

## Voting Behaviour Of Educated Youth In Pakistan: A Study Of Multan City

### Abstract

Youth is a precious resource of any country and their participation in democratic process is considered very important to strengthen the political system. That is why youth's voting behaviour is a major concern of most of the democratic countries of the world. The general studied of voting behavior in the electoral politics of Pakistan has been taken by a number of foreign and indigenous scholar with their particular viewpoints without giving empirical observation, except a few. This paper focuses on the relative impact of various social and political factors in determining the voting behavior of youth in general elections of Pakistan held in 2013. Subsequent, understanding of political judgment of educated youth directs us to assess the behavioural nature of the process of democratization in Pakistan.

### Introduction:

Voting is a term used in democratic politics, to elect the leadership to run the affairs of the government. Voting actually provides opportunity to the citizens to play their active role in the state matters instead of being passive or inactive in political process. Exercising the right to vote in elections is the most common form of political participation (Flanigan and Zingale 1998, p6). Election results reveal various aspects of human behaviour to identify the factors and considerations that shape their political disposition and voting preferences.

Social scientists, generally conceived that youth is not interested in democratic participation through voting as it is evident from low turnout of youth voting patterns in the elections. This behaviour of young voter towards electoral politics raises many questions. Do they consider ballot box as a mechanism of social change or not? Do they trust electoral process or not (Edward, 2006)? How they decide to vote? Leighley and Nagler, (1992) believe that voting decision is more influenced by demographic factors than socio economic factors. Whereas Lednum (2006) gives priority to race and ethnic factors in voting behaviour.

Shahwar and Asim (2012) conclude that although political loyalty plays an important role but *biradri* ( racial ties) is more strong and dominant factor to formulate the opinion about voting in Pakistan. Ahmad and Naseem (2011) in their

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comparative study of subcontinent have presented similar views about cultural influence in determining the voter behaviour . However, Wilder (1999) rejects *biradri* as a determining factor of voting behaviour. He considers party, leader identification and patronage as the most influential factors in voting behaviour. Khan (2014) discusses about changing / emerging trends in voting behavior. Now People are interested in politics and trust the democratic system and elections to bring change in the country, but they have lack of trust on politicians. It is also believed that media and political campaigns persuaded the voters to recognize their right of vote and power of the vote.

National and local issues, leader's charisma, party manifesto, party affiliation, candidature, religion, ethnicity, family or *biradri*, language and personal interests are the factors that influence the voting behavior in one way or the other. In this context, paper will discuss that how far these social and political factors influenced the voting behaviour of educated youth in Multan city in general elections 2013.

### **Theoretical Exposition of Voting Behaviour**

There are various social and political factors that shape the voting behavior. Voting behavior determine the trends in electoral politics which ultimately define the level of democratization in the state and society matrix. For scientific study of voting behavior, sociological model, psychological model and rational choice theory are considered fundamental.

In sociological approach to voting behavior, Lazarsfeld (1944) suggests that voting choice is influenced by group loyalties which are rooted in religion, race or class. Maximum people decide about their vote on their predisposition, based on social group identity, region and religion. This predisposition influences the voting behaviour. They decide about their vote before election campaigns. Political campaigns attract the undecided voters, not the committed voters. So under this model voting is not an individual act. It is a collective activity in which social group to which one belongs has preference. This approach is also known as Columbia approach.

Psychological model has two aspects, with one emphasizing the role of partisanship or party identification (Flanigan and Zingale, 1998) and other highlights the political efficacy of individuals about their participation. This model is also called party identification model.

Partisanship holds that voters have long-standing psychological bonding to specific political party, and seldom change their commitment of voting for them. Youth get impressed by partisanship of their parents. These voters usually remain loyal and affirm with the party, thus it reflects the family influence in voting behaviour. Partisanship has very strong influence over individual because youth inherit this partisanship from their parents. Political efficacy school of thought emphasizes on the level of trust and confidence of the citizens upon their political participation, that direct youth to vote. The relationship between trust and confidence is considered as gratification with political system, and efficacy shows that high subjective competence which is positively related to increase satisfaction

with the political system that motivate for greater political participation.

