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IMPACT OF BENAZIR INCOME SUPPORT PROGRAM (BISP) ON VOTING BEHAVIOR OF WOMEN IN DISTRICT SANGHAR

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ABSTRACT

This paper, based on the findings of the research project sponsored by Sindh Higher Education Commission, attempts to study the impact of BISP on the voting behaviour of women in district Sanghar, Pakistan. Sanghar is one of the largest districts of Rural Sindh in terms of population and area, which is comprised of 6 talukas. The population of district is more than 2 million and around half of the population of district is female. There are mainly two large political parties in district Sanghar which secure most of the seats of national as well as provincial assemblies. However, after the launching of Benazir Income Support Program (BISP) in 2008, the results of elections have turned in favour of one party. In last general elections 2018 Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians (PPPP) bagged 6 out of 9 seats as compared to 0 seats out of 9 in 2002. Thus, the study has selected the Sanghar district as model to assess the impact of BISP on voting behavior. Mixed method research approach was employed to collect data for this study. Total of 1079 face-to-face structured questionnaires were administered and 12 focus group discussion (FGDs) were conducted in six talukas of the district. The results demonstrate major change in the voting behavior of voters in district Sanghar. The findings of the study suggest the significant impact of BISP on the voting behavior of women in Sanghar district.

Keywords: BISP; Voting behaviour; Political empowerment.

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INTRODUCTION

Voting behavior is defined as traits or trends of voting among the voters particularly the choice of the voter to caste vote in election according to his/her choice. It also includes the will of the voter to participate in electoral process which impacts the voter turnout and determines the election results consequently. Thus, voting behavior plays an important role in the political systems across the world. Voting behavior is influenced by many factors which leave significant impact on the election results. A vote is the right to express one's choice or opinion, especially by officially marking a paper or by raising one's hand. Voting behavior is a set of attitudes and beliefs towards election at the national as well as at the local level (Ahmed, 2012). Historically various factors have influenced the voting behavior of voters. Academic research on voting behavior has identified many factors including Economic, Institutional, political, Situational, and personal factors which influence the voting behavior (Ahmad et al., 2020). Voting behavior is subjective to the social class system with some factors like religion, feudalism and ethnicity (Shah et al., 2023; Sheikh et al., 2012). While Said et al. (2021) argue that religion is determining factor and religion & voting behavior are interrelated but on the Election Day religion does not influence the voting behavior. However, determinants, factors and choices vary from country to country depending upon different variables (Ahmad et al., 2020).

In General, voting behavior of voters in Pakistan has been influenced by multiple factors including Local Culture, Baradari (Ahmad et al., 2020; Ahmed, 2012) Patronage delivery, Religion, Feudalism, , Sardari nizam and landlordism to name a few. Caste system has also significantly affected the voting behavior in Pakistan (Karim, 2014). Psychological and social factors have also influenced the voting behavior in Pakistan (Zeib et al., 2022; Ashraf & Gull, 2020). Moreover, many other diverse type of voting determinants such as party loyalty, party manifesto, religion, bardari, and clientalism also affect voting behavior in Pakistan (Ullah et al., 2022; Mohmand, 2011).

Women constitute around half of the population in Pakistan which also plays an important role in the electoral process in the country. As compared to the male, female voters have been more vulnerable to the factors affecting voting behavior in Pakistan. Religion, male dominancy, patriarchal society, illiteracy, purdah and lack of support from political parties are some of the major factors affecting female voting behavior in Pakistan (Hussain, 2017). Apart from the above mentioned factors, the women voters in particular have been influenced by the kinship ties (Younas, et al, 2014). Nevertheless Xavier Giné and Mansuri (2018) argue that female voting behavior can be changed by voter awareness methods. Further, these multiple factors have not only affected the choice of casting votes but it has also affected the participation of women voters in the electoral process which resulted in low women vote turn out in the elections.

