OPERATIONALISING THE THEORY OF PARTY IDENTIFICATION IN THE ELECTORAL POLITICS OF KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA: A CASE STUDY OF GENERAL ELECTIONS 2013

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Abstract:

This research paper examines the application of theory of party identification in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa with reference to 2013 elections. The study argues that the theory of party identification is mostly not applicable in the electoral politics of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 2013 elections. A sample of 800 respondents has been selected through multistage random and systematic sampling from the voter list in NA-2 Peshawar in a pre-polled survey. The quantitative data reveals that more than fifty percent respondents (53.3%) supported the view that their electoral preference would not be based on party identification in 2013 elections. 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.

Keywords: Party Identification, Party Affiliation, Party Loyalty, Partisanship, General Elections 2013, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Electoral behaviour, Electoral Politics.

Introduction

Party identification, party affiliation, party loyalty and partisanship all connote the same meaning. It refers to the voting determinant by 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.[1] 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.[2]

The pioneer work on theory of party identification was done by Angus Campbell and his colleagues in 1960 in *The American Voter*.[3] This study

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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.[4] 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.[5] 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.[6] In short, party identification is emotionally oriented, long-term, stable and immutable and is shaped by exogenous socio-political elements.[7]

On the other hand, the thinkers of revisionist school of thought such as Richard G. Niemi and M. Kent Jenning 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.[8]

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.[9] 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.[10]

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.[11] In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, it is also important to highlight its significance in electoral politics. The study

argues that party identification is not mostly applicable in the electoral politics of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Hypothesis

Party identification does not constitute a primary determinant of voting behaviour in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Research questions

1) What is the conceptual understanding of the theory of party identification?
2) How far party identification matter in determining voting behaviour in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa?
3) Do elections in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa represent an aberration from electoral behaviour based on party identification?

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 separately 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 4th 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 an open and close ended question. Party identification has been measured quantitatively by asking the following set of questions.

- Keeping in view the 2013 elections, which party/person do you like most?
- To what extent would you vote on the basis of party loyalty in the 2013 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 the Majority Party in the 2013 Elections

In order to know about the voting behaviour in the 2013 elections, questioned were asked from the respondents in a pre-polled survey. In this connection, responses have been collected with regard to the question, "Keeping in view the 2013 elections, which party/person do you like most?" This open-ended question has been asked for knowing the voters' perception regarding party preference in 2013 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

The PTI (Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf) musters its support from the urban respondents while JUI (F) Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Islam (Fazal-ur-Rehman) has say among the rural respondents.

Table No.01

	PTI	JUI(F)	JI	QWP	ANP	PPPP	PML(N)	Sorry	Total
Urban	215	28	22	10	17	15	6	20	333
	(64.6%)	(8.4%)	(6.6%)	(3.0%)	(5.1%)	(4.5%)	(1.8%)	(6.0%)	(100.0%)
Rural	123	53	20	14	5	4	17	44	280
	(43.9%)	(18.9%)	(7.1%)	(5.0%)	(1.8%)	(1.4%)	(6.1%)	(15.7%)	(100.0%)
Total	338	81	42	24	22	19	23	64	613
	(55.1%)	(13.2%)	(6.9%)	(3.9%)	(3.6%)	(3.1%)	(3.8%)	(10.4%)	(100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 56.534, P-value = 0.000

Majority of the respondents (55.1%) favoured PTI in the pre-poll survey for 2013 elections. The urban respondents took lead in favouring PTI, followed

by the rural respondents (43.9%). The table shows that JUI (F) draws its main support from the rural area (18.9%) in comparison to (8.4%) the urban area. The JI (*Jamat-e-Islami*) has almost equal support in both the urban (6.6%) and rural (7.1%) areas. The QWP draws its main support from rural locale (5.0%) in comparison to the urban part (3.0%).

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The $p < 0.05$ shows that there is an association between urban / rural stratification and party allegiance in 2013 elections.

Gender Consideration

Both the male and female respondents determined to cast vote in favour of PTI in 2013 elections.

