

**Party Identification as a Female Voting Determinant in Karak, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa:
A Case Study of 2018 General Elections**

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Abstract:

This article investigates the electoral behaviour of females in district Karak, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan, and the case study is the 2018 general elections. This study tests the theory of party identification while using a quantitative research method. The data is collected through questionnaires from the field. Four hundred respondents have been selected out of the total of 178,504 female registered voters for elections of district Karak through Taro Yamane's Formula. The researchers have utilised a stratified sampling technique to gather reliable data of proportionate sampling figures from the female registered voters for the general election 2018 in NA-34 in district Karak. Therefore, the proportional allocation method of sampling, i.e., $n_1 = N1/Ni \times ni$, is used to select the number of respondents from each tehsil according to the sample size. The study evaluates the role of party identification in describing female voting behaviour. The study's findings show that party affiliation is a critical determinant of NA-34 in the 2018 general elections in Karak, Pakistan.

Keywords: Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Karak, female voting determinant, voting behaviour, party affiliation, 2018 general elections

INTRODUCTION

Initially, Campbell et al. (1960) worked on party identification in 1960 and researched the voters in America. Further, their research work provided the basis for empirical electoral research. Campbell et al. (1960) claimed that based on party affiliation and association, electoral decisions are made long before the start of the electoral campaign. The theory claims that the sense of belonging to a party keeps a person emotionally attached and satisfied with his party. Therefore, the personal choice of a candidate in the casting of vote party affiliation played a key role. A person normally acquires party affiliation or orientation via family, friends, and the outer political and social environment. Membership of a particular party is a long-term phenomenon, and relationships remain stable and intact for a long time. When a person is affiliated with a particular party, he/she supports and promotes the narrative of his/her political party. Equally, he/she resists and refutes the narrative of the opposing political party (Dodson, 2009).

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Consequently, one remains in a solid and lasting relationship with a political party of one's choice. A person's association with a political party changes and moulds an individual's values and behaviour to a greater extent. Factors such as political issues, political conditions and the personality of electoral candidates play a role in a person's party affiliation. It is argued that party affiliation is an emotional attachment that is more stable, durable, and immutable. It comprises exogenous socio-political elements (Anderson et al., 2010; Farmanullah, 2014-b).

Campbell et al. (1960) examined the electorate's decision through a diagram in their research work. The author revealed in his study the manipulation of numerous factors involved in the electorate's choices. He divided the variables into distal and proximal factors. The distal factors are those factors that influence the choice of voters' choice of voters in the funnel. Campbell's research was the first ever organised study of American voting behaviour. His work carries excellent weight and worth in the field of electoral studies. Campbell studied voters' voting behaviour in the 1952 and 1956 presidential elections in the United States. The work of Campbell consisted of two important chapters that are considered close to the voters' choices. These are candidate evaluation, campaign effects, and talking to family and friends. Distal factors enter through the large inlet of the funnel. Distal factors lead to party/partisanship identification after narrowing down the funnel. The bias affects the proximal factors that ultimately lead to the voting decision at the small exit from the funnel (Cameron 2010, 3).

The funnel of causality

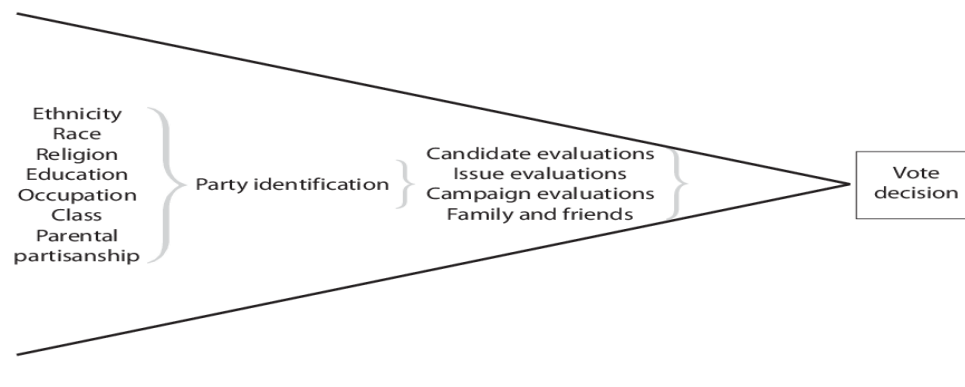


Fig. 01 (Funnel of Causality)

Party affiliation is unchanging long-term identification; candidates' party affiliation and stature affect the voter's choice for a vote. The study by Lewis-Beck regarding American voters also concluded that party affiliation and identification, candidate stature, and the party's narrative on the issue are less effective in making voter choices (Lewis-Beck et al., 2009; Lewis-Beck & Stegmaier, 2009).

