinions would be ignored.

"It will not survive without people's participation. Crimes will be on the rise. People may come on the roads. Country will be under debt."

### Summary

Most respondents said that democracy was not possible without the **people's active participation** and that progress was not possible without democracy. Many said that by participating in the democratic process they could **elect people** who would serve them and look after their interests. Some felt that people's participation was necessary because only they can **properly represent themselves** and their problems. Through participation, **power is transferred** to the people and problems can be solved. Some respondents said that participation in the democratic process results in people having a say in the **decision making process**. Some said that **without participation** a democratic government could not survive, because people's opinions would be ignored.

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## 4.4 Current state of democracy

*"If democracy is defined by keeping in view the present circumstances, it means protecting one's own interests, promoting caste system, distorting law according to one's needs, making fool of people, taking over national resources and using them for personal needs."*

Most people were **not satisfied** with the current state of democracy in the country.

*"We elect representatives who fail to come up to our expectations and serve their own interests. Democracy means to serve people. Here we cannot talk about democracy because we have been under army rule most of the time. And to talk against the army means to invite trouble. Here army is playing major role and ISI is involved in all foreign affairs. Whereas these matters should be handled by elected people."* (male students, Peshawar university)

*"We do not have democracy in our country. Here the army, without the people's support, is ruling the country." (female university students, Quetta)*

*"Our politicians never sit together. They care for their own interests." (male shopkeepers, Puniala, D.I.Khan)*

*"In the prevailing democracy the poor are suppressed and on top there is army." (educated unemployed youth, Tergarh, D.I.Khan)*

*"Political leaders have undemocratic attitudes. Courts accept bribes." (Women councillors, Sargodha)*

*"Here some people dominate parties. They get themselves elected and make all the decisions themselves." (female university students, Quetta)*

### Summary

Most people were **not satisfied** with the current state of democracy in the country, because of the **suppression of the poor** by dominant elites, **misuse of office** for personal interests, **suppression of opposition**, and the control of the process by the **army**.

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## 4.5 Functioning of political process in the country

When asked how the electoral process was functioning in the country most respondents said that the political process was **controlled by feudal and elite families**.

*"Feudals and elites are dominating politics." (minority Tharparker; women councillors, Sargodha; female university students, Quetta; farmers, labourers, tenants, skilled, D.I.Khan; educated unemployed youth D.I.Khan; male councillors, D.I.Khan)*

*"Feudalism has influenced political process negatively." (women workers Karachi)*

A few families are controlling the political process.

*"Some families are controlling politics." (women councillors, Sargodha, Peshawar; minority, Tharparker; shopkeepers; farmers, labourers, tenants, skilled, D.I.Khan; educated unemployed youth, D.I.Khan)*

*"Wealth is controlled by few families." (women councillors, Sargodha)*

*"Musharraf's policy has barred certain people but the same attitude and families are still dominating." (shopkeepers, D.I.Khan)*

*"Families like the Piracha family have taken over politics." (women councillors, Sargodha, Peshawar)*

Many respondents believed that it took a **lot of money to win** elections and so it was only for the rich people.

*"It is not possible to contest polls without money."*  
(women councillors, Sargodha; farmers, labourers, tenants, skilled, D.I.Khan)

*"In Pakistan politics is a hobby of the rich and a way to play with the fate of the poor."* (farmers, labourers, tenants, skilled, D.I.Khan)

*"Law does not provide protection to the poor."* (minority Tharparker)

Some respondents believed that the **army often interfered** with the political process.

*"Politicians are inefficient and as a result the army takes over."* (male students Peshawar)

Many respondents believed that the current state of corruption, lawlessness and poverty showed a failure of the political process.

*"Corruption and lawlessness are on the rise."* (women councillors, Sargodha) (farmers, labourers, tenants, skilled, D.I.Khan) (educated unemployed youth D.I.Khan)

*"There is no democracy."* (women councillors, Sargodha; female university students, Quetta)

*"Law is not respected."* (women councillors, Sargodha; male councillors, D.I.Khan)

*"Country is under heavy debt."* (women councillors, Sargodha)

*"The poor are suffering."* (shopkeepers, D.I.Khan; women councillors, Peshawar; male councillors, D.I.Khan)

*"Accountability system is weak."* (male councillors, D.I.Khan)

Some respondents expressed optimism that some non-politicians had joined the government and were affecting positive change.

*"There is a change in NWFP where common people have joined the government"* (educated unemployed youth D.I.Khan)

### Summary

Most respondents felt that politics was dominated by a few **feudal and elite families**. Most felt that it took **money to be elected** and that the views of the poor are ignored. Most believed that due to corruption and lack of respect for the law there was **no accountability** in politics. Some believed that the **army interfered** in political process due to the inefficiency of politicians.

## 4.6 Does political system reflect people's opinion?

When asked whether the present political system represented the opinion of the people, the overwhelming response was in the **negative**.

Most respondents felt that the present political system did not reflect public opinion; rather it represented the views and decisions of the **rich and feudal elite** and the **bureaucracy**.

*"This system expresses the opinion of privileged classes."* (male councillors, D.I.Khan)

*"People's opinion is not respected. False cases were registered against 600 persons."* (minority, Tharparker)

*"Present politics and system do not include people's opinion. It is controlled by the bureaucracy."* (male councillors, Quetta)

*"Here people's opinion is not respected and opposition has no status."* (female university students, Quetta)

*"This system represents a special class. After casting their vote people are sidelined."* (shopkeepers D.I.Khan)

*"The rich are educated while the poor have some or no schooling and they have to accept the decision made by the rich."* (farmers, labourers, tenants, skilled, Kot Zafar)

*"The feudal decides whom to vote for. The poor are considered stupid and ignorant."* (farmers, labourers, tenants, skilled, Kot Zafar)

Some respondents were critical of the **devolution process**.

*"This system was not introduced by an elected assembly but by a dictator. There are 20 councillors but they have no powers. The system seems to be failing."* (male university students, Peshawar)

*"Devolution of power is just a slogan. Councillors are just a showpiece."* (male councillors, D.I.Khan)

### Summary

Most respondents felt that the present political system did not reflect public opinion; rather it represented the views and decisions of the **rich and feudal elite** and the **bureaucracy**. Some believed that even when they elected **councillors** of their choice, they were not given any powers.

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Chapter 5

*Women's Participation  
In Election Process*

## Women's Participation In Election Process

*"Now women will be in a position to highlight their problems. Incidents of acid-throwing are common and women or a husband treats her wife cruelly. Now they can bring their problems to the notice of the government."* - educated women, Haripur.

**Two questions were asked regarding women's participation:**

- 1 What do you think about women's participation in the political process?
- 1 What will be the effects of women's inclusion in the government?

### 5.1 Women's participation in political process

Most respondents said that women's participation in politics was a positive change and a good step. They felt that it **would facilitate development work for women**, especially rural women.

*"Earlier women did not go out alone. Now they are seen in every field. Women residing in rural areas face a number of problems. Women have certain problems that they cannot share with men. Now all of their problems would be resolved. Women will enjoy more freedom."* (educated unemployed males, Multan)

*"Women's participation is good. They are 50% of the population. It will influence them positively."* (unemployed males, Larkana)

*"Women's participation in the political process is a good step. But they are home bound and lack education. It will be useful in future."* (shopkeepers and traders, Hyderabad)

*"Women's participation in the political process is a good thing. It may be based on political or religious viewpoint. Democracy has room for rights and freedom."* (male councillors, Gawadar).

Some respondents said that women's participation in politics would have **negative effects or none at all**.

*"Women will neither be able to run their houses nor they will be able to handle the outside affairs. Males would definitely influence them. Women will not be able to get along with men. They will face problems."* (educated unemployed males, Multan).

*"Women's presence in assemblies will not have much effect because they do not understand politics fully. Moreover, they show no interest in such matters. They will just be show pieces in the assemblies."* (unemployed males, D.G.Khan)

Most respondents advocated that women should be elected by **direct vote** by the people instead of getting selected on party seats basis.

*"It was good to fix a quota for women. However, they should be elected through direct voting. Women should go to people to seek votes. This will strengthen their relation with people."* (educated unemployed males, Multan)

*"Women's participation in the political process according to the proportion of their population will be effective. But it will have more positive impact if they contest election directly."* (shopkeepers and traders, Hyderabad)

*"Women should be elected directly. However, if they have been taken on special seats, it has definitely strengthened them."* (educated women, Haripur).

*"Women elected on special seats belong to influential families and have no link with people. People do not even know them. Influential families have got their own daughters elected. The daughter shall definitely consult her father. A woman who was defeated on general seat was selected on special seat. This is unfair."* (unemployed males, D.G.Khan)

A few respondents favoured the existing system of **indirect election** of women on reserved seats.

*"In the present political system women cannot run their political campaigns like men. Presently they should be elected indirectly. When they will be in a position to compete, they may participate in elections directly."* (unemployed males, Larkana)

Male councillors in Tharparker were divided on this issue, with some advocating direct and some advocating indirect elections of women, while male councillors of Gawadar favoured indirect elections and special women seats.

### Summary

Most respondents said that **women's participation** in politics was a **positive change** and a good step. They felt that it **would facilitate development work for women**, especially rural women. Some respondents said that women's participation in politics would have **negative effects or none at all**. Most respondents advocated that women should be chosen by **direct vote** by the people instead of getting selected on party seats, while some favoured the existing system **of indirect election** of women on reserved seats.

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## 5.2 Women's inclusion in government

Most respondents said that women's inclusion in government would have a **number of positive effects**.

A number of respondents said that women would be able to **protect the rights** and **solve the problems of women** more effectively.

