

Voters' Behavior in Pakistan in the General Elections of 2013: A Case Study of District Peshawar

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ABSTRACT

Study Background: Electoral politics, loosely defined is a form of political participation. Political participation of citizen in multi-ethnic and multi-lingual societies such as Pakistan is influenced by a variety of voting determinants such as party loyalty / party manifesto, religion, *Baradari* (the caste system - brotherhood), ethnicity, and clientelism. Historically, despite Pakistan's multi-party system, electoral politics in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has been dominated by a few political parties, including the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), the Pakistan Muslim League (N), the Awami National Party (ANP), and Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam (JUI). Certain families dominate these political parties, influencing elections and the political process.

Aim of the Study: However, in the general elections of 2013, a new political party, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), emerged as a major political party both at the Centre and in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa which is a setback for the dominant political parties. Thus, this paper primarily aims to examine the determinants that affected voting behavior during 2013 general elections in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Methodology: For this quantitative study, a sample size of (N=664) respondents was questioned using a systematic random sampling method.

Findings: It found that party loyalty/party manifesto was pointed out with 50.8% by respondents, followed by '*Baradari*' with (18.8%), 'religion' with (14.8%), 'ethnicity' with (7.1%), while clientelism with (7.1%).

Conclusion: The paper concluded that the political voting determinant played a dominant role, followed by combined role of the social determinant, while economic determinant played role to a limited extend.

Keywords: General Elections of 2013, Electoral Politics, Voters' Behavior, Voting Determinants.

Introduction

Elections are the formal and fundamental process by which people choose a person to hold any public office in a representative government. Popular vote determines political decisions in democracies. The

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Modern representative electoral systems can be differentiated from traditional monarchical systems by the method of electing representatives through general election (Stokes, 1999). According to National Democratic Foundation Website this marvel began in ancient Athens. The word "democracy" first appeared in Greek political and philosophical thoughts in the city-state. In 507–508 BC, the Athenians, led by Cleisthenes, established what is generally regarded as the first democracy, wherein Cleisthenes has been referred to as the father of Athenian democracy (Raaflaub et al, 2008). With passage of time the Athenian democracy adopted the shape of direct democracy, and had two discerning characteristics: first, the random choice of general natives to fill up a couple of present governmental and judicial positions, and second, a parliament comprising of entire Athenian natives. Every worthy native was permitted to express and poll in the assembly, which determined the rules and regulations of the city-state. However, Athenian natives barred females, slaves, migrants, non-property-owners, and males under 20 years old. In ancient Athens, the concept of elections was founded on oligarchic grounds (Farrar, 1989). Oligarchy meaning "few to rule or command" is a kind of power arrangement in which power effectively lies with a few citizens, who might be discerned by the royal family, wealth, personal relations, education, and business, spiritual or martial command. This kind of state was frequently governed by limited eminent families who generally extend their power from one generation to the next wherein officeholders were chosen by casting or by lots (Headlam & Wycliffe, 1891). Any voting system is a composed chain of various systems like electoral reform, psychology, and referendum. Introducing reforms in the voting system means the process of initiating and implementing fair voting system in place of the voting system in existence, while psychology is the analyses of the outcomes and different statistics regarding elections in order to predict future results. To elect means "to select or make a decision", and sometimes different kinds of ballots like referendums are considered elections, particularly in the United States of America (USA). An election is important for success within all type of democracies. It determines the worth of and renders legitimacy to the authority or institutions. It engages citizens through voting with the politics and its procedures. As a result, they are trained politically, and a sound foundation of the political culture is ordered down inside a state (Taagapera & Shugart, 1989). Political culture in Pakistan is mixed and complex owing to the ethnic and lingual variation. The frequent interventions of the military in politics, authoritative and feudal political culture, and the absence of national consensus have upset the electoral politics of the country. The absence of regular and transparent elections, the manipulation of election results through government machinery and media has weakened voters' faith in electoral process (Ahmad, 2004). Electoral history of KP reflects the ties of voters with their *Baradari* and their adjustment with local influential tribal elders (who may be candidates by themselves or they may be supporters of other influential candidates for their mutual interests) have frequently been used by the local politicians (Haider and Ali, 2020). *Pakhtuns* give due respect to their elders. They do not shed promises made by them their elders who normally decide their fate in elections. For example in KP, the basic electoral unit is not the individual but the *Mashar* (elder) of the specific community which may be a tribe, caste, sub-caste, sect, faction, or trade union leader, etc. The candidate operating from a political party seldom contacts men and women at their homes but the local *Mashar* who delivers votes in hundreds or sometimes even in thousands (Gul and Khan, 2017). The nucleus of electoral politics lies in rural areas. In KP, the *Pakhtuns* living in urban and rural areas have different political aspirations. During elections, the political elite acquires their votes through arguments, persuasion, threats, flattery, and other forces. After the elections, at least theoretically, they owe their elections to the voters, campaign funds, party work, and efforts of those who elected them as their representatives. They enjoy their work and desire to remain in office (Marwat & Khattak, 2020). However, practically in most cases, they do not pay attention to those who played a role in putting them in their office. They ignore the fact that having stronger public support, their obligation should be greater to deliver for public welfare. Hence, they also have to face public resentment in the next elections (Taseer, Habib & Sabahat, 2022). The elections and voting decisions are generally affected by social factors such as religion, *Baradari*, and ethnicity around Pakistan. In urban and rural areas of Pakistan, distinct variables affected the voting behavior of individuals. This paper concentrates on the common impression of individuals about electoral politics in Peshawar during general elections of 2013. The intention behind choosing Peshawar, a district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, is to assess the

electoral politics at a micro level in Pakistan. The reviewed literature on electoral politics and voting trends demonstrates that there is a contrast of opinion between researchers on the factors deciding the voting behavior of individuals in Pakistan. Some argued that strong political parties have a great role, while others opine that it is the role of individuals who play a decisive role in winning the elections. A few researchers specified the role of socioeconomic factors, and some highlighted the local political structure. However, this study has a multidimensional approach towards electoral politics incorporating various factors and determinants such as party loyalty/party manifesto, religion, *Baradari* (the caste system - brotherhood), ethnicity, and clientelism. Furthermore, this paper also considers different variables like area, gender, age, literacy, profession, and monthly income that influence or determine voting behavior.

