

**FINDING INFLUENTIALS IN DECISION MAKING
PROCESS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT: A *STUDY OF TWO
UNION COUNCILS IN PESHAWAR DISTRICT OF
PAKISTAN***

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ABSTRACT

My study is about elites influence in the decision making process of local government of Pakistan. In 2000 Pakistan introduced a new local government system under devolution of power plan, which promising to devolve the power to grass roots. The new system was implemented in 2001 after holding of non party based elections. Though people in general seem to be happy with the system, the critics have charged the system for not fulfilling the promise, rather having empowered the local economic and political elites more than before.

This study attempted to find who, with what background, have influence in the decision making process of Local Government in Pakistan. The study is operationalized on the theoretical concepts of elite school of thought, applying its positional and reputational methods to identify elites. It aimed at finding the positions, gender, socio-economic, cultural, political and expertise of the Councillors. Two Union Councils, University town and Karimpura of Peshawar District, were selected as sample of the study.

The data were gathered about 31 councillors through a comprehensive questionnaire embedding interview, case study and group discussion while SPSS was used for analyses and interpretation. The study analyzed 21 variables, among which 7 had direct and positive relationship and 7 had none in both Union Councils, while the rest 7 are significant in only one Union Council. Overall position, gender, education, income, leadership roles and political factors to varying extent, seem important attributes of the Councilors assessed highly influential by their peer Councilors. However, both Union Councils, show different results about seven variables, which could be due to their demographic, socio-economic and cultural differences, and Councilors functions as well as smaller number of respondents in Karimpura Union Council than the University Town Union Council.

However, the findings of the study reveal elites influence in decision making of Union Councils, but do not indicate their mal handling of the power; rather most of them have completed successfully many development works for the uplift of their community.

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This write up is output of maiden research effort. I own it and am responsible for all that is incorporated and looked forward for views to improve for my research performances.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- UC Union Council
- UCs Union Councils
- MPA Minister in Provincial Assembly
- MNA Minister in National Assembly

MEANING OF TERMS

- Nazim Mayor
- Naib Nazim Deputy Mayor

I dedicate this thesis to my beloved husband Mr. Zia Obaid

and to our lovely son Faiz

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

*'Power must be devolved to the local level so that people can participate in governance,'
said a farmer in rural Multan.*

*'Women should have 50% representation in local government,'
recommended an old, turbaned man in the conservative town of Bannu.*

*'We want local government but this government will not be able to stop the feudal class
from grabbing power through it,' feared a young student in urban Karachi.*

*'What will happen to our recommendations, will anyone listen to them?'
doubted a female teacher in Balochistan.*

These are voices of ordinary citizens in Pakistan.

(Dohad, R., 2002: 26-28)

The aim of this study is to find 'the influentials in the decision making process of Local Government of Pakistan', are they the conventional economic and political elites of the community or the power is devolved to the masses at the lower level. Pakistan introduced a new Local Government plan in 2000. This system was named Devolution of Power. This new system of Local Government was installed on August 14, 2001, after holding elections on non party base. The important factor of introducing the Local Government System was *to empower the people at the grassroots level and to transfer power from the elite to the masses. ([www.story of Pakistan.com](http://www.storyofPakistan.com))*. The system of grass roots democracy was anticipated: to solve people's problems at local level, let the local people participate in decision making and provide them with speedy justice. In addition it foresees to bring new political leaders. One of the core factors of the system is Local Governments for their decisions are accountable to the citizens. (ibid). The system was expected to mobilize the community in developmental and participatory work, and also to remove rural-urban divide. *The new Local Government plan was an effort on the part of the*

Military Government to lay the foundations of an authentic and enduring democracy. (ibid).¹

1.1: BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY:

The system of Local Government is not new in Pakistan. On the eve of Independence in 1947, Pakistan inherited local government institutions setup under the Local Government Act 1882, also known as Lord Rippon's Reforms. It replaced the centuries old "Panchayat System" prevalent in the length and breadth of the Indo-Pak sub-continent with all its merits and demerits in the predominantly traditional feudal rural socio-cultural and agrarian economic setup. The Panchayat emerged originally as an indigenous informal institution of the caste system in the Indo-Pak subcontinent. It operated primarily at settlement level and normally comprised of five male elders and elites, usually feudal elites, heading major fraternities (biradaris) of the communities. The eldest was called "Sarpanch" – head of five, who conducted Panchayat's affairs. These feudal lords were powerful due to their reputation and resources in the villages. The Panchayats functioned without any interruption by subsequent government since their inception around. In fact they adopted working arrangements of Panchayats in performance of municipal and state functions. The decisions they made were highly respected and accepted by the people. Even today it persists mostly informally in rural areas of Pakistan. Village elders do evoke its activation for resolving local issues.

The inherited local bodies comprised of Notified Area/ Town / Municipal Committees for urban localities while District Boards for rural settlements. The system was not only inherited rather the tradition of feudal lords leading these bodies was also inherited. The local bodies were led by most of the local economic and political elites of the area as it was followed in the Panchayat system. From the very beginning Pakistan maintained the same feudal and tribal social structure, with strong patriarchal and authoritarian trends. (Hina Jilani, Pakistan Prospects for Democracy: Part II). This may be the reason for only

¹ All sentences and phrases in italics are the citations taken from given references.

male Councilors, elected or nominated, constituted these local bodies. But due to their inefficiency, mismanagement and embezzlement most of these bodies were frequently made defunct, even remained so later for varying durations, and under super session. Performance of their municipal functions and services was, then, entrusted to the respective administrative functionaries under the supervision of the Administrators appointed by the government. This situation, by and large, continued till 1958.

The Civilian Governments remained pre-occupied with issues emerging from partition of the Indo-Pak sub-continent and the teething problems of the newly independent country Pakistan. From the very outset, the new born country was confronted with the rehabilitation of refugees, migrants from India, preparation of constitution for the newly independent polity, replacement of personnel having migrated to India required by government organizations, reorganization and rejuvenation of institutions – economic, education, financial, political, judicial etc., setting up of provincial and national governments, revival of defunct local government institutions, formulation and implementation of most needed development programmes for socio-economic uplift. In fact Pakistan started from a scratch. Successive governments tried their utmost without much achievement. The civil governments, however, did deliver the first Constitution in 1956 in midst of political crises.

In October 1958, the first Martial Law was promulgated. The Military Government gave the second Constitution in 1962. It also launched a five tier local government system – the Basic Democracy : Union Committees for urban areas and Union Councils for rural settlements as the lowest tier with Tehsil and District Councils composed of Chairman of the union level, and superstructures at Division / regional, provincial and national levels representing the government and the elected councils. Local bodies elections were held first in 1959 and the union councils were constituted of elected and nominated Councilors. This brought down democracy to the grass roots level for the first time, and, in Pakistan. Elections were held in 1965 for the second term and the union councils were constituted of elected Councilors. Females did cast their votes as electorates only. In this system first time the people elected leaders of their own choice.

The political situation once again became volatile towards end of 1960s. The reigns of government were handed over to another Army Chief. The basic Democracy councils were made defunct in 1988. National elections were conducted in 1971. The civilian government gave the third Constitution, unanimously passed by the National Assembly, in 1973. The Basic Democracy system was not activated. In 1977, the second Martial Law was declared in view of political crises. Pursuing its agenda, the military government amended the 1973 constitution.

It launched a two tier system of local councils – Municipal Committees for urban and Union Councils for rural areas as the lower tier and District Council as the upper tier with two reserved seats for Women District Councilors. Male district Councilors elected the lady Councilors. Induction of females in the local bodies, a small but vital breakthrough, was made for the first time in the history of Pakistan.

The national political situation became volatile once again in 1988 with the demise of the President in air crash. The civilian political set up was revived and national elections were conducted. Political parties formed the national and provincial governments – first PPP, and then PML followed by PPP and again by PML in rather quick succession till October 1999. Each was ousted of the office by the incumbent presidents who were ousted in turn. In this situation, Martial Law was promulgated on 12th October 1999.

The Military took over management of the country for the third time. It introduced District Government as a part of Power Devolution Plan 2000 with Union Councils at the settlement level, urban or rural or mixed areas, and Town / Tehsil councils as second tier and District (Zilla) council as the upper tier. It rose to 33% reserved seats for women in each council along with seats for farmers, labourers and minorities. Reserved seats for women were also raised to 33% in provincial and national assemblies and senate.

This is the first time in Pakistan's history that power has been devolved to the grass root level to enable people to solve their problems. The inclusion of such a significant

percentage of women in decision making process is a big step for uplift of women in a developing country like Pakistan.

1.1.1: THE 2002 LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM IN VOGUE:

In year 2000, the military government introduced a constitutional amendments package called the Legal Framework Ordinance (LFO). This ordinance has given a new system for creation of local government and providing it with devolution and decentralization plan. The National Reconstruction Bureau (NRB) prepared the plan. It was first promulgated at federal level and then enacted on provincial basis. Its basic objective is to provide power to the people so they can solve their problems at the grassroots level.

The Power Devolution Plan has the following five fundamentals:

1. Devolution of political power,
2. Decentralization of administrative authority,
3. Deconcentration of management functions,
4. Diffusion of power-authority nexus, and
5. Distribution of resources to the district level.

(Local Government Plan 2000: 3).

The new system has been implemented through the Local Government Ordinance 2001. The Local Government set up consists of three levels of governing bodies: the Union Council, Tehsil / Town Council, and the Zila (District) Council. The focal element of this plan is the provision of 33% quota of seats for women in each council. These councils are entrusted the main tasks relating to the short and long term development plan, and to look at the legal, financial and taxation issues at their respective levels.

The institutionalized participation of the people at grass-roots level is a positive step to realize good governance, more effective delivery of services, and transparency in decision making. (N.W.F.P Local Government Ordinance 2001: 1). The means to achieve

the objectives include devolution of political power and decentralization of administrative and financial authority to responsible local governments.

“Local government includes:

- A District Government or a City District Government and Zilla Council,
- A Tehsil Municipal Administration and Tehsil Council,
- A Town Municipal Administration and Town Council,
- A Union Administration and Union Council”

(ibid: 2)

Every administrative unit works under the respective Council, and the Nazim of the Council is the head of the Administrative unit. The Administrative units prepare the developmental projects and proposals for budgetary allocations and sent these for approval of the councils. Further they recommend the councils for matters concerning finances and enhancement of the peoples of their respective area.

The Councilors, in their respective Councils, have certain functions. They approve bye-laws, taxes proposed by the respective administrative unit and by the District Government. The Councilors endorse the long and short term developmental plans proposed by their respective administrative units. They are responsible for the approval of the annual budgetary proposals of their units as well. The Councilors have authority to constitute a number of committees for monitoring, justice and public safety matters.

Every Council meets once in a month. Each is supposed to be in session for at least fifty accumulated days in a year. Generally the decisions of the Councils are taken by resolutions passed by a simple majority of the members present and voting except if otherwise provided. The quorum for holding a council meeting is 51% of total membership. The copy of each resolution is transmitted to the Local Government Commission. (ibid: 16-42).

The government has reserved 33% seats for women in the Local Government Councils. The functions and powers assigned to the councils are, thus, for all the male and female Councilors.

The study of this current Local Government system shows that much lower level population has been included in the power structure to solve their problems.

1.2: RESERCH PROBLEM:

The local government history starts from the centuries old Panchayat system. This system was responsible for administrative, judicial and sometimes developmental functions. (Majumdar 1960, Basham 1954), (cited in; Cheema, Khwaja, Qadir, 2004). The elders and elites were the leaders of this system, and though the system was responsible for whole village, but the critics have charged it for withholding the desires of *founding-families, upper castes and large farmers* (Siddiqui 1992, Drummond 1937, Sand 1976), (cited in: *ibid*: 2004).

After independence Pakistan inherited the bureaucratic colonial influence in local bodies. All the local governments after independence seem to be under bureaucratic and military influences. The feudal tribal leaders were active in their village and country politics. The decision making and policy formulation was in the hands of political, feudal, military and bureaucratic elites. (*ibid*: 2004)

The history of local government reveals the rule of elites and their influence in the decision making of local bodies. Apart from local government, in general Pakistan *political decision-making is highly centralized and non-participatory. The majority of Pakistanis are marginalized from policy-making and political participation.* (Hina Jilani, 2003-September 2006). The powerful institutions, electoral politics and major political parties are dominated by the country's ruling elites or the power structures. Women, underprivileged and minorities are under represented in the country's political system. (USAID/Pakistan, Interim Strategic Plan, 2003-September 2006)

The 2000 local government system is also charged for elite rule, though the system promises to bring power at grass root level. Bushra Asif while discussing the Local Government reforms in Pakistan, mention that *Musharraf's promise of bringing in new blood through local governments has failed to materialize. Most of the people elected were either old party workers or belonged to landed political parties.* (Bushra Asif, *South Asia Program, fifth issue*). The statistics shows that, 30% of Zilla Nazims in Punjab were former members of the National Assembly (MNAs) or members of Provincial Assemblies (MPAs) and approximately 90% belonged to established political families. (Herald, August 2001), (cited in; Bushra Asif, *South Asia Program, fifth issue*). While largely at Union council and to some extent at other levels of local government, some of the formerly marginalized groups have now come in to the political system. Critics also argue that *the plan was a deliberate attempt to create new political elite, which would be loyal to and support the political objectives of the military establishment.* (HRCP seminar on Devolution Plan”, *Bureau Report, Dawn, 30 October 2000*).

Critics charged the system; *The elite have never before so much power in Pakistan.* (Sarwar Bari, 2004). The system of indirect elections in the local government, the increased quota for women seats both at local council level and assemblies, and increased seats in legislation, has smoothed the way for the politically elite families to send more of their family members, and to have more power in the governance of the country. *According to some estimates, as many as 76% women in legislative assemblies and about 82% of Nazimeen are close relatives of MNAs and MPAs. This evil process of accumulation of political power in few hands can further deteriorate governance, human rights and democratic development.* (ibid, 2004)

The above discussion reveals that Pakistan is a power distant country with strict and traditional hierarchical structure in organizations. The influence and power remains with those who have the top positions in political organizations, bureaucracy and military. In community the power remains with those who have position, wealth and political influence. The rural areas are dominated by feudal lords.

The issue here is if the power is vested in higher levels and is highly centralized, while the current local government system aims at empowering the local community, then who are these people, who among them are influentials and exercise influence in decision making. Are the conventional ruling elite again dominant or the system truly empowers the masses at grass roots.

Thus the research problem is to know the Councilors, their education, culture, politics and socio-economic background, and their influence level and the reasons for their influence in the decision making of Council.

1.3: RESEARCH OBJECTIVE:

Many scholars of community power structures discovering elites and elite rules, have found those holding power are the resourceful persons of the community. They have wealth, skills, expertise, position and political stature. Their positions and reputation give them the influence in the community affairs. The communities respect them and desire to be led by them. They play an influential role in deciding many disputes and problems of the community.

The current system has given such an influential position to the Councilors. Thus the objectives of the study are to:

- find who has influence in decision making if the decision making is devolved to lower levels of population
- to find the reasons for having and for not having the influence in decision making
- To assess the role of their socio-economic, cultural and political backgrounds in their influence level in decision making.

1.4: SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH:

The scope of the study is two Union Councils of Peshawar District. The Union Councils are selected because they are the basic and lowest tier of Local Government. Its Councilors are elected directly by the people.

The Peshawar District is selected for the study because it truly depicts the N.W.F.P. Its population comprises of people from almost all the major rural and urban areas of the province with their different cultural, political and religious background and varied economic conditions from very rich to very poor. It was, thus assumed to be representing:

- Councilors from almost all the subcultures of the province
- Almost all the political schools of thought
- Major religious associations of the society in general sects as minorities
- Councilors belonging to different economic backgrounds

Thus this multifaceted representation was assumed to help in getting fairly representative data of the cross section of the population of the district and the province and which could be generalized to the whole society of the province.

1.5: RESEARCH QUESTION:

To achieve its objectives, the study has focuses to find out answers to the following research questions:

- What is the socioeconomic, political, cultural and demographic profile of the Union Councilors in the Peshawar district?
- Who, of what background, has influence in decision making of Union Councils?
- What is the role of these factors in the influence level of Councilors?

1.6: SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY:

The claims of devolution of power to the grass roots level have impelled me to find whether the power has been given to the lower levels in reality. Pakistan is a power distant country where organizations have strict hierarchical structures. Power is vested with the top positions of the organizations. Decisions are made at the top positions and people at the lower level merely follow them. At the community level power is processed and wielded by those who have reputation and resources i.e. social, economic and political status are influential in the community. They are active in the affairs of community and solve the disputes which arise in the community. Their decisions and involvement is highly recognized and respected.

The study attempts to find out, if the influence and power is entrusted with the top positions and resourceful people, who are the people in councils making the decisions as power is distributed to many and on lower levels. The study will be significant in terms to find whether the same influentials are holding the council positions and making decisions or the real lower level is making decisions for themselves. The reasons for their influence will guide the future researchers to work on the relationship between the factors and influence level. Further if the study finds the same influentials in the councils, it will give opportunity to the researchers to explore why the lower level people cannot exercise power.

1.9: ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY:

Overall there are seven chapters in the study. Chapter one is the introductory section. The discussion emphasizes the study background, research problem, research question of the study. The chapter one provides thought of the whole study.

Chapter two reviews the theoretical perspectives of Elite School of thought and the methodologies used by them in order to find influentials and powerful of the community. The positional approach and reputational analyses are discussed.

Chapter three is about the Methodology used to collect data. The focus of the discussion is data collection tools and strategies implied for the study, the sample size, the reasons for using the specific data tools and the limitations of the study.

Chapter four is about the history of Local Government system in Pakistan, which covers the time to time systems implemented in Pakistan. The focus is on the current system and the functions and powers given to UC Councilors.

Chapter five discusses the profiles of the Peshawar district and the two UCs selected for the study. The profiles are discussed in terms of their socio-economic, cultural and politico-administrative aspects and also to provide the background of the place from where the Councilors hail.

In Chapter 6 an attempt has been made to analyze the data collected. It has three parts. Part A discusses the Councilors profiles and influence in decision making, Part B is about the family aspects of the Councilors focused on their family background and its role in their influence level. All the discussion is based on the quantitative analyses done on SPSS. Part C is a qualitative data analyses gathered through interviews.

Finally Chapter 7 provides the concluding remarks and recommendations about the system.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

In all assemblies and groups and organized bodies of men, from a nation down to a committee of a club, direction and decisions rest in the hands of a small percentage, less and less in proportion to the larger size of the body, till in a great population it becomes an infinitesimally small proportion of the whole number. This is and always has been true of all forms of government, though in different degrees.

(Prewitt and Stone, 1973: 131)

This chapter is a prelude to the analysis of data on the Influence of Councilors in decision making process presented in the analytical section. It presents briefly a review of scholarly perspectives for better understanding of the term 'elite', techniques used for identifying elites in a community, influence of elites in decision making, the types / categories of elites in the communities, the characteristics which empower elites to effectively realize their intended decisions and the methodologies applied by different school of thoughts about finding power and elites in the community. Further, it may facilitate interpretation of data collected on the Union Councilors performing as elites in decision making process, the drawing of meaningful inferences and realistic conclusions for pragmatic recommendations.

2.1: INFLUENCE IN DECISION MAKING:

My study is about discovering the influential in decision making of Union Councils, and to find the reasons for their influence. In this part of the chapter I will discuss the scholarly perspectives of influence.

The term influence means the effect of a person or thing on other. Influence means power as well, and influential means the *thing or person using that power*. (Oxford dictionary; 1990). Many scholars have used this term in sense of power, but some have taken it as a part of power. Influence is *the power to get things done, which important men have by using their wealth, position etc.* (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English.; 1978).

Pluralist and Elitist are the two schools of thought that have studied influence and power in the community. In fact, the concept of power, that who has the power or who governs or who influence the decision making and policy making among communities and local governments, is an ongoing debate among the theorists of pluralist and elitist school of thoughts for many decades. The scholars have been looking at different facets of power, through asking questions. The elite schools have asked '*who rules?*' while pluralist school asked '*does anybody rule?*' (Judge and Stoker and Wolman, 1995: 40). Both have used different methodologies to find the answers of such questions. The pluralists have used the decisional approach. They took some important policy areas and then found by examining those policy areas, that who makes the decisions or who influence the decision making in these areas, whereas the elite school have used the reputational analysis. They took the people having prominent positions and assumed them to be influential or powerful in the community. Then a panel of knowledgeable people identified the most influentials among them. The main question asked by the scholars of elite school from the panel was: who in their opinion are *most influential in determining decisions of community or within local government politics?* in case of urban politico-administrative researches. (ibid: 40-41)

The term influence has been associated with power and influential with powerful in the community. In general, the term power means the ability to do something. Max Weber defined power as *the chances of a man or group of men to realize their own will even against opposition*. (Gerth and Mills, 1946: 180), (cited in; Presthus, 1964: 4). This research, takes influence to mean power and goes further towards the definitions of Hunter and Mills about power and powerful.

Mills used positional method to identify the most influential or powerful in decision making of the community. He states that *by the powerful we mean.....those who are able to realize their will, even if others resist it. No one, accordingly, can be truly powerful unless he has access to the command of major institutions, for it is over these institutional means of power that the truly powerful are, in the first instance, powerful.* (Mills, 1956: 9), (cited in; Prewitt and Stone, 1973: 84). Though Mills, to some extent, has taken power as Weber's concept of power, but he has linked it with the important positions in the organization. From this definition of Mills, Prewitt concluded that *Thus power is the ability to effect decisions.* (ibid: 84).

Hunter used reputational method of determining power in the community. Hunter started his study of Atlanta by first defining *social power as being structured, the result of social and institutional alliances.* (Prethuis, 1964: 37). His research findings identified that this structure was active among the forty influentials. He found through *sociometric analysis* that these forty influentials intertwined socially, culturally and to some extent economically with each other. Through this inter-connection they influenced the policies and decision making of the community. These influentials were ranked by the panel that identified them as *most influentials as real power holders.* After identifying the influentials and their power structure, Hunter states that these people owned financial resources and occupied as well as *controlled the formal economic and governmental roles.* (ibid: 37).

In relation to all these definitions, power operationally is *the acts of men going about the business of moving other men to act in relation to themselves or in relation to organic and inorganic things.* (Community Power Structure), (cited in; ibid: 37).

Both the scholars and followers of their school of thought have associated influence with power. As influence is determined through power, the most influential is determined by the participants, who regard them as *exercising the most weight in the decision.* (ibid: 99). They have also agreed on the indicators of the powerful or influential. The economic resources, their wealth, class, status and expertise are indicated as source of their influence or power in decision making in the community.

2.2: ELITE THEORY

A central premise of the classical elitist theory of democracy is that in every society a minority makes the major decisions. (Chilcote, 1981: 350).

My study is about who has influence?, As the Elite school of thought asks, who rules?, where the scholars tries to find the ruling elites or the most influentials. The same main focus of both the research questions has led the discussion to Elite school of thought.

This section undertakes to explain what and who are the elites according to the elite theory and briefly presents some theoretical perspectives of different scholars about economic, political and specialist elites and their characteristics.

2.2.1: INTRODUCTION AND DEFINITION OF ELITE THEORY:

The theory of Elites has its foundations in nineteenth century. Three scholars, two Italian; Mosca and Pareto, and one German; Michels,' are prominent for their initial and historical work on Elites. Their works are influenced by the then political developments of their countries. These scholars did not agree with the *rule by majority* and *popular sovereignty*. They wrote about the *ruling class* and *Elites*. Their work is called Classical theory of Elites. (Eldersveld, 1989: xii-xiii).

Later on many scholars pursued this school of thought. In the mid twentieth century Hunter and Mills made significant contribution to the elite school of thought. They are known for their methods used to find elites in the community and then writing about their characteristics. Their works and theories have been followed and applied by many other scholars to find the power and power structure of the communities.

Elite theory talks about the individuals of the society who has power and resources, through which they can influence the society. *In the social sciences, elite has remained a*

flexible cover term that refers to the rich, powerful and privileged in any society, past or present, western or non western. (Marcus, 1983: 3).

Alan Harding while discussing the power structure in urban development and local government has discussed the elite theory. He called the elites *a bunch of people*, whose decisions play a vital role in the lives and futures of the people of their communities. He described elites to show the power distribution in the society. He argues that it is common in the societies whether democratic or authoritarian, market or command economies, in which few individuals have power over key resources like *property, money, the legitimate use of violence, political influence, and scientific knowledge and so on*. This brings strong hierarchical structures in the social system with few but very powerful people, at the top, who make decisions for the less or unpowerful people who are at the bottom. Thus *Elite theory is based on this hierarchical conception of society and concerning itself with relations between the rulers and the ruled, the powerful and the powerless. (Judge and Stoker and Wolman, 1995: 35).*

2.2.2: ELITISM AND TYPES OF ELITE LEADERS:

Robert Prethus has applied the Elite theory in one of his study of community power. He has described it as Elitism. According to him *Elitism is a pattern of decision making characterized by limited mass participation in community issues, and their domination by small groups of specialized or general leaders. (Prethus, 1964: 24).*

He studied two small communities of America and applied decisional approach to identify the power structure of the communities. In one of the community he found the elitism or elites. He identified the elites on the assumption, made in the beginning of the study, that power elites, if found in a community, are a small part of that community. They may not be the representative of the larger community in social terms. They may belong to upper and middle classes. They have the special skills and qualities required for leadership. They are different from rest of the community on the basis of class, status,

leadership and resources. The basis of their power is *expertise, class, status or wealth and decisive control of such resources. (ibid: 26)*

His study identified three categories of elites in that community: political, economic and specialist. Economic elites are very common in most of the studies of elite theory. Hunter and his followers identified economic elites in their studies. Political elites are mostly identified by the political scientists and political sociologists. The third category, also called residual category by Presthus, has influence because of their special competence and interest in a substantive area. The specialists are *tentative* and a *mixed residual category*, while political and economic elites are permanently found in communities. They have formal offices as political elites have *local political offices* and economic elites are found in *financial-corporate hierarchies and owner-operated businesses. (ibid: 50).*

Each category has its distinctive characteristics. The specialist's category gets its influence from their distinguishing features. They are well and highly educated, have university degrees, and believe in power of knowledge. The characteristics of woman elites include age, education and energy, which make them active in community organizations. Their income level is lower than the economic and political elites. They mainly are interested in, and are known for their, welfare work in the community. Thus, the specialists could be differentiated on the basis of gender, income, education, age and community welfare.

The economic elites were first identified by Hunter through his reputational analysis. He described them as most influential in the society. They have the power to influence the major decisions in the community. The basis of this power is wealth, prestige and control over these resources. Presthus has identified economic elites as those who primarily are active locally in the business, finance, commerce and industries. Their primary source of power is their economic resources and role in the society. They belong to upper income group. They have education but less than the specialists. They mostly inherit the business of their fathers (families). They are residents of the community for longer period of time.

Their one distinguishing feature, which makes them influential, is their membership of different organizations. Astonishingly they are more politically affiliated than the political elites. However, they are not considered very famous in the local political offices because of their low interest in politics. The reason to have political affiliation is to have their influence in the major policies of the area. They are considered more powerful than political elites because of having more resources than political elites.

