
**UNDERSTANDING THE DYNAMICS OF PARTY IDENTIFICATION IN
PESHAWAR VALLEY OF KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA, PAKISTAN**

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ABSTRACT

Through the lens of well-known models of party identification, the expressive and instrumental model, this study seeks to improve our understanding of the dynamics of party identification in the Peshawar valley of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), Pakistan. The Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) technique is used for this multivariate analysis to grasp which factors are more persuasive to influence party identification in the region. The data for this analysis is generated by a survey of the public's opinion from a representative sample using a structured questionnaire comprising questions based on the fundamental premises of the two competing models of party identification. The analysis shows that both expressive and instrumental factors, to varying degrees, contribute to party identification. It has been discovered that instrumental factors have a greater direct influence on party identification as compared to expressive factors. The instrumental factors including the role of leadership (ROOL), political campaign and propaganda (PCPR), and institutional factors (INFA), directly influence the party identification of the individuals. However, the political party factor (POPF) of the instrumental model has an indirect effect on party identification. On the other hand, the expressive model's only factor that has a direct influence on party identification is social identification with the group (SOIG). The familial socialization factors (FASF) and peer group (PEGR) factors of the expressive model influence party identification indirectly by contributing to instrumental factors. The study concludes that 'the role of leadership', 'the institutional factors', 'the political campaign and propaganda', and 'social identification with the group' are the factors that are imperative to party identification in this region. This case appears to demonstrate that neither an expressive nor an instrumental model, on its own, can ascertain the factors that ultimately decide a person's party identification. To comprehend the phenomenon of party identification in remote cases such as the Peshawar Valley of KP, Pakistan, a hybrid model that integrates factors from both the expressive and instrumental models is indispensable.

Keywords: Party identification; Instrumental model; Expressive model; Pakistan; Peshawar Valley of KP; KP electoral politics

INTRODUCTION

Party identification has received a great deal of scholarly attention, yet the focus is mostly restricted to advanced democracies. Many developing countries in Asia and Africa are overlooked in the literature on party identification due to a dearth of reliable data, interruptions between the elections, and their turbulent democratic history.

Pakistan, an electoral autocratic country, that was founded in 1947, held its first general elections based on adult franchises in 1970. Yet, it had to wait another 18 years for the subsequent elections to be held on a party-line basis in 1988. But this return to electoral democracy, following the fall of the Zia regime (1977-88), failed to strengthen democracy. The National Assembly was dissolved after each election held in 1988, 1990, 1993, and 1997. However, since the 2002 general elections, which were held during Pervez Musharraf's military rule (1999-2008), each National Assembly has completed its five-year parliamentary term. It is also worth noting that the government in Islamabad is formed by a different political party following each general election since 2002. The election results demonstrate that electoral volatility is a defining feature of Pakistan's electoral politics. Among the four provinces of Pakistan's federal polity, KP exhibits the highest electoral volatility whereas Peshawar Valley (a central part of the province) displays the highest electoral volatility among the KP regions. Yet, the data demonstrate that this volatility has reduced over time till the 2018 elections. Party identification is an important dynamic of electoral volatility in democratic countries. Therefore, this study investigates the dynamics of party identification in this electorally volatile turned stable region and aims to grasp the factors that contribute more significantly to party identification.

Party identification refers to "the individual's affective orientation to an important group object in his environment" (Campbell et al., 1960:121). Dalton argues that individuals maintain partisan loyalties as a central belief system that work as a cue for their attitudes and behaviour. These partisan attachments are termed "a sense of party identification: a long-term, affective psychological identification with one's preferred political party". These are similar to

identifications with a social class, religious denomination, or other social group (Dalton, 2016). Jackson and colleagues define it “as a sense of personal, affective attachment to a political party based on feelings of closeness to the social groups associated with the parties” (Goren, 2005).

Peshawar Valley refers to the parts of KP that were once parts of the Peshawar district. The region consists of the Peshawar division and Mardan division and is spread across 14 national assembly constituencies. The reason for focusing on a single region is its uniqueness from other regions of the province. It is the most populous, ethnically homogenous, and economically strong region of the province. As a center of political activities, the region affects electorally the other regions of the province and is considered a swing region of the province (Ali, 2018). Because of its important role in the province's electoral history and political development, the understanding of the determinants of party identification of the individuals is crucial. The analysis of the concept in a localized context will help us understand not only the nature of party affiliation but will also pinpoint the triggers of more comprehensive political behavior in the region.