Table No.02

	PTI	JUI(F)	JI	QWP	ANP	PPPP	PML(N)	Sorry	Total
Male	202	51	19	15	16	8	20	33	364
	(55.5%)	(14.0%)	(5.2%)	(4.1%)	(4.4%)	(2.2%)	(5.5%)	(9.1%)	(100.0%)
Female	136	30	23	9	6	11	3	31	249
	(54.6%)	(12.0%)	(9.2%)	(3.6%)	(2.4%)	(4.4%)	(1.2%)	(12.4%)	(100.0%)
Total	338	81	42	24	22	19	23	64	613
	(55.1%)	(13.2%)	(6.9%)	(3.9%)	(3.6%)	(3.1%)	(3.8%)	(10.4%)	(100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 16.880, P-value = 0.018

Majority of the male respondents (55.5%), followed by female respondents (54.6%), pointed out that they will vote PTI in 2013 elections. Regarding JUI (F), the male respondents (14.0%), followed by (12.0%) females, were seen as the main source. The JI draws its main support from female respondents (9.2%).

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The $p < 0.05$ shows that there is an association between gender and party allegiance in 2013 elections.

Age Consideration

All the age groups intended to vote PTI in 2013 election but main support comes from the younger respondents.

Table No.03

	PTI	JUI(F)	JI	QWP	ANP	PPPP	PML(N)	Sorry	Total
18-40	216	46	18	17	12	17	15	44	385
	(56.1%)	(11.9%)	(4.7%)	(4.4%)	(3.1%)	(4.4%)	(3.9%)	(11.4%)	(100.0%)
Above 40	122	35	24	7	10	2	8	20	228
	(53.5%)	(15.4%)	(10.5%)	(3.1%)	(4.4%)	(.9%)	(3.5%)	(8.8%)	(100.0%)
Total	338	81	42	24	22	19	23	64	613

	PTI	JUI(F)	JI	QWP	ANP	PPPP	PML(N)	Sorry	Total
18-40	216 (56.1%)	46 (11.9%)	18 (4.7%)	17 (4.4%)	12 (3.1%)	17 (4.4%)	15 (3.9%)	44 (11.4%)	385 (100.0%)
Above 40	122 (53.5%)	35 (15.4%)	24 (10.5%)	7 (3.1%)	10 (4.4%)	2 (.9%)	8 (3.5%)	20 (8.8%)	228 (100.0%)
Total	338 (55.1%)	81 (13.2%)	42 (6.9%)	24 (3.9%)	22 (3.6%)	19 (3.1%)	23 (3.8%)	64 (10.4%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 16.699, P-value = 0.019

In terms of age, a large number of the respondents (56.1%) whose age is 18-40 years are resolute in supporting PTI in 2013 elections. The second largest category of respondents who responded in the same way include those respondents whose age is above 40 years (53.5%). This shows that as the age decreases, the support for PTI increases. It also entails that as the age decreases, the desire for political change increases. The JUI(F) (15.4%) and JI (10.5%) draw their main support from the respondents whose age is above 40 years. As the age increases, religiosity increases, and, therefore, support for JUI(F) and JI increases while supporters of the QWP mainly belong to the age group (18-40) years.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is an association between age and party allegiance in 2013 elections.

Professional Consideration

A large number of the respondents belonging to the category of 'others' and government servant decided to vote PTI in 2013 elections.

Table No.04

	PTI	JUI(F)	JI	QWP	ANP	PPPP	PML(N)	Sorry	Total
Govt. Servant	63 (57.3%)	15 (13.6%)	7 (6.4%)	2 (1.8%)	10 (9.1%)	1 (.9%)	3 (2.7%)	9 (8.2%)	110 (100.0%)
Non-Govt. Servant	42 (49.4%)	11 (12.9%)	3 (3.5%)	5 (5.9%)	4 (4.7%)	4 (4.7%)	5 (5.9%)	11 (12.9%)	85 (100.0%)
Businessman & Shopkeeper	41 (56.2%)	10 (13.7%)	5 (6.8%)	4 (5.5%)	4 (5.5%)	2 (2.7%)	5 (6.8%)	2 (2.7%)	73 (100.0%)
Others	75 (57.7%)	21 (16.2%)	6 (4.6%)	4 (3.1%)	1 (.8%)	2 (1.5%)	8 (6.2%)	13 (10.0%)	130 (100.0%)
House Wife	117 (54.4%)	24 (11.2%)	21 (9.8%)	9 (4.2%)	3 (1.4%)	10 (4.7%)	2 (.9%)	29 (13.5%)	215 (100.0%)
Total	338 (55.1%)	81 (13.2%)	42 (6.9%)	24 (3.9%)	22 (3.6%)	19 (3.1%)	23 (3.8%)	64 (10.4%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 48.272, P-value = 0.010

A massive number of the respondents (57.7%) belonging to the category of 'others' constitute the main partisans of PTI in 2013 elections. The category of 'others' includes students, retired persons, the unemployed, farmers and skilled and unskilled labourers. The second largest category of the PTI supporters is the government servants (57.3%). The third largest category is the businessmen and shopkeepers (56.2%) who also showed their loyalty with PTI. The JUI (F) draws its main support from the category of 'others' (16.2%) while JI is mainly supported by housewives (9.8%). And the QWP (Qaumi Watan Party) draws its support from non-government servants (5.9%).

