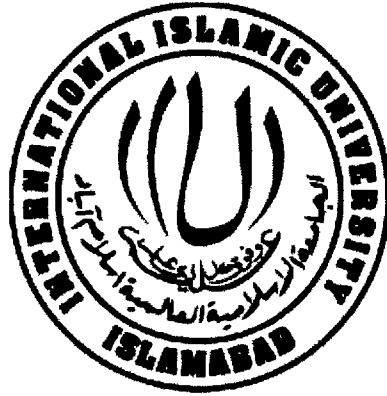


**GENERAL VOTING TREND IN KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA:
A STUDY OF VOTING PATTERN IN DISTRICTS OF DIR**



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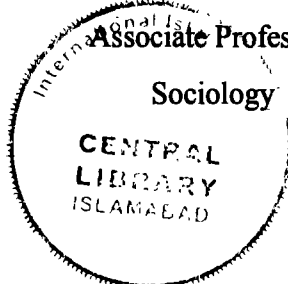
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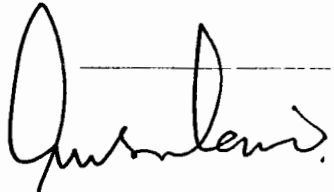
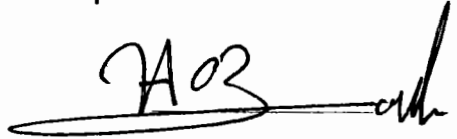
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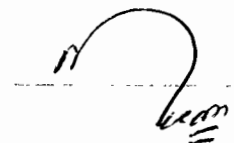


FINAL APPROVAL

This is to certify that we gone through and evaluated the dissertation titled “General Voting Trend in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: A study of Voting Pattern in Districts of Dir”, submitted by Mr. Muhammad Rashid, a student of Ph. D Political Science under University Registration No. 16-FSS/PHDPS/S16, in partial fulfillment of the award of the degree of Ph. D. This thesis fulfills the requirements in its core and quality for the award of the degree.


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Declaration

It is hereby declared that this thesis titled "General Voting Trend In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: A Study Of Voting Pattern In Districts Of Dir" submitted for the PhD degree in Political Science is my own research work and has concurrently not been submitted to any other university for any other degree.

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**This Dissertation is Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D)
in Political Science**

I Dedicate this Dissertation to My Family

Abstract

This research aims to find out the key determinants of the voting pattern in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa with a special focus on Districts of Dir. the voting pattern is one of the important themes of political science that indicates the level of political participation of citizens in modern democracies through the electoral process. The main objectives of this study are, to understand the attitude of the people towards electoral politics and voting practices and to find out the determinants that establish relatively more stable voting patterns. To achieve these objectives, a mixed-method approach was designed to conduct a survey through a comprehensive questionnaire to get the quantitative data for this research. Moreover, in order to get a deeper insight on the determinants of voting patterns and perceptions, the researcher has conducted focus group discussions and formal and informal interviews, of political workers, academics, journalists, and senior politicians of different political parties and observations from the participants of the survey were also taken into account for accumulating qualitative data. The data were analyzed through statistical methods. To get an inclusive result the researcher has tested the theoretical framework of sociological, psycho-social and rational choice model that focuses on political determinants of the voting pattern. According to the findings of this study, sociological determinants play a significant role in shaping voting patterns in Districts of Dir. although the rational choice and psychosocial determinants also have their impact on voting choices. The major themes discovered through this study are: (i) Religion play a more significant role in determining the voting behavior than the political or economic factors (ii) Pashtun traditions are the main hurdle for women political participation (iii) Youth are more dynamic and rationale regarding their voting choices (iv) General public giving more importance to party affiliation (v) Majority of People do trust in the electoral process and politicians.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

First of all, I would like to thank Almighty Allah; the Most Merciful, the Most Beneficent who gave me the power and strength to make this effort. My special tribute to my beloved late mother and caring father, who always privileged me with their prayers and confidence, and my graceful family (Brothers and Sisters), compassionate friends and kind teachers, who kept me ever advancing in my academic efforts.

I also present my tribute to my wife, who unconditionally supported me throughout my educational career, and always tried to encourage me to accomplish this study.

It is with immense gratitude that I acknowledge the support and help of my Professor, **Dr. Husnul Amin** (Associate Professor at International Islamic University Islamabad). His devoted attention, and his kind attitude, leading behavior and mentoring encouraged me to produce this work. Along with my other professors and teachers, who guided and supported me whenever I needed them.

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ABBREVIATION

AIML:	All Indian Muslim League
ANP:	Awami National Party
BD:	Basic Democracy
DD:	Districts of Dir
INC:	Indian National Congress
JI:	Jamaat e Islami
JUIF:	Jamiat Ulama e Islam (Fazlurahman group)
LD:	Lower Dir
MMA:	Mutahid Majlas e Amal
PPPP:	Pakistan People's Party Parliamentary
QWP:	Qaumi Watan Party
PTI:	Pakistan Tehreek Insaaf
PMLN:	Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz Sharif group)
SoD:	State of Dir
TL:	Tehreek Labaik
TNSM:	Tehreek Nifaz-e-Shariati Muhammadi
TTP:	Tehreek Taliban Pakistan
UC:	Union Council
UD:	Upper Dir

CHAPTER.1

INTRODUCTION

The electoral process plays a significant role in the history and overall political discourse of any country. Consistency and continuity in the electoral system and free and fair elections are the essence of democracy. Elections are used to safeguard prevalent support and validity for those who make constitutional verdicts. An electoral system is the set of procedures that regulate how political candidates are nominated. These processes consist of the structure, that, how people cast their votes, how those votes are corresponded, and how the winners are determined. Electoral structures are significant in several ways: Firstly, they have substantial political significance. Secondly, they shape the nature of political parties and party systems and influence the performance of politicians and the approaches of electorates. Thirdly, the electoral systems had a robust impact on the volume of political parties and subsequently on the nature of struggle within the party system (Richard, 2010).

Election is considered the pillar of democratic and political systems which offer its public a legal opportunity to elect their legislatures via free and fair processes within their legitimate and constitutional structure. These administrative structures are mandatory to be independent, unprejudiced, well-organized, and efficient by systematic assessments and essential reforms below the contemporary organizational and administrative procedures. This is not simply to guarantee acquiescence with international criteria and requirements but equally to replicate a broader and inclusive political system, to include communal participation, and to sustain their self-confidence in the competence of the developed democratic system. Additionally, it has been pragmatic that political and democratic structures are always reinforced by

guaranteeing compliant and inclusive electoral procedures. Moreover, free and fair election process mostly brings surge in the self-confidence of electorates on the electoral system (Muhammad, 2017).

Political behavior is a function of all these situations in which players find themselves and fetch out their primary susceptibilities. In these conditions, there is a push-pull correlation between the multi-layered impacts of aspirants, political parties and concerns about each other, and of those factors are categorized as class, race, language, caste, creed, religion, family, and local intercommunicative channels on the choice of the voter (Akhtar, 2012).

Pakistan is a country where socio-cultural, economic and religious determinants had played a vital role in shaping the voting pattern. Before partition, the Muslim League was able to secure majority votes in 1946 elections and legitimized its claim of being a sole representative political party of Muslims in the subcontinent which had demanded a separate state for the Muslims. The voters and citizens in Pakistan are generally not familiar with the system and the true spirit of elections as they had neither experienced nor participated in any electoral process for the first 23 years after the independence.

1947 to 1958, there were no direct elections held at national level. As a newly established and democratically transitional state, the true values of parliamentary and representative democratic system were not strengthened. The power was concentrated in hands of civil-military bureaucracy, and the patterns of power transitions to elected representatives remained undefined and inconsistent. Consequently, it created a vacuum for bureaucracy to launch the country's first coup *d'état* before any proper elections could be held.

The first general elections of Pakistan held in 1970. However, this election instead of bringing a stable government has turned to become the reason to the conflict with the leadership of West Pakistan which had never been resolved and ended up in partition of the country.

The second election which was held in 1977 was also failed to bring a democratic government to represent the country, and the crises ultimately resulted in martial law by General (Wilder, 1999). In the very short time period i.e. from 1985 to 1997 five general elections held, which never resulted in a stable democratic system in the country (Wilder, 1999). In this time period, not a single government has completed their tenure of five years. There were many undemocratic factors that dominated and influenced the political arena.

In the elections held in 2002, the main political parties were not in the position to campaign and compete fairly due to the martial law of General Musharraf. The US invasion against Afghanistan has changed the whole scenario in Pakistani politics. This incident has caused to the creation of an alliance of six-religiopolitical parties called *Mutahida Majlis-I-Amal* Pakistan (MMA). The MMA had also formed government in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and sat as opposition at the National Assembly (Khan, 2011). During the general elections of 2002 under Pervaiz Musharaf, different tactics were applied to exclude the main political parties and influential political leaders from the electoral process, for instance it was conditioned to have BA degree for contesting elections etc.

The general election of 2008 was significant, as the two major political forces were having an agreement to work together for regaining the political authenticity and authority. They had made an alliance against Musharaf regime. The incident of Benazir

Bhato's assassination has completely changed the situation. This tragedy had also helped the PPP to win the immediate general elections in 2008. With the majority of PPP and PML-N in the National Assembly, they forced Pervaiz Musharaf to resign from the presidency.

The determinants of voting patterns remained different and unpredictable throughout the elections from 2002 to 2013, where MMA, ANP and PTI run the province consecutively. Although in the academia, the socio-political and economic factors that determine the voting behavior are largely ignored in Pakistan generally and in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa particularly. This research is designed to find out the determinants of voting behavior in KP with special focus on the Districts of Dir in last three elections i.e. 2002, 2008 and 2013.

Organization of the Study

This study is organized in eight chapters including introduction and conclusion. The first Chapter provides rationale, problem statement, literature review, research questions. It also discusses theoretical framework of the study which is based on three voting behavior approaches i.e. sociological, psycho-social, models and the rational choice theory. The second Chapter provides methodological research design of the study in details. It employs a mixed method approach for data collection, processing and analysis. The third Chapter extensively discusses political and social history of Dir region while Chapter four examines voting pattern of the two districts in the light of data collected through survey and shares insights of the data thematically. It concludes that sociological factors had dominant role in shaping electoral behavior of the voters in Dir region. The voting choices are determined foremost by religion followed by party affiliation and development. Chapter five discusses the voting pattern and its dynamics

in districts of Dir in the general elections of 2018 and Chapter six examines the voters' electoral behavior in voting patterns through the spectrum of sociological, psychological models, and rational choice theory and conclude that sociological model impact more voters comparatively. This means that social class, religion, ethnicity, language and rural urban divisions are considered more important in terms of vote casting, though other political and economic factors also influence voters' choices. Chapter seven shares key findings of the study while Chapter eight conclude the thesis and provides appendixes and tabulation of data.

Rationale of the Study

Even though the election has played a decisive role in the creation and transformation of the political developments, however, much attention has not been paid to analyze the factors that influence the voting pattern of general public.

The electoral system in Pakistan has been interrupted from the beginning. Due to various undemocratic factors involved in malpractices in the electoral system, scholars of social sciences had left with very little interest to investigate the electoral politics academically. Therefore, a few studies have addressed this theme. However, there was a dire need for studying the electoral politics academically.

Voting pattern is one of the sub-fields of political science and an essential gateway of understanding the mindset and approach of the society. The voting pattern and behavior indicate the level of political participation in democratic systems. The study of voting pattern focuses on the determinants of why people vote the way they do and how do they reach at the decision they ultimately make. As far as voting patterns are concerned, sociologists tend to focus on social and economic factors observing correlations

between ethnicity, class, age, gender, occupation and vote. On the other hand, political scientists' focus remains on the influence of political elements like electoral campaigns, political programs, issues and the popularity of leaders of a party on voting patterns. However, both disciplines significantly overlap in their investigative approaches (Scott & Marshall, 2009).

Statement of the Problem

Voting behavior in KP follows an unpredictable pattern. However, the voting pattern, to a large extent, is predictable in both Districts of Dir. After 1988, the province has voted for almost all major political parties, but no party has been able to win the majority in consecutive elections. During the last three elections, it was *Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal* (2002), *Awami National Party* (2008) and *Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaaf* (2013) that secured majority vote from the province and formed provincial governments. However, Districts of Dir had stability and continuity in voting behavior which is an aberration from the general trend. The overwhelming support of a single party (JI) has necessitated an inquiry of the voting behavior to identify the main determinants that shape the voting pattern in these Districts. Findings from these two districts will help to explain, why the voting pattern is different from rest of the province, and also it will help in understanding that what other underlying factors determine the voting pattern in KP region generally. Also it will gauge the extent to which a particular factor is contributing in determining a set voting pattern. Although it is widely believed that the socio-cultural and religious factors are playing a key role in shaping voting behavior in these districts.

Objectives of the Study

- To find out key determinants of the voting pattern in both Districts of Dir (Lower and Upper)¹
- To understand why the voting pattern remained relatively stable over the years and did not deviate from the general trend
- To examine the critical role of socio-cultural and political factors in determining voting behavior and pattern

Main Research Questions

1. What are the key determinants of voting behavior in both Districts of Dir?
2. What explains a relatively more stable and continuous voting pattern in both Districts of Dir, which exhibits a deviation from the general voting trend in the province in general elections from 2002 to 2013?
3. How do the socio-cultural and ideological factors determine the voting pattern in Districts of Dir?

Significance of the Study

The study of voting behavior is a sub-field of political science and has great importance for developing an understanding of electoral politics. However, analysis of various socio-political, economic and religious factors that influence and modify voting trends and patterns in Pakistan (at large and in KP, Districts of Dir particularly) are not

¹ I have selected the two Districts of Dir, because this is the hometown of the author and it was easy in access. Secondly the voting patterns remained more constant and stable then the rest of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Thirdly, women have never participated in the electoral process since the mainstreaming of the State of Dir, and for the first time in the 2018 general elections women have casted the vote. And there is no study conducted to investigate the voting patterns in Districts of Dir comprehensively.

highlighted in scholarly debates. Determinants of the voting pattern in Pakistan has been unnoticed; therefore, findings from this research will improve the current knowledge based on empirical data and will pave the way for future academic inquiry about elections and voting behavior. Currently, not much is known about how voters switch their loyalty frequently in KP in general elections, and still remained constantly prevailing in Districts of Dir for decades.

This research sets to explore key determinants of voting behavior in Dir region. The research is timely and important on the following grounds:

Firstly, voting behavior in Pakistan electoral politics specifically in KP has drastically changed due to the emergence of MMA and then with the rise of PTI. Secondly, in comparative politics, studying determinants of voting behavior is an important area of investigation. This provides insights about the relative influence of variation, socio-economic factors in a comparative fashion. As a result, this study seeks to add to the existing knowledge in the field. More generally, the findings may aid in improving our understanding of electoral processes in Pakistan.

Limitations of the Study

The main finding of this study relies on the analysis of survey data; as a result, the success of this research, to a very large extent, was dependent on the respondents' openness and willingness to participate. Hence, some limitations faced in this study included interpreting the survey questionnaire into the local languages of the respondents, scarcity of time on the part of the informants, as well as the respondents' honesty in providing answers to the questionnaire. Additionally, this study was focusing on Voting Pattern in KP generally, but with a specific focus on the two Districts of Dir. Another challenge was that females in these two districts had never

participated in any election before the 2018 general election. So, it was challenging to make them proportionally part of the survey, yet they have been addressed to investigate their tendencies in the voting pattern.

Literature Review

Pakistani polity since independence has been predominantly traditional in terms of voting patterns. There are multiple reasons why it could not move from primarily traditional patterns to a modern political system to adopt the process of independent parliamentary democracy and free competition for political power. It is of utmost importance to study and investigate this phenomenon academically.

Very few scholars from Pakistan have taken up research on electoral politics and voting patterns. Some of these studies are published in academic journals, while Ph.D theses are also developed in this area. These studies highlight the general trend in KP, whereas they lack some important determinants of voting behavior, which do not lay in the same category. In order to develop an understanding of the topic and to identify the research gap, two categories of literature are reviewed: theoretical aspect of voting behavior from existing literature and studies conducted on voting patterns in Pakistan as a baseline.

One PhD dissertation (2010) by Mr. Shakeel has mainly focused on the electoral politics of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. His work covers general elections from 1988 to 1997. He challenged the widely held perception that social determinants play a more decisive role in shaping voting behavior. Instead, he argues that in urban areas of the province, political determinants like a political party and party leaders' loyalty are more significant while in rural areas, patronage determines the voting patterns (Shakeel, 2010). Another work related to the topic of voting behavior in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

province is by Farmanullah. In his PhD dissertation, the researcher has tried to ascertain the role of religion, ethnicity, political party, issue and clientelism in determining the voting behavior of KP region. He argues that voting behavior is determined the most by issues while least by party identification with other elements like clientelism, ethnicity and religion lying in between (Farmanullah, 2014).

Similarly, 's N.W.F.P. Elections of 1970: An Analysis (1973) focuses on 1970 elections only. The work discusses the social and economic characteristics of various constituencies in the province during the elections. The researcher, however, did not address various determinants of voting behavior in the province (Bashir, 1973). Another work is by Imdad Ali Khan (1986) who discussed non-party-based elections during the military dictator Ziaul-Haq's regime. The author has tried to present viewpoints of Members of Provincial Assembly (MPAs) about local councils and voters' aspirations to participate in the decision-making process and in the implementation of developmental projects. The author, based on his interviews with MPAs has also presented a brief explanation of social and political determinants of voting patterns (Khan, 1986).

Likewise, Muhammad Waseem's book, *Democratization in Pakistan: A Study of 2002 elections* (2006) has established a theoretical framework for the study of elections in Pakistan. It is a valuable work and provides a deep insight of electoral politics in the country. However, the focus of the book is on national electoral politics and not specific to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In another work, "The 1993 Elections in Pakistan" Muhammad Waseem has tried to explain that how the colonial legacy of bureaucratic rule inherited by Pakistan has enabled the bureaucracy, both military and civilian, to stick to power after the creation of Pakistan (Waseem, 2006).

In the same way, Andrew R. Wilder's, in his book, "The Pakistani Voter: Electoral Politics and Voting Behavior in the Punjab" (1999) also shed light on electoral politics in the pre-partition era of the sub-continent and after the creation of Pakistan. He argues that earlier electoral studies in South Asia emphasized more on social determinants of voting behavior, but the later studies took more consideration of political determinants. The author has logically and empirically explained voting patterns and argues that the role of political determinants is usually underestimated in Pakistan. However, the scope of this book is limited to electoral politics in Punjab (Wilder, 1999).

Moreover, Inayatullah in his article, "Perspective in Rural power structure in West Pakistan" (1963) argues that voting behavior in present-day Punjab is mostly determined by social structures and group identities such as *biradari*, family, tribe and clan etc. The findings of his study are also relevant to some areas in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in the context of social structures playing an imperative role (Inayatullah, 1963). Hamza Alvi (1996) and Saghir Ahmad (1977) argue that it is class rather than traditional kinships that play a decisive role in determining voting behavior in Pakistan. Their argument is that economically dependent voters cast their votes in favor of the candidates who are supported by those upon whom they are dependent. According to their analysis, only economically independent voters are likely to vote on caste and kinship basis (Alvi, 1972).

The set pattern needs more in-depth study to understand the main reasons as claimed that although the level of citizen interest and participation in any election can be accounted for in terms of issues and candidates etc. The understanding of the long-range trends in electoral participation requires consideration of the broader and more enduring political values and attitudes. (Campbell, Gurin and Miller 1952)

Therefore, it is necessary to accumulate the elections' data for bringing up genuine results. In this regard, Angus Campbell discussed in his study on American politics, that, the nationwide study which has used genuinely political focus and showed the power of data accumulation from election to election and the utility of such accumulation in building theory (Angus Campbell 1960).

Heinz Euiiau has analyzed class voting from the sociological perspective in a study that indicated the relationship between social class and political party in the decision-making behavior of the electorate. He highlighted the urgent need to analyze the consequences of social mobility on the voting preferences of the electorate in the U.S.A. He concluded that social mobility among the electorate differed in accordance with differences in their social stratification (Heinz Euiiau). Another research article, "youth and political change" tried to trace out the effects of upward social mobility among the young people of the U.S.A. in maintaining conservative orientation in their voting behaviour (E. Maccoby (1954). Almost all of the above-mentioned studies have tried to make an attempt of empirical data analysis of social behavior with regard to the political process in a scientific way.

With regard to the theoretical aspect of the topic, the reviewed works include: A Behavioral Theory of Elections is a valuable work on voting behavior that is based on this idea of adaptation. The authors construct formal models of party competition, turnout, and voters' choices of candidates. These models predict substantial turnout levels, voters sorting into parties, and winning parties adopting centrist platforms. In multiparty elections, voters are able to coordinate vote choices on majority-preferred candidates, while all candidates acquire significant vote shares. Overall, the behavioral theory and its models produce macro implications consistent with the data on elections,

and they use plausible micro assumptions about the cognitive capacities of politicians and voters (Bendor, Diermeier, Siegel, & Ting, 2011).

In “To Vote or Not to Vote?: The Merits and Limits of Rational Choice Theory” André Blais, while trying to address the question of what makes people decide to vote, examines the factors that increase or decrease turnout at the aggregate, cross-national level and considers what affects people’s decision to vote or to abstain. In doing so, Blais assesses the merits and limitations of the rational choice model in explaining voter behavior. The past few decades have witnessed a rise in the popularity of the rational choice model of voter turnout, and more recently a groundswell of outspoken opposition to rational choice theory. Blais tackles this subject by bringing together the opposing theories, literature, and offered a convincing test of these different viewpoints. Most important, he handles the discussion in a clear and balanced manner. Using new data sets from many countries, Blais concludes that while rational choice is an important tool, its empirical contribution to understanding why people vote is quite limited (Blais, 2000).

Similarly, Rui Antunes’ article reviews the theoretical models that explain the electoral behavior, sociological model of voting behavior, psychosocial model of voting behavior, and rational choice theory, stressing the continuity and theoretical complementarity between them. It also proposes a reconceptualization of the concept of partisanship in order to integrate all relevant contributions of the three main models of voting behavior in a holistic approach to electoral behavior (Antunes, 2010).

Gaps in Literature

The literature quoted above about Pakistan's electoral politics and behavior shows that some scholars and researchers have academically studied the electoral politics and voting behavior in Pakistan. However, some studies have been conducted exclusively to analyze and illuminate the determinants of voting behavior and pattern in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In this regard, only two PhD dissertations have so far produced on electoral politics in the province. One study has mainly focused on Peshawar district while the other has tried to elaborate electoral politics across the entire province. They have concluded that political determinants play a more important role than other elements in determining voting behavior. To observe rationally, the voting pattern and behavior change constituency to constituency and region to region while, also keeping in view the large population. However, these studies cannot cover all aspects of voting patterns of all the time. Therefore, there exists a huge research gap for further studies on the voting pattern in the province, specifically in Dir. The understudy region is totally different in terms of voting trends from other parts of the province and even the country, therefore, to study its voting behavior is of utmost importance.

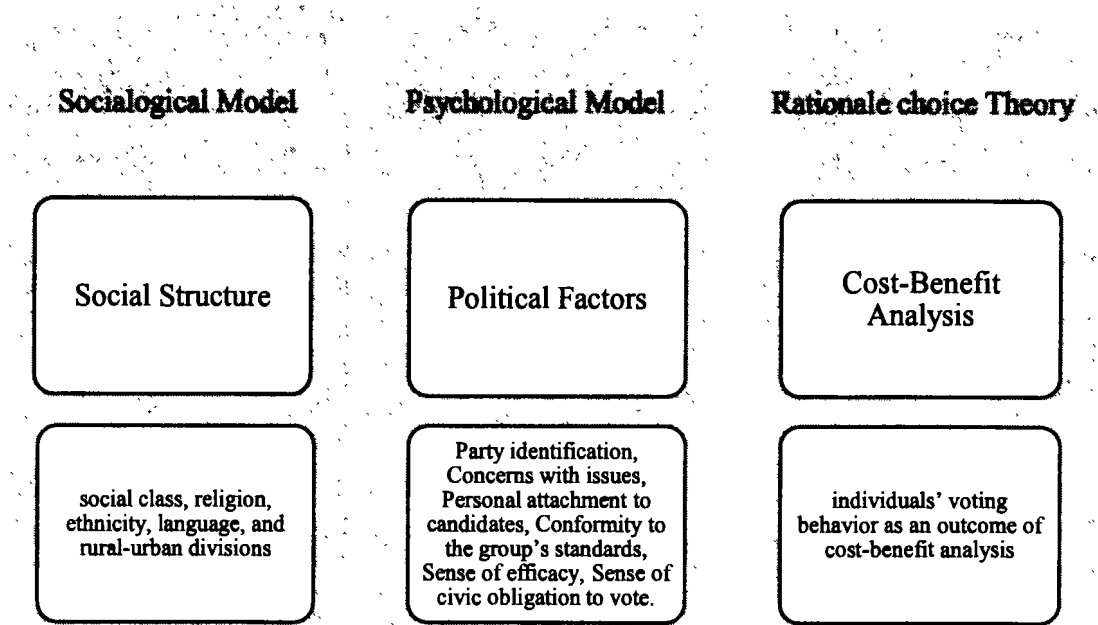
The understudy research focuses on a particular geographic area (Lower and Upper Dir) to analyze the voting patterns. In the first case, the voting patterns of different elections under different time periods have been analyzed to establish if the same voting patterns prevail or if they had undergone any change(s) with the passage of time.

Theoretical Framework

The scientific approaches for conducting of this study are the sociological model, Psycho-Social model and Rational Choice theory. Why do citizens vote for one

candidate rather than another? Various explanations have been offered over the roughly 70-year history of voting behavior research, but three explanations, in particular, have garnered the most attention and generated the most debate in the literature on voting behavior. These explanations are known as the Columbia Model, the Michigan Model, and the Rochester Model while these three models can help in describing and identifying the behavior of voters and the prevailing pattern during the electoral process.

Voting Behavior Approaches Model (Diagram)



Source: Author's own construct

Sociological Model

A common perception regarding voting behavior in Pakistan is that social factors play dominant role rather than the political ones. However, contrary to the largely prevailing perception, the recent studies show that political factors have more influence and importance in determining the voting patterns, practices and behaviors as compared to the social factors. Research studies by Andrew Wilder (1999), have challenged the

notion that social determinants had a more critical and decisive role than political factors. This research will also focus on the social determinants of voting behavior in two districts of Upper and Lower Dir (KP) based on the theoretical paradigm of the sociological model of voting behavior.

The sociological model relates voting behavior to group membership, suggesting that electors tend to adopt a voting pattern that reflects the economic and social position of the group to which they belong to. This model highlights the importance of a social alignment, reflecting the various divisions within society. Although the impact of socialization is not irrelevant to this model, social-base explanations allow for rationality insofar as group interests may help to shape party allegiances. This has perhaps been clearest in relation to social class. Not uncommonly, party systems have been seen to reflect the class system, with the middle classes providing the electoral base for right-wing parties, and the working classes providing the electoral base for left-wing parties.

According to the sociological model, the tenets and customs developed in the primary stage of life perform a significant role throughout the lifetime and have a great impact on the attitudes of the individual in shaping his characters. This model also underlines that political devotion is cultured by voters during their socialization and that voting choices are also significantly influenced by political socialization. The social and communal differences and alterations convert into political partisanship because each social clutch has its interests based on requirements and desires and this variance in their interests plays role in formatting their membership and devotion. As social relationships of unlike groups seldom go outside their own social comfort zone, so

they support particular political parties and pressure groups that defend their welfare and interests (Sharlamanov & Jovanoski, 2014).

This method obtains attitudinal aspects as dependent variables triggered by routine practices of the people in social dealings (Aiba, 2003). Hence, candidates and political parties have a small opportunity to modify voters' choices in their support (Visser, 1994). According to this model, the conversion of votes by some electorates from one political party to another through the election campaign or among two elections is the consequence of cross-pressures, and the academics claimed it to be social in character rising from voters' affiliation in collective groups having various voting preferences (Visser, 1998).

Similarly, the class and creed also form the public's perceptions, with the difference that, class shapes perception and sensitivity on the origin of redistribution of resources and capitals while creed does it on other basis (Evans & Ball, 2018). Having an affiliation with a religious party has more significance than just the political identification with this particular party. A dedicated affiliate of a religious group has approved to observe the mandatory religious rituals and values and to adhere to definite social norms, considered for the well-being of the society. Aberration from certain customs may be followed by some ramification for that particular group member. Therefore, there becomes a connection between the membership of a religious group and voting which then leads to the social tendency of casting vote for specific party or candidate. Most of the religious convictions propose for communiqué of these attitudinal values and norms by clerics who also proselytize as what is virtuous and what is sinful or immoral. These clerics or religious leaders do not function autonomously rather they are part of a larger religious hierarchy. The manifestation of

such large-scale groups presents the elucidation for homogeneity among affiliates of a specific group (Elff and Roßteutscher, 2017).

The followers of a belief are not in a position to determine about certain essential conducts as articulated by that faith, by their own, but they take supervision from the religious leaders and then they involve religiously or civically, whether about polling or routine life practices and consequently involve in a doctrine defined by that specific group or personnel. Even if this supervision is not sufficient to evidently convey the group adherents about their vote inclinations still it will facilitate them to advance certain kind of comprehension about issues and matters and therefore have a particular stance or positions (Elff & Roßteutscher, 2017).

Pillarization is another situation which builds association among followers of a specific sacred group and balloting. Pillarization is politico-denominational seclusion of a social order. In other words, it means the partition of community into discordant sections assembled not only by certain dogmas and traditions of life but also by segmental clusters that take care of certain groups' numerous necessities of life fluctuating from societal support to entertaining activities and therefore providing for the certain groups' beginning to the end. Pillarization can form unwavering patterns of denominational or pious polling but chronological practices recommend that pillarization cannot propagate such polling patterns permanently.

The sociological model of voting is often observed as ideological voting. This includes building attitudes about politics based on minimal information about politics in general, and about the politics of the party or the candidates who are a subject of preference. The exceptions from the rule insisted by this model of voting would be hard to explain! This theory rarely finds a response for the possibility for citizens of higher social layers

to vote for the left-wing political parties and vice versa, lower social layers to vote for right-wing parties.

To recap, the Sociological Model, with its focus on the role of socio-demographic factors, including social class and membership within salient social groups, brings to the fore a consideration of how political decision-making is informed by one's place in the social hierarchy and one's connection to others who share in their social identity. Focusing more directly on the attitudes individuals hold towards political objects (e.g., candidates, parties, and issues).

This model helps in explaining the voting patterns in Districts of Dir, as the middle class has a dominant role in politics, which mostly votes for the right-wing political parties. Right-wing politics in Pakistan is frequently associated with Islamic populist ideas. The same case is in the Districts of Dir (Lower and Upper) where people mostly voted for the right-wing political party (Jamaat-e-Islami) in the last three elections due to the fact that this party has played a major role after the affiliation of the State of Dir with Pakistan in the 1960s. Since then this party wins the majority seats in this region.

The Psychosocial Model

Also known as the School of Michigan, the psychosocial model of voting behavior highlights the importance and influence of political factors in voting behavior. Michigan Model adopted a more social-psychological understanding of individuals' decision-making calculus. Describing partisan identification as a psychological attachment to one of the political parties, akin to the attachment one might have to one's racial or religious group, the Michigan Model placed at the center of our theorizing a

concern with party identification as a key predictor of individual-level behavior (Hutchings & Jefferson, 2018).

The psychosocial model emphasizes political factors as determinants of the voting pattern (Antunes, 2010) due to the fact that it relates voting choices to the psychological tendencies of electorates like their political party identifications and attitudes about the candidates (Scott & Marshall, 2009). This theory identifies six primary psychological factors that may influence voters' decision-making process. These factors include: (1) Party identification (2) Concerns with issues (3) Personal attachment to candidates (4) Conformity to the groups standards (5) Sense of efficacy (6) Sense of civic obligation to vote (Aiba, 2003).

Party identification is the most significant factor and relatively more important while the candidate coordination and issue orientation are considered to be the foremost important (Aiba, 2003). Party identification means psychological regard and affiliation of a person with a particular political party. Issue orientation is actually voter's approach concerning issues underlined during an electoral campaign while the candidate orientation means voters' take on personal capacities and abilities besides the performance of the candidate (Akhter & Sheikh, 2014).

The essential significance of this model is political membership or party affiliation. According to this model, affiliation is a durable relationship with a political party which does not principally mean recognized registration as its adherent or persistently voting for it (Antunes, 2010). It debates that partisanship is the result of socialization of individuals happened in the pre-adult ages under the guidance of their parents and traditional regulation of the community. The researchers recommending this model reason that personalities nurture partisanship devotion under parental inspiration

similar to their adopting of religious dogmas. For validating this assertion, they claimed that the survey data indicated that the overwhelming bulk of the respondents as those who recognize themselves with political parties with which their parents recognized themselves (Hutchings & Jefferson, 2018).

The psychological model while identifying the significance of social aspects claims that social characteristics in a certain populace vary but gradually and over a long period of time. But the fluctuations in voting patterns happen from one election to the other. According to this approach, these fluctuations in election outcomes within a short period cannot be accredited to independent variables which practically continue similar in the time when enormous fluctuation in voting patterns happens. The psychological model aspect and this variation in the voting tendencies is the result of political dynamics like issues and candidates that vary in a small period (Akhter & Sheikh, 2014).

Partisanship, Issues and Candidate's Orientation

The main theme of the psychological model is partisanship. Party identification is the sturdy relation with political parties which fundamentally starts in the initial stages of political socialization (Dinas, 2017). According to this model, party identification is an effect of psychological affection with any political party like sense of attachment with one's social class, religion, or racial group (Hutchings & Jefferson, 2018). Party association, like religious association, often initiates within the family (Thomassen & Rosema, 2009) but the behaviors and norms of community, associates and peers (Antunes, 2010). Campbell and his colleagues at the University of Michigan argue that party identification is the sense of attachment, a person feels towards the party of his choice (Thomassen & Rosema, 2009). According to this argument, electorates have

extended connotations with political parties without any concern for the candidates or issues, particularly during elections. Electorates may seldom differ from their parties and vote for other candidates but generally, they return to that particular party, which they have sense of attachment (Bowler, 2018).

Furthermore, significant components of this model are the issue orientation and candidate orientation (Aiba, 2003). It means that the people's behavior is often towards the issues and the candidates (Akhter & Sheikh, 2014). The issue-based polling mostly happens during periods of socio-economic chaos when political parties offer comparatively different policy alternatives (Carmines & Stimson, 1980).

Political parties do not necessarily oppose each other on different issues, as it is not pragmatically possible. For instance, reducing the crime rate, eradication of corruption, and protecting the environment are those issues, which everyone agrees upon (Brug, 2017). Likewise, the issues like these are termed valence issues and they are the issues in which all voters propose and demand the same. About such issues, very least variance in candidates' promises occurs, though they might differ on their approaches for attaining the objectives. In such conditions, the voters have to select their candidates on different measures like level of voters' confidence in candidates and their previous performance. Candidates' personal vote also plays a vital role in such a position (Dowding, 2001).

Hence, political parties highlight some issues over others. As conflict among parties on issues is not always happening, therefore, mostly the parties highlight those issues on which they had worthy standing while ignoring some others. It was on the basis of these outcomes that the notion called 'saliency theory of party competition' was established by the researchers. According to this concept, each contesting party has some policy

issues for owning. Political parties assume achieving electoral assistance by emphasizing these issues while campaigning for election and therefore realize an inducement in frequently highlighting these issues. In the West, it has been recognized through empirical studies that the salience of particular forms of issues during an election campaign do impact collective election outcomes (Brug, 2017).

Rational Choice Theory

The Rational Choice Theory: Also called the School of Rochester or model of economic voting (Antunes, 2010). The Rational choice model considers individuals' voting behavior as an outcome of cost-benefit analysis before casting vote. In this regard, voters look at issues addressed, and policies supported by various political parties and candidates (Scott & Marshall, 2009). This model explains voting patterns in economic terms (Antunes, 2010).

The rational choice model is thought to be based upon the idea that voters and politicians act out of material self-interest, and such assumptions do lead to the rational turnout problem. However, most models assume some form of spatial calculation where voters vote for the parties closest to them in ideological space. Where voters located themselves is based upon the considerations of their family interest. So the rational choice model is an important explanatory technique in the understanding of electoral and voting behavior, it constitutes a method that is best used alongside other methods.

The rational turnout problem has long been associated with rational choice models (Dowding 2005; Feddersen 2004). Given that the chances of being pivotal or decisive in any election are so small and that voting has costs, why would anyone vote (Riker and Ordeshook 1968)? Olson's solution for general collective action is selective

incentives, but there are few selective incentives on offer for voters. The problem of getting rational actors to the polls has been tackled on many fronts. Some writers address the calculation associated with the problem, arguing that the probabilities of pivotality are higher than generally thought (Gelman et al. 1998) or that the costs of voting are too low for most people to consider at all (Aldrich 1993; Olson 1965, 1971; Palfrey and Rosenthal 1983). Others suggest that there are potential costs of not voting that can lead some to the polls (Ferejohn and Fiorina 1974). Rather than relying on the decision-theoretic logic of the simple calculation, game-theoretic models suggest that strategic consideration can lead people to vote. After all, if no one votes, then a single individual's voter would be decisive. Following such logic demonstrates that a mixed strategy for voting or not voting is Nash equilibrium. However, these models predict levels of turnout far below those than actually witnessed (Ledyard, 1984).

The leading and prominent introducers of rational choice theory in electoral studies were economists Anthony Downs, Duncan Black, and Kenneth Arrow. Anthony Downs' seminal book (*An Economic Theory of Democracy*) is considered as the preliminary work for presenting a rational choice model for the study of voting behavior (Klingelhofer, 2010). Downs claims in his book, that voters would evaluate candidates and their electoral stages and will vote on the basis of promises he and his party made to deliver (Stegmaier, Lewis-Beck & Park, 2017). Advocates of this model argue that voters modify their relationship with political parties through each election while taking economic conditions into the consideration and also look at approaches that political parties have (Antunes, 2010). It further asserts that electorates casting votes to the candidates and political parties whose policy program is close to the voters. Hence, voters having their own benefits whereas determining to vote for a party or candidate

and these benefits might be of private nature family-related, clan/class, or group etc (Dowding, 2001).

The principle of this model can be explained as, if rational choice rules can explain the functioning of a market, then surely this can be applied to the political structure. The concept principally forms an analogy between voters and political parties, voters and consumers on one hand, and enterprises and political parties on the other. It says that similar to enterprises that wish for maximizing the profit, customers desire to maximize the utility, parties also endeavor to maximize electoral results, so the voters pursue to maximize their votes' value (Antunes, 2010). Downs writes that the central notion is that parties in democratic systems are analogous to entrepreneurs in a profitable economy. Therefore to achieve their personal objectives, they articulate whatever policies they consider will get more votes, just as businesspersons produce whatever products they think will get the most earnings for the same purpose. In order to observe and evaluate the implications of this research, we have anticipated that people act rationally in politics. This proposition can be itself an additional key hypothesis (Downs, 1957).

Downs advances his argument that neither parties nor voters are attracted by ideologies. According to him, ideologies, for parties, are ways for receiving votes while for voters, ideologies are channels to lessen the costs of political information. Voters streamline the choice among political parties since they do not want to get detailed information about a party's potential undertakings if it had the authority. They, instead, can identify a party's notion of a good society and their own place in that society. So, it can be said that ideological positions of candidates or parties are a type of 'heuristics' (means, enabling a person to discover or learn something for themselves) (Elff, 2018).

This model has three main points: (i) The decisions made by voters and parties are rational as they are determined by self-interest and intended at maximization of their actions' achievements. Parties participate in elections, not due to the humane motivations, but to have the legal authority and power, to use it for their welfare and to secure gains and prestige. Downs writes, that the argument support the fundamental hypothesis of our model: that parties articulate policies in order to succeed in elections, rather to win elections in order to formulate policies (Downs, 1957) (ii) Voters and parties are responsible and reliable players, so the results of their choices are anticipated as there is a level of regularity in the democratic system. According to Downs, voters equate the estimated outcomes from both voting for the government and the opposition. In this case, they presume more from the ruling party, then surely they will vote for it. But in case if they anticipate less from it then they will support the opposition. However, if they expected no difference in terms of the outcomes from the two parties, they might not vote either. (iii) The democratic system undertakes a level of insecurity and uncertainty (Antunes, 2010). Therefore this means that lack of information about the progress the happenings can be a refuge for the common voters. This uncertainty is multifarious and might be established at any point of the political decision-making process and generally, it has great impact equally on the voters and parties as it controls the level of assurance and confidence with which both make decisions (Downs, 1957).

As the voters take decision on the rational basis, so they do not permanently vote for the candidate or party that they prefer the most. Occasionally, they go for deliberate and strategic voting which means that they vote for a party that has not been their favorite in past, but they assume that voting for it might produce better outcomes than voting for their former priority. For example, there is a small political party that may not have sufficient chances of winning the electoral contest. The voters who consider it

as their first desired priority will vote for their second priority party to evade wasting their votes (McGann, 2016). In other words, calculated voters diverge from their most favorite choice on the poll only because the success of a less favored choice may better recognize their prospects about potential profits. They essentially syndicate their candidate inclination and the prospects that a particular party or candidates will conquest the poll. A strategic electorate votes for a less favored option if that option has high chances of electoral victory (Gschwend & Meffert, 2017).

Downs says that a significant part of the voting choice is foreseeing how other people will vote by assessing their predispositions. Each person uses his prediction to decide whether the party he likes the most is surely a part of the appropriate range of choice. If he thinks, that it is not of that range, then rationality compels him to vote for other party (Downs, 1957). Downs extends his argument that a cogent voter first makes the choice as which party will serve his interests the most and then tries to evaluate whether that specific party has any possibility of winning the elections. He says that electorates and political actors adopt this rational decision, just because they do not want to express their mere preferences, rather they want to be among those who select the government (Downs, 1957).

Rational choice or political economy models are often thought to be based upon the idea that voters and politicians act out of material self-interest, and such assumptions do lead to the rational turnout problem. However, most models assume some form of spatial calculation where voters vote for the parties closest to them in ideological space. Where voters located themselves is based upon considerations of their family interest, but that is not unrelated to the interests of most of the country when it comes to economic interests, and not unrelated to ideology. Indeed ideology is an important fact

given the issue of rational ignorance. Voters do not know the detailed policies of candidates or parties and so work out what their views are likely to be over a range of issues based upon signals they receive (Hinich, and Munger, M. C. 1994).

The strength of political-economic models is the clarity of the theory and the prediction that the models produce. Often these models use stylized facts or make assumptions that are much simpler than the complex reality. In doing so, the models are normative comparators providing a standard by which to judge reality, where departures from the model predictions provide the explanations of outcomes as much as the models themselves. Some of the models are normative in a stronger sense revealing problems with basic assumptions in the normative desiderata of democracy and show how strategic manipulation becomes possible. All of these issues suggest that, whilst political economy models are an important explanatory technique in our understanding of electoral and party competition, they constitute a weapon that is best used alongside other methods (Mueller, 2003).

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGICAL RESEARCH DESIGN

This chapter contains the research methodology of the study. The researcher has outlined the research plan, research approach, methods of data collection, selection of the sample, research process, and type of data analysis and the research limitations of the project.

The study employed both qualitative and quantitative methods to get and elaborate data for the academic investigation to answer the key research questions. John W. and Clifford J. Drew support such a combination of techniques and suggest that researchers have to avoid the sole choice between qualitative and quantitative methods, and as a substitute they should make use of the worthy features of each method (John W,2013). Subsequently, the use of mixed methods in this study helps to do away with the integral gaps in using only one methodology in certain studies. Again, the mixed approach is helpful to access more of the essential information than a single approach could lead to.

The qualitative data in this research study was acquired from interviews, focus group discussions and the personal encounters of the researchers which have mainly dealt with a descriptive fashion. The secondary level data is also used which include the electoral results published by the Election Commission of Pakistan from 1970 to 2018, as well as other relevant publications. The quantitative analysis is based on primary data acquired from the field survey in the Districts of Dir. The target population of this study consisted of every registered voter in both districts. The survey questionnaires were administered to 900 respondents between October 2019 and February 2020. The data collection process took five months because of the terrain of the area which is mostly

mountainous and travel to certain places is not easy to reach to the selected respondents. Out of the 900 respondents, 896 questionnaires were filled.

In this survey, the researcher developed a specific questionnaire. It consisted of closed-ended questions in which the respondents are requested to select an answer from the given options provided by the researcher on their choice (See the sample questionnaire in the Appendix-1). The questionnaire has three sections; the first set of questions related to the personal profile and information of the voters, and the second is mainly related to political and voting behavior, and the third one is specifically asked questions about the elections conducted in the time period selected in this study.

The first section covers the basic questions that define the participants' gender, age, locality, and education. The main objective of the second and third sections was to establish insight of voters' political attitudes and patterns, in these sections, respondents were inquired about some of the substantial factors that are acknowledged to influence voting behavior and making voting patterns. They were asked to specify whether they identify themselves with any of the political parties working in Pakistan. In addition, to further insights into the inspiration of voter choice, respondents were asked if they consider factors such as religion, character of candidates, ethnicity, and party affiliation and campaign slogans in casting their vote.

Mixed Methods Research Design

An important characteristic of case studies happens to be a multi-method/multi-trait or meta-method. It means the use of various methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon. Thus, the essence of case studies' methodologies is the combination of different techniques, methods, strategies and theories. It is through this combination that case studies are established. Being a case study design, this research also uses mix

research method to deeply investigate the voting patterns in districts Dir in the last three elections, i.e. 2002, 2008 and 2013, with the addition of the last election of 2018, to analyze the sudden and huge changes that happened during this election. For data collection, both quantitative and qualitative methods are employed while the nature of this study is descriptive.

Population

All registered voters (registered by the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) in voters' list for the districts) are comprised as the population or universe of the study. The total registered voters' population is in 13 tehsils of the districts as it was not possible to get access to each part of the population, therefore, the two tehsils were chosen through a draw from both districts. The targeted population was further divided into subgroups on the basis of rural-urban, political affiliation, professional and general masses. The samples drawn from every stratum of the given population and individual voters were used as units of analysis for the study. Further to focus on the exact population, the following data shows that the registered voter that contains the strength in Upper Dir is 268,134 male voters, while, 179,280 are female voters, thus it becomes a total of 447,414 voters. Likewise, in lower Dir, male registered voters are 403,755, and female registered voters are 278,086, accumulating 681,841 registered voters (Election Commission of Pakistan).

Data Collection

The researcher used questionnaires to generate primary quantitative data for this research. Official statistics released by the Election Commission of Pakistan, Pakistan

Bureau of Statistics and provincial and federal governments were also used for collecting quantitative data required for the study.

Sample Size

In a research based on the survey, it is normal, that the larger the sample size, the greater and precise the finding becomes due to the fact that the large sample size reflects the view of the targeted population most accurately (Dawson, 2000). Though, still there is no exact criterion for it. In most scenarios, results about the absolute sample size are influenced by factors like time and cost (Dawson, 2000) and populace inconsistency. Thus the final conclusion about the sample size embodies a compromise between the constraints and need for the precision (Bryman, 2012).

There are several statistical methods that are used for defining the final size of the sample. These methods and formulas are constructed on different statistical styles and approaches while taking into account the factors like level of confidence, the margin of error and aggregate population size (Taherdoost, H. 2017).

The possibility of error is the risk every researcher is prepared to assent in his/her results. Up to a 5% margin of error is acceptable, particularly in social sciences related to surveys. For instance, there is a survey on the level of satisfaction in marital relationships and 60% of respondents are affirmative to be absolutely satisfied. It means the precise percentage of absolutely satisfied individuals is somewhere between 55% and 65% (with the possibility of the survey results plus or less 5%) (Taherdoost, H. 2017). The level of confidence is the point to which the researcher can be certain that the sample has perfectly assessed the opinion of the subject population (Taherdoost, H. 2017). For instance, a scholar claims that the confidence level in his survey is 95%

which means that if the poll or survey were repeated over and over again 95% of the time the findings would match the outcome from the real populace.

The sample size of this study consisted of 896 respondents, representing diverse segments of the population such as urban, rural, political workers, professionals like government servants, businessmen and the general public from well off families, members of low-income families, educated and uneducated voters.

While using the method of online calculator formula and keeping margin of error at 3.28% and level of confidence at 95%, this researcher derived a sample size of 893 (though he filled 896). Thus, the sample size for this study was 896 questionnaires from the residents of Upper Dir, which is 946,421 and Lower Dir, which is 1,000,436 totaling 1,946,857. Further to keep it precisely, the exact population which comprises the registered voters, the strength in Upper Dir is 268,134 male voter, while, 179,280 are female voters, totaling 447,414 voters. Likewise lower Dir male registered voters are 403,755, and female registered voters are 278,086, accumulating 681,841 registered voters.

Sampling Method

The two Districts of Dir have 13 tehsils, out of these 7 tehsils are in Lower Dir (LD), namely: Timergara Tehsil, Khal Tehsil, Blambat Tehsil, Adenzai Tehsil, Lal Qilla Tehsil, Samar Bagh Tehsil, Munda Tehsil, while 6 are in Upper Dir (UD) which are: Dir, Larjam, Sheringal, Wari, kalkot kohistan, Barawal Bandi. The researcher has selected only two tehsils one from Upper Dir and one from Lower Dir by the draw. The two tehsils chosen were Tehsil Dir, from UD and Tehsil Chakdara from LD. The rationale behind this selection was the challenge of covering the populations of both

districts, due to the communication challenges both verbal/personal and technological means were applied to conduct this survey. Therefore researcher has applied all possible methods to conduct this survey in a scientific methodological fashion.

The non-probability version of the stratified sample method has been used, in which the population was divided into two (Tehsils). Each tehsil consisted of urban and rural division, which is further divided into subgroups of political activists, professionals and general public. Respondents from each subgroup were selected through the non-probability technique.

The Non-probability sampling was the most appropriate sample in this situation. The sampling shows a valuable group of sampling methods that can be used in research that follows qualitative, mixed methods, and quantitative research proposals (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Purposive sampling, one of the five types of non-probability sampling techniques was selected for conducting this survey. The five types are; quota sampling, purposive sampling, convenience sampling, snowball sampling and self-selection sampling. All these types are being used during non-probability sampling. Purposive sampling involves the researcher using their judgment to select a sample that is most useful to the purposes of the research (Marshall 1996; Small 2009).

A major advantage of non-probability sampling is it can be done in a short period of time compared to probability sampling. It's also effective to use and can also be used when it's impossible to conduct probability sampling, for example when you cannot access to the whole population randomly (Wiederman, 1999).

Although random sampling is generally the preferred survey method, few people doing surveys use it because of excessive costs (Lucas, 2014). But it could not be applied in this study. It is due to the fact that the understudied area is totally a mountainous region as there is no facilities in terms of roads infrastructure or internet in all areas. Therefore, it was not easy to get access to all members chosen randomly. Another big challenge was the access to the female members as traditionally males cannot meet women out of their family. Thus keeping these challenges in mind, only non-probability sampling could be observed for this research.

Sample Frequencies

The demographic questions and information in a survey let the researchers gain background information of their participants. The information provides context for the collected survey data, allowing the researchers to describe their participants and better analyze their data. Common demographic questions explore the participant's age, sex, race, ethnicity, education, and employment. It can also include any background characteristics that a researcher believes are essential to the research project. All this data can be used to segment the population and get a better understanding of the targeted group. Moreover, it also gives an insight into unknown trends. These questions not only help the researcher, but they have also played a major role to understand that society in general by giving detailed insight of the population. This survey was also designed with the same rationale to comprehend the dynamics and determinants that play a pivotal role in setting the voting pattern.

Age

The researcher has developed certain categories of age, like, 18-25, 26-35, 36-45, 46-60, and 60+. These categories have statistically placed the respondents in a particular

age group. This grouping help in comprehension of their responses and understanding their behaviors.

Age-wise frequency sample distribution

Table. 1

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	18-25	184	20.5	20.5	20.5
	26-35	275	30.7	30.7	51.2
	36-45	220	24.6	24.6	75.8
	46-60	163	18.2	18.2	94.0
	60+	54	6.0	6.0	100.
	Total	896	100.	100.	

Source: Author's own construction

A sample of 896 participants has been taken from the total population in the Districts of Dir. The respondents are categorized in age groups as follows: 184 participants are in the age group of 18-25, which becomes 20.5% of the total sample. Likewise, 275 participants are in the age group of 26-35 which becomes 30.7% of the total sample. Similarly, 220 participants are in the age group of 36-45 which becomes 24.6% of the total sample. And 163 participants are of 46-60 which becomes 18.2% of the total sample and 54 participants are in the age group of 60 and 60+ that becomes 6% of the total sample.

Gender

Knowing gender is demographically very important in a survey research. For this purpose, there were two categories of (Male) and (Female) to know the gender of the respondents.

