

Determinants of Voting Behavior in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: A Case Study of General Elections in 2002

ABSTRACT

This research paper analyzes the determinants of voting behavior in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) during the General Elections in 2002. In electoral politics, apprehension of voting behavior at the macro-level (national) has significance, but understanding it at micro-level (provincial) is also of great value. The main themes of this research are to determine the factors that significantly affected the public choice to vote and to explore the factors that are accountable for the province's political association. A sample size of 800 respondents was selected using a multi-stage and systematic method of sampling. It is argued that social determinants (51%) are more important than political (39.9%) and economic (6.5%) determinants in defining the voting behaviour in KP during General Elections of 2002. In this research, the value of the Pearson Chi-Square test provided a significant Probability Value (P-Value) that shows strong correlation among the several variables like area, age, gender, literacy, profession and monthly income stratifications.

Keywords: *Determinants, Voting Behavior, Electoral Politics, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 2002 Elections.*

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Introduction

Humans are social-political animals. Individuals are the basic unit of human society. Their engagement in the communal structure is steadfast. Therefore, the entire social setup is founded upon the activities of man which are determined by certain factors. Nevertheless, the intensity and manners of his involvement vary in political processes. Voting behavior of humans is an indispensable characteristic of realizing the temperament of voters. In popular and classless communities, voting is an important agency allowing chances to voters to become active masses rather than passive. One basic constituent of political publicity and progress is spending of money by the electoral candidate so that the voters may be influenced at the polling. It is of crucial significance to understand why voters act in a special manner with a specific mentality. To know that on what basis one electoral candidate wins or loses an election, sociologists have viewed the connection of voters with their ethnic group, *baradari*, as fundamental determinants of voting behavior while some political scientists have focused on the effect of party loyalty. Political scientists argued that religion also affects human behavior at both individual and community levels (Sheikh, Bokhari, & Naseer, 2012).

Voting

Voting is the root of democracy and provides an opportunity for the citizens to choose their representatives, who are then involved in the legislation and policy execution process of the country. It is crucial, in modern times, in democratic societies (Segal, 1974). The scope of 'voting' in the system of democracy is very large. Each adult citizen uses it for conveying his favor and disfavor of authorities' acts, judgments, policies and plans. According to Richard Rose and Harve Massaavir;

- i. Voting affects people's decisions of authorities or majority political plans of actions.
- ii. Voting allows people to take part in a mutual and on-going change to determine officers and nominees.
- iii. Voting adds to the growth and care of people's loyalty to the current government.

- iv. It also reflects citizens' alienation from the current government.
- v. Voting has both emotional and intellectual importance for citizens.

Voting plays an important role for citizens, candidates and scholars of politics (Akhter & Sheikh, 2014). Voting behavior is electoral behavior. To explain voting behavior is of immensely important. Due to its importance, the discipline of political psychology came into existence. Political psychologist or investigators analyze modes of voting to have great knowledge of voting decisions (Segal, 1974).

Determinants of Voting Behavior

Samuel S. Eldersveld wrote in his book *Theory and Method in Voting Behavior Research* that the phrase 'voting behavior' is very old and has been used to depict other fields of study and the kinds of political processes. Actually voting behavior is not limited to the evaluation of voting data, accomplishments, and calculation of electoral changes and activities only. It also affects an investigation of voter psychological actions (concept, feelings, and motives) and voter dealings with political activities and organizational practices, for example communication activities and their effects on elections. As reported by Plana and Riggs, voting behavior is an area of analyzing the modes in which citizens incline to cast votes in general elections and the reasons due to which they cast vote to any political party or candidate (Rauf & Shah, 2015). The analysis of voting behavior comprises an important field of empirical research. A human being is a rational organism in the philosophic meaning of the word, but he is not absolute rational in the fields of his political and economic behavior. An empirical analysis of the voting behavior shows the reality that voting behavior of human beings is affected by various irrational determinants and influences. Religion and ethnic determinants, or an attractive personality of a candidate are irrational determinants that have their explicit effect on the psyches of the citizens (Evans, 2004). The function of these irrational factors can be detected and distinguished. A study of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa's voting behavior shows various determinants viz rationality. It concludes that KP has got stable and durable governments, but the issues, tribal factors, and attractive personality of the candidates have only a partial role in the elections process (Akhter & Sheikh, 2014).

