

**OPERATIONALISING THE THEORY OF PARTY  
IDENTIFICATION IN THE ELECTORAL POLITICS OF  
KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA:  
A CASE STUDY OF GENERAL ELECTIONS 2002\***

This article tends to explore the application of theory of party identification in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa with reference to 2002 elections. The study argues that the theory of party identification is not applicable in the electoral politics of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 2002 elections. A sample of 800 respondents has been selected through multistage random and systematic sampling from the voter list in NA-2 Peshawar. The quantitative data reveals that more than fifty percent respondents (66%) supported the view that the electoral preference made in 2002 elections was not based on party identification. The chi-square value provides a significant p-value which shows that there is close association between party identification and the variables including urban/rural divisions, gender, age, profession, monthly income and literacy.

**INTRODUCTION:**

Party identification constitutes the most important determinant in electoral studies. It is a pre-determined phenomenon in which the voters vote according to the dictates of the party or its leader. That is why it is affected little by electoral campaigns before elections.<sup>1</sup> It is believed that party identification is developed in the early childhood due to parents and other exogenous stimuli, continue with stability throughout life and is not affected by issue voting or other determinants of voting behaviour.<sup>2</sup>

The pioneer work on theory of party identification was done by Angus Campbell and his colleagues in 1960 in *The American Voter*.<sup>3</sup> This study provided a base for conducting empirical research in electoral studies. Campbell argues that the voting decisions are made long before the electoral campaign due to the party affiliation. The theory has been given a psychological interpretation. Party identification has been given a psychological ground.<sup>4</sup> It is argued that the affective or the emotional orientation of the individual keeps him in affiliation to a political party. Party orientation is acquired from family, friends and from the external social and political environment. Party attachment is a long-term phenomenon which is stable and remains for a long time. The strong and enduring adherence to a political faction and resistance to opposite ideas/views are the long-term forces for partisanship.<sup>5</sup> It shapes the behaviour and values of the individual more than what he thinks of himself. Political issues, evaluation of electoral candidates and political events are also the key factors in structuring party affiliation.<sup>6</sup> In short, party identification is emotionally oriented, long-term, stable and immutable and is shaped by exogenous socio-political elements.<sup>7</sup>

On the other hand, the thinkers of revisionist school of thought such as Richard G. Niemi and M. Kent Jennings discard the idea of party identification in electoral politics. They argue that party identification is not emotionally-oriented, mutable, and responsive to current issues and policies of the parties. The revisionists are of the view that party identification is no doubt, inherited by parents and family. However, it is political issue that shape the electoral preferences of the voters in elections. In other words, party identification is not a long term phenomenon and it changes in light of short term forces (current issues) in the political arena.<sup>8</sup>

There is controversy regarding the application of the theory of party identification in various countries. It is usually applied in established democracies with bi-party system. USA, Britain and Canada can be quoted best in this regard. Lawrence DeDuc and his associates argue that this theory is applicable to

some extent in USA, Canada and Britain. They study number of elections in each country including 1974, 1979 and 1980 elections in Canada, 1972, 1974 and 1976 elections in USA and 1974 and 1979 elections in Britain. After analysing the empirical data, they found that less than 50% of the voters remain stable with their party loyalty both in Canada and USA. However, stability of the party loyalty in Britain was 57%. Thus they do not see the encouraging aspect of stable partisanship in these three countries.<sup>9</sup> Andre Blais and his colleagues collected empirical electoral data regarding the 1996, 1997 and 1997 elections in USA, Britain and Canada respectively. The study shows that the voting behaviour is mainly determined by party orientation in USA, Britain and Canada. In all the three countries more than 80% of the respondents demonstrated that they vote for the party.<sup>10</sup>

In Pakistan, party affiliation is one of the voting determinant but not the major and only determinant which overshadow other determinants of voting behaviour. Wilder in his study considers party identification as most important determinant in the urban Punjab in 1993 elections.<sup>11</sup> In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, it is also important to highlight its significance in electoral politics. The study argues that party identification is not applicable in the electoral politics of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

## **METHODOLOGY**

This is an empirical and applied nature of research based on quantitative and analytical methods. The respondents have been selected from the voter list through multistage random and systematic sampling. The data obtained through questionnaires have been classified, arranged and analyzed in various tables. Secondary data in form of journals and books have been studied and used for understanding the theoretical framework regarding the theory of party identification.

## **JUSTIFICATION FOR THE SELECTION OF UNIVERSE**

This present study tends to explore the extent of application of the variables of party identification, issue voting, clientelism, religious voting and ethnic voting in the rural and

urban areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The rural areas in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa are homogenous in terms of economic, political and social conditions with slight variations. Similarly, all the urban areas in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa comparatively possess homogenous characteristics with regard to development and political consciousness. It is due to the homogenous characteristics of rural and urban areas that the universe has been confined to the rural and urban areas in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In order to represent both the rural and urban areas in the sampling, the respondents have been collected from the urban and rural areas in district Peshawar. Andrew R. Wilder in his work, *The Pakistani Voter: Electoral Politics and Voting Behaviour in the Punjab* determines the political and social determinants of voting behaviour in urban and rural areas by undertaking the case study of NA-97 in Lahore. Similarly, Muhammad Shakeel Ahmad in his Ph.D dissertation, *Electoral Politics in NWFP: 1988-1999* describes the political and social determinants of voting behaviour in urban and rural areas by undertaking the case study of NA-1 in Peshawar. In the light of these previous research works this study has been confined to the urban and rural areas of NA-2 in Peshawar.

### **SAMPLING METHOD**

NA-2 Peshawar is the universe of the study which includes the registered voters in this constituency. The total number of the registered voters in 2007-08 was 314904 in which 192693 were male and 122211 female. There are twenty union councils in NA.2 constituency in which four councils are rural and sixteen are urban. A representative sampling was obtained through random and systematic sampling.

### **SAMPLE SIZE**

In order to get a representative sample size, an over 800 voters were selected on the basis of a multi stages sample techniques given below.

