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An Analysis of ANP's Electoral Performance in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (A Case Study of 2013 General Election)

Mr. Sana Ullah

Demonstrator, Department of Political Science, Abdul Wali Khan University Mardan. sana-ullah@awkum.edu.pk

Dr. Ijaz Khalid

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Abdul Wali Khan University Mardan. ijazkhalid@awkum.edu.pk

Dr. Bashir Ahmad

Assistant Professor of History, Minhaj University Lahore, Pakistan. Email: DOCTORBASHIRAHMAD@gmail.com

Abstract

Democracy, Parliamentarianism and working federalism can flourish only if there is a functional political party with efficient leadership. Solidarity of the federation and autonomous status of its units are dependent variables while political party and its leadership are independent variables of the whole politico-electoral system of the state. However Success or failure of political parties depend upon the political consciousness of general masses and the process of electoral politics subject to fair, free and transparent elections. Election is a scale which judges sentiments of masses towards any specified party, its leadership, ideology and electoral manifesto. An objection over the political parties is that they do not represent the general masses but social and economic classes in society as very few percent of voters belong to any national or regional party and those who are the members usually come in (middle or upper-middle income brackets) who are comparatively educated and have the view that they have at stake in the political process. Thus the electoral study of any party not only gages the sentiments of masses at any given point of time rather it also reflects the strength and weaknesses of the party and its causes as well. This paper is focusing on the election results of 2013 in KP with special reference to Awami National party (ANP) with the question that why ANP as a regional party, after the elections of 2013 didn't get the required results even after the achievements sought after 2008 election in the shape of 18th amendment and socio-economic developments ensured during ANP rule in KP. A comparative analysis has been made to identify all those factors and determinants due to which ANP faced failure in not only national but in provincial elections as well.

Keywords: Political Dynamics, 2013 General Election, ANP performance, Voting Determinants, Clientilism and Electoral Politics

Introduction

Political parties, public opinion, referendum, voting and elections are the political dynamics constituting an important sub-part of the discipline of Political Science. All these dynamics can be studied under the theories of Psephology- a term derived from the Greek word Psephos, which means pebble. The Athens used pebble as a vote in electing monarch or others (McCallum, (1954)) . Liberal democracy believes at the election of public officials as it provides a method of changing the rulers without any bloodshed or revolution and that's why elections are the bases of democratic legitimacy. Election is defined as, "formal expression of preferences by the governed, which are then aggregated and transformed into a collective decision about who will govern- who should stay in office, who should be thrown out, who should replace those who have been thrown out (IFES, 2011)." Election is the key tool which makes and encourages the policy makers to give special attention to citizens' choices (Powell, 2000). But if an elected continuously ignored the wills and choices of the most citizens on vital issues so will likely to provoke mass demonstration and rejection of the elected in next election, means election is the interpreter of voter reaction as they have to response to the public in future election.

The pillars upon which various institutions can be built no matter in a fragile form or in established form but one of among these pillars is the occurrence of regular elections in which the people of a state through peaceful and visible means elect their leaders though it is a costly affair (Anglin, 1998). The health of a good democracy depends upon the potentially well aware and active citizens of a state. Demands of the masses must be responded in a positive manner by the public officials after the elections. It has been analyzed that elections in Pakistan and specifically in KP is for to hold election so that the ruling class keeps its privileged position and if not so will produce hurdles or not to hold electoral position at any cost. Lemarch and Legg, Graham and Wantchekon have described voting behavior in terms of client-patron relationship (Legg, "Political Clientelism and Development: A Preliminary Analysis," Comparative Politics,, 1972) (Roniger L. , 2004) (Wantchekon L. , 2003). While Dahl, Wolfinger, Harmel and Robertson have described polling behavior in terms of customs (Miller, 1971) (Gabriel, 1972) (Cott, " Institutional Change and Ethnic Parties in South America," , 2003) .This paper would not only help in comprehending the theories of electoral politics but also the application of these theories while describing the electoral politics of ANP. Elections in KP and the voting behavior of KP's people remained ever changed, means that in KP Clientelism plays a greater role in electing a candidate as compared to party identification and ethnic voting in this region. Elections act as a connection concerning political elected and the electors, in the middle of state and the social order, between individuals and state (Palmer, 1975).

