

Clientelism as a Voting Determinant in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: A Case Study of 2002 General Elections

Fakhr-ul-Islam * & *Farmanullah* **

Abstract

This research paper tests one of the most important theories of voting behaviour such as 'clientelism' in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa with reference to 2002 general elections. The study argues that the theory of clientelism was applicable to great extent in the electoral politics of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 2002. A sample of 800 respondents was selected through multistage random and systematic sampling from the voters list in NA-2 Peshawar. The quantitative data reveals that more than fifty per cent respondents (84.13%) supported the view that their electoral preference was based on clientelism in the election of 2002. The chi-square value provides a significant p-value which shows that there is close association between clientelism and the variables including urban/rural divisions, gender, age, profession, monthly income and literacy.

Introduction

The word clientelism¹ is used in Anthropology,² Sociology³ and Political Science.⁴ In the Political Science, it is described as the most important

* Dr Fakhr-ul-Islam, Director, Pakistan Study Centre, University of Peshawar.

** Mr. Farmanullah, Instructor of Pakistan Studies, Government College of Management Sciences Jallozai, Nowshera.

¹ The term clientelism has been derived from a Latin word 'cluere', which means 'to hear or to obey'. In ancient Roman a client was a person on behalf of whom a lawyer spoke in a trial. Even today such connotation of the word is applicable in courts. See Jean L. Mc Kechnie, *Webster's New Universal Unabridged Dictionary* 2nd Edition (USA: Simon & Schuster, 1972), pp.338-39

² M. Kenny, 'The Patron-Client Relationship in Interviewing: An Anthropological View', *The Oral History Review*, 15:1 (1987), pp.71-9.

³ R. Lemarchand & K. Legg, 'Political Clientelism and Development: A Preliminary Analysis', *Comparative Politics*, 4:2 (1972), pp.149-78.

⁴ L. Roniger, 'Political Clientelism, Democracy, and Market Economy', *Comparative Politics*, 36:4 (2004), pp.353-75.

determinant of voting behavior.⁵ According to Rene Lemarchand and Keith Legg, 'Clientelism refers to a personalized and reciprocal relationship between an inferior and a superior, commanding unequal resources'.⁶ According to Richard Graham historian, 'Clientelism is an action-set built upon the principle of 'take there, give here,' enabling clients and patrons to benefit from mutual support as they play parallel to each other at different levels of political, social, and administrative articulation'.⁷ According to Leonard Wantchekon, 'Clientelism is defined as transactions between politicians and citizens whereby material favours are offered in return for political support at the polls'.⁸

The definition of clientelism, in the above light can be that 'It is a dyadic exchange of benefits between a person with high social or economic or political status (patron) who uses his own resources and influence to give benefits or protection to a person of lower status (client), who in return remains loyal, serves and supports the patron'.

Clientelism is mostly applicable in less developed countries of Southeast Asia, Southern Europe, Latin American and Africa. In Asia clientelism is applicable in Philippines,⁹ Thailand,¹⁰ Indonesia,

⁵ A.J. Evans, *Voters & Voting: An Introduction* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2004); C.D. Anderson & L.B. Stephenson, *Voting Behaviour in Canada* (Canada: UBC Press, 2010); K. Chandra, *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India* (UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004); N.D. Palmer, *Elections and Political Development: The South Asian Experience* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1975); S.N. Eisenstadt & L. Roniger, *Patrons, Clients and Friends: Interpersonal Relations and the Structure of Trust in Society* (UK: Cambridge University Press, 1984); H. Elcock, *Political Behaviour* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1976); J. Kawata (ed.), *Comparing Political Corruption and Clientelism* (USA: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2006); J.D. Martz, *The Politics of Clientelism: Democracy and the State in Colombia* (USA: Transaction Publishers, 1997); S. Piattoni, *Clientelism, Interests, and Democratic Representation: The European Experience in Historical and Comparative Perspective* (UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001); L. Roniger & A. Gunes-Ayata (eds.), *Democracy, Clientelism, and Civil Society* (USA: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994).

⁶ R. Lemarchand & K. Legg, *op.cit.*

⁷ L. Roniger, *op.cit.*

⁸ L. Wantchekon, 'Clientelism and Voting Behaviour: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Benin', *World Politics*, 55:3 (2003), pp.399-422.

⁹ C.D. Neher, 'Political Clientelism and Instability in the Philippines', *Asian Affairs*, 12:3 (1985), pp.1-23.

¹⁰ K. Kaewthep, Power and Politics in Thailand by Kevin Hewison, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 23:2 (1992), pp.487-89.

