

Affinity Networks and Hereditary Succession in the Political Parties and its Impact on the Federation of Pakistan

Sarfraz Batool

Assistant professor, Department of Political Science, Baghdad ul Gadid Campus,
The Islamia University of Bahawalpur, Pakistan.

Email: sarfrazbatool@gmail.com

Marium Kamal

Assistant Professor, Centre for South Asian Studies, University of the Punjab,
Lahore, Pakistan.

Email: mariumkamal2@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

The political system of Pakistan rests on the principle of federation: powers of decision-making are constitutionally divided between parliament and the provincial governments. The constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1973 emphasizes party-based democracy. It demands the practice of democracy within the political parties to promote democratic norms in political culture and to create a conducive political environment to strengthen the federal system in Pakistan. The second important principle of federation is unity in diversity. A political party in a federation is considered as a bridge between the federal government and its federating units having its roots in the general masses across the federating units. It helps the federating units to have a forum to identify, express, and articulate their interests. But the element of hereditary succession and the presence of affinity networks within political parties is weakening the democratic spirit of the federal Constitution of Pakistan. In major political parties, the only merit to elevate to the highest rank in the party is to be the next heir or to be the close relative of the party leader. The culture of hereditary leadership promotes the norms of kinship politics and nepotism where political decisions are made to protect the vested interests of kinship groups at the cost of the more extensive interests of the federation. This paper is based on three sections; the first section deals with the phenomena of hereditary politics in general; the second section deals with the importance of political parties in a federal system and; the third section of the study deals with hereditary succession and affinity networks in political parties in Pakistan and their impact on the federal system. The study used the desk research method to analyze the data under the qualitative approach. Primary and secondary sources are used to collect the data, however, primary data is collected from various internet sources like official websites of FAFEN, ECP, and Dunya news, etc.

Keywords: Federation, Political Parties, Hereditary Leadership, Kinship Group Politics, Parochial Politics.

Introduction

Hereditary leadership remained significant in the history of the political world for a long time. In ancient times, emperors mainly worked to sustain their name and

position in power for generations and therefore they adopted hereditary succession as an instrument to transfer political power into their next generation. Due to its long-term history, many scholars thought that hereditary succession is a reliable source of smooth power transfer to the next power heir. However, the intelligentsia of the later times criticized that due to hereditary succession, the urge of the common people to build, develop and be proficient in the fields of administration was reduced. Over time, 'Nation States' emerged as a popular political entity that experienced different systems of government, and gradually replaced hereditary politics were replaced with representative democracy based on the principle of popular sovereignty. These changing patterns shifted the source of power from monarchs to the common people. So, political parties became a platform that articulate the 'majority will' of the people in running the state affairs. The political party is a "group of dedicated people who come together to win elections, operate the government, and determine public policy" (Nowaczyk, 2021). Its main function is to politically mobilize the common people and provide them a platform to develop as political leaders.

As per Huckshorn (1984) "a political party is an autonomous group of citizens having the purpose of making nominations and contesting elections in the hope of gaining control over governmental power through the capture of public offices and the organization of the government." (Caramani,2020). The development of political parties made possible the transfer of executive power of one government to another government via election. So, they are considered a major agent of electoral democracy in the modern Nation States. Democracy works on two key principles i.e., first, each faction of society's voices should be heard and valued in a political system, second, power should be decentralized. The political world found these two attributes of democracy in a federal system that got popularity because of its norms of decentralization of power and the principle of 'unity in diversity'. It allows the representation and association of even the small ethnic groups through the party system while emphasizing 'unity' in their national outlook. Therefore, political parties possess great importance for the federations because parties act as a medium of communication between the government and the masses. However, many states in the world are still following the patterns of ancient hereditary succession along with their federal and democratic political settings. Moreover, the political parties of many countries also adopted the norms of hereditary succession, which not only confined the scope and development of the political parties as a national party but also affected democracy. This study focuses to analyze the hereditary succession in the political parties of Pakistan and its impact on the federation's main principle 'unity in diversity'.

