This study tries to find out whether personality of a candidate affects the voters' preferences in elections in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa or not? It is believed that like other socio-political and economic preferences, candidate's personality is also an important determinant of voting behaviour in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. This paper is an attempt to identify different indicators (Personal Influence, Socio-economic and Political Status in society) of personality vote in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The study is based on empirical data collected from North, Centre and Southern geographical regions of the province through a multi-stage sampling technique. Chi-square test is used for the data analysis.

**Key Words:** Personality, Candidate, Vote, Voting Behaviour, Election, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

**Introduction**

Downs (1957) said that, “a political party is a team of men seeking to control the governing apparatus by gaining office in a duly constituted election” (Downs, 1957:25). Political parties are important agents of political socialization and shaping voting preferences of the people in the developing democracies. Though much importance is given to cultural, social and environmental forces that shape political attitudes and behaviour of the people through political parties, yet, the parental socialization play an important and vital role in the formation of political attitudes and behaviour of an individual (Campbell et al., 1960; Jennings, 1968; Healy & Malhotra, 2013; Niemi & Jennings, 1991). There are a set of theories which explain how more immediate determinants such as the media (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987), social networks and economic evaluations (Fiorina, 1981; Huckfeldt & Sprague, 1995), government performance and life events (Hobbs, Christakis, & Fowler, 2014; Tilley & Hobolt, 2011) influence political attitudes and behaviour of a voter.

However, some scholars argue that electoral politics in many democracies of the globe has become personalized (Caprara, Barbaranelli, & Zimbardo, 1999, 2002; Giddens, 1998). Caprara & Zimbardo (2004) found that the personalization of politics covers two processes; first, the personality of the candidate captures central position and become the focus of voters’ interest. Secondly, the voters own personality becomes more important and decisive for political choices and voting preferences. Wattenberg (1998) illustrated that the importance of the personal qualities of individuals for political choices may change with the passage of time. It has several reasons for any such change. In some cases, the diversity and boundaries of political parties may weaken the parties support among the voters. Political issues are complex and political units are more inter-dependent to remove traditional cleavages in the society.

The Five Factor Model (FFM) of personality is a conceptual analysis and factor analytic research. The FFM model traits consist of Openness to Experience, Conscientiousness, Extraversion, Agreeableness and Neuroticism. It is widely used as a framework for the classification and determining the main dimensions of personality (Goldberg, 1992; John & Srivastava, 1999; McCrae & Costa, 1999). The FFM model does not cover all those dimensions in which people distinguish their own personalities and the personalities of other people.
The good qualities of a person that influence other people are creativity, imaginativeness, abstract, curiosity, thinking, inventiveness, appreciative of arts and aesthetic experiences.

Many scholars found that the individuals who have leadership qualities are generally talkative, energetic, enthusiastic, assertive, outgoing and sociable (Barnea and Schwartz, 1998; Carney et al., 2008; Gosling et al., 2003; Jost et al., 2007; McCrae, 1996; Hiel and Mervielde, 2004). McCrae (1996) is of the opinion that “variations in experiential ‘Openness’ are the major psychological determinant of political polarities” (McCrae, 1996:325). In addition, Caprara et al. (1999) figure out that the centre-left voters bagged higher than center-right voters on ‘Openness’.

On the other hand, many other researchers argued that conservatives scored higher than liberals on ‘Conscientiousness’ (Caprara et al., 1999; Mehrabian, 1996; Stenner, 2005). Caprara et al. (1999) sorted out that center-left electorates in Italy scored higher than center-right electorates on ‘Agreeableness’, whereas center-right electorates scored higher than center-left electorates on energy or extraversion, but (Jost, 2006; Stenner, 2005) argued that these patterns have not been replicated in the United States of America.

