

Party Identification as a Determinant of Voters' Behaviour in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: A Case Study of General Elections the 2008

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This article investigates the voters' behaviour in the 2008 general elections in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP). The study tests electoral theory of 'party identification'. The study postulates that the electoral theory of party identification (also partisanship) operates to limited extent in the electoral politics of KP in the 2008 elections. These claims are supported by empirical evidence collected through quantitative data collection method i.e. questionnaire. In this study, 800 respondents have been taken from the voter list by systematic and multistage random sampling in NA-2 constituency in Peshawar. The data collected in the universe shows that (32.4%) of the respondents supported partisanship in 2008 polls. The chi-square test and probability value have been used while making statistical inferences. Through these claims, the study intends to contribute to the limited existing literature on electoral politics in KP.

Key words: electoral behaviour, electoral studies, electoral politics, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 2008 General Polls, party identification

Party identification or partisanship is one of the electoral theory in the field of electoral studies (Evans, 2004; Campbell, Converse, Miller, & Stokes, 1976; Palmer, 1975; Elcock, 1976; Lewis-Beck, Jacoby, Norpoth, & Weisberg, 2008; Smith, 1989). It is the electoral theory in which voters base their electoral choice on the basis of party loyalty. Therefore, electoral campaigns have less effect on voting choice. (Anderson & Stephenson, 2010). It is believed that party identification among the voters develops due to the influence of parents and other external factors. Such identification is consolidated in the latter life and is less receptive to any other influences (Franklin, 1984).

The theory of party identification has been thoroughly discussed by Angus Campbell in this work, *The American Voter*, published in 1960.¹ This work is considered to be the first work in electoral studies. Campbell posits that the party affiliation is so significant that even the electoral campaigns have no effect on moulding the electoral preferences of the voters. Campbell has elucidated the theory in terms of psychology (Jenson, 1975). It is the affection/emotions of a voter that he/she identifies himself/herself in terms of a party identity. Partisanship is a long term process and remains for a long time (Weinschenk, 2010). Political events, party leaders and issues are also some of the important factors that shape the orientation of party identification (Franklin & Jackson, 1983). Thus, party identification is a stable phenomenon which is not affected by issue voting (Weinschenk, 2010).

The theory of party identification is usually applicable in countries having two party system like USA, UK and Canada etc. Gidengil et al (2001), has analyzed the electoral data with regard to USA (1996), Britain (1997) and Canada (1997) and found that party identification is the key factor in these countries (Gidengil, Nadeau, & Nevitte, 2001).

Electoral studies on Pakistan suggest that partisanship is one of the determinants of electoral behaviour but not the most significant one. Wilder discusses electoral politics in the Pakistan with reference to 1993 elections in the Punjab province. He argues that partisanship is crucial only in urban Punjab. The research work has challenged the common perception that voting behaviour is determined by social determinants in the Punjab. The study argued that only political determinants i.e. clientelism in rural areas and partisanship in urban areas determine the voting behaviour in the Punjab. Wilder includes gender, class, age, education, religion, factionalism, *beradari* etc. in the social determinants of voting behaviour (Wilder, 1999). All these social determinants of voting behaviour are not applicable in the entire province of the Punjab. If one determinant applies in one part of the province, its application in other parts is totally impracticable. For example, *beradari* is important in central and northern Punjab but it is not crucial in southern

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¹ This is the first empirical research on American voting behaviour. This is considered as Bible in the electoral studies. Originally, this book is comprised of two reports regarding the 1952 and 1956 presidential elections.

and western Punjab. Similarly, sectarian politics is more important in district Jhang than any other district in the Punjab. Likewise, the electoral politics of *Pirs, Syeds* and *Makhdooms* is more important in southern Punjab than any other part in the province. Thus the social determinants are unable to explain the voting behaviour in a holistic way. It gives localized explanation of voting behaviour which does not encompass the whole province. It covers only the southern Punjab where the social set up is tribal and feudal (Wilder, 1999). Wilder proves that only the political determinants i.e. partisanship in urban Punjab and clientelistic politics in rural Punjab, are the major determinants of voting behaviour in the Punjab. He also includes the 'issue politics' in the political determinants of voting behaviour. Regarding the party based voting in urban Punjab, the study highlights that PPP and PML (N) are the major political parties operating in the Punjab. Here the people cast vote not to the candidate but to the party. The case study of NA-97 in Lahore in 1993 elections also confirms the trend of party identification in the urban Punjab. Party affiliation is more common in the urban parts of northern, central and southern Punjab (Wilder, 1999).