In contrast to above discussed models, rational choice theory adopts utility maximization concept of economics. Voters make cost and benefit analysis before deciding to cast vote to any particular party or candidate. (Anthony Downs 1957). It is an instrumental and individualistic approach. As vote choice is a cost and benefit analysis between voter's preferences and party policies, voters make estimation that which political party has maximum capacity and capability to deliver or fulfill their demands. This approach does not entirely ignore the social group identity, it works until one does not realize the individual preference according to one's position in the society.

These are the general theoretical models which had been functional in the field of electoral politics to understand the voting behavior. These theoretical models are generally followed to determine the voting behavior of youth scientifically, in the 2013 elections of Pakistan in Multan.

### **Methodology**

To approach the issue, Qualitative research technique are adopted, combine with quantitative method. Empirical study of this research is based on primary data, collected through inductive research method. A questionnaire( see annexure 1) has been prepared based on various social and political factors such as national and local issues, leader's charisma, party manifesto, party affiliation, candidature, religion, ethnicity, family or biradri, language and personal interests and media influence, in order to determine the voting behaviour of educated youth in Multan city. Through convenient sampling, 250 respondents both male and female have been selected from Multan city (area under Multan Development Authority jurisdiction). Respondents belonged to the age group of 18 – 35 years with minimum secondary education.

Multan district is divided into 117 union councils (UCs) and Multan city is consists of 68 UCs.

Among 68 union councils of Multan city, 10 UCs were selected through convenient sampling. At second stage, 25 localities were selected among these 10 UCs, later 10 respondents were conveniently taken from each locality. In this way, all the respondents were conveniently chosen from the different UCs of Multan city.

Most of the study is based on primary data, collected through questionnaire and interview that provides an insight to the opinion of educated youth about candidate and political parties of Pakistan and how they decide to vote? Collected data is analysed by Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software. The relationship among the concerning social and political variables of voting behavior measure through Chi-Square Test . In Chi-Square p value denotes the probability value and df shows the degree of freedom. Various books, research papers and news papers have been consulted. Reports of Election Commission, PILDAT, FAFEN, MDA and NADRA are also analysed for the factual understanding. This study is limited to Multan city which eventually apprehend the trends in voting behaviour of educated youth in Pakistan.

## **Research locale**

Multan is the 5<sup>th</sup> largest city of Pakistan, located in the Southern part of Punjab province. Total area of Multan district is 3720 square kilometers with 3.06 million of population. Literacy rate is 43.3% (Master Plan Report for Multan 2008-2028). Multan is oldest living city of South Asia and can be traced back to 320 BC. The old Multan was walled city with six gates and well known for its historic buildings, shrines, significant architecture, handicrafts and agriculture. Administratively, Multan district is divided into six towns and these towns are further divided into 185 union councils (UC). These six towns are Bosan, Shah Rukhn Alam, Musa Pak Shaheed, Sher Shah, Shujabad and Jalalpur Pirvala. Almost 50% area of the district is covered by Jalalpur and Shjabad towns which constitute highest area but with less population. Multan corporation has 68 UC whereas district council has 117 UCs. Shujabad and Jalalpur corporations have also been divided into 12 wards each. Multan city has accommodation of almost 2.0 million population (MDA annual activity report 2013-14). The total number of voters in Multan is at least 2,113,892. Among the registered voters, 1,134,593 are men while 979,299 are women, with male proportion of 52.48% against female proportion of 47.52% (NADRA 2013).

Area under Multan Development Authority (MDA) jurisdiction spread over 362 sq kilometers., which covers important establishments like Bahauddin Zakariya University, Pak Arab Fertilizer, Industrial State and others. Study area of this research is limited to Multan city, under the jurisdiction of MDA. There are 6 National Assembly seats and 13 Provincial Assembly seats for Multan district. Almost all major political parties such as Pakistan People's Party, Pakistan Muslim League (N), Jamaat-e- Islami and Pakistan Tehreek-e- Insaf have their existence in this area. Some regional parties have also been asserting their power to redress their grievances and led Saraikistan Movement but they have not been able to develop a significant position in the electoral politics of Multan, that is why national parties are in better position to context the elections.

