Impacts Of Voting Determinants On Voters' Behaviour In The 2008 General Eelctions In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

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ABSTRACT
Electoral politics in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) is quite dynamic. As revealed by the electoral history of KP that neither a political party nor a political alliance could consecutively form provincial government in KP, except Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) which set an example by coming in power twice in the general elections of 2013 and 2018. Voting determinants i.e. social, political and economic had play a significant role in this phenomenon. This research paper examines the voting determinants in KP at micro (provincial) level during the general elections of 2008. It is an empirical study aimed to investigate the voting determinants and to evaluate their role, significantly affected the voters' behaviour to make up political affiliation. Sample size of 664 respondents was questioned, who had polled vote in this general elections of 2008 through using a multi-stage and systematic sampling method. The study claimed that social factors had played a dominant role with 46.3%, followed by political with 41.4%, and economic with 8.9%. The quantitative data was further analyzed in terms of variables like area, gender, age, literacy, profession and monthly income-based considerations.

Key Words: Voting Determinants, Electoral Politics, Voters' Behaviour, KP Provincial Assembly, General Elections of 2008.

Introduction

The primary objective of elections in democratic societies is to enable the people to choose the candidates of their own choices to serve their respective communities. Election is an effective method that converts the voters' choices into a political determination (Akhtar & Sheikh, 2014). Whenever, a general election is announced; at first, different activities i.e., paper nomination, assets declaration, symbol allotment etc. are ensured. Secondly, political parties, alliances, groups and independent candidates publish their election manifestos containing plans and policies for addressing public issues and making developmental projects. Thirdly, politicians and their supporters start electoral campaigns which is an effective plan of action by which they try to attract voters to their party. Fourthly, on the day of polling, different kinds of ballot papers having different colours and kinds of electoral symbols of candidates and parties are used (Anderson & Stephenson, 2010). When people poll their votes, the election commission announces the result on the ground of total votes polled to electoral candidates, political parties and alliances.

In democratic societies, representatives are accountable to the general masses because they are elected by the voters of their respective constituencies (Campbell, 2008). The process of elections clarifies the political consideration and assists to recognize the priorities defining political trend and voting preferences of the voters. Therefore, analyses of voting behaviour are extremely significant in political and social fields and it associates with how and why voter castes vote to a party, candidate or group (Badshah & Rehman, 2017).

Voting and Voters' Behaviour

Voters are those persons (male and female) whose names are listed in the electoral lists issued by the Elections Commission of Pakistan (ECP). In the elections many countries practice a secret ballot paper, a pattern to avoid voters' apprehensiveness by keeping their political privacy. (Sheikh, Bokhari & Naseer, 2015). Voting is an activity that reflects a specific behavioural action of voters. It demonstrates the significance of recognizing various socio-political and economic priorities. Results of any elections show dissimilar expressions of human behaviour that greatly helps to indicate exactly the factors that determine the political role and voting choices. There are various socio-political and economic determinants that shape the voting behaviour of the voters in KP i.e., party affiliation, religion, *baradari*, ethnicity and clientelism. Being social creatures, the role of men and women is central to the social process. Therefore, social setup is centered on the determination and involvement of man and woman but

approaches and conducts of his/her involvement are central to the process of politics (Akhtar, Awan & Shuja, 2010).

The voting process is known as elections and it is a procedure to realize the disposition and behaviour of the masses. It is the significant drive for voters to turn vigorous people to take spirited part in government affairs (Kanwal, Shahid & Naseem, 2016). As per the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, voting is

"A fundamental right of almost all citizens over the age of eighteen and it

ensures that the will of the people is preserved" (Muhammad & Hassan, 2016).

Voting behaviour concerns the activities or procrastinations of people about to take part in the voting process that is happen for candidates of their native, provincial, or nationwide governments. The voters' behaviour affects either in favour of political candidates or parties or non-participation in the elections. The voting determinants is then analyzed in terms of their advantages and disadvantages for the community and country (Ahmad, 2013).

Tendencies in voting or non-participation in voting have obvious statistical associations with the socio-economic features of an electorate, the special situation within which its political socialization has happened. Among these are ranks or levels of income, age group, ethnicity, religious associations, opinions, urbanization, and region. A pattern of the changes in electoral cleavage happened in Europe ensuing the arrival of representatives. A large number of social, political, and economic factors are associated with a citizen voting behaviour (Rizwi, 2015). Judgements of individual appearance of the electoral candidates, assessments of government performance, and preferences on a particular policy, issues, party identification, and ideology are the main determinants of candidate choice. Among the social determinants; race, region, religion, and social class have close association with voting. To investigate in what way these are linked to voting in any elections, not only allow us clarify the election results, but as well can furnish us with a realizing of electoral changing aspects. All of the concepts aroused can be evaluated with the data comprised to this study (Noman, 1991).

Voting Determinants in KP

Voting behaviour defines tendencies in electoral politics. Different socio-political and economic factors played an outstanding role in shaping voting behaviour, which is divided mainly into two types. First, focuses on the socio-cultural structure like 'party identification', 'religion', *'baradari'*, 'ethnicity' and 'clientelism'. Second, focuses on the other methods i.e.,

dishonesty, spreading rumours, undertaking alliance/coalition, capabilities and media projection of a candidate (Sheikh, Bokhari & Naseer, 2015).

