

MS THESIS

**VOTING BEHAVIOR IN KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA:
A CASE STUDY OF DISTRICT MOHMAND
PROVINCIAL ELECTION 2024**



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CERTIFICATE OF COMPLETION

I hereby recommend that the dissertation submitted by Abbas Yaqoob titled, "**VOTING BEHAVIOR IN KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA: A CASE STUDY OF DISTRICT MOHAMMAD PROVINCIAL ELECTION 2024**" be accepted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MS in the discipline of Political Science.

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Abbas Yaqoob

ABBREVIATIONS

ANP	Awami National Party
JUI	Jamiat Ulema Islam
JI	Jamat Islami
PK-NAP	Pakhtunkhwa National Awami Party
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
PTI	Pakistan Tehreek Insaf
TLP	Tehreek Labbaik Pakistan
ECP	election commission of Pakistan
PBS	Pakistan Bureau of Statistics
MPA	Member of Provincial assembly
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
MNA	Member of National Assembly

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ABSTRACT

This research examines voting behavior in District Mohmand during the Provincial Election of 2024, with a particular focus on variations in voting patterns and the low turnout of women. It aims to identify factors contributing to these variations and the concerning issue of low female voter participation. By analyzing voting patterns among different segments of the population, the study seeks to uncover significant differences and the reasons behind these disparities. The investigation delves into social, cultural, and institutional barriers that may deter or discourage women from participating in the electoral process. Utilizing a qualitative methodology, the research involves surveys, interviews, and focus group discussions to gain insights into women's experiences and perceptions of electoral participation. The findings aim to enrich existing literature on voting behavior and women's political participation, offering valuable insights for policymakers, electoral stakeholders, and civil society organizations to develop targeted interventions and strategies to enhance women's participation in elections in Mohmand district and beyond.

Keywords: *Voting Behavior, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Women's Electoral Participation, District Mohmand, Provincial Elections 2024*

CHAPTER-1

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

The history of voting behavior in Pakistan has been in vague due to fragile democracy and numbers of dictatorships regimes. The people of Pakistan have not been familiar with voting behavior in initials years after independence, however, with the passage of time the situation has changed and now people are familiar with electoral politics in the country. In the history of Pakistan for the very first time the general elections were held in 1970, prior that there were only indirect elections and people could not send their representatives effectively to right candidate (Ahmad, 2010).

Furthermore, the people of Pakistan are casting their votes mostly on different basis, firstly, they are influenced by efforts and campaigns of political parties, most of the times they were are trapped in the political statements of these political parties. Moreover, the masses had changed mostly their decisions in every election due to multi-party system in Pakistan where people have the choice to change the decision in every election. In additions, people also come up with new thinking and to review their previous decision on the basis of performance of the elected representatives, Due to these reasons the voters were/are changed their decisions during elections in Pakistan (Blais, 2015).

The voting behavior of the people also depend on the leadership of respective political parties, It depends how effective the thinking of the political people, Majority of the leadership look to the particular Issue, and then they decide to shape their program on the basis of the particular issue the leadership keeps in mind the of language, customs, and more important to look the developmental situation in particular area. Therefore, then the leaderships shaping the behavior of the people and change the attitude of the people towards the elections.

The main problem in Pakistan is illiteracy and no proper education, this also affects the voting behavior of the people, and the people don't enjoy the freedom to vote freely and on their own will. These things affect the obviously the results, and the people never choose the intelligent and fit representatives. On the other side the educated people also face similar problems, although they vote usually for the right person, but due to the multi-party system and some others factors, their decision are also affected. For example, if an educated person decides on the basis of the

manifesto of the said particular political party, He still faces pressure from baradari system, ethnicity and several other reasons. So, the literate and illiterate both people though use their votes but have to change their decisions due to the aforementioned reasons.

In general, how people and on which basis people are voting to the said MPA, MNA and even in local government elections, in western countries people are looking before election for the manifesto of the said political party and then they decide to whom they are going to cost their respective votes. While in Pakistan people look differently on the basis of monitory status of the candidate, they also evaluate the candidate on the basis of their family they normally vote for the candidate who are financially strong and belong to influential families. In some cases the voters also looks at the candidate's baradari prefer voting for the candidate of same caste in Pakistan where family head play an important role in the society and influences the decision of the whole family in vote casting.

In this study voting behavior in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa Pakistan particularly focusing on the district Mohmand, the first ever elections were held in FATA in 2013 on party basis, The FATA people had no right to vote, until the government of Benazir Bhutto 1996 gave the right of adult franchise. Previously local heads (Malik) were the right to vote and elect their respective MNAs. After adult franchise act the people could use their vote but the elections were still conducted on non-party basis, as a result the people of fata were never involved in politics directly and had no idea for whom to vote and on which basis. But when the government of PM Yousaf Raza Gillani that political Act 2002 was extended to FATA that gave the right to FATA people Afterward, they could use their vote to whom they want, currently there are different political parties and they nominate their candidates for the election on party basis (Caprara, 2002).

The voting behavior of the people of FATA and particularly of Mohmand district need to be examined as although the people of Mohmand district send their MNA to the National assembly in 2013 in those newly reformed elections, but still they preferred the old pattern independent candidate. The people of Mohmand were never familiar with these political parties political parties exerted more attention on the region and finally for the first time the people of Mohmand send the first elected MNA on party basis elections, in ongoing developments which resulted in merger of FATA with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province the provincial election were held in 2019 The result of that election shocked when an MPA, from Awami National Party (ANP) and another

independent candidate was elected to the Provincial assembly So one can say how the people behavior changed in one year and people elected the opposing candidates of the PTI. This study will elaborate all the aspects of these changing behaviors of the people on the basis of the research questions identified. District Mohmand comprises of 7 tehsil and divided into upper and Lower sub divisions.

Constituency	REGISTERED MALE VOTERS	TOTAL MALE VOTES POLLED	TURNOUT OF MALE VOTES POLLED %	REGISTERED FEMALE VOTERS	TOTAL FEMALE VOTES POLLED	TURNOUT OF FEMALE VOTES POLLED	TOTAL REGISTERED VOTERS	TOTAL VOTES POLLED	TURNOUT OF TOTAL VOTES POLLED %
PK-67 Lower Mohmand	68472	27,781	69.40	42,008	12,267	30.60	110,480	40,085	36.30
PK-68 Upper Mohmand	106,749	35,869	74.60	63,273	12,187	25.40	170,022	48,056	28.30

Resource: Dawn newspaper and election commission website

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Ex-FATA has remained away for long time from mainstream politics since 1947, Several governments attempted to change this political situation and tried to bring it to the main stream politics, Due to this reason people of FATA were not familiar with voting behavior, with no awareness how and for whom to vote, prior to 1996 there were few people The Malik's who had the right to votes, Since the government of PM Benazir Bhutto extended the adult franchise act to FATA, some political awareness started to emerge in local people but still there were no political parties and the elections were conducted on non-party basis till the 2013 election. For the first time these people voted for the candidate of different political parties in 2013 elections 2018 and 2019 elections respectively, the main problem however followed by that were, people weren't familiar with voting behaviors. voting behavior in Mohmand district is characterized by complex dynamics, influenced by a multitude of factors, including traditional loyalties, religious affiliations, ethnic and regional identities, personal connections, and economic conditions. Furthermore, low voter turnout among women is a pressing issue, attributed to limited access to education, cultural and

social barriers, fear and intimidation, lack of political awareness, and limited access to voting information. Additionally, voting behavior in district Mohmand affected by Political polarization, lack of awareness, less concentration of political parties, influence of religion base vote, and Maliks influence.

1.3 Significance of the Study

Very few studies regarding voting behavior have been conducted in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, there is no sufficient research material to describe the way voting behavior get influenced the role of different political parties in shaping the voting behavior is also less studied the present study will elaborate all the aspect of voting behavior particularly in new merged districts in KP. There try to this study this study, also will look the importance of political parties and the way of campaign how they changed the people decisions with the passage of time and especially during elections. Therefore, this study will elaborate all these aspects in detail.

1.4 Research Objectives

1. To explore how different social and political factors influence voting behavior in District Mohmand.
2. To examine the changes in voting behavior of the people during election campaigns in Tribal District Mohmand.
3. To identify the factors contributing to low voter turnout, with a particular focus on the lower participation of women voters in District Mohmand.

1.5 Research Questions

1. How do different social and political factors influence voting behavior in District Mohmand?
2. What are the key factors contributing to low voter turnout, particularly the limited participation of women voters in District Mohmand?
3. In what ways do election campaigns influence variations in voting behavior among the people of District Mohmand?

1.6 Delimitations of the Study

This research will focus on district Mohmand specific constituencies. This research focuses on those factors that influenced voting behavior in district Mohmand like low voters' turnout particularly low women participation in elections and in vote polling. By, the analysis will provide localized insights into the factors influencing voting patterns in Mohmand. Additionally, the research will have a time delimitation, focusing on the general elections of 2024 allowing for an assessment of trends and changes in voting behavior over a specific period. These delimitations will enable targeted investigations.

CHAPTER-2

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

In this section the researcher has review the relevant literature and study relevant papers, books, research paper, articles, newspaper and other statistical data.

Ahmad (2011). Reviews several socio-economic factors that tend to influence voting behavior of Asian Americans. More specifically, I explore how the gendered intersectionality of income and country-of-origin identity molds decisions to vote which may be influenced by length of stay in United States or lack thereof. The biggest part of the research was education, its relationship with voting behavior.

Achen (2008) seeks to explain voting Behavior and what motivates a voter in India to vote for an ethnic party. This useful model of voting behavior has implications for investigating types of voter support and ethnic party relationships elsewhere, particularly in other developing countries. It deals with the issues of urban voting patterns in India and tries to explain who voted for BJP using voter-level data. Elections and their role in disciplining the elected representatives, choosing those qualified to hold public office, as well as act on behalf of voter's preferences (Adams 2005).

Adams, 2016 description of the electoral history of Pakistan The book includes an analysis of the Punjab voting behavior in light of the 1993 elections. The authors provides an argument that in Punjab, the primary determinant of voting behavior is voters perception as to which party and candidate will deliver on election day promises. The book has further done a cross reference of the elections held in 1993 and those that took place during the earlier period including covering three decades that are to say: -- election year, 1970, general election.

In that regard, PILDAT (2013) went a step advance by practically analyzing Pakistan's initial 10 general elections from 1970 until the year of reference i.e. Dismemberment: The 1970 Election 1977 after which martial law was imposed. From 1985 to 2008, the intelligence agencies manipulated elections using a hybrid form of inter-communist division. The 2013 general elections had promised a democratic transition from one civilian government to the next. Election and key issues along with players in the competition have been elaborately discussed graphically with results of the election along party manifesto. Political party's manifestos grab the attention of

Voters. Made it easier for voters to choose what party they would vote for due to the fact that reading a manifesto is faster than doing research on nominees only.

Elections, after all are the appropriate process through which one set of government is handed over power to another. The people voice their decision through an election. Is a compositional nexus between the state and society. The political history of Pakistan is proof that state elites were least interested in the institutionalization of the political process. The 1947-54 First Assembly was the first to be chosen not by direct election. Provincial elections were held on basis of universal franchise in Punjab and NWFP (the current KP) in 1951. The same elections were held in the years 1953 and 1954 (Bartels, 2016).

Elections were scheduled to take place within a few months according to the 1956 constitution, but President Iskander Mirza and his allies attempted to delay the process (Wilder, 1999). In October 1958, General Ayub Khan staged a coup and took control. In 1962, he instituted the presidential system, which allows for indirect elections for the president of Pakistan and legislative chambers. BD members were directly elected to the Electoral College in 1959 and 1964. In a February 1960 referendum, this Electoral College chose Ayub Khan to be the President of Pakistan (PILDAT, 2013). Indirect national elections for national and provincial assemblies were conducted in 1964 in accordance with the 1962 Constitution through the Basic Democrats. Members of the BD were able to choose representatives to the national and provincial assemblies. Additionally, they have the authority to choose Pakistan's president (Rizvi, 2000). The January 1965 presidential election included two contenders. After receiving 49,951 (63.31%) votes from members of BD, Ayub Khan was proclaimed the new president of Pakistan. The Combined Opposition Parties (COP)'s Miss Fathima Jinnah received 28,961 votes, or 36.36% of the total (Rizvi, 2000).

In Pakistan's electoral history, December 7, 1970, stands out as a significant day. Voters have had the ability to directly elect members of the National Assembly for the first time since independence. They chose representatives for each of the five provincial assemblies on December 17. President Yahya Khan carried out his pledge to hold elections upon taking office in March 1969 with this election (Baxter, 1971). Awami League was the dominant political party in the East, whereas Pakistan People's Party dominated the West. The primary determinants of voting behavior were party platforms and the leaders' charisma. The Awami League's six-point platform was

centered on increasing provincial autonomy. The Pakistan People's Party included land reforms, nationalization, and Islamic socialism as its platform (Kanwal, 2016).

The Pakistan Muslim League (PML)-dominated Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI), a nine-party alliance, and the PPP dominated the 1988 elections. When Benazir Bhutto returned to Pakistan in 1988 after living in self-imposed exile, the populace welcomed her with open arms. She appealed to emotions, bringing up the suffering of party members and Z.A. Bhutto's execution during Zia's autocratic rule. IJI concentrated on the persistence of the Zia regime's Islamization initiatives (Kanwal, 2016). November 1988 was the first post-Zia elections, with a 40% voter turnout. The PPP, led by Benazir Bhutto, was able to secure 92 seats in the National Assembly and create a coalition government with the Awami National Party, Mutahida Qomi Movement (MQM), and a few independent MPs. IJI secured fifty-five seats. PPP forms the central government. Nawaz Sharif's IJI created the Punjabi government. Throughout 1988–1990, Punjab and the federal government were embroiled in a fierce political battle. The province's and the center's performance suffered greatly as a result. This government was likewise under pressure from the military. Military-civilian relations remained tense (PILDAT, 2013).

Benazir Bhutto's cabinet was ousted by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan. They were accused of failing to uphold law and order, corruption, and poor governance. A new election was scheduled for October 24, 1990. Once more, the primary rivals were the PPP-led Pakistan Democratic Alliance (PDA) and the IJI. While IJI criticized the PPP government's policies and corruption, PPP was supporting the government's policies. IJI advertised itself as a PPP substitute and made the promise of a Pakistan free of corruption. With 105 of the 206 seats in the National Assembly, the IJI secured a simple majority. PDA only managed to win 45 NA seats. PDA claimed that IJI had been unfairly given the advantage in the general elections. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan's national speech, in which he urged the populace to vote against PDA, drew criticism. The caretaker's use of the authority to shift bureaucracy to the benefit of IJI and the detriment of PDA, especially in several crucial constituencies, was also condemned (Khan, 2017).

Islamic Jamhuri Itihad (IJI) improved its standing in the aftermath of the election. November 1990 saw the appointment of Nawaz Sharif as prime minister in the first week. This decade saw the PPP and IJI continue their longstanding practice of antagonism. The Sharif government encountered greater challenges when disagreements emerged with the military and

the presidency, on April 18, 1993. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan dissolved the National Assembly and ousted Nawaz Sharif's administration on the grounds of corruption, nepotism, constitutional violations, and undermining military authority.

On October 6, 1993, the announcement of general elections by Prime Minister Moeen Qureshi. This election was a struggle between the PPP and the PML-N. There was little local and regional role for other parties. The PML-N kept up its anti-establishment stance and accused the outgoing president of plotting to overthrow the party. The mandate from voters was divided. PPP won 86 National Assembly seats. The PML-N won 73 seats. 43.10 percent of voters cast ballots. On October 19, 1993, the PPP formed the center's administration with the help of allies and independent MPs. For a second time, Benazir Bhutto was elected prime minister. The PPP's Farooq Ahmad Khan Laghari was chosen to be the nation's president (Khan, 2017). Disagreements between President Laghari and Benazir Bhutto emerged in September 1996, which resulted in the application of Article 58(2) (b), the removal of the Bhutto administration, and the dissolution of the parliament. Charges included extrajudicial executions, assaults on the judiciary's independence, violations of fundamental rights, and corruption.

General elections were scheduled for February 5, 1997, by the interim administration. Similar to 1990 and 1993, the party system dominated Pakistani politics in the 1997 general elections. The differences resembled those of the elections of 1988. While Islamic parties fell short of serving as the masses' spokesmen, PPP and PML-N pointed fingers at one other for the failure (Kanwal, 2016).

According to election results, Punjab accounted for 90% of the seats in the NA, where the PML-N secured a two-thirds majority. Nawaz Sharif, the PML-N leader, was appointed prime minister of Pakistan. With just 19 NA seats, the PPP was decisively beaten. With 19 MPs, Independent remained the third largest faction (Khan, 2017).

The military dictatorship under Musharraf and its allies in the civilian world were defeated in the 2008 elections. Following Benazir Bhutto's killing, this election was held. Because of the widespread belief that supporters had strong emotional ties to the party's leader, the PPP won a landslide of elections in 2008. The primary determinants of voting behavior were political considerations, the leader's charisma, and party identification. Religious-political parties reverted to their previous state prior to 2002. It was due of the devaluation of the internal and external

variables that had helped them win the 2002 election. The strength of religio-political parties reverted to that of a localized and restricted entity. Law and order, the atmosphere of internal security, the energy crisis, and the nation's economic challenges dominated the election campaign. This election represented a positive development for Pakistani democracy (Kanwal, 2016).

A hung parliament was the outcome of the February 18, 2008, elections. No political party could obtain an absolute majority in the National Assembly. After gaining reserve seats for women and minorities, the PPPP was able to secure 95 general seats, bringing its total to 122. After winning 53 seats in the National Assembly, the PML-Q moved up to third place, making the PML-N the second-largest party with 92 seats overall. After adding reserve seats, MQM managed to win 25 and ANP only managed to win 13. The National Assembly continued to have 44.4 percent of the vote. The PPPP and PML-N were victorious despite the fractured mandate. This brought back the dominance of two political parties from the 1990s (Pildat, 2013).