Farmanullah (2014-a) analysed the voting behaviour of the people of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in the 2002, 2008 and 2013 general elections. The author utilised five (05) theories in his thesis: the theory of party identification, ethnic voting, issue voting, clientelism, and religious voting. According to this research work, the theory of clientelism and voting issues are more applicable than the other theories in the electoral politics of KP. The writer discussed, in detail, the study's theoretical framework, but this research study needs to include the determinants of female voting behaviour regarding the 2018 General Election in NA-34 District Karak.

Munir (2019) examined the situation that shaped the political decisions of the voters and their participation in the elections and different factors that affected the electoral process regarding voting behaviour in Lahore and its surroundings. The writer also shed light on the National and Provincial Elections of 2008 and 2013. The researcher used three electoral models: the sociological, psychosocial, and rational choice theory or economic voting model, but this research study needed more literature about the determinants of female voting behaviour concerning the 2018 General Election in NA-34 District Karak.

Ahmad (2015) has discussed the causes, process, parties' roles, results, and impacts on the 1937 elections. The author applied four (04) electoral models: the model of economic voting, the sociological model, the psychosocial model, and the retrospective model on the electoral politics of the KP election 1937. According to the writer, the electoral politics in former N.W.F.P. during the 1937 election was based on controlled suffrage. These 1937 elections were held in former N.W.F.P. The election of 1937 under the 1935 Act resulted from critical historical developments such as the British system of indirect rule, the civil disobedience movement, the Khilafat Movement, and reforms in India. The writer also says that this election revolved around the interest of the British, and the voters worked under the garb of politicians. The party identification model was more effective in the centre and former NWFP. At the same time, in Hazara Division and D. I. Khan, a district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, people largely cast their votes based on social issues. This is a brief study about former NWFP politics but lacks the need for more information about the 2018 General Elections regarding determinants of female voting behaviour.

The primary concern of the study is electoral behaviour. The factors that influence voter decisions are analysed in this study. The factor is party affiliation, which convinced females of district Karak to cast their vote. Through this research work, the researcher, politician, or Election Commission of Pakistan can easily estimate the behaviour of females in district Karak and why they cast their vote (support) to a particular party or a candidate. Moreover, the relevant institutions can make plans in this regard. The study's research objectives are (a) to evaluate party identification and (b) to determine the role of party identification in describing the female voting behaviour in the 2018 General Election in District Karak. Moreover, the study's research questions are: (a) What is party identification? and (b) what the role of party identification is in describing the female voting behaviour in the 2018 general election in district Karak?

METHODOLOGY

This article analysed the essential determinants of party affiliation. A quantitative research method was used. The population of the study was the registered female voters of NA-34, district Karak, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan. In district Karak, the total number of women registered for casting votes was 178504. Women population in the Tehsil Karak area was 74765, while in Banda Daud Sha, the female population was 42088, while in Takht-e-Nasrati, it was 61651. Taro Yamane's Formula is used to determine the sample size of this quantitative research study. Taro Yamane's Formula (1973) is as follows:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

Where:

“n” is the sample size.

“N” is the total population of the study.

"e" is the margin of error, i.e., equal to (.05)

Here, the sampling error is 5%, while the confidence level is 95% based on Yamane Formula. N1 is the total number of female voters of the District Council of Karak, and N2 is the total number of female voters of the District Council of Banda Daud Shah. N3 is the total number of female voters in the Takht-e-Nasrati District Councils.

$$N=N1+N2+N3$$

$$N=74765+42088+61651$$

$$N=178504$$

The sample size for District Karak is calculated as follows:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

$$n = 178504 / 1 + 178504(.05)^2$$

$$n = 178504 / 1 + 178504(0.0025)$$

$$n = 399.9977 \text{ or } 400$$

A stratified sampling technique was used to gather reliable data of proportionate sampling figures from the female registered vote for the General Election 2018 in district Karak. Therefore, the proportional allocation method of sampling, i.e., $n_1 = N_1/N_i \times n_i$ (Bowley, 1920), is used to select the respondents according to the sample size.