The voting behavior of voters is affected by various determinants i.e. party identification, religion, *baradari*, clientelism, ethnicity, and individual campaigns. Political parties and electoral candidates in KP apply these determinants to gain the majority votes. Electoral candidates work to stimulate the religious and local interests of the citizens; they also exploit the determinants of language or money to gain a favorable outcome in the elections. Political parties' manifestoes are released and a canvassing process is carried on for a peculiar plan or political theory. The voters' benefits and, consequently, their voting behavior, are affected by the type and aim of the pollings or the limit of the right to vote. Elections for national and provincial assemblies pursue well defined issues than the elections for local government. The attraction of personality has its own role to play during the elections (Ullah, 2014).

Electoral politics in KP have been analyzed by different scholars. In this connection, the works of Dr. Farmanullah and Dr. M. Shakeel Ahmad are worth mentioning. They have analyzed elections in KP at macro-level. They have explained the electoral politics and voting behavior of the citizens of KP by highlighting its connection with political parties, electoral candidates, clientelism, religion, *baradari* and ethnicity. The voters of KP mostly acknowledge these determinants. They are very vibrant and dynamic in their electoral behaviour. They pay due attention to parties' manifestos and their stance on different national and international issues. They also consider the personal character of an electoral candidate including his public presentation, capabilities, honesty, and religious affiliation (Akhter & Sheikh, 2014). The data of the 2002 elections and the electoral procedure is helpful to evaluate the voting behavior in the electoral politics of the general masses of KP.

History of Electoral Politics in KP

The history of electoral politics in KP begins from 1932 when the province was made as a Governor's province on April 18, 1932 under Sir Ralph Griffith as its first Governor. On the same day, Lord Willingdon, the Viceroy of India, inaugurated the Legislative Council of the KP, which consisted of 40 members including 28 elected and 12 nominated members. Electoral politics in KP began in 1932, but, it was greatly damaged due to four earliest historical evolutions; the indirect rule

system of British, the effects of *Khilafat* and *Hijrat* Movements, the reform dilemma and heritage of the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930-32. During the General Elections of 1946, elements like socio-economic conditions, religion, family effects, and the situation of the country, province and local level matters influenced the political behavior. However, the voters' witting affections regarding parties, candidates and issues appeared the greatest significant determinant of voting behavior in those elections (Ahmad, 2011).

People in Pakistan are mostly unaware of the substructure and the real flavor of the elections process. Following Independence of Pakistan, for 23 years (1947-1970), General Elections were not held in the country including KP province. Besides, the country faced four regimes of military dictatorship from 1958 onward. Continual military interference in the country's politics and affairs blocked the growth and progress of the political system in Pakistan. Another issue was unvarying modifications in the electoral system of the country since its independence in 1947. Therefore, the political system of Pakistan is yet in its phase of immaturity. Fundamental elements of any political system are its political conduct and mentality.

However, as compared to the rest of the provinces of Pakistan, voting behavior in KP shows inconsistent patterns; because they not only changed their candidates in each election, but often provided mandate to such political parties for the provincial authorities that remained out of the mainstream politics at national level as well as central ruling (Sheikh, Bokhari, & Naseer, 2012). The electoral history (1988-2018) reveals that, in KP, the PPP won in 1988 and 1993, ANP in 1990 and 2008, PML-N in 1997, MMA in 2002, and PTI won a majority mandate both in 2013, and 2018 elections for KP's provincial assembly. In Punjab, PML-N has been mostly victorious from 1988-2018 with the exception of PML-Q in 2002 and PTI in 2018 respectively. In Sindh, PPP has always been dominating political party from 1988-2018 (Lall, 2014).

Prevailing Political and Security Situation in KP

The General Elections of 2002 were held under especial circumstances in the country particularly in KP. The circumstances both inside the country and in the neighbour Afghanistan were terrible. Internally, there was no

elected government and the country was under military dictatorship. Externally, the 9/11 incident had altered the direction of the entire politics at world level (Morris, 2008). On one side, General Pervez Musharraf (the then Chief of Army Staff of Pakistan) had brought about some disputed reforms with a view to, in fact, strengthen and prolong his military rule and to give out an impression of normalizing the situation for restoration of democracy. For instance, he assumed the title of Chief Executive and put in abeyance the 1973 Constitution. Secondly, he proclaimed 'Provisional Constitutional Order, 1999 (PCO). Thirdly, in 2001, he took over charge as the President of Pakistan. Fourthly, to demonstrate himself as an elected President, he held Presidential Referendum in 2002, for the next five years (Ahmad, 2002). Lastly, in 2002, he introduced a series of constitutional amendments known as the Legal Framework Order (LFO) to transfer powers from the military to the ensuing democratic government, accommodating himself to remain president in the new set up as well.