**Stage 1:** There are four national level constituencies in Peshawar i.e. NA-1, NA-2, NA-3 and NA-4. The constituency of NA-2 was randomly selected in this stage.

**Stage 2:** There are 20 Union Councils in NA-2 in all. In this stage, an overall 20% Union Councils were selected out of a 20 total which means 04 Union Councils in which 02 were from urban and 02 were from rural areas. These Union Councils were randomly selected. The names of the urban Union Councils are Shaheen Town and Tehkal Payan-2 and that of the rural Union Councils are Regi and Sufaid Dheri.

**Stage 3:** In this stage, 200 voters were randomly selected from each selected Union Council on equal basis. So the overall sample size comes to 800 respondents. These respondents were selected from each selected Union Council through voters' lists on the basis of random and systematic techniques. At first, one voter was randomly selected and then every 4<sup>th</sup> voter was selected till 200 respondents completed.

Out of 800 respondents, 400 were selected from urban and 400 from rural areas. A considerable number of the voters did not return the questionnaires. Among these respondents the prominent were females, aged, illiterate and rural respondents. There are many reasons which can be referred in this connection. Firstly, our society is not pro-research-oriented. Secondly, people usually frighten in giving data in black and white. People usually avoid to fill the questionnaire because they think that it waste their time. Out of a total 800 questionnaire administered, the researcher could get only 613 duly filled and returned.

## **PARTY IDENTIFICATION AND ITS OPERATIONAL MEASUREMENT (DATA ANALYSIS)**

This study tends to portray the operationalization of the theory of party identification in light of the empirical data collected in NA-2 Peshawar. The party allegiance has been analysed and assessed in the light of various open and close ended questions. Among these questions some are general while some are related to the general elections 2002. Party identification has been measured quantitatively by asking the following set of questions.

- To what extent its important to vote on the basis of party loyalty?

- Do you often vote for the same party?
- Which party/candidate did you vote in the 2002 elections?
- To what extent you voted on the basis of party loyalty in the 2002 elections?
- Have you achieved the aim for which you voted in the 2002 elections?

Frequencies and percentages for each question have been calculated. All these questions have been further analysed in the light of several variables including, urban/rural divisions, gender, age, profession, monthly income and literacy. Chi-square test and p-value has been determined for making analysis and conclusion.

## **PARTY IDENTIFICATION AND ITS IMPORTANCE IN ELECTIONS**

Party identification is one of the most important determinants of voting behaviour. It is, therefore, very important to highlight its general importance in the electoral politics of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In this connection, responses were collected with regard to the question, “To what extent its important to vote on the basis of party loyalty?” This is a general question which does not encompass a particular election. It has been asked so that to know about the general perception of the voters regarding party preference. This question has been analysed in the light of several variables including, urban/rural divisions, gender, age, profession, monthly income and literacy.

### **Urban / Rural Consideration**

Party identification is neither applicable in urban nor in rural area. It has been strongly rejected by the urban population. The urban people are more educated and politically aware; therefore, they decline to vote on the basis of party loyalty.

**Table No.01**

	<b>To a Greater Extent</b>	<b>To Some Extent</b>	<b>To a Limited Extent</b>	<b>Not at All</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Urban</b>	74 (22.2%)	25 (7.5%)	43 (12.9%)	191 (57.4%)	333 (100.0%)
<b>Rural</b>	46 (16.4%)	74 (26.4%)	49 (17.5%)	111 (39.6%)	280 (100.0%)
<b>Total</b>	120 (19.6%)	99 (16.2%)	92 (15.0%)	302 (49.3%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 48.147, P-value = 0.000

Majority of the respondents (49.3%) pointed out they do not vote on the basis of party identification. Among the urban / rural stratification, majority of the urban voters (57.4%), followed by rural respondents (39.6%), did not identify themselves as partisans. Since the literacy rate is high in urban areas therefore they prefer not to vote on the basis of party loyalty. It shows that urban voters are more politically aware more than rural voters.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is association between the urban / rural stratification and non-partisanship.

### **Gender Consideration**

In terms of gender, it was found that male respondents showed indifference behaviour to party identification. Since male are more politically aware, therefore, they decline to vote on the basis of party loyalty in elections.

**Table No.02**

	<b>To a Greater Extent</b>	<b>To Some Extent</b>	<b>To a Limited Extent</b>	<b>Not at All</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Male</b>	67 (18.4%)	63 (17.3%)	44 (12.1%)	190 (52.2%)	364 (100.0%)
<b>Female</b>	53 (21.3%)	36 (14.5%)	48 (19.3%)	112 (45.0%)	249 (100.0%)
<b>Total</b>	120 (19.6%)	99 (16.2%)	92 (15.0%)	302 (49.3%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square = 8.025, p-value = 0.046

Most of the male respondents (52.2%) responded that they decline to vote on the basis of party loyalty. Similarly, considerable number of the female respondents (45.0%) also avoided to vote on the basis of party affiliation. This shows that most of the respondents showed the tendency of no partisanship and in this case the lead is taken by the male respondents. It shows that male respondents strongly discourage partisanship.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is association between the gender and non-party preference.

### **Age Consideration**

With regard to age, it was found that the respondents whose age was 18—40 years strongly declined the partisanship behaviour in elections. It means that with decrease of age, the non-partisanship behaviour increases.



**Table No.03**

	<b>To a Greater Extent</b>	<b>To Some Extent</b>	<b>To a Limited Extent</b>	<b>Not at All</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>18-40</b>	62 (16.1%)	73 (19.0%)	55 (14.3%)	195 (50.6%)	385 (100.0%)
<b>Above 40</b>	58 (25.4%)	26 (11.4%)	37 (16.2%)	107 (46.9%)	228 (100.0%)
<b>Total</b>	120 (19.6%)	99 (16.2%)	92 (15.0%)	302 (49.3%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 12.200, P-value = 0.007

In terms of age, a large number of the respondents (50.6%) whose age is 18—40 years avoided voting on the basis of party affiliation. The second largest category of respondents (46.9%) who responded in the same way include those respondents whose age is above 40 years. This shows that as the age decreases, the behaviour of non-party identification increases.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is association between the age and non-partisanship.