Election of 2013 and its prospects were conditioned by four main factors. First, in accordance to the checkered political history of Pakistan, lingering fear of military intervention existed. The potential threat of military intervention is relevant in the context of fear and uncertainty for the elections. According to Shafqat, the armed forces have “a monopoly over tactical policy matters and decision making institutes in a state. It can influence and direct a conduct of political leaders and interest groups in a preferred track (Shafqat, 1997) .” Second the most terrible perception of escalated war on terror threatened the electoral campaign and election process. The threat had an uneven impact on voter turnout nationally. Third the challenge presented by PTI in the shape of ‘Youth Voters’- their inspirations and active participation may break the status quo of the established parties [PPP, PML(N)] and ANP on regional basis. Lastly the ECP by empowering it post 18th amendment with increased capabilities to play its role in democratic shift.

In an answer to the question asked by the interviewer that voting behavior in KP remained ever-change but not in 2013 and 2018. Why? A journalist smiled while replying and stated that certainly it’s true that voting behavior is ever-changing in KP but remained static in 2013 and 2018 elections because of PTI’s induction against two rival political parties and the spirit of youth for Imran Khan especially and expectations of general public from PTI regarding ‘Naya Pakistan’ and the slogan of ‘change’ made PTI successful consecutively two times.

ANP’s Electoral Manifesto 2013

Party’s program is grasped as a prime manuscript through which political parties illustrate themselves and differ it to other parties in a political system (Smith, 2000) . In Pakistani socio-political situation, party’s strategy does not perform imperative role in voting operation like established states of the globe. This was also advocated that other influences e.g. reputation of a candidate and the party in an electorate will be more vital than party declarations (Froman, 1966). In general elections 2013, manifesto did not play a chief role rather people deliberated guidelines and political posture of parties as their manifestoes. Moreover, mass media had also reduced the prominence of party’s manifesto. So in future elections, it will neither be eminent among public nor amongst contenders and parties (M. K. Jennings) . In general elections key role is of top management. If an elected is 50 percent chosen for his personality, then 50-60 percent of ballots would be polled because of party’s leadership. Headship is very essential as an electoral runner cannot contact each voter in constituency. Party leaders must trace the electorate through media and put forward party’s note on a huge scales in such a way that every candidate can be profited throughout campaign (Englewood Cliffs) . ANP party manifesto strongly condemned terrorism and violence in the state and the writ of the state to be established in FATA and PATA, purging terror networks from these areas and integrating them into the mainstream.

The ANP was the only party which deliberated on standard policy for reparation payments for victims of sectarian violence, terrorism and extremism. It also mentioned modernizing and reforming existing security policies. In terms of commitment to democracy, the manifesto mentioned working towards the strengthening of the democratic process. It also discussed holding local government elections as a “high priority” and implementation of the 18th amendment. The ANP manifesto was perhaps the most decisive on the issue of minority rights and violence against them. It was the only party that categorically discussed reviewing and removing “all discriminations against religious minorities in the constitution and the law” and ensuring “affirmative action to integrate religious minorities as equal citizens”. The manifesto specifically referred to the 1973 constitution and pledged to continue “efforts to repeal amendments concerning minorities to a secondary status”. The manifesto also discussed prohibiting incitement to violence against citizens of other ethnicity, faith and religions (ANP Website, 2014).