Influence of the Candidate’s Personality on Voter

The FFM model is used in economics (Almlund et al., 2011; Ozer et al., 2006) and political science (Gerber et al., 2011; Mondak & Halperin, 2008; Mondak, 2010). It is assumed that a ‘Powerful Congruency Principle’ of the personality of a voter and their political leaders explain why voter support a particular candidate (Caprara & Zimbardo, 2004:590). The ‘Congruence Principle’ is defined in two points; first, voters tend to perceive similarity between their own personality traits and the personality traits of their preferred contesting candidate (Caprara et al., 2002; Roets & Van Hiel, 2009; Vecchione, Castro, & Caprara, 2011) and accordingly support that candidate in elections (Caprara et al., 2007). The ‘Congruence Principle’ between the personality traits of politicians and voters brought them close to each other during the election. Caprara et al. (2003) said that in Italy the ‘Rightist’ political leaders secured higher support because of ‘Conscientiousness’ and ‘Extraversion’ while ‘Leftist’ political leaders did not get such support. Caprara and Zimbardo (2004) describe the importance of personality in determining political preferences. Personality of the candidate affects the voters’ preferences and their choices. However, there is also an association between personality and political ideology explained by different models.

Some scholars tried to find out how top-down processes affect political ideologies (Converse, 1964; Zaller & Feldman, 1992). Jost et al. (2009:316) elucidated that in the top-down process “the content associated with different ideological positions is absorbed by citizens who take indications from those elites who share their partisan or ideological position”. They argued that bottom-up process is, however, equally important in shaping political ideology of a voter. Indeed, an individual will adopt the ideological position that provides the best fit with the needs rooted in her/his psychological dispositions. Jost et al., (2003) described that conservatives or traditionalist refuse to accept changes and minimize insecurity as is signalled by the positive associations between conservatism and measures of anxiety, inflexibility, orderliness, self-control and traditionalism.

However, liberals are more flexible and do not need to reduce insecurity to the same extent as signalled by the affirmative associations with open-mindedness and imaginativeness. Jost et al. (2003) are of the opinion that bottom-up process outlined in the ‘Elective Affinities Model’ demonstrates that personality traits are directly related to the political ideology of an individual.

However, Block & Block (2006) and Fraley et al. (2012) proved the significance of bottom-up processes in shaping political ideology of an individual. Similarly, the Dual-Process Motivational (DPM) model explains that bottom-up and top-down processes influence political attitudes and disposition of a person (Duckitt & Sibley, 2010; Duckitt, 2001). The Dual-Process Motivational (DPM) Model treats ‘Social Dominance Orientation’ (SDO) and ‘Right Wing Authoritarianism’ (RWA) as attitude dimensions, whereby, RWA taps into social conservatism and SDO into economic conservatism (Duckitt & Sibley, 2010). The proponents of Dual-Process Motivational (DPM) model support the association between personality and political attitudes. However, Campbell et al., (1960) and McClosky (1958) support the argument that voters make parallel their political attitudes with the motives and needs which is embedded in their personality traits. McClosky (1958) empirically tested the hypothesis and tried to find out how psychological dispositions are associated with the political attitudes.
of an individual. Why do people get associated to some specific politico-social ideology? Why do they vote for a particular political party or a candidate? What makes their political dispositions or voting preferences? To what extent the top-down and bottom-up processes affect the political attitudes and behaviour of the people in the developing democracies? This study tries to find out an answer to these questions with the case study of Pakistan's Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province.

Methodology

A closed ended survey questionnaire is used for data collection. A sample size of 1200 respondents was selected through a multi-stage sampling technique. In the first stage Khyber Pakhtunkhwa was geographically distributed into three zones i.e. North, Center and South. Six national assembly constituencies were randomly selected. In each national assembly two union councils were randomly selected. Lastly, fifty male and fifty female respondents were selected through scientific sampling technique.

Politics in Pakistan

In Pakistan, electoral politics is personalized and political parties are dominated by a few families. Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) under the control of Sharif family, Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) dominated by Bhutto's and now Zardari family, Jamiat-i-Ulema-e-Islam-F (JUI-F) controlled by Mufti Mehmood family, Jamiat-i-Ulema-e-Islam-S (JUI-S) by Maulana Sami-Ul-Haq family and so on. The affiliates of these parties are considered to be associated more to the leadership than the ideology or political program of the parties. For example Waseem (2006) argues that personalities are bridging the voters with political parties in Pakistan.