Several other factors of voting behaviour were also concentrated by some other political thinkers and researchers at the international level. Leighley & Nagler, (1992) argues that voting behaviour is greatly affected by demographic factors such as gender, age, literacy and earning, and Hoene, (2011) also affirms literacy, earning and gender as important determinants because people have varied voting trends in these each level. Lednun, (2006) suggests race and ethnicity as important factors, while Hamad & Naseem stresses on cultural effects in shaping voting behaviour. Shacchar & Nalebuff, (1999) asserts that the personality of the electoral candidate and his/her influences on the voters' behaviour also enhances the voting turnout. Pinkleton, Austin & Fortman, (1998) believe that media is more significant in defining the psyche of the voters towards any candidate or party.

In KP, people's voting behaviour is defined by various factors and there is a big difference exists in voters' preferences in urban and rural areas. Rational factors such as party manifesto/party loyalty and socio-political issues are more significant among voters in urban areas, while psychological factors such as religion, *baradari*, and ethnicity mostly affect voting choice among voters in rural areas in KP (Muhammad & Hassan, 2016). M. Ahmad & Naseem (2011) argues that social structure mostly influences the political structure in which *baradari* is the main factor. Therefore, political parties mostly propose electoral candidate on the ground of his race and clan in rural areas of KP because voters are mostly tended to caste vote to the candidate who is from their tribe, race or cast where the party have no role (Porta, 2016). Secondly, religion is the fundamental factor of politics in KP and has a strong influence in determining the political affections of the people. People mostly favoured those electoral candidates/political parties having a religious background for the purpose to run the government affairs according to the basic teachings of the religion Islam in KP (Bashir & Khalid, Jan-June 2019). Researchers analyzed several other factors of voting behaviour such as Shawar & Asim, (2012) writes that voters in KP caste vote keeping in view electoral candidates rather political party.

Yaser, Mahsud, Chaudhry & Ahmad, (2011) suggests that the charismatic personality of a candidate, *baradari*, ethnicity, and party manifesto/party loyalty play a key role in shaping the voting behaviour in KP. Farmanullah, (2014) argues that socio-economic determinants such as *baradari*, ethnicity and clientelism have great roles while religion and party affiliation have limited roles in defining the voting behaviour in the electoral politics of KP.

Electoral Politics in KP

Elections are indispensable part of democratic system. Almost all political analysts concur on a point that democracy cannot flourish without consistent elections. It realizes the importance of voters for electoral candidates who rectify their past misdeeds and honour the will of the masses (Iman & Eazaz, 2014). But unfortunately in Pakistan, until 1970 no general elections were held. In the absence of general elections, a vibrant and stable political system could not flourish resulting into the weakening of a political system that paved way for the entrenched role of civil-cum-military autocracy in the country politics. The first general elections of 1970 were considered the most transparent but unfortunately its result were not honoured by the then ruling elites of the West-Pakistan which led to the separation of East-Pakistan in 1971. Moreover, the elections of 1977 were considered as manipulated which resulted in the downfall of the parliamentary form of government and military dictator General Zia ul Haq took over the charge, who ruled the country for the next eleven years (1977-1988) (Khan & Rehman, 2017). The subsequent elections of 1988, 1993 and 1997 were declared as rigged by the opposition and neither of civilian government completed its tenure. After overthrowing the elected Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in 1999, the then military dictator General Pervez Musharraf declared a state of emergency and suspended the 1973 constitution of Pakistan (Wilder, 1999). The general elections of 2002 under the military government were highly manipulated. With the ousting of General Musharraf in 2008, the electoral system once again resumed and the general elections of 2008, 2013 and 2018 were held consecutively (Asim, 2012).

The electoral history of KP also begins with the general elections of 1970. (Ahmad, 2004). Electoral politics in KP is dynamic i.e., it changes after each election. The dynamic character of electoral politics in KP is visible by the fact that no political party has been in a position (except 2018) to form its provincial government consecutively or for the second time. PPP, PML-N, MMA, ANP and PTI won the majority and form governments after 1993, 1997, 2002, 2008, and 2013 respectively (Zubair, 2013). Analyzing the electoral politics in KP is a quite confused. This research paper, therefore, mainly concentrates on the factors of voting behaviour in the electoral politics of KP that directed the general masses to change their voting preferences. As man is the compulsory part of the democratic system but investigation of the voting behaviour of KP is impossible until factors leading to the poll of each vote are not obtained. An effort is made to investigate the determinant factors that influence voting behaviour in KP (Badshah & Rehman, 2017).

Pre-Elections Situation in KP of the 2008 General Elections

During the 2002 general election, people in KP mostly believed in the promises of enforcement, of Islamic Law (*Sharia*) made by MMA's leaders during their electoral campaign. Therefore, in the general elections of 2002, most of the people polled their votes to MMA which made it the largest majority party in the political and electoral history of KP. However, during its tenure (2002-2007), MMA failed to realize its pledges, made to the people in the electoral campaign of 2002 general elections. In October 2007, political differences between the two main political parties of the alliance, JI and JUI-F developed as the latter supported the 17th Constitutional Amendment which conferred the then President Musharraf to keep both the offices. Later JI boycotted the 2008 general elections, which was a great shock for the alliance (Khan, 2008). Besides, MMA was facing a tough challenge from the more powerful alliance 'Alliance for the Restoration of Democracy (ARD)". By the end of 2007, voters' trust in MMA considerably declined due to the growing internal discard in alliance and its dismal performance during the past five years (The Express Tribune, 2012).