### **Professional Consideration**

In terms of profession, the business community strongly rejected the idea of party identification. In informal discussion they pointed out that none of the party provided conducive environment for business. The government servant also discarded the notion of party loyalty on the plea that none of the party played a positive role in reducing price-hike and poverty.

**Table No.04**

	<b>To a Greater Extent</b>	<b>To Some Extent</b>	<b>To a Limited Extent</b>	<b>Not at All</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Govt. Servant</b>	24 (21.8%)	16 (14.5%)	12 (10.9%)	58 (52.7%)	110 (100.0%)
<b>Non-Govt. Servant</b>	23 (27.1%)	14 (16.5%)	6 (7.1%)	42 (49.4%)	85 (100.0%)
<b>Businessman &amp; Shopkeeper</b>	5 (6.8%)	13 (17.8%)	14 (19.2%)	41 (56.2%)	73 (100.0%)
<b>Others</b>	26 (20.0%)	23 (17.7%)	16 (12.3%)	65 (50.0%)	130 (100.0%)
<b>House Wife</b>	42 (19.5%)	33 (15.3%)	44 (20.5%)	96 (44.7%)	215 (100.0%)
<b>Total</b>	120 (19.6%)	99 (16.2%)	92 (15.0%)	302 (49.3%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 21.818, P-value = 0.040

As far as the profession is concerned, majority of the businessmen and shopkeepers (56.2%), followed by government servant (52.7%) maintained that they do not prefer to vote on the basis of party loyalty in elections. It shows that non-partisanship is mainly supported by businessmen and shopkeepers.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is association between the profession and non-partisanship.

### **Income Group Consideration**

With regard to income group, it was found that the respondents with less monthly income, preferred greatly the non-partisanship behaviour. The contention they provided in informal discussion was price-hike and poverty.

**Table No.05**

	To a Greater Extent	To Some Extent	To a Limited Extent	Not at All	Total
<b>20000 &amp; Below</b>	45 (16.9%)	43 (16.1%)	33 (12.4%)	146 (54.7%)	267 (100.0%)
<b>Above 20000</b>	16 (35.6%)	7 (15.6%)	4 (8.9%)	18 (40.0%)	45 (100.0%)
<b>Sorry</b>	59 (19.6%)	49 (16.3%)	55 (18.3%)	138 (45.8%)	301 (100.0%)
<b>Total</b>	120 (19.6%)	99 (16.2%)	92 (15.0%)	302 (49.3%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 14.489, P-value = 0.025

In terms of monthly income, maximum number of the respondents whose monthly income is 20000 and below (54.7%) supported non-partisan behaviour. The second largest number of respondents who did not mention monthly income (45.8%) also maintained that they do not prefer to vote on the basis of party loyalty. Those respondents whose monthly income is greater than 20000 prefer less to vote on the basis of non-partisanship. This shows that lesser the monthly income greater will be the non-partisan behaviour.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is association between the monthly income and non-partisanship behaviour.

### **Literacy-based Consideration**

Literacy plays a vital role in making electoral decisions. The literate respondents who were politically conscious, rejected the idea of party identification.

**Table No.06**

	<b>To a Greater Extent</b>	<b>To Some Extent</b>	<b>To a Limited Extent</b>	<b>Not at All</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Literate</b>	70 (18.8%)	68 (18.2%)	42 (11.3%)	193 (51.7%)	373 (100.0%)
<b>Illiterate</b>	50 (20.8%)	31 (12.9%)	50 (20.8%)	109 (45.4%)	240 (100.0%)
<b>Total</b>	120 (19.6%)	99 (16.2%)	92 (15.0%)	302 (49.3%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 12.976, P-value = 0.005

The rate of literacy also affects party identification. A great number of the literate respondents (51.7%) maintained that they do not vote on the basis of party affiliation. In the same way (45.3%) of the illiterate respondents also preferred non-partisanship in voting. It shows that literate respondents prefer more non-partisanship than illiterate.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is association between the literacy and non-partisanship.

By concluding, it is found that most of the respondents discarded the idea of party loyalty in elections. In this connection, strong rejection of partisanship behaviour came from the respondents belonging to urban area, male respondents, respondents hailing from age group of 18—40 years, businessmen and shopkeepers, respondents whose monthly income is 20000 and below and literate respondents.

This shows that majority of the respondents do not prefer party loyalty in elections. Most of the respondents accepted the view that change is essential in making electoral choice in elections.

## **PARTY IDENTIFICATION AND THE PRACTICE OF VOTING TO THE SAME PARTY**

Party identification has been determined with regard to the practice of voting to the same or different party. In this regard, responses were collected with regard to the question, “Do you often vote for the same party?” This is also a general question which does not refer to a particular election. It has been asked so that to know about the general perception of the voters regarding party preference. This question has been analysed in the light of several variables including, urban/rural divisions, gender, age, profession, monthly income and literacy.

### **Urban / Rural Consideration**

Voting to the same party has been neither appreciated in urban nor in rural areas. It has been strongly rejected by the urban population. The urban people are more educated and politically aware; therefore, they decline to vote to the same party in elections.

**Table No.07**

	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Urban</b>	27 (8.1%)	306 (91.9%)	333 (100.0%)
<b>Rural</b>	76 (27.1%)	204 (72.9%)	280 (100.0%)
<b>Total</b>	103 (16.8%)	510 (83.2%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 39.423, P-value = 0.000

A large number of the urban respondents (91.9%) maintained that they do not vote to the same political party. Similarly, a large number of the rural respondents (72.9%) also maintained the same point of view. It means that majority of the respondents rejected the notion of party affiliation. It also

implies that the urban respondents favour the element of change more the rural respondents.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value  $< 0.05$  shows that there is association between the urban / rural stratification and non-partisanship behaviour.

### **Gender Consideration**

In terms of gender, it is found that male respondents do not supported the view to vote the same party. Since male are more politically aware, therefore, they decline to vote on the basis of party loyalty in elections.