A proportionate sample of female registered voters:

$$n = n_1 + n_2 + n_3$$

$$n = 168 + 94 + 138$$

$$n = 400$$

The empirical data collected through questionnaires from the registered female voters of NA-34 district Karak was analysed through SPSS software. The frequency and percentage of five questions were calculated in light of several variables, including age, marital status, education, and occupation in the Karak district and their impact on the 2018 General Election. Pearson correlation was used to determine the relationship among several variables and party affiliation (see Benesty et al., 2009). Independent sample T-test was used to determine the mean difference between several variables and party affiliation.

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

The Theory of Party Identification (Weinschenk, 2010) has been analysed and tested in the light of five questions: (a) the vote should be given based on the past performance of the party; (b) a vote should be given to a party based on ideology; (c) the vote should be given based on party affiliation; (d) the vote should be given to a party based on the strong political performance of its candidate; and (e) the vote should often be given to the same party.

In Table 1, 133 respondents that are 33.3% belong to the first category of age consideration, which is from 18-30. In contrast, 134, 33.5% of respondents, belong to the second category, which is from 31 to 45, and 133(33.3) belong to the third category, from 46 up to above. The table data shows that 197 respondents, 49.4%, are on the job, while 203 respondents, 50.8%, are jobless. The table further shows that 196 (49%) respondents are educated, and 204

(51%) are uneducated. The results indicate that 200(50%) respondents are married, while 200(50%) are unmarried.

Table 1: Demographic Data of the Respondents

Description	Age	Frequency	Percentages
Age	18 up to 30	133	33.3
	31 up to 45	134	33.5
	45 up to above	133	33.3
	Total	400	100.0
Job	on job	197	49.3
	Jobless	203	50.8
	Total	400	100.0
Educated	Educated	196	49.0
	Uneducated	204	51.0
	Total	400	100.0
Marital status	Married	200	50.0
	Unmarried	200	50.0
	Total	400	100.0

Most of the people cast their vote because of party affiliation. Five questions about party affiliation and whether it is a crucial determinant have been asked. Item 1 indicated that 72.1% of the respondents agreed that a vote should be given based on the party's past performance, 21.8% disagreed, and only 6 % were neutral toward the statement. Item 2 indicated that 76.3% of the respondents agreed that a vote should be given to a party based on ideology, 18% disagreed, and only 5.8% neutralised the statement. Item 3 indicated that 38.5% of the respondents agreed that a vote should be given based on party affiliation, 51.8% disagreed, and only 9.8% neutralised the statement. Item 4 indicated that 60.8% of the respondents agreed that a vote should be given to a party based on the good political performance of its candidate, 29.8% of respondents disagreed, and 9.5% were neutral toward the statement. Item 5 indicated that 23.6% of the respondents agreed that a vote should often be given to the same party, 69 % disagreed, and 7.5% were neutral toward the statement. Party affiliation is also a critical determinant of NA-34 in the 2018 General Elections. 54.2% of Females cast their vote based on party affiliation. 38.05% are disagreeing while 7.7% are neutral.

Table 2: Party Affiliation

Item	Statement	A	SA	DA	SDA	N
1.	The vote should be given based on the party's	161 (40.3%)	127 (31.8%)	51 (12.8%)	36 (9.0%)	24 (6.0%)

	past performance.					
2.	A vote should be given to a party based on ideology.	178 (44.5%)	127 (31.8%)	50 (12.5%)	22 (5.5%)	23 (5.8%)
3.	The vote should be given based on party affiliation.	94 (23.5%)	60 (15.0%)	134 (33.5%)	73 (18.3%)	39 (9.8%)
4.	The vote should be given to a party based on the strong political performance of its candidate.	144 (36.0%)	99 (24.8%)	87 (21.8%)	32 (8.0%)	38 (9.5%)
5.	The vote should often be given to the same party.	53 (13.3%)	41 (10.3%)	158 (39.5%)	118 (29.5%)	30 (7.5%)

Table 3 used Pearson correlation to determine the relationship between respondent age and party affiliation. $r = .013$ p-value is .794, which elucidates that there is a positive and insignificant relationship between respondent age and party affiliation. The Pearson correlation was used to determine the relationship between the respondent's occupation and party affiliation. $r = .043$ p-value is .388, which clarifies that there is a positive and insignificant relationship between the respondents' occupation and party affiliation. Pearson correlation was used to determine the relationship between marital status and Party affiliation. $r = -.040$ p-value is .427, which brings to light a negative and insignificant relationship between marital status and party affiliation. Pearson correlation was used to determine the relationship between respondents' education and party affiliation. $r = .046$ p-value is .360, which lays bare the fact that there is a positive and insignificant relationship between respondents' education and party affiliation.