Waseem studies the electoral politics in Pakistan by applying the Columbian, Michigan and Downsian approaches (Waseem, 2006). The Columbian approach argues that social context affect the partisanship of the voters. The social context refers to race, ethnicity, religion, sect, urban-rural divide, gender etc. These are called as the short term forces of voting behaviour. The Michigan approach corresponds to organisational model of the political parties. It argues that political parties should have the potential to mobilize the masses and maintain their support. Downsian theory assumes the cost and benefit relationship involved in the act of voting. It carefully analyses the cost involve in electing a party or candidate and then compare it with the benefits. Both the voter and the party or candidate seeks maximum benefits at a minimum cost. It is also called rational theory of voting. Waseem argues that all these theories are applicable in the electoral politics of Pakistan (Waseem, 1994).

With reference to KP, Imdad Ali Khan determines voting behavior with reference to 1986 elections. He argues that these elections were unique in the sense that they were non-party based elections and election campaign and processions were banned by the government. These elections were also important in a sense that there were no electoral manifestoes of the political parties before the voters. In such a situation it was a difficult task to motivate the voters for voting. Thus the theory of party identification was not applicable in 1986 elections (Khan, 1986). Similarly, the Ph.D. dissertation of Muhammad Shakeel Ahmad tends to explore the voting behaviour in KP from 1988 to 1999. This period covers the four national and provincial elections i.e. 1988, 1990, 1993 and 1999. It has challenged the perception that voting behaviour is entirely determined by the social determinants. The writer argues that the political determinants are there in the urban areas while the patron-client pattern exists in the rural areas. In his theoretical framework, he mentions various theories including party identification, clientelism, and rational choice theory (Ahmad, 2010).

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is a strategically important province of Pakistan (Rome, 2013). Since the war against terrorism, the province has been at the centre of the conflict in the broader region including Pak-Afghanistan. The war has significantly affected the economy, society and political environment of the province. There have been considerable academic (research) interest in the province lately (Ahmed, 2013; Haroon, 2007; Hopkins & Marsden, 2013; Jan & Aman, 2013; Marsden & Hopkins, 2012; Rome, 2013; White, 2008). However, such interest is primarily in the areas of religious extremism, political unrest and socio-economic change. Although these kinds of inquiries are important, there is a dire need for a thorough investigation into electoral trends and voters' behaviour in the province. This paper intends to make such contribution to the existing literature.

Hypotheses

- 1) Partisanship is not an important determinant of electoral behaviour in KP.
- 2) Party identification is not strongly supported in urban areas.
- 3) Party identification is not vehemently preferred by male voters.
- 4) Party identification is not fervently supported by younger voters.
- 5) Party identification is mainly declined by farmers, retired persons, the unemployed, students, and skilled and unskilled workers.
- 6) Party identification is not mainly supported by voters with low-monthly income.
- 7) Party identification is strongly opposed by literate electorate.

Research Questions:

- 1) What party identification is?
- 2) What is the role of party identification in describing electoral behaviour in KP with reference to 2008 general polls?

Method

The research is based on quantitative and analytical methods. It is quantitative because data have been collected on the basis of questionnaire. It is analytical in the sense that data have been analyzed on the basis of statistical tests like chi-square test and probability value. Secondary data have also been used in order to understand the theoretical framework of party identification.

Criterion for Operational Measurement of Electoral Variable

Keeping in view the hypothesis and research questions, the study has been confined to the operational measurement of the variable of party identification. Regarding the application of this variable, three questions have been asked. Each question has been analysed with the help of chi-square test, p-value and percentage method. In order to comprehend the extent of the relevance of theory of partisanship, the average percentage of these questions, has been calculated. The following criterion has been followed for measuring the extent of application of variable of party identification.

- The average percentage which is 40% and below has been termed as "Limited Extent."
- The average percentage which is 60% and below has been termed as "Some Extent."
- The average percentage which is above 60% has been termed as "Great Extent."

