

Issue Voting, Terrorism and Corruption: A Case Study of General Elections 2013 in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

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Abstract

Pakistani society faces several issues which affect the lives of its citizens significantly. All these issues not only affect the socio-economic life of an individual but his/her political and electoral behaviour also. The study identified terrorism, corruption, poverty, illiteracy and energy crisis as the major issues in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. It, therefore, attempts to explore the role played by the identified issues in determining voting behaviour in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. 'Issue Ownership Theory' and 'The Riding the Way Theory' were operationalized for supporting the study from theoretical point of view. Data were randomly collected from the respondents in Northern, central and Southern geographical regions of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and analyzed quantitatively. The findings of the study reveal that terrorism and corruption were the salient issues that played a significant role in determining the voting behavior of the people of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in general elections 2013 besides the issue of poverty, illiteracy and energy crisis.

Keywords: Issue Voting; Issue Ownership Theory; The Riding the Way Theory; Terrorism; Corruption; Voting Behaviour.

Introduction

On some occasions, political preferences are made on the basis of issues rather than party affiliation and personality voting. In such cases, contesting candidates focus on the major issues in election campaigns. During election campaigns politicians sensitize the local issues and discuss it in public gatherings. These politicians present different stances about such issues. It is argued that an appealing stance towards an issue increases candidate's support in elections.

Adams & Samuel (2005) explored that issue voting model is one of the significant models of voting behaviour. Curtice (2002) and Lau and Redlawsk (2006) studies highlighted the importance of issue model voting. It is also opined that higher level of polarization in political parties strengthens the ratio of issue voting (Alvarez and Nagler, 2004). Political parties' are polarized on different local and national issues. As a result of that polarization, argues Lachat (2011), that elections are fragmented and polarized. Similarly, political parties have a

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different approach towards the resolution of an issue. In 1970s, Pakistan People Party introduced nationalization program while Pakistan Muslim League, Jama'at-e-Islami (JI), Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam (JUI) and other political parties were against the nationalization program. Consequently, voters were also polarized, because the PPP supporters were in favour of nationalization program and the rest were against it. Later on, PPP changed the nationalization policy because of the socio-economic and political developments in the country in 1990s.

In a multi-party system voters face a diversity of political parties who advocate different political positions on local and international issues. The competition in elections among political parties is tough if the number of actors involved is higher in the constituency. These facets of competitiveness among political parties are expected to make 'issue voting' stronger in a community. Lachat (2011) stated that 'issue voting' affects the political parties' mobilization strategies. He argued that political parties' manifestoes focus on issues rather than political ideology. Thomassen and Schmitt (1997) study also figures out that political issues play a centralized role in political representation. Besides, elections are considered as a bridge between masses and lawmakers (MNAs and MPAs). Powell (2004) argued that the ideological relationship between voters and candidates is an essential criterion for the assessment of a political system and public interests. Lachat (2011) linked 'issue voting' with 'Spatial Model' of voting behaviour. However, 'Proximity Model' is applicable because in this model political parties usually try to increase vote bank. Westholm (1997) explains 'Proximity model' in which voters support those candidates who are closest in political space. There are two interpretations of closeness: firstly the candidate residence and secondly availability and accessibility. It is assumed that a common voter has limited information about parties' position on different issues. Therefore, uninformed voters invest limited cognitive resources in their political preferences (Zaller, 1992; Bartels, 1996). Some voters are engaged in a rational comparison of the political parties' position on different issues while many voters depend on simple decision-making strategies about political choice. Lachat (2011) argues that electoral preferences are often directed by 'heuristics', that is, accessible facts about the political party and issues. A voter can easily evaluate the performance of a political party on a particular issue without processing bulky information. Lau and Redlawsk (2006) study figures out that many voters trust in the stereotypes about political parties and, therefore, support that party's candidate in elections.

Nevertheless, Conover (1985) explored that an important alternative is 'single-issue voting.' Single issue voting is a simplified form of 'issue voting,' where citizens focus only on the most important issue. Lau and Redlawsk (2006) identified a similar method of decision-making strategy, while Green's (2007)

model of 'Issue Ownership' points out that voting choice of voters is based on party capability to resolve the issue. The 'single-issue voter model' is based on the voter decision to support a single political party because a voter supposes that party 'A' has the ability to handle that issue properly as compared to other parties. In single-issue voter model, voter's political choice is based on issues where he/she does not require any evaluation of political parties.

In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa the main issues are terrorism, militancy, insecurity, load-shedding, corruption, poverty, unemployment, illiteracy etc. The issue based voters try to identify a political party that can address all these issues remarkably. In general election 2013 the voters overwhelmingly supported Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), because its slogan was 'Change.' The common people, thus, expected some drastic changes during PTI government. According to this explanation, if PTI fails to fulfill the expectation of the voters regarding these issues, another party might take the lead.