The two models, the expressive and instrumental, have different perspectives on party identification and partisanship. While the expressive model conceptualizes partisanship as a result of psychological processes, the instrumental model conceives partisanship, as the sum of political and ideological preferences (Greene, 2002; Huddy et al., 2018). This study investigates the effect of expressive factors such as family socialization, political party factors, peer group interaction, and social identification with a group and instrumental factors such as political party leadership, political campaign, propaganda, and the party system's institutional factors on individuals' party identification.

This paper investigates the effects of expressive and instrumental factors on party identification in this case by analyzing data collected by a public opinion survey from a representative sample using a structured questionnaire comprised of questions based on the fundamental premises of the two models of party identification. The results of multivariate analysis that employed the Structural Equation

Modeling (SEM) technique show that while instrumental factors have a direct influence on party identification, the expressive factors indirectly influence party identification by affecting the instrumental factors.

The politics of Pakistan and the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: The province of KP is one of the four provinces of Pakistan. While the electoral history of Pakistan has been full of electoral fluctuations since 1970 (Lee & Casal Bertoa, 2021), the province of KP is relatively the most electorally volatile. Almost all the political parties maintain supporters in the province. Throughout electoral history, the province mandated a different political party except in the 2018 election. The province is also governed twice each by a religious parties-led coalition, Awami National Party (ANP), and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI) besides other parties and alliances (Mushtaq, 2018). The trend denotes the relative fluctuating electoral outlook of KP province as compared to Punjab, Sindh, and Balochistan.

Peshawar Valley is one of the most electorally volatile regions of the KP province. Although not an official word, it is used to denote the parts of KP that were once parts of the Peshawar district (Zaman, 2022).¹ Besides, Peshawar Valley is also unique in terms of its importance for the economic, social, cultural, and political activities of the province. It is one of the most ethnically homogenous regions in Pakistan but carries different outcomes from other homogenous constituencies such as urban Sindh, Baloch countryside, Sindhi-speaking region, and Punjabi-speaking regions. Despite this political diversity, the region is considered the stronghold of Pashtun nationalism. Unexpectedly in the last two general elections (2013 and 2018), the people voted for PTI, a mainstream political party, whereas in the past no mainstream political party dominated this region. The electoral results show that as compared to other regions of the province, the independents find little support in the region.

Competing models of party identification: Expressive versus Instrumental model: There are divergent perspectives on party identification. Some scholars place the origin of party identification

¹ The other three regions are Malakand region, Hazara region and Southern region.

mainly on early political socialization where family political orientation plays an important role. They claim that the identification once established is not easily changed. On the contrary, others assert that “occasional cataclysmic national events have had the power to produce substantial realignment in long-standing divisions of political sentiment” (Campbell et al., 1960:149). Similarly, fluctuations in party identification are based on personal forces and social forces. It is argued that social, political, and economic factors in personal experiences, as well as social context, affect party identification substantially. As a result of this disagreement, two competing models of party identification emerged in the literature.

The expressive model, known as the traditional approach to party identification theorizes partisanship primarily as an affective attachment to a party, mainly develops in childhood through the influence of parents' political affiliation, remains stable for a long, and is rarely influenced by the situational factors (Dalton, 2016; Kroh & Selb, 2009). It shapes the individual personal political views, a criterion, and clues for judging the candidate and issues, frames voting decisions, and even influences the level of political participation (Dalton, 2016). As an affective attachment to a political party, the expressive model also has termed partisanship as the most stable, effective, and identity-based validating its emotional, non-rational, and nonpolitical nature (Holmberg, 2007). Likewise, it is the outcome of the long-term socialization process, which in most cases transfers from parents to descendants and defines the individual attitude and belief system (Achen, 2002; Markus Steinbrecher, 2015). The individuals inherit a party identification from their parents and the social environment in which they are raised, and it is further characterized by stability and resistance to contrary influence and works as an exogenous factor, not affected by the political variable that it is used to explain (Bakker et al., 2015; A. Campbell et al., 1960). It has been claimed that issues and partisanship are not closely related and that the public generally remains unaware of any changes in a party issue preference. It is also suggested that changes in issue positions by the political parties affect very slightly the partisans (Bankert et al., 2017).