Rationalization for the Selection of Universe

This study is confined to the urban/rural stratification in NA-2 in Peshawar. The following studies provide justification for the selection of the universe.

- Andrew R. Wilder in his work, *The Pakistani Voter: Electoral Politics and Voting Behaviour in the Punjab* discusses electoral politics in the Punjab with reference to NA-97 in Lahore.
- Muhammad Shakeel Ahmad in his Ph.D dissertation, *Electoral Politics in NWFP: 1988-1999* discusses electoral politics in NWFP (now KP) with reference to NA-1 in Peshawar.

Sampling Method and Size

The universe of the study is NA-2 Peshawar which consists of twenty union councils. A representative sampling consisting of 800 voters was obtained through the following technique.

Stage 1: The district of Peshawar has NA-1, NA-2, NA-3 and NA-4 national level constituencies. The constituency of NA-2 was selected randomly.

Stage 2: The constituency of NA-2 has 20 Union Councils. Among these 16 union councils are urban and the rest are rural. Two union councils were randomly selected from each the urban and rural areas. The urban Union Councils are Tehkal Payan-2 and Shaheen Town and that of the rural Union Councils are Sufaid Dheri and Regi.

Stage 3: From each union council, 200 voters were randomly and systematically selected from the voter list. It means that 400 voters were selected from each the urban and rural area. Thus, the total size of the sample becomes 800. Some of the respondents did not return the questionnaire due to one or another reason. As a result the researcher could get only 613 questionnaires.

Partisanship and its Operational Dimension

The theory of partisanship has been tested and analysed in light of the following open and close ended questions.

- In 2008 polls, which party did you prefer to vote?
- To what extent you preferred to vote on the basis of partisanship in the 2008 polls?
- Have you attained the electoral aim for which you preferred to vote in the 2008 polls?

Party Identification and Majority Party in the 2008 Elections

The 2008 General Elections, lead to the electoral success of Awami National Party (ANP), followed by Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarian (PPPP) in KP. A part from these electoral results, it is also important to further elaborate this partisan behaviour in terms of the responses collected in the field. In order to furnish such elaboration, responses have been collected with regard to the question, "In 2008 polls, which party did you prefer to vote?"

Urban/Rural Consideration

Both the ANP and the PPPP have strong support in urban area.

Table 1
Urban/Rural Area and Party identification

	MMA ²	PPPP	PML(N)	ANP	Sorry	Total
Urban	57 (17.1%)	117 (35.1%)	8 (2.4%)	123 (36.9%)	28 (8.4%)	333 (100.0%)
Rural	48 (17.1%)	96 (34.3%)	22 (7.9%)	95 (33.9%)	19 (6.8%)	280 (100.0%)
Total	105 (17.1%)	213 (34.7%)	30 (4.9%)	218 (35.6%)	47 (7.7%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 10.189, P-value = 0.037

Majority of the respondents voted for ANP (35.6%), followed by PPPP (34.7%) in the 2008 elections. In terms of the urban / rural stratification, majority of the urban respondents supported both PPPP (35.1%) and ANP (36.9%). The support of the rural respondents for PPPP (34.3%) and ANP (33.9%) was less to urban respondents. It shows that both PPPP and ANP have been supported more in urban area as compared to rural one in the 2008 elections. Interestingly, the *Mutahida Majlis-e-Amal* (MMA) extracted an equal support both in urban and rural divisions. The Pearson Chi-Square test furnishes significant probability value (p-value) which shows that there is significance correlation between the variables.

Gender Consideration

The male respondents support ANP and PPPP more in the 2008 elections. The female respondents have less support for these political parties. However, the female respondents vehemently support the religious parties due to their inclination towards religion. This is interesting because the literature claims that PPPP is more popular in women because it was headed by a woman and the party has supported women rights in the province.

