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Voting behavior in District Shangla, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: A Case Study of 2018 General Elections

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Abstract:

Voting behavior is a complex phenomenon that depends on various factors. The voting pattern in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is difficult to determine because various factors coexist in influencing electoral politics. This study mainly tries to analyze the voting behavior in KP in general and District Shangla as a case study. The researchers mainly focused to address the question of determinants of voting behavior, political orientation, and women turnout in the Shangla district. The researchers tested three models which are sociological, psycho-social, and rational models of voting behavior to understand the key determinants of the voting pattern in the case study. Both qualitative and quantitative methods are used order to accomplish this project. Research journals, books, reports, and newspaper data are analyzed whereas, a survey was conducted in form of a questionnaire to acquire the quantitative data. The researchers find that the psychosocial model is the most influential in determining voting behavior as most people voted based on political factors such as party affiliations and issues raised by candidates.

Keywords: Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Shangla, general election, voting behavior, electoral politics, party affiliation, voting turnout

INTRODUCTION

One of the most important aspects of democracy is the election. Regular, transparent, free, and fair elections are essential to maintaining democracy. A vote is an ability to formally mark a piece of paper or raise one's hand to express one's preference or ideas. Voting behavior is impacted by a

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variety of characteristics, including socioeconomic status, ethnicity, religion, party identification, and Baradari base. Voting behavior refers to why and how a voter cast their vote in an election (Anderson & Stephenson, 2010). The purpose of studying voting behavior is to determine the criteria voters use to cast their ballots and choose the best candidate for public office. When citizens are denied the ability to vote to engage in governmental matters, a democratic system cannot be called democratic. Political meetings, marches, and door-to-door approaches are all methods used by political parties to mobilize the public during an election campaign. Political mobilization is crucial to ensuring that people turn out to cast their ballots during an election campaign. Candidates and political parties employ a variety of strategies to win over voters throughout the election campaign. Individual voting behavior is also influenced by propaganda and the creation of conspiracies. The fundamental idea of democracy is that people have the right to elect the people who will represent them in government. Most representatives are elected, and elections guarantee the process of accountability for their actions (Campbell, 2008).

Elections have played a significant role in the establishment of Pakistan. the 1945–1946 election marked the beginning of Pakistan's electoral history and paved the way for the establishment of the country. Voting behavior is incredibly important to the study of politics. It focuses on the elements that affect why people vote and how they cast their ballots in elections. Voters' election choices and decisions are influenced by a variety of social and political factors, including class, profession, ethnicity, gender, age, issue voting, clientelism, and political programs. The Muslims of the subcontinent fight for a distinct land where they can live according to their own principles, religion, beliefs, and culture. Muslims need their own state because they believe that Muslims and Hindus are two distinct nations. In the 1946 election, the Muslim League party came out on top and won overwhelmingly in areas with a Muslim population. Consequently, a significant part of Pakistan's creation was the 1946 election (Munir, 2019).

In 1970, Pakistan held its first general election with an adult franchise. The outcome of this election was the exact reverse of the one in 1946, the year Pakistan was established. The leaders of west Pakistan opposed handing over power to the Awami League party in east Pakistan. Pakistan eventually broke apart because of this controversy's civil war. Pakistan held five general elections between 1985 and 1997, but none of the governments there were able to serve their constitutional terms without being overthrown by the president or the military. (Rashid & Amin, 2020). Several seasoned politicians were immediately disqualified from the electoral process when President Pervez Musharraf changed the degree requirements in 2002. The 2008 general election was particularly important because it brought together the PPP and PMLN, two political rivals in Pakistan (Farmanullah, 2014).

After consultation with PPP's high leadership, the PMLN decided to participate in the election after initially refusing to participate and boycotting it. However, the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI) and Jamat-e-Islami (JI) both boycotted the 2008 elections. Parvez Musharraf, the president of Pakistan, resigned from his position, marking the first time a military dictator has been forced to step down by a legislative body. The 2013 elections marked the first time that an elected government completed its term under the constitution and then handed over authority to another elected civilian government (Samad, 2017). One of the most fraudulent and rigged elections in Pakistani history was the one held in 2018. Most of Pakistan's political parties disapproved of the election's

outcome and thousands of its members and leaders made protested in front of the election commission of Pakistan. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) is a province of Pakistan where no single party has ever been able to form a government for a second term. However, the election of 2018 brought a foremost change in KP election history a single political party came into power for the second time in a row. Unlike other provinces, the voting behavior in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) remained different and surprising (Badshah, et. al. 2018).