Political elites are those who had the political office at the time of study. The characteristics found for these elites are that they are powerful mainly because of their longer time in the community. In terms of class status they have lower status due to less education and lower occupation and lower income than economic elites. In spite of having local political offices they have numerically much less affiliations than economic elites. Presthus has found political elites somewhat similar to economic elites in his study. He found that political elites, though holding the local political offices or membership of political parties, were also lawyers and small business holders. However the base for their power is their political background.

The term political with elites is also found in the Pareto's classical elite theory. Eldersveld has also used this term in his study and has justified the link between social status and political power by stating classical elite theory that *in modern societies wealth and social status and political power reinforce each other.* (Eldersveld, 1989: xiii).

After discussing the scholarly perspectives of the Elites and their characteristics, the next step is to discuss how these scholars found these Elites.

2.3: METHODS TO DISCOVER ELITES:

The three well known methodologies used by different scholars to discover the Elites are Positional method, Reputational technique and Decisional Making Approach.

The decision making approach was first used by pluralist school of thought. In this method they selected the three important issue areas, and found who makes the decisions in these issue areas. As the pluralists are the main opponents of elite school of thought they have criticized the reputational and positional methodologies and also their conclusions for discovering elites. To meet their criticisms some of the scholars of elite school of thought have applied decisional making approach as well. Robert Presthus in his famous study 'Men at the Top' of two communities has used decisional approach. In one community he discovered elites or influentials and in the second community he found pluralistic power. He selected few key issues of both the communities, and then he found who solve those issues, and who are the people involve in key decisions in these three issue areas. (Presthus, 1964).

Though my study is to find out, who among the council has influence in decision making of UC, but I am not using the decisional approach to find the influentials in decision making. The reason is two months period for data collection was very short to apply decision making approach. The selection of key issue areas needs more time and is in itself a full study, as to know which issues are important and how they are important.

Apart from this, the decisional approach has been criticized for not revealing all the issues. As there are some vital issues which are stopped from public contestation due to some political biases. Power holders or the influentials in the political system ensures that these vital issues should not be discussed in public agendas, and thus does not become *decisions*; rather remains *undecided and so constitute non-decisions*. In this case *power is exercised but not overtly*. (Bachrach and Baratz, 1970: 44-6), (cited in; Judge and Stoker and Wolman, 1995: 18).

Bachrach and Baratz discussed it, in search of decisions, one can miss covert influence and also the most powerful as well, as those who are active in decisions and solve the

disputes that are on agenda, before them, and *that agenda could already have been neutralized so as to be unthreatening to the 'real' elite. In other words, truly powerful might already have mobilized bias² to keep those issues they did not want debated off the public agenda. (ibid: 40).*

The reputational technique as discussed before, may be a method to find the real powerful, who are active in non decisions. The panel of knowledgeable people in reputational method may name the influential that has power but does not exert it publicly, rather remain behind the scenes.

Thus this study applies positional and reputational methods for discovering the influentials in UCs. I will discuss the characteristics of these two methods, and scholarly findings of the methods, and finally how the scholars met the criticisms against these methods by the opponents. The discussion is based on the article 'Methodological Disputes in the Study of Power' by David Ricci. (Keynes and Ricci, 1970: 155-178).

2.3.1: POSITIONAL METHOD:

Many research scholars have used the positional method for identifying powerful people in the community. They have analyzed the positions of power holders in their community. Position means their cadre or place in the organizational structure of different organizations. The assumption is the higher the position in the organization, the more power full will be the position. David M. Ricci states that *the positional method attempts to identify people who hold community positions of apparent influence and conclude that they are truly powerful for that very reason. (Keynes and Ricci, 1970: 156).*

² As cited in. (Judge and Stoker and Wolman, 1995: 40) bias is taken from, *Schattschneider (1960: 71) argued that organization is, by definition, the mobilization of bias. By this he meant that within all organizations some forms of conflict are tolerated while others are routinely suppressed.*

Ronald H. Chilcote, in his book *Theories of Comparative Politics*, has defined that *Positional analysis identifies influential people on the basis of their position in a corporation, bank, foundation or the like. (Chilcote, 1981: 361)*

The positional method is significant in the studies of the two prominent scholars, C. Wright Mills and William Domhoff. Both have used it to find out the power elites in the community.

Mills identified the power elites, whom he called the people who make *important decisions in America. (Prewitt and Stone, 1973, P.83)*. First he looked at the institutions in America, which were known for exercising power disreputably and conspicuously in certain issues and areas. Then he looked for their psychological and socio-economic characteristics to find out their power and influence in decision making. One of his main objectives was to ascertain the economic and political resources of people holding top positions who exercise power and influence in decision making. (ibid; 84-86).

Domhoff identified the upper class in community applying the positional method and also verified that the *upper class is a cohesive governing class or power elite*, by which Domhoff meant *a social upper class which owns a disproportionate amount of the country's yearly income, contributes a disproportionate number of its members to governmental bodies and decision making groups, and dominates the policy forming process. (Domhoff 1970; 189), (cited in; Chilcote, 1981: 361)*.

The scholars, who used positional method, argue that the elites identified by their formal positions have some sort of cohesiveness among them. This cohesion is due to their common interests and cooperation with each other because of their personal contacts.

Mills has discussed the common interest in his study by referring to leaders of political, economic and military spheres of America, who unite because of the *coincidence of the interest* common to all of them. (Mills, 1956: 159), (cited in; Keynes and Ricci, 1970: 163).

Personal contacts are referred to the meetings of power elites in places like different clubs and associations where they make friendships, adopt the general values of elites and exchange their views to bring out a common vision or idea which is preceded as a policy. The critics have charged the scholars of positional method with failing to express their cohesion argument. David Ricci in his article of methodological disputes discuss the critics, that Daniel Bell has indicted Mills has implied Community of interest but has failed to prove it. In another case Dahl a follower of Pluralist school of thought has inquired that how the leaders can have such interest when most of them always try to oppose each others ideas. Generally they criticize it that there are no separate interests of elites than the society. The main opponents of positional approach are the followers of decisional approach, who claims that through decisional approach they discovered that there are *competing interest groups* in American politics. These interest groups do not have class lines and involve people from every sphere of life. They compete and oppose each other, because the upper class people do not have mutual interests and they do not unite in their views.

The argument by followers of positional approach that elites direct contact with each other in different organizations and clubs bring cohesion and develops common interests among them has been further criticized. William Kornhauser disproves the social intercourse as an argument for collusion among the elites, and objected that positional theorists have failed to explain and prove the cohesion and common interests among elites. Peter Rossi opposed the same argument and relates it with the sociological concept of role. He argued that leaders have special roles to play according to their positions. These roles demand them to represent the interests of others rather than their own personal interest. The political leaders always try to move forward interest of others in spite of their own background. This argument of Rossi was opposed by Mills. He rejected it on the basis of remark passed by the then Secretary of Defense about placing the welfare of his company ahead of his country's welfare. He further commented that *once a corporation executive, always a corporation man. (ibid: 163)*

The issue was now how to solve the dispute over cohesion. According to Polsby *the current research makes it plain that there is no necessary relationship between social, economic and power elites*, and therefore he will always look for the cases of non cohesion. (Polsby, 1959: 800) (cited in; *ibid*: 163). Mills remarked in order to solve the dispute that the *institutional elites* unite and agree on certain issues only in occasions of crises. He while maintained that there is cohesion and common interest but that is not always, but elites coincide in occasions of crises.

The next challenge faced by the positional theorists was against their argument of political resources held by few leaders in the society. The critics accepted that the political resources are stratified; some people have more resources than others. But they observed that power is not related directly with *stratified resources*. As Polsby states *that power is an empirically separable variable of social stratification*, (Polsby, 1963:103-104), (cited in, *ibid*: 164). This argument was justified by the findings of New Haven study. in study of New Haven, Dahl and his associates found a variety of political resources *i.e. money and credit, social standing, knowledge and expertise, popularity, ethnic solidarity, leisure time, mental and physical energy, the right to vote* and many others.(Dahl, 1961: 226; Polsby, 1963: 119-120; Polsby, 1960: 483), (cited in; *ibid*: 164). They observed that these resources are not concentrated among few; rather they were unequally distributed among many. According to them these are *non cumulative* against the *cumulative resources* of positional theorists. In New Haven they found that some men have a large amount of one while little of another resource. Everyone has some of them, and no one lacks all of them. They proved this non cumulative argument in two ways. First they argued that from 1780 to 1950, the leadership in New Haven has budge from those who had money, status and fame to those who only had money and fame, and in the end reached to the holders of only fame and popularity. Apart from this the economically and socially prominent leaders in New Haven were incapable to convert their *financial and social power directly into political power*. They judged on their observations that New Haven is a pluralist democracy, where resources though are not equally distributed but are *well dispersed*. (*ibid*: 164).

The non cumulative argument of pluralists was totally rejected by the positional theorists. The essential assertion of political theorists is that position itself is a symbol of *cumulative resources, or of the common denominator of all resources – money*. (*ibid: 164*). According to them, a man holding a strategic position in political, economic and military spheres entitles him *to decision making authority, prestige and wealth*. (*ibid: 164*). They argue that these three could not be separated from each other, no matter which of them comes first but there are a lot of incidences in life to prove that money can buy *fame and office*. They argued that in today's world of market economy, exclusive publicity of political objectives through television, expensive advertising and lobbying, high cost education, and lavish spending on attorneys do not support the argument that resources are non cumulative.

The positional theorists are criticized for ignoring the power and self-control on the positional leaders by different *political parties, civic organizations, bureaucracies, various pressure groups and politically alert citizens*. The opponent of positional theory Dahl included all these actors with the positional leaders in to a group, which he called *the political stratum* (*Dahl; 1961: 90-100*), (*cited in, ibid: 165*). This political stratum has both leaders and sub leaders. The sub leaders constantly respond to the voters, in order to get confidence of voters who can place them on a top position. Due to this political stratum parties and elections can act openly as *broad based levers*, which pressurize both leaders and sub leaders, and any dissatisfied group among them can found an orator in that political stratum. The existence of this political stratum thus prevents the concentration of power in few hands of elite. Dahl concluded that this is the reason that in New Haven, power and political resources are not concentrated in few hands of elite. In response of this charge by the pluralists, the positional theorists though admitted that the *real power* in the political stratum exists but they called it a *middle level* of power. According to Mills, the true and meaningful decisions are made at the top level elite position, who formulate the policies and impose them on the *middle level of power*, and the groups in this stratum are only permitted to act as *a front organization* in carrying out these policies. (Mills, 1956: 324), (*cited in; ibid: 165*).

2.3.2: REPUTATIONAL TECHNIQUE:

The reputational technique is used to identify the influentials in the community on the basis of their reputation. *The reputational technique depends upon gathering a panel of knowledgeable people in the community and then asking them who in their opinion are the powerful individuals there. (ibid: 164).*

Reputational analysis is personal and subjective and involves asking knowledgeable persons whom they believe to be important. (Chilcote, 1981: 361).

This technique was first used by Floyd Hunter in his study of Atlanta in 1953. He called it reputational analysis. For identifying the community influentials, Hunter enlisted the individuals holding prominent positions *within* four groups that “*may be assumed to have power connections*” --- *business, government, civic associations and society activists. (Hunter, 1953: 11), (cited in; Judge and Stoker and Wolman, 1995: 38).* On the basis of personal knowledge and with the help of his personal contacts and local organizations, Hunter prepared a long list of individuals from the four groups. Then he selected a panel of judges who were the knowledgeable people of that community. This panel then ranked the individuals in each group for being influential on the basis of their reputation. Of these 40 individuals were selected and interviewed to determine who among them were powerful. The assessment was based on their interaction among themselves, their groupings for important community projects, and their influence in these projects.

Hunter’s reputational technique was criticized from its application aspect and from the methodological aspects mainly by the investigators of decisional approach. The investigators who applied the technique are charged by the pluralists for starting the study with the presumption of power elite existence in the community. Nelson Polsby while criticizing scholars use of presumption has proclaim the avoidance of these presumptions through using the decision making approach. But he himself has advocated the decision making approach as a pluralist alternative, thus binding the decisional approach with the presumption of pluralism. (Polsby, 1960: 476-478), (cited in; *ibid*: 157). The important

factor here is that any investigator can have his own presumptions about his method of the study, and *thus it is not the method but the researcher who is predisposed.* (ibid: 157).

The questions asked by the reputational analysts from the panel are also criticized for producing the desired response. They will find elite as an answer for their questions like *who runs this community?* (Polsby, 1967: 261), (cited in; ibid: 157). The question Delbert Miller asked in his reputational study: *if you were responsible for a major project which was before the community that required decision by a group of leaders- leaders that nearly everybody would accept- which ten on this list would you choose?* (Miller, 1958: 10; quoted by Polsby, 1963: 64), (cited in; ibid: 157), would raise the names of few names again and again, which when combined will make a group of elites. In response Polsby emphasized the decisional making approach avoids this inclination of the question towards elitism, as in this approach questions about decision makers are related to *different issue areas*. The influentials or powerful found in this approach will be different in different issue areas. In response of this charge reputational analyst asked the questions relating to different issue areas, and still they found community elites influential in several issue areas. (Miller, 1958: 10; quoted by Polsby, 1963: 160-161), (cited in; ibid: 157).

The opponents of reputational technique have further criticized it for relying upon *indirect information channeled to the investigators by respondents.* (ibid: 157). This information could be indistinct through communication barriers. Raymond Wolfinger argued that the researcher and the panel would have different understanding of the key concepts- *as their personal notions of power or influence may vary greatly.* (Wolfinger, 1960: 638-640), (cited in; ibid: 157). If men have different understanding of theoretical concepts, which means that the respondents will differ in interpreting the question asked by reputational analyst, and their answers will be unreliable and invalid. (ibid: 157).

Men have a diverse perceptions of reality (Ehrlich, 1961: 926), (cited in; ibid: 158) is not a relevant for reputational technique only, it is a problem faced by almost all social science researches. (ibid: 158). The differences in perceptions may create problems for all methods based upon questioning- no matter the question is about the reputation or about the decision maker. However, partially arguing this criticism, a researcher used Guttman

scaling, a statistical technique to prove that the responses in result of reputational investigation have consistency and thus proved its statistical *reliability*. (Dick, 1960: 395-399), (cited in; *ibid*: 158). The above discussion reveals that this problem is not just related to the reputational technique rather it is concerned to every method.

Apart from the validity of the responses obtained from reputational technique, the panel itself has been criticized as well. The panel according to some scholars should must be comprised of people having good knowledge about the community influentials and powerful. At the same time the researcher himself should be knowledgeable about the community influentials in order to judge the soundness of panel's expertness. David Ricci has called this situation a paradox by citing Robert Dahl's statement: *How does our investigator know that the panel consists of experts, unless he can test their expertness? Yet he cannot test their expertness unless he already knows the answer to the question he seeks. Here is a dreadful and baffling circularity.* (Dahl, 1956: 85), (cited in; *ibid*: 158). The problem still exists, but the question raised here is that if the researcher himself is well knowledgeable about the community power structure to be able to verify the responses of the panel members, then why he needs a panel. He can study own his own knowledge. In spite of this if he needs them then there is no means to certify the knowledge of panel with what he wants to discover.

The reputational researchers still tried to solve this paradox. They selected two panels purposefully or at random from the community. Then they test the expertise of one panel with another panel. The results showed a great similarity among the responses of both panels. All of them almost selected the same powerful individuals of the community. In application of reputational method this test of expertise assures the investigator that the answers he obtained are *as accurate as the community's knowledge of its own power structure.* (*ibid*: 158).

Polsby and Wolfinger of decisional approach have further criticized the reputational technique from its application point of view. They argued that the list of leaders drawn from the answers of the panel may overlook powerful people in two ways. Firstly the

investigator straightly goes to the conclusion of few numbers of powerful people in the community. As in study of Atlanta, the most powerful people are forty instead of two hundred. The conclusion here shows *narrow elite, but maybe no more justified than saying two hundred, or four hundred, or a thousand people are powerful and rule Atlanta.* (Wolfinger, 1960: 48-50), (cited in; *ibid*: 158). The decisional approach on the other hand *may not be closed and inaccessible to popular influence.* (*ibid*: 158). Secondly if the influentials listed by the panel are then asked to list the people they think are influential in the community, may select their associates who at the first place have selected them. This may exclude the other influentials of the community from the leadership pool. (Polsby, 1959: 796), (cited in; *ibid*: 159). This criticism is also against the researcher rather than the method. David Ricci has argued here, *what is at stake here simply is not method; identifying leaders is not a matter of discovering people, it is a matter of estimating their power once they have been found.* (*ibid*: 159).

The final criticism on reputational technique from its application perspective is; that this technique may close very quickly the leadership pool, and further it ignores the changes in that group with the passage of time. They may have consider some temporary issues as permanent, which may brought some temporary influentials to the place of stable influentials living in the community for longer period of time. Polsby and Wolfinger charged reputational technique for its static picture, showing image of community power *at a single time*, while the researcher is able to study events for longer period of time through decision making approach. (Polsby, 1960: 476-479; Wolfinger, 1960: 644), (cited in; *ibid*: 159). This criticism is not only related to the reputational technique, and if it is, a study of reputational technique found the same elites over a period of several years. (Antonio and Eugene, 1962: 362-376), (cited in; *ibid*: 159). There is a tendency in the community power study that it can project the image of passing time, no matter what method a researcher uses.(Reiss, 1954: 56), (cited in; *ibid*: 159).

The above mentioned criticism could be met through reputational technique if the researcher tries to adjust the questions accordingly or may *extend its analysis appropriately.* (*ibid*: 159). However, there are certain charges against the method itself

which are significant here to discuss as *they suggest fundamental and inherent problems in the method. (ibid: 159).*

The Elite theorists have used reputational analysis in their studies. The concept for using this technique is *reputations for influence are an index of the distribution of influence. (ibid: 159).* But the question raised here is that the researchers are looking here for status or real power, as the reputation for power is associated with the real power. (Dahl, 1961: 76; Herson, 1961: 819; Polsby, 1963: 44), (cited in; *ibid: 159).* Further the critics objected that the reputation as an index for the influence does not indicate the behavior. Thus Polsby supported the decision making approach as an appropriate channel of inquiry, has stated: *the researcher should..... make it his business to study the requisite behavior directly, and not depend on second hand opinions. (Polsby, 1959: 796-797), (cited in; ibid: 159).* Scholars who used reputational technique and are satisfied with the method have directly approached the criticism. William Gamson, in his study which he conducted on the fifty seven issues in eighteen small New England communities addressed the same issue. He found *reputation be the sign of powerful resources – wealth, social position, wisdom and others. (Gamson, 1966: 121-131), (cited in; ibid, 1970: 159).* Further he observed that in policy making issues reputation was taken as *an index of powerful influence in favor of the status quo. (Gamson, ibid: 122), (cited in; ibid: 159).* Due to this he concluded significance of reputation in relation to *potential influence rather than influence in use. (Gamson, ibid), (cited in; ibid: 160).* This explains that people in community follow the decisions set by the resourceful men who they think possesses and will use these resources to take decisions. They take the resources of man as basis for his reputation. *Reputation may thus be an indication of power sufficient to cause those who lack it to act or to desist from acting. (ibid: 160).*

The defenders of the technique have called reputation a symbol of *real power.* The leaders having reputation, when get together, use this power to influence the policies and their formulation the way they desire. (Gamson, *ibid: 127-130), (cited in; ibid: 160).* This defense of reputation as an indicator of real power has been criticized in two ways. First question as a criticism raised is the extent to which leaders found through reputational

technique unite together and exercise their power? Secondly the question raised is to what degree the *kind of power* is generalized that entitle them to be called *true elite*? Hunter in his study of Atlanta has focused on these two aspects of cohesion and generalized power inquired in the questions. (ibid: 160).

Hunter found that the people, he specified as influentials in his Atlanta study, worked in unions. They had the “*interlocking cliques*” which he called “*crowds*” (Hunter, 1963: 62 – 74), (cited in; ibid, 1970: 160). These crowds were those 40 leaders selected as influential by the panel. These leaders had small groups and each group worked on specific issue. Though each group had its own area of interest but still they did consider other groups’ opinions while formulating a policy. In a way every elite, thus, had a say in all policies and decisions. Hence the elite presented *an aggregate of generalized influence* while remaining intact (in contact). Hunter, thus, concluded that the leaders of Atlanta *are cohesive, and exercise general power* and deserve to be called *true elite*. (Hunter, 1963: 77 – 79), (cited in; ibid, 1970: 160).

Critics have charged the method for assigning a high degree of cohesion and generalized power or influence to the leaders of reputation. According to them reputational analyst perceives power in its general terms while in real sense if analyzed power with non reputational methods will be found specifically in issues concerning policies. Dahl, Polsby and Wolfinger, refers to the study of New Haven, which reveal the existence of *narrow power* and *lack of cohesion* among the leaders. (ibid: 160). The three policy areas studied in New Haven study were education, urban renewal and political nominations. Almost one thousand and twenty nine people were found to have direct influence in decision making process in these three issue areas. Among them only thirty two were active in more than one area. (Polsby, 1959: 796-803), (cited in; ibid: 161). Apart from this, in New Haven study, they found fifty top leaders, among them only three had influence in all the three issues, while twenty seven were discovered to have influence in more than one areas. The scholars of this study concluded that there are influential leaders in New Haven, but most of them exert their power in different issues and are not united in their influence. Their scope to exercise power is limited and therefore it could

be concluded that there is no elite power in this city. (161). This conclusion of New Haven study implies that there are certainly reputed leaders on top political, economic and social places of New Haven, but the extent to which they exert their influence varies and is limited. The reputational technique of Hunter, seems to be ineffective in New Haven, and thus is also invalid for its claim to *reveal the true configuration of power in all cities. (ibid: 161).*

The scholars of reputational analysis in response to the New Haven study, identified people of influence through reputation method in other cities, and for verification they double checked their influence by the non reputational tools. William D Antonio and Eugene Erickson studied some of the border cities and found that the *reputedly powerful businessmen* were active leaders in business, politics and civic affairs as well. (Antonio and Erickson, 1962: 362-376), (cited in; *ibid: 161*). These findings are considered vital in the conflicts of cohesion and generalized influence but at the same time provide a good basis for judging the results from different perspectives. As Thomas Anton judges *the factual evidence cited in the Atlanta and New Haven studies is remarkably similar. (Anton, 1963: 267-268), (cited in; ibid: 161).* Polsby found in New Haven, that only fifteen among four hundred and thirty five were influential in urban renewal and political issues, but they exert limited power in other issue areas, and therefore had no general power. The same fifteen could be judged as the most powerful among all four hundred and thirty five by others, and the rest four hundred and twenty men had little influence in their small respective areas. (Antonio and Erickson, 1962: 366), (cited in; *ibid: 161*). Dahl has discussed the dispute as; *unless we develop some device for ranking leaders by their powers and unless we can say with certainty who is most powerful, questions of cohesion and general power degenerate inevitably into numbers games. (Dahl, 1957: 205-214), (cited in; ibid: 161).* Each scholar will have his own number, as no exact number of cohesion cases to be together is decided to prove a meaningful cohesion.

Besides ‘crowds’, their ‘cohesiveness’ and ‘generalized power’, this technique revealed another concept *the “Agents”*. Many researchers have found the existence of people or groups who played or used their power behind the scenes. Hunter also claimed that there

were many agents in his study area --- Atlanta. He remarked that these people worked on significant positions but acted according to the desires of the real elite – who used their powers behind the scene. Presthus thus remarked about reputational techniques that *it may reveal men who are not visible decision makers but who are powerful never-the-less*. (Presthus, 1964: 59 – 60), (cited in; *ibid*: 167).

The final criticism by the pluralists related to the inherent problems in the reputational method as discussed by David Ricci is also concerned to the same argument. They criticized it for *its logical fallacy of infinite regress*. (*ibid*: 161). He discussed that most of the scholars using reputational studies presume that some important behaviors takes place behind the scenes, and are not reachable by the scholars, As no scholar has been invited to meetings of like Cabinet, Senate, and Foreign relations. The significant activities as not revealed to the scholar, he has to rely on the panel of knowledgeable people. This panel may sometimes call a person influential who does not reveal his influence in public, and remains behind the scene. The basis for accepting panel's view could be to understand that the true leaders exert their *power in a ways that is not always susceptible to positive proof*. (*ibid*: 162). We can say here that if it would be possible to discover the leaders by their overt behavior, then there would be no need of panel of knowledgeable people. (*ibid*: 162).

David Ricci states that *this line of reasoning suggests a possible logical fallacy*. (*ibid*: 162). This explains that the real power exert by the leaders is not accessible to the observer, and there is no empirical proof which can claim that the elites discovered through reputational method do not exercise real power. However, pluralists have criticized this reasoning, and argued against the assumption by reputational scholars that exercise of real power is inaccessible of the observer, and there are some invisible influentials. (Polsby, 1963: 50-51; Dahl, 1958: 463; Rose, 1967: 264-265), (cited in; *ibid*: 162).

The criticism has been addressed by Baha, as discussed by Ricci; *the reputational method does presume some behind-the-scenes manipulation, politics is dependent upon such activity, but all manipulation cannot be hidden from everyone. Power, therefore, does*

reveal itself in the answers of the panel's members, who are privy to some of the manipulation, and those whom the panel identifies are the real power holders of the community. (Baha Abu-Laban, 1965: 38-39), (cited in; ibid: 162).

The above discussion reveals the fact that for each argument there is a counter argument. Secondly most of the criticisms are from the pluralists who applied decisional approach and do not have belief in ruling elite. Though many scholars of elite school have used decisional approach and have still found the elite rule in community. However, all have disputes on methods, and distribution of power in the community, but all believe that factors like wealth, skills, expertise, political resources are responsible for the power and influence in community.

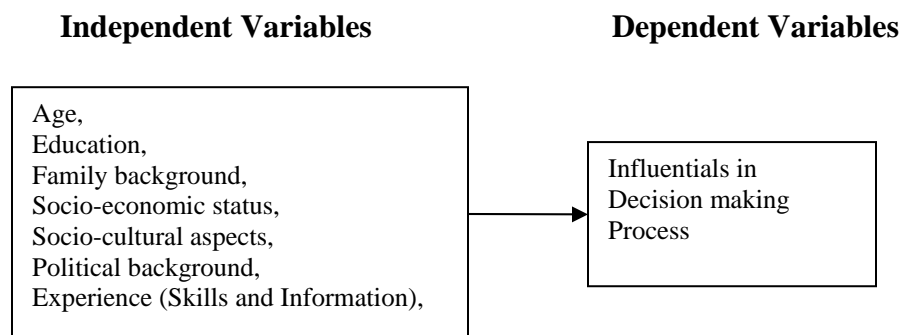
Despite all criticisms, I am using the reputational and positional methods in my study. The reasons are: firstly, both have met almost all criticisms successfully, secondly both discovered the elites as community influentials due to their position and reputation. As aim of my study is to find the influentials in decision making process of Local Government in Pakistan, which is charged for giving the power to local elites in spite of their promise to empower the people at grass roots level. And also, due to time constraint, reputational and positional methods were found more suitable to find who has influence in decision making of Local Government in Pakistan than the decisional approach.