Monetary factors have also influenced the voting behavior but its main target has been male voters. Interestingly, these factors influenced male voters directly and female voters indirectly. Its open fact that female voters have been casting their votes on the will of their male family heads. Thus, a male voter would decide votes of their female. Thus, throughout the electoral history of Pakistan these factors have been influencing election results. However, recent years have witnessed another important factor which has significantly influenced voting behavior of female voters directly. Benazir Income Support Program (BISP) was introduced in Pakistan by the Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarian during its government (2008-2013). It was the very first of such social protection program launched in Pakistan to provide financial support to the poor women. The BISP has proved to be blessing for poor women who consider it as their lifeline. Apart from its socio-economic impact, the BISP has left the political impact on the population significantly. The research studies have found that BISP has not only improved the socio-economic status of women but it has contributed in political empowerment of women also. The BISP has left significant impact on the voting behavior, political awareness, empowerment, and participation of the beneficiaries in the electoral and political process (Safdar et al., 2021). Over the period of last 15 years, BISP has left substantial impact on women's mobility, and voting behavior (Iqbal et al., 2021).

As a result, it has influenced the election results in Pakistan in general and Sindh in particular. Given its effectiveness and political impact, it was imperative to scientifically study the phenomenon for devising policies accordingly. In this regard district Sanghar was selected as the case study to assess the impact of BISP on voting behavior of women as the election results show significant change in the figures. Thus, in order to know the perception of the BISP beneficiaries about the BISP and assess its impact on the voting behavior, different questions were asked from the participants of the research paper addresses the following objectives and Research Questions:

Objectives

Objective 01. To study the impact of BISP on voting behavior of women in district Sanghar.

Objective 02. To study the impact of BISP on political empowerment of women in district Sanghar.

Research Questions

Question 01. What is Impact of BISP on Voting Behavior of women in district Sanghar?

Question. 02. What is Impact of BISP on Political Empowerment of women in district Sanghar?

Context to the Study

Sanghar is one of the largest district of Rural Sindh in terms of population and area, which is comprised of 6 talukas. The population of district is more than 2 million and women account for around half of the population of district. There are mainly two large political parties in the district Sanghar which contest elections and secure most of the seats of national as well as provincial assemblies. Till the General Election of 2008, the Pakistan Muslim League- Functional (PML-F) used to secure most of the seats from the district Sanghar. However, after the launching of Benazir Income Support Program (BISP) in 2008 the results of elections have gradually turned in favor of Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarian (PPPP). In the last general elections 2018 Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarian (PPPP) bagged 6 out of 9 seats as compared to 0 seats out of 9 in 2002. The results of elections surprised the political analysts having seen such huge victory of PPPP in Sanghar district which has remained stronghold of Pakistan Muslim League-Functional (PML-F) otherwise. The results demonstrated major change in the voting behavior of voters in district Sanghar. Thus, the study selected the Sanghar district as model to assess the impact of BISP on voting behavior.

Moreover, Sanghar is populated by more than 02 million people with women being around the half of the population. The district is largely populated by the Muslims but significant number of non-Muslim population is also found in the district. The Non-Muslim population is not concentrated in in any particular area of the district rather they are scattered all over the district. Further, majority of the non-Muslim population is largely dependent on farming and daily wage work. The provision of BISP has changed their lives as it helps them to meet their monthly living expenses. So, they play very important role in the elections results. The table 01 shows the detailed features of population of district Sanghar.

Table 1. Population of District Sanghar.