Table 2
Gender and Party Identification

	MMA	PPPP	PML(N)	ANP	Sorry	Total
Male	49 (13.5%)	129 (35.4%)	19 (5.2%)	131 (36.0%)	36 (9.9%)	364 (100.0%)
Female	56 (22.5%)	84 (33.7%)	11 (4.4%)	87 (34.9%)	11 (4.4%)	249 (100.0%)
Total	105 (17.1%)	213 (34.7%)	30 (4.9%)	218 (35.6%)	47 (7.7%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 13.175, P-value = 0.010

A greater part of the male respondents supported both PPPP (35.4%) and ANP (36.0%) in the 2008 elections. However, the support of the male respondents for ANP was more in comparison to PPPP. Similarly, the support of the female respondents for ANP (34.9%) was more in comparison to PPPP (33.7%). MMA has been largely supported by female respondents in the 2008 elections.

The Pearson Chi-Square test furnishes significant probability value (p-value) which shows that there is significance correlation between the variables.

Age Consideration

In terms of age, the younger respondents mainly support PPPP while the older respondents largely support ANP in the 2008 elections. The older respondents show support for MMA due to their religious inclination.

Table 3
Age and Party Identification

	MMA	PPPP	PML(N)	ANP	Sorry	Total
18-40	58 (15.1%)	143 (37.1%)	23 (6.0%)	128 (33.2%)	33 (8.6%)	385 (100.0%)
Above 40	47 (20.6%)	70 (30.7%)	7 (3.1%)	90 (39.5%)	14 (6.1%)	228 (100.0%)
Total	105 (17.1%)	213 (34.7%)	30 (4.9%)	218 (35.6%)	47 (7.7%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 9.416, P-value = 0.051

² In MMA, Jamat-e-Islami was not included because it had boycotted the 2008 general elections.

The age group (18—40) has vehemently supported PPPP (37.1%) while the support of the same group was less for ANP (33.2%) in the 2008 elections. Conversely, the age group (Above 40) has primarily supported ANP (39.5%) while the response of the same age group was less for PPPP (30.7%). The support for MMA comes more from age group (above 40) in comparison to the age group (18—40).

The Pearson Chi-Square test furnishes significant probability value (p-value) which shows that there is significance correlation between the variables.

Professional Consideration

The business community chiefly supported ANP and PPPP in the 2008 elections. MMA draws its popular support from house wives.

Table 4
Profession and Party Identification

	MMA	PPPP	PML(N)	ANP	Sorry	Total
Govt. Servant	22 (20.0%)	36 (32.7%)	4 (3.6%)	39 (35.5%)	9 (8.2%)	110 (100.0%)
Non-governmental professional	17 (20.0%)	29 (34.1%)	7 (8.2%)	22 (25.9%)	10 (11.8%)	85 (100.0%)
Businessman & Shopkeeper	6 (8.2%)	32 (43.8%)	2 (2.7%)	30 (41.1%)	3 (4.1%)	73 (100.0%)
Others	11 (8.5%)	44 (33.8%)	9 (6.9%)	50(38.5%)	16(12.3%)	130(100.0%)
House Wife	49 (22.8%)	72 (33.5%)	8 (3.7%)	77 (35.8%)	9 (4.2%)	215 (100.0%)
Total	105 (17.1%)	213 (34.7%)	30 (4.9%)	218 (35.6%)	47 (7.7%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 34.068, P-value = 0.005

Both the PPPP (43.8%) and ANP (41.1%) have been essentially supported by businessmen and shopkeepers in the 2008 elections. The second largest support for ANP comes from the category of 'other' (38.5%) which includes farmers, retired persons, the unemployed, students, and skilled and unskilled workers. The second largest support for PPP comes from non-governmental professionals (34.1%). MMA draws its electoral power more from the house wives (22.8%).

The Pearson Chi-Square test furnishes significant probability value (p-value) which shows that there is significance correlation between the variables.

Monthly Income Consideration

The voters with less monthly income, largely supported PPPP in the 2008 elections.