LITERATURE REVIEW

In Pakistan, the field of studying voting behavior is relatively new. There is enough knowledge on this subject, even though this discipline has attracted several academics and researchers from around the world. Many different methodological methods have been adopted by researchers to come to their conclusions about voting behavior. Existing study on voting behavior reveals that social, political, and economic issues all play a role in shaping a voter's decision to vote for a particular candidate or a political party.

Manmohan Singh Negi in his article "Theoretic Aspects of Electoral Behaviour" (2005) argues that in a democracy, elections offer a platform for participation in politics and governmental activities and are the easiest way for the public to access them. Voting is the most fundamental and simple form of political participation. Moreover, not every eligible voter shares the same perspective on voting. Some people can feel strongly that they should vote and that doing so is both their duty and the greatest way to express themselves. Some people choose not to vote because they think it is a waste of time. A person's voting habits may be different from another person's. Some people tend to vote more cautiously and consistently use reason while making decisions, these people think rationally. Attitude, voting preferences, political activity, and other characteristics might differ significantly between individuals in terms of how they vote.

Mughees Ahmed in his article "voting behavior in rural and urban areas of Punjab" studies the voting behavior of citizens living in urban and rural areas. He examines two essential aspects Baradaris and ideology to determine how these elements affected a voter's decision to cast a ballot. In Punjab province, he argues, Biraderism has a significant impact on voter behavior. The Baradari system's involvement in the election process is further strengthened by the local body elections. An individual's voting behavior is influenced by the baradari system, which is stronger in rural areas relative to urban areas (Ahmed, 2008).

Hassan shah (2019), in his Ph.D. dissertation "voting behavior in Pakistan; an analysis on partisan and floating voters in general elections 2013 in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa" has identified the importance of socioeconomic and political factors in voting behavior. He claims that a voter's decision to vote for a certain party or candidate is influenced by a variety of factors, including gender, religion, education, caste, region, economic status, occupation, issue, the popularity of the leader, political party, media, and the election campaign. He concluded that social, political, and economic issues all have an impact on voting behavior. Along with the candidate's character, he believed that the party's platform for economic and social advancement also had an impact on voters' choices in KP.

Muhammad Shakeel Ahmad (2010) in his Ph.D. dissertation "Electoral politics in NWFP; 1988-1999" focused on the electoral politics of KP from 1988 to 1999. The widespread assumption in KP that social factors including family, class, area, culture, feudal relationships, and tribe affiliation have a significant impact on voting decisions is refuted by the findings of this study. It asserts that political factors have a greater influence on voting behavior than socioeconomic factors do. It makes the case that while political parties, party allegiance, and leaders matter and have a great impact on a citizen's voting behavior in urban regions, patronage orientation has a bigger impact on voters' choices of parties or candidates in rural areas. In his writings, he also makes the notion that modernity, industrialization, education, current events, and societal changes all have an impact on a person's voting behavior.

The mentioned literature on the concerned topic gives insight into the conceptual framework of voting behavior and its various determinants. The case studies in the above literature reviews provide a framework for understanding the voting behavior of various regions of Pakistan.

This study aims: to understand voters' perceptions and attitudes toward the election process; to understand what influences voting behaviour in KP and specifically in Shangla district.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

There are three main theoretical approaches to the study of voting behavior which are sociological, psychosocial, and rational choice theory. The sociological model is also known as the school of Columbia, the psychosocial model is known as Michigan and the rational choice is also known as the model of economic voting. The sociological model has their origin in sociology, the psychosocial model has its origin in psychology and rational choice has its root in the field of economics. The sociological model is primarily concerned with social issues whereas the psychosocial model is concerned with psychological or political factor and the rational choice model focus on economic issues (Antunes, 2010).