On May 11, 2013, general elections for the 14th parliament were conducted. In many respects, this is particularly significant in Pakistan's voting history. The elected government that took office in March 2008 following the elections in February 2008 finished its five-year constitutional term and turned over power to a civilian government chosen through elections. This demonstrated that peaceful, constitutional, and political measures can be used to alter civilian political government.

The security environment for the elections was quite difficult. Voters, political parties, candidates, the media, and all other stakeholders were impacted by this circumstance. The Tahrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) declared their intention to sabotage the election. Hakimullah Mahsud, the TTP commander, vehemently condemned democracy and voting, citing both as haram, or prohibited, in Islam. Terrorists said they will attack the ANP, MQM, and PPP. TTP's primary objective was the ANP. During the election period in April and May, the Federal Interior Ministry said that 161 people were killed and 652 injured in bomb and suicide bombings (PILDAT, 2013).

The PPP, PML-N, and PTI, three significant parties, fiercely contested these elections. The war on terror, corruption, the economy, poor governance, the energy crisis, and change (New Pakistan) dominated the election campaign. The PML-N campaign focused on the achievements of the Nawaz government, including the building of Pakistan's first motorway, the country's nuclearization, the socioeconomic planning and developmental projects carried out by the Shahbaz

Sharif government in Punjab, and the pledge to revive the economy and repatriate funds from Asif Ali Zardari's Swiss accounts. PTI Chairman Imran Khan, dubbed Taliban Khan by some, was spearheading a campaign against US drone strikes in tribal regions and emphasized dialogue with the Taliban in Afghanistan. He challenged status quo forces and promised peace, prosperity, justice, change, and New Pakistan.

The PPP campaign, which concentrated on Benazir Bhutto's assassination and Z.A. Bhutto's execution, was primarily restricted to print and electronic media. The party pledged to improve upon its performance in the first term and fix the errors from the previous administration. Voter behavior was impacted by the PPP government's weak policies, energy issues, low performance, and corruption scandals. This illustrates the role that delivery plays in drawing in voters. Social media was essential in raising people's political consciousness and level of awareness (Kanwal, 2016).

PML-N, PPP, PTI, ANP, MQM, and PML were the main parties running in this election. PPP and PML groups have dominated Pakistani politics since 1988. In the general elections held in May 2013, PTI broke this stranglehold by positioning itself as a third choice for voters. PTI was founded in 1996 by cricketer-turned-politician Imran Khan, but it did not succeed in drawing large crowds until a public gathering in Lahore on October 30, 2011. With 35% of the vote and 126 NA general seats, PML-N became the single largest party. Just 32 general seats and 15.7% of the total votes cast went to the PPP. Although the PTI received a higher proportion of the vote (17.8%) than the PPP, they nevertheless won 28 NA general seats. Following the distribution of reserve seats, PML-N possessed 170 seats, PPP 44 seats, and PTI 37 seats. Mian Nawaz Sharif of the PML-N won the June 5, 2013, prime ministerial election with 244 votes (Khan, 2017). In contrast to the 44.4% turnout in the 2008 election, the voter turnout stayed at 55.02 percent. This indicated a rise over the 2008 election of almost 11%. After the 1970 general elections, this was the turnout that was second highest.

After examining Pakistan's political history, it can be said that coalition governments, horse trading, split mandates, politics of alliances and counter alliances, election boycotts, and shifts in allegiance are the key characteristics of elections. Election rigging is a word used by both those who lost and those who won to defend the results. All other elections, however, were regarded with caution, with the exception of the ones held in March 1977. Political parties are not very well

structured, much like other political organizations. A small number of families and individuals' control and dominate political parties. Fair and transparent intra-party elections are out of the question. Merit and internal democracy are absent from political parties. As a result, elected institutions are subordinated to non-elected institutions and democracy fails.

People's faith in the democratic process has not decreased overall, even in the absence of regular elections and four military regulations. Elections are viewed as the legal, orderly, and peaceful way to remove leaders who act arbitrarily and to replace them in a peaceful manner. Following the conclusion of the five-year constitutional term, a new civilian administration took office in the 2013 election. This demonstrates the persistence of democracy and a significant advancement in Pakistani democracy (PILDAT, 2013).

Imdad Ali Khan (1986) in his book discusses the representatives of NWFP (now KP) in the 1985 non-party elections and their voting patterns. Voters' expectations of policymakers and the execution of development plans have been studied. The opinions of the elected members of the provincial assembly are highlighted in this work. However, the scope of this book is restricted to the elected lawmakers' choices for the leader of the house.

Mohammad Waseem (1994) talks about the 1993 election's voting patterns and campaigns. Results from provincial and national assemblies have been examined with particular attention to elements including ethnicity, biradari, the gap between rural and urban areas, party structure, candidate selection, and campaign tactics. In order to guarantee a free and fair election, the necessity for electoral reforms has also been investigated after the fact.

Lubna Kanwal et al (2016) went into great depth in their research about the several elements that affect voting behavior. The findings indicate that family ties have a greater influence on voting behavior. While voters continued to identify with their party, they did not place much weight on the candidate's religious beliefs. The findings also demonstrate that young people believe that voting can improve the state of the nation. Many concepts that are pertinent to Pakistani voting behavior are included in this paper. The May 2013 general election results, party positions, percentage of votes cast, and the emergence of Pakistan Tahreek-i-Insaf as a third force in opposition to the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz and Pakistan People's Party are all examined in The Election Score Dawn.

Fariha Khalid Khan and Dr. Razia Musarrat (2014) in their work described the domination of political personalities in electoral process. The study focuses on Punjab's Muzaffar Garh district's voter behavior. The outcome demonstrates that most individuals are engaged in electoral politics by participating in political events and exercising their right to vote. The majority of respondents (87%) said that Pakistan may see good change as a result of the political process. The exact results of the 2013 general elections, together with the gender-wise vote breakdown and the results of the national and provincial bye-elections, are included in the Election Commission of Pakistan's General Elections 2013 Report Volume-ii.

Ishtiaq Ahmad and Muhammad Ishaq (2018) attempted to evaluate the role that party manifestos played in the 2013 election campaign strategy. Party manifestos are particularly important in election campaigns in Western countries, however in Pakistan, party manifesto understanding is quite low. Even the definition of manifesto was unknown to 52% of respondents in Lahore, one of Pakistan's most literate cities. Criticizing opponents is a tremendously powerful strategy in an election campaign, perhaps more so than a manifesto.

Muhammad Shakeel Ahmad (2010) in his PhD. dissertation explores voting behavior in NWFP, including who votes for whom and why, as well as the factors that are becoming more important. Electoral strategy is more focused on the candidate than the topic. Four provincial and national assembly elections—those held in 1988, 1990, 1993, and 1997—are covered in this study. Voters' decisions are influenced by the candidate's family reputation, their willingness to assist those in need, and baradari. Local concerns are more significant to voters than national and provincial issues. Voting behavior was significantly influenced by party identity. He claims that voting behavior evolves throughout time as a result of industrialization, generational shifts, and social changes.

Farmanullah (2014) in his PhD. Voting patterns in the general elections of 2008 in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa have been examined in a dissertation. Additionally, this election has been contrasted with the ones in 2002 and 2013. The study came to the conclusion that political party, religion, and ethnicity are not as significant as patronage and problem-solving techniques.

Faisal Azeez et al. (2014) in their paper, they elucidate the variables that impact voting behavior in Layyah District, particularly the connections between voting behavior and education, party internal dynamics, voter satisfaction, and barbarism. These are the variables that significantly

influence a voter's choice of candidates. According to the study's findings, the caste system provides voters with a greater incentive to vote than political allegiance. Strong political parties, political consciousness, and education at the national level will lessen the detrimental aspects of barbarism.

It has been determined from the literature that is currently available that no research has been done in the area of interest on the same subject. This study aims to learn what the general public in Mohmand thinks about voting, democracy, the role of political parties, party manifestos, candidate personalities, performances, the influence of families, developmental projects, and religion on election outcomes.

Voting behavior is a complex phenomenon, political scientists and sociologists around the world are working to provide a framework for the understanding of voting behavior and lawmaking. Democracy centers on voters, a successful democracy is based on an informed and vigilant populace who can use their right to vote in the best manner. Further research is needed to comprehend the motivation of voters and address policy recommendations. The available literature shows that no work has been done on the district of Mohmand. The following literature review of different authors and writers in the area will help provide a strong foundation for my research.

2.1 REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Bartels, (2008) in his book the “irrational electorate” describes, though world has experienced electoral politics since long, but there were no concept regarding the electoral politics, particularly in voting behavior, therefore, in this regard the study has been conducted in 1940s and 1950 respectively, and the researchers analyzed the American presidential elections, the researcher interviewed the voters and they had changed the their decisions with the passage of time. Before, 1940 mostly people were not understanding this phenomenon and then the number researches have been conducted on the voting behavior tell data. In this regard the second study was conducted in 1948 and the same procedure had followed by the researcher and instigated the same topic through deferent tool from the people. The people had changed their decision in every election on the basis of deferent aspects, some changed their decisions on the basis of manifesto, and some changed their decisions on effective campaigns of candidates.

Suleman Aziz Lodhi, (1994) in his article Political Brand Equity Model The Integration of Political Brands in Voter Choice elaborates, there are many important aspects in voting behavior,

but the most important is the turnout, however, in Pakistan every political party wanted to get mandate but when they came in power, the ruling party was not interested to solve the said problem, though usually this issue harmed these politicians but they never ever solve this problems, after independence, this problem is still facing by Pakistan.

Shah Alam and Jameel (2016) describe in his article the elections of 2008 in district Charsadda, how the candidates run the campaign and changed the voting behavior of the people, they discussed all the aspects of the said elections in this paper, particularly, they describe the role of political parties, how they run the campaign in district Charsadda and changed the people behavior during elections, along with these, they also discussed the personalities, who contested elections, and how in elections personalities played an effective role and people behavior regarding voting.

Ahmad, Altaf Ullah and Syed Umar Hayat (2012) in their article the recent electoral reforms in federally administered tribal areas (FATA) analyses that, in Pakistan mostly the voters didn't give vote on the basis of manifesto, they usually give votes on the basis of baradari system, if the candidate belong to the same baradari, then people give vote to him/her and even people run campaign for him in order to give him/her victory in the same elections, therefore, there is no such mechanism to study the manifesto of the concern party and then give vote to the same party. Apart from that, he also discussed that, the people were also give vote on tribalism, and they fully support the said candidate in the elections. So, the people of Pakistan didn't study the manifesto of the said party and give vote on the basis of mostly on these factors. The voting behavior in Pakistan is totally deferent from the other countries.

Wilder (1999) carried out an in-depth analysis of voting patterns in Punjab, Pakistan, the country's most populous and politically crucial province. The fundamental thesis of the book revolves around the primary factors of voting behavior in this region, with a special emphasis on voter views. According to the author's research, Punjab voters base their electoral decisions on their opinions of which political party and candidate are more likely to deliver on their campaign promises. Furthermore, comparing the 1993 elections to those of 1970, 1988, and 1990, provides a valuable historical context, offering light on potential alterations and trends in voting patterns and political dynamics through time

Kaul (2013) explains in his study, that when people decide why to vote for the Bhartiya Janata Party, two things matter: their ethnicity and what the government promises to do. If there's a lot of tension between different ethnic groups, people tend to vote based on their ethnicity. But when the economy is doing well, they care more about the government's plans and policies. So, depending on how things are going in the country, people might focus on their ethnic identity or on what the government is promising when they choose to support the BJP.

Kanwal (2016) in her paper found that youth participate in the election and believe that their engagement in the political process would improve the condition of the country. It is also manifested that attachment with baradari is not much. Youths are partisans of their father's party. It also shows that party identification is still intact and voters cast votes to the same party. The majority of the voters did not vote for the same party due to poor performance.

Ahmad (2012) In his article assesses rural Faisalabad and throughout Punjab, Pakistan, "baradari" play a significant role in influencing voting behavior, frequently taking precedence over political party allegiance. According to this theory, a candidate's chances of winning depend on both the backing of a sizable baradari and the endorsement of a major political party. This phenomenon limits individualism in voting and puts genuine democracy at risk. Biradari frequently works as de facto pressure groups, filling leadership gaps left by ideologically weak political parties, despite the relevance of political parties and pressure groups being promoted by political scientists. It highlights worries about how biradari breeds prejudice and polarization and makes the case that biradari influence may be reduced by strong national-level political parties, better education, and increased political awareness.

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Several theories that can be applied to analyze voting behavior in research theoretical frameworks. We will use here rational choice theory.

2.2.1 RATIONAL CHOICE THEORY

The Rational Choice Theory of voting behavior explain that individuals make voting decisions by weighing the costs and benefits associated with each available option, and they choose the option that maximizes their personal utility or satisfaction. In this context, voters are seen as rational actors who aim to make choices that align with their self-interest. Factors such as candidates' policy positions, past performance, perceived competence, and potential outcomes

influence voters in their decision-making process. This theory assumes that voters have sufficient information and the ability to evaluate it rationally to make choices that reflects their preferences and interests. Voters consider concerns raised and policies backed by different political parties and politicians in this regard (Scott & Marshall, 2009).

CHAPTER-3

3.1 Research Methodology

3.1.1 . Research Design

The Qualitative research methodology used in the above-mentioned thesis on voting behavior in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, specifically in district Mohmand, general elections of 2024

3.1.2 DATA COLLECTION

Qualitative data will be collected through interviews from the population. Data from the Election Commission of Pakistan, government reports, and the Pakistan Bureau of Statistics will also be considered. Other sources such as research articles, books, and other secondary sources will be consulted.

3.2 Data Analysis

The research is based on qualitative method Presentation and analysis of qualitative data gathered through interviews and observations thematic analysis to identify key narratives, motivations, and decision-making processes of voters' illustration of findings with relevant quotes and examples.

3.3 Theoretical Framework

The various scientific strategies employed for procuring this study are the sociological model, Psycho-Social model and Rational Choice theory. Why, when you come down to it, do citizens vote for candidate one versus candidate then another? Over this nearly 70-year history a number of potential explanations have been proffered, yet if one were to browse the literature on voting behavior, they would quickly discover that three in particular earn the most attention and generate the greatest debate. These are considered as the Columbia Model, Michigan model and finally Rochester models although these three models possibly describe or make clear-cut in terms of how we will explain the behavior from voters that becomes a pattern later on during electoral process (Baxter, 2010).

3.4 Rational Choice Theory

Voters therefore consider the solutions and policies of different political parties to get answers to their problems (Scott & Marshall, 2009). This is what political science refers to as the

economic model of voting (Belanger, 2010). Such assumptions derive from the rational choice model, which is that voters and politicians should act out of material self-interest; those same assumptions however do predict the rational turnout problem. The logic underlying most of the prediction models is dependent upon some spatial calculation, i.e. voters will vote for those parties that are ideologically closer to them in this space. Self-Location of the Electorate: The Family Interest Model Therefore, while the rational choice model is a significant explanatory tool in shedding light on electoral behavior and voting behavior as well generally speaking it qualifies to be best used along with others.

The rational turnout problem belongs to the long litany of charges levelled against individual-oriented models from what seemed as far back as Dowding (2005). Some writers discuss the calculation of the issue, claiming that pivotal probabilities are higher than assumed (Gelman et al. In other circumstances, it is the very idea that ballots should be accessible at such a minimal collective cost which comes into question conceptually worrying either that costs of voting are already too low to motivate most groups (Aldrich 1993; Olson 1965, 1971; Palfrey and Rosenthal 1983) or systemically fearing governed bodies simply have no more resources left unfound (Keyssar [2000] Alternatively, some argue that even if you stand to lose from voting in general, there are opportunity costs of not going out and casting a ballot which may also get people into the booths (Fer John and Fiorina 1974). Drawing on this point, game-theoretic models imply that strategic thinking may cause individuals to vote rather than the decision-theoretic logic of the simplified calculation. I mean, if nobody voted then one person's vote would be determining. If you apply such logic, it can be proven that Nash equilibrium is a mixed strategy: vote or don't vote. These models nevertheless forecast much lower levels of turnout than are actually observed (Ledyard, 1984).

According to Downs in 1957, voters would assess candidates and their positions along an electoral market that they will vote for the best promises of delivery he is able and willing to make are also the one his party has made (Stegmaier et al., 2017). Supporters of this argument claim that in each election voters restructure their ties to the political parties due to economic circumstances, and consider strategies by which these interconnected relations are affected (Antunes, 2010). It also argues that citizens vote for those candidates and political parties whose program approximates the sociotropic dimension of policy Posts defending their privilege, while criticizing

anti-elitism. So, therefore voter when they cast their vote for a party or candidate it all depends on specific advantages of the voters in nature as private eg; family related, clan/class etc.

This can be framed how the principle of this model: where Rational choice rules manage a market with reasonable correct workings, so surely these should apply to something as simple or even arguably simpler (dependence on which rational set of preference one uses) than political structure. Overall, the idea is basically an analogy to buyers and political gatherings purchasers or more extensive venture just as firms with their partners. It is like enterprises who want to obtain the maximum profit, customers desire for seeking maximization of utility and parties would like to maximize suffragic results as well, thus voters pursue their ballots. (Antunes 2010) According to Downs: The key concept is that parties in a democratic system are [analogous] declining_production; selling more_of their friends" houses. So in pursuit of their private goals such politicians preach whatever policies they think will attract the most votes, just as businessmen manufacture whatever goods you damn well please for exactly the same reason. Our study assumes that people are rational actors in politics and we expect them to pay attention, remember information, evaluate its implications. This theorem would be a key hypothesis in its own right (Downs, 1957).

The Final Over the last 100 pages or so, Downs elaborates his theme that neither parties nor voters are drawn by ideologies. Ideologies are the means by which parties get a mandate and voters to cut down information costs, says he. Voters will help voters by making a selection from among political parties so they are not required to receive information related about what any party might undertake in power. But at best, they can detect an ode to a party's idea of the good society and where they fit into that particular vision. Thus, one of the means through which candidates or parties present themselves can be thought to be a kind of 'heuristics,' that is rather close to what I called deflective cues in another study (Ali 2018).