On November 3, 2007, General Pervez Musharraf, the President of Pakistan and COAS declared the 'state of Emergency' through which he suspended the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan and adopted emergency powers which endured up to 15th December 2007 (Kronstadt, 2007). Simultaneously, (3rd November 2007), he also promulgated the "Provisional Constitution Order (PCO)" and the "Oath of Office (Judges) Order, 2007". The main objective of these orders was to cease judicial slacktivism and the Judges who did not take oath under PCO were dismissed (Ureshi, winter 2010). In reaction to these arbitrary steps of General Pervez Musharraf, a popular lawyer movement started against his government in 2007 resulting into country-wide demonstration. On November 8, 2007, General Pervez Musharraf proclaimed that general elections would be conducted by February 15, 2008, but later on, the date of elections was postponed to 8th January 2008 (Crisis Group Asia, 2011).

The U.S government considered Benazir Bhutto the most important leader who could resolve the internal problems of Pakistan. Due to instability in Pakistan, being the most important ally in the War on Terror, the U.S government compelled Musharraf for reconciliation with Benazir Bhutto and Musharraf signed an agreement that probably fortified her creditability (House of Common Library Research Paper, 2007). On 18th October 2007, Benazir Bhutto returned the country after more than 08 years of self-exile in London. She was welcomed in Karachi's Airport by thousands of supporters. On 23rd August 2007, the Supreme Court of Pakistan permitted Nawaz Sharif and his brother Shahbaz Sharif to come back and participate

in the coming General Elections (Harding, 2000). Therefore, before the maturity of his self-exile agreement of 10 years, on 10th September 2007, Nawaz Sharif had made an unsuccessful attempt to come back when he was deported just after he arrived in Islamabad from London (Waraich & Buncombe, 2007).

On 20th November 2007, Musharraf visited Saudi Arabia and insisted to preclude Sharif from coming back before the elections of January 2008 (Waish, 2007). Nevertheless, Benazir Bhutto who had also been self-exiled, returned to Pakistan which was politically fatal for Sharif. Taking this plea, Saudi Arabia also reiterated that when a democratic-socialist leader was permitted to return to Pakistan then there seemed no logic behind off-boarding the conservative leader Sharif (The New York Times, 2007). Consequently, on 25th November 2007, the Sharif brothers returned to Pakistan and thousands of supporters welcomed them (Gardner, 25 November 2007).

As a reaction to *Lal Masjid* and *Jamia Hafsa* operation by the Military government in 2007, the law and order situation in Pakistan, particularly in KP, suddenly changed and the terrorist activities escalated to a high rate, resulting in direct attacks on government buildings and security personnel. According to the PIPS security report, about 1515 terrorist attacks viz suicide attempts and other encounters occurred during 2007. Terrorists mostly aimed at killings and murders. During the year, 3448 individuals lost their lives and 5333 others sustained injuries (Ahmad, 2010). A comparison of these figures with the past years i.e. 2006 and 2005 revealed that the number of killings raised by 128% and 491.7% respectively. The report reveals that 60 suicide attacks (excluding other terrorist activities) occurred in Pakistan during 2007, resulting in about 770 casualties and 1574 injuries, which indicates an obvious increase in terrorist attacks in Pakistan during the year (Buneri, 2013).

Two suicide attacks were also made on motorcade carrying Benazir Bhutto at Kaarachi in October 2008 leaving behind 145 dead but Benazir narrowly escaped (Weaver, 2007). From the date of her arrival in Pakistan within four months from 18 October 2007 to the elections day 18 February 2008, about 25 suicide attacks took place and left hundreds of dead. While in the election campaign Benazir Bhutto launched a political rally at *Liaqat Bagh*, Rawalpindi, a suicide bomber fired shot at her and followed by the blasting of a suicide bomb. Benazir and twenty-four other people were left dead (Bhatia, 2008).

KP emerged as the most affected province in term of the security situation. Out of the 24 districts of KP, the government of Pakistan had declared eight

(8) districts as high-risk districts, which reveals that the Militants' incidents were increasing and their attack threats had maximized (Abbas, 2008).

Terrorists directed politicians, political workers, political activities and parties etc. Surprisingly, according to the statement of Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan, their program was to undermine the 2008 elections. The statement of TTP spokesperson quotes;

"We are in the process of forming a policy and will make it public as soon as a

final announcement for elections is made" (Khan, 2014).

In the first four months of the announcement and during the elections of 2008 i.e. November - December 2007 and January - February 2008, about 660 individuals including security forces personnel passed away in terrorist activities. During this period KP in general and Peshawar, in particular, stood susceptible to terrorist attacks due to territorial closeness to the epicenter of the Taliban. These four months were of great danger and terror in KP that had badly affected the electoral campaign and the process of convincing voters by political leaders and parties. They faced hindrances and dangers while organizing and performing political activities in various places across KP (Farooq, 2015).