This theoretical discussion about elites, position and reputational methods, shows me that there are certain factors like economic, political, cultural, family background, education and expertise (skills) of the person responsible for reputation and influence in the community. Owing to their indicative importance, I have taken them as variables for my study of finding the influentials in decision making. In addition I have included age a variable as well. On basis of my knowledge I have observed that most of the elites or influentials in the community are from medium or old age group rather than young age people.

Thus to find empirically, the influentials in decision making of UC, following are the variables of the study.

2.4: VARIABLES OF THE STUDY:

The socioeconomic, political, demographic and cultural factors are the independent variables for the study, while the dependant variable is who has influence in the decision making process.



2.5: HYPOTHESIS:

In order to operationalize the variables, certain assumptions were made. However, the study was carried out on the basis of one main hypothesis viz;

“The demographic, socio-economic, cultural and political profiles of Councilors matter for their influence in the decision making process in the council.”

The main hypothesis is stated/ split into the following sub-hypothesis:

- The older Councilors in age are likely to have more influence in decision making than the younger Councilors.
- The more educated, of high Socio-economic status and politically experienced Councilors are likely to participate more lively and influence decision making

than the Councilors with no or less education, low socio-economic status and little political experience.

- The Women Councilors who are housewives and have greater household responsibilities will have less participation, low interest and spend little time in council activities than the Women Councilors who are not housewives and have less household work.
- The Councilors having stronger family background will be inclined more to uphold traditional feudal and authoritative family values and hence are less likely to bring change in the existing socio-economic conditions.
- The Councilors with stronger political background and active participation in political parties will represent more their party interests in their decisions than the interests of the people and their communities.
- The patriarchal culture of the society impels its influence in decision making i.e. the WCs coming from male dominant families will be inhibited from active role in decision making.

The forgoing narration illustrates the application of techniques, positional and reputational, in identification of elites and assessments of their effectiveness in comparable situation. The variables and hypothesis are operationalize on the above discussed scholarly perspectives. Further the two scholarly methods are applied as a methodology for the study. As the Union Councilors, subject of the study, have distinct formal positions in the UC. These include the Nazim, Naib Nazim and the Councilors-general, farmer/labors, minority and women. Each category has respective powers, privileges and functions. Each enjoys reputation, depicted and demonstrated by contesting and winning the elections. They participate in UC activities; influence the decision making to effectively achieve the desired outcome. These facts are analyzed with focus on the factors which determine affectivity of Councilor's role.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN

To operationalize the theoretical framework with the variables and hypothesis of the study; the research design applied for this study is described in this section – the method and the tools used, fieldwork and collection of data, interviewing, meetings and group discussion, data processing and presentation, and analysis are all described in this chapter.

3.1: MIXED METHOD APPROACH:

To study this research in a procedural and systematic way, a mixed method approach has been used. Mixed method Approach is used when *the researcher tends to base knowledge claims on pragmatic grounds*. Both the qualitative and quantitative data collection techniques are used either sequentially or simultaneously to best solves the research problem. (ibid: 19-20)

To make the research design more systematic the Concurrent Nested Strategy of the Mixed Method Approach has been used. The strategy involves one data collection phase in which both the qualitative and quantitative data are collected at the same time. A predominant method is selected to guide the project, and then the method of less priority is embedded in that. The data collected from both the methods are then mixed during the data analyses phase. (ibid: 218)

In this study quantitative data collection method was taken as predominant method, while the data collected through qualitative method is embedded to quantitative data. The Case Study and Survey method were used as strategies of inquiry in Qualitative and Quantitative Methods respectively.

3.2: REASONS TO USE THESE METHODS:

The study required both the Qualitative and Quantitative methods of data collection to have the best outcome. Both the data was and needed to be collected together in one phase. As each respondent had to answer all the questions in the Interview (Questionnaire) Guide which has both the qualitative and quantitative sections of Inquiry. The Quantitative method was used as a predominant method while the Qualitative data is collected “*to enrich the descriptions of sample participants*” (ibid: 218).

The Quantitative Data is collected to gather the information about all independent variables, which was not possible to collect from Qualitative data collection tools. The Quantitative Data collection is used as a priority method, as it is used to measure independent variables and to create a relationship between independent and dependant variables. Survey is used as a strategy of inquiry in the Quantitative Data collection methods. Though the strategy is not utilized in its true sense in this study rather is taken as guidance wherever required. The Survey Data collection tool and some of the data analyses tools has been used for this study.

The Qualitative data was used because the research was studied in its natural setting (ibid: 181). I conducted the study by visiting the participants to their homes and offices and interviewed them individually. I used multiple qualitative data collection tools, i.e. Open Ended Interviews and Non Participatory Observation. Mostly the Qualitative tools are used to measure the Dependant variable i.e. Influence of Councilors in the Decision making of Council and in some cases for the independent variables as well. The Case study Method was used as strategy of inquiry in Qualitative method. This study is basically Exploratory in nature and the Case Study provides a room for researcher to explore in-depth a program, activity, event, and individuals. Furthermore, the strategy helps the researcher to use multiple data collection tools to collect detailed information in a limited time period. (Stake 1995), (cited in; ibid: 15).

3.3: UNIT OF INQUIRY:

The study focuses the Union Councilors in the Decision Making Process in the Local Councils. Peshawar District Local Government is taken as a Case study. The name of the Councils, their number with the total number of Councilors both male and female is given in the table-1 below:

Table 1: Total number of members in Peshawar District Local Councils.

Name of Council	DISTRICT COUNCIL	TOWN COUNCIL	UNION COUNCIL
Number of Councils	1	4	92
Nazim	1	4	92
Naib Nazim	1	4	92
Male General Councilors	92	92	1280
Women General Councilors	30	30	552
Labor/Peasants Councilors	5	4	552
Minority Councilors	5	4	92
TOTAL	134	138	2660

Source: Towns of Peshawar City District Prepared by LG Deptt. Peshawar

The basic and the lowest tier of the Local Government is Union Council, which is directly elected by the people. This is the only tier where masses can elect their leaders directly; due to this reason I have selected Union Councilors for my study. My study is to find influentials in the decision making. The Union Councilors are given the decision making power by the government and this is the only tier where I could find influentials elected by the people. For this purpose I have decided to take two Union Councils for the study. Though two out of 92 is a very small number but, due to time limitations and availability of Councilors, 2 UCs were taken as sample. To decide which out of 92 would be studied was a difficult task. In the beginning it was decided to take one rural and one urban UC, which are the true representations of Peshawar District urban and rural areas. To fulfill this purpose the salient features of the 92 union councils of district Peshawar were reviewed with the officials of town and district councils. A couple of Union Councils were chosen. These were further discussed with the Union Nazimeen and Naib Nazimeen of respected Councils. A few of the union councils were also visited. Discussions were held with male councilors present and union council secretaries. Finally two union councils were selected. I wanted to select a UC where the women Councilors are active as well, for this reason some of the rural area UCs which were selected in the

beginning were dropped off, as no women councilor participates or visits neither the UC meetings nor the office. As the study focuses on influence and gender is one of the important factors in power structure especially in a patriarchal culture like Peshawar district. It was necessary that the WCs should participate in the UC meetings and decision making process in order to analyze their influence level.³ Thus after discussions with some Nazimeen and Local council officials the two UCs selected are, One from among the urban area, namely Karimpura – purely urban located in the heart of Peshawar city. The other from the periphery, called the University Town – comprising of planned and unplanned townships and villages. These are from two out of four Towns of Peshawar City District – respectively Town-I and Town-III.

All the 19 Union Councilors, male and female, of each Council with their Nazims and Naib Nazims were included for the purpose of interviewing and discussions on their influence in decision making in the Councils. The distribution of councilors by union and by sex is given below in Table – 2.

Table – 2: Distribution of Councilors by Union and Sex of Union Council Karim Pura and University Town.

UNION COUNCIL	KARIM PURA WARD 15	UNIVERSITY TOWN WARD 36
NAZIM	1	1
NAIB NAZIM	1	1
MALE GENERAL COUNCILLORS	8	8
MALE LABOR/PEASANTS COUNCILLORS	4	4
WOMEN GENERAL COUNCILLORS	4	4
WOMEN LABOR/PEASANTS COUNCILLORS	2	2
MINORITY COUNCILLORS	1	1
TOTAL	21	21

³ Though I tried to reach these WCs to ask them the reasons of their nonparticipation, as they are there to serve the people of their community especially women of their community. But I could not reach them accept for one, because their husbands doesn't allowed me to interview them. However these issues have been interviewed and discussed in the interviews conducted with participants of the study, and will be described in the data analysis section later on.

Apart from the Councilors, Nazim and Naib Nazim, the administrative staff i.e. the secretaries of each UC were also included. The only female administrative officer in the Local Government of Peshawar District and in the whole NWF Province, and a couple of male administrative officers in the local government of Peshawar District were also in the unit of inquiry.

3.4: DATA COLLECTION:

A set of guidelines was prepared on the basis of Research questions and objectives. It adequately covered the demographic, socio-cultural, economic, political and local government background of the union councilors. The guidelines were used for collection of data from secondary as well as primary sources. The former included consultation of office records and files, reports and documents; while the latter included interviews with the union councilors and officers of local government administration. The guidelines were transformed into a set of structured questions for purpose of detailed information from both secondary and primary sources. It was prepared in English language.

3.4.1: PRIMARY SOURCES:

The Primary sources of data collection include Interviews and Non-participative Observation.

i. INTERVIEW (QUESTIONNAIRE) GUIDE:

It was the major tool for collection of Primary Data. It is a mix of both open-ended structured and unstructured, and closed ended structured questions. The questionnaire guide has eight sections (Annexure I), the first section gives the identity of the councilor while remaining 7 sections are:

1. Personal Information
2. Socio-Cultural
3. Socio-economic status (Councilor and Family)

4. Leading Roles (Councilor and Family)
5. Political Affiliation (Councilor and Family)
6. Councilors Assessment of Peers Role in Decision-Making.
7. Councilors Role in Decision-Making

The sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 7 are Close-ended structured questions measuring the independent variables of the study. These sections are quantitatively analyzed as well.

The 6th section measures the dependant variable of the study. The section has close ended structured question regarding the opinion of the councilor about his/her peer councilors, applying the reputational technique, and then the open ended unstructured questions regarding the reasons behind their opinions.

These questionnaires were only interviewed from the two UCs Nazim, Naib Nazim, and all male and female Councilors. Though it is a questionnaire, but I ask the entire question from them and filled the answers for them, due to illiteracy of few Councilors, and few do not understand English. Apart from this I administered all to avoid any mistakes or missing in the questionnaires.

ii. OPEN-ENDED INTERVIEWS:

Some separate Open-ended interviews were conducted to further supplement the study with the thoughts and experiences of the experienced officials working in the Local Government. The interviewees included:

- The Female Administrative Officer: she is the only female administrative officer not only in Peshawar District Local Government but in the whole N.W.F. Province. She was interviewed regarding the reasons of being only female administrative officer. Further her opinions were taken regarding the WCs and their influence in the decision making of the Councils, as she sits in the monthly meetings of the District Council. She was also questioned about the effects of male dominated culture.

- Secretary of both the UCs were interviewed. They were interviewed as they are present in all the UC meetings and they record the minutes as well. Therefore their opinion was taken regarding the councilors influence in the decision making and the reasons behind that influence.

A questionnaire was also given to them regarding the profile of their UC. (Annexure-II)

- The Secretary, Naib Nazim, one male General Councilor, and one Labor Councilor of the Daak UC were interviewed. This UC was taken as a unit of inquiry in the beginning, as this is in the rural area. But after visiting the council, it was gathered that no women councilor visits the monthly meetings nor participates in the decision making process. Rather their husbands attend the meetings on their places.

Thus they were interviewed, regarding this non participation of WC in particular, and decision making process and the influence of councilors in this process in the council in general.

- Naib Nazim of Chamkani UC: he was interviewed because Chamkani is in the suburbs of Peshawar District. He was interviewed to give his views in general about the influence and power distribution in the society and specifically in UCs.
- Women Councilor of Peshawar District Council: one WC of the district council was interviewed to gather the information regarding WCs of district council which is the upper tier of the Local Government. She was mainly asked questions regarding the WCs and male councilors influence in the decision making process of district council, and what are the reasons for this influence.

iii. OBSERVATIONS:

The researcher had planned to observe the monthly meetings of both the UCs. But unfortunately due to factions among the Nazim and Naib Nazim of both the UCs with each other, no formal meeting was held in each council during the study field time.⁴

⁴ The factions between Nazim and Naib Nazims are a very basic problem faced by almost every UC in the Local Government of Pakistan. Due to which councilors are divided into two groups, one of Nazim and

Thus the councilors are divided in to two groups, one of Nazim and other of Naib Nazim. They have their own group meetings arranged monthly in the homes or offices of Nazim or Naib Nazim. Thus I had an opportunity to attend two of such meetings in which they discussed the matters and took decisions. But unfortunately no WC was present in either of the meetings.

iv. DISCUSSIONS:

Discussions were not used as a data collection tool. In order to select the UCs among 92 and to further gather some information regarding the study, some discussions were held with:

1. Staff of Town and District Municipal Administration,
2. Nazims of Town-I, Town-II and District Council Peshawar
3. Secretaries of the two selected Union Councils, of Town-I and III Councils, and of District Council, Peshawar.

3.4.2: SECONDARY SOURCES:

The following documents, write-ups and records were consulted during preliminary visits to offices of Administrative units of Peshawar City District, Town and Union Councils:

1. NWF Province local Government Act 2001.
2. Reports on "Towns of Peshawar City District".
3. Minutes of Town-I dated 20th and 24th May 2004.
4. Budget Estimates for 2003-2004 and revised for 2002-2003 each of Town-I and Town-III.
5. Report on Working of Union Council Hazar Khwani-I for years 2001-2003.
6. Resolutions (in Urdu language) of Union Council-44 forwarded to Nazim Town-III for inclusion in Budget for the year 2004-2005, viz:

other of Naib Nazim. Each group arranges their own meetings called legal or illegal meetings by them. This issue will be discussed later on in the analysis section.

- a) Development Schemes, and
- b) Maintenance staff and equipment etc.

While the following were studied during visits to the two union councils:

1. Minutes Registers.
2. Councilors Profiles.

3.5: SAMPLING:

The stratified and convenience sampling techniques were used for the sample size of forty respondents.

3.5.1: STRATIFIED SAMPLING:

Stratification means that specific characteristics of individuals (e.g., both males and females) are represented in the sample and the sample reflects the true proportion of individuals with certain characteristics of the population. (Fowler, 1998; quoted by ibid: 156)

The two UCs selected are representative for the Peshawar District. The karimpura UC is known as the heart of the Peshawar city. Majority of the Councilors and their families belong to the area since years.

The University Town UC which is composed of planned and unplanned townships and villages represents the councilors both from small towns, rural areas and city. All the male and female councilors in these UCs, their socio-cultural and economic status, their education and political background, represent the true picture of Peshawar District population.

Total sample size selected was 42 out of which 31 has responded. The whole sample size is not used because of the non availability or unwillingness of the councilors which is discussed in this section later on.

Summary of the sample size taken and used is given in the table 3 below:

Table-3: SUMMARY OF THE SAMPLE SIZE:

DESIGNATION (POSITION)	UNIVERSITY TOWN UC		KARIMPURA UC	
	SAMPLE SIZE	SAMPLE RESPONDED	SAMPLE SIZE	SAMPLE RESPONDED
Nazim	1	1	1	1
Naib Nazim	1	1	1	1
Male General Councilors	8	6	8	6
Male Labor/Peasants Councilors	4	3	4	3
Women General Councilors	4	3	4	2
Women Labor/Peasants Councilors	2	2	2	0
Minority Councilor	1	1	1	1
TOTAL	21	17	21	14

3.5.2: CONVENIENCE SAMPLING:

Convenience sample is composed of those units of inquiry who are available at the time of data collection and are acquired in the study for the sake of convenience. The following units were selected through this technique:

1. female administrative officer of Peshawar District Local Government
2. Secretaries of both UCs
3. the Naib Nazim, Secretary, one General Male Councilor, one Labor Male Councilor of the Daak UC
4. Naib Nazim of Chamkani UC
5. WC of Peshawar District Council

Their timely and valuable participation has facilitated in further enriching the study.

3.6: CONDUCT OF INTERVIEWS:

The interviews were carried out during mid-June to end of July 2004. All the councilors were contacted. First their willingness and availability were sought. Then the date and time for the interview were requested and fixed. Hence all the interviews were pre-scheduled, and were mostly conducted in the homes of the Councilors or in their offices. The interviewing was mostly conducted in Pukhto, and Urdu generally spoken by the councilors. The researcher fluently conversed with the councilors, most of whom were tri-lingual – Pukhto, Urdu, and Hindko/Punjabi. In addition to initial introduction and purpose of the study, most of the questions were explained a couple of times to clarify the aim, text and meaning with illustrations and examples. In a session of 4 – 5 hours two or three interviews were concluded. Most of women councilors were interviewed at their residence from 10am to 2 pm when most male members were out for day's work. While most male councilors were interviewed in the late afternoon and evening (5 to 8 pm) when they were relatively free from their day's work and business usually at office of Union Council or place of work. The temperatures (above 40 C) during these hours of mid-June to end of July were harsh and intolerable. It caused great inconvenience.

Some of the women councilors were found reluctant and unwilling while some displayed great indifference due to factions and frictions among in-council groups – male and female councilors, party politics etc. Some were convinced who agreed and were interviewed, while some remained adamant, stubborn and hence were not interviewed. The responses in the interview schedule were invariably edited immediately after conclusion of the interview with every councilor.

3.7: DATA PROCESSING; Analysis:

All the data, qualitative and quantitative, were sorted out and organized under relevant sub-headings of the study. The data from the interviewees were edited immediately on conclusion of the interview. Then the data were transferred from individual interview schedules to the tally sheets almost on daily basis. The tally sheets were converted to computer spreadsheets. The data have been primarily presented in the form of frequency

distribution tables, graphs and diagrams. Ratios and percentages have also been worked out. Correlations between variables, two or more, have been tested statistically, applying the SPSS, to measure / assess the influence of independent variables on dependent variables.

The dependant variable of the study is who has influence in the decision making process by Councilors in the Council. To measure the influence each councilor has been asked about his/her peer councilors on the basis of Hunter's Reputational Technique. Their answers has been analyzed through drawing a matrix that shows which councilor has taken the most votes or less or number of votes.(Annexure III shows the Matrix). After counting their votes their profile concerning their positions in the UCs and other independent variables of the study are assessed to draw an answer and further the conclusion.

Results have been discussed and interpreted, and findings stated. Finally conclusions have been drawn.

3.8: DIFFICULTIES IN THE FIELD STUDY:

I confronted the following difficulties in the conduct of the study, particularly collection of primary data:

1. Restricted mobility of females in the man dominated socio-cultural structure and politico-economic set-up.
2. Illiteracy and low levels of education of councilors particularly women.
3. Socio-cultural inhibitions (purdah etc.) about male-female mixed gatherings and meetings, particularly in rural settings,
4. Women councilors' household responsibility, particularly eldest women.
5. Male councilor's aversion towards women councilors' presence in the council.
6. Women councilors' absence from councils meetings, lack of interest and participation in council's activities.

7. Women councilors' refusal, reluctance and unwillingness for the interview, particularly the illiterate and rural.
8. Factions of in-council groups – male and females, Nazim and Naib Nazim, political factions, and cliques.
9. The hottest days of June and July with mercury usually above 40 C and humidity around 50 to 55 percent.
10. The lack of means of communication (roads, paved streets in neighborhoods) and of transportation (vehicles) marred councilors mobility, particularly women.

I, being a female of rather the younger middle age group, hailing from the same Pukhtoon conservative and male dominant socio-culture and politico-economic setup, took desirable pre-cautions. The first and foremost: I carried out fieldwork in the company of my spouse, brother-in-law, or father. This may be objected for the validity of data, but going with a male person to interview men from a patriarchal culture was rather appreciated and respected. Some of the Councilors even said the appreciation comments while introducing my father and my brother in law. In a Pukhtoon Culture majority do not approve women being out of the house with out a company of male members. And I could see that most of men while answering to me, used to look in the eyes of my brother in law rather than me, because of the customs and tradition they do not look directly in the eyes of a women out side their family. Thus it was observed that, it was not a problem for the Councilors, rather they were very comfortable in another male company and answered all the questions without any hesitation.

Secondly I observed the norms desired of Muslim women in the Pukhtoon culture of Peshawar – observed “purdah” (hiding face and head with scarf), paid due respects and gratitude to all whom I met and talked to, welcomed everyone's views and opinions, and appreciated the cooperation extended in furthering my professional endeavors. These contributed greatly to the success that I achieved in spite of the above difficulties encountered.

CHAPTER 4

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN PAKISTAN

In this chapter I will discuss the local government system and history in Pakistan. The introduction of the current local government will be discussed with the emphasis on NWFP local government system. The functions and decision making authority assigned to the councilors will be the main core of this chapter.

4.1: HISTORY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN PAKISTAN:

The local government system in Pakistan has its roots from the British rule. Before going into Pakistan and British rule history, I will discuss the centuries old Panchayat system, which is known as the foundation of local government system in the Indian subcontinent. The discussion is taken from different books, journal and articles written about Local Government systems in Pakistan. (details are in Bibliography).

4.1.1: THE PANCHAYAT SYSTEM (PRE 1882):

This system was present in Indian subcontinent before 1882. This system is centuries old and is dated back to Chandra Gupta Mauria. It was a traditional forum of village five male elders/ elites. They were of high socio-economic, feudal/ land lords class of the village. They were mainly responsible for resolution of all village level social, cultural and economic issues. They had no any specified formal office building, and usually had their village assemblies in open. The members of all contending parties participated in the meetings. The decisions were made according to traditions and binding by all. The non-compliance used to be punished severely by social boycott, even ousting from the village. The servants of these village elder elites used to announce and inform the village about meetings and agendas. The Panchayat system has no place for female members.

4.1.2: LOCAL GOVERNMENT UNDER LORD RIPPONS REFORMS 1882-1958/59:

The Lord Rippon's reforms for local government system were introduced and enacted in 1882. These remained enforced until the independence of the Indian subcontinent. After independence Pakistan adopted the same system until 1958/59. This system introduced the following six committees; Notified Area Committee, Town Committee, Industrial Area Committee, Municipal committee, Municipal/Metropolitan/ MegaPolitan Corporations, and after independence of Pakistan in 1947 District Boards were included in the system.

Their representative's who usually were nominated by the District administration, hailed from influential/ resourceful (well-to-do families). Their main responsibilities were levying professional/ property taxes on rural establishments, providing roads/ education/ health facilities. There were neither special or reserved seats for females nor any ever nominated / elected and participated.

4.1.3: BASIC DEMOCRACIES (1959-1970):

Basic democracy system of local government was launched by the 1958 Martial law government in Pakistan to provide a broad based system for participation of the masses at the grass-roots. This system has five tiers; Basic level comprised of Union Councils, Tehsil Council, District Council, Divisional Council and Provincial Council: chaired by chief minister of the province.

Basic Democrats formed Electoral College for election of MPAs/ MNAs and President of Pakistan 1965 only. This system was bound in a bureaucratic and political system of the government. There was no female councilor in this system as well. The important characteristic was formation of local councils for the first time at village/ group of village level. The system is criticized for being under the power influence of bureaucratic and military elites.

4.1.4: LOCAL COUNCIL (1979-August 2000):

The basic Democracy system, made defunct in 1988 due to political turmoil, and could not be reactivated and the elections for union and municipal governments could not be held either. In 1979 Pakistan had to face another martial law. As a result a new local government system came. This system, changed from time to time with successive governments until August 2000, had:

- Urban areas: Under this ordinance, there were four levels of municipal government in the urban areas: town committees, municipal committees, municipal corporations and metropolitan corporations. The senior officers of these councils were elected by the members of the council. The controlling authority was the elected house.
- Rural areas: Union Councils and District Councils existed, which were elected on the basis of adult franchise. The elected members elected the Chairmen of these councils from among themselves.

For the first time two seats were provided to female councilors at district level only. They were indirectly elected by the male district councilors who were thirty in number. There was one seat for minority sector as well. Once again the people from prominent political parties and the upper class of society participated in the local councils and were elected the members of these councils. In the rural areas the landlords or their relatives were the members of the councils in order to keep the control of their areas in their hands.

4.2: DEVOLUTION POWER PLAN 2000:

The present government of Pakistan reorganized the local government system in 2000 on the policy of devolution of power to deal with the shortcomings of earlier local government systems and to put the country on the road of democracy. This system is based on five fundamentals: devolution of political power, decentralization of

administrative authority, decentralization of management functions, diffusion of power authority nexus and distribution of resources at different levels.

In this system, Local governments are formed on three levels: District, Tehsil & Union Council. Election was held in August 2001 under the new local government Ordinance. Elected Local governments have been successfully setup at all tiers. This is the first time that 33% seats are reserved for females at each council level. Apart from this there is one reserved seat each for minority labor and peasants as well at each level. Also, there is no distinction of nomenclature of rural and urban Union Councils. All have same composition and number of wards. The terminology for the Mayor and Deputy Mayor is in national language i.e. Urdu who are called Nazim and Naib Nazim respectively.

4.2.1: COMPOSITION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT:

The local government under 2000 ordinance has three tiers: union, Tehsil/ Town and district councils. Each council has its own administrative unit, i.e. for Union Council there is a Union Administration, for Town/ Tehsil Council there is Town/ Tehsil administration and with Zilla Council there is District Administration. Each council has its Nazim (Mayor) and Naib Nazim (Deputy Mayor) and Councilors, both male and female. Each Nazim is also the head of their respective administrative unit. The members of Union council are directly elected while the Town/ Tehsil and district councils are constituted of Naib Nazims and Nazims respectively in their jurisdictions. The composition of the councils is:

- **UNION COUNCIL:** This is the basic tier of the local government. Each UC is constituted for a population of 25000 people. The number of wards in each UC is 18, both in rural as well as urban. The members of UC are 21 and are elected directly. The council is headed by a Nazim and then Naib Nazim. There are 12 seats for Muslim General Councilors, among which 4 are reserved for women. There are 6 seats reserved for peasants and workers among which 2 are for women. One seat is reserved for minority.

- **TEHSIL/ TOWN COUNCIL:** This is the middle tier of the local government. The town or the tehsil councils are only in the city district. The council is headed by its own Nazim and then the Naib Nazim. The Naib Nazimeen of all the UCs in the town / tehsil are the members of the town/ tehsil council. Apart from them there are reserved seats for women, which are equal to the 33% of the total numbers of the UC in the tehsil/ town. There are reserved seats for peasants and workers as well, which are equal to the 5 % of the total number of the UCs in the tehsil/ town. The reserved seats for the minorities are also equal to the 5% of the total number of the UCs in tehsil/ town.
- **ZILLA (DISTRICT) COUNCIL:** This is the top tier of the Local Government. A Zilla Council is headed by the Zilla Nazim, who is basically a Nazim-e-alla, which means that he is Mayor of the whole district. The council has a Naib Nazim of its own. The Nazimeen of all the UCs in the district are the members of the Zilla Council. Apart from them there are reserved seats for women, which are equal to the 33% of the total numbers of the Unions in the District. There are reserved seats for peasants and workers as well, which are equal to the 5 % of the total number of the Unions in the District. The reserved seats for the minorities are also equal to the 5% of the total number of the Unions in the District.