*"Their political participation will be enhanced."* (male councillors, Larkana)

*"After joining the government women will be in a position to serve the women effectively."* (women councillors, Haripur)

*"Ordinary women will be able to take their problems to women representatives conveniently and will find employment opportunities."* (male shopkeepers, Hyderabad)

*"Women's typical problems will be solved. Plans for their welfare will be initiated."* (women councillors, Larkana)

*"Women's problems will be highlighted. They will get jobs in various fields."* (male councillors, Larkana)

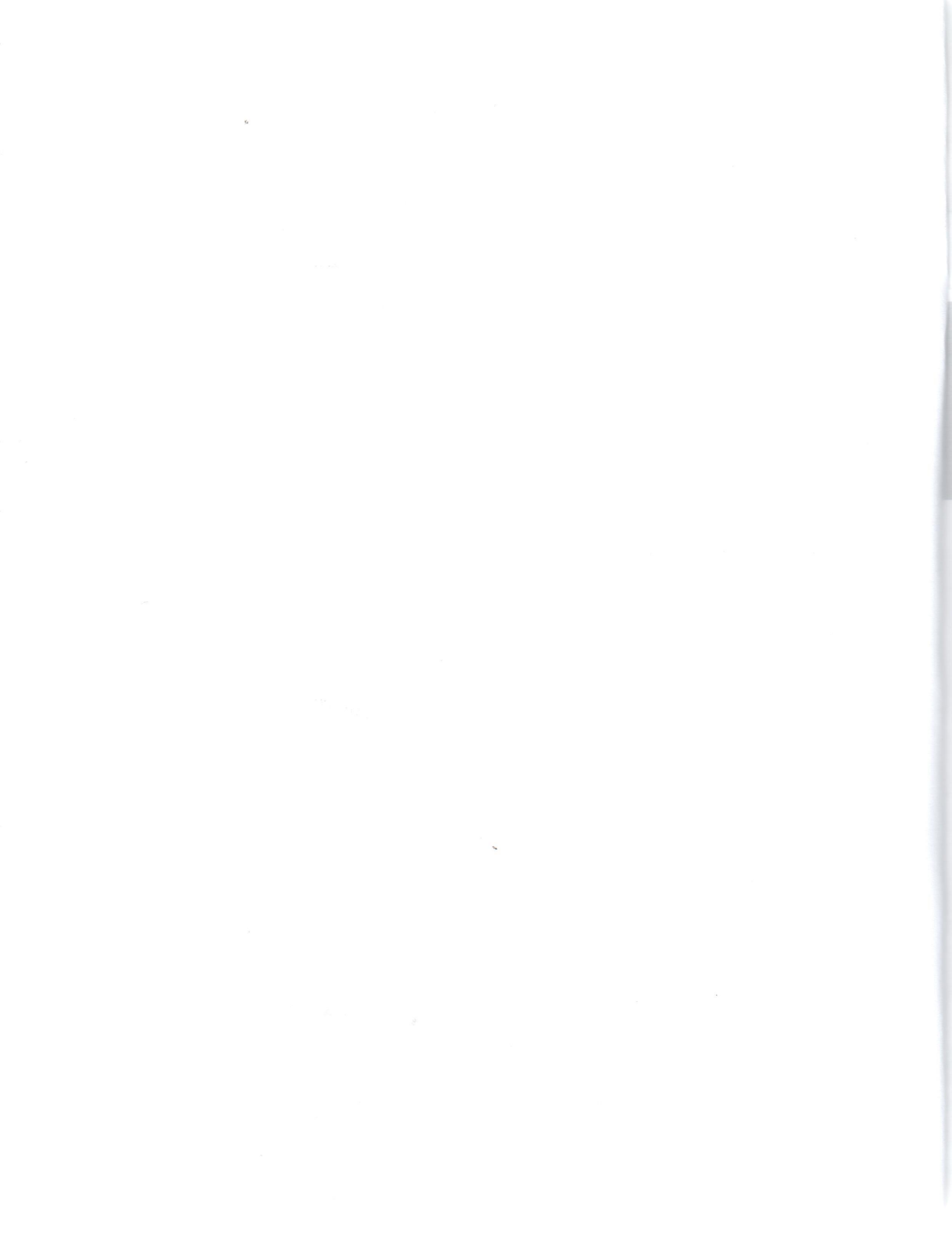
*"Their rights will be protected. They will get more facilities. Political consciousness and awareness will be raised."* (male councillors, Tharparker)

Only one group said that there would be problems since **men did not approach women representatives** for help.

*"There will be problems because men cannot meet women openly. Thus people's problems will not be solved."* (male councillors, Gawadar)

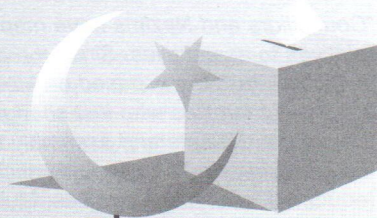
### Summary

Most respondents said that women's inclusion in government would have a **number of positive effects**. A number of respondents said that women would be able to **protect the rights** and **solve the problems of women** more effectively. Only one group said that men would face **difficulties in approaching women representatives** for help.



**BEYOND VOTING**

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Chapter 6

*Impact Of Elections On  
Local Government*

## Chapter 6

# Impact Of Elections On Local Government

*"Councillors and Nazims have managed to send their relatives to assemblies. Since the beginning, the politics in Pakistan is based on blood relations. These are the old families who just change the faces. Local councillors, Nazims and assembly members belong to the same family. These people stick to their seats."* (educated, unemployed males, Multan)

The following questions were explored under this topic:

- 1 How would elections affect the performance of the local government?
- 1 What should be the responsibilities of the representatives elected on local, provincial and national level?
- 1 What is the nature of the relationship between the local MPAs, MNAs and local governments?
- 1 What will happen if representatives belong to different political parties?

### 6.1 Impact of elections on local government

A number of respondents expressed **apprehensions** about the impact of elections on the local government system.

*"Local government is an easy system for the people. If people belonging to opposing parties are elected they will oppose Nazims. This may affect the performance of the local government negatively. The time is not appropriate for elections."* (male councillors, Balochistan)

*"It is feared that councillors' powers would be withdrawn. For example local councillors would be unable to do what they wish to do. The system will not be continued. Earlier Nazims decided themselves and got plans completed with the help of councillors. Now they say that they will decide after getting permission from their MNA/MPA."* (educated unemployed males, Multan)

*"They are a burden on the people as well as on the government. The District Nazim did not sit in his office. He knows nothing."* (unemployed male, D.G.Khan)

However, some respondents were more **hopeful** about the success of the local government system.

*"Local government system will be strengthened with the passage of time. However, it should be maintained. If councillors are given funds and powers they can deliver."* (educated unemployed males, Multan)

*"Work is done properly. If these people attend their offices regularly then it will be good."* (unemployed male, D.G.Khan)

Some were of the view that the local government system was formed to **shift the responsibilities of the government** to the local councillors.

*"Government introduced this system to lessen its burden. This system was formed so that the government could shift its responsibilities to the local councillors. Then the councillor will face the public."* (educated, unemployed male, Multan)

*"Pervez Musharraf got local representatives elected so that MNAs and MPAs are given protocol through them. In fact, Musharraf got them elected so that they get local problems solved."* (educated, unemployed male, Multan)

### Summary

A number of respondents expressed **apprehensions** about the impact of elections on the local government system, fearing that the district governments would become **dependent on MNAs and MPAs**. However, some respondents were more **hopeful** if the district governments were provided **necessary powers and funds**. Some were of the view that the local government system was formed to **shift the responsibilities of the government** to the local councillors.

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## 6.2 Responsibilities of representatives at various levels

A number of respondents said that **MNAs and MPAs should legislate** whereas the local **councillors should solve the local problems**.

*"Members of parliament should legislate only and local councillors should carry out civil responsibilities."* (educated unemployed males, Multan)

*"Getting the drains and streets metalled is not the duty of provincial or National Assembly members. They should legislate only."* (educated women, Haripur)

*"The duty of the local governments is to solve people's problems."* (unemployed males, D. G. Khan)

Some respondents said that MNAs, MPAs and local councillors should **work together to solve the problems** of the people.

*"There is a lot of grouping at lower level and government itself should do something for local government. Local councillors should be directly in touch with MNAs and MPAs."* (educated unemployed males, Multan)

*"Their mutual relationship should be very close and warm."* (unemployed males, D.G. Khan)

*"Most of the people think that the representatives of local, provincial and federal governments should be in touch with the people all the time and should try to solve public problems."* (male councillors, Gawadar)

*"MNAs and MPAs should fulfil their promises and carry out welfare work."* (unemployed males, D.G. Khan)

### Summary

A number of respondents said that **MNAs and MPAs should legislate** whereas the local **councillors should solve the local problems**. However, some respondents said that MNAs, MPAs and local councillors should **work together to solve the problems** of the people.

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## 6.3 Relationship between representatives at various levels

Most respondents were of the view that since the elected representatives at various levels were **related** to each other, they would **cooperate** with each other.

*"District Nazim, MPAs and MNAs all belong to*

*Arbab group. They will help their favourite people. They are related to one another and are friendly towards one another."* (women councillors, Larkana)  
*"In our area Nazims and National Assembly candidate belong to the PPP, so they are politically related."* (housewives, Hyderabad)

*"In our area the Nazims and the MNA are related to one another and belong to one party."* (businessmen, Hyderabad)

However, some respondents expressed frustration about elected representatives being from the same family and politics being **dominated by a few families**.