**Table No.08**

	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Male</b>	42 (11.5%)	322 (88.5%)	364 (100.0%)
<b>Female</b>	61 (24.5%)	188 (75.5%)	249 (100.0%)
<b>Total</b>	103 (16.8%)	510 (83.2%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 17.764, P-value = 0.000

Majority of the male respondents (88.5%) asserted that they do not vote to the same political party. Likewise, a large number of the female respondents (75.5%) also maintained the same point of view. It means that majority of the respondents discarded the idea of party attachment. It also implies that male respondents contribute to the process of change more than female respondents.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value  $< 0.05$  shows that there is association between the gender and non-partisanship behaviour.

### **Age Consideration**

With regard to age, it was found that the respondents whose age was 18—40 years strongly rejected the view that voting to the same party is essential. It means that with decrease of age, the increase in non-partisanship behaviour is seen.

**Table No.09**

	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>18-40</b>	55 (14.3%)	330 (85.7%)	385 (100.0%)
<b>Above 40</b>	48 (21.1%)	180 (78.9%)	228 (100.0%)
<b>Total</b>	103 (16.8%)	510 (83.2%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 4.691, P-value = 0.030

Maximum number of those respondents (85.7%) whose age is 18—40 years asserted that they do not vote to the same political party. In the same way, a large number of those respondents whose age is above 40 years (78.9%) also maintained the same point of view. It means that majority of the respondents discarded the idea of party attachment. It also shows that the respondents whose age is 18—40 years like change more as compared to other category of age.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is association between the age and non-partisanship behaviour.

### **Professional Consideration**

In terms of profession, the category of ‘others’ took lead in rejecting the view that voting to the same party is essential. They favoured the element of change in making electoral decisions.

**Table No.10**

	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Govt. Servant</b>	18 (16.4%)	92 (83.6%)	110 (100.0%)
<b>Non-Govt. Servant</b>	13 (15.3%)	72 (84.7%)	85 (100.0%)
<b>Businessman &amp; Shopkeeper</b>	7 (9.6%)	66 (90.4%)	73 (100.0%)
<b>Others</b>	10 (7.7%)	120 (92.3%)	130 (100.0%)
<b>House Wife</b>	55 (25.6%)	160 (74.4%)	215 (100.0%)
<b>Total</b>	103 (16.8%)	510 (83.2%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 22.442, P-value = 0.000

Maximum number of the respondents of 'Other' category (92.3%), followed by a great percentage of businessmen and shopkeepers (90.4%), rejected voting on the basis of party loyalty. The category of 'others' includes students, retired persons, unemployed, farmers and skill and unskilled labours.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is association between the profession and non-partisanship behaviour.

### **Monthly Income Consideration**

With regard to monthly income it is found that lesser the monthly income greater is the change in electoral behaviour.



**Table No.11**

	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>20000 &amp; Below</b>	28 (10.5%)	239 (89.5%)	267 (100.0%)
<b>Above 20000</b>	10 (22.2%)	35 (77.8%)	45 (100.0%)
<b>Sorry</b>	65 (21.6%)	236 (78.4%)	301 (100.0%)
<b>Total</b>	103 (16.8%)	510 (83.2%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 13.509, P-value = 0.001

In terms of monthly income, a large number of the respondents whose monthly income is 20000 and below (89.5%) maintained that they do not vote to the same party in the elections. This shows that respondents whose monthly income is 20000 and below show more electoral change in elections. It implies that lesser the monthly income greater will be the change in electoral behaviour.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is association between the monthly income and non-partisanship behaviour.

### **Literacy-based Consideration**

Literacy plays a vital role in making electoral decisions. The literate respondents who were politically more conscious, rejected the idea of voting to the same party.

**Table No.12**

	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Literate</b>	47 (12.6%)	326 (87.4%)	373 (100.0%)

<b>Illiterate</b>	56 (23.3%)	184 (76.7%)	240 (100.0%)
<b>Total</b>	103 (16.8%)	510 (83.2%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 12.034, P-value = 0.001

As far as the literacy is concerned, majority of the literate respondents (87.4%) asserted that they do not vote to the same party. A large number of the illiterate respondents (76.7%) also rejected voting to the same party but its percentage is low as compared to literate respondents. It shows that greater the literacy rate, lesser will be the behaviour to vote to the same party.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value  $< 0.05$  shows that there is association between education and non-partisanship behaviour.

By concluding, it is found that most of the respondents discarded the idea of party loyalty in elections. In this connection, strong rejection of partisanship behaviour came from the respondents belonging to urban area, male respondents, respondents hailing from age group of 18—40 years, respondents belonging to the category of 'others', respondents whose monthly income is 20000 and below and literate respondents.

This shows that majority of the respondents do not believe in voting to the same political party in elections. Most of the respondents accepted the view that change is essential in making electoral decision in elections.

## **PARTY IDENTIFICATION AND GENERAL ELECTIONS 2002**

For comprehending the application of party identification, 2002 elections have been taken into consideration. In this connection three questions have been asked from the

respondents. Responses have been collected regarding all these questions and have been analysed so that to know about importance of party identification in 2002 elections.

### **PARTY IDENTIFICATION AND MAJORITY PARTY IN 2002 ELECTIONS**

In every election, a certain political party comes in majority due to popular support. Similarly, in 2002 election also a certain political force i.e. Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal (MMA) came in majority. It is, therefore, very important to know about the majority party which came into power as a result of 2002 elections. In this connection, responses have been collected with regard to the question, “Which party/candidate did you vote in the 2002 elections?” This open-ended question has been asked so that to know about the voters’ perception regarding party preference in 2002 elections. This question has been analysed in the light of several variables including, urban/rural divisions, gender, age, profession, monthly income and literacy.

#### **Urban / Rural Consideration**

People in the rural areas more conservative and have more inclination for religion. In this connection, the rural people can be easily deceived at the name of religion. The MMA has been greatly supported by the rural respondents in 2002 elections.