The sociological mode of voting behavior mainly concentrates on an individual and the social framework that surrounds them. As a result, votes are placed in a social perspective and investigates the influence of factors such as socioeconomic class, language, religion, nationality, and urban-rural division on voting behavior. According to this model, social factors have influenced the voting decision of an individual (Sarlamanov & Jovanoski, 2014).

The psychosocial model mainly highlights the mental attitude, psychological composition, and psyche of the voter are all factors that influence voting behavior. This model is founded based on social and political factors. this model mainly focuses on the influence of political determinants on voting behavior. Party identification is the major feature of this model (Weinschenk, 2010). This model argues that party affiliation or partisanship is a long-term affiliation with a political party that does not always imply formal membership or consistent voting for it. It argues that individuals develop partisanship under the influence of their parents just like they acquire religious beliefs. A variety of factors influence voting decisions, including party identity, candidate orientation, issue concerns, and personal attachment to candidates. The psychological bond of an individual to a particular political party is referred to as party identification. peoples' opinions about issues raised during an election campaign are referred to as issue orientation, while electorates' sentiments toward a politican's personal character and performance are referred to as candidate orientation (Aiba, 2002).

The purpose of the rational choice model is to explain electoral behavior in terms of economics. According to this model, people change their political party identification throughout each election, considering economic situations and political parties' responses to them (Antunes, 2010). This model argues that cost-benefit analysis determines and influences voters' behavior. The voters seek to maximize their gain and attain their personal interests and goals so, they usually cast their votes for those political parties or candidates that they believe that political party or candidate will benefit them after winning an election (Sarlamanov & Jovanoski, 2014). According to this model, voters choose their political parties based on their own interests.

The above-mentioned models have mainly been used in the scientific study of voting behavior and these models have a lot of potential for explaining voting patterns in given areas.

METHODOLOGY

In this research mixed methods approach has been applied which is based on both qualitative and quantitative methods. The qualitative method is used to study the general voting behavior in KP, while the quantitative method based on survey analysis is used to understand the voting pattern in the case study of Shangla. The researcher collected data from secondary sources such as books, journals, newspapers, and primary sources such as conducting surveys. A survey technique was employed for the purpose of primary data collection. In this survey, the researcher used an organized questionnaire that consisted of close-ended questions. It consisted of 12 questions with some having multiple choices while other have yes/no options. This questionnaire was divided into two parts; the first part was about knowing about voters' interest in politics, the extent of their trust, and their perception of the importance as well as the impact of their votes. While the second part of the questionnaire was about the role of theoretical approaches. The researchers wanted the relevance of three theoretical approaches to voting behavior. Data from simple surveys and secondary sources have been used for answering the research questions.

VOTER'S ORIENTATION TOWARD ELECTORAL POLITICS AND FINDING OF DATA

The following findings are the product of the survey conducted from two hundred samples from the population of registered voters in the district of Shangla.

Table 1. In sthand Source of mormation about 1 ontres						
	Frequency	Percent	Percent	Cumulative		
				Percent		
Social media	96	48.0	48.0	48.0		
T-V	34	17.0	17.0	65.0		
Other	32	16.0	16.0	81.0		
Internet	28	14.0	14.0	95.0		
Radio	6	3.0	3.0	98.0		
Newspaper	4	2.0	2.0	100.0		
Total	200	100.0	100.0			

Table 1. Firsthand Source of Information about Politics

When questioned about their primary source of political information, voters provided details in Table 1. 48 percent of respondents—96 out of 200—selected social media, 34 out of 200—opted for television, 14%—28 out of 200—selected the internet, 3%—6 out of 200—selected radio, 2%—4 out of 200—selected newspapers, and 16%—32 out of 200—selected any other alternative.

	Frequency	Percent	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Religion	114	57.0	57.0	57.0
Other	60	30.0	30.0	87.0
Ethnicity	12	6.0	6.0	93.0
Language	8	4.0	4.0	97.0
Cast	6	3.0	3.0	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

The key criteria for selecting a candidate for the survey are listed in Table 2. 200 people were surveyed, of whom 114 believed that voting could be based on religious views (which recorded 57%), 12 believed that ethnicity was an important component (which recorded for 6.0% of the total), 8 believed that language was important in casting their ballot (which attributed for 4.0% of the sum), 6 believed that they casting their vote in support of the cast (which compensated for 3.0%), and 60 believed that voting could be influenced by political beliefs. According to the above data, political affiliation, a candidate's issue, and developmental efforts in constituencies are more significant considerations than religion, caste, language, and ethnicity.