Malaysia¹¹ and Burma. In these countries the social set up is agrarian and clientelism exists in the form of feudal-peasant relationship.¹² In Southern Europe clientelism is traditional and feudal. The patron-client ties are found between landowners and landless people in the society. It includes southern and central Italy, western Sicily, Spain and Greece.¹³

In Latin America the case of Columbia, Mexico and Brazil is described for clientelism. Frank Safford posits that party based clientelistic relationship exist in Columbia which is applicable both at national and local levels.¹⁴ Jon Shefner and Hilgers demonstrate that patron-client relations also exist in Mexico. However, emergence of community organizations at local level has threatened the existence of clientelism in Mexico.¹⁵ In Brazil traditional elite has dominated the political scene where the exchange of material goods and services take place between these elites and the voters. It is generally believed that clientelism is an instrument of controlling masses by the elite.¹⁶ However, Robert Gay demonstrates that clientelism is playing a positive role in stabilizing democratic process in Brazil.¹⁷

In Africa the case of Senegal and Benin is applied for clientelism. The patron-client politics has also dominated the political scene in Senegal since its independence. There inegalitarian social set up and the elite class provide patronage to the dependent class.¹⁸ Leonard

¹¹ J.V. Jesudason, 'The Developmental Clientelist State: The Malaysian Case', *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations*, 23:½ (1997), pp.147-73.

¹² J.C. Scott, 'Patron-Client Politics and Political Change in Southeast Asia', *The American Political Science Review*, 66:1 (1972), pp.91-113.

¹³ S.N. Eisenstadt & L. Roniger, *op.cit.*

¹⁴ F. Safford, 'Review of the Politics of Clientelism: Democracy and the State in Colombia by John D. Martz', *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 78:2 (1998), pp.358-60; S.W. Schmidt, 'Bureaucrats as Modernizing Brokers? Clientelism in Colombia', *Comparative Politics*, 6:3 (1974), pp.425-50.

¹⁵ T. Hilgers, 'Causes and Consequences of Political Clientelism: Mexico's PRD in Comparative Perspective', *Latin American Politics and Society*, 50:4 (2008), pp.123-53.

¹⁶ A. Ansell & K. Mitchell, 'Models of Clientelism and Policy Change: The Case of Conditional Cash Transfer Programmes in Mexico and Brazil', *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 30:3 (2011), pp.298-312.

¹⁷ R. Gay, 'Rethinking, Clientelism: Demands, Discourses and Practices in Contemporary Brazil', *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, 65 (1998), pp.7-24.

¹⁸ S. Gellar, 'Brokering Democracy in Africa: The Rise of Clientelist Democracy in Senegal by Linda J. Beck', *African Studies Review*, 52:1 (2009), pp.180-81.

Wantchekon conducted an empirical study on 2001 presidential elections in Benin. This study concludes the existence of clientelism in the form of local development, giving government jobs, establishing educational institutions and health centres and providing financial support to the local poor class including fishermen and cotton producers.¹⁹

In Pakistan the voting behaviour has been mainly covered by Wilder and Waseem's studies. Wilder explains the electoral history of Pakistan as well as the determinants of voting behaviour in Punjab in the 1993 elections. He rejects the social determinants of voting behaviour including feudalism and family links based on tribe, group or clan. He favours the political determinants of voting behaviour including client-patron relationship in rural areas and party affiliation in urban areas.²⁰ Waseem studies the electoral politics in Pakistan by applying the Columbian, Michigan and Downsian approaches.²¹ The Columbian approach argues that social context affect the partisanship of the voters. The social context refers to race, ethnicity, religion, sect, urban-rural divide, gender etc. These are called as the short term forces of voting behaviour. The Michigan approach corresponds to organisational model of the political parties. It argues that political parties should have the potential to mobilize the masses and maintain their support. Downsian theory assumes the cost and benefit relationship involved in the act of voting. It carefully analyses the cost involve in electing a party or candidate and then compare it with the benefits. Both the voter and the party or candidate seek maximum benefits with minimum cost. It is also called rational theory of voting. Waseem argues that all these theories are applicable in the electoral politics of Pakistan.²²

With reference to the electoral politics in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Imdad Ali Khan supports the theory of clientelism. He argues that the voters vote to those candidates who solve their personal and local problems. He discards the theory of issue voting at the macro level in case of rural Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. He maintains that the voter did not raise the national or provincial issues, but strived for their personal and

¹⁹ L. Wantchekon, *op.cit.*

²⁰ A.R. Wilder, *The Pakistani Voter: Electoral Politics and Voting Behaviour in the Punjab* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999).

²¹ M. Waseem, *Democratization in Pakistan: A Study of the 2002 Elections* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2006).