Besides family and parents, other social structural factors including peer groups significantly affect political behavior including

party identification. It has been argued that peers 'political identification and the level of peer engagement affect political attitude substantially' (Campos et al., 2017). It means that a more politically engaged peer group encourages individual political affiliations to be more vigilant and responsive. Other studies like Brown and Colleague (MacKuen & Brown, 1987), Kenny (Kenny, 2015), and Beck (Beck, 2002), support the hypothesis that peer groups, group affiliation, and discussion networks positively affect political party identification. Similarly, the social identity theory argues that self-perceived association with a social group influences social perceptions, attitudes, and behavior. While relating with one group the individual shows a kind of favoritism towards in group and indifference towards the out-group. Equally as per social identity, "just as people identify with various racial, ethnic, and religious groups, so too do they identify with political parties" (Gaither et al., 2015). Various other studies have also found evidence to suggest that social identities are correlated with political party affiliation and that social identity theory possesses utility for understanding partisanship in all party systems (Greene, 1999).

The instrumental approach takes party identification as a running tally of political events (Bartels, 2002), changeable and responsive to events and individual attitudes on contemporary political and economic issues (Niemi & Jennings, 1991). The individual's prospective and retrospective evaluations of the leaders and political party play a significant role in political attitude. As such the party identification becomes a manifestation and outcome of party performance, ideological beliefs, and personal preferences based on the performance and evaluation of the parties and leaders (Huddy & Bankert, 2017). As a rational choice approach, the model posits man as an ideal democratic citizen choosing a course of action based on a cognitive measure of partisanship where each political event moves the running tally one way or the other way (Petracca, 1991). In the same way, it has also been asserted that the instrumental approach demands viable, sloganeering, active, and assertive political parties and leaders that compel the voters to think otherwise (Huddy & Bankert, 2017).

Based on the instrumental model various factors influence party identification. Among these the political party factors, including party agendas and policy stand on various issues (Brody & Rothenberg, 1988; Tucker et al., 2018), the political leadership; the performance, as well as the personality of the leader (Hasan, 1998; Takens et al., 2015), the political campaign and propaganda; its effectiveness and severity (Banducci & Karp, 2003; Finkel, 1987; Stevenson, 2020), the media; including print, electronic and social media campaign (Mendelsohn, 1996; Pinkleton et al., 2009), the economic as well as the prospective and retrospective evaluation of the individuals (Lewis-Beck & Martini, 2020), and the institutional rules that govern the party system as well as the elections; including the role of state institutions, the number of political parties, and the electoral market (Chung, 1996; Wu & Ali, 2020), etc., are of tantamount significance.

Building on the fundamental premises of these two models of party identification, this study has developed a theoretical model (Figure 1) that determines the association of selected factors with party identification using the SEM technique. The model determines the relationship, covariance, and direct and indirect effect among the eight selected variables. The family socializing factor (FASF), political party factor (POPF), Social identification with the groups (SOIG), and peer group (PEGR) are independent variables. The political campaign and propaganda (PCPR), the institutional factor (INFA), and the role of leadership (ROOL) are intervening variables. The party identification (PAID) is the dependent variable of the model. The model combines the expressive factors (FASF, SOIG, and PEGR) and instrumental factors (POPF, PCPR, INFA, ROOL) to get the fit model indices. The model aims to establish the association of the various variables with each other and with the dependent variable which is party identification. In other words, the model explores the role of various expressive as well as instrumental factors in the phenomenon of party identification of the individual. The association of various variables illustrated in this model is verified by the analysis of data generated through a survey of public opinions and is presented in the section on results and discussion.