Area/Sex	Total	Muslim	Hindu	Scheduled Castes
District Sanghar				
Overall	20,49,873	1,594,744	384,544	62,193
Male	10,59,051	822,571	199,691	32,443
Female	9,90,57	771,966	184,820	29,746
Talka Jam Nawaz Ali				
Overall	153,193	103,998	46,384	2,724
Male	79,179	53,689	24,023	1,421
Female	74,000	50,298	22,358	1,303
Talka Khipro				
Overall	332,833	206,838	75,927	48,359
Male	173,383	107,583	39,645	25,280
Female	159,417	99,237	36,270	23,076
Talka Sanghar				
Overall	432,792	345,622	82,320	332
Male	224,172	178,858	42,771	177
Female	208,586	166,734	39,545	155
Talka Shahdadpur				
Overall	457,028	400,400	55,181	749
Male	235,007	205,573	28,678	402
Female	221,958	194,765	26,502	347
Talka Sinjhoro				
Overall	317,004	239,321	75,432	1,917
Male	163,186	122,982	39,067	961
Female	153,769	116,297	36,359	955
Talka Tando Adam				
Overall	357,023	298,565	49,300	8,112
Male	184,124	153,886	25,507	4,202
Female	172,848	144,635	23,786	3,910

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan.

There are 03 Seats of National Assembly and 06 Seats of Provincial Assembly in the district. The Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarian (PPPP) and Pakistan Muslim League-Functional (PML-F) are the two main parties which contest elections across the Sindh province. Though many candidates of other parties including Independent Candidates also contest elections from the district but they never won any seat from the district Sanghar. These two parties; PPPP and PML-F are the major competitors in the political field with the former being the stronger in Sindh province except in Sanghar district. Before the introduction of BISP, the district Sanghar use to be the stronghold of Pakistan Muslim League Functional (PML Faction led by Pir Pagara).

The district is predominately populated by the followers of "Hur Jamaet'. The Hurr Jamaet is the spiritual party which is led by Pir Pagara and Pakistan Muslim League-Functional is its political wing. Hurr Jamaet enjoys strong influences among its followers, thus, no follower can deviate from party directions. They would vote for the party in all circumstances. So, due the majority of Hurr Jamaet in the Sanghar district the PML (F) used to sweep the most of the National and Provincial Assembly seats of the district Sanghar. Table 03 shows the party position of two main parties of the district during 2002, 2008, 2013 and 2018 Elections. It clearly illustrates the dominant position of PML-F till the general election of 2008.

Table 2.1 arty 1 obtain daring 2002, 2000, 2015 and 2016 Dicetions.							
Election Year	Total Seats		PML (F	PML (F)		PPPP	
	NA	PA	Total	NA	PA	NA	PA
2002	03	06	09	03	06	00	00
2008	03	06	09	03	04	00	02
2013	03	06	09	02	04	01	02
2018	03	06	09	00	03	03	03

Table 2. Party Position during 2002, 2008, 2013 and 2018 Elections.

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan.

The following figure 01 below shows the gradual change in winning the seats of PPPP from district Sanghar from 2002 to 2008. It clearly illustrates that PPPP had not political support in the Sanghar district before 2008. However, gradual rise in winning position of the PPPP can be witnessed in the figure.

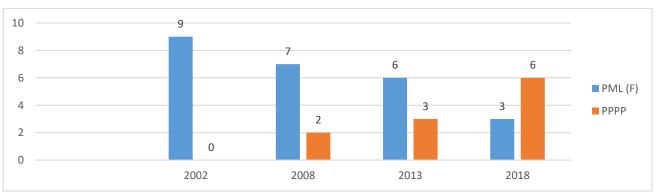


Figure 1. Party Position during 2002, 2008, 2013 and 2018 Elections; Source: Developed by the researchers based on the data retrieved from Election Commission of Pakistan (https://www.ecp.gov.pk/)

However, after the introduction of BISP by the PPPP during its government 2008-2013, the election results show drastic change in the party position. As a result of BISP, the voter behavior changed gradually and election results of 2018 proved quite surprising for the political analysts as PPPP bagged majority of seats in the district. Since then PPPP dominates the political scene in the district Sanghar. The PPPP secured all 03 National Assembly Seats and 03 Provincial Assembly Seats from the Sanghar district. The erstwhile strongest party-PML-F could manage to secure only 03 seats of Provincial Assembly with thin margin. The table 03 shows the elections results of general elections 2018.

Table 3. Election Results 2018.

