

Dynasticism and Role of Clans in Politicizing Elections in Pakistan: Analyzing of Bonding between Bhutto Infinity and Zardari Clan

Khizar Abbass Bhatti

Assistant Researcher

School of Public Administration
China University of Geosciences
China

Rezwanul Kabir

China University of Geosciences
School of Public Administration
China

Abstract

Political culture is representation of people's actions and behavior in their political affairs and decisions. Adoption of specific methods to select and overthrow their rulers, to react chaos, to settle their disputes and clashes, to formulate their policies, rules and regulations and to meet other basic social needs and desires; They absorbed various ideologies, established dynasties and built institutions. Pakistan emerged as ideological democratic state making progress towards the modernization. In Pakistan clan plays vital role in selection of representatives. Lineage is always considered dominant factor in casting vote and this is the reason that local feudal elites dominate in rural areas in particular to built dynasties and hegemonize political apparatus like political parties, local administrative departments, elections campaigns and state paraphernalia too in case of Bhutto and Zardari clans. Marriage of convenience between these two clans heralded new horizon in political history of Pakistan that is experienced by whole nation.

Keywords: Dynastic Politics, Elections, Politicization, Marriage of Convenience, Bhutto Infinity, Zardari Clan

1. Introduction

Election is the heart of democratic state. Without conducting elections in democratic country, it is impossible to determine who will form government and rule over. Elections provide political legitimacy to any political party to run the government machinery. It provides legal authority and power to govern. The basic difference between pressure groups and political party is election. Political party conducts elections but pressure groups do not take part in elections. Elections determine the choice of masses, called *mandate*, who do they want to see in government? So elections give opportunity to public to have a say in politics. In monarchy leadership is inherited through family connection, in other worlds, lineage or clan renders liable anyone a political legitimacy. Same is the case with dictatorship, great leader or iron hand always has right to rule because he ultimately holds the power paraphernalia. So, no one can go against him or deny his authority.

In democracy, case is different people have right to choose their leader or head of government rather imposed or appointed. Masses from different socio-economic background can express their views and those have importance. It also provides an opportunity to candidates to debate on issues and also gives chance to present their views and manifesto to grab more electorates. On the Election Day people are the real sovereign in democracies, they have the power to remove and elect anyone they want. Previously in Greek City States System, there was a system of direct democracy so people directly involved in running city state affairs, they were the ruler and simultaneously the ruled.

When gradually population increased, it became infeasible and improbable to get involved all the masses in state affairs, so direct democracy is now replaced by representative democracy like in USA, Canada, France, UK and India¹ but still we can see the marks of direct democracy in Switzerland; referendum is held over every issue and people are got involved in legislation by taking their consent. Election costs very expensive on national pocket. The wealthiest nations can afford to have elections regularly but states which are poor cannot spare the price for that. The millions of dollars are needed to conduct just one election. In case of developed states these numbers have grown into billions.

Like expenses on the elections of 2016 in America, according to the estimation of Center of Responsive Politics, figures were around \$6.8 billion². Extravagant money is spent in election campaign, advertisement, propagation and propagandas activities. Mainly this huge amount is invested by pressure groups on preferred candidate and in return they can get passed their arbitrary laws those are favorable to these pressure groups³. In country like Pakistan elections are too important for perpetuation of democracy and peaceful transformation of power between civilian governments because previously democratic setup was continuously being interrupted by military dictators; Ayub Khan, Yahya Khan, Zia ul Haq and Pervez Musharraf. For the first in history of Pakistan power was transferred peacefully in 2013 and it was like to ascend K2 because whole nation was experiencing first ever transfer of power between two civilian governments. It was also a record in national history that one civilian government completed its tenure. So elections play vital role in Pakistan's democratic setup. But unfortunately, powerful clan or kinship system that is called dynastic politics plays its role in very retrogressive manners in elections especially in rural areas where their hold is unbreakable. There are number of factors behind its potency and strength that are mentioned tentatively in below discussion. Hypothetically, role of clan and *biradari* politics will be critically analyzed and its role in manipulating polling on elections day, elections' results and exploiting local administrative paraphernalia to hold control over dejected and adverse rural population. The reason behind selection of Bhutto clan for case study is because this clan is renowned and powerful in Sindh and best example to analyze dynastic politics and its role in elections. This clan has been in power many times and is indulged in politics since 1960s when Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was made Foreign Minister by a military dictator Ayub Khan and then establishment of new party PPP (Pakistan People's Party) by this charismatic personality in 1967. Due to aforementioned reasons author opted this clan to study clan politics and its role in elections.