Gender-wise frequency sample distribution

Table. 2

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Female	147	16.4	16.4	16.4
	Male	749	83.6	83.6	100.
	Total	896	100.	100.	

Source: Author’s own construction

Overall 749 males have participated in this survey, which becomes 83.6% of the total sample, while 147 females have participated, which becomes 16.4% of the total sample.

The number of female participants is less than male in comparison. And it is due to the fact that female voters had never participated in the voting process in the Districts of Dir due to traditional values where females do not take part in those communal activities which are not considered appropriate for them. But due to the constitutional amendment, which made women’s participation in the electoral process by 10% mandatory, female voters cast their vote in the 2018 election for the first time.

Education

Education is also an important feature for understanding the voters’ behavior comprehensively. Therefore, the researcher has developed different categories from under matric to PhD level. The respondents have selected their educational status accordingly.

Education-wise frequency sample distribution

Table. 3

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Bachelor	144	16.1	16.1	16.1
	Intermediate	109	12.2	12.2	28.2
	Master	133	14.8	14.8	43.1
	Matriculation	121	13.5	13.5	56.6
	MPhil	11	1.2	1.2	57.8
	Phd	1	.1	.1	57.9
	Religious Education	27	3.0	3.0	60.9
	Under Matric	350	39.1	39.1	100.
	Total	896	100.	100.	

Source: Author’s own construction

In the educational categories the participants have responded as Under matric (middle and primary) 39%, Matriculation 13.5%, Intermediate 12.2%, Bachelor 16%, Master 14.8%, MPhil 1.2% and PhD .1% respectively. These categories have made a reasonable balance within the participants' educational backgrounds.

Profession

Participants were asked about their professions, although mostly, they were not agreed to show their income. But they have willingly mentioned their professions, which somehow had helped in their demographic understanding as ultimately affect their attitudes towards politics.

Profession-wise frequency sample distribution

Table. 4

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Business	207	23.1	23.1	23.1
	Government Employee	213	23.8	23.8	46.9
	Labor	147	16.4	16.4	63.3
	No Job	4	.4	.4	63.7
	Private Job	199	22.2	22.2	85.9
	Student	126	14.1	14.1	100.
	Total	896	100.	100.	

Source: Author's own construction

The respondents mentioned their professions as following; 23% business, 23.9% government employees, 16.4% labor, 22.2 private job and 14% are students.

Districts

The survey population are the residents of two districts of Dir (Dir Upper and Dir Lower), therefore, it was necessary to know that how many participants participated from both districts. The following table shows the numbers.

District-wise frequency sample distribution

Table. 5

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Lower Dir	445	49.7	49.7	49.7
	Upper Dir	451	50.3	50.3	100.
	Total	896	100.	100.	

Source: Author's own construction

Total 445 participants out of 896 participated in this survey from Lower Dir, in percentage, it becomes 49.7%. While 451 participants are from Upper Dir, this becomes 50.3%. So the ratio of participation is balanced in both districts.

Union Council

The researcher has selected four union councils through draw within 13 union councils to make the survey possible.

Union Council-wise frequency sample distribution

Table.6

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Bibior	219	24.4	24.4	24.4
	Chakdara	223	24.9	24.9	49.3
	Dir town	232	25.9	25.9	75.2
	Khadagzai	222	24.8	24.8	100.
	Total	896	100.	100.	

Source: Author's own construction

The ratio of the participants from these four union councils are as follows; 219 participants from Bibior UC (UD), it becomes 24.4%, 232 participants from Dir Town UC (UD), it becomes 25.9%, 223 participants from Chakdara UC (LD), it becomes 24.9% and 222 participants from Khadagzai UC (LD), it becomes 24.8% of the total

sample. The percentages show that the ratio of participation from these union councils is appropriate.

Urban- Rural

Another aspect in the demographic understanding of the participants is to know their background whether they live in the urban area or rural area.

Urban-Rural-wise frequency sample distribution

Table.7

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Rural	441	49.2	49.2	49.2
	Urban	455	50.8	50.8	100.
	Total	896	100.	100.	

Source: Author’s own construction

For this purpose, the researcher has asked the participants to know, whether they live in the urban area or rural area, 441 participants responded that they live in rural areas, which becomes 49.2% of the total number, while 455 participants had said that they live in the urban area, which becomes 50.8% of the total number.

Data Collection

In addition to the quantitative data, qualitative data was also collected to get a deeper understanding of various determinants of voting patterns in the understudy districts. The qualitative primary data collection method consisted of in-depth interviews with politicians belonging to various political parties, political party workers, voters in the constituency, academicians and political workers, focused group discussions and researcher’s observation during the fieldwork was also part of it as the researcher was supposed to do 4-5 months fieldwork in the target area. Interviewees' selection was also made through judgmental sampling. The collection of qualitative data enabled the

researcher to compare the findings of quantitative data with the conclusions drawn from the interviews and participant observation.

Both primary and secondary data sources were utilized including relevant books and articles published in national and international journals, M. Phil and PhD dissertations on the topic, reports published by various organizations/think tanks, and national and international newspapers are used as secondary sources of data collection.

Instrumentation Survey/Questionnaire (See Appendix 1)

A questionnaire is a research tool comprising of a set of questions that aims to gather and collect information from respondents (Gault, RH 1907). A good questionnaire is one that helps directly to achieve the research objectives and provides complete and accurate findings based on the information, which is also easy for both interviewers and respondents to complete.

A questionnaire may or may not be carried in the method of a survey, but a survey always contains a questionnaire. For this study, a survey was designed, which was conducted through a comprehensive questionnaire. A survey is conducted by the distribution of a set of pre-decided questions to a sample of individuals from a target population (Shackman, Gene, 2009). This leads to a collection of information and feedback from individuals that belong to various backgrounds, ethnicities/cultures, age groups and political orientations etc.

Surveys can be conducted via online and offline mediums (Saris, and Gallhofer, 2014). Due to the development in scientific and technological mediums and their reach and scope, online mediums have been prospered and there is a surge in the number of people depending on online survey software to conduct regular surveys. Therefore, the

researcher has partly used online google form, which is designed for this particular survey, to reach to those who have online accessibility.

Social science academic inquiries are conducted by the subsequent methodical strategy of action which includes qualitative and quantitative observation methods. It includes features of both these methods to analyze a variety of social happenings such as an investigation of certain behavior and pattern and census of the nation etc. (Anol Bhattacharjee, 2012). Selecting the questionnaire survey makes this study mainly based on the Primary Research. Questions are sent to the respondents through the questionnaires to make it convenient for the respondents to fill it with their comfort. Since data is collected directly, it's vastly precise according to the requirement of research.

Data Collection

The main source of quantitative data collection was a questionnaire. The questionnaire was chosen for this research since it is a reliable technique to gather information from various respondents in an efficient and timely manner. This is especially important when it comes to large and comprehensive study (Greenfield, 2002; Silverman, 2004; Bell, 2005). However, official statistics released by the Election Commission of Pakistan (such as polling station and constituency-wise results), Pakistan Bureau of Statistics and provincial and governments were also used for collecting the data.

For qualitative data collection, the researcher conducted in-depth unstructured interviews. This complementary method was chosen by the researcher in order to get more intangible aspects from the study. For this purpose, semi-structured interviews were designed, which were distributed among the samples from each participant group.

Interviews are commonly used as a complementary research method in the social sciences because they give the prospect from more comprehensive, open argument, and more comfortable, free interaction between the interviewee and the interviewer (Potter, 2002; Winchester, 1999; Sarantakos, 2013). Interviews were taken from politicians, academicians, political activists, journalists, and other relevant people. Focus group discussions and researcher personal observation was also used for accumulating qualitative data.

Some sample questions that were incorporated in the structured questionnaire are the following:

- What is your main source of information about politics?
- In your opinion, what is the basic motive for the participation in voting?
- Do you attend rallies of political parties/candidates?
- Have you ever convinced others to vote for your favorite political party?
- Do you believe in speeches delivered by candidates during the election campaign?
- Do you participate in your party's internal election?
- Do you vote for the same party in the provincial and national elections?
- Have you ever changed your political party?
- Electoral campaigns by political parties/candidates influence voters' decisions.
- Do you read various political parties' manifestoes before voting in the elections?
- What was the reason for voting for this party/candidate?
- It is important to vote on the basis of affiliation with a political party.
- It is more important to vote on the basis of religion?

- It is more important to vote on the basis of national and regional development.
- Women should participate in the voting.
- What do you think is more important to be considered during vote casting? (a) Religion (b) Political affiliation (c) Development (d) Personal or family interest (e) Relation with the candidate (f) Tribal affiliation or relative (g) Other

(A detailed interview/questionnaire is presented in Appendixes-1)

Data Analysis

The statistical and interpretative method of analysis was used for analyzing the data. The analysis of the questionnaire findings was produced via thematic analysis. Because of the large number of respondents and the quantitative and qualitative nature of the research approach for this study, the researcher used the statistical software SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences). The findings of the interviews were evaluated manually in order to determine the trends and patterns in the responses of the respondents. The findings of the questionnaires are presented in the format of tables. The main outcomes of this research are discussed thematically in detail in the following chapters of this dissertation.

Conclusion

The research methodology opted for this study, is mixed-method research, which had engaged both the qualitative and quantitative methods to get and elaborate data for the academic inquiry to answer the research questions. Such a combination of techniques has all the worthy features of each method. Subsequently, the mixed approach proposes the prospects to access more to the essential information than a single approach. Questionnaires were directed to gather the data from an appropriate sample. The questionnaires had closed-ended questions. Furthermore, all the qualified and methodological processes have been observed, including, the population,

sample, data collection instruments as well as the strategies applied to ensure the norms, credibility and validity of this study.

CHAPTER 3

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF DIR

Introduction

Dir was a princely state situated in the North of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan. The existing ethnic groups in Dir region have been living for almost five hundred years in this area. Many civilizations have lived and passed through this mountainous region, which remained attractive for the people who got the chance to visit this place (Filigenzi, 2011). The archeological excavations found in the region show the remains of almost every civilization (Barth, 1956). This evidently reveals that these civilizations once lived here and their remains present the traits of their cultural and religious rituals (Hugh, 1911).

People living in Dir were just like other Pakhtun who are hard and steady. The Pakhtun have a long history as they had seen and experienced many changes in terms of their lifestyle and living (Khan, Nasra, 2015). Dir is a mountainous region, it is hard and difficult, therefore, when the Malezai, a subtribe of Yousafzai arrived and resided there had adopted some habits that suit them demographically (Ahmed, 1976).

The territories surrounding Dir were populated by their current ethnic majority, the Pashtun, beginning from the end of the 14th century (Dir at the Encyclopedia Britannica). The Pakhtun were divided into several clans (khels), often battling each other. The three great clans which conquered the zone were the Yusafzai, Tarkanrai and the Utman Khel. The Dir territory was populated in the 16th century by the Malizai tribe who took control of the area integrating or defeating the previous residents. And within this tribe, Painsa Khel and Sultan khel became the most prominent fractions against Osa Khel and Nasar Khel (Shahid, 2005).

By the 17th century, a section of the Painda khel, coming from the Kohan village in the valley of Nihag (a Panjkora tributary), seized the trade routes of Chitral and Afghanistan. A member of this family, Mulla Ilyas, lived in the 17th century, was recognized as spiritual leader because of his religious merits, which granted him the title of Akhund ("scholar" in Persian) Baba. Thanks to his charisma, Akhund acquired a prominent position in the Malezai tribe and established the foundations of Dir village. His successors managed to preserve and expand the leadership, under 14 rulers, it gives birth to an autonomous political entity which had eventually become the princely state (Rehman, 2003). The clan of Mulla Ilyas Khan had taken the name of Akhund khel from the name of its progenitor, and a dynasty stemming from him was recognized as Khans (rulers) of Dir. However, till the end of the 19th century, the dominion of the family was mostly concentrated in the areas of Chitral to Skhakot (Mardan).

At the time of the partition of the sub-continent into two independent states of Indian and Pakistan in 1947, the ruler of Dir state Nawab Shah Jahan Khan signed a treaty with the government of Pakistan on November 8, 1947, and acceded to Pakistan (Fosco, 1959). Dir was a Muslim majority state, and the general public was already participating in Pakistan's movement. There were a very small number of Hindus and Sikhs living in Dir who immediately migrated to India after independence. Later on, on 18th February 1948, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, accepted the accession, as the first Governor-General of Pakistan and the Dir State became a part of Pakistan consequently, but still keeping its separate status as a state (Fosco, 1959). During the Kashmir war in 1948, Nawab Shah Jahan Khan has sent some people from Dir to help the Forces of Pakistan against the Indian occupation in Kashmir. In 1961, General Ayub Khan has replaced Nawab Shah Jahan Khan with his son Muhammad Shah Khosru Khan after the uprising broke out in the state, almost two

hundred Nawab's men, including a commander killed in this uprising (Fosco, 1959). As a consequence, the Government of Pakistan declared the state as Provincially Administered Tribal Area (PATA). General Yahya Khan announced the merging of Dir State into the former North West Frontier Province (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) as other states like Swat and Chitral on 28 July 1969 (Khan 1989). At that time, the total region of Dir was about 5,282 square kilometers. As it was a big and wide district, therefore, in 1996, it was divided into Upper and Lower Dir (PAIMAN, 2004).

Taxonomy of Dir

The name of "Dir" is taken from the "Dir village" which served as the capital of Dir state for centuries and is now the headquarters of Upper Dir. Actually, "Dir" is an Arabic cum Persian word that means "place of worship". According to the archaeologists, the history of Dir goes back to 2nd millennium B.C. These archaeologists have found a different type of domestic objects in the interment remains at different places in the region, specifically in the surroundings of river Panjkora. Apparently, these remains belong to the period from 16th to 18th century B.C (Rahman, 2014).

The Rulers of Dir State

The factor that still decides the fate of the people in Dir, is their tradition. The tradition in Dir is not much different than in other Pashtun areas, but still, it is much diverse and more rooted. The reason behind this is the way of the rulers of Dir. The history of Dir starts from the first ruler of Dir, Akhund Ilyas Baba. In the 18th century, a section of Painsa Khel came from Kohan village in Nihag Dara and took control of the region, mainly the only trade route of Chitral and Afghanistan (Ali, 2010). Mullah Ilyas who was popular as Akhund Elyas Baba, was a member and spiritual leader of Painsa Khel trained and educated in religious studies and traditions in the 17th century. He had a

great and respectable position among the Malezai tribe who founded Dir village (Hugh, 1911). Later on, his successors had established their own reign of a state. The family of Akhund Ilyas Baba adopted the name of Akhund Khel as a separate clan (Khel), while the rulers got the title of Khans and later on changed it to Nawab (Logan, 1883 & 1892).

In 1890, Umara Khan of Jandol defeated the Akhund Khel Khan Sharif Khan (the ruler of Dir state) and took control of the Dir state. But in 1895, the British Forces helped Khan Sharif Khan against Umara Khan and succeeded in regaining the control of Dir. Khan Sharif Khan signed a written agreement with the British and allowed them to construct a road to Chitral via Dir, which was the only possible route to access to that area. The British also granted him the title of Nawab. Thus Khan Sharif Khan became the first Nawab of the State (Hugh, 1911).

In 1904, Nawab Sharif Khan died and the dynasty was inherited by his son Aurangzeb Badshah Khan (Known as *Chara Nawab*), who ruled Dir state till 1925. Several attempts were made by his brothers to overthrow him from the throne and succeeded for a short time but Chara Nawab managed to save his crown successfully. In 1925, he died and his elder son Nawab Shah Jahan Khan became the ruler with the help of the British Empire because his brother Alamzeb Khan was also a candidate to become Nawab (Anonymous, 1933). To strengthen his position as a ruler and to overcome any potential revolt against him, Nawab Shah Jahan Khan appointed his three sons, Muhammad Shah Khosru Khan, Shahabuddin Khan and Muhammad Shah Khan as governors of different parts of the state (Ali, 2010).

Indeed Nawab Shah Jahan Khan was a harsh and strict ruler and wanted to keep his people ignorant and didn't want to grant them basic rights. The Italian anthropologist Fosco Maraini, who visited the state in 1959, describes that "the Nawab was a very

harsh person, he actually endorsed the anecdotal stories narrated by many elders from that time, that how Nawab oppressed the public in Dir State (Fosco, 1965). There were no schools, (some people tried to build them but these were demolished by Nawab) no hospitals, no link-roads and even no other developmental work in the whole state as compared to Wali Swat (Ruler of Swat State). He was against the education of the residents of Dir, as he wrote to his son that does not allow any madrasa or school because the graduates might become your opponents. Many revolts happened against the Nawab of Dir, killing almost 200 men belonging to his force and administration. As a result of this rising, frequent news published in the press made a negative impression on the government of Pakistan had to take action against him. Therefore, General Ayub Khan ordered to depose Shah Jahan Khan in October 1961 and appointed his son Muhammad Shah Khan as the ruler of the state. Nawab Shah Khosru was an educated man and unlike his father to whom he was deprived of their basic rights. He was also serving as a Major General in Pakistan Army, but he was a dummy ruler and the real power of the state was in the hands of Political Agent appointed by the government of Pakistan. Finally, on the 2nd of October 1969, like Swat and Chitral states, Dir state was also mainstreamed and converted into a formal administrative district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Pataudi, 1989).

Geographically, district Dir was very huge and wide, and it was difficult to manage it administratively as a single district, therefore, in 1996, District Dir was divided into, Lower and Upper Dir districts. Timargara and Dir serving as headquarters of Lower Dir and Upper Dir respectively, but still both the districts continued to be managed by a single District Commissioner sitting in Temergara. For constituency purposes, the two seats of the National Assembly were created in the two districts, NA-33 was given to

Upper Dir, while NA-34 was to Lower Dir. However, in new demarcations and delimitations, now there are three seats for two districts (Rahman, 2014).

The periods and era of the ruling Nawabs/Khans'

Table.8

S#	Tenure	Ruler/Nawab/Khan
1	1626-1676	Akhond Elyas Baba (Mullah Elyas Khan)
2	1676-1752	Mullah Ismael Khan
3	1752-1804	Gholam Khan Baba
4	1804-1814	Khan Zaffar Khan
5	1814-1822	Khan Qasem Khan
6	1822-1868	Khan Ghazan Khan
7	1875-1886	Khan Rahmatullah Khan
8	1886-1890	Muhammad Sharif Khan (First term)
9	1890-1895	Muhammad Umara Khan of Jandol
10	1895 - December 1904	Nawab Muhammad Sharif Khan (Second term)
11	December 1904 - February 1925	Nawab Aurangzeb Badshah Khan (<i>Chara Nawab</i>)
12	May 1925 - 9 November 1960	Nawab Shah Jahan Khan
13	9 November 1960 - 28 July 1969	Nawab Muhammad Shah Khosru Khan

Source: taken from the Akhundkheil history site

Akhund Ilyas khan 1626 1676

In order to know the political structure and order of the society of Dir, it is necessary to know the founding fathers of the state of Dir. The very first person who took the initiative was Akhund Ilyas khan who was born in the village of Dir kohan dara. He was sent by his father Tor Khan Baba for education at the age of 14 with a spiritual leader Myanoor to India from Dir to study religion and spend some time with Shaikh Banor Sahib. Shaikh Banor was a famous spiritual leader, people were coming from different areas to seek knowledge from him. At that time, his followers reached to 125000, and Akhund Ilyas khan was one of them. Having such spiritual influence on

people was something that Mughal rulers did not like, therefore, they decided to exile him along with his followers. Shaikh Banor migrated to Makkah where he stayed for six months. Once Shaikh Banor sahib was busy in his worship who called his follower name myanor. But, unfortunately, he was missing. So Akhund Ilyas stood with respect and said to his teacher Akhund is present. He kept his hand on his back and congratulated and told him that your descendent of the family will be the rulers. And the myanor family will be your ministers (anecdotal story by Shah Baba, personal communication, Sept 2019).

As per legend, while returning from Makkah, Akhund Ilyas was also told by his teacher that you have to burn the plant of (kathel) tonight. When you found its flames so that place will be your throne. While the other plant (kaye) when you found, burn it, that place will be your grave. Akhund Ilyas khan went through this process. He started his journey from dalbar palace of Dir, he found the khatel plant on fire there. So he built his house there and started preaching the message he got from his teacher and Shaikh. During that period, Dir and the surrounding areas were under the influence of Hindu Rajas. Therefore, Ilyas Khan got popularity within Muslims very soon. He was preaching Islam and getting followers in big numbers, and then he thought of the implementation of Sharia in the region. So he started from *Ushar* and *Zakat* collection by his followers. Through the collection of such capital, he strengthened his political power (Shahid, 2005). He did all this process gradually but smartly. He trained his family with such norms that he considered necessary to rule the region. According to many researchers, it was the result of his preaching that non-Muslim of Malakand area converted to Islam. Specifically, the Thor Kafar, those who speak Gujro as a tribe has embraced Islam. Akhund Ilyas Baba died in 1676 and was buried in Lajbok dara (Mian saib, personal communication, Dec 2019).

Khan Maulana Ismail khan 1676-1752

Khan Ismail khan, the son of Akhund Ilyas Khan, has followed his father's footsteps. He was trained and educated by his father. Being a religious and spiritual leader, he had also inspired the public while expanding the foundation of his father's legacy in the region. Politically, the Hindus were dominating this region. So Khan Ismail Khan was the first one to build an army and challenge the Hindu hegemony in the region. Therefore, he fought many small-range battles with Hindus, but being in the hard area, it was difficult to defeat them despite his small force. Soon he decided to shift his political center from the hilly area of Nihag dara into Bibior which was a relatively plane area (Ismail, Personal communication, Aug, 22, 2019).

Khan Ismail Khan knew that he can easily extend his trust as being a political leader by spreading his religious preaching and having more followers in the surrounding area. He expanded the chain of madaris which had almost influenced the entire region and made him the sole leader. He became so famous that people were calling him Loye Baba (means big sage), even still his grave attracts many people who visit frequently his grave.

When Loye baba died in 1752, and after that till 1884, five of his descendants namely Gholam Khan Baba, Khan Zaffar Khan, Khan Qasem Khan, Khan Ghazan Khan, Khan Rahmatullah Khan had remained the ruler of Dir State. They were administratively following their ancestors, but they were more reliant on using power, as a result, the moral hegemony declined among the people (Qazi, 2020).

From Khan to Nawab

Rahmatullah Khan, the father of Sharif Khan, has died in 1884. Sharif Khan became his heir to the throne, but due to his immaturity and lack of political wisdom, he could

not manage to control the region. Umara Khan who already had control in Jandol and was strong enough in terms of politics and force has challenged Sharif Khan's throne. Though Umara Khan was also akin to Sharif Khan but he did not give him any concession, as Umara Khan was with a vision and philosophy and was trying to implement that in the area. Umara Khan was an anti-colonial ruler, therefore, Britain got alerted with this adventure of Umara Khan. When Umara Khan succeeded over Dir, he had also challenged the Mehtar of Chitral. Khan Sharif Khan was also exiled to Chitral so they requested help from the colonial power and they were already planning it. So the colonial power strategically countered Umara Khan and brought Sharif Khan back to the throne (Harris, 1975).

The region of Dir state was strategically very important for the Colonial Powers, due to the following reasons.

1 Peshawar to Chitral road

2 Telegraph Services

3 Postal services (Post Offices)

Therefore, the region was confiscated back from the Umara khan to replace the Nawab of Dir on his throne, which had always been loyal to them. After restoring Sharif Khan to his throne, they had some new agreements.

The agreement was signed by both sides and in 1897 Khan Muhammad Sharif Khan became the first NAWAB of Dir (Shahid, 2005). Nawab of Dir demanded the construction of hospitals, schools and other public facilities, which were constructed in different areas. Later on, the British occupied Dir in 1897 and demarcated its boundaries, and divided the state in many territories, thus, the state of Dir lost Bajaur, Malakand, Kunar and only the boundaries of current Dir were retained (Torrens, 2006).

Khan Umara Khan

There were several Pashtun revolts in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (former NWFP) and Fata against Sikhs and the British Empire. Yet with the exception of Syed Ahmad Barelvi's movement, led by non-Pashtuns, most movements were localized struggles with the sole objective of evicting foreign and colonial forces from the region. Though, there was one Pashtun leader 'Umara Khan' the people of Dir still narrate his life story, glorifying his personality through folk songs and poetry.

Many British colonial historians, including Winston Churchill, have written about Umara Khan, HC Thomson's book, *The Chitral Campaign* gives the most detailed and objective account of his life, which comprises of his most adventures. The anecdotal narration by the elders in the region is also authentic as they have been transmitted through oral sources from the elders who personally participated or witnessed Umara Khan struggle against British and other regional states (Winston, 1897).

Umara Khan of Jandul was born in 1860 and died in 1904 in Jandul, he is also called "Napoleon of Pashtun". He was a Pashtun leader on the north-western frontier of British India who was the main reason for the Chitral expedition of 1895 by the British forces. He was the younger son of the Khan of Jandul, but he was educated and got much more exposure against his brother, so he declared that the throne was his due right (Hugh, 1911).

When he got the throne, in 1894, he held undisputed command over almost the whole of Bajour and other surrounding areas including Dir. He never stopped there but had also invaded Chitral and seized it. The Colonial Power of the British government in India intervened and ordered Umara Khan to leave Chitral. When he refused and started

to challenge the British forces, the Chitral Expedition was dispatched, Umara Khan was compelled to exile into Afghanistan who died there in 1904 (Edward 1898).

Second Era of Nawab sharif Khan

When Umara Khan was defeated, then consequently he left for Afghanistan. The British Empire restored the command of Khan of Dir. And then again the family of Dir Akhundkhel ruled from 1897-1997, for full hundred years with the title of Nawab, which was given to him by the British.

8th Ruler 1st Nawab /khan Muhammad Sharif Khan 1895-1904

After getting the command of the region in 1895, the Britain established Malakand agency and formed it as a center under a political agent designated by them. The state of Dir and Chitral was bound to the political agent according to the agreement signed on 12 December 1895. Muhammad Sharif khan was considered as the first Nawab of Dir state, he was honored with 400 riffle guns, Rs10,000 of annual allowance and a prize of Rs.25000 for supporting the British army against Umara khan. But still, Britain practically took all the power from the states and had made the local Nawab bound to the Dargai agreement (Shahid, 2005).

According to the 1895 agreement of Dir state with the government of British India, the boundary of state was restricted from Skhakot to Chakdara. After 3 years in 1898, the boundary of Dir was brought from mid of Chitral (hashrayt) to lawarey (Mills, 1996).

In 1904, Nawab Muhammad sharif khan died at the age of 55 years of paralyzes at Tamergara. His body was shifted and buried in khan shahid graveyard. After his death, his son Aurang Zaib Khan became Nawab of Dir and he ruled the state till 1925. And after his death, his son Shah Jehan, became his successor and he was the last

autonomous Nawab of Dir until President of Pakistan Ayub Khan took him into custody and made his son Khisro as a dummy Nawab till the status of Dir State ended in 1969.

The Political administration of Dir

Executive

After becoming the ruler, Nawab Muhammad Shah Jehan divided Dir state into nine Tehsils: Tehsil Dir, Tehsil Kohistan, Tehsil Barawal, Tehsil Munda, Tehsil Timergara, Tehsil Balambat, Tehsil Uch, and Tehsil Samarbagh (Shahid, 2005).

Council of Ministers

Nawab was the head of the state and had absolute power. All his ministers and other officers were answerable to him and he was not accountable to anyone at all. His cabinet was comprised of Tehsildar, Subidar, Foreign Minister, Mushr-e-Mall, Meer Munshi, Qazi and State Merza.

Tehsildar

Tehsildar was an officer in charge of the Tehsil in all matters, who was responsible as a tehsildar in the civil affairs while in military affairs he was the military commander, especially in the warfare.

Subidar-i- Khazana

Finance minister was known as Subidar-e-Khazana. He was responsible for looking after the income and expenses of the state treasury. He was directed to update Nawab on the weekly basis about all expenditures.

Musheri-i-Mal

Musheri-e-Mal was the revenue minister of Dir state. He was responsible for collecting *Ushar* (religious levy on agriculture harvest under Islamic law) and other revenue and

was bound to keep a written record of it. Mushar-e-Mall was authorized to eliminate Tehsildar or to sanction any of his orders.

Meer Munshi

The personal secretary was known as Meer Munshi. His duty was to inform Nawab about the daily events and schedule his meetings. He was also responsible for dispatching messages and letters to the ministers of Nawab's council.

State Merza

The responsibility of State Merza was to keep the record of civil and military cases, the account of gun powder and weapons, and attendance of the army. He also had the responsibility to keep a record in written about the salaries of the ministers and army officers. The head of all Merzas was known as state Merza.

Foreign Minister

Nawab was having relations with other states i.e. Swat and Chitral, for this purpose a Foreign Minister was appointed. The foreign minister of Nawab Muhammad Shah Jehan was Fazal Ghaffoor. He had received education up to eighth grade and was the most qualified person of the state. He held meetings with the Viceroy of India and Shah of Iran. He also met Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah with whom he discussed the annexation of Dir State with Pakistan (Shahid, 2005).

Judicial System

The judicial system before Nawab Muhammad Shah Jehan was not so developed and organized, for resolving issues, there were no organized laws to be considered during trials. After becoming the ruler of Dir. Nawab Shah Jehan reorganized the judiciary, as he was not in favor of Qazi courts, as they were only concerned with Islamic law (Fiqh). However, some laws were introduced comprising mostly prevailing customs and

traditions of the region (Abdusalam, 2019). Although Bahadar Khan of Kaire Dara says that, Sharia was the only law to be implemented in Dir from the first ruler till the last. He quoted that Nawab Shah Jihan was also in favor of Sharia law, and once he write to his officer '*Baroye Shariati Muhammadi faisala Kun*', means that do justice according to the Sharia law. But he also added that due to the Pashtun tradition, Jirga also had a prominent role in resolving the conflicts. Jirga was local and easy to access, Jirga helped in resolving the local issues at that time (Bahadar Khan of Kaire Dara, 2 Sep 2020).

The cases were broadly divided into two forms i.e. criminal cases like murder, injury, defaming a woman, etc. These cases were resolved by appointing a "Jirgah" which was comprised of responsible elders, tehsildar and Qazi of the area, who would decide the case according to Shariah and customs and traditions of the state. The tahsildars were responsible to send a copy of that decision for approval to the court of Nawab, and at the end, Nawab had to sign the decisions and these had to be implemented immediately.

The second type of cases were of civil nature: consisting of property disputes, marriages, and divorces, etc. These cases were resolved according to Shariah for which Qazi courts were established in every Tehsil. Qazi was to be appointed by Nawab with the consultation of tehsildar and other elders of the Tehsil. Every Qazi was given either land or a monthly salary for the performance of his duties. In the capital Dir proper, there was a Supreme Court headed by Qazi-ul-Quzat(Chief Judge or chief justice) appointed by Nawab after interviewing him. It was an appellate court against the decision of Qazi. Qazi-ul-Qazat had the power to revise or to keep the former decision intact (Qasim, 2020).

Nawab had also given authority to his subjects for appeal against the decision taken by the lower courts or Qazi-ul-Qazat. Sometimes Nawab himself would have to appoint another Jirgah for resolving the dispute. The second Jirga consisted of Nawab Muhammad Shah Jehan, Qazi-ul-Qazat, tehsildar of concerned Tehsil, Qazi and other elders of the state. Here the petitioner would be given an option for deciding the dispute either according to Shariah or according to the custom of the area. The decision of second Jirgah would be considered final and decision would have to be implemented immediately in letter and spirit (Abdusalam, 2019). While discussing the judicial system of Nawab, Ali Rehman, a learned person said that it was a speedy justice, and people liked it. He further said that the residents of Dir are fond of speedy justice from the very beginning, therefore, they also stood with Sufi Muhammad who was asking for Sharia courts to resolve conflicts according the Sharia in one hearing if possible (Ali, personal communication, Aug 28, 2020). I heard a lot of people who admire Nawab's era, specifically in regard of justice in different conflicts and issues. Bahadar Khan said that when Nawab was overthrown soon after people regret his time and power in terms of justice and keeping the peace. But Professor Qasim said that in each aspect, the era of Nawab was based on injustice, so the injustice happening now can never justify Nawab's injustice, as the two cannot be compared.

Ushar

Primarily *Ushar* is a mandatory religious charity from the crops which is also called as *Zakat*. As per the prevailing religious rules, the tenth part of the crops is donated (from the crops that were irrigated either by rain or free water). However, if there were any expenses occurred to irrigate the crops then the twentieth part of it is donated.

Historically, this donation is given to the poor Muslims and Non-Muslims living in the neighborhood with the free will of the donors.

In the context of Dir when Akhund Ilyas Baba came to the region as a learned religious man. He started preaching Islam to the general public while receiving Ushar from the donors in surroundings to support his work and feed his followers. So people have started giving the donation of Ushar to Akhund Ilyas and his descendants afterward.

The tradition continued till the last Nawab from the descendants of Akhund Ilyas. But it was not with the same religious orientation. Therefore, the Ushar later became mandatory to be collected by the state's agents from almost everyone. The person who was empowered to collect Ushar was called *Masal*. He was given full authority to use force against anyone who refuses to give it or hide his crops.

Actually, it was the Ushar that has remained the main source of income for the state of Dir. The crops being collected in Ushar were later on given as a salary to the state's officers and to other influential Maliks of the area. According to Malik Sadiq, Nawab was used to, giving his father 24 *Man* (12,00 Kilos) grains per the annual crops and to many others like him (Sadiq, personal communication, Aug 30, 2020). Malik Tajamul another influential Malik also said that the Nawab of Dir was used to give 60 *Man* (3,000 Kilos) grain per crops to his father (Tajamul, personal communication, Aug 30, 2020).

Therefore, once the religious mandatory donation which was used to support poor, widows and orphans in the society beyond their religious beliefs had become a source of income for the state. Thus it had extend the state's interests and power. Many people who lived in the state of Dir under the Nawab Shah Jihan told the researcher that the

Ushar was not a problem but the method of this collection was. According to Kareem Pacha, the crops were used to be collected from the field. As a result, the farmers had to wait for the Masal (state agent for collecting Ushar) to come and stamp the remaining crops after collecting the tenth part of it.

But it was not an easy process as the Masal usually come late in the fields. Therefore, he has to be given some gifts to collect the donation. The process has often been used to ruin the entire crops in fields after cutting. He said that he personally spent many nights in the field waiting for Masal to come and get Ushar from the crops to get our grains to the safety. If the stamp was disturbed even by the birds then the farmers were being accused and get fine” (Kareem Pacha, personal communication, Aug 28, 2020).

According to Professor Qasim, Ushar was a very big issue during the Nawab’s time. It was due to the authorities of Ushar department that people were being made unable to get crops from their fields without giving the donation which was the Nawab’s right. Even if someone was being accused of getting his crops without the permission of Masal then he was getting punishment or fine in consequence (Qasim, personal communication, Sep 3, 2020). He further added that, once the Ushar was a religious duty and people were giving it to the deserving became a sign of fear and cruelty.

Khan Bahadar Khan, who was also *Mukhtar e Aam* for Nawab Khisro and his father was an influential Tehsildar and then Sobidar of Nawab Shah Jihan, when he was asked, that why Nawab was making collecting Ushar so hard for the general public, he said, that basically Ushar was implemented forcefully by Umara Khan, and then kept implemented by the Nawabs later on (Bahadara Khan, personal communication, Sep 2, 2020). But many others differ with Khan Bahadar’s views.

Bigar

Bigar is one of the most appalling memories from the Nawab's era. Bigar was the forced labor of the state mostly taken in the construction of forts. According to Bakht Baidar, bigar was not only imposed by Nawab, but the local khans were also imposing it on the poor and those who were farming their fields. He further said, "we were compelled to do one-day bigar for the local khan in a month" (Baidar, personal communication, Aug 30, 2020).

Malik Sadiq said that bigar was a necessity and it was fair, according to him, it was not something bad as it was necessary for the poor to help out the Khans and get their support in terms of their housing and livelihood (Malik Sadiq, personal communication, Aug 30, 2020). But Professor Qasim said bigar has forcefully imposed on people and they were forced to do this as he was narrating the intensity of its injustice with the general public. He said that there was a couple in his neighboring Litab and Shajai Abai, they had one son, Sarbilan who was blind, when there was a call for bigar, everybody had to participate in it.

Since Sarbilan was blind and his father has died, therefore, Shajai Abai had taken Sarbilan on her head and for fifteen kilometers, he said that bigar was imposed strategically on different tribes and each tribe was trying to complete their work earlier and then they were feeling proud of it (Qasim, personal communication, Aug 3, 2020).

According to Yousaf when people were going for bigar to Dir city, they had to have their own meal, they were not given any food or residence (Yousaf, personal communication, July 28, 2020). Bahadar Khan, who closely worked with the Nawab's

family said that bigar was not the way as people think of it as it was a local contribution with each other (Bahadar Khan, personal communication, Sep 2, 2020).

According to Professor Abdul Khabir, there were multiple aspects of bigar, one was the physical labor force in building different forts. But there was a 'prey custom' Nawab was hunting once or twice in the year, he had some points where he was sitting and people from different villages were ordered to steer the flock of birds and herds of animals towards Nawab for hunting. It was humiliation, white-bearded elders were herding birds and animals in the mountains (Prof. Abdul Khabir, personal communication, Aug 29, 2020).

Health and Education

People of Dir were deprived of both health and education facilities. There was no single hospital for the general public in the entire state. Since Nawab was fond of dogs and he kept many of them, therefore, he made one hospital for dogs' treatment (Malik Tajamul, personal communication, Aug 30, 2020). People of Dir were getting homeopathic treatment from some *Hakeems* (homeopathic doctors) which was the only facility. But many people, specifically the poor were not able to get this treatment too. Either by not affording it or there was no access to it (Ismail, personal communication, Sep 2, 2020).

Education was banned in the state of Dir. There was no school in the state, and if someone tried to build one, Nawab's men had to destroy it. As Lal Bacha built a school in Serai, but when Nawab's officers came to know about it, soon they had destroyed it (Prof. Qasim, personal communication, Sep 3, 2020).

However, people were free to get basic religious knowledge, especially from the Imams in a mosque or some families like Sahibzadgan (religiously learned family). But they

were not allowed to get the modern education of that time as my elder brother Zafar Khan and father were influential Maliks of the area but they could not get education (Malik Tajamul, personal communication, Aug 30, 2020). Even now most of the elder people are not educated, particularly those who were born in the 1940s or 50s as during that time there was no school in the state and they were not allowed to get modern education. Some people who migrated to other areas like Malakand agency were free to get modern education (Prof. Abdul Khabir, personal communication, Aug 29, 2020).

According to Malik Sadiq who's father was an influential malik in the Oach area believed it was wrong that neither Nawab has forbidden modern education nor banned someone from getting it. But financially people were unable to get it, but when he was asked, that why Nawab did not make school in the state, he said that maybe it was not his priority (Malik Saidiq, personal communication, Aug 30, 2020).

The same views were expressed by Khan Bahadar of Kaire Dara who worked with Nawab's family and his father worked for Nawab Shah Jihan as a senior officer. But according to Ismail, Nawab has strategically banned the modern education and did not build schools, because he was afraid, if his public get awareness, they will start asking for basic human rights. Therefore, he kept the status quo. He also exploited religion in a famous couplet in that time for those who were trying to get modern education was;

سبق د مدرسی وائی دپاره ئ د پیسی وائی

پہ جنت کی بہ ئ زائ نہ وی پہ دوزخ کی بہ گسی وہی

(Those who are studying modern education to earn more money, their place is not in heaven, they will be cursed in hell). These were the tactics to keep people away from modern education. Mr. Ismail said that his son who was Khan of Jandol made a learning

institution in his area, Nawab Shah Jihan sent him a letter to destroy that institution while writing to him that you are making your own enemy (Ismail, personal communication, Sep 2, 2020).

Women in the State of Dir

Women were one of the most deprived segments of the society in Dir State. They had multifaceted deprivation as they were also facing brutalities from the societies. In Nawab era, there was a tradition, called '*Thor*' which means, if a woman was killed with the accusation that she was cheating on her husband with someone. The accused man might be hundreds kilometers far from that woman, but still, it was allowed for the husband to kill that woman and that man who was accused with her (Malik Sadiq, personal communication, Aug 30, 2020). When Malik Bahadar Khan, a close officer of Nawab heard about this tradition, he said it was correct, because a Pashtun cannot tolerate being accused by his wife or daughter. When I asked him, if a person is hundreds of kilometers far away, then how it was possible to be accused with a woman who is with her husband in his house, he responded that '*Yari*' is still possible as they might still love each other, and it was Pashtun's tradition to kill both of them and it was also allowed in the law of the state (Malik Bahadar, personal communication, Sep 2, 2020).

Professor Qasim said the life of the woman was very difficult during that time as they were kept as slaves and many exploited religious commandments for this purpose. Like in the name of Hijab, society had categorized it, like '*Mian Satar, Pakhtun Satar, Mullah Satar,*' so the women were confined in homes with these categorizations. But the poor women were working in fields with bare heads and no *Hijab*, there was neither tradition nor religion there (Qasim, Sep 3, 2020).

He said that religion was exploited in the persecution of women. However, there are multiple religious commandments that insist on women's rights, like their possessions in property, right of education, their will in marriages, which are completed in Pashtun tradition. Even the women of Nawab's family were also facing the same traditional restriction, Nawab wives never got out of their fort when they married him. And his daughters and other kinfolds were also not allowed to enter his house (Shahid, 2005).

The tradition that treated women as inhumane is from the very beginning, specifically in the Pashtun tribes, Professor Qasim said that even now in this time women are treated with the same traditional approaches. They are confined to homes as they do not get the proper education. They do not get their fair right in the property as they still cannot be engaged with their own free will and so on. But all these ill-treatments are due to the Pashtun tradition and religion cannot be blamed for it (Prof. Qasim, Sep 3, 2020).

The Religious Nature of Dir State

While studying Dir, sociologically, the genesis of the religious tendency could be seen in its historical origins predominantly due to the founder Akhund Ilyas who was a religiously-motivated leader. Therefore, he established the foundation of the Dir on the basis of religious orientation with a strong blend of the local Pashtun values.

Just to look at the flag designed by the first ruler as the identity for the State of Dir, several religious symbols and three Islamic sentences were carved on it, the top writing is the Bismillah, "In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful", the center one is the shahada in the Arabic language, "There is no god but God, Muhammad is the messenger of God". The bottom phrase reads "with the help of God, victory is near" in Arabic. The flag also existed in a red variant with the same drawings.

The religious orientation of Dir was structured first by its founder Akhund Ilyas Baba, who was educated in religious studies, specifically with the way of Sufism. As mentioned by the historians and anecdotally quoted by the common people that he was predicted in a dream that he would make Dir the center for his message. Anyway due to lack of political leadership and the weak surrounding states, he had the opportunity to unite the people under his own rule which he did. His state was run under the Sharia codes with the local traditional Pashtun codes. Though sharia laws were introduced but were dominated by the local traditions. For example, women had no access to the rights given by Islam or justice for the poor was compromised etc.

As it is mentioned above that the first ruler was religiously motivated. There were also other religious leaders who visited this area and preached in the region. There were many, some are the following who came and spent their lives in Dir and died there. People of the region still respect their legacy. Maizob Baba, in Chakdara, Boda baba in Och, Akhund Baba in Asban, Shagram baba, Syed Jalal Bukhari in Och, Mulla Badu Baba in Talash, Ghazi Baba in Arang baran, Khunano Baba in Odegram, kashmeri Baba in Usheraidara and others who came, preached and died in Dir.

So it was obvious that these religious personalities have had a great influence on the people. But it is to be remembered that all of them had worked with the sufi perspective. In this regard, after the independence of Pakistan, the public was invited to fight for the independence of Kashmir, the Nawab of Dir hesitated to involve *Dirojyan* in this adventure because he was afraid if these people trained and come back with fighting skills and *Ghanimat* they might revolt against him. Therefore, he did not allow the residents of Dir to go for Jihad to Kashmir in 1948. But people had protested and Nawab was compelled to give permission to those who wanted to go for Jihad. Eight hundred residents of Dir went for Jihad and came back victorious. There are some famous verses

from that time when people from Dir were going for Kashmir Jihad they were singing them. Baba of Dir still remember these Pashto verses;

شمشیر په لاس کی گډه وومه جنگ له آزاد ورزمه
جهان آباد له زمه
د سکه بندو سره جهگړه ما ته پیغور خکاری
چی اوس خدای اوکړه نوزه به پری آزاد ورزمه
جهان آباد له زمه

These religious adventures and orientation still have its impact, we see when Sufi Muhammad (Amir of Tehreek Nifaz Shariat e Muhammadi) stood for the implementation of Islamic Laws, he got the attention of the people from Dir. Almost the same episode repeated when the next layer came and Sufi Muhammad announced to go and join Afghan Taliban in their fight, and the local inhabitants from Dir gathered and joined his leadership. However, the majority of them did not come back and there are various stories about what could have happened to them (Shahid, 2005).

In the case of this research, there is a hypothesis that people of Dir are still religiously motivated and, therefore, they are supporting the rightest political groups comparatively. The survey will explain that what are the voting patterns in that society and why these have remained so constant.

The Social Structure in the state of Dir

Life in the 'state of Dir' was purely based on the Pashtun culture blended with Islamic tradition. The main tribes of Dir belong to Malizai, a subtribe of Yousafzai. So the Yousafzai tradition and customs are broadly practiced in Dir, but since Dir is a hilly area, therefore, the tribes here had naturally adopted some other norms which were much different from those who live in the plane area.

Before the independence, the two types of classes were more privileged namely Khans, Maliks and secondly Mian, Sawada, Sahibzad and Syeds. The first category relates to those who were the locals but had influence or big properties, while the second category relates to the religious-oriented identities. Mainly these two classes were considered more privileged. The remaining are still local Pashtun but they do not have much property or influence on the migrated people. The locals were still safe and privileged in many aspects but those who were not considered as Pashtun or migrated due to some enmity or other reasons were sometimes exploited in their wages or other due rights.

To analyze this phenomenon, it also led to the psychological nature of Pashtun who considered themselves superior and more daring in certain aspects. But non-Pashtun like Mochi, Jola, Kolal etc. is not considered as deprived naturally from this virtue. Therefore, till the independence of the state, no one from these clans, dare to step to the considered Pashtun legacy in centuries. Even though all skills were occupied by the clans to fulfill the needs of the society. So, naturally, these people were seekers and learners and open to new skills and bound to no traditional heritage. They had more opportunities after independence as they have got more education and changed their destiny. This scenario has also changed the psyche of the people in Dir, and now there is no such categories to be considered superior or inferior.

Professions and Skills

Before the advent of modern technology, different tribes all over the world have some basic skills and professions to do their needed jobs. Dir was no different in this case but as located in the hilly far-flung area, the people of Dir were introduced much later in the 20th century to modern technologies. Therefore, there were some clans who owned different professions but rightly said the clan's identity was profession and society was

expecting each person of that clan to work and adopt that profession. So the main professions were the following:

Mullah (religious preacher)

Mullah was a profession, specifically performing religious rituals and fulfilling the religious needs of the society, like, Azan, Prayers, Nikah etc. They were confined to the traditional religious rituals defined by society. They could not dare to interfere in the personal affairs of the people, especially of Khans and Maliks. They were respected but were not equal to set against Malik or Khan. It was conventionally fixed that the son of Mullah will be Mullah, therefore, no Pashtun was involved in this profession before independence.

Tarkaana (Carpenter)

Tarkaana was playing an important role in the building of houses and other instruments being used in farming etc.

Ghoba

Ghoba was a kind of shepherd; who was responsible for grazing the animals and herds of the community, mostly in reward he used to get bread or other small things from the owners.

Larba

Larba was a person who was bringing the woods from the jungle to the mosque and was getting up to five-kilo grains monthly.

Jola (weaver)

Jola was making fabrics of wool, he was getting wools from different animals and was using it in weaving clothes for summer and winter.

Kulal

Kulal is the one who makes pots from clay. In the old-time only these pots being used for house needs.

Mochi (cobbler)

Mochi is the one who makes shoes from leather. This profession is still existing fulfilling the basic need of the people.

Shakhail

He was making instruments being used during the cleaning of grains. This profession is now almost ended, due to the dependence on new technologies.

Paracha

They were having donkeys, ponies and horses and they were transporting grains from the fields into the houses.

Inger

Inger was like a blacksmith, using different instruments from steel and iron.

Nayi (Barber)

Nayi was the one who cut the hair and also spread the message of someone's marriage etc. In most cases, he was also responsible to cook food at a wedding ceremony.

These were some professions, mostly owned by some specific clans and only those who belonged to these clans were usually adopting them. But there were also other professions that everyone had the chance to do it, like farming and trading, they were relatively rich professions.

Political Activities in State of Dir During the Colonial and Post-colonial Period

Nawab of Dir has played a vague role during the colonial time, still, he seems to be the partner of the British Empire in different aspects. He conducted many treaties with British Empire and facilitated them in their access to Chitral and Bajawar. According to his policies, if he has to be described, he was against the division of the Sub-Continent, as he was enjoying his status as Nawab. He had clearly opposed Congress, as Bacha Khan has written that I visited Dir and met with the Nawab, he told me that you are talking well but I cannot support you and do not worry if I oppose you in the public and he did so. Bacha Khan has also facilitated Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehro to visit Dir at the time of the referendum, but Nawab of Dir plotted against it and the visit failed badly, as the Nehro car was stoned in Malakand by the Nawab supporters. The English Empire gave Nawab the title of Sir, and also he was considered as a Brigadier and gain some other title as well.

In 1940 when Mian of Swat joined Muslim League and met with Quid-i-Azam, Nawab has remained neutral and avoided getting involved in the Pakistan movement. Many people from Dir were motivated to start political activities under the umbrella of Muslim League. Bahrawar said the first member of Muslim League from Dir started to work with Muslim League in Dir, but Nawab of Dir compelled them to leave Dir and burnt their houses and properties. Later on in 1957, some other people introduced Jamaat-e-Islami in Dir but soon they were also compelled to leave the State of Dir. But once this momentum took speed, many others had started the activities, especially those who had some religious orientation were invited to join the JI. Since then, the general public was welcoming to all political parties already operating in Pakistan.

As earlier mentioned Nawab of Dir was not willing to join the movement of Pakistan but later on as the movement get stronger, Nawab had to side with Congress or Muslim League. As the general public was already on ML side in the Pakistan movement and gave two hundred thousand Rupees to Quid-i-Azam at that time, so Nawab had also decided to support Pakistan’s movement. And later on Nawab has officially announced the merger of State of Dir with Pakistan on 8 November 1947 after the independence.

Electoral history of Dir (Record of National Assembly Seats)

The post-colonial and post-independence political and electoral history of Dir is important with regard to the voting pattern and political tendency of the region. The following numerical data table shows the electoral history of Dir since its independence in 1969. Dir was a princely state, supported the idea of Pakistan but did not merge into it constitutionally till 1970. After merging with Pakistan, the state of Dir was converted to the district of Dir, which later on divided into two districts on the basis of population. So Dir has participated in all the elections afterward starting from 1970. The following table shows the detail of the candidates and political parties who competed in the elections in Districts of Dir.

Record of National Assembly Seats

Table.9

S#	Year of Election	Winner Candidate	Party	Votes	Runner up Candidate	Party	Votes
1	1970	Sahibzada Safiullah	Jl ²	³			
2	1977	Sahibzada Safiullah	Jl				

² Abbreviation and Jargon explanation; (JI) Jamaat e Islami, (IJI) Islami Jamhori Ithihad, (PPPP) Pakistan People Party Parliamentarian, (MMA) Mutahida Majlas e Amal, (ANP) Awam e National Party, (PTI) Pakistan Tehreek Insaaf, (PMLN) Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz group, (UD) Upper Dir, (LD) Lower Dir.

³ There was no record of votes on the official site of ECP, therefore some records are missing in the table.