National	Assembly	Votes	Provinc	cial Assembly	Votes
NA-215	Naveed Dero (PPPP)	77890	PS-41	Ali Ghulam (GDA-PML-F)	36081
	Haji Khuda Baksh	77322		Mashooque Ali	35935
NA-216	Shazia Jannat Mari (PPPP)	80770	PS-42	Qazi Shams Din (GDA-PML-F)	44636
	Kishin Chand			Ali Hassan	35059
	Parwani	70791			
NA-217	Roshanuddin Junejo (PPPP)	103232	PS-43	Jam Madad Ali Khan (PPPP)	44750
	Mehar Ali alias Mahi Khan			Jam Zulifiqar Ali Khan	28495
		43769			
			PS-44	Faraz Dero (PPPP)	54156
				Niaz Hussain	13711
			PS-45	Shahid Thaheem (PPPP)	45818
				Muhammad Bux	31206
			PS-46	Waryam Faqir (GDA-PML-F)	42472
				Rana Abdul Sattar	41549

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan (https://www.ecp.gov.pk/).

Further, the PPPP has not only improved its party position in terms of wining seats but it has also improved its position in terms of votes. The table 04 shows how the number of votes has gradually improved in Favor of PPPP in each constituency of Sanghar district.

Table 4. Party wise Votes during 2002, 2008, 2013 and 2018 Elections.

Constituency: NA-Sa	anghar I			
Election Year	2002	2008	2013	2018
PML-F	61741	71394	90787	77322
PPPP	9165	44858	65916	77890
Constituency: NA-Sa	anghar II			
Election Year	2002	2008	2013	2018
PML-F Votes	61671	68122	74062	70791
PPPP Votes	5212	31997	62231	80770
Constituency: NA-Sa	anghar III			
Election Year	2002	2008	2013	2018
PML-F Votes	66543	49483	85532	43769
PPPP Votes	56628	90311	100906	103232
Constituency: PS-Sa	nghar I			
Election Year	2002	2008	2013	2018
PML-F	28365	35862	46929	36081
PPPP	6982	18166	31947	35925
Constituency: PS-Sa	nghar II			
Election Year	2002	2008	2013	2018
PML-F Votes	37952	41021	52627	44636
PPPP Votes	24393	30425	37524	35059
Constituency: PS-Sa	nghar III			
Election Year	2002	2008	2013	2018
PML-F Votes	41254	47151	50351	28495
PPPP Votes	19363	18847	36255	44750
Constituency: PS-Sa	nghar IV			
Election Year	2002	2008	2013	2018
PML-F	30344	31870	35548	13711
PPPP	18227	20834	34175	54156
Constituency: PS-Sa	nghar V			
Election Year	2002	2008	2013	2018
PML-F	28889	12091	35378	31206

PPPP	25324	48547	45180	45818	
Constituency: PS-Sa	inghar VI				
Election Year	2002	2008	2013	2018	
PML-F	24057	22631	30014	42472	
PPPP	23614	30542	36322	41549	

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan (https://www.ecp.gov.pk/).

Figure 2 shows the total number of votes of Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarian and Pakistan Muslim League-Functional secured during the general elections of 2002, 2008, 2013 and 2018 from district Sanghar. The chart illustrates the gradual rise in number of votes in favor of PPPP from 2002 to 2018.

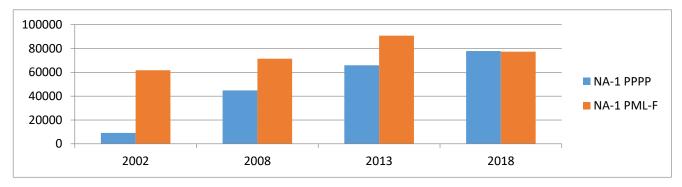


Figure 2. Party wise Votes during 2002, 2008, 2013 and 2018 Elections; Source: Developed by the researchers based on the data retrieved from Election Commission of Pakistan (https://www.ecp.gov.pk/).