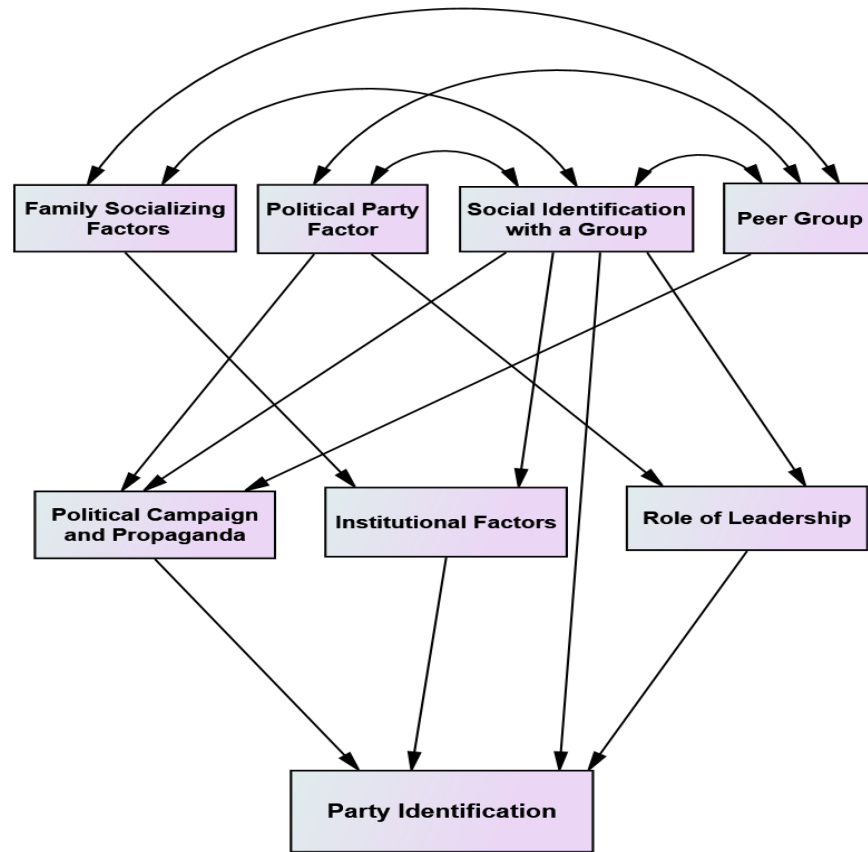


FIGURE 1: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE MODEL

RESEARCH DESIGN AND DATA

The primary data for this study come from the residents of the Peshawar Valley of the KP province of Pakistan. Peshawar Valley is an ethno-linguistically homogeneous region. According to a 1998 census report that contained information regarding the ethno linguistic composition at the district level, Peshawar Valley appeared to be a predominantly Pashto-speaking region, with Charsadda (99.4%), Mardan (98.4%), Swabi (96.4%), Nowshera (91.0%), and Peshawar (85.6%). Yet, to ensure that the sample is representative, it was

stratified by region (districts), gender, residence area (rural-urban), age, profession, and income level.

The Peshawar Valley has a large population, and it is comprised of thirty-seven provincial assembly constituencies and fourteen national assemblies with nearly evenly divided electorates. In the first stage, eight national assembly constituencies were chosen at random (two from each of the districts of Peshawar, Charsadda, Mardan, and Swabi) to interview around 1400 voters to collect data, with each constituency targeting 175 responses. Following that, seven polling stations from each constituency were selected randomly, with the target of interviewing 25 voters from each polling station. To approach the target respondents, the voter lists of the selected 56 polling stations were used as a sampling frame. However, at this stage, interviewees were reached using the convenient sampling strategy.

To ascertain the survey's response rate and whether respondents could understand the survey questions, a pilot survey was carried out. Following the pilot with 10% of the respondents, the field enumerators were trained. Subsequently, the field staff conducted in-person interviews. The questionnaire was translated into Urdu and read out for illiterate voters in that language or Pashto if desired. The response rate was 88.5%, with 1240 out of 1400 questionnaires returned and 1196 deemed suitable for analysis. The demographic information of the respondents is summarized in the following table.

TABLE-1: RESPONDENTS' REGION, RESIDENTIAL AREA, GENDER, AND AGE

Region		Residential Area		Gender		Age	
District	Sample size f (%)	Rural f (%)	Urban f (%)	Male f (%)	Female f (%)	< 40 years f (%)	≥ 40 years f (%)
Swabi	310(25.9)	230(19.2)	80(6.7)	195(16.3)	115 (9.6)	143(12.0)	167(14.0)
Mardan	294(24.6)	219(18.3)	75(6.3)	165(13.8)	129(10.8)	161(13.5)	133(11.1)
Charsadda	299(25.0)	257(21.5)	42(3.5)	191(16.0)	108(09.0)	131(11.0)	168(14.0)
Peshawar	293(24.5)	127(10.6)	166(13.9)	205 (17.1)	88(07.4)	117(9.8)	176(14.7)
Total	1196 (100)	833(69.6)	363(30.4)	756 (63.2)	440 (36.8)	552 (46.1)	644 (53.9)

A structured questionnaire comprised of questions based on the core assumptions of the two competing theories of party identification was used to collect public opinion. Each component of these models was

then operationalized into seven questions to evaluate the effects of expressive and instrumental factors on party identification. The details in this respect are presented in the table below.