The scope of this model can be broken down to three core concepts: the decisions made by voters and parties are (i) rational, meaning that they each do what is in their interest with an intent on maximizing success. Parties contest elections, not out of altruism but in order to secure legal

recognition and the wherewithal legally to infringe rights for their advantage - both ideologically by taking people hostage; instrumentally for rents, spoils as well glory. Downs writes : the argument support "the basic hypothesis of our model: that parties articulate policies in order to win elections, rather than shuttling back and forth between winning elections as a means of carrying out policies"(1948) (ii)Voters are assumed to be responsible actors who have knowledge about 2candidates' proposals; while it may not make perfect decision kinds based on their interests, we can predict some sort outcome because there is such regularity here or voters/domain players. As Downs says, voters mistake the hypothetical results of voting for each party. In this scenario, they expect more from the incumbent government and will hence vote for them. But in the event that they count on less from it then they may well help the opposition. They might not vote at all, but they certainly wouldn't be up in arms since the outcomes from either party was to be expected equally. (iii) The democratic system faces a certain kind of insecurity and uncertainty (Antunes, 2010). So it goes that while the common voters have an unrealistic place of refuge because of a hidden state progression in disclosure. This uncertainty is varied in nature and could be; during the course of political decisions may occur at any part thereof, but also on voting behavior more pervasively with likely effects equitably modulating how citizens make choices (Downs, 1957).

Voters decide who to vote for based on their own rational calculations, which means that they will not always choose the candidate or party of interest. Sometimes, they impulse decision on the notion of strategic voting meaning going for a party that is not their first preference but seem to be more beneficial by thinking this might give them better result over who was actually in priority. For instance, a minor political party that may not be very successful in the electoral race. Those voters who value it instead as their first preferred option would vote for a different but second in order party to avoid wasting the votes (McGann, 2016). In other words, rational voters move away from their favorite selection on the poll when they believe that a second-best choice will best serve them in terms of expected values. They basically poll their party preferences and chance of winning the election a particular portion or candidate. If that less favored option has high chances of electoral victory, a strategic electorate will vote dependent on fear (Gschwend & Meffert, 2017).

Downs suggested that a key consideration in the vote choice is forecasting what others will do on the basis of their own predispositions. Every person applies his prediction to determine whether the party he most prefers is definitely a part of the right subrange of choices. If he feels that it falls within the window, then rationality would mean for him to vote either a one of two party system... else if his not in favor rationally speaking, expressed with this logic then under you young America boys rule theory cons they x2, have voted trumpedgodpusher 1 ((dawns-1957)) In the best line of defense, Downs maintains that a rational voter will choose whom he likes to form his own government first and then consider if this very party has any chance whatsoever to win these elections. They are using this rational decision purely because it is not they favour, but what electorates and political actors want to be the people who decide government runs (Downs, 1957).

The kind of real choice/petit politic economy models that characterize the rational turnout problem, for example, are (mistakenly) assumed to rest on similar assumptions about quantum behavior in voters and politicians. However, the very basis of most models is that citizens are making some kind of spatial calculation and voting for a party closest to themselves in space. How voters position themselves has more to do with bread and butter issues by definition their family interest, however that falls back into what is privately thought of as the best interests of most individuals right before it gets too far from ideology. And of course ideology, an important point because of the problem with rational ignorance. Voters cannot know the specific policies of candidates or parties and thus they infer what a candidate may be likely to do on any number of issue from signals, which are met with (Hinich & Munger, 1994).

In political-economic models, the theory is much more obvious and so are the predictions that follow from it. Most of these models rely on stylized facts or as much simpler assumptions that deviate greatly from the actual reality. In this way, the models are normative comparators serving as benchmarks for judging reality, deviations from model predictions constitute explanations of outcomes as much, maybe more than the models themselves. Normative elements - these are more allusive - and imply that the models might reveal fatal flaws in basic assumptions of how democracy should work which enable strategic manipulation. All of these problems indicate that, though political economy models are a necessary type of explanation in our understanding both electoral and party competition they possess the accuracy which is mostly regarded as an additional defense to be used along with other sort (Mueller 2003).

3.5 Sociological Model

In general, voting behavior in Pakistan is perceived seriously influenced by social factors more than political comprising phenomenon. But the recent studies I have come across directly contradict so, in fact demonstrating that political factors are more effective and pronounced than social determinants as hasta LaVista baby of voting predispositions, practices or behavior (rest). Andrew Wilder (1999) has questioned this view in his research, and applied the principle that political factors may be much more important than comparatively irrelevant social determinants. Furthermore, this research will concentrate on the social determinants of voting behavior in two constituency's i.e., upper Mohmand and lower Mohmand (KP) through sociological model theoretical paradigm of voting behavior.

Sociological model: Studies mass behavior at large and its outcome Corresponds voting with group membership (i.e. electors belong to a particular socio-economic stratum (where in an individual mirrors of the economic & social position sub-group he/she is part of. The model serves to illustrate the need for a social consensus, mirroring so many conflicts in society. While socialization is not absent from this model, explanations focused on the "social base" rest upon a reasonable assumption that party allegiances can be mediated by group interests. Nowhere has this been more visible than on the issue of class. For example, the party system has often been analyzed as a reflection of the class structure within society with right-wing parties drawing their electoral support from those in the middle classes whilst left-wing political allegiance is stronger for working class electorates.

In the sociological image, it features those first parts of life that form later behavior and attitudes "everything from playing with dolls to a successful career" as Family. The model reiterates the view that political commitment is learned by voters over time of socialization and voting decisions are also largely determined because of political socialization. The social and communal differences are integrated with the political partisan as every clutch contain its needs and desires depended on his interest therefore, this different in their concern is helping to shape a partisanship of them. For this reason, groups of different socio-economic social formations will rarely have asocial relationships among themselves and they prefer the political parties or pressure-groups who take care of their benefit & interest (Sharlamonov & Jovanoski, 2014).

Both the class and creed also influence how people feel about involuntary redistribution of resources or capital, only by different norms that in case with class - on the origin behind it (Evans & Ball, 2018). More than the mere identification with this party - having an "affiliation accompaniment", as I've written in Hebrew, or a kind of secondment to these "roles". One of the things that I had to get permission and vetted from a religious body is an affiliate of this type has agreed, right mind you they have signed on the dotted line saying yeah, we'll do our part according to your routine customs services or moral values rituals but it translates into social goods society recognizes when people should marry their daughters off too... Deviation from some norms might have a consequence for that tribesman. So, there may be a social tendency towards voting for one party or another on the part of people who belong to groups that are also religiously identified. Hence, in the majority of alleged religious convictions exhortations to these attitudinal values and norms shall be preached through clerics who also daub as what is virtuous or sinful/immoral. These clerics or religious leaders do not act independent of the larger ecclesiastical hierarchy; in other words, they are part of a division within their denomination. The embodiment of these massive groups provides the clarification for individual homogeneity among members of a given group (Elff, and Bteutscher, 2017).

One cannot decide for which particular essential behaviors framed by a belief may his/her followers are in command to do, such himself/herself but they first speak to clerics and then interfere asked social politically or organizationally either as voting polls respectively daily life style so the belong specific kind of group or person doctrine. Though this supervision will not adequate to obviously tell the party followers about their vote inclinations but it assist in order for them to proliferate some kind of understanding concerning issues and matters therefore have an exact view or positions (Elff & Roßteutscher, 2017).

The sociological determinist model of voting is often seen as ideological vote. This includes forming opinions of politics based on scant information at all about what general political views are, and nothing about the policy detail or candidate record maintained by a party/candidates being preferred. Only it would be difficult to account for the exceptions provided by this model of voting! In this theory the potential of citizens who are socially profiting to vote for right-wing political parties and those, that do not profit or loss in social matters to left wing appear much too low.

In summary, the Sociological Model with its attention on socio-demographic factors such as social class or group memberships and their role in influencing political decision-making highlights recognized routes through which someone who sits higher up a power structure naturally leans towards supporting those like themselves. Directly considering the beliefs people have about political objects, candidates, and parties issues etc.

3.6 The Psychosocial Model

Popularly known as Michigan School, the psychosocial model of voting behavior emphasizes on political factors affecting voter behavior. Michigan Model had a more sociological oriented perception on how people make the decisions. They describe partisan identification as the type of psychological attachment a person might have to their church or mosque (familialism) and posited party identification at its core as driving individual-level behavior (Hutchings & Jefferson, 2018).

In addition to these, some scholars posit that the voting pathway may be heavily influenced by political ideologies of an individual (Anderson et al., 2010) as it infers loyalty or inclination in terms of preference for particular contestants just because they are unpaid-elected followers. Currently with increased application of psycho-social framework Jawal and Gasper combined Properties traits and socio-political behaviors/psychology into another behavioral model claiming environmental factors ranking high on forces conditioning who votes how (Antunes, 2010), which serves such ends through correlating voter choices path-ways internally across selected scopes more correlated models treat among other things electorate's psychological hues; like their perceivable party affiliations ancillary feel-ins about contending politicians(Scott & Marshall,), influences. These are the six key psychological factors that this theory proposes can shape how voters evaluate candidates. The factors that define the role of a voter are party identification (PI), concern with issues, personal attachment to candidates PC, and conformity to group norms C G N", sense freedom S F, and civic duty CD which were first presented by Aiba in 2003.

Because party identification is regarded as, by far and away the principal factor (and candidate coordination and issue orientation are relatively more important) (Aiba 2003). The term party identification is the psychological record of a person when he or she comes close to some political party. Issue orientation is the voters' tendency to subscribe their vote based on issues

projected during an electoral campaign, whereas is candidate orientations refer that how much a voter and electorate were motivated or effected by personal abilities of the performance of a particular candidates (Akhter & Sheikh, 2014).

The psychological model asserts that social aspects are a source of meaning, and note the gradual changes in such characteristics within populations over time. Yet the voting dynamics for one election to another take place. Starting from this point of view, these short-term flucuations in election results have to be ascribed something other than independent variables which are largely constant when a big fluctuation in voting patterns is taking place. This phenomenon of voting tendency variation is part and parcel thereof the psychological model aspect, which is caused by issues political dynamics as well various candidates that exist for a very short period (Akhter & Sheikh 2014).`

3.7 Partisanship, Issues and Candidate's Orientation

Partisanship is central to the psychological model. At its foundation, party identification is the strong connection between citizens and political parties that develops at an early stage in a citizen's development (Dinas 2017). This model posits that party identification is an affective effect toward a political party similar to other elements of social and group identity, such as class belonging, religion affiliation or being part of one race (Hutchings & Jefferson, 2018).

However, political parties do not oppose each other in all issues for many of the reasons above. Issues that everyone can agree upon include the crime rate down, corruption gone and again protection of environment (Brug, 2017) Similarly, these issues are called valence issues and they are matters in which all voters likely convergently propose the same thing. Least variance occurs in candidate promises about such issues, where the latter might only differ on how they would best achieve their objectives (Dowding, 2001).

So, political parties prioritize some issues over others- it always easy to pick those that some if any party thought they had something tolerable going for them and ignore others. On the basis of these results, researchers then developed a new concept known as the 'saliency theory of party competition'. This concept implies that each contesting party has some policy issues for which they have strong ownership. Political parties take it for granted that they can bag electoral

support only through exploiting these issues when electioneering, and hence get a carrot in frequently reiterating these issues. In the west, empirical studies have established that issue saliency during an election campaign influences collective electoral outcomes (Brug, 2017).

3.8 Organization of the Study

Chapter1: Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the research problem, objectives, research questions, significance, and methodology of the study.

Chapter2: Literature Review

It examines existing scholarly work on voting behavior, political dynamics, and electoral trends, particularly in tribal areas, to establish a theoretical foundation for the study.

Chapter3: Research Methodology

This chapter discusses Research Methodology and Rational Choice Theory of voting behavior and its application.

Chapter4: Electoral History and Elections in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

It presents an analysis of the electoral history of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, focusing on key elections, political shifts, and voter engagement trends over time.

Chapter5: Past Performance and Voting Behavior

This chapter explores the relationship between the past performance of political parties, governance, and its impact on voter choices and electoral outcomes in District Mohmand.

Chapter6: Conclusion and Recommendations

The final chapter summarizes key findings, draws conclusions, and provides recommendations for improving voter participation and electoral engagement in the region.

CHAPTER-4

4. ELECTORAL HISTORY AND ELECTIONS IN KHYBER-PAKHTUNKHWA

4.1 Introduction

Elections on a regular basis have welfare implication to political development and democratization process of developing societies. This is painful that elections are not held on time in Pakistan which commonly happens in other under developed countries. Since the 1950s, Pakistan's electoral history has been marred by interrupted elections. Post-independence, Pakistan. The road to Kantian peace on the continent of Pangaea was bumpy after four military regimes who curtailed democratization in Pakistan. This is a chapter on electoral history of Pakistan at large and also Khyber Pakhtunkhwa specifically. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Electoral History started from 1932. The first phase of this study includes the Pre-Independence era commencing right from 1932 to 1947, next is Post-independence Era started with news broadcasting. Year most recent ten (10) Basic Races that spans over years till, and lastly (Blais, 2015).

4.2 Post-Independence Elections Era (1947-1970)

4.3.1 THE 1951 ELECTIONS IN KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA

The first election for the NWFP Legislative Council after independence was held on 15 December 1951. The government introduced some electoral reforms in which restricted franchise was replaced by adult franchise before elections. But other League leaders furthering their own ends would have nothing to do with the election in NWFP where Chief Minister, Qayyum Khan stood for legislative council but lost. In March 1951, the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan enacted NWFP General Elections Bill allowing for election to be held. Consequent to this bill, the Provincial Assembly stood dissolved but Qayyum Khan was able to continue as Caretaker Chief Minister of NWFP. Just in contrast the count of assembly seats increased from fifty to eighty-five. Of 85 seats, only three were reserved. The Muslim League also rigged the referendum and used different methods to drive away Khudai khidmatgar other political parties. The interim Chief Minister of NWFP Qayyum Khan fully supported the league during election campaign. Interim government of Qayyum Khan also Re-fixed the dates of Election in Mardan and Kohat, Delimitations boundaries & Rigging. It was the League that had a well-organized campaign, not

any of the other political parties. Jinnah Muslim League In 1951 general elections, there were two major political parties which were rivals to each other (Hassan, 2008).

4.3.2 ELECTIONS IN AYUB KHAN ERA (1959-65)

General Ayub Khan imposed non-party local bodies elections to maintain the Status quo. First round of “Basic Democracies” elections was held in entire country on 1959. it should be noted that in the first round of BDs elections eighty 80, 000 to 120,000 councilors were elected directly. The bureaucracy was also involved in a culture throughout B.D.s tenure. It decided where local development schemes will spend money for it. According to Waseem 1994 in his study pointed out that BD system completely change the district bureaucracy. Philip Jones argued that, "The BD System was probably going to turn into such an arm of the administration instead of a method for neighborhood portrayal" (Jones, 1979). The 1959 elections and voting behaviors; Personality influence.

Gen. Ayub Khan’s second strategy was to use the “Basic Democrats” as an electoral college to indirectly elect the President, the members of the National and Provincial Assemblies. Therefore, in the presidential election, a large number (95.6%) of BD members supported Ayub Khan (Mujahid, 1965).

4.3 Third Phase of the Electoral History of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (1970-2018)

The political situation in Pakistan by March 1969 was a far cry from that of October 1958. Ayub saw the civilian government for what it was, chaos and so in October of 1958 he got rid of common people who sick to death with the previous regime left or right welcomed Martial Law. The same people disowned the dictatorial regime of Ayub Khan and angry protest broke in both wings- East Pakistan as well west. Crushing the One-Unit system; Fresh general election on basis of adult franchise asked by protestors.

4.4.1 THE 1970 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA

Both East and West wings of Pakistan were held on the basis „adult franchise“ for general elections in 1970. In this election, the electorates of NWFP were stuck to decide that which political party is better for them as they had a number of available political parties. Wali Khan’s

National Awami Party (NAP), Qayyum Khans Muslim League, and Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam in NWFP; Jamaat Marcia i Islami Pakistan started election campaign.

In the provincial assembly, PPP won three seats, JUI won four, while independent candidates took third place with six seats. In the provincial assembly, the Council Muslim League and the Conventional Muslim League both won two seats, but JIP only received one. The Pakistan Muslim League (PML) was unable to win even one seat in East Pakistan (Bengal). While Pakistan People's Party received the plurality of votes nationally but did not hold a majority in the NWFP, Awami League (AL) emerged as the most popular political party among Bengali voters. According to Rizwan (2014), voters' preferences in the NWFP were influenced by kinship and tribal structure.

JUP and 1970 Elections

On January 20, 1970, JUP (H) declared its future agenda and manifesto. The JUP (H) manifesto's primary goal was to guarantee Pakistan's Islamic constitution. JUI allied with nineteen religious political parties in May 1970. Mufti Mehmood, the leader of the JUI, led this partnership. Two more well-known religious leaders, Kausar Niazi and Bashir Ahmed Bakhtiar, were also named secretaries. Notwithstanding this political partnership, the JUP (H)'s election campaign was managed by a party committee of its own. Mufti Mahmud urged voters to embrace Islam as an ideology and to support the party platform during the election campaign. In this election, fifteen JUI candidates ran in East Pakistan while ninety (90) JUI candidates ran for the National Assembly in West Pakistan. JUI only received seven seats West Pakistan (Taqiudin, 1995:107-116).

4.4.2 THE 1977 ELECTIONS IN KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA

In 1970 elections, Pakistan was split in two, with the eastern portion becoming the independent state of Bangladesh. The division of East Pakistan was sparked by the general elections of 1970. Following this terrible event, General Yahya gave Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto more authority. He was Pakistan's first civilian administrator of martial law. Bhutto later swore in as Pakistan's prime minister. Following her term in office, Bhutto called for another election in 1977. According to M. G. Weinbaum (1977), the Pakistan People's Party was unable to win over the middle class in metropolitan areas. However, industrial labor and the impoverished in cities were steadily backing it.