The "All Parties Democratic Movement (APDM)" was about thirty-two political parties who had joined together. The alliance was formed by PML-N leader Nawaz Sharif along with Jamaat-e-Islami (JI), Pakistan Tehreek-e-Inshaf (PTI) and Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (PKMAP). The alliance grew to be a more effective movement for a boycott of the elections as these elections were thought to be manipulated and were conducted under PCO and 60% Judiciary was lawlessly and extra-constitutionally suspended (Dawn, 2008). Though, at the outset the alliance called upon people not to participate in the elections, but later on, few of its member parties i.e., Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam (Fazl-ur-Rehman) [JUI (F)], Awami National Party (ANP) and Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz Group) [PML (N)] decided to contest the general elections of 2008 (Dawn, 2013).

The 2008 General Elections in KP

The 2008 general elections for KP provincial assembly were conducted at such a stage of time when an elected provincial government completed its tenure of five years for the first time transferring to the next government democratically (Akhtar, 2011). In the general elections of 2008 for KP provincial assembly, for 99 elected seats out of 124,746 candidates contested the elections and about 34, 23,426 voters cast their votes based on adult franchise (Crisis Group Asia Report, 2011).

Although the ANP emerged to be the only regional party of the province. However, dissimilar to PML-N or the PPP which have mostly

proven to be the majority mandate political parties in Punjab and Sindh respectively, ANP has usually not succeeded to have a large majority in the electoral politics of the province, though it always considered itself as the only *Pakhtuns'* political identity (Cohen, 2004). The province, KP is difficult to be ruled consecutively. The party that rule the province once is often rejected by the voters in the next elections. The tenure element mostly influences against political parties ruling the province, causing its voters to change their ruling political party in nearly every election (Salmani, 2018). Awami National Party (ANP) took part in the 2008 General Elections of Pakistan. The party won 48 provincial assembly seats in KP, inclusive of 09 women and 01 minority reserved seats. During the election campaign, ANP faced a mix of suicide attacks and terrorist activities creating a very tough situation for its leaders. ANP is a secular, *Pakhtun* conservative and regional party of KP. Throughout the election campaign, its leaders pledged to ensure peace and prosperity in KP. The party demonstrated itself the only calling against 'War on Terror' at the time when Pakistan was facing confederacy possibilities and secret agreement theories of changing the real problem (Abbasi, 2013).

Hypothesis/ Research Questions

  i. Social determinants like 'religion', '*baradari'* and 'ethnicity' performed a greater role as the basis for voting in KP. While

  ii. Political and economic determinants like 'party manifesto/party loyalty' and 'clientelism' respectively performed a smaller role as the basis for voting in the 2008 general elections for KP provincial assembly.

Research Method

The study employed three electoral theories (Sociological, Psycho-Sociological/Party Identification, and Rational Choice/Downs' Axis) with the help of information in the shape of responses compiled via questionnaires concerning the voting behaviour in the 2008 general elections of 2008 for KP provincial assembly. The proponents of 'sociological theory' have emphasized the effect of social and surrounding aspects on the choice of the voters. 'Psycho-Sociological model', though, stressed on psychological aspects or the individual judgement of a voter. The exponents of 'rational choice model' stressed the economic aspects that effect the voters (Ahmad, 2010). This study is an empirical one which is mainly encompassed of quantitative and analytical methods. A multi-stage and systematic sampling technique was used. Primary data in the form of responses via questionnaires have been gathered. The results have been classified, arranged and analyzed in various tables.

Justification for the Area under Investigation

The study examines the voting determinants in the 2008 general elections for KP provincial assembly and the determinants of voting behaviour i.e., 'party loyalty/party manifesto', 'religion', '*baradari'*, 'ethnicity' and 'clientelism'. The rural areas in KP have similar economic, political and social features with a slight of difference. Likewise, the urban areas of KP comparatively have similar conditions of developments and political consciousness. For representing areas in sample, data (responses) have been compiled from Union Councils (UCs) of both the rural and urban areas in a constituency of the four districts (Upper Dir, Haripur, Peshawar, and D.I. Khan) of KP. Andrew R. Wilder in his book 'The Pakistani Voter: Electoral Politics and Voting Behaviour in the Punjab' concludes the socio-political factors of voting determinants in rural and urban areas of Punjab by working on the case study of N.A-97 in Lahore. Muhammad Shakeel Ahmad in his PhD thesis 'Electoral Politics in NWFP: 1988-1999' ascertains the socio-political determinants in rural and urban areas of KP by undertaking the case study of N.A-1 in Peshawar. Similarly, Farmanullah in his PhD thesis 'Voting Behaviour in Pakistan: (A Case Study of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 2008 General Elections)' also concludes the socio-political voting determinants of voting behaviour in rural and urban areas of KP by undertaking the case study of N.A-2 in Peshawar.

Sampling Method

A specific constituency was randomly selected out of each four regions of KP as the universe of the study i.e. PK- 93 (Upper Dir-III), PK-50 (Haripur-II), PK-05 (Peshawar-IV), and PK-64 (D.I. Khan-I). Further, 04 Union councils (02 each from urban and rural areas) were randomly selected out of the aforementioned constituency and the popular sampling was collected through the random and organized method.