3	1977 (Malakand cum Dir)	Mawlana Gohar Rahman	JI				
4	1988	Sahibzada Fathullah	IJI (JI)	35288	Najmuddin Khan	PPP	28974
5	1990	Najmuddin Khan	PDA	28533	Fathullah	JI	27147
6	1993	Sahibzada Fathullah	PIF (JI)	38687	Najmuddin Khan	PPP	30586
7	1997	Mr. Inayat Khan		23328			
8	2002 (UD)	Asadullah	MMA (JI)	39362	Anwar Khan	PPPP	24254
9	2002 (LD)	Qazi Hussain Ahmad	MMA (JI)	53799	Ayub Khan	ANP	34078
10	2002 (LD) By election	Ahmad Ghafoor	MMA (JI)	47230	Ahmad Hassan	PPP Sherpao	31161
11	2008 (UD)	Najmuddin Khan	PPPP	27594	Sibghatullah	Independent	19910
12	2008 (LD)	Malik Azmat Khan	PPPP	38068	Ayub Khan	ANP	24480
13	2013 (UD)	Sahibzada Tariqullah	JI	42582	Najmuddin	PPPP	26803
14	2013 (LD)	Sahibzada Muhammad Yaqoob	JI	49475	Bashir Khan	PTI	45066
15	2018 (UD)	Sibghatullah	PTI	66654	Tariqullah	JI	58307
16	2018 (LD-I)	Mehboob Shah	PTI	63717	Asadullah	JI	37687
17	2018 (LD-II)	Muhammad Bashir Khan	PTI	63071	Sirajul Haq	JI	46927

Source: Author's own construct

Electoral history of Dir (Record of Provincial Assembly Seats)

The following table shows the provincial assembly seats from the Districts of Dir. These seats are showing the dominant trend in these districts in recent times. Provincial electoral history has been taken since 2002 purposely by the researcher, because the research target is the three elections starting from 2002, to 2013. As the 2018 election brought some phenomenal changes, therefore it has also been taken to understand the major shift in voting trends.

Record of Provincial Assembly Seats

Table.10

S#	Year of Election	Winner Candidate	Party	Votes	Runner up Candidate	Party	Votes
1	2002 (UD-I)	Inayathullah Khan	MMA (JI)	12999	Muhammad Rashid	PPP	6666

2	2002 (UD-II)	Farid Khan	MMA (JI)	11644	Inayathullah Khan	PMLN	8952
3	2002 (UD-III)	Hayat Khan	MMA (JI)	12452	Aurangzaib	PMLN	6930
4	2002 (LD-I)	Muzafar Said	MMA (JI)	13681	Ahmad Hassan	PPPS	12106
5	2002 (LD-II)	Sirajul Haq	MMA (JI)	13972	Ahmad Shah	ANP	8277
6	2002 (LD-III)	Saeed Gul	MMA (JI)	10326	Hazrat Kamal Jan	PPPP	7149
7	2002 (LD-IV)	Zakirullah	MMA (JI)	11681	Muhammad Ishaq	PPPS	7553
8	2008 (UD-I)	Najmuddin Khan	PPPP	10715			
9	2008 (UD-II)	Hayat Khan	Independent	8339			
10	2008 (LD-I)	Mehmood Zaib Khan	PPPP	11085			
11	2008 (LD-II)	Hidayathullah Khan	ANP	9932			
12	2008 (LD-III)	Muhammad Zamin Khan	PPPP	6925			
13	2008 (LD-IV)	Zakirullah	PPPP	9957			
14	2013 (UD-I)	Inayathullah Khan	JI	15286	Shakirullah Khan	?	6879
15	2013 (UD-II)	Muhammad Ali	JI	13755	Badsha Khan	PPPP	9162
16	2013 (UD-III)	Bahram Khan	JI	13580	Sahibzada Sanaullah	PPPP	9799
17	2013 (LD-I)	Muzafar Said	JI	14456	Mehmood Zaib Khan	PPPP	9977
18	2013 (LD-II)	Serajul Haq	JI	23030	Hidayathullah Khan	ANP	11130
19	2013 (LD-III)	Saeed Gull	JI	14193	Muhammad Zamin Khan	PPPP	7391
20	2013 (LD-IV)	Bakht Baidar	PPPS	10965	Sultanat Yar	JI	7628
21	2018 (UD-I)	Badshah Salih	PPPP	21201	Muhammad ALi	JI	19724
22	2018 (UD-II)	Sahibzada Sanaullah	PPPP	22334	Azam Khan	?	17916
23	2018 (UD-III)	Inayathullah Khan	JI	27599	Naveed Anjum Khan	?	19287
24	2018 (LD-I)	Muhammad Azam Khan	?	21683	Shah Nawaz Khan	?	18832
25	2018 (LD-II)	Humayun Khan	PTI	19619	Bakht Baidar Khan	PPPP	18598
26	2018 (LD-III)	Shfiullah	PTI	21338	Mehmood Ziab Khan	PPPP	17564
27	2018 (LD-IV)	Bahadir Khan	ANP	19021	Izazul Mulk	JI	16301

Source: Author's own construct

The above data shows the voting patterns prevailed during the decades in districts of Dir. The tendencies of voters dominantly supporting the religious political party throughout the electoral history i.e. Jamaat-e-Islami is very much evident. The JI won all elections with big margins and left the runner up with almost 6 to 7 thousand votes behind, while the numbers become an average 1 to 2 thousand lead when JI lost. With the exception of the 2008 election when JI boycotted the election. We can say that people living in Districts of Dir, are still influenced by sociological factors, particularly

in their political choices. The reason behind the JI dominance from the very inception is the traditional religious tendencies of the residents of Dir. Almost every person that I have personally interviewed, telling that the genesis of Dir is religious and JI came to Dir with its religious orientation, according to professor Qasim, the first members of JI were *Hakeems* or *Sahibzadgan* and they had influence and following in the area, therefore, when *Nawabi* ended, the JI prevailed as a single political force (Qasim, Personal Communication, Sep 4, 2020). There is also a proof to this argument, as the MPA and ex-minister of PPP from Adinzai, also told me that his father was in JI and the same acclaimed by Malik Fakhruzaman the first PTI member in Districts of Dir. But according to Sultanat Yar, JI provincial candidate, the main reason was not only the religious nature but JI was the only political party that resisted Nawab of Dir and had spread the awareness for education and regional development (Sultanat Yar, personal communication, Sep 4, 2020). His argument can be supported with the narration of Professor Qasim, as he said, as the status of Dir was ended from the state and became a district of NWFP, a big *Jirga* was held, and the bureaucrats suggested that, Dir is a tribal area, therefore, it should be dealt like tribal zone, means that a political officer will command the area and other administrative and judicial systems will not be implemented. But, the then, the JI prominent leader in Dir, Dr. Yaqoob had strongly opposed the idea of maintaining Dir under the tribal rules and regulations. According to Professor Qasim, Dr. Yaqoob stated, that the people of Dir remain under the slavery of Nawabs of Dir, they will not further be slaved by the state agents (Prof. Qasim, personal communication, Sep 4, 2020). So there are many reasons being counted that why JI is dominated in Dir, though it could not succeed in its center Lahore.

Secondly, if we see the numbers PPP remained dominant after JI, according to Bakht Baidar, the PPP MPA and ex-minister, the basic reason behind PPP dominance is the

Bhato's policies in the 1980s, specifically, he was referring to the policy of land reforms in *Kissan qanoon* the local jargon. He said, that my father was a *kisan* and we were doing *bigar* for the local *khan* we were suppressed and deprived of our basic rights until Bhato announced his land reform laws, these reforms escaped us from the slavery of the *Khans*, so this was the basic reason that the poor and deprived people of Dir supported PPP (Baidar, personal communication, Aug 30, 2020). Professor Qasim has also supported this claim, as he said, that once, during the election, Umer Gul Tarkaan (carpenter) was on the way to cast his vote, somebody tried to convince him to vote his party, in response Umer Gull Tarkaan said, I am voting to the tomb of Bhato, he saved us from the *Bigar* (forced labor). In response to the question, that how the forced labor remained even *Nawabi Daor* was ended, Prof. Qasim said that, there was a chain of forced labor, it started from Nawab till the local Khan, so even though Nawab was not there and Dir administrative status was changed but still, the local Khans were there and they had never let their *Kisanyan* to be free. There was fixed time and days, in which these *Kisanyan* were doing *bigar* for these Khans. But, Malik Said, his father was a prominent malik of Nawab, differs, that the land reform laws was a big mistake and totally wrong. According to him, his own land is confiscated by the *Kisanyano* and now he is deprived of his land, even the Supreme Court verdict in his favor, but he cannot get possession of his own land (Malik Sadiq, Aug 30, 2020). But ironically he was opposing Bhato but he still contested elections from the PPP platform and remain a prominent member of the PPP. In this regard he said that the political affiliation in Dir is not just a rational political choice, rather it determined by your opponent and mostly *Tarbor* political support if he is in one party then I have to change my party (Malik Sadiq, personal communication). So the understood reason behind the PPP's popularity is the Bhato's land reform laws which somehow helped the poor people of

Dir to escape from the local khans' control. And also helped those who do not own lands, they get control of those lands which they were farming for *khans*.

CHAPTER. 4

VOTING PATTERN IN DISTRICTS OF DIR:

A LOOK AT THE DATA

This chapter presents descriptive data collected from the sample of the survey conducted in Districts of Dir. It consists of responses provided by the participants of the research. The chapter provides tabulated data collected from respondents in aggregated form. In order to avoid unnecessary details and reduce the extent of this chapter, the tables of different variables are placed in the appendix (See appendix. 2).

The data provided in the table is described in order of the questions asked and the respondents were provided with multiple choices, like if a statement is given, then there are multiple options such as 'agree', 'strongly agree', 'to some extent agree', 'disagree', and 'to some extent disagree' etc. So the researcher has tried to give the aggregate average of the responses in affirmative options and the same in the negative options. With the same strategy, the researcher has also ignored some options which were not addressed by the respondents during the survey. However, if it had any value to point out it was mentioned and discussed.

The following findings are the product of the survey conducted from 896 samples from the population of the registered voters in Districts of Dir through a questionnaire. This data has been collected through the non-probability sampling method. The rationale behind this method was the geographical location of the Districts as getting access was almost impossible. Moreover, the prevailing traditional norms in the areas also did not allow men to meet with females directly for any academic pursuit. Therefore, this method has been adopted to make the study possible.

Interest in Politics

The results of this table show that the majority of residents of Dir are interested in politics. The more individuals who partake in a democracy, the more democratic it becomes (Tocqueville, 1839). Russell J. Dalton argues that the problem lies with the association gap: the well-off are more involved in policy while the underprivileged vote less and are deprived of the means to lobby for the change (Russell J Dalton, 1988). Therefore, the high number of participation in the electoral process is a good sign for the political system. The interest in politics in the context of Dir is wide and deeply rooted. The people of Dir are more politically aware in the region comparatively (Baidar, personal communication, Aug 30, 2020). Fakhruzaman, the PTI leader says that the youth and women are basically motivated politically by Imran Khan, otherwise, they never had any interest in politics, and this is the main reason that PTI got more votes in both Districts (Fakhar, personal communication, Aug 30, 20).

Are you interested in politics?

Table 11

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	6	.7	.7	.7
	To large extent agree	291	32.5	32.5	33.1
	To smaller extent agree	89	9.9	9.9	43.1
	To some extent agree	508	56.7	56.7	99.8
	Unknown	2	.2	.2	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author’s own construction

A large number of the respondents were affirmative in response to a question regarding their interest in politics. Accumulating the results of the options such as; to large extent, to some extent, and to a small extent, aggregated 99%. It means that 99% of the respondents were interested in politics. To take it in the given options, 32% of the respondents had an interest in politics to a large extent while 56% to some extent and 9% to a small extent.

Age-wise interest

Seeking the in-depth understanding, looking at the age-wise variable for knowing that how much interest each age group had in politics. It was found that 21% of the 18-25 years age group has the interest in politics. This percentage is an accumulative average of an agreement to the statement to the large extent, to a smaller extent and to some extent. The age group 26-35 are found interested in politics to 30%. This percentage is high among all, but in each aspect, the result comes high from this age group. 36-45 age group is 25%, 46-60% age group is 18% and 60+ is only 5% interested in politics. But the number is zero when it comes to the not interested column though some responses still remain unknown. This means that majority of the participants are interested in politics but their interest varies from the large extent to the smaller one (see appendix-2 table 102).

Education-wise interest

To see the result education-wise, 39% of participants who are under the matric (middle and primary levels) are interested in politics, 13% matric, 11% intermediate, 16% Bachelor and 13% of Master level participants are interested in politics, and only 2% of religious educated had an interest in politics. A high number of under matric level participants showed that their interest in politics. This means that political awareness is not necessarily linked with education in these districts. One of the reasons that Mr. Rehaman had mentioned was that education came to Dir valley in the 1980s, therefore, it cannot be the main determinant for many prevailing trends (Mr. Rehman, personal communication, March 15, 2020) (see appendix-2, table 103).

Gender wise interest

According to Gender-wise results, 77% of males are interested in politics while 16% female are interested in politics. The percentage varies from larger extent to the smaller

one. The percentage of male participants is high and it was due to the selection of the high number of male samples comparatively. Likewise, the female voters had only participated in the 2018 general elections, before this election, the female had not participated in any general elections (see appendix-2, table 104). Even though females are not educated and trained in terms of politics but their participation level after the mandatory regulation is satisfied (Khabir, personal communication, Aug 29, 2020).

Region-wise interest

In the urban-rural division, 50% of those participants who live in urban areas are interested in politics while 49% of those who live in rural areas are interested in politics. The result proves that the overwhelmed majority of the residents of the Districts of Dir is taking interest in the politics although the level of interest varies from the larger extent to the smaller one (see appendix-2 table 105).

Profession-wise interest

The profession-wise result is as follows: 24% are doing personal business, 24% government employees, 17% Labor, 22% availed private jobs and 10% students had said that they are interested in politics (see appendix-2, table 106).

The Main Source of Information about Politics

The sources of information had a great role in the whole political structure. Therefore, the modern media had a great impact on democratic governance and political practices. They have fundamentally reformed the conducts in which the government organizations function and political leaders interconnect. They also redefined the system in which elections are contested, and the way citizens engage in politics (R. Davis, O, Diana, 1998).

What is your main source of information about politics?

Table 12

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Family	46	5.1	5.1	5.1
	News paper	127	14.2	14.2	19.3
	Political peer or party	27	3.0	3.0	22.3
	Radio	12	1.3	1.3	23.7
	Social Media	547	61.0	61.0	84.7
	TV	135	15.1	15.1	99.8
	Unknown	2	.2	.2	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author's own construction

When the respondents were inquired about their main source of information about politics. A very huge percentage 61% said that they rely on social media. While 15% said they use TV to get updated on political affairs, and 14.2% said that they preferred new papers for the political news.

Age-wise source of information

The age-wise responses show that 16% age group of 18-25 said that their main source of information about politics is social media, and only 4% of them rely on TV in this regard. Likewise, age group, 26-35 22%, get political information from social media, and only 4% rely on TV. 14% from age group 36-45 get their information from social media. The age group 46-60 is using social media 7% in this regard, while 5% rely on newspapers. The age group 60+ rely on social media only 2% and the same percentage is about newspaper and they rely on radio and TV only 1% (see appendix-2, table 107).

Education-wise source of information

The education-wise responses are, 22% under matric using social media, 4% newspaper, 8% TV and 4% rely on family as their main source of information about politics. Matriculation 7% social media, and only 35 rely on newspaper. Intermediate rely 7% on social media and 2% on newspaper. Bachelor 12% rely on social media, while only 2% on newspaper. Those who accomplished Master 11% rely on social

media the same percentage is of the MPhil too. Religious education graduates rely on newspapers 1% and they avoid other mediums. Mr. Attaullah a political activist has said that people who are graduated from religious seminaries are mostly serving the community in religious rituals. First, they do not like to use TV or other social media platforms, but if they do they do not want others to know about it. According to him, the public does not expect them to be involved in such things, and that impression is made by these religious people themselves (Mr. Attaullah, personal communication, March 10, 2020) (see appendix-2, table 108).

Gender wise source of information

The Gender wise result is 55% of males rely on social media, 13% on newspapers, 10% on TV, and only 1% on the family as the main source of getting information about politics. While, 6% females rely on social media, 4% on family, 5% on TV and only 1% on newspaper as a main source of political information (see appendix-2, table 109).

An aged female (Taha bibi) says, that whatever the female pretend to say, but the reality is that they were secluded from the political arena for decades, as now female became part of the political activities and that is only limited to the electoral process, so they just follow the males to vote for a specific party. According to her, most women are not aware of the political parties' symbols therefore they are guided just to stamp a specific symbol, mostly do not know if asked after to whom they vote (Taha bibi, personal communication, April 2, 2020).

Region-wise source of information

Rural and urban category result, in response to identifying the main source of political information, those who live in urban areas, are relying on social media 38%, family 3%, newspaper 4%, TV 3% and political parties only 1%. While those who live in rural

areas, 23% rely on social media, 10% on newspapers, 12% on TV and only 2% on political parties (see appendix- table 110).

Profession-wise source of information

Profession-wise 14% of those who do some kind of business are relying on social media, 3% on newspapers, and 3% on TV. The government employees 14% rely on social media, 6% on newspaper and 3% on TV. Labor 6% rely on TV, 4% on family, 4% on social media, and 2% on newspaper. For those who do private jobs, 16% rely on social media and 3% on newspapers. Students 11% rely on social media, 1% on family and 1% on TV (see appendix-2, table 111).

The Basic Motive for the Participation in Voting Process

People vote mostly since they are motivated by a civic duty or due to their affiliation to a specific political party, or even some do it because of religious reasons. In these findings, the majority of people have been motivated due to civic duty while religious reasons and political affiliation follow it with the same number. The social rewards and retributions are related to voting. The monitoring by the political class within the community plays an important role in this regard, sometimes, the voter mobilization making electoral competition which inspires others to partake in the electoral process (A, S. Najeeb, and L. Charles, 2013).

In your opinion, what is the basic motive for the participation in the voting process?

Table 13

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Because to candidate or party highlighted important issues	58	6.5	6.5	6.5
	Due to the affiliation of political party	246	27.5	27.5	33.9
	On the basis of religion	244	27.2	27.2	61.2
	Other	4	.4	.4	61.6
	Relation with the candidate	14	1.6	1.6	63.2
	To perform civic duty	313	34.9	34.9	98.1
	To serve personal interest	16	1.8	1.8	99.9
	Unknown	1	.1	.1	100.0

	Total	89%	100.0	100.0	
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Source: Author’s own construction

The participants responded to the question asked about the basic motives for their participation in politics as 34% of them said that they participate in this process to perform a civic duty. While 27% said that they are taking part in this process due to their affiliation with the political party. Interestingly, 27% said that they do it on the basis of religion.

Age-wise motive

In age-wise responses, 6% of the age group 18-25 said that the basic motives behind the participation in the electoral process are religion, 8% said that it is to perform the civic duty, and 5% said the basic motive is the affiliation with a political party. 7% age group 26-35 says that the basic motives for participation in the electoral process are religion, 12% of the same group says that to perform the civic duty and 8% says it is due to the affiliation with a political party. Out of the age group of 36-45, 8% said their motivation is on the basis of religion, 8% said it is to perform the civic duty and 6% said that they are motivated in the electoral process due to the party affiliation. In the age group of 46-60, 5% said that the basic motive behind the participation in the electoral process is religion, 5% said it is to perform the civic duty, while 6% said that the motive is the affiliation with a political party. In the age group of 60+, 2% said that religion is the basic motive behind the participation in the electoral process, 1% said it is to perform the civic duty, while only 2% said the basic motive if the affiliation with a political party (see appendix-2, table 112).

Education-wise motive

Education-wise variable shows that 15% under matric (middle and primary level) participants said that the basic motive in participation in the electoral process is religion.

The same percentage in this category goes to the basic reason for performing civic duty, while 4% said that it is due to the affiliation with a political party. In the category of matric, 4% said that the basic motive is to perform the civic duty and 6% said that it is due to the affiliation with a political party. The remaining categories do not show a prominent response to this question, only 3% in the intermediate, bachelor and master said that religion is the basic motive behind the participation in the electoral process, while 4% in the Bachelor category said that it is to perform the civic duty, and 6% in Master has the same response (see appendix-2, table 113).

Gender-wise motive

In gender-wise result, 20% of males said that the basic motive behind the participation in the electoral process is religion, 31% said it is to perform civic duty, 23% said it is political affiliation, 6% said that the candidate or political party highlighted an important issue, only 1% said it was the personal interest. While 7% of females said that the basic motive was religion, 4% said it was to perform civic duty the same percentage said it was due to political affiliation and only one percent said the basic motive behind the participation in the electoral process was personal interest (see appendix-2, table 114).

Regional-wise motive

To see the variable of rural and urban category, 10% of those who live in rural areas said that the basic motive is religion, 13% said that it is to perform the civic duty, 17% said it is the affiliation with a political party and only 5% said that the party or the candidate highlighted an important issue. For those who live in urban area, 17% said that the basic motive of participation in the electoral process is religion, 22% said it is to perform the civic duty, 10% said it is due to the affiliation with a political party and

only one percent said because the party or candidate highlighted an important issue (appendix-2, table 115).

Profession-wise motive

Regarding professions, 5% of those who were involved in business had said that the basic motive of participation in the electoral process is religion, 8% said that it is due to the performing of civic duty and 6% said it is political affiliation. 5% of labor said that religion is the basic motive of participation, 4% said to perform the civic duty, 5% said it is due to political affiliation. 5% of government employees said that religion is the basic motive, 8% said it is the civic duty, 8% said it is the political affiliation. 7% of those who do private jobs said that religion is the basic motive behind the participation in the electoral process, 8% said it is to perform the civic duty, 5% said it is the political affiliation. In students 4% declared religion the basic motive, 6% said it the civic duty and 3% said the basic motive is the political party affiliation (appendix-2, table 116).

Discussing Electoral Politics with other People

Do you discuss electoral politics with other people?

Table 14

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	97	10.8	10.8	10.8
	Yes	799	89.2	89.2	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author's own construction

The majority of participants 896 i.e. 89% affirmed that they are discussing politics with other people. In age-wise variable, 18-25, 17% said they discuss electoral politics with other people and 3% said they do not discuss it with other people. In the age group 26-35, 28% said that they do discuss electoral politics and only 3% said they do not discuss it. In the age group of 36-45, 22% said that they discuss electoral politics and 3% said

they do not discuss it. In the age group 46-60, 17% said they do discuss electoral politics and only 2% said they do not discuss it with other people. In 60+, only 6% said they discuss electoral politics with other people (appendix-2, table 117).

Education-wise result

Education-wise, 33% under matric level participants said that they discuss electoral politics with other people, and 6% said they do not. 13% of matriculated participants are affirmative while only 1% said that they do not discuss it. 10% of intermediate-level participants said that they discuss electoral politics with other people while 2% said they do not discuss it. 15% bachelor level said that they discuss it while 1% said they do not. Master level, 14% of participants discuss electoral politics with other people and 3% are those who got religious education and discuss electoral politics with other people (appendix-2, table 118).

Gender-wise result

Gender-wise, 78% of males said that they are discussing electoral politics with other people and 5% said that they do not discuss it. While, 11% of females said that they discuss electoral politics with other people and 6% said they do not discuss it with other people (appendix-2, table 119).

If yes, then with whom?

Table15

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	NA	97	10.8	10.8	10.8
	Other	2	.2	.2	11.0
	With all	147	16.4	16.4	27.5
	With different level leaders	38	4.2	4.2	31.7
	With family and relatives	56	6.3	6.3	37.9
	With friends	496	55.4	55.4	93.3
	With political members	60	6.7	6.7	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author's own construction

When the participants were asked if they discuss politics with other people then who they prefer to discuss with, or mostly with whom they have this conversation. Mostly 55% said that they discuss it with their friends. 6% said that they discuss it with the political members, while 16% said that they are having this discussion with friends, family, relatives and political members.

Age-wise result

The age-wise respondents were asked if they are discussing electoral politics then with whom they discuss it. Around 12% of age group 18-25 said that they discuss it with their friends, 1% of this group said that they discuss it with the political parties' members and 2% said they discuss electoral politics with friends, family and political members. 17% of the age group 26-35 said that they discuss electoral politics with friends, 3% said they discuss it with political parties members and 5% said that they discuss it with all. 12% of the age group 46-60 said they discuss electoral politics with friends, 2% said that they discuss it with political members and 4% said that they discuss it with all people. 10% of the age group 46-60 said that they discuss electoral politics with their friends, 1% said they discuss it with political members and 4% said they discuss electoral politics with all people. While 4% of the age group 60+ said that they discuss electoral politics with friends (appendix-2, table 120).

Education-wise result

Education-wise data shows that 22% under matric level participants discuss electoral politics with friends, 35 said they discuss it with the family members, 3% said they discuss electoral politics with the political members, while 5% said they discuss it with all. 8% Matric level participants said they discuss it with friends and 3% said they discuss it with all. 6% Intermediate, 10% Bachelor and 8% Master level participants said that they discuss electoral politics with their friends (appendix-2, table 121).

Gender-wise result

In gender-wise data, 50% of males said that they discuss electoral politics with their friends, 2% said they discuss it with their family, 6% said they discuss it with the political members and 16% said they discuss it with all. While 5% of females said they discuss electoral politics with their friends, 4% said they discuss it with their family, and only 1% said they discuss it with all (appendix-2, table 122).

Attending rallies of political parties during the election campaign

Do you attend rallies of political parties or candidates?

Table 16

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	216	24.1	24.1	24.1
	Rarely	442	49.3	49.3	73.4
	Regularly	238	26.6	26.6	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author's own construction

Respondents were asked about the different rallies held during the election campaign by the political parties or independent candidates, whether they attend them or not? In response, 26% of the participants said that they attend these rallies on regular basis, while 49% said that they attend these rallies rarely. But 24% of participants said that they do not attend these political rallies at all.

Age-wise attendance

In the age-wise data, 18-25 age group, around 6% participants said that they attend the rallies of political parties on the regular bases, 10% said they attend it rarely, while 5% said they do not attend these rallies. In the age group 26-35, 8% of participants said that they attend these rallies on regular basis, 14% said that attend it rarely and 9% said they do not attend these rallies. In the age group of 36-45, 7% participants said they attend these rallies on regular basis, 12% said they attend them on the rarely basis and 6% said

they do not attend these rallies. In the age group of 46-6-, 5% participants said they attend these rallies on regular basis, 10% said they attend them on rarely basis and 3% said they do not attend them. In the 60+ age group, 1% said they attend these rallies on regular basis, 4% said they attend these rallies on rarely basis, while, 1% said they do not attend these rallies (appendix-2, table 123).

Education-wise attendance

Education-wise data shows that 8% under matric level respondents attend political rallies on regular basis, 21% on rarely basis and 10% said they do not attend these rallies. 5% Matric level respondents said that attend these rallies on regular basis, 6% said they attend on rarely basis and 3% said they do not attend these rallies. 3% intermediate level respondents said they attend these rallies on regular basis, 5% said they attend on rarely basis and 4% said they do not attend these rallies. 5% of Bachelor level respondents said they attend these rallies on regular basis, 8% said they attend these rallies on rarely basis and 4% said they do not attend these rallies. 5% of Master level respondents said they attend these rallies on regular basis, 7% said they attend them on rarely basis, and 3% said they do not attend these rallies. While religious educated respondents were the least active in this regard, 1% of them said they attend these rallies on regular basis and 1% said that they attend these rallies on rarely basis (appendix-2, table 124).

Gender-wise attendance

In gender-wise results, 25% of males said that they are attending political parties rallies on regular basis, 48% said that they attend them on rarely basis and 11% said they do not attend these rallies. While 1% of females said that they attend these rallies on regular basis, 2% said they attend them on rarely basis and 13% said they do not attend these rallies (appendix-2, table 125). Even though women were not allowed to participate in

the electoral process, but religious party like JI has trained its women members in different programs, therefore their participation and awareness are much higher than other women (Sultanat Yar, personal communication, Sep 5, 2020).

Regional-wise attendance

In rural-urban division, those participants who live in rural area, 13% of them attend political rallies on regular basis, 22% said they attend them on rarely basis and 15% said they do not attend them. While 14% of those who live in the urban area said that they attend these rallies on regular basis, 28% said that attend them on rarely basis and 9% said they do not attend these rallies (appendix-2, table 126).

Profession wise attendance

In the category of professions, 7% of those who do their own business are attending the rallies conducted by political parties on regular basis, 14% of them attend these rallies on rarely and 2% do not attend these rallies. 6% of government employees said that they attend these rallies on regular basis, 13% said they attend them rarely and 5% said they do not attend these rallies. 3% labor class attend these rallies on regular basis, 5% rarely and 9% do not attend these rallies. 7% of private jobs holder attend these rallies on regular basis, 11% rarely and 4% do not attend them. While 4% of students attend these rallies on regular basis, 6% rarely and 4% do not attend these rallies (appendix-2, table 127).

Convincing Others to Vote for Your Favorite Political Party or Candidate

Have you ever convinced others to vote for your favorite political party or candidate?

Table 17

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
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Valid	No	152	17.0	17.0	17.0
	NR	5	.6	.6	17.5
	Yes	739	82.5	82.5	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author's own construction

As mentioned above that most participants take part in the electoral process due to their party affiliation. In response to the question about convincing others to vote for the party or your candidate, 82% of respondents said that they did convince people to vote for their favorite party or candidate, while 17% said they did not convince others.

Age-wise response

In the age-wise category, the age group of 18-25, 16% said that they have convinced others to vote for their favorite political party, and 5% said they did not convince others. In the age group of 26-35, 25% said that they have convinced others to cast vote in their interest and 5% said that they did not convince others. In the age group of 36-45, 21% said that they have convinced others, while 4% said they did not. In the age group of 46-60, 16% said that they have convinced others to vote for their favorite political party, while, 3% said that they did not convince others. In the age group of 60+, 5% said that they tried to convince others to cast vote for their favorite political party, while, only one percent said that they did not try to convince others to vote for their favorite political party (appendix-2, table 128).

Education-wise response

In the category of education, 31% participants of under matric level said that they have convinced others to vote for their favorite party, and 8% said they did not convince others. 11% of Matric level respondents said that they have convinced others to vote for their favorite political party and 3% said they did not convince others in this regard. 10% of the intermediate level respondents said that they have convinced others and only 2% said that they did not convince others. 14% of bachelor level said that they

have convinced others to vote for their favorite political party and only 2% said that they did not convince others. 13% of participants of Master level said that they have convinced others to vote for their favorite political party, while only 2% said that they did not convince others. In the category of religious education, only 3% of respondents said that they have convinced others to vote for their favorite political party (appendix-2, table 129).

Gender-wise response

Gender-wise, 70% of male respondents said that they have convinced others to vote for their favorite political party, while 14% said that they did not convince others. Likewise, 13% of female respondents said that they have convinced others to vote for their favorite political party and only 3% said that did not convince others to vote for their favorite political party (appendix-2, table 130).

According to Malik Fakhruzaman, the first member of PTI in the Districts of Dir, we got more votes from women voters in Dir, this means that PTI women have influenced others to vote in their favor (Fakhar, personal communication, Aug 30, 2020). Even though Sultanat yar provincial candidate of JI from Lower Dir, differ from this claim, and he blamed the electoral officers for rigging the process by exploiting women's ignorance of the electoral process in the favor of PTI (Sutanat yar, personal communication, Sep 5, 2020).

Do you believe in Speeches Delivered by Candidates during the Election Campaign?

People of Dir are aware of political maneuvering so you cannot make false promises, if you did then you are rejected. Though the people believe in whatever you say in your

speech during the elections, one should be careful about what he says (Baidar, personal communication, Aug 30, 2020).

Table 18

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	144	16.1	16.1	16.1
	No	20	2.2	2.2	18.3
	To large extent agree	194	21.7	21.7	40.0
	To some extent agree	538	60.0	60.0	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author's own construction

To know the level of trust in the politicians, specifically during the election campaign, a question was asked from the participants, that do they believe in the speeches delivered by the candidates during the election campaign? 98% of the participants said that they believe in the speeches of political candidates during the election campaign and only 2% said that they do not believe in such speeches. This result shows the highest level of trust from the voters in the politicians. Although the trust level varies from the larger extent to the smaller one, in believing in these speeches, but altogether the response of this number is affirmative.

Age-wise response

In the age-wise category, 20% of the age group 18-25 said that they believe in the speeches of political candidates during the election campaign. 30% of the age group of 26-35 said that they believe in these speeches, 24% of the age group 36-45 said that they believe in such speeches, 17% of the age group 46-60 said that they believe in these speeches, while, only 6% of age group 60+ said that they believe in the speeches of political candidates during the election campaign (appendix-2, table 131).

Education-wise response

In the education-wise variable, the result is, 38% under matric level respondents said that they believe in the speeches of political candidates during the election campaign, 13% Matric level, 12% Intermediate level, 16% Bachelor level, 15% Master level and only 2% religious education level respondents said that they believe in the speeches of political candidates during the election campaign (appendix-2, table 132).

Gender-wise response

In gender-wise results, 82% of male respondents said that they believe in the speeches of the political candidates during the election campaign, while 1%5% of female said that they believe in such speeches. The result varies from agree to the large extent in the affirmative mode (appendix-2, table 133).

Politicians are the ones who can solve Political and Economic Problems.

Table 19

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	526	58.7	58.7	58.7
	Disagree	68	7.6	7.6	66.3
	I Don't Know	26	2.9	2.9	69.2
	Strongly Agree	276	30.8	30.8	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author's own construction

When the respondents were asked about their confidence in the politicians regarding the solution to the political and economic problems. 58% were agreed that politicians can solve these problems, while 30% were strongly agreed with this statement. Only 7% of respondents said that they do not agree with this statement. But the majority of the participants go with this statement affirmatively. Which is a good sign in terms of the trust in the politicians.

Age-wise response

In the age-wise category, 19% of respondents of the age group of 18-25 agree to the statement that only politicians can solve the political and economic issues while only one percent disagree in the same group with this statement. 27% of respondents of the age group of 26-35 agree with the statement, while 1% do not agree. 18% of respondents of the age group of 36-45 said that they agree with the statement, while, only 3% disagree with this statement. 17% of respondents of the age group of 45-60 said that they agree to the statement and only one percent said they do not agree. And 6% of respondents of the age group of 60+ agreed to the statement that only politicians can solve the political and economic issues (appendix-2, table 134).

Education-wise response

Education-wise, 32% respondents of under matric level agreed that only politicians can solve the political and economic issues, while, 5% disagreed with this statement. 12% of respondents of Matric level agreed to this statement and 1% disagreed. 12% of Intermediate level agreed to this statement and 1% disagreed. 16% of respondents of Bachelor level agreed to this statement that only politicians can solve the issues. 12% Master level respondents agreed to the statement while only 3% of religious education holders agreed that only politicians can solve political and economic issues (appendix-2, table 135).

Gender-wise response

In gender-wise result, 75% of male respondents said that they agree with the statement, that, Only politicians can solve the political and economic issues, while, 7% disagreed with this statement. 14% of female respondents said that they agree with this statement and only 1% disagree with this statement (appendix-2, table 136).

Region-wise response

In the rural-urban category, 42% of those who live in the rural area agreed to the statement that politicians are the ones who can solve the political and economic issues and 5% disagree with this statement. While, 47% of those respondents who live in the urban areas agreed with this statement and only 3% disagreed with it (appendix-2, table 137).

When have you exercised your Right to Vote for the First Time?

Table 20

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1970	4	.4	.4	.4
	1977	6	.7	.7	1.1
	1988	33	3.7	3.7	4.8
	1990	27	3.0	3.0	7.8
	1993	44	4.9	4.9	12.7
	1997	108	12.1	12.1	24.8
	2002	152	17.0	17.0	41.7
	2008	127	14.2	14.2	55.9
	2013	205	22.9	22.9	78.8
	2018	190	21.2	21.2	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author’s own construction

When the survey participation asked about their vote casting for the first time. The highest number 22% said that they voted for the first time in the 2013 elections, while near to it 21% said that they casted their vote in 2018 for the first time. 14% in 2013 while 17% said they voted for the first time in 2002.

How many Elections have you participated in above-Mentioned Elections?

Table 21

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In 1 elections	368	41.1	41.1	41.1
	In 2 elections	153	17.1	17.1	58.1
	In 3 elections	102	11.4	11.4	69.5
	In 4 elections	105	11.7	11.7	81.3

In 5 elections	115	12.8	12.8	94.1
In 7 elections	24	2.7	2.7	96.8
In 8 elections	18	2.0	2.0	98.8
In 9 elections	1	.1	.1	98.9
In all elections	6	.7	.7	99.6
NR	4	.4	.4	100.0
Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author's own construction

The question has been asked, that in how many elections you have participated in the above-mentioned elections. In response to this 41% said they participated in one election, 17% said two elections, 12% mentioned five elections, while, 11% said three and four elections respectively.

Voting for the same Party in National and Provincial Elections

Table 22

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	39	4.4	4.4	4.4
	Yes	857	95.6	95.6	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author's own construction

When participants were asked whether they vote for the same party in general elections, for the national and provincial seats. 95.6% said yes they vote for the same party, while, 4.4% said that they do not vote for the same party.

Whether the voters vote for the same party in national and provincial elections or not, in response to this question, in the age group of 18-25, 20% said that they vote for the same party, in the age group of 26-35, 29% said that they vote for the same party, in the age group of 36-45, 24% said that they vote for the same party, in the age group of 46-60, 17% said that they vote for the same party in both elections, while, in the age group of 60+, 6% said that they vote for the same party in national and provincial elections (appendix-2, table 138).

Education-wise response

In the education-wise category, 37% of under matric level participants said that they vote for the same party in both elections, 13% Matric level participants said that they vote for the same party, 12% of Intermediate level said that they vote for the same party, 15% of Bachelor level said that they vote for the same party, 13% of the Master level said that they vote for the same party, 1% of the MPhil level said that they vote for the same party, while, 3% of religious educated participants said that they vote for the same party in national and provincial elections (appendix-2, table 139).

Gender-wise response

In gender-wise responses, 79% of male participants said that they vote for the same party in national and provincial elections, while 16% of female participants said that they vote for the same party in both elections, only 4% of male respondents said that they do not necessarily vote for the same party in both elections (appendix-2, table 140).

Region-wise response

In the rural-urban division, 46% of those who live in the rural area said that they vote for the same party in national and provincial elections, and only 3% said they do not vote for the same party. While, 50% of those respondents who live in the urban area said that they vote for the same party in national and provincial elections (appendix-2, table 141).

Political Affiliation

According to Professor Abdul Khabir, party affiliation has importance for the people, he said, it is the traditional norm, that when you support someone then you have to stand by him till the last, but still, the loyalties can be changed if someone's family or political opponent in mostly cases cousins are in one party then people mostly change

their parties, he named this phenomena ‘Phukhto’ it is a kind of egoism. According to him, now the trend is changing and especially the youth are changing their loyalties on the basis of developmental approach (Khabir, personal communication, Aug 29, 2020).

Have you ever changed your political party?

Table 23

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	666	74.3	74.3	74.3
	NR	7	.8	.8	75.1
	Yes	223	24.9	24.9	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author’s own construction

The participants of this survey were asked, that, have they ever changed their political affiliation from one party to another? 74% of participants said that they have not changed their political party affiliation ever. While 25% of participants said that they have changed their political parties.

Age-wise affiliation

Age-wise participants responses are, 19% of age group 18-25 said that have not changed their political party and 1% said yes, they have changed their political party. 23% of the age group 26-35 said that they have not changed their political party, and 7% said yes, they have changed their political party. 16% of the age group of 36-45 said that they have not changed their political party yet and 8% said they have changed it. 13% of the age group of 46-60 said that they have not changed their political party yet, and 5% said they have changed it. While, 4% of the age group of 60+ said that they have not changed their political party yet, and only 2% of them said they have changed it (appendix-2, table 142).

Education-wise affiliation

The ratio of the responses in the educational category, 28% under matric level said that they have not changed their political party yet, while, 11% said yes, they have changed their political party. 9% of Matric level participants said that they have not changed their political party and only 4% of them said that yes, they have changed their party. 10% of intermediate level said that they have not changed their political party and 3% of them said yes, they have changed their party. 13% of Bachelor level qualified participants said that they have not changed their political party, and only 3% said yes, they have changed it. 12% of Master level respondents said that they have not changed their political party yet, while, only 3% said yes, they have changed their party. Only 3% of those who are qualified in religious education said that they have not changed their political party (appendix-2, table 143).

Gender-wise affiliation

In gender-wise responses, 60% of males said that they have not changed their political party, and only 23% said that yes, they have changed their political party. While, 14% of females said that they have not changed their political party and only 2% said yes, they have changed their political affiliation (appendix-2, table 144).

Region-wise affiliation

To see the responses in the rural and urban division, 32% of those who live in the rural area, said that they have not changed their political affiliation, and 17% said yes, they have changed their political affiliation. While, 42% of those who live in the urban area, said that they have not changed their political affiliation and only 8% of them said yes, they have changed their political affiliation (appendix-2, table 145).

Profession-wise affiliation

In profession-wise variable, 17% of those who do business said that they had not changed their political affiliation yet and 7% of them said yes, they have changed it. 17% of government employees said that they have not changed their political affiliation while 7% said yes, they have changed it. 11% of labor said they have not changed their political affiliation and only 5% said they have changed it. 17% of private job holders said that they have not changed their political affiliation, while only 1% said that they have changed it (appendix-2, table 146).

Have you ever decided not to Vote?

Table 24

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	739	82.5	82.5	82.5
	Yes	157	17.5	17.5	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author's own construction

In response to the question that have you ever decided not to vote? 82% of respondents said that they have not taken this decision in their lives, while, 17% said that they have decided not to vote for any candidate or political party.

Age-wise response

In age wise category, 20% of the age group of 18-25 years old said, that they have not decided for abandoning the vote casting ever. 26% of the age group of 26-35 said, that they have not decided so, while, 4% of them said that they have decided not to vote. 18% age group of 36-45 said, that they have not decided, and 7% of them said that they have decided so. 13% age group of 46-60 said that they have not decided but 5% said that they have decided so. 5% of the age group of 60+ said that they have not decided not to vote, while, only 1% said that they have decided not to vote to any political party or candidate (appendix-2, table 147).

Education-wise response

Education-wise data shows that 34% under matric level respondents said that they have not decided not to vote, and 5% of them said that yes, they have decided not to vote. 10% of Matric level respondents said that they have not decided not to vote and only 3% of them said that they have decided so. 10% of intermediate-level respondents said that they have not decided not to vote, and only 2% of them said that they have decided not to vote. 14% of Bachelor level participants said that they have not decided not to vote while only 2% of them said that they have decided so. 10% of Master level participants said that they have not decided not to vote, while 4% of them said that they have decided so. And only 3% of religious education holders said that they have not decided not to vote (appendix-2, table 148).

Gender wise response

In gender-wise data, 67% of males said that they have not decided not to vote, while, 17% of them said that they have decided for abandoning the vote casting to any political party or candidate. 16% of females said that they have not decided not to vote for any party (appendix-2, table 149).

Region-wise response

In rural and urban division, 39% of those who live in the rural area said that they have not decided not to vote, while, 10% of them said that they have decided so. 44% of those who live in the urban area said that they have not decided not to vote, while, 7% of them said that they have decided not to vote to any political party or candidate during the general election (appendix-2, table 150).

If yes, then when?

Table 25

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In 2002 elections	9	.9	.9	.9
	In 2008 elections	137	15.3	15.3	16.2
	In 2013 elections	22	2.5	2.5	18.6
	In 2018 elections	12	1.3	1.3	20.0
	Other	131	14.6	14.6	100.0

Source: Author's own construction

If you have decided for not voting then when it happened? 15% participants said they decided not to vote in 2008 election while 14% were affirmative but they did not specify the election year.

Why you decided not to vote?

Table 26

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Because my favorite party/candidate has boycotted	137	15.3	15.3	15.3
	Due to some personal reasons	24	2.7	2.7	18.0
	My name was not included in the voter list	3	.3	.3	18.3
	On duty as polling officer	1	.1	.1	95.0
	On the basis of religion	27	3.0	3.0	98.0
	Others	2	.2	.2	98.2
	Polling Station was not accessible	2	.2	.2	98.4
	There was no deserving candidate	14	1.6	1.6	100.0

Source: Author's own construction

In this regard, another important question was asked that why you have decided not to vote? 15% respondents said that their political party boycotted the election, therefore, they decided not to vote while 3% said they decided so due to religious matters and only 2.7% said they did not vote due to their personal matters.

Age-wise response

In the age-wise category, 5% of age group 36-45 years old respondents said that they have decided not to vote because their favorite political party or candidate boycotted the election. While 5% of the age group of 46-60 years old participants said that they have also decided not to vote because their favorite political party or candidate has boycotted the elections (appendix-2, table 151).

Gender wise response

Gender-wise responses show that 15% of males said that they have decided not to vote because their favorite political party has boycotted the election, 3% said due to some personal reasons, 2% said due to religious reasons while 2% said that there was not a deserving candidate (appendix-2, table 152).

Region-wise response

In rural and urban divisions, 10% of those who live in rural areas said that they have decided not to vote because their favorite political party has boycotted the elections. While 5% of those who live in urban areas said that they have decided so because their favorite political party has boycotted, 2% of them said that due to some personal reasons and 3% of them said due to some religious reasons (appendix-2, table 153). Mr. Afzal and a staunch political activist said that majority of people in the districts of Dir are motivated politically by religion as all those who said that they decided not to vote because their favorite political party has boycotted, according to him, it was also a religiously-motivated decision by an Islamic political party that boycotted the election (Mr. Afzal, personal communication, April 3, 2020).

Trust in the Electoral Politics' Impact

Do you think that your vote can make any change?

Table 27

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	I Don't Know	133	14.8	14.8	14.8
	No-	5	.6	.6	15.4
	To large extent agree	251	28.0	28.0	43.4
	To smaller extent agree	22	2.5	2.5	45.9
	To some extent agree	485	54.1	54.1	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author's own construction

Participants were asked whether they think that their vote can make any change. The majority of the respondents 54% answered affirmatively in the category of 'to some extent agree', while 28% were affirmative to large extent. Accumulatively 82% of respondents were positive about the change on the basis of their votes.

Age-wise response

In response to this question, in the age-wise category, 18% of respondents of the age group of 18-25, said that think that their vote can make the change, and only 2% said that they do not know. This affirmative answer varies from the large extent to the smaller extent. 26% of the age group of 26-35 said that they are positive that their vote can makethe change, and 4% of them said that they do not know. 19% of the age group of 36-45 said that they think that their vote can make the change and 4% said that they do not know, whether their vote makes any change or not. 14% of the age group of 46-60 years old think that their vote can make the change and only 3% said that they do not know. 5% of the age group of 60+ years old think that their vote can make the change, while only 2% said that they do not know whether their vote can make any change or not (appendix-2, table 154).

Education-wise response

Education-wise responses show that 32% of under matric level respondents said that they think that their vote can make the change, and 7% of them said that they do not know. 11% of respondents of Matric level think that their vote can make the change and only 3% of them said that they do not know. 10% of respondents of intermediate level think that their vote can make the change and only 2% of them said they do not know about it. 14% of Bachelor level respondents think that their vote can make the change and 2% of them said they do not know. While only 3% of religious educated respondents think that their vote can make the change (appendix-2, table 155).

Gender wise response

In gender-wise responses, 71% of male participants said that they think that their vote can make difference while 12% said that they do not know whether their vote can make any difference or not. While 13% of female respondents think, that their vote can make difference and only 3% of them said that they do not know whether their vote can make any difference or not (appendix-2, table 156).

Region-wise response

In the rural urban division, 39% of those respondents who live in rural area think that their vote can make difference, while 10% of them said they do not know about it. 46% of those respondents who live in urban areas think that their vote can bring difference and only 4% said that they do not know, whether their vote can bring any difference or not (appendix-2, table 157).

Do you Think that Elections Held in Pakistan are usually Free and Fair?

Transparency is a significant norm for valid elections. A transparent electoral procedure is one in which each phase is observable and open to inspection by stakeholders like, political parties, candidates, electoral watchdogs and voters etc., who can verify the process autonomously. Conducting free and fair elections and ensuring transparency in the electoral process helps establish trust and public confidence in the elections, as voters have a procedure to validate the accuracy of the results whether they reflect the will of the people in its true spirits (Agora, 2017).

Table 28

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	If Don't Know	25	2.8	2.8	2.8
	No	232	25.9	25.9	28.7
	To large extent agree	41	4.6	4.6	33.3

	To some extent agree	513	57.3	57.3	90.5
	Yes	85	9.5	9.5	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author's own construction

In response to the above question about the transparency of the election being held in Pakistan, the majority of the respondents 57% were to some extent agreed that the elections are free and fair, 4% to the larger category and 9% agreed that elections are free and fair. While 26% still believe that the elections held in Pakistan are not free and fair.

Age-wise response

In the age-wise category, the respondents of the age group of 18-25 years old, 17% of them said that the elections held in Pakistan are free and fair, and 4% of them said that they do not think that elections held in Pakistan are free and fair. 23% of the age group of 26-35 years old respondents think that elections held in Pakistan are free and fair, 8% of them think that they are not free and fair. 15% of respondents of the age group of 36-45 think that elections held in Pakistan are free and fair while 8% of them think that these elections are not free and fair. 11% of respondents of the age group of 46-60 years old said that they think that elections held in Pakistan are free and fair and 6% of them do not think so. 4% respondents of 60+ age group think that elections held in Pakistan are free and fair while only 1% said that they do not think so (appendix-2, table 158).

Education-wise response

Education-wise responses show that 27% under matric level participants think that the elections held in Pakistan are free and fair as 10% of them said that they do not think so. 7% of Matric level participants said that they think that elections held in Pakistan are free and fair, 5% of them said that they do not think so. 9% of intermediate-level participants said that elections are free and fair, 3% said that they do not think so. 12%

of Bachelor level participants said that they think that elections held in Pakistan are free and fair, 3% of them said that they do not think so. 10% of Master level participants said that they think that elections held in Pakistan are free and fair and only 3% of them think they are not free and fair. While 2% of religious education holder participants said that they think, the elections held in Pakistan are free and fair, only one percent of them do not think so (appendix-2, table 159).

Gender-wise response

Gender-wise, 60% of male respondents said that elections held in Pakistan are free and fair, 10% of them think they are not. While 11% of female respondents said that they think elections held in Pakistan are free and fair and only 4% of them think that these elections are not free and fair (appendix-2, table 160).

Region-wise result

The rural and urban wise result shows that 24% of those respondents who live in rural area think that elections held in Pakistan are free and fair while the same percentage 24% said that these elections are not free and fair. While 48% of those respondents who live in urban areas said that elections held in Pakistan are free and fair and only 2% of them think that these elections are not free and fair (appendix-2, table 161).

Profession-wise response

Profession-wise the results are 16% of those who do business said that they think that elections held in Pakistan are free and fair, and 7% of them said that these elections are not free and fair. 18% of government employees said that they think that elections held in Pakistan are free and fair and 5% said that these elections are not free and fair. 9% of labor said that they think that elections held in Pakistan are free and fair and 6% of them said that these elections are not free and fair. 18% of private job holders think that

elections held in Pakistan are free and fair, and only 4% said that these elections are not free and fair. While, 11% of students said that they think that elections held in Pakistan are free and fair and only 3% of them think that these elections are not free and fair (appendix-2, table 162).

Have you Ever Voted against Your Own Will?

According to Prof. Abdul Khabir, society in Dir is based on traditional norms. In that context, the younger ones in a family have no will to cast their vote as per their choice. But two to three decades earlier, even the families had no choice but to follow the khan or malik of that area. He further added that in the very beginning when the electoral politics started here politicians were just in contact with the community leaders if they were convinced then the whole community was used to vote for that candidate or party. However, slowly this trend was changed and politicians started contacting the family elders if they were convinced then they were voting for that particular candidate or party. But now you have to contact each person, because the social norms are completely changed, and even a son is not voting with the sole choice of his father (Khabir, personal communication, Aug 29, 2020).

Table 29

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	674	75.2	75.2	75.2
	Yes	222	24.8	24.8	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author’s own construction

The participants of this survey were asked whether they ever have voted against their own will? 75% of them said that they never voted against their own will but still a big percentage i.e. 25% said that yes they have voted against their own will. Being a traditional society, the women and the younger ones are influenced to vote for a party

or candidate which the elders have chosen to vote. The following tables' data will describe the detail of those who voted against their will.

Age-wise response

Participants in the age-wise category stated as follows; 19% of the age group of 18-25 years old said that they never have voted against their own will and only 25 of them said that yes, they have voted against their own will. In the age group of 26-35, 25% said that they have not voted against their own will, and 6% said that they have voted against their will. In the age group of 36-45, 18% said that they have not voted against their will, and 7% said they have voted. In the age group of 46-60, 11% said that they have not voted against their will, and 7% said they have voted while 7% of the age group of 60+ said that they have not voted against their own will and still 3% of them said that they have voted against their own will (appendix-2, table 163).

Education-wise response

Education-wise category shows, that 30% of under matric level respondents said that they never voted against their own will and still 9% of them said that they have voted against their own will. 9% of Matric level respondents said that they have never voted against their own will and 5% of them said they have voted. 10% of Intermediate level respondents said that they have not voted against their will and only 2% said that they have voted against their will. 14% of Bachelor level participants said that they have never voted against their will and only 2% said they have voted. 11% of Master level respondents said that they have never voted against their own will and 4% said they have voted. While, only 1% of religious education graduates said that they have never voted against their own will and still 2% of them said that they have voted against their own will (appendix-2, table 164).