²² M. Waseem, *The 1993 Elections in Pakistan* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1994).

local issues as their electoral demands.²³ Similarly, Ahmad in his Ph.D. dissertation tends to explore the voting behaviour in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa from 1988 to 1999. This period covers the four national and provincial elections i.e. 1988, 1990, 1993 and 1999. It has challenged the perception that voting behaviour is entirely determined by the social determinants. The writer argues that the political determinants are there in the urban areas while the patron-client pattern exists in the rural areas. In his theoretical framework, he mentions various theories including party identification, clientelism, and rational choice theory.²⁴

Regarding the application of the theory of clientelism this paper argues that this theory is applicable to a great extent in the electoral politics of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The provision of employment and developmental aspects of clientelism have been vehemently supported in all these elections. The empirical data support the argument that clientelism is applicable to a great extent in the electoral politics of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Hypothesis

Clientelism constitutes a primary determinant of voting behaviour in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Research Questions:

- 1) What is the conceptual understanding of the theory of clientelism?
- 2) How far clientelism matter in determining voting behaviour in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa?

Methodology

This is an empirical and applied nature of research based on quantitative and analytical methods. The respondents have been selected from the voter list through multistage random and systematic sampling. The data obtained through questionnaires have been classified, arranged and analyzed in various tables. Secondary data in the form of journals and books have been studied and used for understanding the theoretical framework regarding the theory of clientelism.

²³ I.A. Khan, *Voting Behaviour in Rural NWFP: A Study of People's Participation in Election* (Peshawar: Pakistan Academy for Rural Development, 1986).

²⁴ M.S. Ahmad, *Electoral Politics in NWFP. 1988-1999*. Ph.D. diss., National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad 2010.

Criterion for operational measurement of electoral variable

Keeping in view the hypothesis and research questions, the study has been confined to the operational measurement of the variable of clientelism. Regarding the application of this variable, three questions have been asked. Each question has been analysed with the help of chi-square test, p-value and percentage method. In order to comprehend the extent of the application of theory of clientelism, the average percentage of these questions, has been calculated. The following criterion has been followed for measuring the extent of application of variable of clientelism.

- The average percentage which is 40% and below has been termed as 'Limited Extent'.
- The average percentage which is 60% and below has been termed as 'Some Extent'.
- The average percentage which is above 60% has been termed as 'Great Extent'.

Justification for the selection of universe

The research is confined to the urban and rural areas of NA-2 in Peshawar. The following studies provide justification for the selection of the universe.

- Andrew R. Wilder in his work, *The Pakistani Voter: Electoral Politics and Voting Behaviour in the Punjab* determines the political and social determinants of voting behaviour in urban and rural areas by undertaking the case study of NA-97 in Lahore.
- Muhammad Shakeel Ahmad in his Ph.D dissertation, *Electoral Politics in NWFP: 1988-1999* describes the political and social determinants of voting behaviour in urban and rural areas by undertaking the case study of NA-1 in Peshawar.

Sampling method and size

NA-2 Peshawar is the universe of the study which includes the registered voters in this constituency. The total number of the registered voters in 2007-08 was 314904 in which 192693 were male and 122211 female. There are twenty Union Councils in NA-2 constituency in which four councils are rural and sixteen are urban. A representative sampling was obtained through random and systematic sampling. In order to get a representative sample size, an over 800 voters were selected on the basis of a multi-stages sample techniques given below:

Stage 1: There are four national level constituencies in Peshawar i.e. NA-1, NA-2, NA-3 and NA-4. The constituency of NA-2 was randomly selected in this stage.

Stage 2: There are 20 Union Councils in NA-2 in all. In this stage, an overall 20% Union Councils were selected out of 20 which means four Union Councils in which two were from urban and two were from rural areas. These Union Councils were randomly selected. The names of the urban Union Councils are Shaheen Town and Tehkal Payan-2 and that of the rural Union Councils are Regi and Sufaid Dheri.

Stage 3: In this stage, 200 voters were randomly selected from each selected Union Council on equal basis. So the overall sample size comes to 800 respondents. These respondents were selected from each selected Union Council through voters' lists on the basis of random and systematic techniques. At first, one voter was randomly selected and then every fourth voter was selected till 200 respondents were completed.

Out of 800 respondents, 400 were selected from urban and 400 from rural areas. A considerable number of voters did not return the questionnaire. Among these respondents prominent ones were females, aged, illiterate and rural respondents. There are many reasons for this. Firstly, our society is not research-oriented. Secondly, people usually get frightened in giving black and white information. People usually avoid to fill questionnaires because they think that it waste of their time. Out of a total 800 questionnaire administered, the researcher could get only 613 duly filled and returned.

Clientelism and its operational measurement

This study aims at testing the theory of clientelism in the light of empirical data collected in NA-2 Peshawar. The theory has been analysed and assessed in the light of various open ended questions. Clientelism has been measured quantitatively by asking the following set of questions.