## **Contextual History of Elections in Pakistan**

Elections are the legitimize process for the transfer of government from one set up to another. It has the function of representing the political choice of the people and creates a link between the state and society. Electoral history of Pakistan depicts least interest of state elites towards institutionalization of political process. First constituent assembly (1947-1954) of Pakistan was indirectly elected by the provincial assemblies of 1945-1946 elections. 1945-46 elections were held under restricted franchise and separate electorate. First constituent assembly of Pakistan was dissolved in October 1954 by the Governor General, Gulam Muhammad and second assembly (1955-1958) was again elected indirectly without following electoral procedures. National elections held under Ayub Khan in 1964, were also indirect, through Electoral College of 80,000 Basic Democrats.

Military governments (1958-69) (1969-71) further deteriorated the democratic process for their ascendancy in the state structure of Pakistan.

However, provincial elections on the basis of universal franchise were conducted in Punjab and NWFP in 1951 and in Sindh and in East Bengal in 1953 and 1954 respectively.

Pakistan experienced first general election in 1970, on the basis of adult franchise and joint electorate. Political parties mobilized the voters on national and provincial issues. Party programs and leader charisma were the significant factors in determining voting behavior. Election campaign of Awami League (AL) was dominated by the demand of maximum provincial autonomy, based on six-point agenda. However, Islamic socialism, nationalization of industries and land reforms were the agenda of Pakistan Peoples Party, while Islamic parties opposed Bhutto's socialist agenda and campaigned for Islam based political and economic system in Pakistan. Election results of 1970, gave a clear verdict in favour of Awami League in East Pakistan and PPP in West Pakistan. PPP secured majority seats from Sindh and Punjab. In Punjab, traditional families who had represented the legislative bodies since 1921 elections were defeated, like Gilani, Noon, Legari, and Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan. The emergence of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, in the political system of Pakistan indicated the preference of voters for the solution of their problems over the traditional voting patterns (Craig Baxter, 1971, p.213).

The General Elections of 1977 were mainly between PPP and Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). PNA was the combination of nine opposition parties, dominated by right wing conservative and Islamic parties. PPP campaigned for its socio-economic policies and performance of its government. On the other side, PNA criticized the economic policies and authoritarian rule of PPP. The issue of Islam versus socialism was dominant during the election campaigns. In the scenario, political factors like political parties, leaders, party policies and programs were much influential in voting behaviour (Lawrence Ziring, 1977). Both parties however, used other elements to induce their voters such as religion, caste or *biradri*. PPP also relied on traditional rural elites to counter the opposition, while PNA stressed on Islamic revivalism. (M.G. Weinbaum, 1977). Election results were controversial and PNA started a move against Bhutto. Consequently, Army Chief General Zia-ul-Haq, imposed martial law in the country on 5 July 1977.

Military government of General Zia-ul-Haq hold direct General elections in 1985 but on non-party based and separate electorate to exclude the political parties from electoral process. Due to non-party base elections politicians were more concerned about local issues, that is why traditional factors like *biradri* ties, personal influence of candidate and feudal social basis became more influential in voting behaviour (Rasul Baksh Rais, 1985). Candidates highlighted their devotion to Islam and hardly discussed social, economic and political issues. Resultantly, social division and ethnicity sharpened in Pakistan. On the other hand, in the four provinces well known landlord and tribal families entered in the legislative body while, in urban areas candidates from business community, entered in the politics.

In the General Elections of 1988, major contestants were PPP and nine rightwing-Islamist parties' alliance, Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI). ISI was behind the formation of IJI to counter the political strength of PPP. Benazir Bhutto returned to Pakistan in 1988 from self-imposed exile, made emotional appeals,

pointed out sufferings of workers during the military rule of Zia and Bhutto's execution. IJI emphasized on the continuity of Islamization policies of Zia. Election campaigns were not based on issues but on personalities.