1.2 Methodology

The research report is conducted through Historical, Descriptive and Analytical methods of research. Data has been collected through Secondary resources including books, articles, journals, magazines, newspapers and utilizing electronic media etc. This paper will analyze two variables of research methodology: clan politics and elections. Clan politics as independent variable whereas elections as dependent variable. In this paper the correlation between these two variables will be investigated that how dynastic politics and *biradari* (kinship) system play its role in politicizing elections in rural areas of Pakistan.

2. Role of Clan in Politicizing Elections

As aforementioned that elections play pivotal role in democratic system to form government and provide political legitimacy. Similarly in Pakistan as democratic state general and local body elections are held after every five years, winner party obviously comes into the power. Punjab plays the role of pivot as is played by Virginia in US Presidential Elections. Who wins Punjab wins in Pakistan because of most populous province; forms 52 percent of total population. But another factor which plays undeniable role in elections is political behavior of population in rural areas of Pakistan especially of Punjab and Sind.

Clan is a group of people descend from common ancestor or perceived kinship⁴. It can also be defined as aggregation of people united by common interests or shared characteristics⁵. It can be recognized if lineage details are unknown, members bonding and apical ancestor are enough for clan's unity. Clan politics may be elaborated, "Role of lineage, kinship or tribal bonding in establishing or regulating behavior of members in political system".

¹ <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/> Dinesh Saraf Category, "Importance of Elections", October 24, 2013.

² <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/election-2016s-price-tag-6-8-billion/> November 8, 2016, 5:56 PM

³ Grant, 2004, pp. 166-7

⁴ Chisholm, 1911, pp. 419-421.

⁵ www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary

You can conclude that role or behavior of member towards political institutions is influenced and determined by nature of his clan and it constructs competition among different clans to achieve their shared interests in diversified society as in Pakistan, Central Asia and Middle East today's world. People have less to say and care about national politics. Their main priority is their clan's affiliation and interests. Clan politics forms *parochial political culture* which is injurious for any state especially democratic one. Clan is totally different from mafia and clientelism.

2.1 Reasons of Presence and Activeness in Rural Areas

There are several reasons behind arrival of clan politics and proliferation in politics: can be analyzed while discussing more important reasons.

2.1.1 Colonial Heritage

Historically, Sub-Continent had been a piece of cake for conquerors, first it was invaded by Arab Muslims, Central Asians (Mongols, Turks), Afghanis and at last Englishmen; that is why it was called *Golden Sparrow*. The arrival of different clans diversified Indian Society and it became the hub of different nationalities and tribes and all were treated similarly at least theoretically before the coming of British in 17th century. None tried to alternate or converse social structure but British Empire. After War of Independence 1857, policies were introduced to change social structure just to obstruct this kind of resistance to British Raj from indigenous people next time. So first these policies were taken into account in British Indian Army by giving special status to some clans; Rajput Regiment is tangible example. Perpetuation of this bandwagon established different regiments comprised different clans i.e. Jatt of Punjab, Korkhas of Ambala Division and many others⁶. Intention was in case of mutiny or riot one clan could be used to suppress other one. Same policy was tried to inculcate in political set up, some loyal clans were given share in governments especially in West Punjab and Sind by granting infinite amount of land (Jagirs) to control masses often called *divide and rule*. So this way feudalism or landed aristocracy took birth in India; after partition that inherited by Pakistan. Dultanas, Tiwanas, Kharl, Peerzade, Gilanis, Syeds and Jatts in Punjab and Bhuttos, Zardaris, Magsi, Bagaras, Somro and Mengal in Sind⁷; these clans form suzerainty class in rural areas and are examples of landed and religious elites. Still after 70 years of independence these clans hold political power in their respective areas and every party use them to gain popular support in elections despite of abolishing.