Political Parties and Issues Politics

Various research studies on party competition have highlighted selective issues politics in various countries. Similarly, many political parties' mobilization strategies focus on selective issues (Budge and Farlie, 1983). In fact, issue competition has a significant impact on voting, but question arises as to why a certain issue is more prioritized? John Petrocik's 'Issue Ownership Theory' may potentially answer this question. He opines, "a campaign effect exists when a candidate successfully frames the vote choice as a decision to be made in terms of problems facing the country that he is better able to handle than his opponent" (Petrocik, 1996:826). Moreover, Ardoin (2013) argued that voters evaluate political party on the basis of past performance. On the other hand, "The Riding Wave Theory" illustrated that political parties primarily focus those issues that attract voters' attention in elections. Ansolabehere & Iyengar (1994) argue that "candidates will pay more attention to the issues salient to the public, disregarding their ability to handle those issues". Belanger & Meguid (2008) and Mayer & Tiberj (2004) empirically tested the importance of issue salience and issue ownership theory. On the basis of this discussion we can say that issue ownership and issue salience influence voting behaviour in different countries. This study attempts to identify the impacts of issues on voting behaviour in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Issue and Vote Choice in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

Presently the main issues of Pakistan are terrorism, militancy, poverty, corruption, insecurity, unemployment, sectarianism, scarcity of drinking water, injustice, illiteracy, lack of health facilities and energy crisis (International Growth

Services, 2017). Similarly, like other provinces of Pakistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has many of these issues. During the election campaign, the contesting candidates highlight the local and national issues and offer a way out. Those contesting candidates who focus on local issues (constituency issues) get more support in their constituencies. Pakistan-Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) elections campaign started with 'Change' and '*Naya Pakistan*' (new Pakistan).²PTI leadership argues that "Change as a buzzword was connected with President Obama, so we had to come up with a slogan that defined change" (Khan, 2013). The PTI candidates during election campaign speeches blamed both central and provincial governments as responsible for bad governance. They promised that they will bring administrative reforms in the organizational structures of the institutions. The chairman of Pakistan-Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) Imran Khan due to his previous philanthropist contribution to the society made a place in the hearts of the people. Therefore, in general election 2013, a large number of voters supported him and his party in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Awami National Party's (ANP) manifesto focused on militancy and the question of provincial autonomy. During 2013 general elections, Tehreek-e-Taliban-Pakistan's (TTP) threats to ANP candidates and leadership limited their political activities and campaign (*The Guardian*, 14 April, 2013). As a result, ANP leadership could not get the opportunity to defend the party against the corruption allegations in election campaign. During the election campaign ANP could not demonstrate their performance by projecting their developmental works properly in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In general elections 2013, Jamiat-Ulema-Islam-(F) candidates promised the voters that they would protect Islam and introduce 'Sharia Law' in Pakistan. Jamaat-i-Islami (JI) also published a twenty nine (29) reforms agenda addressing issues like unemployment, feudal system, terrorism, lawlessness, education etc (*Dawn*, April 5, 2013). Similarly, Pakistan Muslim League-N (PML-N), Qawmi Watan Party (QWP), Pakistan People Party (PPP) and other political parties also designed their manifestos and rhetoric on the local and national issues. Alongside, the party candidates and various independent ones also campaigned on the issues of constituency only.

Respondents and Issue Identification in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

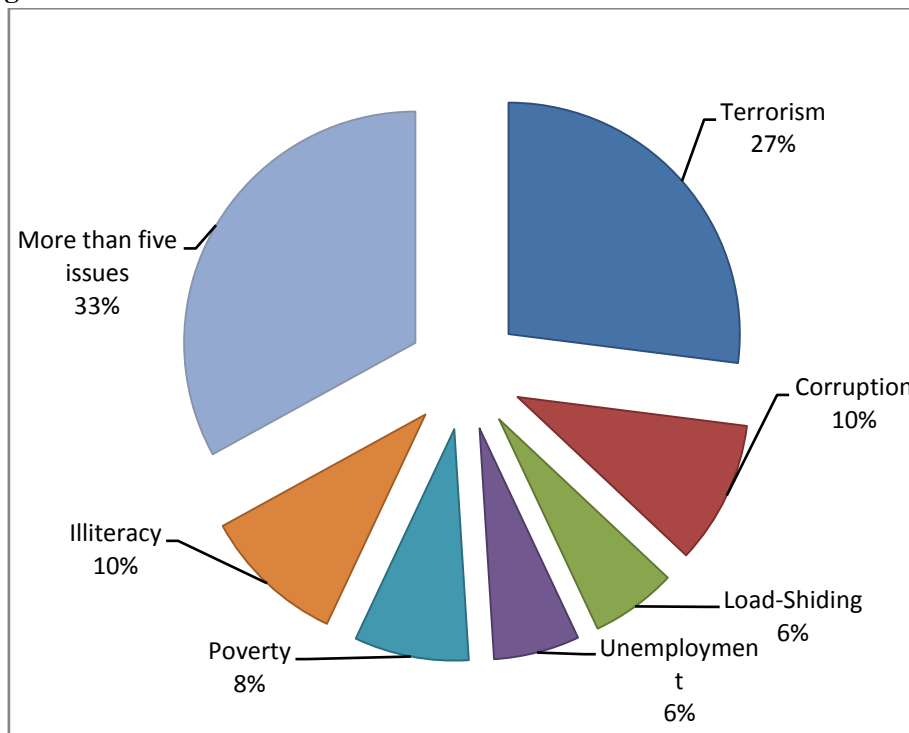
Since 9/11 Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is one of the vulnerable provinces of Pakistan. As a result of US-led war against terrorism in Afghanistan and the region affected the economic, social and political fabrics of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. These negative impacts of war against terror provided ways to different issues in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The most prominent issues of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in this period