In General Elections of 1990, 1993 and 1997 two party system was clearly visible in the political system of Pakistan. Rivalries and issues were similar to 1988 elections. Both political parties PPP and PML N criticized each other while Islamic political parties failed to show themselves as true representative of masses. In fact, Islamic parties were divided on religious ideologies and could not gain prominent place during the respective elections. Both parties replace each other governments consecutively. A new political party, Pakistan Tahrik-i-Insaf (PTI) under the leadership of Imran Khan contested 1997 elections, but failed to attract the voters. The influence of social factors and political factors in voting behaviour was noticeable during these elections. Patronage is considered the main determinant of voting behavior in rural areas and party identification in urban areas. The agriculturist class and feudal elites were associated with PPP and urban industrialist class supported PML (N) (Andrew wilder, 1999).

General Elections 2002 were conducted under military Government of Musharraf in extraordinary situation. PML(Q) and Muttahidda Majlis-i-Amal (MMA a religious-political alliance) were formed under the patronage of military government. Religion and anti-US policy highly affected the voting behavior of voters. That is why, MMA got unprecedented success in the elections from NWFP now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) and Balochistan. PML(Q) was the largest party in the National Assembly. (M. Waseem, 2002). The absence of main leadership of PPP and PML(N) considered the reason of PML(Q) success.

General Elections 2008 took place after the assassination of PPP leader, Benazir Bhutto. It is a general perception that people were emotionally attached specifically with the leader and generally with the party that is why PPP swept the polls. Political factors, party identification and leader's charisma were dominant in voting behavior. Islamic political parties returned to their previous position because demographic and external factors which supported them to win 2002 Elections had lost its place in 2008. The law and order situation, internal security issues, energy crisis and economic problems were generally raised during Election campaigns. That Election was considered as a step forward towards democratic process of Pakistan.

In this background, some of the features of Elections and behavior of voters developed. In the following section General Elections 2013 is being studied to analyse the voting behavior of educated youth of Multan city.

### **General Elections 2013**

Elections for the fourteenth parliament of Pakistan were held on 11<sup>th</sup> May, 2013. These elections have special significance in the electoral politics of Pakistan. First elected democratic government led by PPP, completed its five years and transferred power to a civilian successor through the electoral process. These elections were held under the challenging security environment that affects the voters, political parties, candidates, the election administration and media as well.

General Elections 2013 were closely contested between PPP, PML (N) and PTI. The elections have been contested on the slogans of corruption, governance, economy, war on terror, energy crises and change (New Pakistan). Nawaz Sharif in his campaign highlighted his previous government performances, construction of Pakistan’s first motorway, making Pakistan the first Islamic nuclear state, performance of the Punjab government and promised to bring money back from Swiss Accounts of PPP’s Zardari. Imran Khan has led a popular campaign against drone attacks and insisted on to negotiate with Taliban. PPP campaign remained limited only to newspapers and television. Party had no mass contact and did not hold political processions due to threat from militant groups ( European Union Election Commission Observation Mission 2013) . Despite giving prominence to Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Benazir, PPP could not attract the voters. Poor performance, wrong policies, corruption scandals and energy crises during ppp rule were the major factors of this response from the public. This change indicates that delivery means a lot and image of the leader cannot be taken for granted. Social media played an important role in this election especially in rural areas to develop consciousness among the people about politics, political issues and the power of their vote.

Despite the high numbers of attacks and level of threats, overall turnout in the General Elections 2013 was 55% a much higher percentage as compare to the elections since 80s. The PML (N) won a considerable majority of 179 seats in National Assembly. For PPP, this election proved a setback as it secured only 39 seats of National Assembly. Whereas, PTI emerged as third largest party after winning 35 National Assembly seats. Among the religious parties only Jamait-e Ulma-e-Islam (JUI) (Fazlur Rahman) and Jammata-e-Islami (JI) won 10 and 03 national assembly seats respectively.(Election Commission of Pakistan 2013).

Regionalization of all national political parties in Pakistan was observed in this election. PPP maintained its traditional vote bank in rural Sindh, which enabled the party to form a government in that province. MQM scored seats in urban Sindh. The PML (N) got most of its votes in the Punjab. The PTI and JUI (F) won in KPK as did local regional parties in Baluchistan.