A Brief Description of District Peshawar

Peshawar is the provincial capital of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and is located at the North- West end of the country, and west of the Federal Capital Islamabad. The district of Peshawar has geo-strategic importance and an augmented past record. It also serves as the administrative and economic centre for the erstwhile Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), situated in a wide valley close to the eastern end of the notable Khyber Pass, near the outskirts of Afghanistan. Peshawar's written history goes back to no less than 539 B.C., making it the oldest city in Pakistan and one of the most established cities in South Asia too. The total area of this district is 1,257 square km and according to the 1998 Census Report, its total population was 2,026,851. Out of the total population, 52 per cent are males and 48 percent are females (Hasan, 2004).

Agriculture/livestock and industry are the principal sectors of employment in Peshawar. As indicated by the official measurements, in 2007, there were 432,506 employed individuals in the district. The agricultural sector is the highest employer with 26.6% of the total employment followed by wholesale and retail businesses at 8.9%, transport and communications at 5.8% and producing at 5.5%. Statistics also demonstrate that the people of Peshawar have mostly focused on their business and services, i.e. 41% of the employed population acquire their livelihood through personal services. Women's participation in employment is low, as only 12% of the female population is employed. In 2001, Peshawar was declared as city district and four towns under the revision of Pakistan's administrative structure. Every town thus comprises various union councils. There is one tehsil, 92 union councils, 279 *Mouzas* (Revenue Villages) (comprising 236 rural, 15 urban and 28 partially urban), and 30 police headquarters in the district of Peshawar (Ali, 2020).

Table 1: *Area, Population by Sex, Sex Ratio, Population Density, Household Size and Growth Rate*

Administrative Units	area (sq.km)	Population 1998				Population Density per Sq. Km	Average Household Size	Population on 1981	1981-98 Average Annual Growth Rate (%)
		Both Sexes	Male	Female	Sex Ratio				
Peshawar district	1257	2026851	1065188	961663	110.8	1612.5	8.6	1113303	3.58
Rural		1044035	543287	500748	108.5		9.0	547055	3.87
Urban		982816	521901	460915	113.2		8.2	566248	3.29
Peshawar Tehsil	1257	2026851	1065188	961663	110.8	1612.5	8.6	1113303	3.58
Rural		1044035	543287	500784	108.5		9.0	547055	3.87
Urban		982816	521901	460915	113.2		8.2	566248	3.29

Peshawar M. Corporation	910807	478128	432667 9	110.5	8.3	506896	3.51
Peshawar University T.C.	3269	1728	1541	112.1	6.2	_____	_____
Peshawar Cantt.	68740	42045	26695	157.5	7.6	59352	0.87

Sources: Hassan, Najam. (2004, September). *Census 1998: Peshawar, Basic Population and Housing Data by Union Councils*. Government of Pakistan: Statistics Division Population Census Organization.

Electoral Politics in Peshawar

In 1947, Peshawar became a part of the recently free territory of Pakistan and until the mid-1950, Peshawar was protected with inside a barrier and sixteen entries. In past, the district has worked as the centre of politics and now as the capital of the province (The Hippie Trail, 2011). The district has also been regarded to be a monopoly of the Awami National Party (ANP). Likewise, the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) had been charmed in significant following thorough assistance in the province owing to its communist idea. Peshawar, the provincial capital, and surrounding Pashtun-dominated districts have constantly preferred to vote for left-wing ANP and PPP (Sheikh, 2013).

Khan Abdul Wali Khan, being the founder of the ANP extended his political profession on the pattern of profound Pashtun nationalism transmitted from his father Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan (Bacha Khan). In 1956, he joined the National Awami Party (NAP) and won the National Assembly seat of NA-III (Peshawar) and became MNA from 1972-1977 (Akhtar, 2021).

The electoral history of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa reflects that electoral politics of the district Peshawar and the political parties ANP and PPP had dominated by certain *Baradaris*/families i.e., Arbab, Bilour and Khalil. Arbab is an extraordinary political family from Peshawar. The family lived in Peshawar for a couple of centuries. Members of this family have been on various political portfolios and administrative seats. The family is famous for changing their political loyalties (Safiullah, 2015). Bilour is also a prominent political family in the district Peshawar, which had a great effect on the electoral politics, particularly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and generally of Pakistan (Inayat, 2008).

In the preceding discussion, important political identities of District Peshawar have been pointed out. Peshawar has four National Assembly and eleven Provincial Assembly seats. A number of new faces emerged in the 2002 elections because of the degree issue (condition of Bachelor degree for electoral candidates) and all the four National and Seven out of eleven Provincial Assembly seats were won by the *Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal* (MMA). In the 2008 elections, two NA seats were won by each of the ANP (NA- 1 & NA-4) and PPP (NA-2 & NA-3) while 8 seats of the Provincial Assembly were won by ANP and 3 by the PPP. Some prominent personalities became part of Government including Ghulam Ahmad Bilour and Arbab Alamgir Khan.