²For details see Pakistan-Tehreek-e-Insaf manifesto 2013.

comprised militancy, load-shedding (energy crisis), unemployment, poverty, injustice, corruption etc. Anthony Downs (1957) argues that voters' cognition about the issues provides them the basis to decide to vote a political party or candidate who can resolve these issues. The researchers asked about the local and national issues from the respondents. A significant number of respondents reacted that more than five kinds of issues were still present in our society.

Among the total respondents 27% said that terrorism was the main issue of the society while 10% as corruption. Similarly, 6% unemployment, 6% load-shedding (energy crisis), 8% poverty and 10% illiteracy as the main issues were facing the society. Moreover, 33% respondents agreed that in the given list they had more than five issues in their locality. In figure-1 opinions of the respondents are shown in percentage.

Figure-1



To know the perception of the respondents the researchers asked about the opinion of the respondents to the statement, "Vote should be given to that political party which can eradicate terrorism, corruption, poverty, illiteracy and energy crisis." The response was found correlated with gender, age, income and geographical regions of the respondents.

Gender Consideration

As far as gender is concerned (See in Table-1), among the total respondents a major portion of male and female respondents said that vote should be given to that political party that can eliminate terrorism, corruption, poverty, illiteracy and energy crisis. However, a minor portion of male and female respondents denied voting a political party on the basis of local issues. Majority of the male and female respondents agree that vote should be given to that political party that can eliminate terrorism, corruption, poverty, illiteracy and energy crisis. The P-value >0.05 of the Chi-Square test is insignificant which shows no association between the gender of the respondents and casting vote to a political party on the basis of issues.

Table No. 1

| Vote should be given to that political party which can eradicate terrorism, corruption, poverty, illiteracy and energy crisis. | | | | | | |
|--|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Gender | Extremely Disagree | Disagree | Don't know | Agree | Extremely Agree | Total |
| Male | 12 1.1% | 18 1.6% | 33 2.9% | 282 25.1% | 281 25.0% | 626 55.8% |
| Female | 9 .8% | 17 1.5% | 36 3.2% | 219 19.5% | 215 19.2% | 496 44.2% |
| Total | 21 1.9% | 35 3.1% | 69 6.1% | 501 44.7% | 496 44.2% | 1122 100% |

Chi-square test=2.260^a, p-value=.688

Age Consideration

Among the total respondents of different age categories, a large number of adults and youth believed that vote should be given to those political parties who can eliminate the local and national issues. While a significant number of middle age and elders also said that vote should be given to that political party that can eliminate terrorism, corruption, poverty, illiteracy and energy crisis (See in Table No. 1).

Contrary to that, a minor portion of adults, youth, middle-aged and aged respondents denied voting a political party on the basis of local issues. The P-value <0.05 of the Chi-Square test is highly significant which shows an association between the age of the respondents and casting vote to a political party on the basis of issues.

Table No. 2

| Vote should be given to that political party which can eradicate terrorism, corruption, poverty, illiteracy and energy crisis | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Age | Extremely Disagree | Disagree | Don't know | Agree | Extremely Agree | Total |
| 18-23 | 8 0.7% | 7 0.6% | 8 0.7% | 96 8.6% | 90 8.0% | 209 18.6% |
| 23-27 | 2 0.2% | 6 0.5% | 19 1.7% | 82 7.3% | 92 8.2% | 201 17.9% |
| 27-32 | 2 0.2% | 7 0.6% | 21 1.9% | 84 7.5% | 83 7.4% | 197 17.6% |
| 32-37 | 3 0.3% | 6 0.5% | 8 0.7% | 65 5.8% | 61 5.4% | 143 12.7% |
| 37-42 | 1 0.1% | 5 0.4% | 8 0.7% | 71 6.3% | 61 5.4% | 146 13% |
| 42-50 | 2 0.2% | 0 .0% | 2 0.2% | 55 4.9% | 57 5.1% | 116 10.3% |
| Above 50 | 3 0.3% | 4 0.4% | 3 0.3% | 48 4.3% | 52 4.6% | 110 9.8% |
| Total | 21 1.9% | 35 3.1% | 69 6.1% | 501 44.7% | 496 44.2% | 1122 100% |