*"When Nawaz Sharif came, he brought Shahbaz Sharif. Earlier nobody knew Shahbaz Sharif. Nawaz Sharif himself became prime minister and made his brother chief minister. A few families are dominating politics in our country. Sometimes father is elected and some times son, nephew or some other relative. This is happening again and again."* (educated, unemployed males, Multan)

*"Q-League knew before hand that it would win so they brought their relatives and friends to the front and got them elected as assembly members."* (educated, unemployed males, Multan)

Some respondents said that the relationship between local government representatives and MNAs/MPAs were **not friendly** because they were hostile to one another on political basis.

*"The relationship between MPAs and MNAs and local governments are not friendly. They are hostile to one another. They do not tolerate one another and both fail to fulfil their responsibilities."* (male councillors, Gawadar)

*"Some of the individuals who have been elected MNAs/MPAs also contested for local bodies but were defeated. Now as MNA/MPA they are not very friendly towards the people who did not vote for them in the local bodies' election."* (educated women, Haripur)

A number of respondents felt that politicians were absorbed in **revengeful politics** while ignoring the problems of the people.

*"Bhutto promoted Zia and Zia removed Bhutto. Nawaz Sharif brought in Musharraf and Musharraf removed Nawaz Sharif. Politics has become business. This should end. People belonging to different parties plot against each other. New government stops the development projects initiated by the previous government. Politicians plot against each other and poor people suffer."* (educated, unemployed males, Multan)

## Summary

Most respondents were of the view that since the elected representatives at various levels were **related** to each other, they would **cooperate** with each other. However, some expressed frustration about elected representatives being from the same family and politics being **dominated by a few families**.

Some respondents said that the relationship between local government and MNA/MPA were **not friendly** because they were hostile to one another on political basis. A number of respondents felt that politicians were absorbed in **revengeful politics** while ignoring the problems of the people.

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## 6.4 Impact on LG in case legislators and local representatives belong to different political parties

The majority of respondents felt that conflicts between the elected representatives would have a **negative impact on development work**.

*"Since our MPAs and MNAs and councillors belong to different parties, we are afraid that developmental projects will not be carried out. Representatives will fight with one another and there shall be more disputes. If matters are related to police or courts, adversaries shall create hurdles in their settlement. Funds will be stopped."* (unemployed males, Multan)

*"Central government is a mix of many parties. There shall be no consensus and people will suffer. As a principle new comers should give better performance but corruption has become a habit of Pakistani politicians and none of the people's representatives let this chance go. There is no chance that this government will protect local government."* (unemployed males, Multan)

*"Since most of us belong to Muslim League (N) and government is going to be formed by MMA so our developmental schemes will be ignored."* (educated females, Haripur)

*"Being from different political parties, they must be having several differences and will try to fail each other."* (housewives, Hyderabad)

*"There will be differences between them and as a result projects will not be carried out properly."* (women councillors, Larkana)

A number of respondents expressed the hope that the representatives would **put their differences aside** and work for the betterment of the country.

*"If democratic principles are respected, it will not have any negative effect. But if there are differences between them, national circumstances will be affected adversely."* (male, councillors, Gawadar)

*"We wish it should have positive effects. They are people's representatives. They should set aside grouping and sectarianism. They should cooperate so that we feel satisfied."* (unemployed males, D.G.Khan)

*"I think this government will perform better because Mr. Jamali is Musharraf's find, so developmental works will continue."* (unemployed males, Multan)

Some respondents said that the democratic governments should be **allowed to complete their tenure**.

*"Parties are not given time according to their mandate. Governments are dismissed soon so they cannot deliver. We demand that democratic governments should be given chance to complete their tenure."* (unemployed males, Multan)

## Summary

The majority of respondents felt that conflicts between the elected representatives would have a **negative impact on development work**. However, a number of respondents expressed the hope that the representatives will **put their differences aside** and work for the betterment of the country. Some respondents said that the democratic governments should be **allowed to complete their tenure**.



Chapter 7

*Expectations From Elect-  
ed Representatives,  
Political Parties And  
Central Government*

## Chapter 7

# Expectations From Elected Representatives, Political Parties And Central Government

*"Our MNA is an international personality. The way he has been successful in cricket, in the same way he may bring revolution in the area. Work on some water supply schemes and schools have been started recently through NGOs." - Voter, Mianwali*

The following questions were explored under the topic:

1. What do you think about the successful candidates in your constituency?
1. What is your opinion about the parties that have won on national level?
1. What are your views regarding the efforts to form the central government?
1. What are your expectations from the future government?

### 7.1 Views regarding successful candidates

*"We think whatever they have done in the past, now they should change themselves and work for the people, otherwise time will never forgive them." - male labourers, Quetta*

Many respondents from across the country expressed **confidence in the successful candidates** of their area.

*"We are satisfied. They are the people who serve the people." (male/female university students, Multan; male councillors, Muzaffargarh, Khanewal; women councillors, Muzaffargarh; farmers, labourers, tenants, skilled, Multan; women workers Peshawar)*

*"They have been in the government before this also. They are not corrupt." (male councillors, Muzaffargarh)*

*"Hiraj family has got several development projects completed. They may change their political loyalty but they are faithful to the people." (male councillors,*

*Khanewal)*

*"Educated people have succeeded, so we are satisfied." (women councillors, Muzaffargarh; male/female university students, Multan)*

*"Our MNA is an international personality. The way he has been successful in cricket, in the same way he may bring revolution in the area. Work on some water supply schemes and schools have been started recently through NGOs." (Mianwali)*

*"Our MPA, although son of an ex-MPA, has a different thinking."*

*"By not joining the ruling party, they have been faithful to the people of their constituency."*

Some of them expressed **positive hopes** from the successful candidates.

*"They will do something practically for the area." (businessmen, Khuzdar; technocrats, Quetta)*

*"We hope they will solve our problems." (housewives, Larkana)*

*"Some new people have been elected. Perhaps they may arrange jobs for us." (educated unemployed males, Haripur)*

*"We hope religious people will be better." (businessman Khuzdar)*

On the other hand many respondents from across the country expressed **disenchantment** with the successful candidates.

*"Candidate's attitude changes after winning the elections." (urban working women, Sargodha)*

*"They are completely changed after winning the election. They do not keep any contact with the people. If somebody goes to them, they do not even open the door." (Housewives, Muzaffargarh)*

*"We are not satisfied because they are the same*

people who failed to deliver the goods in the past.” (women councillors, Muzaffargarh, Jhang; housewives, Muzaffargarh)

“They are elected every time. It will not make any difference to us.” (factory workers, Tando Allahyar)

“We are not satisfied because winners have no ideology. They contest election for their own objectives. There has been no change in our condition for the last 56 years.” (factory workers, Rawalpindi)

“MPA Aamir Sultan Cheema donated one lakh (one hundred thousand) rupees for mosques and established a committee for the poor to distribute cash. The MNA has monopoly in this constituency and has won through unfair means.” (teachers, health workers, councillors, rural Sargodha)

“Military rulers will not let them work. They may solve some local problems but they can not change economic conditions in the country.” (trade union workers, Peshawar)

Many respondents were **wary of candidates’ past digressions** and had a suspicious attitude towards them.

“We minorities do not expect anything good from them. They burnt our houses in 1992.” (minorities, Quetta)

“We voted against the successful candidates, so we have no hopes.” (minority women, Tharparker; unemployed females, Hyderabad)

“They are the ones who carry out terrorist activities in Jhang.” (women councillors, Jhang)

Some were **not sure**, while some exhorted the elected representatives to **change for the better**.

“It is difficult to say anything at this stage. It depends on their performance.” (male councillors, Muzaffargarh)

## Summary

Many respondents from across the country expressed **confidence in the successful candidates** of their area. Some of them expressed **positive hopes** from the successful candidates. On the other hand many respondents from across the country expressed **disenchantment** with the successful candidates. Many respondents were **wary of candidates’ past digressions** and had a suspicious attitude towards them. Some were **not sure**, while some exhorted the elected representatives to **change for the better**.

## 7.2 Views regarding successful parties at national level

Several respondents were **hopeful** of the newly elected people.

“Some new faces have come to the scene; we hope they will deliver the goods.” (farmers, labourers, Multan; male and female councillors, Muzaffargarh)

“The candidates winning on national level are new and educated. Some of them have got education abroad.” (female university students, Multan)

“The PML-Q has chosen good people. For instance Ms. Zubaida Jalal has been made education minister. We hope that she will give special attention to education.” (teachers, health workers, rural women councillors, Sargodha)

“I am satisfied that the PML-Q has won. It will continue Musharraf’s good policies.” (rural male councillors, Khanewal; women councillors, Jhang)

Some respondents were satisfied by the election of **MMA candidates** while many thought that the success of the MMA was due to their anti-USA stance.

“We are satisfied with the MMA because it is hostile to the USA and they may save the country. Moreover, they are not corrupt.” (housewives, Muzaffargarh)

“Because of Afghan situation hostility against the USA increased. People voted for the MMA to show their reaction.” (businessmen Khuzdar)

“The MMA won because people were against America.” (male university students, Multan)

“In NWFP and Balochistan, the MMA won because of public reaction.” (female university students, Multan)

However, most respondents from across the country were **not hopeful** of anything positive coming out of the national elections.