Electoral Politics and the General Elections of 2013

In the constituency N.A-1 (Peshawar-I), both the PPP and the ANP had a good record, each won twice since 1988. Haji Ghulam Ahmed Bilour, a senior figure of the ANP defeated Benazir Bhutto in 1990 and Syed Qamar Abbas in 1997. But in 1988 and 1993 it was PPP's Aftab Ahmed Khan Sherpao and Syed Zafar Ali Shah who emerged victorious respectively. In 2002, however, the Jamat-i- Islami's Shabbir Ahmed Khan won this seat following the MMA's poll sweep across the Frontier Province. The constituency of N.A-1 (Peshawar-I) is mainly inhabited by Hindko, Pashto and Persian speakers and sprinkling members of the minority community (Shakeel, 2010). In the 2002 elections, Shabbir Ahmed

Khan had secured 37, 719 votes against Bilour's nephew, Usman Bilour, who had secured 23,002 votes. In 2008, ANP regained its political power and Bilour won the seat by defeating Ayub Shah of PPP with a margin of 7000 votes. MMA candidate who was in the race without support of JI just touched 4 thousand figures. In May 2013 Elections PTI's chairman Imran Khan defeated ANP's Ghulam Ahmed Bilour by a huge margin but Imran later defunct the seat in favor of NA-56 Rawalpindi. In by-elections, Bilour won the seat by defeating the PTI candidate (ECP, 2016).

In the constituency N.A-2 (Peshawar-II), Dr Alamgir Khan son of former Chief Minister Arbab Mohammad Jehangir Khan had won this seat three times on two different party tickets: in 1990 as an ANP candidate, in 1993 as a PPP man and 1997 again on an ANP ticket (Shakeel, 2010). Until 1997, the constituency was in the possession of the Arbab family. But in 2002 Maulana Rahmatullah Khalil of the MMA won the seat by securing 37, 728 votes against Dr Arbab Alamgir Khan's 15,771 votes. In 2008 Arbab Dr Alamgir Khan on a PPP ticket defeated Khalil and Arbab Najeeb Khan of the ANP. In the 2013 Elections PTI easily won this seat with a huge margin and defeated JUI-F's Maulana Saeed Jan. PPP's ex-Federal Minister Arbab Alamgir remained 4th and got just 10 thousand votes (ECP, 2016).

In the constituency N.A-3 (Peshawar-III) during the general elections of 1988, a PPP candidate Sardar Ali Khan won seat with a margin of 5000 votes. Arbab Zahir Khan a key leader of ANP had won this seat in the general elections of 1990 and 1993 (Shakeel, 2010). While in the 2002 general elections, Qari Fayaz ur Rahman of MMA secured this seat with a margin of 19,000 votes. The PPP has a strong vote bank in Vadpagga village, also known as Chota Larkana, while ANP has also a traditional edge over its rivals here as its contestant Arbab Sadaullah Khan obtained 48, 451 votes against Sardar Ali Khan of the PPP in 1997 when this seat was N.A-3 Peshawar-cum-Nowshera. In 2008 general elections Noor Alam Khan of PPP won the seat by a narrow margin of less than a thousand votes and defeated Muhammad Hashim Babur of ANP, Engineer Iqbal Zafar Jhagra of PML (N) and Maulana Azizudd of MMA. In 2013 PTI won this seat by a new-comer Mr. Sajid Nawaz Khan while JUI-F remained 2nd with a huge margin (ECP, 2016).

In the constituency N.A-4 (Peshawar-IV) during the general elections of 1988 and 1990, ANP and PPP were engaged in a fierce rivalry over the seat. ANP candidates had been successful on three occasions; Ajmal Khattak in the general elections of 1988 and 1990 and Wali Mohammad Khan in the general elections of 1997. PPP candidate Nasrullah Khan Babar secured the seat in the general elections of 1993 (Shakeel, 2010). In the general elections of 2002, Arbab Zahir Khan lost to Sabir Hussain Awan of MMA by securing just 16,660 votes against his rival's 28,728 votes. In 2008 Zahir Khan, a landlord, who has considerable influence over the tenants of this constituency regained the political strength of ANP in the constituency and defeated PPP's Azam Khan Afridi, a former Nazim of Peshawar by a quite fair margin. Amir Muqam the then Minister for political affairs and senior leader of PML-Q remained close to third position. In the general elections of 2013, PTI's Gulzar Khan won this seat by defeating PML-N's Nasir Khan Mousazai (ECP, 2016).

Table 2: *Detail of the National Assembly's Constituencies in the General Elections 2013 (District Peshawar)*

Name of Constituency	Name of Candidate	Pol. Party	Total No. of Registered Voters			Valid Votes	No. of Votes Taken	Percentage of Taken Votes with Valid Votes	Poll. Stations	Poll. Booths
			Male	Female	Total					
N.A-1 (Peshawar-I)	Ghulam Ahmad Bilour	ANP	186909	133668	320577	72521	34386	47.415%	227	684
N.A-2 (Peshawar-II)	Hamidull Haq (Engr)	PTI	192239	144162	336401	142031	79125	55.71%	216	669

N.A-3 (Peshawar-III)	Sajid Nawaz	PTI	218853	164871	383724	173647	66528	31.31%	279	763
N.A-4 (Peshawar-IV)	Gulzar Khan	PTI	208300	144146	352446	138555	55134	39.8%	250	737

Source: Data Calculated from Election Commission of Pakistan, General Election Report Vol. II: Comparative Statistics for General Elections 2002, 2008 and 2013 (Islamabad: Government Printing Press, 2016).

Table 2 reveals the complete results of four constituencies of the National Assembly of district Peshawar, including names of winning candidates, their respective political parties, and total registered voters with male and female numbers, valid and secured votes, percentages, polling stations and polling booths in the general elections 2013. The population was in the thousands in each constituency while the numbers of polling stations and booths were in the hundreds. From NA's four seats, three winning candidates belonged to PTI and one to ANP.