Hereditary Politics

World history illustrates many stories of hereditary politics from ancient times. Hereditary politics and leadership refer to the politics of the particular family that

Affinity Networks and Hereditary Succession in the Political Parties and its Impact on the Federation of Pakistan

transfers their powers to their descendants and their near relatives. “A dynastic leader or legislator belongs to a family that had previously been placed as a member of political office like the legislature” (Ernesto Dal Bó, 2007). In such kinds of politics, the political offices and powers are conferred by the inheritance from the parents or grandparents. The descendants of the earlier politicians joined politics and used the authority of their ancestors. In the hereditary political system, the family name and their associations are so strong that they greatly influence the decisions and functioning of the states as well as the political parties. It is also called the ‘dynastic politics’ and the politics of ‘affinity network’. In modern times, hereditary leadership and ‘political dynasties’ are present in many democracies (Ernesto Dal Bó, 2007). Rudolph (2015) defines hereditary leadership in the context of ‘Democratic Political Dynasties’ that are bounded by family ties. He wrote that “democratic political dynasties are families in which successive generations have been elected to high political office by popular vote. The family members in question may be parents, children, spouses or siblings” (Rudolph, 2015). He further explains the Nehru-Gandhi family as a political dynasty of India as one of the examples in his writing. However, Dal Bo, Dal Bo, and Snyder discussed in detail the political dynasties in the United States and the extent of dynastic bias in legislative politics and concluded that if a person remains in power for a longer period, it increased the chances of initiation of the dynastic politics and made the hereditary transfer of power inevitable (Ernesto Dal Bó, 2007). Bulmer (2017) named this phenomenon in parliamentary democracies in the words of ‘constitutional monarchies’ and writes that “a constitutional monarch in a parliamentary democracy is a hereditary symbolic head of state [who may be an emperor, king or queen, prince or grand duke] who mainly performs representative and civic roles but does not exercise executive or policy making power” (Bulmer, 2017). These words represent the head of state as a ceremonial figure or head in the state. It could be existed in any kind of government. Besley and Querol (2017) identified that “blood ties between politicians of different generations are common in both autocratic and democratic systems” (Besley & Querol, 2017). So, it is not related to any particular form of government. However, some scholars like Olson (1993) argued that “hereditary rule could create incentives for good governance” (Olson, 1993) and considered it a prerequisite for the welfare of the people of the states while some intellectuals like Paine gave strong arguments against hereditary leadership or hereditary transition of power in any form of government and called the process of hereditary succession as ‘something casual or complimentary’, that could be used as convenience before the transition of power but afterward used as ‘right’ by the descendants (Paine, 2009). The practices of hereditary transition of power and ruling mainly opted for the consolidation of the personal interests, as the time passes by the world considered that hereditary transition of power in the peace tenures mainly due to the charisma of the ancestors while in the post-war period, lack of regulatory structures compelled the subjects to accept the hereditary

leaders. Brownlee (2007) examines the power transitions of different 258 autocratic leaders in the post-war era and concluded that “hereditary succession tends to be accepted by ruling elites when there are no formal party structures to regulate transitions of power” (Brownlee, 2007). This point of view elucidates that deficiencies in the regulatory mechanisms of the states allowed the hereditary leadership to rule over the majority. However, the intelligentsia often argued that if the hereditary succession is smooth and in the hands of competent authority then the legitimacy, performance, and stability of a given regime would be increased while if it is badly handled or practiced by the incompetent leadership then the regime could be under severe pressure and even could lead to its end (Helms, 2020). Today, almost every kind of state and political office bears the persons that have their ancestral affiliations in history.