Chi-square test= 32.983^a, p-value=.104

Income Consideration

Among the total respondents of different income groups (See in Table-3), a significant number of lower and middle income class respondents said that vote should be given to that political party that can eliminate terrorism, corruption, poverty, illiteracy and energy crisis. However, a minor portion of upper income class also stated that vote should be given to that political party that can eradicate the issues under question. Moreover, a huge number of the respondents who did not mention their monthly income responded that vote should be given to that political party that can eliminate the said issues.

Conversely, a minor portion of lower, middle and upper class respondents said that vote should be given to that political party that can eliminate the local issues. A major portion of the respondents whose monthly income was below 10,000 and those who did not mention their monthly income favored political parties on the basis of issues. The P-value>0.05 of the Chi-Square test is insignificant which shows no association between the income of the respondents and casting vote to a political party on the basis of issues.

Table No. 3

| Vote should be given to that political party which can eradicate terrorism, corruption, poverty, illiteracy and energy crisis. | | | | | | |
|--|-----------|------|------|-------|-----------|-------|
| Monthly | Extremely | Disa | Don' | Agree | Extremely | Total |

| Income | Disagree | gree | t | know | Agree | |
|--------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Below 10,000 | 4 0.4% | 12 1.1% | 17 1.5% | 106 9.4% | 106 9.4% | 245 21.8% |
| 10000-20000 | 3 0.3% | 6 0.5% | 8 0.7% | 73 6.5% | 75 6.7% | 165 14.7% |
| 20000-30000 | 0 0.0% | 4 0.4% | 12 1.1% | 73 6.5% | 60 5.3% | 149 13.3% |
| 30000-40000 | 1 0.1% | 2 0.2% | 7 0.6% | 31 2.8% | 32 2.9% | 73 6.5% |
| 40000-50000 | 2 0.2% | 0 .0% | 2 0.2% | 28 2.5% | 19 1.7% | 51 4.5% |
| Above 50000 | 0 0.0% | 2 0.2% | 1 0.1% | 22 2% | 27 2.4% | 52 4.6% |
| Don't know | 11 1% | 9 0.8% | 22 2% | 168 15% | 177 15.8% | 387 34.5% |
| Total | 21 1.9% | 35 3.1% | 69 6.1% | 501 44.7% | 496 44.2% | 1122 100% |

Chi-square test=21.596^a, p-value=.603

Regional Consideration

Among the respondents of three geographical regions of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa presented in Table-4, a major share of the respondents of southern regions stated that vote should be given to that political party that can eliminate the local and national issues. However, a significant number of the respondents of central and northern regions accepted that vote should be given to that political party that can eliminate the local issues.

Contrary to that, a minor portion of the respondents of southern, central and northern regions differ to vote a political party on the basis of elimination of local and national issues. The P-value<0.05 of the Chi-Square test is highly significant which shows an association between the geographical region of the respondents and casting vote to a political party on the basis of issues.

Table No. 4

| Vote should be given to that political party which can eradicate terrorism, corruption, poverty, illiteracy and energy crisis. | | | | | | |
|--|--------------------|-----------|------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|
| Geographical Region | Extremely Disagree | Disagree | Don't know | Agree | Extremely Agree | Total |
| North | 15 1.3% | 3 0.3% | 22 2.0% | 157 14.0% | 183 16.3% | 380 33.9% |
| Center | 4 0.4% | 9 0.8% | 20 1.8% | 153 13.6% | 174 15.5% | 360 32.1% |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| South | 2 | 23 | 27 | 191 | 139 | 382 |
| | 0.2% | 2.0% | 2.4% | 17.0% | 12.4% | 34% |
| Total | 21 | 35 | 69 | 501 | 496 | 1122 |
| | 1.9% | 3.1% | 6.1% | 44.7% | 44.2% | 100% |
| | | | | % | | |

Chi-square test=43.525^a, p-value=.000

Issue Ownership and Political Parties

According to ‘Issue Ownership Theory’ various parties focus on different local and national issues. Tresch, Lefevere and Walgrave (2015) argue that the basic idea of this theory is that voters associate certain issues with particular parties. In European countries, it is supposed that the issue of immigration belonged to (radical) right political parties; social security is considered a Socialist/Social-Democrat parties’ issue while environmental issue as owned by ‘Green Political Parties’ (Petrocik, 1989).