Gender wise response

In gender-wise responses, 39% of males said that they had never voted against their own will and 23% of them said that they have voted against their own will. While 14% of females said that they had never voted against their own will and only 2% said that they have voted against their own will (appendix-2, table 165).

Region-wise response

In the rural-urban division, 32% of those respondents who live in the rural-area said that they have never voted against their own will while 17% of them said that they have voted against their own will. 14% of those who live in urban areas said that they have never voted against their own will and only 8% of them said that they have voted against their own will (appendix-2, table 166).

If Yes, then why?

Table 30

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Due to pressure	3	.3	.3	.3
	Due to some economic interests	15	1.7	1.7	2.0
	Due to the family	43	4.8	4.8	6.8
	NA	674	75.2	75.2	82.0
	NR	13	1.5	1.5	83.5
	On the basis of religion	148	16.5	16.5	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author's own construction

The respondents were asked if they have ever voted against their own will then what was the reason for it. 5% of them said it was happened due to the family, 17% of respondents said that they have voted against their own will due to religion, 2% said it was due to some economic interests.

Age-wise response

In the age-wise category; in the age group of 18-25, 1% said that they have voted against their own will due to religious reasons. 3% of the age group of 26-35 said that they have voted against their own will due to religion. 5% of the age group of 36-45 said that they have voted against their own will due to religious reasons, 5% of the age group of 46-60 said the same while 3% of the age group of 60+ said that they went against their own will due to the religious reasons (appendix-2, table 167).

Education-wise response

Education-wise data shows that 5% of under matric level respondents said that they voted against their will due to some religious reasons, and 2% of them said that it was due to the family. 3% of respondents of Matric level said that they voted against their own will due to the religion, 2% respondents of intermediate, Bachelor, Master and Religious education level said that they have voted against their own will due to the religion (appendix-2, table 168).

Gender-wise response

The gender-wise data category shows that 15% of male respondents said that they have voted against their own will due to some religious reasons, and 4% of them said it was due to the family and 2% said that they voted against their own will due to some personal interests. While 1% of female respondents said that they have voted against their own will due to some religious reasons while only 1% said they have voted against their own will due to the family (appendix-2, table 169).

Region-wise response

In the region-wise category, 12% of those who live in the rural areas said that they have voted against their own will due to some religious reasons and 3% of them said they

have voted due to the family while only 1% said it was due to the personal interests. 4% of those who live in the urban area said that they have voted against their own will due to religion, and only 1% said they have done it because of the family (appendix-2, table 170).

What do you Prefer Mostly, Political Party or Candidate in National and Provincial Elections?

Table 31

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Both	400	44.6	44.6	44.6
	Candidate	90	10.0	10.0	54.7
	Other	6	.7	.7	55.4
	Party	384	42.9	42.9	98.2
	Unknown	16	1.8	1.8	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author's own construction

The researcher has asked a question from the participants of this survey that what mostly they prefer, political party or candidate, during the elections to understand their preferences during vote casting. 45% of them said that they prefer both, 10% said that they prefer the candidate while 43% of them said that they prefer the party during the general elections.

Age-wise response

The data result shows in the age-wise category that in the age group of 18-25 years old, 12% said they prefer both (the party and the candidate), 1% said they prefer candidate and 6% said they prefer party. In the age group of 26-35 years old, 13% said they prefer both, 3% said they prefer candidate and 13% said they prefer the party. In the age group of 36-45 years old, 9% said that they prefer both, 3% said they prefer the candidate and 11% said they prefer the party. In the age group of 46-60 years old, 7% of the respondents said they prefer both, 2% said they prefer candidate and 9% said they prefer

the party. While, in the age group of 60+ years old, 3% said they prefer both, and 3% said they prefer the party during the general election (appendix-2, table 171).

Education-wise response

In the response to this question, the result in the education-wise category is as follows; 22% of under matric level respondents said that they prefer both party and the candidate during the election, 4% of them said they prefer the candidate and 13% of them said they prefer the party. 4% of Matric level respondents said that they prefer both party and the candidate during the election, 1% said they prefer the candidate and 8% said they only prefer the party. 5% of intermediate level respondents said that they prefer both party and the candidate during the election, 1% said they prefer the candidate and 6% said they only prefer the party during the election. 7% of Bachelor level respondents said that they prefer both, 2% said they prefer the candidate and 6% said they only prefer the party during the election. 4% of master level respondents said that they prefer both, 1% said they prefer the candidate and 7% said they prefer the party during the election. While 2% of religious education holders said they only prefer the party (appendix-2, table 172).

Gender wise response

In the gender-wise data, 39% of male respondents said that they prefer both the party and the candidate during the election, however, 9% said they only prefer the candidate and 34% said they only prefer the party during the election. While 5% of female respondents said that they prefer both parties and the candidate during the elections, 1% said they only prefer the candidate and 9% of them said that they only prefer the party during the election (appendix-2, table 173).

Region-wise response

In the regional-wise responses, 4% of those who live in the rural areas said that they prefer both the party and the candidate during the election, 8% of them said they only prefer the candidate and 36% of them said that they only prefer the party. While 41% of those respondents who live in urban areas said that they prefer both during the election, 2% of them said they only prefer the candidate and 7% of them said they only prefer the party during the election (appendix-2, table 174).

Electoral Campaigns by Political Parties or Candidates Influence Voters' Decisions.

Table 32

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Disagree	20	2.2	2.2	2.2
	Strongly agree	240	26.8	26.8	29.0
	To some extent agree	621	69.3	69.3	98.3
	Unknown	15	1.7	1.7	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author’s own construction

Respondents were asked about the electoral campaigns by the political parties and candidates’ influence over voter decision whether they agree to this statement or not? 27% of participants were strongly agreed with this statement while 69% were to some extent agreed, aggregately 96% of the participants believed that electoral campaigns by political parties and candidates influence voters’ decisions specifically in vote casting.

Do You Read Various Political Parties' Manifestos before Voting in the Elections?

Table 33

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	233	26.0	26.0	26.0
	NR	13	1.5	1.5	27.5
	Yes	650	72.5	72.5	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author’s own construction

When the participants were asked about the manifestoes of different political parties during the elections whether they read these electoral manifestos or not, 73% of them said that yes they have read these manifestos before voting in the elections. 26% of respondents said that they have not read these manifestos before voting in the elections.

Age-wise response

In the age-wise category, 18% of the age group of 18-25 years old said that they read these manifestos before voting in the elections, and 3% of them said that they do not read these manifestos. 23% of the age group of 26-35 years old said that they read these manifestos before voting in the elections, and 7% of them said that they did not read them. 17% of the age group of 36-45 years old said that they read electoral manifestos, and 7% of them said that they did not read them. 11% of the age group of 46-60 years old respondents said that they read the electoral manifestos and 7% of them said they do not read them. 3% of the age group of 60+ said that they read the electoral manifestos, while, 3% of them said that they do not read them (appendix-2, table 175).

Education-wise response

In the education-wise category, 33% under matric level respondents said that they read the electoral manifestos before voting in the election, 6% of them said they do not read them. 7% of Matric level respondents said that they read these manifestos and 6% of

them said that they do not read them. 9% of intermediate-level participants said that they read the electoral manifestos and 3% of them said that they do not read them. 13% of Bachelor level participants said that they read the electoral manifestos and 3% of them said that they do not read them. While, only 1% of religious educated respondents said that they read these manifestos and 2% of them said that they do not read them (appendix-2, table 176).

Gender-wise response

In the category of gender, 62% of male respondents said that they read the manifestos of the various political parties before the election, 20% of them said that they have not read them. While 10% of female respondents said that they read these electoral manifestos and only 6% of them said that they have not read them (appendix-2, table 177).

Region-wise response

The rural and urban region-wise result shows that 25% of those who live in the rural area read the electoral manifestos issued by various political parties during the elections, while 23% of them said that they do not read these manifestos. 47% of those who live in the urban area said that they read the electoral manifestos and only 3% of them said that they do not read these manifestos (appendix-2, table 178).

Are you affiliated with any Political Party?

Table 34

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	73	8.1	8.1	8.1
	Yes	823	91.9	91.9	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author's own construction

92% of the participants of this survey said that they are affiliated with a political party while only 8% of them said that they are not affiliated with any political party.

Age-wise response

In age-wise data, 20% of the age group of 18-25 years old said that they are affiliated with a political party and 1% of them said that they do not have any affiliation with any political party. 28% of the age group of 26-35 years old said that they have a political affiliation, and only 3% of them said that they do not have any political affiliation. 22% of the age group of 36-45 said that they have political affiliation and only 2% of them said that they do not have any political affiliation. 17% of the age group of 46-60 said that they have political affiliation and only 2% of them said that they do not have any political affiliation. While 6% of the age group of 60+ said that they have a political affiliation, none of them said that they do not have any political affiliation (appendix-2, table 179).

Education-wise response

The result in the educational category shows that 33% of under matric level respondents said that they have political affiliation and 6% of them said that they do not have any political affiliation. 13% of Matric level respondents said that they have a political affiliation, 12% of intermediate level said that they have a political affiliation, 16% of Bachelor level said that they have a political affiliation, while, only 1% of them said that they do not have any political affiliation, 13% of Master level respondents said that they have political affiliation while 1% of them said that they do not have any political affiliation. 3% of religious education graduates said that they have political affiliation with some political parties (appendix-2, table 180).

Gender-wise response

The gender-wise responses show that 77% of male participants said that they have affiliation with political parties while 6% of them said that they have no political affiliation. 15% of female participants said that they have political affiliation while only 2% of them said that they do not have any political affiliation (appendix-2, table 181).

Region-wise response

The rural-urban division responses show that 48% of those who live in the rural area said that they have affiliation with political parties, only 2% of them said that they do not have any political affiliation. While 44% of those who live in the urban area said that they have affiliation with political parties and 6% of them said that they do not have any political affiliation (appendix-2, table 182).

Profession-wise response

In the profession-wise category, 21% of those who do business said that they have a political affiliation, only 2% of them said that they do not have any political affiliation. 22% of government employees said that they have a political affiliation, only 1% of them said that they do not have any political affiliation. 15% labor class said that they have political affiliation and only 1% said that they have not any political affiliation. 20% of private job holders said that they have a political affiliation, 2% said they do not have any political affiliation. While 13% of students said that they have political affiliation and only 1% of them said they do not have any political affiliation (appendix-2, table 183).

For which Party (or electoral coalition) did you Vote in the 2002 Elections?

The majority of respondents supported MMA (Mutahida Majlas-e-Amal) in 2002. This was the case in the whole Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The pattern could be seen in sociological order where religion had an impact on voters. Since the MMA was an alliance of religious parties so they influenced such voters across the province generally and in the Districts of Dir particularly.

Table 35

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	ANP	13	1.5	1.5	1.5
	Independent candidate	1	.1	.1	1.6
	MMA	345	38.5	38.5	40.1
	PMLN	5	.6	.6	93.4
	PPP	50	5.6	5.6	99.0
	PTI	5	.6	.6	99.6
	QWP	4	.4	.4	100.0

Source: Author's own construction

Participants were asked that in the 2002 general election to which party they have voted. The majority of the participants i.e. 38% said that they have voted MMA, only 5% voted PPP.

What was the Reason for Voting for this Party or Candidate?

Table 36

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Due to the family	2	.2	.2	.2
	NA	463	51.7	51.7	51.9
	On the basis of religion	294	32.8	32.8	84.7
	Party affiliation	111	12.4	12.4	97.1
	Personal/family attachment with the candidate	7	.8	.8	97.9
	Some economic/developmental benefits expected from the candidate	5	.6	.6	98.4
	The party/candidate has highlighted important issues	14	1.6	1.6	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author's own construction

When the respondents were asked that why they have voted for that very party or candidate in the 2002 general elections. The majority 32% said that they have supported

that party on the basis of religion. While 12% said they supported it due to the party affiliation.

Age-wise response

In order to look at the data as age-wise, 5% of the age group of 36-35 years old said that they voted for that specific party or candidate due to some religious reasons. 12% of the age group of 36-45 years old said that they voted for that specific party or candidate due to the religion and 4% of them said that they voted due to the affiliation with that party. However, still this option does not contradict the first option as many have affiliation with a specific political party on the basis of religion. 12% of the age group of 46-60 years old said that they voted due the religious reasons and 4% of them said that they voted because they had affiliation with that party. While, 5% of the age group of 60+ said that they voted for that specific party due to religious reasons and only 1% of them said that they had affiliation with that political party (appendix-2, table 184).

Education-wise response

The results show in the education-wise category that 14% of under matric level respondents said that they voted for that specific party due to religion, and 6% of them said that they voted due to political affiliation. 7% of Matric level respondents said that they voted for that party due to religion and only 2% of them said that they voted due to political affiliation. 2% of intermediate-level respondents said that they voted due to religion while the same percentage said that due to political affiliation. 2% of the Bachelor level respondents said that they voted due to religion and 2% of them said due to political affiliation. 5% of Master level respondents said that they voted due to religion and only 2% of them said that they voted due to party affiliation. 2% of religious education holders said that they voted due to religion (appendix-2, table 185).

Gender-wise response

The gender-wise survey result shows that 32% of males said that they voted due to religion while 12% said they voted due to the party affiliation. The rest of the respondents were whether not eligible for the vote at that time, or few did not respond to the question. The female did not participate in that election as a matter of fact before the 2018 election females have not participated in any general election (appendix-2, table 186).

Region-wise response

In rural-urban division, the result is, 25% of those who live in the rural area said that they voted on the basis of religion and only 3% said that they voted due to the party affiliation. 8% of those who live in the urban area said that they voted on the basis of religion, while, 10% said that they voted due to the party affiliation (appendix-2, table 187).

Did you Vote for the Same Party or Candidate in the 2008 Elections?

Table 37

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	NA	456	50.9	50.9	50.9
	No	261	29.1	29.1	80.0
	Yes	179	20.0	20.0	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author's own construction

When they were asked that in the 2008 general elections have you voted for the same party again? 29% said that they did not vote for that party while 20% said that they have voted again.

Note: in 2002 there was an alliance namely Mutahida Majlas-e-Amal (MMA) consisting of six religious parties, specifically Jamaat-e-Islami and Jamiat Ulma-e-Islam. Due to some reasons, the JI has boycotted the 2008 general elections, but still,

the remaining religious political parties contested it. Therefore, mostly the participants said that they did not vote or even did not participate in the electoral process but some said that they have voted, and the reason is that some religious parties of that alliance were still contesting with the name of MMA. This reason applies in the following responses of all variables.

Age-wise response

In the age-wise responses, only 1% of the age group said that they have voted for the same party in the 2008 general elections. 3% of the age group of 26-35 years old said that they have voted for the same party and 4% said they did not vote for the same party. 7% of the age group of 36-45 years old said that they voted for the same party and 11% said they did not vote for the same party. 7% of the age group of 46-60 years old said that they voted for the same party and 10% of them said they did not vote for the same party. While 3% of the age group of 60+ said that they voted for the same party in the 2008 elections and 3% of them said they did not vote for the same party (appendix-2, table 188).

Education-wise response

In the education-wise result, 15% under matric level respondents said that they voted for the same party and 8% of them said that they did not vote for the same party in the 2008 general elections. 1% of Matric level participants said that they voted for the same party and 7% of them said that they did not vote for the same party. 1% of intermediate-level participants said that they voted for the same party and 3% of them said they did not vote for the same party. 1% of Bachelor level respondents said that they voted for the same party or alliance and 4% of them said they did not vote for the same party. Only 1% of Master level respondents said that they voted for the same party while 6%

of them said that they did not vote for the same party. 2% of religious education graduates said that they did not vote for the same party (appendix-2, table 189).

Gender-wise response

In the gender-wise responses, 19% of male participants said that they voted in the 2008 general elections the same party, which they voted in 2002 while 28% of them said they did not vote for the same party. Female participants did not participate in the elections (appendix-2, table 190).

Region-wise response

In the rural and urban regional divisions, 4% of those who live in the rural area said that they voted for the same party, and 16% of them said that they did not vote for the same party. While 24% of those who live in the urban area said that they voted for the same party and 5% said that they did not vote for the same party (appendix-2, table 191).

Profession wise response

In the profession-wise responses, 7% of businessmen said that they voted for the same party, 8% of them said that they did not vote for the same party. 5% of government employees said that they voted for the same party, 10% of them said that they did not vote for the same party. 1% labor class said that they voted for the same party, 6% of them said that they did not vote for the same party. 6% of private job holders said that they voted for the same party, 4% of them said that they did not vote for the same party. 1% of students said that they voted for the same party, while, 1% of them said that they did not vote for the same party (appendix-2, table 192). Mr. Khaleeq said that the 2008 general elections were too complex especially for the staunch political workers of JI, as the party has boycotted but the local supporters were confused whether to vote or not to vote as they were losing their space, therefore, most of them voted against those

parties or candidates who they were thinking their permanent rivals. And according to him even some of the political workers contested the elections and violated the protocol of their concerning political party (Mr. Khaleeq, personal communication, March 8, 2020).

For Which Party (or electoral coalition) did you Vote in the 2008 Elections?

Table 38

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	ANP	33	3.7	3.7	3.7
	Boycott	91	10.2	10.2	13.8
	Independent candidate	3	.3	.3	14.2
	JUIF	117	13.1	13.1	27.2
	No	4	.4	.4	79.8
	PMLN	22	2.5	2.5	82.3
	PPP	120	13.4	13.4	95.6
	PTI	7	.8	.8	96.4
	QWP	32	3.6	3.6	100.0

Source: Author’s own construction

Respondents were asked that for which party they have voted in the 2008 general election? 13% said PPP, 13% said JUIF, 4% ANP, while, 10% respondents said that they have boycotted. The JI has boycotted these elections so the table does not show its manifestation in the 2008 elections.

What was the Reason for Voting for this Party or Candidate?

Table 39

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Due to the family	13	1.5	1.5	1.5
	NA	466	52.0	52.0	53.5
	On the basis of religion	146	16.3	16.3	69.8
	Party affiliation	153	17.1	17.1	86.8
	Personal/family attachment with the candidate	46	5.1	5.1	92.0
	Some economic/developmental benefits expected from the candidate	48	5.4	5.4	97.3
	The party/candidate has highlighted important issues	24	2.7	2.7	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author’s own construction

When the respondents were asked that what was the reason behind the voting of a specific political party or candidate, 16% said that the reasons were religiously based, 17% said due the political affiliation, 5% said that they had some personal or family relationship with the candidate, while, 3% said that the party or the candidate has highlighted some important issues. Mr. Rahman said that even though a dominant religious political party JI has boycotted the 2008 elections, but still the alliance named MMA has contested the elections, and even some candidates from JI also contested the elections, so they got a handful of votes during the polling, therefore, according to him the religion has played an important role in politics especially in the Districts of Dir (Mr. Abdur Rahman, personal communication February 3, 2020).

Do you think the Election 2008 was Fair and Transparent?

Table 40

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Fair and transparent	140	15.6	15.6	15.6
	I Don't Know	166	18.5	18.5	34.2
	NA	450	50.2	50.2	84.4
	Rigged	33	3.7	3.7	88.1
	To some extent rigged	107	11.9	11.9	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author’s own construction

When the participants of this survey were asked that what they think of the 2008 general elections whether they were fair and transparent or not? 16% of them said that these elections were fair and transparent. 16% of them said that these elections were rigged or to some extent rigged, while, almost 19% said that they do not know about it. Mr. Shabir, a political activist said that, if 16% of respondents said that elections were not transparent but rigged and more than that said that they do not know, this is an alarming situation for the political forces as this is the indicator that the trust level will become weaker and weaker if the electoral system was not rectified. He mentioned that the 2008

elections were held under the Pervez Musharaf administration, and the dominant party of Districts of Dir has boycotted these elections, so we see and hear people's statements that the elections were rigged (Mr. Shabir, March 10, 2020).

Age-wise response

In the age-wise category, 4% of the group age of 26-35 years old said that the elections were free and fair, 3% of them said that they were rigged and 4% of them said that they do not know. 6% of the age group of 36-45 years old said that the elections were transparent, 4% of them said that they were rigged and 6% of them said that they do not know. 4% of the age group of 46-60 years old said that elections were transparent, 4% of them said that they were rigged and 5% of them said that they do not know. 2% of the age group of 60+ said that the elections were fair and 3% of them said that they do not know (appendix-2, table 193).

Education-wise response

In the educational-wise category, 11% under matric level respondents said that the elections held in 2008 were free and fair, 5% of them said that they were rigged, 8% of them said that they do not know. 2% of Matric level respondents said that the elections were transparent, 3% said they were rigged, 4% said that they do not know. 3% of intermediate level said that elections were rigged, 2% of Bachelor level and 3% of Master level respondents said that the elections held in 2008 were rigged or to some extent rigged (appendix-2, table 194).

Region-wise response

In the area-wise responses, 5% of those who live in the rural area said that the 2008 general elections were free and fair, 9% of them said that they were rigged and 14% of them said that they do not know. While 10% of those who live in the urban area said

that the elections were free and fair, 6% of them said that they were rigged and 4% of them said that they do not know (appendix-2, table 195).

Profession-wise response

In the professional category, the responses show that 6% of businessmen said that the 2008 elections were transparent, 5% of them said that they were rigged and 5% said that they do not know. 4% of government employees said that the elections were free and fair, 5% of them said that they were rigged and 5% said that they do not know. Only 1% of the labor class said that the elections were fair, 2% said they were rigged and 3% of them said that they do not know. 4% of private job holders said that the elections were free and fair, 4% of them said that they were rigged and 4% said that they do not know. While 1% of students said that the elections were fair, and the same percentage said that they do not know (appendix-2, table 196).

Did you Vote for the Same Party or Candidate in the 2013 Elections?

Table 41

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	NA	364	40.6	40.6	40.6
	No	159	17.7	17.7	58.4
	Yes	373	41.6	41.6	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author's own construction

When the participants were asked whether they voted for the same party or candidate in the 2013 elections, 18% of them said that they did not vote for the same party or candidate. But the majority, 42% of them said that yes they voted for the same party or candidate, there were many respondents who did not vote in 2008, or voted but still they refer to the 2002 party or candidate, which they have voted. So, the same party or candidate does not show support to the 2008 ones necessarily.

Age-wise response

The age-wise responses show that in the age group of 26-35 years old, 10% of respondents said that they voted for the same party or candidate. 5% of them said they did not vote the same. 15% of the age group of 36-45 said that they voted for the same party or candidate and 6% of them said they did not vote the same. 12% of the age group of 46-60 years old respondents said that they voted the same and 4% of them said that they did not vote for the same party or candidate. While 4% of the 60+ years old said that they vote the same and only 2% of them said that they did not vote for the same party or candidate. The age group of 18-25 years old, most of them were not eligible in these elections, as they cast their first vote in the 2018 general elections (appendix-2, table 197).

Education-wise response

In the educational category, 23% under matric level respondents said that they voted for the same party and 5% of them said that they did not vote for the same party. 5% Matric level respondents said that they voted for the same party and 4% of them said that they did not vote for the same party. 3% of intermediate-level respondents said that they voted for the same party and 2% of them said that they did not vote for the same party. Again 3% of bachelor-level participants said that they voted for the same party and 2% of them said that they did not vote for the same party. 5% of Master level respondents said that they voted for the same party and 4% of them said that they did not vote for the same party. While only 2% of religious education graduates said that they voted for the same party (appendix-2, table 198).

Region-wise response

The area-wise division shows, that 18% of those who live in the rural areas voted for the same party or candidate in the 2013 general elections and 15% did not vote the

same. While, 24% of those who live in the urban area voted for the same party or candidate and only 3% of them did not vote the same (appendix-2, table 199).

Profession wise response

In the professional category, 13% of businessmen said that they voted for the same party or candidate in the 2013 election and 6% of them said that they did not vote for the same party. 12% of government employees said that they voted for the same party and 6% said that they did not vote the same. Five percent labor class said that they voted for the same party or candidate and 3% of them said that they did not vote for the same party or candidate. 11% of private job holders said that they voted for the same party or candidate and only 3% of them said that they did not vote the same (appendix-2, table 200).

If Yes, then why?

Table 42

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Per.	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Because of his good performance	170	19.0	19.0	19.0
	Due to the family	1	.1	.1	19.1
	Due to your affiliation with the party	98	10.9	10.9	30.0
	NA	523	58.4	58.4	88.4
	NR	4	.4	.4	88.8
	Personal/family attachment with the candidate	18	2.0	2.0	90.8
	The candidate made some more important promises	10	1.1	1.1	92.0
	There was no better candidate/party than the previous one	72	8.0	8.0	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author’s own construction

The respondents were asked that what was the reason for the voting to the same political party or candidate in the 2013 election, 19% of them said that they voted due to the good performance of the party or the candidate, 10% said they voted again due to the political affiliation, while, 8% said that they voted the same party of candidate because there was no better option comparatively.

For which Party (or electoral coalition) did you Vote in the 2013 Elections?

In the following table, the results show that JI has the majority of votes in the 2013 elections. The role of JI has been dominant throughout the elections since 1970. However, PPP and then somehow ANP remain its main rival in some areas.

Table 43

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	ANP	32	3.6	3.6	3.6
	Independent candidate	8	.9	.9	4.5
	JI	314	35.0	35.0	39.5
	JUIF	92	10.3	10.3	49.8
	PMLN	22	2.5	2.5	73.4
	PPP	82	9.2	9.2	82.6
	PTI	110	12.3	12.3	94.9
	QWP	46	5.1	5.1	100.0

Source: Author's own construction

Respondents were asked that for which party they have voted in the 2013 general elections? The majority 35% said they have voted JI, while 12% supported PTI and only 9% voted PPP.

Age-wise response

The responses in the-age wise category show that 3% of the age group of 18-25 years old voted JI, 1% JUIF, 2% PPP, 1% PTI, in the 2013 general elections. 9% of the age group of 26-35 years old voted JI, 4% JUIF, 2% PPP, 7% PTI and only 1% QWF. 9% of the age group of 36-45 years old voted JI, 4% voted JUIF, 3% PPP, 3% PTI and only 1% QWF. 9% of the age group of 46-60 years old voted JI, 1% JUIF, 3% PPP, 3% PTI and 1% QWF, while, 4% of the age group of 60+ voted JI, 1% JUIF and only 1% PPP, during the general election 2013 (appendix-2, table 201).

Education-wise response

In education-wise responses, 16% of under matric level participants said that they voted JI, 4% said they voted JUIF, 5% said that they voted PPP, 4% said that they voted PTI, while, 4% Matric level participants said that they voted JI, 4% intermediate level said that they voted JI, 4% Bachelor level said that they voted JI, 6% Master level said that they voted JI, while, only 2% religious education graduates said that they voted JUIF. The majority of votes were delivered to the right wings parties specifically JI, in the 2013 election (appendix-2, table 202).

Region-wise response

In the rural and urban division, the data shows that 19% of those who live in the rural area voted to JI, 4% voted to JUIF, 5% voted to PPP, 7% voted to PTI and 4% voted to QWFP. While 16% of those who live in the urban area voted for JI, 6% voted for JUIF, 5% voted for PPP, 5% voted for PTI and only 2% voted for QWFP (appendix-2, table 203).

Profession-wise response

In professional-wise responses, 10% of businessmen said that they voted JI, 2% said that they voted JUIF, 2% of them voted PPP and 4% of them voted to PTI. 10% of government employees said that they voted JI, 3% JUIF, 2% PPP, 2% PTI. 4% labor class said that they voted JI, 2% PPP and 2% PTI. 9% of private job holders said that they voted JI, 4% JUIF, and 2% voted PTI (appendix-2, table 204).

What was the Reason of Voting for this Party or Candidate?

Table 44

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Due to the family	4	.4	.4	.4
	NA	189	21.1	21.1	21.5
	On the basis of religion	195	21.8	21.8	43.3
	Party affiliation	334	37.3	37.3	80.6
	Personal/family attachment with the candidate	29	3.2	3.2	83.8
	Some economic/developmental benefits expected from the candidate	77	8.6	8.6	92.4
	The party/candidate has highlighted important issues	68	7.6	7.6	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author's own construction

When the respondents were asked that what was the reason behind their support for that particular party. The majority 37% said because of the party affiliation while 22% said that we did it on the basis of religion.

Age-wise response

In order to see the age-wise results, 2% of the age group of 18-25 years old said that they voted for that particular party or candidate on the basis of religion, 4% of them said that they voted due to political affiliation. 7% of the age group of 26-35 years old said that they voted on the basis of religion, 10% of them said that they voted due to the political affiliation with that party. 7% of the age group of 36-45 years old said that they voted on the basis of religion, 10% of them said that they voted due to political affiliation. 5% of the age group of 46-60 years old said that they voted for that specific party or candidate on the basis of religion and 9% of them said that they voted for that party or candidate due to the political affiliation with them. 2% of the age group of 60+ years old said that they voted on the basis of religion, while, 3% of them said that they voted for that specific political party or candidate due to the political affiliation with them (appendix-2, table 205). Mostly respondents said that the main reason of their voting was religion, but still, the majority said that the main reason was their political

affiliation with a specific political party. But for many the main reason behind the political affiliation is still religion, therefore religion has the main role in setting the political choices.

Education-wise response

In the education-wise responses, 15% of under matric level respondents said that they voted for that specific party or candidate on the basis of religion, 11% of them said that they voted due to party affiliation. 2% of Matric level respondents said that they voted on the basis of religion, 6% said due to the party affiliation. 2% of intermediate-level respondents said that they voted on the basis of religion, 4% of them said, due to the party affiliation. 2% of Bachelor level respondents said that they voted on the basis of religion, 4% of them said, due to party affiliation. 2% of Master level said that they voted on the basis of religion and 8% of them said that they voted due to the party affiliation. While, only 1% of religious education graduates voted on the basis of religion and 2% of them voted due to political affiliation (appendix-2, table 206).

This data shows that in the 2013 general elections, people were more motivated on the basis of political affiliation. The prevailing trend is political party affiliation, specifically among the educated people, even if they were religiously educated their electoral choices are also set by their political affiliation. Even still party affiliation can also be based on religious reasons.

Gender-wise response

In gender-wise data, 17% of male respondents said that they voted for a specific party or candidate on the basis of religion, while, the majority of them, 36% said that they voted due to the party affiliation. In this category, the dominant determinant is still party affiliation (appendix-2, table 207).

Region-wise response

In the rural-urban division, the responses show that 9% of those who live in the rural area voted on the basis of religion, 18% on the basis of party affiliation and 8% voted on the basis of some economic interests. While 12% of those who live in the urban area voted on the basis of religion and 19% of them voted to a specific candidate or political party due to their political affiliation (appendix-2, table 208).

Profession wise response

The profession-wise data shows that 5% of businessmen voted on the basis of religion and 11% voted for a specific party due to their political affiliation. 5% of government employees voted on the basis of religion and 12% due to their political affiliation. 3% of the labor class said that they voted on the basis of religion and 4% said they voted due to party affiliation. 6% of private job holders voted on the basis of religion and 9% voted due to party affiliation. 3% of students said that they voted on the basis of religion, while, 2% said they voted due to affiliation with a specific political party (appendix-2, table 209).

Did you Vote for the Same Party or Candidate in the 2018 Elections?

Table 45

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	NA	171	19.1	19.1	19.1
	No	110	12.3	12.3	31.4
	Yes	615	68.6	68.6	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author's own construction

The participants of this survey responded to the question that did they vote for the same party or candidate in the 2018 elections? Majority of the respondents 68.6% said that yes they voted again the same party, which they voted for in the 2013 general elections. 12% of the respondents said that they did not vote for the same party or candidate. And

19% of the participants were not eligible during the general elections of 2013. Therefore, there is a plenty number of respondents who possibly voted otherwise.

In your Opinion, How will be the Next General Elections?

Table 46

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Fair and transparent	113	12.6	12.6	12.6
	I Don't Know	345	38.5	38.5	51.1
	Rigged	32	3.6	3.6	54.7
	To some extent fair	253	28.2	28.2	82.9
	To some extent rigged	153	17.1	17.1	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author's own construction

The respondents have made their judgments about the general elections conducted till now to understand further their trust in the electoral process of Pakistan, a question was asked about the upcoming election that what they were thinking about the next general elections whether they will be free and fair or they will not be transparent but rigged. Altogether 41% of respondents said that they will be transparent fully or to some extent. 22% said that they will be rigged, while, 38.5% said that they do not know.

Impact of Candidate's Participation in Social Events

In your opinion, does a candidate's participation in different social events can increase his chances of getting more votes?

Table 47

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	156	17.4	17.4	17.4
	Yes	740	82.6	82.6	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author's own construction

The survey respondents were asked about the candidate's participation in the different social events can increase his chances of getting more votes. 82.6% said that yes this

increases his chances of getting more votes. While 17% said that this participation has no influence on the votes.

Age-wise response

In the age-wise category, the result shows that 18% of the age group of 18-25 years old said that candidate's participation in social events can help him in getting more votes, only 3% of them said it doesn't help. 24% of the age group of 26-35 think that candidate's participation can help in getting more votes, 6% of them think it cannot. 21% of the age group of 36-45 years old think the participation can help, 3% said it's not. 15% of the age group of 46-60 years old think that it can help, 3% think it cannot. 5% of the age group of 60+ years old think that candidate participation can help in getting him more votes while only 1% of them think it cannot help him in this regard (appendix-2, table 210).

Education-wise response

The education-wise result shows that 27% under matric level were of the opinion that the participation in the social events can help the candidate in getting more votes, 12% of them said that it cannot help. 13% Matric level said it can help, 11% intermediate, 15% Bachelor, 13% master and 3% religious education graduates said that the participation in the social events can help the candidate in terms of getting more votes (appendix-2, table 211).

Gender-wise response

In the gender-wise data, 69% of males said that in their opinion the candidate's participation in different social events can help him in getting more votes, 15% said it cannot help him. While 14% of female respondents think that participation in the social

events of general public can help the candidate in getting more votes, only 3% of them said it cannot help (appendix-2, table 212).

Region-wise response

In the rural-urban category, 43% of those who live in rural area think that the candidate’s participation in different social events can help him in getting more votes, only 6% differs from this statement. While 40% of those who live in the urban area said that the social participation of political candidates can help in getting more votes, 11% said that it cannot help in terms of getting more votes (appendix-2, table 213).

Women’s Participation in Electoral Process

Women should participate in the electoral process/politics.

Table 48

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Disagree	221	24.7	24.7	24.7
	Strongly agree	312	34.8	34.8	59.5
	To some extent agree	340	37.9	37.9	97.4
	To some extent disagree	23	2.6	2.6	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author’s own construction

The respondents were asked about the women participation in the politics. 35% participants said that they strongly agreed with the women participation in the politics. Subsequently, 38% are to some extent agreed with this statement, but 24.7% of respondents were still opposing women’s participation in the electoral process.

Age-wise response

When the age-wise respondents were asked about this statement that whether women should participate in the electoral process and politics. 17% of the age group of 18-25 years old said that they agreed with this statement that women should participate in the electoral process and as well in politics, only 3% of them said that they are not agreed

with this statement. 22% of the age group of 26-35 years old said that they are agreed with this statement, and 8% of them disagreed with it. 14% of the age group of 36-45 years old said that they are agreed with this statement, and 7% of them disagreed with it. 11% of the age group of 46-60 years old said that they are agreed with this statement that women should participate in electoral politics, and 7% of them said that they are disagree with it. 4% of the age group of 60+ years old said that they agreed with the statement that women should participate in electoral politics, while, 2% of them still disagreed with this statement (appendix-2, table 214).

Education-wise response

In the education-wise category, 23% under Matric level respondents said that they agreed with this statement, 16% of them said that they disagree with it. 10% of Matric level respondents said that they agree with this statement and 3% of them disagree with it. 10% of intermediate level respondents agree with this statement, only 2% of them disagree. 13% of Bachelor level participants agree with the statement and only 2% of them disagree with it. 12% of Master level respondents agreed with the statement with 2% of them disagreeing. 2% of religious education graduates agree with the statement (appendix-2, table 215). This data shows that the more advanced in education are more agree with the women participation in electoral process or politics. Even the graduates from religious seminaries are also agreed with women's political participation.

Gender-wise response

The results of gender-wise data show that 58% of male respondents agreed with the women political participation 25% disagree with it. While 15% of female respondents agreed with the statement and still 2% of female participants disagree with the statement (appendix-2, table 216).

Region-wise response

In the rural-urban wise data, 32% of those who live in the rural areas agreed that women should participate in the electoral process and in politics, 17% of them still disagree with this statement. And 31% of those who live in urban areas agreed with women's participation in the electoral process while 9% of them disagreed with it (appendix-2, table 217).

Conclusion

The Voters' behavior in Districts of Dir is largely determined by social factors as well as rational choices such as education, health and national and regional development policies of political parties. Though almost all models had some impact in influencing the voting determinants but the sociological model had a dominant role. More specifically, this research has found that the role of religion is prevailing, especially when it comes to relative preferences in electoral politics.

Dir being a traditional region with a significant religious orientation, the residents of Dir had always considered religion during the vote casting. But in responding to various questions it is easily inferred that now people are thinking rationally. They consider developmental projects are the main factor for winning the elections with reference to political parties. In the future, the election campaign needs to be more pragmatic and rational, and the emotional appeals and mere promises cannot convince the general public for getting their votes.

Secondly, party affiliation which was one of the influential factors in voting choices has now changed. The voters, particularly the youth are not considering mere affiliation with a political party to cast their vote in its favor. They listen to their slogans, study their election manifestos and observe their developmental policies and then decide their

vote choice. Thirdly, the important suggestion is that in the near future the main factor of winning the elections in Districts of Dir is getting women's political support. Those parties which motivate more women to participate in the electoral process will win the elections easily. The voting pattern is completely changed with the women's participation and the youth interest in electoral politics. If political parties did not work on it, their triumph will be impossible.

CHAPTER 5

THE CASE OF THE 2018 GENERAL ELECTION

This chapter consists on the study of 2018 general election. Initially this election was not part of the study but later on when during the field work the general elections of 2018 conducted, that caused to a radical change in the political history of Dir, therefore we have also included this election to our study. The voting choices in Districts of Dir are completely changed during the general elections of 2018. This change has also affected the consistency of one political party while challenging the longstanding hold and dominance of it the political arena in the region. Therefore, in this regard the electoral trends characterize two major concerns as far as the electoral behavior is concerned: One concern is with explaining the election result by identifying the sources of individual voting behavior. The researcher attempts to understand the election outcomes by understanding that how and why the voters made up their minds. The other major concern in voting research emphasizes the changes in voting patterns over time, usually with an attempt to determine what the election results tell us about the direction in which regional politics is moving. In this case, the researcher focuses on the dynamics of electoral behavior, especially in terms of present and future developments happening in the context of the two districts.

When voters are asked what they like or dislike about a specific candidate or political party, what might make them cast the vote for or against that candidate or party, most of their responses fall into one of these three categories.

Religious reasons

Political party affiliation

National and regional development

Party identification and ideology are more general, long-run factors that influence the attitudes that are more immediate to the vote decision in a particular year. But still, the development factors influence the voters' choices effectively during the electoral process. In this survey, the respondents said that development can help political parties more during the general elections.

The various factors that influence the vote decision vary over time. Evaluations of candidate qualities and government performance are distinctly short-term forces are capable of substantial shifts from one election to the next. Party identification and ideology are much more stable in the short term. Not many voters change their party identification or ideology from one election to the next, and the changes that do occur are often fairly small ones. Issue orientations fall somewhere in between. While the specific issues crucial in general elections can change dramatically as can how the voters evaluate the candidates on the issues with partisan differences remaining relatively constant.

The various attitudes and orientations that influence voting behavior in the elections are interrelated. Understanding the interrelationships among these factors is important for grasping voting behavior.

Electoral dynamics

Election results often change dramatically as a lopsided victory for one party may be followed by a landslide for the other party in the following election. Electoral changes can be divided into two types: short-term and long-term. Short-run changes are the result of fluctuations in factors that are specific to an election such as the characteristics of the candidates or the condition of the economy. These short-term factors may be

moderately favorable to one party in one election, strongly favorable to another party in another.

Long-term shifts result from alterations in basic loyalties and represent changes that last beyond a particular election. The most significant long-term change occurs when there is a critical realignment of the party system, which refers to a relatively rapid, fundamental, and durable alteration in the pattern of party loyalties held by the electorate. Of course, in any time period there is some change in party loyalties, but only rarely is it substantial enough to qualify as a critical realignment.

Some of the current differences between the parties can be traced back to the realignment of the 2008 general elections. There have been important developments since the 2008 general elections that have altered the nature of the party affiliation. The more recent developments have not been as sweeping in their scope nor as abrupt in their effect, but the cumulative impact of these developments has been substantial.

The following data will show the results of different variables to comprehend the factors that caused this drastic change and also to understand in detail that who voted which party in the general elections of 2018. Yet, the main leading political parties who get more votes in this election will be mentioned, and the result of the remaining political parties is mentioned in the tables, which can be consulted accordingly.

Voting in 2018 General Election

For which party (or electoral coalition) did you vote in the 2018 elections?

Table 49

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	ANP	39	4.4	4.4	4.4
	Independent candidate	15	1.7	1.7	6.0
	JI	491	54.8	54.8	60.8

	NR	20	2.2	2.2	63.1
	PMLN	22	2.5	2.5	65.5
	PPP	107	11.9	11.9	77.5
	PTI	192	21.4	21.4	98.9
	QWP	10	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author's own construction

In 2018, which party have you voted? In response to this question, 55% said that they voted JI. 4.4% said they voted ANP, 12% of the respondents said they voted PPP and 21.4% respondents said they voted PTI. The majority of the respondents said that they voted JI in the general elections of 2018.

To further investigate the details of different variables will make the responses more clear that which category voted whom with how much ratio. The following tables will show the answers regarding different frequencies and variables.

Age-wise response

Table 50

		Age					Total
		18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	
ANP	Count	5	13	13	6	2	39
Independent candidate	Count	6	3	5	1	0	15
	% of Total	.7%	.3%	.6%	.1%	.0%	1.7%
JI	Count	89	138	123	101	40	491
	% of Total	9.9%	15.4%	13.7%	11.3%	4.5%	54.8%
NR	Count	2	7	7	4	0	20
	% of Total	.2%	.8%	.8%	.4%	.0%	2.2%
PMLN	Count	7	5	6	4	0	22
	% of Total	.8%	.6%	.7%	.4%	.0%	2.5%
PPP	Count	25	20	20	32	10	107
	% of Total	2.8%	2.2%	2.2%	3.6%	1.1%	11.9%
PTI	Count	49	85	44	12	2	192
	% of Total	5.5%	9.5%	4.9%	1.3%	.2%	21.4%
QWP	Count	1	4	2	3	0	10
	% of Total	.1%	.4%	.2%	.3%	.0%	1.1%
Total	Count	184	275	220	163	54	896
	% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%

Source: Author's own construction

The age-wise responses show that 10% of 18-25 years old respondents voted JI in the general elections of 2018, 5% voted PTI and only 2% voted PPP. 15% of the age group of 26-35 years old voted JI, 9% voted PTI and only 2% voted PPP. 14% of the age group of 36-45 years old voted JI, 5% voted PTI and 4% voted PPP. 11% of the age group of 46-60 years old voted JI, only 1% voted PTI and the same percentage goes for the PPP as well. While, 4% of the age group of 60+ voted JI in the general elections of 2018.

Education wise response

Table 51

		Education								Total
		Bachelor	Intermediate	Master	Matriculation	MPhil	Phd	Religious Education	Under Matric	
ANP	Count	7	2	3	4	1	0	0	22	39
	% of Total	.8%	.2%	.3%	.4%	.1%	.0%	.0%	2.5%	4.4%
Independent candidate	Count	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	11	15
	% of Total	.1%	.0%	.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	1.2%	1.7%
JI	Count	80	64	73	58	3	1	27	185	491
	% of Total	8.9%	7.1%	8.1%	6.5%	.3%	.1%	3.0%	20.6%	54.8%
NR	Count	3	1	6	1	2	0	0	7	20
	% of Total	.3%	.1%	.7%	.1%	.2%	.0%	.0%	.8%	2.2%
PMLN	Count	2	3	1	6	0	0	0	10	22
	% of Total	.2%	.3%	.1%	.7%	.0%	.0%	.0%	1.1%	2.5%
PPP	Count	12	11	17	18	1	0	0	48	107
	% of Total	1.3%	1.2%	1.9%	2.0%	.1%	.0%	.0%	5.4%	11.9%
PTI	Count	39	28	30	33	4	0	0	58	192
	% of Total	4.4%	3.1%	3.3%	3.7%	.4%	.0%	.0%	6.5%	21.4%
QWP	Count	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	9	10
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.0%	.1%	.0%	.0%	.0%	1.0%	1.1%
Total	Count	144	109	133	121	11	1	27	350	896
	% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	.1%	3.0%	39.1%	100.0%

Source: Author's own construction

In the education-wise category, 21% under matric level respondents said that they voted JI in the general election of 2018. 6% said that they voted PTI and 5% voted PPP. 6% of Matric level voted JI, 4% voted PTI and only 2% voted PPP. 6% of intermediate level respondents voted JI, 4% of them voted PTI and only 1% voted PPP. 8% of Bachelor level respondents voted JI, 4% voted PTI and only 1% voted PPP. 8% of

Master level voted JI, 4% voted PTI and only 1% voted PPP. While, 3% graduates of religious education voted JI in the general election of 2018.

Gender wise response

Table 52

		Gender		Total
		Female	Male	
ANP	Count	1	38	39
	% of Total	1.1%	4.2%	4.4%
Independent candidate	Count	2	13	15
	% of Total	2%	1.5%	1.7%
JI	Count	105	386	491
	% of Total	11.7%	43.1%	54.8%
NR	Count	4	16	20
	% of Total	.4%	1.8%	2.2%
PMLN	Count	3	19	22
	% of Total	.3%	2.1%	2.5%
PPP	Count	10	97	107
	% of Total	1.1%	10.8%	11.9%
PTI	Count	21	171	192
	% of Total	2.3%	19.1%	21.4%
QWP	Count	1	9	10
	% of Total	.1%	1.0%	1.1%
Total	Count	147	749	896
	% of Total	16.4%	83.6%	100.0%

Source: Author’s own construction

The gender-wise responses to this question show that, 43% male respondents voted JI, 19% voted PTI and 11% voted PPP in the general elections of 2018. While 12% female respondents voted JI, 2% voted PTI and only 1% voted PPP in the general elections of 2018. This data shows that the majority votes availed by the JI, a right wing party during 2018 general elections.

Urban-Rural wise response

Table 53

		Urban Rural		Total
		Rural	Urban	
ANP	Count	9	30	39
	% of Total	1.0%	3.3%	4.4%

Independent candidate	Count	3	12	15
	% of Total	3.3%	1.3%	1.7%
JI	Count	253	238	491
	% of Total	28.2%	26.6%	54.8%
NR	Count	9	11	20
	% of Total	1.0%	1.2%	2.2%
PMLN	Count	13	9	22
	% of Total	1.5%	1.0%	2.5%
PPP	Count	51	56	107
	% of Total	5.7%	6.3%	11.9%
PTI	Count	102	90	192
	% of Total	11.4%	10.0%	21.4%
QWP	Count	1	9	10
	% of Total	1.1%	1.0%	1.1%
Total	Count	441	455	896
	% of Total	49.2%	50.8%	100.0%

Source: Author's own construction

The category of rural-urban division's result shows that 28% of those who live in the rural area voted JI, 10% of them voted PTI and only 6% of them voted PPP in the general elections of 2008. While 27% of those who live in the urban area voted JI, 10% voted PTI and 6% voted PPP in the general elections of 2018. This result is almost the same in terms of voting the mentioned parties in rural and urban regions.

Profession-wise response

Table 54

		Profession						Total
		Business	Government Employee	Labor	No Job	Private Job	Student	
ANP	Count	15	12	1	0	8	3	39
	% of Total	1.7%	1.3%	1.1%	0%	9%	3%	4.4%
Independent candidate	Count	2	2	2	0	5	4	15
	% of Total	2%	2%	2%	0%	6%	4%	1.7%
JI	Count	105	118	76	2	123	67	491
	% of Total	11.7%	13.2%	8.5%	2%	13.7%	7.5%	54.8%
NR	Count	4	8	5	0	1	2	20
	% of Total	4%	9%	6%	0%	1%	2%	2.2%
PMLN	Count	9	5	1	0	3	4	22
	% of Total	1.0%	6%	1%	0%	3%	4%	2.5%
PPP	Count	21	30	25	0	21	10	107
	% of Total	2.3%	3.3%	2.8%	0%	2.3%	1.1%	11.9%

PTI	Count	47	35	36	2	36	36	192
	% of Total	5.2%	3.9%	4.0%	.2%	4.0%	4.0%	21.4%
QWP	Count	4	3	1	0	2	0	10
	% of Total	.4%	.3%	.1%	.0%	.2%	.0%	1.1%
Total	Count	207	213	147	4	199	126	896
	% of Total	23.1%	23.8%	16.4%	.4%	22.2%	14.1%	100.0%

Source: Author's own construction

In the profession-wise responses, 12% businessmen said that they voted JI in the general elections of 2018, 5% of them voted PTI and only 2% of them voted PPP. 12% of government employees voted JI, 4% voted PTI and 3% voted PPP. 8% of labor class voted JI, 4% voted PTI and 2% voted PPP. 14% private job holders voted JI, 4% voted PTI and 2% voted PPP. While 7% students voted JI, 4% voted PTI and only 1% voted PPP in the general elections of 2018.

Analysis:

This data shows that the PTI votes are lesser than JI. When the result of this survey was shared with the Fakharuzaman, leader of the PTI, he said that PTI got votes from women who did not participate in the survey and the youth who recently got eligible for voting, again they participated in little ratio. Therefore, it could be said that PTI has those voters who are not regular and politically ambitious rather they were motivated for the 2018 general elections, especially for PTI Chairman Imran Khan as the 2014 Dharna played important role in this regard (Fakharuzaman, personal communication, Aug 30, 2020).

The JI provincial candidate Sultanat Yar said that this is the reality that people did not vote PTI but they were supported by forces who were involved in the electoral process deeply. He also shared some stories that the soldiers who were appointed in the polling station convinced women and youth to vote for some specific party (SultanatYar, personal communication, Sep 5, 2020).

Bakht Baidar, a provincial candidate has also blamed the security forces for rigging the election, he said, the rigging was multifaceted, starting from media to the counting of votes (Bakht Baidar, personal communication, Aug 30, 2020).

But the PTI leader Malik Fakhruzaman denied these allegations and said that it’s a tradition when a party or candidate is defeated in the elections then he/she blames the winning party, so the political parties are making the same allegation about the 2018 general elections (Fakhruzaman, personal communication, Aug 30, 2020). The participants in the two focus group discussions did not agree with this statement as they said that the allegations made about the 2018 general election and the remaining are very different as there is no precedent of rigging in the whole election in the history of Pakistan.

Reason of the Voting to a Specific Party or Candidate

What was the reason for voting for this party or candidate?

Table 55

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Due to the family	6	.7	.7	.7
	I Don't Know	11	1.2	1.2	1.9
	On the basis of religion	272	30.4	30.4	32.3
	Party affiliation	390	43.5	43.5	75.8
	Personal/family attachment with the candidate	32	3.6	3.6	79.4
	Some economic/developmental benefits expected from the candidate	95	10.6	10.6	90.0
	The party/candidate has highlighted important issues	90	10.0	10.0	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author’s own construction

When the respondents were asked that what was the reason behind voting for a specific political party in the 2018 general elections. In response to this question, 30.4% of respondents said that they voted for this party on the basis of religion, 44% said they

voted for it due to party affiliation, 11% said that they voted on the basis of their personal interests. While 10% said that the party or candidate has highlighted some important issues, therefore they voted for that specific political party or candidate during the 2018 general elections.

Age-wise response

Table 56

		Age					Total
		18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	
Due to the family	Count	0	2	3	1	0	6
	% of Total	.0%	.2%	.3%	.1%	.0%	.7%
I Don't Know	Count	0	6	5	0	0	11
	% of Total	.0%	.7%	.6%	.0%	.0%	1.2%
On the basis of religion	Count	45	72	80	55	20	272
	% of Total	5.0%	8.0%	8.9%	6.1%	2.2%	30.4%
Party affiliation	Count	110	116	68	70	26	390
	% of Total	12.3%	12.9%	7.6%	7.8%	2.9%	43.5%
Personal/family attachment with the candidate	Count	4	6	8	10	4	32
	% of Total	.4%	.7%	.9%	1.1%	.4%	3.6%
Some economic/developmental benefits expected from the candidate	Count	11	36	31	16	1	95
	% of Total	1.2%	4.0%	3.5%	1.8%	.1%	10.6%
The party/candidate has highlighted important issues	Count	14	37	25	11	3	90
	% of Total	1.6%	4.1%	2.8%	1.2%	.3%	10.0%
Total	Count	184	275	220	163	54	896
	% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%

Source: Author’s own construction

In response to the question about the reason behind the voting of a specific political party during the 2018 general elections, in the age-wise category, 5% of the age group of 18-25 years old said that they voted for a specific political party on the basis of religion, 13% said that they voted due to the affiliation with the party, 2% said that they voted that party because it has highlighted some important issues. 9% of the age group of 26-35 years old said that they voted on the basis of religion, 13% of them said that they voted due to the political affiliation with that specific party or candidate, 4% said that the party or candidate has highlighted some important issues, while, 3% of them

said that they voted on the basis of their personal interests. 9% of the age group of 36-45 years old said that they voted on the basis of religion, 8% said that they voted due to the affiliation with the party, 3% said they voted because the party has highlighted some important issues, while, 3% said that they voted on the basis of their personal interests. 6% of the age group of 46-60 years old said that they voted on the basis of religion and 8% said that they voted a specific political party or candidate due to the political affiliation. And only 2% of the age group of 60+ said that they voted on the basis of religion during the 2018 general elections.