In 1985, Martial Law Administrator General Zia held a non-party election to root out the role of the influential political personalities from the politics. None of the political party was allowed to contest election under any specific program or political ideology, consequently paving a way for independent candidates. The election introduced and brought in new faces to politics majority of them from the landed aristocracy and business class. This has significantly strengthened the personality role in electoral politics (Awan, 2016).

In Pakistan generally and in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa particularly, the personality of candidates have more influence on the voter's choice. The prominent personalities in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa are Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao, Asfandiyar Wali Khan, Maulana Fazl-Ur-Rehman, Khalid Khan Mohmand, Saifullah Brothers, Amir Haider Khan Hoti, Siraj Ul Haq, Akram Khan Durani, Mehtab Abbasi, Pervez Khatak, Bilor family, Ali Amin Ali Gandapor, Sher Azam Wazir, Pir Sabir Shah, Amir Muqam, Inayat Ullah Khan, Mian Nisar Gul Kaka khel, Jamshed Khan Mohmand, Zia Ullah Afridi etc. All these have a dominant role in the politics of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao, who is a popular politician of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, has personal influence in NA-8 Charsadda. In 2002, Aftab Sherpao left Pakistan Peoples Party and constituted his own political party Pakistan Peoples Party-Sherpao group (PPP-S). He won the NA-8 seat in general elections 2002. In general election 2008, he once again won the NA-8 seat with majority votes. After 2008 election he renamed PPP-S as Qaumi Watan Party. In general election 2013, Aftab Sherpao contested election from QWP platform and bagged victory in NA-8. This whole scenario shows that the personal influence of Aftab Sherpao is more than political party or ideology. Pervez Khatak in 2008 contested election on PPP ticket, while in December 2011; he left PPP on some political differences and switches to Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf. Pervez Khatak won the provincial assembly seat in the 2013 elections from Nowshera and became Chief Minister of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Similarly, in general election 2008, Khalid Khan Mohmand contested election as independent candidate from PK-20 and secured the second position after Awami National Party candidate. He was again to contested 2013 election as an independent candidate but at the very last time of election campaign he joined Qaumi Watan Party and won the PK-20 seat. Khalid Khan belonged to Mohmand tribe and majority of the voters of PK-20 are Mohmand. Therefore, his personal influence and co-tribesmen’s support in election played a key role in his victory. In the elections 2018, Khalid Khan left QWP and joined Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf. He once again won the provincial assembly seat. Mian Nisar Gul Kaka Khel from Karak also provides us a significant example of personality votes in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Nisar Gul contested 2002 elections from PTI platform and was elected as MPA. He contested 2008 elections as an independent candidate and once again returned to the provincial
assembly. In 2018 he switched to JUI (F) and won his seat. This shows that his voters do not have any inclination towards his political affiliation, ideology or party program. They only voted for him on the basis of his personality. This trend and pattern of the people’s association to a political personality needs a systematic assessment. It may help to understand the dynamics of political behaviour and voting preferences of the people in Pakhtunkhwa in general and Pakistan in particular. This study uses different variable so as to identify the personal influence of contesting candidate on the voters. The variable is correlated with other controlled variables. The correlation of all variables is given below.

**Gender Consideration**

As far as gender is concerned (see in Figure-1), some of both the male and female respondents avowed that vote should not be given on the basis of the candidate’s personality. Conversely, a large number of male and female respondents argued that vote should be given on the basis of candidate’s personality. On the other side a small number of male and female respondents were undecided about this statement. In Pakhtun society women are perceived to be dependent on male family members. Therefore, their majority have tendency to support the candidate of their family choice. The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value<0.05 shows that there is an association between gender and influence of candidate personality (Chi-Square Test= 12.012, p-value=.017).

![Figure 1:](image)

**Professional Consideration**

Among the total respondents in Figure-2, the major share of the respondents who denied the influence of the candidate’s personality was housewives and government servants. Some of the businessmen, daily wagers, non-government servants, farmers and jobless respondents argued that they are not influenced by the candidate’s personality in election.