Sample Size

For theoretical analysis, a popular sample size was used. A specific number of 800 voters were chosen through multi-stages random sample techniques that are;

Stage 1: Since the area of KP is divided into four regions i.e. Northern, North-Eastern, Central and Southern KP, and the 99 general elected seats of KP provincial assembly are distributed over these regions. To design a good sample size for theoretical analysis, out of each of the four regions of KP, one district and one constituency therein has been randomly selected.

Stage 2: The selected sample comprised of a total of 16 Union councils which means that from each selected constituency of the district in a region of KP 04 Union Councils were taken into account out of which, 02 Union councils were taken from urban areas and 02 from rural areas of the

constituency. The names and populations of the union councils are given in table 1.

Stage 3: For theoretical analysis, a sum of 800 voters were chosen from the Voters lists on random and organized methods for the operationalization of the electoral theories. In the beginning, 200 voters were randomly chosen from the specific constituency of the regions. These, 200 voters were distributed equally i.e. 50 each over 4 union councils of the constituency. So, these 50 voters were again chosen randomly from the selected union councils equally on the basis of other variables i.e. age, gender, profession, monthly income group, and literacy for theoretical analysis. To ensure this, the first voter, then 4th voter was randomly chosen till 50 respondents completed in one union council. In such manner, out of 800 questionnaires, half 400 from urban and half 400 from rural areas were questioned.

Stage 4: After finalizing the list of respondents, questionnaires were distributed among them. However, some respondents, from rural areas did not return the filled questionnaires, particularly women, illiterate and aged voters. Secondly, some of them sensed timid to give such information. Thirdly, they largely avoided to give responds. As such, out of the total distributed 800, 664 questionnaires were received back by the author properly filled in. Descriptive analysis such as percentage and various variables evaluation were calculated by using SPSS. A significant correlation was examined (Pearson value) via the Chi-Square test.

Findings and Data Analysis

The prominent voting determinants that are usually chosen by the voters to poll their votes in KP are, 'party loyalty/party manifesto', 'religion', '*baradari*', 'ethnicity' and 'clientelism'. Therefore, it is very essential to evaluate the role of those voting determinants during the 2008 general elections for KP provincial assembly. In this respect, the following question was asked from the respondents to collect responses in provincial constituencies of KP;

'On which ground, did you poll your vote for the KP's Provincial
Assembly in the 2008 general elections?'
  i. Party loyalty/Party manifesto
  ii. Religion
  iii. *Baradari*
  iv. Ethnicity
  v. Clientelism
  vi. Any other

Data collected from the respondents concerning those determinants that effected their voting behaviour in the 2008 general elections in KP were

analyzed in respect of some variables like area, age, gender, profession, monthly incomes and literacy-based stratifications.

Area-Based Stratification

In terms of area-based stratification, in the 2008 general elections for KP provincial assembly, a dominant number of the 'rural' respondents affirmed 'party loyalty/party manifesto', 'religion' and 'clientelism' as the basis for their voting. However, 'urban' respondents opted '*baradari'*, 'ethnicity' and 'any other' as determinants of their voting.

Table 1

Area-Based Stratification and Determinants of Voting Behaviour

	Party Loyalty/ Party Manifesto	Religion	*Baradari*	Clientelism	Ethnicity	Any other	Total
Urban	118 (39.6%)	44 (14.8%)	76 (25.5%)	26 (8.7%)	23 (7.7%)	11 (3.7%)	298 (100.0%)
Rural	157 (42.9%)	73 (19.9%)	65 (17.8%)	33 (9%)	27 (7.4%)	11 (3%)	366 (100.0%)
Total	275 (41.4%)	117 (17.6%)	141 (21.2%)	59 (8.9%)	50 (7.5%)	22 (3.3%)	664 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 7.846 *P-Value* = 0.165

Source: Field Data

Table 1 shows that in the 2008 general elections, a great number of 'rural' respondents pointed out 'party loyalty/party manifesto' with 42.9%, 'religion' with 19.9% and 'clientelism' with 9% as the basis for their voting. While, a considerable number of 'urban' affirmed '*baradari*' with 25.5%, 'ethnicity' with 7.7% and 'any other' with 3.7%.

The table shows that 'urban respondents with 48% dominantly supported social factor i.e. religion (14.8%), *baradari* (25.5%), and ethnicity (7.7%), , while the 'rural' respondents largely supported political one like 'party loyalty/party manifesto' with 42.9%, shadowed by the economic like 'clientelism' with 9%.

The Chi-Square test does not give a significant *P-Value* because the *P*-value of 0.165 > 0.05 expresses that in the general elections of 2008, there was no co-relation exists between area-based stratification and voting determinants.

Gender-Based Stratification

In terms of gender-based stratification, in the 2008 general elections for KP provincial assembly, the 'male' respondents largely opted 'party loyalty/party manifesto', however, 'female' respondents declared 'religion', '*baradari*', clientelism' and 'ethnicity' as the basis for voting.