2.1.3 Lack of Modern Education: The condition of education setup in these rural areas is very pathetic. Still schools lack modern education like sciences. The three form of education, Madrassa, Urdu Medium and English Medium, has divided society into three classes. Madrassa system is still very active in rural areas because of poverty and informal employment. That indirectly helps in strengthening control of ruling clans. Uneducated mind have mobility of submissiveness so they can not challenge this status quo.

2.1.2 Loopholes in Legal System⁸: The leaders of these powerful clans have police in their pockets. Negligence and callousness of police which only arrest poor and helpless and loopholes in legal system i.e. delaying cases render opportunity to such notorious factors. If you have powerful clan behind, you can easily influence police. Legal system in Pakistan is inherited from colonial legacy that is very complicated and costly. So poor people of rural areas cannot afford to hire lawyer and fight for justice. So population from these areas prefers to go in traditional legal mechanism, Panchayat or Jirga, rather courts for mediation and salvation. This traditional legal mechanism again is controlled by leader of powerful clan or tribes called *Surpanch*. So all above mentioned factors in one way or other are keeping this clan politics alive and giving reasons for its perpetuation. Several governments tried to crack bonding of this system but after some time became the part of that bandwagon. Ayub Khan and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto are the best examples.

2.2 Role of Clan in Politicizing Elections

Political behavior of rural voters is determined by his affiliation with clan. The clan with holds wealth, jagirs and majority in any constituency has more chances to win because votes are bargained by clan politics and people usually dislike electing the candidate who is belonged to another tribe or clan; as happens in Central Asian States. The factor which strengthens manipulation of right to vote is lack of education in these areas. The ubiquity of landed and religious elites prevents wave of modern education like sciences.

⁶ For further study and details see Ahmed, 2013.

⁷ Khan, 2005, pp. 49-53

⁸ See Collins, 2004, pp.240-55

Naivety of these people is easily exploited by politicians and callousness of police and idleness of court system work as adding fuel in burning flames⁹. That is why people are intimidated to support their clan. Intimidation in a sense, they are indoctrinated that without support and inducement of clan, they would become a fame. So in this kind of scenario party's preference is to select the candidate whose clan is more powerful and wealthy in concerned constituency. As picturized while discussing *dynastic politics* in Punjab, "*In the rural hinterlands of Punjab, the province whose voters have the numerical power to determine which party wins the Pakistani election, an unlikely factor plays a role in a party's choice of candidates: caste*"¹⁰.

Mainly Punjab is dominated by dynastic politics. From 1985 to 2008, 148 out of 272 members of Punjab Assembly were dynastic politicians. *Dynasticism* is primarily based on land owner and possession of capital industry. It has more rural orientation than urban phenomenon¹¹. Patronage of dynastic politics produces fungible candidates who are more powerful themselves beyond any party. So this fungibility leads toward horse trading. President Pervez Musharraf formed his party PML (Q) and got MNA's through horse trading and earned title of *King's Party* and disqualified leaders of PPP and PML (N). This behavior turns democracy into oligarchy.

According to estimation in Ayub Khan's era 22 families held more than 70 per cent of total wealth and now 102 families which belong to powerful clans hold more 50 per cent of seats of national and provincial assemblies: That show too much in representative democracy of Pakistan¹². With few exceptions, all the political parties are extensions of these powerful families in hereditary manners. If we take two national level political parties: PPP and PMLN. Bhutto and Zardari clans remained undefeated and unchallenged in Sind while Sharif and Chaudhry remained unchallenged in upper Punjab; Tiwanas, Dultanas, Peerzade and Gilani still holds power in South Punjab. Magsi, Mengal and Zehri tribes have enough say in politics of Baluchistan while Khatak, Tareen, Maliks and Uchakzai in KPK and all are given important portfolios of government by their respective political parties. These above mentioned tribes are in government from independence just faces change, one dies another comes but power and wealth of clan remain there. Father dies, son or brother comes and occupy his vacant seat. They have never been defeated in elections from their constituencies because they have patronized whole elective system¹³.