Importance of Political Parties in the Federal System

Historians claim federalism is one of the oldest forms of political organization and dates back more than three thousand years. From the seventh to the second century B.C. federalism existed in the form of alliances between the independent states while maintenance of their sovereignty was an essential characteristic (Elazar, 2020). In the Federal system, a particular territory is usually controlled by the two levels of government. Sovereignty is constitutionally divided between the national government and its political constituent units. First is the national government that is responsible for the broader control and governance of larger territorial areas. On the contrary, the constituent units or the smaller subdivisions (like states, and cities) are responsible to govern the issues of local concern. The federal system of government is considered the best-suited system for the strength of democracy. Anderson defines that the evolution of the federal system is unique in its very nature because it emerged in different waves from the late 18th century. Today, almost 28 countries of the world are following the patterns of federal systems and these patterns are varied in their very nature due to the consistent evolution of this concept (Anderson, 2008). The first wave of federalism that started in the late eighteenth century combined the existing independent units and created a new country. The USA and Switzerland are examples of that federation. This pattern continued up till the twentieth century. The next trend of federation emerged in the post-colonial era where many new states emerged due to the decolonization. Pakistan and India, both got independence after decolonization and both states adopted the federal system. Similarly, the federations that emerged in the era of post-communism were emphasized democratizing the federal structures but failed due to the centrally controlled one-party regime. In the meanwhile, even the unitary systems adopted the norms of federations and followed the pattern to devolve the power to the regional governments. However, the federations that emerged in the post-conflict period mainly remained under international tutelage or failed to be democratic (Anderson, 2008). Federations of all kinds are evolved

Affinity Networks and Hereditary Succession in the Political Parties and its Impact on the Federation of Pakistan

over. Some require formal changes in the constitutions while others changed to a stable constitution. However, the federations that emerged in the post-conflict period mainly remained under international tutelage or failed to be democratic. So, we can say that in the contemporary era, the federal system is based on these principles: first, it allows to constitutionally designating the powers to the federal authority while some powers are reserved for the political constituent units, and second, it allowed practicing the principle of 'unity in diversity'. Ziblatt (2008) also argued that federalism is adopted because the units of the states have their highly developed infrastructures and never had fear of being dominated by the center, while, some states considered it a bargain contract between center and its units where the center is not powerful to dominate the units and units did not have the power to secede from the center (Ziblatt, 2008). Because it offers a balance between the center and local governments, therefore, it ultimately became a suitable model for the strength of democracies. It is based and worked for the democratic rules and institutions in the state. So, now the states are living under the system of 'Democratic Federalism', through which devolution of power and maximum participation of the masses is ensured. Whitaker argues that in the eighteenth century, the ideals of democracy and federalism intertwined in theory and practice and continued to support each other in their functioning (Whitaker, 1983).

Modern practices of federalism are also considered that the institutionalization of the formal limits of the 'national majority will' is the legitimate ground for legislation. Public participation and political parties both have a significant role in the processes of legislation. Both democracy and federalism ensure the basic spirit and political parties work as a bridge between the government institutions and masses. In addition, the political parties are the medium to collaborate with the local population. These political parties worked to perform governmental activities and therefore they are called the bridge between the people and the central government. Because these associations lead towards smooth relations among the center, provinces, and the masses, therefore, the success of federal systems is very much based on the working of political parties to strengthen the democratic principles in the states. Many scholars debated and argued that hereditary succession is a cause of smooth political activities after the transfer of power while some strongly argued against it. However, "no regime can avoid the challenges of leadership succession indefinitely, and indeed, bringing about succession to long-standing charismatic leaders has been also considered inherently problematic" (Helms, 2020). As the recent governments also experienced the problems of hereditary succession then the countries that followed the federal principles are also no exception. However, affinity networks and hereditary succession in political parties shorten the sight of political leadership while preparing the general public policies and interest articulation. Tullock pointed out his concerns about the hereditary leadership and transfer of power on the hereditary principle by calling it

“part of a wider strategy for sustaining elite control in autocracies since it provides a means of insulating the elite from potentially destabilizing power struggles” (Tullock, 1987). The recent analysis of the rich material on the subject clarified that developing countries are more prone to this phenomenon. Curato (2012) defines this scenario in these words:

“Elections have formalized the process of political succession through a periodic democratic exercise which can be easily manipulated for selfish ends. The elite rule is legitimized through this process by giving the illusion that the public has the power to choose its leaders, even though the pool of electable candidates is generally limited to a set of individuals with familiar surnames” (Curato, 2012).