Table 2

Gender-Based Stratification and Determinants of Voting Behaviour

	Party Loyalty/ Party Manifesto	Religion	*Baradari*	Clientelism	Ethnicity	Any other	Total
Male	238 (44.2%)	91 (16.9%)	112 (20.8%)	45 (8.4%)	36 (6.7%)	16 (3%)	538 (100.0%)
Female	37 (29.4%)	26 (20.6%)	29 (23%)	14 (11.1%)	14 (11.1%)	6 (4.8%)	126 (100.0%)
Total	275 (41.4%)	117 (17.6%)	141 (21.2%)	59 (8.9%)	50 (7.5%)	22 (3.3%)	664 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value= 10.987   *P-Value*= 0.052

Source: Field Data

Table 2 shows that in the 2008 general elections of 2008, a great amount of 'male' respondents affirmed 'party loyalty/party manifesto' with 44.2%, followed by 'female' respondents pointed out 'religion' with 20.6%, '*baradari*' with 23%, 'clientelism' and 'ethnicity' each with 11.1% and 'any other' with 4.8% as determinants of voting behaviour.

The table indicates that 'female' respondents largely preferred the social factor with 54.7% like 'religion' (20.6%), '*baradari*' (23%), and 'ethnicity' (11.1%), while 'male' respondents largely supported the political one like 'party loyalty/party manifesto' with 44.2%, and the economic like 'clientelism' with 11.1% was largely supported by 'female' respondents.

The Chi-Square test does not provide valuable *P-Value* because the *P-Value* of 0.052 > 0.05 shows that in the general elections of 2008, there is no association exists between gender-based stratification and voting determinants.

Age-Based Stratification

In terms of age-based stratification, in the 2008 general elections for KP provincial assembly, the '18-40' years of age respondents pointed out 'party loyalty/party manifesto' and '*baradari*', while elder respondents 'above 40'

years of age affirmed 'religion', 'clientelism', 'ethnicity', and 'any other' as the basis for their voting.

Table 3

Age-Based Stratification and Determinants of Voting Behaviour

	Party Loyalty/ Party Manifesto	Religion	*Baradari*	Clientelism	Ethnicity	Any other	Total
18-40	132 (47.3%)	40 (14.3%)	61 (21.9%)	22 (7.9%)	16 (5.7%)	8 (2.9%)	279 (100.0%)
Above 40	143 (37.1%)	77 (20.0%)	80 (20.8%)	37 (9.6%)	34 (8.8%)	14 (3.6%)	385 (100.0%)
Total	275 (41.4%)	117 (17.6%)	141 (21.2%)	59 (8.9%)	50 (7.5%)	22 (3.3%)	664 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value= 9.963   **P-Value**= 0.076

Source: Field Data

Table 3 shows that in terms of age-based stratification, in the 2008 general elections, a dominant quantity of '18-40' years of age respondents pointed out 'party loyalty/party manifesto' with 47.3%, and '*baradari'* with 21.9%, while 'above 40' years of age respondents voted on the basis of 'religion' with 20%, 'clientelism' with 9.6%, 'ethnicity' with 8.8%, and 'any other' with 3.6%.

The table indicates that the group 'above 40' years of age respondents led the strata and supported the social factor like 'religion' with 20%, '*baradari'* with 20.8% and 'ethnicity' with 8.8%, together with 49.6%, while political one like 'party loyalty/party manifesto' with 47.3% was mostly supported by young respondents whose age was '18-40' years. However, economic like 'clientelism' with 9.6% was pointed out by group of 'above 40' years of age respondents.

The Chi-Square test does not give a valuable *P-Value* because the *P-Value* of 0.076 > 0.05 indicates that in the general elections of 2008, there is no co-relation between age-based stratification and voting determinants.

Literacy-Based Stratification

In terms of literacy-based stratification, in the general elections of 2008 for KP provincial assembly, a large number of 'literate' respondents affirmed 'party loyalty/party manifesto', 'religion', '*baradari*' and 'clienteslim'.

However, a considerable number of 'illiterate' respondents voted on the basis of 'ethnicity'.

Table 4

Literacy-Based Stratification and Determinants of Voting Behaviour

	Party Loyalty/ Party Manifesto	Religion	*Baradari*	Clientelism	Ethnicity	Any other	Total
Literate	200 (41.5%)	87 (18%)	106 (22%)	43 (8.9%)	30 (6.2%)	16 (3.3%)	482 (100.0%)
Illiterate	75 (41.2%)	30 (16.5%)	35 (8.8%)	16 (8.8%)	20 (11%)	6 (3.3%)	182 (100.0%)
Total	275 (41.4%)	117 (17.6%)	141 (21.2%)	59 (8.9%)	50 (7.5%)	22 (3.3%)	664 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value= 4.647   ***P-Value*= 0.460**

Source: Field Data

Table 4 displays that in the 2008 general elections for KP provincial assembly, a great amount of 'literate' respondents affirmed 'party loyalty/party manifesto' with 41.5%, 'religion' with 18%, '*baradari*' with 22%, and 'clientelism' with 8.9% while a considerable amount of 'illiterate' respondents pointed out 'ethnicity' with 11% as a determinant of voting behaviour.

The table indicates that 'literate' respondents significantly supported the social factor like religion (18%), *baradari* (22%), and ethnicity (6.2%), together with 46.2%, shadowed by the political one like 'party loyalty/party manifesto' with 41.5%, and the economic like 'clientelism' 8.9%.