Factors Determining Electoral Performance of ANP in KP

Voting Behavior and ANP Vote Bank in 2013 Election

Fair, free, genuine and periodical elections are the most visible form of political participation for both political parties and people. These are the reflections of will of the people and government and authority for the political parties in a democratic system of a state. Almost all political parties choose influential candidates among the electorate and these influential candidates use their political parties to get victory with in their constituencies for the accomplishment of their interests. Factors which determine voting behavior in electoral politics are the local, provincial and national affairs to which the political parties give importance, socio-economic conditions of the society and related issues, religion, family influence and the most important people’s conscious feeling regarding contesting candidates in various constituencies. Despite of political achievements after 2008 in the shape of 18th amendments, ANP faced failure in 2013 election. Why? Answering the question, ANP’s leader argued that it is a general perception regarding *Pakhtun*’s electorate that they have a changing voting behavior in every general election and it has become true in 2013 election as each time every party has been given a chance but not for the next time. It means that *Pakhtun* nation is unpredictable. The process of voting gives the individual a solid opportunity to respond to the stimulus in electing or rejecting the candidate and thus the voting process provides a helpful method to illuminate political behavior. Depending upon the satisfaction of an individual needs, a relationship is established between the person and the party, the outcome of which is later on shown by the election results.

Revisionists are of the view, that citizen’s partisanship is not psychological but political and is the reflection of individual’s judgment about party’s performance. The theory of voting behavior as described by Downs is based on cost

and benefit of voting behavior in which the voter presupposes the maximization of the gains on preferring one party or its candidate upon the other. As it is known that a good democratic system derives out of popular vote so voting behavior is imperative to understand people's will. Making, unmaking and remaking of voting behavior in Pakistan by the political parties is of two levels. First is, socio-cultural setting of the society affecting the behavior of the voter is religious conviction, communal assemblage (class, status and ethnicity), feudal structure, seat adjustment, power and ability, another level affecting voting in electoral process is rumors, deception, conspiracy theories and hyper giving statements of opponent candidates of respective parties alter the behavior of the common man as well. In the result of this, polling vote to an appropriate candidate becomes difficult for the common voter (Mughees, 2007).

A survey was conducted by "The Explorer" taking 600 respondents of different sex (383 males and 217 females) and age (young, aged and old) inquiring criteria for election and the conditions set for responding of people in terms of casting votes to different parties. The result of the survey revealed that participation in electoral process is useless if free will of the voter is not taken into account or valued rather in a traditional society like Pakistan external factors like (head of the family belongs to a religious family, feudal lord, economic affiliations or possessing ethno-national feelings) and so on contribute a lot in shaping voting behavior (Wheeler, 2013)

Issue Voting in 2013 Election and ANP Performance

A research based interview conducted before the election of 2013 with special reference to voting behavior in KP in which a question was asked from various respondents, "To which scope will you vote on the base of guaranteeing solution to national problems like increase in price, violence, load shedding, in the 2013 elections?" The result of the question when analyzed revealed that common people instead of any party identification, focused on voting on the basis of assuring solution to national problems which are facing to a common man. So in terms of urban-rural preferences 85.6% and 76.8% respectively favored voting in terms of issue voting and its solution. In terms of gender, 80.5% and 79.5% (male and female) respectively favored polling votes in 2013 election on the basis of probing out national issues. Similarly, the professionals, businessmen and shopkeepers (87.7%) strongly supported the idea of issue voting to national elections 2013. Same was case with low income and literate people ranging from (80-85%) took interests in solution to national issues. This means that general masses are not concerned with the party or specific ethnic group but to the problems. If these problems are overcome by any independent candidate even so the electorate will vote him in favor of any national or local level party (Stephenson, 2010).