“They are not new people. Their elders did nothing, neither will they do anything.” (female university students, Multan; women councillors, Jhang)

“People who have joined the government are selfish. They will not run the government according to the constitution.” (factory workers, Rawalpindi)

“With the arrival of new government cases of theft and robbery are on the rise.” (women councillors, Jhang)

“No hopes, they are same old people. Nobody does anything for the welfare of the poor.” (labourers, Quetta)

*"Establishment has brought certain parties in the government. These parties will obey the World Bank and increase prices. Labourers are losing their jobs we have no hopes."* (factory workers, Tando Allah Yar)

*"Old parties having the same thinking have won. New people have not won. So we do not have any hope that these people will do something for the country."* (professionals, Khuzdar)

*"We have just cast votes as is the tradition. Our forefathers have been doing this. But it is useless."* (women workers, Peshawar)

*"We are not satisfied because instead of parties personalities have got votes."* (rural male councillors, Khanewal)

Many respondents from across the country expressed **suspicion of the elections** and its outcome, specially pointing out that the government had used its influence.

*"I think this time more shady dealings have taken place."* (rural male councillors, Khanewal)

*"Elections were manipulated by the government. The government supported American policy and thus paved the way for MMA's partial success. Thus government weakened Q-League. This all seems to be well planned."* (rural shopkeepers, Mianwali)

*"Some MMA candidates were helped by agencies to win for their special objectives."* (technocrats, Quetta; businessmen Khuzdar)

*"Traditional families have succeeded. Government wanted to see them successful."* (technocrats, Quetta; minority (Christian), Quetta; businessmen Khuzdar)

*"Certain parties have won because of the government's support. These parties will obey the government"* (factory workers, Tando Allah Yar)

*"The government has supported the winning parties so we have no hopes."* (educated unemployed youth, Lahore)

Many respondents thought that the **PML-Q was unfairly elected** because of the government's support.

*"We have heard that the government supported the PML-Q. That is why it has won more seats."* (rural women councillors, Muzaffargarh; male councillors, Muzaffargarh; rural shopkeepers, Mianwali)

*"The government supported Q-League openly. In our*

*constituency, PPPP public meetings were disrupted whereas government vehicles were provided for Q-League meetings."* (male university students, Multan)

*"We are not satisfied with Q-League because most of its members are corrupt. They left the PML-N and joined the PML-Q. The government has supported this party, so it will follow government's instructions."* (housewives, Muzaffargarh)

Some respondents said that they were only aware of the candidates selected from their city and had **no idea** about the national parties.

*"We do not even know who has won in the city next to Muzaffargarh how can we tell about the whole country?"* (men and women councillors, Muzaffargarh)

*"We do not know the candidates personally so we cannot say anything."* (farmers, labourers, Multan; women councillors, Muzaffargarh)

## Summary

Many respondents expressed **positive expectations** from the newly elected people at the national level, with some expressing positive hopes for the MMA candidates. On the other hand many respondents from across the country were **not hopeful** of any thing positive coming out of the national elections. Many expressed **suspicion of the elections** and it's outcome, specially pointing out that the government had used its influence, especially by **supporting the PML-Q**, while some thought that the **agencies supported the MMA**. Some respondents said that they were only aware of local candidates and had **no idea** about national parties.

## 7.3 Views regarding efforts to form central government

Most respondents from across the country felt that the process of formation of central government was engineered by the existing government **to bring the PML-Q into government**.

*"Mr. Musharraf used all the tricks to bring the PML-Q in the government. For instance Mr. Sherpao, wanted by NAB, was taken in the government and Mr. Faisal Saleh was forced to support the PML-Q. Until the agencies gave the OK report, Musharraf did not give invitation to form government"* (rural shopkeepers, Mianwali)

*"In our area people belonging to the PPPP were forced to join Q-League, otherwise they would have been declared defaulters."* (male councillors, Khanewal)

*"Central government was formed in such a way that Musharraf got all the powers. Because of leadership of his choice Musharraf will force his opinion on assembly*

and say it is the opinion of the people's representatives." (factory workers, Rawalpindi)

"People knew before hand that the PML-Q was king's party." (teachers, health workers, women councillors, rural Sargodha; female university students, Multan)

"Jamali's government is a weak government. It has been formed through Musharraf's support." (female university students, Multan)

"The government has brought its favourite party to government through unfair means." (male councillors, Muzaffargarh)

"The whole process is fraud and engineered. The government has supported a particular group." (professionals, Khuzdar)

"Establishment had created special conditions to form a government of its liking. There is military behind the civil government" (factory workers, Hyderabad)

"Formation of forward block is wrong. Today they have joined government by accepting money. They may indulge in corruption." (male university students Multan)

A number of respondents from Southern Punjab (mostly councillors), expressed **satisfaction over the process** of the formation of the government.

"I am satisfied because opposition is strong which is good for the country." (male councillors, Khanewal)

"Formation of the government at the centre took time but a good person has been elected as prime minister." (women councillors, Khanewal; male councillors, Muzaffargarh)

"The government had no option. Jamali was the best available person." (male councillors, Muzaffargarh)

"We think Zafarullah Jamali is an old and experienced politician and will serve the country. Since new politicians have come to the scene, it is hoped they will serve the country." (farmers, farm labourers, Multan)

"Parties have trusted each other. We are satisfied." (women workers, Peshawar)

## Summary

Most respondents from across the country felt that the process of formation of central government was engineered by the existing government to **bring the PML-Q into government**. However, a number of respondents from Southern Punjab (mostly councillors), expressed **satisfaction over the process** of the formation of the government.

## 7.4 Expectations from the future government

"Nawaz and Shahbaz were gifts of Zianul Haq. Shujaat and Pervaiz are gifts of Musharraf. People facing corruption charges contested elections on the king's party tickets. How can people who joined the government to save themselves serve the people?" - rural shopkeepers, Mianwali

Many respondents from across the country were optimistic that **things would improve** with the formation of the new government.

"Literacy and employment situation and health services will improve. We hope people will get the medicines, provided in the hospitals." (women workers, Peshawar)

"We expect a good change as new people have come on the scene." (educated unemployed youth, Haripur)

"This government will work for education." (teachers, health workers, women councillors, rural Sargodha)

"This government will improve law and order situation, control prices and end unemployment and improve relations with neighbouring countries." (technocrats, Quetta)

"Islamic laws will be introduced and standard of education will be improved. Economic condition will improve and the country will make progress." (women councillors, Jhang)

"Since educated people have been elected I hope education will be promoted, unemployment will be reduced and development work will be done and thus, the government will be less corrupt." (housewives, Muzaffargarh)

"This government will introduce plans for the poor. I hope unemployment will be reduced and our country will get rid of loans." (women councillors, Muzaffargarh)

"I hope unemployment will be reduced. The prices of electricity, oil and fertilizer will be reduced. Developmental work will be done in our area." (farmers, farm labourers, Multan)

"Since opposition is very strong the government will have to perform better. I hope the new government will take steps to end unemployment and poverty and will work to improve education and health facilities." (male councillors, Muzaffargarh)

Some educated respondents from Southern Punjab expressed the hope that the new government would **continue the policies of Pervez Musharraf**.

"Musharraf is an intelligent person, he will make them work. Projects initiated by his government will be completed. Since educated people have come into powers things will improve. Revolutionary steps will be taken in the field of education. Long term planning will take place. Economy will improve." (male university students, Multan)

"May continue Musharraf's policies and bring improvement in economy and education and other government departments may perform better." (female university students Multan)

"We hope it will continue Musharraf's policies and will promote education." (rural male councillors, Khanewal)

Many respondents from NWFP and Punjab stated that **they did not have any hope** from the new government.

"Coalition government has been formed, but it will not last for long. There is no unity within the party, how can it work with other parties? These people take care of their relatives' interests only." (women workers, Peshawar)

"Military government could not end unemployment in three years. How can its hand-picked political parties do it?" (educated unemployed youth, Haripur)

"Murderers and corrupt people have been given the government. Almost all members of the ruling party have cases against them. The prime minister has the allegation of usurping millions. The governor of Sindh is charged with killing several people. Members belonging to other parties are being black mailed to join the ruling party. President Musharraf has become president through a fraud referendum. Under these conditions the central government will not be able to bring any political and economic changes. It can only play the role of an agent." (trade union workers, Peshawar)

"Since old corrupt people have come into power no positive change is expected." (male university students, Multan)

"Future government will work according to personal preferences of the ruling members and will not care for the people. We labourers have always been oppressed. We are hopeless even now. This leadership will not revive democracy." (factory workers, Rawalpindi)

"Prices will be further increased." (female university students Multan)

"How can we expect anything because the PML-Q has no manifesto? This government will not last." (rural male councillors, Khanewal)

"Members of the ruling party belong to same old generation. So no change is expected." (housewives, Muzaffargarh)

Several respondents wanted to adopt a **wait and see attitude** regarding what would happen.

"We cannot give an opinion until they do something practically." (teachers, health workers, women councillors, rural Sargodha; women councillors, Jhang)

"People with differing views have come into power, it may work either way." (male university students, Multan)

"It is difficult to say anything at this stage. However, this government does not seem to last for long." (minority women, Islamabad)

Some respondents expressed the **hope that the new government will succeed**.

"The new government is a loose government. We pray for its success and hope it will not indulge in corruption and will not damage the institutions." (technocrats, Quetta)

"It is hoped that the members of the new government will learn from the mistakes of the previous governments" (female university students Multan)

Several respondents expressed the hope that the new government will do something about **American influence and image** in Pakistan.

"This government should stop obeying USA." (female university students Multan)

"First of all Mr. Jamali will try to improve USA's image." (female university students, Multan)

"I hope the MMA will enforce Islamic system and save us from USA's slavery." (housewives, Muzaffargarh)

## Summary

Respondents were divided about their expectations with the new government. While many from across the country said that **things would improve** with the formation of the new government, and some expressed the hope that the new government would **continue the policies of Pervez Musharraf**, many respondents from NWFP and Punjab expressed a **lack of hope** from the new government. Several respondents wanted to adopt a **"wait and see attitude"** regarding what would happen, while others expressed the **hope that the new government would succeed**. Several respondents expressed the hope that the new government would do something about **American influence and image** in Pakistan.