Externally, Musharraf wanted to have good relations with the United States of America (USA) and maintain Pakistan's previous policy of working relations with big powers. However, the 9/11 incident totally changed the traditional politics and foreign policies of most of the countries of the world including Pakistan. The tragedy actively motivated USA to take serious steps against terrorism in the world (Lewis, 2012). The USA put its sole responsibility on Taliban of Afghanistan and declared a world-wide war against them. Various countries were compelled to join the war. Due to its adjacent boundary with Afghanistan and being the first country of the world to recognize the Taliban government in Kabul, Pakistan also had to sustain this pressure (Khan, 2011).

The General Elections of 2002 in KP

About 3,081,376 voters cast their votes in KP to elect representatives among 634 electoral candidates for KP provincial assembly in General Elections of 2002 on the basis of adult franchise. The minimum age limit was 18 years. All the citizens of Pakistan i.e. men and women of age of 18 years and above were eligible to cast their votes in this polling. Although illiteracy and poverty are very high in KP but still the voters cast their

ballots purposefully to choose their representatives. They had experience of previous elections for local government, provincial and national assemblies, and numerous bi-elections (Waseem, 2006). After September 11 and the crisis in Afghanistan, the General Elections of 2002 took place in Pakistan, especially, in KP. The circumstances were tense both inside and outside of the country. After the introduction of Legal Framework Order in August 2002, the political parties prepared elections manifestos and launched election campaigns. Their election manifestos revealed the future government's plan to solve different issues and problems faced by the people of Pakistan generally and KP particularly. Meanwhile, in response to the crisis in Afghanistan, the religio-political parties made an alliance comprised of six ultraconservative religious parties known as *Mutahidda Majlis-e-Ammal* (MMA). The basic theme of MMA's election manifesto and electoral campaign was enforcement of Islamic Rule (*Sharia* Law) in the country that was appealing to the *Pakhtun* community of KP. It won 48 seats out of total 99 elected seats (K. A. Khan, 2011).

Musharraf's decision to support the US-led War on terror provided an opportunity to the religious parties, which mobilized the people against the U.S and pro-US military regime in Pakistan. On the other hand, Musharraf perceived the Islamists as a possible future ally, so he did not consider them as a threat to his government, and even he repressed the other parties, he permitted the MMA to participate more freely in the General Elections of 2002 (Haqqani, 2004). In this regard, the MMA came into being. It was comprised of six ultra-conservative religious political parties;

- i. Jamiat Ulama-e-Pakistan (JUP),
- ii. Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam (Fazl ur Rehman) (JUI-F),
- iii. Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam (Samiul Haq) (JUI-S),
- iv. Jamiat-e-Ahle Hadith (JAH),
- v. Tehrik-e-Jafaria Pakistan (TJP), and
- vi. Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan (JI).

All these parties are religio-political in nature claiming their common agenda of the implementation of *Sharia* as per the interpretation of their respective school of thought. However, they had different manifestoes, political nature, political culture, political alliances and electoral campaigns. In the country's electoral history, religious parties had a very

weak position but they formed government in KP and coalition government in Balochistan. At the Centre, the MMA emerged as an opposition party (Khan, 2014).

After coming into power in KP in 2002, the MMA became prominent due to its anti-US and anti-Musharraf rhetoric. It failed, however, to establish *Sharia*-based government in KP. The new form of legislation, *Hasba* Bill, was put forward by MMA, which was a new thing for the purpose to enforce Islamic norms in the province. However, this was blocked by the Supreme Court of Pakistan under Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry. The bill was declared unconstitutional (Khan, 2011). During MMA government in KP, the *Taliban* were free to propagate and impose their fundamentalist ideologies and practices, including the destruction of music halls, female schools, video shops and resistance to co-education. The MMA's provincial government created problems for the Musharraf regime. It was critical of central government's interference in their religious institutions (*Dini-Madaris*). It also provided funds to Madaris in KP. The temporary unity of MMA shattered during 2008 general elections, which resulted in a failure of the religious parties due to public disillusionment after their five years of government in KP. Due to their ultra-orthodox and exclusionary ideologies, they were largely responsible for religious intolerance, sectarian violence and militancy that threatened the security of the country (Khan, 2014).