Before the general elections of 2002, there were eight Provincial Assembly seats from district Peshawar (PK-1 (Peshawar-I)) to (PK-8 (Peshawar-VIII)). Legal Framework Order (LFO) of 2002 was issued at the time of General Pervez Musharraf, in which the provincial Assembly's seats from district Peshawar were increased to eleven (Shah and Sareen, 2018). In the provincial constituency PK-1 (Peshawar-I), political parties ANP and PPP had a hard competition over the seat, particularly between their electoral candidates; Bashir Ahmad Bilour (late) and Ayub Shah respectively. Though PPP candidate won the seat once in 1988 when Ayub Shah got the majority of 13,442 votes and Bashir Ahmad Bilour of ANP had 11,197 votes, while ANP won the same seat four times by its candidates Bashir Ahmad Bilour in the general elections of 1990, 1993, 1997 (ECP, 2000) and Alamzeb in 2008. In the general elections of 2002, this provincial seat was won by MMA by its candidate Dr Muhammad Zakir Shah with a little margin than Ayub Shah of PPP, but in the general elections of 2013, the same seat was won by the newly emerged political party PTI by its candidate Ziaullah Afridi with a huge majority of 22, 932 votes (44.11%) than PML-J's Muhammad Nadeem 6, 907 votes (12.68%) (Farman, Shahbaz and Ali, 2017).

PPP had a strong hold on the Provincial Assembly's seat of PK-2 (Peshawar-II) and had won the seat four times i.e., in the general elections of 1988, 1993, 2002 and 2008 by its candidatures Qamar Abbas and Syed Zahir Ali Shah. The same seat was won in the general elections of 1990 and 1997 by IJI and PML-N respectively (ECP, 2000). In the general elections of 2013, the PK-2 (Peshawar-II) seat of the Provincial Assembly was won by PTI candidate Shaukat Ali Yousafzai securing 27,456 votes (44.81%), followed by PPPP candidate Syed Zahir Ali Shah with 11,496 votes (18.76%) (ECP, 2016).

ANP had a dominant hold on the provincial constituency, PK-3 (Peshawar-III) and frequently won the seat in the general elections of 1990, 1993, 1997, 2002 and 2008 by its candidates Arbab Saifur Rehman and Bashir Ahmad Bilour. This seat was once won by an independent candidate Arbab M. Jahangir Khalil in the 1988 elections (ECP, 2000) but in the general elections of 2013, the same seat was won by PTI candidate Javed Nasim with a huge majority of votes 18, 088 (35.85%) than ANP's Haroon Bashir Bilour's votes 15, 293 (30.31%) (ECP, 2016). In the provincial constituency PK-4 (Peshawar-IV), ANP had also a stronghold and had been successful with its candidates Haji Muhammad Adeel and Syed Aqil Shah in the general elections of 1990, 1993, 1997 and 2008. In the general elections of 1988 (ECP, 2000) and 2002, the same seat was won by PPP's Muhammad Azam and an Independent candidate Ibrahim Khan respectively. In the general elections of 2013, this provincial seat was also won by PTI candidate Arif Yousaf with a huge majority of 20,803 votes (42.12%) followed by Mutahida Deeni Mahaz (MDM) candidate with 10,567 votes (21.391%) (ECP, 2016).

In the provincial constituency PK-5 (Peshawar-V) during the general elections of 1988, 1990 and 1997 dominated by the regional political party ANP by its candidates Haji Abdur Rehman (ECP, 2000) and in the 2008 elections by Ateef ur Rehman of ANP. While in the general elections of 1993, this PK-5 seat had won by PPP's candidate Haji Muhammad Nawaz, and in the 2002 elections by Maulana Amanullah

Haqqani of MMA. In the general elections of 2013, the same seat was won by the newly emerged political party PTI with a great majority of 31,639 votes (51.4%) by its candidate Yaseen Khan Khalil, followed by JUI's candidate Maulana Amanullah Haqqani secured 6,957 votes (11.3%) (ECP, 2016).

In the provincial constituency PK-6 (Peshawar-VI), there existed a tough competition between ANP and PPP over the provincial seat throughout the electoral history of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. PPP was successful to win the seat twice by its candidate Arbab M. Ayub Jan as the result of the general elections of 1988 and 1993, while ANP got a majority in the same constituency by its candidates Arbab M. Ayub Jan and Muhammad Alamgir Khalil in the general elections of 1997 and 2008 respectively. Pakistan Democratic Alliance (PDA) and MMA won the same seat by their candidates Arbab M. Ayub Jan and Kashif Azam in the general elections of 1990 (ECP, 2000) and 2002 respectively. In the general elections of 2013, in this Provincial Assembly's seat of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, PTI was successful in getting a remarkable majority of 15,909 votes (28.88%) by its candidate Fazal Elahi, followed by Raees Khan as an Independent candidate with 7,619 votes (13.83%) (ECP, 2016).

The electoral history of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa reveals that political parties, ANP and PPP, were in uphill competition over the seat of the provincial constituency PK-7 (Peshawar-VII). In the general elections of 1993 and 1997, ANP won the seat by its candidate Hidayatullah Khan Chamkani, while in the general elections of 1988 and 2008, PPP won this seat by its candidate Iftikhar Ahmad Khan and Kiramatullah Khan respectively (ECP, 2000). In the general elections of 1990 and 2002, Islami jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) and MMA won a majority on the same seat by their candidates Haji Iftikhar Ahmad and Hashmat Khan respectively. In the general elections of 2013, PTI won the provincial seat by its candidate Mehmood Jan with a great majority of 12,583 votes (21.74%), followed by Hashmat Khan of JI with 6,684 votes (11.55%) (ECP, 2016).