The elections were held in 2001 for the local government. The elections were non party based, but almost all popular political parties in Pakistan have indirectly participated. The political parties brought their own people, who were not directly participating in politics, but somehow were active members of their party or were the relatives of the politicians. This is the reason that the local government still is under the influence of political parties. This aspect has been discussed in the analysis section of the study with empirical results.

4.3: UNION COUNCIL:

This study relates to the UCs and the Union Councilors. The composition of the UC has been discussed above, so this section is about the meaning of UC and the functions of the Union Councilors. The functions of the Union Councilors are discussed from their decision making power's perspective.

4.3.1: DELIMITATION OF UNION:

A Union according to the North West Frontier Province Ordinance of 2001 is:

- “The area of a Union shall be a territorial unity;
- The boundaries of a Union shall not cross the limits of a tehsil, or a town in a city district;
- The area of a Union in a tehsil/ town shall comprise a whole number of *patwar* circles, or a *patwar* circle may contain a number of whole Unions;
- The area of a Union in a City District, or a Union with urban characteristics shall comprise a whole number of census blocks as delimited for the purpose of the preceding population census or a whole number of *muaziat* or a combination of a whole number of census blocks and *muaziat*;
- The population of Unions within a district shall, more or less, be uniform.”
(N.W.F.Province Local Government Ordinance 2001: 6)

4.3.2: FUNCTIONS OF UNION COUNCIL:

Functions of the Union Council under the N.W.F.P. Local Government Ordinance 2001:

- “UC approve the annual development plan, annual budget, rates and fees of services proposed by the Union Administration;
- UC helps in the formation and functioning of Citizen Community Boards;
- assist the Tehsil/ Town Council in creation of Village and Neighborhood Councils;

- to improve the economy and to reduce the poverty, UC facilitate the formation of co-operatives
- UC is responsible to activate the community to participate in the community development works, like maintenance of public streets, culverts, bridges and public buildings, de-silting of canals etc.;
- UC is responsible for promoting and supporting projects for plantation of trees, landscaping and beautification of public places in the Union;
- UC assist Tehsil/ Town Municipal Administration in establishment and maintenance of burial and cremation places;
- UC approve the terms and conditions of the employment of Village or Neighborhood guards and oversee their functioning;
- To develop the socioeconomic conditions and to improve the services, UC takes appropriate steps and also supports the District Government, Tehsil/ Town Municipal Administration in such cases;
- UC is responsible to elect Monitoring Committees of the Union, each for municipal services, finance, public safety, health, education, literacy, works and services;
- UC also elects a committee called, Code of Conduct Committee of the UC which enforces the code of UC ethics to regulate the conduct of the members of the Council;
- To inspect the audit reports of the Council, UC elects a Union Accounts Committee;
- UC elects an Insaaf(justice) Committee, who further select the panel of Conciliators of Musalihati Jarga (a group of people who solves out of court amicable settlement of disputes);
- UC evaluates the performance of Union Administration and Union Monitoring Committees;
- UC appraise the annual accounts and audit reports of the Union Administration. ”
(N.W.F.P. Local Government Ordinance 2001: 40-41)

4.3.2: CONDUCT OF THE BUSINESS OF UNION COUNCIL:

The conduct of the business of UC under N.W.F.P. Local Government Ordinance 2001:

- “The UC works or perform their functions on the basis of by-laws made by it;
- The UC meets at least once in every month;
- All decisions of the UC are taken by resolutions passed by a simple majority of its total membership;
- Naib Nazim convenes and preside all the meetings of the UC. In his absence UC members elects the convener among themselves;
- The meetings of the UC held, if fifty-one percent of its total members are present;
- The meetings of the UC are open to public, unless the UC, by a resolution, decides to hold any meeting in camera.
- The minutes of the meetings of UC are recorded and maintained by an authorized officer called Secretary.”(N.W.F.P. Local Government Ordinance 2001: 41)

The history of local government reveals the fact that the system did not have a smooth course mainly due to the country’s unstable political system. Only the army governments revived the Local Government system. The current Local Government system has taken benefit from all the previous systems, is reaching the masses in the country and to solve their problems.

The UC, the lower tier, is elected directly, while the middle and upper tier are indirectly constituted. The UC is the smallest unit as well. UC has 21 members, and their functions and responsibilities are fewer and lower level than the other tiers. The UC is responsible to take decisions for their Union and allocate funds to the Union Councilors for developmental activities. They are from among the masses at the grass roots and thus to make real impact of the system and the government, Hence it is their participation in the decision making which is significant and pertinent to the success of the whole endeavor. What makes the role of the union councilors effective depends inter alia on their individual characteristics and experiences, the working of local government councils and system, and the politico-administrative support and commitment; this study is focused on the role of councilors in the decision making at the union council.

CHAPTER 5

UNIVERSITY TOWN AND KARIMPURA UNIONS

Profile and Characteristics

The University Town and Karimpura UCs are the units of analysis in this study. Before discussing the results of the study, an attempt is made to present briefly the geo physical, socio-cultural, economic and political situation of the two UCs and the Peshawar district. This section first introduces the Peshawar district and then detail profiles of the two Unions with a view to provide the community background of the Councilors.

5.1: Profile of Peshawar District

Peshawar city is the capital of North West Frontier Province. It is also known as Frontier Town, city of flowers and city of artisans. It stands right at the entrance of the famous Khyber Pass. Over the years the city has expanded into a metropolitan, with the addition of new planned towns and suburbs – shanty towns and slums. The city has grown into a conurbation. Presently, district Peshawar mainly centers around this city which is absorbing tangential villages.

The current city District of Peshawar is territorially co-terminus with the Peshawar district. The district is composed of Peshawar city, planned and unplanned townships, and villages. There are 92 Union Councils, four Town Councils and one Zilla Council in the district.

The population of the City District is 2.019 million spread over an area of 1257 square kilometers. (1998 District Census Report of Peshawar August 1999)⁵. The population of the urban area is 0.983 million people (48.68%) while 1.036 million (51.31 %) in rural

⁵ 1998 District Census Report of Peshawar. Population Census Organization, Statistics Division, Government of Pakistan. Islamabad. August 1999.

areas. In the district for every hundred females there are 110.76 males. Of the total population 46.07% is less than 15 years of age. Density was 1606.3 per square km and 8.5 persons per household in 1998. Both have slightly increased compared to 1981 average growth rate has declined from 3.89 in 1981 to 3.56 persons in 1998 (1998 District Census Report Peshawar August 1999: 2).

The rate of literacy (10 years and above) in the district is 41.79 %, among them 55.97 % are male while 25.85% are females which shows that literate males are more than twice of literate females. The literacy rate, though low in the district, is much lower in its rural area (29. 19 %) which is slightly more than half of its urban area (54. 09%). Again more males are literate than the females in the urban and rural areas. The district has more than 1839 schools and colleges in the public sector with 3 universities. The private sector has many schools and colleges and a couple of universities.

The Peshawar district had 164 health care facilities of varying levels for the people with three professional hospitals in the public sector. Besides, the private sector has a number of health care facilities, increasing and improving in number. The rural areas have Civil Dispensaries, Basic Health Units, Rural Health Centers, and Mother- Child Health Clinics. Most of these lack qualified staff, required equipment and stocks (Medicines etc). The rural areas seem deprived of many services and facilities but most being at short distances from the city, can and do avail, and benefit from, facilities available in Peshawar City. The private sector is fast expanding. (Report on Towns of Peshawar District – 3, and 1998 District Census Report of Peshawar, August 1999).

Peshawar district has developed substantially over the years in terms of trade, commerce and industry with city of Peshawar historically the hub of expanding commercial activities. Approximately 304 industrial units, mills and manufacturing units of varying levels/ scales are operating in the district. These units produce a variety of products like hosiery, leather and foot wear, garments, steel, box of matches, food items etc. These are owned by a small minority of the people in the district. Most are family business ventures and are in operation since Independence (1947) of Pakistan.

The economically active population (10 years and above) in the district is 19.44%, more are male (34.23%) and few are female (3.07%). Again more are rural than urban with very few female in rural than urban area. The labor force participation rate is 28.62% - more male than female, more rural than urban ; and more rural males than urban males while few rural females than urban females. Almost 89.65% of population (10 years and above) by employment status are in 3 types in slightly varying numbers: 33.22% self employed, 29.19 % government employed, and 27.24% employed in private sector. There are more males than females among the self employed as well as the private sector employed; while more females than males among the government employees with similar pattern in the rural – urban comparison. (1998 District Census Report of Peshawar, August 1999).

Almost all the top level jobs are held by a majority of the small number of upper class of the people more in the private than the public sector organizations. While a majority of people from the lower rings of cross section of the society are working at the lower echelons of both private and public sector organizations, and are laborers, daily wage earners and other odd jobs. Most of the middle class people are employed by private sector, education and health, or as professionals – doctors’, engineers, lawyers and consultants, in development projects and programs. The non-governmental organizations, growing since the 1980 s in Peshawar, are also providing employment for varying duration to many experienced hands including retired government personnel.

Agriculture and livestock are two main occupations of the rural people in Peshawar district. About two third of the rural population depend directly and indirectly on agriculture and allied activities for earning their livelihood.

Land area of the city is on the decrease due to development of the physical infrastructure and housing schemes mainly on account of expanding urbanization. Migration from rural to urban Peshawar and beyond, inside and out side Pakistan, is indicative inter alia of intensive use of natural resources particularly land, diversification of agriculture pursuits and development of human resources for alternative occupations etc.

The majority of the people are Muslims (98.57%) in Peshawar district, with 99.50% in the rural areas. The rest (1.43%) are Christians, Hindus, Qadianis / Ahmadis and schedule caste (negligible) in minuscule number who are mostly in urban area. (Source: 1998 District Census Report of Peshawar, August 1999)

The Pathan tribe is the dominant, rather predominant (85.62%), ethnic group in the Peshawar district. The remaining 14.38% of the population is composed of minuscule number of Balochis, Sindhis, Siraikis, Punjabis, and Mahajirs (immigrants from India) who are mostly in urban area (Source: 1998 District Census Report of Peshawar, August 1999, P 30). Pukhto and Hindko are the main languages. Both are spoken in the urban area while only Pukhto is spoken in rural areas. The social culture is bound with the religious and traditional limitations; giving very few socializing opportunities to, and that too among women-nuptials and funeral rituals, happy and sad occasions, and festivities.

The Pathan culture is patriarchal and follows code of social and moral customs and standards enshrined in Pakhtoon wali- Malmastia (hospitality), Badlah (revenge), Tarboor- wali (conflict with cousins), and Nang Pakhtoon (Patan's honour). (Source: 1998 District Census Report of Peshawar, August 1999. P14). The urban socio-culture set-up is becoming liberal and accommodating to social change than the rural. The urban women are more mobile compared to their rural counterparts in getting higher education and working in organizations with men. The rural situation is not yet very facilitating but facilities are being availed of and demanded by increasing number. Gender discrimination is persistent and disputes, land and property, among tribes are common though more in rural areas.

The organizational culture is inflicted with gender discrimination and high power distance. The top level employees make almost all the decisions and keep control of the organization in their own hands. The lower level employees cannot participate in decision making. They only are to implant the policies and decisions.

All the political parties are present in the district. The major parties (Muslim League, Pakistan People, jammat-i-Islamim, Awami National, Jamiat-e-Ulema) are active politically and popular. Those in the government are more active. Student unions are alive. Some are politically more motivated and act as wings of the major political parties. Heads and top positions of most political parties are from the upper class of the society and some have politics as family business. Few do have political workers from the cross section of the society at the grass roots.

5.2 PROFILES OF THE UNIONS:

The information for the union profiles was discussed with some councilors and the UC secretaries during data collection. Each secretary was given the questionnaire structured for data on demographic, socio-economic and political characteristics of the Unions.(Annexure II). They were desired to record their opinions on decision making process and participation of councilors in the UC meetings and activities. The profiles are based on information furnished by the UC secretaries and the researcher's observations during the field work and discussions with the concerned officials.

5.2.1 UNIVERSITY TOWN UNION:

- i. **INTRODUCTION:** The University Town UC, serial No 36 in the district, is part of Town 3 Council of Peshawar district. It has 21 members: Nazim, Naib Nazim and 19 councilors. The UC office is in the posh and central area of the Union-University Town. It is accommodated in the building of the erstwhile Town Committee of the university Town. The Union is at the periphery of Peshawar City to the north-west. It comprises of about 12 localities mostly small unplanned towns as outgrowths around the 1950's planned University Town during the past 4/5 decades. Its exact area is yet to be measured, but it seems to be approximately $\frac{3}{4}$ square KM.

The University Town, since its emergence in the 1950's as a planned housing scheme, has been the nucleus of the chain of simultaneous and subsequent

- expansions inter alis education, health, small unplanned towns, government departments in it surroundings. These developments have mutually re-inforced each other resulting in generation of employment, attainment of higher levels of literary and education, expansion of retail and wholesale businesses.
- ii. DEMOGRAPHY: The total population of the Unions is 18786 souls, of which male population is greater than its female population. About 80 % of its residents are Pathans and speak Pukhto, the language of the overwhelming majority of the NWFP province. Most of the residents are migrants from rural areas of the province since the early 1950's. The earliest migrants, mostly top government servants were allotted plots and constructed palatial houses in a portion using the rest for greenery. With more migrants, small unplanned towns cropped up around the University Town over the years. The residents do not have land for other uses except housing in the Union. Most have land and other property outside the Union including localities of their ancestors. The large premises of houses in University Town have potentials for development of horticulture-vegetables, fruits and floriculture.
- iii. LITERACY AND EDUCATION: The literacy ratio and educational attainments of the Union are quite high due to its location very close to the renowned institutions from primary to post graduate levels including professions and specialized education in the public sector. These include the prestigious Islamia Collegiate (primary to matric) and Islamia college existing since 1912-1913 attended by wards of well-to-do families from distant areas of NWFP province. Since the early 1950's educational facilities in and around the Union have flourished in the public, rather more rapidly, in private sector to cater to the increasing demand of the Union population. The University Town has a number of English-medium schools and a couple of universities in the private sector. The first residents of the towns in the Union comprised of rich and well-to-do families, with members educated and serving in public and private sector organizations as well as the landlords and the leaders availed the better facilities for educating their

children. The old institutions are valued and reputed for their high academic performance due to experienced and seasoned teachers and staff, discipline and management. Tuition fee and related expenses are high in most of private sector institutions and are beyond the reach of even most middle class people. Some of the localities in and around the Union have public and private primary schools, not so expensive but of low standard which are used by the lower middle class and poor people. Still children of illiterate and poor parents of the small unplanned towns of the Union have remained deprived of better education. Very small number of females in these towns is literate or attends schools. The literacy ratios, according to approximations of the UC secretary, for male and female are 60% and 40 % respectively. In both cases the levels are much better in the Union than the district.

- iv. ECONOMY AND OCCUPATIONS: The Union is urban. Its economy depends largely on business and trade, educated manpower employed in the public and private sector organizations, and labor. Agriculture or farming is minimal; the residents have no land for farming in jurisdiction of the Union. However, some families do own land in their ancestral villages on which farming operations are carried out by their tenants or relatives. The business and trade have progressed well so far with promising prospects in the future. Retailers and wholesale dealers are flourishing in and around the Union. Majority of the people are employed in the education, health and other public sector organizations located both inside and outside the Unions. Most hold higher positions with handsome emoluments in the education and health sector organizations (mentioned in the profile of the district) in the vicinity of the Union. The Khyber Teaching Hospital, tertiary level, alone has 1672 staff members-doctors, Para-medic, sub-professionals, administrative, supervisory, supporting and auxiliary personnel. The laborers are mostly educated and skilled workers who work as technical personnel in most of the public and private sector organizations.

Most of the people working in the public sector organizations, also to some extent of the private sector, are in the fixed income group. However, majority of the

Union population are from the middle and upper income groups; while most of the lower income groups are in some of the small unplanned towns.

- v. RESIDENCE AND HOUSING: The University Town is the major planned township with about a dozen small unplanned towns of varying sizes in the Union. The housing structures vary within each town and from town to town. Most are modern, expensive and well designed by the architects. The houses depict the socio-economic status of the owner and conditions of the Union. These are owned by industrialist, business magnates, politicians and professionals like specialist doctors and renowned engineers. The houses of leaders and landlords, even in the small town are palatial wither separate portions for guests, gatherings and feasts and open space inside the compound wall. Some of the houses in the small towns are not well-built and even have mud built portions. These are not owned by so well off people. The houses of posh area have their own water tanks while in small towns of poor people, few have one tap in their house while some have to use the street taps. Like wise the streets and roads of the posh and planned areas are paved and metalled, while unpaved and muddy in areas of poor people. However now many Councilors are working on these issues in their communities.

- vi. HEALTH FACILITIES: The union is lucky to have in its vicinity the Khyber Teaching Hospital, tertiary level health facility, which has specialist physicians and surgeons in the major fields. Besides it has civil dispensaries and basic health units in some of its component towns. In addition, it has a number of private health clinics as well, especially in the posh, owned and run by well known specialist doctors.

- vii. PROBLEMS AND ISSUES: The Union faces three socio economic issues, lacks of basic education facilities in the small unplanned towns. Unemployment and adverse effects of disputes and clash of interest among political factions on operation of major community development projects and works.

- viii. UC SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM: All issues are resolved by the UC in its monthly meetings. The counselors present problems and needs of respective areas which are discussed and approved by resolution of simple majority. In cases of development projects, funds are allocated and transferred to the councilors for execution of development works.

5.2.2: KARIMPURA UNION:

- i. INTRODUCTION: The Karimpura UC, serial number 15 in the district is under the Town 1 Council of the City District. The UC has 21 members including the Nazim and Naib Nazim. The office of the UC is in the center of the Union.
- ii. DEMOGRAPHY: The Union is in the center of the Peshawar city. The area is also known as the heart of the city. It is a total urban union. The area of the Union, though not measured is hardly on to two square kilometers. The total population of the Union is 16642, among them female population is larger than the male population. Almost 80% of the population is Peshawari and speaks Hindko the second major local language of the province. Most of them are from the tribe of Awan. Awans are famous for their reputation in the area especially those having large businesses. The rest 20% of the population are Pathans.
- iii. LITERACY AND EDUCATION: The literacy rate is higher than most unions of the district. Almost 40% of the male and 30% of the females in the Union are literate. There are 4 primary schools, one for boys while 3 for girls in the union. The middle schools are 3, one for boys while 2 for girls. In addition, there are 14 private sector schools of different levels in the union as well. Some of the private schools are of high standard both academically and financially. The children of the upper and upper middle classes attend these schools, while the children of the lower income group goes to the public sector schools, which are inexpensive and affordable for them.

- iv. ECONOMY AND OCCUPATION: Half 50% of the population in the union are from the labor class, while the other half include the 10% in the government sector, 10% in trade / commerce and 30% from the business. The union has no agriculture in its jurisdiction. Most of the businesses are retail/wholesale shops, flour mills and industries. These businesses are mostly owned by few families of the Union, and most of them are from the Awan tribe. These business families are equally involved in the politics of the union as well, as most of these families are actively participating in the popular political parties of the province.
- v. RESIDENCE AND HOUSING: The house structures in this union are one of the oldest in the city. They are famous for their old and tall buildings. Most houses have three to four while few have six to seven floors. Each floor has one or two big rooms. Almost all houses are concrete and brick made. Some of them have very old and expensive wood works as well. Most streets have both lower and upper class families which could be easily identified by the size and quality of the house. The upper class people have big and very tall houses, well designed and expensively decorated both from the outside and inside. The houses do not have any lawn. There is hardly any green area in the union except a couple of small parks. The residents of the area have their forefathers living here from centuries, even some of the houses seem that old. The attractive characteristic of the residential area has the narrow and zigzag street, from which only a two wheeler can pass. Roads and streets all are paved and bricked and mostly are done by the now Councilors.
- vi. HEALTH FACILITIES: The health facilities of the union are better as well, though not sufficient for the whole population. The union has 2 civil dispensaries and one hospital, while 10 private clinics. There are a couple of basic health units in and around the Union. The Lady Reading Hospital, tertiary level oldest provincial facility, and a Maternity Hospital are nearby. These are used by people from far and wide.

- vii. PROBLEMS AND ISSUES: The major problems of the union are unemployment and lack of better and higher education. There are less employment opportunities for the people plus no higher education institutions. Another issue faced by the union is ill planning of the projects which cause disputes among the UC, District Council and the Provincial government. Consequently the developmental work is stopped and the funds for these projects are mal handled among different parties.
- viii. UC SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS: The UC of the Union meets every month. All councilors present their developmental works of their respective areas for approval and funding in the UC meetings so that the problems could be solved and facilities provided to the general public.

The profiles of both UCs show certain differences. The major difference is in the demography; University town (UC 1) is urban but has few unplanned towns in villages while Karimpura (UC 2) is totally urban. In addition UC 1 seems to have more socio-economic, political and cultural difference within the community, while UC 2 seems to have less gender, educational, economic and political differences within the community.

The Peshawar District is one of the most facilitated in the province. The two Unions are active and well planned Unions of the district council. The characteristics of both the Unions reveal that the Union Councilors of these Unions have all the basic facilities and opportunities available to become better and active Councilors and leaders of the Union. However; the demographic, socio-economic, cultural and political difference level within the community may affect the results of data.

CHAPTER 6:

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

This section presents the analyses of qualitative and quantitative data; the relationship between the role of councilors attributes (independent variables) and their influence level (dependent variable) in decision making in union council.

The section has two parts Part A is about the Councilors; Part B discusses the family aspects of the Councilors. These two parts discuss the quantitative results gathered from the data. The discussion is based on the data analyses in the tables and statistical measures done on SPSS.

The information for the study has been collected from 31 out of 42 councilors of the two union councils of Peshawar district. The independent variables of the study include gender, age, education, Income, Political affiliation, leader ship and role in decision making process of UC. The dependant variable of the study is Influence level of the Councilors in the Decision Making Process of UC.

The distribution of councilors by gender and category (Position) in each council is given below in Table A.

Table A:

Distribution of Councilors by Category (Position) and Gender in Union Council-1 and Union Council-2, of Peshawar District.

Number of Councilors

<i>Councilors Category</i>	<i>UC-1</i>		<i>UC-2</i>		<i>UC-1 and UC-2</i>		
	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Total</i>
Nazim	-	1	-	1	-	2	2
Naib Nazim	-	1	-	1	-	2	2
General	3	6	1	5	4	11	15
Labor	2	3	1	4	3	7	10
Minority	1	-	-	1	1	1	2
Total	6	11	2	12	8	23	31

The information on influence of councilors in decision making process obtained through peer qualitative assessment (the reputational technique for finding influentials), has been converted in to quantitative scores. The scores by the councilors are categorized into three levels. These are low, medium and high and designated by numerals 1, 2 and 3 respectively. Each category has almost equal number of councilors. (Annexure IV)

Each independent variable has also been categorized into desirable levels, two or three, for purposes of analysis. Influence of each independent variable on the dependent variable is analyzed and presented in Cross tabulations. The influence of independent variable on the dependent variable is briefly inferred and the trends in the two UCs are succinctly compared.

TERMS TO CLARIFY:

- **SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE:** The term significant is used to mean a statistical significance. The term ‘Significant’ difference between the percentages of variables, this is large enough to affect a positive or negative relationship between the two variables. The term is marked by an asterisk in tables; one asterisk shows .01, two asterisks show .05 and three asterisks show .10, level of significance.
- **PEER ASSESSMENT:** The term peer assessment is used in first row of every table. This Peer Assessment refers to the Influence of Councilors in decision making assessed by the peer councilors of their respective UC.
- **COUNCILORS HAVE LEVEL OF INFLUENCE:** The term is used to interpret the influence assessment by the peer councilors. In the description of every table it is mentioned that Councilors have influence, by this I mean that the Councilors are assessed for that level of influence by their peer Councilors and are perceived to be influential or not influential.

PART – A

6.1: COUNCILORS IN DECISION MAKING PROCESS

This part of results and discussion is about the Councilors. The data collected through positional and reputational techniques are quantitatively analyzed and discussed. Foremost, the positions of the Councilors are analyzed with the influence of Councilors. On basis of this their gender, age, education, socio-economic, political, leadership and role in the Council have been quantitatively analyzed for assessing the effects of their role in the influence level of Councilors in the decision making process of UC.

6.1.1: POSITION OF COUNCILORS IN THE UNION COUNCIL :

Mills and some other scholars have used Positional Approach to find influentials in the Community. They found that those who have formal top positions have power and influence in the decision making. The same positional method has been used here to find the influence level of the Councilors.

All the 21 members of the UC have their respective positions, or they have been elected on specific positions. According to the LG Ordinance the Nazim and Naib Nazim comes on first and second position respectively in the UC while the rest 19 Councilors comes on third position. These 19 Councilors are: 12 Muslim General Councilors including 4 Women General Councilors and 6 Labor/ Peasant Councilors inclusive of 2 Women Labor/ Peasant Councilors. One Councilor is from Minority who could be male or female. All the Councilors except Nazim and Naib Nazim have equal decision making power. But people give more prestige to the General Councilor than the Labor Councilor because the Labor Councilors are mostly from lower socio-economic status than the general Councilors. Though all of them are on equal positions but their categories have made difference among them.

For analyses purpose, the Councilors including the Nazim and Naib Nazim were asked to rank their positions further according to perception of their categories by the people. This ranking was also discussed with some administrative staff of local government as well. According to majority the ranking is as under

- Nazim: 1, Nazim is head of the UC, and he is by law on top position of UC,
- Naib Nazim: 2, Naib Nazim is on second position according to law,
- General Councilors: 3, they are ranked for third position.
- Labor Councilors: 4, they are ranked for fourth position,
- Minority Councilor: 5, they are ranked for the last position. Even one of the Minority Councilor ranked himself for the last position.

The following two Tables analyze the role of positions of the Councilors and Nazim and Naib Nazim in their influence levels in decision making respectively of UC 1 and UC 2.

Table 1-a: Union Council 1

The Relationship of Councilors Positions with Councilors Level of Influence in Decision Making

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
POSITION OF COUNCILORS IN THE UNION COUNCIL **	Nazim	% within Position	.0%	.0%	100.0 %	1
	Naib Nazim	% within Position	.0%	100.0%	.0%	1
	General Councilor	% within Position	22%	44%	34%	9
	Labor Councilor	% within Position	60.0%	20.0%	20.0%	5
	Minority Councilor	% within Position	100.0%	.0%	.0%	1
Total		Count	6	6	5	17
		% within Position	35%	35%	30%	100.0%

** significance level is .05

Table shows that slightly more than half are General Councilors. Among them slightly more than two third have higher levels of influence, i.e. medium (44%) and high (34%).

The rest, less than one fourth, have low level of influence. The Labor Councilors are more than one fourth of the total. Among them majority have low (60%) level of influence. Of the rest 20 % each have medium and high level of influence. The Minority Councilor is ranked lower and assessed low in influence level by the peer Councilors.

The Naib Nazim have medium while the Nazim has high level of influence.

The results show that most of the Councilors assessed for high influence level have high positions (the General Councilors and the Nazim) or are at the positions of decision making. The test statistic shows a very significant difference. The results indicate a positive trend and relationship between position of the Councilor and influence of the Councilor in decision making of UC, in spite of labor Councilors (20%) with high influence and General Councilors (22%) with low influence levels.