Table 3. Most Significant Determinant to Vote

			Frequenc	y Percent	Percent	Cumulative Percent	
The issue	raised	by	88	44.0	44.0	44.0	
candidate/part	candidate/party						
Party affiliation	1		62	31.0	31.0	75.0	
Other			18	9.0	9.0	84.0	
Relationship w	ith candidate		16	8.0	8.0	92.0	
Family relation	iship		16	8.0	8.0	100.0	
Total	-		200	100.0	100.0		

According to Table 3, 44% of the 200 respondents felt that the "issue addressed by candidate or political party" is the most significant factor when casting a ballot. 62% of respondents said that the candidate's "party membership" was an important consideration. A total of 16 respondents, or 8% of the sample, said that having a relationship with a candidate might be a major factor. Another 16 respondents, or 8% of the total, said that a candidate's character might have an impact on voters' decisions. Finally, 18 respondents (9% of the whole) thought that neither component may be an important component.

	Frequency	Percent	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Developmental works	96	48.0	48.0	48.0
Reducing unemployment	46	23.0	23.0	71.0
Personal benefit	30	15.0	15.0	86.0
Family interests	18	9.0	9.0	95.0
Other	10	5.0	5.0	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

The main factors 200 voters considered when selecting from the options above are listed in Table 4. Out of 200 respondents, 96 thought that voters must support development activities, which accounted for 48% of the vote, while 46 thought that they should encourage a decrease in unemployment, which accounted for 23% of the vote. Thirty thought that voters should support a candidate considering that they would directly profit from their support, whether that benefit came from the candidate or from a specific political party, which accounted for almost 15% of the vote. 10 people held the opinion that voters should not support either of the aforementioned factors while 18, or 9% of the vote, stated that citizens should vote for candidates due to family concerns.

	Frequency	Percent	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Culture	46	23.0	23.0	23.0
Family pressure	40	20.0	20.0	43.0
Illiteracy	38	19.0	19.0	62.0
Interest	24	12.0	12.0	74.0
Religion	18	9.0	9.0	83.0
Lack of facilities	14	7.0	7.0	90.0
Polling station distance	12	6.0	6.0	96.0
Other	8	4.0	4.0	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Table 5. The Major Factor Behind the Low Turnout of Women in Elections

Table 5 provided a summary of the proportion of women who did not cast a ballot in a general election, and 200 people provided their thoughts on the low turnout. Out of 200 respondents, 23%, think that cultural problems constrain women's right to vote; 20%, think that family obligations prevent women from casting a vote; 19%, think that women's low literacy rates prevent them from going to the polls votes; 12%, think that women's low attention in the election process forbids them from casting a vote. 6.0%, believe that participation is lower owing to the distance to the polling station.

	Frequency	Percent	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	128	64.0	64.0	64.0
No	58	29.0	29.0	93.0
Don't know	14	7.0	7.0	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Table 6 indicates that politicians can aid in resolving societal issues and challenges. In a survey of 200 respondents, 128 said that politicians can resolve our problems, which represents a ratio of 64%; 58 said that they cannot, which represents a ratio of 29%; and 14 said that we are unclear, which represents a ratio of 7.0.

	Frequency	Percent	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	90	45.0	45.0	45.0
No	78	39.0	39.0	84.0
Don't know	32	16.0	16.0	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

According to Table 7, candidates who are running for office can work for the general welfare. In a survey of 200 people, 90 respondents said that candidates are running for office to serve the public, making up 45% of the total. In contrast, 78 respondents said that candidates are not intended to serve the public, making up 39% of the total. Finally, 32 respondents said that it is unclear whether candidates would serve the public, making up 16.0 percent of the total.