Table 5
Monthly income and Party Identification

	MMA	PPPP	PML(N)	ANP	Sorry	Total
20000 & Below	36 (13.5%)	103 (38.6%)	11 (4.1%)	95 (35.6%)	22 (8.2%)	267 (100.0%)
Above 20000	7 (15.6%)	15 (33.3%)	1 (2.2%)	14 (31.1%)	8 (17.8%)	45 (100.0%)
Sorry	62 (20.6%)	95 (31.6%)	18 (6.0%)	109 (36.2%)	17 (5.6%)	301 (100.0%)
Total	105 (17.1%)	213 (34.7%)	30 (4.9%)	218 (35.6%)	47 (7.7%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 15.994, P-value = 0.042

An extensive number of the respondents with monthly income 20000 and below (38.6%), backed PPPP in the 2008 elections. Those respondents who wrote "sorry" in the column of monthly income (36.2%), supported ANP. The second largest support for ANP (35.6%) comes from the income group (20000 & below) while that for PPPP (33.3%). MMA has been supported vehemently by the respondents who wrote "sorry" in the column of monthly income.

The Pearson Chi-Square test furnishes significant probability value (p-value) which shows that there is significance correlation between the variables.

Literacy-based Consideration

The literate respondents mainly support PPPP and the illiterate respondents mostly support ANP in the 2008 elections.

Table 6
Literacy and Party Identification

	MMA	PPPP	PML(N)	ANP	Sorry	Total
Literate	56 (15.0%)	130 (34.9%)	24 (6.4%)	129 (34.6%)	34 (9.1%)	373 (100.0%)
Illiterate	49 (20.4%)	83 (34.6%)	6 (2.5%)	89(37.1%)	13 (5.4%)	240 (100.0%)
Total	105 (17.1%)	213(34.7%)	30 (4.9%)	218 (35.6%)	47 (7.7%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 9.973, P-value = 0.041

The support of the literate respondents for PPPP (34.9%) and ANP (34.6%) is almost the same in the 2008 elections. Among the illiterate, the support for ANP (37.1%) is more than PPPP (34.6%). The support for MMA comes mainly from illiterate respondents.

The Pearson Chi-Square test furnishes significant probability value (p-value) which shows that there is significance correlation between the variables.

By concluding the results of this question it is established that a bulk of the urban voters supported both PPPP and ANP in the 2008 elections. Similarly, male were the main supporters of PPPP and ANP in the 2008 elections. The age group (18—40) primarily supported PPPP while age group (above 40) supported ANP. In terms of profession, both the PPPP and ANP have been mainly supported by businessmen and shopkeepers in the 2008 elections. With regard to monthly income, a large number of the voters with monthly income 20000 and below, supported PPPP and those respondents who wrote 'sorry' in the column of monthly income, supported ANP in the 2008 elections. PPPP has been supported chiefly by literate while ANP has been supported by illiterate respondents in the 2008 elections. This shows that the voters have changed the voting behaviour in the 2008 elections. The voters voted MMA in 2002 polls but in the 2008 they changed the party choice and voted PPPP and ANP.

Party Identification and its significance in the 2008 Elections

In order to measure the significance of party identification with reference to 2008 polls, responses were collected with regard to the question, "To what extent you preferred to vote on the basis of partisanship in the 2008 polls?"

Urban/Rural Consideration

Partisanship has been vehemently declined by the urban voter.

Table 7
Urban/Rural Area and Significance of Party Identification

	To a Greater Extent	To Some Extent	To a Limited Extent	Not at All	Total
Urban	22 (6.6%)	22 (6.6%)	53 (15.9%)	236 (70.9%)	333 (100.0%)
Rural	92 (32.9%)	52 (18.6%)	57 (20.4%)	79 (28.2%)	280 (100.0%)
Total	114 (18.6%)	74 (12.1%)	110 (17.9%)	315 (51.4%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 129.930, P-value = 0.000

Majority of the urban voters (70.9%), followed by rural respondents (28.2%), declined to vote for party allegiance in 2008 polls. The less percentage of the rural voters shows that they are more inclined towards party affiliation.

The Pearson Chi-Square test furnishes significant probability value (p-value) which shows that there is significance correlation between the variables.

Gender Consideration

With regard to gender, the male respondents were more inclined towards non-partisanship. We may argue that due to *pardah* (veil) restriction, there are less chances for women to be politically active, therefore, the chances of being less aware are greater and thus men have ample opportunities to get aware. Therefore, party loyalty is greater in women.