ANP had a strong hold on the provincial assembly seat of PK-8 (Peshawar-VIII) and in the general elections of 1988, 1990, 1993 and 1997, the seat was always won by ANP by its candidates Haji Abdur Rehman Khan (in the 1988 and 1990 elections), M. Iqbal Khan (in the 1993 elections) and Arbab M. Zahir Khan (in the 1997 elections) (ECP, 2000). In the general elections of 2002 and 2008, the seat was won by MMA and PPPP by their candidates Asif Iqbal and Malik Tamash Khan respectively, while in the general elections of 2013, the PK-8 (Peshawar-VIII) was the only provincial seat from district Peshawar that was won by PML-N by its candidate Arbab Akbar Hayat instead of PTI. As mentioned earlier, the remaining three provincial assembly's seats from district Peshawar i.e., PK-9 (Peshawar-IX), PK-10 (Peshawar-X), and PK-11 (Peshawar- XI) were increased in the Legal Framework Order (LFO) of 2002 before the general elections of 2002 at the reign of General Pervez Musharraf.

In the general elections of 2002, PPP won the provincial seat of PK-9 (Peshawar- IX) by its candidate Iftikhar Ahmad Khan, while MMA got a majority of votes in both provincial assembly's seat of PK-10 (Peshawar-X) and PK-11 (Peshawar- XI) by its candidates Javed Khan Mohmand and Khalid Waqar Advocate respectively. In the general elections of 2008, ANP won all these three provincial assembly's seats of PK-9 (Peshawar-IX), PK-10 (Peshawar-X), and PK-11 (Peshawar-XI) by its candidates Arbab M. Ayub Jan, Khushdil Khan and Saqibullah Khan respectively. Similarly, in the general elections of 2013, PTI won all these three seats i.e., PK-9 (Peshawar-IX), PK-10 (Peshawar-X), and PK- 11 (Peshawar-XI) with a great majority by its candidates Arbab Jahandad Khan with 13,390 votes (21.48%), Shah Farman with 11,525 votes (23.55%), and Syed M. Ishtiaq with 15,153 votes (25.93%), followed by M. Sharif of JUI with 10,782 votes (17.29%), Khushdil Khan of ANP with 10,453 votes (21.36%), and Khalid Waqar of JUI with 12,977 votes (22.21%) respectively ECP, 2016).

It is evident from the electoral history of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa that none of the political party maintained its permanent strong hold over the provincial assembly's seats of district Peshawar and there always seemed a tough competition over various provincial seats among different political parties i.e., ANP, PPP, PML-N and JUI etc. In the general elections of 2013, there came an unprecedented change and a newly

emerged political party PTI won the majority of ten out of eleven provincial assembly seats of district Peshawar with a huge majority of votes.

Table 3: *Name of Provincial Constituency, Winner Candidate, Political Party, Number of Valid, Obtained Votes and Percentage in the General Elections 2013*

Name of Constituency	Winning Candidates	Political Party	Total No. Of Registered Voters	Valid Votes	No. Of Votes Taken	%age of Taken Votes with Valid Votes	Contested Candidates
PK-1 Peshawar-I	Zia Ullah Afridi	PTI	127437	53640	22932	42.11%	27
PK-2 Peshawar-II	Shaukat Ali Yousaf Zai	PTI	130113	60397	27456	44.81%	23
PK-3 Peshawar-III	Javed Nasim	PTI	107076	49908	18088	35.85%	26
PK-4 Peshawar-IV	Arif Yousaf	PTI	109010	48537	20803	42.12%	18
PK-5 Peshawar-V	Yaseen Khan Khalil	PTI	141964	60588	31639	51.4%	27
PK-6 Peshawar-VI	Fazal Elahi	PTI	138943	53828	15909	28.88%	17
PK-7 Peshawar-VII	Mehmood Jan	PTI	120866	56369	12583	21.74%	17
PK-8 Peshawar-VIII	Arbab Akbar Hayat	PML-N	122782	56215	13528	23.34%	20
PK-9 Peshawar-IX	Arbab Jehandad Khan	PTI	127145	62348	13390	21.48%	15
PK-10 Peshawar-X	Shah Farman	PTI	130140	47454	11863	23.55%	07
PK-11 Peshawar-11	Syed Mohammad Ishtiaq	PTI	141334	56746	15153	25.93%	15

Source: Data Calculated from Election Commission of Pakistan, *General Election Report Vol. II: Comparative Statistics for General Elections 2002, 2008 and 2013* (Islamabad: Government Printing Press, 2016).

Table 3 shows the Provincial Assembly results of the 2013 elections of 11 constituencies of district Peshawar. Only one seat out of eleven was secured by the candidate of PML-N. The remaining ten seats won by PTI dominated the provincial assembly which disappointed other political parties in the general elections of 2013 in the district of Peshawar.

Research Question

What factors/determinants significantly affected the voting behaviors of the voters in the general elections of 2013 in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in general and in district Peshawar in particular?

Hypothesis

This research paper hypothesized that political factor/determinant such as party loyalty/party manifesto played a significant role in affecting the voting behavior of the people which are followed by combined social factors such as religion, *Baradari*, ethnicity, and economic factor i.e., clientelism.

Research Methodology

To analyze the electoral politics in district Peshawar, the researchers have designed a questionnaire for respondents. The questionnaire contained multiple choice questions.

Population

The questionnaire filled out by the selected population of different constituencies (Provincial and National) in district Peshawar in which majority of people were interested in elections and electoral politics. They participated in elections by attending processing, public meetings, and party membership and most important by casting their votes. The questionnaire included some basic questions like area, age, sex, qualification, profession, and monthly income.

Research Design/Plan

The researchers conducted the blend examination as a research plan for the purpose to measure the opinions of the populace about the specific issue and utilized this plan to distinguish the electoral politics in district Peshawar from the point of view of the elections 2013. The research plan has a mixed study for exploration that incorporates a quantitative, descriptive, and analytical method for information and data accumulation. The data is interpreted in form of tables with discussions. In the present research, the reason for choosing the populace was to assess the electoral politics in the district of Peshawar.