Education-wise response

Table 57

		Education								Total
		Bachelor	Intermediate	Master	Matriculation	MPhil	Pbd	Religious Education	Under Matric	
Due to the family	Count	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	6
	% of Total	1%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	3%	7%
I Don't Know	Count	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	5	11
	% of Total	1%	0%	3%	0%	13%	0%	0%	6%	13%
On the basis of religion	Count	20	23	32	20	1	1	21	154	272
	% of Total	2.5%	2.6%	3.6%	2.2%	1%	1%	2.3%	17.2%	30.4%
Party affiliation	Count	04	50	74	60	5	0	5	102	390
	% of Total	9.4%	6.7%	8.3%	6.7%	6%	0%	6%	11.4%	43.5%
Personal/family attachment with the candidate	Count	3	2	6	10	0	0	0	11	32
	% of Total	3%	2%	7%	1.1%	0%	0%	0%	1.2%	3.6%
Some economic/developmental benefits expected from the candidate	Count	20	11	9	20	1	0	1	33	93
	% of Total	2.3%	1.2%	1.0%	2.2%	1%	0%	1%	3.7%	10.6%
The party/candidate has highlighted important issues	Count	15	12	8	11	2	0	0	42	90
	% of Total	1.7%	1.3%	0.9%	1.2%	2%	0%	0%	4.7%	10.0%
Total	Count	144	109	133	121	11	1	27	350	896
	% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	1%	3.0%	39.1%	100.0%

Source: Author's own construction

In the category of education, the responses show that 17% of under matric level respondents said that they voted on the basis of religion, 11% of them said they voted due to the affiliation with a specific political party and 5% of them said that the party has highlighted some important issues, while 4% of them said that they voted on the basis of their personal interests. 2% of matric level respondents said that they voted on

the basis of religion, 7% of them said they voted due to the affiliation with the political party. 2% of intermediate level respondents said that they voted on the basis of religion and 7% of them said they voted due to the political affiliation. 2% of Bachelor level respondents said that they voted on the basis of religion and 9% said they voted due to the political affiliation. While 7% of Master level respondents said that they voted a specific political party or candidate on the basis of religion and 7% of them said that they voted due to the political affiliation during the general elections of 2018.

Gender-wise response

Table 58

		Gender		
		Female	Male	Total
Due to the family	Count	2	4	6
	% of Total	.2%	.4%	.7%
I Don't Know	Count	3	8	11
	% of Total	.3%	.9%	1.2%
On the basis of religion	Count	72	200	272
	% of Total	8.0%	22.3%	30.4%
Party affiliation	Count	55	335	390
	% of Total	6.1%	37.4%	43.5%
Personal/family attachment with the candidate	Count	2	30	32
	% of Total	.2%	3.3%	3.6%
Some economic/developmental benefits expected from the candidate	Count	7	88	95
	% of Total	.8%	9.8%	10.6%
The party/candidate has highlighted important issues	Count	6	84	90
	% of Total	.7%	9.4%	10.0%
Total	Count	147	749	896
	% of Total	16.4%	83.6%	100.0%

Source: Author's own construction

In the gender-wise responses, 22% male respondents said that they voted on the basis of religion during the 2018 general elections, 37% said they voted due to the political affiliation, 9% said because the party has highlighted some important issues and 10% said that they voted on the basis of some personal interests during the 2018 general elections. While 8% female respondents said that they voted on the basis of religion and 6% said that they voted during the 2018 general elections due to their political

affiliation with a specific party. The numbers in this data show that the majority of the participants voted on the basis of their political affiliation, secondly on the basis of religion, even though for some the main reason of the affiliation with some political party is also religion.

Urban Rural wise response

Table 59

		Urban Rural		Total
		Rural	Urban	
Due to the family	Count	5	1	6
	% of Total	.6%	.1%	.7%
I Don't Know	Count	6	5	11
	% of Total	.7%	.6%	1.2%
On the basis of religion	Count	132	140	272
	% of Total	14.7%	15.6%	30.4%
Party affiliation	Count	150	240	390
	% of Total	16.7%	26.8%	43.5%
Personal/family attachment with the candidate	Count	28	4	32
	% of Total	3.1%	.4%	3.6%
Some economic/developmental benefits expected from the candidate	Count	88	7	95
	% of Total	9.8%	.8%	10.6%
The party/candidate has highlighted important issues	Count	32	58	90
	% of Total	3.6%	6.5%	10.0%
Total	Count	441	455	896
	% within Urban Rural	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	49.2%	50.8%	100.0%

Source: Author's own construction

In the region-wise data, 16 those who live in the rural area said that they voted on the basis of religion, 17% said they voted due to the affiliation with a political party, 4% said that the party has highlighted some important issues and 10% said that they voted on the basis of their personal interests. While 16% of those who live in the urban areas said that they voted on the basis of religion, 27% said that they voted due to their affiliation with a political party, 6% said that they party has highlighted some important

issues and only 1% of them said that they voted on the basis of their personal interests during the general elections of 2018.

Analysis:

The basic reason behind the voting choices is religion, secondly party affiliation and then development. Religious and party affiliation along with development factors are not in contrast with each other. It is possible that a person is belonging to a political party as the reason for this affiliation is religion and that party also works for development (Fazal Raheem, personal communication, Aug 28, 2020).

The residents of Dir are traditionally religious with a conventional orientation. But they are still making their own choices. If voters say that the basic reason behind their voting choices is religion, it does not necessarily mean that they voted for religious parties, because here in the Districts of Dir, all political parties campaign with religious slogans and notions, even if their origins are secular, the candidates are also as religious as the religious parties candidates (Siddique, personal communication, Sep 5, 2020).

Do you think the 2018 Election was Fair and Transparent?

Table 60

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Fair and transparent	256	28.6	28.6	28.6
	I Don't Know	49	5.5	5.5	34.0
	Rigged	488	54.5	54.5	88.5
	To some extent rigged	103	11.5	11.5	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author's own construction

When the participants of this survey were asked about the 2018 general elections that “Do you think the election 2018 was fair and transparent?” About 29% of respondents said that the election was transparent. But the majority of respondents i.e. 66% said that this election was rigged.

Age-wise response

Table 61

		Age					Total
		18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	
Fair and transparent	Count	59	85	53	40	19	256
	% of Total	6.6%	9.5%	5.9%	4.5%	2.1%	28.6%
I Don't Know	Count	8	14	18	6	3	49
	% of Total	9%	1.6%	2.0%	1.7%	1.3%	5.5%
Rigged	Count	84	144	122	109	29	488
	% of Total	9.4%	16.1%	13.6%	12.2%	3.2%	54.5%
To some extent rigged	Count	33	32	27	8	3	103
	% of Total	3.7%	3.6%	3.0%	1.9%	1.3%	11.5%
Total	Count	184	275	220	163	54	896
	% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%

Source: Author’s own construction

In response to this question, the result of age-wise respondents show that 13% of the age group of 18-25 years old participants think that the election of 2018 was rigged, 7% said it was fair and transparent. 19% of the age group of 26-35 years old said that the election was rigged and 9% of them said it was fair and transparent. 17% of the age group of 36-45 years old said that the election was rigged and 6% of them said it was transparent. 12% of the age group of 46-60 year old said that the election was rigged and 4% of them said it was transparent. While 3% of the 60+ years old said that the election was rigged and only 2% of

them that the general election of 2018 was fair and transparent. Majority of the participants in age-wise responses of the view that the election was rigged.

In all these descriptions the categories of “rigged” and “to some extent rigged” are merged, therefore the data of the tables should be seen accordingly.

Education-wise response

Table 62

		Education								Total
		Bachelor	Intermediate	Master	Matriculation	MPhil	Phd	Religious Education	Under Matric	
Fair and transparent	Count	25	19	21	18	3	0	1	169	256
	% of Total	2.8%	2.1%	2.3%	2.0%	.3%	.0%	.1%	18.9%	28.6%
Don't Know	Count	4	0	5	2	1	0	0	36	49
	% of Total	.4%	.0%	.7%	.2%	.1%	.0%	.0%	4.0%	5.5%
Rigged	Count	91	75	84	89	6	1	25	117	488
	% of Total	10.2%	8.4%	9.4%	9.9%	.7%	.1%	2.8%	13.1%	54.5%
To some extent rigged	Count	24	15	22	32	1	0	1	28	103
	% of Total	2.7%	1.7%	2.5%	3.3%	.1%	.0%	.1%	3.1%	11.5%
Total	Count	144	109	133	121	11	1	27	350	896
	% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	.1%	3.0%	39.1%	100.0%

Source: Author’s own construction

The education-wise result shows that 16% of under matric level respondents said that the election was rigged and 19% said that it was transparent. 11% of Matric level participants said that the election was rigged and 2% said that it was transparent. 9% of intermediate-level respondents said that the election was rigged and 2% said it was transparent. 13% of Bachelor level respondents said that the election was rigged and 3% said that it was transparent. 10% of Master level respondents said that the election was rigged and 2% of them said that it was transparent. While 3% of religious education graduates said that the 2018 general election was rigged.

Gender-wise response

Table 63.

		Gender		
		Female	Male	Total
Fair and transparent	Count	49	207	256
	% within Gender	33.3%	27.6%	28.6%
	% of Total	5.5%	23.1%	28.6%
I Don't Know	Count	5	44	49
	% within Gender	3.4%	5.9%	5.5%
	% of Total	.6%	4.9%	5.5%
Rigged	Count	79	409	488
	% within Gender	53.7%	54.6%	54.5%
	% of Total	8.8%	45.6%	54.5%
To some extent rigged	Count	14	89	103
	% within Gender	9.5%	11.9%	11.5%
	% of Total	1.6%	9.9%	11.5%
Total	Count	147	749	896
	% within Gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	16.4%	83.6%	100.0%

Source: Author's own construction

In the gender-wise category, 56% of male respondents said that the general election of 2018 was rigged and 235 of them said that it was fair and transparent. While 11% of female respondents said that it was rigged and 5% of them said that it was transparent.

Urban-Rural wise response

Table 64

		Urban Rural		
		Rural	Urban	Total
Fair and transparent	Count	27	229	256
	% within Urban Rural	6.1%	50.3%	28.6%
	% of Total	3.0%	25.6%	28.6%
I Don't Know	Count	17	32	49
	% within Urban Rural	3.9%	7.0%	5.5%
	% of Total	1.9%	3.6%	5.5%
Rigged	Count	363	125	488
	% within Urban Rural	82.3%	27.5%	54.5%
	% of Total	40.5%	14.0%	54.5%

To some extent rigged	Count	34	69	103
	% within Urban Rural	7.7%	15.2%	11.5%
	% of Total	3.8%	7.7%	11.5%
Total	Count	441	455	896
	% within Urban Rural	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	49.2%	50.8%	100.0%

Source: Author's own construction

In the rural and urban regional wise results, 45% of those who live in rural area said that the general election of 2018 was rigged and only 3% of them said that it was transparent. While 22% of those who live in urban areas said that the election was rigged and 26% of them said that it was fair and transparent. The data shows that the majority of those who live in rural areas of the view that the elections were rigged and the majority of those who live in urban area think that the 2018 general election was free and fair.

Profession-wise response

Table 65

		Profession						Total
		Business	Government Employee	Labor	No Job	Private Job	Student	
Fair and transparent	Count	63	53	19	2	74	45	256
	% of Total	7.0%	5.9%	2.1%	.2%	8.3%	5.0%	28.6%
I Don't Know	Count	12	10	4	0	14	9	49
	% of Total	1.3%	1.1%	.4%	0%	1.6%	1.0%	5.5%
Rigged	Count	108	119	108	2	92	59	488
	% of Total	12.1%	13.3%	12.1%	.2%	10.3%	6.6%	54.5%
To some extent rigged	Count	24	31	16	0	19	13	103
	% of Total	2.7%	3.5%	1.8%	0%	2.1%	1.5%	11.5%
Total	Count	207	213	147	4	199	126	896
	% of Total	23.1%	23.8%	16.4%	.4%	22.2%	14.1%	100.0%

Source: Author's own construction

In the profession wise category, 15% businessmen said that the 2018 election was rigged and 7% of them said that it was transparent. 16% of the government

employees said that it was rigged and 6% said that it was transparent. 14% of labor class said that it was rigged and only 2% said that it was transparent. 12% of private job holders said that election was rigged and 8% of them said that it was transparent. 8% students said that it was rigged, while, 5% of them said that it was transparent.

Analysis

Majority of respondents of the view that the 2018 general elections were rigged. The same view was given by the participants of focus group discussions. Almost all politicians except those who belong to PTI are also claimed that the elections were rigged. But when they describe the means used for rigging, they differ in pointing out those means. Some said that it was already decided to bring the PTI as a governing force in the center when they were asked who decided, mostly, specifically the members of focus group discussions pointed out Army.

The politicians mainly said that there was a media hype which is pre-election rigging, then security forces were installed in polling stations, who were monitoring the voters, making sure that a specific party getting votes, and even convincing voters too. In some cases, they voted for ladies in favor of PTI. But the main allegation in this regard is made, that, when the RTS (result transmission system) collapsed the counting was changed in favor of a particular political party. These views are expressed by all politicians in personal communication with the researcher namely, Bakht Baidar political leader of PPP, Sultanat Yar political leader of JI, Malik Tajamul political leader of JUI and the members of focus group discussions.

In response to these allegations Malik Fakhruzaman, political leader of PTI said that these are just some claims which do not have any proof. It became a tradition that when a political party loses elections then they are making these allegations against the winning party. According to him, the PTI is a genuine political force that dominated in Districts of Dir (Fakhar, personal communication, Aug 30, 2020).

The members of focus group discussions said that there is an obvious difference between the allegation made by Imran Khan after the 2013 general elections and the allegation made by all political parties after the 2018 general elections. They said that we cannot deny the interference and involvement of the army in politics and also we cannot ignore their influence in the electoral process as they do it always but their choices change from election to election.

As noted, political leaders, the learned community and the general public are completely suspicious about the electoral results of the 2018 general elections generally and in Districts of Dir specifically. This data shows that voting patterns and trends remained the same but the result was manipulated. The various responses and claims can be further investigated in a separate research study if students of political science take them into consideration.

Voting in Next General Elections

During the next general elections, will you vote for the same party or candidate, whom you votedfor in the 2018 elections?

The participants of this survey were asked about their voting choice for the next elections. Whether they will vote for the same party or will bring changes in their choices. As the data result shows in different responses of the voting behavior and political attitudes, it can easily be said that the residents of the Districts of Dir had deep tendencies towards political affiliation with a single party. They do not change their loyalties frequently and mostly stand by their political parties' decision.

Table 66

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	91	10.2	10.2	10.2
	Yes	805	89.8	89.8	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author’s own construction

In response to this question, majority of the participants i.e. 90% said that they will vote for the same party which they voted in 2018 in the next elections. While 10% of them said that they will not vote for the same party or candidate in the upcoming general elections.

Age-wise response

Table 67

		Age					Total
		18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	
No	Count	17	30	29	14	1	91
	% of Total	1.9%	3.3%	3.2%	1.6%	.1%	10.2%
Yes	Count	167	245	191	149	53	805
	% of Total	18.6%	27.3%	21.3%	16.6%	5.9%	89.8%
Total	Count	184	275	220	163	54	896
	% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%

Source: Author’s own construction

In response to this question in the age-wise category, 19% of the age group of 18-25 years old said that they will vote for the same party or candidate which they voted in the 2018 election and only 2% of them said that they will not vote the same party. 27%

of the age group of 26-35 years old said that they will vote for the same party and 3% of them said they will not vote for the same party. 21% of the age group of 36-45 years old said that they will vote for the same party and 3% of them said they will not vote for the same party. 17% of the age group of 46-60 years old said that they will vote for the same party and only 2% of them said they will not vote for the same party. While 6% Of the age group of 60+ years old said that they will vote for the same party which they voted in the general elections of 2018.

Education-wise response

Table 68

		Education								Total
		Bachelor	Intermediate	Master	Matriculation	MPhil	Phd	Religious Education	Under Matric	
No	Count	19	9	14	11	2	9	2	34	91
	% of Total	2.1%	1.0%	1.6%	1.2%	.2%	.8%	.2%	3.8%	10.2%
Yes	Count	125	100	119	110	9	1	25	116	495
	% of Total	14.0%	11.2%	13.3%	12.3%	1.0%	.1%	2.8%	13.3%	59.8%
Total	Count	144	109	133	121	11	1	27	150	596
	% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	.1%	3.0%	19.1%	100.0%

Source: Author’s own construction

In the education-wise category, 35% of under matric level respondents said that they will vote for the same party, while only 4% of them said that they will not vote for the same party in the next general elections. 12% of Matric level, 11% of intermediate level, 14% of Bachelor level, 11% of Master level and 3% of religious education level respondents said that they will vote the same party in next general elections, which they voted in the general election of 2018.

Gender-wise response

Table 69

	Gender	Total
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		Female	Male	
During the next general elections, will you vote for the same party or candidate for whom you voted in 2018 elections?	No	Count	11	80
		% within Gender	7.5%	10.7%
		% of Total	1.2%	8.9%
	Yes	Count	136	669
		% within Gender	92.5%	89.3%
		% of Total	15.2%	74.7%
	Total	Count	147	749
		% within Gender	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	16.4%	83.6%

Source: Author's own construction

In the gender-wise category, 75% of male respondents said that they will vote the same party while 9% of them said that they will not vote the same party in next general election. And 15% of female respondents said that they will vote the same party in next general elections and only 1% of them said that they will not vote the same party in next general elections.

Urban-Rural wise response

Table 70

		Urban Rural		Total
		Rural	Urban	
No	Count	77	14	91
	% within Urban Rural	17.5%	3.1%	10.2%
	% of Total	8.6%	1.6%	10.2%
Yes	Count	364	441	805
	% within Urban Rural	82.5%	96.9%	89.8%
	% of Total	40.6%	49.2%	89.8%
Total	Count	441	455	896
	% within Urban Rural	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	49.2%	50.8%	100.0%

Source: Author's own construction

In the rural-urban division, 41% of those who live in the rural area said that they will vote for the same party and 9% of them said that they will not vote for the same party. While 49% of those who live in the urban area said that they will vote for the same party and only 2% of them said that they will not vote for the same party in the next general elections.

Profession-wise response

Table 71

		Profession						Total
		Business	Government Employee	Labor	No Job	Private Job	Student	
No	Count	20	25	23	0	11	12	91
	% of Total	2.2%	2.8%	2.6%	.0%	1.2%	1.3%	10.2%
Yes	Count	187	188	124	4	188	114	605
	% of Total	20.9%	21.0%	13.8%	.4%	21.8%	12.7%	69.8%
Total	Count	207	213	147	4	199	126	696
	% of Total	23.1%	23.8%	16.4%	.4%	22.2%	14.1%	100.0%

Source: Author's own construction

In the profession-wise category, 21% of businessmen said that they will vote for the same party in the next general elections, and only 2% of them said they will not vote for the same party. 21% of government employees said that they will vote for the same party and only 3% of them said that they will not vote for the same party. 14% of the labor class said that they will vote for the same party and 3% of them said that they will not vote the same party. 21% of private job holders said that they will vote for the same party while 13% of students said that they will also vote for the same party in the next general elections, which they voted in the elections of 2018.

CHAPTER. 6

AN ANALYSIS OF VOTING PATTERN IN DIR, IN THE LIGHT OF THEORETICAL MODELS

This chapter examines the voters' electoral behavior in voting patterns through the spectrum of sociological, psychological models, and rational choice theory and comparatively analyze the impact of these models on voters' choices.

To make inferences and predictions about behavior concerning a voting decision, certain factors such as gender, race, culture, or religion are usually become instrumental in affecting the decision of the voters. However, a more theoretical approach can be taken when viewing electoral behavior; such as region and political conditions in which a voter lives as these affect the electoral choices of the voters. The key public influences include the role of political socialization, tolerance of diversity of political views and the media. The effect of these influences on voting behavior is best understood through theories on the formation of attitudes, beliefs, knowledge structures and the practice of information processing.

According to this study, the three determinants and factors that influence voting behaviors and set patterns are religion, party affiliation and developmental works. Religion is one of the main factors which influences one's voting choice. It plays an important role in making the voters' choices, specifically in a Muslim country like Pakistan. In this survey, this factor has dominantly influenced the electoral process regarding voting choices.

For the respondents of this survey, the factor of religion had become more favorable in comparison with other factors. This factor is related to the sociological approach in voting behavior, therefore, this phenomon is being discussed here with the help of this

approach. Secondly, party affiliation and identification, it refers to the political party with which an individual identifies himself/herself. The party identification is affiliation with a political party. It is typically determined by the political party that an individual most commonly supports by voting it or participating in its activities.

In this study, it is noted that the majority of the participants specifically those who live in the urban area are more inclined to political affiliation during the electoral process, and they like to identify themselves with it. In the case of voting behavior models, this phenomenon is being studied with the help of a psycho-social approach.

The third one is developmental works. Even though this factor was marginalized in certain studies specifically in a region where a right-wing party predominantly gained the support for the decades. But surprisingly, the result of this survey shows that people are pro-development, especially the majority of those who live in rural area are influenced by this factor. Although regional development is more preferred against national development. Development is categorized in the rational choice approach in this chapter.

Theoretical Models

The theoretical models for investigating the voting behavior and patterns in Districts of Dir are briefly described to highlight their relevance and application in the survey results conducted for this research.

Sociological Model

A common perception regarding voting behavior in Pakistan is that social factors play a dominant role rather than political ones. However, contrary to the largely prevailing perception, the recent studies show that political factors had more influence and

importance in determining the voting patterns, practices and behaviors as compared to the social factors. The research studies by Andrew Wilder (1999) has challenged the notion that social determinants had a more critical and decisive role than political factors. This research also focuses on the social determinants of voting behavior in two districts of Upper and Lower Dir (KP) based on the theoretical paradigm of the sociological model of voting behavior.

The sociological model of voting behavior links voting decisions to the social predispositions of voters like social class, religion, ethnicity, language, and rural-urban divisions. The sociological model relates voting behavior to group membership suggesting that electors tend to adopt a voting pattern that reflects the economic and social position of the group to which they belong. This model highlights the importance of a social alignment while reflecting the various divisions within society. Although the impact of socialization is not irrelevant to this model, social-based explanations allow for rationality insofar as group interests may help to shape party allegiances. This has perhaps been clearest in relation to social class. Not uncommonly, party systems have been seen to reflect the class system with the middle classes providing the electoral base for right-wing parties, and the working classes providing the electoral base for left-wing parties.

The sociological school emphasizes the group basis of voting. It indicates the fact that although particular individuals deal with politics, it refers much more to group and general purposes and interests. The citizens who select the candidates who appear in the elections, although they make personal (individual) decision, cannot be entirely isolated from the adherence to certain collective characteristics, such as social status, friends and the remaining interactions that are contact point with politics. Lazarsfeld,

Berelson and McPhee (1954) particularly emphasize the role of the family and the political socialization at the expense of the remaining social impacts, which were considered dominant in a certain time period.

According to the sociological model, the tenets and customs developed in the primary stage of life perform a significant role throughout the lifetime and had a great impact on the attitudes of the individual in shaping his characters. This model also underlines that political devotion is cultured by voters as during their socialization and that voting choices are also significantly influenced by political socialization. The social and communal differences and alterations convert into political partisanship because each social clutch has its interests based on requirements and desires and this variance in their interests plays role in formatting their membership and devotion. As social relationships of unlike groups seldom go outside their own social comfort zone, so they support particular political parties and pressure groups that defend their welfare and interests (Sharlamanov & Jovanoski, 2014).

This method obtains attitudinal aspects as dependent variables triggered by routine practices of the people in social dealings (Aiba, 2003). Hence, candidates and political parties have a small opportunity to modify voters' choices in their support (Visser, 1994). According to this model, the conversion of votes by some electorates from one political party to another through the election campaign or among two elections is the consequence of cross-pressures, and the academics claimed it to be social in character rising from voters' affiliation in collective groups having various voting preferences (Visser, 1998).

Similarly, the class and creed also form the public's perceptions with the difference that, class shapes perception and sensitivity on the origin of redistribution of resources and

capitals while creed does it on other basis (Evans & Ball, 2018). Having affiliation with a religious party has more significance than just the political identification with this particular party. A dedicated affiliate of a religious group has approved to observe the mandatory religious rituals and values and to adhere to definite social norms, considered for the well-being of the society. Aberration from certain customs may be followed by some ramification for that particular group member. Therefore, there becomes a connection amongst the membership of a religious group and voting which then leads to social tendency of casting vote for a specific party or candidate. Most of the religious convictions propose for communiqué of these attitudinal values and norms by clerics who also proselytize as what is virtuous and what is sinful or immoral. These clerics or religious leaders do not function autonomously rather they are part of a larger religious hierarchy. The manifestation of such large-scale groups presents the elucidation for homogeneity among affiliates of a specific group (Elff and Roßteutscher, 2017).

The followers of a belief are not in a position to determine about certain essential conducts as articulated by that faith, by their own, but they take supervision from the religious leaders and then they involve religiously or civically, whether about polling or routine life practices and consequently involve in a doctrine defined by that specific group or personnel. Even if this supervision is not sufficient to evidently convey the group adherents about their vote inclinations still it will facilitate them to advance certain kind of comprehension about issues and matters and therefore have a particular stance or positions (Elff & Roßteutscher, 2017).

This model will help to explain the voting pattern in Districts of Dir as the middle class has a dominant role in politics, which mostly votes for the right-wing political parties.

Right-wing politics in Pakistan is frequently associated with Islamic populist ideas. The same case is in the Districts of Dir (Lower and Upper) where people mostly voted for the right-wing political party (Jamaat-e-Islami) in the last three elections this is because this party has played a major role after the affiliation of the State of Dir with Pakistan in the 1960s. Since then this party wins the majority seats in this region.

The Psychosocial Model:

The psychosocial model emphasizes on political factors as determinants of the voting pattern (Antunes, 2010) because it relates voting choices to the psychological tendencies of electorates like their political party identifications and their attitudes about the candidates (Scott & Marshall, 2009). This theory identifies six primary psychological factors that may influence voters' decision-making process. These factors include: (1) Party identification (2) Concerns with issues (3) Personal attachment to candidates (4) Conformity to the groups' standards (5) Sense of efficacy (6) Sense of civic obligation to vote (Aiba, 2003).

The essential significance of this model is political membership or party affiliation. According to this model, affiliation is a durable relationship with a political party which does not principally mean recognized registration as its adherent or persistently voting for it (Antunes, 2010). It debates that partisanship is the result of socialization of individuals happened in the pre-adult ages under the guidance of their parents and traditional regulation of the community. The researchers recommending this model reason that personalities nurture partisanship devotion under parental inspiration similar to their adopting of religious dogmas. For validating this assertion, they claimed that the survey data indicated that the overwhelming bulk of their respondents were

those who recognize themselves with political parties with which their parents recognized themselves (Hutchings & Jefferson, 2018).

The psychological model while also identifying the significance of social aspects, claims that social characteristics in a certain populace do vary but very gradually and over a long period of time but the fluctuations in voting patterns happen from one election to another. According to this approach, these fluctuations in election outcomes within a short period cannot be accredited to independent variables which practically continue the similar in the time when happened enormous fluctuation in voting patterns. Thus the psychological model aspect at this variation in voting tendencies as the result of political dynamics like issues and candidates that vary in small periods (Akhter & Sheikh, 2014).

The main theme of the psychological model is partisanship. Party identification is the sturdy relation with political parties which fundamentally starts in the initial stages of political socialization (Dinas, 2017). According to this model, party identification is an effect of psychological affection with any political party like a sense of attachment with one's social class, religion, or racial group (Hutchings & Jefferson, 2018). Party association, like religious association, often initiates within the family (Thomassen & Rosema, 2009) but the behaviors and norms of community, associates and peers (Antunes, 2010). Campbell and his colleagues at the University of Michigan argue that party identification is the sense of attachment, a person feels towards the party of his choice (Thomassen & Rosema, 2009). According to this argument, electorates have extended connotations with political parties without any concern for the candidates or issues, particularly during elections. Electorates may seldom differ from their parties and vote for other candidates but generally, they return to that particular party, which

they have a sense of attachment (Bowler, 2018). Thus partisanship evolved as an approach of identity, entrenched in people's primary socialization and functioning as a perceptual display of simultaneous political attitudes (Dinas, 2017).

Further significant components of this model are issue orientation and candidate orientation (Aiba, 2003). It means people's behavior toward issues and candidates (Akhter & Sheikh, 2014). Issue-based polling mostly happens during periods of socio-economic chaos when political parties offer comparatively different policy alternatives (Carmines & Stimson, 1980).

Hence, political parties highlight some issues over others. As conflict among parties on issues is not always happening, therefore, mostly parties highlight those issues on which they have worthy standing and ignore some others. It was on the basis of these outcomes that the notion called 'saliency theory of party competition' was established by the researchers. According to this concept, each contesting party has some policy issues for owning. Political parties assume achieving electoral assistance by emphasizing these issues while campaigning for election, and therefore, realize an inducement in frequently highlighting these issues. In the West, it has been recognized through empirical studies that the salience of particular forms of issues during an election campaign does impact collective election outcomes (Brug, 2017).

Rational Choice Theory

The rational choice model is thought to be based upon the idea that voters and politicians act out of self-interest, and such assumptions do lead to the rational turnout problem. However, most models assume some form of spatial calculation where voters vote for the parties closest to them in ideological space. Where voters located

themselves will be based upon considerations of their family interest. So the rational choice model is an important explanatory technique in our understanding of electoral and voting behavior as it constitutes a method that is best used alongside other methods.

The leading and prominent introducers of rational choice theory in electoral studies were economists Anthony Downs, Duncan Black, and Kenneth Arrow. Anthony Downs' seminal book (*An Economic Theory of Democracy*) is considered as the preliminary work for presenting a rational choice model for the study of voting behavior (Klingelhofer, 2010). Downs claims in his book that voters would evaluate candidates and their electoral stages and will vote on the basis of promises he and his party made to deliver (Stegmaier, Lewis-Beck & Park, 2017).

Advocates of this model argue that voters modify their relationship with political parties through each election while taking economic conditions into the consideration and also looking at approaches that political parties have (Antunes, 2010). It further asserts that electorates cast votes to the candidates and political parties whose policy program is close to the voters. Hence, the voters had their own benefits whereas, determining to vote for a party or candidate and these benefits might be of private nature family-related, clan/class, or group etc. (Dowding, 2001).

The principle of this model can be explained as if rational choice rules can explain the functioning of a market then surely this can be applied to the political structure. The concept principally forms an analogy between voters and political parties, voters and consumers on one hand, and enterprises and political parties on the other hand. It argues that similar to enterprises that wish for maximizing the profit, customers desire to maximize the utility, parties also endeavor to maximize electoral results, so the voters pursue to maximize their votes' value (Antunes, 2010). Downs writes that the central

notion is that parties in democratic systems are analogous to entrepreneurs in a profitable economy. Therefore, to achieve their personal objectives, they articulate whatever policies they consider will get more votes, just as businesspersons produce whatever products they think will get the most earnings for the same purpose. In order to observe and evaluate the implications of this research, it is anticipated that people act rationally in politics. This proposition can be itself an additional key hypothesis (Downs, 1957).

Downs advances his argument that neither parties nor voters are attracted by ideologies. According to him, ideologies for parties, are ways for receiving votes while for voters, ideologies are channels to lessen the costs of political information. Voters streamline the choice among political parties since they do not want to get detailed information about a party's potential undertakings if had the authority. They, instead, can identify a party's notion of a good society and their own place in that society. So, it can be said that ideological positions of candidates or parties are a type of 'heuristics' (means, enabling a person to discover or learn something for themselves) (Elff, 2018).

This model has three main points. (i) The decisions made by voters and parties are rational as they are determined by self-interest and intended at maximization of their actions' achievements. Parties participate in elections, not due to the humane motivations but to have the legal authority and power to use it for their welfare and to secure gains and prestige. Downs writes that the argument supports the fundamental hypothesis of our model: that parties articulate policies in order to succeed in elections, rather than to win elections in order to formulate policies (Downs, 1957) (ii) Voters and parties are responsible and reliable players so the results of their choices are anticipated as there is a level of regularity in the democratic system. According to Downs, voters

equate the estimated outcomes from both voting for the government and the opposition. In this case, they presume more from the ruling party, then surely they will vote for it. But in case if they anticipate less from it then they will support the opposition. However, if they expected no difference in terms of the outcomes from the two parties they might not vote either. (iii) The democratic system undertakes a level of insecurity and uncertainty (Antunes, 2010). Therefore this means that lack of information about the progress the happenings can be a refuge for the common voters. This uncertainty is multifarious and might be established at any point of the political decision-making process and generally, it has a great impact equally on the voters and parties as it controls the level of assurance and confidence with which both make decisions (Downs, 1957).

Reflections of Models in General Elections

In order to have predictions about behavior regarding the voting choice, many features such as gender, traditions, or beliefs must be considered. Additionally, a more academic method can be taken when viewing electoral patterns such as interests, religion and party affiliation etc. which impact voters' electoral behavior. The effect of these influences on voting behavior is best understood through voting behavior theories. The following three models were applied in this study to scientifically investigate and explore the key determinants that influence voting patterns in Districts of Dir. The table shows its numerical impact in percentages, which quantify the prevailing nature of the models. There are various norms link with these three models like, sociological model focuses on the effects of variables such as social class, religion, ethnicity, language, and rural-urban divisions. Those who are inspired by these sociological norms are tabulated in this category. While the psychosocial model of voting behavior links voting decisions to the psychological predispositions of voters like their party identifications and

perceptions about the candidates etc.(Scott & Marshall, 2009). The Rational Choice Theory also called the model of economic voting, considers individuals’ voting behavior as an outcome of cost-benefit analysis before casting vote. In this regard, voters look at issues addressed, and policies supported by various political parties and candidates (Antunes, 2010).

Application of different models in the general elections of 2002 to 2018

Table 72

Election	Sociological Model (on the basis of religion)	Psycho-Social Model (party affiliation)	Rational-Choice Model (economical interest)
2002	32.8	12.4	.6
2008	23%	17%	8%
2013	25%	37%	16%
2018	30.4	43.5	10.6

Source: Author’s own construction

According to the survey findings, the sociological model impact more voters comparatively. This means that social class, religion, ethnicity, language, and rural-urban divisions etc. are considered more important in terms of voting casting. Secondly, psycho-social factors like, party identification, concerns with issues, personal attachment to candidates, conformity to the group’s standards, sense of efficacy, sense of civic obligation to vote, influence voters patterns. Thirdly, the factors like individuals’ voting behavior as an outcome of cost-benefit analysis have an impact on voting patterns.

The following tabulated data shows the importance of different models that influence voting choices.

The Most Effective Program, that can help a Political Party in Winning the Elections

In your opinion, which program can contribute to winning the election mostly?

The participants of this survey were asked that what can contribute to winning the election mostly? Some options were given regarding a few programs like eradicating corruption, religion, national development, regional development and serving voters’ interests. The purpose of this question was to understand that what model works mostly in influencing the voters’ choices. The result of these questions studies in the light of the three models, sociological, psychosocial and rational choice, these models help in understanding voters’ behavior and comprehending the voting patterns.

What can help a political party in winning the election?

Table 73

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Eradicating corruption	41	4.6	4.6	4.6
	Highlighting international policies or issues	6	.7	.7	5.2
	I Don't Know	4	.4	.4	5.7
	Implementing Sharia Law	272	30.4	30.4	36.0
	National development	144	16.1	16.1	52.1
	Regional development	356	39.7	39.7	91.9
	Serving voters' interests	73	8.1	8.1	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author’s own construction

In response to this question, 7% of respondents said that “eradicating corruption” can help in winning the election mostly. In other responses, 30% said “implementing Sharia law” 16% said “national development” 40% said “regional development” and 8% said “serving voters’ interests” can help more in winning the elections. This result shows that most people believe that development is the main indicator and determinant in winning the election.

Different categories and variables will further explain the detail of this result in the following tables.

Age-wise response

Table 74

		Age					Total
		18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	
Eradicating corruption	Count	5	19	13	4	9	41
	% of Total	1.6%	2.1%	1.5%	.4%	.8%	4.6%
Highlighting international policies or issues	Count	1	4	0	1	0	6
	% of Total	.1%	.4%	.0%	.1%	.0%	.7%
I Don't Know	Count	1	3	0	0	0	4
	% of Total	.1%	.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.4%
Implementing Sharia Law	Count	68	74	69	47	14	272
	% of Total	7.6%	8.3%	7.7%	5.2%	1.6%	30.4%
National development	Count	17	45	39	30	13	144
	% of Total	1.9%	5.0%	4.4%	3.3%	1.5%	16.1%
Regional development	Count	87	107	75	62	25	356
	% of Total	9.7%	11.9%	8.4%	6.9%	2.8%	39.7%
Serving voters' interests	Count	5	23	24	19	2	73
	% of Total	.6%	2.6%	2.7%	2.1%	.2%	8.1%
Total	Count	184	275	228	163	54	896
	% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%

Source: Author's own construction

In the age-wise category, 8% of the age group of 18-25 years old said that religion can help more in winning the election, 10% of them said that regional development can help mostly in winning the election. In the age group of 26-35 years old, 8% said religion, 4% national development, 12% regional development and only 2% said serving people's interests can help mostly in winning the elections. In the age group of 36-45 years old, 8% said religion, 4% said national development, 8% said regional development, and only 2% said that serving people's interests can help more in winning the elections. In the age group of 46-60 years old, 5% said religion, 3% said national development, 7% said regional development and only 2% said that serving people's interests can help more in winning the elections. In the age group of 60+ years old, 2%

said religion, and 3% said regional development and 1% said national development can help more in winning the election.

The development factor is more dominant specifically the regional development. The respondents are more inclined to the option of development when it is put against other options. That development can help more in winning the elections comparatively. Even though in the upcoming tables the respondents clearly said that they prefer religion when it comes to vote casting.

Education-wise response

Table 75

		Education								Total
		Bachelor	Intermediate	Master	Matriculation	MPhil	Phd	Religious Education	Under Matric	
Eradicating corruption	Count	10	4	4	11	0	0	0	13	41
	% of Total	2.1%	.4%	.4%	2.2%	.0%	.0%	.0%	2.3%	4.6%
Highlighting international policies or issues	Count	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	2	6
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.2%	.1%	.1%	.0%	.0%	.2%	.7%
I Don't Know	Count	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	4
	% of Total	.0%	.3%	.0%	.0%	.1%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.4%
Implementing Sharia Law	Count	58	38	44	22	1	1	22	86	272
	% of Total	6.5%	4.2%	4.9%	2.5%	.1%	.1%	2.5%	9.6%	38.4%
National development	Count	18	11	21	27	0	0	1	66	144
	% of Total	2.0%	1.2%	2.3%	3.0%	.0%	.0%	.1%	7.4%	16.1%
Regional development	Count	38	45	49	35	0	0	2	159	356
	% of Total	4.2%	5.0%	5.5%	6.1%	.9%	.0%	.2%	17.7%	39.7%
Serving voters' interests	Count	28	0	13	5	0	0	2	25	73
	% of Total	2.2%	.9%	1.5%	.6%	.0%	.0%	.2%	2.8%	8.1%
Total	Count	144	109	133	121	11	1	27	358	806
	% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.9%	1.2%	.1%	3.0%	39.1%	100.0%

Source: Author’s own construction

In the category of education, 10% under matric level respondents said that implementing Sharia law (religion) can help more in winning the elections, 7% said that national development and 18% said that regional development can help more in winning the elections. Two percent of matric level said religion, 3% said national development and 6% said that regional development can help in winning the elections

mostly. Two percent of intermediate level said religion, and 4% of them said that regional development can help more in winning the election. Five percent of Bachelor level said that religion can help more in winning the election while 4% of them said that regional development can help more in winning the elections. Five percent of Master level respondents said that religion can help more and 4% of them said that regional development can help more in winning the elections. While only 2% of religious education graduates said that religion can help more in winning the election.

Gender-wise response

Table 76

		Gender		Total
		Female	Male	
Eradicating corruption	Count	4	37	41
	% of Total	4%	4.1%	4.6%
Highlighting international policies or issues	Count	0	6	6
	% of Total	0%	.7%	.7%
I Don't Know	Count	3	1	4
	% of Total	.3%	.1%	.4%
Implementing Sharia Law	Count	49	223	272
	% of Total	5.5%	24.9%	30.4%
National development	Count	21	123	144
	% of Total	2.3%	13.7%	16.1%
Regional development	Count	61	295	356
	% of Total	6.8%	32.9%	39.7%
Serving voters' interests	Count	9	64	73
	% of Total	1.0%	7.1%	8.1%
Total	Count	147	749	896
	% of Total	16.4%	83.6%	100.0%

Source: Author's own construction

In gender-wise data, 25% of male said that religion can help more in winning the elections, 14% said that national development, 33% said that regional development while, 7% said that serving people's interests can help more in winning the elections. In the female responses, 5% female said that religion, 2% said national development and 7% said regional development can contribute more in winning the elections.

Urban-Rural wise response

Table 77

		Urban Rural		Total
		Rural	Urban	
Eradicating corruption	Count	32	9	41
	% of Total	3.6%	1.0%	4.6%
Highlighting international policies or issues	Count	6	0	6
	% of Total	.7%	.0%	.7%
I Don't Know	Count	4	0	4
	% of Total	.4%	.0%	.4%
Implementing Sharia Law	Count	111	161	272
	% of Total	12.4%	18.0%	30.4%
National development	Count	101	43	144
	% of Total	11.3%	4.8%	16.1%
Regional development	Count	120	236	356
	% of Total	13.4%	26.3%	39.7%
Serving voters' interests	Count	67	6	73
	% of Total	7.5%	.7%	8.1%
Total	Count	441	455	896
	% of Total	49.2%	50.8%	100.0%

Source: Author's own construction

In the rural-urban regional wise data, 12% of those who live in rural area said that religion play important role in winning the elections, 11% said national development, 13% said regional development, while, 7% said that serving people's personal interests can help more in winning the elections. Eighteen percent those who live in urban area said that religion, 5% sand that national development, 26% said that regional development and only one percent said that serving personal interest can help more in winning the elections.

Profession-wise response

Table 78

		Profession						Total
		Business	Government Employee	Labor	No Job	Private Job	Student	
Eradicating corruption	Count	15	13	6	0	3	4	41

	% of Total	1.7%	1.5%	.7%	.0%	.3%	.4%	4.6%
Highlighting international policies or issues	Count	2	2	0	0	2	0	6
	% of Total	.2%	.2%	.0%	.0%	.2%	.0%	.7%
I Don't Know	Count	0	0	2	0	1	1	4
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.2%	.0%	.1%	.1%	.4%
Implementing Sharia Law	Count	56	64	49	2	61	40	272
	% of Total	6.3%	7.1%	5.5%	.2%	6.8%	4.5%	30.4%
National development	Count	39	38	22	1	26	18	144
	% of Total	4.4%	4.2%	2.5%	.1%	2.9%	2.0%	16.1%
Regional development	Count	71	81	53	1	96	54	356
	% of Total	7.9%	9.0%	5.9%	.1%	10.7%	6.0%	39.7%
Serving voters' interests	Count	24	15	15	0	10	9	73
	% of Total	2.7%	1.7%	1.7%	.0%	1.1%	1.0%	8.1%
Total	Count	207	213	147	4	199	126	896
	% of Total	23.1%	23.8%	16.4%	.4%	22.2%	14.1%	100.0%

Source: Author's own construction

In profession-wise category, 5% businessmen said that religion can contribute more in winning of election, 4% said national development and 8% said that regional development can contribute more in winning the election. Seven percent government employees said that religion can contribute more, 4% said national development and 9% said that regional development can contribute more in winning the elections. Five percent labor class said that religion, 2% said national development and 6% said that regional development can contribute more in winning the elections. Seven percent of private job holders said that religion, 3% said national development and 11% said that regional development can contribute more in winning the elections. While, 4% students said that religion, 2% said national development and 6% said that regional development can contribute more in winning the elections.

Analysis

The data result shows that the participants of this survey is preferring development, specifically regional development being carried out by the political parties. They said that development can help political parties and their candidates in winning elections the most. Even though the option of development was put against religion and some other

options, but still it was the most favorable element in winning the elections. According to Prof. Abdul Khabir, development is the main indicator of political triumph in Districts of Dir, you cannot exploit religion or other slogans to get political support forever. Only development can maintain political dominance (Prof. Khabir, personal communication, Aug 29, 2020). Bakht Baidar, the provincial candidate of PPP said that before we were campaigning on the basis of clientelism, tribalism etc. but now the electoral trends are changed, you have to prove that you have worked more for the development and have future plans better than the rest (Baidar, personal communication, Aug 30, 2020).

Prof. Abdul Khabir said that in the context of Dir, in the very beginning, politicians were trying to convince the community leaders, if they did, then the whole community would give political support. However, this trend has changed as the politicians had compelled to convince each family leader, for getting their political support in the elections. But now this trend has also changed as the politicians have to make access each person for getting his/her vote during the elections. According to him, now people, especially the youth are educated as they expect better policies and pragmatic plans for development (Prof. Khabir, personal communication, Aug 29, 2020). The conclusive argument in focus group discussion was also in favor of development with reference to the political parties.

It is Important to Vote on the Basis of Affiliation with a Political Party

Since the researcher has applied the psycho-social model in this study. A related question has been asked from the participants of the survey whether they prefer party affiliation during vote casting majority are affirmative in their responses.

Table 79

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Disagree	56	6.3	6.3	6.3
	I Don't Know	19	2.1	2.1	8.4
	Strongly agree	403	45.0	45.0	53.3
	To some extent agree	411	45.9	45.9	99.2
	To some extent disagree	7	.8	.8	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author's own construction

Participants were asked that, is it important to vote on the basis of affiliation with a political party. the majority 45% of the respondents said that they strongly agree with this statement, again 45% said that to some extent they agree with this statement. Totally, it becomes 90% which is a huge number that believes the party affiliation is important.

Age-wise response

Table 80

		Age					Total
		18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	
Disagree	Count	10	18	12	15	1	56
	% of Total	1.1%	2.0%	1.3%	1.7%	.1%	6.3%
I Don't Know	Count	5	7	2	3	2	19
	% of Total	.6%	.8%	.2%	.3%	.2%	2.1%
Strongly agree	Count	98	117	99	64	25	403
	% of Total	10.9%	13.1%	11.0%	7.1%	2.8%	45.0%
To some extent agree	Count	71	129	105	80	26	411
	% of Total	7.9%	14.4%	11.7%	8.9%	2.9%	45.9%
To some extent disagree	Count	0	4	2	1	0	7
	% of Total	.0%	.4%	.2%	.1%	.0%	.8%
Total	Count	184	275	220	163	54	896
	% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%

Source: Author's own construction

In response to this question, 11% of the age group of 18-25 years old respondents said that they strongly agree with this statement, 8% said they agree to some extent and only 1% said that they disagree with it. In the age group of 26-35, 13% said that they strongly

agree with the statement, 14% said that they are to some extent agree and only 2% said they disagree with it. In the age group of 36-45 years old, 11% said that they strongly agree, 12% said they are to some extent agree while only 1% said they disagree. In the age group of 46-60 years old, 7% said that they strongly agree, 9% to some extent agree and only 2% of them disagree with this statement. In the age group of 60+ years old, 3% said that they strongly agree and 3% of them said that they are to some extent agree.

Education-wise response

Table 81

		Education								Total
		Bachelor	Intermediate	Master	Matriculation	MPhil	Phd	Religious Education	Under Matric	
Disagree	Count	6	3	6	4	2	3	3	35	56
	% of Total	7%	3%	7%	4%	2%	3%	3%	3.9%	6.3%
I Don't Know	Count	3	3	3	3	1	3	3	6	19
	% of Total	3%	3%	3%	3%	1%	3%	3%	7%	2.1%
Strongly agree	Count	76	58	57	52	3	3	1	164	483
	% of Total	8.9%	6.6%	6.4%	5.8%	3%	3%	1%	18.3%	45.8%
To some extent agree	Count	58	53	65	62	5	1	26	141	411
	% of Total	6.8%	5.9%	7.3%	6.9%	6%	1%	2.9%	15.7%	45.9%
To some extent disagree	Count	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	4	7
	% of Total	1%	3%	2%	3%	3%	3%	3%	4%	3%
Total	Count	144	109	133	121	11	1	27	358	556
	% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	1%	3.8%	39.1%	100.0%

Source: Author's own construction

In the category of education, 18% of under matric level respondents strongly agree with the statement, 16% agreed and only 4% disagreed with it. Six percent of matric level respondents strongly agreed and 7% to some extent agreed, 6% of intermediate level strongly agreed and 6% to some extent agreed, 8% of Bachelor level strongly agreed and 6% to some extent agreed, 6% of Master level strongly agreed and 6% to some extent agreed while 3% of religious educated respondents to some extent agreed with this statement.

Gender-wise response

Table 82

		Gender		Total
		Female	Male	
Disagree	Count	10	46	56
	% of Total	1.1%	5.1%	6.3%
I Don't Know	Count	4	15	19
	% of Total	.4%	1.7%	2.1%
Strongly agree	Count	65	338	403
	% of Total	7.3%	37.7%	45.0%
To some extent agree	Count	68	343	411
	% of Total	7.6%	38.3%	45.9%
To some extent disagree	Count	0	7	7
	% of Total	.0%	.8%	.8%
Total	Count	147	749	896
	% of Total	16.4%	83.6%	100.0%

Source: Author's own construction

In the gender-wise category, 38% male respondents strongly agreed, 38% to some extent agreed and 5% disagreed with this statement. While 7% female respondents strongly agreed, 8% to some extent agreed and only 1% disagreed with this statement that it is more important to vote on the basis of political affiliation.

Urban Rural wise response

Table 83

		Urban Rural		Total
		Rural	Urban	
Disagree	Count	29	27	56
	% of Total	3.2%	3.0%	6.3%
I Don't Know	Count	13	6	19
	% of Total	1.5%	.7%	2.1%
Strongly agree	Count	127	276	403
	% of Total	14.2%	30.8%	45.0%
To some extent agree	Count	267	144	411
	% of Total	29.8%	16.1%	45.9%
To some extent disagree	Count	5	2	7
	% of Total	.6%	.2%	.8%
Total	Count	441	455	896
	% of Total	49.2%	50.8%	100.0%

Source: Author’s own construction

In the rural-urban division, 14% of those who live in the rural area strongly agreed with this statement, 30% to some extent agreed and 5% disagreed that it is more important to vote on the basis of political affiliation with a political party. While 31% of those who live in urban areas are strongly agreed, 16% to some extent agreed and only 3% disagreed with this statement. This data shows that those who live in the urban area are giving more preference to the political parties than those who live in a rural area, the comparison is made in the category of ‘strongly agree’.

It is More Important to Vote on the Basis of Religion?

The respondents were asked a question regarding the importance of religion during vote casting as to whether they consider religion important during the vote casting? The majority of the respondents agreed to this statement with a small opposition i.e. 7.4% who disagreed with this statement.

Table 84

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Disagree	66	7.4	7.4	7.4
	Strongly agree	614	68.5	68.5	75.9
	To some extent agree	208	23.2	23.2	99.1
	To some extent disagree	8	.9	.9	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author’s own construction

Again the respondents were asked that is it more important to consider religion during vote casting. This time majority of the respondents 68.45% said that they are strongly agreed with this statement while 23% said that they agreed with this statement to some extent. But 7.4% said that they did not agree with this statement which means they have not considered religion during vote casting.