TABLE 2: EXPRESSIVE AND INSTRUMENTAL FACTORS OF PARTY IDENTIFICATION

Expressive Factors and operational variables	Instrumental Factors and operational variables
<p><i>Family Socializing Factors</i> The family head advise supporting a party. Family members discuss politics at home. Family members participate in party activities. Family members take part in election campaigns. Family members take part in political rallies. Family members attend the party's corner meetings. The family raises funds/financially supports the party.</p>	<p><i>Role of leadership</i> People support the party because of its leadership. Your party's leader is an eloquent orator. Your party's leader is a qualified person. Your party's local leader has a strong family background. Your party's leader responds to public demands. Your party's leader possesses strong communication skills. Your party's leader possesses moral character.</p>
<p><i>Peer Group</i> You discuss politics with colleagues. Your colleagues take part in political activities. Your colleagues are members of a political party. You socialize and interact with your colleagues. You join colleagues in political campaigns. You join colleagues in political rallies. You join colleagues in political protests.</p>	<p><i>Political Campaign and Propaganda</i> You hosted a flag during a political campaign. You take part in the party's corner meetings. You raised slogans in political rallies. Political leaders carry out local development work. You used social media for a political campaign. You take part in propaganda campaigns during elections. Political leaders contacted you during elections.</p>

<p><i>Social Identification with a Group</i> You dislike the insult of party members. You are eagerly attached to the party leaders. you feel pleased with your party members. You are contented with party performance. You feel pleased when others praise your party. You feel connected with the party members. You believe that party followers share certain traits.</p>	<p><i>Institutional factors/political party system as a factor</i> Political parties are advocating different manifestos. Political parties are launching identical manifestos. Autonomy is essential for the success of the federation. Traditional political parties are performing well. People switch parties when the local party leader quits. New political parties are central to democratic transition. People appreciate the slogan of change.</p>
	<p><i>Political Party factor</i> People support a political party because of its manifesto. People support a party because of its past performance. People support a party for its developmental projects. People support a party for its pledges concerning the reduction in unemployment and poverty. People support a party that solves poor people's problems. people support a party that runs an effective political campaign. People support a party that manages large rallies.</p>

To analyze the data, Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) is employed to conduct Kendall's tau-b test and Chi-square statistical test that shows the association of the variables with each other and with dependent variables. The Analysis of Moment Structures (AMOS) is employed for structural equation modeling to find the direct and indirect impact of independent variables on dependent variables.

RESULTS, ANALYSIS, AND DISCUSSION

The results of the analysis are presented in Table 3 and Table 4. Table 3 demonstrates a fit model summary, while Table 4 presents regression weights and variance and covariance of the model. The indices of the fit model indicate the perfect correspondence between the observation matrix and the estimated matrix. The chi-square value is 63.733, (df=12) with a p-value 0.000 less than the significant level of 0.05. The significant p-value confirms the model's fitness. Furthermore, the chi-square calculated value near zero was adequate and the model yielded satisfactory goodness of fit. The fitness of the proposed model is further confirmed by the given values of certain indices. Table 1 demonstrates the GFI value (.987), AGFI value (.962), CFI value (.986) TLI value (.968), and IFI value (.987) as per the estimates of recommended model. The model also indicates a (.060) value of RMSEA that is less than the model fit value of .080 and does not exceed the lower bound of the 90 percent interval confidence. Hence, the proposed model is confirmed and accepted.

FIGURE 2: PATH DIAGRAM PREDICTING PARTY IDENTIFICATION OF THE MODEL

Model	Chi-square	GFI	AGFI	CFI	TLI	IFI	RMSEA
Recommended proposed	≥ .90	≥ .90	≥ .90	≥ .90	≥ .90	≥ .90	> .08
	Value 63.733, p-.000, df=12	.987	.962	.986	.968	.987	.060

The findings of the analysis, as described in Table 4, confirm the direct and indirect effects of factors on party identification, as illustrated in the conceptual model presented in Figure 1 and explained below.

The model results confirm the direct effect of social identification with a group on party identification with a β -value of .173 (standardized) and .169 (un-standardized). The direct effect is further supported by the significant p-value of 0.000 accepting the hypothesis that social identification with the group among individuals directly influences the party identification of the individuals. Besides the direct effect, the model also demonstrates the indirect effect of social identification with a group. This finding thus asserts that party identification of individuals is directly and indirectly influenced by social identification with a group. In other words, it is affirmed that social identification with a group (i.e., the psychological attachment of being part of a group or political party among individuals) directly and indirectly affects party identification in terms of stability, strength, and level of party identification. Various other studies have also found evidence to suggest that social identities are correlated with political party affiliation and that social identity theory possesses utility for understanding partisanship in all party systems (Greene, 1999; Huddy et al., 2018). In line with the social identity theory, this study upheld that party identification in Peshawar Valley is directly and indirectly influenced by the social identity of the individuals. While the direct influence denotes expressive party identification, the indirect effect of the social identification for party identification substantiates that partisans are instrumentally attached to the parties.