Hypothesis/Research Questions

- i. Political and economic factors played a lesser role as determinants of the voting behavior in the electoral politics of KP during General Elections of 2002 in Pakistan. However,
- ii. Social factors i.e. religion, *baradari* and ethnicity tendencies played a prominent role as determinants of the voting behavior in KP.

Method

Electoral politics in KP mainly follow western electoral theories on voting behavior, particularly, 'sociological', 'psycho-sociological' and 'rational choice' electoral theories. The intellectuals of the sociological theory have

stressed the impact of social and external factors on the decision of the voters. Psychological theory, however, emphasizes psychological factors or the personal judgment of a single voter. The advocates of rational choice theory emphasize on the economic factors that influence the voters. Some scholars, however, call for bringing about a balanced relationship between social and political factors in voting research. Instead of focusing on a single factor, they take into account the co-inhibiting factors lying behind the voters' decisions. In the US, at times, voters throw out an electoral candidate on social grounds taking the plea that the candidate was not 'sound fitted out'. Similarly, candidates are often done away with because of the awareness disseminated by political or socio-political experts (Ahmad, 2010). This research is empirical which is mainly comprised of quantitative and analytical techniques. Primary data in the shape of questionnaires have been collected through a multi-stage and systematic sampling from the respondents chosen from the voters' list. The data has been assorted, set up and examined in different tables.

Rationalization of the Chosen Area

This research work evaluates the electoral politics of 2002 and the voting determinants of party loyalty/party manifesto, religion, *baradari*, clientelism, and ethnicity both in rural and urban regions of KP. The rural regions in KP have uniform economic, political and social conditions with a little bit variation. Similarly, the urban regions of KP relatively have uniform features of growth and political awareness. For corresponding regions in sampling, responses have been collected from union councils of both of the rural and urban regions in two constituencies of the district Peshawar of KP. Andrew R. Wilder in his book *The Pakistani Voter: Electoral Politics and Voting Behavior in the Punjab* ascertains the political and social voting determinants in rural and urban regions of Punjab by attempting the case study of N.A-97 in Lahore. Muhammad Shakeel Ahmad in his Ph.D dissertation *Electoral Politics in NWFP: 1988-1999* determines the political and social determinants in rural and urban regions of KP by attempting the case study of N.A-1 in Peshawar. Similarly, Farmanullah in his Ph.D dissertation *Voting Behavior in Pakistan: (A Case Study of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 2008 General Elections)* also

describes the political and social voting determinants in rural and urban regions of KP by taking the case study of N.A-2 in Peshawar.

Sampling Method

The provincial electoral constituencies of PF-1 and PF-5 in KP are the areas of this research. These two constituencies had total 71009 and 86454 registered voters during General Elections of 2002 respectively. According to the Census of 1998 in Pakistan, there were total 93 union councils in district Peshawar. Representative sampling was chosen randomly and through systematic sampling.

Sample Size

For the purpose to achieve a popular sample size, approximately 800 voters were selected using multi-stages sample method as follows;

Phase 1: There are total eleven provincial assembly's constituencies in district Peshawar i.e. PF-1 to PF-11. The two provincial assembly's constituencies i.e. PF-1 (Peshawar-I) and PF-5 (Peshawar-V) were randomly selected in the phase.

Phase 2: There were total 93 union councils (UCs) in district Peshawar, in which six UCs were randomly selected. Further, out of six UCs, three were selected from rural and three from urban regions. *Regi, Sarband* and *Urmur Miana* were rural, while *Hayatabad-II, Shaheen Town,* and *Tehkal Payan-2* were urban UCs.

Phase 3: In this phase, in July 2017, about 200 voters were chosen randomly for the operation of the electoral theories from each UC of equal number. The sample size amounts to 800 respondents. These 200 respondents were chosen on the ground of random and systematic technique through voters' lists from each those six union councils. The process of obtaining responses was such that a voter was randomly selected then followed by every fourth (4th) voter was chosen up to 200 respondents accomplished. In this way out of 800, half 400 rural and half 400 urban regions respondents were attempted. A large number of

questionnaires were not given back by the voters, in which voters were mostly aged, illiterates and women from rural regions, because voters in KP province are not research-oriented, secondly they felt hesitant to provide true and clear data, thirdly, mostly, they avert to fill the questionnaires and considered it a waste of time. Though, a total of 800 questionnaires were distributed, 664 questionnaires properly filled were obtained by the researcher.