Thus, the election results reflect major change in the voting behavior of the voters in Sanghar district. The researcher assumed that Benazir Income Support Program is the major factor which has caused change in the voting behavior of voters in Sanghar.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Punjab Based Study conducted by Naseer et al. (2021) on the rural women empowerment through social protection programs: A case of Benazir income support programme in Punjab, Pakistan. The study was conducted to explore the role of BISP in empowering women. Quantitative survey was conducted in two districts of Punjab randomly selected out of 36 using face-to-face interviews with a sample size of 160 women beneficiaries of BISP. A study conducted by Iqbal et al. (2020) on the Can Empowerment be enhanced by Putting Cash in the Hands of Poor Women? Learning from Pakistan's BISP Program. In this study, researchers have analyzed the impact of BISP's cash transfers on women's empowerment after two, five, and eight years of intervention. The impact is measured by using a fuzzy regression discontinuity design for cross-sectional data and a difference-indifference approach for panel data. The results revealed that after two years of intervention, there was no significant impact on women's empowerment; however, after 5 and 8 years, there was a substantial impact, especially on women's mobility, their involvement in decision-making and voting behavior.

A qualitative study conducted by Tunio et al. (2020) on the Women Empowerment through BISP: An analysis of The National Cash Transfer Program (NCTP) in Sindh from 2008-2018. This study intended to analyze the Benazir income support program (BISP), empowering women economically, socially, and politically. 40 women beneficiaries were interviewed and two Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were conducted among male members to analyze the impact of the unconditional cash transfer (UCT) program on the empowerment of women. The universe for the study was selected District Hyderabad, Sindh. Analysis of interviews and FGDs indicated a positive impact of the Benazir income support program on women's empowerment.

The quantitative study conducted by Mehdi et al. (2022) on the Social Marketing and Women Empowerment: Impact of Social Welfare Programs on Women Empowerment and Economic Wellbeing. This study examined the impact of the Benazir Income Support Program (BISP) on women's empowerment in Pakistan. Data were collected from 300 women beneficiaries of BISP in district Khairpur. The study's findings recommended a positive and significant impact of BISP on women's empowerment and have a strong correlation with women's empowerment. The study revealed that the BISP program contributed to 35% of living standards, 29% of poverty alleviation strategy and 24% of social security.

METHODOLOGY

District Sanghar has been selected as the model district for studying the impact of BISP on voting behavior of the women. The researcher selected mixed method approach to provide an assessment of the impact of the BISP on women's empowerment and voting behavior in district Sanghar. Mix method approach is widely used for collecting the reliable and valid data. The data collected through the mix method approach supplement each other to boost the validity and reliability of the data (Zohrabi, 2013). Mix method approach has potential to increase the accuracy and quality of research analysis and conclusions (Vivek & Nanthagopan, 2021).

Thus, synthesis of two research approaches enable researcher to get authentic data which further helps to reach valid conclusions. Purposive sampling technique has been used to decide the sample size. Purposive sampling is preferred where set of population is predefined based on common characteristics (Bakkalbasioglu, 2020). "Purposive sampling seems to be more appropriate when universe happens to be small and a known characteristic of it is to be studies intensively" (Rai & Thapa, 2015). Survey questionnaires, and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were conducted to gather the required data

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Impact of BISP on Voting Behavior of Women

The participants were asked about the Impact of BISP on their Voting Behavior. During the Focus Group Discussions (FDG) the participant of the study i.e., BISP beneficiaries revealed that they used to vote against PPPP in previous elections. They changed their mind and casted votes in favor of PPPP as they were providing them with the BISP popularly known as 'Benazir Card'. The quantitative data also support the views expressed by the participants as majority of the respondents (85.4%) agreed with the statement that BISP has enabled women to cast vote of her choice. While only 6.4% respondents did not agree to the statement. Thus the findings of this study suggest that BISP has immensely impacted the voting behavior of women in district Sanghar. Table 06 shows the response of participants regarding the impact of BISP on the voting behavior. Further, statistically the statement is also tested and accepted with mean 1.6710 and standard deviation of 0.93.