- To what extent you voted on the assurance of local development in the 2002 elections?
- To what extent you voted on the assurance of provision of employment in the 2002 elections?
- To what extent you voted on the basis of candidate's participation in sorrowful and joyful events in the 2002 elections?

Frequencies and percentages for each question have been calculated. All these questions have been further analysed in the light of several variables including, urban/rural divisions, gender, age, profession,

monthly income and literacy. Chi-square test and p-value has been determined for making analysis and conclusion.

Clientelism in terms of local development in 2002 elections

Local development is one of the important indicators of clientelism. In 2002 elections, it also played an important role as an indicator of clientelism. It is, therefore, important to measure clientelism in terms of local development in 2002 elections. In this connection, responses were collected with regard to the question, 'To what extent you voted on the basis of candidate's interest in local development in the 2002 elections?' It has been asked so that to know about the perception of the voters regarding clientelism in 2002 elections. This question has been analysed in the light of several variables including, urban/rural divisions, gender, age, profession, monthly income and literacy.

Urban / rural consideration

Clientelism is applicable in both urban and rural areas in 2002 elections. It has been strongly supported by the rural population.

Table 1

	To a Greater Extent	To Some Extent	To a Limited Extent	Not at All	Total
Urban	149 (44.7%)	111 (33.3%)	27 (8.1%)	46 (13.8%)	333 (100.0%)
Rural	156 (55.7%)	87 (31.1%)	19 (6.8%)	18 (6.4%)	280 (100.0%)
Total	305 (49.8%)	198 (32.3%)	46 (7.5%)	64 (10.4%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 12.220, P-value = 0.007

Majority of the rural respondents (55.7%) voted in support of local development in 2002 elections. Similarly, urban respondents (44.7%) also favoured local development but its percentage was less than that of rural respondents. This shows that less developed areas paid greater emphasis on local development.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is an association between the urban / rural stratification and the local development in 2002 elections.

Gender consideration

In terms of gender, it was found that most male respondents preferred local development in 2002 elections.

Table 2

	To a Greater Extent	To Some Extent	To a Limited Extent	Not at All	Total
Male	194 (53.3%)	90 (24.7%)	31 (8.5%)	49 (13.5%)	364 (100.0%)
Female	111 (44.6%)	108 (43.4%)	15 (6.0%)	15 (6.0%)	249 (100.0%)
Total	305 (49.8%)	198 (32.3%)	46 (7.5%)	64 (10.4%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 27.235, P-value = 0.000

An outstanding number of the male respondents (53.3%), preferred local development for choosing public representatives in 2002 elections. Similarly, (44.6%) of the female respondents also maintained the same point of view. However, more male respondents preferred local development in 2002 elections.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is an association between gender and the local development in 2002 elections.

Age consideration

With regard to age, it was found that the younger respondents strongly favoured local development in 2002 elections. It means that the preference for clientelism increases, as the age of the respondents decreases.

Table 3

	To a Greater Extent	To Some Extent	To a Limited Extent	Not at All	Total
18-40	202 (52.5%)	107 (27.8%)	33 (8.6%)	43 (11.2%)	385 (100.0%)
Above 40	103 (45.2%)	91 (39.9%)	13 (5.7%)	21 (9.2%)	228 (100.0%)
Total	305 (49.8%)	198 (32.3%)	46 (7.5%)	64 (10.4%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 10.140, P-value = 0.017

An outstanding number of the respondents whose age is 18—40 years (52.5%), preferred local development in choosing public representatives in 2002 elections. Similarly, (45.2%) of the respondents whose age is above 40 years also maintained the same point of view. However, the respondents in the age group of 18—40 were more than the respondents in the age group of above 40 in preferring local development in 2002 elections. It shows that lesser the age, greater is the preference for local development in 2002 elections.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value <0.05 shows that there is an association between age and the local development in 2002 elections.

Professional consideration

In terms of profession, government servants mainly preferred the local development in 2002 elections.

Table 4

	To a Greater Extent	To Some Extent	To a Limited Extent	Not at All	Total
Govt. Servant	68 (61.8%)	22 (20.0%)	3 (2.7%)	17 (15.5%)	110 (100.0%)
Non-Govt. Servant	33 (38.8%)	25 (29.4%)	12 (14.1%)	15 (17.6%)	85 (100.0%)
Businessman & Shopkeeper	41 (56.2%)	16 (21.9%)	5 (6.8%)	11 (15.1%)	73 (100.0%)
Others	67 (51.5%)	36 (27.7%)	15 (11.5%)	12 (9.2%)	130 (100.0%)
House Wife	96 (44.7%)	99 (46.0%)	11 (5.1%)	9 (4.2%)	215 (100.0%)
Total	305 (49.8%)	198 (32.3%)	46 (7.5%)	64 (10.4%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 57.717, P-value = 0.000

Keeping in view the professional consideration, a good number of government servants (61.8%) voted on the basis of local development in 2002 elections. The second largest category is that of the businessmen and shopkeepers (56.2%) who also behaved in the same manner.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is an association between profession and the local development in 2002 elections.