Clans become more important in politically fragile and volatile states especially in transitional and postcolonial phases; when regime is losing its hold. Where political institutions are illegitimate and power is oscillating, unpredictable, and lacking social trust, clan identities become more significant. Where bureaucracy could not provide sufficient social services, there would be shortage of economic activities, and market lacks efficiency, clans try to fill the gap as network to political, economic and social exchange. That has been experienced in Pakistan. Clans also try to make pacts with other powerful clans but in only three conditions. 1. If there would be external shared thread: like apprehension of encroachment of third or outsider party 2. If there would be balance of power among major clans and no one can dominate the other 3. Availability of legitimate broker whom all factions trust, assumes the role of distributing resources¹⁴. Basically these pacts are response to instability of system and transition but they do not make democratization.

If we apply these theoretical conditions we can better understand clan's role in politics in Pakistan. In early years of independence from 1949 to 1958 after the demise of Mr. Jinnah and Liaqat Ali Khan, panorama was same as explicit; all the political elites were trying to patronize state structure but no one could overcome, one came, ruled few months and overthrew by his fellow. No one was in a position to dominate the political structures; ultimately third party in form of military encroached, left its apolitical stance, and became political. Power was swinging between military elites and traditional elites¹⁵ till 2007. After 2007 scene has been changed, here we can see the glimpses of third condition. The fear of external factors that is army in Pakistan led clans or political elites to have joint pact against outsider. As a result we can see a pact was signed between two powerful clan of Pakistan; Sharif Family and Bhutto family in 2007 that is so called *Declaration of Democracy*.

⁹Hussain, 2007, pp. 224.

¹⁰Cheema, 2013, pp. 947-960.

¹¹ Madiha Afzal, "Democracy in Pakistan: Elections tell us why politicians behave badly", [http://www.brookings.edu/articles/August 15, 2017](http://www.brookings.edu/articles/August%2015,%202017)

¹² Zahid Hussain, "Dynastic Politics", July 14, 2012, <https://www.dawn.com/article/dynastic-politics/>

¹³Schatz, 2004, pp. 255-65

¹⁴Collins, 2004, pp. 237

¹⁵ Perry, 1969, p. 51

Many argued that it was signed to restore democracy but actually in the light of clan politics we can derive the idea that two clans joint hands to prevent involvement of external party (army); it was decided that power arsenals would be dwindling between these two clans; other clans have association with them. Unfortunately, (for these clans not for nation) new factor emerged on national level that is too external for them in form of PTI (Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf) which is posing threat to clan politics under the leadership of Imran Khan; showing wave of change, slogan to break nexus of these clans and efforts to control corruption.

3. Bhutto's Infinity: 'Bhutto Zinda hai'

Bhutto clan is very famous and most powerful clan in Sind as well in Pakistan. Bhutto is basically the sub branch of Rajputs and migrated from Rajasthan to Sind after converting into Islam in 17th century.

The first descendant who embraced Islam was Sheto Khan; the title Khan was given by Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb when he converted into Islam¹⁶. Shah Nawaz Bhutto, the son of Sheto Khan, became a prominent figure in British Raj when he was made the *Dewan* of a princely state Junagadh. After partition when Junagadh could not become the part of Pakistan, Shah Nawaz migrated to Larkana District in Sind and became the wealthiest and most powerful personality of Sind due to acquisition and ownership of *jagir* (huge land)¹⁷. But political dynasty started with the third descendent, 'Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto: *The Nawab of Larkana*'. The status of Shah Nawaz Bhutto in Sind brought ministry of foreign affairs for Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in Ayub Khan's martial law government but ascendance started with establishment of PPP in 1967¹⁸.