Sample Size

A sum of 800 voters was chosen from the Voters lists on random and organized methods. In the beginning, 100 voters were randomly chosen from the specific constituency (Provincial and National) of the region. These, 100 voters were distributed equally in each union councils of the constituency. So, these 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 100 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. Out of the total distributed 800, 664 questionnaires were received back by the author properly filled in.

Sampling Techniques/Method

To accumulate data and information from the focused population, the researchers used systematic and random sampling methods. Random sampling method was used by selecting basic units of the population in such a way that each unit of the population was represented. The information was collected through self-administered questionnaires circulated among the respondents personally by the researchers.

Data Analysis Techniques

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.

Variables

The survey through a questionnaire was conducted for analyzing electoral politics in district Peshawar. For the measurement of responses, the data was collected from 60% rural and 40% urban areas respondents, 52% were of the age group between 18 to 40 years, whereas 48% were above-40 years of age group. 65% of male and 35% of female gender respondents participated in the survey. Five categories were made up of the professional groups; 10% were Government Servants, 15% Non-Government Servants, 35% were Businessmen and Shopkeepers, 20% were Housewives and 20% of other professional respondents participated. Income group was categorized into three as 65% '20000 & below income', 20% 'above 20,000 incomes' and 15% 'any- other/sorry' related income respondents participated. While 40% literate and 60% illiterate respondents participated in this survey.

Analysis of Voting Determinants

Voters from the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa have demonstrated a volatile nature. In every election, their voting determinants vary from the past. Until the 2013 election for Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provincial and national assemblies, none of the political parties could successively get to power in the province. In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, there have been a few significant voting determinants namely Party loyalty/party manifesto, religion, *Baradari*, clientelism, and ethnicity. During General Elections, Voters generally make their choice based on the mentioned determinants. Therefore, it is significant to know which voting determinant appealed to voters and how much. To know this characteristic of the voters of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa during polling of the 2013 General Elections, the following question was asked, and responses were collected from the respondents from the voters in district Peshawar.

'You Voted to Party/Candidate in the 2013 elections but on what basis?'

The question was open-ended with 06 options given. The respondents had to select anyone. While analyzing the 2013 General Elections, responses to this question were vital. For in- depth understanding, the responses were further analyzed in respect of several variables i.e., area, age, gender, profession, monthly income group, and literacy-based stratifications.

Area-Based Stratification

As evident from the following table number 4, the two voting determinants of 'party loyalty/party manifesto' and '*Baradari*' were greatly favored by both 'urban' and 'rural' respondents. The 'urban' respondents remained more concerned about these determinants.

Table 4: Area-Based Stratification

Area (Urban and Rural)	Party Loyalty/Party Manifesto	Religion	<i>Baradari</i>	Clientelism	Ethnicity	Any other	Total
Urban	152 (51.0%)	35 (11.7%)	63 (21.1%)	20 (6.7%)	18 (6.0%)	10 (3.4%)	298 (100.0%)
Rural	185 (50.5%)	63 (17.2%)	62 (16.9%)	27 (7.4%)	19 (5.2%)	10 (2.7%)	366 (100.0%)
Total	337 (50.8%)	98 (14.8%)	125 (18.8%)	47 (7.1%)	37 (5.6%)	20 (3.0%)	664 (100.0%)

Chi-Square: 5.402

P-Value: 0.369

Source: Field Data Collected by the authors

The table reflects that; in area-based consideration, the urban respondents greatly supported the voting determinants of party loyalty/party manifesto 51.0%, *Baradari* 21.1%, ethnicity 6.0%, and any other 3.4%, while religion 17.2%, clientelism 7.4% were comparatively more supported by rural respondents.

The Chi-Square test did not yield a significant P-value. The P-value of 0.369 > 0.05 shows that in the 2013 General Elections, no correlation existed between area-based stratification and voting determinants.

Age-Based Stratification

In terms of age-based stratification, in the 2013 elections, the young, whose age was '18- 40' years greatly affirmed the party loyalty/party manifesto as their voting determinant.

Table 5: Age-Based Stratification

	Party Loyalty/Party Manifesto	Religion	<i>Baradari</i>	Clientelism	Ethnicity	Any other	Total
18-40	166 (59.5%)	29 (10.4%)	51 (18.3%)	18 (6.5%)	08 (2.9%)	07 (2.5%)	279 (100.0%)
Above 40	171 (44.4%)	69 (17.9%)	74 (19.2%)	29 (7.5%)	29 (7.5%)	13 (3.4%)	385 (100.0%)
Total	337 (50.8%)	98 (14.8%)	125 (18.8%)	47 (7.1%)	37 (5.6%)	20 (3.0%)	664 (100.0%)

Chi-Square: 20.528 P-Value: 0.001, Source: Field Data collected by the authors

In the age-based stratification, regarding the 2013 General Elections for Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provincial and national assemblies, the young respondents whose age was '18-40' years dominantly favored the voting determinant 'party loyalty/party manifesto' 59.5%, while all the other voting determinants were

comparatively more affirmed by the elder respondents whose age was ‘above 40’ years. As such religion, *Baradari*, clientelism, and ‘any other’ had 17.9%, 19.2%, 7.5%, and 3.4% responses, respectively, of this group.

The Chi-Square test provided a significant P-value of $0.001 < 0.05$ which shows that in the 2013 General Elections, a significant correlation existed between age-based stratification and voting determinants.

Gender-Based Stratification

In gender-based consideration, in the 2013 General Elections, male respondents dominantly favored ‘party loyalty/party manifesto’ as their voting determinant.