Table 8. Will the Vote Bring any Change in the Politics

	Frequency	Percent	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	152	76.0	76.0	76.0
No	36	18.0	18.0	94.0
Don't know	12	6.0	6.0	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Table 8 of the survey results display the respondents' perceptions about the potential impact of voting on change. Out of 200 people, 152 think voting could impact the future, 36 don't agree, and the remaining 12 don't know if voting will result in any change or not.

	Frequency	Percent	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	126	63.0	63.0	63.0
No	70	35.0	35.0	98.0
Don't know	4	2.0	2.0	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Table 9. Switched Decisions While Voting from the Previous Candidate

Table 9 illustrates the percentage of voters who changed their ballots from earlier candidates. Out of 200 respondents, 126 (or 63% of the total) picked the option that change our vote for the previous candidate; 70 (or 35% of the total) said that our decision to vote for the previous candidate remain the same, and 4 (or 2.0% of the total) believe we are unsure.

 Table 10. Reasons to Switch Decisions While Voting from the Previous Candidate

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Performance	60	30.0	30.0	30.0
Party manifesto	54	27.0	27.0	57.0
Other	30	15.0	15.0	72.0
Better than previous	28	14.0	14.0	86.0
Self-interest	14	7.0	7.0	93.0

Family pressure	14	7.0	7.0	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Table 1.10 lists the explanations voters provided for rejecting their prior nominees. Out of 200 people, 60 think we can change our vote due to poor performance, which accounts for 30.0% of the total; 54 think we can change our vote due to the party platform, which accounts for 27.0% of the total; 30 think we can change our vote for other reasons, which accounts for 15.0% of the total; and 28 think the candidate is better than the previous one, which accounts for 14.0% of the total.

Key Findings and Analysis

The key findings from these quantitative data are compiled in this paper. So, the researcher would first offer a content analysis of the results and discussions. One significant conclusion from the data is the significant association between internet use, availability of political information, and participation in political activities. This result is especially important for developing countries like Pakistan because this trend has a great impact on elections there.

Political parties and officials have started using social media accounts and groups to interact with voters. Due to the country's increasing censorship, people increasingly use social media platforms to disseminate information that they are unable to post via traditional and electronic media. The researcher questioned the respondents about their primary source of political information while conducting the research survey. Most respondents—who made up a ratio of approximately 48%—said that social media is where they get the most of their political news. Similarly, 17% of the respondents chose television.

In modern politics, social media is one of the main tools used to inform the public about Pakistan's internal politics in general and the Shangla district in particular. These numbers demonstrate that the voters' primary sources of political knowledge are social media and television. People in our society come from a variety of backgrounds and have a variety of identities and values. When the respondents to this survey were asked to name the elements that, in their opinion, most influence a voter's orientation, they responded as follows. Most voters—57%—thought that religion was the most alluring factor in the voting process. Ethnicity is a significant additional aspect that influences a voter's decision to support a particular candidate. According to this study, 6% of voters base their decisions on ethnicity, while 4% of respondents said that language was the most important consideration when casting a ballot. 44% of voters believe that the matter brought up by a candidate is the most crucial and key factor when asked which the most important and vital criteria is to vote for.

Party Affiliation was the second most important statistic, receiving responses from 31% of respondents. While 8% of the sample's participants had personal relationships with candidates, the remaining 9% were others. People think less depending on ethnicity and familial ties because of this finding. They consider the problems in their area and think clearly. They cast their votes for a candidate who can address their issues. Additionally, voters tend to support candidates who are affiliated with political parties because they believe that independent candidates have less compelling.

Voters also consider collective community development efforts when casting their ballots. People's perceptions and ideas that someone wants to achieve personal goals are too small to be

disregarded. As a result, it is evident that the sociological models that saw caste, ethnicity, and other similar characteristics as the primary determinants of voting behaviour are not as significant in the case study of District Shangla.

On election day, there are a lot of factors that draw voters. Other questions regarding the candidates' voting preferences included things like community development initiatives, efforts to lower unemployment, personal benefits, and other factors of the same nature. The primary driver of people's orientation was development work, which was supported by 48% of respondents. Reducing unemployment was rated as the second most important variable by 23% of respondents. Only 16 respondents chose the personal advantage, which was the least appealing.