Further, when a party owns an issue, it is perceived by the voters that a particular political party has that issue-specific policy expertise. Consequently, those voters expect that party ‘A’ has the competence to handle that particular issue. For example, Democrats always reflect on health-care issues and Republicans stress on defense and national security issues in the United States of America (Petrocik, 1996). However, many voters support political parties because of their capability to handle the local and national issues. Political parties try to highlight their performance to resolve those issues in public meetings regularly. Sometimes, they highlight internal issues of the party to seek support of the voters. The proponents of ‘Issue Ownership Theory’ assume that political parties focus on getting support of the voters based on issues owned by them.

Terrorism is one of the main issues of Pakistan and its neighboring countries. As a result of 9/11 attacks on twin towers in New York, US and its allies attacked Afghanistan to “root out” terrorist organizations. Consequently, terrorism and militancy grew up in Pakistan generally and in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa particularly. Terrorism affected the socio-political and economic sectors of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Ahmad, 2010). More than 70,000 citizens were murdered (including children, women and men) and thousands of people injured. In 2013 election terrorism was the most important issue in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Another issue that drew attention of the people in 2013 general elections was that of corruption.

Corruption generally thought of as a major issue in Pakistan, is also one of such issues in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. According to Transparency International report Pakistan ranked 117/180 with a score of 33/100 (with 0 as the most corrupt

while 100 as the most clean) in 2019 (Transparency International, 2018). Corruption according to Javaid (2010) is misuse of entrusted power for personal benefit. On the one hand it may create opportunities for the citizens and the elite to gain personal benefits on the other it badly impacts the economy of a country. According to UNDP “Corruption and poor governance limit economic growth and retard the development of a healthy private sector” (1997). Being rampant, it can be noticed in several forms in Pakistan: financial through to political to nepotism to misuse of power. It is prevalent in the country in both petty and grand forms (Chene, 2008). The level of corruption is greater in developmental projects and procurement (including defense and public sector corporations) and the bank loans write offs. It is rampant in nearly all levels of government; it is widespread and deep rooted (Javaid, 2010). Some even argue with reference to Pakistan that corruption has become a way of life here (Islam, 2004) thereby rendering its institutions inefficient (Abbasi, 2011).

Besides, poverty is also one of the major issues in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province. According to the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI), the poverty level in 2011-13 was 49.1% which increased to 49.2% in 2014-15 in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. United Nations declared that if a person could not earn two (2\$) dollars per day was living below the poverty line. There are different causes of poverty like unemployment, diseases, population, illiteracy, lack of development and natural disasters (flood, earthquake) etc. In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, it is opined that voters support those political parties that can eradicate poverty from the society.

Energy crisis and illiteracy are the next important issues in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Energy plays a significant role in the socioeconomic development of a society. Therefore, it is essential to run the factories and industrial units and powering the vehicles etc. Pakistan is facing severe energy crisis. The main reason is the lack of serious efforts for energy generation. Besides the industrial sector, energy crisis affects the life of a common man. Load-shedding in summer is one of the major issues in Pakistan. In 2013 elections, some political parties promised the voters that they would resolve the issue if they came into power. Likewise illiteracy and energy crisis are also among the major issues in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

S. R. Mehboob’s (2011) study figures out that Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province has the lowest literacy in Pakistan. In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa the gross enrollment ratio is also lower than other provinces. Unfortunately, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has an insufficient ratio of primary, middle and high schools. The people of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa now realize the importance of education and they

believe that education is the solution of all problems. Therefore, they expect from law makers to introduce free and quality education in the country.

In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa the voters considered different political parties to handle these issues. Researchers asked the respondents, "Which political party can eliminate terrorism, corruption, poverty, illiteracy and energy crisis?" The response of the voters is correlated with controlled variables i.e. gender, age, monthly income and geographical regions.

Gender Consideration

As far as gender is concerned, (See Table-5), among the total the highest ratio of male respondents trusted in Pakistan Tahreek-e-Insaf (PTI) to liberate society from terrorism, corruption, poverty, illiteracy and energy crisis. While some of the male respondents also trusted in JUI-F, JI, PPP and ANP also to set free the society from terrorism, corruption, poverty, illiteracy and energy crisis. However, a significant number of male respondents renounced that any of political parties could eliminate those issues from society.

Among the total respondents, a large number of female respondents also expected PTI to eliminate the said issues. However, some of the female respondents believed that JI, PPP, ANP and PML-N could liberate the society from terrorism, corruption, poverty, illiteracy and energy crisis. A large number of the male and female respondents showed their reliance on different political parties that they could eliminate the issues in question but some of them disagreed with it. The Chi-square test provides insignificant p-value. The P-value<0.05 of the Chi-Square test is highly significant which shows an association between gender and expectation from different political parties to liberate society from these issues.