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is an association between profession and party allegiance in 2013 elections.

Income Group Consideration

Respondents with low monthly income determined to vote PTI in 2013 elections.

Table No.05

	PTI	JUI(F)	JI	QWP	ANP	PPPP	PML(N)	Sorry	Total
20000 & Below	150 (56.2%)	36 (13.5%)	11 (4.1%)	13 (4.9%)	12 (4.5%)	5 (1.9%)	17 (6.4%)	23 (8.6%)	267 (100.0%)
Above 20000	22 (48.9%)	4 (8.9%)	3 (6.7%)	1 (2.2%)	7 (15.6%)	3 (6.7%)	4 (8.9%)	1 (2.2%)	45 (100.0%)
Sorry	166 (55.1%)	41 (13.6%)	28 (9.3%)	10 (3.3%)	3 (1.0%)	11 (3.7%)	2 (.7%)	40 (13.3%)	301 (100.0%)
Total	338 (55.1%)	81 (13.2%)	42 (6.9%)	24 (3.9%)	22 (3.6%)	19 (3.1%)	23 (3.8%)	64 (10.4%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 57.256, P-value = 0.000

In terms of monthly income, a maximum number of the respondents whose monthly income is Rs. 20000 and below (56.2%) determined to vote PTI in 2013 elections. The second largest support comes from those respondents who did not mention their monthly income (55.1%), also determined to favour PTI. The support of the income group (above Rs. 20000) stands (48.9%) for PTI in 2013 elections. The support for JUI (F) and JI comes from the respondents who did not mention their monthly income (13.6%) and (9.3%) respectively. The QWP gets the support of those respondents whose monthly income is Rs. 20000 and below (4.9%).

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is an association between monthly income and party allegiance in 2013 elections.

Literacy-Based Consideration

Both the literate and illiterate respondents showed support for PTI in 2013 elections, but the lead has been taken by the illiterate respondents.

Table No.06

	PTI	JUI(F)	JI	QWP	ANP	PPPP	PML(N)	Sorry	Total
Literate	211	52	21	10	19	14	13	33	373
	(56.6%)	(13.9%)	(5.6%)	(2.7%)	(5.1%)	(3.8%)	(3.5%)	(8.8%)	(100.0%)
Illiterate	127	29	21	14	3	5	10	31	240
	(52.9%)	(12.1%)	(8.8%)	(5.8%)	(1.3%)	(2.1%)	(4.2%)	(12.9%)	(100.0%)
Total	338	81	42	24	22	19	23	64	613
	(55.1%)	(13.2%)	(6.9%)	(3.9%)	(3.6%)	(3.1%)	(3.8%)	(10.4%)	(100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 16.339, P-value = 0.022

Regarding 2013 elections, it was found that majority of the literate respondents (56.6%), followed by illiterate respondents (52.9%) determined to vote PTI. However, the JUI(F) draws its major support from the literate (13.9%) and JI from illiterate (8.8%). The QWP gets the backing of illiterate respondents (5.8%).

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is an association between literacy and party allegiance in 2013 elections.

As a result of this question, it is found that majority of the urban respondents showed their inclination towards PTI in 2013 elections. Majority of the male respondents intended to vote PTI. In terms of age, a large number of the respondents whose age is 18—40 years also favoured PTI's support. A massive number of the respondents belonging to the category of 'others' presented themselves as the main partisans of PTI in 2013 elections. The category of 'others' includes students, retired persons, the unemployed, farmers and skilled and unskilled labourers. In terms of monthly income, a maximum number of the respondents whose monthly income is Rs. 20000 and below determined to vote PTI. As far as the literacy is concerned, majority of the literate respondents said they will prefer PTI in 2013 elections.