Likewise, the results as indicated in Table 4 provide a β -value of .251 (standardized) and .277 (un-standardized) for the direct effect of the role of leadership on party identification that confirms that leadership directly influences the partisan attitude. It means that the individual's affiliation, and stability with a political party, or its volatility between the parties is influenced by the leadership role, qualities, character, and interaction with the individuals. The significant role of political leadership evaluation in elections, in influencing the political attitudes of individuals and affecting partisanship is substantiated by various studies (Bittner, 2011; Garzia & Rosema, 2011; Hasan, 1998; Iversen, 1994; Takens et al., 2015). Similarly, it is stated that in Pakistani politics the political parties are personality oriented. "The political values and political dynamics are moving around the influential personalities in the country. In Khyber

Pakhtunkhwa, many influential political personalities in the political landscape are important and significant determinants of voting behavior in the province” (Shah et al., 2019).

Similarly, the institutional factors' direct effect on party identification is indicated by the β -value of .490 (standardized) and .677 (un-standardized). The rules that govern the election, the manifestoes, and the number of political parties competing in the elections strongly induce the strength and stability of party identification. The “institutional rules, procedures, and constraints of any given democratic regime influence volatility” suggest that party identification alters with substantial variations and adjustments in the institutional rules governing party competition, democratic system, and elections (Roberts & Wibbels, 1999). Likewise, the number of parties that exist in the political system, party system fragmentation, the degree of polarization of parties, and the age of parties are other such factors that directly or inversely affect the volatility of voters that define the political behaviour and party identification (Madrid, 2005).

The data further indicates a β -value of -.127 (standardized) and -.117 (un-standardized) for the direct effect of political campaigns and propaganda on party identification. The result demonstrates that political campaigns and propaganda directly but negatively affect the stability, level, and volatility of party identification. It means that political campaigns and propaganda strongly induce volatility. The higher the political campaign and propaganda, the higher will be the volatility between the parties, and the lower will be the stability in partisanship between the two elections. Finkel's studies demonstrate the significant relevancy of the political campaign and political participation in partisanship (Finkel, 1987). Stevenson maintained that “Electoral campaigns are the primary means by which voters are informed of a political party's policy or a candidate's views”(Stevenson, 2020). In Pakistani politics apart from other structural factors the political campaign and propaganda are regarded as significant factors that influence voter attitudes and behavior towards parties (Mamoon et al., 2017; Ullah et al., 2020).

The significant effect of the above three instrumental factors i.e., the leadership role, the institutional factor, and the political campaign and propaganda, further ensures that these are mostly the instrumental

factors of party identification that affect the individual's political attitude towards the parties.

Besides the direct effects, the model also shows the indirect effect on party identification. As illustrated in the data, the family socialization factor indirectly influences party identification through the medium of institutional factors. The results of the model as provided in Table 5 confirm the indirect effect of family socialization factors on party identification with a β -value of .080 (standardized) and .071 (un-standardized). The p-value of 0.002 further supports the significant importance of the indirect effect. The hypothesis of the conceptual model that the family socialization factors have an indirect effect on party identification through the medium of institutional factors among the individuals is verified. It means that the difference and similarities of the manifestos of the political parties in the party system, the concern about provincial autonomy, the concern about the old political parties as well as the new parties, and the support for the slogan of change is equally induced by the family socializing factor in the society that further affect the party identification.

TABLE 4: REGRESSION WEIGHTS AND VARIANCE OF THE MODEL (N=1196)

Direct Effect			Standardized Regression Weights	Estimate	S.E.	C.R.	P
PEGR	--->	POCP	.471	.497	.032	15.710	***
SOIG	--->	POCP	.254	.267	.033	8.084	***
FASF	--->	INFA	.163	.105	.019	5.540	***
SOIG	--->	INFA	.210	.148	.021	7.123	***
POPF	--->	ROOL	.395	.453	.029	15.430	***
POPF	--->	POCP	.108	.148	.030	4.923	***
SOIG	--->	ROOL	.322	.284	.023	12.566	***
INFA	--->	PAID	.490	.677	.032	20.937	***
ROOL	--->	PAID	.251	.277	.029	9.627	***
POCP	--->	PAID	-.127	-.117	.028	-4.226	***
SOIG	--->	PAID	.173	.169	.032	5.275	***
Covariance							
PEGR	<-->	POPF		14.147	1.121	12.622	***