The Chi-Square test does not give a significant *P-Value* because the *P-Value* of 0.460 > 0.05 indicates that in the general elections of 2008, there was no co-relation exists between literacy-based stratification and determinants of voting behaviour.

Profession-Based Stratification

In terms of profession-based stratification, in the general elections of 2008, 'party loyalty/party manifesto' was more preferred by respondents related

to the group of 'non-govt. servant', 'religion' by respondents of 'other' group of the profession, while '*baradari*', 'clientelism', and 'ethnicity' were more affirmed by 'respondents of 'house wives' group of the profession as their basis of voting determinants.

Table 5
Profession-Based Stratification and Determinants of Voting Behaviour

	Party Loyalty/ Party Manifesto	Religion	*Baradari*	Clientelism	Ethnicity	Any other	Total
Govt. Servant	90 (42.3%)	43 (20.2%)	46 (21.6%)	13 (6.1%)	13 (6.1%)	8 (3.8%)	213 (100.0%)
Non-Govt. Servant	45 (46.9%)	11 (11.5%)	22 (22.9%)	8 (8.3%)	8 (8.3%)	2 (2.1%)	96 (100.0%)
Business man & Shopkeeper	64 (40%)	25 (15.6%)	31 (19.4%)	19 (11.9%)	15 (9.4%)	6 (3.8%)	160 (100.0%)
House Wife	26 (31.3%)	15 (18.1%)	20 (24.1%)	11 (13.3%)	9 (10.8%)	2 (2.4%)	83 (100.0%)
Other	50 (45.5%)	23 (20.9%)	22 (19.6%)	8 (7.3%)	5 (4.5%)	4 (3.6%)	112 (100.0%)
Total	275 (41.4%)	117 (17.6%)	141 (21.2%)	59 (8.9%)	50 (7.5%)	22 (3.3%)	664 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value= 26.203   **P-Value**= 0.397
Source: Field Data

Table 5 displays that in the 2008 general elections for KP provincial assembly, the greater number of 'non-govt. servant' respondents affirmed 'party loyalty/party manifesto' with 46.9%, followed by 'religion' with 20.9% and 'other' group of the profession. While, 'house wives' were more inclined towards *'baradari'* with 24.1%, 'clientelism' with 13.3% and 'ethnicity' with 10.8% as the basis of the determinants of voting behaviour.

The table indicates that respondents of 'house wives' dominantly supported the social factor comprising 'religion' with 18.1%, '*baradari*' with 24.1%, and 'ethnicity' with 10.8%, together with 53%, shadowed by the political one like 'party loyalty/party manifesto' with 46.9% largely favoured by respondents of 'non-govt. servants', while economic factor like 'clientelism' with 11.9% was larger pointed out by the 'businessman & shopkeeper'.

The Chi-Square test does not provide a valuable *P-Value* because the *P-Value* of 0.397 > 0.05 indicates that in the general elections of 2008, there was no co-relation exists between profession-based stratification and voting determinants.

Monthly Income-Based Stratification

In terms of monthly income-based stratification, in the general elections of 2008, 'party loyalty/party manifesto' was dominantly pointed out by the group of respondents whose monthly income was '20,000 & below', while the respondents of high monthly income whose monthly income was 'above 20,000' considerably affirmed '*baradari*' as a determinant of voting behaviour.

Table 6

Monthly Income-Based Stratification and Determinants of Voting Behaviour

	Party Loyalty/ Party Manifesto	Religion	*Baradari*	Clientelism	Ethnicity	Any other	Total
20,000 & Below	97 (51.9%)	21 (11.2%)	40 (21.4%)	13 (7%)	13 (7%)	3 (1.6%)	187 (100.0%)
Above 20,000	119 (40.8%)	54 (18.5%)	65 (22.3%)	26 (8.9%)	16 (5.5%)	12 (4.4%)	292 (100.0%)
Any other or Sorry	59 (21.5%)	42 (22.7%)	36 (19.5%)	20 (10.8%)	21 (11.4%)	7 (3.8%)	185 (100.0%)

Tota l	275 (41.4%)	117 (17.6 %)	141 (21.2 %)	59 (8.9%)	50 (7.5%)	22 (3.3 %)	664 (100.0 %)

Chi-Square Value= 25.803   *P-Value*= 0.004

Source: Field Data

Table 6 displays that in the 2008 general elections, a prominent amount of respondents of the monthly income group '20,000 and below' opted 'party loyalty/party manifestos' with 51.9%, while the monthly income group 'above 20,000' favoured more to '*baradari*' with 22.3%, but, the monthly income group of 'any other/sorry' considerably supported 'religion' with 22.7%, 'clientelism' with 10.8% and 'ethnicity' with 11.4% as the determinants of their voting behaviour.

The table indicates that the monthly income based group respondents of 'any other or sorry' largely ticked for social determinant like 'religion' (22.7%), '*baradari*' (19.5%), and 'ethnicity' (11.4%), together with 53.6%, shadowed by the political determinant i.e. party loyalty/party manifesto considerably supported by the low monthly income group '20,000 and below' respondents, while economic determinant i.e. 'clientelism' with 10.8% was comparatively additional pointed out by monthly income group 'any other or sorry'.