BEYOND VOTING

VOICES OF THE ELECTORATES AND PARTY WORKERS  
ELECTION 2002



## Chapter 8

# *Political Parties And Workers*

## Chapter 8

# Political Parties And Workers

*"Ours is a social party. We work inside as well as outside the parliament. This is the only party in the country which has set up a blood bank. Our workers have political consciousness. They discuss things logically and are quite disciplined. They are nationalist and have democratic attitude. ( PKMAP).*

This chapter is based on the views of party workers about various aspects of their parties. It is based on the answers given by workers to the following questions:

- 1 With which political party are you affiliated to and what are the reasons for your affiliation?
- 1 Do you have any family affiliation with any political party and what are the reasons for this affiliation?
- 1 Have any one of you changed your political affiliation in the past? If yes, why?
- 1 What do you do for your party?
- 1 What is the system of running the party (membership, internal election, attitude of leadership, work methodology and women participation)? Are you satisfied with it or not?
- 1 Are you satisfied with the decision making process in the party?
- 1 Were your expectations from the party fulfilled?
- 1 Are you satisfied with the system of distribution of tickets in the party?
- 1 How was the performance of your party in the recent elections?
- 1 Which issues/problems is your party highlighting in and outside government?
- 1 What could be the role of your party for sustaining and promoting democracy in Pakistan?
- 1 Where do you want to see your party after ten years and what services can you provide to achieve this goal?

The detailed responses are given in the tables in **Annex 2**.

### 8.1 Affiliation with political parties

Amongst the reasons identified by workers of different political parties for their party affiliations, most

frequently cited were party **ideology** and **manifesto**, **pro-people progressive policies**, impressive **personality** of leadership, **family affiliation** and **struggle and sacrifices** for restoration of democracy.

PPPP workers from across the country said that they were affiliated to the PPPP because of its manifesto, pro-people policies, fascinating personality of its leader and for creating political awareness in the masses. Workers of the PML-N and to a lesser extent the PML-Q gave greater importance to the party's **ideological role in creating Pakistan** and its **manifesto** and **personality** of the leader. On the other hand, workers of religious parties mentioned **religious policies** and family affiliation. Workers of other parties mentioned **foreign policy**, provincial **autonomy** policies and **emotional attachment** as the basis of their affiliation to a particular party.

Families of most party workers were attached with one or other political party. Main reasons for this affiliation included **attachment of elders** and **pressure by the head** of the family. Other reasons included **ideological affiliation** and better **manifesto**, good **leadership** and **personal liking**. The PML-N and the PML-Q workers mentioned founder of Pakistan as a reason, while religious affiliation was mentioned only by workers of religious parties.

Most party workers said that they had **not changed their political affiliations**. Those workers who had changed affiliations cited **poor performance** and **lack of intra-party democracy** as the main reasons for leaving their previous party. All the PML-Q workers said that they left their previous parties because of their poor performance, lack of democracy and prevalence of **corruption** in the party. Some workers of the PPPP, the PML-N, PAT, and the JI also left their previous parties for the same reasons. Workers of religious parties also mentioned "**not serving Islam properly**" as a reason for leaving their previous party.

Most workers said that they served their parties by voluntary donation of **time, money and services**. They organized and registered **new members** of the party at grass- roots level distributed **party programme**

in the public and participated in **social welfare activities**. Some workers arranged **processions** and party **meetings** and participated in **election campaigns**. Workers of religious parties also collected **funds** for their parties. Some workers of the PPPP, the AT of Sindh, the ANP and the BNP worked to raise **political awareness** in public.

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## 8.2 Party functioning

Most workers expressed **satisfaction** with the way their parties were being run. They said that the **membership procedures** were adequate, **elections** were held **regularly**, and decisions were taken by **majority vote**. All the major parties had separate **women wings**. Many workers said that their leadership was **good and caring**. However, a few workers of the PPPP, the PML-N and the PML-Q expressed **dissatisfaction** with their parties.

Most party workers said that their **expectations were fulfilled**. The overwhelming majority of workers expressed **satisfaction with the process of decision making** in the party. Most of them said that they were **consulted**, and were satisfied with the party **policies and manifestos**. Religious parties workers said that their parties worked for the promotion of **religion** and **served the people** as well. PPPP workers were satisfied because their party **implemented its manifesto**. MQM workers said that their party protected the rights of the **oppressed muhajirs**.

At the same time workers of a number of parties said that their expectations were **not fulfilled**. A number of PPPP workers said that the party **manifesto was not followed** and **decision-making process was unsatisfactory**. Some workers said that their parties could not achieve expected results because of **army interference**.

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## 8.3 Key party issues

Party workers identified the following issues that were highlighted by their parties: **unemployment**, lack of **education** and **health** facilities, **high prices**, non-availability of **gas, water and electricity**, and negative behavior of **feudals and police**. Less frequently mentioned issues included scarcity of **irrigation water** and other farmer problems, **law and order** situation, provincial **autonomy, corruption**, developmental projects, **poverty** reduction, unsatisfactory **justice** system and lack of clean **drinking water**. Most of the issues were highlighted by the three mainstream parties i.e. the PPPP, the PML-N and the PML-Q. Religious parties also highlighted several issues such as unemployment, health and education, lack of basic amenities, inflation, while in Sindh they also mentioned

promotion of **Islamic values**.

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## 8.4 Performance in recent elections

More party workers expressed **satisfaction** than dissatisfaction with the **performance** of their party in the recent **elections**. Of these the **religious parties** and the BNP expressed the greatest amount of satisfaction, while the PML-N, the PML-Q and the BNM had **divided opinions**. Most workers of the PPPP, the PTI, Millat Party and some from the PML-Q and the PML-N (mostly from Punjab and some from NWFP) were **dissatisfied** with their party's performance. They believed that the military government had **rigged** the election and kept their **main leaders away** from the country.

The overwhelming majority of workers expressed **satisfaction** over the **party tickets** distribution process. However, a few workers of the PPPP, the PML-Q and Millat Party in **Punjab and Sindh** expressed **dissatisfaction** with the distribution of tickets.

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## 8.5 The future vision

The majority of workers said that they wanted to see their own party as the **biggest** and the **ruling party** of the country. They said that they would struggle to **restore and strengthen democracy** in Pakistan. Workers of some parties in the Punjab said that their parties would play a **constructive role** while in opposition, would prevent the misuse of **authority and power**, and would not become a part of any **conspiracy**. Some workers of the PPPP, the PML-N, the JI and the ANP resolved to abolish the **National Security Council**. The religious parties said that they would promulgate **Islamic laws**, while some parties pledged to work for **oppressed communities**. Workers of some parties (mainly in Sindh and Balochistan) said they would work to end **feudalism**. Some PPPP and PML-N workers proposed that the main party leaders should head the government.



## Chapter 9

# Conclusions and Recommendations

### 9.1. Conclusions

If one were to sum up the findings of this national study of the Pakistani elections one could easily describe it as an indictment of the electoral process. There is widespread disenchantment with the political process, and an increasing feeling among people that no matter who is elected, it will not make any difference to their lives. This feeling of *learned helplessness* is widespread, and pervades the whole study. The people of Pakistan have in no uncertain terms said that the elections were generally rigged, and were manipulated to help the "King's Party" win.

It is obvious from the study that the majority of voters do not vote on an individual basis but vote on the basis of decisions made by *others* (men, elders, biraderi, influentials, etc.). This reflects the dependent nature of people and the traditional authoritarian underpinnings of Pakistani society. The drama of elections is played in the background of caste, biraderi, family, religion, and feudal moorings.

Interestingly most people have not found fault with the existing system of elections, but with the fact that the system is dominated by the elite who use it to their own benefit. There is widespread awareness that money plays a vital role in electoral success, thus effectively leaving out any representation of the poorest members of society. People also understand the concept and principles of democracy, and would like a true democratic polity to flourish in the country.

On the positive side people appreciate the involvement of women in the political process and consider it a fundamental element of the democratic process. This is perhaps the main positive message of the study.

In general people seem quite apprehensive about the future of the local government system, and feel that the representatives of provincial and national assemblies will undermine the system and accumulate power in their own hands. Despite this negative picture it is surprising that a significant

number of people have placed high hopes from their newly elected representatives.

Listening to the views of the Pakistani people is hardly an uplifting experience. As one goes through the outpourings of the people from across the length and breadth of the country the frustrations, miseries and helplessness of the people come through in the most blatant language. It is obvious that the people fully understand the realities of the political landscape of Pakistan. They are cognizant of the wheeling and dealings of the power brokers, including the stranglehold of the feudals and the army over the body politic. They are aware that the elite continue and will continue to exploit them before, during and after each election.

Being disorganized and powerless the people continue to adopt coping strategies which can give them the best bargain under difficult circumstances. They well know the meaning of the phrase "beggars cannot be choosers" and try to strike the best bargains when elections provide them some opportunity to exercise their power.

### 9.2 Recommendations

Keeping the foregoing in mind we are venturing to make a few recommendations for political parties, the Election Commission, the government, and citizen groups.

#### Recommendations for political parties

As mentioned earlier, instead of party workers office bearers of parties turned up for focus group discussions. Therefore, it was expected that office bearers would defend their respective parties particularly when they were responding to very critical questions. Any criticism by them could have been used against them.