Age-wise response

Table 85

		Age					Total
		18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	
Disagree	Count	27	23	12	4	0	66
	% of Total	3.0%	2.6%	1.3%	.4%	.0%	7.4%
Strongly agree	Count	100	181	150	134	49	614
	% of Total	11.2%	20.2%	16.7%	15.0%	5.5%	68.5%
To some extent agree	Count	56	66	57	24	5	208
	% of Total	6.3%	7.4%	6.4%	2.7%	.6%	23.2%
To some extent disagree	Count	1	5	1	1	0	8
	% of Total	.1%	.6%	.1%	.1%	.0%	.9%
Total	Count	184	275	220	163	54	896
	% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%

Source: Author’s own construction

In response to this statement, in the age-wise category, 11% of the age group of 18-25 years old respondents said that they strongly agree with it, 6% to some extent agree and 3% disagree with this statement. In the age group of 26-35 years old, 20% of respondents strongly agree, 7% to some extent agree and 3% disagree with this statement. In the age group of 36-45 years old, 17% strongly agree, 6% to some extent agree and only 1% disagree with the statement that it is more important to vote on the basis of religion. In the age group of 46-60 years old, 15% strongly agree, and 3% to some extent agree with this statement. While, 5% of the age group of 60+ years old strongly agree and only 1% to some extent agree with this statement, that it is more important to vote on the basis of religion.

Education-wise response

Table 86

		Education								Total
		Bachelor	Intermediate	Master	Matriculation	MPhil	Phd	Religious Education	Under Metric	
Disagree	Count	13	15	14	0	1	0	0	15	66

Strongly agree	% of Total	3.5%	1.7%	1.6%	3%	1.1%	8%	8%	1.7%	7.4%
	Count	36	56	31	72	4	1	25	279	514
To some extent agree	% of Total	9.6%	7.4%	9.8%	8.8%	4%	1%	2.8%	31.1%	68.5%
	Count	45	27	36	48	6	8	2	52	288
To some extent disagree	% of Total	3.8%	3.8%	4.8%	4.5%	7%	8%	2%	5.8%	23.2%
	Count	9	1	2	1	8	8	8	4	8
Total	% of Total	8%	1%	2%	1%	8%	8%	8%	4%	9%
	Count	144	189	133	121	11	1	27	358	896
Total	% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	1%	3.8%	39.1%	100.0%
	Count									

Source: Author's own construction

In the education-wise category, 31% of under matric level respondents are strongly agree with this statement, 6% are to some extent agree and 2% disagree with this statement. Six percent of Matric level are strongly agree and 4% to some extent agree with this statement. In the intermediate level 7% are strongly agree, 3% to some extent agree and 2% disagree with this statement. In the Bachelor level 10% are strongly agree, 5% to some extent agree and 2% disagree with this statement. Seven percent in Master level respondents are strongly agree, 3% to some extent agree and 2% disagree with this statement. While, 3% religious educated respondents are strongly agree with the statement that it is more important to vote on the basis of religion.

Gender wise response

Table 87

		Gender		Total
		Female	Male	
Disagree	Count	6	60	66
	% of Total	.7%	6.7%	7.4%
Strongly agree	Count	115	499	614
	% of Total	12.8%	55.7%	68.5%
To some extent agree	Count	24	184	208
	% of Total	2.7%	20.5%	23.2%
To some extent disagree	Count	2	6	8
	% of Total	.2%	.7%	.9%
Total	Count	147	749	896
	% of Total	16.4%	83.6%	100.0%

Source: Author's own construction

In the gender-wise category, 56% of male respondents strongly agree, 12% to some extent agree and 7% disagree with the statement that it is important to vote on the basis of religion. While 13% of female respondents strongly agree, 3% to some extent agree and only 1% disagree with this statement.

Urban-Rural wise response

Table 88

		Urban Rural		Total
		Rural	Urban	
Disagree	Count	5	61	66
	% of Total	.6%	6.8%	7.4%
Strongly agree	Count	308	306	614
	% of Total	34.4%	34.2%	68.5%
To some extent agree	Count	126	82	208
	% of Total	14.1%	9.2%	23.2%
To some extent disagree	Count	2	6	8
	% of Total	.2%	.7%	.9%
Total	Count	441	455	896
	% of Total	49.2%	50.8%	100.0%

Source: Author's own construction

In the rural-urban category, 34% of those who live in the rural area strongly agree with this statement, 14% to some extent agree and only 1% disagree with it. While 34% of those who live in the urban areas strongly agree, 9% to some extent agree and 7% disagree with the statement that it is important to vote on the basis of religion.

Profession-wise response

Table 89

		Profession						Total
		Business	Government Employee	Labor	No Job	Private Job	Student	
Disagree	Count	9	13	5	1	22	16	66
	% of Total	1.0%	1.5%	.6%	.1%	2.5%	1.8%	7.4%
Strongly agree	Count	139	151	104	3	141	76	614
	% of Total	15.5%	16.9%	11.6%	.3%	15.7%	8.5%	68.5%
To some extent agree	Count	55	48	37	0	34	34	208

	% of Total	6.1%	5.4%	4.1%	.0%	3.8%	3.8%	23.2%
To some extent disagree	Count	4	1	1	0	2	0	8
	% of Total	.4%	.1%	.1%	.0%	.2%	.0%	.9%
Total	Count	207	213	147	4	199	126	896
	% of Total	23.1%	23.8%	16.4%	.4%	22.2%	14.1%	100.0%

Source: Author's own construction

In the category of professions, 165 businessmen are strongly agree, 5% to some extent agree and only 1% disagree with this statement. Seventeen percent government employees are strongly agree, 5% to some extent agree and only 1% disagree with this statement. Twelve percent labor class strongly agree and 4% to some extent agree to this statement. Sixteen percent private job holders are strongly agree, 4% to some extent agree and 2% disagree to this statement. Eight percent students are strongly agree, 4% to some extent agree while, 2% disagree with the statement that, it is more important to vote on the basis of religion.

It is More Important to Vote on the Basis of National and Regional Development.

Respondents were asked whether they consider rational choice during vote casting. The question was about the development which supports the rational choice theory. In this regard surprisingly 97% of respondents agreed to this statement.

Table 90

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Disagree	9	1.0	1.0	1.0
	I Don't Know	8	.9	.9	1.9
	Strongly agree	472	52.7	52.7	54.6
	To some extent agree	391	43.6	43.6	98.2
	To some extent disagree	16	1.8	1.8	100.0

	Total	896	100.0	100.0	
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Source: Author's own construction

Respondents were asked that what they think about this statement, that it is more important to vote on the basis of national and regional development. 53% of the respondent said that they strongly agree with this statement while 44% said that they agree with this statement to some extent.

Age-wise response

Table 91

		Age					Total
		18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	
Disagree	Count	2	3	4	0	0	9
	% of Total	.2%	.3%	.4%	.0%	.0%	1.0%
I Don't Know	Count	2	2	2	2	0	8
	% of Total	.2%	.2%	.2%	.2%	.0%	.9%
Strongly agree	Count	78	162	121	84	27	472
	% of Total	8.7%	18.1%	13.5%	9.4%	3.0%	52.7%
To some extent agree	Count	102	99	90	73	27	391
	% of Total	11.4%	11.0%	10.0%	8.1%	3.0%	43.6%
To some extent disagree	Count	0	9	3	4	0	16
	% of Total	.0%	1.0%	.3%	.4%	.0%	1.8%
Total	Count	184	275	220	163	54	896
	% within Age	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%

Source: Author's own construction

In the age-wise category, 9% of the age group of 18-25 years old respondents said that they are strongly agreed that national and regional development should be considered during vote casting and 11% of them are to some extent agreed. Eighteen percent of the age group of 26-35 respondents said that they strongly agree, 11% said they are to some extent agree and only 1% said that they disagree with it. In the age group of 36-45 year-old participants said that they strongly agree and 10% said that they are to some extent agree with this statement. Nine percent of the age group of 46-60 years old strongly

agree and 8% are to some extent agree, while, 3% of the age group of 60+ years old said that they strongly agree and 3% said, to some extent they agree to the statement that, national and regional development should be considered during vote casting.

Education-wise response

Table 92

		Education								Total
		Bachelor	Intermediate	Master	Matriculation	MPhil	Phd	Religious Education	Under Matric	
Disagree	Count	1	1	3	0	0	0	1	3	9
	% of Total	.1%	.1%	.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.1%	.3%	1.0%
I Don't Know	Count	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	4	8
	% of Total	.1%	.1%	.1%	.0%	.1%	.0%	.0%	.4%	.9%
Strongly agree	Count	57	38	53	55	5	1	4	259	472
	% of Total	6.4%	4.2%	5.9%	6.1%	.6%	.1%	.4%	28.9%	52.7%
To some extent agree	Count	85	65	72	65	5	0	21	78	391
	% of Total	9.5%	7.3%	8.0%	7.3%	.6%	.0%	2.3%	8.7%	43.6%
To some extent disagree	Count	0	4	4	1	0	0	1	6	16
	% of Total	.0%	.4%	.4%	.1%	.0%	.0%	.1%	.7%	1.8%
Total	Count	144	109	133	121	11	1	27	350	896
	% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	.1%	3.0%	39.1%	100.0%

Source: Author's own construction

In the category of education, 29% of under matric level said that they are strongly agree and 9% said that they are to some extent agree with this statement. Six percent of Matric level respondents said that they are strongly agree and 7% said they are to some extent agree, 7% of intermediate level respondents strongly agree and 7% are to some extent agree, 6% of Bachelor level strongly agree and 9% are to some extent agree, 4% of Master level strongly agree and 7% are to some extent agree with this statement. While only 2% of religious educated respondents said that they are to some extent agree with the statement that it is more important to vote on the basis of national and regional development.

Gender-wise response

Table 93

		Gender		Total
		Female	Male	
Disagree	Count	2	7	9
	% of Total	.2%	.8%	1.0%
I Don't Know	Count	3	5	8
	% of Total	.3%	.6%	.9%
Strongly agree	Count	82	390	472
	% of Total	9.2%	43.5%	52.7%
To some extent agree	Count	58	333	391
	% of Total	6.5%	37.2%	43.6%
To some extent disagree	Count	2	14	16
	% of Total	.2%	1.6%	1.8%
Total	Count	147	749	896
	% of Total	16.4%	83.6%	100.0%

Source: Author's own construction

In the category of gender wise responses, 44% of male respondents are strongly agree, 37% are to some extent agree and only 3% are disagree with this statement. While 9% of female respondents are strongly agree and 6% are to some extent agree that it is more important that to vote on the basis of national and regional developments.

Urban Rural wise response

Table 94

		Urban Rural		Total
		Rural	Urban	
Disagree	Count	7	2	9
	% of Total	.8%	.2%	1.0%
I Don't Know	Count	5	3	8
	% of Total	.6%	.3%	.9%
Strongly agree	Count	206	266	472
	% of Total	23.0%	29.7%	52.7%
To some extent agree	Count	215	176	391
	% of Total	24.0%	19.6%	43.6%
To some extent disagree	Count	8	8	16
	% of Total	.9%	.9%	1.8%
Total	Count	441	455	896
	% of Total	49.2%	50.8%	100.0%

Source: Author's own construction

In the regional-wise category, 23% of those who live in the rural area strongly agree, 24% are to some extent agree and 2% disagree with this statement. While 30% of those

who live in urban areas strongly agree, 20% are to some extent agree and only 1% disagree with the statement that, it is more important to vote on the basis of national and regional development.

Profession-wise response

Table 95

		Profession						Total
		Business	Government Employee	Labor	No Job	Private Job	Student	
Disagree	Count	2	4	2	0	0	1	9
	% of Total	.2%	.4%	.2%	.0%	.0%	.1%	1.0%
I Don't Know	Count	1	3	1	1	1	1	8
	% of Total	.1%	.3%	.1%	.1%	.1%	.1%	.9%
Strongly agree	Count	128	99	72	1	105	67	472
	% of Total	14.3%	11.0%	8.0%	.1%	11.7%	7.5%	52.7%
To some extent agree	Count	75	99	70	2	88	57	391
	% of Total	8.4%	11.0%	7.8%	.2%	9.8%	6.4%	43.6%
To some extent disagree	Count	1	8	2	0	5	0	16
	% of Total	.1%	.9%	.2%	.0%	.6%	.0%	1.8%
Total	Count	207	213	147	4	199	126	896
	% of Total	23.1%	23.8%	16.4%	.4%	22.2%	14.1%	100.0%

Source: Author's own construction

In the profession-wise category, 14% of businessmen said that they strongly agree and 8% said they are to some extent agree. Eleven percent of government employees said they strongly agree and 11% said they are to some extent agree, 8% labor class respondents said that they strongly agree and 8% said they are to some extent agree, 12% of private job holders said that they strongly agree and 19% said they are to some extent agree, 7% students said that they strongly agree, while 6% of them said that they are to some extent agree with the statement to vote on the basis of national and regional development.

What do you Think is More Important to be Considered during Vote Casting?

In this category, all three models mentioned altogether, this was happened with the purpose to know that comparatively which model is adopted. So in this case, mostly the participants agreed with the sociological model. This means that when respondents agree with other models they do not necessarily take them comparatively rather they take them simultaneously. In the discourse of voting behavior with reference to splits, there are many interesting aspects and factors to be observed. The three basic voting factors mainly considered are class, gender and religion. Religion is frequently a factor that influences political behavior especially the choice of choosing a political party. In recent times this voting cleft has moved away from concerning religious issues to now have a greater emphasis on religious vs non-religious (Brook, 2006).

Table 96

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Development	141	15.7	15.7	15.7
	Personal or family interests	11	1.2	1.2	17.0
	Political affiliation	137	15.3	15.3	32.3
	Relation with the candidate	3	.3	.3	32.6
	Religion	603	67.3	67.3	99.9
	Talented candidate	1	.1	.1	100.0
	Total	896	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author’s own construction

Participants were asked about multiple options that can possibly influence their consideration during vote casting. The majority of them i.e. 67% said that religion should be taken into the consideration during vote casting while 15% of the respondents

said that political affiliation is more important and 15.7% are giving preference to the development.

Age-wise response

Table 97

		Age					Total
		18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	
Development	Count	22	35	41	23	0	141
	% of Total	2.5%	6.1%	4.6%	2.6%	0%	15.7%
Personal or family interests	Count	0	2	6	2	1	11
	% of Total	0%	2%	7%	2%	1%	1.2%
Political affiliation	Count	57	36	18	18	8	137
	% of Total	6.4%	4.0%	2.0%	2.0%	9%	15.3%
Relation with the candidate	Count	1	0	1	0	1	3
	% of Total	1%	0%	1%	0%	1%	3%
Religion	Count	104	182	154	119	44	603
	% of Total	11.6%	20.3%	17.2%	13.3%	4.9%	67.3%
Talented candidate	Count	0	0	0	1	0	1
	% of Total	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	1%
Total	Count	184	275	220	163	54	896
	% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%

Source: Author's own construction

In response to this question, in the age-wise category, 12% of the age group of 18-25 years old said that they think, religion is more important to be considered during vote casting, 6% said that political affiliation is more important and only 2% said that development is more important. In the age group of 26-35, 20% of respondents view that religion is more important during vote casting, 4% said political affiliation is more important and 6% said that development is more important. In the age group of 36-45 years old, 17% said that religion is more important to be considered during vote casting, 2% said political affiliation is more important and 5% said that development is more important to be considered during vote casting. In the age group of 46-60 years old, 13% said that religion is more important, 2% said that political affiliation is more

important and 3% said that development is more important to be considered during the vote casting. While 5% of the age group of 60+ years old said that religion is more important and only 1% of them said that party affiliation is more important to be considered during vote casting.

Education-wise response

Table 98

		Education								Total
		Bachelor	Intermediate	Master	Matriculation	MPhil	Phd	Religious Education	Under Matric	
Development	Count	25	17	23	28	4	0	0	44	141
	% of Total	2.8%	1.9%	2.6%	3.1%	.4%	.0%	.0%	4.9%	15.7%
Personal or family interests	Count	2	1	2	1	0	0	0	5	11
	% of Total	.2%	.1%	.2%	.1%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.6%	3.2%
Political affiliation	Count	27	23	25	34	1	0	0	27	137
	% of Total	3.0%	2.6%	2.8%	3.8%	.1%	.0%	.0%	3.0%	15.3%
Relation with the candidate	Count	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	3
	% of Total	.1%	.0%	.0%	.1%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.1%	.3%
Religion	Count	39	67	83	57	6	1	27	273	583
	% of Total	9.9%	7.5%	9.3%	6.4%	.7%	.1%	3.8%	58.5%	87.3%
Talented candidate	Count	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	% of Total	.0%	.1%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.1%
Total	Count	144	109	133	121	11	1	27	350	896
	% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	.1%	3.0%	39.1%	100.0%

Source: Author's own construction

In the category of education, 30% of under matric level respondents said that they considered religion is more important during vote casting, 3% said that political affiliation is more important and 5% said that development is more important. Six percent of Matric level respondents said that religion is more important and 4% said that political affiliation is more important and 3% said that development is more important. Six percent of intermediate-level respondents said that religion is more important and 3% said that political affiliation is more important. Nine percent of Bachelor level respondents said that religion is more important, 3% said that political affiliation is more important and 3% said that development is more important. While

9% of Master level respondents said that religion is more important and 3% said that political affiliation is more important to be considered during vote casting. And 3% of religious educated respondents said that religion is more important to be considered during the vote casting.

Gender-wise response

Table 99

		Gender		
		Female	Male	Total
Development	Count	14	127	141
	% of Total	1.6%	14.2%	15.7%
Personal or family interests	Count	2	9	11
	% of Total	.2%	1.0%	1.2%
Political affiliation	Count	15	122	137
	% of Total	1.7%	13.6%	15.3%
Relation with the candidate	Count	0	3	3
	% of Total	.0%	.3%	.3%
Religion	Count	116	487	603
	% of Total	12.9%	54.4%	67.3%
Talented candidate	Count	0	1	1
	% of Total	.0%	.1%	.1%
Total	Count	147	749	896
	% of Total	16.4%	83.6%	100.0%

Source: Author’s own construction

Gender-wise data shows that 545 male respondents said that religion is more important to be considered during the vote casting, 14% said that political affiliation is more important and 14% of them said that development is more important. While 13% of female respondents said that religion is more important, 2% said that political affiliation is more important and 2% said that development is more important to be considered during the vote casting.

Urban-Rural wise response

Table 100

		Urban Rural		Total
		Rural	Urban	
Development	Count	106	35	141
	% of Total	11.8%	3.9%	15.7%
Personal or family interests	Count	9	2	11
	% of Total	1.0%	.2%	1.2%
Political affiliation	Count	44	93	137
	% of Total	4.9%	10.4%	15.3%
Relation with the candidate	Count	2	1	3
	% of Total	.2%	.1%	.3%
Religion	Count	279	324	603
	% of Total	31.1%	36.2%	67.3%
Talented candidate	Count	1	0	1
	% of Total	.1%	.0%	.1%
Total	Count	441	455	896
	% of Total	49.2%	50.8%	100.0%

Source: Author's own construction

In the regional-wise division, 31% of those who live in the rural area said that they considered religion more important during vote casting, 5% of them said that political affiliation is more important and 12% of them said that development is more important to be considered during vote casting. While 36% of those who live in the urban area said that religion is more important to be considered during vote casting, 10% of them said that political affiliation is more important and 4% of them said that development is more important to be considered during vote casting.

Profession-wise response

Table 101

		Profession						Total
		Business	Government Employee	Labor	No Job	Private Job	Student	
Development	Count	32	38	28	1	23	19	141
	% of Total	3.6%	4.2%	3.1%	.1%	2.6%	2.1%	15.7%
Personal or family interests	Count	3	5	3	0	0	0	11
	% of Total	.3%	.6%	.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	1.2%
Political affiliation	Count	32	23	28	1	24	29	137
	% of Total	3.6%	2.6%	3.1%	.1%	2.7%	3.2%	15.3%
Relation with the candidate	Count	1	0	1	0	1	0	3

Religion	% of Total	.1%	.0%	.1%	.0%	.1%	.0%	.3%
	Count	139	147	87	2	150	78	643
	% of Total	15.5%	16.4%	9.7%	.2%	16.7%	8.7%	67.3%
Talented candidate	Count	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.1%	.0%	.1%
Total	Count	287	213	147	4	199	126	896
	% of Total	23.1%	23.8%	16.4%	.4%	22.2%	14.1%	100.0%

Source: Author's own construction

In the profession-wise category, 16% of businessmen said that religion is more important to be considered during vote casting, 3% of them said that political affiliation is more important and 3% said that development is more important to be considered during vote casting. Sixteen percent of government employees said that religion is more important, 3% of them said political affiliation is important and 4% of them said that development is more important to be considered during vote casting. Ten percent of the labor class said that religion is more important, 3% said that political affiliation and 3% said that development is more important during vote casting. Seventeen percent of private job holders said that religion is more important, 3% of them said that political affiliation and 2% of them said that development is more important to be considered during the vote casting. While 9% of students said that religion is important, 3% said that political affiliation and 2% of them said that development is more important to be considered during the vote casting.

Analysis

Closely looking at the above-mentioned data, it becomes evident that different views regarding the determinants had a grave impact on voting choices. In response to the first question, the respondents clearly expressed their views that for the political party, the most influential factor for winning the elections is development. This also means that people measure political parties on the scale of development. But still, the respondents are focusing on regional development than national development. Then the

researcher further investigate their preferences with the diverse statements which also somehow presents a clear picture of the voting choices made by the voters during the electoral process. In this regard, the delicate question was the last one, where all variables were put in contrast to each other and the respondents had to choose one option. In response to this question, the most favorable option chosen by the respondents was religion, the second option was development while the third chosen option was party affiliation with a slight difference from the second option.

These answers were given in reference to the personal consideration of voters during vote casting. According to Prof. Qasim, people do consider religion in each aspect of their lives. But in politics, they do not like political parties to just chant the slogans of religion and be passive on development (Prof. Qasim, personal communication, Sep 5, 2020). The factors like, religion, party affiliation and development are not contrary to each other, so it is possible for a person that joins a political party due to religion and at the same time development factor can also be applied (Prof. Abdul Khabir, Aug 29, 2020).

But looking at the results of the question that was asked from the participants, what was the reason behind their voting to a specific political party or candidate in general elections of 2002 to 2018. The most preferred factor indicated by the respondents was religion, the second choice was party affiliation and thirdly they have chosen the option of development. So according to various findings, it is difficult to predict voters' choice by a single indicator. The choices vary from elections to elections relatively with reference to the personal consideration and to the extent of political parties' manifestos, developmental plans and policies.

CHAPTER. 7

KEY FINDINGS

This chapter comprises some prominent themes inferred from the data findings. Thematic analysis is a method of examining data to gain meaningful comprehension of the participant's perspectives. The thematic analysis identifies patterns within the data while enabling the researcher for a detailed understanding of the research data. It is a useful method for analyzing the survey data as it looks for patterns from participant communication that is not constrained by any limitations to the responses.

Researchers conducting thematic analysis should attempt to go beyond the surface meanings of the data to make a sense of the data and tell a rich and compelling story about what the data means. Analyzing data in an active way assists researchers in searching for meanings and patterns in the data set.

Thematic analysis is, therefore, a valuable method for examining the content of responses from data collected from the survey questions, focus group discussions, or interviews. In this example, a mixed-methods research study was implemented to gain the voters' perspective and understand the pattern specifically regarding the electoral process. A source of data collection was a voter's survey at the end of the study. Aligning with a mixed-methods approach, the survey consisted of close-ended questions. The survey was used to elicit knowledge about the participants and acquire responses to specific questions directed at their attitudes, beliefs, behaviors, or emotions regarding their political behavior.

Thematic analysis can be used to explore questions about the participants' lived experiences, perspectives, behavior and practices, the factors and social processes that influence and shape particular phenomena, the explicit and implicit norms and 'rules'

governing particular practices, as well as the social construction of meaning and the representation of social objects in particular texts and contexts.

At this stage, it is tempting to rush this phase of familiarization and immediately start generating themes. However, this process of immersion will aid researchers in identifying possible themes and patterns.

Religion

Religion is a central factor in the political choices of people. For many voters, religion and politics are deeply intertwined. The traditional factor like religion is often testified to have power for the filtering of the voting decision. Religion occupies a central role in the political landscape, and its influence is a driving force behind many political decisions. When religion is considered, scholars and experts alike have emphasized the role of religion in political behavior and attitudes.

The same case is in the Districts of Dir. The residents of Dir are deeply motivated by religion. According to Malik Sadiq, the foundation of the Dir state was laid down by religion. Therefore, religion was and is the first priority of the residents of Dir. When the era of Nawab ended and the State of Dir administratively merged to Pakistan, there was much space for the political parties to fill, but JI solely dominated with the religious impression and then followed by PPP (Malik Sadiq, personal communication, Aug 30, 2020).

Prof. Qasim said that it was not merely the question of filling the political space but the basic reason behind the political dominance of JI was the resistance of its followers which started in the time of Nawab (Prof. Qasim, personal communication, Sep 5, 2020). Bakht Baidar, the provincial candidate of PPP said that my father was in JI, for

him it was a sole choice, but later on when Bhato came to Dir then we participated in PPP (Baidar, personal communication, Aug 30, 2020).

Malik Fakhruzaman, the PTI leader and provincial candidate also said that our family was in JI, because it was a religious party (Fakhruzaman, Aug 30, 2020). So it is obvious that almost all political leaders who are active in politics are somehow related to JI. And the reason that most people have their shared memories with JI as their party. Therefore, the members of focus group discussions and all those who are interviewed unanimously said that the affiliation or political support of JI as a political party was due to its religious orientation. And even now people of Dir are religious and they take religion into consideration.

It is obvious from many responses to different questions that voters are making their choices by religious consideration. But it is important to note that religion is only considered during the electoral process relatively as a personal choice of voters. Otherwise, as it is mentioned above that most respondents said that political parties should lead their campaigns through their developmental projects and policies, specifically regional development. Although, respondents clearly said that they consider religion during vote casting. The following data show the result of different categories made by the participants of this survey.

The respondents were asked a question regarding the importance of religion during vote casting, whether they consider religion during the vote casting? The majority of the respondents agreed to this statement with a small opposition i.e. 7.4% who disagree with this statement.

Again the respondents were asked that is it more important to consider religion during vote casting. This time 68.45% majority said that they strongly agree with this statement

while 23% said that they agree with this statement to some extent. But 7.4% said that they do not agree with this statement which means that they do not consider religion during vote casting.

In response to this statement, in the age-wise category, 11% of the age group of 18-25 years old respondents said that they strongly agree with it, 6% to some extent agree and 3% disagree with this statement. In the age group of 26-35 years old, 20% of respondents strongly agree, 7% to some extent agree and 3% disagree with this statement. In the age group of 36-45 years old, 17% strongly agree, 6% to some extent agree and only 1% disagree with the statement that it is more important to vote on the basis of religion. In the age group of 46-60 years old, 15% strongly agree, and 3% to some extent agree with this statement. While 5% of the age group of 60+ years old strongly agree and only 1% to some extent agree with this statement that it is more important to vote on the basis of religion.

In the educational category, 31% of under matric level respondents strongly agree with this statement, 6% are to some extent agree and 2% disagree with this statement. Six percent of Matric level strongly agree and 4% to some extent agree with this statement. In the intermediate level, 7% strongly agree, 3% to some extent agree and 2% disagree with this statement. At the Bachelor level, 10% strongly agree, 5% to some extent agree and 2% disagree with this statement. Seven percent of Master level respondents strongly agree, 3% to some extent agree and 2% disagree with this statement. While 3% of religious educated respondents strongly agree with the statement that it is more important to vote on the basis of religion.

In the category of gender, 56% of male respondents strongly agree, 12% to some extent agree and 7% disagree with the statement that it is important to vote on the basis of

religion. While 13% of female respondents strongly agree, 3% to some extent agree and only 1% disagree with this statement.

In the rural-urban category, 34% of those who live in rural areas strongly agree with this statement, 14% to some extent agree and only 1% disagree with it. While 34% of those who live in the urban area strongly agree, 9% to some extent agree and 7% disagree with the statement that it is important to vote on the basis of religion.

In the category of professions, 16% businessmen strongly agree, 5% to some extent agree and only 1% disagree with this statement. Seventeen percent of government employees strongly agree, 5% to some extent agree and only 1% disagree with this statement. Twelve percent labor class strongly agree and 4% to some extent agree with this statement. Sixteen percent of private job holders strongly agree, 4% to some extent agree and 2% disagree with this statement. Eight percent of students strongly agree, 4% to some extent agree while, 2% disagree with the statement that, it is more important to vote on the basis of religion.

Development

Since the merger of Dir state with Pakistan administratively, it has been predominantly under the influence of the rightest political party in terms of gaining the political support of the general public. Therefore, hypothetically, it was assumed that sociological factors such as religion, family and social class, are determining the voters' choices during the electoral process. But the findings of this survey show that basically development is the main motive behind the voters' choices. In our definition, development is a process that creates growth, progress, positive change, or the addition of physical, economic, environmental, social and demographic components. Professor Abdul Khabir said that

nowadays people can be only convinced through pragmatic policies and developmental projects (Khabir, personal communication, Aug 29, 2020).

The members of the focus group discussion unanimously expressed that the old tradition changed when politicians used to access the elders of the community or family only for getting the political support of each member. Now every person should be reached and be convinced, otherwise, it is not possible to win the election. The findings of this survey also support the idea that people are now thinking rationally in the electoral process regarding vote casting. People are preferring regional development instead of national, Bakht Baidar provincial candidate of PPP and ex-minister said that Districts of Dir are located in hard mountainous areas so the basic facilities are still needed, therefore, people do prefer the regional and local development projects (Baidar, personal communication, Aug 30, 2020).

According to this survey, the majority of respondents have preferred development over religion, according to them, development is the main factor that can help a political party in winning the elections. This view is specifically addressed with reference to political parties not for personal consideration.

When the participants were asked that what can contribute to winning the election mostly? This question was asked regarding a few programs like eradicating corruption, religion, national development, regional development and serving voters' interests. The purpose of this question was to understand that what model works mostly in influencing the choices of voters. As three models were applied in this survey for investigating the voting pattern. The three main models were sociological, psychosocial and rational choice. These models help in understanding the voters' behavior and comprehending the voting patterns.

In response to this question, 7% of respondents said that “eradicating corruption” can help in winning an election mostly. In other responses, 30% said “implementing Sharia law” 16% said “national development” 40% said “regional development” and 8% said “serving voters’ interests” can help more in winning the elections. This result shows that mostly i.e. 40% regional development and 8% national development totaling 48% of respondents believe that development is the main indicator and determinant in winning the election.

To see the results in the age-wise category, 8% of the age group of 18-25 years old said that religion can help more in winning the election, 10% of them said that regional development can help mostly in winning the election. In the age group of 26-35 years old, 8% said religion, 4% national development, 12% regional development and only 2% said serving people’s interests can help mostly in winning the elections. In the age group of 36-45 years old, 8% said religion, 4% said national development, 8% said regional development, and only 2% said that serving people’s interests can help more in winning the elections. In the age group of 46-60 years old, 5% said religion, 3% said national development, 7% said regional development and only 2% said that serving people’s interests can help more in winning the elections. In the age group of 60+ years old, 2% said religion, and 3% said regional development and 1% said national development can help more in winning the election.

The development factor is more dominant specifically the regional development. The respondents are more inclined to the option of development when it is put against religion. That development can help more in winning the elections comparatively. Even though in the upcoming tables the respondents clearly said that they prefer religion when it comes to casting vote.

In the category of education, 10% under matric level respondents said that implementing Sharia law (religion) can help more in winning the elections, 7% said that national development and 18% said that regional development can help more in winning the elections. Two percent of matric level said religion, 3% said national development and 6% said that regional development can help in winning the elections mostly. Two percent of intermediate level said religion, and 4% of them said that regional development can help more in winning the election. Five percent of Bachelor level said that religion can help more in winning the election while 4% of them said that regional development can help more in winning the elections. Five percent of Master level respondents said that religion can help more and 4% of them said that regional development can help more in winning the elections. While only 2% of religious education graduates said that religion can help more in winning the election.

In gender-wise data, 25% of males said that religion can help more in winning the elections, 14% said that national development, 33% said that regional development while, 7% said that serving people's interests can help more in winning the elections. In the female responses, 5% female said that religion, 2% said national development and 7% said regional development can contribute more in winning the elections.

In the rural-urban regional wise data, 12% of those who live in the rural area said that religion play important role in winning the elections, 11% said national development, 13% said regional development while 7% said that serving people's personal interests can help more in winning the elections. Eighteen percent of those who live in the urban area said that religion, 5% said that national development, 26% said that regional development and only one percent said that serving personal interest can help more in winning the elections.

In the profession-wise category, 5% of businessmen said that religion can contribute more to winning the election, 4% said national development and 8% said that regional development can contribute more to winning the election. Seven percent of government employees said that religion can contribute more, 4% said national development and 9% said that regional development can contribute more in winning the elections. Five percent labor class said that religion, 2% said national development and 6% said that regional development can contribute more in winning the elections. Seven percent of private job holders said that religion, 3% said national development and 11% said that regional development can contribute more in winning the elections. While 4% of students said that religion, 2% said national development and 6% said that regional development can contribute more to winning the elections.

Respondents were asked that what they think about the statement that it is more important to vote on the basis of national and regional development. 53% of the respondent said that they strongly agree with this statement while 44% said that they agree with this statement to some extent.

The majority of the participants said that development can contribute more to winning elections. Yet, mostly the respondents had preferred regional development over national development. According to the data, the role of religion comes after the development program. To see these responses, it can be concluded that the voters preferred those political parties who were pro-development or had good developmental policies or programs.

Since the Districts of Dir are located in the far northern part of Pakistan and its hilly areas, therefore, mostly the respondents had preferred regional development. Still, to see that even the majority of the respondents said that development is the main

determinant in winning the elections and even the marginalized rightest political party had been dominant politically for decades. This question was asked from Mr. Fazal, that what was the reason behind this overwhelming support is for this party. According to him, actually, when Dir state administratively merged into Pakistan, from the very first day, the JI was more active compared to other political parties. Therefore, the JI has created its strong loyalties within the families, secondly, mostly developmental work has been done by the JI in this region. Likewise, it has always prioritized the development of the region. And thirdly, he said that even though people think that development is more impactful in winning the election, but you cannot ignore the factor of religion. So these are the main reasons behind the support for the JI in Districts of Dir (Mr. Fazal, personal communication, March 2020).

Party Affiliation

Party affiliation and party identification have impacts on vote choice. The candidate's affiliation with a particular political party is seen as one the most impactful determinants for voters' choice during the vote casting. But voters' party affiliation has the same impact during the elections. The results based on the survey and observation are consistent and show that voters' decisions are influenced strongly by the party affiliation and identification in the elections.

It was also observed that those who live in urban areas are more party-based than those who live in rural areas as they are interest-based in making their voting choices. Sultan Yar, JI provincial candidate said that the party affiliation was everything. People are supporting their parties and have an emotional attachment with these parties, according to him, in each general election, we see the majority of people who had never chanted a single slogan or publicly stood with a political party as they are waving political parties' flags and chanting slogans for some particular parties. This means that elections

awake certain political and emotional attachments (Sultanat Yar, personal communication, Sep 5, 2020). Bakht Baidar, the PPP provincial candidate on other hand said that it's all about the candidate, if he has a close relationship with the general public, he will be succeeded (Baidar, personal communication, Aug 30, 2020). Prof. Abdul Khabir said that political affiliation is now a weak factor for the voting choice as people are now considering other factors and they make their choices based on rationality (Khabir, personal communication, Aug 29, 2020). The members of focus group discussions are of the view that party affiliation is still a strong element for the voters during the elections.

The below data is evident to show the importance of party affiliation in voters' preference. The respondents were asked, is it important to vote on the basis of political party affiliation. The majority of the respondents 45% said that they strongly agree with this statement, again 45% said that to some extent they agree with this statement. Totally, it becomes 90% which is a huge number that believes the party affiliation is important.

In response to another question whether they affiliated with a political party or not? 92% of the respondents of this survey said that they are affiliated with a political party, while only 8% of them said that they are not affiliated with any political party.

When the respondents were asked that why they have voted with that very party or candidate in the 2002 general elections. Majority of the respondents 32% said that they have supported that party on the basis of religion. While 12% said they supported it due to the party affiliation.

The same question has been asked about the voting a political party in 2008 general elections, in response to it, 16% said that the reasons were religious-based, 17% said

due to the political affiliation, 5% said that they had some personal or family relationship with the candidate while 3% said that the party or the candidate has highlighted some important issues.

Mr. Rahman said that even though a dominant religious political party, the JI has boycotted the 2008 elections, but still the alliance named MMA has contested the elections. And even some candidates from JI have also contested the elections so they had got a handful of votes during the polling. Therefore, according to him, religion has played an important role in politics, especially in the Districts of Dir (Mr. Abdur Rahman, personal communication February 3, 2020).

When the respondents were asked that what was the reason behind their support for that particular party in the 2013 general elections. The majority of the respondents 37% said because of the party affiliation while 22% said that we did it on the basis of religion.

When the reason behind the voting a specific political party in 2018 general elections inquired. In response to this, 30.4% of respondents said that they voted for this party on the basis of religion, 44% said they voted for it due to party affiliation, 11% said that they voted on the basis of their personal interests. While 10% said that the party or candidate has highlighted some important issues, therefore, they voted for that specific political party or candidate during the 2018 general elections.

The Role of Women

Women's political participation in Districts of Dir confronts a number of social, cultural, political and religious barriers which halt their political and electoral participation. Dir was a princely state till 1970, when it became administratively part of Pakistan, since then elections were introduced in Dir. The first election was held in

1970, but till the elections of 2013, women had never participated in the electoral process.

Many reasons are mentioned that why women had never remained part of the politics in Districts of Dir, many people said it was religion. But Bakht Baidar, leader of PPP said in response to the women participation in the electoral process of 2018 general elections that when we allow women to participate in elections they came out of their houses, and now we see the markets are full of women so it is also against our culture and tradition (Baidar, personal communication, Aug 30, 2020). It is surprising that a political leader who contest election from a leftist political party like PPP had such opinion about women's political participation.

Prof. Qasim said in response to it that the only reason behind the women's confinement is the so-called Pashtun tradition. This tradition did not only stop women from political participation but also marginalized them in society, deprived them of their basic rights. He said that if the reason was religion (Islam), then there are multiple rights given by the religion to women including education and right to the property then why they were deprived of these rights (Prof. Qasim, personal communication, Sep 5, 2020).

Prof. Abdul Khabir said that if the women in Dir are somehow politically active and trained, it is also due to the religious political party like JI, otherwise, there was no platform for them to participate in such activities. According to him, the first female teachers appointed were from religious families because the so-called Pashtun did not want to educate their women (Khabir, personal communication, Aug 30, 2020).

Mr. Siddique said that there is a saying among Pashtun about women, '*Da Khazi zai ya Kor de ya Gor de*' that (the place of women is either home or tomb). It means that it is better for woman to stay at her home and only her corpse goes to the grave to be buried.

It is the only one example, otherwise, there are many traditional chains that were used and are even now being used to confine women and deprive them of their due rights (Siddique, personal communication, Sep 4, 2020). Sultanatyar of JI said that it was the JI was the only party that has empowered women in Districts of Dir politically. They were trained in different programs, in response to the question, that why JI was not allowed its female members to cast their vote during the electoral process. He said that there was a social contract of political parties and community leaders that women will not participate in the electoral process (Sultana Yar, personal communication, Sep 5, 2020).

So traditionally women were secluded from different social activities held outside from the premises of a “house”. Therefore, the same tradition carried on for decades, and different political parties even the secular ones, agreed that women will not be part of the electoral process. Until the resolution passed that the election will be null and void without 10% women participation. Women in Districts of Dir started casting their votes for the first time after the mandatory resolution in the 2018 general elections. Ironically, during the survey, it was also observed that religious people were more welcoming the women’s participation in politics. The women with religious political identities are found more active than those who had no political identities. The respondents of this survey were asked about women’s participation in the electoral process. The following responses show that majority of the respondents are in favor of women’s participation in politics with some exceptions which are mentioned in the data.

Women’s Participation in Electoral Politics

The respondents were asked about women’s participation in politics. 35% of participants said that they strongly agree with women’s participation in politics.

Subsequently, 38% are to some extent agree with this statement, but 24.7% of respondents were still opposing women's participation in the electoral process.

Age-wise response

When the age-wise respondents were asked about this statement that whether women should participate in the electoral process and politics. 17% of the age group of 18-25 years said that they agree to this statement that women should participate in the electoral process and as well in politics, only 3% of them said that they do not agree with this statement. 22% of the age group of 26-35 years old said that they agree with this statement, and 8% of them disagree with it. 14% of the age group of 36-45 years old said that they agree with this statement, and 7% of them disagree with it. 11% of the age group of 46-60 years said that they agree with this statement that women should participate in electoral politics, and 7% of them said that they disagree with it. 4% of the age group of 60+ years old said that they agree with the statement that women should participate in electoral politics, while, 2% of them still disagree with this statement.

Education-wise response

In the education-wise category, 23% under matric level respondents said that they agree with this statement, 16% of them said that they disagree with it. 10% of matric level respondents said that they agree with this statement and 3% of them disagree with it. 10% of intermediate level respondents agree with this statement, only 2% of them disagree. 13% of Bachelor level participants agree with the statement and only 2% of them disagree with it. 12% of Master level respondents agree with the statement with 2% of them disagreeing. 2% of religious education graduates agree with the statement. This data shows that the more advanced in education are more agree with the women

participation in electoral process or politics. Even the graduates from religious seminaries are also agreed with women's political participation.

Gender-wise response

The results of gender-wise data show that 58% of male respondents agree with women's political participation, 25% disagree with it. While 15% of female respondents agree with the statement and still 2% of female participants disagree with the statement.

Region-wise response

In the rural-urban wise data, 32% of those who live in the rural areas agree that women should participate in the electoral process and in politics, 17% of them still disagree with this statement. And 31% of those who live in urban areas agree with women's participation in the electoral process while 9% of them disagree with it.

To see the responses from the women participants, about the reasons behind the voting in the 2018 general elections, a question was asked that what was the reason for voting for this party or candidate.

In the gender-wise responses, 22% of male respondents said that they voted on the basis of religion during the 2018 general elections, 37% said they voted due to the political affiliation, 9% said because the party has highlighted some important issues and 10% said that they voted on the basis of some personal interests during the 2018 general elections. While 8% female respondents said that they voted on the basis of religion and 6% said that they voted during the 2018 general elections due to their political affiliation with a specific party. The numbers in this data show that the majority of the participants voted on the basis of their political affiliation, secondly on the basis of religion, even though for some the main reason for the affiliation with some political party is also religion.

Females participated in just one election of 2018 but still, they have their position regarding different political engagement. There are some other gender-wise responses that show that how women are looking at different issues and how they respond to them.

Voting against one's own will

In gender-wise responses, 14% of females said that they have never voted against their own will and only 2% said that they have voted against their own will.

Political interest

The gender-wise result shows that 16% of females are interested in politics as the percentage varies from larger extent to the smaller one. The percentage of male participants is high, it is due to the selection of high number of male samples comparatively. Because female voters only participated in the 2018 general elections, before this election, females have not participated in any general elections.

Attending rallies of political parties

Only one percent of females said that they attend these rallies on regular basis, 2% said they attend them on rarely basis and 13% said they do not attend these rallies.

Convincing others for voting

Thirteen 13% female respondents said that they have convinced others to vote to their favorite political party and only 3% said that did not convince others to vote for their favorite political party.

Trust in politicians

Fourteen percent of female respondents said that they agree with this statement and only 1% disagree with this statement.

Source of information

Six percent of female rely on social media, 4% on family, 5% on TV and only 1% on newspapers as the main source of political information.

An aged female (Taha bibi) said that whatever the female pretend to say but the reality is that they were secluded from the political arena for decades as now females became part of the political activities and that is only limited to the electoral process. So they just followed the males to vote for a specific party. According to her, most women are not aware of the political parties' symbols, therefore, they are guided just to stamp a specific symbol, mostly do not know if asked after to whom they vote (Taha bibi, personal communication, April 2, 2020).

Political participation

The people of Dir are more politically aware and active. According to Prof. Qasim, the JI has played an important role in spreading this awareness. He added that even though the residents of Dir are religious-minded but they had never followed someone blindly, like when Talibanization started and even the group was claiming to implement Sharia Law. But the people of Dir had never followed that militant group, again he said that this awareness was given by the religious political party like JI.

The leaders of TTP stood up from Dir, like Fazlullah who was the son-in-law of Sufi Muhammad was later on the main leader of Tehreek Taliban Pakistan but he got his followers from the Swat region. According to Prof. Qasim, though, educational institutions were built in Swat in the colonial period and in Dir in the 1970s, but still, the political awareness of Dir is much more if compare to Swat, because this militant group got its huge following from Swat region, not in Dir (Prof. Qasim, personal communication, Sep 5, 2020).

The political participation and awareness is high in the Districts of Dir, according to Prof. Abdul Khabir, this awareness was a reaction to the *Khans* and Nawabs' brutalities and persecution. Like, you will find *Khans* everywhere in Pashtun regions, but in Dir there is no prominent *Khan* or Nawabzada. The system still had an influence on the society but people were fed up with that system in the State of Dir as when the status changed, there was a sudden reaction in breaking that system that empowered *Khans* (Prof. Khabir, personal communication, Aug 29, 2020).

Bakht Baidar said in this regard that when the State of Dir ended, the *Khans* made an organization with the name of '*Nujwan*' to protect their privileges given by Nawab, he said, this organization destroyed my shop and hotel when they saw the flag of PPP (Baidar, personal communication, Aug 30, 2020). The basic reason was also that Bhattoo has introduced the land reform laws and these *Khans* were afraid of the *Kisanyan* from capturing their lands.

Another big change was the breakthrough in getting the education as in the era of Nawab, modern education was banned, and therefore, the high ratio of getting modern education in Districts of Dir was somehow a reaction of that era (Fazal, personal communication, Aug 29, 2020). Sultanat Yar said that now Dir is leading in the basic education in the entire Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Sultanatyar, personal communication, Sep 5, 2020).

All these factors are adding value to the political awareness in these Districts. But again there are some groups and segments of the society which are more politically active and some are less. In this regard, the researcher has found and observed from the data that respondents of the middle ages, like, 25-35 years old are comparatively more politically active. The same case is with those who are under matric, they have just a

primary level education or middle level. Both of these categories had more interest in politics and like more to express their political affiliation than other categories. The following data support this claim.

Age-wise political interest

Seeking the in-depth understanding if we see the age-wise variable to know that how much interest in politics each age group has. We find that 21% of 18-25 years age group has an interest in politics. This percentage is an accumulative average of the agreement to the statement to the large extent, to smaller extent and to some extent. Age group 26-35 are interested in politics to 30%, this percentage is high among all, but in each aspect, the result comes high from this age group. 36-45 age group is 25%, 46-60 age group is 18% and 60+ is only 5% interested in politics. But the number is zero when it comes to the not interested column, though some responses still remain unknown, this means that majority of the participants are interested in politics but their interest varies from the large extent to the smaller one.

Education-wise political interest

The education-wise result shows that 39% of participants who are under matric (middle and primary levels) are interested in politics, 13% matric, 11% intermediate, 16% Bachelor and 13% of master level participants are interested in politics, and only 2% of religiously educated people had an interest in the politics. A high number of under matric level participants showed their interest in politics. This means that political awareness is not necessarily linked with education in these districts. One reason was mentioned by Mr. Rehman that education came in the 1980s to Dir valley so education cannot be the main factor for the prevailing trends (Mr. Rehman, personal communication, March 15, 2020).

Age-wise response

In age-wise data, 20% of the age group of 18-25 years old said that they are affiliated with a political party and 1% of them said that they do not have any affiliation with any political party. 28% of the age group of 26-35 years old said that they have a political affiliation, and only 3% of them said that they do not have any political affiliation. 22% of the age group of 36-45 said that they have political affiliation and only 2% of them said that they do not have any political affiliation. 17% of the age group of 46-60 said that they have political affiliation and only 2% of them said that they do not have any political affiliation. While 6% of the age group of 60+ said that they have a political affiliation, none of them said that they do not have any political affiliation.

Education-wise response

The result in the educational category shows that 33% of under matric level respondents said that they have political affiliation and 6% of them said that they do not have any political affiliation. 13% of matric level respondents said that they have a political affiliation, 12% of intermediate level said that they have a political affiliation, 16% of Bachelor level said that they have a political affiliation, while, only 1% of them said that they do not have any political affiliation, 13% of Master level respondents said that they have political affiliation while 1% of them said that they do not have any political affiliation. 3% of religious education graduates said that they have political affiliation with some political parties.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

The main objectives approved by the board for this study are, (i) to find out key determinants of the voting pattern in both Districts of Dir (Lower and Upper) (ii) to understand why voting pattern remained relatively stable over the years and did not deviate from the general trend (iii) to examine the critical role of socio-cultural and political factors in determining voting behavior and pattern.

In order to achieve these objectives the current research asked questions related to determinants of voting behavior and exploration of relatively more stable voting patterns and the role of socio-cultural and ideological determinants.

In the perspective of inquiring the determinants of the voting patterns in developing democracy, this research is a substantial study based on the sociological, psycho-social and rational choice perspectives. The researcher has found that issues such as religion, race, gender; and other social affiliations, still prevailing in the region had a significant role and impact on voters' choice.

The Voters' behavior in Districts of Dir is largely determined by social factors as well as rational choices such as education, health and national and regional development policies of political parties. Though almost all models had some impact in influencing the voting determinants but the sociological model had a dominant role. More specifically, this research has found that the role of religion is prevailing, especially when it comes to relative preferences in electoral politics. Due to this reason, mostly in general elections held in these districts, religious parties had played a dominant role against other rival parties in terms of getting votes.

This research is also a response to the question that why the voting trends and patterns are stable for many decades in Districts of Dir while the voting trends and behavior change in each election in the other parts of KP. The reason lies here in the traditional nature of this region. The founding fathers had laid the foundations on the basis of socio-religious tradition which changed many values. And that tradition prevailed through the centuries, even the last Nawab was justifying his legitimacy through the religious norms.

Many elders from Nawab's time told me that the last Nawab was not practicing religion but still he emphasized Sharia in resolving different issues regarding the general public. This is all due to the religious nature of the Dir State. As the JI had religious orientation and interpreted politics as the core principle of Islam. Along with this orientation, the JI has also resisted Nawab's policies and spread awareness against his rule.

The third reason which noticed by the researcher was that basically, the people of Dir were traditionally religious, therefore, they respected those families whose ancestors worked for spreading of Islam, and the whole family named with the same tag, like, '*Sahibzadgan*', '*Miangan*' etc. the first followers of JI were from those families so people accepted JI as the sole representative of religion in the politics.

This last reason is also a response to the question that in the whole country there are many other religious parties that are accepted more religious than JI, then why JI dominated as a religious force in Dir. So according to these reasons, when the status of the State of Dir is ended, and soon after the 1970s general election held, the JI had won the election while competing with the Nawab family. And this dominance has remained for decades even though that the voting trends had changed time and again in the rest of the province.

This research will help those who are engaged in the studies of voting patterns and behavior in relation to the applied models in this field. The research also finds that Districts of Dir still had some traditional norms and values having a phenomenal impact on people's political choices. There is a vital space for the researcher to study women's role in politics. As ironically, the main reason in viral reports and news about women confinement and their segregation from politics is considered a religion, but the researcher has found that the religious parties had empowered females in various traits more than the secular parties. Even during the interviews, many political and religious-political leaders were welcoming females' participation in politics. However, many political leaders from the liberal parties are still opposing females' participation in electoral politics. So this phenomenon needs to be studied academically in a research project in higher studies.

There are also some recommendations in the light of the survey findings that for the political parties, particularly those which are functional in the Districts of Dir. Dir being a traditional region with a significant religious orientation, the residents of Dir had always considered religion during the vote casting. But in responding to various questions it is easily inferred that now people are thinking rationally. They consider developmental projects are the main factor for winning the elections with reference to political parties. In the future, the election campaign needs to be more pragmatic and rational, and the emotional appeals and mere promises cannot convince the general public for getting their votes.

Secondly, party affiliation which was one of the influential factors in voting choices has now changed. The voters, particularly the youth are not considering mere affiliation with a political party to cast their vote in its favor. They listen to their slogans, study their election manifestos and observe their developmental policies and then decide their

vote choice. Thirdly, the important suggestion is that in the near future the main factor of winning the elections in Districts of Dir is in getting women's political support. Those parties that motivate more women to participate in the electoral process will win the elections easily. The voting pattern is completely changed with the women's participation and the youth interest in electoral politics. If political parties did not work on it, their triumph will be impossible.

APPENDIX 1:

Questionnaire

My name is I am a PhD candidate at Dept. of Politics and International Relations, International Islamic University Islamabad, and my research topic is "." This questionnaire is purely for academic research and will not be used for any other purpose. I pledge that the filled questionnaires will not be shared with any third party (Except my Supervisor/Advisor).

.....

Name (Not Mandatory): _____ Age: _____ Gender: _____

Marital Status: _____ Education: _____ Profession: _____

Union Council _____ Area (Urban----Rural).