Aijaz Ahmad writes, "During the pre-election [1971] phase, when the main objective was to secure a mass base and an electoral majority, particularly in the countryside, PPP had to be an apparatus predominantly of the radical petty bourgeoisie." However, after the PPP established a government based on social democracy and sought reforms within the parameters of the state as it was, its left wing was left with no other option than to accept the demands of the state or risk elimination. Naturally, the Left was destroyed in the process (Ahmad, 1978)."

Bhutto sought political support from rural notables in the NWFP, and as a result, she gave tickets to the Khans and the privileged class. The PPP's campaign slogan in 1970 was "Bring an end to feudalism in Pakistan," but in 1977 it was modified to criticize feudal landlords (PPP Manifesto, 1970:13). Bhutto was taken aback to learn that all political parties opposed to the PPP had joined the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). Nine political parties (PDP, NDP, NAP, JUI, JUP, JI, ML (P), TI, AJKC, and Khaksar Terik) were part of the PNA when it was founded on January 21, 1977 (Nehlen, Grotz, Hartmann, 2001:661-665). All social classes, but especially the middle class, which had been negatively impacted by the PPP government's policies, were brought together by the PNA (Rizwan, 2014). PPP secured a majority of seats in the national legislature (155 out of 200) after the election results were declared. PNA only managed to win 36 seats in the national legislature. It's interesting to note that PNA won most of the national assembly seats in NWFP. PPP gained the majority of seats (155 out of 200) after the election results were declared. Table 10 displays the results of the various political parties' elections in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

On March 7, 1977, national assembly elections were conducted. PNA won seventeen (17) seats, while 49% of voters in NWFP selected candidates for national assembly seats. Nonetheless, the Pakistan People's Party won eight seats and 38% of the total votes cast. In contrast to the 1970 elections, the PML-Qayyum vote bank decreased from 23% to 8% and was unable to win any seats in the NWFP national legislature. PNA instigated demonstrations against PPPs, alleging their complicity in manipulation. Bhutto was unaware of the ramifications of the PNA movement, which showed the urban middle classes' increasing political power (PILDAT, 2015). Re-election, the appointment of new governors, employees of the Election Commission, and district administration were the demands of PNA. Subsequently, Bhutto consented to take up the demands of the PNA. On July 6, 1977, Bhutto intended to sign a deal with the PNA; however, on July 5, 1977, General Zia declared martial law, imprisoned Bhutto, and suspended the constitution.

4.4.3 THE 1985 NON-PARTY ELECTIONS IN KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA

General Zia ul Haq, the administrator of martial law, made the decision to civilianize political authority in 1985 but not entirely give politicians the reins. Party-free elections were held in 1985 (Rais, 1985). Rather of being affiliated with a particular political party, each candidate ran for office based only on their own influence. Since only the candidates' positions are available for the 1985 elections, the political party's stance was unclear (Chandio, 2911). Voters' choices in NWFP and other Pakistani provinces were impacted by this non-party election. Voters were forced to cast their ballots based on kinship, personal influence, performance of the candidate, family relationships, and Biradari (brotherhood) among other factors due to the lack of political parties in the elections. Debate on national concerns was hindered by the non-party election and the prohibition on political campaigning, public gatherings, and speeches. Furthermore, the election may only be contested by independent candidates. Local concerns dominated the rural election campaign Rais (1985) noted that voters' preferences were impacted by social deterrents (tribe, Biradari, and family) as well as the personal influence of the candidates.

Furthermore, land-owning elites returned to national politics in 1985 thanks to non-party elections. Among the 200 MNAs who were directly elected, 117 belonged to the landed nobility, 17 to the tribal social background, and 42 to the business community, which makes up the second biggest social group (Chandio, 2011). Another significant change was the relatively young and reasonably well-educated composition of the elected National Assembly, in contrast to its conservative and feudal tendencies. According to the Gallup Pakistan study, two-thirds of the parliamentarians were college graduates with a bachelor's degree or above. Twenty-eight percent (28%) of the members of the national assembly were under forty years old, with an average age of forty-five. Approximately 50% of the national assembly's elected members had once belonged to a party. Following the 1985 elections, Pakistan's prime minister was Muhammad Khan Junejo. On November 14, 1985, General Zia enacted the Eighth Amendment, which changed Pakistan's 1973 Constitution's legislative structure (Rais, 1985). The Eighth Amendment gave the President the authority to choose the Prime Minister, governors of the four provinces, justices of the High Court, and the Supreme Court. This legislation made the Prime Minister, the leader of the parliament, the slave of an unelected President (Perveen, 2000). President Zia and Prime Minister Junejo's relationship eventually soured. Thus, on May 29, 1988, General Zia ousted Junejo's administration (Rais, 1985).

4.4.4 THE 1988 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA

Following the killing of General Zia on August 17, 1988, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, the Chairman of the Senate, assumed the role of interim President of Pakistan. Gen. Zia had previously organized a free and fair election on November 16 and 19, 1988, which President Ishaq committed to hold (Khan, 2009:389). The 16th and 19th of November 1988 saw the calm conduct of the elections. Voters now have to provide their identity cards at voting places, which is a significant step toward ending election cheating. There were fewer than fifty percent (50%), of voters in the election. PPP won ninety-three (93) seats, followed by Islami-Jamhuri-Ittihad (IJI) with fifty-five (55) seats. Independent and other small political parties held the remaining seats in the national legislature. IJI won eight (8) seats and 27% of the total votes cast in the NWFP, PPP garnered nine seats and 23% of the votes cast, while ANP, which received 17% of the vote, managed to obtain just two seats.

The outcomes of the 1988 elections revealed a multifaceted voting pattern in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (NWFP). Other political factors included social and economic concerns, political party affiliation, and ideological ties to a political party, election campaigns, and party manifestos. Furthermore, social networks and personality votes were important factors in the voter's decision. Following the 1988 elections, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa saw a complicated political landscape as many political parties shared a majority in the provincial parliament. With the backing of a few independent candidates, Benazir Bhutto, the head of the Pakistan Peoples Party, teamed up with Khan Abdul Wali Khan to create a coalition government in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Khan, 2009). Aftab Ahmed Khan Sherpao was appointed chief minister of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa as a result of this cooperation. However, this partnership was short-lived, as the ANP soon departed Khyber Pakhtunkhwa's coalition administration.

4.4.5 THE 1990 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA

Political opposition parties initiated a campaign against the administration of Benazir Bhutto, accusing it of engaging in corrupt activities and mismanagement. President Ishaq, therefore called fresh elections and dissolved both the national and provincial parliaments on August 6, 1990. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi was named interim prime minister by President Ishaq following the fall of the PPP administration. Additionally, President Ishaq said that the next election will take place on October 24, 1990 (Nehlen et al., 2001). The Pakistan People's Party

(PPP) and Islami-Jamhoori-Ittehad (IJI) launched an electoral campaign. IJI accused the PPP of corruption and election-related malpractices during the campaign. However, the PPP took a defensive stance, shouted criticism of President Ishaq, and formed the People's Democratic Alliance (PDA). After all these political developments elections were held on 24th October 1990 (Nohlen et al, 2001).

Table No.1 **NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS**

Political Parties	Votes%	National Assembly seats
IJI	23.74%	08
PDA	22.51%	05
ANP	15%	06
JUI-F	20.57%	04
Independent	16.46%	03
PAT	0.73%	00
QIP	0.62%	00
PKMAP	0.15%	00
JUP(N)	0.11%	00
HF	00	00
PMKP	00	00
NDP	00	00
PDP	00	00
Total	100	26

Source: Source: Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009), p.409.

IJI's popularity declined in the 1990 elections, as it only managed to win over 23% of the electorate, down from 27% in the previous one. Nawaz Sharif rose to become the House Speaker and Pakistan's prime minister.

Table No.2: **PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS**

Political Parties	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Assembly seats
Islami Jamhuri Ittehad (IJI)	32
People Democratic Alliance (PDA)	06
Awami National Party (ANP)	22
Jamait Ulema I Islam (JUI-f)	02
Independent	16
Total	78

Source: Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 409.

The results of the province assembly election are broken out in Table 15, where the IJI won 32 seats, followed by the ANP Pakhtun nationalist political party with 21 seats. In the provincial assembly, PDA won six (6) seats while JUI-F only won two (2). Additionally, sixteen (16) independent candidates were chosen to serve in the province legislature. As a result, Mir Afzal Khan of Mardan was appointed Chief Minister and IJI and ANP once more formed a coalition administration in the province. The role of the party identification model in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is evident in this election. Other factors, including as kinship, tribal membership, and the personal influence of politicians, are present in different constituencies.

4.4.6 THE 1993 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA

Only 2.5 years of Nawaz Sharif's leadership were spent leading the IJI administration. The issue of power allocation was the origin of the divisions between the president and prime minister. PM Nawaz sought to change the constitution, abolishing the president's arbitrary authority and the chief of staff of the armed forces appointment authority. President Ishaq, however, was not prepared to change the constitution and give Prime Minister Mistier presidential authority.

Nawaz Sharif publicly chastised President Ishaq in a radio broadcast on April 17, 1993. President Ishaq dissolved the national legislature and sacked the Nawaz Sharif administration on April 18, 1993, as a response. The president's action was contested at the Lahore High Court (LHC) by Speaker of the National Assembly Gohar Ayub. The Supreme Court of Pakistan's ruling was against the Lahore High Court's declaration of validity. (Rizvi, 1993). Following the Supreme Court's ruling, the Nawaz administration was reinstated; however, President Ishaq dissolved it once more and named a caretaker government, with Moeen Quraishi serving as the interim prime minister. The last blow in this battle was that Ishaq gave up the presidency as well (Ziring, 2010). PM for Caretaker Moeen Qureshi declared new elections on October 6, 1993. Waseem Sajjad, the chairman of the Senate, took over as acting president following the resignation of President Ishaq. Waseem Sajjad supported the new election cycle, which was set for October 6, 1993. Political parties began their campaigns for the elections in every province as soon as the election date was announced. Pakistan People's Party and Pakistan Muslim League (N) were the two opposing candidates in the election. During the election campaign, both political parties' leaders began slandering one another. Political parties presented their manifestos to voters during the election

campaign (Zafar and Husain, 1994:41). The PPP, PML, ANP, and religious political parties (JUI-F, JI, and JUI-S) were the main political parties in NWFP. Elections under the caretaker arrangement were carried out in a calm manner. Benazir Bhutto was elected to a second term as Pakistan's prime minister after the Pakistan Peoples Party won the majority of seats (Khan, 2009).

Table No.3: **NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS**

Political Parties	Vote%	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa national assembly seats
Pakistan Muslim League-(N)	26	10
Pakistan People's Party	15	05
Awami National Party	15	01
Pakistan Islamic Front (PIF)	12	--
Independent	11	02
Islami Jamhori Mohaz (IJM)	11	02
PML-Junejo	05	--
Pakhtunkhwa Quami Party (PKQP)	02	01
PDA	02	01
Mutehda Deeni Mahaz (MDN)	01	--
Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party	0.13	--
Hazara Front	0.03	--
Haq Prasat Group	0.01	--
Total	100	33

Source: *M. Waseem, (1994). The 1993 Elections in Pakistan, Vanguard Books Pvt. Ltd:*

Awami National Party received one (1) seat and 15% of the votes cast in the border, PPP five (5) seats and 15% of the votes cast, and PML-N ten (10) seats and 26% of the votes cast. The Pakistan Islamic Front (PIF) received 12% of the vote and one seat; two independent candidates were elected with 11% of the total votes cast. But Islami-Jam Hori-Itihad managed to garner two seats and 11% of the vote. Pakistan Democratic Alliance and Pakhtunkhwa Mili Awami Party each won one seat. The NWFP was unable to provide any seats in the national legislature to the other political parties. In the NWFP, the PML-N's vote base grew to 26%. PPP and ANP, however,

received the same proportion of votes. We can observe a change in voter preferences across political parties in the national elections of 1993.

Table No.4: Provincial Assembly Election Results

Political Parties	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Assembly
Pakistan People's Party	22
Pakistan Muslim League –Nawaz	15
Pakistan Muslim League –Junejo	04
Awami National Party	21
PIF	04
IJM	01
MDM	01
Jamiat Mashaikh Pakistan (JMP)	01
Independent	11
Total	80

Source: M. Waseem, *the 1993 Elections in Pakistan*, Vanguard Books Pvt. Ltd.

The results of the provincial assembly election and the standings of the political parties are shown in Table 17. In the provincial legislature, PPP obtained twenty-two (22) seats, ANP twenty-one (21) seats, PML-N fifteen (15) seats, and PML-J four (4) seats. The coalition of the PML-N and ANP was superior against PPP. As a result, Pir Sabir Shah was appointed Chief Minister of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and the PML-N emerged as the dominant party. After the Pir Sabir Shah Government was deposed through dubious constitutional methods, PPP member Aftab Sherpao was named Khyber Pakhtunkhwa's second chief minister. The five-year tenure of the Pakistan Peoples Party government was not fulfilled. President Leghari had to oust Benazir Bhutto because of extrajudicial killings, corruption, unlawful actions, and political persecution government on November 5th, 1996 (Khan, 2009:441).

4.4.7 THE 1997 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA

Miraj Khalid became Pakistan's acting prime minister after President Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari elevated him to the position. The administration of Miraj Khalid declared a new date for

elections, which was February 5, 1997. The PPP, PML (N), and other political parties launched their election campaigns in every province upon the announcement of the election date. The politics of victimhood were the primary goals of the PPP and PML-N (Khan, 2009). During the election, a unique occurrence occurred: after fifty years of independence, the inhabitants of FATA were granted the right to vote in both the National and Provincial Assemblies' elections, which were conducted on the same day. Voters in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa cast ballots for several political parties in the 1997 general elections; the results for the national and provincial assemblies are shown in Tables 18 and 19.

Table No.5: National Assembly Election Results

Political Parties	Percentage of votes	Number of seats
PML-N	27%	15
ANP	16%	10
Independent	34%	09
PPP	08%	--
JUI-F	07%	--
Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf	03%	--
Pakistan Muslim League (J)	02%	--
Pakistan Aman Party	01%	--
Pakistan Peoples Party Shaheed Bhutto	01%	--
Jamiat Ulema e Islam (Sami ul Haq Group)	01%	--
Awami Qiadat Party	0.14%	--
Haq Parast Group	0.10%	--
Tehreek Islam Pakistan	0.07%	--
Pakistan Pakhtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party	0.06%	--
National Peoples Party (Workers Group)	0.03%	--
Total	100	34

Source: Gilani's index of Electoral Record (1970-2008) based on data provided election commission of Pakistan. (www.gallup.com.pk)

ANP won ten (10) seats and 16% of the total votes cast in the 1997 general elections, whereas PML-N got fifteen (15) seats in the national house and 27% of the total polling votes. In contrast, independent candidates received 34% of the vote and nine (9) seats. In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the remaining political parties were unable to win even one member in the national legislature. Only 15% of all votes cast were cast for the PML-N in the 1993 election; by 1997 that number had risen to 27%. Nonetheless, PPP popularity declined in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa during the 1997 general elections.

Table No.6: Provincial Assembly Elections Results

Political Parties	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (NWFP)
Pakistan Muslim League (N)	31
Awami National Party	28
Pakistan People's Party	04
Independents	11
Other parties	03
Total	77

Source: 1997 General Elections in Pakistan Report PBS

Table 19 presents a different image of the 1993 provincial assembly election from the 1997 one since the PML-N was able to obtain thirty-one (31) seats in the provincial assembly due to its better presence in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, especially in the Hazara Division, compared to the PPP and other political parties. PPP ratio decreased, and ANP obtained twenty-eight (28) Seats, a significant accomplishment for Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Eleven (11) seats were held by independent candidates, while the PPP only had four (4) provincial assembly seats. Sardar Mahtab Abbasi was appointed Chief Minister of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa after the Awami National Party and PML-N joined forces to establish a coalition administration in the province. Following the establishment of the federal and provincial administrations, Nawaz Sharif expressed concern over 58(2)b, which he saw as a death sentence for the parliament. As a result, on April 4, 1997, he passed the 13th amendment to the Constitution with a resounding mandate (Khan, 2009). (28) Seats, a significant accomplishment for Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Eleven (11) seats were held by independent candidates, while the PPP only had four (4) provincial assembly seats. Sardar Mahtab Abbasi was appointed Chief Minister of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa after the Awami National Party and PML-N joined forces

to establish a coalition administration in the province. Following the establishment of the federal and provincial administrations, Nawaz Sharif expressed concern over 58(2)b, which he saw as a death sentence for the parliament. As a result, on April 4, 1997, he passed the 13th amendment to the Constitution with a resounding mandate.

(DAWN Report, July 7th 2018).

4.4.8 THE 2002 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA

The fourth takeover of military Pakistan occurred in October 1999. As a military dictator, Chief of Army Staff Gen. Pervez Musharraf assumed power and overthrew Nawaz Sharif's elected administration. Although General Musharraf had vowed to hold new elections as soon as feasible, they were delayed until October 2002. On October 10, 2002, the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) declared new elections. Pakistan Muslim League Quaid-e-Azam (PML-Q) emerged as a significant political force in Pakistani politics during the election campaign. The National Alliance (NA), a separate coalition of six minor political groups that supports Musharraf, also runs in elections. However, religious political groups also joined together to create the Muthahida-Majlis-Amal (MMA) coalition (Ansari, 2003). Six Pakistani religious parties, including JIP, JUI-F, JUI-S, JUP, and Tehreek-e-Jafaria Pakistan, formed the MMA. Jamiat-Ahle-Hadith (Khan, 2014). The elections were place on October 10, 2002.