Findings and Analysis

Most important and influential voting determinants in KP are party loyalty/party manifesto, religion, *baradari*, clientelism, and ethnicity. So, it is vitally necessary to foreground their value in the general election of 2002 in KP. In this regard, responses have been collected with connection to the question,

'On which basis, did you cast your vote for the KP's provincial assembly during the General Elections of 2002?'

- i. Party Loyalty/Party Manifesto
- ii. Religion
- iii. *Baradari*
- iv. Clientelism
- v. Ethnicity
- vi. Any other

The question has been asked to bring out voters' behavior regarding those factors that compelled them to cast their votes to any political party or candidate in 2002 elections. The question has also been analyzed in the light of several variables including area, gender, age, literacy, profession, and monthly income based stratifications.

Area-Based Stratification

Rural and urban respondents voted for various political parties/candidates on different basis. The majority of 'rural' respondents pointed out that they voted on the 'party loyalty/party manifesto' and 'religion' basis, while urban respondents selected '*baradari*', 'clientelism', and 'ethnicity' as the basis for voting in the general elections of 2002.

Table 1
Rural/Urban Consideration and Determinants of Voting Behavior in 2002 Elections

	Party Loyalty/ Party Manifesto	Religion	<i>Baradari</i>	Clientelism	Ethnicity	Any other	Total
Rural	150 (41.0%)	107 (29.2%)	58 (15.8%)	23 (6.3%)	21 (5.7%)	7 (1.9%)	366 (100.0%)
Urban	115 (38.6%)	70 (23.5%)	62 (20.8%)	20 (6.7%)	20 (6.7%)	11 (3.7%)	298 (100.0%)
Total	265 (39.9%)	177 (26.7%)	120 (18.1%)	43 (6.5%)	41 (6.2%)	18 (2.7%)	664 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value= 6.720 , *P-value*=0.242

A large number of 'rural' respondents maintained that they voted for the party/candidate on the basis of 'party loyalty/party manifesto' (41.0%) and 'religion' (29.2%), while urban respondents voted on the basis of *baradari* (20.8%), clientelism (6.7%), and ethnicity (6.7%) in 2002 general elections for KP provincial assembly. The table shows that party identification and religion are more effective voting determinants in rural areas as compared to urban areas, and election manifesto that contains addressing current problems, issues, and policies for their solution also have great importance in rural regions.

The table 1 shows that in the general elections of 2002 for KP provincial assembly, 'urban' respondents dominated the strata and favoured political factor i.e. 'party loyalty/party manifesto' with 38.6%, followed by the social factors i.e. religion (23.5%), *baradari* (20.8%) and ethnicity (6.7%), collectively (36.9%) and the economic factor i.e. 'clientelism' with 6.7%.

The Pearson Chi-Square test does not provide a significant Probability Value (*P-value*). The *P-value* of 0.242 > 0.05 shows that there is no significant correlation between the variables.

Gender-Based Stratification

Party loyalty/party manifesto is a dominant voting determinant pointed out by the male respondents, while other voting determinants like

religion, *baradari*, clientelism, ethnicity and any other were more favored by female respondents in the 2002 general elections.

Table 2
Gender Stratification and Determinants of Voting Behavior in 2002 Elections

	Party Loyalty/ Party Manifesto	Religion	<i>Baradari</i>	Clientelism	Ethnicity	Any other	Total
Male	232 (43.1%)	140 (26.0%)	94 (17.5%)	31 (5.8%)	30 (5.6%)	11 (2.0%)	538 (100.0%)
Female	33 (26.2%)	37 (29.4%)	26 (20.6%)	12 (9.5%)	11 (8.7%)	7 (5.6%)	126 (100.0%)
Total	265 (39.9%)	177 (26.7%)	120 (18.1%)	43 (6.5%)	41 (6.2%)	18 (2.7%)	664 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value= 16.845 , *P-value*= 0.005

In terms of gender, the male respondents greatly supported (43.1%) the party loyalty/party manifesto as voting determinant, while female respondents greatly favored religion (29.4%), *baradari* (20.6%), clientelism (9.5%) and ethnicity (8.7%). The above table shows that the voting determinants of 'party identification' and 'issue voting' are more important in male as compared to female, while other voting determinants like religion, *baradari*, clientelism, ethnicity and any other maintained good numbers of female respondents in the 2002 general elections.