However, Scartozzi claimed that “hereditary politics is a common feature of most democracies, and not necessarily a bad one” (Scartozzi, 2017). Curato argued that “in principle, there is nothing wrong with political dynasties. In practice, however, its prevalence exemplifies the exclusionary power structure, and local elites continue to exert considerable influence in the politics of the country” (Curato, 2012). Now it became a contemporary reality that political dynasties mainly abusing the power and weaning the democratic practices in political parties and federating units have less interest in the national goals of unity.

Hereditary Politics and Affinity Networks in the Political Parties of Pakistan

Pakistan is one of the developing countries that got independence in the post-colonial phase and decided to opt for the federal system. The history of Pakistan elaborated that since its independence, Pakistan remained a federal state even though Pakistan experienced three different constitutions (1956, 1962 and 1973). Under the constitution of 1973, Pakistan is a parliamentary federal republic based on multi-party system. The constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan demands the practice of democracy within the political parties to promote democratic norms in political culture and to create a political environment conducive to strengthening the federal system in Pakistan. But the element of hereditary leadership or absence of democratic practices in choosing leadership in political parties is weakening the spirit of the constitution and strengthening the parochial politics in Pakistan. It ultimately resulted in the phenomenon that political parties working to secure the personal/family interests of the party leader leadership. Further, it develops dictatorial political aptitude of leadership which is reflected by their decision-making attitudes and patterns. “The electoral politics is unfortunately a family business in Pakistan, with few families ruling Pakistan’s

Affinity Networks and Hereditary Succession in the Political Parties and its Impact on the Federation of Pakistan

legislatures, turning them into oligarchies. Besides, feudal elites many business families have taken charge in politics; one can see power of capital appears to be as strong as the power of land.” (Shah, 2020). So, hereditary political culture compelled to ignore the rules of meritocracy in choosing leadership and reduces the check and balance on the activities of the political leaders. The political parties that followed the hereditary political culture established the trends of centralized authority; blind following of the leaders, the political aptitude of the political heirs is accessed based on their ancestors, not on their performance. It reduced the meritocracy in the political parties and state institutions. It enhances the favoritism and nepotism in the states.

Affinity Network and Hereditary Succession in PML (N).

PML (N) is a major national level political party in Pakistan. The table below shows how nepotism and favoritism became a significant tenet of this political party. Nawaz Sharif as party leader grants his brother, daughter, nephew and many relatives of his spouse Kalsoom Nawaz (late) also got involved not only in the party politics but also serve in many ministries. His daughter Maryam Nawaz (the vice president of PMLN), during his government from 2013 to 2018, was accused of abusing power and was in charge of running the social media cell of PML (N) while she was not holding any significant position in the party.

Table 1: Affinity Network of PML (N)

Founder & Founding year	Current President of Party	Ex-President of Party	Affinity Network in PML (N) (Name & Designation)		Relationship with Founder/Current President
Nawaz Sharif PML (N) 1993	Shahbaz Sharif (2018- to date)	Nawaz Sharif (2017-2018, 2011-2017, 1993-1999) Due to the disqualification of Nawaz Sharif in 2017, Nawaz Shareef was not able to head the party legally.	Nawaz Sharif	Prime Minister	Party Founder & Brother of Shahbaz Sharif
			Maryam Nawaz Safdar	Chairperson-PM's Youth Program	Niece of Shahbaz Sharif & Daughter of Nawaz Sharif
			Hamza Shahbaz	Leader of Opposition in Punjab Assembly	Son of Shahbaz Sharif