Table 6: Gender-Based Stratification

Gender	Party Loyalty/ Party Manifesto	Religion	<i>Baradari</i>	Clientelism	Ethnicity	Any other	Total
Male	291 (54.1%)	77 (14.3%)	92 (17.1%)	35 (6.5%)	30 (5.6%)	13 (2.4%)	538 (100.0%)
Female	46 (36.5%)	21 (16.7%)	33 (26.2%)	12 (9.5%)	07 (5.6%)	07 (5.6%)	126 (100.0%)
Total	337 (50.8%)	98 (14.8%)	125 (18.8%)	47 (7.1%)	37 (5.6%)	20 (3.0%)	664 (100.0%)

Chi-Square: 15.736, P-Value: 0.008

Source: Field Data collected by the authors

Table 6 reflects that concerning the 2013 General Elections, the voting determinant ‘party loyalty/party manifesto’ was supported by 54.1% of male respondents, while female respondents chose other voting determinants like religion 16.7%, *Baradari* 26.2%, clientelism 9.5%, and ‘any other’ at 5.6%.

The Chi-Square test produced a significant P-value of $0.008 < 0.05$ which indicates that in the 2013 General Elections for the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provincial and national assemblies, an association existed between gender-based considerations and voting determinants.

Profession-Based Stratification

In profession-based consideration, in the 2013 elections, the respondents; ‘Govt. servants’ and ‘non-Government servants’ greatly favored the voting determinants of ‘party loyalty/party manifesto’.

Table 7: Profession-Based Stratification

Professions	Party Loyalty/ Party Manifesto	Religion	<i>Baradari</i>	Clientelism	Ethnicity	Any other	Total
Govt. Servant	111 (52.1%)	37 (17.4%)	37 (17.4%)	09 (4.2%)	14 (6.6%)	05 (2.3%)	213 (100%)
Non-Government Servant	61 (63.5%)	09 (9.4%)	13 (13.5%)	09 (9.4%)	03 (3.1%)	01 (1.0%)	96 (100%)
Businessmen & Shopkeeper	77 (48.1%)	20 (12.5%)	30 (18.8%)	14 (8.8%)	13 (8.1%)	06 (3.8%)	160 (100%)
Housewife	34 (41.0%)	10 (12.0%)	24 (28.9%)	07 (8.4%)	05 (6.0%)	03 (3.6%)	83 (100%)
Other	54 (49.1%)	22 (20.0%)	19 (17.3%)	08 (7.3%)	02 (1.8%)	05 (4.5%)	112 (100%)
Total	337 (50.8%)	98 (14.8%)	125 (18.8%)	47 (7.1%)	37 (5.6%)	20 (3.0%)	664 (100%)

Chi-Square: 38.730 P-Value: 0.039

Source: Field Data collected by the authors

Table 7 shows that in the 2013 General Elections, the voting determinants; ‘party loyalty/party manifesto’ and ‘clientelism’ were comparatively more affirmed by respondents of the ‘non-Government servants’ category with 63.5%, and 9.4% respectively, religion 17.4% from ‘govt. servants’, ethnicity 8.1% from

‘businessmen and shopkeepers’, and *Baradari* 28.9% from ‘housewives’ respondents asserted as their voting determinants.

The Chi-Square test produced a significant P-value of $0.039 < 0.05$ which indicates that in the 2013 General Elections, a strong correlation existed between profession-based considerations and voting determinants.

Monthly Income-Based Stratification

Concerning the 2013 elections, the respondents whose monthly income was Rs.20,000/month & below greatly favored the voting determinant party loyalty/party manifesto.

Table 8: *Monthly Income-Based Stratification*

Monthly Income	Party Loyalty/ Party Manifesto	Religion	<i>Baradari</i>	Clientelism	Ethnicity	Any other	Total
20,000 & Below	115 (61.5%)	15 (8.0%)	35 (18.7%)	14 (7.5%)	06 (3.2%)	02 (1.1%)	187 (100.0%)
Above 20,000	151 (51.7%)	46 (15.8%)	55 (18.8%)	16 (5.5%)	15 (5.1%)	09 (3.1%)	292 (100.0%)
Any Other or Sorry	71 (38.4%)	37 (20.0%)	35 (18.9%)	17 (9.2%)	16 (8.6%)	09 (4.9%)	185 (100.0%)
Total	337 (50.8%)	98 (14.8%)	125 (18.8%)	47 (7.1%)	37 (5.6%)	20 (3.0%)	664 (100.0%)

Chi-Square: 31.116

P-Value: 0.001

Source: Field Data collected by the authors

In the monthly income-based consideration, the respondents whose monthly income was ‘20,000 & below’ dominantly affirmed the voting determinant ‘party loyalty/party manifesto’ with 61.5%, while respondents of monthly income ‘any other or sorry’ group went for other voting determinants like religion 20.0%, *Baradari* 18.9%, clientelism 9.2%, and ethnicity 8.6%.

The Chi-Square test produces a significant P-value of $0.001 < 0.05$ which indicates that in the 2013 General Elections, a significant correlation existed between monthly income-based stratification and voting determinants.

Literacy-Based Stratification

In literacy-based consideration of the 2013 elections, most literate respondents affirmed the ‘party loyalty/party manifesto’ as their voting determinant.

Table 9: *Literacy-Based Stratification*

Literacy	Party Loyalty/ Party Manifesto	Religion	<i>Baradari</i>	Clientelism	Ethnicity	Any other	Total
Literate	253 (52.5%)	75 (15.6%)	85 (17.6%)	32 (6.6%)	25 (5.2%)	12 (2.5%)	482 (100.0%)
Illiterate	84 (46.2%)	23 (12.6%)	40 (22.0%)	15 (8.2%)	12 (6.6%)	08 (4.4%)	182 (100.0%)
Total	337 (50.8%)	98 (14.8%)	125 (18.8%)	47 (7.1%)	37 (5.6%)	20 (3.0%)	664 (100.0%)

Chi-Square: 5.675 P-Value: 0.339

Source: Field Data collected by the authors

As compared to illiterate ones, literate respondents greatly supported the voting determinants of 'party loyalty/party manifesto' and religion with 52.5% and 15.6% respectively, while illiterate respondents took other voting determinants like *Baradari* 22.0%, clientelism 8.2%, ethnicity 6.6%, and 'any other' with 4.4%.