The table 2 indicates that in the general elections of 2002 for KP provincial assembly, 'female' respondents dominantly favoured the social factors i.e. religion (29.4%), *baradari* (20.6%) and ethnicity (8.7%), collectively (58.7%), followed by 'male' respondent supported political factor i.e. 'party loyalty/party manifesto' (43.1%), while the economic factor i.e. 'clientelism' with 9.5% was more favoured by 'female' respondents.

The Pearson Chi-Square test yields a significant Probability Value (*P-value*) of 0.005. The *P-value* < 0.05 shows that there is a correlation between the variables.

Age-Based Stratification

The respondents whose age is between 18 to 40 years determined that they voted on the basis of party loyalty/ party manifesto and

religion, while respondents above 40 years pointed out *baradari*, clientelism and ethnicity were the main determinants.

Table 3

Age-wise Stratification and Determinants of Voting Behavior in 2002 Elections

	Party Loyalty/ Party Manifesto	Religion	<i>Baradari</i>	Clientelism	Ethnicity	Any other	Total
18-40	113 (40.5%)	78 (28.0%)	50 (17.9%)	18 (6.5%)	14 (5.0%)	6 (2.2%)	279 (100.0%)
Above 40	152 (39.5%)	99 (25.7%)	70 (18.2%)	25 (6.5%)	27 (7.0%)	12 (3.1%)	385 (100.0%)
Total	265 (39.9%)	177 (26.7%)	120 (18.1%)	43 (6.5%)	41 (6.2%)	18 (2.7%)	664 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value= 1.954 , *P-value*= 0.013

Respondents whose age were (18-40) years largely supported the voting determinants party loyalty/party manifesto (40.5%) and religion (28%), while other voting determinants i.e. *baradari* (18.2%), ethnicity (7%). were pointed out by respondents whose age was above 40 years. Clientelism was equally (6.5%) selected by both the age stratification. The above table shows that like rural respondents party loyalty/party manifesto and religion are more popular in respondents whose age is (18-40) years, and other voting determinants like above urban respondents are of more significant in respondents whose age is (above 40) years.

The table 3 demonstrates that in the general elections of 2002 for KP provincial assembly, each younger respondents whose age was '18-40' years and elder respondents whose age was 'above 40' years dominated the social factors i.e. religion, *baradari* and ethnicity, collective equally (50.9%), followed by younger respondent whose age was '18-40' years supported political factor i.e. 'party loyalty/party manifesto' (40.5%), while the economic factor i.e. 'clientelism' with 6.5% was equally favoured by '18-40' and 'above 40' years respondents.

The Pearson Chi-Square test provides a significant Probability value (*P-value*) of 0.013. The *P-value* < 0.05 shows a strong association between the variables.

Literacy-based Stratification

A large number (about equal percentage) of both literate and illiterate respondents asserted 'party loyalty/party manifesto' as their voting determinant.

Table 4

Literacy-based Stratification and Determinants of Voting Behavior in 2002 Elections

	Party Loyalty/ Party Manifesto	Religion	<i>Baradari</i>	Clientelism	Ethnicity	Any other Or Sorry	Total
Literate	194 (40.2%)	133 (27.6%)	82 (17.0%)	34 (7.1%)	26 (5.4%)	13 (2.7%)	482 (100.0%)
Illiterate	71 (39.0%)	44 (24.2%)	38 (20.9%)	9 (4.9%)	15 (8.2%)	5 (2.7%)	182 (100.0%)
Total	265 (39.9%)	177 (26.7%)	120 (18.1%)	43 (6.5%)	41 (6.2%)	18 (2.7%)	664 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value= 4.366 , *P-value*= 0.008

A large number of literate respondents (40.2%) and illiterate respondents (39%) affirmed 'party loyalty/party manifesto' as their voting determinant, followed by a good number of literate respondents (27.6%) supported religion. A considerable number of literate and illiterate respondents favored other voting determinants i.e. *baradari*, clientelism and ethnicity.

The table 4 shows that in the general elections of 2002 for KP provincial assembly, 'illiterate' respondents dominantly favoured the social factors i.e. religion (24.2%), *baradari* (20.9%) and ethnicity (8.2%), collectively (53.3%), followed by 'literate' respondent supported political factor i.e. 'party loyalty/party manifesto' (40.2%), and the economic factor i.e. 'clientelism' with 7.1%.