In first ever general elections 1970 in Pakistan resulted clear victory of PPP in West Pakistan due to Bhutto's charismatic personality. He was the first leader in history of Pakistan who talked about poor and dejected people by giving slogan of *roti, kapra aur makaan* (food, cloth and shelter). After obliteration of Pakistan, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto formed government and became first civilian martial law administrator and then prime minister of Pakistan. Until his demise by another military dictator, he remained chairman of his party. After assassination his primogeniture Benazir Bhutto became the chairman of political party. Death of Zia ul Haq in plane crash bestowed a gift of 'end of martial law' to political demagogues. Elections were held in 1988 and PPP won the elections and formed government. Again figure of Bhutto clan became the prime minister of Pakistan. Until the assassination of Benazir Bhutto in 2007 she remained chairman of party and first female prime minister in sporadic manners; 1988-1990 and 1993-1996.

Her eclipse provided chance to Asif Ali Zardari, the husband of Benazir Bhutto, to control the party. After winning general elections of 2008, Asif Zardari though became President and made Yusuf Raza Gilani prime minister but chaired the party. Defeat in 2013 elections Asif Zardari decided to play in back foot and hand over party to his son Bilawal Bhutto Zardari. The assassination of members of Bhutto clan prematurely generated a sense of apprehension in remaining heirs of Bhutto clan so they decided to become apolitical departing themselves from any political activity and settled in England i.e. Fatima Bhutto, Sanam Bhutto and Ghinwa Itauoi Bhutto and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto Jr. etc the true heirs of Bhutto's party and legacy despite of Bilawal Bhutto Zardari or Bakhtawar Bhutto Zardari. Now the party's chairman is Bilawal Bhutto Zardari the son of Benazir Bhutto. The intention behind discussing detail of this power politics is that how a clan or family hegemonizes party's apparatus and did not let any other to control it. Since the inception of PPP, this party has been under fully control of Bhutto clan. Similarly in Punjab PLMN (Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz) has been a political tool to control state's institutions just to protect family interests. PLMN has also been chaired by Nawaz Sharif since its establishment and now after obvious decision by Supreme Court of Pakistan that convicted and disqualified politician cannot become party head his younger brother Shahbaz Sharif is given chairmanship.

3.1 Constituency NA 207

NA 207 has been indigenous and undefeatable constituency of Bhutto clan in Larkana District; their home town. Historically no candidate has won the elections on this seat except candidate of Pakistan People's Party because of Bhutto infinity (Table.1). This constituency always belonged to Bhutto or a candidate affiliated with Bhutto's party (PPP) and it will too but no one knows how long. In General Elections of 1970(NW-116) Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was the first candidate who won the elections on this seat and established status quo that is still being sustained.

¹⁶Taseer, 1980, p. 9

¹⁷ <http://www.bhutto.org/sir-shahnawaz-bhutto.php>

¹⁸ See Wolpert, 1993.

In 1977 General Elections Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto again won on this but hanged in 1979 by a military dictator and martial law lasted over eleven years in 1988. Elections were held and wife of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Begum Nusrat Bhutto won this seat. Begum Nusrat Bhutto remained undefeated in 1990, 1993 and 1997(NA-164) elections on in this locality. In 2002 instead of Begum Nusrat Bhutto election was contested by Shahid Hussain Bhutto and he won because at the end he was Bhutto too. In 2008 the candidate was changed now but party affiliation remained same having Bhutto tag and Faryal Talpur(NA-207) cashed opportunity this time. The Bhutto nomenclature had brought victory again for Faryal Talpur in 2013 elections¹⁹.