The Chi-Square test produced a significant P-value of $0.339 > 0.05$ which indicates that in the 2013 General Elections, no correlation existed between literacy-based stratification and voting determinants.

To sum up, we noticed that in respect of the 2013 General Elections, the voting determinant 'party loyalty/party manifesto' was greatly affirmed by respondents of all variables particularly the 'urban' respondents 51.0%, younger whose age was '18-40' years 59.5%, 'male' 54.1%, 'non-Government servants' 63.5%, less monthly income group '20,000 & below' with 61.5%, and 'literate' 52.5% respondents. As a voting determinant, religion was more favored by 'rural' respondents 17.2%, elders whose age was 'above 40' years 17.9%, 'female' 16.7%, 'Government servants' 17.4%, 'any other or sorry' group of monthly income 20.0%, and 'literate' 15.6% respondents. *Baradari* was comparatively more supported by 'urban' respondents 21.1%, elders whose age was '18-40' years with 19.2%, 'female' 19.2%, housewives 28.9%, 'any other or sorry' group of monthly income 18.9% and 'illiterate' 22.0% respondents. On the other hand, clientelism, ethnicity, and "any other" voting determinants were precisely affirmed as voting determinants by respondents of all variables in the 2013 General Elections for the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial and National Assemblies, with proportions of 7.1%, 5.6%, and 3.0%, respectively.

Discussion

Elections are pivotal to the practice and success of democracy. The act of choosing representatives through regular elections is fundamental to the exercise of legitimate democratic authority. The act of voting keeps the citizen engage with the process and practice of politics. Voting behaviour clasps a central place in the study of politics. It focuses on the determinant of why people vote and how they arrive at the electoral decisions while casting votes in elections. Many political, social and economic factors such as party loyalty/party manifesto, religion, *Baradari*, ethnicity, clientelism affect the electoral choices/decisions of the voters. The present study examines the extent of application of these political, social and economic determinants of voting behavior. The analysis of voting behavior was found in line with the existing literatures such as (Wilder, 1999), (Shakeel, 2010) and (Farmanullah, 2014). It was affirmed from the existing literature that voting behavior both at national and provincial level has dissimilar affected by these determinants.

Party loyalty/party manifesto is a determinant of voting behavior in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In a pre-poll survey conducted by Farmanullah and Fakhr-ul-Islam with respect to the General Elections of 2013 in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa revealed that more than fifty percent respondents (53.3%) supported the view that their electoral preference would not be based on party loyalty/party manifesto (Farman & Fakhr, Year). Farman, Shahbaz and Sajjad carried a study about religious voting determinant with respect to General Elections of 2013 in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa revealed that less than fifty percent of the voters (45.7%) based their electoral preferences on religious voting (Farman, Shahbaz & Sajjad, 2017). Farmanullah held a pre-poll survey regarding ethic voting in the General Elections of 2013 in KP demonstrated that voters would not support ethnicity in making electoral choices; because less than fifty percent of the respondents declined the determinant (Farman, 2014). Farman, Usman and Adad-ur-Rehman's study revealed that clientelism was one of the major determinants of voting in the general elections of 2013 in KP and findings of the study show that clientelism is operating to a great extent (79.38%). It has also been come across that voters voted on the assurance of provision of water, electricity and employment (Farman, Usman & Abad-ur-Rehman, 2015).

Conclusion and Suggestions

The general elections of 2013 were held after the PPP central-government and ANP-PPP led-coalition provincial government in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa completed their five-year tenure. Besides, the country was facing a critical phase of its history i.e., everywhere corruption, load shading, inflation and terrorism prevailed. In these elections, the key players were ANP, PPP, PML (N), JUI (F) and the newly emerging political party PTI which contended with the other previous parties. The election system plays significant role in the political stability of a society and through the election process; people express their political feelings and design political foundations. However, the voters' behavior is greatly affected by diverse types of voting determinants such as 'party loyalty/party manifesto', 'religion', '*Baradari*', 'ethnicity', and 'clientelism'. In this research, the above-mentioned voting determinants were examined in the general elections of 2013 in district Peshawar of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and concluded that the political voting determinant i.e. party loyalty/party manifesto played a dominant role, followed by combined role of the social voting determinant i.e., '*Baradari*', 'religion', 'ethnicity'), while economic voting determinant played role to a limited extent.

Though, in Pakistan, the electoral system faces many problems not only on a macro level but on a micro level too. People have no facilities on polling stations, especially for disabled and senior citizens. Due to the lack of proper facilities at polling booths, voters hesitate to come for a casting vote, and this is the main reason for less voting turnout in the country. In rural areas of Peshawar, people are pressurized by *Baradari*, family members and sometimes political personalities and try to steal the mandate of other political parties or groups.

First, ECP should introduce an online voting system or electronic system for voter registration, vote casting and counting to reduce election fraud and promote accurate results. Secondly, ECP should set condition for political parties to hold intra-party elections twice a year so that honest people hold the party's leadership. Political parties should play their due role in the political socialization of people and arrange time to time public meetings and seminars etc. Thirdly, the government should make policies for providing education and equal rights to people so that education and providing access to rights may reduce the chances of influence of *Baradari* and feudal lords. The electronic media should be strictly regulated not to play any partisan and partial role before and during the election campaign.

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Conflict of Interest

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