**Table No.13**

	<b>MMA</b>	<b>PPPP</b>	<b>Independent</b>	<b>Sorry</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Urban</b>	160 (48.0%)	47 (14.1%)	27 (8.1%)	99 (29.7%)	333 (100.0%)
<b>Rural</b>	140 (50.0%)	53 (18.9%)	5 (1.8%)	82 (29.3%)	280 (100.0%)
<b>Total</b>	300 (48.9%)	100 (16.3%)	32 (5.2%)	181 (29.5%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 13.937, P-value = 0.003

A large number of the rural respondents (50.0%) maintained that in 2002 elections they voted to MMA. A considerable number of the urban respondents (48.0%) also voted MMA in 2002 elections but its percentage was little low to rural respondents. It means that religious parties have more influence in rural as compared to urban areas.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value  $< 0.05$  shows that there is association between urban / rural stratification and 2002 elections.

### **Gender Consideration**

Females are more conservative and religious as compared to male. It was this reason that MMA was greatly supported by female in 2002 elections.

**Table No.14**

	<b>MMA</b>	<b>PPPP</b>	<b>Independent</b>	<b>Sorry</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Male</b>	134 (36.8%)	82 (22.5%)	24 (6.6%)	124 (34.1%)	364 (100.0%)
<b>Female</b>	166 (66.7%)	18 (7.2%)	8 (3.2%)	57 (22.9%)	249 (100.0%)
<b>Total</b>	300 (48.9%)	100 (16.3%)	32 (5.2%)	181 (29.5%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 57.628, P-value = 0.000

Maximum number of the female respondents (66.7%) asserted that they voted MMA in 2002 elections. The percentage of the male respondents (36.8%) was low in this connection. It means that the female respondents are more religious and have more inclination towards religious parties. It also shows that the female respondents have played a vital role in 2002 elections in winning maximum number of seats in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value  $< 0.05$  shows that there is association between the gender and 2002 elections.

**2.3.1.1.3 Age Consideration**

Religiosity increases, as the age increases. It was due to this reason that the elder respondents supported MMA more as compared to younger respondents.

**Table No.15**

	<b>MMA</b>	<b>PPPP</b>	<b>Independent</b>	<b>Sorry</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>18-40</b>	170 (44.2%)	57 (14.8%)	19 (4.9%)	139 (36.1%)	385 (100.0%)
<b>Above 40</b>	130 (57.0%)	43 (18.9%)	13 (5.7%)	42 (18.4%)	228 (100.0%)
<b>Total</b>	300 (48.9%)	100 (16.3%)	32 (5.2%)	181 (29.5%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 21.609, P-value = 0.000

A large number of the respondents whose age is above 40 years pointed out that they voted to MMA. Less number of the respondents (44.2%) of 18—40 years maintained that they voted MMA. It shows that greater the age, greater will be the support for MMA.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is association between the age and 2002 elections.

**Professional Consideration**

House wives greatly favoured MMA due to their religious attachment and conservative nature.

**Table No.16**

	<b>MMA</b>	<b>PPPP</b>	<b>Independe nt</b>	<b>Sorry</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Govt. Servant</b>	40 (36.4%)	28 (25.5%)	6 (5.5%)	36 (32.7%)	110 (100.0%)
<b>Non-Govt. Servant</b>	32 (37.6%)	12 (14.1%)	4 (4.7%)	37 (43.5%)	85 (100.0%)
<b>Businessman &amp; Shopkeeper</b>	29 (39.7%)	15 (20.5%)	11 (15.1%)	18 (24.7%)	73 (100.0%)
<b>Others</b>	49 (37.7%)	28 (21.5%)	6 (4.6%)	47 (36.2%)	130 (100.0%)
<b>House Wife</b>	150 (69.8%)	17 (7.9%)	5 (2.3%)	43 (20.0%)	215 (100.0%)
<b>Total</b>	300 (48.9%)	100 (16.3%)	32 (5.2%)	181 (29.5%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 79.945, P-value = 0.000

Maximum number of the house wife (69.8%), followed by businessmen and shopkeepers (39.7%) maintained that they voted MMA in 2002 elections. Since the house wives are more inclined to religion therefore they voted MMA more than any other party in 2002 elections.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is association between the profession and 2002 elections.

### **Monthly Income Consideration**

In terms of monthly income, it is found that low income group greatly supported MMA. The low income group are usually less literate and as such their political consciousness is less. In the same way low income group can also be easily deceived at the name of religion.

**Table No.17**

	<b>MMA</b>	<b>PPPP</b>	<b>Independent</b>	<b>Sorry</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>20000 &amp; Below</b>	104 (39.0%)	56 (21.0%)	22 (8.2%)	85 (31.8%)	267 (100.0%)
<b>Above 20000</b>	13 (28.9%)	12 (26.7%)	3 (6.7%)	17 (37.8%)	45 (100.0%)
<b>Sorry</b>	183 (60.8%)	32 (10.6%)	7 (2.3%)	79 (26.2%)	301 (100.0%)
<b>Total</b>	300 (48.9%)	100 (16.3%)	32 (5.2%)	181 (29.5%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 42.548, P-value = 0.000

In terms of monthly income, it was found that maximum number of the respondents who did not mention their monthly income (60.8%), followed by the respondents whose monthly income is 20000 and below (39.0%), voted for MMA. It shows that lesser the monthly income, greater was the support for MMA in 2002 elections.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is association between the monthly income and 2002 elections.

### **Literacy-based Consideration**

Illiterate people are more inclined towards religion. Since they are illiterate and conservative, therefore, they can be easily deceived at the name of religion.

**Table No.18**

	<b>MMA</b>	<b>PPPP</b>	<b>Independent</b>	<b>Sorry</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Literate</b>	149 (39.9%)	67 (18.0%)	23 (6.2%)	134 (35.9%)	373 (100.0%)
<b>Illiterate</b>	151 (62.9%)	33 (13.8%)	9 (3.8%)	47 (19.6%)	240 (100.0%)
<b>Total</b>	300 (48.9%)	100 (16.3%)	32 (5.2%)	181 (29.5%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 32.174, P-value = 0.000

Maximum number of the illiterate respondents (62.9%), followed by some of the literate respondents (39.9%), maintained that they voted MMA in 2002 elections. Its means that support for MMA came more from illiterate class in 2002 elections.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is association between education and 2002 elections.