Table.1: Larkana-I NA-207 Elections Results History

General Elections	Candidate Name	Party Affiliation
1970	Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto	PPP
1977	Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto	PPP
1988	Begum Nusrat Bhutto	PPP
1990	Begum Nusrat Bhutto	PPP
1993	Begum Nusrat Bhutto	PPP
1997	Begum Nusrat Bhutto	PPP
2002	Shahid Hussain Bhutto	PPP
2008	Faryal Talpur Zardari	PPP
2013	Faryal Talpur Zaradari	PPP
2018	Bilawal Bhutto Zardari	PPP

Although, candidate in 2018 elections on this seat is not confirmed yet but Bilawal Bhutto Zardari (son of Benazir Bhutto) already exposed publically to contest election on his ancestral seat that is considered stronghold of Bhutto legacy²⁰ and also called 'Benazirabad'.

3.2 Constituency NA-214

Similarly constituency of NawabShah-I is the hometown of Zardari Clan where Zardaris remained undefeated (Table.2); Hakim Ali Zardari, Mitha Khan Zardari, Ghulam Rasool Zradari, Faryal Talpur Zardari, Azra Fazal Pechuho and Asif Ali Zardari are notable. Asif Ali Zardari recent patriarch of Zardari tribe remained incarcerated for 20 years and could not able to contest elections consecutively on his ancestral constituency but now he has confirmed to contest in 2018 elections²¹.

Table.2: NawabShah-I NA-214 Elections Results History

General Elections	Candidate Name	Party Affiliation
1970	Hakim Ali Zardari	PPP
1977	Abdul Fatah	PPP
1988	Hakim Ali Zardari	PPP
1993	Asif Ali Zaradri	PPP
1997	Syed Shaukat Hussain Shah	PLM(N)[1]
2002	Azra Fazal Pechuho	PPP
2008	Azra Fazal Pechuho	PPP
2013	Azra Fazal Pechuho	PPP
2018	Asif Ali Zardari	PPP

3.3 Marriage of Convenience

Phenomenon of marriage of convenience or marriage of state is not new one but an old significant tool to gain political and strategic interests or benefits. It was remained a common practice among Western royal families or clans in historic or pre historic eras to strengthen ties, cooperation, peace, stability, strategic partnership and safety purposes neglecting other preferential factors of marriages like romance, love or liking²². It has non romantic political orientation rather romantic.

¹⁹ <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/AllResults.aspx>

²⁰ <https://www.dawn.com/news/1132132>

²¹ <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1607048/1-asif-zardari-announces-contest-elections-nawabshah/>

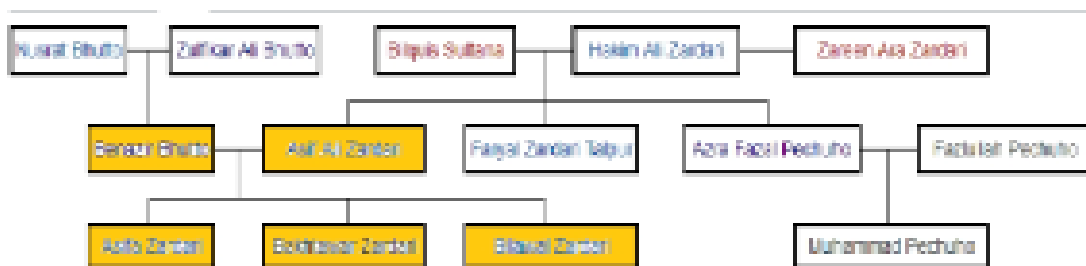
22 Felming, 1973, pp. 231-249

These kinds of cases can also be found in history of Muslim rulers and in ancient India among *Rajas* or *Maharaj*. Tracts of land and influence of a clan or family over certain area or territory have been among important factors for such kind of intermingling. Finest practical example of this notion in Pakistan is between Bhutto and Zardari clans when primogeniture of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto betrothed with primogeniture of Hakim Ali Zardari, marriage of Benazir Bhutto with Asif Ali Zardari; two most powerful, wealthiest clans and *waderas* of Sind in their respective localities owning thousands of acres of hereditary *jagirs*. This bonding provided opportunity to these clans to rule over Sind and country for forthcoming years. This bonding rewarded them gift to rule over Sind. Bhutto-Zardari clan ruled Pakistan for more than 15 years including term from 2008 to 2013 and they are reigning over Sind for last three decades exempting era of Zia ul Haq.