In the 2002 general elections, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa's total polled vote supported the following parties: MMA (42%), independent candidates (17%), PML-Q (13%), PPP 9%, ANP 8%, PML-N 5%, PPP-Sherpao 3%), PTI and National Alliance 1% each, and Pakistan Awami Tehreek 0.29%. The United States and NATO soldiers launched an invasion of Afghanistan following the 9/11 attacks on the Twin Towers. Being Pashtuns', the people who live on both sides of the Durand line have a feeling of identity with one another. There is anti-American sentiment in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa as a result of the US invasion of Afghanistan. During the election campaign, the religious political alliance MMA took advantage of the circumstance and employed slogans disparaging the United States and its allies (Rauf and Ayaz, 2011: Ansari and Moten, 2003). However, in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa's general elections, the bulk of voters were drawn to MMA because of its strong religious ties. Consequently, MMA won most number of national assembly seats in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, forty-seven (47) to be exact. In contrast to the 2002 general elections, where MMA received 42% of the vote, there was a significant change in the PML-N,

PPP, and ANP support bases. Nonetheless, MMA outperformed all other political parties in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in the provincial legislature.

Table No.7: **Provincial Assembly Election Results**

Political Parties	General	Women	Minorities	Total
MMA	53	13	02	68
PPP (S)	10	02	01	13
PPP-P	08	02	--	10
ANP	08	02	--	10
Independents	06	--	--	06
PML(Q)	08	02	--	10
PML (N)	04	01	--	05
SQM	01	--	--	01
PTI	01	--	--	01
Total	99	22	03	124

Source: *Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP)*

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa's ANP, a Pakhtun nationalist party, was unable to win even one seat in the National Assembly at the 2002 General Elections. Additionally, the ANP's seat adjustment approach with PPP-P proved ineffectual in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa at the lower level. Because the bulk of Taliban members were Pakhtuns by ethnicity, the Taliban element was also important in the merger of religious political organizations (Waseem, 2006). With their secular credentials, the ANP leadership was no more credible than the pro-Taliban Pakhtun electoral candidates who urged voters to support the "Book" in the poll. The MMA rose to become Khyber Pakhtunkhwa's third-largest political party, behind the PPP and PML-N. The majority of candidates for MMA were from the middle or lower middle class. The fact that the candidates were religious seminaries with direct interaction to the general public during prayer times and other religious activities played a significant role in MMA's triumph. MMA candidates made easy use of these venues to voice their opinions against other candidates throughout the election process.

The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provincial assembly saw the largest number of seats, fifty-three (53) held by the MMA, eight (8) held by PPP, ten (10) by PPP-S, eight (8) held by ANP, eight (8) by PML-Q, six (6) by independents, four (4) by PML-N, and one (1) each by PTI and SQM.

Following the 2002 election, the Muslim Majlis (MMA) took power in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, while the PML-Q and other minor political parties governed the rest of the country.

4.4.9 THE 2008 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA

Following the assembly's five-year tenure, President Musharraf named an interim administration with Muhammad Mian Soomro, the chairman of the Senate, as prime minister. On January 8, 2008, the Pakistani Election Commission released the dates for the next general elections. However, Benazir Bhutto's untimely death on December 27, 2007, made the state of law and order worse, and as a result, elections were rescheduled for February 18, 2008. All around the nation, the election campaign got underway. Regarding the judiciary, Jamat-i-Islami, Pakistan-Tehrik-Insaf, and Pakhtunkhwa Milli-Awami Party abstained from the election. The primary political parties running in the 2008 election included ANP, MMA, MQM, PPP-P, PML (N), and PML (Q). (Nelson, 2009). The outcome of the 2008 general election was completely different from that of the previous one. Voters in this election criticized the previous government's programs and policies by casting their ballots against them. A noteworthy incident occurred on November 3, 2007, when General Musharraf declared a state of emergency against the judiciary and dismissed Pakistan's Chief Justice without providing a good explanation. Voters in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa were dissatisfied with the performance of the PML-Q and MMA. Second, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa's MMA administration did not adequately address terrorism there. Other political parties accused the MMA of supporting terrorism throughout the election campaign.

A group of six religious political groups called MMA gained 53 seats in the 2002 general elections. However, in the 2008 general elections, the Awami National Party (ANP) and the PPP secured the majority of 48 and 30 seats, respectively, in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provincial legislature. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa's MMA suffered a defeat when it was only awarded fourteen (14) seats in the provincial assembly. In the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa legislature, PPP-Sherpao and PML-Q both managed to secure six (6) seats, while PML-N secured nine (9) seats in the Hazara division and other regions of the province. Following these elections, ANP and PPP collaborated to form the administration, and Amir Haider Khan Hoti was appointed as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa's chief minister (Daily Mashriq, 5th November 2008).

4.4.10 THE 2013 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA

The next general elections were scheduled to begin on May 11, 2013, following the successful completion of the PPP's five-year term in the center and the ANP's in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Political parties began their nationwide campaigns after the election date was

announced. The ANP and other leftist political parties restricted their campaigning during the elections due to threats from the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP). ANP was unable to show the public their prior record of governance during the 2013 general elections. In the 2013 general elections, the rise of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa was another significant development. Imran Khan, the PTI chairman, launched the election campaign with the slogan "Change." PTI received support from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa voters due to Imran Khan's persona. In addition, voters in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa discovered a fresh alternative to the established political parties during the 2013 general elections (ECP, 2013). As a result, a sizable portion of the public supported PTI candidates. Table 24 and Table 25 provide information on the assembly seats.

Table No.8 **National Assembly Elections Results**

Name of Political Party	Vote%	NA Seats
Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf	27	17
JUI-F/MMA	16	04
Pakistan Muslim League-N	15	06
Independent	13	7
Jamat-i-Islami	07	03
Awami National Party	07	01
PPP	07	01
Other political parties	05	02
JUI- Others	1	1
PML-Others	1	1
PML-Q	0.18	--
PPP-Others	0.02	--
Total	100	44

Source Election Commission Of Pakistan

The outcomes of the 2013 general elections were entirely different from those of the 2008 general elections. PTI became Khyber Pakhtunkhwa's most well-liked political party and Pakistan's third most powerful political force. PTI obtained seventeen seats in the 2013 general elections. 17 seats and 27% of all votes cast were cast for the PML-N, 6 seats and 16% of the total votes cast for the MMA, 7 seats and 13% for the independent, 3 seats and 7% for JI, 1 seat and 7% for the PPP and ANP, and 4 seats for other political parties. Nonetheless, the PTI leadership employed various tactics to draw in people in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The ANP and PPP were accused of corruption by PTI candidates during the election campaign. In their election speeches,

the PTI contenders draw attention to the corruption of the ANP and PPP candidates. The 2013 election results indicate that there was a shift in voter behavior at the national and provincial assembly levels. Second, voters want to see how the PTI's government operates because it is a new political party. In the 2013 general elections, a sizable portion of voters who had supported the ANP and PPP in the previous elections switched to the PTI. Due to that shift in voter behavior, PTI received 27% of the polled vote, but the ANP graph saw a decline in support from 16% to 7% of voters (ECP, 2013).

Table no. 9: Provincial Assembly Election Results

Political Party	General Seats	Women Seats	Non-Muslims	Total
Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf	35	10	1	46
Pakistan Muslim League (N)	13	03	1	17
Jamiat Ulma-e-Islam (F)	13	03	1	17
Qoumi Wattan Party	07	01		08
Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan	07	01		08
Awami National Party	04	01		05
Pakistan Peoples Party	03	01		04
Awami Jamhori Itihad	03	01		04
All Pakistan Muslim League	01	-		01
Independents	12	-		12

Source: <http://www.electionpakistani.com/ge2013/pk/party-postion.html> retrieved on March 7, 2017.

These results prove that in General Elections 2013, PTI achieved just forty-six (46) seats whereas PML-N and JUI-F managed seventeen each(17), and again there were eight-member organizations including JI/QWP scoring the similar number of success as well with a contingent securing twelve independents. ANP: 5 Seats PPP and AJI =4 each All Pakistan Muslim League-1 In 2013, parties like ANP and PPP that had obtained majority seats in KP did not manage to retain it. PTI, JI or QWP and AJIP formed a government in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa as a result of the general election held in 2013. So, PTI has finished its tenure of five years in May 2018 due to the election in 2013.

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa had a very vibrant political and electoral history. But the first of it's kind political and non-violent movement called Khudai khitmatgars also started from this province. Khudai Khidmatgar movement politically incited the people of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa against British raj. Khudai Khidmatgar, on the other hand, was a very-broad based volunteer socio-

political organization that participated in every pre-partition election. Apart from that there existed a significant support for Muslim League and JUI in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa before independence.

Independent candidates seek election to put their personal resources in the constituency. Third, it is particularly common in post-elections; Elections will alliance so state adjustment of political parties are focus must be on the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The last piece on the puzzle, which are elections results show that voters frequently change their voting behaviour every time an election is held. As a result, the changed behavior of voters is reflected in election results from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Running on the assumption that, Pakistanis from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is any less independent as voters in comparison to other provinces of this country. The main reason is this can politically very weak feudal class (Khans or Landlords) that they behave too independently. Sardars of Baluchistan, Chaudhary's in Punjab and Wadiras in Sindh an immensely pivotal hold on the political reins which they exercise with ruthless functioning over their paint sly rivers demanding slavery from all other lower strata of society. Electoral Feudalism: Voting Patterns controlled via these directions from imposition of political parties and the candidates? While in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa voters are almost free from the instructions of feudal class during elections. In 2002 General Elections (MMA) Religious political parties gained majority votes amounting to low cadres as well but in Political scene changed and ANP an ethnic nationalist remained what won the majority, PTI new centralist party then again held by a Majority hard hitting over All other local sweepstakes. Party affiliation is the most important determinant of voting preferences in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa followed by issues, religion and candidate's personality especially through social networks. These determinants always remain at work to mold the voting behavior in different elections taking place in KPK.

CHAPTER-5

5. PAST PERFORMANCE AND VOTING BEHAVIOR

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter discuss the areas shift such as District Mohmand, where the electorate is transitioning from a tribal governance system into more formal political structure, voter decisions are also heavily influenced by past performance. To grasp the larger story of electoral dynamics, it is crucial to understand not just how voters perceive and respond to elected officials and parties but why. This chapter explores the very complex association of previous performances with voting behaviors, a phenomenon that it maps through what historical and recent achievements have impacted decisions made at electioneering times (Ahmad 2012). No matter what they may say, nothing is more important in voting behavior than past performance. Within a democracy, voters more typically turn to the opposing candidate or party for reassurance on who is right and what the facts might be. That dependence is even stronger in countries moving through political transitions as previous performance forms a concrete metric for assessing governance at work. This is also an interesting paradigm shift in political engagement where the tribal elders had transitioned from pure tribal based voting to quite a bit of performance criteria which merits a proactive analysis and debate. As people are realizing that they have rights and power it is no wonder why the electorate has shifted some attention in making sure what choices their representatives are going to be doing (Caprara, 2009).

This chapter will comprehensively explain how voting preferences of voters are influenced by retrospective modalities in District Mohmand. Country rights or the constitution of voters will examine explaining past electoral outcomes from a historical perspective, dissecting how voter expectations and behaviors have changed due to the passage out of the Columbia River Gorge (FCR) system into more formal political anchor. The chapter will also examine the output of elected officials and pattyns those moments when they have left their mark, for good or ill on voters' memories. Due to the analyzed LP, we will learn what more sensitive factors are defining voters' optional preferences in a region and how specific politicians or political parties influence them. The chapter will also explore how aspects of previous output-performance, including development outcomes and social services provision as well security impact the voting behavior. In District Mohmand, leafy new slogans do not appeal to their voters as much as the more tangible

improvements in health care and education provision that are possible through a development project; or just getting security under control. The ability of elected officials and parties to perform on these fronts influences both voter confidence, but also political support. Known for such dynamics, the chapter proposes to provide a detailed understanding of the relation between governance and electoral outcomes (Ali 2013).

The chapter will, alongside wider analysis of District Mohmand: explore the range and ideas (complexes) through case studies of significant politically actors/representatives in addition rivals; The window allowed for these specific achievements and challenges pioneers to have impact on voter preference (case studies) Looking at the electoral fortunes of these figures will reveal a world in which different vectors contribute or do not to underlying patterns and forces that lead again, frequently enough but also surprisingly rarely, electors flocking off into one direction or another. The chapter will conclude by performing a comparative analysis of electoral trends across multiple election cycles. This analysis will inform how past performance has impacted voting behavior in different time periods, showing changes and priorities of the electorate over time. The chapter will identify different major trends and changes in voter preferences by comparing how the vote changed between 2019, and 2024. So, this Chapter focus on complete details of the effect of past performance at voting attitude in District. Drawing on historical contexts, the record of elected officials and parties in previous state elections as well as our experience with single-issue campaigns and referenda initiatives this Chapter provides valuable insights into the decision-making process that shapes electoral choices. Comprehension of these dynamics is important for a broader political reading in District Mohmand, as well will serve strategies to improve the level of governance and political participation within this area (Carmines 205).

5.2 Historical Context of Electoral Outcomes

5.2.1 PRE-MERGER ELECTORAL LANDSCAPE/LIMITED POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

Historically, District Mohmand has had minimal political representation owing to its status as part of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) before it was merged with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 2018. It was administered under a special system that differed significantly from the rest of Pakistan, mostly... The area was subjected to the Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR)-a

set of repressive colonial-era laws-and political activities were kept strictly in check with tribal leaders and government administration authorized through a system which prevented local people from engaging meaningfully in state processes (Carney, 2008). In that era before merger, the people of Mohmand were not part of any national or provincial legislative assembly. They were only represented by reserved seats, and the political clout came largely from tribal elders -- local leaders known as Maliks. These Maliks carried much influence on the local population and took decisions for them without any democratic mandate. As a result, politics was marked by the absence of full-fledged political institutions and an unpolluted practice of participatory democracy.

Under the FCR, District Mohmand was politically isolated from other parts of Pakistan and as a result there developed no political consciousness among its people towards broader national politics. Since they were isolated from the outside world, political education and awareness in Mohmand was at a bare minimum which further empowered traditional tribal leaders. Political representation, where it existed at all, was only loosely-based on the absence of political parties and formal electoral process; accountability and responsiveness to situations with common people needs were very nominal.

5.2.2 INFLUENCE OF THE FRONTIER CRIMES REGULATIONS (FCR)

The FCR imposed by the British colonial administration in late 19th century governed the political and legal structure in FATA, including District Mohmand shifting till its merger with KP. The FCR served less as a route of direct rule in the tribal areas and more so through indirect mode, by empowering Pashtun elites to implement colonial policies. This legislation set a very strict environment for political activities, freedom of speech as well association and it eventually bends any initiative towards de moralization (Jawad, 2010). Collective punishment was a frequent practice under the FCR, and could lead to whole tribes being targeted for retribution if one of their members had transgressed. The law also had provisions for arbitrary detention without trial, further suppressing any form of political dissent or opposition. This environment of fear and repression due to draconian measures were successful in precluding any political mobilization or activism.

The electoral landscape was dramatically impacted by the FCR. With no democratic institutions or local political representation, decision-making authority was largely centralized giving free control to a bunch of tribal chiefs and federal appointed Political Agents who act as the

collectors for Pakistani cash taxes. This created a system of dependency and patronage fueling despotism where most civilians would have to turn to local sheikhs in hope for water, schools or healthcare because their right by law became determined depending on the goodwill of tribal leaders rather than as citizens from winning voting power. Accountability issues were particularly severe under the FCR as there was such limited political representation, meaning very few checks on how public resources were used. Many of them, like development projects and the turning away from issues affected by government initiatives were implemented without any consultation with local population, hence inefficiency was widespread; this also gave rise to corruption. With no coherent political framework on the ground, there was nothing to check what were rampant excesses of federal power and no structures by which local protests could be heard or grievances acted upon - consolidating a stranglehold that benefited only those who profited most from it.

5.2.3 POST-MERGER POLITICAL EVOLUTION

It is indeed an important juncture in the political history of Battal, District Mohmand as well. This historic step was done under the 25th Constitutional Amendment with an objective to mainstream tribal areas of Pakistan into political and administrative substructure. The merger was expected to expand the footprint of Pakistani state over these disputed territories and consequently endow democratic governance, rule of law and socio-economic development. Since this was the first ever provincial elections 2019 in District Mohmand, therefore it was a historical day for people of almost all ages. It was symbolic as well and had far-reaching practical implications for the political autonomy of the region, its relations with national government institutions in New Delhi, and a socialmitment between constituents to vote according party tickets.

In 2019 record turnout in the provincial elections as well (regardless of how it happened) which goes to show that there has been an appetite and optimism among the local masses for a new dawn. The elections were contested by plenty of political parties, not only the nationwide prominent Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz and Pakistan People's Party in spite that there are a lot local or regional parties also competing as independents. None of this should come as a surprise to BHP shareholders, who have lived most of the past decade in the iron cage that was built around political voice by successive managements. This is quite different from before Rio Tinto and Billiton.

However, according to the election results parts of these constituencies voted for development and stability as well as integration into other regions in the province. Leveraging its position as the ruling party in KP, PTI made deep penetration into erstwhile FATA with promises of building infrastructure and improving governance which would result eventual socio-economic development. And the election drew new local political actors to add a growing level of political consciousness and participation among locals (Ali, 2009).

5.2.3 SUBSEQUENT ELECTIONS AND EMERGING TRENDS

Post-2019 provincial elections, the District Mohmand went through a phase of political consolidation and desisting electoral trends. This first heady experience of voting, prepared the way for future electoral seasons where voters gradually learned to appreciate what elections may or cannot do. The language around future rounds of elections shifted to place greater emphasis on monitors and results, rather than candidates or parties. Voters soon determined if a candidate kept their word on infrastructure projects, healthcare changes education improvement economic development. This trend was a sign of vote bank politics giving way to performance-based voting among the electorate.

These elections saw emerging trends favoring local hot potato issues and a distinct influence of the khap=jati panchayats (tribal cabinets/systems). Though the political parties have played an important part, but the individual influence of local leaders and tribal elders still existed. In the seismic shift, however, those who managed to neatly tap into both modern political dynamics and classic tribal affiliations frequently found themselves with a leg up at election time. A second trend was the rising participation of both women and youth in elections. These attempts encourage political consciousness with these classes finally seem to be reaping rewards, as more number of voters thanks mobilized and active than ever before in the history of India. This demographic change boded a more diverse and reflective political future.