Income group consideration

With regard to income group, it was found that the respondents with low monthly income, preferred more the local development in 2002 elections.

Table 5

	To a Greater Extent	To Some Extent	To a Limited Extent	Not at All	Total
20000 & Below	142 (53.2%)	65 (24.3%)	23 (8.6%)	37 (13.9%)	267 (100.0%)
Above 20000	23 (51.1%)	10 (22.2%)	4 (8.9%)	8 (17.8%)	45 (100.0%)
Sorry	140 (46.5%)	123 (40.9%)	19 (6.3%)	19 (6.3%)	301 (100.0%)
Total	305 (49.8%)	198 (32.3%)	46 (7.5%)	64 (10.4%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 26.108, P-value = 0.000

In terms of monthly income, a maximum number of the respondents whose monthly income is Rs. 20000 and below (53.2%) pointed out that in 2002 elections they voted on the basis of local development. Similarly, (51.1%) of the respondents belonging to the category of above Rs. 20000 also supported the view that local development was preferred in 2002 elections. This shows that lower the monthly income, higher was the preference for local development in 2002 elections.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is an association between monthly income and the local development in 2002 elections.

Literacy-based consideration

The literate respondents strongly preferred the local development in making electoral decision in 2002 elections.

Table 6

	To a Greater Extent	To Some Extent	To a Limited Extent	Not at All	Total
Literate	201 (53.9%)	97 (26.0%)	28 (7.5%)	47 (12.6%)	373 (100.0%)
Illiterate	104 (43.3%)	101 (42.1%)	18 (7.5%)	17 (7.1%)	240 (100.0%)
Total	305 (49.8%)	198 (32.3%)	46 (7.5%)	64 (10.4%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 19.214, P-value = 0.000

As far as literacy is concerned, a large number of the literate respondents (53.9%) maintained that they favoured local development in 2002 elections. In the same way (43.3%) of the illiterate respondents also affirmed the above point of view.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is an association between literacy and the local development in 2002 elections.

Consequently, it is revealed that most of the respondents favoured clientelism by supporting the local development in making electoral decisions. In this connection, strong support came from the respondents belonging to the rural areas, male respondents, younger respondents, government servants, respondents with low monthly income and literate respondents.

Clientelism in terms of employment in 2002 elections

Employment is one of the important indicators of clientelism. In 2002 elections, it also played a pivotal role as an indicator of clientelism. It is, therefore, important to measure clientelism in terms of employment in 2002 elections. In this connection, responses were collected with regard to the question, 'To what extent you voted on the assurance of job provision in the 2002 elections?' It has been asked so that to know about the general perception of the voters regarding clientelism. This question has been analysed in the light of several variables including, urban/rural divisions, gender, age, profession, monthly income and literacy.

Urban/rural consideration: Employment as a determinant of clientelism is important in both urban and rural areas in 2002 elections. It has been strongly supported by the rural population.

Table 7

	To a Greater Extent	To Some Extent	To a Limited Extent	Not at All	Total
Urban	148 (44.4%)	65 (19.5%)	42 (12.6%)	78 (23.4%)	333 (100.0%)
Rural	181 (64.6%)	57 (20.4%)	24 (8.6%)	18 (6.4%)	280 (100.0%)
Total	329 (53.7%)	122 (19.9%)	66 (10.8%)	96 (15.7%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 41.975, P-value = 0.000

Majority of the rural respondents (64.6%) voted on the basis of employment in 2002 elections. Similarly, urban respondents (44.4%) also favoured employment, but its percentage was less than the rural respondents. This shows that unemployment problem is more chronic in rural areas.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is an association between urban / rural stratification and employment as a factor in 2002 elections.

Gender consideration: In terms of gender, the provision of employment in strongly preferred by the male respondents.

Table 8

	To a Greater Extent	To Some Extent	To a Limited Extent	Not at All	Total
Male	216 (59.3%)	48 (13.2%)	41 (11.3%)	59 (16.2%)	364 (100.0%)
Female	113 (45.4%)	74 (29.7%)	25 (10.0%)	37 (14.9%)	249 (100.0%)
Total	329 (53.7%)	122 (19.9%)	66 (10.8%)	96 (15.7%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 26.050, P-value = 0.000

A great deal of the male respondents (59.3%) asserted that they voted on the basis of employment in 2002 elections. Among the female respondents (45.4%) also affirmed the above view point. It shows that the male respondents strongly support the provision of employment in making electoral choices in elections.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is an association between gender and employment as a factor in 2002 elections.