First part:

The conditional requirements for the filling the survey, all candidates must response to these questions:

- Age: 18-25, 26-35, 36-45, 45-60, and 60+
- Gender: Male, Female
- Education: Matriculation, Intermediate, Bachelor, Master, MPhil, Phd, Religious education, Non
- Profession: Government employee, Private job, Business, Student, other
- Districts: Lower Dir, Upper Dir
- Union Council (Lower Dir): Chakdara Union Council, Khadagzai Union Council
- Union Council (Upper Dir): Dir tow Union Council, Bibior Union Council

1. Are you interested in politics: (A) Very much (B) To some extent (C) Not much (D) Not at all.
2. What is your main source of information about politics: (A) Radio (B) TV (C) Newspaper (D) Social Media (E) peers (F) family and relatives.
3. In your opinion, what is the basic motive for the participation in voting? (A) To perform civic duty (B) Because they have personal attachment with the candidate (C) To play role in someone's victory who will give them favors (D) Due to support for an issue highlighted by a candidate for whom they vote (E) Because of party loyalty (F) For religious purposes (G) I don't know.
4. Do you discuss electoral politics with other people? (A) Frequently (B) Sometimes (C) Rarely (D) Never.
5. If yes, then with whom? (A) Political members (B) Family and relatives (C) With different level leaders (D) With friends (E) With all mentioned above (F) Other
6. Do you attend rallies of political parties/candidates? (A) Regularly (B) Rarely (C) Yes if I visit them by chance (D) Sometimes but not regularly (E) Not at all.
7. Have you ever convince others to vote for your favorite political party? (A) Yes (B) No
8. Do you believe in speeches delivered by candidates during election campaign? (A) Totally (B) To greater extent (C) To some extent (D) To lesser extent (E) Not at all.
9. Politicians are the ones who can solve our political and economic problems. (A) Strongly agree (B) Agree (C) Strongly disagree (D) Disagree (E) I don't know.
10. Do you participate in your party internal election? (A) Regularly (B) Sometimes (C) Elections not held (D) Other

11. When you exercised your right to vote for the first time? (A) 1970 elections (B) 1977 elections (C) 1985-1990 elections (D) 1993-1997 elections (E) 2002 elections (F) 2008 elections (G) 2013 elections (H) 2018 elections
12. How many elections have you participated in above mentioned elections? (A) In one election (B) In two elections (C) In three elections (D) In four elections (E) In five elections (F) In six elections (G) In seven elections (H) In eight elections (I) In nine elections (J) In all elections
13. Do you vote for the same party in provincial and national election? (A) Yes (B) No
14. Have you ever changed your political party? (A) Yes (B) No.
15. Have you ever decided not to vote? (A) Yes (B) No.
16. If yes, then when and why? (A) In 2002 elections (B) In 2008 elections (C) In 2013 elections (D) In 2018 elections
17. Why you decided not to vote? (A) Due to some personal reasons (B) My party or favorite candidate boycotted (C) My name was not included in voter list (D) Polling station was not accessible (E) Due to some religious reasons (F) Others
18. Do you think that your vote can make any difference? (A) Definitely (B) To some extent (C) May be (D) Not too much (E) Not at all.
19. Do you think that elections held in Pakistan are usually free and fair (A) Yes (B) Not (C) To some extent (D) To greater extent (E) To lesser extent (F) I don't know.
20. Have you ever voted against your own will? (A) Yes (B) No.
21. If Yes, then why? (A) Due to family pressure (B) To earn financial benefits (C) Influential figures of the area forced you (D) Your employer directed you (E) Due to religious reasons.
22. In national and provincial elections, mostly you are interested in the political party or the candidate? (A) In party (B) In candidate (C) In both (D) Others

23. Electoral campaigns by political parties/candidates influence voters' decision. (A) Completely agreed (B) To some extent (C) Not agreed
24. In your opinion, which program can contribute in winning the election the most? (A) Regional development (B) National development (C) highlighting international policies/issues (D) eradicating corruption (E) Serving voters' interests (F) implementing Sharia Law (G) Others
25. Do you read various political parties' manifestoes before voting in the elections? (A) Yes (B) No
26. Are you affiliated with any political party? (A) Yes (B) No.
27. If yes, then which party? (A) JI (B) PPP (C) JUI (D) ANP (E) QWP (F) PML-N (G) PTI (H) Independent Candidate.
28. For which party (or electoral coalition) did you vote in 2002 elections? (A) MMA (B) PPP (C) PML-N (D) ANP (E) QWP (F) PTI (G) Independent Candidate.
29. What was reason for voting for this party/candidate? (A) Party loyalty (B) The party/candidate highlighted important issue (C) Personal/family attachment with the candidate (D) Some economic/developmental benefits from the candidate (E) On the basis of religion (F) Because your family directed you to vote for a particular candidate.
30. The party/candidate who won from your constituency fulfilled the electoral promises. (A) Totally (B) To greater extent (C) To some extent (D) To lesser extent (E) Not at all.
31. Did you vote for the same party/candidate in 2008 elections? (A) Yes (B) No.
32. If Yes, then why? (A) Because of his good performance. (B) There was no better candidate/party than the previous one (C) Because you are associated with the party (D) Have personal/family relationship with the candidate (E) The candidate made new

promises for more favors if elected (F) Because of family pressure (G) He highlighted important issue (s) once again.

33. If Not, then why? (A) The party/candidate failed to deliver (B) He did not give you personal favors (C) You discovered a new candidate who you thought would better serve community (D) You changed your party (E) The new candidate highlighted more important issue than the old one.

34. For which party (or electoral coalition) did you vote in 2008 elections? (A) JI (B) PPP (C) JUI (D) ANP (E) QWP (F) PML-N (G) PTI (H) Independent Candidate.

35. What was reason for voting for this party/candidate? (A) Party loyalty (B) The party/candidate highlighted important issue (C) Personal/family attachment with the candidate (D) Some economic/developmental benefits from the candidate (E) On the basis of religion (F) Because your family directed you to vote for a particular candidate.

36. How was the 2008 elections? (A) Fair and transparent (B) Rigged (C) somehow rigged (D) I do not know (E) Other

37. Did you vote for the same party/candidate in 2013 elections? (A) Yes (B) No.

38. If Yes, then why? (A) Because of his good performance. (B) There was no better candidate/party than the previous one (C) Because you are associated with the party (D) Have personal/family relationship with the candidate (E) The candidate made new promises for more favors if elected (F) Because of family pressure (G) He highlighted important issue (s) once again.

39. If Not, then why? (A) The party/candidate failed to deliver (B) He did not give you personal favors (C) You discovered a new candidate who you thought would better serve community (D) You changed your party (E) The new candidate highlighted more important issue than the old one.

40. For which party (or electoral coalition) did you vote in 2013 elections? (A) JI (B) PPP (C) JUI (D) ANP (E) QWP (F) PTI (G) PML-N (H) Independent Candidate.
41. What was reason for voting for this party/candidate? (A) Party loyalty (B) The party/candidate highlighted important issue (C) Personal/family attachment with the candidate (D) Some economic/developmental benefits from the candidate (E) On the basis of religion (F) Because your family directed you to vote for a particular candidate.
42. How was the 2013 elections? (A) Fair and transparent (B) Rigged (C) somehow rigged (D) I do not know (E) Other
43. Did you vote for the same party/candidate in 2018 elections? (A) Yes (B) No.
44. If Yes, then why? (A) Because of his good performance. (B) There was no better candidate/party than the previous one (C) Because you are associated with the party (D) Have personal/family relationship with the candidate (E) The candidate made new promises for more favors if elected (F) Because of family pressure (G) He highlighted important issue (s) once again.
45. If Not, then why? (A) The party/candidate failed to deliver (B) He did not give you personal favors (C) You discovered a new candidate who you thought would better serve community (D) You changed your party (E) The new candidate highlighted more important issue than the old one.
46. For which party (or electoral coalition) did you vote in 2018 elections? (A) JI (B) PPP (C) JUI (D) ANP (E) QWP (F) PTI (G) PML-N (H) Independent Candidate.
47. What was the reason for voting for this party/candidate? (A) Party loyalty (B) The party/candidate highlighted important issue (C) Personal/family attachment with the candidate (D) Some economic/developmental benefits from the candidate (E) On the basis of religion (F) Because your family directed you to vote for a particular candidate.

48. How was the 2018 elections? (A) Fair and transparent (B) Rigged (C) somehow rigged
(D) I do not know (E) Other
49. During the next general elections, will you vote for the same party/candidate for whom
you voted in 2013 elections? (A) Yes (B) No.
50. Yes, then why? (A) Because of his good performance. (B) You think there is no better
candidate/party than the previous one (C) Because you are associated with the party (D)
Have personal/family relationship with the candidate or his family (E) The candidate
made new promises for more favors if elected (F) Because of family pressure (G) He is
highlighting important issue (s) once again.
51. If not, then why? (A) The party/candidate failed to deliver (B) He did not give personal
favors to you (C) You discovered a new candidate who you thought would better serve
community (D) You changed your party (E) The new candidate highlights more
important issue than the old one.
52. It is important to vote on the basis of affiliation with a political party. (A) Strongly
Agree (B) Agree (C) To some extent agree (D) Strongly disagree (E) disagree.
53. It is more important to vote on the basis of religion? (A) Strongly Agree (B) Agree (C)
To some extent agree (D) Strongly disagree (E) disagree.
54. It is more important to vote on the basis of national and regional development. (A)
Strongly Agree (B) Agree (C) To some extent agree (D) Strongly disagree (E) disagree.
55. What do you think is more important to be considered during vote casting? (A) Religion
(B) Political affiliation (C) Development (D) Personal or family interest (E) Relation
with the candidate (F) Tribal affiliation or relative (G) Other
56. Women should participate in the voting. (A) Strongly Agree (B) Agree (C) To some
extent agree (D) Strongly disagree (E) disagree.

57. In your opinion, Does candidate's participation in different social event can increase his chances for getting more votes? (A) Yes (B) No
58. During political support and voting, it is not important to watch the personal character of the candidate. (A) Yes (B) No (C) I do not know
59. In your opinion, How will be the next general elections? (A) Fair and transparent (B) Rigged (C) somehow rigged (D) I do not know (E) Other

APPENDIX 2:

Tabulation

This appendix comprises all the tables, consisting of different variables. Since these tables could not be placed in the main chapters, therefore, they are putted in this appendix. The tables are given the proper numbers and questions along with the different frequencies, to avoid any confusion. So these tables can be consulted in the relevance of the variables, described in chapter number 4.

Table. 102

Are you interested in politics: * Age

			Age					Total
			18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	
Are you interested in politics:	No	Count	1	4	0	1	0	6
		% of Total	.1%	.4%	.0%	.1%	.0%	.7%
	To large extent agree	Count	43	81	78	69	20	291
		% of Total	4.8%	9.0%	8.7%	7.7%	2.2%	32.5%
	To smaller extent agree	Count	15	24	25	21	4	89
		% of Total	1.7%	2.7%	2.8%	2.3%	.4%	9.9%
	To some extent agree	Count	125	165	116	72	30	508
		% of Total	14.0%	18.4%	12.9%	8.0%	3.3%	56.7%
	Unknown	Count	0	1	1	0	0	2
		% of Total	.0%	.1%	.1%	.0%	.0%	.2%
Total	Count	184	275	220	163	54	896	
	% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%	

Table. 103

Are you interested in politics: * Education

			Education								Total
			Bachel or	Intermedi ate	Master	Matricula tion	MPhil	PhD	Religious Education	Under Matric	
Are you interested in politics:	No	Count	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	4	6
		% of Total	.0%	.2%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.4%	.7%
	To large extent agree	Count	58	28	53	49	7	1	13	82	291
		% of Total	6.5%	3.1%	5.9%	5.5%	.8%	.1%	1.5%	9.2%	32.5%
	To smaller extent agree	Count	5	8	7	9	0	0	1	59	89
		% of Total	.6%	.9%	.8%	1.0%	.0%	.0%	.1%	6.6%	9.9%
	To some extent agree	Count	80	71	73	63	3	0	13	205	508
		% of Total	8.9%	7.9%	8.1%	7.0%	.3%	.0%	1.5%	22.9%	56.7%
	Unknown	Count	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
		% of Total	.1%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.1%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.2%
Total	Count	144	109	133	121	11	1	27	350	896	
	% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	.1%	3.0%	39.1%	100.0%	

Table. 104

Are you interested in politics: * Gender

			Gender		Total
			Female	Male	
Are you interested in politics:	No	Count	4	2	6
		% of Total	.4%	.2%	.7%
	To large extent agree	Count	16	275	291
		% of Total	1.8%	30.7%	32.5%
	To smaller extent agree	Count	30	59	89
		% of Total	3.3%	6.6%	9.9%
	To some extent agree	Count	96	412	508
		% of Total	10.7%	46.0%	56.7%
	Unknown	Count	1	1	2
		% of Total	.1%	.1%	.2%
Total	Count	147	749	896	
	% of Total	16.4%	83.6%	100.0%	

Table. 105

Are you interested in politics: * Urban Rural

			Urban Rural		Total
			Rural	Urban	
Are you interested in politics:	No	Count	1	5	6
		% of Total	.1%	.6%	.7%
	To large extent agree	Count	211	80	291
		% of Total	23.5%	8.9%	32.5%
	To smaller extent agree	Count	45	44	89
		% of Total	5.0%	4.9%	9.9%
	To some extent agree	Count	182	326	508
		% of Total	20.3%	36.4%	56.7%
	Unknown	Count	2	0	2
		% of Total	.2%	.0%	.2%
Total	Count	441	455	896	
	% of Total	49.2%	50.8%	100.0%	

Table. 106

Are you interested in politics: * Profession

			Profession						Total
			Business	Government Employee	Labor	No Job	Private Job	Student	
Are you interested in politics:	No	Count	0	0	3	0	3	0	6
		% of Total	.0%	.0%	.3%	.0%	.3%	.0%	.7%
	To large extent agree	Count	75	80	32	0	65	39	291
		% of Total	8.4%	8.9%	3.6%	.0%	7.3%	4.4%	32.5%
	To smaller extent agree	Count	7	17	42	0	16	7	89
		% of Total	.8%	1.9%	4.7%	.0%	1.8%	.8%	9.9%
	To some extent agree	Count	124	116	69	4	115	80	508
		% of Total	13.8%	12.9%	7.7%	.4%	12.8%	8.9%	56.7%
	Unknown	Count	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
		% of Total	.1%	.0%	.1%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.2%
Total	Count	207	213	147	4	199	126	896	
	% of Total	23.1%	23.8%	16.4%	.4%	22.2%	14.1%	100.0%	

Table. 107

What is your main source of information about politics: * Age

			Age					Total
			18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	
What is your main source of information about politics:	Family	Count	12	11	11	12	0	46
		% of Total	1.3%	1.2%	1.2%	1.3%	.0%	5.1%
	News paper	Count	6	17	40	44	20	127
		% of Total	.7%	1.9%	4.5%	4.9%	2.2%	14.2%
	Political peer or party	Count	3	8	8	5	3	27
		% of Total	.3%	.9%	.9%	.6%	.3%	3.0%
	Radio	Count	0	1	2	4	5	12
		% of Total	.0%	.1%	.2%	.4%	.6%	1.3%
	Social Media	Count	147	198	124	63	15	547
		% of Total	16.4%	22.1%	13.8%	7.0%	1.7%	61.0%
	TV	Count	16	39	35	34	11	135
		% of Total	1.8%	4.4%	3.9%	3.8%	1.2%	15.1%
	Unknown	Count	0	1	0	1	0	2
		% of Total	.0%	.1%	.0%	.1%	.0%	.2%
Total	Count	184	275	220	163	54	896	
	% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%	

Table. 108

What is your main source of information about politics: * Education

			Education								Total
			Bachelor or	Intermediate	Master	Matriculation	MPhil	PhD	Religious Education	Under Matric	
What is your main source of information about politics:	Family	Count	4	4	3	2	0	0	1	32	46
		% of Total	.4%	.4%	.3%	.2%	.0%	.0%	.1%	3.6%	5.1%
	News paper	Count	16	16	24	25	1	0	12	33	127
		% of Total	1.8%	1.8%	2.7%	2.8%	.1%	.0%	1.3%	3.7%	14.2%
	Political peer or party	Count	4	3	4	3	1	0	1	11	27
		% of Total	.4%	.3%	.4%	.3%	.1%	.0%	.1%	1.2%	3.0%
	Radio	Count	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	8	12
		% of Total	.0%	.0%	.1%	.2%	.0%	.0%	.1%	.9%	1.3%
	Social Media	Count	110	64	96	63	6	1	12	195	547
		% of Total	12.3%	7.1%	10.7%	7.0%	.7%	.1%	1.3%	21.8%	61.0%
	TV	Count	10	22	5	26	2	0	0	70	135
		% of Total	1.1%	2.5%	.6%	2.9%	.2%	.0%	.0%	7.8%	15.1%
	Unknown	Count	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2
		% of Total	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.1%	.0%	.0%	.1%	.2%
Total		Count	144	109	133	121	11	1	27	350	896
		% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	.1%	3.0%	39.1%	100.0%

Table. 109

What is your main source of information about politics: * Gender

			Gender		Total
			Female	Male	
What is your main source of information about politics:	Family	Count	37	9	46
		% of Total	4.1%	1.0%	5.1%
	News paper	Count	13	114	127
		% of Total	1.5%	12.7%	14.2%
	Political peer or party	Count	1	26	27

Total	Radio	% of Total	1.1%	2.9%	3.0%
		Count	0	12	12
	Social Media	% of Total	1.0%	1.3%	1.3%
		Count	50	497	547
	TV	% of Total	5.6%	55.5%	61.0%
		Count	45	90	135
	Unknown	% of Total	5.0%	10.0%	15.1%
		Count	1	1	2
	% of Total	1.1%	1.1%	1.2%	
	Count	147	749	896	
% of Total	16.4%	83.6%	100.0%		

Table. 110

What is your main source of information about politics: * Urban Rural

			Urban Rural		Total
			Rural	Urban	
What is your main source of information about politics:	Family	Count	18	28	46
		% of Total	2.0%	3.1%	5.1%
	News paper	Count	87	40	127
		% of Total	9.7%	4.5%	14.2%
	Political peer or party	Count	8	19	27
		% of Total	.9%	2.1%	3.0%
	Radio	Count	12	0	12
		% of Total	1.3%	.0%	1.3%
	Social Media	Count	206	341	547
		% of Total	23.0%	38.1%	61.0%
	TV	Count	109	26	135
		% of Total	12.2%	2.9%	15.1%
	Unknown	Count	1	1	2
		% of Total	.1%	.1%	.2%
Total	Count	441	455	896	
	% of Total	49.2%	50.8%	100.0%	

Table. 111

What is your main source of information about politics: * Profession

			Profession						Total
			Business	Government Employee	Labor	No Job	Private Job	Student	
What is your main source of information about politics:	Family	Count	1	3	31	1	4	6	46
		% of Total	1%	.3%	3.5%	.1%	.4%	.7%	5.1%
	News paper	Count	29	50	17	0	28	3	127
		% of Total	3.2%	5.6%	1.9%	.0%	3.1%	.3%	14.2%
	Political peer or party	Count	11	4	2	0	6	4	27
		% of Total	1.2%	.4%	.2%	.0%	.7%	.4%	3.0%
	Radio	Count	3	2	5	1	1	0	12
		% of Total	.3%	.2%	.6%	.1%	.1%	.0%	1.3%
	Social Media	Count	133	127	40	2	145	100	547
		% of Total	14.8%	14.2%	4.5%	.2%	16.2%	11.2%	61.0%

Total	TV	Count	30	27	51	0	14	13	135	
		% of Total	3.3%	3.0%	5.7%	.0%	1.6%	1.5%	15.1%	
	Unknown	Count	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	
		% of Total	.0%	.0%	.1%	.0%	.1%	.0%	.2%	
	Total		Count	207	213	147	4	199	126	896
			% of Total	23.1%	23.8%	16.4%	.4%	22.2%	14.1%	100.0%

Table. 112

In your opinion, what is the basic motive for the participation in voting process? * Age

			Age					Total
			18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	
In your opinion, what is the basic motive for the participation in voting process?	Because to candidate or party highlighted important issues	Count	6	21	19	10	2	58
		% of Total	.7%	2.3%	2.1%	1.1%	.2%	6.5%
	Due to the affiliation of political party	Count	49	73	53	51	20	246
		% of Total	5.5%	8.1%	5.9%	5.7%	2.2%	27.5%
	On the basis of religion	Count	50	60	70	45	19	244
		% of Total	5.6%	6.7%	7.8%	5.0%	2.1%	27.2%
	Other	Count	0	4	0	0	0	4
		% of Total	.0%	.4%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.4%
	Relation with the candidate	Count	2	2	3	6	1	14
		% of Total	.2%	.2%	.3%	.7%	.1%	1.6%
	To perform civic duty	Count	76	111	68	47	11	313
		% of Total	8.5%	12.4%	7.6%	5.2%	1.2%	34.9%
	To serve personal interest	Count	1	3	7	4	1	16
		% of Total	.1%	.3%	.8%	.4%	.1%	1.8%
	Unknown	Count	0	1	0	0	0	1
		% of Total	.0%	.1%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.1%
Total	Count	184	275	220	163	54	896	
	% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%	

Table. 113

In your opinion, what is the basic motive for the participation in voting process? * Education

		Education								Total
		Bachelor or	Intermediate	Master	Matriculation	MPhil	Phd	Religious Education	Under Matric	
Because to candidate or party highlighted important issues	Count	9	4	6	9	0	0	2	28	58
	% of Total	1.0%	.4%	.7%	1.0%	.0%	.0%	.2%	3.1%	6.5%
Due to the affiliation of political party	Count	59	46	49	52	1	0	7	32	246
	% of Total	6.6%	5.1%	5.5%	5.8%	.1%	.0%	.8%	3.6%	27.5%
On the basis of religion	Count	26	25	24	17	2	1	14	135	244
	% of Total	2.9%	2.8%	2.7%	1.9%	.2%	.1%	1.6%	15.1%	27.2%
Other	Count	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	4
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.1%	.0%	.1%	.0%	.0%	.2%	.4%
Relation with the candidate	Count	2	2	0	2	0	0	0	8	14
	% of Total	.2%	.2%	.0%	.2%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.9%	1.6%

To perform civic duty	Count	46	31	52	39	6	0	4	135	313
	% of Total	5.1%	3.5%	5.8%	4.4%	.7%	.0%	.4%	15.1%	34.9%
To serve personal interest	Count	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	10	16
	% of Total	.2%	.1%	.1%	.2%	.0%	.0%	.0%	1.1%	1.8%
Unknown	Count	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.1%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.1%
Total	Count	144	109	133	121	11	1	27	350	896
	% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	.1%	3.0%	39.1%	100.0%

Table. 114

In your opinion, what is the basic motive for the participation in voting process? * Gender

			Gender		Total
			Female	Male	
In your opinion, what is the basic motive for the participation in voting process?	Because to candidate or party highlighted important issues	Count	1	57	58
		% of Total	.1%	6.4%	6.5%
	Due to the affiliation of political party	Count	37	209	246
		% of Total	4.1%	23.3%	27.5%
	On the basis of religion	Count	65	179	244
		% of Total	7.3%	20.0%	27.2%
	Other	Count	1	3	4
		% of Total	.1%	.3%	.4%
	Relation with the candidate	Count	1	13	14
		% of Total	.1%	1.5%	1.6%
	To perform civic duty	Count	36	277	313
		% of Total	4.0%	30.9%	34.9%
	To serve personal interest	Count	5	11	16
		% of Total	.6%	1.2%	1.8%
Total	Unknown	Count	1	0	1
		% of Total	.1%	.0%	.1%
		Count	147	749	896
		% of Total	16.4%	83.6%	100.0%

Table. 115

In your opinion, what is the basic motive for the participation in voting process? * Urban Rural

			Urban Rural		Total
			Rural	Urban	
In your opinion, what is the basic motive for the participation in voting process?	Because to candidate or party highlighted important issues	Count	49	9	58
		% of Total	5.5%	1.0%	6.5%
	Due to the affiliation of political party	Count	156	90	246
		% of Total	17.4%	10.0%	27.5%
	On the basis of religion	Count	90	154	244
		% of Total	10.0%	17.2%	27.2%
	Other	Count	1	3	4
		% of Total	.1%	.3%	.4%
	Relation with the candidate	Count	9	5	14
		% of Total	1.0%	.6%	1.6%
	To perform civic duty	Count	119	194	313
		% of Total	13.3%	21.7%	34.9%
	To serve personal interest	Count	16	0	16
		% of Total	1.8%	.0%	1.8%
	Unknown	Count	1	0	1
		% of Total	.1%	.0%	.1%

Total	Count	441	455	896
	% of Total	49.2%	50.8%	100.0%

Table. 116

In your opinion, what is the basic motive for the participation in voting process? * Profession

			Profession						Total
			Business	Government Employee	Labor	No Job	Private Job	Student	
In your opinion, what is the basic motive for the participation in voting process?	Because to candidate or party highlighted important issues	Count	19	11	12	0	11	5	58
		% of Total	2.1%	1.2%	1.3%	0%	1.2%	.6%	6.5%
	Due to the affiliation of political party	Count	58	74	44	0	43	27	246
		% of Total	6.5%	8.3%	4.9%	0%	4.8%	3.0%	27.5%
	On the basis of religion	Count	48	46	43	2	66	39	244
		% of Total	5.4%	5.1%	4.8%	2%	7.4%	4.4%	27.2%
	Other	Count	0	1	0	0	1	2	4
		% of Total	.0%	.1%	.0%	0%	.1%	.2%	.4%
	Relation with the candidate	Count	9	1	3	0	1	0	14
		% of Total	1.0%	.1%	.3%	0%	.1%	0%	1.6%
	To perform civic duty	Count	71	76	35	2	76	53	313
		% of Total	7.9%	8.5%	3.9%	2%	8.5%	5.9%	34.9%
	To serve personal interest	Count	2	4	9	0	1	0	16
		% of Total	.2%	.4%	1.0%	0%	.1%	0%	1.8%
	Unknown	Count	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
		% of Total	.0%	.0%	.1%	0%	0%	0%	.1%
Total		Count	207	213	147	4	199	126	896
		% of Total	23.1%	23.8%	16.4%	.4%	22.2%	14.1%	100.0%

Table. 117

Do you discuss electoral politics with other people? * Age

			Age					Total
			18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	
Do you discuss electoral politics with other people?	No	Count	31	28	23	14	1	97
		% of Total	3.5%	3.1%	2.6%	1.6%	.1%	10.8%
	Yes	Count	153	247	197	149	53	799
		% of Total	17.1%	27.6%	22.0%	16.6%	5.9%	89.2%
Total		Count	184	275	220	163	54	896
		% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%

Table. 118

Do you discuss electoral politics with other people? * Education

			Education								Total
			Bachelor r	Intermedi ate	Master	Matriculat ion	MPhil	PhD	Religious Education	Under Matic	
Do you discuss electoral politics with other people?	No	Count	8	19	7	8	0	0	1	54	97
		% of Total	.9%	2.1%	.8%	.9%	.0%	.0%	.1%	6.0%	10.8%
	Yes	Count	136	90	126	113	11	1	26	296	799
		% of Total	15.2%	10.0%	14.1%	12.6%	1.2%	.1%	2.9%	33.0%	89.2%
Total		Count	144	109	133	121	11	1	27	350	896
		% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	.1%	3.0%	39.1%	100.0%

Table. 119

Do you discuss electoral politics with other people? * Gender

			Gender		Total
			Female	Male	
Do you discuss electoral politics with other people?	No	Count	50	47	97
		% of Total	5.6%	5.2%	10.8%
	Yes	Count	97	702	799
		% of Total	10.8%	78.3%	89.2%
Total	Count		147	749	896
	% of Total		16.4%	83.6%	100.0%

Table. 120

If yes, then with whom? * Age

			Age					Total
			18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	
If yes, then with whom?	NA	Count	31	28	23	14	1	97
		% of Total	3.5%	3.1%	2.6%	1.6%	.1%	10.8%
	Other	Count	0	1	1	0	0	2
		% of Total	.0%	.1%	.1%	.0%	.0%	.2%
	With all	Count	20	45	36	34	12	147
		% of Total	2.2%	5.0%	4.0%	3.8%	1.3%	16.4%
	With different level leaders	Count	2	6	11	16	3	38
		% of Total	.2%	.7%	1.2%	1.8%	.3%	4.2%
	With family and relatives	Count	10	19	17	7	3	56
		% of Total	1.1%	2.1%	1.9%	.8%	.3%	6.3%
	With friends	Count	116	148	111	86	35	496
		% of Total	12.9%	16.5%	12.4%	9.6%	3.9%	55.4%
	With political members	Count	5	28	21	6	0	60
		% of Total	.6%	3.1%	2.3%	.7%	.0%	6.7%
	Total	Count	184	275	220	163	54	896
		% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%

Table. 121

If yes, then with whom? * Education

			Education								Total
			Bachelor	Intermedi	Master	Matricula	MPhil	Phd	Religious Education	Under Matric	
Total	Other	% of Total	9%	2.1%	.8%	.9%	.0%	.0%	.1%	6.0%	10.8%
		Count	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
	With all	% of Total	.1%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.1%	.0%	.2%
		Count	27	13	33	24	2	1	3	44	147
	With different level leaders	% of Total	3.0%	1.5%	3.7%	2.7%	.2%	.1%	.3%	4.9%	16.4%
		Count	5	5	11	7	0	0	7	3	38
	With family and relatives	% of Total	.6%	.6%	1.2%	.8%	.0%	.0%	.8%	.3%	4.2%
		Count	7	13	6	4	0	0	3	23	56
	With friends	% of Total	.8%	1.5%	.7%	.4%	.0%	.0%	.3%	2.6%	6.3%
		Count	88	56	70	69	7	0	10	196	496
	With political members	% of Total	9.8%	6.3%	7.8%	7.7%	.8%	.0%	1.1%	21.9%	55.4%
		Count	8	3	6	9	2	0	2	30	60
		% of Total	.9%	.3%	.7%	1.0%	.2%	.0%	.2%	3.3%	6.7%
		Count	144	109	133	121	11	1	27	350	896
		% within Education	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	.1%	3.0%	39.1%	100.0%

Table. 122

If yes, then with whom? * Gender

			Gender		
			Female	Male	Total
If yes, then with whom?	NA	Count	50	47	97
		% of Total	5.6%	5.2%	10.8%
	Other	Count	2	0	2
		% of Total	.2%	.0%	.2%
	With all	Count	6	141	147
		% of Total	.7%	15.7%	16.4%
	With different level leaders	Count	1	37	38
		% of Total	.1%	4.1%	4.2%
	With family and relatives	Count	37	19	56
		% of Total	4.1%	2.1%	6.3%
	With friends	Count	49	447	496
		% of Total	5.5%	49.9%	55.4%
	With political members	Count	2	58	60
		% of Total	.2%	6.5%	6.7%
Total		Count	147	749	896
		% of Total	16.4%	83.6%	100.0%

Table. 123

Do you attend rallies of political parties or candidates? * Age

			Age					Total
			18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	
Do you attend rallies of political parties or candidates?	No	Count	46	82	51	30	7	216
		% of Total	5.1%	9.2%	5.7%	3.3%	.8%	24.1%
	Rarely	Count	86	122	108	91	35	442
		% of Total	9.6%	13.6%	12.1%	10.2%	3.9%	49.3%
	Regularly	Count	52	71	61	42	12	238
		% of Total	5.8%	7.9%	6.8%	4.7%	1.3%	26.6%
Total		Count	184	275	220	163	54	896
		% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%

Table. 124

Do you attend rallies of political parties or candidates? * Education

			Education								Total
			Bachelor	Intermedi	Master	Matriculat	MPhil	Phd	Religious	Under	
			r	ate		ion			Education	Matric	
Do you attend rallies of political parties or candidates?	No	Count	31	36	27	26	1	0	4	91	216
		% of Total	3.5%	4.0%	3.0%	2.9%	.1%	.0%	.4%	10.2%	24.1%
	Rarely	Count	68	49	67	54	6	1	10	187	442
		% of Total	7.6%	5.5%	7.5%	6.0%	.7%	.1%	1.1%	20.9%	49.3%
	Regularly	Count	45	24	39	41	4	0	13	72	238
		% of Total	5.0%	2.7%	4.4%	4.6%	.4%	.0%	1.5%	8.0%	26.6%
Total	Count	144	109	133	121	11	1	27	350	896	
	% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	.1%	3.0%	39.1%	100.0%	

Table. 125

Do you attend rallies of political parties or candidates? * Gender

	Gender	Total
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			Female	Male	
Do you attend rallies of political parties or candidates?	No	Count	118	98	216
		% of Total	13.2%	10.9%	24.1%
	Rarely	Count	16	426	442
		% of Total	1.8%	47.5%	49.3%
	Regularly	Count	13	225	238
		% of Total	1.5%	25.1%	26.6%
	Total	Count	147	749	896
		% of Total	16.4%	83.6%	100.0%

Table. 126

Do you attend rallies of political parties or candidates? * Urban Rural

			Urban Rural		Total
			Rural	Urban	
Do you attend rallies of political parties or candidates?	No	Count	133	83	216
		% of Total	14.8%	9.3%	24.1%
	Rarely	Count	194	248	442
		% of Total	21.7%	27.7%	49.3%
	Regularly	Count	114	124	238
		% of Total	12.7%	13.8%	26.6%
Total	Count	441	455	896	
	% of Total	49.2%	50.8%	100.0%	

Table. 127

Do you attend rallies of political parties or candidates? * Profession

			Profession						
			Business	Government Employee	Labor	No Job	Private Job	Student	
Do you attend rallies of political parties or candidates?	No	Count	21	43	80	3	36	33	216
		% of Total	2.3%	4.8%	8.9%	3%	4.0%	3.7%	24.1%
	Rarely	Count	126	114	44	0	101	57	442
		% of Total	14.1%	12.7%	4.9%	0%	11.3%	6.4%	49.3%
	Regularly	Count	60	56	23	1	62	36	238
		% of Total	6.7%	6.3%	2.6%	1%	6.9%	4.0%	26.6%
Total		Count	207	213	147	4	199	126	896
		% of Total	23.1%	23.8%	16.4%	4%	22.2%	14.1%	100.0%

Table. 128

Have you ever convince others to vote for your favorite political party or candidate? * Age

			Age					Total
			18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	
Have you ever convince others to vote for your favorite political party or candidate?	No	Count	43	45	33	23	8	152
		% of Total	4.8%	5.0%	3.7%	2.6%	9%	17.0%
	NR	Count	0	4	1	0	0	5
		% of Total	.0%	.4%	.1%	.0%	.0%	.6%
	Yes	Count	141	226	186	140	46	739
		% of Total	15.7%	25.2%	20.8%	15.6%	5.1%	82.5%
Total	Count	184	275	220	163	54	896	
	% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%	

Table. 129

Have you ever convince others to vote for your favorite political party or candidate? *
Education

			Education								Total
			Bachelor r	Intermedi ate	Master	Matriculat ion	MPhil	Phd	Religious Education	Under Matric	
Have you ever convince others to vote for your favorite political party or candidate?	No	Count	22	15	19	25	2	0	0	69	152
		% of Total	2.5%	1.7%	2.1%	2.8%	.2%	.0%	.0%	7.7%	17.0%
	NR	Count	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	5
		% of Total	.1%	.0%	.1%	.1%	.1%	.0%	.0%	.1%	.6%
	Yes	Count	121	94	113	95	8	1	27	280	739
		% of Total	13.5%	10.5%	12.6%	10.6%	.9%	.1%	3.0%	31.3%	82.5%
	Total	Count	144	109	133	121	11	1	27	350	896
		% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	.1%	3.0%	39.1%	100.0%

Table. 130

Have you ever convince others to vote for your favorite political party or candidate? *
Gender

			Gender		
			Female	Male	Total
Have you ever convince others to vote for your favorite political party or candidate?	No	Count	30	122	152
		% of Total	3.3%	13.6%	17.0%
	NR	Count	1	4	5
		% of Total	.1%	.4%	.6%
	Yes	Count	116	623	739
		% of Total	12.9%	69.5%	82.5%
Total		Count	147	749	896
		% of Total	16.4%	83.6%	100.0%

Table. 131

Do you believe in speeches delivered by candidates during election campaign? * Age

			Age					Total
			18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	
Do you believe in speeches delivered by candidates during election campaign?	Agree	Count	22	46	45	28	3	144
		% of Total	2.5%	5.1%	5.0%	3.1%	.3%	16.1%
	No	Count	3	7	7	3	0	20
		% of Total	.3%	.8%	.8%	.3%	.0%	2.2%
	To large extent agree	Count	53	54	42	30	15	194
		% of Total	5.9%	6.0%	4.7%	3.3%	1.7%	21.7%
	To some extent agree	Count	106	168	126	102	36	538
		% of Total	11.8%	18.8%	14.1%	11.4%	4.0%	60.0%
	Total	Count	184	275	220	163	54	896
		% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%

Table. 132

Do you believe in speeches delivered by candidates during election campaign? * Education

			Education								Total
			Bachelor or	Intermedi	Master	Matricula	MPhil	Phd	Religious Education	Under Matric	
Do you believe in speeches delivered by	Agree	Count	30	20	14	28	1	1	4	46	144
		% of Total	3.3%	2.2%	1.6%	3.1%	.1%	.1%	.4%	5.1%	16.1%
	No	Count	2	1	1	4	1	0	0	11	20

candidates during election campaign?	To large extent agree	% of Total	2%	1%	1%	4%	1%	0%	0%	1.2%	2.2%
		Count	25	29	32	21	1	0	13	73	194
	To some extent agree	% of Total	2.8%	3.2%	3.6%	2.3%	1%	0%	1.5%	8.1%	21.7%
		Count	87	59	86	68	8	0	10	220	538
Total		% of Total	9.7%	6.6%	9.6%	7.6%	9%	0%	1.1%	24.6%	60.0%
		Count	144	109	133	121	11	1	27	350	896
		% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	1%	3.0%	39.1%	100.0%

Table. 133:

Do you believe in speeches delivered by candidates during election campaign? * Gender

			Gender		Total
			Female	Male	
Do you believe in speeches delivered by candidates during election campaign?	Agree	Count	20	124	144
		% of Total	2.2%	13.8%	16.1%
	No	Count	5	15	20
		% of Total	.6%	1.7%	2.2%
	To large extent agree	Count	20	174	194
		% of Total	2.2%	19.4%	21.7%
	To some extent agree	Count	102	436	538
		% of Total	11.4%	48.7%	60.0%
	Total	Count	147	749	896
		% of Total	16.4%	83.6%	100.0%

Table. 134

Politicians are the ones who can solve our political and economic problems. * Age

			Age					Total
			18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	
Politicians are the ones who can solve our political and economic problems.	Agree	Count	124	164	111	88	39	526
		% of Total	13.8%	18.3%	12.4%	9.8%	4.4%	58.7%
	Disagree	Count	8	21	25	13	1	68
		% of Total	.9%	2.3%	2.8%	1.5%	.1%	7.6%
	I Don't Know	Count	7	8	10	1	0	26
		% of Total	.8%	.9%	1.1%	.1%	0%	2.9%
	Strongly Agree	Count	45	82	74	61	14	276
		% of Total	5.0%	9.2%	8.3%	6.8%	1.6%	30.8%
	Total	Count	184	275	220	163	54	896
		% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%

Table. 135

Politicians are the ones who can solve our political and economic problems. * Education

			Education							Total
			Bachelor	Intermedi	Master	Matricula	MPhil	Phd	Religious Education	
Politicians are the ones who can solve our political and economic problems.	Agree	Count	87	71	84	76	6	1	15	526
		% of Total	9.7%	7.9%	9.4%	8.5%	.7%	.1%	1.7%	58.7%
	Disagree	Count	6	2	8	7	1	0	1	68
		% of Total	.7%	.2%	.9%	.8%	.1%	0%	.1%	7.6%
	Total	Count	93	73	92	83	7	1	16	896
		% of Total	10.4%	8.1%	10.3%	9.3%	.8%	.1%	1.8%	100.0%

Total	I Don't Know Strongly Agree	% of Total	0%	3%	2%	1%	1%	0%	1%	2.0%	2.9%
		Count	51	33	39	37	3	0	10	103	276
		% of Total	5.7%	3.7%	4.4%	4.1%	.3%	.0%	1.1%	11.5%	30.8%
		Count	144	109	133	121	11	1	27	350	896
		% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	.1%	3.0%	39.1%	100.0%

Table. 136

Politicians are the ones who can solve our political and economic problems. * Gender

			Gender		Total
			Female	Male	
Politicians are the ones who can solve our political and economic problems.	Agree	Count	84	442	526
		% of Total	9.4%	49.3%	58.7%
	Disagree	Count	8	60	68
		% of Total	.9%	6.7%	7.6%
	I Don't Know	Count	11	15	26
		% of Total	1.2%	1.7%	2.9%
	Strongly Agree	Count	44	232	276
		% of Total	4.9%	25.9%	30.8%
	Total	Count	147	749	896
		% of Total	16.4%	83.6%	100.0%

Table. 137

Politicians are the ones who can solve our political and economic problems. * Urban Rural

			Urban Rural		Total
			Rural	Urban	
Politicians are the ones who can solve our political and economic problems.	Agree	Count	197	329	526
		% of Total	22.0%	36.7%	58.7%
	Disagree	Count	42	26	68
		% of Total	4.7%	2.9%	7.6%
	I Don't Know	Count	20	6	26
		% of Total	2.2%	.7%	2.9%
	Strongly Agree	Count	182	94	276
		% of Total	20.3%	10.5%	30.8%
	Total	Count	441	455	896
		% of Total	49.2%	50.8%	100.0%

Table. 138

Do you vote for the same party for provincial and national Assemblies in election? * Age

			Age					Total
			18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	
Do you vote for the same party for provincial and national Assemblies in election?	No	Count	6	13	8	8	4	39
		% of Total	.7%	1.5%	.9%	.9%	.4%	4.4%
	Yes	Count	178	262	212	155	50	857
		% of Total	19.9%	29.2%	23.7%	17.3%	5.6%	95.6%
	Total	Count	184	275	220	163	54	896
		% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%

Table. 139

Do you vote for the same party for provincial and national Assemblies in election? *

Education

			Education								Total
			Bachelor r	Intermedi ate	Master	Matriculat ion	MPhil	Phd	Religious Education	Under Matric	
Do you vote for the same party for provincial and national Assemblies in election?	No	Count	9	1	4	6	1	0	0	18	39
		% of Total	1.0%	.1%	.4%	.7%	.1%	.0%	.0%	2.0%	4.4%
	Yes	Count	135	108	129	115	10	1	27	332	857
		% of Total	15.1%	12.1%	14.4%	12.8%	1.1%	.1%	3.0%	37.1%	95.6%
Total		Count	144	109	133	121	11	1	27	350	896
		% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	.1%	3.0%	39.1%	100.0%

Table. 140

Do you vote for the same party for provincial and national Assemblies in election? * Gender

			Gender		Total
			Female	Male	
Do you vote for the same party for provincial and national Assemblies in election?	No	Count	1	38	39
		% of Total	1%	4.2%	4.4%
	Yes	Count	146	711	857
		% of Total	16.3%	79.4%	95.6%
Total		Count	147	749	896
		% of Total	16.4%	83.6%	100.0%

Table. 141

Do you vote for the same party for provincial and national Assemblies in election? * Urban Rural

			Urban Rural		Total
			Rural	Urban	
Do you vote for the same party for provincial and national Assemblies in election?	No	Count	31	8	39
		% of Total	3.5%	.9%	4.4%
	Yes	Count	410	447	857
		% of Total	45.8%	49.9%	95.6%
Total		Count	441	455	896
		% of Total	49.2%	50.8%	100.0%

Table. 142

Have you ever changed your political party? * Age

			Age					Total
			18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	
Have you ever changed your political party?	No	Count	170	208	142	113	33	666
		% of Total	19.0%	23.2%	15.8%	12.6%	3.7%	74.3%
	NR	Count	1	1	2	2	1	7
		% of Total	.1%	.1%	.2%	.2%	.1%	.8%
	Yes	Count	13	66	76	48	20	223
		% of Total	1.5%	7.4%	8.5%	5.4%	2.3%	25.7%

Total	% of Total	1.5%	7.4%	8.5%	5.4%	2.2%	24.9%
	Count	184	275	220	163	54	896
	% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%

Table. 143

Have you ever changed your political party? * Education

			Education								Total
			Bachelor	Intermedi	Master	Matriculat	MPhil	Phd	Religious	Under	
Have you ever changed your political party?	No	Count	115	88	104	81	6	1	24	247	666
		% of Total	12.8%	9.8%	11.6%	9.0%	.7%	.1%	2.7%	27.6%	74.3%
	NR	Count	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	5	7
		% of Total	.0%	.0%	.1%	.0%	.1%	.0%	.0%	.6%	.8%
	Yes	Count	29	21	28	40	4	0	3	98	223
		% of Total	3.2%	2.3%	3.1%	4.5%	.4%	.0%	.3%	10.9%	24.9%
Total	Count	144	109	133	121	11	1	27	350	896	
	% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	.1%	3.0%	39.1%	100.0%	

Table. 144

Have you ever changed your political party? * Gender

			Gender		Total
			Female	Male	
Have you ever changed your political party?	No	Count	129	537	666
		% of Total	14.4%	59.9%	74.3%
	NR	Count	2	5	7
		% of Total	.2%	.6%	.8%
	Yes	Count	16	207	223
		% of Total	1.8%	23.1%	24.9%
Total	Count	147	749	896	
	% of Total	16.4%	83.6%	100.0%	

Table. 145

Have you ever changed your political party? * Urban Rural

			Urban Rural		Total
			Rural	Urban	
Have you ever changed your political party?	No	Count	287	379	666
		% of Total	32.0%	42.3%	74.3%
	NR	Count	5	2	7
		% of Total	.6%	.2%	.8%
	Yes	Count	149	74	223
		% of Total	16.6%	8.3%	24.9%
		Count	441	455	896
		% of Total	49.2%	50.8%	100.0%
	Total				

Table. 146

Have you ever changed your political party? * Profession

	Profession	Total
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			Business	Government Employee	Labor	No Job	Private Job	Student	
Have you ever changed your political party?	No	Count	148	150	99	2	153	114	666
		% of Total	16.5%	16.7%	11.0%	2%	17.1%	12.7%	74.3%
	NR	Count	2	1	3	0	1	0	7
		% of Total	.2%	.1%	.3%	.0%	.1%	.0%	.8%
	Yes	Count	57	62	45	2	45	12	223
		% of Total	6.4%	6.9%	5.0%	.2%	5.0%	1.3%	24.9%
Total	Count	207	213	147	4	199	126	896	
	% of Total	23.1%	23.8%	16.4%	.4%	22.2%	14.1%	100.0%	

Table. 147

Have you ever decided not to vote? * Age

			Age					Total
			18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	
Have you ever decided not to vote?	No	Count	181	237	161	116	44	739
		% of Total	20.2%	26.5%	18.0%	12.9%	4.9%	82.5%
	Yes	Count	3	38	59	47	10	157
		% of Total	.3%	4.2%	6.6%	5.2%	1.1%	17.5%
Total	Count		184	275	220	163	54	896
	% of Total		20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%

Table. 148

Have you ever decided not to vote? * Education

			Education								Total
			Bachelor r	Intermedi ate	Master	Matriculat ion	MPhil	Phd	Religious Education	Under Matric	
Have you ever decided not to vote?	No	Count	121	89	99	94	11	0	23	302	739
		% of Total	13.5%	9.9%	11.0%	10.5%	1.2%	.0%	2.6%	33.7%	82.5%
	Yes	Count	23	20	34	27	0	1	4	48	157
		% of Total	2.6%	2.2%	3.8%	3.0%	.0%	.1%	.4%	5.4%	17.5%
Total	Count		144	109	133	121	11	1	27	350	896
	% of Total		16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	.1%	3.0%	39.1%	100.0%

Table. 149

Have you ever decided not to vote? * Gender

			Gender		Total
			Female	Male	
Have you ever decided not to vote?	No	Count	141	598	739
		% of Total	15.7%	66.7%	82.5%
	Yes	Count	6	151	157
		% of Total	.7%	16.9%	17.5%
Total		Count	147	749	896
		% of Total	16.4%	83.6%	100.0%

Table. 150

Have you ever decided not to vote? * Urban Rural

			Urban Rural		Total
			Rural	Urban	
Have you ever decided not to vote?	No	Count	349	390	739

Total	Yes	% of Total	39.0%	43.5%	82.5%
		Count	92	65	157
		% of Total	10.3%	7.3%	17.5%
		Count	441	455	896
		% of Total	49.2%	50.8%	100.0%

Table. 151

Why you decided not to vote? * Age

			Age					
			18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	Total
Why you decided not to vote?	Because my favorite party/candidate has boycotted	Count	1	31	49	44	12	137
		% of Total	.1%	3.5%	5.5%	4.9%	1.3%	15.3%
	Due to some personal reasons	Count	1	12	7	2	2	24
		% of Total	.1%	1.3%	.8%	.2%	.2%	2.7%
	My name was not included in the voter list	Count	1	0	2	0	0	3
		% of Total	.1%	.0%	.2%	.0%	.0%	.3%
	NA	Count	177	220	144	109	36	686
		% of Total	19.8%	24.6%	16.1%	12.2%	4.0%	76.6%
	On duty as polling officer	Count	0	1	0	0	0	1
		% of Total	.0%	.1%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.1%
	On the basis of religion	Count	3	5	11	5	3	27
		% of Total	.3%	.6%	1.2%	.6%	.3%	3.0%
	Others	Count	0	0	0	2	0	2
		% of Total	.0%	.0%	.0%	.2%	.0%	.2%
	Polling Station was not accessible	Count	0	2	0	0	0	2
		% of Total	.0%	.2%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.2%
	There was no deserving candidate	Count	1	4	7	1	1	14
		% of Total	.1%	.4%	.8%	.1%	.1%	1.6%
Total	Count	184	275	220	163	54	896	
	% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%	

Table. 152

Why you decided not to vote? * Gender

			Gender		
			Female	Male	Total
Why you decided not to vote?	Because my favorite party/candidate has boycotted	Count	3	134	137
		% of Total	.3%	15.0%	15.3%
	Due to some personal reasons	Count	1	23	24
		% of Total	.1%	2.6%	2.7%
	My name was not included in the voter list	Count	1	2	3
		% of Total	.1%	.2%	.3%
	NA	Count	135	551	686
		% of Total	15.1%	61.5%	76.6%
	On duty as polling officer	Count	0	1	1
		% of Total	.0%	.1%	.1%
	On the basis of religion	Count	6	21	27
		% of Total	.7%	2.3%	3.0%
	Others	Count	0	2	2
		% of Total	.0%	.2%	.2%
	Polling Station was not accessible	Count	1	1	2
		% of Total	.1%	.1%	.2%
	There was no deserving candidate	Count	0	14	14
		% of Total	.0%	1.6%	1.6%
Total	Count	147	749	896	
	% of Total	16.4%	83.6%	100.0%	

Table. 153

Why you decided not to vote? * Urban Rural

			Urban Rural		Total
			Rural	Urban	
Why you decided not to vote?	Because my favorite party/candidate has boycotted	Count	94	43	137
		% of Total	10.5%	4.8%	15.3%
	Due to some personal reasons	Count	2	22	24
		% of Total	.2%	2.5%	2.7%
	My name was not included in the voter list	Count	0	3	3
		% of Total	.0%	.3%	.3%
	NA	Count	334	352	686
		% of Total	37.3%	39.3%	76.6%
	On duty as polling officer	Count	1	0	1
		% of Total	.1%	.0%	.1%
	On the basis of religion	Count	3	24	27
		% of Total	.3%	2.7%	3.0%
	Others	Count	2	0	2
		% of Total	.2%	.0%	.2%
	Polling Station was not accessible	Count	1	1	2
		% of Total	.1%	.1%	.2%
	There was no deserving candidate	Count	4	10	14
		% of Total	.4%	1.1%	1.6%
Total	Count	441	455	896	
	% of Total	49.2%	50.8%	100.0%	

Table. 154

Do you think that your vote can make any difference? * Age

			Age					Total
			18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	
Do you think that your vote can make any difference?	Don't Know	Count	16	34	38	30	15	133
		% of Total	1.8%	3.8%	4.2%	3.3%	1.7%	14.8%
	No-	Count	0	0	3	2	0	5
		% of Total	.0%	.0%	.3%	.2%	.0%	.6%
	To large extent agree	Count	46	103	56	40	6	251
		% of Total	5.1%	11.5%	6.3%	4.5%	.7%	28.0%
	To smaller extent agree	Count	4	4	9	5	0	22
		% of Total	.4%	.4%	1.0%	.6%	.0%	2.5%
	To some extent agree	Count	118	134	114	86	33	485
		% of Total	13.2%	15.0%	12.7%	9.6%	3.7%	54.1%
	Total	Count	184	275	220	163	54	896
		% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%