On the other hand, a significant number of businessmen, daily wagers, government servants, non-government servants, farmers, jobless and housewives acknowledged that they are influenced by the personality of the candidate. The Chi-square test provides highly significant p-value. The p-value<0.05 shows that there is an association between profession of respondent and influence of candidate personality (Chi-Square Test=75.903, p-value=.000).
Social class has always remained very debatable in social science’s discourse. Some social scientists make its foundation only on economic strength of human life. However, others place their argument for the constitution of class based on some crisscrossing tangible and intangible elements (income, education, environment, food, health, accommodation, education etc.) of human social life. The second argument is appealing for making a strong philosophical sense among social scientists while determining social classes in a human society. Looking into the modern and global stratification system, social scientists determine social class as a composition of socio-economic stratification of the people into different groups (Jakopovich, 2014). According to United Nations (UN) poverty indexing report if a person cannot earn two (2$) US dollar per day is considered poor or lower income class. To keep UN poverty index report as a scale we made a stratification of different classes on the basis of monthly income in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Those people who have monthly income below 10000 PKR/month are considered lower class. While those whose monthly income is above 20000 to 50000 PKR/month is middle income class. Those respondents whose monthly income is above 50000/-PKR are tagged as upper income class.

As far as monthly income is concerned in Figure-3, a major portion of those respondents who did not mention their monthly income and a quantity of lower and lower middle class disagreed to vote a candidate on the basis of his personal influence. A meagre number of middle and upper class respondents rejected the opinion that vote should be given on the basis of personality influence of a candidate. However, a large number of lower income class respondents expressed that vote should be given on the basis of personality influence. Nonetheless a tiny portion of middle and upper class respondents believed that vote should be given on the basis of personality of candidate. Moreover, a large number of those respondents who did not mention their monthly income accepted the opinion that vote should be given on the basis of personality of the candidate. The Chi-square test provides insignificant p-value. The p-value>0.05 shows that there is no association between the income of respondent and influence of candidate’s personality. Among the total respondents, those respondents who have lowest monthly income were in majority to support the candidate personality (Chi-Square Test=29.890, p-value=.188).
Educational Consideration

In terms of education (see in Figure-4), among the respondents, majority of graduate and post-graduate level respondents were against the personality vote. While, some of the primary, secondary and higher secondary school level respondents were also against personality influence. Moreover, we have found a quantity of illiterate respondents who were against the influence of personality vote. Conversely, some of primary, secondary, higher secondary, graduate, post-graduate and illiterate respondents were in favour of personality vote. Majority of illiterate respondents supported the personality of candidate. This shows their low level of political education. The illiterate people cannot read the newspaper and have no understanding and knowledge of political dynamics in the country. The Chi-square test provides highly significant p-value. The p-value<0.05 shows that there is an association between educational qualification of respondent and influence of candidate personality (Chi-Square Test=72.999*, p-value=.000).
Economic and Political Status of Contesting Candidate

In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa majority of the people belong to lower or middle income class. The common voters are facing several economic issues. Therefore, voters trust those candidates who are economically sound and stable. It is assumed that voters support economically strong candidates in elections because of their economic support to the poor people. Furthermore, it is perceived by the people that the candidate’s economic and political influence will help them in the solution of their socio-economic problems. For example Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao is said to have been providing government jobs to a large number of the people of his constituency. He has thus personal influence and acceptability among the masses. However, along with economic status of the candidate, some other aspects of his personality may also get him votes in his constituency. Alamzeb Umarzai who belonged to a poor family yet, supported by a large number of people in general election 2008 (ECP, 2008). The voters supported him because of his social work and services to the society. Maulana Muhammad Idrees who was MMA’s candidate in general election 2002 won the election because he was a religious cleric and Muntazim of a Madrassa. Similarly, in general election 2013, Maulana Gohar Shah of JUI-F won the NA-7 seat and defeated ANP president Asfandiyar Wali Khan (ECP, 2013). Hence it can be said that the religious factor of the personality of a candidate is also convincing the voting behaviour of the people in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The question asked about the political and economic influence of the personality of candidate is correlated with the gender, age, profession, education and monthly income. The correlations are given in the following sections:

Gender Consideration

Figure-6 shows that among the total respondents, we have found a major share of male and female respondents who disagree to vote economically and politically influential candidates. Conversely, some of the male and female respondents argued that vote should be given to economically sound candidates. However, a small portion of male and female respondents were undecided. The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value<0.05 shows that there is an association between gender of respondents and their perception to vote economically sound candidate (Chi-Square Test=14.431*, p-value=.006).