In this survey the issue voting was highlighted with special reference to *Pakhtuns*. A question that was asked 'is it the nationwide concerns or non-enactment of

Sharia or absence of safety of *Pakhtuns*' rights or clientelism or provincial autonomy deliberated to be utmost central issue by *Pakhtuns*? Responses collected were as such. Among the urban-rural category (58 and 55%) respectively favored issues like price hiking, terrorism, load shedding in KP specifically need to be resolved first as these problems have made the people psychologically ill. In terms of age, people who have attained the age of 18-40 (57.0%) favored solutions to core problems similarly among the professionals whether government or non-government, businessmen etc who were 61% of all favored remedy to issues cited above on priority basis. Similarly, low income group and literate community (60.3% and 55.0%) respectively had the same considerations

Clientelism in Electoral Politics and ANP's Position

Another theory that is already discussed in chapter 1st, the theory of Clientelism that occupies an important position in electoral politics of the most of the developing states here the society is highly agrarian, feudal and traditional where clients believe in social norms and values to be observed (Legg, "Political Clientelism and Development: A Preliminary Analysis," Jan. 1872). In such a social set up patron-client relationship develops between the politician and voters. This relation is socio cum economic primarily and political latterly. This is give and take relation. The candidate participates in public gatherings of sorrows and joys to win the support of public (clients) and may be re-elected while the voters expect services and material goods from their representatives (Wilder A. R., *The Pakistani Voter: Electoral Politics and Voting Behaviour in the Punjab*, 1999). So here no any special attention is given to a party or its ideology rather support of the goods and services by the candidate (patron). In Pakistan, Clientelism is a significant determinant in voting behavior not only in Punjab but in KP as well and is applicable to (73.01%) in electoral politics of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. This is the average percentage which has been calculated by taking the average percentage of the percentages of all those questions which have been asked from the respondents in determining the application of the theory of Clientelism.

In order to find out the general view of masses a question was asked by the researcher that to what extent you would like to vote by the assurance of employment in 2013 election as the employment is one of the important indicator of Clientelism. After analysis of the question, the rural population (60.40) decided to vote in favor of job provisions indicating the level of poverty and joblessness. Similarly, with regard to age (18-40) years of age (53.8%) favored that vote will be given on the basis of employment. Low income group (58.85) showed the same perception. Another question which was related to patron-client relationship was that to what extent voters like to visit their candidates for problems solution. The data collected was that (23.6%) in rural areas wished to visit representatives, mean that patronage politics is observed more in rural areas as compare to urban. Similarly, male voters (26.9%) and voters having age of more than 40 years (16.2%) do visit to their MPAs or MNAs for their respective problems.

The common man faces many problems in his daily life, for the solution of which the voter frequently visits to patron's *hujra*¹. Now for how much they are satisfied with their patron response in solution to problems, a question was asked by the researcher that how far their expectations are being fulfilled by these public representatives? The analysis of the questions is that both urban and rural asserted that public representatives do not solve their problems. Same is the case with professionals (61.6%), old age people (57.0%) and low income persons (62.2%) were strongly disappointed from patron's behavior. In KP in almost all elections the common voters were determined to follow clientelistic theory while making electoral choices (Lemarchand, 1972).

Ethnic voting in 2013 Provincial Election and ANP's Vote Bank

Like other important factors, ethnicity also is a vital factor in balloting readings. Indigenous differences lead to development of sub-national political parties. Greater the number of ethnic groups, greater will be the number of ethnic political parties (Cott, From Movements to Parties in Latin America, 2005). These parties keeping in view the demands of electorate, launch various programs to gain more and more electoral support (Cott, "Institutional Change and Ethnic Parties in South America," 2003). Like other multilingual states (UK, Canada, Sri Lanka, India), ethnic parties do exist in Pakistan and in KP but their scope in electoral politics is not that much strong as other determinants (Chandra, Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India, 2004). It must be kept in mind that electoral majority of ANP in the election of 2008 was not due to ethnic polarization of *Pakhtun* community rather the victory in provincial elections and making government in KP was due to determinant of issue voting (Rights of Pakhtuns) who were badly ruined in the name of terrorism in this region since nine/eleven 2001. Pakhtun ethnic voting is important but up to some level (52.2%) in electoral study of KP (Voter, 2019).