Contrary to popular belief, most voters are unaware of current events and don't cast their ballots logically or rationally. According to the candidate's response in this study, voters have a thorough awareness of the entire process and do not just skim the surface. In Shangla, women are also the most significant group. Their electoral involvement is, however, meager. The reasons were astounding when the causes of the low voting participation of women were investigated. The most unexpected development is that the Shangla district's (PK 23 Shangla 1) 2018 election was ruled invalid because fewer than 10% of women participated. According to this study, a patriarchal society, which was endorsed by 23% of the participants, is the main barrier preventing women from voting.

The second biggest obstacle is pressure from the family. Due to respect for their honor and adherence to traditional family norms, the male family members forbid women from voting. Another barrier is illiteracy because most women are unaware of their constitutional right to vote and the next important factor that contributes to the district's low voter turnout is a religious outlook. The lack of access to roads and other facilities, as well as the distance from the polling place, are major obstacles to women voting in elections. Infrastructure is another major barrier to women voting in politics. While analyzing the voter's orientation toward a voting process in the constituency, trust in a candidate is also an important aspect. In our society, it is often believed that politicians are uninteresting and unable to resolve our issues. People have less faith in their elected officials to handle their problems and have lower expectations of them.

The results of this study have, nevertheless, indicated that this way of thinking is supported by the data. The respondent's insightful comment was given in response to the question of whether politicians can resolve our issue. 64 percent of respondents indicated yes, 29% responded negatively, and 7% were unsure about the answer. In our society, there is also a widespread belief that candidates for office only run in opposition to the interests of the country. Nevertheless, the results of this study show that perception is not accurate.

When asked if they believed that the candidate would serve them if elected, the respondents gave a positive reaction. 45% stated they did feel that the candidate would take the affairs of his constituency seriously, while just 16% claimed they had no idea what the question was about. Furthermore, many individuals see hopelessness in the voting process, and many people think that their vote is meaningless, however, the findings of this study have demonstrated this to be incorrect. The reason for this is that 76% of respondents—a staggering number—indicated that their vote matters and can affect change, while only 18% stated it cannot, and only 6% said they

were unsure of the answer. It indicates that people are aware of the role they play in the electoral process.

The approach toward the election process is primarily influenced by experience. They debate about political subjects and politicians' activities and performances. They compare the developments, remarks, and performances of the competing candidate and draw conclusions. People change to new parties and candidates when they become displeased with the candidate's actions. The research's most intriguing finding is that 63% of respondents switched from their original candidate to a new one. The candidate's performance was the justification for changing one's mind about voting for a different candidate. The Party manifesto did not satisfy 27% of the respondents. While self-interest and family pressure were the main reasons for 7% of voters to flip their vote in favor of a new candidate, because voters switch their party and candidate preferences, politicians have fewer developmental priorities and must deal with the fallout. The straightforward reasoning behind the shifting allegiances from the existing party is that when a politician does not perform, the public will not vote for them.

CONCLUSION

There are various hypotheses and opinions that attempt to explain that people in KP are less politically oriented toward the election system and are more attached to aspects like caste, ethnicity, and religion. Moreover, the study demonstrates that political factors were the most significant influencers, which play the key role in the political behavior and electoral attitudes of the inhabitants of Shangla, district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The primary factors that have a significant impact on political attitudes and orientation toward the electoral process include political factors such as identification with and attachment to a political party, issues facing the constituency, and the development work done by politicians. As a result of the earlier debate, the sociological model, such as cast, religion, ethnicity, regionalism, and urban-rural distinctions, is not the most important and solely determinant in influencing voting behavior. The sociological model is less popular in the case study of Shangla compared to the psychological model of voting behavior, which is based on party identification and issue orientation. Voting behavior is a complicated phenomenon, and neither a single element nor a theory of voting behavior can fully explain or pinpoint a specific voter's voting preferences. All the models have the potential to affect an individual voter's choice. The voter may also cast a ballot based on their party, ethnicity, religion, and personal or collective interests. But according to the survey in this study, the psychological model has a greater role in predicting and determining the voting behavior of the people of Shangla.

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