Table No.5

In your opinion which political party can eliminate terrorism, corruption, poverty, illiteracy and energy crisis?

| Gender | PPP | ANP | PML-N | QWP | JI | JUI-F | MQM | JUI-S | PTI | PMAP | APML | Indep. | None of these | Don't Know | Total |
|---------------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|------------|---------------|------------|--------------|
| Male | 61 5.4% | 54 4.8% | 49 4.4% | 17 1.5% | 67 6% | 78 7% | 0 0.0% | 2 0.2% | 170 15.2% | 2 0.2% | 2 0.2% | 7 0.6% | 116 10.3% | 1 0.1% | 626 55.8% |
| Female | 47 4.2% | 43 3.8% | 43 3.8% | 15 1.3% | 62 5.5% | 36 3.2% | 1 0.1% | 5 0.4% | 140 12.5% | 1 0.1% | 0 0.0% | 15 1.3% | 87 7.8% | 1 0.1% | 496 44.2% |
| Total | 108 9.6% | 97 8.6% | 92 8.2% | 32 2.9% | 129 11.5% | 114 10.2% | 1 0.1% | 7 0.6% | 310 27.6% | 3 0.3% | 2 0.2% | 22 2% | 203 18.1% | 2 0.2% | 1122 100% |

Chi-square test= 19.013^a, p-value=.123

Age Consideration

Amongst the opinion of the different age groups regarding expectation from different political parties to resolve these issues, a large number of adults and youngsters expected that PTI that could eliminate terrorism, corruption, poverty, illiteracy and energy crisis from the province. Majority of the youth still trusted in PTI to eliminate the issues. However, some of the middle-aged respondents expected PTI, PPP, JI, ANP, JUI-F and PML-N to liberate society from the said major issues. Some of the elders also expected PTI, JI, PPP and ANP to eliminate the issues from the society. Conversely, some of the adults, middle and old age respondents argued that there was no political party that could rid the society of the present crises. The P-value<0.05 of the Chi-Square test is highly significant which shows an association between age and expectation from different political parties to liberate society from the said major issues.

Table No.6

In your opinion which political party can eliminate terrorism, corruption, poverty, illiteracy and energy crisis?

| Age | PP P | AN P | P M L- N | Q W P | JI | JU I-F | MQ M | JUI -S | PTI | PMA P | None of these | Ind ep. | Don 't Kn ow | AP M L | Tota l |
|--------------------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|---------------|----------------|-----------|---------------------|---------------|-----------------------|---------------|------------------|
| 18- 23 | 16 1.4 % | 15 1.3 % | 22 2.0 % | 4 0.4 % | 23 2.0 % | 23 2.0 % | 0 0.0% | 4 0.4 % | 63 5.6 % | 1 0.1% | 35 3.1% | 3 0.3 % | 0 0.0 % | 0 0.0 % | 209 18.6 % |
| 23- 27 | 14 1.2 % | 13 1.2 % | 18 1.6 % | 7 0.6 % | 11 1.0 % | 22 2.0 % | 0 0.0% | 0 0.0 % | 72 6.4 % | 1 0.1% | 40 3.6% | 3 0.3 % | 0 0.0 % | 0 0.0 % | 201 17.9 % |
| 27- 32 | 16 1.4 % | 20 1.8 % | 11 1.0 % | 9 0.8 % | 22 2.0 % | 22 2.0 % | 0 0.0% | 0 0.0 % | 62 5.5 % | 1 0.1% | 30 2.7% | 3 0.3 % | 1 0.1 % | 0 0.0 % | 197 17.6 % |
| 32- 37 | 15 1.3 % | 15 1.3 % | 13 1.2 % | 4 0.4 % | 14 1.2 % | 17 1.5 % | 0 0.0% | 1 0.1 % | 34 3.0 % | 0 0.0% | 26 2.3% | 3 0.3 % | 0 0.0 % | 1 0.1 % | 143 12.7 % |
| 37- 42 | 18 1.6 % | 15 1.3 % | 11 1.0 % | 3 0.3 % | 16 1.4 % | 14 1.2 % | 0 0.0% | 0 0.0 % | 37 3.3 % | 0 0.0% | 26 2.3% | 5 0.4 % | 0 0.0 % | 1 0.1 % | 146 13.0 % |
| 42- 50 | 16 1.4 % | 7 0.6 % | 8 0.7 % | 1 0.1 % | 17 1.5 % | 7 0.6 % | 1 0.1% | 1 0.1 % | 27 2.4 % | 0 0.0% | 26 2.3% | 4 0.4 % | 1 0.1 % | 0 0.0 % | 116 10.3 % |
| Abo ve 50 | 13 1.2 % | 12 1.1 % | 9 0.8 % | 4 0.4 % | 26 2.3 % | 9 0.8 % | 0 0.0% | 1 0.1 % | 15 1.3 % | 0 0.0% | 20 1.8% | 1 0.1 % | 0 0.0 % | 0 0.0 % | 110 9.8 % |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|------|------|------|------|-------|-------|------|------|-------|------|-------|------|------|------|------|
| Total | 108 | 97 | 92 | 32 | 129 | 114 | 1 | 7 | 310 | 3 | 203 | 22 | 2 | 2 | 1122 |
| | 9.6% | 8.6% | 8.2% | 2.9% | 11.5% | 10.2% | 0.1% | 0.6% | 27.6% | 0.3% | 18.1% | 2.0% | 0.2% | 0.2% | 100% |