By concluding, it is found that the supporters of MMA in 2002 elections were mainly in rural areas because its dwellers are conservative in nature. Since female are more inclined towards religion therefore, a large number of its supporters were female voters. Religiosity increases as the age increases. In this regard the data show that a large number of MMA supporters were from the age group (above 40) years. Another trend is that as the monthly income decreases, religiosity increases. In this regard it was found that MMA supporters were mainly from monthly income group (20000 and below). Similarly, due to conservative thinking a large number of the illiterate respondents also supported MMA in 2002 elections.



## **PARTY IDENTIFICATION AND ITS IMPORTANCE IN 2002 ELECTIONS**

Party identification has been tried to determine with regard to 2002 elections in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In this connection, responses were collected with regard to the question, “To what extent you voted on the basis of party loyalty in the 2002 elections?” This question has been asked with special reference to 2002 elections. It has been asked so that to know about the perception of the voters regarding party preferences in 2002 elections. This question has been analysed in the light of several variables including, urban/rural divisions, gender, age, profession, monthly income and literacy.

### **Urban / Rural Consideration**

Party identification is neither applicable in urban nor in rural area. It has been strongly rejected by the urban population. The urban people are more educated and politically aware; therefore, they decline to vote on the basis of party loyalty in 2002.

**Table No.19**

	<b>To a Greater Extent</b>	<b>To Some Extent</b>	<b>To a Limited Extent</b>	<b>Not at All</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Urban</b>	46 (13.8%)	21 (6.3%)	49 (14.7%)	217 (65.2%)	333 (100.0%)
<b>Rural</b>	81 (28.9%)	43 (15.4%)	41 (14.6%)	115 (41.1%)	280 (100.0%)
<b>Total</b>	127 (20.7%)	64 (10.4%)	90 (14.7%)	332 (54.2%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 45.011, P-value = 0.000

An outstanding number of the urban respondents (65.2%) maintained that they did not vote on the basis of party affiliation in 2002 elections. The percentage of the rural respondents (41.1%) was less in this connection. Since urban people are politically more conscious, therefore, majority of the respondents discouraged party allegiance in 2002 elections. It

shows that greater the political consciousness, lesser was the party affiliation in 2002 elections.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value  $< 0.05$  shows that there is association between urban / rural stratification and non-partisanship behaviour in 2002 elections.

### **Gender Consideration**

In terms of gender, it was found that male respondents showed indifference behaviour to party identification. Since male are more politically aware, therefore, they decline to vote on the basis of party loyalty in 2002 elections.

**Table No.20**

	<b>To a Greater Extent</b>	<b>To Some Extent</b>	<b>To a Limited Extent</b>	<b>Not at All</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Male</b>	72 (19.8%)	48 (13.2%)	42 (11.5%)	202 (55.5%)	364 (100.0%)
<b>Female</b>	55 (22.1%)	16 (6.4%)	48 (19.3%)	130 (52.2%)	249 (100.0%)
<b>Total</b>	127 (20.7%)	64 (10.4%)	90 (14.7%)	332 (54.2%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 13.180, P-value = 0.004

A lot of the male respondents (55.5%) disowned the idea of party affiliation in 2002 elections. Among the female respondents (52.2%) maintained that they discouraged party allegiance in 2002 elections. Since the male are more politically conscious therefore, maximum number of the male respondents discouraged party identification.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value  $< 0.05$  shows that there is association between the gender and non-partisanship behaviour in 2002 elections.

### **Age Consideration**

With regard to age, it was found that the older respondents strongly declined the partisanship behaviour in 2002 elections. It means that with decrease of age, the non-partisanship behaviour increases.

**Table No.21**

	<b>To a Greater Extent</b>	<b>To Some Extent</b>	<b>To a Limited Extent</b>	<b>Not at All</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>18-40</b>	92 (23.9%)	39 (10.1%)	59 (15.3%)	195 (50.6%)	385 (100.0%)
<b>Above 40</b>	35 (15.4%)	25 (11.0%)	31 (13.6%)	137 (60.1%)	228 (100.0%)
<b>Total</b>	127 (20.7%)	64 (10.4%)	90 (14.7%)	332 (54.2%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 7.789, P-value = 0.051

An extensive number of the respondents whose age is above 40 years (60.1%) asserted that they did not cast vote on the basis of party affiliation in 2002 elections. The second largest percentage was that of the respondents whose age is 18—40 years (50.6%) who also responded in negative to party affiliation in 2002 elections. Here the preference for non-partisanship increases, as the age increases.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is association between the age and non-partisanship behaviour in 2002 elections.

### **Professional Consideration**

In terms of profession, the business community strongly rejected the idea of party identification in 2002 elections.

**Table No.22**

	To a Greater Extent	To Some Extent	To a Limited Extent	Not at All	Total
<b>Govt. Servant</b>	25 (22.7%)	19 (17.3%)	11 (10.0%)	55 (50.0%)	110 (100.0%)
<b>Non-Govt. Servant</b>	21 (24.7%)	6 (7.1%)	10 (11.8%)	48 (56.5%)	85 (100.0%)
<b>Businessman &amp; Shopkeeper</b>	11 (15.1%)	10 (13.7%)	8 (11.0%)	44 (60.3%)	73 (100.0%)
<b>Others</b>	24 (18.5%)	15 (11.5%)	16 (12.3%)	75 (57.7%)	130 (100.0%)
<b>House Wife</b>	46 (21.4%)	14 (6.5%)	45 (20.9%)	110 (51.2%)	215 (100.0%)
<b>Total</b>	127 (20.7%)	64 (10.4%)	90 (14.7%)	332 (54.2%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 22.914, P-value = 0.028

As far as the profession is concerned, as massive number of businessmen and shopkeepers (60.3%), followed by the category of 'other' (57.7%) behaved in non-partisan way in 2002 elections. The category of 'other' includes students, retired persons, unemployed, farmers and skill and unskilled labours.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is association between the profession and non-partisanship behaviour in 2002 elections.