It is interesting that when one talks to the party worker one hears the nicest things rather than the reality of political parties in Pakistan. Each worker (with a few

exceptions) paints his/her party in the most positive light (e.g. having regular elections), and displays the greatest expectations from the party to create a democratic Pakistan. This is not surprising. Party workers are expected to push the party line and to smooth over internal differences when talking to outsiders. Under the circumstances it is indeed surprising that a number of workers (though in a minority) have pointed out the internal problems in their parties.

If Pakistani political parties are to mature it will have to adopt and practice democratic principles, learn to indulge in and benefit from self-criticism, and work hard to build a mass following of critically aware members. If these parties work sincerely towards this goal the Pakistani voter is likely to give them an enthusiastic response. The great frustration of the voters is also a big opportunity for political parties. If they can deliver the goods (as the late Bhutto and his team did in the late sixties) they could achieve successes that may well be beyond their wildest imagination.

The struggle is likely to be long, but do we have any other choice?

- 1 Trust your workers, e.g. allow them to express their views about the party to outsiders instead of taking over the discussion.
- 1 Ultimately people will vote for candidates who deliver on their promises. Parties should select candidates who are sincere to their voters and have the time and resources to fulfil their electoral promises.
- 1 The early bird catches the worm. Parties should start their campaign well in advance so that they can influence the neutral voters.
- 1 The mainstream non-religious parties should study the organisational structure of the more **organised parties** and adopt their positive aspects, e.g. systematic process of **recruitment** and **promotion** within the party, regular elections, fund raising, promotion of volunteerism, development of proper offices, regular **training** of workers and office bearers regarding party ideology, policies and procedures, regular communication between office bearers and workers, close contact etc.

### Recommendations for the Election Commission

- 1 Have polling stations within **walking distance** of voters. Where this is not possible **arrange transport** for voters, including women, and the elderly/sick/disabled.
- 1 In order to restore voter confidence regarding the electoral process **implement the rules** of electioneering and **punish violators**, e.g. those who use money and other incentives to get votes, candidates who intimidate voters, misuse of

election symbols, household heads who force family members to vote for a certain candidate.

- 1 Improve the system of preparation and checking of **voting lists** to reduce false votes, registration of names in more than one list, etc.
- 1 Simplify the procedure for casting **postal ballots**.
- 1 **Educate** voters regarding the importance of voting, how to check voting lists and ensure registration of their vote, how to assess a candidate and vote rather than voting on the instructions of others, not to give their ID cards to any one, etc. Both traditional as well as non-traditional means (e.g. television dramas) of education should be used.
- 1 Ensure announcement of voting **results** immediately after counting through a transparent process

### Recommendations for the Government

- 1 Ensure that the process of issuance of **ID cards** is completed well in time.
- 1 Improve **security** at polling stations, particularly for women.
- 1 In order to restore voter confidence and increase the voting percentage maintain strict **neutrality** toward all parties and candidates. This should also include allowing equal time to all parties to express their views through the state-controlled media.
- 1 **Development activities** should be carried out according to schedule and candidates should not be allowed to use them as a mean to get votes.
- 1 The people have **lost faith** in the credibility of the present government due to the involvement of government agencies in its formation. The government will have to take a number of **confidence building** measures to restore some of its credibility, by adopting a democratic attitude inside and outside the parliament. **Interference** of the army and agencies like ISI in the affairs of government will have to be eliminated.
- 1 The government should provide full protection to **the local government** system and not allow the elected members of the assemblies to sabotage the system. It should also encourage different representatives to **work together**, and should provide incentives and publicity for those governments which are performing well.

### Recommendations for the public interest organizations

- 1 Organise training for women voters so that they are able to cast their votes.
- 1 Constitute watchdog committees to monitor the election process, report violations to the Election Commission, and put pressure on the Commission to implement rules and regulations.
- 1 There is a need to promote the win-win attitude amongst politicians so that, whether in government or in opposition, they do not continue to blame each other for all the problems – some training in conflict

resolution would be helpful.

If Pakistani political parties are to mature it will have to adopt and practice democratic principles, learn to indulge in and benefit from self-criticism, and work hard to build a mass following of critically aware members. If they work sincerely towards this goal the Pakistani voter is likely to give them an enthusiastic response. The great frustration of the voters is also a big opportunity for political parties. If they can deliver the goods (as the late Bhutto and his team did in the late sixties) they could achieve successes that may well be beyond their wildest imagination.

The struggle is likely to be long, but do we have any other choice?

**BEYOND VOTING**

VOICES OF THE ELECTORATES AND PARTY WORKERS  
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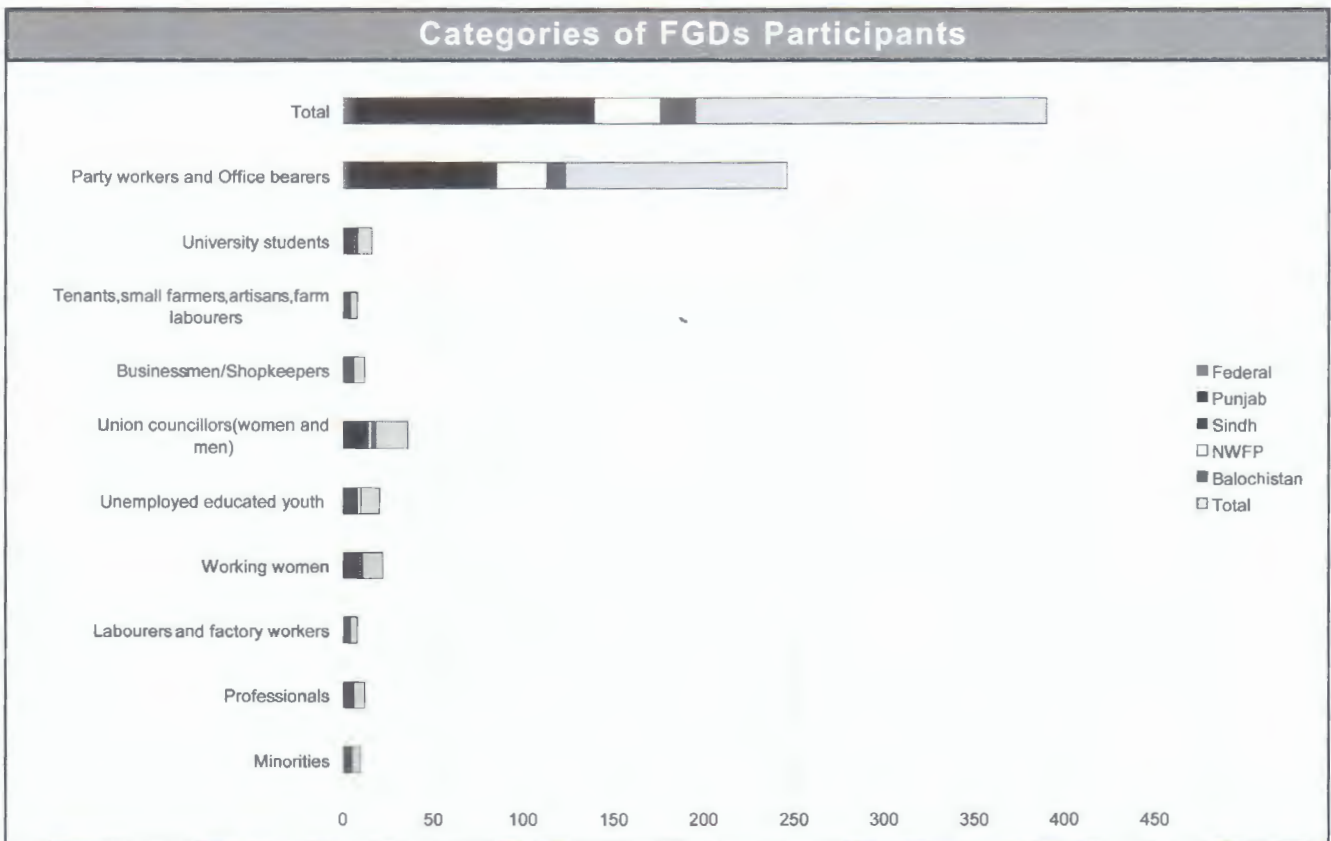
# ANNEX 1

## Focus Group Discussions

by  
Location, Topics, Target Groups and  
Political Parties

### Categories of FGDs Participants

Categories	Federal	Punjab	Sindh	NWFP	Balochistan	Total
Minorities	1	1	2	0	1	5
Professionals	0	2	2	1	1	6
Labourers and factory workers	0	1	1	1	1	4
Working women	0	5	4	1	1	11
Unemployed educated youth	0	5	3	2	0	10
Union councillors (women and men)	0	11	3	2	2	18
Businessmen/Shopkeepers	0	2	1	1	2	6
Tenants,small farmes,artisans,farm labourers	0	3	1	0	0	4
University students	0	5	1	1	1	8
Party workers and Office bearers	3	59	23	28	10	123
<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>195</b>



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## **ANNEX 2**

### Data of Political Parties

**Table 1: Affiliation with party and reasons for affiliation**

Note: Bold and Underlined indicates more than one response.