Chi-Square test= 1.002E2^a, p-value=.046

Income Consideration

In terms of income (See in Table-7), the opinion of the different income groups regarding different political parties that can eliminate terrorism, corruption, poverty, illiteracy and energy crisis from the province, a major portion of lower income class expected that PTI, JUI-F, PML-N, PPP, ANP and JI could do that job. However, among the middle income class some expected PTI, JI, ANP and JUI-F to eliminate the society from terrorism, corruption, poverty, illiteracy and energy crisis. While a small number of upper middle-income class expected that PTI, PPP and PML-N could eliminate the issues at hand. The upper income class expected PTI, PPP and JI to handle the issues.

Among the respondents a major portion of lower and middle income class did not trust in any political party to liberate the society from those issues. It is also observed that a considerable number of lower income class trusted in the religious political parties to get rid of the aforementioned issues. The P-value<0.05 of the Chi-Square test is highly significant which shows an association between monthly income and expectation from different political parties to liberate society from the said issues.

Table No.7

| In your opinion which political party can eliminate terrorism, corruption, poverty, illiteracy and energy crisis? | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|----------------|----------------|-------------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|---------------|-------------------|----------------|------------------|---------------------|----------------|-----------------------|---------------|------------------|--|
| Income | PP P | AN P | P M L- N | QW P | JI | J U I- F | M Q M | J U I- S | P TI | P M A P | None of these | In de p. | Don' t kno w | AP M L | Tot al | |
| Below 10,000 | 26 2.3 % | 21 1.9 % | 27 2.4 % | 7 0.6 % | 20 1.8 % | 51 4.5 % | 0 0.0 % | 4 0.4 % | 60 5.3 % | 0 0.0 % | 23 2.0 % | 6 0.5 % | 0 0.0 % | 0 0.0 % | 245 21.8 % | |
| 10000- 20000 | 13 1.2 % | 19 1.7 % | 6 0.5 % | 6 0.5 % | 17 1.5 % | 13 1.2 % | 0 0.0 % | 0 0.0 % | 45 4.0 % | 0 0.0 % | 41 3.7 % | 3 0.3 % | 1 0.1 % | 1 0.1 % | 165 14.7 % | |
| 20000- 30000 | 10 .9 % | 11 1.0 % | 12 1.1 % | 5 .4 % | 16 1.4 % | 14 1.2 % | 0 0.0 % | 0 0.0 % | 41 3.7 % | 0 0.0 % | 39 3.5 % | 1 0.1 % | 0 0.0 % | 0 0.0 % | 149 13.3 % | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| | | | | | | % | | % | % | % | | | | | |
| 30000-40000 | 10 | 3 | 10 | 1 | 7 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 24 | 0 | 8 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 73 |
| | 0.9 | 0.3 | 0.9 | 0.1 | 0.6 | 0. | 0.1 | 0. | 2. | 0. | 0.7% | 0.4 | 0.1% | 0.1 | 6.5 |
| | % | % | % | % | % | 3 | % | 0 | 1 | 0 | | % | | % | % |
| | | | | | | % | | % | % | % | | | | | |
| 40000-50000 | 7 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 7 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 15 | 0 | 12 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 51 |
| | 0.6 | 0.4 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.6 | 0. | 0.0 | 0. | 1. | 0. | 1.1% | 0.0 | 0.0% | 0.0 | 4.5 |
| | % | % | % | % | % | 3 | % | 0 | 3 | 0 | | % | | % | % |
| | | | | | | % | | % | % | % | | | | | |
| Above 50000 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 20 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 16 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 52 |
| | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 1.8 | 0. | 0.0 | 0. | 1. | 0. | 0.7% | 0.0 | 0.0% | 0.0 | 4.6 |
| | % | % | % | % | % | 0 | % | 0 | 4 | 0 | | % | | % | % |
| | | | | | | % | | % | % | % | | | | | |
| Don't know | 38 | 36 | 34 | 12 | 42 | 30 | 0 | 3 | 10 | 3 | 72 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 387 |
| | 3.4 | 3.2 | 3.0 | 1.1 | 3.7 | 2. | 0.0 | 0. | 9. | 0. | 6.4% | 0.7 | 0.0% | 0.0 | 34.5 |
| | % | % | % | % | % | 7 | % | 3 | 7 | 3 | | % | | % | % |
| | | | | | | % | | % | % | % | | | | | |
| Total | 108 | 97 | 92 | 32 | 129 | 114 | 1 | 7 | 310 | 3 | 203 | 22 | 2 | 2 | 1122 |
| | 9.6 | 8.6 | 8.2 | 2.9 | 11. | 10 | 0.1 | 0. | 27 | 0. | 18.1 | 2.0 | 0.2% | 0.2 | 100 |
| | % | % | % | % | 5 | .2 | % | 6 | .6 | 3 | % | % | | % | % |
| | | | | | % | % | | % | % | % | | | | | |