A question whether you would like to vote on the basis of protection of rights of *Pakhtuns* in the region in the coming election of 2013, the result of which accumulated was that majority of urban (63.4%) and rural (46.4%) community discarded this perception. Similarly, old age (58.3%) people also strongly rejected this idea. Professionals, businessmen and shopkeepers (71.2%) vehemently opposed ethnic politics in KP. A question whether the change in the name of the province has changed the socio-economic fate of the region, the analysis of the question was the response in 'NO'. Respondents were of the view that no any change or development been made with the change in name of the province. Common man needs improved social infra-structure and better standard of life. The people also denied the fact that *Pakhtun* ethnic parties have defended the rights of *Pakhtuns*. Not only this but these parties have also failed in eradicating national issues for the betterment of this region and people. and that is

¹ Hujra: A place for public gathering usually used in villages for events of joys and sorrows and resolving local issues.

why ANP, illustrated itself from others and occupied a political trump card on the root of distinct culture but if results and votes turnout is studied in different elections, it seems that ANP due to its ideology (ethnic politics) not only lose the votes in rest of areas of Pakistan but in its own area of influence (KP) as well.

Pakistan National Assembly – 2013 General Election Results

Party	Punjab	Sindh	KP	Balochistan	FATA	Islamabad	Total	Non-Muslims	Reserved seats for Women	Total Party Seats
ANP	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1

The above table shows that ANP irrespective of the results of 2008 national assembly elections, in 2013, the party secured only one seat throughout all provinces which was a discouraging result attempted by ANP as the party had politico-electoral achievements in past elections 2008.

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Assembly Election Result 2013

Party	General	Reserved Women	Seats for Reserved for non-Muslims	Total Party Seats
ANP	3	1	0	4

As compared to national assembly elections 2013, ANP won three general seats of provincial assembly in KP, however the party position still in provincial election 2013 with comparison to 2008 results were not satisfactory and got very less number of seats. This strength decreased from 43 (33general, 9 women and 1 minority) to 4 (3general and 1 woman).

Finally, PTI made a coalition government in KP after winning 2013 election in province. Pervaiz Khattak, was elected Chief Minister of the province. ANP along with others made effective opposition. The opposition was led by PML-N's Sardar Mehtab Ahmed Khan inside assembly of KP. However, the vote bank of ANP in 2013 election as compared to 2008 has also been increased like all other political parties due to increase in number of registered votes according to census conducted by the government before 2013 election. However, the votes secured by the PML(N), PPP and PTI in respective national assembly constituencies were comparatively more than ANP and so ANP could represent itself with a single seat in national parliament.

The fact-finding report against ANP emphasized that among other reasons one of the causes of party's failure in 2013 election is fixed the party for reorganizing its internal structure from top to very bottom level. Asfandiyar Wali Khan while acknowledging defeat due to deep rooted internal weaknesses said, *"The party will be re-organized after performing poorly in general elections"* (Khan A. W., 2013). He further added, *"There is a weakness of policy, weakness of governance and weakness of organization within the ANP"* (Khan A. W., 2013).

ANP's president opined that the report also found a lack of transparency in ANP's recruitment process. Similarly, the fact-finding report showed that 80% districts of KP blame the provincial leadership of ANP for poor performance in general elections 2013.

Conclusion

Studying elections in Pakistan, one may not be sure that a winning party in one election maybe the winner in the next election as well. This change in voting behavior in Pakistan and in KP specifically, is very true due to certain important factors one is that number of independent candidates are increasing election by election who seek votes on basis of his or her personal identification within that constituency. Second important factor is electoral alliance which parties make and seat adjustments are made where a party feels that winning the constituency of a specific area is difficult. The voters in KP will prefer the candidate who will act upon the citizen choices otherwise change in behavior is certain in next election. This behavior has been proved time and again in the past. Organizational and policy making changes are required by ANP in order to keep the party active in provincial electoral politics.

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