Sarfraz Batool & Marium Kamal

		However, practically, he is de facto head of the PML(N).	Safdar Awan	Member of National Assembly 2008-2013	Son-in-law of Nawaz Sharif & husband of Maryam Nawaz
			Ishaq Dar	Federal Minister for Finance 2008-2017 & 1998-1999	Father-in-law of Asma Nawaz (daughter of Nawaz Sharif)
			Mohsin Latif	MPA-Punjab 2008-2015	Nephew of Kalsoom Nawaz (wife of Nawaz Sharif)
			Bilal Yasin	MPA-Punjab	Nephew of Kalsoom Nawaz (wife of Nawaz Sharif)
			Abid Sher Ali	Minister of State for Power, 2017-2018, Minister of State for Water & Power, 2013-2017, MNA 2002-2018	Nephew of Shahbaz Sharif & Nawaz Sharif

Source: (FAFEN), (ECP), (Dunya News).

Affinity Network and Hereditary Succession in PPP

Pakistan People's Party was founded by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto with its national scope and it was initially functional in almost all the provinces of Pakistan until it was headed by Z. A. Bhutto, but now it has only become a party of Sindh. Pakistan Peoples' Party also got fame due to its national outlook, but its nature changed when hereditary practices started to penetrate the party system. Benazir Bhutto got sympathy due to her father's assassination and tried to meet the challenges of the nation but after her death, the leadership remained in the hands of her spouse and her son. They got prestige and position due to their affiliation with the party leader not on the merit of their own capability. Moreover, the use of the surname 'Bhutto'

Affinity Networks and Hereditary Succession in the Political Parties and its Impact on the Federation of Pakistan

by Bilawal Zardari is also a technique to get attraction and public support associated with this name.

Table 2: Hereditary Structure of PPP

Founder & Founding year	Current President of Party	Ex-President of Party	Affinity Network in PPP (Name & Designation)		Relationship with Founder/ Current Leader
PPP Z. A. Bhutto 1967	Bilawal Bhutto Zardari	N/A	Z.A.Bhutto	(Former Prime Minister of Pakistan)	Party Founder & Maternal grandfather
			Benazir Bhutto	(Former Prime Minister of Pakistan)	Daughter of Z.A. Bhutto & Mother of Bilawal Bhutto Zardari
			Asif Zardari	(Former President of Pakistan)	Son-in-law of Z.A. Bhutto & Father of Bilawal Bhutto Zardari
			Bilawal Bhutto Zardari	(Chairman PPP)	Maternal Grandson of Z.A. Bhutto & Son of Benazir Bhutto and Asif Zardari
			Faryal Talpur	Member of the National Assembly of Pakistan from 2008 to May 2018.	Sister of Asif Zardari

			Azra Peechoho	Provincial Minister of Sindh for Health, and Population Welfare, in office since 19 August 2018.	Sister of Asif Zardari
--	--	--	------------------	---	---------------------------

Source: (FAFEN), (ECP), (Dunya News).

Affinity Network and Hereditary Succession in JUI

JUI (F) is a Deobandi Sunni political party in Pakistan. It is entirely based in southern KP and northern parts of Baluchistan. Its current leader is Fazal-ur-Rehman. However, its followers are mainly based in KP, Baluchistan, and Sindh. In 2018, after the assassination of Sami-ul-Haq (the leader of JUI (S)) the faction of JUI(s) merged into JUI-F, and, in 2019, at the request of Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman, the Election Commission of Pakistan renamed JUI(F) as simple 'JUI'. This party depicted its religious picture and its leader Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman claimed many times that want to implement the Sharia laws in Pakistan. However, it is visible in the table below that affinity networks and hereditary succession are deeply penetrated in this party as well. The current leader of JUI Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman is the son of the party founder while his brothers served as MPA and MNA. In addition, among his sons, Asad Mehmood is serving as MNA since 2018 and Asjad Mehmood seems politically active in the Pakistan Democratic Movement.