Table 8
Gender and Significance of Party Identification

	To a Greater Extent	To Some Extent	To a Limited Extent	Not at All	Total
Male	65 (17.9%)	54 (14.8%)	49 (13.5%)	196 (53.8%)	364 (100.0%)
Female	49 (19.7%)	20 (8.0%)	61 (24.5%)	119 (47.8%)	249 (100.0%)
Total	114 (18.6%)	74 (12.1%)	110 (17.9%)	315 (51.4%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 17.023, P-value = 0.001

Majority of the male voters (53.8%) discouraged partisanship behaviour in the 2008 polls. Among the female voters (47.8%) supported non-partisanship behaviour in the 2008 polls.

The Pearson Chi-Square test furnishes significant probability value (p-value) which shows that there is significance correlation between the variables.

Age Consideration

With reference to age, the younger respondents vehemently supported the non-partisan behaviour in 2008 polls.

Table 9
Age and Significance of Party Identification

	To a Greater Extent	To Some Extent	To a Limited Extent	Not at All	Total
18-40	75 (19.5%)	46 (11.9%)	54 (14.0%)	210 (54.5%)	385 (100.0%)
Above 40	39 (17.1%)	28 (12.3%)	56 (24.6%)	105 (46.1%)	228 (100.0%)
Total	114 (18.6%)	74 (12.1%)	110 (17.9%)	315 (51.4%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 11.315, P-value = 0.010

This table shows that majority of the voters belonging to age group of 18—40 years (54.5%) declined to vote for party in 2008 polls. It shows that as the age decreases, the choice for party preferences also decreases.

The Pearson Chi-Square test furnishes significant probability value (p-value) which tells about a strong correlation between the variables.

Professional Consideration

With regard to profession, the government servants preferred to base their electoral choice on partisanship in the 2008 polls.

Table 10
Profession and Significance of Party Identification

	To a Greater Extent	To Some Extent	To a Limited Extent	Not at All	Total
Govt. Servant	20 (18.2%)	17 (15.5%)	6 (5.5%)	67 (60.9%)	110 (100.0%)
Non-governmental professional	18 (21.2%)	10 (11.8%)	10 (11.8%)	47 (55.3%)	85 (100.0%)
Businessman & Shopkeeper	9 (12.3%)	12 (16.4%)	15 (20.5%)	37 (50.7%)	73 (100.0%)
Others	26 (20.0%)	18 (13.8%)	23 (17.7%)	63 (48.5%)	130 (100.0%)
House Wife	41 (19.1%)	17 (7.9%)	56 (26.0%)	101 (47.0%)	215 (100.0%)
Total	114 (18.6%)	74 (12.1%)	110 (17.9%)	315 (51.4%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 30.398, P-value = 0.002

Majority of the government servants (60.9%), followed by non-governmental professionals (55.3%) behaved in non-partisan way in the 2008 polls.

The Pearson Chi-Square test furnishes significant probability value (p-value) which shows that there is significance correlation between the variables.

Monthly Income Consideration

The respondents with less monthly income were found to be mostly inclined towards non-partisan behaviour.

Table 11
Monthly Income and Significance of Party Identification

	To a Greater Extent	To Some Extent	To a Limited Extent	Not at All	Total
20000 & Below	44 (16.5%)	35 (13.1%)	39 (14.6%)	149 (55.8%)	267 (100.0%)
Above 20000	10 (22.2%)	10 (22.2%)	3 (6.7%)	22 (48.9%)	45 (100.0%)
Sorry	60 (19.9%)	29 (9.6%)	68 (22.6%)	144 (47.8%)	301 (100.0%)
Total	114 (18.6%)	74 (12.1%)	110 (17.9%)	315 (51.4%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 17.085, P-value = 0.009

This table reveals that majority of the voters with monthly income is 20000 and below (55.8%) evaded to vote on the basis of partisanship. It means that as the monthly income decreases, the electoral choice for party identification decreases.

The Pearson Chi-Square test furnishes significant probability value (p-value) which tells about a strong correlation between the variables.

Literacy-based Consideration

The literate respondents preferred to vote on the basis of non-partisanship in 2008 polls.