Table 1-b: Union Council 2

The Relationship of Councilors Positions with Councilors Level of Influence in Decision Making

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
POSITION OF THE COUNCILOR IN THE UNION COUNCIL ***	Nazim	% within Position	.0%	.0%	100.0%	1
	Naib Nazim	% within Position	.0%	.0%	100.0%	1
	General Councilor	% within Position	50.0%	17%	33%	6
	Labor Councilor	% within Position	20.0%	80.0%	.0%	5
	Minority Councilor	% within Position	100.0%	.0%	.0%	1
Total		Count	5	5	4	14
		% within Position	36%	36%	28%	100.0 %

*** significance level is .10

The above Table states that almost half are General Councilors. Among them half have low while one third have high and less than one fourth have medium level of influence.

The Councilors of low influence level are equal of the combined medium and high influence level in this case.

The labor Councilors are slightly more than one third of the total. All of them are on the lower sides of influence, i.e. four fifth have medium while one fifth have low level of influence. The Minority Councilor has low position and also low level of influence in this UC. Both Nazim and Naib Nazim have high level of influence in this UC.

The results show that few (30%) of 14 Councilors have high level of influence, and all of them belong to top three positions in the UC. The test statistic shows a significant difference. There is direct and positive association between position and influence level.

The results of both UCs show positive and direct relationship between position and high influence in decision making. Thus the results agree to the findings of Mills and Domhoff; scholars of positional approach, that those who have high position have high influence in decision making.

The next step is to analyze the role of Councilors gender, age, education, socio-cultural aspects, socio-economic and political status and their knowledge in the councilors influence level in decision making in UC. These analyses will emphasize why some of them have influence and why others do not have.

6.1.2: GENDER:

The next independent variable is the councilor's gender. To find out the role of gender in influence level of the Councilors in decision making, the councilors have been grouped into female and male or women and men. There are 6 female and 11 male councilors in UC-1 while 2 female and 12 male councilors in UC-2.

The peer assessment of influence levels by female and male councilors of UC-1 and UC-2 are presented in Tables 2-a, and 2-b respectively.

Table 2-a: Union Council 1

The Relationship of Councilors Genders with Councilor’s Level of Influence in Decision Making Process.

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
COUNCILOR GENDER *	Female	% within gender	83%	.0%	17%	6
	Male	% within gender	9%	55%	36%	11
Total		Count	6	6	5	17
		% within gender	35%	35%	30%	100.0%

* significance level is .01

The above Table shows that more females (83%) have low, while more males have medium (55%) and high (36%) influence levels in decision making in the council.

Overall more male councilors are assessed more influential than female councilors. In other words male councilors are more influential than female councilors in UC-1. The test statistic shows a significant difference. The results of this UC show a positive association between the Councilor’s gender and level of influence.

Table 2-b: Union Council 2

The Relationship of Councilor’s Genders with Councilor’s Level of Influence in Decision Making Process.

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
COUNCILORS GENDER	Female	% within gender	50.0%	0%	50.0%	2
	Male	% within gender	33%	42%	25.0%	12
Total		Count	5	5	4	14
		% within gender	36%	36%	28%	100.0%

The above Table states that female councilors, being only 2 are equally (50%) divided between low and high levels of influence while the male councilors, varying slightly (33%, 42%, 25%) in the three influence levels, have two-third strength in the medium and high levels combined.

Comparatively the more male councilors have greater influence than female councilors in decision making in UC-2 as well. But the test statistic is not showing a significant difference in this case. Although the results indicates that males are more influential but maybe due to small number of Women councilors in the sample the results are not showing a significant difference.

However, in both UCs the male councilors exert more influence than the female though they are more dominant in UC-1 than in UC-2 in both the higher categories (medium and high).

Many of the scholastic studies about the influential and community power structure have also found that most of the influential are men, and in some studies almost all are men. Robert Presthus has found a specialist leading Elites in his study, among which some were women, who had influence because of their education and welfare activities for the community. (Presthus, 1964: 129-130)

In each UC one Women councilor has high level of influence. The reasons for their varying levels of influence are discussed in comparison with the Male Councilors, later in the conclusions of the study.

6.1.3: AGE:

The second independent variable is age of the councilor. The minimum age to become a Councilor has been fixed at 25 years. The oldest of 31 councilors is of 80 Years in the two UCs. To assess the influence of age on the councilor's decision making process, the 31 councilors are divided, on the basis of simple mathematical technique, into three equal age brackets. Each group has almost equal number of councilors. (Annexure IV)

The age groups are 25 – 35 years as young, 36 – 47 years as middle aged, and 48 years and above as old. The age group-wise breakdown and councilors peer assessment are examined below in Tables 3-a, and 3-b for UC-1 and UC-2 respectively.

Table 3-a: Union Council 1

The Relationship of Councilors Age with Councilor’s Level of Influence in Decision Making process

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
COUNCILOR'S AGE	Young age	% within Age	25.0%	75.0%	.0%	4
	Middle age	% within Age	.0%	50.0%	50.0%	6
	Old age	% within Age	60.0%	.0%	40.0%	5
Total		Count	4	6	5	15
		% within Age	27%	40.0%	33%	100.0%

The above Table gives information about ages of 15 out of 17 councilors in UC-1. Two of its female councilors have not given their ages. Both are, however, illiterate. They have thus, been excluded from age-wise analysis. Apparently they seemed to be in their mid-fifties.

A majority (75%) of young and half (50%) of middle age councilors have medium level of influence; while half (50%) of middle age and more than one third (40%) of old age have high level of influence in decision making. But majority of old age (60%) also have low level of influence in decision making. None of the young age, middle age and old age councilors respectively has high, low and medium levels of influence in decision making. The analyses indicate that more, younger age (young and middle) councilors play more active role than older councilors in the decision making process in UC-1.

The output does not show any significant difference. In other words, Councilor's age has no role on their influence levels in decision making in UC-1.

Table 3-b: Union Council 2

The Relationship of Councilors Age with Councilor's Level of Influence in Decision Making process

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
COUNCILOR'S AGE	Young age	% within Age	17%	50.0%	33%	6
	Middle age	within Age	50.0%	25.0%	25.0%	4
	Old age	% within Age	50.0%	25.0%	25.0%	4
Total		Count	5	5	4	14
		% within Councilor Age	35.7%	35.7%	28.6%	100.0%

The above Table presents information on ages of all 14 respondent councilors of UC-2. It shows that of the 6 young councilors (nearly half of the total interviewed), half has medium level and one-third (33%) has high level of influence in decision making. Among the middle age and old age councilors, half of each (50%) has low level while one fourth of each (25%) has medium level and high level of influence in decision making process.

The data indicate that young age councilors exert more influence in decision making process compared with middle and old age councilors.

The output does not indicate a significant difference-the two attributes, age and influence, are independent. However it was assumed in the beginning of the study that old age Councilors are more likely to be influentials, but the results of analysis indicate an opposite trend. The reason could be many, one the government encouraged the young people to come and participate in the system through the provision of minimum 25 years

of age for councilors, secondly in most of the opinions of critics is that as the system do not allow political parties to participate in the elections, thus most of the political elites entered their children or relatives who are young or of medium age in order to keep power in their hands.

The two UCs present similar trend, in spite of slight variation and dispersal of details in columns and rows, indicative of more dominant role by the young and middle age councilors than old age councilors in the decision making process in council's meeting.

The scholastic findings of Robert Presthus in his study of community power structure also indicate that in category of Specialists elites, they participated actively in the decisions also because of their age and energy. (ibid: 129).

In this study though the differences are not very significant still few old and more middle and some young age Councilors are active in decision making.

6.1.4: EDUCATION:

Education of councilors is the third independent variable. Education is not a requirement for becoming a union councilor. However to assess the influence of councilors education on decision making process, the status and level of educational qualifications of 31 councilors have been classified into three categories. The classification has been done on mathematical terms by having proportionate numbers of councilors in each category: (Annexure IV).

- Less (basic or no education) = 1
- Medium education; (junior and high school) = 2
- High education; (Graduate and Post Graduate) = 3

The details of relationship between the councilors levels of education with their levels of influence in decision making process are displayed below in Table 4-a, for UC-1 and Table 4-b, for UC-2.

Table 4-a: Union Council 1

The Relationship of Councilors Education with Councilor’s Level of Influence in Decision Making process

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
COUNCILOR EDUCATION *	Less Education	% within Education	75.0%	25.0%	.0%	4
	Medium Education	% within Education	50.0%	17%	33%	6
	High Education	% within Education	.0%	57%	43%	7
Total		Count	6	6	5	17
		% within Education	35%	35%	30%	100.0%

* significance level is .01

Table 4-a states that majority (75%) of less educated and half (50%) of medium level educated councilors have low level of influence in decision making process. The remaining 50% of the 6 councilors of medium education, 17% (only one) has medium level of influence, and 33% (2) have high level of influence. Among the high educated councilors more than half (57%) have medium level of influence and more than two-fifth (43%) have high level of influence in decision making process.

The overall trend is indicative of educational levels have positive and direct association with the influence levels of the councilors in decision making process. In other words the low education level have lower and high education levels have higher levels of influence on councilors role in decision making process i.e. the level of influence rises with rise in councilors education and falls with fall in councilors education.

The test statistic shows an extremely significant difference. The trend is positive between education level and influence level.

Table 4-b: Union Council 2

The Relationship of Councilors Education with Councilor’s Level of Influence in Decision Making process

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
COUNCILOR EDUCATION *	Less Education	% within Education	60.0%	40.0%	.0%	5
	Medium Education	% within Education	40.0%	20.0%	40.0%	5
	High Education	% within Education	.0%	50.0%	50.0%	4
Total		Count	5	5	4	14
		% within Education	35%	35%	30%	100.0%

* Significance level is .01

The above Table states that of less educated councilors, three fifth have low influence and remaining two-fifth have medium level influence in decision making process; of the medium educated councilors two-fifth have low, one-fifth has medium, and two-fifth has high levels of influence; and of the high educated councilors half have medium and half have high level of influence in decision making process.

The situation is indicative of the positive and direct influence between levels of education on levels of councilors influence in decision making process. The test statistic shows a highly significant difference. The results show a positive association between education and influence level of Councilors.

The distribution of details slightly varies in some categories and levels of the two UCs, but both the situations indicate the trend that the influence levels of councilors rise with the rise in their levels of education.

The scholars of both Pluralistic and Elite schools believe that those who have power in decision making are better educated. Some have found that the Political elites are less

educated than the economic elites, while Presthus has found the Specialist Elites whose basis of influence is their high education. Almost all studies about influence and power support the argument of high education and high influence level in decision making. (ibid: 127-136).

6.1.5: SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPECT

The Socio-Cultural aspects include Councilors religion, their sect in the religion, the tribe to which they belong, their mother tongue and their citizenship. The religion and the sect of the Councilors are not included in the analyses as all the Councilors, except, the Minority Councilors, are Muslims and belong to Sunni sect. This section of religion was included because Pakistan, though a Muslim State has minority population belonging to different religions as well. In the current Local Government structure desirable measures have been taken to accommodate this characteristic of the society. At the UC level there is compulsion for Muslim Councilors only on 12 seats, and the rest of the 9 seats, including the Nazim and Naib Nazim, are open for every religion. The 12 seats reserved for General Councilors means that any Non Muslim could be a Labor/ Peasant Councilor but not a General Councilor, the later is a more prestigious Councilor in the society though the power of Decision Making is same for everyone. But at the same time there is a provision to become a Nazim or Naib Nazim for Non Muslims.

In spite of this provision there was no Non Muslim, except the Minority Councilor, on any of the Councilor seat in both the UCs selected for this study.

i. CITIZENSHIP OF THE COUNCILOR:

The Citizenship of the Councilors is included in order to find out its effect on Influence level of the Councilors. The Councilors are bonafide of the area, living in the Union for long time, or they or their grandparents have migrated to this Union.

I am analyzing my study findings on the basis of Elite theory variables. One of the variables of the Elites, both political and economic influence in the community, is their long time residence in the community. They have their roots in the community since their fore-fathers. They know most of the people, families and all the major issues of the community. They are well aware of and have a dominant role in the community affairs. (ibid: 120-136).

The Tables 5.i-a, for UC1, and 5.i-b, for UC2 (Annexure V),⁶ analyze the influence level of the Councilors both who are bonafide of the Union and those who themselves or their grandparents have migrated.

The Table 5.i –a, indicates that almost three fifth (59%) of the Councilors in UC 1 are bonafide of the Union, while the rest have migrated to this Union from other regions of the country in previous yeas.⁷ Among those who are living in the Union for long time, half of them (50%) have medium level of influence, while 30 % have high level of influence. Only one fifth of them have low level of Influence. Of the Councilors, who have not been living in the Union for long time, more than half have low and more than one fourth have high levels while only 14% have medium level of influence.

Although the Table indicates that most of the Councilors with high influence are long time residents of the Union and most of those with low level are not bonafide of the Union, but the test statistic of the UC 1 does not show any significant difference. In other words, the two attributes are independent.

The Table 5.i –b, of UC 2 shows that of 14 Councilors only two Councilors have migrated and one has medium level and the other high level of influence. The rest of Councilors i.e. more than four fifth are bonafide of the same Union. Among them only

⁶ All the tables of same variables not showing any significant difference are displayed in the Annexure V, because of size limitation of the report.

⁷ Though the time period when they or their grandparents have migrated and the places from where they have migrated have been collected during the data collection but are not included here in the analyses. As they were not making any difference in the study.

one fourth have high level, one-third medium level and less than half have low level of influence.

The table indicates no significant difference among the influence level of both types of Councilors- those who have lived for longer time in the Union and those who have migrated to the Union. The test statistic of UC-2 indicates no difference in terms of influence between the migrated and bonafide Councilors. In other words the two attributes are independent.

The above analyses show that the Councilors bonafide of the same Union are high in number in both the UCs than the migrated Councilors. Similarly the Councilors bonafide of the same Union with high influence level in both the UCs are more in number than the Councilors who are not bonafide of the same Union.

Thus the analyses proves here the condition of Elites, those who live for long time in the community have high level of influence. Among 31 Councilors few (29%) have high level of influence and among them majority (two-third) are bonafide while one third have migrated to the Union.

The fact that the bonafide Councilors also include 22.6% Councilors (2 in UC-1 and 5 in UC-2) with low influence level indicate that the councilors, having high influence level, have other resources for their high influence level than their long time residence in the union.

ii. MOTHER TONGUE OF THE COUNCILOR:

The mother tongue of the Councilors is the second socio economic variable to analyze its effect on the influence level of the councilors. There is a very important reason for its inclusion in terms of influence level. The major language of the Peshawar District is Pukhto. The main Peshawar city dominant language is Hindko, but the rest of the district has Pukhto as a major spoken language. One of the important value of the Pathan culture

is they value more to those who speak their own language and they support them in every situation, as they say “pukhto koma”. This means they honor the person or his deeds just because he is Pathan and speaks Pukhto.

The UC 1 has Pukhto as its major language, while UC 2, being in the heart of the city, has Hindko as its major language with Pukhto as the second large spoken language. The tables 5.ii-a, for UC 1 and 5.ii-b for UC 2, (Annexure V), analyzes the relationship of mother tongue with the influence level of Councilors.

The Table 5.ii-a, shows that all except two Councilors speak Pukhto as mother tongue. One of the two Councilors speaks Pukhto with Punjabi while the other speaks only Punjabi. Both of them have low level of influence. The majority speaks Pukhto which means they are from Pathan culture. Of them about one fourth have low, and two fifth have medium level of influence, while one third have high level of influence.

The output shows no significant difference i-e the language and influence level in this case has no positive link. The ratio between Pukhto and Punjabi speaking Councilors is very high (9 to 1 or 88.2% to 11.8%). The results, thus, do not lead to any meaningful variation to have effect on Councilors influence levels. The fact that language has no effect on Councilors influence level suggests that there are other attributes accounting for high influence level of the Councilors in UC-1.

The Table 5.ii-b, shows that in UC 2 the majority of the population speaks Hindko, and Pukhto is the second major language. Among its 14 councilors more than half speaks Hindko. Of whom more than three-fifth (65 %) have low level of influence. And they are the only Councilors in this UC with low level of influence. One fourth of the Hindko speakers have medium while only one has high level of influence.

The Councilors who speak Pukhto are almost one fifth of the total. Among them two-third have medium while one-third have high level of influence. There is no Councilor who speaks Pukhto in this UC with low level of influence. Among the rest (21.4) of the Councilors, one speaks both languages and has high level of influence while one each speaks Punjabi and Urdu with medium and high level of influence respectively.

The analyses of this UC also indicate no positive link between language and high influence level of the Councilors. The test statistics does not show any significant difference. The language of the Councilors does not bring any difference to their influence level in the decision making of UC-2.

The Socio Cultural aspects of the Councilors show that few have high influence in the decision making process of UC, though majority of them carries the same socio-cultural aspects like living in the Union for long time, and speaking the dominant language of the Unions. All of them are Muslims and belong to Sunni sect except for the one, Minority Councilor in each UC. Thus the analyses bring out that few Councilors have high influence, and they have the influence not just because of their socio-cultural aspects but there are other factors involved as well.

6.1.6: SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS:

The fourth independent variable is Socio-Economic status of the Councilors. To analyze the Socio-Economic status of councilors their occupations, income groups, housing and residence, property and assets are taken into consideration. But for quantitative analysis, only their income group has been taken in to consideration while others are discussed in the qualitative section.

i. INCOME GROUPS OF THE COUNCILORS:

The Councilors have been divided in to 4 income groups according to their monthly income. The income groups have been taken from the annual reports of the State Bank of Pakistan on Economy Reviews (2003: 60). According to which there are 4 main groups,

- Lower income group (Rs.3000 and below)
- Lower middle income group (Rs.3001- 5000)
- Upper middle income group (Rs.5001- 12000)
- Upper income group (Rs.12000 and above)

There are some Councilors who do not have any income. They have been, however, included for analyzing their influence levels. The relationship between income and influence in decision making is displayed in the Tables 5-a, and 5-b of UC 1 and UC 2 respectively.

Table 6-a: Union Council 1

The Relationship of Councilors Income with Councilor’s Level of Influence in Decision Making Process

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS ** (Income group of the Councilor)	No Income	% within Income group	100.0%	.0%	.0%	2
	<i>LOWER MIDDLE</i>	% within Income group	100.0%	.0%	.0%	1
	<i>UPPER MIDDLE</i>	% within Income group	40.0%	20.0%	40.0%	5
	<i>UPPER</i>	% within Income group	11%	56%	33%	9
Total		Count	6	6	5	17
		% within Income group	35%	35%	30%	100.0%

** significance level is .05

The above Table states that only two councilors have no income and both have low level of Influence in decision making of the council. There is no councilor from the Lower Income group in this UC, while the only councilor from the Lower Middle Income group has also a low level of influence.

In the Upper Middle income group, two fifth each of the councilors have low and high while one-fifth have low levels of influence. In the Upper Income group, more than half of the councilors have medium while one-third have high level of influence in decision making of the council.

The Table indicates positive relationship between income and influence. As majority of the councilors having high influence are either from Upper (60%) Upper middle (40%) income class; while of the medium influence level, majority (83%) of the councilors are

from Upper income class; whereas the almost one-third (6) low influence level councilors are thinly spread among the four income groups.

The test statistic shows a significant difference. The trend is positive, higher the income higher is the influence level.

Table 6-b: Union Council 2

The Relationship of Councilors Income with Councilor’s Level of Influence in Decision Making Process

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
SOCIO- ECONOMIC STATUS * (Income group of the Councilor)	No Income	% within Income group	33%	67%	.0%	3
	<i>LOWER</i>	% within Income group	50.0%	50.0%	.0%	4
	<i>UPPER MIDDLE</i>	% within Income group	67%	.0%	33%	3
	<i>UPPER</i>	% within Income group	.0%	25.0%	75.0%	4
Total		Count	5	5	4	14
		% within Income group	35%	35%	30%	100.0%

* significance level is .01

The Table 6-b states that there is no councilor in UC-2 from a lower middle income group. The councilors from no income and lower income class have both low and medium levels of influence, and none with high influence level. The majority of the councilors, having high level of influence, are from the Upper (75%) and few (25%) from the upper middle income group.

The test statistic (value) shows a significant difference. The higher the income group, the higher is influence level of the councilors in decision making.

The analysis of both UCs shows a positive trend between income levels and influence levels of the Councilors. This shows that the Councilors socio- economic status is playing an active role in their influence in the decision making. And the trend indicates the raise in the level of Income raises the level of Influence in the decision making process of UCs.

Hunter in his reputation study of Influentials found that those who were influential were economically sound and strong. They had the influence in the community because of their high socio-economic status.

6.1.7: POLITICAL AFFILIATION:

The seventh independent variable is Political affiliation of the councilors. The political affiliations of the councilors are analyzed to know the relationship between politics and influence in the decision making. The political affiliation has the following sub variables:

- Political party of the Councilor if any,
- Level of political affiliation of the Councilor if any,

i. **POLITICAL PARTY:**

The first variable in the Political affiliation is to know the political party of the councilor or to which political party the councilor belongs or does not belong. Though under the law the local government elections were non party based, but majority of the councilors, somehow, belong to a political party. The political parties did not participate officially but almost every political party took part in the elections. Some political parties either had their candidate or supported any candidate financially or socially.

The Tables 7.i-a, and 7.i-b states the relationship of the councilors political parties and influence in decision making.

Table 7.i-a: Union Council 1

The Relationship of Councilors Political Party with Councilors Level of Influence in Decision Making Process

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
POLITICAL AFFILIATION (political party of the Councilor)	No Political Party	% within political party	33%	67%	.0%	3
	Awami National (Pukhtoonkhaw)	% within political party	33%	67%	.0%	3
	Mutaheda Majlis Amal	% within political party	75.0%	.0%	25.0%	4
	Pakistan Peoples Parliamentarian	% within political party	20.0%	.0%	80.0%	5
	Pakistan Peoples Party(Sherpao)	% within political party	.0%	100.0%	.0%	2
Total		Count	6	6	5	17
		% within political party	35%	35%	30%	100.0 %

The above Table states that less than one fifth of the councilors in UC-1 have no political party, and they have low and medium levels of influence only.

All the other councilors (14) belong to four different political parties. Among them Awami National (Poukhtoonkhawa) has one low and two medium influence level councilors, Mutahida Majlis Amal has three low and one high influence level councilors, Pakistan People (Parliamentarian) Party has one low and four high influence levels councilors, and Pakistan People Party (Sherpao) has only medium influence level councilors.

The highest number of councilors i.e. more than one fourth belongs to Pakistan Peoples Parliamentarian (PPP) Party and 80% of them has high level of influence.

The above Table indicates that the majority (80%) of the councilors having high level of influence belong to a particular political (PPP) party. It also shows the positive and direct relationship between Councilor’s political party and influence in decision making. The trend is majority of one political party have more influence in the decision making.

Table 7.i-b : Union Council 2

The Relationship of Councilors Political Party with Councilors Level of Influence in Decision Making Process

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
POLITICAL AFFILIATION (political party of the Councilor)	No Political Party	% within political party	60.0%	20.0%	20.0%	5
	JamiatiUlema (Noorani)	% within political party	.0%	.0%	100.0%	1
	Pakistan Muslim League	% within political party	25.0%	50.0%	25.0%	4
	Pakistan Peoples Parliamentarian	% within political party	33%	33%	33%	3
	Pakistan Peoples party	% within political party	.0%	100.0%	.0%	1
Total		Count	5	5	4	14
		% within political party	35%	35%	30%	100.0 %

The above Table states that more than one third of the councilors do not belong to any political party, and majority three-fifth of them have low level of influence. All the other councilors belong to four different political parties. Most (28.6%) of them have medium and some (21.4%) have high level of influence while few (40%) have low level of influence.

The highest number of councilors i.e. more than one fourth belongs to Pakistan Muslim League. Among them half have medium while one fourth each have low and high levels of influence. The councilors belonging to this party do not have majority in high influence level as a whole but in comparison to other councilors play a dominant role in decision making.

Both the UCs, with slight variations, indicates a positive and direct relationship between the Councilors political party and influence in decision making. Belonging to a political party gives some sort of influence. The trend indicated is that the dominant role in decision making is played by the councilors belonging to the same party.

ii. COUNCILOR’S LEVEL OF POLITICAL AFFILIATION:

The second variable is level of councilor political affiliation. The level of political affiliation means how much a councilor is involved in political activities. The levels will show the relationship of the councilor with the political parties. The four following levels had been asked in order to know the level of councilor political affiliation;

- no political affiliation
- only well wisher of the political party
- Enrolled member/ active worker of the political party
- Elected office bearer/ party assignments

Table 7.ii-a: Union Council 1

The Relationship of Councilors Political Affiliation with Councilors Level of Influence in Decision Making Process

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
POLITICAL AFFILIATION (Councilor’s Level of Affiliation) of	none	% within Level of Affiliation	33%	67%	.0%	3
	only well wisher	% within Level of Affiliation	50.0%	25.0%	25.0%	4
	Enrolled member /Active worker	% within Level of Affiliation	33%	33%	33%	9
	Elected office bearer /party assignments	% within Level of Affiliation	.0%	.0%	100.0%	1
Total		Count	6	6	5	17
		% within Level of Affiliation	35%	35%	30%	100.0%

The above Table states that about two-fifth of the councilors are either not affiliated to a political party or are only the well wishers of a political party. Of them 3 Councilors each have low and medium influence levels while one has high influence level. The remaining councilors, more than half of the total, are enrolled/ active members and one-third each of them have low, medium and high influence levels.

The majority of the councilors, almost three-fifth, are strongly affiliated to their political parties. As 90% of them are enrolled or active members of their parties and 10% is

elected office bearer. Among them majority, more than three-fourth, are influential by having medium and high level of influence and less than one fourth have low level of influence.

Though the tabulated results highlight that majority of the Councilors having high influence have strong affiliation with their political party, but the test statistic does not show a significant difference. However, the majority of high influence Councilors has strong affiliation but there are some Councilors with medium level and one with high level of influence who had little or no affiliation. Further there are Councilors with strong political affiliation but with low level of influence.

Table 7.ii-b : Union Council 2

The Relationship of Councilors Political Affiliation with Councilors Level of Influence in Decision Making Process

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
POLITICAL AFFILIATION (Councilor's Level of Affiliation)	none	% within Level of Affiliation	60.0%	20.0%	20.0%	5
	only well wisher	% within Level of Affiliation	.0%	100.0%	.0%	2
	Enrolled member /Active worker	% within Level of Affiliation	33%	33%	33%	6
	Elected office bearer /party assignments	% within Level of Affiliation	.0%	.0%	100.0%	1
Total		Count	5	5	4	14
		% within Level of Affiliation	35%	35%	30%	100.0%

The above Table states that fifty percent of the councilors are either not affiliates or only the well wishers of the political parties. Among them one-fifth each have low and medium levels of influence while only one councilor has high level of influence.

The rest 50% are strongly affiliated with their political parties. Among them almost 90% either are enrolled or active workers of their parties while 10% is elected office bearer. Majority of them have medium and high level of influence in the decision making.