### **Monthly Income Consideration**

With regard to income group, it was found that the respondents with less monthly income, preferred greatly the non-partisanship behaviour in 2002 elections.

**Table No.23**

	To a Greater Extent	To Some Extent	To a Limited Extent	Not at All	Total
<b>20000 &amp; Below</b>	57 (21.3%)	34 (12.7%)	28 (10.5%)	148 (55.4%)	267 (100.0%)
<b>Above 20000</b>	10 (22.2%)	7 (15.6%)	5 (11.1%)	23 (51.1%)	45 (100.0%)
<b>Sorry</b>	60 (19.9%)	23 (7.6%)	57 (18.9%)	161 (53.5%)	301 (100.0%)
<b>Total</b>	127 (20.7%)	64 (10.4%)	90 (14.7%)	332 (54.2%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 12.407, P-value = 0.053

A lot of the respondents whose monthly income is 20000 and below (55.4%) maintained that their vote in 2002 elections was not based on partisanship. On the other hand the respondents whose age is above 20000 behaved less (51.1%) in this connection. This shows that respondents whose monthly income is 20000 and below show more electoral change in elections. It implies that the respondents whose income was less behaved greatly for non-partisanship.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is association between the monthly income and non-partisanship behaviour in 2002 elections.

### **Literacy-based Consideration**

Literacy plays a vital role in making electoral decisions. The literate respondents, who were politically conscious, rejected the idea of party identification in 2002 elections.

**Table No.24**

	<b>To a Greater Extent</b>	<b>To Some Extent</b>	<b>To a Limited Extent</b>	<b>Not at All</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Literate</b>	80 (21.4%)	41 (11.0%)	39 (10.5%)	213 (57.1%)	373 (100.0%)
<b>Illiterate</b>	47 (19.6%)	23 (9.6%)	51 (21.3%)	119 (49.6%)	240 (100.0%)
<b>Total</b>	127 (20.7%)	64 (10.4%)	90 (14.7%)	332 (54.2%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 13.637, P-value = 0.003

The rate of literacy also affects party identification. A great number of the literate respondents (57.1%) maintained that they did not vote on the basis of party affiliation in 2002 elections. In the same way of the illiterate respondents (49.6%) also preferred non-partisanship in 2002 elections. It shows that literate respondents prefer more non-partisanship than illiterate.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is association between the literacy and non-partisanship behaviour in 2002 elections.

By concluding, it is found that most of the respondents discarded the idea of party loyalty in 2002 elections. In this connection, strong rejection of partisanship behaviour came from the respondents belonging to urban area, male respondents, older respondents whose age was above 40, businessmen and shopkeepers, respondents whose monthly income is 20000 and below and literate respondents.

This shows that majority of the respondents do not prefer party loyalty in 2002 elections. Most of the respondents accepted the view that change is essential in making electoral choice in elections.

## **PARTY IDENTIFICATION AND THE REALIZATION OF ELECTORAL AIM IN 2002 ELECTIONS**

The satisfaction or dissatisfaction regarding the realization of electoral aim in 2002 elections is highly important in comprehending the voting behaviour in terms of party identification. It is, therefore, very important to know about the satisfaction or dissatisfaction of the voters regarding the realization of electoral aim in 2002 elections. In this connection, responses were collected with regard to the question, "Have you achieved the aim for which you voted in the 2002 elections?" This question has been asked so that to know about the voters' satisfaction or dissatisfaction regarding the performance of MMA after 2002 elections. This question has been analysed in the light of several variables including, urban/rural divisions, gender, age, profession, monthly income and literacy.

### **Urban/Rural Consideration**

Both the urban and rural respondents showed strong dissatisfaction regarding the performance of MMA after 2002 elections. The urban respondents are politically more aware, therefore they showed great intensity in showing dissatisfaction regarding the performance of MMA after 2002 elections.

**Table No.25**

	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Urban</b>	57 (17.1%)	276 (82.9%)	333 (100.0%)
<b>Rural</b>	82 (29.3%)	198 (70.7%)	280 (100.0%)
<b>Total</b>	139 (22.7%)	474 (77.3%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 12.845, P-value = 0.000

A massive number of the urban respondents (82.9%), followed by rural respondents (70.7%), asserted that they have not achieved the aim for which they had voted in the 2002 elections. It shows that they were dissatisfied with the performance of MMA. The aim for which they had voted has not been achieved. It gives rise to the behaviour of non-partisanship on the part of the voters. In addition, the urban / rural difference in percentages also shows that urban voters are more politically aware than the rural voters.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value  $< 0.05$  shows that there is association between the urban / rural stratification and achievement of aim in 2002 elections.

### **Gender Consideration**

Both the male and female respondents showed strong dissatisfaction regarding the performance of MMA after 2002 elections. The male respondents are politically more aware, therefore they showed great intensity in showing dissatisfaction regarding the performance of MMA after 2002 elections.

**Table No.26**

	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Male</b>	63 (17.3%)	301 (82.7%)	364 (100.0%)
<b>Female</b>	76 (30.5%)	173 (69.5%)	249 (100.0%)
<b>Total</b>	139 (22.7%)	474 (77.3%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 14.725, P-value = 0.000

A large number of the male respondents (82.7%) pointed out that the aim for which they had voted in 2002 elections has not been achieved. The female respondents (69.5%) also



responded in the same way. It implies that males are more politically aware than females. Secondly, it also shows that males are more non-partisans than females.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is association between the gender and achievement of aim in 2002 elections.

### **Age Consideration**

In terms of age it was found that the youth showed strong dissatisfaction regarding the performance of MMA after 2002 elections.

**Table No.27**

	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>18-40</b>	72 (18.7%)	313 (81.3%)	385 (100.0%)
<b>Above 40</b>	67 (29.4%)	161 (70.6%)	228 (100.0%)
<b>Total</b>	139 (22.7%)	474 (77.3%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 9.324, P-value = 0.002

In terms of age, a large number of the respondents (81.3%) whose age is 18—40 years maintained that their aim for which they had voted in 2002 elections has not been achieved. The second largest category of respondents (70.6%) who responded in the same way include those respondents whose age is above 40 years. This shows that as the age decreases, the behaviour of dissatisfaction regarding the realization of aim in 2002 elections increases. It also implies that the behaviour of non-partisanship increases with the decrease in age.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value  $< 0.05$  shows that there is association between the age and the achievement of aim in 2002 elections.