PEGR	<-->	FASF		25.549	1.720	14.855	***
FASF	<-->	SOIG		20.583	1.601	12.855	***
PEGR	<-->	SOIG		39.490	1.831	21.563	***
POPF	<-->	SOIG		18.003	1.208	14.907	***
Variance							
PEGR				52.246	2.084	25.065	***
POPF				31.074	1.271	24.444	***
FASF				62.919	2.574	24.444	***
SOIG				52.391	2.088	25.094	***
e1				26.917	1.101	24.444	***
e2				23.707	.970	24.444	***
e3				25.664	1.050	24.444	***
e4				30.353	1.242	24.444	***

Various studies contend that family factors reflect political behaviour among children. Achen contends that children adopt parents' partisan as a rational choice from the available options (Achen, 2002). Tedin demonstrates that children are more likely to perceive parental political attitudes accurately (Tedin, 1974). Roker and colleagues have documented how strong political participation and involvement among parents affect young people's political development (Roker et al., 2010). In the Pakistani context, in families where parents or other family members are expressively associated with political parties and take active participation and involvement in politics and political activities, adolescents significantly follow suit (Mehmood & Rauf, 2018). Rahman and colleagues' study also supports the claim that family is one of the many important determinants that influence the political behaviour of individuals in the KP province of Pakistan (Rahman et al., 2021). This study adds positively to the literature on the impact of the family factor on adolescent partisanship attitude. This study thus upheld that among other factors the family socializing factor determines party identification through its influence on the institutional factor of the party system.

Similarly, the results of the model as indicated in Table 5 indicate an indirect but negative effect of the peer group on party identification through the medium of political campaign and

propaganda among the individuals. The β -value of $-.060$ (standardized), and $-.090$ (un-standardized) confirm that there is a negative indirect effect in the relationship described. The p-value of $.001$ supports the significant negative indirect effect of the peer group on party identification through the medium of political campaign and propaganda. In line with the hypothesis Campos et al. study find that peer engagement with individual affects personal engagement in political activities, enhance political knowledge, and carve political polarization among those who are less engaged earlier (Campos et al., 2017). Other studies like Brown and Colleague (MacKuen & Brown, 1987), Kenny (Kenny, 2015), and Beck (Beck, 2002), support the hypothesis that peer groups and discussion networks positively affect political party identification. Memon and colleagues in their study on the agents of political socialization in Pakistani society substantiate the role of peer groups through political interaction, discussion, and interpersonal communication as highly significant for motivating political attitudes among individuals (Memon et al., 2018). The study thus adds to the literature on the indirect role of the peer group in developing party identification through political campaigns and propaganda. The indirect influence of peer groups through the medium of political campaigns and propaganda further strengthens the instrumental model of party identification.

In the same vein, the results illustrate that the political party factor which is an instrumental party identification factor influences the partisanship attitude indirectly through the medium of the role of leadership and political campaign and propaganda. The results as demonstrated in Table 5 indicate a β -value of $.085$ (standardized) and $.078$ (un-standardized) confirming the indirect effect of the political party factor on party identification among the individual. The indirect effect is also supported by the significant p-value of 0.001 , that further confirms the significant indirect effect of the political party factor on party identification, especially its, stability, strength, and level of partisanship. It denotes that it is through the political campaign and propaganda and the leadership of the political parties that individuals evaluate the political party's performance and image in the political system. The narration underscores the importance of electoral campaigns and leadership in political party factors as well as in party

identification. The literature on political behaviour demonstrates the effective role of party position and the evaluation of the party position (Franklin & Jackson, 1983) as well as the short-term evaluations of the parties, the leaders, and the economy as significant factors in party identification (Tucker et al., 2018). Similarly, it's not only the political forces that are important but the personal perceptions of individuals or the medium, most importantly the political campaign, the rallies, the corner meetings through which this information is provided, and the leadership that affect the individual attitude towards the party (Carsey & Layman, 2006). Usman and others, while describing the determinants of the effective electoral campaign in Pakistan have also stated the effective role of party manifestos, campaign leadership, and the voters' preference of vote in affecting the political behaviour of individuals and their involvement in political campaigns that positively coincide support the hypothesis (Usman et al., 2013). Electoral campaigns are more significant in electoral outcomes, but campaigns are the strategies that generalize and popularize the manifestos in the masses. Similarly, these are manifestos that define the campaign's strategy for the elections, and ultimately campaign explains and popularizes the parties (Ahmed & Ishaq, 2018). Eder et al., also maintained a similar finding when they described that although there is an insignificant role of manifestos in election outcomes indirectly it is the manifestoes that play a significant role in providing guidelines and direction to election campaigns (Eder et al., 2017).