Indicators	PPPP	PML-N	PML-Q	JUI	JUP	PAT	JI	PTI	MP	MQM	SDA	AT	ANP	BNM	BNP	PKMAP	PML-F
<b>Ideology &amp; Manifesto</b>																	
Creation of Pakistan		PSN	P														
Ideology	<u>PN</u>	PSN	<u>PS</u>		S	P	PN						N	B	B		
Manifesto	<u>PBNS</u>	PSN	PS	PN	P	P	P					S					
Party slogan	<u>P</u>							P			S		S		B	B	
<b>Policies</b>																	
Foreign Policies (Islamic Block)	<u>P</u>	P					PN	P									
Religious policies				NSB	PSN	P	PNS										
Liberal/progressive policies	<u>P</u>	P	S				P	P			S			B			
Nuclear policy	NP	P															
Non-sectarian policies	BP																
Agriculture policies/ Land reform	<u>P</u>	P	P														
Pro-people policies (Peasants & worker)	<u>PSBN</u>	P	P			S		P							B	B	
Policies for Provincial Autonomy	S	P											N		B	B	
<b>Democratic/human rights values</b>																	
Struggle and sacrifice for restoration of democracy	S	P		PB			N	P				S		B		B	
Struggle against feudal system.	<u>PN</u>																
<b>Personality</b>																	
Fascinating personality of leadership	<u>PSNB</u>	<u>PN</u>	<u>PS</u>	PN	PS	P	P	<u>P</u>	P		S		S	B	B		S
Emotional attachment	PS	P		B			S				S		S	B	B		
<b>Family affiliation</b>																	
Family affiliation	<u>SPN</u>	PS	PS	PNB	N		PS	P						B			S
<b>Mass achievements</b>																	
Mass awareness (political education)	PNB	P									S		S	B	B		
Constitution	PN																
Mega projects		P						<u>P</u>									
<b>Others</b>																	
National level party	S	P															
<b>Indicators</b>																	
Remained in power	<u>S</u>																
Friends influence											S						
Solve local problems	<u>S</u>	S															
Set up Islamic council	<u>N</u>																
Clean record					P												
Fed up with party		P	P														
Party of youth			P														
women representation			S														

Awami Tehreek Sindh (AT), Balochistan National Movement (BNM), Balochistan National Party (BNP), Pakhtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party (PKMAP), Millat Party (MP), Pakistan Awami Tehreek (PAT), PPP Sherpao (PPP-S), Sindh Democratic Alliance (SDA)

**Table 2: Family affiliation with any political party and reasons for affiliation**

	PPPP	PML-N	PML-Q	JUI	JUP	PAT	JI	PTI	MQM	SDA	AT	ANP	BNM	BNP	PKMAP	PML-F
<b>If with the same party</b>																
Because of better manifesto	P	P		PN	P		P	P								B
Services of elders	PS	PS	P		PS		PS					S	B	B		S
Better policies	P	P				P	PN									B
Religious affiliation/attachment				SB	PS	P	PS									
Pressures of household head and peers	PN	PNS	PS	S	S		S		S							S
Immaculate party					P											
Emotional attachment		P														
Family friendship	B	S								S						
Nationalism														B		
Regional popularity													B			
Leadership	P	P	P	NP	P	P		P					B			
Better personality	P				S	P		P						B		
Founder of Pakistan		PS	SP													
Personal liking	PS	P				S		P		S		S	B			
Local alliances		P	P							S						
Ideological affiliation		P	P				NP				S	N	B	B		
<b>With other parties</b>																
Personal liking	PS						P									
Poor performance of my party		P	P													
No reward		P														
Double standards of my party		P														

**Table 3: Reasons for change in political affiliation**

Indicator	PPPP	PML-N	PML-Q	JUI	JUP	PAT	JI	PTI	MP	BNP	NA	
Poor performance of previous party	PSB	P	P			P	P	P				S
Lack of intra party democracy in previous party	P	P	P		S		P					
To get some personal benefits	S											
To test the new party	S		P									
Corruption in previous party			P			P						
Party failed to control price hike			P									
Party was not serving Islam properly			PS	P			S					
Follow the favorite leader			S						P	B		

**Table 4: What do you do for your party?**

Indicator	PPPP	PML-N	PML-Q	JUI	JUP	PAT	JI	PTI	MQM	AT	ANP	BNM	BNP
Voluntarily give more time, money and services	P	PS	PS	B	<u>P</u>	<u>P</u>	S		<u>S</u>				
Arrange processions	P						P						
Arrange party meetings		P	P										
Encourage women participation in party		P											
Oppose women participation	<u>P</u>	P											
Organize young generation							P						
Disseminate party programme in the common public	<u>P</u>	P	P		SP	P	P	<u>P</u>					
Social activities for public betterment	<u>N</u>	<u>PS</u>	PS	N	P	P	P		S			B	
Fund raising					P	P	PS						
Organize and register new members of party at grass root level	<u>PB</u>	PS	PS	NB	P		S					B	
Take part in election campaign	P				<u>P</u>	P							
Struggle for political awareness	<u>P</u>									S	S		<u>B</u>
Struggle for the restoration of democracy		P											
Face hardships/jail		P											

**Table 5: System of running party (membership, internal election, attitude of leadership, methodology of work and women participation)**

Indicator	PPPP	PML-N	PML-Q	JUI	JUP	PAT	JI	PTI	MQM	SDA	AT	ANP	PPP-S	BNM	BNP	PKMAP	PML-F
Party membership	<u>PSN</u>	<u>PS</u>	<u>PS</u>	NPS	S	PS	PSN	P	S	S		N			B	B	
Regular elections	PSNB	<u>PB</u>	PS	NPS	PS	PS	PSN	P	S	S	S	N		<u>B</u>	B	B	
Women wings	P	P	P	P	P	SP	<u>P</u>	P						B			
Positive behaviour of leadership	P	<u>P</u>	SP	S	P	S	<u>P</u>							B			
Decision by majority votes	P	<u>PSN</u>	PS	SN	S	PS	NP	P	S	S		N	N		B	B	S
Not satisfied with system	P	<u>P</u>	P														

**Table 6: Expectations from party**

Indicator	PPPP	PML-N	PML-Q	JUI	JUP	PAT	JI	PTI	MP	MQM	SDA	ANP	PPP-S	BNM	BNP	PKMAP	NA	PML-F
<b>Not satisfied</b>																		
Selfish people have joined and created impediments		S																
Expectations not fulfilled	PNB	N	P	N		P		P				N			B		S	
Manifesto not followed	P																	
Workers frustrated		P																
Decision making unsatisfactory	B																	
<b>Satisfied</b>																		
Expectations fulfilled	SP	NSP	SPB	S	SP		SP	P	N	S	S	B	N	B	B	B		S
Prefer mass benefit over individual	N				S													
Favour Musharraf policies						P												
Expectations not fulfilled due to army interference		P	P		S													
Working for supremacy of Islam				N				P										
Working for religious and social sectors				S		P	P											
Development works leading to progress					S				P									
Protects rights of oppressed muhajirs										S								
Gathered all religious parties on one platform					S													
Implementing manifesto	PB																	

**Table 7: Satisfaction with decision making process in party**

Indicator	PPPP	PML-N	PML-Q	JUI	JUP	PAT	JI	PTI	MQM	ANP	BNM	BNP	PKMAP
Consultation with workers	PN	PBS	P	PN	PS		P	P	S	SN		B	
Satisfaction with party policies and manifesto	PBN	PN	PN	B		P	PN				B	B	B
Presence of party structure	P	P								N			
Not satisfied	P							P					

**Table 8: Level of satisfaction with performance of party in recent elections**

Indicator	PPPP	PML-N	PML-Q	JUI	JUP	PAT	JI	PTI	MP	PPP-S	BNM	BNP
Highly satisfied		PSN	PSN	NBSP	P		PNS					B
Satisfied to some extent	PS		SP	P		P	P			N	B	B
Dissatisfied	PN	P	NP					P	P		B	

**Table 9: Satisfaction with system of distribution of tickets in party**

Indicator	PPPP	PML-N	PML-Q	JUI	JUP	PAT	JI	PTI	MP	MQM	SDA	ANP	PPP-S	BNM	BNP	PKMAP	PML-F
Satisfied	PSBN	PNS	<u>PS</u>	PSB	P	P	SP	P		S	S	SN	N	B	B	B	S
Dissatisfied	<u>PS</u>		SP						P								

**Table 10: Issues/ problems highlighted by party (in power and not in power)**

Indicator	PPPP	PML-N	PML-Q	JUI	JUP	PAT	JI	PTI	MP	MQM	SDA	AT	ANP	PPP-S	BNM	BNP	SNA
Basic needs	BSPN	SNP	P	BSN			NSP			S				N	B	B	S
Lack of education		P	PS		PS	P	PN	P			S				B		
Unemployment	<u>PSBN</u>	<u>PS</u>	<u>PS</u>	S	P	PS	P	P		S	S	S	N				
Economic exploitation													S				
Protest over taxation					P												
Scarcity of water for irrigation	S	S		P								S	N				
Labour and agriculture problems	<u>P</u>		<u>P</u>				P										
Feudal lords and police misbehaviour	P	P	P			S	N	P				S					
Law and order	S				P		S										
Corruption	S						P										
Health issues	P	P	S		P	P	N	P	P		S						
Development works	NPS	P	SP				S							N			
Poverty reduction	<u>PN</u>	PN	P			P											
Slogan Roti, Kapra and Makan	PN																
Police and judiciary	P																
No gas, water, electricity	N	P	P	S	S				P				N	N	B	B	
Journalist issues			P														
No sewerage system		P		P			P										
No street lights				P													
Injustice	P	P					PS										
Conflict resolution	N			P													
Price hike	PS	PS	SP		S									N			
Extension/promotion of Islamic values				S	S		S										
Dowry	P	S															
Provincial autonomy	B												N		B		
Safe drinking water		P	P			S			P								
Afghan issue and prisoner of war														N			