Moreover, security and stability played a significant role in determining electoral results. Before the merger of FATA with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, District Mohmand faced daunting security challenges like other areas of former FATA. Many of the candidates and parties that put peace building back on their agenda, including those speaking to security concerns, were recognized for this at the polls. The absorption of District Mohmand into the KP administrative and political

structure also heralded changes in governance and service delivery. The need to make provincial laws universally applicable and synonymous with mechanisms of local government was followed by the establishment are essentially an angle or way, that one can cut on this orientated province strict compliance in formulating their laws ensuring both responsiveness as well accountability. Yet it was a process that met with challenges as the region tried to cope with bureaucratic inabilities and local governance structures were buffeted by weak capacity.

To wrap it up, the perspective of electoral outcomes in District Mohmand underlines a transformation from restricted political representation and oppressive governance mobility during the FCR regime to pro-active participatory democratic dynamics after the merger. The first 2019 provincial elections displayed a milestone in political consciousness with performance-based voting over the entire electoral cycle that followed. Electoral trends in transition emphasize the significance of local issues, tribal structures etc, and weight security/stability as primary determinants driving voter behavior. By looking into these historical and emerging dimensions, gaining insight into the dynamic electoral outcomes in this region cannot be separated from studying how District Mohmand is attempting to consolidate politically.

5.3 Performance of Elected Officials and Political Parties

5.3.1 EVALUATION CRITERIA FOR PERFORMANCE

DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

One of the key indicators for assessing elected officials and political party's performance in Mohmand are development projects wagon. They are all vital schemes which will not only enhance the quality of life for those living in the area but boost economic opportunities. Most key development initiatives are either infrastructure related such as roads, bridges and water supply systems serving outlying areas with economic functions or minimum basic service deliveries. In the case of these projects, successful can coincide with not only curing faults but also laying the groundwork for future growth and therefore dramatic increases in voter support.

The results include the savings in travel time by building new roads or improving existing ones, and the reduction of transportation costs which means an increase in tourist traffic to specific areas. Just like that, making investments in electrification projects can provide opportunities for

businesses to be more efficient and stimulate the local economy while improving living standards. These projects are valuable not only in completion but also how sustainable they prove to be and how well they serve the local population. Development projects also consist of social infrastructures like schools and hospitals. New education and health institutions will help in addressing the social development needs of Mohmand. Politicians who place an emphasis on these areas can show through their support for ways to increase human capital and quality of life which is vital in creating trust between voter and leader.

PUBLIC SERVICES

Another important criterion for evaluating how much elected official did what and in which way a public service i.e healthcare, education services available, is traffic n sanitation etc. The availability, access and standard of these services in turn impact the day-to-day lives of its citizens and are a litmus test for overall governance. This is particularly important in Mohmand, where there has been historically low provision of public services and improvements along these lines can greatly change voter perceptions and behavior. Many voters consider healthcare services as one of the first issues, especially in rural and underserved parts. Key indicators are the growing healthcare infrastructure, hiring of professional medical staff and presence of essential medicines etc. If a construction of hospitals and clinics, the availability of medical equipment as well as health programs will be realized in their region, then officials can certainly rely on support from the electorate.

Education is another key sector on which performances are judged. Expansion of educational access, along with the availability and training of teachers suitable for various forms of teaching at this level can greatly improve student outcomes in Dibule village. Investment in education is generally regarded as an investment for the future; hence, politicians who are seen to be working on improving this sector often gain popularity among families and local communities. Sanitation and waste disposal are also key aspects of public services. Public health requires the establishment of workable and smoothly running disposal, hygiene conditions, and waste management systems so that we have a clean system for people to be able to take care. As pointed out by Ahmad (2020), elected officials who opt to address these issues are seen as themselves

taking commitment towards a healthier and livable environment, which in turn can influence the behavior of voters.

SECURITY AND STABILITY

District Mohmand is a volatile region and has been in the grip of militancy for more than one decade, so security and stability are top issues confronting residents. One of the key criteria against which performance has to be evaluated is - how well an elected official can keep peace and ensure safety. Ensuring safety also requires a stable security environment, and measures to increase this include setting up police stations, launching community-policing programs, improving cooperation with national-security agencies. Decline in crime rates, tackling of security threats and citizens feeling safe are the primary signs to measure success in it. Voters rely on elected officials who focus on safety and security because they convey a sense of confidence in them. Further, activities of reconciliation and social cohesion such as dialogue with local communities or conflict resolution programs can contribute to improve governance effectiveness.

5.4. KEY POLITICAL FIGURES AND THEIR PERFORMANCE

Major Achievements and Failures

A review of the work performed by important with interest in District Mohmand covers what they have done or ignored while being in power. Leaders who have overseen the construction of new roads, hospitals and schools also built support among voters. On the other hand, fail in these areas and your reputation will take a hit. Among key political figures in District Mohmand is Mehboob Sher, whose advocacy has driven much of the infrastructure development. Get string extra the completion of some large projects, including building a major highway and new health care facilities that were in the works before they took office. It is widely praised for greatly increasing the amount of connectivity and access to basic services. On the education front too, however Mahbub Sherani has been criticized for not attempting to move beyond low hanging targets. While commitment on upgrading the structures of education have been made, progress towards this has not met expectations and that creates frustration among voters as they want quality education for their children. In this respect, their performance record is a little blemished by failures such as these, illustrating the need to deliver campaign promises across all sectors.

Among other notables, Nisar Momand is prioritizing improvements in public services with a particular emphasis on healthcare and sanitation. So far, they have helped open a number of new clinics along with establishing an attractive waste management system. Those programs have had great benefits for human health and the environment, which has created a positive image in public opinion. But Momand has had difficulty keeping the peace. However, violence and crime on-ice have risen during their leadership causing some to wonder whether they can adequately provide for safety. Consequently, their appeal has waned as security continues to be a high priority for inhabitants of District Mohmand.

5.5 PERFORMANCE OF MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES

5.5.1 PARTY MANIFESTOS AND POLICIES

The voter turnout and the public opinion become influenced by the manifestos and policies of big political parties in District Mohmand. Also, political parties have not yet managed to provide realistic manifestos which can promise development and security in a similar way that they demagogue on public service. The effectiveness of the implementation of these policies in practice also contributes to assessing party performance. For instance, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) has positioned itself as a change and development party. Promising of taking several infrastructure projects and carrying out reformations in health sector, as well as educational department both In Degree College level & senior Schools Level for its District Mohmand. The party's anti-corruption and good governance orientation struck a chord with electorates who felt there was an urgent need for transparency and accountability. PTI has met with mixed success in implementing these policies, as its efforts of reform being more visible on infrastructure and less pronounced in healthcare or education realizations.

PML-N's policies are centered on economic development and stability. Investment, local industries and generation of jobs were issues the party has also highlighted in its manifesto. The PML-Ns focus on trade has also been appreciated by the business community, which is seen as helping economic growth in Pakistan. But the party has also come under attack over security, and for not doing enough to stop social sector problems. The Pakistan People's Party (PPP) has delivered in the realm of social welfare and delivery of public services. They had presented a manifesto, promising to strengthen the healthcare, education and social protection programmes.

PPP has had pro-poor agendas intended to bring disadvantaged communities from impoverish conditions and provide better living standards. The party had made inroads on social welfare programs, but has consistently failed to follow through with larger scale development projects which have left it less popular among voters.

5.5.2 LEADERSHIP AND LOCAL PRESENCE

District Mohmand has a significant influence of local leadership and presence which plays an important role in political parties performance & eligibility in public votes. Strong parties, with a charismatic leader and widespread infrastructure are significantly more successful in getting out the vote when it comes to implementing their policy platform. Strong Leadership - One of the biggest reasons why PTI stands as a successful political party in Pakistan has been it's leadership, especially at local level. This has been seen as the party's success in making itself heard to local people, their own worries and even fulfilment of what they promised on development front. Having impressive local honchos who can articulate the party's vision and policies has helped it forge connect with voters at grassroots.

The leadership of PML-N has done business in Mohmand by engaging national influence for development projects. Party Members of the state are online through social media and reaching out to broader economic initiatives that have opened doors allowing for growth in development. Still, PML-N's weak local government presence in comparison to PTI - who has formed governments at both the national and provincial level following its 2018 triumphs, although it had not won anywhere before that year while former prime minister Nawaz Sharif was still serving a prison sentence after being convicted of corruption last July - can make it hard for them to engage with popular concerns on an equal footing. PR leads with a pitch for unity and social justice, appealing especially to those looking at transformative political change... Its work in local communities and its social welfare programs have bolstered the decentralized presence of the party. Despite challenges in delivering large-scale development projects, PPP's more visible and active presence has enabled it to cultivate a loyal voter base.

To sum up the achievements in development, public service delivery and security performance of elected officials and political parties with regard to district Mohmand. Voter perceptions and behavior of key political figures are influenced by their major successes or

failures. Major political parties fight general elections for which they design manifestos and policies, a significant factor in determining the voter support and consequently the electoral outcomes. This understanding also offers lessons to identify some of the political landscape that surround District Mohmand as well reasons behind voter behavior (Gul- 2021).

5.6 Influence Of Past Performance On Voting Behavior

5.6.1 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND INFRASTRUCTURE

Economic development and infrastructure improvements are pivotal factors that influence voting behavior in District Mohmand. The electorate's assessment of past performance in these areas often determines their support for candidates and political parties.

5.6.2 EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Just like the residents of District Mohmand, employment opportunities in the region pose an even bigger challenge. Unemployment and the lack of economic opportunity have long been a top issue for voters in Appalachia, with consistently higher unemployment rates than other parts of America. The political parties and their elected officials who can demonstrate job creation will attract far more votes than neoliberal policies. As an example, infrastructure projects in road building or industrial zones can create a number of job opportunities. When political leaders promote these projects, they are generating immediate jobs yet at the same time enabling environments that lead to long-term economic growth. They help ease the structural constraints experienced by emerging economies, and create a virtuous cycle -good infrastructure improves business attrition which in turn leads to more sustainable economic activity inducing greater job creation. Voters experiencing (direct or indirect) benefits from these job opportunities would thus be more likely to vote for the candidates and/or parties who set them up.

Also, the ability of elected officials to create jobs through public sector employment is a further way they can influence voting. Hiring local residents in public service positions like healthcare workers, teachers and admin can reduce unemployment while also improving the delivery of services. The voters that do get a stable job and manage to see any improvement in services are mostly likely going credit this turnaround to the good governance of their representatives, thus bolstering repeat election. Vocational training programs and skill development economic initiatives are also important ways to sway voting behavior. Such programs

help in making the youth employable and increase their chances of being able to contribute towards economic stability. Politicians who support these programs and pass them usually win with voters and their parents because young people tend to think long-term when it comes to developing skills (Azlan, 2022).

5.6.3 INFRASTRUCTURE IMPROVEMENTS

Infrastructure enhancements are one more vital component of financial growth that have an enormous result on just how individuals elect. In specific areas such as District Mohmand which suffered from decades of neglect leaving even the most basic infrastructure missing, roads and bridges or water supply systems and electricity grids built now would be able to dramatically improve daily lives in addition to create new ways for economic opportunities. This is especially true for the construction and maintenance of roads. Better road networks improve connectivity within the district and with rest of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, thus reducing trade costs, beneficiary travel time savings thanks to access to better markets etc. Improved market access for farmers, wider capture zones and timeliness to businesses, more convenience in accessing essential services. Construction of roads to be in their best standard and also the benefits which are tangible can see by all genteel is always a priority for any political leader out there because they will get voter support from citizens.

That same importance is shared by bridges and transportation infrastructure. Travel and commerce in much of District Mohmand are impeded by natural barriers such as rivers and mountainous terrain. This mitigates the challenges; economic activities can grow along with better quality of life through infrastructure development like bridges and other means of transportation. Politicians delivering on these sort of infrastructure requirements signal their dedication to regional growth and gain the trust (and votes) from those in which they were elected. So, too, water supply systems and electrification projects have an effect on voting behavior. Clean drinking water and reliable electricity are fundamental needs for all three: human health, education facilities as well as economic activities. Living standards can be greatly enhanced when political leaders deliver infrastructure projects that bear these fundamental services. The visible societal benefits with activities such as low incidents of water-borne diseases, increased educational opportunities for

lighting after-school hours and enhanced productivity by averting power outages are discernible results demonstrating successful governance (Chandio, 2011).

5.6.4 Social Services and Welfare

Social services and welfare programs are important governance strands that have a substantial impact on the voting behavior in District Mohmand. Healthcare, education and social welfare provision are obviously also significant factors that influence people's wellbeing, thus attitudes towards experiences with elected politicians and parties.

5.6.5 HEALTHCARE AND EDUCATION

Healthcare and education are two most imperative social services, which determines quality of life of the residents/ domiciles in District Mohmand. They have poor access to benefits and improvements in those sectors can substantially influence voter choices. For the healthcare sector, these include providing access to medical facilities and trained personnel as well essential medicines. Policies such as constructing hospitals, clinics or dispensaries and staffing them with well-equipped health workers are a vote winner. For example, building a hospital in an underserved community would greatly increase the availability of healthcare services and it could save patients travel time and related costs. Voters most appreciate initiatives that relate to maternal and child health, healthcare provision (particularly vaccination services) and the delivery of emergency care because they are seen as having direct effects on community well-being.

The effect that better health services have a link to voting behavior is huge. When people live healthier and receive better medical care, they attribute these benefits to the good governance of their elected representatives. Registrants in liberal democracies are winning elections by causing healthcare services to improve, and the positive experiences create trust that keeps them seeking for it. Another area where voting behavior depends on past performance is education. To improve the quality of education, construct new schools, appoint teachers and provide learning aids are imperatives. Politicians who help by constructing schools, and particularly in rural regions, facilitate access to education for a large number of children left behind due to lack of school. Furthermore, scholarships and apprenticeship programs have added significantly to the education development of this community. Enhanced education services have a historic tendency to affect

voting. The fact that parents and guardians are more likely to vote for political leaders who they believe put a premium on educational development, seeing their children being provided with quality education. Better schools and educational prospects have spin-off benefits beyond any one generation, helping form the kind of foundation that spurs many voters to better support candidates who really mean what they say about education (Converse, 2001).

5.6.6 SOCIAL WELFARE PROGRAMS

Social welfare programs are a critical part of supporting vulnerable populations and providing a higher quality of life. Crucial to the fight against poverty and in promoting societal equity, these programs include financial aids (subventions), housing subsidies, food security measures or social protection mechanisms. Social welfare programs in District Mohmand are a prized service as the people have been living under serious economic stress. Elected officials creating these programs, and managing them correctly garnish huge voter support. For instance, cash transfer programmed provide households with an income - allowing low-income families to afford basic necessities and boost their living standards immediately. Perhaps initiatives that offer support for housing in which residents can come together to construct or restore homes may not only lift their condition of living but also create stability. Health security measures and nutritional interventions can help improve health outcomes, resulting in a reduction in malnutrition. Among the key influences on voting behavior are how social welfare programs actually operate, and remain valued by many voters. This leaves it to voters whether they decide to support candidates and parties who significantly improve social welfare with plans that mostly benefit the most vulnerable populations. Political leaders who are perceived to be empathic and responsive in such situations can exert a strong pull toward voter loyalty or trust (Asghar, 2012).

5.6.7 Security and Governance

In relation to the violent past of Region Mohmand typically emergency means linked with governance and even security. Voting behavior is heavily influenced by the ability of elected officials and political parties to maintain law and order, govern effectively, as well ensure accountability

5.6.8 Law and Order

Ensuring the maintenance of law and order is a topmost responsibility in governance due to its direct impact on the safety, security, health or well-being. There is little doubt that elected representatives can do much when it comes to ensuring a stable and secure in District Mohmand, which has been under the influence of militants or competitive with tribal clashes.

5.7. Social Services and Welfare

5.7.1 HEALTHCARE AND EDUCATION

I) HEALTHCARE

Health care can be a critical component of social welfare and voter behavior, for the District Mohmand. The provision and accessibility of healthcare also have marked impact on the health-related quality of life among residents, subsequently affecting their voting intentions in favor or against certain elected officials as well as political parties. The government has historically weak healthcare infrastructure especially in District Mohmand, where there is little access to medical facilities and shortage of trained staff and lack medicines. Establishment and improvement of healthcare facilities like hospitals, clinics, and dispensaries is therefore look upon as essential development steps. Local governments can directly influence the accessibility of healthcare to their residents by making population appropriate facility investments into new medical centers or modernizing existing facilities with advances and equipment today.

By making an illustration, when a new hospital is built in newly urbanized or underserved areas like this one where it took 7 hours on foot from the above-mentioned village to reach medical services (through free buses for poor people), then such happens miles away, while if that distance may be reduced dramatically and which allows many patients get timely essential health care. This improvement is extremely important to emergency medical care, maternity and chronic disease therapy. Moreover, mobile health units can deliver essential services for people who have little to no access to fixed healthcare facilities. Such efforts show a sense of urgency in tackling public health problems, which can inspire trust and votes for you.

Recruitment & training of healthcare professionals. Quality care starts by properly staffing healthcare facilities with doctors, nurses or technicians whose credentials meet to locally accepted

standards. While employment training programs and incentivizing healthcare jobs in the region could help alleviate that shortage, this is an issue best influenced at a policy level with elected officials. We also have a roles and responsibilities matrix on the website, as well as continuous professional development opportunities to ensure high standards of care. Voters who benefit from a better healthcare system are more likely to reward those in power or office for these improvements.

Supply of necessary medicines and medical equipment are other vital parts of the healthcare services. Quality Care: Arts in health have the potential to significantly improve quality of care provided by politicians who take steps to make sure that healthcare services are actively stocked, equipped and with access medications. Maternal and child health, immunization, and disease prevention programs are especially impactful because they tackle basic public health functions. Well-run programs can help decrease mortality and improve health, which could well translate into votes. Public health campaigns and initiatives of preventive healthcare are the game changers here. Healthier Community: Programs that raise awareness about hygiene, nutrition and disease prevention can help create a healthier community. When elected officials prioritize public health education and preventive measures, it benefits the population as a whole by reducing demands on healthcare facilities. Voter satisfaction and support. The direct benefits of these initiatives such as a decrease in disease, or improved community health can enhance the satisfaction that voters feel over time (Curtice, 2019).