### **Professional Consideration**

In terms of profession, the respondents hailing from the category of ‘others’ showed strong dissatisfaction regarding the performance of MMA after 2002 elections.

**Table No.28**

	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Govt. Servant</b>	23 (20.9%)	87 (79.1%)	110 (100.0%)
<b>Non-Govt. Servant</b>	16 (18.8%)	69 (81.2%)	85 (100.0%)
<b>Businessman &amp; Shopkeeper</b>	14 (19.2%)	59 (80.8%)	73 (100.0%)
<b>Others</b>	18 (13.8%)	112 (86.2%)	130 (100.0%)
<b>House Wife</b>	68 (31.6%)	147 (68.4%)	215 (100.0%)
<b>Total</b>	139 (22.7%)	474 (77.3%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 17.032, P-value = 0.002

Keeping in view the professional consideration, a lot of the respondents belonging to ‘other’ category (86.2%) upheld that the electoral decision made in 2002 elections did not fulfil the popular aim. The category of ‘other’ includes students, retired persons, unemployed, farmers and skill and unskilled labours. The second largest category is that of the non-government servant (81.2%) who also behaved in the same way.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is association between the profession and the achievement of aim in 2002 elections.

### **Monthly Income Consideration**

In terms of monthly income, it was found that the respondents with less monthly income showed strong dissatisfaction regarding the performance of MMA after 2002 elections.

**Table No.29**

	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>20000 &amp; Below</b>	43 (16.1%)	224 (83.9%)	267 (100.0%)
<b>Above 20000</b>	10 (22.2%)	35 (77.8%)	45 (100.0%)
<b>Sorry</b>	86 (28.6%)	215 (71.4%)	301 (100.0%)
<b>Total</b>	139 (22.7%)	474 (77.3%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 12.547, P-value = 0.002

In terms of monthly income, maximum number of the respondents whose monthly income is 20000 and below (83.9%) pointed out that the electoral choice made in 2002 elections did not accomplish their electoral aim. The second largest number of respondents whose monthly income is above 20000 (77.8%) also supported the view that their electoral aim has not been fulfilled in 2002 elections. This shows that lesser the monthly income, greater is the dissatisfaction regarding the accomplishment of the electoral aim in 2002 elections. This also implies that lesser the monthly income greater is the non-partisan behaviour.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value  $< 0.05$  shows that there is association between the monthly income and the achievement of aim in 2002 elections.

### **Literacy-based Consideration**

The literate respondents are politically more aware; therefore they showed great intensity in showing dissatisfaction regarding the performance of MMA after 2002 elections.

**Table No.30**

	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Literate</b>	73 (19.6%)	300 (80.4%)	373 (100.0%)
<b>Illiterate</b>	66 (27.5%)	174 (72.5%)	240 (100.0%)
<b>Total</b>	139 (22.7%)	474 (77.3%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 5.236, P-value = 0.022

As far as education is concerned, a great number of the literate respondents (80.4%) maintained that their aim has not been fulfilled after the electoral choice made in 2002 elections. In the same way (72.5%) of the illiterate respondents also affirmed the above point of view. Since the literate respondents are more sophisticated, therefore, they showed great dissatisfaction regarding the accomplishment of the electoral aim in 2002 elections. It shows that literate respondents prefer more non-partisanship than illiterate.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value  $< 0.05$  shows that there is association between education and the achievement of aim in 2002 elections.

By concluding, it is found that most of the respondents asserted that they have not achieved the aim for which they had

voted in the 2002 elections. In this connection, strong dissatisfaction was shown by the respondents belonging to urban area, male respondents, younger respondents whose age was 18—40 years, the respondents belonging to the category of 'others', respondents whose monthly income is 20000 and below and literate respondents.

This shows that majority of the respondents showed strong dissatisfaction regarding the performance of MMA after 2002 elections. That is why majority of the voters did not vote to MMA in 2008 elections. In other words the voter did not follow the theory of party identification in 2008 elections.

## **CONCLUSION**

No doubt, party identification is one of the most important determinants of voting behaviour in countries with bi-party system. However, in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa this does not constitute an important determinant. The empirical data collected regarding party identification, also support the argument of the study that party identification is not playing an important role in the electoral politics of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Regarding the party identification more than fifty percent of the respondents (66%)<sup>12</sup> declined to vote on the basis of party loyalty in 2002 elections. The respondents maintained that they voted to MMA not because of party loyalty. They voted to MMA because the religion had been presented in the form of issue voting. The voters maintained that were not satisfied with the performance of MMA and in 2008 elections they replaced MMA with another political party. Thus, in the light of the primary data it is concluded that the electoral preference of the voters in 2002 elections was not based on party identification in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

The findings regarding the theory of party identification is further explored in terms of variables including, urban/rural divisions, gender, age, profession, monthly income and literacy. In this regard, strong rejection regarding the application of theory of party identification came from the respondents belonging to urban area, male respondents, respondents hailing

from age group of 18—40 years, respondents belonging to the category of ‘others’, respondents whose monthly income is 20000 and below and literate respondents. The category of ‘others’ includes students, retired persons, unemployed, farmers and skill and unskilled labours.

Thus, it is concluded that majority of the respondents did not prefer party loyalty in 2002 elections (66%). It was due to this reason that the voters replaced MMA with Awami National Party (ANP) in making electoral preference in 2008 general elections in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

**KEYWORDS:** Party Identification, General Elections 2002, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Electoral Politics.

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### Notes and References

- ♣ **This research article has been taken from the Ph.D dissertation entitled *Voting Behaviour in Pakistan: A Case Study of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 2008 General Elections*, submitted to Pakistan Study Centre, University of Peshawar, Peshawar Pakistan in 2014.**
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