Table 3: Hereditary Structure of JUI

Founder & Founding year	Current President of Party	Ex-President of Party	Affinity Network in JUI (Name & Designation)		Relationship with Founder/ Current Leader
Shabbir Ahmed Usmani	Maulana Fazal- ur- Rehman	N/A	Mufti Mehmood (JUI- United)	(Party Head 1968-1980 & MNA 1962- 1965, 1972- 1977, & CM-NWFP	Party Founder & Father of Maulana Fazal-ur- Rehman

Affinity Networks and Hereditary Succession in the Political Parties and its Impact on the Federation of Pakistan

Jamiat-Ulema-e-Islam (F) 1985 Renamed as Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam (JUI) in 2019	(1985-2021)			1972-1973)	
			Maulana Lutf-ur-Rehman	(MPA-KPK 2013-2018)	Brother of Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman
			Maulana Atta-ur-Rehman	(MNA 2002-2013)	Brother of Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman
			Asad Mehmood	(Chairman Standing Committee on 'Religious Affairs and Inter-faith Harmony' 2020 & MNA-2018)	Son of Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman
			Asjad Mehmood	(Politically active in Azadi March-2019, & active member of Pakistan	Son of Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman

				Democratic Movement)	
--	--	--	--	----------------------	--

Source: (FAFEN), (ECP), (Dunya News).

Affinity Network and Hereditary Succession in PML (Q)

PML (Q) was founded in 2002 after the split from PML (N) by Choudhary Shujaat Hussain and Mian Muhammad Azhar. Choudhary Shujaat Hussain is also the current leader of the PML (Q). This party is mainly based on Choudhary Shujaat Hussain and Choudhary Pervaiz Elahi. Pervaiz Elahi is the brother-in-law and cousin brother of Shujaat Hussain. Both have actively participated in the practical politics of Pakistan. However, the brothers of Shujaat Hussain named Choudhary Shafat Hussain served as the Zila Nazim while the sons of Pervaiz Elahi and Shujaat Hussain and their nephews also served in various provincial and national ministries.

Table 4: Hereditary Structure of PML (Q)

Founder & Founding year	Current President of Party	Ex-President of Party	Affinity Network in PML (Q) (Name & Designation)		Relationship with Founder/ Current Leader
Ch. Shujaat Hussain PML (Q) 2002	Ch. Shujaat Hussain (Son of Ch. Zahoor Elahi who was a renowned politician of PML)	N/A	Ch. Wajahat Hussain	(MNA 2002-2013)	Brother of Ch. Shujaat Hussain
			Ch. Shafaat Hussain	(Ex Zila Nazim Gujrat)	Brother of Ch. Shujaat Hussain
			Ch. Pervez Elahi	(Speaker of Punjab provincial assembly 2018-to date, 1997-1999)	Brother-in-law
			Ch.	(Federal	

Affinity Networks and Hereditary Succession in the Political Parties and its Impact on the Federation of Pakistan

			Moonis Elahi s/o Ch. Pervez Elahi	Minister for Water Resources from July 2021, MNA from 2018, MPA 2008-2018)	Nephew of Ch. Shujaat Hussain
			Ch. Hussain Elahi s/o Ch. Wajahat Hussain	(MNA from 2018 to date)	Nephew of Ch. Shujaat Hussain
			Ch. Musa Elahi s/o Ch. Wajahat Hussain	(Federal Minister for Water Resources from July 2021, MNA from 2018, MPA 2008-2018)	Nephew of Ch. Shujaat Hussain
			Ch. Salik Hussain s/o Ch. Shujaat Hussain	(Chairman Standing Committee on Power from Jan 2020, MNA from 2018)	Son of Ch. Shujaat Hussain

Source: (FAFEN), (ECP), (Dunya News).

Affinity Network and Hereditary Succession in ANP

It is a Pashtun nationalist political party founded in 1986 and deeply entangled with hereditary structure. After Abdul Wali Khan, his son Asfandyar Wali Khan became the current leader of the party. His half-brother Asfandyar Wali also became a contender for the Senate seat from KP and his son Ajmal Wali Khan is serving as the president of ANP-KP from 2019.