II. EDUCATION

Another basic element of social services is education, which deeply effects the voting behavior in District Mohmand. The quality and availability of education were key determinants for regional socio-economic development, and thus also an important foundation under the future prospects to local residents. Construction and maintenance of educational infrastructure are necessary for expanding opportunities to accessing education. By electing officials who support building new schools such as in rural and underserved regions this will significantly improve the education availability for all children. Such moves have been aimed at ensuring that no child is required to travel long distances to school, which can be critical in rural areas. The availability of these facilities, such as classrooms, libraries and laboratories also make the learning environment

conducive. As a result, voters witnessing significant positive changes in educational infrastructure are more likely to have an inclination towards the political leaders behind such improvements.

There is a need to recruit and train quality teachers globally, if we want positive educational outcomes. Elections officials who execute programs to mentor teachers and provide ongoing professional development opportunities guarantee quality education for students. Add to these initiatives that provide competitive salaries and incentives to maintain high-quality educators in the area. The voters which realize this fact and the positive results of such works on their child education would tend to support these officials or respective parties that care about educational upliftment. A big part of this is obviously curriculum development both generally and for specific programs. If elected officials were to concentrate on bringing the curriculum current as well as relevant with regards to what might benefit our community, and a desire instead of an imposed requirement; education could only gain in their backgrounds. STEM programs and vocational training assist with all specific types of work in the present working world. In addition, programs aimed at increasing cultural and lingual inclusivity in the instructional are also beneficial to keep local heritage alive as well as ensure that all students have access to education. Voters respect these endeavors as maintenance in their kids' future demands (Adnan, 2018).

Making education available to everyone --regardless of socio-economic status-- requires financial assistance and scholarship programs. By awarding scholarships and providing financial assistance to students in need, office holders may help to decrease educational disparities. These initiatives allow more children to go through the educational experience without worrying about financial constraints enabling overall development of society and economy. Voters who receive benefits from these programs are likely to support the officials and parties that advocate for educational equity. At another level, involvement of community or engagement with parents in initiatives also play crucial role. Local officials who engage the broader community in school governance and decision making build a sense of ownership, responsibility and empowerment into their constituency. In addition, efforts to include parents in their children's educations (like through parent-teacher associations and community education workshops) create a richer learning experience. Voters who believe they are part of the solution in their kids education will have more favorable views of such broad and participatory policies by politicians claiming to be champions.

5.8. Social Welfare Programs

The social welfare programs play a key role in combating the problems of disadvantaged populations and enhancing socioeconomic justice in District Mohmand. These can be in the form of financial transfers or housing programs, food security interventions... social protection measures that help take some people out of poverty and maintain a minimum standard of living. With the growing number of low-income families and individuals, financial assistance programs are more important than ever for those in need. Cash Transfer Programs: Elected officials to implement cash transfer programs and other forms of direct financial support help relieve immediate economic pressures. These programs offer help, in a number of ways to meet basic living expenses> This should be food for humans and their families: clothing; all household goods including fuel like gas. Those who get paid [cash handouts] are likely to vote for those in government and the parties interested in social security issues including economic benefits.

There are also housing support initiatives that (for now) fall within the realm of social welfare. Lawmakers who prioritize offering family's affordable housing and better living conditions are working to create a more livable community. Examples of these programs include home-building and repair services that prevent residents from having to mold-contaminated fire threatened dwellings. Moreover, projects on the provision of utilities such as clean water supply, electricity and sanitation facilities enhance living conditions. If the housing reforms worked as promised, they might vote back in those who saw them through. We are running all type of food security programs to avoid hunger and malnutrition in District Mohmand. By establishing programs to distribute food, school meal initiatives and measures aimed at supporting agriculture the elected spreader of government contributes with quality nutrition for all its inhabitants. While that provides quick help with food supply, it also supports longer term solutions by backing very local agriculture and sustainable farming practices. Voters who gain from food security initiatives are more possibly to support the officials and parties that emphasize on important programs (Dalton, 2007).

Importantly, social protection measures such as unemployment benefits, disability support and pensions provide a critical floor for more vulnerable populations. Elected leaders able to effectively roll out national social protection systems go some way toward correcting economic

inequalities and fostering inclusion. These provisions serve as a way of providing workless, disabled and elderly people with the economic means to live. The target group of voters who gains from the social protection schemes can be expected to have a strong vested interest in politicians and political parties promoting more inclusive, equitable social policy. Another strong force are community development programs that target the most impoverished sections of society and aim to build relationships: across social divides. Elected officials who pass policies that support women, youth and minorities are contributing to a much more inclusive society. Programs delivering vocational training, assisting entrepreneurship opportunities and facilitating access to education & health for disadvantaged communities are a means towards social & economic empowerment. When citizens can experience positive change in their own neighborhoods and increased access to the benefits of government among marginalized populations, it is not hard to guess that voters will reward officials or parties who make those gains possible.

Publicity/public awareness and campaigning involves among others mobilizing the public in alternative ways of promoting social welfare for example through sensitization against poverty, discrimination, and inequality. Elected officials who emphasize education and social issues create more advocates for public welfare programs. These efforts contribute to a more educated, empowered constituency that can make it easier for leaders committed to social justice and equity to gain voter support. Therefore, social services and welfare programs - such as healthcare access to women, school enrollment of children, and political support for certain sectors or groups in case of election due to the various types of social security initiatives by NGOs massively matter in determining voting behavior at Mohmand Agency. Such programs can replace them with those that are consistent, effective, and genuinely responsive - earning the trust of residents in doing so. Better healthcare, educational amenities, and social welfare programs delivered by public resources lead to a happy voter who sanctifies through his electoral perspectives & makes the state policies ruled in greater prize of powdermen-driven governance.\

5.8.1 Security and Governance

5.8.2 LAW AND ORDER (HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND CHALLENGES)

Law and police are the most basic element of governance, quality of human life in bonsai, protection from evils and power rule of sky's District Mohmand on the other hand has its history

of law-and-order challenges to be influenced by a variety of factors such as tribal conflicts, militancy or even the legacy of Frontier Crime Regulation system (FCR) etc. Like much of what were once the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), this region had its own set of issues - a fact emphasized significantly when it came to establishing law and order in these lands. District Mohmand had been functioning under the FCR - a set of laws that enforced collective punishment and severely curtailed judicial oversight, for at least decades. It frequently fanned the flames of tribal tension and mistrust in State authority. The terrain and socio-political dynamics of the region also made it vulnerable to militant activities, thus adding an extra layer in law enforcement. Militancy, particularly in the early 2000s, resulted in marked instability as various militant groups were active and governmental authority was weakened over much of FATA with a reign of terror descending on local population.

5.8.3 POST-MERGER IMPROVEMENTS

In 2018, when the FATA was merged with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa it changed many things in terms of its legal and administrative structure for District Mohmand the extension of Pakistani laws to the area was designed to ameliorate governance and enforcement. There were, however, efforts to assimilate the district more fully into general provincial administration and judicial procedures in response directly or indirectly to the unification. The predominating change which is significant in the region has been creating of formal police forces. The hiring and training of neighborhood people have been placed first, to ensure that enforcement is acclimatized to the ethnicities involved in addition charitably considered by civilians. They have been trained in modernized police skills and human rights as well community policing. The professionalization of the police force has actually greatly assisted in crime fighting, dispute resolution and public order maintenance.

Police now have more space to carry out their operations after the introduction of modern law enforcement infrastructure like police stations, check posts and a reliable communication network. They have all the means needed to respond in case of an emergency, investigate crimes and protect public order. They have also launched community policing initiatives to restore trust between the police and local inhabitants. The community through regular meetings, awareness

programs and reaching out to key leaders has helped build a bridge between the police forces of Dasna and Kheli.

5.8.4 COUNTER-TERRORISM EFFORTS

Maintaining law and order in District Mohmand is heavily reliant on anti-terrorism initiatives. The government of Pakistan along with its local and international partners had adopted several different mechanisms to counter extremism in the region. Military operations, like Operation Zarb-e-Azb and Radd-ul-Fasaad have helped in root out of militant networks from FATA & restoration of state writ. These included the mobilization of troops to cleanse areas from which militants were cleared, secure hostile borders and take control over territories until then largely outreach. As a result of successful operations, militant activities have dwindled and security situation in District Mohmand has vastly improved.

Intelligence-led operations and surveillance played a page part in counter-terrorism efforts as well. Use of sophisticated devices, intelligence sharing and working in conjunction with various national as well as international security agencies have improved the detection and prevention of a hysterical act. Now, by targeting the militants wallet and logistics network, it has practically crippled their ability to carry out operations. Apart from military and intelligence efforts, steps for deradicalization and rehabilitation were taken to tackle the reasons behind militancy. Education, including both formal schooling and vocational training programs (some that include psychosocial support), have also served to reduce the allure of extremist doctrine among former militants alongside vulnerable youth. This work helps to rebuild social connection and provides safe exits for those further away from militancy.

5.8.3 COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT AND LOCAL LEADERSHIP

It must be realized that law enforcement in District Mohmand has its roots in community involvement and local leadership. Local leaders from traditional tribal structures are important to preserve law and order as well handle conflicts. Understanding the role community formations play in American culture, and engaging your local leaders can add potency to efforts by those who were elected for keeping law enforcement at work. Local leaders, like tribal elders or community representatives are typically respected and have comprehensive insights into the social set up of

regions. Their participation in enforcement efforts helps ensure that activities are culturally appropriate and responsive to local traditions. Some of the programs managing to bridge this gap are local security committees and community policing, where law enforcement officials work with neighbors as colleagues instead adversaries.

Additionally, we also have developed some methods of conflict resolution which are blends between our traditional practices and new forms of adjudication built upon modern legal principles. Mediation and arbitration at the local level, enforced through formal legal frameworks provide trusted methods of dispute resolution. They ease conflict management and facilitate social harmony.

5.9 GOVERNANCE AND ACCOUNTABILITY

5.9.1 EFFECTIVE GOVERNANCE

In the absence of good governance, public services are delivered poorly, resources mismanaged and the needs of populations left unmet. The merger of District Mohmand into the provincial administrative framework, has provided opportunities primarily to strengthen governance structures and practices. By adopting policies and programs that are responsive to the region, elected officials have an important part in strengthening governance. It entails the building of infrastructure, healthcare and education services as well promoting economic development. All power structures must become transparent and inclusive to build trust and guarantee that the governance is oriented towards community needs.

Many of these - including the creation or revitalization of local government institutions such as district councils and municipal committees, is actually a direct result of representation where elected representatives have been empowered to take part in governance. They act as a forum for residents to raise their concerns, be included in development planning and monitor the work of those who hold elected positions. They push elected officials who fund these institutions and prioritize local development get more voter support. Investing in human capital through training and capacity development for civil service workers increases the efficiency and effectiveness of governance. Many offer programs in public administration, financial management and service delivery-skills needed to properly manage resources, implement policies. This

professional development of resource personnel the governance structures from running efficiently and therefore delivering quality services to its people.

5.9.2 ACCOUNTABILITY MECHANISMS

Expenditures of the Public to be Laid Before Parliament Accountability is primary for ensuring that those who are elected to represent us, and public servants responsible for large sums of our money spent on our behalf must answer not only by statements in the house-but also provide all invoices related, they have agreement with Mauritius Post Ltd; One of the main priorities in District Mohmand has been nurturing accountability structures to deter corrupt practices, transparent operations and confidence-building. Public audits, performance evaluations and grievance redressal mechanisms are also interlocutory steps to ensure accountability. The public has the right to know how its monies are spent and this transparency is what checking projects against real field facts provides. Performance evaluations in-office holders and public servants help to identify strengths but also weaknesses, thus helping create a culture of accountability. Basically- Grievance redressal system is a mechanism which allows people to report their problems and get it resolved as well charged answered from the responsible official

Finally, anti-corruption measures are important in strengthening accountability as well. Politicians who put systemic changes into place, like creating independent commissions that provide oversight on par with the judiciary and periodic audits of State actions combined with sending corrupt officials from their own party to jail have received Good Housekeeping Measurement No. They reduce the misuse of resources, encourage honest practices and increase public trust in governance. On all levels accountability depends on communal partaking and civil commitment. To the extent that public consultations, town hall meetings and community advisory boards where residents can directly play a part in governance might increase feelings of ownership and responsibility. Civic education programs that educate citizens on what their rights and obligations are, as well as how to use them against public officials enable the outsider communities to actively participate in governance. Accountability Ensuring transparency in decisions A transparent and participatory process in decision-making increases trust of the people for elected officials. These transparency measures -- open data portals and media-led information campaigns,

among others - - help give residents the knowledge they need to hold officials and contractors accountable.

5.9.3 GOVERNANCE REFORMS

In order to meet these systemic challenges, and for the better efficiency of governance in District Mohmand good governance reforms are key. When elected officials begin by making it a superseding principle to put reforms in governance first, there is less doubt that they have the interest of building stronger and more responsive systems at heart. The most important reform which is necessary to strengthen local governments and make them competent enough to serve the people more efficiently, has been decentralization. Through devolving power and resources to local governments, decentralization anchors decisions in the needs of citizens. Campaigning for, and engaging in, decentralization reforms by elected officials will enable good governance practices to be embraced and service delivery improved (Dalton, 2013).

The put this in perspective, administrative reforms which cut red tape and enable efficiency are also going to be important. Public servants who adopt e-governance, digital record-keeping, and process automation benefit the ease with which elected officials reform service delivery in terms of better speed & quality. These reforms will eliminate opportunities for corruption, and increase transparency and the availability of efficient public service delivery. For good governance, judicial reforms providing for a robust legal framework and insuring timely justice with human rights protection is a pre-requisite. Officials that support judicial reform- including setting up local courts, adopting alternative dispute resolution methods and defending the judiciary's independence - are good for rule of law outcomes as well.

5.10. CHALLENGES AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Although substantial progress has been made, key challenges still exist in the area of governance and accountability for District Mohmand. Continued challenges including resource constraints, bureaucratic inertia and socio-political complexities need to be addressed with additional nuanced solutions. Governing is met with serious constraints such as scarce financial and human resources. Overcoming this constraints, strategic planning & a scientific management of resources will be required as collaboration with National and international bodies. Such

challenges can be tackled if those in a position of power focus on resource mobilization, capacity building, and sustainable development approaches that have the potential to make scalable changes.

The nature of an inefficient bureaucratic system, which offers resistance to change and is known for not being responsive when it comes to administrative overhauling for efficient governance. Solving this will take leadership, commitment to reform and constant improvement. Political leaders who foster a culture of accountability, innovation and performance can break through bureaucratic inertia to deliver better government. Tribal complexity, militancy, and social inequality are important socio-political factors that affect governance. The driver of addressing such complexities needs to be nuanced and inclusive which brings all citizens along based on understanding the social specificity in District Mohmand. These complexities can be effectively navigated by elected officials who interact with various stakeholders, foster social unity, and extend support towards inclusive development.

5.11 Evaluating Factors Shaping Voting Behavior In District Mohmand

1. Political Polarization in District Mohmand

Political polarization has become a significant feature of Pakistan's political landscape, influencing the voting behavior in various districts, including Mohmand. The division between political ideologies, parties, and personal loyalties creates an environment where voters align themselves strongly with one party, often disregarding other viewpoints. In District Mohmand, political polarization is marked by the rivalry between national political parties like Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), Pakistan People's Party (PPP), and local tribal affiliations. This polarization drives voters to vote not based on policies but on party loyalties, tribal affiliations, or perceptions of the opposing parties. The sharp divide often leads to a voting pattern where compromise or consideration of multiple candidates becomes rare, impacting the overall democratic process.

Political polarization in Mohmand also exacerbates other factors, such as lack of development and tribalism. Voters tend to rely on political rhetoric that fuels polarization, sometimes neglecting more rational considerations like development projects, education, or healthcare. Additionally, the party with a more dominant narrative often overshadows the

opposition, reducing the influence of smaller political entities. The absence of political dialogue across party lines reduces the focus on issue-based politics, ultimately shaping voting behavior through emotional and tribal appeals.

2. Lack of Political Awareness

One of the primary factors influencing voting behavior in District Mohmand is the general lack of political awareness. This is largely due to the district's socio-economic challenges, underdeveloped educational infrastructure, and limited access to political discourse. Many voters in rural areas of Mohmand are unaware of the political processes, the roles of various political offices, or the implications of their vote. This lack of awareness can often lead to misguided voting behavior, where voters make decisions based on superficial information, hearsay, or personal relationships rather than informed political analysis.

The low literacy rate in District Mohmand contributes significantly to this lack of awareness. While urban centers in Pakistan have access to various forms of media—such as television, newspapers, and social media—many voters in Mohmand rely on traditional forms of information sharing, which may not always be accurate. Misinformation and political propaganda can easily manipulate voter perception, leading to choices that are not aligned with the voters' best interests. This lack of awareness can also perpetuate tribalism and family loyalty as more powerful determinants of voting behavior.

3. Less Concentration of Political Parties

The low concentration of political parties in District Mohmand is another key factor that shapes voting behavior. Unlike major urban centers where multiple political parties actively contest elections, rural areas like Mohmand often see fewer candidates and limited presence of national parties. This lack of engagement from mainstream political parties results in a dearth of political competition, where voters are left with minimal choice in candidates. In many cases, the election becomes a contest between local tribal leaders or influential families rather than political parties offering distinct policy agendas.

The absence of political party structures in Mohmand also means that voters have fewer opportunities to interact with politicians and party representatives. Campaigns in such regions are typically sporadic and surface-level, with minimal focus on local issues or long-term policy

solutions. As a result, the lack of political competition discourages voters from participating in elections actively, leading to lower voter turnout and a cycle of disengagement. Without the active presence of diverse political voices, the voters' behavior in Mohmand remains tied to traditional and non-political influences.