The Chi-Square test yields a significant *P-Value* because the *P-Value* of 0.004 < 0.05 indicates that in the general elections of 2008, there a strong association exists between monthly income-based stratification and voting determinants.

To conclude it was found that in the 2008 general elections for KP provincial assembly a great number of 'rural' area' respondents affirmed 'part loyalty/party manifesto' with 42.9%, 'religion' with 19.9% and 'clientelism' with 9%. A reasonable number of young respondents whose age was between '18-40' years opted for 'party loyalty/party manifesto' and '*baradari*' with 21.9%, while a considerable amount of voters 'above 40' years of age opted 'religion' with 20%, 'clientelism' with 9.6% and 'ethnicity' with 8.8%. The 'male' respondents affirmed 'party loyalty/party manifesto' with 44.2%, while a good number of 'female' respondents opted for 'religion' with 20.6%, '*baradari*' with 23%, each 'ethnicity' and 'clientelism' with 11.1% as the basis of determinants of voting behaviour. In terms of profession-based stratification, the respondents of 'non-govt. servant' group largely marked out 'party loyalty/party manifesto' with 46.9%, the respondents of 'other' group of profession considerably favoured 'religion' with 20.9%, while the respondents of 'house wives' group of the profession more affirmed to '*baradari*' with 24.1%, 'clientelism' with 13.3%, and 'ethnicity' with 10.8%. similarly, a large

number of 'literate respondents pointed out 'party loyalty/party manifesto' with 41.5%, 'religion' with 18%, '*baradari*' with 22%, and 'clientelism' with 8.9%. however, respondents of low monthly income group '20,000 and below' mostly expressed for 'party loyalty/party manifesto' with 51.9%, while a considerable number of high monthly income group 'above 20,000' respondents marked out that they voted on '*baradari*' with 22.3% as the basis of determinants of their voting behaviour.

Electoral theories were used by analyzing the field survey data in form of filled-up questionnaires concerning the voting trends in the 2008 general elections for KP provincial assembly. First, the application of the sociological theory with the support of quantitative data, affirms that the theory applies to a greater extent with 46.3% and also analyzed in respect of some variables like area, age, gender, profession, literacy and monthly income-based stratification. To a large extent it was affirmed by the respondents of 'urban' with 48%, 'above 40' years of age respondents with 49.6%, 'female' with 54.7%, 'house wives' with 53%, 'literate' with 46.2% and 'any other/ sorry' group of monthly income with 53.6%. Secondly, the psycho-sociological/party identification was applied. It determines to apply 44.4% in the 2008 general elections for KP provincial assembly and also analyzed in respect of variables like area, gender, age, profession, literacy and monthly income-based stratification. It affirms that the theory has been supported to a larger number by the respondents of 'rural' with 42.9%, 'male' with 44.2%, young respondents whose age was '18-40' years with 47.3%, respondents of 'non-govt. servant' group of the profession with 46.9%, 'literate' with 41.5% and respondents of low monthly income group of '20,000 % below' with 51.9%. Thirdly, for analyzing the quantitative data the theory of rational/Downs' Axis was also used but its results show that this theory had a very limited application with 8.9% in the 2008 general elections for KP provincial assembly. The theory was also analyzed in respect of variables like area, gender, age, profession, literacy and monthly income-based stratification. It was noticed that it has been considerably supported by respondents of 'rural' with 9%, 'female' with 11.1%, 'above 40' years of age respondents with 9.6%, respondents of 'businessman and shopkeeper' group of the profession with 11.9%, 'illiterate' with 8.8% and 'any other or sorry' group of monthly income with 10.8%.

Conclusion

Elections are vital for the growth of a democratic society and process via citizen convey their political spirits and form political institutions. Still, the voters' behaviour is pretentious by different kinds of voting determinants like 'party loyalty/party manifesto', 'religion', '*baradari'*, 'ethnicity', and 'clientelism'. In this study, these voting determinants were analyzed in

respect of general elections of 2008 in KP and concluded that these voting determinants played a varied role such as 'party loyalty/party manifesto' dominated with 41.4%, followed by '*baradari*' with 21.2%, 'religion' with 17.6%, 'clientelism' with 8.9%, 'ethnicity' with 7.5%, and 'any other' with 3.3%. These findings also show that social voting determinant ('*baradari*' with 21.2%, 'religion' with 17.6% and 'ethnicity' with 7.5%) in combined had played the dominant role with 46.3%, while, political voting determinant played a role to some extent with 41.4%, and economic voting determinant played a role to a limited extent with 8.9% in the general elections of 2008 for KP provincial assembly.

Suggestions and Recommendations

Electoral candidates, political parties, groups and alliances always make the best use of these voting determinants to secure majority in the electoral contest. Elections should be held in a free, fair and in a transparent way. Transparency of elections depends upon the political system of a country that whether or not it permits the use of these voting determinants should be gradually reduced by imparting positive education and political awareness among the citizens. Only the existence of an electoral system does not fulfil the requirements of a well and democratic political society because the choices of citizens are depicted through voting behaviour in elections. Secondly, all autocratic, dictatorial, undemocratic and unjust ways such as malpractices, manipulation, and rigging are required to be eliminated in the election process.

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