**Party Position in Multan**

Table 1. General Election 2013 in Multan

Party	Seats in National	Seats in Provincial
	Assembly	Assembly
PML-N	04	11
PTI	02	02

PPP-P	0	0
JI	0	0
Independent	0	0

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Source: Election Commission of Pakistan

In Multan, PML (N) had won 4 National Assembly seats and 11 provincial assembly seats thus became a majority party in the region. PTI appeared as second largest party after winning 2 seats of National Assembly and 2 seats of Provincial Assembly. There was neck to neck fight between PML (N), PTI and PPP candidates. For religious parties such as JI, Multan constituencies proved unfortunate as it could not win even a single seat. The Gillani family had significant vote bank however, candidates of PML( N) Sikandar Bosan and Javed Ali Shah defeated Gillanis in 2013 General Elections. Gillani supported the demand of Saraiki Province to address longstanding grievances of the region but unfortunately this slogan did not influence the voting behavior of voters. In urban areas business class supported PML( N) to secure their economic benefits while educated urban middle class supported PTI. People who were frustrated by PPP government policies also supported PTI. That is how PTI was able to replace PPP in Multan.

### **Voting Behaviour**

The increased voter participation is a positive sign of growing political maturity towards democratic process. It also shows strong desire of voters to participate in the electoral process, both in the urban and rural areas and among all age groups. In spite of major threats from terrorists, voters majority participated in the election. PTI has evidently attracted urban youth and mobilized them in these elections. Khan mobilized not only Pakistan's upper classes but also found support among the country's young men and women. He inspired them through the slogan of 'New Pakistan'. In short span of time, he created hype in the politics of Pakistan. He mainly relied on votes from Pakistan's posh urban localities but he might ignore that there are not enough posh localities in Pakistan and to win the elections, the support of middle class is inevitable. Middle class has the force to bring change in state and society (M. Waseem, interview,2016). Meanwhile, PML(N) timely launched youth initiative program, which included distribution of laptops to brilliant students of public sector universities to counter the influence of PTI. The election results indicated that the young vote bank in Pakistan was divided. PTI contributed to a major breakthrough in traditional voting behaviour, which increased the sense of accountability function of elections that is evident from PPP's defeat in 2013 general election. Leader's personality some has affected the voters but people also voted for the solution of their problems. Regional identities of the political parties also played a part to influence the voting behavior. Participation of women voters was reasonably low, reports maintained shortage of over 10 million female voter as compared to male voters.



In following section data collected through survey questionnaire is being analysed , to determine the voting behaviour of educated youth. It is generally believed that *biradri* bond is one of the most influential factor to form the opinion of voters in Pakistan. First question was asked to respondents, about the influence of family and *biradri* on voting behavior. 30.8% respondents of Multan city were influenced by their family or some elder. A significant number of voters 42%, vote for the better future of the country and for themselves. This reflect their trust towards democratic process and elections to bring change in their life. 24.4% respondents considered vote casting their national responsibility and constitutional right. They assured and trusted the electoral process to improve the condition of this country. So, it can be concluded that democratic values are being owned by the educated youth.

Table 2 Association of Political and Social Factors by Using Chi-Square Test.

**12. Motivation to vote for party \* 14. Social factor influence Cross tabulation**

Table 2.1 Chi-Square Test.

<b>Chi-Square Tests</b>			
	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	42.011 <sup>a</sup>	20	0.003
Likelihood Ratio	48.491	20	0.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	5.546	1	0.019
No. of Valid Cases	250		

a. 14 cells (46.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .60.

In the table p (probability) value is 0.003 which shows an association between social and political factors. It seems family bond and authority of elders is still maintained its fundamental role however, *biradri* bond seems relatively weak. Political factors influenced the voting behavior but we cannot ignore the force of family unit on voting behavior.