Chi-square test=1.795E2^a, p-value=.000

Regional Consideration

As far as three geographical regions are concerned, the opinion of the respondents of different districts regarding the different political parties that can eliminate terrorism, corruption, poverty, illiteracy and energy crisis from the province, a large number of the respondents of central districts expected PTI, ANP and PPP could emancipate them from those issues. While a large number of the respondents of northern geographical region trusted in PTI, PPP and PML-N to eradicate the issues at hand, respondents of southern region expected that PTI, JI and JUI-F could eliminate them. Lastly, a huge number of the respondents of southern district Lakki Marwat expected that religious political parties could liberate the society from the issues at hand. The P-value<0.05 of the Chi-Square test is highly significant which shows an association between geographical region and expectation from different political parties to liberate society from the major issues(See Table No.8).

Table No.8

In your opinion which political party can eliminate terrorism, corruption, poverty, illiteracy and energy crisis?

| Total | South | Center | North | Geograph |
|--------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| 9.6% | 108 | 34 | 33 | PPP |
| | 3% | 2.9% | 3.7% | |
| 8.6% | 97 | 22 | 59 | ANP |
| | 2% | 5.3% | 1.4% | |
| 8.2% | 92 | 24 | 44 | PML-N |
| | 2.1% | 3.9% | 2.1% | |
| 2.9% | 32 | 12 | 10 | QWP |
| | 1.1% | 0.9% | 0.9% | |
| 11.5% | 129 | 49 | 33 | JI |
| | 4.4% | 2.9% | 4.2% | |
| 10.2% | 114 | 90 | 13 | JUI-F |
| | 8% | 1.2% | 1% | |
| 0.1% | 1 | 0 | 1 | MQM |
| | 0.0% | 0.1% | 0.0% | |
| 0.6% | 7 | 3 | 2 | JUI-S |
| | 0.3% | 0.2% | 0.2% | |
| 27.6% | 310 | 92 | 94 | PTI |
| | 8.2% | 8.4% | 11.1% | |
| 0.3% | 3 | 2 | 1 | PMAP |
| | 0.2% | 0.1% | 0.0% | |
| 18.1% | 203 | 50 | 59 | No one |
| | 4.5% | 5.3% | 8.4% | |
| 2% | 22 | 4 | 11 | Indep. |
| | 0.4% | 1% | 0.6% | |
| 0.2% | 2 | 0 | 0 | don't remember |
| | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.2% | |
| 0.2% | 2 | 0 | 0 | APML |
| | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.2% | |
| 100% | 1122 | 382 | 360 | Total |
| | 34% | 32.1% | 33.9% | |

Chi-square test=1.903E2^a, p-value=.000

Summary

The study figures out that like other socio-political and psychological determinants issues are also important determinants of voting behaviour in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Like other provinces of Pakistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa also faced several socio-economic and political issues. To connect issues with voting behaviour 'Issue Ownership Theory' and 'The Riding the Wave Theory' were operationalized for this study. The researchers used a multi variable scale to measure the issue voting in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The first variable is the voters' identification of local and national issues. All respondents recognized a list of local and national issues. The main issues of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa are terrorism, corruption, poverty, illiteracy and energy crisis. The respondents recognized different issues which they believed as most important. In Karak scarcity of water is the most important issue. Therefore, the contesting candidates highlighted the water issue. While in district Charsadda and Mardan the main issues identified were terrorism and energy crisis.

Secondly, in response to the statement, "vote should be given to that political party that can eradicate terrorism, corruption, poverty, illiteracy and energy crisis", a significant number of respondents agreed to vote a political party that could eradicate the local and national issues. However, a major portion of the respondents said that vote should be given to that political party that can resolve the issues identified. On the basis of these findings, we can conclude that there is a significant number of issue voters in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

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