The results show that in this UC almost 30% has high influence, and among them three-fourth are strongly affiliated while one-fourth are not affiliated with political parties.

The statistical measures do not show any significant difference. In other words Councilors affiliation of political party has no role in their influence levels in decision making.

The results of both UCs are almost same. Though the statistical measure of both UCs results are not significant, but in both UCs majority of high influentials have strong political affiliations. However there are exceptions of few with high influence but less political affiliation and few have strong political affiliation but low or medium influence. The studies of Political Elites and Political influentials have found that they belong to political parties and have strong affiliations with them. Most of their work is even in the favor of their party politics. Though in current Local Government system, the local councils elections were non party based, but still many political parties took active part. The analyses indicate that those who have high level of influence are strongly affiliated to the political parties and most of them to the same party, which shows active participation of political parties in the local councils. However the results are not showing a significant difference. It could be that councilors who have high influence are strongly affiliated to a political party while the rest may have other factors for their influence level. Hence it shows that few have high influence and among them few have it due to their political influence, revealing involvement of political elites in the decision making of council.

Another characteristic could be of “Agent”, (ibid: 59-60), as some of the low influence Councilors, who were not economically influential as well, did said about the political influentials, that they are the agents of their party and are working in favor of their political parties. In other words the political parties and political elites are active in the decision making process of UCs.⁸

⁸ though results shows that the highly influentials are strongly affiliated with their political parties, and their peer councilors assess them as agents, but here the results do not prove that they work or do not work in favor of their political party, despite their affiliation.

6.1.8: LEADER SHIP ROLES

The influential, that are few and have the power in the society according to Elite school of thought, has leadership abilities as well. As Robert Presthus has discussed in his study on “Men at top”, that Elites are few, and they are different from others in extent of their class status and leadership resources. They possess skills and qualities required for leadership. (ibid: 98-100).

This study is about the influential in the decision making process of UCs, hence the inclusion of leadership section in the analysis. In order to assess the role of leadership in the influence level of Councilors, nine leadership roles have been included in the study. These nine leadership roles range from within the family to the trade and development organizations.⁹

The first and basic leadership role of the person in Pathan Culture is their role as a family head. The head in the family is the leader of the family and has high influence in all the matters of the family. Thus the first leadership role is whether the Councilor is head of the family or only a family member.

The next leadership roles, to analyze the leadership abilities of the Councilor, are their involvement in the other organizations i.e. Jarga, Neighborhood Elder (Muhalladar), Village Elder (Malik), Member or Chairman of Zakat Committee, Trade Unions, Village Development Organizations, Mosque Committee, Community Welfare Organizations and Cooperative Society.

Jarga is the traditional, generally informal and organized when needed, forum of Pathan culture of solving disputes of the members of Community by its elders and elites. They make the decisions to resolve problems and disputes of the people.

⁹ The Councilors were also asked for their and their family affiliations with previous local government systems, but only one among 31 Councilors was himself and few councilors family members were affiliated with previous local government systems. The number was so small, that it was not significant to bring in the analyses of the study. The reason could be most of the councilors this time are young in age.

Neighborhood Elder is a leading role played by the elder person of the Community. This person is resourceful, socially known and respected by the community. This person is among the elites of the community. Community people consult him and seek his guidance to resolve their disputes both domestic and occupation related. The neighborhood elder is very influential in all the decisions of the community. Apart from this, before the current Local Government system, the Municipalities used to have a Muhalladar, a person selected by the Neighborhood for representing their problems to the Municipalities offices. They were paid by the Local Governments. These Muhalladars were mostly the same Neighborhood elders who are influential in the community because of their social class, status and leadership qualities.

Village Elder or Malik is one of the landlord usually from the well know household of the village. He either belong to the clan who owns the whole village or most of the land in the village. Most of the people in the village work on his estate. All the major decisions about the village from household to education and health are made by him. This person is the leader of the village, and one of the most influential in the village.

Zakat is the religious obligation in Islam on the well-to-do to help the poor people of the community. For this purpose the Government and communities respectively constitute and form Zakat Committees with elders from cross sections of the community headed by a honest person including Pesh Imam (Muslim scholar leading the prayer congregations).

Mosque Committee, organized mostly for large mosques, is responsible to solve problems according to religious injunctions and laws, arrange and celebrate special religious occasions and promote overall compliance by faithful. It is usually constituted of elders with religious zeal and fervor often with Pesh Imam as its head.

Some community influentials play active and leading roles in Trade Union, cooperative societies, and Community welfare organizations own and run by the Elites of the community who have the resources to create and run them, or by the foreign donors.

These Leadership roles, selected for the study, cover almost all the socioeconomic and cultural aspects and issues of the communities, where the leaders play their role and make decisions on behalf of the community. Information collected about the leading roles, played by the councilors and by their family members, is analyzed to assess their influence in decision making of those accredited with the experience and those without it. Each councilor plays some of the leading roles while in some roles their family members are active. All the Councilors do not play all the leading roles. Each of them is playing different roles. For the analyses purpose all the Councilors have been grouped according to the number of leading roles they play; these ranges from none to highest number (5/6) of leading roles played by the Councilor in each UC.

The following Tables; 8–a, and 8-b, analyze the leadership roles played by the Councilors of UC 1 and UC 2.

Table 8 -a: Union Council 1

The Relationship of Councilors Leadership roles with Councilors Level of Influence in Decision Making Process

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
TOTAL LEADING ROLES PLAYED BY THE COUNCILOR * (sum of the leading roles played by the councilor out of total of 9 leading roles) *	0 (none)	% within leading roles	.0%	100.0%	.0%	1
	1	% within leading roles	80.0%	20.0%	.0%	5
	2	% within leading roles	50.0%	50.0%	.0%	4
	3	% within leading roles	.0%	40.0%	60.0%	5
	4	% within leading roles	.0%	.0%	100.0%	1
	5	% within leading roles	.0%	.0%	100.0%	1
Total		Count	6	6	5	17
		% within leading roles	35%	35%	30%	100.0%

* significance level is .01

The above Table shows the results of UC 1. In this UC among 17 Councilors, the number of leading roles played by Councilors is from none to 5.

More than half (10) of the Councilor plays less number of leading roles (0-2) and have only low and medium levels of influence in the decision making of UC. Among them one Councilor is not playing any of the leading roles and has medium level of influence, while more than one fourth of whom play only one leading role which 80% have low while 20 % have medium level of influence. One each of the rest one-fourth in the less leading roles, plays two leading roles and half among them have low and half medium level of influence.

More than one-fourth (29%) of the total Councilors play medium number of leading roles i.e. each playing 3 leading roles. Among them two fifth have medium and three fifth have high level of influence. There is no Councilor playing three leading roles with low level of influence.

The Councilors with high leading roles are two, one plays four and the other five is the highest number among the total (9) leading roles. Both of them have high level of influence.

The analyses indicate a positive link between leadership roles and level of influence. The statistical measures show highly significant difference. In other words there is a positive trend more the leading roles higher is the influence in decision making.

The Councilors (less than one-third) in this UC with high influence plays many leadership roles (3 to 5). Thus fulfills the condition of Elites who have the leadership skills and abilities.

Table 8-b: Union Council 2

The Relationship of Councilors Leadership roles with Councilors Level of Influence in Decision Making Process

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
TOTAL LEADING ROLES PLAYED BY THE COUNCILOR (a sum of leading roles played by the councilor out of 9 leading roles)	1	% within leading roles	100.0%	.0%	.0%	1
	2	% within leading roles	40.0%	40.0%	20.0%	5
	3	% within leading roles	25.0%	25.0%	50.0%	4
	4	% within leading roles	33%	67%	.0%	3
	6	% within leading roles	.0%	.0%	100.0%	1
Total		Count	5	5	4	14
		% within leading roles	35%	35%	30%	100.0%

The above Table shows that in UC-2 each Councilor plays a leading role. The minimum number of leading roles played by the Councilors is one and the maximum number is six. Among the 14 Councilors, two-fifth plays lesser number (1 to 2) of the leading role. One of them has only one leading role and he has low level of influence. The Councilors with two leading roles are four fifth of the total in less leading roles, of whom two-fifth each have low and medium levels of influence while one-fifth (one councilor) has high influence.

The Councilors with the middle, number (3) Leading roles are more than one fourth of the total. Among them half have high while one-fourth each have medium and low levels of influence. Here the percentage of Councilors with high level of influence is higher than in the less leading roles. The councilors of middle number leading roles are twice of the councilors of less number leading roles among the high influence level councilors.

The rest more than one-fourth of the Councilors have highest number (4-6) of leading roles. Of them 70% have four leading roles, of which 33% have low while 66% medium levels of influence. Though more of them have medium level of influence but none of them have high level of influence.

Only one Councilor has six leading roles and he has high level of Influence.

Analyzing the high level of influence with the leading roles, only one councilor has maximum leading roles, two have middle and one has the less number of leading roles. The results do not show the link between the (high) levels of influence and (more) leading roles of the councilors.

The statistical output does not indicate a significant difference. In other words there is no positive trend between the leadership roles and influence level. It may be that those with high influence and low level of leadership roles have other factors or have strong leading abilities and leadership background within their families which contribute to their high influence level.

6.1.9: COUNCILOR ROLE IN DECISION MAKING PROCESS

The study of Elites done by different scholars has found that Elites do not have influence in the society just because of their wealth and political power, rather they have expertise in their work and they have skills to manage their duties and responsibilities. Most of them are educated from reputed educational institutions, which gives them the skills and abilities to participate vigorously and rightfully in the decision making process. (Keynes and Ricci, 1970: 164; Presthus, 1964: 129-131).

The role of councilor in decision making process is the last variable of the study. From this perspective, the Councilor's expertise, skills and levels of knowledge about their responsibilities and power are analyzed.

By the role I mean here; in decision making the Councilors are involved in the devolution of power process. The system has given them power to make decisions for the people and resolve issues of their communities. In this process they have been assigned certain functions and responsibilities (discussed in Chapter 4). They have to attend the UC meetings, present issues and arrive at their solutions through mutual consensus among the Councilors, get funds from the Council and realize the desired objective by properly

utilizing those funds. This section examined the Councilors knowledge and information about their responsibilities and power in the UC, their participation in UC meetings and in decision making. The councilors own views about their influence and use of decision making power have been also assessed in this section.

Before analyzing the variables, it is important to describe that all Councilors were imparted training by different organizations about their tasks and duties. These trainings were arranged by the government and by some donor agencies. The Councilors received these trainings from well qualified trainers. The women were also trained separately by women trainers. Though the training facility was provided, some of the Councilors attended and benefited from it and some did not avail it specially the Women Councilors in the rural areas. However the Councilors who are illiterate or have only the basic schooling faced difficulty in understanding their functions and duties. Consequently some of them do participate in the meetings but do not know about their power and functions. They are either the show pieces or do what the Nazim or Naib Nazim tells them to do, or if they are from among the influentials, on account of their high economic or political status, do make use of the decisions making power according to their own desires and wishes.

Some of the Councilors in the sample, mostly Women, who were either illiterate or less educated faced such problems. Most of them have low level of influence and low economic status. They expressed without hesitation during the field work, that they do what the Nazim desired, and they attended all monthly meetings and participated in almost all trainings, but they still are not clear about their role and their powers.

i. KNOWLEDGE OF COUNCILOR:

To know the Councilors' role in decision making process, information was ascertain about their level of knowledge regarding the assigned functions, responsibilities, authorities and Decision Making Authority as a Councilor. This will explain the extent of

the councilors' awareness about their role in decision making process of the UC. In other words, if they are aware of their role only then they can play it well.

In order to ascertain the knowledge of Councilors, information was obtained from them about their functions, responsibilities, authorities and decision making power assigned to them by the LG ordinance as Councilor. They were given a range of five answers to select from poor understanding to very well, to respond appropriately. (Annexure I).

The following Tables analyze the contribution of the Councilors level of knowledge to their level of influence in decision making.

Table 9.i -a: Union Council 1

The Relationship of Councilors Knowledge (of assigned functions, responsibilities, authorities and decision making power within the UC) with Councilors Level of Influence in Decision Making

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
COUNCILOR ROLE IN DECISION MAKING PROCESS (Knowledge of Assigned functions, authorities and Decision Making Authority as a councilor) *	Poorly	% within Knowledge	100.0%	.0%	.0%	1
	Not so well	% within Knowledge	100.0%	.0%	.0%	3
	Average	% within Knowledge	50.0%	25.0%	25.0%	4
	Well	% within Knowledge	.0%	40.0%	60.0%	5
	Very Well	% within Knowledge	.0%	75.0%	25.0%	4
Total		Count	6	6	5	17
		% within Knowledge	35%	35%	30%	100.0%

* significance level is 0.01

The above Table shows that slightly less than one-fourth of the Councilors have poor and not so well knowledge of their assigned functions and authorities, and all of them have low level of influence.

Similarly an equal number (slightly less than one-fourth) of the total has average level of knowledge. Among them half have low, while the other half, are equally divided (one-fourth each) between the medium and high level of influence.

More than half of the Councilors in this UC have better knowledge of their functions and responsibilities. Of them more than one-fourth with well and less than one-fourth with very well respectively have medium and high level of influence while none of them have low level of influence.

The Table indicates a positive and direct relationship between the Councilors level of knowledge and level of influence. The statistical output endorses the results and highlights strongly a positive trend between level of influence and knowledge of the councilors. This shows that the Councilors with better knowledge of the functions and powers have higher (medium and high) influence in the decision making process.

Table 9.i -b: Union Council 2

The Relationship of Councilors Knowledge (of assigned functions, responsibilities, authorities and decision making power within the UC) with Councilors Level of Influence in Decision Making

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
COUNCILOR ROLE IN DECISION MAKING PROCESS (Knowledge of Assigned functions, responsibilities and Decision Making Authority in the UC)	not so well	% within Knowledge	.0%	67%	33%	3
	average	% within Knowledge	75.0%	25.0%	.0%	4
	well	% within Knowledge	50.0%	50.0%	.0%	2
	Very Well	% within Knowledge	20.0%	20.0%	60.0%	5
Total		Count	5	5	4	14
		% within Knowledge	35%	35%	30%	100.0%

The above Table of UC 2 shows that more than one-fifth of the Councilors have not so well knowledge but still they have medium and high level of influence. However more than one fourth of the Councilors have average and one seventh have 'well' levels of

knowledge with none having high level of influence. Instead most have low and few have medium level of influence. Again over one-third possess the 'very well knowledge' level, but not all of them have high influence. Though the percentage of high influence at this level of knowledge is higher i.e. 60% than any other, but there are 20% with low and 20% with medium level of influences as well.

The results do not indicate a positive and direct association between the knowledge of Councilors and their influence level. As explained earlier that some of the Councilors do not know much about their responsibilities and duties but still they possess and exercise their power to influence the decisions according to their peer Councilors. They may have this influence because of their social or political status. Those who know well because of their better educational background but do not have the power to influence the decisions despite knowing that they can stop or reject the decision. It explains that their power of knowledge is not enough to give them high influence in decision making; they need more factors to contribute to their power and influence level.

The statistical measures do not indicate a significant difference either. The trend is not positive in UC-2.i.e.the two variables; the Councilor's level of knowledge and level of influence are independent.

ii. COUNCILOR ATTENDANCE IN UC MONTHLY MEETINGS:

All the UCs have to meet once a month to review their working, discuss the problems and their solutions, other matters of their Unions. Each Councilor brings schemes and proposals of respective community, to get funds from the UC for their execution.

The attendance of Councilors in the monthly meetings is the next factor to assess effectiveness of their role in decision making. To attend monthly meetings is one of their functions. Their attending the meetings will reflect on their dedication to their job. This factor is further analyzed to find out the effect of their regularity or absence in meetings on their influence level.

The following Tables analyze the councilors' levels of attendance on their influence levels. For the analysis purpose the attendance in the meetings is divided in three levels, i.e. few, mostly and all.

Table 9.ii-a: Union Council 1

The Relationship of Councilors Attendance in UC Meetings with Councilors Level of Influence in Decision Making

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
COUNCILLOR ROLE IN DECISION MAKING PROCESS (Attendance in UC monthly meetings) **	few	% within Attendance	75.0%	25.0%	.0%	4
	mostly	% within Attendance	29%	42%	29%	7
	All	% within Attendance	17%	33%	50.0%	6
Total		Count	6	6	5	17
		% within Attendance	35%	35%	30%	100.0%

** significance level is 0.05

The above Table shows that about one fourth has attended few meetings and have also low level of influence. About two-fifth of the Councilors in this UC have attended most of the meetings. Among them almost 30% each have low and high levels of influence and slightly less than half have medium. Again more than one-third of the Councilors have attended all the meetings. Among them half have high level of influence, while one sixth have low and one third have medium levels of influence.

The analyses here indicate a positive relationship between attendance and influence level. The level of influence has risen with the rise in level of attendance.

The statistical output indicates a significant difference and endorses positive trend between Councilors attendance and influence level. The higher the attendance level, the higher the level of influence.

Table 9.ii -b: Union Council 2

The Relationship of Councilors Attendance in UC with Councilors Level of Influence in Decision Making

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
COUNCILLOR ROLE IN DECISION MAKING PROCESS (Attendance in UC monthly meetings)	mostly	% within Attendance	40.0%	20.0%	40.0%	5
	All	% within Attendance	33%	45%	22%	9
Total		Count	5	5	4	14
		% within r Attendance	35%	35%	30%	100.0%

The above Table of UC-2 shows that slightly more than one-third of the Councilors in this UC have attended most of the meetings. Among them 40% each have low and high while 20% have medium levels of influence.

The rest two-third has attended all meetings. Among them the Councilors on the high influence level are less than those on the low influence level. One third of them have low and more than one third have medium levels of influence, while less than one third have high level of influence.

The results show that the high percentage of attendance in meetings does not enhance the Councilors influence in decision making. Most of the Councilors in this UC attended all the meetings but they do not have proportionately higher influence in the decisions. This shows that either they are the show pieces or they act, as observed according to desire of the Nazim or Naib Nazim.

The test statistic in this case does not indicate a significant difference. It means that there is no direct relationship between the level of Councilors attendance and influence levels.

iii. USE OF DECISION MAKING POWER:

The system has given decision making powers to the Councilors. Information was obtained about how often the Councilors used their decision making power. The Councilors’ own opinion was sought about the level of using their decision making power. This has been analyzed with the peer assessment about Councilors influence in decision making. For analyses purpose the use of decision making is divided into four levels, from never, few times, sometimes, and many times.

The following Tables analyze the linkage between the two variables.

Table 9.iii -a: Union Council 1

The Relationship of Councilors Use of Decision Making Power with Councilors Level of Influence in Decision Making

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
COUNCILOR ROLE IN DECISION MAKING PROCESS (Use of Decision Making Power in the UC) *	never	% within Decision Making	100.0%	.0%	.0%	1
	few times	% within Decision Making	33%	67%	.0%	3
	sometimes	% within Decision Making	50.0%	50.0%	.0%	6
	many times	% within Decision Making	14%	14%	72%	7
Total		Count	6	6	5	17
		% within Decision Making	35%	35%	30%	100.0%

The above Table shows that most of the Councilors have influence equals to their level of participation in the decision making. One of the Councilor has never participated in the decision making; his peers have assessed his level of influence low. Almost one fifth have participated few times in the decision making. Of them one third have low while two-third medium levels of influence while none have high level of influence.

Similarly less than two fifth have participated sometimes in the decision making. They are equally divided between those having low and medium level of influence.

Of those having used their decision making power many times, two-fifth have high level while 14 % among them have low while 14% each have low and medium of levels of influence according to their peers. However the percentage of those with high influence is much higher, almost 72 % of them are assessed for high level of influence.

The results show a positive relationship between using the decision making power and having (possessing) the decision making power. Those who are assessed as influential do use their decision making power.

The test statistic shows a significant difference trend. The Councilors using their decision making power are perceived to have the influence to do so.

Table 9.iii -b: Union Council 2

The Relationship of Councilors Use of Decision Making Power with Councilors Level of Influence in Decision Making

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
COUNCILLOR ROLE IN DECISION MAKING PROCESS (Use of Decision Making Power in the UC)	few times	% within Decision Making	50.0%	50.0%	.0%	2
	sometimes	% within Decision Making	50.0%	50.0%	.0%	2
	many times	% within Decision Making	30.0%	30.0%	40.0%	10
Total		Count	5	5	4	14
		% within Decision Making	35.7%	35.7%	28.6%	100.0 %

The above Table shows that more than one fourth of the Councilors have participated few times and some times in the decision making. Among them half have low and half have medium levels of influence. The results are showing a positive relationship between using decision making power less often and having lower influence level.

Of the rest less than three-fourth, having used their decision making power many times, only two-fifth have high level of influence, and the percentage of highly influential is

more than each of other two levels of influence. In this case the results do not show any significant difference.

The results indicate that there are Councilors who have used their decision making power many times but they have low level of influence according to their peer Councilors assessment. During the data collection almost all Women Councilors, except one, and some of the male Councilors, with low socioeconomic and political profiles, complained that they did participate but none of their decisions or proposals were accepted except for very few and that too very rare. It was also observed that if the Nazim was pleased with them and they agreed with him in his proposals and remained on his side only then he supported them and approved their proposals. Only one women Councilor, who has high influence and high socioeconomic status with very strong political background (study data collected on Profiles of Councilors), said she participates and her decisions are accepted by the large majority.

The test statistic does not show significant difference. The two attributes are independent- The Councilor use of decision making power and influence levels.

iv. COUNCILORS OPINION ABOUT THEIR INFLUENCE:

Councilor's own opinion about their own influence level was also inquired with the purpose to find the relationship between their own opinions and that of their peers about their influence. Their influence was asked for four levels, i.e. not at all, little, moderate and a lot for the analyses purpose.

The following Tables analyze the results of both UC 1 and UC 2.

Table 9.iv-a: Union Council 1

The relationship of Councilors own opinion about their Influence with their Influence assessed by the peer councilors

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
COUNCILOR ROLE IN DECISION MAKING PROCESS (Councilors own view about their Influence in the Decision Making Process in the UC) *	Not at all	% within opinion	100.0%	.0%	.0%	1
	Little	% within opinion	100.0%	.0%	.0%	1
	Moderate	% within opinion	60.0%	20.0%	20.0%	5
	A lot	% within opinion	10.0%	50.0%	40.0%	10
Total		Count	6	6	5	17
		% within opinion	35%	35%	30%	100.0%

* significance level is 0.01

The above Table shows that those who say, they do not have any influence or little influence. Their peer Councilors also agree with that. One Councilor observed to have influence and another having little influence are assessed to have low influence level by the peer Councilors.

More than one fourth has moderate influence in their own opinion, while 60% of them have been assessed for low and 20 % each for medium and high levels of influence by their peers.

About three fourth of the Councilors claim to have a lot of influence in the decision making in their opinion, but only two-fifth of them have high influence in their peers opinion. However of the remaining 60%, 50% have medium and 10 % low levels of influence in opinion of their peers.

This shows that some Councilors seem to have over estimated and some under estimated their influence levels except for some. In spite of such cases the results indicate a positive relationship between the Councilor's own opinion and of the peer Councilors opinions about the influence level.

The test statistic indicates positive trend between the two variables. This shows that most of the Councilors have correct opinion about their own influence level as adjudged by their peer Councilors.

Table 9.iv-b: Union Council 2

The relationship of Councilors own opinion about their Influence with their Influence assessed by the peer councilors

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
COUNCILOR ROLE IN DECISION MAKING PROCESS (Councilor own view about his Influence in the Decision Making Process in the UC)	Not at all	% within opinion	100.0%	.0%	.0%	2
	Moderate	% within opinion	.0%	100.0%	.0%	3
	A lot	% within opinion	33%	22%	45%	9
Total		Count	5	5	4	14
		% within opinion	35%	35%	30%	100.0%

The above Table analyzes data pertaining to councilors of UC 2. One out of seven councilors observes to have no influence at all and so do their peers assess them for low influence. Similarly less than one fourth have moderate influence in their opinion and their peers have also assessed them for medium level of influence. In these cases the relation ship is positive between the two opinions.

More than half have a lot of influence in their opinion but their peer Councilors have assessed 33% of them for low, and 22% for medium while only 44% for high levels of influence. The analyses do not reveal positive association between the two opinions.

The test statistic does not reveal a positive association between both the opinions – the Councilors own opinion and their peers’ opinion about their influence in decision making process.

v. REASONS FOR THE INFLUENCE:

The scholars following the Elite school of thought have given their reasons for calling few individuals in the community as Elites. The scholars who used Positional method to find Elites has concluded that those holding formal and powerful positions in the organization have the influence and power in community and have called them the Elites. Hunter and his followers used Reputational technique to find Elites in the Community. They found that those who are better off economically (the Economic Elites), have wealth, social status, better education, skills and expertise have influence in the community affairs and decision making. (Keynes and Ricci, 1970: 155-165).

The political scientists used decisional approach to find Elites in the community. Robert Presthus in his book “Men at the Top”, found the Political Elites as individuals with high political status and political positions and also the social status. He also found Economic Elites who have wealth and, other resources to influence the decision making. Further he has found Specialist Elites which are influential because of their education, knowledge and philanthropic works. (Presthus, 1964: 92-136).

The reasons given by the scholars are taken to conduct my study of finding influential among the Councilors in UC. This question is inquired in order to see what Councilors think about the reasons for their influence in comparison to what scholars have found. Further to find the relation ship of their reasons with their influence level.

For the purpose of analyses the reasons were defined to the Councilors in the Questionnaire to select among them. The reasons defined to them are Political, Socio-Economic, Socio-Cultural, Education and Knowledge of System. All the variables were also explained to them during the interview, so those who are illiterate or do not understand English could choose and explain the reasons easily.

The following Tables analyses the results of both UCs about their opinion and the peer Councilors opinions.

Table 9.v -a: Union Council 1

The Relationship of Councilors Opinion about the Reasons for their Influence with their Influence assessed by the peer Councilors

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
COUNCILOR ROLE IN DECISION MAKING PROCESS (Councilors own views about the Reasons for their Influence in Decision Making Process in the UC) *	Socio-Cultural /Poverty	% within Reasons	100.0%	.0%	.0%	4
	Educated/ System know-how	% within Reasons	.0%	100.0%	.0%	1
	Socio-Economic	% within Reasons	25.0%	75.0%	.0%	4
	Educated/ Socio-Economic/ System know-how	% within Reasons	.0%	.0%	100.0%	1
	Political/ Socio-Economic	% within Reasons	14%	29%	57%	7
Total		Count	6	6	5	17
		% within Reasons	35%	35%	30%	100.0 %

* significance level is 0.01

The above Table shows that one fourth of the 17 councilors view themselves poor and are elected as Councilors because of their Socio-Cultural aspects, and about their influence level some observe to have little or moderate (as explained in previous section of Councilors opinion about their influence) but their peer Councilors have rated them for low influence. Only one Councilor states to have medium level of influence in his opinion because of his high education and his knowledge of the LG system. Almost one fourth think they have influence because of their social and economic status. But among them one fourth (25%) has low while three fourth (75%) have medium level of influence according to their peer Councilors. The results in this case show that either the Councilors Socio-economic status is not that strong to give them the influence or they are the passive influential. They do not want to show off their influence in the decision making, just stay passive and do not come out in the front like the “inactive influential” (Presthus, 1964: 125). Again only one Councilor has influence in decision making because of high education, knowledge and better socio-economic status. The peers have also assessed his high influence level high in decision making process.