This shows that the voters have intended to change their voting behaviour in 2013 elections. The voters voted MMA (Mutahida Majlis-e-Amal) in 2002 elections, but in 2008 they changed the party preference and voted PPPP (Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarian) and ANP (Awami National Party). Regarding 2013 elections, the voters have intentions of changing their party preference from PPPP and ANP to PTI. This entails that the voters will not follow the theory of party identification in 2013 elections.

Party Identification and Its Importance in the 2013 Elections

Party identification is one of the most important determinants of voting behaviour. It is, therefore, pertinent to highlight its importance in the 2013 elections in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In this connection, responses were collected with regard to the question, "To what extent would you vote on the basis of party loyalty in the 2013 elections?" This question has been asked with special reference to 2013 elections. It has been asked for knowing the perception of the voters regarding party preferences in 2013 elections. It has also 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 the urban nor in the rural areas. It has been strongly opposed by the urban population. The urban people are more educated and politically more aware, therefore, they declined to vote on the basis of party loyalty in 2013.

Table No.07

	To a Greater Extent	To Some Extent	To a Limited Extent	Not at All	Total
Urban	63	32	43	195	333
	(18.9%)	(9.6%)	(12.9%)	(58.6%)	(100.0%)
Rural	59	47	42	132	280
	(21.1%)	(16.8%)	(15.0%)	(47.1%)	(100.0%)
Total	122	79	85	327	613
	(19.9%)	(12.9%)	(13.9%)	(53.3%)	(100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 10.626, P-value = 0.014

A good number of the urban respondents (58.6%) maintained that they will not vote on the basis of party affiliation in 2013 elections. The percentage of the rural respondents (47.1%) was less in this connection. Since the urban area is more developed, therefore, majority of the respondents determined that they will discourage party allegiance in 2013 elections. It shows that greater the urbanization, lesser will be party affiliation in 2013 elections.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is an association between urban / rural stratification and non-partisan behaviour in 2013 elections.

Gender Consideration

In terms of gender, it was found that male respondents showed indifferent behaviour towards party identification. Since males are politically more aware, therefore, they declined to vote on the basis of party loyalty in 2013 elections.

Table No.08

	To a Greater Extent	To Some Extent	To a Limited Extent	Not at All	Total
Male	51	51	62	200	364
	14.0%	14.0%	17.0%	54.9%	100.0%
Female	71	28	23	127	249
	28.5%	11.2%	9.2%	51.0%	100.0%
Total	122	79	85	327	613
	19.9%	12.9%	13.9%	53.3%	100.0%

Chi-Square Value = 23.416, P-value = 0.000

A larger part of the male respondents (54.9%) determined that they will disown the idea of party affiliation in 2013 elections. Among the female respondents (51.0%) maintained that they will discourage party allegiance in 2013 elections. Since males are politically more conscious, therefore, a maximum number of the male respondents argued that they will discourage party identification in these elections.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is an association between gender and non-partisan behaviour in 2013 elections.

Age Consideration

With regard to age, it was established that the younger respondents dispelled the impression of partisan behaviour in 2013 elections. It means that non-partisan behaviour increases with the decrease in age.

Table No.09

	To a Greater Extent	To Some Extent	To a Limited Extent	Not at All	Total
18-40	60	51	52	222	385
	(15.6%)	(13.2%)	(13.5%)	(57.7%)	(100.0%)
Above 40	62	28	33	105	228
	(27.2%)	(12.3%)	(14.5%)	(46.1%)	(100.0%)
Total	122	79	85	327	613
	(19.9%)	(12.9%)	(13.9%)	(53.3%)	(100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 13.514, P-value = 0.004

An extensive number of the respondents whose age is 18-40 years (57.7%) were of the view that they will not caste vote on the basis of party affiliation in 2013 elections. The second largest percentage was that of the respondents whose age is above 40 years (46.1%) who also agreed to the same version. Here the preference for non-partisanship increases, as the age decreases.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is an association between age and non-partisan behaviour in 2013 elections.

Professional Consideration

In terms of profession, the non-government servants strongly opposed the idea of party identification in the 2013 elections.