![Figure 5:](image-url)

Professional Consideration

The correlation of the professional affiliation of respondents can be seen in Figure-7. A major portion of government employees, housewives, non-government servants and jobless respondents were of the opinion that vote should not be cast to a rich and politically influential candidates. Some of the businessmen, daily wagers, government servants and farmers also believed that vote should not be given to wealthy candidates.
Apart from that, among the respondents a small portion of businessmen, daily wagers, government servants, non-government servants, farmers, housewives and jobless respondents opined that vote should be given to economically sound candidate. The Chi-square test provides significant p-value. The p-value<0.05 shows that there is an association between professional affiliation of respondent and the perception to vote economically sound candidates (Chi-Square Test= 45.945, p-value=.004).

Figure 6:

Economic Consideration

As far as economic status is concerned, among the total respondents a major portion of lower and lower middle income class and a large number of those respondents who did not show their income stated that they are supporting the economically influential candidates in elections. However, some of the respondents of middle and upper income class agreed to support the economically strong candidate (see in Figure 7).

Regardless of that, among the respondents some of the lower, middle and upper income class respondents accepted to vote that candidate who is economically strong. Moreover, a large portion of the respondents who were supporting the rich and wealthy candidates were those who did not mention their income. The Chi-square test provides insignificant p-value. The p-value>0.05 shows that there is no association between income of respondent and perception to vote economically sound candidate (Chi-Square Test= 31.539, p-value=.139).

Figure 7:
Educational Consideration

Education plays an important role in the political awareness and shaping the political attitudes of an individual. In terms of education, among the total respondents a large number of those respondents whose education levels are secondary school, graduate and post-graduate disagreed to vote a candidate who is economically and politically influential in the constituency. Some candidates of the primary and higher secondary school level also said that they did not support the influential candidates in election. Among the total respondents the large ratio of illiterate respondents also denied to vote on the basis of strong economic status (see in Figure-8).

Apart from that, among the respondents some of the primary, secondary, higher secondary, graduate, post-graduate respondents said that they will vote for a candidate who is economically and politically influential in the constituency. Nonetheless, some illiterate respondents expressed their opinion in favour of those candidates who are economically and politically prominent. The comparison of the literate and illiterate respondents shows that illiterate respondents' opinion is completely different from the literate respondents regarding the selection of the candidate. The majority of the educated people did not support those candidates who were economically influential in the constituency but illiterate respondents supported the influential candidates. The Chi-square test provides highly significant p-value. The p-value<0.05 shows that there is an association between education of respondents and perception to vote economically sound candidate (Chi-Square Test= 62.029, p-value=.000).

Figure 8:

The Impact of Contesting Candidate's Participation in the Social Activities

In Pakhtun society it is assumed that people are very sensitive about the social relations. Those political figures, who actively participate in the funerals and wedding ceremonies (Gham Khadi) of the common people, have more respect in the community. There is a common perception among the people that those political leaders who participate in the social activities of other people have more personal support in elections. It is very common that if candidate participates in the funeral or wedding ceremony of a single family member, he gets support of the whole family. Therefore, candidate’s participation in the social activities of common voters also improves his personal influence in a particular family or village. A question was asked from the respondents about the contesting candidate’s participation in the joy and sorrow (Gham aw Khadi) of the common people. This was correlated with gender, age, educational qualification and monthly income.