The Pearson Chi-Square test provides a significant Probability Value (*P-value*) of 0.008. The *P-value* < 0.05 shows that there is a strong association between the variables.

Profession Based Stratification

Dominantly, all the professional stratification particularly non-government servants pointed out party loyalty/party manifesto as their voting determinants.

Table 5
Profession-based Stratification and Determinants of Voting Behavior in 2002 Elections

	Party Loyalty/ Party Manifesto	Religion	Baradari	Clientelism	Ethnicity	Any other	Total
Govt. Servant	91 (42.7%)	58 (27.2%)	37 (17.4%)	9 (4.2%)	12 (5.6%)	6 (2.8%)	213 (100.0%)
Non-Govt. Servant	43 (44.8%)	25 (26.0%)	12 (12.5%)	10 (10.4%)	5 (5.2%)	1 (1.0%)	96 (100.0%)
Businessman & Shopkeeper	64 (40.0%)	40 (25.0%)	34 (21.2%)	8 (5.0%)	11 (6.9%)	3 (1.9%)	160 (100.0%)
House Wife	22 (26.5%)	25 (30.1%)	16 (19.3%)	9 (10.8%)	8 (9.6%)	3 (3.6%)	83 (100.0%)
Other	45 (40.9%)	29 (26.4%)	21 (18.75%)	7 (6.4%)	5 (4.5%)	5 (4.5%)	112 (100.0%)
Total	265 (39.9%)	177 (26.7%)	120 (18.1%)	43 (6.5%)	41 (6.2%)	18 (2.7%)	664 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value= 29.551 , P-value= 0.012

The party loyalty/party manifesto greatly favored (44.8%) by the non-government servants respondents, followed by religion (30.1%) from housewives as their voting determinants. Other voting determinants were considerably supported by other professional stratification. It is noted that the voting determinant of 'party loyalty/party manifesto' was greatly welcomed by all the professional stratification, followed by 'religion'.

The table 5 shows that in the general elections of 2002 for KP provincial assembly, the social factors i.e. religion, *baradari* and ethnicity collectively dominated by 'house wives' (59.0%), 'businessman & shopkeeper' (53.1%), 'government servant' (50.2%), 'other' group of profession (49.65%) and 'non-government servant' (43.7%), followed by the political factor i.e. 'party loyalty/party manifesto' favoured by respondents of 'non-government servant' (44.8%), 'government servant' (42.7%), 'other' group of profession (40.9%), 'businessman & shopkeeper' (40.0%) and 'house wives' (26.5%), while the economic factor i.e. 'clientelism' was supported by the respondents of 'house wives' (10.8%), 'non-government servant' (10.4%), 'other' group of profession (6.4%), 'businessman & shopkeeper' (5.0%) and 'government servant' (4.2%).

The Pearson Chi-Square provides significant Probability Value (*P-value*) of 0.012. The *P-value* < 0.05 shows that there is a strong association between the variables.

Monthly Income-Based Stratification

Party loyalty/party manifesto is dominated by respondents whose monthly income was (20,000 & below). Religion was equally supported by both the stratifications as their voting determinant.

Table 6

Monthly Income Group Stratification and Determinants of Voting Behavior in 2002 Elections

	Party Loyalty/ Party Manifesto	Religion	Baradari	Clientelism	Ethnicity	Any other Or Sorry	Total
20,000 & Below	86 (46.0%)	48 (25.7%)	32 (17.1%)	10 (5.3%)	10 (5.3%)	1 (0.5%)	187 (100.0%)
Above 20,000	122 (41.8%)	77 (26.4%)	57 (19.5%)	15 (5.1%)	12 (4.1%)	9 (3.1%)	292 (100.0%)
Any other or Sorry	57 (30.8%)	52 (28.1%)	31 (16.8%)	18 (9.7%)	19 (10.3%)	8 (4.3%)	185 (100.0%)
Total	265 (39.9%)	177 (26.7%)	120 (18.1%)	43 (6.5%)	41 (6.2%)	18 (2.7%)	664 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value= 23.303 , P-value= 0.010

A large number of respondents 'whose monthly income was (20,000 & below)' dominantly pointed out 'party loyalty/party manifesto' as their voting determinant with 46%, followed by respondents whose monthly income was (Above 20,000) with 41.8%. Religion was greatly supported (26.4%) by the respondents whose monthly income was (Above 20,000) and by respondents whose monthly income (20,000 & below) with 25.7% as their voting determinant.