	Table 5. I think	BISP has ena	ble women to vot	e of her ch	loice in Sangha	r district.
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Response	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	602	55.8	55.8	55.8
Agree	320	29.7	29.7	85.4
Neutral	83	7.7	7.7	93.1
Disagree	62	5.7	5.7	98.9
Strongly Disagree	8	.7	.7	99.6
Not Applicable	4	.4	.4	100.0
Total	1079	100.0	100.0	

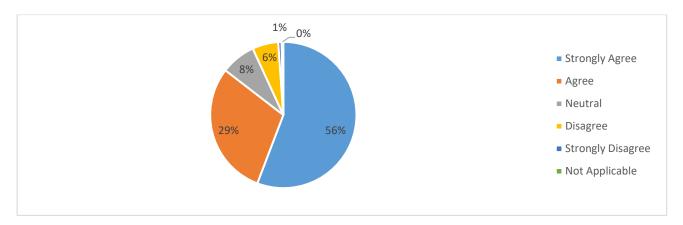


Figure 1. I think BISP has enable women to vote of her choice in Sanghar district.

Impact of BISP on Political Empowerment of Women

The participants of the study were asked about their perception about the impact of BISP on their political empowerment. Majority of them revealed that now they themselves decide to cast vote in favor of any party rather than influenced by the family head. Even the family head, being the indirect beneficiary of BISP, have become more vocal to cast vote to the party of their choice. BISP has decreased their dependency on local Wadera, Influential as BISP has provided them with an alternative source of dependency. Thus, they are politically free of any pressure to cast vote to party of their choice as compared to the past when voters used to be dependent on the local Wadera, Influential for meeting the financial needs.

As a result of their dependency they were compelled to cast vote on the wish of their lender. However, BISP has brought a paradigm shift and now the voters are no more completely dependent on the local influential, therefore, they vote on their own choice. Thus, BISP has politically empowered them to decide their choice of vote.

In order to address the above question, the respondents were asked about their perception regarding the impact of BISP on the decision of the women to cast their vote. Significant majority i.e., 84% of the respondents responded that BISP has empowered women in decision of casting vote. While 7.1% did not agree with the statement, whereas 8.6% respondents remained neutral to reply the question. Further, statistically the statement is also tested and accepted with mean 1.6664 and standard deviation of 0.99.

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Table 6. I think that BISP	emnowers women	าท สควารเกท กา	casting vote

Response	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	634	58.8	58.8	58.8
Agree	272	25.2	25.2	84.0
Neutral	93	8.6	8.6	92.6
Disagree	67	6.2	6.2	98.8
Strongly Disagree	10	.9	.9	99.7
Not Applicable	3	.3	.3	100.0
Total	1079	100.0	100.0	

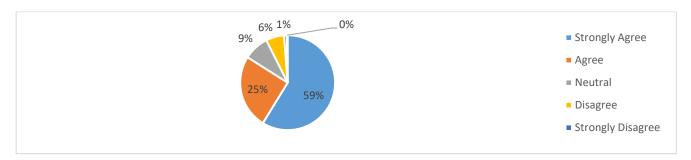


Figure 2. I think that BISP empowers women in decision of casting vote.

CONCLUSIONS

Voting Behavior plays vital role in the electoral process. The large scale participation of the people in the electoral process is sign of vibrant democratic system. Many factors affect in voting patterns among the populations across the world. In Pakistan, BISP is the recent factor which has left tremendous impact on the voting behavior of people. This study was focused on the impact of BISP on the voting behavior of women in district Sanghar. The study finds that the BISP has not only influenced the voting behavior of women in favor of PPPP but it has improved the social status of women of the district also. The participation of women in the electoral process has also improved as a result of the launching of BISP. The overall impact of the Benazir Income Support Program is positive as it has positively contributed towards the political empowerment of women in the Sanghar district.

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