Segregation of Bhutto family after assassination of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Murtaza Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto bestowed clear opportunity to Zardari clan to control PPP and Sind. Asif Ali Zardari remained chairman of party after Benazir Bhutto and became president after winning elections in 2008. His sister Faryal Talpur has been member of national assembly and his younger sister Azra Fazal Pachuho has been also member of nation assembly since 2002. His son Bilawal Bhutto Zardari has been appointed chairman of party and next heir of Zardari clan and leader of political party. In below figure it can be clearly seen that personalities that are playing at front in politics and hegemonize PPP are all from Zardari clan (Figure.1): Playing card of Bhutto legacy and cashing Bhutto Infinity.

Figure 1: Family Tree of Marriage of Convenience

Figure 1: Family Tree of Marriage of Convenience



Finally it can easily be concluded that Bhutto clan remained unchallenged and undefeated in this locality due to their powerful hold, wealth and jagirs that produced Bhutto Infinity. Bhutto Infinity will be keeping alive as well as Bhutto is alive because in Sind the slogan that brings victory for PPP in every election is, “*Bhutto Zinda hai* (Bhutto is alive)” and till Bhutto is alive no other party, family, clan or any candidate cannot win elections in this constituency. And how long Bhutto will live? No one can answer this question. Until Bhutto is alive, Bhutto infinity is working.

4. Conclusion

Sense of dynasticism patronized political culture of Pakistan and put retrogressive affects on political development and democratization. Clan politics revolves around family’s interests. Clan, tribe and kinship play major role in perpetuation of dynastic politics through politicizing elections; that is all about to gain control. So, dynastic control works at many levels. At first it monopolizes party’s leadership to some families. As mentioned before, PPP is monopolized by *Bhutto Family* and now by *Zardari Clan*, PLMN is patronized by *Sharif Family* and ANP by *Khans*. Party’s leadership switches from one generation to another but remains in the hands of same clan examples are aforementioned.

At second, it captures native constituencies of provincial as well as national assemblies, *Peerzade* in Southwest of Punjab, *Makhdoom*, *Qureshis* and *Gilanis* in Multan and Bahawalpur, *Tiwanas* and *Dultanas* in Central Punjab, *Chaudhries* and *Awans* in Upper Punjab, *Khaakwanis* and *Niazis* in Northwest of Punjab. Similarly in Sindh, *Bhuttos* in Larkana, *Zardaris* in Nawabshah, *Legharis*, *Khosa*, *Dastis*, *Talpurs*, *Sayyeds* and *Gurmanis* hold power in other rural areas of Sindh.

In Baluchistan we can see *Hotis, Jatois, Nawabs, Zehris, Magsi* and *Mengal* tribes and in KPK, *Khataks, Uchakzai, Nawabs,* and *Tareen*; clans can be founded in national and provincial assemblies since independence. These clans occupy native seats and many members of family are in parliament. Reserved seats for women in parliament are also granted to female members of these families that is a kind of bonus. At third, level of local government is controlled by sons, brothers, daughters and cousins of leader of the family. The true picture of drama of clan politics is in these words: “The politics of Pakistan has a close analogy with the game of hockey with only one difference. The hockey players get projection through their nimbleness, experience and dodging. But the ball is already stuck to the sticks of the players of politics in most of the cases. In this way a big family wins the political match with, the help of its team work. Post- election drama begins with the protest voices but the referee proves to be a deaf ear. Thus the successful candidate enters the house with great pump and show. Sometimes the opposite team succeeds to throw the ball, stuck with the stick, on the ground and the match is converted into a good match. But it happens very rare. Actually it matters who run things in the society. And network of relationships through inter-marriages with other important family’s court. Resultantly, there is a monopoly of few specific families in the Pakistan politics. Parents groom their off springs and husbands groom their wives to enter this ancestral vocation. After every election a majority of these families succeeds to knock at the Assembly”²³.