Majority of the voters maintained their political loyalties towards the party. 37.2% respondents vote to the same party in 2013 elections which they cast vote in 2008 general elections. This trend expresses the influence of party over the psyche of voter. While 31.6% respondents did not vote to the same party in 2013

Elections which they had voted in 2008 General Elections. Among these respondents, 13.2% respondents did not cast vote to the same party which they had voted for in 2008 elections due to party policies and its poor performance. This shift in voting behavior indicates the adaptability and a maturity among the educated youth of Multan city although this percentage is not greater but is a positive sign in the electoral process of Pakistan. This trend has also been observed in interior Sindh, where maximum votes were casted to PPP while in Hyderabad and Karachi huge number of vote were casted to MQM which confirms that partisanship is still maintained. At the same time emergence of PTI in Karachi's politics as a political force indicates that voters evaluated the government policies and their implications for state and society. (DAWN,17 May, 2013).

Educated youth seems much concerned to vote those candidates who have the ability to resolve their problems. The tilt of 40.8% respondents to the candidate who has the ability to solve their problems reflects that educated youth is inspired by the ability of the candidate to solve their issues especially national. Only 4.8% respondents voted to the candidates whom they considered as a good Muslim and 6.4 % respondents were inspired by the religious ideology of the party. That is why religious political parties did not mark a significant achievement in this election. Along with party and leader identification, people casted vote to the candidates who fulfilled their promises during previous tenure.

Table 3 Association Between Candidature of the Candidate and Social Factor.

**13. Factor to vote for candidate \* 14. Social factor influence Cross tabulation**

Table 3.1 Chi- Square Test.

In this table p value is 0.014 which is less than 0.05 that shows its level of significance, it indicates that there is association between candidature of the candidate and social factors. Social factors influence the voting choice about the candidate.

Data shows minimal influence of religion on the voting behavior of educated urban youth. A significant number of voter 40.4% respondents induced to vote for a party stance on national issues, and 22.4% vote, particularly due to party stance on health and education. These trends in voting behaviour show the concern of the voters to resolve their social issues.

There is no concept of compulsory voting in Pakistan. Among the total respondents, 29.2% did not cast vote in the General Elections 2013 because of different reasons. 9.6% respondents were not registered in the electoral list and 9.2% of voters had some personal engagement or reason. 31.6% respondents casted their vote one time in life and same number of voter casted vote two times in their life. Those who voted one time are mostly new registered voters and those who voted two time in life are between the age of 24-29. Lack of trust on politicians is considered one of the important reason of low voter turnout but an

increased voter turnout in 2013 General Elections proved that voters were mobilized by the political parties and trust the electoral system.

Media is considered an important source to influence human behavior. 52% respondents voting decision was affected by the media’s political content which constitutes more than half of sample. Results show that media developed consciousness in the public about the importance of elections and the power of vote to bring change in the country. Media affect more to the voting behaviour of urban areas as compare to rural areas. However, 48% respondents were not influenced by media’s political content. 16.4% out of them were influenced by the political discussion with their family, 11.6 % respondents were influenced by political gatherings, 8.8% respondents were influenced by leader’s charismatic personality, 6.0% were influenced by door to door campaign and only 5.2% were respondents influenced by other factors such as personal experience and overall analysis of politics.

Table 4.1 Chi-Square Test.

<b>Chi-Square Tests</b>			
	<b>Value</b>	<b>Df</b>	<b>Asymptotic Significance (2- sided)</b>
Pearson Chi-Square	13.850 <sup>a</sup>	4	0.008
Likelihood Ratio	14.919	4	0.005
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.231	1	0.040
N of Valid Cases	250		

a. 1 cells (10.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.80.

The above table shows that p value is 0.008 which is less than 0.05, it indicates that there is association between motivation to cast vote and media influence. However, other political factors are still effective to persuade the voters.

**Conclusion**

Enhanced voters’ participation in General Elections 2013 reflects that people are convinced and trust the power of vote to improve the condition of the country. Youth believes in the electoral process with the hope that it would ultimately lead towards stable democratic system and better future. Through Chi