Table 12
Literacy and Significance of Party Identification

	To a Greater Extent	To Some Extent	To a Limited Extent	Not at All	Total
Literate	68 (18.2%)	52 (13.9%)	43 (11.5%)	210 (56.3%)	373 (100.0%)
Illiterate	46 (19.2%)	22 (9.2%)	67 (27.9%)	105 (43.8%)	240 (100.0%)
Total	114 (18.6%)	74 (12.1%)	110 (17.9%)	315 (51.4%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 29.160, P-value = 0.000

Majority of the literate respondents (56.3%), followed by illiterate respondents (43.8%), declined to vote for partisanship in 2008 polls. It means that literate respondents are more inclined towards non-partisanship.

The Pearson Chi-Square test furnishes significant probability value (p-value) which tells about a strong correlation between the variables.

Thus, it can be concluded that respondents belonging to urban area, males, younger, government servants, respondents with low monthly income and literates voters evaded to vote on the basis of partisanship in 2008 general polls.

Party Identification and the fulfilment of Electoral aim in the 2008 Elections

Every voter voted to a political party in 2008 General Elections with the aim that his/her aims would be fulfilled. If a respondent demonstrates the behaviour that his/her electoral aim has been fulfilled, then it is possible that he/she continues his/her electoral preference to the same party. If the electoral aim of the voter has not been fulfilled by a political party, then it is possible that he decline to vote on party preferences. It is, therefore, highly important to know about the fulfilment of the electoral aims of the voters after 2008 General Elections. It is to be noted that after 2008 General Elections the major political party in KP was ANP. Consequently, the fulfilment of the electoral aims of the voters in 2008 General Elections would be analyzed with regard to ANP. In this connection, responses were collected with regard to the question, "Have you attained the electoral aim for which you preferred to vote in the 2008 polls?" The main purpose of this is to investigate that whether voters are satisfied or dissatisfied about the realization of their electoral aims.

Urban/Rural Consideration

The urban respondents maintained that they are dissatisfied with the performance of ANP.

Table 13
Urban/Rural Area and the Fulfilment of Electoral Aim

	Yes	No	Total
Urban	43 (12.9%)	290 (87.1%)	333 (100.0%)
Rural	56 (20.0%)	224 (80.0%)	280 (100.0%)
Total	99 (16.2%)	514 (83.8%)	613 (100.0%)

	Yes	No	Total
Urban	43 (12.9%)	290 (87.1%)	333 (100.0%)
Rural	56 (20.0%)	224 (80.0%)	280 (100.0%)
Total	99 (16.2%)	514 (83.8%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 5.642, P-value = 0.018

Majority of the urban respondents (87.1%) denied accepting that their electoral aim was fulfilled after 2008 polls. A considerable number of the rural respondents (80.0%), also maintained the same standpoint.

The Pearson Chi-Square test furnishes significant probability value (p-value) which establishes an correlation between the variables.

Gender Consideration

The male voters illustrated strong displeasure regarding the fulfilment of their electoral aims by ANP.

Table 14
Gender and the Fulfilment of Electoral Aim

	Yes	No	Total
Male	45 (12.4%)	319 (87.6%)	364 (100.0%)
Female	54 (21.7%)	195 (78.3%)	249 (100.0%)
Total	99 (16.2%)	514 (83.8%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 9.492, P-value = 0.002

Majority of the male voters (87.6%) affirm to reject that their electoral aim has been achieved after 2008 polls. The female voters (78.3%) also maintained the same standpoint. The difference in percentage shows that males mostly avoid to vote on the basis of partisanship.

The Pearson Chi-Square test furnishes significant probability value (p-value) which establishes an correlation between the variables.

Age Consideration

In terms of age, the younger respondents showed strong dissatisfaction regarding the fulfilment of their electoral aims by ANP.

Table 15
Age and the Fulfilment of Electoral Aim

	Yes	No	Total
18-40	52 (13.5%)	333 (86.5%)	385 (100.0%)
Above 40	47 (20.6%)	181 (79.4%)	228 (100.0%)
Total	99 (16.2%)	514 (83.8%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 5.342, P-value = 0.021

Majority of the respondents (86.5%) belonging to age group 18–40 years denied to accept that their electoral aim has been achieved after 2008 polls. A considerable number of the respondents (79.4%) hailing from age group above 40 years, also maintained the same standpoint. It shows that the tendency of non-partisanship is more in younger respondents.