**Table 11: Expected role of party after ten years and possible personal services**

Indicator	PPPP	PML-N	PML-Q	JUI	JUP	PAT	JI	PTI	MQM	SDA	AT	ANP	PPP-S	BNM	BNP	PML-F
Would like to see their parties in power	PSNB	PSN	PS	PS	PS	P		P	S		S	N	N	B		S
Emerge as biggest party in country and assembly	PB	P	PS	S	PN	P	PS	P	S			S		B	B	
Create harmony between Army and political Govt.		P	PS													
Separate religion from politics												S				
Restore/strengthen democracy	PSB	SP	SN	S	S	S	PS		S	S	S	S	N	B	B	
Introduce & strengthen two-party system		S								S						
Strong religious parties alliance					S											
Promulgation of Islamic laws	P	P		NPSB	PSN	P	PSN									
Biggest party of province				P						S				B	B	
Strong nationalist party															B	
Representative of oppressed communities	P		P	P					S					B		
Restore 1973 constitution				B			P									
Separate army from politics		P					S									
Abolish feudalism						S		P			S			B	B	
Main leaders should be PM of Pakistan	PSNB	PS					P						N			
Minimize gap between workers and leaders												N				
Uproot corruption within party and outside		P														
Restore basic human rights	B		P											B	B	
Provincial autonomy														B	B	
Biggest democratic party	P	P	S													
Salvation from American slavery				S			P									
Biggest justice provider							P	P								
Work for economic progress	P		P											B		
Create international image of party			P													
Raise female status			P													

**Table 12: What could be the role of your party for the sustainability of democracy in Pakistan?**

Indicator	PPPP	PML-N	PML-Q	JUI	JUP	PAT	JI	PTI	MP	ANP	PPP-S	BNP	PKMAP	NA
Would not be a part of any conspiracy/ intrigue	P				P		P							
Would play a constructive role while in opposition	PN	P		P		P			P					
Would work in national interest and Islam						P	PN							
Would not accept ministries on the basis of self-fishiness							P							
Would struggle for the restoration of the democracy	PBNS	PNS	PN	B	SP	P	PNS	P		N	N	B	B	S
Would impart awareness to common public about politics		S						P						
Would stand on principles				P										
Extermination of National Security Council	P	P					N			N				
Would prevent the misuse of authority and power		P	P					P						
Eradication of corruption	P													
Struggle to restore constitution & rule of law					N									

**BEYOND VOTING**

VOICES OF THE ELECTORATES AND PARTY WORKERS  
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Partner NGOs, Institutions  
and Individuals

## Individuals

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1. Aashiq Hussain
2. Aaisha Ahsan
3. Abdul Karim
4. Abdul Haq
5. Abdul Haqim
6. Ali Mir Shah
7. Ali Mohammad Bhano
8. Almas Shafiq
9. Altaz Sakhi
10. Akhter Jamil
11. Ather Gill
12. Amina Kauser
13. Azra Naim
14. Bilal Bhatti
15. Farida
16. Mateen Chishti
17. Farhan Hafeez
18. Farah Daud
19. Fozia
20. Gabriel
21. Ghazla
22. Gul Zaib
23. Gul Hassan Khoso
24. Hayaatullah
25. Iqbal Bhatti
26. Jamil Abbasi
27. Jam Ternachi
28. Imran Gul
29. Kifayatullah
30. Manzoor Hussain
31. Mary Rose
32. Malik Ishaq Ahmed
33. Mahboob-ur-Rehman
34. Masood-ul-Hassan Chishti
35. Mirza Sadiq
36. Mumtaz Mughal
37. Mushtaq Bilal
38. Munawar Sultan
39. Mohd. Sibtain
40. Mohammad Hashim
41. Mir Hassan Ariser
42. Mohammad Khalid
43. M. Naeem
44. Naheed
45. Nasser Ahmed
46. Nasibullah
47. Nazir Ahmed Sh.
48. Naila
49. Noor Akhter
50. Nawaz Ali
51. Nasim Sahar
52. Noor Jahan
53. Rashid Daud Pota
54. Raj Bai Palijoo
55. Rizwan Gul
56. Romana Gul
57. Raja Noorul Qamar
58. Rommi Mehmood
59. Rubina Iqbal
60. Rubina Qamar
61. Riffat.
62. Sajid Hussan
63. Sayeda Noreen
64. Shehzad Akhter
65. Shagufta
66. Samina Balouch
67. Safia Balouch
68. Shazia Ghazal
69. Satya
70. Shazia Nasir
71. Sh. Amin
72. Surayyia Malik
73. Taslim Akhter
74. Ulfat
75. Zarena Akhter

## Names

## NGOs, and Institutions

1.	Abdul Hamid	Institute of Social Sciences, Lahore
2.	Amna Sherazi	Wasai Sudhar
3.	Asif Saeed	PATTAN Development Organization
4.	Ashiq Zafar Bhatti	Aims Organization
5.	Ayesha Hussain	PATTAN Development Organization
6.	Prof. Barkat Ali	Balochistan University, Quetta
7.	Dr. Ajmal Kamboh	District Management Group, Lahore
8.	Dr. Ishtiaq Hussain	Professor, BZU, Multan
9.	Dr. Khawaja Alqama	Professor, BZU, Multan
10.	Dr. Khurram Qadir	Professor, BZU, Multan
11.	Farooq Hassan	PATTAN Development Organization
12.	Ghulam Hussain	The News
13.	Ghulam Murtaza	PATTAN Development Organization
14.	Ghulam Yasin	PATTAN Development Organization
15.	G. Haider Tahseem	PATTAN Development Organization
16.	Hussain Bux Jarwar	Rural & Agricultural Development Foundation, Sindh
17.	Ismail Khaskhely	Rural & Agricultural Development Foundation, Sindh
18.	Javed Haider	Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad
19.	Josephine Ben	PATTAN Development Organization
20.	Jamshed Rizwani	Daily <i>Jang</i> , Geo TV
21.	Khalida Parveen	PATTAN Development Organization
22.	Lal Jan Khan	Institute of Development Studies and Practices, Quetta
23.	M. Abdul Saboor	PATTAN Development Organization
24.	Manzoor Hussain	PATTAN Development Organization
25.	Mohammad Amjad	National Bank of Pakistan, Lahore
26.	M. Farooq	Assistant Professor, BZU, Multan
27.	M. Ilyas	Journalist, Dawn
28.	Noor Nabi Rahoojo	AT, Hyderabad
29.	Nadeem Shah	The News, Multan
30.	Naeem Ahmed Jaskani	Dehi Samaji Triqiatti Council
31.	Nasim Jahan	PATTAN Development Organization
32.	Nasir Hussain	PATTAN Volunteer, Multan
33.	Nazir Meher	Free Lance Researcher, Islamabad
34.	Prof. Akram Mirani	Assistant Professor, Bhakkar
35.	Qasim Resheed	PATTAN Development Organization, Multan
36.	Rashid Khalid	Assistant Professor Q.A.U, Islamabad
37.	Rasheed Ahmad Sherwani	Zia Welfare Council, Muzaffargarh
38.	Rafiq Jaffer	Institute of Social Sciences, Lahore
39.	Razia Jaffer	Institute of Social Sciences, Lahore
40.	Raza Hamdani	Journalist, The News, Rawalpindi
41.	Sadiq Mirza	Young Men Society, Vehari
42.	Shahnaz Aadil	PATTAN Development Organization
43.	Sofia Shoukat	Multan
44.	Sohail Javed	PILER, Karachi
45.	Tariq Ayub	Free Lance Researcher, Radio Pakistan, Rawalpindi
46.	Tariq Junaid	Free Lance Researcher, Senate, Islamabad
47.	Waqar Ahmad	PROSERVE, Peshawar
48.	Zahid Zahoor	Civil Liberty Council, Faisalabad
49.	Zahid Iqbal	PATTAN Development Organization



## **RESEARCH STUDIES, REPORTS OF SEMINARS & WORKSHOPS**

### **Local Elections**

- Analysis of Local Government Elections Phase-I 2000
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- Analysis of Local Government Election of Tehsils and Districts 2000
- Local Government Election Observer 2005 (Issue I)
- Local Government Election Observer 2005 (Issue II)
- Local Government Election Observer 2005 (Issue III)
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- Voices of Various Social Groups: Local Government Election 2005
- Case Studies of Successful Women Councilors 2000-05
- Case Studies of Union Nazims 2000-05
- Technical Aspects of Local Government Election 2005
- Role of Political Parties and Dynasties in Local Government Election 2005
- Mapping of Civil Society Initiatives in Local Government Election 2005
- Socio-Political Profiles of 25 Districts
- Analysis of Union Council Election 2005: Opinion of Voters and Candidates
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## About PATTAN

PATTAN Development Organization was established in 1992 to work with the powerless and most vulnerable people in the riverine communities of the Punjab province. Its primary mandate was to help the communities on the issues of disaster preparedness, management and mitigation. However, since its inception, PATTAN has never been a service delivery organization and has always focused on harnessing the unleashed social and political potential of people in an effort to enable them to take control of the decisions that affect their daily lives. PATTAN, therefore, strives to facilitate the creation of local level institutions that could represent and articulate the interests of all social groups, breaking the barriers in the way by traditional power structures.

PATTAN works in the areas of disaster management, democratization, good governance and gender equity. It works with diverse social and political groups including women, labour & peasant councilors, political party workers, labour & student unions and groups & networks of marginalized sections of society. PATTAN undertakes mobilization, capacity building, networking and research initiatives in order to encourage collective action for policy and structural change. Its objectives in the area of democratization include:

- Democracy building by promoting democratic values, norms and institutions
- Strengthening of electoral processes
- Democratization of social and political groups
- Political equality and participation, with a particular focus on under represented groups - women and minorities
- Democratic education and awareness
- Facilitation of debate on issues that could lead to conflicts
- Keeping watch on state institutions and functionaries

PATTAN Development Organization Registered under the Societies Act, XXI 1860  
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