Age consideration: With regard to age, it was found that the younger respondents strongly favoured employment in casting votes in 2002 elections. It means that with decrease in age, the preference for clientelism increases.

Table 9

	To a Greater Extent	To Some Extent	To a Limited Extent	Not at All	Total
18-40	212 (55.1%)	73 (19.0%)	49 (12.7%)	51 (13.2%)	385 (100.0%)
Above 40	117 (51.3%)	49 (21.5%)	17 (7.5%)	45 (19.7%)	228 (100.0%)
Total	329 (53.7%)	122 (19.9%)	66 (10.8%)	96 (15.7%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 8.382, P-value = 0.039

A widespread number of the respondents, age 18—40 (55.1%) years, maintained that they voted on the basis of employment as a factor in 2002 elections. Similarly, (51.3%) of the respondents who were above 40 years also maintained the same point of view. It shows that the age group 18—40 years is mostly affected by the problem of unemployment. It also implies that as the age decreases the preference for employment also increases.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is an association between age and employment as a factor in 2002 elections.

Professional consideration: In terms of profession, the category of ‘others’ mostly opted for employment in 2002 elections because in this category there is considerable number of jobless people and students.

Table No.10

	To a Greater Extent	To Some Extent	To a Limited Extent	Not at All	Total
Govt. Servant	58 (52.7%)	11 (10.0%)	15 (13.6%)	26 (23.6%)	110 (100.0%)
Non-Govt. Servant	41 (48.2%)	15 (17.6%)	12 (14.1%)	17 (20.0%)	85 (100.0%)
Businessman & Shopkeeper	42 (57.5%)	11 (15.1%)	7 (9.6%)	13 (17.8%)	73 (100.0%)
Others	91 (70.0%)	16 (12.3%)	13 (10.0%)	10 (7.7%)	130 (100.0%)
House Wife	97 (45.1%)	69 (32.1%)	19 (8.8%)	30 (14.0%)	215 (100.0%)
Total	329 (53.7%)	122 (19.9%)	66 (10.8%)	96 (15.7%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 50.407, P-value = 0.000

Considering the professional analysis, it is found that a good number of the respondents belonging to 'others' category (70.0%) upheld that they voted on the basis of employment in 2002 elections. The category of 'others' includes students, retired persons, the unemployed, farmers and skilled and unskilled labourers. The second largest category is that of the businessmen and shopkeepers (57.5%) who also supported the aforementioned view point.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is an association between profession and employment as a factor in 2002 elections.

Income group consideration: As far the income group is concerned, it was found that the respondents with low monthly income, preferred employment in preferring electoral candidates in 2002 elections.

Table 11

	To a Greater Extent	To Some Extent	To a Limited Extent	Not at All	Total
20000 & Below	160 (59.9%)	36 (13.5%)	34 (12.7%)	37 (13.9%)	267 (100.0%)
Above 20000	17 (37.8%)	7 (15.6%)	4 (8.9%)	17 (37.8%)	45 (100.0%)
Sorry	152 (50.5%)	79 (26.2%)	28 (9.3%)	42 (14.0%)	301 (100.0%)
Total	329 (53.7%)	122 (19.9%)	66 (10.8%)	96 (15.7%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 33.546, P-value = 0.000

As far as monthly income is concerned, a maximum number of the respondents whose monthly income is Rs. 20000 and below (59.9%) pointed out that they preferred to vote on the basis of employment in 2002 elections. The second largest number of respondents who did not mention their monthly income (50.5%) also supported the view of provision of employment in 2002 elections. This shows that lower the monthly income, higher is the preference for employment in 2002 elections.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is an association between monthly income and employment as a factor in 2002 elections.

Literacy-based consideration: The illiterate respondents strongly preferred employment in making electoral decisions in 2002 elections.

Table 12

	To a Greater Extent	To Some Extent	To a Limited Extent	Not at All	Total
Literate	197 (52.8%)	57 (15.3%)	49 (13.1%)	70 (18.8%)	373 (100.0%)
Illiterate	132 (55.0%)	65 (27.1%)	17 (7.1%)	26 (10.8%)	240 (100.0%)
Total	329 (53.7%)	122 (19.9%)	66 (10.8%)	96 (15.7%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 21.189, P-value = 0.000

In terms of literacy, a large number of the illiterate respondents (55.0%) favoured employment in 2002 elections. Similarly, (52.8%) of the literate respondents also affirmed the above point of view.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is association between literacy and employment as a factor in 2002 elections.

To sum, it is found out that most of the respondents favoured clientelism by supporting employment in making electoral decisions in 2002 elections. In this connection, strong support came from the respondents belonging to the rural areas, male respondents, younger respondents, the category of 'others', respondents with low monthly income and illiterate respondents.