4. Influence of Religion-Based Voting

Religion plays a significant role in shaping the voting behavior of voters in District Mohmand. In Pakistan, political parties with religious ideologies, such as Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (JUI) and Jamaat-e-Islami (JI), have historically been able to mobilize voters by framing their political agendas around religious issues. Mohmand, being a conservative district with deep-rooted Islamic traditions, often sees religion-based voting patterns, where candidates with religious credentials or endorsements by religious leaders garner widespread support.

Religion-based voting becomes particularly impactful in areas where voters are less educated or politically aware. Religious leaders and institutions wield significant influence over the local population, often dictating the choices voters make at the ballot box. These leaders can frame political decisions as moral or religious obligations, steering voters away from secular parties or candidates. Religion-based voting also tends to blur the line between political leadership and religious authority, making it harder for voters to evaluate candidates on the basis of political merit or developmental plans.

While the influence of religion is deeply entrenched in Mohmand's voting behavior, it is not always aligned with the district's socio-economic needs. Religion-based parties may not always prioritize development, infrastructure, or healthcare, which are critical issues in a developing district like Mohmand. Nevertheless, the influence of religion remains a major factor shaping voting choices.

5. Influence of Maliks (Tribal Leadership)

The influence of tribal leaders, or Maliks, remains one of the most enduring factors in determining voting behavior in District Mohmand. Mohmand, like many other tribal districts, is organized around a traditional tribal hierarchy where the Malik holds considerable power. These leaders often serve as intermediaries between the government and the local population and have the ability to sway large numbers of voters through their personal and familial networks. As

gatekeepers of tribal authority, Maliks can effectively mobilize votes for the candidates they support, whether those candidates are from mainstream political parties or independent tribal figures.

The influence of Maliks in shaping voting behavior cannot be understated. In the absence of strong political party structures, voters often rely on their Malik's judgment to determine how they should vote. This system perpetuates a form of political patronage, where the elected representative is seen more as a servant of the tribe than as an advocate for broader public policy issues. In exchange for votes, Maliks may negotiate for specific tribal interests or personal gains, further entrenching their role in local politics.

Maliks also act as a barrier to political competition in District Mohmand. Their influence can discourage new political figures from entering the electoral arena, especially those without established tribal connections. As a result, political innovation and progressive political platforms struggle to take root in such regions. Instead, the political process remains deeply embedded in the traditional power dynamics of the tribe.

6. Synthesis of Factors in Shaping Voting Behavior

The combined effect of political polarization, lack of awareness, low concentration of political parties, religion-based voting, and the influence of Maliks creates a complex web of factors shaping the voting behavior in District Mohmand. While these factors may appear distinct, they are often interrelated and reinforce one another. Political polarization, for instance, can exacerbate the lack of awareness, as voters may become more reliant on tribal or religious cues when making political decisions. Similarly, the absence of strong political party competition can lead voters to place greater emphasis on non-political factors like religion and tribal loyalty.

These dynamics have profound implications for the democratic process in District Mohmand. Voters are often left with limited choices, and the factors influencing their voting behavior are not always aligned with the district's socio-economic needs. Developmental issues such as infrastructure, education, and healthcare may take a backseat to tribal and religious allegiances, leading to a political system that is less responsive to the needs of the people.

7. Potential Avenues for Addressing These Issues

To address the factors shaping voting behavior in District Mohmand, several steps can be taken. First, there needs to be a concerted effort to increase political awareness among the population. This can be achieved through education programs, political forums, and media campaigns designed to inform voters about their political choices and the broader implications of their vote.

Second, political parties need to establish a stronger presence in the district. By engaging with voters on a local level and offering tangible policy solutions, political parties can begin to compete with the influence of Maliks and religion-based voting patterns. Encouraging greater political participation and competition will allow for a more dynamic and issue-based political process.

Lastly, efforts must be made to reduce the influence of non-political factors like tribalism and religious authority in shaping voting behavior. While these influences may never be entirely eliminated, steps can be taken to mitigate their impact by promoting a more issue-based political discourse that focuses on the development needs of the district.

The voting behavior in District Mohmand is shaped by a unique blend of political, social, and religious factors. While political polarization, lack of awareness, low concentration of political parties, religion-based voting, and Malik influence each play a role, they are often interconnected, reinforcing traditional power dynamics. To foster a more democratic and issue-based voting process, efforts must be made to address these factors through education, political engagement, and reducing the reliance on non-political influences. Only then can the district's voting behavior evolve towards a system that prioritizes the socio-economic well-being of its people.

To enrich my thesis on "Voting Behavior in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: A Case Study of District Mohmand Provincial Election 2024," I conducted interviews with three key political figures representing different parties in the region: Mehboob Sher from the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), Nisar Mohmand from the Awami National Party (ANP), and Malik Abbas Rehman from the Balochistan Awami Party (BAP). Each interview provided unique insights into their perspectives on voter demographics, party loyalty, and the pressing issues influencing electoral behavior in District Mohmand. Mehboob Sher emphasized the significance of party loyalty and youth engagement, while Nisar Mohmand highlighted the impact of ethnic identity and historical legacies on voting preferences. Meanwhile, Malik Abbas Rehman focused on the need for

inclusivity and voter education as critical components in addressing voter apathy. These diverse viewpoints not only enhance the understanding of the political landscape in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa but also contribute to a comprehensive analysis of voting behavior in the upcoming provincial elections.

INTERVIEW 1:

Introduction and Context Mehbob Sher, a member of the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) from District Mohmand, represents a dynamic voice in the evolving political landscape of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. During our interview, he emphasized the significant role of party loyalty and ideology in shaping voting behavior among his constituents. Sher believes that the PTI's commitment to transparency, good governance, and grassroots mobilization resonates deeply with the aspirations of the local populace.

Party Loyalty and Ideology When discussing the importance of party loyalty, Sher articulated, "In District Mohmand, party loyalty is critical." He elaborated that the PTI has established a robust grassroots presence, particularly in a region where political affiliations are often rooted in long-standing loyalties. The ideology of PTI, which centers around anti-corruption and developmental reforms, has garnered significant support from voters who are eager for change. Sher noted that this loyalty is particularly pronounced among the younger demographic, who are increasingly disillusioned with traditional political parties and seek representatives who can deliver on their promises of progress.

Voter Demographics Sher further highlighted the demographics of his constituency, pointing out that the youth represents a significant voting bloc. "The youth demographic is crucial in our area," he stated. He explained that young voters tend to gravitate towards parties that advocate for modernization and economic opportunities. To engage this demographic effectively, Sher emphasized the importance of targeted campaigns that address their specific concerns and aspirations. He has implemented various initiatives to connect with young voters, including social media campaigns and community events designed to foster dialogue around key issues affecting their lives.

Development and Governance The conversation shifted towards the pressing issues that dominate the minds of voters in District Mohmand. According to Sher, infrastructure development, education, and healthcare are top priorities for the electorate. "Voters want to see tangible

improvements,” he remarked, indicating that the constituents are keenly aware of the development projects initiated by the government. Sher underscored that the PTI’s focus on delivering essential services and infrastructure upgrades is central to its campaign strategy. By showcasing the government’s achievements in these areas, he believes they can strengthen their appeal and ensure voter support in the upcoming elections.

Mehbob Sher’s insights reveal a nuanced understanding of the factors influencing voting behavior in District Mohmand. His emphasis on party loyalty, youth engagement, and the importance of development underscores the complexities of the political landscape in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. As the 2024 provincial elections approach, it is clear that Sher and the PTI are positioning themselves to address the evolving needs and expectations of their constituents.

INTERVIEW 2:

Introduction and Context Nisar Mohmand, a prominent figure from the Awami National Party (ANP) representing District Mohmand, provided an insightful perspective on the interplay between ethnic identity and political behavior in the region. As we delved into the nuances of voting behavior, Mohmand articulated the significance of cultural ties and historical legacies in shaping electoral preferences.

Ethnic Identity and Regional Politics During our conversation, Nisar Mohmand emphasized the critical role that ethnic identity plays in influencing voter preferences. He remarked, “Ethnic identity plays a vital role in shaping political affiliations.” For the ANP, which has historically championed the rights of the Pashtun community, this identity serves as a strong basis for mobilizing support. Mohmand explained that many voters in District Mohmand feel a deep connection to the ANP due to its long-standing advocacy for Pashtun interests. This connection is not merely emotional; it translates into a robust voter base that views the ANP as a custodian of their cultural and political rights.

Political History and Legacy The historical context surrounding the ANP’s political legacy also emerged as a key theme during the interview. Nisar Mohmand noted, “The historical legacy of the ANP in advocating for Pashtun rights has created a loyal voter base.” He elaborated that the party’s enduring commitment to social justice, political representation, and community empowerment resonates with voters who remember the contributions of the ANP over the years.

This historical narrative not only bolsters party loyalty but also shapes the political discourse in the region, as constituents often reflect on past achievements when casting their votes.

Voter Expectations As we explored the expectations voters have of their representatives, Mohmand highlighted the demand for accountability and active engagement. He stated, “Voters expect accountability and representation,” emphasizing that the electorate desires leaders who will address their concerns and involve them in decision-making processes. Mohmand stressed the importance of building trust through community engagement, noting that the ANP has consistently prioritized open dialogue with constituents. By organizing town hall meetings and community forums, the party aims to foster a sense of belonging and empowerment among voters.

Nisar Mohmand’s reflections shed light on the intricate relationship between ethnic identity, political history, and voter expectations in District Mohmand. His insights underscore the ANP’s strategic focus on cultural ties and historical legacies as vital components of its electoral strategy. As the provincial elections draw near, it is evident that Mohmand and the ANP are committed to reinforcing their connection with the electorate through transparency, engagement, and a deep respect for cultural identity.

INTERVIEW 3:

Introduction and Context Malik Abbas Rehman, representing the Balochistan Awami Party (BAP) from District Mohmand, offered a fresh perspective on the evolving political dynamics in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. His insights centered on the party’s commitment to inclusivity and regional development, positioning the BAP as a transformative force in the electoral landscape.

New Political Dynamics When asked about how the BAP differentiates itself from other parties, Rehman stated, “BAP stands for inclusivity and regional development.” He articulated that the party’s focus on fostering cooperation between Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan is a unique selling point. By promoting collaborative policies that benefit both regions, the BAP aims to transcend traditional political divides and address shared challenges. This approach, he argued, resonates with voters who are seeking representatives that prioritize unity and collective progress.

Voter Awareness and Education As the discussion progressed, Rehman shared his thoughts on the level of political awareness among voters in District Mohmand. “There is a

growing awareness among voters,” he observed, yet he acknowledged that educational initiatives are still needed to empower constituents fully. Rehman highlighted the BAP’s commitment to conducting workshops and outreach programs aimed at informing voters about their rights and the electoral process. By facilitating discussions on important political issues, the party seeks to foster a more informed electorate capable of making educated decisions at the polls.

Challenges in Voting Behavior Rehmann also candidly addressed the challenges faced by the BAP in mobilizing voters during elections. He noted, “One major challenge is apathy due to disillusionment with previous governments.” This sentiment of disillusionment, he explained, stems from a lack of confidence in the political establishment, which has led to voter apathy in some segments of the population. To combat this, Rehman emphasized the importance of inspiring hope among constituents and demonstrating that change is attainable through the BAP’s policies. He expressed optimism that by showcasing tangible results and a clear vision for the future, the party could rekindle enthusiasm among disenchanted voters.

Makik Abbas Rehman insights illuminate the BAP’s strategic positioning within the electoral landscape of District Mohmand. His focus on inclusivity, voter education, and the need to address voter apathy reflects the party’s commitment to building a strong connection with the electorate. As the 2024 provincial elections approach, it is clear that Rehman and the BAP are determined to carve a niche for themselves by advocating for collaboration, empowerment, and progressive governance.

5.12 Thematic Analysis and Implications

The interviews with Mehbob Sher, Nisar Mohmand, and Malik Abbas Rehman reveal critical themes that inform voting behavior in District Mohmand. One prominent theme is **party loyalty**, which varies across different political affiliations. While Sher emphasizes the ideological alignment of PTI with the aspirations of the youth, Mohmand underscores the historical ties of the ANP to the Pashtun identity. Rehman, on the other hand, positions the BAP as a new player focused on regional cooperation, appealing to a broader electorate.

Voter demographics also play a crucial role in shaping electoral outcomes. The insights shared by these leaders highlight the significance of engaging young voters and addressing their concerns. Sher’s focus on youth engagement through social media and community initiatives

reflects a growing recognition of the need to connect with this vital demographic. Similarly, Rehman's emphasis on voter education signifies a proactive approach to empowering constituents to make informed choices.

Moreover, the **development issues** raised by all three politicians indicate a shared understanding of the electorate's priorities. Whether it is infrastructure, education, or healthcare, the candidates recognize that tangible improvements in these areas are essential for garnering voter support. This acknowledgment of local issues serves as a foundation for their campaign strategies.

Finally, the challenges surrounding **voter apathy** highlight a pressing concern within the political landscape. Rehman's candid remarks about disillusionment with previous governments reveal a critical obstacle that all candidates must navigate. By addressing these challenges head-on and fostering a sense of hope and agency among voters, political leaders in District Mohmand can work towards revitalizing the democratic process.

CHAPTER-6

6.1 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This Thesis provides a broad conclusion and suggestions from the perspectives of voting behavior in District Mohmand for the provincial elections 2024. The research strives to distill the core insights from the study, their implications for stakeholders, and actionable recommendations that could help better governance, make electoral processes an efficient mechanism to correct pathways taken so far, and resolve local problems.

The voting behavior report from District Mohmand has also provided a few key findings regarding the electoral trends in that region. The transformation from the FATA system to the merger/provincial shift of District Mohmand has a major bearing on the political landscape. The regional approach to elections and governance, however seemingly populist or skewed toward more heterodox methodologies like tribal voting also owes itself in large part to historical factors such as the Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR), and limited political representation for Tribal areas. Among these, voter demographics like age, gender, and class/ education play a vital role in terms of how people vote. While voter turnout among younger and more educated voters is particularly high, they engage with democracy differently than older generations. Voter choices are also largely determined by economic factors, such as prospects for employment and development activities. Voting behavior is influenced by the way elected officials and political parties deliver development projects, and public services, as well as maintaining law and order. Presumably what wins votes is good governance, a demonstrated ability to solve constituency-specific issues of local interest, and present tangible gains in the form of spendable money or improvements.

The role of law and order, governance; and reinforcement (response) to errant actions that have a mobile impact on voter behavior. Security-the extension of Pakistani laws to the region and establishment of formal law enforcement structures have increased security. But that requires ongoing efforts to overcome governance challenges and the provision of transparency, and accountability. Social services such as healthcare and education along with the quality of these social services are one way; this is to describe how they consistently affect voter behavior. The redesign and efficient delivery of social welfare programs, as well as or better public services in

general can help to create a more favorable image among voters so it becomes the stuff that reelections are made on. District Mohmand Voters Do Consider And Lay More Emphasis On Earlier Performances Of Contesting Teams & Political Personalities. Economic developments, infrastructural changes social services improvements are in fact voted for by millions and failures just as much on Election Day.

The results in District Mohmand in 2024 published by the research provide valuable insights into aspects of voting behavior. The merger of FATA into Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has also changed the political and administrative scenario of tribal belt changing how voters participate in electoral process.

Analysis it reflects the reality that voters are holding elected officials and political parties accountable for measurable results. Voter support will mainly be determined by good governance, security and availability of social services. The stories catalogue the motivation for selling because of Portugal popularity last year and BMW's new Iran arms in to lose face, focusing on past performance - which signals outlying voters expect issues effectively always based more up help national appeal wisely to gain taxpayer votes locally. Transparency, accountability and effective service delivery remain challenges despite progress in law-and-order issues as well as governance. Efforts to keep security, infrastructure, healthcare and educational services provide the kind of electoral environment that makes life stable for an up-and-coming democracy.

6.2 Recommendations

The following are the recommendations made which will improve governance, public service delivery and democratic participation in District Mohmand on the basis of study results. Government must implement reforms to simplify administrative processes, slash red tape and improve service delivery. Capacity building programs for government officials (Welfare of global platform and governance) Design the appropriate methods for regular audit, performance assessment and transparency of government operations. Leverage technology: Provide tools for open communication and knowledge sharing Establishing the level of community control in governance; stimulating processes of public consultations, participatory budget and local decision-making arenas To bolster local government bodies and build their capacity to meet the most critical needs of communities.

Invest further in law enforcement infrastructure, with new police stations and modern equipment and training. Improve community policing to foster trust among law enforcement and the general public. Undertake holistic counter-terrorism policies including intel-based operations, community mobilization, and radicalization programs. Work with local, National, and international partners to effectively target security threats. Support customary and/or formal systems of conflict resolution to mitigate local disputes and foster social cohesion. Support local leaders and community representatives in peace building efforts

Fund building and refurbishing healthcare infrastructure including hospitals/clinics. Improve the training and retention of health workers, and guarantee the availability of necessary medical supplies & equipment. Invest more money in the physical structures of education for building schools, and providing educational resources. Support teacher training programs with scholarships and financial aid for students. Strengthen social welfare initiatives to provide vulnerable populations with financial assistance, housing support, and food security. Strengthen the targeting and coverage of social welfare programs.

Forge strategies in the areas of entrepreneurship, job creation, and economic development including investments that will grow local industries. These projects will enhance infrastructure further to ease connectivity and different economic activities. Introduce vocational training programs to prepare people for exiting into the works in different types. Work with employers and educational institutions to link training programs to labor market demand. Such schemes include those to support agricultural development and access by farmers to modern farming techniques, resources, and technology; encourage carbon-neutral agriculture, and ensure food security.

Back political parties in the creation of representative candidate selection processes. Encourage gender equality and representation of minority group members in the political process. Develop civic education programs to educate the public about democracy, voting rights, and duties; promote participation in elections and politics. Design targeted projects to strengthen the political participation of women and youth provide A Loop for these communities of training, support, and opportunities to engage them in different processes as well as leadership positions.

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