Square Test an association is observed between political factors and social factors that influence the voting behaviour. However, among educated youth, attachment with *biradri* is not as strong as had been seen in the history of General Elections of Pakistan. Family bond remained more influential in voting behaviour. It shows that psychologically youth is impressed by partisanship of their parents and at the same time believe that, their vote will improve the condition of the country. Interestingly, there are few who had an ideological attachment with a party and particularly vote on ideological basis to the party. Result shows that party identification is still intact, whereas a significant presence of such voters who did not vote to the same party in General Elections 2013, due to poor performance of the party, indicate the change in the behaviour of the educated youth in Multan city. People are more concerned about the solution of their national problems and specifically prefer the party stance on health and education rather than looking for regional and International issues. They prefer to vote such candidates who have the ability to solve their problems. They did not give much importance to the candidates' religious affairs. It confirms the rational choice theory of voters behaviour in electoral politics. Educated youth also influenced by the media's political content to reasonable extent. It can be concluded that youth is evolving a rational political judgment and continuity of democratic process will develop a maturity in voting behaviour. Election Commission, political parties, media, non-governmental organizations and Community Associations should work to motivate the voters about the power and importance of their vote. It would ultimately increase the voter turnout in coming elections. In Pakistan, youth voters are large in numbers, but the attention given to them is likely to be short-lived once political campaigning ends. So, the continuous engagement with voters, particularly with youth, is very important for political development in Pakistan. Political parties should work to improve their image. The media should play a constructive role to create an awareness among the masses about political issues of the country.

**Appendix I**  
**Voting Behavior of Educated Youth in Pakistan:**  
**A Case Study of Multan City**

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**This Survey is being conducted for M. Phil research at the Department of Pakistan Studies, Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan. All the responses will remain strictly confidential. Thank you for your cooperation in this research.**

**Form #**

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**Name** \_\_\_\_\_  
**Sex** \_\_\_\_\_  
**Age** \_\_\_\_\_  
**Marital Status** \_\_\_\_\_  
**Highest level of education** \_\_\_\_\_  
**What do you do?** \_\_\_\_\_

- 1. Did you cast vote in general elections 2013?**
  - a. Yes

- b. No
  - 2. If No, then what was the reason which compelled you to not cast the vote?**
    - a. Not registered in electoral list
    - b. Not interested in election
    - c. My vote does not make a difference
    - d. Because of expected rigging
    - e. Because of security problems
    - f. No candidate was of my choice
    - g. There weren't any polling stations or transportation limitations or lack of facilities
    - h. Not aware and informed about voting
    - i. Personal engagements/reasons: business, traveling, sickness
  - 3. How many times you did cast vote in your life?**
- 
- 4. Did you cast vote to the same party which you had voted in 2008 general elections?**
    - a. Yes
    - b. No
    - c. Others
  - 5. If No, then why you did not cast vote to the same party in 2013 general elections?**
    - a. Change in party structure
    - b. Because of its poor performance
    - c. Because other party seems more efficient
    - d. Candidature is not of liking/choice
    - e. Others
  - 6. Which party stance induces you to support it?**
    - a. Religious ideology
    - b. Liberal democratic posture
    - c. Stance on Regional issues
      - i. Ethnic concerns
      - ii. Economic disparity
    - d. Stance on National issues
      - i. Provision of energy (Electricity)
      - ii. Health & Education
      - iii. Gender discrimination
    - e. Stance on International issues
      - i. India (Kashmir, Sir creek, Barrages, Siachin)
      - ii. Afghanistan (Cross border terrorism, trade)
      - iii. America (Defense, economic aid, nuclear agenda)
  - 7. What motivated you to vote for a party?**
    - a. For better future of me and my country
    - b. It's my national responsibility and constitutional right
    - c. To change party in power due to poor performance
    - d. Party manifesto
    - e. Due to long standing affiliation with party
  - 8. Which factor urged you to vote for the candidate?**

- a. The candidate is a good Muslim
- b. Integrity of the candidate
- c. The candidate is young and educated
- d. The candidate has the ability to solve the problems
- e. Provide access to the public
- f. Know about local affairs
- g. Vote on party base
- 9. Which social factor has influenced your political choice?**
  - a. Candidate was of our caste or biradri
  - b. Family, elders or someone else motivated me
  - c. Language
  - d. Sectarian association
  - e. Personal interests
  - f. National interests
- 10. Does media political content effect your voting decision?**
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
- 11. If No, then what kinds of factors have influenced your opinion?**
  - a. Political gatherings
  - b. Door to door campaigns
  - c. Leader's charisma
  - d. Political discussions
  - e. Others

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