Table No.10

	To a Greater Extent	To Some Extent	To a Limited Extent	Not at All	Total
Govt. Servant	16 (14.5%)	17 (15.5%)	14 (12.7%)	63 (57.3%)	110 (100.0%)
Non-Govt. Servant	11 (12.9%)	8 (9.4%)	12 (14.1%)	54 (63.5%)	85 (100.0%)
Businessman & Shopkeeper	9 (12.3%)	15 (20.5%)	11 (15.1%)	38 (52.1%)	73 (100.0%)
Others	23 (17.7%)	16 (12.3%)	28 (21.5%)	63 (48.5%)	130 (100.0%)
House Wife	63 (29.3%)	23 (10.7%)	20 (9.3%)	109 (50.7%)	215 (100.0%)
Total	122 (19.9%)	79 (12.9%)	85 (13.9%)	327 (53.3%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 32.930, P-value = 0.001

As far as the profession is concerned, as massive number of the non-government servants (63.5%), followed by government servants (57.3%) determined to vote on non-partisan basis in 2013 elections. The third largest category includes businessmen and shopkeepers (52.1%) who also preferred non-partisan behaviour in the same elections.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is an association between profession and non-partisan behaviour in 2013 elections.

Income Group Consideration

With regard to income group, it was found that the respondents with low monthly income, preferred vehemently the non-partisan behaviour in the 2013 elections.

Table No.11

	To a Greater Extent	To Some Extent	To a Limited Extent	Not at All	Total
20000 & Below	36 (13.5%)	37 (13.9%)	43 (16.1%)	151 (56.6%)	267 (100.0%)
Above 20000	10 (22.2%)	5 (11.1%)	6 (13.3%)	24 (53.3%)	45 (100.0%)
Sorry	76 (25.2%)	37 (12.3%)	36 (12.0%)	152 (50.5%)	301 (100.0%)
Total	122 (19.9%)	79 (12.9%)	85 (13.9%)	327 (53.3%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 13.097, P-value = 0.042

A plentiful number of the respondents whose monthly income is Rs. 20000 and below (56.6%) maintained that their vote in 2013 elections will not be based on partisanship. On the other hand, the percentage of respondents whose income is above Rs. 20000 is less (53.3%) in this regard. This shows that respondents whose monthly income is Rs. 20000 and below show more electoral change in the elections. It implies that the respondents whose income was less, vehemently supported the non-partisan behaviour.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is an association between monthly income and non-partisan behaviour in 2013 elections.

Literacy-Based Consideration

Literacy plays a vital role in making electoral decisions. The literate respondents, who are politically more aware, rejected the idea of party identification in the 2013 elections.

Table No.12

	To a Greater Extent	To Some Extent	To a Limited Extent	Not at All	Total
Literate	57 (15.3%)	57 (15.3%)	49 (13.1%)	210 (56.3%)	373 (100.0%)
Illiterate	65 (27.1%)	22 (9.2%)	36 (15.0%)	117 (48.8%)	240 (100.0%)
Total	122	79	85	327	613

	To a Greater Extent	To Some Extent	To a Limited Extent	Not at All	Total
Literate	57	57	49	210	373
	(15.3%)	(15.3%)	(13.1%)	(56.3%)	(100.0%)
Illiterate	65	22	36	117	240
	(27.1%)	(9.2%)	(15.0%)	(48.8%)	(100.0%)
Total	122	79	85	327	613
	(19.9%)	(12.9%)	(13.9%)	(53.3%)	(100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 16.383, P-value = 0.001

The literacy rate also affects party identification. A good number of the literate respondents (56.3%) maintained that they will not vote on the basis of party affiliation in 2013 elections. Similarly, the illiterate respondents (48.8%) also preferred non-partisanship in 2013 elections. It shows that literate respondents prefer more the non-partisan than the illiterate.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is an association between education and non-partisan behaviour in 2013 elections.

To sum up, it is found that a large number of the urban respondents maintained that they will not vote on the basis of party affiliation in 2013 elections. A large of the male respondents determined that they will disown the idea of party affiliation in 2013 elections. An extensive number of the respondents whose age is 18-40 years asserted that they will not cast vote on the basis of party affiliation in 2013 elections. In terms of profession, massive number of the non-government servants determined to behave in a non-partisan way in the coming elections. Similarly, a lot of the respondents whose monthly income is Rs.20000/- and below maintained that their vote in 2013 elections will not be based on partisanship. A good number of the literate respondents also maintained that they will not vote on the basis of party affiliation in 2013 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 (53.3%) declined to vote on the basis of party loyalty in 2013 elections. This shows that the theory of party identification is not mostly applicable in the electoral politics of 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, non-government servants, respondents whose monthly income is 20000 and below and literate respondents.

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