The Pearson Chi-Square test furnishes significant probability value (p-value) which shows that there is significance correlation between the variables.

Professional Consideration

In terms of profession, government servants showed strong dissatisfaction regarding the fulfilment of their electoral aims by ANP.

Table 16
Profession and the Fulfilment of Electoral Aim

	Yes	No	Total
Govt. Servant	13 (11.8%)	97 (88.2%)	110 (100.0%)
Non-governmental professional	11 (12.9%)	74 (87.1%)	85 (100.0%)
Businessman & Shopkeeper	9 (12.3%)	64 (87.7%)	73 (100.0%)
Others	17 (13.1%)	113 (86.9%)	130 (100.0%)
House Wife	49 (22.8%)	166 (77.2%)	215 (100.0%)
Total	99 (16.2%)	514 (83.8%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 10.866, P-value = 0.028

This table shows that a significant number of the government servants (88.2%) affirm to reject that their electoral aim has been achieved after 2008 polls. The second largest category are the businessmen and shopkeepers (87.7%), followed by the non-governmental professionals (87.1%) who also asserted that the electoral aim has not been achieved in the 2008 elections.

The Pearson Chi-Square test furnishes significant probability value (p-value) which shows that there is significance correlation between the variables.

Monthly Income Consideration

A large number of the voters with less monthly income were strongly dissatisfied with the performance of ANP.

Table 17
Monthly Income and the Fulfilment of Electoral Aim

	Yes	No	Total
20000 & Below	26 (9.7%)	241 (90.3%)	267 (100.0%)
Above 20000	7 (15.6%)	38 (84.4%)	45 (100.0%)
Sorry	66 (21.9%)	235 (78.1%)	301 (100.0%)
Total	99 (16.2%)	514 (83.8%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 15.536, P-value = 0.000

This table shows that, majority of the respondents whose monthly income is 20000 and below (90.3%), responded in 'No' regarding the realization of electoral aims after 2008 polls. It means that respondent with less monthly income did not support the party identification theory in 2008 polls.

The Pearson Chi-Square test furnishes significant probability value (p-value) which establishes an correlation between the variables.

Literacy-based Consideration

The literate respondents showed strong dissatisfaction regarding the fulfilment of their electoral aims by ANP.

Table 18
Literacy and the Fulfilment of Electoral Aim

	Yes	No	Total
Literate	51 (13.7%)	322 (86.3%)	373 (100.0%)
Illiterate	48 (20.0%)	192 (80.0%)	240 (100.0%)
Total	99 (16.2%)	514 (83.8%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 4.317, P-value = 0.038

Majority of the literate respondents (86.3%) denied accepting the view that their electoral aim was accomplished after 2008 polls. A substantial number of the illiterate respondents (80.0%) also maintained the above standpoint.

The Pearson Chi-Square test furnishes significant probability value (p-value) which shows that there is significance correlation between the variables.

Thus, most of the respondents asserted in 'No' regarding the realization of the electoral aims after 2008 polls.

Conclusion

Undoubtedly, partisanship is one of the crucial determinants of electoral studies especially in liberal democracies having two party system like USA, UK etc. However, in Pakistan in general and KP in particular, this determinant of partisanship is not playing a crucial role in describing electoral politics. The primary data collected in the field, also affirm the argument that partisanship is not key determinant in KP electoral politics. The support of the respondents for party identification was (32.4%)³ which infers the view that partisanship is not a key determinant of electoral politics in KP in 2008 general polls.

The electoral history of KP since 2002 also establishes the idea that party identification is not an important determinant of voting behaviour in KP. In 2002 elections, MMA was voted due to the slogan of implementing Islamic *Shariah*. Since MMA was failed in fulfilling the above electoral aim of the voters, therefore the voters voted to ANP in 2008 polling. In the same way, ANP was failed in fulfilling the electoral aims of the voters and thus they voted PTI in 2013 general polling. Thus, the idea of party identification in KP has been strongly declined both on the basis of empirical data as well as the electoral history stretch between 2002-2013.

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³ This is the average percentage which has been calculated by taking the average percentage of the percentages of all those questions which have been asked from the respondents in determining the testing of theory of party identification in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in the 2008 general elections.

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