Almost two fifth of the Councilors have influence in their opinion because of their better socio-economic and political status. But not all of them have high influence according to their peer Councilors. Of them 57% have high influence who are much more then 14% of low and 29% of medium level of influence put together. This 29% of Councilors have in their opinion a lot of influence because of their political and socio-economic status but they have participated very few times in decision making (profile of Councilors and data from the previous Tables). They may be called “inactive influential”, which could be the reason peer Councilors think they don’t have influence in Decision making.

Despite some exceptions the results show a positive association between high level of influence and influence because of better socio-economic and political status. The test statistic indicates a high positive association between the attributes. The level of influence is dependent on socio-cultural, socio-economic and political factors. The better the socio-economic and political status the higher is the influence in decision making.

Table 9.v-b: Union Council 2

The Relationship of Councilors Opinion about the Reasons for their Influence with their Influence assessed by the peer Councilors

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
COUNCILOR ROLE IN DECISION MAKING PROCESS (Councilors own views about the Reasons for the Influence in Decision Making Process in the UC) *	poverty	% within Reasons	100.0%	.0%	.0%	1
	Socio-Cultural	% within Reasons	67%	33%	.0%	3
	Political/ Socio-Cultural	% within Reasons	67%	33%	.0%	3
	Socio-Economic/ Educated/ Socio-Cultural	% within Reasons	.0%	67%	33%	3
	Political/ Socio-Economic	% within Reasons	.0%	25.0%	75.0%	4
Total		Count	5	5	4	14
		% within Reasons	35%	35%	30%	100.0%

* significance level is 0.01

The above Table analyses the results of 14 Councilors of UC 2. Among them only one councilor, a Woman, thinks she is poor and has no influence. Her peer Councilors has also rated her for low influence.

Almost one-fourth (3) have ascribed their influence to socio-cultural aspects. They consist of 67% and 33% who have low and medium influence levels respectively. Of the low influence level Councilors, one thinks he has no other influence while the other attributes a lot of influence to his socio cultural status.

Similarly one-fourth thinks the reasons for their influence include their political status and socio-cultural aspects. Among them two third (67%) have low while one third have moderate levels of influence. This shows that these reasons are not very strong to give them high level of influence in decision making, rather they have participated in the decision making many times.

One-fourth of the Councilors think they have influence because of their better education, socio-economic and socio-cultural aspects. Among these Councilors two third have moderate while one third have high levels of influence. The peers rated the Councilors, with socio-cultural aspects alone or with political status, for low and moderate levels of influence; while they rated the councilors, with socio-cultural aspects in combination with socio-economic and education factors, for moderate and high levels of influence. The results indicate that socio-cultural factors alone are not strong enough to give high level of influence but only in combination with economic factors.

More than one fourth of the Councilors have influence because of their socio-economic and political status. Among them three-fourth (75%) have high while only one-fourth (25%) moderate level of influence.

The results show a positive relationship between influence level and socio-economic and political status. The test statistic high light strongly a positive association between the attributes-that high influence level depends on better education, better socio-economic and political status.

The results of 31 Councilors of both UCs reveal the fact that those who have high influence have high socio-economic and political status. Some have moderate influence

because of education and cultural factors as well. Thus the reasons for the influence of Councilors match with the variables found by Elite school of thought for influential.

vi. FUNDS RECEIVED BY THE COUNCILORS

Information on allocation of funds, and their utilization, to the councilors was collected to assess their effects on Councilors working- the level of their influence. It include information on amount of funds received and utilized, the sources etc. Most of them received funds from the UC while few in conflicts with the Nazim, received from Town Council. Funds received were utilized on street lights, street pavements and street drains.¹⁰

Only the amount of funds received by the Councilors for his community has been included for analyses purpose. The amounts of funds are grouped into four levels for analyses purpose. The levels are:

- i. None: those who didn't receive any fund
- ii. Low: up to 50000 Rs.
- iii. Medium: 51000 – 100000 Rs.
- iv. High: above 100000 Rs.

The following Tables analyses the results of both UCs.

¹⁰ The funds are allocated to the Councilor, if his proposal is approved by the majority; the check is signed by Nazim and the Secretary of the UC. The amounts are not directly given to the Councilors, rather are allocated for his community and are utilized under the supervision of UC administration.

Table 9.vi-a: Union Council 1

The Relationship of Councilors Level of Funds Received with Councilors Level of Influence in Decision Making

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
LEVEL OF FUNDS RECEIVED BY THE COUNCILORS *	none	% within Level of Funds	50.0%	50.0%	.0%	6
	low	% within Level of Funds	75.0%	25.0%	.0%	4
	medium	% within Level of Funds	.0%	100.0%	.0%	1
	high	% within Level of Funds	.0%	17%	83%	6
Total		Count	6	6	5	17
		% within Level of Funds	35%	35%	30%	100.0%

* significance level is 0.01

The above Table shows that less than two fifth of 17 Councilors has not received any funds, and half each of them have low medium levels of influence. Almost one fourth have received low level of funds and three-fourth of them have low while one-fourth medium levels of influence. Only one Councilor has received medium level of funds and he has medium level of influence.

Almost two-fifth has received high level of funds. Of them more than four-fifth (83%) has high level of influence while rest less than one fourth (17%) have medium level of influence. No Councilor with high influence has received low level or medium level of funds.

The test statistics highlight a strong positive association between level of funds and level of influence of the Councilors. The results show positive relationship between level of funds and level of influence

Table 9.vi -b: Union Council 2

The Relationship of Councilors Level of Funds Received with Councilors Level of Influence in Decision Making

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
LEVEL OF FUNDS RECEIVED BY THE COUNCILOR **	None	% within Level of Funds	60.0%	40.0%	.0%	5
	Low	% within Level of Funds	50.0%	50.0%	.0%	2
	Medium	% within Level of Funds	.0%	50.0%	50.0%	2
	High	% within Level of Funds	20.0%	20.0%	60.0%	5
Total		Count	5	5	4	14
		% within Level of Funds	35%	35%	30%	100.0%

** significance level is 0.05

The above Table shows that more than one-third of the 14 Councilors have not received any funds. Of them three-fifth (60%) have low while two fifth (40%) have medium levels of influence. Two of the Councilors have received low level of funds and half each of them have low medium levels of influence. Similarly two Councilors have received medium level of funds and half each of them have medium high levels of influence.

More than one-third have received high level of funds and three fifth (60%) of them have high level of influence and one-fifth each low and medium levels of influence even their combined percentage is much lower than the high influence level.

The statistic also indicates a positive trend between high level of funds and high level of influence. The results indicate that with the rise in level of funds there is a rise in influence level as well. Both variables have positive relationship among them.

The analyses of both UCs give same results. Both indicate that those who have high influence have received high level of funds for their schemes and proposals.

vii. ROLE OF PATRIARCAL CULTURE:

The culture of Peshawar district is patriarchal. This is practiced every where, in homes and out side homes. Men are influential at homes and in the work places. Women at homes do not make decisions rather follow the decisions made by men of the family. But with the time, education and media exposure the trend has started changing. More and more parents are now willing to send their daughters for better education. Many have accepted the role of working women. Many women now are working in different public sector and private sector organizations. However in the rural areas the conditions of women are still bad, except for few villages which are near to urban areas. Though in urban areas the situation has changed still very few women are on top and influential positions, and most are on medium or lower level positions and odd occupations. They are still facing the male dominance in the organization culture. Some are victims of this patriarchal thinking and culture which has forced them to leave working career as well. Although some have struggled to achieve a level of high power but, even at that level they face the male dominance. They are abused, insulted and sometimes sexually harassed by the male chauvinism. Most of them suffer, and complain about, the back biting against them by male counterparts. This is the main reason that most of the educated women are related to educational sector and are employed and prefers to be employed in female schools and colleges, while most of them have chosen not to work after finishing the education. These are the reasons for women low literacy rate and low employment rate especially in rural areas.

Most of the studies on Elites have also found that most of the influential found in community are men, except in few cases. Robert Presthus has identified a category of Specialists Elites in his study, in which he found few women influential in decisions because of their educational background and philanthropic activities. (ibid: 125-127).

This variable is included in the study in order to find that whether the decision making power given to Women Councilors is practiced in reality or not. Whether they are given their equal share in decision making or they face the patriarchal values of the culture.

For the purpose of analyses the results are grouped into three levels: less, moderate and more, pressure of patriarchal culture. Although the question was posed to Councilors, but only Women Councilors agreed with it and almost all male Councilors differed. The male councilors argued that the 33% quota of seats in LG councils, equal role and power in decision making process, and high level participation in women sector activities are indications that there was no pressure of patriarchal culture on women Councilors decision.

The following Tables analyses the results taken from Women Councilors only against the Male Councilors argument.

Table 9.vii -a: Union Council 1

The Relationship of Patriarchal Culture with Women Councilor’s Level of Influence in Decision Making

			PEER ASSESSMENT		Total
			1 LOW	3 HIGH	
COUNCILOR ROLE IN DECISION MAKING PROCESS (Pressure of Patriarchal Culture on Decisions)	More	% within Patriarchal Culture	83%	17%	6
Total		Count	5	1	6
		% within Patriarchal Culture	83%	17%	100.0%

The above Table shows that of all the six Women Councilors of UC-1, who thought to have more pressure of Patriarchal Culture in decision making five have low level of influence while only one Women Councilor high influence in decision making.

The results indicate that more the pressure of patriarchal culture less is the influence level in decision making by Women Councilors.

Table 9.vii-b: Union Council 2

The Relationship of Patriarchal with Women Councilor’s Level of Influence in Decision Making

			PEER ASSESMENT		Total
			1 LOW	3 HIGH	
COUNCILLOR ROLE IN DECISION MAKING PROCESS (Pressure of Patriarchal Culture on Decisions)	more	Count	1	1	2
		% within Patriarchal Culture	50.0%	50.0%	2
Total		Count	1	1	2
		% within Patriarchal Culture	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%

In the UC 2 only two Women Councilors were available for interview. Both of them have selected more pressure of Patriarchal Culture in decision making. Among them one has low while one has high level of influence. Though the difference is not significant still the Women Councilors of both influence levels feel the same effect. According to them they are facing male dominance in UC functions and decision making.

The results of both UCs show that no matter what their peer Councilors assess, the Women Councilors confirm that there is male dominance in the UC decision. Though the Women Councilors have tried to come up on the top in decision making, they are still but halted by the cultural values and traditions.

The role of gender, age, education, culture, socio-economic status, political status and leadership abilities of 31 Councilors are analyzed in comparison with their influence level in decision making process of UC. Their role in decision making process and their own opinions about their use of decision making and influence level are also compared with the opinions of their peer Councilors. The analyses show that few have influence because of their resources and reputation. (some of the exceptional cases are discussed in conclusions of the study).

PART B

6.2: FAMILY ASPECTS OF THE COUNCILORS:

Families play very important role in lives of the people. They are the first environment for them to grow and this is the first schooling of them. A family contributes to a person's socio-cultural, socio-economic and political background.

Many scholars both political scientist and sociologists have found in their community power studies that those who have power mostly belong to the families with high and stable socio-economic and political status. Some have other factors beside this for power in community, like the specialist Elites have power because of their education and their welfare activities.

This section of the study discusses the family aspects of Councilors. This variable has included because of the importance of family characteristics in contributing to the influence or power in community. The variables inquired and discussed according to this aspect were many (Annexure I) but for the analyses purpose some of them are discussed. Those which are discussed here are the size and system of the Councilor's family, and the income group and political affiliation of their families.

6.2.1: FAMILY SIZE OF THE COUNCILOR:

Family size means the number of people each family has. Although this factor of family is not discussed in the studies of scholars, but in order to find its relation ship if any with influence level of Councilors, I have included in my study. Another reason to have this variable is because in Pakistan mostly families are big except for some small or medium size families which are because of introduction of family planning programs in Pakistan. Otherwise the tradition is to have many children, and have big families.

For the purpose of analyses family sizes are divided in to three groups, i.e.

- Small Family: 2-4 members,
- Medium Family: 5-8 members,
- Big Family: more than 8 members.

The small family size is taken from the family planning program, and rest are based on the opinions of Community people.

The tables 1-a; for UC 1, and 1-b; for UC 2 analyze the results. (Annexure V)

The Table shows that more than half have big families, but the influence levels are equally divided among them, i.e. each influence level has 33% of councilors from big families. In case of medium size families, two fifth of the Councilors have medium size families, and among them almost half have low while rest of half have medium and high level of influence. Only one Councilor belongs to a small family and has medium level of influence.

The results do not indicate a positive relationship between size of the family and level of influence. The statistics shows a negative trend. Both variables are independent of each other.

The table 1-b for UC 2, shows that 80% of the councilors have big families. Among them there is no significant difference in influence level. More than one fourth of them have low, while two fifth have medium and one fourth have high level of influence. The rest 20% have medium size families, and half have low while half have high level of influence. There is no one with small size family in this UC.

The results are not indicating a direct relation ship of family size with the influence level. The statistics shows that the trend is negative. The results do not have any significant difference.

Both the UCs results shows that two third of the Councilors belong to big families, and very few to small families. But there is no significant difference in the results which could indicate a dependence of influence level on the family size.

6.2.2: FAMILY SYSTEM:

Family system refers to the composition of the family members. Two family systems are taken for the study, Nuclear and Joint families.

Nuclear Family means only one family, i.e. husband, wife and their children.

Joint family system is the one where parents lives with their married children, who further have their families i.e. wife and children as well, living in the same place. Also it can be where few families of same blood relation live together and share their resources with each other.

In Pakistan most of the families live in a joint family system. The variable is included in the study to find the role of this factor in the influence level of the Councilors. Except for few sociologists who have included this factor in their study of Elites, other scholars of Elite school have not given importance to this aspect of family.

The tables 2-a; for UC 1, and 2-b; for UC 2, analyses the results for the Councilors family systems. (Annexure V).

The table 2-a for UC 1, shows that less than half of the Councilors have joint family system. Among them more are on the higher levels of influence, i.e. half have medium while two fifth have high level of influence. While only one Councilor has low level of influence. Almost more than half of the Councilors have Nuclear family system. Among them more have low level of influence, i.e. more than half (56%) have low while rest half have (22%) medium and (22%) high level of influence.

The results show that more Councilors in this UC have nuclear family system but more of the Councilors on higher levels of influence are from joint family system. The statistics do not show a positive relationship between family system and influence level.

The Table 2-b, shows that two third of the Councilors in UC 2 have joint family system. Though the number of Councilors is much bigger in this system of family but only almost one fourth of them have high level of influence. The rest one fourth have low while half have medium level of influence. One third of the Councilors have Nuclear family system. Among them two third (67%) have low while one third (33%) have high influence.

The results are not showing any significant difference among three levels of influence which can indicate a positive relationship between family system and influence level. The statistics do not indicate a positive trend. The results show that both Variables are independent of each other.

The results of both UCs indicate that influence level is not depended on the family system of Councilors.

6.2.3: INCOME GROUPS OF THE COUNCILOR'S FAMILY:

The councilor's family income group is analyzed in order to know the socio economic status of the councilors. As apart from the incomes of the councilors the income of their family members also matters, in a sense that shows from which income group the whole family belongs. By family it means that the most of family members have one source of income and have one same occupation or the income of the person or persons in a family on whom the whole family relies.

The Tables 3-a, and 3-b, shows the analyses of the relationship between family economic conditions and influence.

Table 3-a: Union Council 1

The Relationship of family Income Group with Councilor’s Level of Influence in Decision Making

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS (Income group of the Councilor’s family) *	No Income	% within Income group of the Councilor’s family	.0%	100.0%	.0%	1
	<i>LOWER MIDDLE</i>	% within Income group of the Councilor’s family	100.0%	.0%	.0%	1
	<i>UPPER MIDDLE</i>	% within Income group of the Councilor’s family	100.0%	.0%	.0%	3
	<i>UPPER</i>	% within Income group of the Councilor’s family	16%	42%	42%	12
Total		Count	6	6	5	17
		% within Income group of the Councilor’s family	35%	35%	30%	100.0%

* significance level is 0.01

The Table states that there is no councilor from the lower income family. The majority i.e. three fourth of the councilors in this UC belongs to the Upper Income class families. Among them almost half have high level of influence and almost half have medium level of influence in the decision making. While the rest of the councilors have low level of influence and they belong to the no income, lower middle and upper middle income families.

The table indicates the trend of high influence with the high income. The councilors having dominant role in decision making belongs to the financially viable families.

The statistics shows a significant difference, thus indicates a direct and positive relationship between Councilor’s family economic status and Councilor’s influence level.

Table 3-b: Union Council 2

The Relationship of family Income Group with Councilor’s Level of Influence in Decision Making

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS (Income group of the Councilor’s family) *	UPPER	% within Income group of the Councilor’s family	67%	33%	.0%	6
	MIDDLE	% within Income group of the Councilor’s family	12%	38%	50.0%	8
Total		Count	5	5	4	14
		% within Income group of the Councilor’s family	35%	35%	30%	100.0%

* significance level is 0.01

The table states that no councilor in this UC belongs to lower and lower middle income families. The majority i.e. three fifth of the councilors are from the Upper income and rest are from the Upper middle Income families. The majority of the councilors of Upper Income families have high level of influence, while the majority of the councilors from Upper middle income families have low level of influence.

The statistics shows a significant difference. The Councilors with high influence belongs to the families of high socio-economic status.

Both the UCs shows positive and direct relationship between the economic conditions of the councilor’s family and influence levels. The trend in both the UCs indicates that the rise in the income level of the families of the councilors gives them a dominant role in decision making process of the UC. Also the studies of influentials also found that there are certain families with high socio-economic status, who have influence in decision making or are powerful in the community. However some studies also found that there are families who have influence, but remains at the back, and do not make use of their influence in decision making. In analyses we also found some families have low

influence despite their upper income group. We can assume here that these families either do not use their influence or there are some other factors for their low level of influence.

6.2.4: COUNCILOR'S FAMILY LEVEL OF POLITICAL AFFILIATION:

Apart from the councilor level of political affiliation their family political affiliation has been asked as well. The reason is to know further affiliation of the councilor, as most of them have come from politically active families. Their families are strongly involved in politics. The family affiliation could be the reason for having high level of influence without being involved personally with political parties.

The following six levels state their political affiliations:

- No political affiliation
- Only well wisher of the political party
- Enrolled /active members of the party
- Elected office bearer/party assignments of the political party
- MPA/ MNA/ Senator
- More than one political affiliation

The Tables 4-a; for UC 1, and 4-b; for UC 2 shows analyses of their political affiliations. (Annexure V).

The table 4-a for UC 1, states that one third of the councilor's families are not involved in any political party. Among them half have low while one fourth have medium and one fourth have high level of influence.

The majority i.e. two third of the councilor's families are strongly affiliated to their political parties. Among them most are either enrolled /active members or elected office bearers. Few of them are either MPA/MNA/Senator or are having more than one affiliation with the political party. The majority in them i.e. three fourth have medium and high level of influence while one fourth have low level of influence.

The table indicates that majority of the councilors playing influential role in the decision making are from politically strong and active families. Their families have strong political relations with their political parties.

The statistics do not show a significant difference. Though the majority of the Councilors having high influence have strong politically affiliated families but there are few who have influence but no or very less attachment to political activities by their families. The trend is negative here due to no significant difference. However we can say here that majority of Councilors assessed for high influence belong to strong political families.

The table 4-b, states that the families of the councilors in UC 2, are having only three levels of political relations with their political parties. Almost two fifth or the 40% of the councilor's families have weak relations with the politics. They are either not related or are only the well wishers of the political party. Almost all of these councilors have either low or medium level of influence except for one councilor with high influence in the decision making. The rest 60 % of the councilor's families are strongly related to their political parties. They are enrolled or active workers of their parties. Majority of them have high and medium levels of influence.

The table shows the trend of strong the politically affiliation of the families of the councilors, more will be the influence in decision making. The statistics do not show a significant difference. The trend here is negative, but we can say here that majority of high influential councilors belong to politically active families.

Both Union Councils with slight variations are showing the same results. The majority of Councilors playing dominant role in decision making are from strong political background families. The relationship between influence level and family's political affiliations is weak here, because there are few Councilors with high influence but less or no political activities by their families, and few belong to a strong political status families but have low influence. Thus the results proves here that those of high influence have political influence and those who do not have influence despite the political support, or have the influence despite no political support have other reasons for this.

The family cultural, economical and political aspects show that the family size and system do not play a significant role in influence level. The major role is played by the family socio-economic status and political status. The analyses proved that more of the high influences Councilors belong to high socio-economic and political status families. Their families are playing active role in their influence level.

(There are some exceptions as well, which are discussed in conclusions of the study).

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

This section concludes the whole study, from the research objective and questions to the analysis of the findings.

Pakistan Being one of the South Asian countries is convicted of highly centralized political decision making, ruling elite and bureaucratic power structure. The same has been observed by many studies of Local Government systems in Pakistan from time to time. However, each successive local government system in Pakistan tried to bring power at lower level and participation of masses in the system. The current local government system 2000, promises to empower the lower level masses, and to solve the problems of the people by the people. In spite of this, the critics have charged the system for bringing high level of elite empowerment. The issue is whether the government has failed to materialize their promises, or the ruling elites of the country have other ways to enter the system, or the critics are just charging the government for their political interest.

The whole issue inspired me to conduct a study to discover the people holding the Councilor positions and power in the current Local Government system. The objective of the study was to explore the background of the Councilors, their influence in the decision making and the relation of their background with their influence or power level in the decision making of the council. The study encompasses two Union Councils of the Peshawar district- one UC was from the center of the Peshawar City and is totally urban, whereas the other is from the periphery of the city, comprising of both urban and rural areas including small planned and unplanned towns.

The main question of the study is; ‘Who and What background of Union Councilors have influence in the decision making of UC?’. The theoretical perspectives discussed the

meaning of influence and power used by elite and pluralist schools of thoughts. Further the analytical discussion of elite theory and the positional, reputational and decisional methods applied to discover elites, and their influence in the community helps us to understand the factors and people involved in the community power structure. The scholarly perspectives reveal that the elites rule, because of their position, reputation, high economic and political status, education, skills and expertise. Thus the same are taken as independent variables while the influence level in decision making as dependant variable. The main hypothesis based on the scholarly perspective is the Councilor's gender, demographic, socio-cultural, socio-economic, political and knowledge (expertise) matter for their influence level in the decision making of UC.

To operationalize the study a mixed method approach, comprised of both qualitative and quantitative tools was used. The quantitative part was a survey guided study, based on closed ended questionnaire, filled by 31 respondents from the sample size of 41 male and female Councilors (General, Labor/Peasant, Minority), including Nazims and Naib Nazims of both UCs. The qualitative part was a case study strategy using both structured and semi-structured interview guides. Apart from the Councilors some of the administrative staff of local government was interviewed. The independent variables of the study were found through quantitative tools, while the influence level of the Councilors in decision making was found by applying reputational technique. Each of the Councilor was asked to assess the other entire peer Councilors for their influence in decision making in their respective UCs. Later on for analysis purpose the whole data was interpreted using computerized statistical software SPSS, into cross tabulations, percentages and significance test.

Brief overview for the orientation of the local government systems in Pakistan is also discussed. The profiles of the Peshawar district and both UCs of the study with the emphasis of their demographic, socio-economic, cultural and political backgrounds are described to provide the background picture of the communities from where the Councilors belong.

The analytical section discusses the results in two parts, related to Councilors and their family demographic, cultural, economic and political backgrounds.

7.1: FINDINGS OF THE STUDY:

The discussion here concludes the quantitative analysis with the views and stories of Councilors related to their influence level and their attributes (independent variables of the study). The results of positions analysis are taken here as a base to link the gender, cultural, economical political aspects of Councilors with their influence levels, and to explain the reasons for that taken from the interviews with the Councilors. The emphasis is here on the exceptional cases showed up in the quantitative analyses. The information is taken here for discussion directly from the Councilors profile (collected during field work) and quantitative analysis.

7.1.1: HIGHLY INFLUENTIAL:

Few (9) Councilors scored high influence level in the peer assessment i.e. slightly one third of the total 31 Councilors. Among them all but one is from three top positions i.e. Nazims, one Naib Nazim and five General Councilors. The remaining one Councilor is from Labor/ peasant Group.

They are all male except for two Women General Councilors, each from one UC. Both of them are highly educated and belong to the younger (young and medium) age groups. Both of them and their families belong to upper income groups. One of them is not herself affiliated to any political party, but she belongs to politically active family. She is socially very active as she runs a private NGO for the welfare of women in her community. The second General Councilor by occupation is a politician and herself holds an important position in her political party, and she also belongs to a politically strong family. Both have good knowledge of their tasks in UC. Apart from this she runs a medium level business of her own as well. Both have good knowledge of their functions in UC. Though both have high influence, but they still have to fight for their rights in the UC. Despite of their influence in decision making they feel victims of patriarchal culture,

and male dominance in the UC. One of them said “she has to fight many times with the male Councilors and even with Nazim on some issues”. The reason for their influence level can be their socio-economic and political status as both of them herself think the same, as told by one “we are economically better and are from known families of the community otherwise the male councilors will not listen to us as well, and we will be the show pieces or inactive members of the Councils just like other Women Councilors. This male chauvinistic attitude of male Councilors has stopped many Women Councilors from coming to the UC meetings, and most of them are stopped by their families because of insulting behavior of their male counterparts in the UC”.

The Nazims of both UCs, and Naib Nazim of one while three General Councilors of both UCs are male. Majority of them are of medium age group and two belong to old age group. All of them have medium and high levels of educations. They are from upper income group and all of them have large or medium level businesses and are very influential economically in their communities. All of them have strong political party affiliations as well. Instead all these male influential of UC 1 belong to same political party, and also the Councilors of UC 2 of high influence belong to same party except for one who belong to another political party. The results indicate here coherence among them by belonging to top positions and of same political parties and sharing a high level of influence. The two of the political parties to which Councilors belong are currently ruling the government, while the third one is in opposition. This shows that all of them belong to strong political parties.

The one Labor Councilor, who has high influence as well, is of young age group, has medium level of education, but is having his own medium level business and is economically from high status family. This Councilor belongs to same political to which other Councilors of high influence in his UC belongs. He also is a good friend of Nazim and both belong to same tribe as well. These could be the reasons for his high level of influence in decision making of UC.

The Councilors with high influence are few, all but one has top three positions, majority are male, belong to high socio-economic and political status. The analyses to a large extent prove that the high influence level depends on the factor like socio-economic and political status. Hence fulfills the conditions of Elites found by positional and reputational analysis.

7.1.2: MEDIUM LEVEL OF INFLUENCE:

The Councilors with medium level of influence are 35 % of the total 31 Councilors. Among them one is Naib Nazim of one UC, slightly half are General Councilors and slightly half are Labor Councilors.