Table. 155

Do you think that your vote can make any difference? * Education

			Education								Total
			Bachel or	Intermedi ate	Master	Matricula tion	MPhil	Phd	Religious Education	Under Matric	
I Don't Know		Count	12	13	15	26	2	0	3	62	133

Do you think that your vote can make any difference?	No-	% of Total	1.3%	1.5%	1.7%	2.9%	2%	1.0%	3%	6.9%	14.8%
		Count	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	2	5
	To large extent agree	% of Total	0%	0%	1%	1%	0%	0%	1%	2%	6%
		Count	53	33	41	35	3	0	5	81	251
	To smaller extent agree	% of Total	5.9%	3.7%	4.6%	3.9%	1.3%	0%	6%	9.0%	28.0%
		Count	2	4	2	5	0	0	0	9	22
	To some extent agree	% of Total	2%	4%	2%	6%	0%	0%	0%	1.0%	2.5%
		Count	77	59	74	54	6	1	18	196	485
	Total	% of Total	8.6%	6.6%	8.3%	6.0%	1.7%	1%	2.0%	21.9%	54.1%
		Count	144	109	133	121	11	1	27	350	896
		% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	1%	3.0%	39.1%	100.0%

Table. 156

Do you think that your vote can make any difference? * Gender

			Gender		Total
			Female	Male	
Do you think that your vote can make any difference?	I Don't Know	Count	25	108	133
		% of Total	2.8%	12.1%	14.8%
		Count	0	5	5
	No-	% of Total	0%	6%	6%
		Count	38	213	251
		Total	4.2%	23.8%	28.0%
	To large extent agree	Count	3	19	22
		% of Total	1.3%	2.1%	2.5%
		Count	81	404	485
	To some extent agree	% of Total	9.0%	45.1%	54.1%
		Count	147	749	896
		% of Total	16.4%	83.6%	100.0%

Table. 157

Do you think that your vote can make any difference? * Urban Rural

			Urban Rural		Total
			Rural	Urban	
Do you think that your vote can make any difference?	I Don't Know	Count	93	40	133
		% of Total	10.4%	4.5%	14.8%
	No-	Count	5	0	5
		% of Total	6%	0%	6%
	To large extent agree	Count	168	83	251
		% of Total	18.8%	9.3%	28.0%
	To smaller extent agree	Count	18	4	22
		% of Total	2.0%	4%	2.5%
	To some extent agree	Count	157	328	485
		% of Total	17.5%	36.6%	54.1%
	Total	Count	441	455	896
		% of Total	49.2%	50.8%	100.0%

Table. 158

Do you think that elections held in Pakistan are usually free and fair * Age

			Age					Total
			18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	
I Don't Know		Count	6	6	10	2	1	25

Do you think that elections held in Pakistan are usually free and fair	No	% of Total	7%	7%	1.1%	2%	1%	2.8%
		Count	32	64	68	56	12	232
	To large extent agree	% of Total	3.6%	7.1%	7.6%	6.3%	1.3%	25.9%
		Count	5	14	11	7	4	41
	To some extent agree	% of Total	6%	1.6%	1.2%	8%	4%	4.6%
		Count	123	159	109	91	31	513
	Yes	% of Total	13.7%	17.7%	12.2%	10.2%	3.5%	57.3%
		Count	18	32	22	7	6	85
	Total	% of Total	2.0%	3.6%	2.5%	8%	7%	9.5%
		Count	184	275	220	163	54	896
		% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%

Table. 159

Do you think that elections held in Pakistan are usually free and fair * Education

			Education								Total
			Bachelor or	Intermediate	Master	Matriculation	MPhil	Phd	Religious Education	Under Matric	
Do you think that elections held in Pakistan are usually free and fair	I Don't Know	Count	1	1	1	3	1	0	0	18	25
		% of Total	1%	1%	1%	3%	1%	0%	0%	2.0%	2.8%
	No	Count	33	27	34	41	3	1	6	87	232
		% of Total	3.7%	3.0%	3.8%	4.6%	3%	1%	7%	9.7%	25.9%
	To large extent agree	Count	3	4	3	9	1	0	0	21	41
		% of Total	3%	4%	3%	1.0%	1%	0%	0%	2.3%	4.6%
	To some extent agree	Count	99	63	91	63	5	0	21	171	513
		% of Total	11.0%	7.0%	10.2%	7.0%	6%	0%	2.3%	19.1%	57.3%
	Yes	Count	8	14	4	5	1	0	0	53	85
		% of Total	9%	1.6%	4%	6%	1%	0%	0%	5.9%	9.5%
Total	Count	144	109	133	121	11	1	27	350	896	
	% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	1%	3.0%	39.1%	100.0%	

Table. 160

Do you think that elections held in Pakistan are usually free and fair * Gender

			Gender		Total
			Female	Male	
Do you think that elections held in Pakistan are usually free and fair	I Don't Know	Count	6	19	25
		% of Total	7.7%	2.1%	2.8%
	No	Count	40	192	232
		% of Total	4.5%	21.4%	25.9%
	To large extent agree	Count	6	35	41
		% of Total	7.7%	3.9%	4.6%
	To some extent agree	Count	74	439	513
		% of Total	8.3%	49.0%	57.3%
	Yes	Count	21	64	85
		% of Total	2.3%	7.1%	9.5%
Total		Count	147	749	896
		% of Total	16.4%	83.6%	100.0%

Table. 161

Do you think that elections held in Pakistan are usually free and fair * Urban Rural

			Urban Rural		
			Rural	Urban	Total
Do you think that elections held in Pakistan are usually free and fair	I Don't Know	Count	15	10	25
		% of Total	1.7%	1.1%	2.8%
	No	Count	216	16	232
		% of Total	24.1%	1.8%	25.9%
	To large extent agree	Count	24	17	41
		% of Total	2.7%	1.9%	4.6%
	To some extent agree	Count	169	344	513
		% of Total	18.9%	38.4%	57.3%
	Yes	Count	17	68	85
		% of Total	1.9%	7.6%	9.5%
Total	Count		455	896	
	% of Total		50.8%	100.0%	

Table. 162

Do you think that elections held in Pakistan are usually free and Profession

			Profession						
			Business	Government Employee	Labor	No Job	Private Job	Student	Total
Do you think that elections held in Pakistan are usually free and fair	I Don't Know	Count	2	2	10	1	7	3	25
		% of Total	2%	2%	1.1%	1%	1.8%	3%	2.8%
	No	Count	61	49	57	2	36	27	232
		% of Total	6.8%	5.5%	6.4%	2%	4.0%	3.0%	25.9%
	To large extent agree	Count	13	7	10	0	5	6	41
		% of Total	1.5%	.8%	1.1%	0%	.6%	.7%	4.6%
	To some extent agree	Count	112	141	60	1	126	73	513
		% of Total	12.5%	15.7%	6.7%	1%	14.1%	8.1%	57.3%
	Yes	Count	19	14	10	0	25	17	85
		% of Total	2.1%	1.6%	1.1%	0%	2.8%	1.9%	9.5%
Total		Count	207	213	147	4	199	126	896
		% of Total	23.1%	23.8%	16.4%	.4%	22.2%	14.1%	100.0%

Table. 163

Have you ever voted against your own will? * Age

			Age					
			18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	Total
Have you ever voted against your own will?	No	Count	170	221	160	100	23	674
		% of Total	19.0%	24.7%	17.9%	11.2%	2.6%	75.2%
	Yes	Count	14	54	60	63	31	222
		% of Total	1.6%	6.0%	6.7%	7.0%	3.5%	24.8%
Total		Count	184	275	220	163	54	896
		% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%

Table. 164

Have you ever voted against your own will? * Education

			Education								Total
			Bachelor	Intermediate	Master	Matriculation	MPhil	Phd	Religious Education	Under Matric	
Have you ever voted against your own will?	No	Count	122	87	99	79	8	1	7	271	674
		% of Total	13.6%	9.7%	11.0%	8.8%	.9%	.1%	.8%	30.2%	75.2%

Total	Yes	Count	22	22	34	42	3	0	20	79	222
		% of Total	2.5%	2.5%	3.8%	4.7%	.3%	.0%	2.2%	8.8%	24.8%
		Count	144	109	133	121	11	1	27	350	896
		% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	.1%	3.0%	39.1%	100.0%

Table. 165

Have you ever voted against your own will? * Gender

			Gender		Total
			Female	Male	
Have you ever voted against your own will?	No	Count	128	546	674
		% of Total	14.3%	60.9%	75.2%
	Yes	Count	19	203	222
		% of Total	2.1%	22.7%	24.8%
Total	Count		147	749	896
	% of Total		16.4%	83.6%	100.0%

Table. 166

Have you ever voted against your own will? * Urban Rural

			Urban Rural		Total
			Rural	Urban	
Have you ever voted against your own will?	No	Count	290	384	674
		% of Total	32.4%	42.9%	75.2%
	Yes	Count	151	71	222
		% of Total	16.9%	7.9%	24.8%
Total	Count		441	455	896
	% of Total		49.2%	50.8%	100.0%

Table. 167

If Yes, then why? * Age

			Age					Total
			18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	
If Yes, then why?	Due to pressure	Count	0	2	0	1	0	3
		% of Total	.0%	.2%	.0%	.1%	.0%	.3%
	Due to some economic interests	Count	1	4	3	6	1	15
		% of Total	.1%	.4%	.3%	.7%	.1%	1.7%
	Due to the family	Count	2	18	10	11	2	43
		% of Total	.2%	2.0%	1.1%	1.2%	.2%	4.8%
	NA	Count	170	221	160	100	23	674
		% of Total	19.0%	24.7%	17.9%	11.2%	2.6%	75.2%
	NR	Count	5	3	2	3	0	13
		% of Total	.6%	.3%	.2%	.3%	.0%	1.5%
	On the basis of religion	Count	6	27	45	42	28	148
		% of Total	.7%	3.0%	5.0%	4.7%	3.1%	16.5%
Total	Count		184	275	220	163	54	896
	% of Total		20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%

Table. 168

If Yes, then why? * Education

	Education	Total
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			Bachelor or	Intermedi ate	Master	Matricula tion	MPhil	Phd	Religious Education	Under Matric	
If Yes, then why?	Due to pressure	Count	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	3
		% of Total	.0%	.2%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.1%	.3%
	Due to some economic interests	Count	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	12	15
		% of Total	.1%	.1%	.0%	.1%	.0%	.0%	.0%	1.3%	1.7%
	Due to the family	Count	8	1	6	11	2	0	1	14	43
		% of Total	.9%	.1%	.7%	1.2%	.2%	.0%	.1%	1.6%	4.8%
	NA	Count	122	87	99	79	8	1	7	271	674
		% of Total	13.6%	9.7%	11.0%	8.8%	.9%	.1%	.8%	30.2%	75.2%
	NR	Count	3	4	1	0	0	0	1	4	13
		% of Total	.3%	.4%	.1%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.1%	.4%	1.5%
	On the basis of religion	Count	10	14	27	30	1	0	18	48	148
		% of Total	1.1%	1.6%	3.0%	3.3%	.1%	.0%	2.0%	5.4%	16.5%
Total	Count	144	109	133	121	11	1	27	350	896	
	% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	.1%	3.0%	39.1%	100.0%	

Table. 169

If Yes, then why? * Gender

			Gender		
			Female	Male	Total
If Yes, then why?	Due to pressure	Count	2	1	3
		% of Total	.2%	.1%	.3%
	Due to some economic interests	Count	0	15	15
		% of Total	.0%	1.7%	1.7%
	Due to the family	Count	5	38	43
		% of Total	.6%	4.2%	4.8%
	NA	Count	128	546	674
		% of Total	14.3%	60.9%	75.2%
	NR	Count	2	11	13
		% of Total	.2%	1.2%	1.5%
	On the basis of religion	Count	10	138	148
		% of Total	1.1%	15.4%	16.5%
Total	Count	147	749	896	
	% of Total	16.4%	83.6%	100.0%	

Table. 170

If Yes, then why? * Urban Rural

			Urban Rural		Total
			Rural	Urban	
If Yes, then why?	Due to pressure	Count	2	1	3
		% of Total	.2%	.1%	.3%
	Due to some economic interests	Count	3	12	15
		% of Total	.3%	1.3%	1.7%
	Due to the family	Count	31	12	43
		% of Total	3.5%	1.3%	4.8%
	NA	Count	290	384	674
		% of Total	32.4%	42.9%	75.2%
	NR	Count	5	8	13
		% of Total	.6%	.9%	1.5%
	On the basis of religion	Count	110	38	148

Total	% of Total	12.3%	4.2%	16.5%
	Count	441	455	896
	% of Total	49.2%	50.8%	100.0%

Table. 171

What do you prefer mostly, political party or candidate in national and provincial elections? *
Age

			Age					Total
			18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	
What do you prefer mostly, political party or candidate in national and provincial elections?	Both	Count	111	120	83	62	24	400
		% of Total	12.4%	13.4%	9.3%	6.9%	2.7%	44.6%
	Candidate	Count	11	29	31	17	2	90
		% of Total	1.2%	3.2%	3.5%	1.9%	.2%	10.0%
	Other	Count	0	2	2	1	1	6
		% of Total	.0%	.2%	.2%	.1%	.1%	.7%
	Party	Count	57	116	101	83	27	384
		% of Total	6.4%	12.9%	11.3%	9.3%	3.0%	42.9%
	Unknown	Count	5	8	3	0	0	16
		% of Total	.6%	.9%	.3%	.0%	.0%	1.8%
	Total	Count	184	275	220	163	54	896
		% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%

Table. 172

What do you prefer mostly, political party or candidate in national and provincial elections? *
Education

			Education								Total
			Bachelor	Intermediate	Master	Matriculation	MPhil	Phd	Religious Education	Under Matric	
What do you prefer mostly, political party or candidate in national and provincial elections?	Both	Count	64	42	55	32	5	0	4	198	400
		% of Total	7.1%	4.7%	6.1%	3.6%	.6%	.0%	.4%	22.1%	44.6%
	Candidate	Count	16	11	12	12	3	0	0	36	90
		% of Total	1.8%	1.2%	1.3%	1.3%	.3%	.0%	.0%	4.0%	10.0%
	Other	Count	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	3	6
		% of Total	.0%	.0%	.1%	.2%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.3%	.7%
	Party	Count	60	52	63	72	2	1	22	112	384
		% of Total	6.7%	5.8%	7.0%	8.0%	.2%	.1%	2.5%	12.5%	42.9%
	Unknown	Count	4	4	2	3	1	0	1	1	16
		% of Total	.4%	.4%	.2%	.3%	.1%	.0%	.1%	.1%	1.8%
	Total	Count	144	109	133	121	11	1	27	350	896
		% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	.1%	3.0%	39.1%	100.0%

Table. 173

What do you prefer mostly, political party or candidate in national and provincial elections? *
Gender

Gender

			Gender		Total
			Female	Male	
What do you prefer mostly, political party or candidate in national and provincial elections?	Both	Count	48	352	400
		% of Total	5.4%	39.3%	44.6%
	Candidate	Count	10	80	90
		% of Total	1.1%	8.9%	10.0%
	Other	Count	1	5	6
		% of Total	.1%	.6%	.7%
	Party	Count	81	303	384
		% of Total	9.0%	33.8%	42.9%
	Unknown	Count	7	9	16
		% of Total	.8%	1.0%	1.8%
Total		Count	147	749	896
		% of Total	16.4%	83.6%	100.0%

Table. 174

What do you prefer mostly, political party or candidate in national and provincial elections? *
Urban Rural

			Urban Rural		Total
			Rural	Urban	
What do you prefer mostly, political party or candidate in national and provincial elections?	Both	Count	37	363	400
		% of Total	4.1%	40.5%	44.6%
	Candidate	Count	71	19	90
		% of Total	7.9%	2.1%	10.0%
	Other	Count	3	3	6
		% of Total	.3%	.3%	.7%
	Party	Count	322	62	384
		% of Total	35.9%	6.9%	42.9%
	Unknown	Count	8	8	16
		% of Total	.9%	.9%	1.8%
Total	Count	441	455	896	
	% of Total	49.2%	50.8%	100.0%	

Table. 175

Do you read various political parties' manifestos before voting in the elections? * Age

			Age					Total
			18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	
Do you read various political parties' manifestos before voting in the elections?	No	Count	24	61	64	59	25	233
		% of Total	2.7%	6.8%	7.1%	6.6%	2.8%	26.0%
	NR	Count	1	6	4	2	0	13
		% of Total	.1%	.7%	.4%	.2%	.0%	1.5%
	Yes	Count	159	208	152	102	29	650
		% of Total	17.7%	23.2%	17.0%	11.4%	3.2%	72.5%
	Total	Count	184	275	220	163	54	896
		% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%

Table. 176

Do you read various political parties' manifestos before voting in the elections? * Education

			Education								Total
			Bachelor	Intermedia	Master	Matriculation	MPhil	Phd	Religious Education	Under Matric	
Do you read various political parties' manifestos before voting in the elections?	No	Count	28	31	46	53	3	0	17	55	233
		% of Total	3.1%	3.5%	5.1%	5.9%	.3%	.0%	1.9%	6.1%	26.0%
	NR	Count	3	2	2	2	1	0	0	3	13
		% of Total	.3%	.2%	.2%	.2%	.1%	.0%	.0%	.3%	1.5%
	Yes	Count	113	76	85	66	7	1	10	292	650
		% of Total	12.6%	8.5%	9.5%	7.4%	.8%	.1%	1.1%	32.6%	72.5%
Total		Count	144	109	133	121	11	1	27	350	896
		% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	.1%	3.0%	39.1%	100.0%

Table. 177

Do you read various political parties' manifestos before voting in the elections? * Gender

			Gender		Total
			Female	Male	
Do you read various political parties' manifestos before voting in the elections?	No	Count	54	179	233
		% of Total	6.0%	20.0%	26.0%
	NR	Count	2	11	13
		% of Total	.2%	1.2%	1.5%
	Yes	Count	91	559	650
		% of Total	10.2%	62.4%	72.5%
Total	Count	147	749	896	
	% of Total	16.4%	83.6%	100.0%	

Table. 178

Do you read various political parties' manifestos before voting in the elections? * Urban Rural

			Urban Rural		Total
			Rural	Urban	
Do you read various political parties' manifestos before voting in the elections?	No	Count	204	29	233
		% of Total	22.8%	3.2%	26.0%
	NR	Count	10	3	13
		% of Total	1.1%	.3%	1.5%
	Yes	Count	227	423	650
		% of Total	25.3%	47.2%	72.5%
Total	Count	441	455	896	
	% of Total	49.2%	50.8%	100.0%	

Table. 179

Are you affiliated with any political party? * Age

			Age					Total
			18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	
Are you affiliated with any political party?	No	Count	9	26	22	15	1	73
		% of Total	1.0%	2.9%	2.5%	1.7%	.1%	8.1%
	Yes	Count	175	249	198	148	53	823
		% of Total	19.5%	27.8%	22.1%	16.5%	5.9%	91.9%

Total	Count	184	275	220	163	54	896
	% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%

Table. 180

Are you affiliated with any political party? * Education

			Education								Total
			Bachelor	Intermedia	Master	Matriculation	MPhil	Phd	Religious Education	Under Matric	
Are you affiliated with any political party?	No	Count	5	2	8	2	2	0	0	54	73
		% of Total	6%	2%	9%	2%	2%	0%	0%	6.0%	8.1%
	Yes	Count	139	107	125	119	9	1	27	296	823
		% of Total	15.5%	11.9%	14.0%	13.3%	1.0%	1%	3.0%	33.0%	91.9%
Total		Count	144	109	133	121	11	1	27	350	896
		% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	1%	3.0%	39.1%	100.0%

Table. 181

Are you affiliated with any political party? * Gender

			Gender		Total
			Female	Male	
Are you affiliated with any political party?	No	Count	15	58	73
		% of Total	1.7%	6.5%	8.1%
	Yes	Count	132	691	823
		% of Total	14.7%	77.1%	91.9%
Total		Count	147	749	896
		% of Total	16.4%	83.6%	100.0%

Table. 182

Are you affiliated with any political party? * Urban Rural

			Urban Rural		Total
			Rural	Urban	
Are you affiliated with any political party?	No	Count	15	58	73
		% of Total	1.7%	6.5%	8.1%
	Yes	Count	426	397	823
		% of Total	47.5%	44.3%	91.9%
Total		Count	441	455	896
		% of Total	49.2%	50.8%	100.0%

Table. 183

Are you affiliated with any political party? * Profession

			Profession						Total
			Business	Government Employee	Labor	No Job	Private Job	Student	
Are you affiliated with any political party?	No	Count	20	13	9	0	19	12	73
		% of Total	2.2%	1.5%	1.0%	0%	2.1%	1.3%	8.1%
	Yes	Count	187	200	138	4	180	114	823
		% of Total	20.9%	22.3%	15.4%	4%	20.1%	12.7%	91.9%
Total		Count	207	213	147	4	199	126	896
		% of Total	23.1%	23.8%	16.4%	4%	22.2%	14.1%	100.0%

Table. 184

What was reason for voting for this party or candidate? * Age

			Age					Total
			18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	
What was reason for voting for this party or candidate?	Due to the family	Count	1	0	1	0	0	2
		% of Total	.1%	.0%	.1%	.0%	.0%	.2%
	NA	Count	175	214	61	13	0	463
		% of Total	19.5%	23.9%	6.8%	1.5%	.0%	51.7%
	On the basis of religion	Count	4	29	112	106	43	294
		% of Total	.4%	3.2%	12.5%	11.8%	4.8%	32.8%
	Party affiliation	Count	2	27	40	32	10	111
		% of Total	.2%	3.0%	4.5%	3.6%	1.1%	12.4%
	Personal/family attachment with the candidate	Count	0	1	1	5	0	7
		% of Total	.0%	.1%	.1%	.6%	.0%	.8%
	Some economic/developmental benefits expected from the candidate	Count	0	1	1	3	0	5
		% of Total	.0%	.1%	.1%	.3%	.0%	.6%
The party/candidate has highlighted important issues	Count	2	3	4	4	1	14	
	% of Total	.2%	.3%	.4%	.4%	.1%	1.6%	
Total	Count	184	275	220	163	54	896	
	% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%	

Table. 185

What was reason for voting for this party or candidate? * Education

			Education								Total
			Bachelor	Intermediate	Master	Matriculation	MPhil	Phd	Religious Education	Under Matric	
What was reason for voting for this party or candidate?	Due to the family	Count	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
		% of Total	.0%	.0%	.1%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.1%	.2%
	NA	Count	102	72	75	42	11	0	10	151	463
		% of Total	11.4%	8.0%	8.4%	4.7%	1.2%	.0%	1.1%	16.9%	51.7%
	On the basis of religion	Count	24	21	43	62	0	1	16	127	294
		% of Total	2.7%	2.3%	4.8%	6.9%	.0%	.1%	1.8%	14.2%	32.8%
	Party affiliation	Count	16	14	11	17	0	0	1	52	111
		% of Total	1.8%	1.6%	1.2%	1.9%	.0%	.0%	.1%	5.8%	12.4%
	Personal/family attachment with the candidate	Count	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	5	7
		% of Total	.0%	.0%	.2%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.6%	.8%
	Some economic/developmental benefits expected from the candidate	Count	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	5
		% of Total	.0%	.1%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.4%	.6%
The party/candidate has highlighted important issues	Count	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	10	14	
	% of Total	.2%	.1%	.1%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	1.1%	1.6%	
Total	Count	144	109	133	121	11	1	27	350	896	
	% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	.1%	3.0%	39.1%	100.0%	

Table. 186

What was reason for voting for this party or candidate? * Gender

			Gender		Total
			Female	Male	
What was reason for voting for this party or candidate?	Due to the family	Count	0	2	2
		% of Total	0%	.2%	.2%
	NA	Count	135	328	463
		% of Total	15.1%	36.6%	51.7%
	On the basis of religion	Count	11	283	294
		% of Total	1.2%	31.6%	32.8%
	Party affiliation	Count	1	110	111
		% of Total	.1%	12.3%	12.4%
	Personal/family attachment with the candidate	Count	0	7	7
		% of Total	.0%	.8%	.8%
	Some economic/developmental benefits expected from the candidate	Count	0	5	5
		% of Total	.0%	.6%	.6%
	The party/candidate has highlighted important issues	Count	0	14	14
		% of Total	.0%	1.6%	1.6%
Total	Count	147	749	896	
	% of Total	16.4%	83.6%	100.0%	

Table. 187

What was reason for voting for this party or candidate? * Urban Rural

			Urban Rural		Total
			Rural	Urban	
What was reason for voting for this party or candidate?	Due to the family	Count	1	1	2
		% of Total	.1%	.1%	.2%
	NA	Count	187	276	463
		% of Total	20.9%	30.8%	51.7%
	On the basis of religion	Count	223	71	294
		% of Total	24.9%	7.9%	32.8%
	Party affiliation	Count	24	87	111
		% of Total	2.7%	9.7%	12.4%
	Personal/family attachment with the candidate	Count	2	5	7
		% of Total	.2%	.6%	.8%
	Some economic/developmental benefits expected from the candidate	Count	4	1	5
		% of Total	.4%	.1%	.6%
	The party/candidate has highlighted important issues	Count	0	14	14
		% of Total	.0%	1.6%	1.6%
Total	Count	441	455	896	
	% of Total	49.2%	50.8%	100.0%	

Table. 188

Did you vote for the same party or candidate in 2008 elections? * Age

			Age					Total	
			18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+		
Did you vote for the same party or candidate in 2008 elections?	NA	Count	176	211	57	12	0	456	
		% of Total	19.6%	23.5%	6.4%	1.3%	.0%	50.9%	
	No	Count	3	36	101	90	31	261	
		% of Total	.3%	4.0%	11.3%	10.0%	3.5%	29.1%	
	Yes	Count	5	28	62	61	23	179	
		% of Total	.6%	3.1%	6.9%	6.8%	2.6%	20.0%	
		Total	Count	184	275	220	163	54	896
			% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%

Table. 189

Did you vote for the same party or candidate in 2008 elections? * Education

			Education								Total
			Bachelor r	Intermedi ate	Master	Matriculat ion	MPhil	Phd	Religious Education	Under Matric	
Did you vote for the same party or candidate in 2008 elections?	NA	Count	101	73	75	44	10	0	9	144	456
		% of Total	11.3%	8.1%	8.4%	4.9%	1.1%	0%	1.0%	16.1%	50.9%
	No	Count	34	24	50	64	1	1	15	72	261
		% of Total	3.8%	2.7%	5.6%	7.1%	1%	1%	1.7%	8.0%	29.1%
	Yes	Count	9	12	8	13	0	0	3	134	179
		% of Total	1.0%	1.3%	.9%	1.5%	.0%	.0%	.3%	15.0%	20.0%
Total	Count	144	109	133	121	11	1	27	350	896	
	% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	1%	3.0%	39.1%	100.0%	

Table. 190

Did you vote for the same party or candidate in 2008 elections? * Gender

			Gender		Total
			Female	Male	
Did you vote for the same party or candidate in 2008 elections?	NA	Count	136	320	456
		% of Total	15.2%	35.7%	50.9%
	No	Count	6	255	261
		% of Total	.7%	28.5%	29.1%
	Yes	Count	5	174	179
		% of Total	.6%	19.4%	20.0%
	Total	Count	147	749	896
		% of Total	16.4%	83.6%	100.0%

Table. 191

Did you vote for the same party or candidate in 2008 elections? * Urban Rural

			Urban Rural		Total
			Rural	Urban	
Did you vote for the same party or candidate in 2008 elections?	NA	Count	185	271	456
		% of Total	20.6%	30.2%	50.9%
	No	Count	218	43	261
		% of Total	24.3%	4.8%	29.1%
	Yes	Count	38	141	179
		% of Total	4.2%	15.7%	20.0%

Total	Count	441	455	896
	% of Total	49.2%	50.8%	100.0%

Table. 192

Did you vote for the same party or candidate in 2008 elections? * Profession

			Profession						Total
			Business	Government Employee	Labor	No Job	Private Job	Student	
Did you vote for the same party or candidate in 2008 elections?	NA	Count	66	84	81	3	108	114	456
		% of Total	7.4%	9.4%	9.0%	.3%	12.1%	12.7%	50.9%
	No	Count	76	87	57	1	34	6	261
		% of Total	8.5%	9.7%	6.4%	.1%	3.8%	.7%	29.1%
	Yes	Count	65	42	9	0	57	6	179
		% of Total	7.3%	4.7%	1.0%	.0%	6.4%	.7%	20.0%
	Total	Count	207	213	147	4	199	126	896
		% of Total	23.1%	23.8%	16.4%	.4%	22.2%	14.1%	100.0%

Table. 193

Do you think the election 2008 was fair and transparent? * Age

			Age					Total
			18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	
Do you think the election 2008 was fair and transparent?	Fair and transparent	Count	6	32	51	35	16	140
		% of Total	.7%	3.6%	5.7%	3.9%	1.8%	15.6%
	I Don't Know	Count	3	36	55	46	26	166
		% of Total	.3%	4.0%	6.1%	5.1%	2.9%	18.5%
	NA	Count	171	170	65	38	6	450
		% of Total	19.1%	19.0%	7.3%	4.2%	.7%	50.2%
	Rigged	Count	2	9	11	9	2	33
		% of Total	.2%	1.0%	1.2%	1.0%	.2%	3.7%
	To some extent rigged	Count	2	28	38	35	4	107
		% of Total	.2%	3.1%	4.2%	3.9%	.4%	11.9%
Total		Count	184	275	220	163	54	896
		% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%

Table. 194

Do you think the election 2008 was fair and transparent? * Education

			Education								Total
			Bachelor or	Intermediate	Master	Matriculation	MPhil	PhD	Religious Education	Under Matric	
Do you think the election 2008 was fair and transparent?	Fair and transparent	Count	10	7	6	14	0	0	0	103	140
		% of Total	1.1%	.8%	.7%	1.6%	.0%	.0%	.0%	11.5%	15.6%
	I Don't Know	Count	9	9	26	37	2	0	9	74	166
		% of Total	1.0%	1.0%	2.9%	4.1%	.2%	.0%	1.0%	8.3%	18.5%
	NA	Count	109	74	75	46	7	1	8	130	450
		% of Total	12.2%	8.3%	8.4%	5.1%	.8%	.1%	.9%	14.5%	50.2%
	Rigged	Count	6	2	9	1	0	0	0	15	33
		% of Total	.7%	.2%	1.0%	.1%	.0%	.0%	.0%	1.7%	3.7%
	To some extent rigged	Count	10	17	17	23	2	0	10	28	107
		% of Total	1.1%	1.9%	1.9%	2.6%	.2%	.0%	1.1%	3.1%	11.9%
Total		Count	144	109	133	121	11	1	27	350	896

% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	1%	3.0%	39.1%	100.0%
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Table. 195

Do you think the election 2008 was fair and transparent? * Urban Rural

			Urban Rural		Total
			Rural	Urban	
Do you think the election 2008 was fair and transparent?	Fair and transparent	Count	47	93	140
		% of Total	5.2%	10.4%	15.6%
	I Don't Know	Count	127	39	166
		% of Total	14.2%	4.4%	18.5%
	NA	Count	187	263	450
		% of Total	20.9%	29.4%	50.2%
	Rigged	Count	20	13	33
		% of Total	2.2%	1.5%	3.7%
	To some extent rigged	Count	60	47	107
		% of Total	6.7%	5.2%	11.9%
	Total	Count	441	455	896
		% of Total	49.2%	50.8%	100.0%

Table. 196

Do you think the election 2008 was fair and transparent? * Profession

			Profession						Total
			Business	Government Employee	Labor	No Job	Private Job	Student	
Do you think the election 2008 was fair and transparent?	Fair and transparent	Count	51	38	10	0	37	4	140
		% of Total	5.7%	4.2%	1.1%	0%	4.1%	4%	15.6%
	I Don't Know	Count	47	46	27	1	40	5	166
		% of Total	5.2%	5.1%	3.0%	1%	4.5%	6%	18.5%
	NA	Count	71	84	90	3	89	113	450
		% of Total	7.9%	9.4%	10.0%	3%	9.9%	12.6%	50.2%
	Rigged	Count	8	12	2	0	10	1	33
		% of Total	.9%	1.3%	2%	0%	1.1%	1%	3.7%
	To some extent rigged	Count	30	33	18	0	23	3	107
		% of Total	3.3%	3.7%	2.0%	0%	2.6%	3%	11.9%
	Total	Count	207	213	147	4	199	126	896
		% of Total	23.1%	23.8%	16.4%	4%	22.2%	14.1%	100.0%

Table. 197

Did you vote for the same party or candidate in 2013 elections? * Age

			Age					Total
			18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	
Did you vote for the same party or candidate in 2013 elections?	NA	Count	169	143	35	15	2	364
		% of Total	18.9%	16.0%	3.9%	1.7%	2%	40.6%
	No	Count	2	44	55	40	18	159
		% of Total	2%	4.9%	6.1%	4.5%	2.0%	17.7%
	Yes	Count	13	88	130	108	34	373
		% of Total	1.5%	9.8%	14.5%	12.1%	3.8%	41.6%
	Total	Count	184	275	220	163	54	896
		% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%

Table. 198

Did you vote for the same party or candidate in 2013 elections? * Education

			Education								Total
			Bachelor r	Intermedi ate	Master	Matriculat ion	MPhil	Phd	Religious Education	Under Matric	
Did you vote for the same party or candidate in 2013 elections?	NA	Count	93	63	52	35	8	1	9	103	364
		% of Total	10.4%	7.0%	5.8%	3.9%	.9%	.1%	1.0%	11.5%	40.6%
	No	Count	22	15	35	39	2	0	2	44	159
		% of Total	2.5%	1.7%	3.9%	4.4%	.2%	.0%	.2%	4.9%	17.7%
	Yes	Count	29	31	46	47	1	0	16	203	373
		% of Total	3.2%	3.5%	5.1%	5.2%	.1%	.0%	1.8%	22.7%	41.6%
Total	Count	144	109	133	121	11	1	27	350	896	
	% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	.1%	3.0%	39.1%	100.0%	

Table. 199

Did you vote for the same party or candidate in 2013 elections? * Urban Rural

			Urban Rural		Total
			Rural	Urban	
Did you vote for the same party or candidate in 2013 elections?	NA	Count	147	217	364
		% of Total	16.4%	24.2%	40.6%
	No	Count	135	24	159
		% of Total	15.1%	2.7%	17.7%
	Yes	Count	159	214	373
		% of Total	17.7%	23.9%	41.6%
Total	Count	441	455	896	
	% of Total	49.2%	50.8%	100.0%	

Table. 200

Did you vote for the same party or candidate in 2013 elections? * Profession

			Profession						Total
			Business	Government Employee	Labor	No Job	Private Job	Student	
Did you vote for the same party or candidate in 2013 elections?	NA	Count	40	56	80	3	73	112	364
		% of Total	4.5%	6.3%	8.9%	.3%	8.1%	12.5%	40.6%
	No	Count	52	52	25	1	25	4	159
		% of Total	5.8%	5.8%	2.8%	.1%	2.8%	.4%	17.7%
	Yes	Count	115	105	42	0	101	10	373
		% of Total	12.8%	11.7%	4.7%	.0%	11.3%	1.1%	41.6%
	Total	Count	207	213	147	4	199	126	896
		% of Total	23.1%	23.8%	16.4%	.4%	22.2%	14.1%	100.0%

Table. 201

For which party (or electoral coalition) did you vote in 2013 elections? * Age

			Age					Total
			18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	
For which party (or electoral coalition) did you vote in 2013 elections?	ANP	Count	1	13	10	6	2	32
		% of Total	.1%	1.5%	1.1%	.7%	.2%	3.6%
	Independent candidate	Count	2	5	1	0	0	8
		% of Total	.2%	.6%	.1%	.0%	.0%	.9%

	Ji	Count	25	85	87	85	32	314
		% of Total	2.8%	9.5%	9.7%	9.5%	3.6%	35.0%
	JUIF	Count	8	29	36	13	6	92
		% of Total	.9%	3.2%	4.0%	1.5%	.7%	10.3%
	NA	Count	123	46	14	7	0	190
		% of Total	13.7%	5.1%	1.6%	.8%	.0%	21.2%
	PMLN	Count	1	6	10	4	1	22
		% of Total	.1%	.7%	1.1%	.4%	.1%	2.5%
	PPP	Count	10	14	27	25	6	82
		% of Total	1.1%	1.6%	3.0%	2.8%	.7%	9.2%
	PTI	Count	12	65	23	10	0	110
		% of Total	1.3%	7.3%	2.6%	1.1%	.0%	12.3%
	QWP	Count	2	12	12	13	7	46
		% of Total	.2%	1.3%	1.3%	1.5%	.8%	5.1%
Total		Count	184	275	220	163	54	896
		% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%

Table. 202

For which party (or electoral coalition) did you vote in 2013 elections? * Education

			Education								Total
			Bachel or	Intermedi ate	Master	Matricula tion	MPhil	Phd	Religious Education	Under Matric	
For which party (or electoral coalition) did you vote in 2013 elections?	ANP	Count	5	1	2	4	1	0	0	19	32
		% of Total	.6%	.1%	.2%	.4%	.1%	.0%	.0%	2.1%	3.6%
	Independent candidate	Count	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	7	8
		% of Total	.0%	.0%	.1%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.8%	.9%
	Ji	Count	43	33	51	40	4	1	3	139	314
		% of Total	4.8%	3.7%	5.7%	4.5%	.4%	.1%	.3%	15.5%	35.0%
	JUIF	Count	5	10	15	6	0	0	18	38	92
		% of Total	.6%	1.1%	1.7%	.7%	.0%	.0%	2.0%	4.2%	10.3%
	NA	Count	56	42	23	20	2	0	6	41	190
		% of Total	6.3%	4.7%	2.6%	2.2%	.2%	.0%	.7%	4.6%	21.2%
	PMLN	Count	3	2	3	8	0	0	0	6	22
		% of Total	.3%	.2%	.3%	.9%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.7%	2.5%
	PPP	Count	6	6	9	12	1	0	0	48	82
		% of Total	.7%	.7%	1.0%	1.3%	.1%	.0%	.0%	5.4%	9.2%
	PTI	Count	22	11	23	18	2	0	0	34	110
		% of Total	2.5%	1.2%	2.6%	2.0%	.2%	.0%	.0%	3.8%	12.3%
	QWP	Count	4	4	6	13	1	0	0	18	46
		% of Total	.4%	.4%	.7%	1.5%	.1%	.0%	.0%	2.0%	5.1%
Total		Count	144	109	133	121	11	1	27	350	896
		% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	.1%	3.0%	39.1%	100.0%

Table. 203

For which party (or electoral coalition) did you vote in 2013 elections? * Urban Rural

			Urban Rural		Total
			Rural	Urban	
For which party (or electoral coalition) did you vote in 2013 elections?	ANP	Count	8	24	32
		% of Total	.9%	2.7%	3.6%
	Independent candidate	Count	1	7	8
		% of Total	.1%	.8%	.9%
	Ji	Count	167	147	314
		% of Total	18.6%	16.4%	35.0%
	JUIF	Count	39	53	92
		% of Total	4.4%	5.9%	10.3%

Total	NA	Count	74	116	190
		% of Total	8.3%	12.9%	21.2%
	PMLN	Count	15	7	22
		% of Total	1.7%	.8%	2.5%
	PPP	Count	38	44	82
		% of Total	4.2%	4.9%	9.2%
	PTI	Count	67	43	110
		% of Total	7.5%	4.8%	12.3%
	QWP	Count	32	14	46
		% of Total	3.6%	1.6%	5.1%
		Count	441	455	896
		% of Total	49.2%	50.8%	100.0%

Table. 204

For which party (or electoral coalition) did you vote in 2013 elections? * Profession

			Profession						Total
			Business	Government Employee	Labor	No Job	Private Job	Student	
For which party (or electoral coalition) did you vote in 2013 elections?	ANP	Count	13	10	1	0	7	1	32
		% of Total	1.5%	1.1%	.1%	.0%	.8%	.1%	3.6%
	Independent candidate	Count	2	2	0	0	1	3	8
		% of Total	.2%	.2%	.0%	.0%	.1%	.3%	.9%
	JI	Count	85	91	37	1	77	23	314
		% of Total	9.5%	10.2%	4.1%	.1%	8.6%	2.6%	35.0%
	JUIF	Count	14	28	8	0	34	8	92
		% of Total	1.6%	3.1%	.9%	.0%	3.8%	.9%	10.3%
	NA	Count	15	18	56	3	28	70	190
		% of Total	1.7%	2.0%	6.3%	.3%	3.1%	7.8%	21.2%
	PMLN	Count	8	6	3	0	5	0	22
		% of Total	.9%	.7%	.3%	.0%	.6%	.0%	2.5%
	PPP	Count	22	22	18	0	17	3	82
		% of Total	2.5%	2.5%	2.0%	.0%	1.9%	.3%	9.2%
	PTI	Count	36	24	13	0	22	15	110
		% of Total	4.0%	2.7%	1.5%	.0%	2.5%	1.7%	12.3%
	QWP	Count	12	12	11	0	8	3	46
		% of Total	1.3%	1.3%	1.2%	.0%	.9%	.3%	5.1%
	Total	Count	207	213	147	4	199	126	896
		% of Total	23.1%	23.8%	16.4%	.4%	22.2%	14.1%	100.0%

Table. 205

What was the reason for voting for this party or candidate? * Age

			Age					Total
			18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	
What was the reason for voting for this party or candidate?	Due to the family	Count	0	2	2	0	0	4
		% of Total	.0%	.2%	.2%	.0%	.0%	.4%
	NA	Count	124	47	13	5	0	189
		% of Total	13.8%	5.2%	1.5%	.6%	.0%	21.1%
	On the basis of religion	Count	16	57	59	44	19	195
		% of Total	1.8%	6.4%	6.6%	4.9%	2.1%	21.8%
	Party affiliation	Count	34	99	94	81	26	334
		% of Total	3.8%	11.0%	10.5%	9.0%	2.9%	37.3%
	Personal/family attachment with the candidate	Count	1	4	10	7	7	29
		% of Total	.1%	.4%	1.1%	.8%	.8%	3.2%
		Count	5	32	29	11	0	77

Total	Some economic/developmental benefits expected from the candidate	% of Total	6%	3.6%	3.2%	1.2%	0%	8.6%
		Count	4	34	13	15	2	68
	The party/candidate has highlighted important issues	% of Total	4%	3.8%	1.5%	1.7%	2%	7.6%
		Count	184	275	220	163	54	896
		% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%

Table. 206

What was the reason for voting for this party or candidate? * Education

			Education								Total
			Bachelor or	Intermediate	Master	Matriculation	MPhil	PhD	Religious Education	Under Matric	
What was the reason for voting for this party or candidate?	Due to the family	Count	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	4
		% of Total	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	3%	4%
	NA	Count	56	42	21	20	2	0	6	42	189
		% of Total	6.3%	4.7%	2.3%	2.2%	2%	0%	7%	4.7%	21.1%
	On the basis of religion	Count	13	14	15	14	1	1	6	131	195
		% of Total	1.5%	1.6%	1.7%	1.6%	1%	1%	7%	14.6%	21.8%
	Party affiliation	Count	48	33	76	55	4	0	15	103	334
		% of Total	5.4%	3.7%	8.5%	6.1%	4%	0%	1.7%	11.5%	37.3%
	Personal/family attachment with the candidate	Count	3	4	2	9	0	0	0	11	29
		% of Total	3%	4%	2%	1.0%	0%	0%	0%	1.2%	3.2%
	Some economic/developmental benefits expected from the candidate	Count	15	6	7	19	1	0	0	29	77
		% of Total	1.7%	7%	8%	2.1%	1%	0%	0%	3.2%	8.6%
	The party/candidate has highlighted important issues	Count	9	10	11	4	3	0	0	31	68
		% of Total	1.0%	1.1%	1.2%	4%	3%	0%	0%	3.5%	7.6%
Total	Count	144	109	133	121	11	1	27	350	896	
	% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	1%	3.0%	39.1%	100.0%	

Table. 207

What was the reason for voting for this party or candidate? * Gender

			Gender		
			Female	Male	Total
What was the reason for voting for this party or candidate?	Due to the family	Count	0	4	4
		% of Total	0%	4%	4%
	NA	Count	86	103	189
		% of Total	9.6%	11.5%	21.1%
	On the basis of religion	Count	45	150	195
		% of Total	5.0%	16.7%	21.8%
	Party affiliation	Count	9	325	334
		% of Total	1.0%	36.3%	37.3%
	Personal/family attachment with the candidate	Count	1	28	29
		% of Total	1.1%	3.1%	3.2%
	Some economic/developmental benefits expected from the candidate	Count	3	74	77
		% of Total	3%	8.3%	8.6%
	The party/candidate has highlighted important issues	Count	3	65	68
		% of Total	3%	7.3%	7.6%
Total		Count	147	749	896

	% of Total	16.4%	83.6%	100.0%
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Table. 208

What was the reason for voting for this party or candidate? * Urban Rural

			Urban Rural		Total
			Rural	Urban	
What was the reason for voting for this party or candidate?	Due to the family	Count	4	0	4
		% of Total	.4%	.0%	.4%
	NA	Count	71	118	189
		% of Total	7.9%	13.2%	21.1%
	On the basis of religion	Count	85	110	195
		% of Total	9.5%	12.3%	21.8%
	Party affiliation	Count	162	172	334
		% of Total	18.1%	19.2%	37.3%
	Personal/family attachment with the candidate	Count	25	4	29
		% of Total	2.8%	.4%	3.2%
	Some economic/developmental benefits expected from the candidate	Count	70	7	77
		% of Total	7.8%	.8%	8.6%
	The party/candidate has highlighted important issues	Count	24	44	68
		% of Total	2.7%	4.9%	7.6%
Total	Count	441	455	896	
	% of Total	49.2%	50.8%	100.0%	

Table. 209

What was the reason for voting for this party or candidate? * Profession

			Profession						Total
			Business	Government Employee	Labor	No Job	Private Job	Student	
What was the reason for voting for this party or candidate?	Due to the family	Count	0	2	2	0	0	0	4
		% of Total	0%	.2%	.2%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.4%
	NA	Count	14	18	55	3	28	71	189
		% of Total	1.6%	2.0%	6.1%	.3%	3.1%	7.9%	21.1%
	On the basis of religion	Count	47	41	25	1	56	25	195
		% of Total	5.2%	4.6%	2.8%	.1%	6.3%	2.8%	21.8%
	Party affiliation	Count	95	108	36	0	81	14	334
		% of Total	10.6%	12.1%	4.0%	.0%	9.0%	1.6%	37.3%
	Personal/family attachment with the candidate	Count	6	8	10	0	3	2	29
		% of Total	.7%	.9%	1.1%	.0%	.3%	.2%	3.2%
	Some economic/developmental benefits expected from the candidate	Count	25	14	15	0	15	8	77
		% of Total	2.8%	1.6%	1.7%	.0%	1.7%	.9%	8.6%
	The party/candidate has highlighted important issues	Count	20	22	4	0	16	6	68
		% of Total	2.2%	2.5%	.4%	.0%	1.8%	.7%	7.6%
Total	Count	207	213	147	4	199	126	896	
	% of Total	23.1%	23.8%	16.4%	.4%	22.2%	14.1%	100.0%	

Table. 210

In your opinion, does candidate's participation in different social event can increase his chances for getting more votes? * Age

		Age					Total
		18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	
No	Count	27	56	30	30	13	156

In your opinion, does candidate's participation in different social event can increase his chances for getting more votes?	Yes	% of Total	3.0%	6.3%	3.3%	3.3%	1.5%	17.4%
		Count	157	219	190	133	41	740
	% of Total	17.5%	24.4%	21.2%	14.8%	4.6%	82.6%	
	Count	184	275	220	163	54	896	
	Total	% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%

Table. 211

In your opinion, does candidate's participation in different social event can increase his chances for getting more votes? * Education

			Education								Total
			Bachelor	Intermedi	Master	Matriculat	MPhil	Phd	Religious Education	Under Matric	
In your opinion, does candidate's participation in different social event can increase his chances for getting more votes?	No	Count	14	6	19	6	2	1	3	105	156
		% of Total	1.6%	1.7%	2.1%	1.7%	2%	1.1%	3%	11.7%	17.4%
	Yes	Count	130	103	114	115	9	0	24	245	740
		% of Total	14.5%	11.5%	12.7%	12.8%	1.0%	0%	2.7%	27.3%	82.6%
	Total	Count	144	109	133	121	11	1	27	350	896
		% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	1.1%	3.0%	39.1%	100.0%

Table. 212

In your opinion, does candidate's participation in different social event can increase his chances for getting more votes? * Gender

			Gender		Total
			Female	Male	
In your opinion, does candidate's participation in different social event can increase his chances for getting more votes?	No	Count	23	133	156
		% of Total	2.6%	14.8%	17.4%
	Yes	Count	124	616	740
		% of Total	13.8%	68.8%	82.6%
	Total	Count	147	749	896
		% of Total	16.4%	83.6%	100.0%

Table. 213

In your opinion, does candidate's participation in different social event can increase his chances for getting more votes? * Urban Rural

			Urban Rural		Total
			Rural	Urban	
In your opinion, does candidate's participation in different social event can increase his chances for getting more votes?	No	Count	55	101	156
		% of Total	6.1%	11.3%	17.4%
	Yes	Count	386	354	740
		% of Total	43.1%	39.5%	82.6%
Total		Count	441	455	896
		% of Total	49.2%	50.8%	100.0%

Table. 214

Women should participate in electoral process or politics. * Age

			Age					Total
			18-25	26-35	36-45	46-60	60+	
Women should participate in electoral process or politics.	Disagree	Count	28	60	58	59	16	221
		% of Total	3.1%	6.7%	6.5%	6.6%	1.8%	24.7%
	Strongly agree	Count	85	109	64	44	10	312
		% of Total	9.5%	12.2%	7.1%	4.9%	1.1%	34.8%
	To some extent agree	Count	69	97	94	54	26	340
		% of Total	7.7%	10.8%	10.5%	6.0%	2.9%	37.9%
	To some extent disagree	Count	2	9	4	6	2	23
		% of Total	2.2%	1.0%	.4%	.7%	.2%	2.6%
	Total	Count	184	275	220	163	54	896
		% of Total	20.5%	30.7%	24.6%	18.2%	6.0%	100.0%

Table. 215

Women should participate in electoral process or politics. * Education

			Education								Total
			Bachelor or	Intermediate	Master	Matriculation	MPhil	Phd	Religious Education	Under Matric	
Women should participate in electoral process or politics.	Disagree	Count	18	16	22	26	1	1	4	133	221
		% of Total	2.0%	1.8%	2.5%	2.9%	.1%	.1%	.4%	14.8%	24.7%
	Strongly agree	Count	65	36	52	30	7	0	3	119	312
		% of Total	7.3%	4.0%	5.8%	3.3%	.8%	.0%	.3%	13.3%	34.8%
	To some extent agree	Count	56	56	58	61	3	0	17	89	340
		% of Total	6.3%	6.3%	6.5%	6.8%	.3%	.0%	1.9%	9.9%	37.9%
	To some extent disagree	Count	5	1	1	4	0	0	3	9	23
		% of Total	.6%	.1%	.1%	.4%	.0%	.0%	.3%	1.0%	2.6%
	Total	Count	144	109	133	121	11	1	27	350	896
		% of Total	16.1%	12.2%	14.8%	13.5%	1.2%	1%	3.0%	39.1%	100.0%

Table. 216

Women should participate in electoral process or politics. * Gender

			Gender		Total
			Female	Male	
Women should participate in electoral process or politics.	Disagree	Count	17	204	221
		% of Total	1.9%	22.8%	24.7%
	Strongly agree	Count	87	225	312
		% of Total	9.7%	25.1%	34.8%
	To some extent agree	Count	42	298	340
		% of Total	4.7%	33.3%	37.9%
	To some extent disagree	Count	1	22	23
		% of Total	.1%	2.5%	2.6%
Total	Count	147	749	896	
	% of Total	16.4%	83.6%	100.0%	

Table. 217

Women should participate in electoral process or politics. * Urban Rural

			Urban Rural		Total
			Rural	Urban	
Women should participate in electoral process or politics.	Disagree	Count	146	75	221
		% of Total	16.3%	8.4%	24.7%
	Strongly agree	Count	116	196	312
		% of Total	12.9%	21.9%	34.8%
	To some extent agree	Count	166	174	340
		% of Total	18.5%	19.4%	37.9%
	To some extent disagree	Count	13	10	23
		% of Total	1.5%	1.1%	2.6%
Total	Count		441	455	896
	% of Total		49.2%	50.8%	100.0%

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