Finally, result can be detected that dominant families are prevailing on political map of Pakistan particularly in rural areas where voting behavior is determined by clans and tribe. Members of these families not only safeguard their family interests but also agrarian class whose interests are attached with them. Elections are politicized by clan’s affiliation: results are pre-determined due to obviousness of worth and potency of clan. They are in minority but control majority comprises of peasant and laborer class who are dependent on them. They work in their lands and get food. So, they can even think beyond them. On the day of elections just formality of paper work is done. Winners are obvious. These power clans control state apparatus and hegemonize political institutions to built dynasty. Bhutto clan remained undefeated in their locality whereas Zardaris in their respective area. Free, fair and impartial elections specifically in those constituencies are farce and illusion. Ultimately role of clan determine the behavior of voters and play its role politicizing elections.

Author’s Biographical Note

Khizar Abbass Bhatti is graduate student and assistant researcher at School of Public Administration, China University of Geosciences (Wuhan) who is master degree in Public Administration. He is a foreigner student in respective university selected on government scholarship. He has done his Bachelor Degree (B.A Honors) in Political Science as major subject having European History and English Literature as minors in 2016 from Government College University Lahore (Pakistan). Mr. Khizar is also an author of two recent publications; *Introducing Legal Reforms to Manage Women Segregation in Pakistan in 21Century (2000-2017): Critical View of Impacts and achievements* and *Landed Elites and Politics of Agrarian Reforms in Pakistan: A Case study of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto’s Era*. Areas of interest are History, International Relations, Gender Studies, Politics, Policy making and Public Administration etc.

References

- Grant, Alan. *The American Political Process Seventh Edition*. New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2004.
- F. Pitkin, Hannah. *The Concept of Representation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967.
- Pumper, Gerald. *Elections in America: Control and influence in democratic politics*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1988.
- K. Medice, Stephen. *Campaign and Elections: Players and Process Second Edition*. New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2004.
- Powell, G. Bingham. *Elections as Instrument of democracy: Majoritarian and Proportional Vision*. New York: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Katz, Richard. *Democracy and Elections*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Kuhne, W. Rich. *The Role of Elections in Emerging Democracies and Post-Conflict Countries*. Friedrich, Ebert and Stiftung, 2010.

²³Rafique, 2003, p.34

- Courtney, John C. *Elections*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004.
- Przeworski, Adam. *Democracy, Accountability and Representation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Mukharji, Arnab. *Do Elections Incite Violent Crime?* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.
- Chisholm, Hugh. *Encyclopædia Britannica* 6. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911.
- Ahmed, Ishtiaque. *Pakistan the Garrison State Origins, Evolution, Consequences 1947-2011*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Khan, Adeel. *Politics of Identity: Ethnic Nationalism and State in Pakistan*. New Delhi: Saga Publications, 2005.
- Schatz, Edward. *Modern Clan Politics: The Power of Blood*. Washington DC: University of Washington Press, 2004.
- McGrath, Allen. *The Destruction of Pakistan's Democracy*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Perry, Geriant. *Political Elites*. London: George Allen & Unwin Publishers Ltd, 1969.
- Rafique, Afzal. *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1971*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Sarwer, Marian. *Elections: Full, Free & Fair*. Sydney: The Federation Press, 2001.
- Taseer, Salman. *Bhutto: a political biography*. New Delhi: Vikas Pub. House, 1980.
- Wolpert, Staneley. *Zulfi Bhutto of Pakistan His Life & Times*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Articles

- Hussain, Asif. "Elites and Political development in Pakistan", *The Developing Economies* Vol.14(2007):pp. 224
- Amar Cheema, "The Moderating Role of Selling Mechanism", *Chicago Journal* Vol.39, No.5 (2013):pp. 947-960.
- Felming, Patricia H. "The Politics of Marriage Among Non-Catholic European Royalty", *Current Anthropology*, Vol.14, No.3 (1973): pp.231-249