In this level of influence few exceptions showed up in quantitative analysis. The first exception is of Naib Nazim of one UC. He is young, educated and of upper income group. He has in his opinion have high influence and have used this influence many times in decision making, but his decisions are not approved by the Council because of his conflicts with Nazim. Due to this he has taken a stay order in court against all schemes passed by Nazim, and this is the reason all the developmental works of this UC are stopped. He in his interview showed me a lot of documents which he is using as prove in the court against Nazim. According to him “Nazim is not sincere to the system and is mal handling all his authority and he will fight against this”. He has made his own group of one General, two Labors and of Minority Councilor. The rest of the members of UC are in the group of Nazim.

Hence we can say here that the reason of his not having high influence is his conflict with more than half of the members of UC, despite his knowledge, education and socio-economic status and above all his position.

The rest medium level of influence is with the Councilors of moderate positions of third and fourth i.e. General and Labor Councilors respectively, but the few exceptions among them are of Councilors with high socio-economic and political status. There are few with

high socio-economic status and also with strong political affiliations but are from the group of Naib Nazim, which explains the reason for the not acceptance of their decisions and the lower assessment by their peer Councilors.

Few of them are of high socio economic status, have family business in the community, and are socially known in their communities for their reputation of economic status. They have used their decision making power few times and have less participation in the meetings as well as decisions. This could be the reason for their lower assessment of influence level by the peer councilors. These few results shows that despite their influence they don't use it publicly and remains inactive, which is similar to the Robert Presthus study of Community Power, where he found some "inactive influential" elites.

7.1.3: LOWER LEVEL OF INFLUENCE:

The Councilors who scored low level of influence are 35% of the total, same as the medium level of influence. Among them slightly half are General Councilors, two fifth are Labor Councilors and rest two are Minority Councilors.

The Minority Councilors of both UCs have lower influence and are also ranked for lower position in the Council by Councilors. One of the Minority Councilor is female and the other is male. Both belong to upper middle income group; the female is politically affiliated as well to a political party. Both are not very active in their UCs, have participated few times in the decision making otherwise remain passive members of the UC. Their low participation and medium socio-economic status could be the reason for their low influence, but the reason for ranking their position the lowest of all could be the religion factor as they are in minority and may be culturally not acceptable by the majority.

Among the five General Councilors with low influence, two of them are Women General Councilor of one UC. Both of them belong to middle income group, are not politically very active as well. Both are working women, and have very little participation in the decision making of UC. One of them is young and belongs to a culturally bounded

family. She told during her interview that she participates in decision making, attends the meetings, but her peer councilors has told that she never has participated in the meetings, rather her husband attended few meetings on her behalf. The other one also does not regularly participates in the meetings and decision making, and remains at the back. These reasons explain their lower level of influence.

Among the two fifth Labor councilors with low influence three fourth are women. Three of them are from lower income and lower middle income group, and also not active politically except one. Two of them are illiterate and of old age group, while one has middle level of education and is of young age group.

All of these women Councilors complain of their low influence, one of the older women Councilors said in her interview that, “we are poor and just entered in the system to work for the poor of their community, but no one listens to us, few of the male Councilors are with us, but those who have influence do not care for most of us. This is the reason that they go for their demands to the Women General Councilor who has influence and ask her to fight for their rights and fulfill demands. We do what the Nazim ask us to do and we make little contribution to the UC. Most of the welfare works in our community are approved by the Woman General Councilor, because she is powerful and can do it”

The younger Labor Councilor has complained directly against one of the influential on top position that she has been insulted, abused and threatened by him and his people. She said “I came on this position because of this person, he asked me to run for the elections, he knows me and my family for long time. Even my family pushed me to do so. This person wanted me so he can have more people of his own in the UC, who can decide in favor of him and his schemes. But when I entered the system, and I saw that this person is mal handling his powers and authorities I went against him with his opposition group. This made him very angry, and he starts threatening me and insulted me by his paid men. Then my family stopped me by participating in the UC and now I do not go to any meeting and do not participate in any decision.” She further said that there are few

Councilors (among General and Labor both) who are paid by this influential person for being with him in his decisions.

The Women Councilors are not economically and politically well, and if they are being a woman they are facing problems in the Council, and most of them cannot approve their decisions because of their low level of influence.

The rest of General Councilors and Labor Councilors with low influence, some either are from low socio-economic and political status and also do not participate in the decision or attends few meetings, but some of upper middle income group and of little political affiliation remains themselves in the back, and do not actively participate in the meetings and decision making. These may explain their low level of influence assessed by their peer councilors.

The 31 Councilors analyzed for their influence level against their socio-cultural, socio-economic, political, gender, age, education and knowledge aspects. Councilors found with high influence have reputation of high economic and political status, they have the position, and most of them belong to one political group and found to have cohesion among them. Some are actively working for their political purposes, showing a characteristic of agents. Few though belong to high economic status and political status but remain inactive in using their influence levels.

The analyses show most of influential are men, and on part of women a lot of discriminations has come up. Apart from women, Minority Councilors are also discriminated by their fellow Councilors.

Each UC has conflicts, and two influentials at first two top positions have made their own separate groups in each council, thus adversely affecting the developmental works of the Council. Further it shows that as most of Elites found in the studies, use their power for their own purposes, the same is practiced here by these top influentials.

All are given power, all tried to use it, but few are assessed to be influential, they are found to have the reputation and resources to influence the decision making process of UC.

7.2: QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS IN A NUT SHELL:

The study analyzed association / relationship of 21 independent variables (attributes) of Councilors on their level of influence (dependent variable) in decision making process of the two Union Councils-University Town and Karimpura. The analysis reveals direct and positive association of 7 variables and no relationship of 7 variables of the Councilors with their level of influence in decision making process of the two union councils. In fact direct and positive relationship exists between 14 attributes of Councilors with their level of influence in decision making process of UC-1 only and 7 in UC2 only. Each of the three type relationship is briefly stated below.

The result and test statistic indicate direct and positive effect of the Councilors 7 attributes, i.e. - their position in UC, education, income (economic status), councilors own and peers reasons for influence level, family income (economic status), allocation of funds and patriarchal culture (male dominance), on the Councilors influence level in the decision making process of both Union Councils. In other words, the councilors influence level depends on the Councilors level of the attributes-the Councilors influence level if high when the Councilors

- Position is high in UC,
- Education level is high,
- Income (economic status) is high,
- Family income (economic status) is high,
- High patriarchal culture (male dominance), and;
- Relationship is positive and direct between high levels of influence with high level of funds allocation to their communities.

- uniformity level between Councilor's own reasons and his peers reasons about Councilors influence level is high,

The output and test statistics do now show direct and positive effect of Councilors 7 attributes-age, citizenship (bonafide and migrant), mother tongue, level of political affiliation, and family political affiliation, family size and system, on Councilors influence level in decision making process of the two UCs. In other words, the Councilors influence is independent of their above 7 attributes. The Councilors influence level in decision making has not varied with the Councilors

- Age group: young, middle or old,
- Mother tongue: Pukhto or Hindko,
- Citizenship: bonafide or migrant,
- Level of political affiliation, and families' political affiliation,
- Family size and system.

The analyses and test statistics indicate direct and positive effect of Councilor's 7, attributes- gender, majority affiliation with same political party, leadership roles, knowledge of role (functions, responsibilities, authorities, and decision making power), attendance in meetings, use of decision making power, and conformity between his own and peers assessment of influence levels on the Councilors level of influence in decision making process of University Town UC only. In other words, the Councilors influence level depends on the Councilors level of attributes- the Councilors influence level is high when the Councilors;

- Gender is male,
- Play greater number of leadership roles,
- Majority affiliation with same political party,
- Possess good knowledge of their functions, responsibilities, authorities and decision making power,
- Attend greater number of meetings,

- Make more frequent use of decision power, and
- Have greater conformity between their own assessment and their peers assessment of Councilors influence level.

The findings of both UCs have variations; UC 1 gives more positive and significant difference than the UC2. Though UC 2 has few significant difference between the Councilor's attributes and influence level, but in general the highly influentials in UC2 were few as well, and except for slight variations agrees with the theoretical factors needed to have influence.

The reasons for variations in the results of both UCs could be their demographic, socio-economic and political differences. The UC 1 has few unplanned town of rural areas mostly of low socio-economic and political profile. Most of them are withholding their old feudal and tribal rural values, thus providing their landlords more prestige as leaders. The difference between the socio-economic conditions and cultural conditions seems to be higher among the community people according to the profiles of UC. Though UC 2 has also variations, but the community seems to be more cohesive, as people of all economic groups' lives in congested small residential areas, all of them know each other well, keep their cultural values and do not differentiate more among their income groups, which could be assumed for the less significant difference in the results of UC 2.

One major difference could be, UC 1 has more Pathans who are very strict in their values and norms while in UC 2 there are less Pathans, which shows less gender and patriarchal differences in analysis. Many people in UC 2 are active in politics as mentioned by the secretary of UC2, which may be the reason for less political differences in the results of UC 2, while in UC 1 people seem to be more involved in educational activities in urban side, while in rural side most of them poor and are busy in earning their daily living, thus less people are involve in politics, which could be the reason for significant difference in the political results of UC 1.

Apart from all this, the variations are large maybe because of the sample size in each UC, in UC 1 that is 17 while in UC 2 that is 14. The equal number of respondents may have reduced the size of variations between both UCs.

Though, the differences could be many and deep enough to bring variations among the analysis of both UCs, but I could not access them in depth, maybe due to my less knowledge and experience and secondly because of very short period of data collection.

However, despite all shortcomings and variations, most of the results and discussions accommodate the findings of Elite school of thought. Hence, we can say; Among Councilors; those have influence, who have high position in the UC, have better education, high socio-economic status, strong political affiliation and have knowledge and expertise. In addition, among them if compared men may be more dominant than woman despite having the same reputation.

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.

ANNEXURE I

COUNCILORS IN DECISION MAKING PROCESS

A Case Study of Two Selected Union Councils of District Peshawar, Pakistan

INTERVIEW GUIDE/ QUESTIONNAIRE:

A. IDENTIFICATION:

- Name of union council: _____
- Name of councilor: (Mr./Mrs./Ms) _____
- Ward/constituency (No. and Name) _____
- Elected by contest/Unopposed _____

B. PERSONAL INFORMATION:

1. Age (years): _____
2. Education: Primary/Middle/Matric/Intermediate/Graduate/Post-Graduate
3. Certificate/Degree: Matriculation/F.A./F.Sc./B.A./B.Sc./LLB/B.Sc./Engg./MBBS/
BDS/MA/M.Sc./Technical/ any other (specify): _____
4. Specialization at Post Graduate / Professional level: _____
5. Marital status: Unmarried/Married/Widow/any other: _____
6. Family Pattern: Single/Nucleus/Joint/Extended (siblings living together)
7. Size of family (No.): male _____, female _____, total _____
8. Family/household composition (No.): Spouse _____, daughters _____, sons _____,
Brothers _____, sisters _____,
Mother _____, grandmother _____
Father ____/grand father _____,
Uncle/s _____, Aunt/s _____,
Cousins: male __, female __,
In-laws: mother/father/brother/sister,
Attendants/servants: male __, female _____

C: SOCIO-CULTURAL:

1. Religious Background: Muslim ____ (sect: Sunni/ Shia/ other specify: _____)
Non Muslim ____ (Hindu/ Sikh/ Christian/other _____)
2. Tribe/Sub tribe (Khel/ Clan): _____
3. Mother tongue: Pashto/ Hindko/ Punjabi/ Persian/ Urdu/ Sindhi/ Baluchi
4. Dialects (spoken): Pashto/ Hindko/ Punjabi/ Persian/ Urdu/ Sindhi/ Baluchi
5. Residential status: a. Bonafide/Grand parents (since _____ years)
b. Naturalized/ migrant's from _____, since _____

D: SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS (COUNCILLOR/ FAMILY):

1. Main occupation/Profession: _____
 Yearly Income (Rs) _____

	Councilor	Family
Agriculture/ Farming,		
Trade and Commerce		
Business (Wholesaler)		
Shopkeepers (Retailers)		
Workshop(mechanical) owner		
Laborer/ Contractor		
Pensioner (Public/ Private sector)		

2. Property _____ Yearly Income _____
 Councilor Family

	Councilor	Family
Real Estate (Area/acres)		
Houses (No)		
Shops (No)		
Vehicles (No):		
Specify type of vehicle		

3. Hotel/Restaurant: No _____, Income _____ Rs.

4. Factory/Industry (Name/s): _____

5. Conveyance:

	Own (No)	Councilor use	Family use
Cycle			
Motorcycle			
Car			
Other (specify)			

6. Abode (home): Inherited/ shared with family members/Rented
 Mud/Mud-Brick/Concrete Built/Mixed
 One/Two/More Storied
 If rented: monthly rent _____ Rs.

7. Facilities/Utilities: Bed Rooms: No _____, Veranda _____.
 Drawing/ Living Room (No) _____.
 Kitchen, Washroom(s), Porch _____.
 Hujra/Baitak (Guest room) No.: _____.
 Drinking Water Supply: Tap/Running/Well/Street tap
 Electricity: Lights/Fans/AC/ Room cooler
 Gas: Piped/ Cylinder.

Drainage: Sewerage/ Street drains

Solid waste disposal:

House hold/Community/Local Body Arranged.

Street: Dirt/Unpaved/Soled/Paved,

Cleaned by:

Household/Community/Local Body Arranged.

8. Monthly Income: Councilor _____ Rs.
Family _____ Rs.

9. Household: Education and Employment

a) Education :

Attainment	Male (No)	Female (No)
Nil		
Primary		
Middle		
Matric		
Intermediate		
Graduate(bachelor)		
Post Graduate		
Religious Education		

b) Employment:

Status	Male (No)	Female (No)
Unemployed		
On Job		
Retired		
Household Work		

E: LEADING ROLES:

1. Roles Played/Playing:	Councilor (during/years)	Family member (during/years)
a. Family Head/ Elder Member		
b. Jarga Member/Head years		
c. Neighborhood Elder/ Muhullahdar		
d. Village Elder/Malik/Respectable		
e. Mosque Committee Member/Head		
f. Zakat/Usher Committee member/ Chairman		
g. Cooperative society member/Position		
h. Trade union member/Position		
i. Community/Village based development organization		

2. Elected Representative:(for Councilor)

• Local Government(1947-58):	Councilor	Chairman
a. Notified Area/Town/Municipal Committee		
b. District board (up to 1958)		
• Basic Democracies(1959-1970):		
c. Union committee/council (1959-65/1965-70)		
d. Town/Municipal Committee(1959-65/1965-70)		
e. Tehsil/ District Council (1959-65/1965-70)		
• Local councils(1979-1988):		
f. Union council		
g. Town/Municipal Committee/ Corporation		
h. District Council		

3. Elected Representative:(for family members)

• Local Government(1947-58):	Councilor	Chairman
i. Notified Area/Town/Municipal Committee		
j. District board (up to 1958)		
• Basic Democracies(1959-1970):		
k. Union committee/council (1959-65/1965-70)		
l. Town/Municipal Committee(1959-65/1965-70)		
m. Tehsil/ District Council (1959-65/1965-70)		
• Local councils(1979-1988):		
n. Union council		
o. Town/Municipal Committee/ Corporation		
p. District Council		
• Local Councils (2001-uptodate)	Councilor	N/N.N.
q. Union Councils		
r. Town/Tehsil Councils		
s. District Council		

F: POLITICAL AFFILIATION:

1) Party/Year: PML/PPP/MNA/ANP/Other(specify):_____

2) Councilor (tick):

- a. None:_____
- b. Only Well wisher:_____
- c. Enrolled member:_____
- d. Active worker:_____
- e. Elected office bearers:_____
- f. Party assignments:_____

3) Family:

- a. None:_____
- b. Only Well wisher:_____
- c. Enrolled members:_____
- d. Active workers:_____
- e. Elected office bearers:_____
- f. MPA/MNA/Senator:_____
- g. Party assignments:_____

4. Cast vote in the last provincial/national assemblies elections (2001) in favor of candidates of:

PML

PPP

MMA

ANP

T.Istiqlal

T.Insaf

Any other (specify):_____

5. Has any member of your clan/tribe been or is:

	<u>Years</u>	<u>Party</u>
MPA		
MNA		
SENATOR		

G: COUNCILLORS ASSESMENT OF PEERS ROLE IN DECISION MAKING:

1. In your opinion who has influence in Decision Making Process, how and why?

No.	Name of Councilor	Influential	Issue/s Reasons(factors)
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
7			
8			
9			
10			
11			
12			
13			

14			
15			
16			
17			
18			
19			
20			
21			

H. COUNCILOR’S ROLE IN DECISION MAKING:

1. In the UC, How well do you feel you know all your :
 - Functions: very well/well/average/not so well/poorly
 - Responsibilities : very well/well/average/not so well/poorly
 - Authorities : very well/well/average/not so well/poorly
 - Decision Making Authority : very well/well/average/not so well/poorly

2. Do you attend UC monthly meetings?
 - All/mostly/sometimes/few/never
 - and Why do you do so?

3. How many times you have used your Decision making power given to you under Local Government Act in the UC?
 - Many times/sometimes/few times/never

4. Do you think you are Influential in Decision making process of UC?
 - A lot/moderate/little/not at all

5. And why do think so? Because of
 - political reasons/social reasons/cultural reasons/any other (specify)

6. Most of the times your Decisions are
 - Political: More/less /not at all
 - Community welfare: More /less /not at all
 - Culture bound: More/less/not at all
 - Personal and family interests: More/less/not at all

7. How many funds have you claimed and received from the UC for community welfare?

8. In what type of schemes have you utilized the funds?

9. What problems/difficulties you encounter in attending to /participating in Union Council activities, particularly in Decision making process?

Councilor

a. Travel to U.C. office	
b. Attending meetings in presence of opposite sex	
c. Discussion on issues with opposite sex	
d. Purdah observance in Pakistani culture	
e. Security concerns	
f. Lack of experience as councilor	
g. Lack of proper understanding of Local Council working	
h. Inadequate know how of Councilors responsibilities	
i. Personal/family obligations	
j. Political barriers	

10. What do you think about working of UC?

- Very good/good/average/not so good/poor
- And Why do you think so?

11. What do you suggest to improve the working of Local/Union Councils, participation of the Councilors in meetings/ activities?

- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____

ANNEXURE II**PROFILE OF UNION COUNCILS**

Particulars	Rural	Urban	Remarks
Name			
Location			
Area (sq.km)			
Population (No) a. Male b. Female			
Households (No)			
House Structure a. Mud (No) b. Kacha-Pucca(No) c. Pucca (No)			
Councilor General a. Male b. Female Minorities Labor/Kissan a. Male b. Female			
Literacy Ratio a. Male b. Female			
Educational Institutions a. Primary Schools(No) b. Middle Schools(No) c. High Schools(No) d. College(No) e. Other/Specify (No)			
Health Facilities a. Dispensary(No) b. B.H.U/R.H.C(No) c. Hospital d. Private Clinics(No)			

<p>Drinking Water Supply</p> <p>a. Tube Well(No)</p> <p>b. House Connection(No)</p> <p>c. Stand Posts(No)</p> <p>d. Wells (No)</p> <p>e. Stream/Water course</p>			
<p>Sanitation</p> <p>a. Street Drains</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Open • Covered • Paved <p>b. Sewerage System</p> <p>c. Waste Disposal</p>			
<p>Streets</p> <p>a. Dirt/Leveled</p> <p>b. Paved/Soled</p> <p>c. Approach/Road</p>			
<p>Demography</p> <p>a. Tribe/SubTribe/Fraternities</p> <p>b. Mother Tongue</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dialects <p>c. Sects/Ethnicity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pakhtun • Punjabi • Urdu Speaking • Other/Specify 			
<p>Economy</p> <p>a. Agriculture</p> <p>b. Trade/Commerce</p> <p>c. Business</p> <p>d. Labor</p>			
<p>Problems/Issues</p> <p>a. Socio Economic</p> <p>b. Cultural</p> <p>c. Political</p> <p>d. Developmental</p> <p>e. Other</p>			
<p>Needs (Solve Problems)</p> <p>a.</p> <p>b.</p> <p>c.</p> <p>d.</p>			

ANNEXURE III

**MATRIX TO ANALYSE THE PEER ASSESMENT OF THE COUNCILORS BY
THE COUNCILOR**

NO	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	T.	
1																							
2																							
3																							
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21																							

ANNEXURE IV

1: Dependent Variable: Division of influence level in three levels:

	PEER ASSESMENT OF THE COUNCILOR { (INLUENCE IN THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS OF UC)(number of votes taken by the councilor, results from the matrix analysis)}										Total
	LOW			MEDIUM			HIGH				
	2	3	4	6	8	10	11	12	14	16	
female	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6
male	0	0	1	2	2	2	1	1	2	0	11
Total	2	1	3	2	2	2	1	1	2	1	17

2.1: Councilors age of UC 1: Division of Age in three levels:

		PEER ASSESMENT OF THE COUNCILOR { (INLUENCE IN THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS OF UC)(number of votes taken by the councilor, results from the matrix analysis)}									Total
		2	4	6	8	10	11	12	14	16	
young	30	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
	32	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	34	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Medium	36	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
	37	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
	38	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	39	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	45	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Old	47	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
	48	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	50	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	54	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total		2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	1	15

2.2: Councilor's age in UC 2

		PEER ASSESMENT OF THE COUNCILLOR { (INLUENCE IN THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS OF UC)(number of votes taken by the councilors, results from the matrix analysis)}											Total
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9	10	12	
Young	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	31	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
	33	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	34	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
	35	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Medium	40	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	43	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
	46	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
	47	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Old	48	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	54	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	57	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
	80	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total		1	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	14

3.1: Education level of UC 1: Division of Education in three levels.

		PEER ASSESMENT OF THE COUNCILOR , {(INLUENCE IN THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS OF UC), (number of votes taken by the councilor, results from the matrix analysis)}										Total
		2	3	4	6	8	10	11	12	14	16	1
Low	illiterate	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	middle	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Medium	matriculation	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	5
	intermediate	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
High	graduation	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	4
	post graduation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	3
Total		2	1	3	2	2	2	1	1	2	1	17

3.2: Education level in UC 2

		PEER ASSESMENT OF THE COUNCILLOR { (INLUENCE IN THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS OF UC) (number of votes taken by the councilors, results from the matrix analysis)}											Total
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9	10	12	
Low	middle	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	5
Medium	matriculation	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	3
	intermediate	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
High	graduation	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	3
	post graduation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total		1	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	14

ANNEXURE V

TABLES EXCLUDED FROM TEXT DUE TO SPACE LIMITATION AND DUE TO THEIR NO SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE:

Table 5.i -a: Union Council 1

The Relationship of Councilors Citizenship with Councilor’s Level of Influence in Decision Making process in UC-1.

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPECT (Citizen ship)	Bonafide	% within Citizenship	20.0%	50.0%	30.0%	10
	Migrated	% within Citizen Ship	57%	14%	29%	7
Total		Count	6	6	5	17
		% within Citizen Ship	35%	35%	30%	100.0%

Table 5.i-b: Union Council 2

The Relationship of Councilors Citizen Ship with Councilor’s Level of Influence in Decision Making process in UC-2.

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPECT (Citizen ship)	Bonafide	% within Citizen ship	42%	33%	25.0%	12
	Migrated	% within Citizen Ship	.0%	50.0%	50.0%	2
Total		Count	5	5	4	14
		% within Citizen Ship	35%	35%	29%	100.0%

Table 5.ii-a: Union Council 1

The Relationship of Councilors Mother tongue with Councilor's Level of Influence in Decision Making process in UC-1.

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPECT (mother tongue)	Pukhto	% within Mother tongue	27%	40.0%	33%	15
	Pukhto/Punjabi	% within Mother tongue	100.0%	.0%	.0%	1
	Punjabi	% within Mother tongue	100.0%	.0%	.0%	1
Total		Count	6	6	5	17
		% within Mother tongue	35%	35%	30%	100.0%

Table 5.ii -b: Union Council 2

The Relationship of Councilors Mother Tongue with Councilor's Level of Influence in Decision Making process in UC-2.

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPECT (mother tongue)	Hindko	% within Mother tongue	63%	25.0%	12%	8
	Pukhto	% within Mother tongue	.0%	67%	33%	3
	Pukhto/Hindko	% within Mother tongue	.0%	.0%	100.0%	1
	Punjabi	% within Mother tongue	.0%	.0%	100.0%	1
	Urdu	% within Mother tongue	.0%	100.0%	.0%	1
Total		Count	5	5	4	14
		% within Mother tongue	35%	35%	30%	100.0%

TABLES FROM COUNCILORS FAMILY ASPECTS:

Table 1 -a: Union Council 1

The Relationship of family size with Councilor’s Level of Influence in Decision Making

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
Family size of the Councilor	BIG FAMILY	% within Family size	33%	33%	34%	9
	MEDIUM FAMILY	% within Family size	43%	28%	29%	7
	SMALL FAMILY	% within Family size	.0%	100.0%	.0%	1
Total		Count	6	6	5	17
		% within Family size	35%	35%	30%	100.0%

Table 1 -b: Union Council 2

The Relationship of family size with Councilor’s Level of Influence in Decision Making

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
FAMILY SIZE OF THE COUNCILOR	BIG FAMILY	% within Family size	33%	42%	25.0%	12
	MEDIUM FAMILY	% within Family size	50.0%	.0%	50.0%	2
Total		Count	5	5	4	14
		% within Family size	35%	35%	30%	100.0%

Table 2 -a: Union Council 1

The Relationship of family system with Councilor’s Level of Influence in Decision Making

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
Family system	joint	% within Family system	12%	50.0%	38%	8
	Nuclear	% within Family system	56%	22%	22%	9
Total		Count	6	6	5	17
		% within Family system	35%	35%	30%	100.0%

Table 2-b: Union Council 2

The Relationship of family system with Councilor’s Level of Influence in Decision Making

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
Family system	joint	% within Family system	27%	46%	27%	11
	Nuclear	% within Family system	67%	.0%	33%	3
Total		Count	5	5	4	14
		% within Family system	36%	36%	28%	100.0%

Table 4-a: UC 1

The Relationship of Councilor’s Family Level of Political Affiliation with Councilors Level of Influence in Decision Making

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1 LOW	2 MEDIUM	3 HIGH	
POLITICAL AFFILIATION (Councilor’s family level of Affiliation)	none	% within family level of Affiliation	50.0%	25.0%	25.0%	4
	Enrolled member /Active worker	% within family level of Affiliation	60.0%	20.0%	20.0%	5
	Elected office bearer /party assignments	% within family level of Affiliation	.0%	50.0%	50.0%	4
	MPA/MNA/ Senator	% within family level of Affiliation	50.0%	50.0%	.0%	2
	more than one affiliation	% within family level of Affiliation	.0%	50.0%	50.0%	2
Total		Count	6	6	5	17
		% within family level of Affiliation	35%	35%	30%	100.0%

Table 4-b : UC 2

The Relationship of Councilor’s Family Level of Political with Councilors Level of Influence in Decision Making

			PEER ASSESMENT			Total
			1	2	3	
POLITICAL AFFILIATION (Councilor’s family level of Affiliation)	none	% within family level of Affiliation	60.0%	20.0%	20.0%	5
	only well wisher	% within family level of Affiliation	.0%	100.0%	.0%	1
	Enrolled member /Active worker	% within family level of Affiliation	26.0%	37%	37%	8
Total		Count	5	5	4	14
		% within family level of Affiliation	35%	35%	30%	100.0%