Clientelism in terms of participating in sorrowful and joyful events by the electoral candidate in 2002 elections

Participating in the sorrowful and joyful events by the electoral candidate constitute another important indicator of clientelism. It is, therefore, important to measure clientelism in terms of participating in sorrowful and joyful events in 2002 elections. In this connection, responses were collected with regard to the question, 'To what extent you voted on the basis of candidate's participation in sorrowful and joyful events in the 2002 elections?' It has been asked so as to know about the perception of the voters regarding clientelism in 2002 elections. This question has been analysed in the light of several variables including, urban/rural divisions, gender, age, profession, monthly income and literacy.

Urban / rural consideration: Participating in sorrowful and joyful events as an indicator of clientelism is important to some extent both in urban and rural areas in 2002 elections. It has been strongly supported by the rural population.

Table 13

	To a Greater Extent	To Some Extent	To a Limited Extent	Not at All	Total
Urban	47 (14.1%)	109 (32.7%)	81 (24.3%)	96 (28.8%)	333 (100.0%)
Rural	53 (18.9%)	148 (52.9%)	43 (15.4%)	36 (12.9%)	280 (100.0%)
Total	100 (16.3%)	257 (41.9%)	124 (20.2%)	132 (21.5%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 40.920, P-value = 0.000

A large number of the rural respondents (52.9%), followed by urban respondents (32.7%), maintained that in 2002 elections they voted to some extent on the basis of candidate's participation in sorrowful and joyful events. It means that patronage politics can be seen more in the rural areas.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is an association between urban / rural stratification and the casting of vote on the basis of candidate's participation in sorrowful and joyful events in 2002 elections.

Gender consideration: In terms of gender, it was found that male respondents preferred to some extent, participating in sorrowful and joyful events by the electoral candidates in the 2002 elections.

Table 14

	To a Greater Extent	To Some Extent	To a Limited Extent	Not at All	Total
Male	47 (12.9%)	162 (44.5%)	63 (17.3%)	92 (25.3%)	364 (100.0%)
Female	53 (21.3%)	95 (38.2%)	61 (24.5%)	40 (16.1%)	249 (100.0%)
Total	100 (16.3%)	257 (41.9%)	124 (20.2%)	132 (21.5%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 17.382, P-value = 0.001

A significant number of the male respondents (44.5%), followed by female respondents (38.2%), maintained that in 2002 elections they voted to some extent on the basis of candidate's participation in the

above mentioned social gatherings. It means that patronage politics can be seen more among male voters.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is an association between gender and the casting of vote on the basis of candidate's participation in sorrowful and joyful events in 2002 elections.

Age consideration: Talking about the age, it was found that the older respondents favoured to some extent, participating in sorrowful and joyful events in 2002 elections. It means that with increase in the age, the preference for patronage politics also increases.

Table 15

	To a Greater Extent	To Some Extent	To a Limited Extent	Not at All	Total
18-40	70 (18.2%)	155 (40.3%)	77 (20.0%)	83 (21.6%)	385 (100.0%)
Above 40	30 (13.2%)	102 (44.7%)	47 (20.6%)	49 (21.5%)	228 (100.0%)
Total	100 (16.3%)	257 (41.9%)	124 (20.2%)	132 (21.5%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 2.927, P-value = 0.403

As far as the age is concerned, a maximum number of the respondents whose age is above 40 (44.7%), followed by the respondents falling in the age group 18—40 years (40.3%), asserted that in 2002 elections they voted to some extent on the basis of candidate's participation in the sorrowful and joyful events. It means that with the increase in age, there is also rise in patronage politics.

The Chi-square test provides insignificant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is no association between age and the casting of vote on the basis of candidate's participation in sorrowful and joyful events in 2002 elections.

Professional consideration: As far profession is concerned, the category of 'others' preferred to some extent, voting on the basis of participating in sorrowful and joyful events by the candidates in 2002 elections.

Table 16

	To a Greater Extent	To Some Extent	To a Limited Extent	Not at All	Total
Govt. Servant	17 (15.5%)	49 (44.5%)	16 (14.5%)	28 (25.5%)	110 (100.0%)
Non-Govt. Servant	14 (16.5%)	30 (35.3%)	13 (15.3%)	28 (32.9%)	85 (100.0%)
Businessman & Shopkeeper	11 (15.1%)	34 (46.6%)	10 (13.7%)	18 (24.7%)	73 (100.0%)
Others	12 (9.2%)	66 (50.8%)	28 (21.5%)	24 (18.5%)	130 (100.0%)
House Wife	46 (21.4%)	78 (36.3%)	57 (26.5%)	34 (15.8%)	215 (100.0%)
Total	100 (16.3%)	257 (41.9%)	124 (20.2%)	132 (21.5%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 31.743, P-value = 0.002

Among the respondents with different professions, majority of the respondents belonging to the category of 'others' (50.8%) supported the view that they voted in 2002 elections to some extent on the basis of candidate's participation in sorrowful and joyful events to some extent, followed by businessmen and shopkeepers (46.6%). The category of 'others' includes students, retired persons, the unemployed, farmers and skilled and unskilled labourers. It means that patronage politics has been mainly supported by the category of 'others'.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is an association between profession and the casting of vote on the basis of candidate's participation in sorrowful and joyful events in 2002 elections.