Table 5: Hereditary Structure of ANP

Founder & Founding year	Current President of Party	Ex-President of Party	Affinity Network in ANP (Name & Designation)		Relationship with Founder/ Current Leader
Awami National Party 1986	Asfandiyar Wali Khan s/o Khan Abdul Wali Khan	Khan Abdul Wali Khan	Sangeen Ali Khan	(contender for Senate seat from KP -2008)	Half-brother of Asfandiyar Wali
Khan Abdul-Wali Khan			Aimal Wali Khan	(President ANP-KP from 2019)	Son of Asfandiyar Wali

Source: (FAFEN), (ECP), (Dunya News).

Affinity Network and Hereditary Succession in PMAP

Pakhtun Khah Milli Awami Party is a Baluchistan-based political party. This party remained a coalition partner of the PML-N in the Baluchistan government following the 2013 elections and supported PML (N) in its challenging times. Likewise, PML (N), this party also administered under the hereditary succession. The chain of leadership started with Abdul Samad Khan after him, his son Mehmood Khan Achakzai became the leader of the party. His brother Muhammad Khan Achakzai served as governor of Baluchistan from 2013 to 2018 and another brother Hamid Khan Achakzai became MNA and MPA in the 1990s. In addition, his nephew Mehmood Khan Achakzai also became MPA from 2002-2007.

Table 6: Hereditary Structure of PMAP

Founder & Founding year	Current President of Party	Ex-President of Party	Affinity Network in PMAP (Name & Designation)		Relationship with Founder/ Current Leader
Pashtunkhawa Milli Awami Party (PkMAP) 1989	Mahmood Khan Achakzai s/o Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai	Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai (1954-1973) after partition,	Muhammad Khan Achakzai	Governor of Baluchistan (2013-2018)	brother of Mehmood Khan Achakzai & son of Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai

Affinity Networks and Hereditary Succession in the Political Parties and its Impact on the Federation of Pakistan

		he allied with ANP in 1954.	Hamid Khan Achakzai	MNA 1993-1996 MPA-Baluchistan - 1999	brother of Mehmood Khan Achakzai & son of Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai
			Abdul Majeed Khan Achakzai	MPA-Baluchistan (2002-2007)	Nephew of Mehmood Khan Achakzai

Source: (FAFEN), (ECP), (Dunya News).

Findings and Conclusion

Political parties can play a significant role in strengthening democratic norms in a country. They are considered the guardian of the interests of society, they determine the nature, level, and direction of development in the state. If the role of political parties, in any state, is democratic then political development becomes inevitable, on contrary, undemocratic political parties weaken the state institutions. The politics in Pakistan is mostly influenced by the trend of hereditary succession and affinity networks in political parties. Although Pakistan adopted parliamentary democracy by its founding father, soon, it converted into an aristocratic political system due to a lack of democracy within political parties. The domination of the practices of dynastic entitlements in the political culture of Pakistan is obstructing the development of institutional democracy and weakening nationalism in the country. The interests of the political families are dominating over the interests of the federation.

Hereditary politics in Pakistan has concentrated the powers and authorities in the hands of party leadership which is against the spirit of democracy, while affinity networks in the political offices concentrated the political authority in the hands of a few political families. The same practices are existing in the second-tier leadership of political parties. Moreover, the political parties that have their roots in all federating units can easily streamline the public opinion across the federation and strengthen the 'unity' in all federating units. While hereditary political culture

makes fragile the principle of 'unity in diversity' because every political party and its member want to secure their positions for their children and their future career at any cost without bothering about the national interest. In the case of Pakistan, the hereditary political culture within its political parties is weakening the bond of the federation and strengthening parochialism.