Table 3: Pearson Correlation

Relationship between respondent age and party affiliation	Age	Party affiliation
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Respondent age	Pearson Correlation	1	.013
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.794
	N	400	400
Party affiliation	Pearson Correlation	.013	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.794	
	N	400	400
Relationship between respondent occupation and party affiliation		Occupation	Party affiliation
Respondent's occupation	Pearson Correlation	1	.043
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.388
	N	400	400
Party affiliation	Pearson Correlation	.043	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.388	
	N	400	400
Relationship between marital status and party affiliation		Marital status	Party affiliation
Marital status	Pearson Correlation	1	-.040
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.427
	N	400	400
Party affiliation	Pearson Correlation	-.040	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.427	
	N	400	400
Relationship between respondent education and party affiliation		Education	Party affiliation
Respondent education	Pearson Correlation	1	.046
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.360
	N	400	400
Party affiliation	Pearson Correlation	.046	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.360	
	N	400	400

Independent sample T-test was used to determine the mean difference between marital status and party affiliation. In party affiliation, the mean of married respondents is 2.4640(.72257) while un-married 2.4080(.68607), and the t-value of married and un-married respondents is .795 and the significant value is insignificant, i.e., .427. An independent sample T-test was also used to determine the mean difference between occupation and party affiliation. In party affiliation, the mean of on-job respondents is 2.4051 (.69530) and jobless 2.4660 (.71323), the t-value of the job respondent is -.865, and the jobless respondent is -

.865, and the significant value of on job respondents is insignificant, i.e. .388 and of the jobless respondent is .387 which is insignificant. Moreover, an independent sample T-test was used to determine the mean difference between educational status and party affiliation. In party affiliation, the mean of educated respondents is 2.4031 (.69650) and uneducated 2.4676 (.71185), the t-value of educated respondents is .04975, and the uneducated respondents are .04984. The significant value of educated and uneducated respondents is .360, which is insignificant.

Table 4: Independent sample T-test to determine the mean difference with party affiliation

Descriptions	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	T	Sig	
Marital status	Married	200	2.4640	.72257	.795	.427
	Unmarried	200	2.4080	.68607	.795	.427
Respondent occupation	on job	197	2.4051	.69530	-.865	.388
	Jobless	203	2.4660	.71323	-.865	.387
Respondent education	Educated	196	2.4031	.69650	.04975	.360
	Uneducated	204	2.4676	.71185	.04984	.360

FINDINGS

The study's findings show that 72.1% of the respondents agreed that a vote should be given based on the party's past performance. 76.3% of the respondents agreed that a vote should be given to a party based on ideology. 38.5% of the respondents agreed that a vote should be given based on party affiliation. 60.8% of the respondents agreed that a vote should be given to a party based on the good political performance of its candidate. 23.6% of the respondents agreed that a vote should often be given to the same party. Party affiliation is also a critical determinant of NA-34 in the 2018 General Elections. 54.2% of females cast their vote based on party affiliation. 38.05% are disagreeing while 7.7% are neutral.

Party affiliation is an essential factor influencing electoral behaviour worldwide, particularly in Pakistan. According to Wilder (1999), party affiliation has a decisive influence on voting behaviour in urban Punjab. Because of this factor, The PML-N has replaced the PPP (Pakistan People's Party) as Punjab's urban party. In 1970, the PPP, by a landslide, all the municipal seats in the province. In 1993, PML-N clean-swept municipal seats in Punjab. The PML-N has consistently maintained political aggrandisement over PPP throughout Punjab. The continued success of the PML-N in urban districts suggests that the votes were due to political factors. In addition, some unpopular and unknown candidates represented PML-N, who were elected with the same number of votes as the favoured candidates, further suggesting that it was an exclusively partisan vote. However, party affiliation in rural Punjab is weak compared to urban Punjab, especially in western Punjab, where the traditional social structure still strongly influences voting behaviour (Muhammad, 2018, p.1).

CONCLUSION

Women of the Karak district in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan, cast their vote based on party affiliation. The findings of the study on the 2018 General Elections demonstrate that district Karak's people cast their votes based on party affiliation. The study argues that the application of Party Identification Theory applies to the electoral politics of District Karak. There is a multi-party system, so the voters have multiple choices when making electoral preferences. In the 2013 and 2018 General Election, most of the women of District Karak cast

their vote based on Party Affiliation, which shows that the theory of party identification applies in Karak's electoral politics. The results also show that age, marital status, occupation and education have less impact on the factors of voting behaviour of the females.

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Date of Publication	November 25, 2023
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