Income group consideration: Digging out information from the income group, it was found that the respondents with low monthly income, preferred to some extent voting on the basis of participating in sorrowful and joyful events by the candidates in 2002 elections.

Table 17

	To a Greater Extent	To Some Extent	To a Limited Extent	Not at All	Total
20000 & Below	35 (13.1%)	117 (43.8%)	45 (16.9%)	70 (26.2%)	267 (100.0%)
Above 20000	6 (13.3%)	19 (42.2%)	8 (17.8%)	12 (26.7%)	45 (100.0%)
Sorry	59 (19.6%)	121 (40.2%)	71 (23.6%)	50 (16.6%)	301 (100.0%)
Total	100 (16.3%)	257 (41.9%)	124 (20.2%)	132 (21.5%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 14.338, P-value = 0.026

As far as the monthly income is concerned, a maximum number of the respondents whose monthly income is Rs. 20000 and below (43.8%), followed by the respondents representing those whose monthly income is above Rs. 20000 (42.2%), asserted that in 2002 elections they voted to some extent on the basis of candidate's participation in sorrowful and joyful events. It means that patronage politics increases as the monthly income decreases.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is an association between monthly income and the casting of vote on the basis of candidate's participation in sorrowful and joyful events in 2002 elections.

Literacy-based consideration: A large number of the illiterate respondents favoured to some extent, participating in sorrowful and joyful events by the candidates in making electoral decisions in 2002 elections.

Table 18

	To a Greater Extent	To Some Extent	To a Limited Extent	Not at All	Total
Literate	68 (18.2%)	142 (38.1%)	74 (19.8%)	89 (23.9%)	373 (100.0%)
Illiterate	32 (13.3%)	115 (47.9%)	50 (20.8%)	43 (17.9%)	240 (100.0%)
Total	100 (16.3%)	257 (41.9%)	124 (20.2%)	132 (21.5%)	613 (100.0%)

Chi-Square Value = 7.992, P-value = 0.046

Talking in terms of literacy, a significant number of the illiterate respondents (47.9%), followed by literate respondents (38.1%), maintained that in 2002 elections they voted to some extent on the basis of candidate's participation in sorrowful and joyful events. So, the patronage politics can be seen more among the illiterate voters.

The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value < 0.05 shows that there is an association between literacy and the casting of vote on the basis of candidate's participation in sorrowful and joyful events in 2002 elections.

By concluding, it is found that most of the respondents favoured clientelism by preferring its indicator of participating in sorrowful and joyful events by the candidates in making electoral decision in 2002 elections. In this connection, strong support came from the respondents belonging to the rural area, male respondents, older respondents, the category of 'others', respondents with low monthly income and illiterate respondents.

Conclusion

Clientelism is one of the major determinants of voting behaviour in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The empirical data collected regarding clientelism, also support the argument of the study that clientelism is applicable to a great extent (84.13%) in the electoral politics of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Clientelism is also important to be understood in terms of variables, including, urban/rural divisions, gender, age, profession, monthly income and literacy. In terms of urban/rural stratification, the clientelistic preferences are higher among the rural respondents because the rural area is less developed. As far as the gender is concerned, the male respondents showed more support for clientelism. Both the younger and the older respondents showed strong behaviour of clientelistic politics. The younger respondents showed their clientelistic behaviour in terms of employment while the older respondents emphatically favoured developmental aspect of clientelism. In terms of profession, a large number of the respondents belonging to the category of 'others', followed by government servants, strongly favoured clientelism in elections. The category of 'others' favoured clientelism on the basis of provision of employment and participation of the electoral candidates in the sorrowful and joyful events of the people. The category of 'others' includes students, retired persons, the unemployed, farmers and skilled and unskilled labourers. The government servants mainly supported the developmental side of clientelism. Similarly, the respondents with low monthly income showed keen interest in supporting clientelistic politics.

In terms of literacy, both the literate and illiterate respondents preferred almost equally clientelism in electoral politics. The literate respondents strongly favoured the developmental side of clientelism, while the illiterate respondents supported clientelism on the basis of employment and participation of the electoral candidates in the sorrowful and joyful events of the people.