The significant direct effect of the instrumental factors i.e., the leadership role, the institutional factor, and the political campaign and propaganda, and the indirect effect of family socializing factors, an expressive peer group, further ensures that these are mostly the instrumental factors of party identification that affect the individual's political attitude towards the parties. Although social identification with a group is an expressive factor but affects party identification directly as well as indirectly through other instrumental factors. Similarly, the political party factor is an instrumental factor affected indirectly but through institutional factors.

The study thus demonstrates that neither an expressive nor an instrumental model, on its own, can ascertain the factors that ultimately decide a person's party identification. To comprehend the

phenomenon of party identification in remote cases such as the Peshawar Valley of KP, Pakistan, a hybrid model that integrates factors from both the expressive and instrumental models is indispensable.

TABLE 5: INDIRECT EFFECT OF THE MODEL 3 (N=1196)

Indirect Path					Un-standardized Estimate				Standardized Estimate			
					Effect	Lower	Upper	P-Value	Effect	Lower	Upper	P-value
SOIG	- - - >	POCP INFA ROOL	- - - >	PAID	.148	.099	.193	.003	.151	.104	.194	.002
FASF	- - - >	INFA	- - - >	PAID	.071	.041	.099	.002	.080	.046	.110	.002
POPF	- - - >	ROOL POCP	- - - >	PAID	.108	.078	.145	.001	.085	.061	.116	.001
PEGR	- - - >	POCP	- - - >	PAID	-.058	-.090	-.029	.001	-.060	-.091	-.030	.001

CONCLUSION

The study aimed to investigate the party identification factors in the Peshawar Valley of KP province of Pakistan. Representative data collected from 1196 respondents based on a well-structured six-level Likert scale survey questionnaire is analyzed and interpreted using SPSS. The AMOS is used to apply SEM techniques to establish a multivariate analysis of the dependent variables: the family socializing factor, peer group social identification with a group, instrumental factors, political party factor, political campaign and propaganda, institutional factor, the role of leadership and the dependent variable; party identification.

The study concludes that social identification with a group influences directly individual behaviour while affiliating with the party. Changes in social identity led to weakening bonds with the party or switching the party. Similarly, political campaigns and propaganda also directly affect partisanship. The individual's participation and involvement in political campaigns and propaganda, especially in

corner meetings, political rallies, campaigns, and propaganda activities as well as the developmental work by a party as a part of political campaigning are the various inducing factors that affect partisanship attitude. Additionally, the charismatic political leaders and the other personal characteristics of the leaders such as experience, eloquence, qualification, family background, attitude towards public demands, communication skills, and character strongly induce partisanship. Similarly, the institutional factors, the degree of polarization of parties that are exhibited in manifestoes, the number of parties that exist in the political system, party system fragmentation, the age of parties, and the sloganeering of reforms in the form of change affect the volatility of voters directly affect party identification.

Similarly, the family socializing factor, that is the advice of the head of the family and the political manoeuvring within the family affect the individual's institutional choices in the party system, more importantly, the choice of new and old political parties, the number of political parties, and the polarity within the party system. Similarly, the peer group and the political choices and participation of the peer group motivate and affect the individual's participation and role in political campaigns and propaganda that ultimately strengthen party identification. Similarly, the agenda, manifesto, role and performance, developmental work in the locality, and the effective campaign and rallies of the political party seem to strengthen and enhance not only the role and participation in political campaigns and propaganda but also the trust in the role, and personality of the leaders.

In short, the study concludes that party identification is the function of the direct influence of the political party leadership, the political campaign and propaganda, the institutional factor of the party system, and the social identification with a group in the Peshawar Valley of KP province of Pakistan. Likewise, the family socialization factor, the political party factors, the peer group interaction, and the social identification with a group indirectly influence party identification in Peshawar Valley of KP province through the other factors. The study highlights the stronger and more significant influence of instrumental factors on the nature of party identification in Peshawar Valley as compared to the expressive factors that influence indirectly. The study strengthens the assertion that party identification

in Peshawar Valley is fluid, dynamic, and changeable and rests on instrumental factors.

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