References

- Anderson, G. (2008). *Federalism: An Introduction*. Canada: Oxford University Press.
- Besley & Querol, T. B. (2017). The Logic of Hereditary Rule: Theory and Evidence. *London School of Economics*, 1-29.
- Brownlee, J. (2007). Hereditary Succession in Modern Autocracies. *World Politics*, 595-628.
- Bulmer, E. (2017). *Constitutional Monarchs in Parliamentary Democracies*. Sweden: International IDEA.
- Caramani Daniele (2020). *Comparative Politics*. United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 5th Edition.
- Curato, N. (2012, October 2021). *What is Wrong with Political Dynasties?* Retrieved August 01, 2021, from GMA NEWS ONLINE: <https://www.gmanetwork.com/news/opinion/content/276345/what-is-wrong-with-political-dynasties/story/>
- Dunya News. (n.d.). *Pakistan Election 2018 results: Party Positions and list of Winning Candidates*. Retrieved November 01, 2021, from Dunya News: <https://dunyanews.tv/en/Pakistan/449863-Election-2018-results-complete-winners-list-Pakistan-PTI-PMLN-PPP>
- ECP. (n.d.). *Election Commission of Pakistan-Results*. Retrieved November 01, 2021, from Election Commission of Pakistan: <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/>
- Elazar, D. J. (2020). Federalism and Democracy. *Israel Yearbook on Human Rights*, 45-62.
- Ernesto Dal Bó, P. D. (2007). Political Dynasties. *NBER Working Paper*, 2-71. Retrieved from NBER Working Paper.
- Fafen. (n.d.). *Election Results*. Retrieved November 01, 2021, from Free and Fair Elections Network: <https://fafen.org/>

Affinity Networks and Hereditary Succession in the Political Parties and its Impact on the Federation of Pakistan

- Helms, L. (2020). Leadership Succession in Politics: The Democracy/Autocracy Divide Revisited. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 328-346.
- Mawhood, P. (1984). The Politics of Survival: Federal States in the Third World . *International Political Science Review*, 521-531.
- Nowaczyk, J. (2021, September 09). *Political Party: Definition, Function, Organization & Mobilization*. Retrieved October 25, 2021, from Study.com: <https://study.com/academy/lesson/political-party-definition-function-organization-mobilization.html>
- Olson, M. (1993). Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development. *American Political Science Review*, 567-576.
- Paine, T. (2009). *Common Sense*. Alexandria: The Capitol.net.
- Rudolph, E. (2015, October 21). *Family Ties: 4 International Political Dynasties*. Retrieved October 21, 2021, from International Center: <https://internationalcenter.org/2015/10/21/family-ties/>
- Shah Mariam, (2020, October 21). Dynastic Politics in Pakistan, Retrieved from Daily Times: <https://dailytimes.com.pk/680344/dynastic-politics-in-pakistan-2/>
- Scartozzi, C. M. (2017, February 09). *Hereditary Politics in Japan: A Family Business*. Retrieved November 02, 2021, from The Diplomat: <https://thediplomat.com/2017/02/hereditary-politics-in-japan-a-family-business/>
- Tullock, G. (1987). *Autocracy*. Kluwer: MA.
- Whitaker, R. (1983). *Federalism and Democratic Theory*. Ontario: Queen's University Press.
- Wikipedia. (2022, February 23). *Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (F)*. Retrieved from Wikipedia: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jamiat_Ulema-e-Islam_\(F\)#:~:text=JUI%2C%20JUI%2DF\)%%20is,%2C%20Fazal%2Dur%2DRehman.](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jamiat_Ulema-e-Islam_(F)#:~:text=JUI%2C%20JUI%2DF)%%20is,%2C%20Fazal%2Dur%2DRehman.)
- Wikipedia. (n.d.). *Pakistan General Election Results* . Retrieved November 01, 2021, from Wikipedia: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistani_general_election

Sarfraz Batool & Marium Kamal

Ziblatt, D. (2008). *Structuring the State: The Formation of Italy and Germany and the Puzzle of Federalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