Gender Consideration

As far as gender is concerned (see in Figure-9), some of male and female respondents were against voting for a candidate on the basis of participation in Gham Khadi. On the other hand, we have found a large share of male and female respondents who were in favour to support that candidate who shares the sorrows and joys of other people
in his constituency. However, a small portion of male and some of female voters were undecided. *Gham aw Khadi* (sorrow and joy) is an important element of Pakhtunwali. Therefore, majority of the respondents are perceived to be morally bound to support that person/candidate who is actively participating in *Gham and Khadi* of the people. The Chi-square test provides highly significant p-value. The p-value<0.05 shows that there is an association between gender of respondent and perception to vote socially active candidates (Chi-Square Test=18.024, p-value=.001).

![Figure 9:](image)

**Professional Consideration**

The correlation of the professional affiliation of respondents shows that, a tiny portion of businessmen, daily wagers, farmers, jobless, government servants, non-government servants, housewives opined that vote should not be given to those candidates who participate in the social activities of the common people. On the other hand, a significant number of government servants, non-government servants, unemployed and housewives agreed that vote should be given to those candidates who participate in the social activities. The Chi square test provides significant p-value. The p-value<0.05 shows that there is an association between profession of respondent and perception to vote socially active candidates (Chi-Square Test=41.507, p-value=.015).

![Figure 10:](image)
Economic Consideration

As far as economic condition is concerned (see in Figure 11), among the total respondents some of the lower, lower middle, middle, upper middle and upper class income level respondents said that they did not support a candidate who is socially active. In contrast to that, a large number of lowest income group respondents said that vote should be given to a candidate who participates in the joys and sorrows of the common people. Similarly, some of the lower middle, middle, upper income class and a large number of those respondents who did not mention their monthly income asserted that vote should be given to that candidate who participates in social activities of the common people. The data describes a large number of the respondents of lower and lower middle income class who support the candidate who regularly participates in the social activities. It is assumed that when a candidate is actively involved in the social activities, it is very easy for common people to meet him and update him about their problems and issues. The Chi-square test provides insignificant p-value. The p-value>0.05 shows that there is no association between income of respondent and perception to vote socially active candidates (Chi-Square Test=34.558, p-value=0.075).

![Figure 11](image1.png)

Educational Consideration

In terms of education (See in Figure 12), a small portion of primary, secondary, higher secondary, graduate, post graduate and illiterate respondents rejected the perception that vote should be given on the basis of candidate's participation in the social activities (Gham aw Khadi).

![Figure 12](image2.png)
On the other hand, some of the primary and higher secondary education level voters responded that vote should be given to a candidate who participates in the social activities of the common people. Similarly, a significant number of secondary school, graduate and post graduate education level respondents stated that vote should be given to a socially active candidate. Likewise a large number of illiterate respondents agreed that vote should be given to the candidate who participates in the *Gham Khadi* of the common people. The Chi-square test provides highly significant p-value. The p-value<0.05 shows that there is an association between education of respondent and perception to vote socially active candidates (Chi-Square Test=1.229E2, p-value=.000).

**Conclusion**

In some of the developing democracies, it is assumed that some political personalities are being emerged in a relatively short period of time because of authoritarian, non-democratic, personalized civilian and military laws. Apart from that, the socio-political and economic structure of developing societies is underdeveloped and unstable. Likewise, other developing countries of the globe, Pakistani politics and political parties are also personality oriented. Majority of the political parties are controlled by a few personalities and families. Therefore, the political values and political dynamics are moving around the influential personalities in the country. In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, we can find a large number of influential political personalities in the political landscape who are important and significant determinant of voting behaviour in the province.

Five-Factor Model (FFM) of personality was operationalized through socio-economic and political variables for this study. Among the total respondents, a large number of respondents said that vote should be given on the basis of the personality of a candidate rather than political party. Likewise, a significant number of respondents agreed that vote should be given to a candidate who participates in the social activities (*Gham aw Khadi*) of common people. Furthermore, a significant number of respondents stated that vote should be given to a candidate who is economically and politically strong. Moreover, we have also found a large number of adults and young age respondents who are influenced by the personality of the candidate. The findings of the study depict that personality of candidate is playing paramount role in determining the voting behaviour of the people in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.
References