The table 6 shows that in the general elections of 2002 for KP provincial assembly, the social factors i.e. religion, *baradari* and ethnicity collectively dominated by respondents of 'any other or sorry' group of monthly income with 55.2%, more monthly income group 'above 20,000' with 50.0% and less monthly income group '20,000 & below' with 48.1%, followed by the political factor i.e. 'party loyalty/party manifesto' favoured by the respondents of less monthly income group ;20,000 & below' with 46.0%, more monthly income group 'above 20,000' with 41.8% and 'any other or sorry' group of monthly income with 30.8%, while the economic factor i.e. 'clientelism' was supported by 'any other or sorry' monthly income group with 9.7%, less monthly income group

'20,000 & below' with 5.3% and more monthly income group 'above 20,000' with 5.1%.

The Pearson Chi-Square test provides a significant Probability Value (*P*-value) of 0.010. The *P*-value < 0.05 shows that there exist strong associations among the variables.

It was observed that the voting determinant of 'party manifesto/party loyalty' was greatly favored (39.9%) by respondents from all variables, followed by religion (26.7%), *Baradari* (18.1%), while clientelism and ethnicity were equally supported (6.5%). Further, in variables' stratifications, 'party manifesto/party loyalty' as voting determinant was comparatively more favored by rural (41.0%), male (43.1%), younger (40.5%), literate (40.2%), non-government servant (44.8%), and less monthly income (46.0%) respondents. 'Party manifesto/party loyalty' was followed by religion which was comparatively more supported by rural (29.2%), female (29.4%), younger (28.0%), literate (27.6%), house wives (30.1%), and any other or sorry group of monthly income (28.1%) respondents. *Baradari* as voting determinant was more affirmed by urban (20.8%), female (20.6%), elder (18.2%), illiterate (20.9%), businessman & shopkeeper (21.2%), and more monthly income (19.5%) respondents. Clientelism as voting determinant was greatly pointed out by urban (6.7%), female (9.5%), literate (7.1%), house wives (10.8%), and any other or sorry group of monthly income (9.7%) respondents. Ethnicity as voting determinant was greatly favored by urban (6.7%), female (8.7%), elder (7.0%), illiterate (8.2%), house wives (9.6%), and any other or sorry group of monthly income (10.3%) respondents.

The study consists of application of the three electoral theories with the help of quantitative data in the shape of responses collected through questionnaires regarding the voting trend with reference to the 2002 general elections for KP provincial assembly. First, the quantitative data is based on the application of the sociological theory. It claims that the theory is applicable to a greater extent (51%)¹ and also calculated in terms of several variables; area, age, gender, profession, monthly income and literacy. It has been equally supported by the respondents from urban/rural and age; and greatly favored by female, housewives, respondents whose monthly income belonging to the category of 'any other or sorry' and the illiterate respondents. Secondly, the quantitative data is also based on the application of the theory of psycho-

¹Religion 6.7% + *baradari* 18.1% + ethnic 6.2% are equal to 51%.

sociological/party identification. It claims that the theory is applicable to some extent (39.9%) in the electoral politics of KP and further analyzed in terms of several variables. It has been found that the theory has been favored to greater extent by the rural, male, younger, non-government servants, respondents with lower monthly income and the literates. Thirdly, the quantitative data is also based on the application of the rational/Downs' Axis theory. It argues that the theory is applicable to a very limited extent (6.5%) in the electoral politics of KP in 2002 elections. The theory is further analyzed in terms of several variables and noted that it has been supported to a greater extent by the urban, female, the young and elders equally, housewives, respondent whose monthly income belonging to the category of 'any other or sorry', and the literate.

Conclusion

Voting is a basic right of a citizen in every democratic society. It makes citizens able to elect their leaders and is a fundamental course that enables the governmental process to continue. Voting behavior and political engagement plays a vital role in the democratic system. In this research paper, those factors were evaluated that anticipated the voting behavior of voters in the 2002 general elections in KP. It was found that the social factors i.e. religion (26.7%), *baradari* (18.1%) and ethnicity (6.2%) collectively, had played an effective role (51.0%), followed by the political factor 'party manifesto/party loyalty' with 39.9% and economic factor 'clientelism' with 6.5% as the determinants of voting behavior in the electoral politics of KP during the general elections of 2002.

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