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## **Voting Behaviour of Students in Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad: A Case-Study of Elections 2013**

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**Abstract:**

*Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad is currently ranked among top 10 universities of Pakistan. It is situated below the Margala Hills with an approximate area of 1700 acres. The university can be seen in the North-East side on the map of Islamabad. Since it offers a quality education, a large number of local and foreign students are attracted towards it. In point of fact, all most all type of students from every corner of the country comes to Quaid-i-Azam University. Among the main ethnic identities of Pakistan i.e., Punjabis, Sindhis, Pashtoons, Saraikis, Baochis, Pathans, Muhajirs, and Chitralis smaller groups of Kashmiris, Barahi, Hindkowans, Balti or Burusho, Shina, and Turwalis are also found in the university. Since it is a federal public sector university, the largest in Pakistan reflecting voting behaviors of the entire country up to great extent, it is decided to study the people's interest their choices and preferences present in the university. In order to check the voting behaviour a theoretical framework was formed, according to which every voter is a rational voter and his/her rationality is based on his political predisposition. It is observed that political predisposition of voters is based on the socio-economic status and social atmosphere to which the subject belongs. Socio-economic status and social atmosphere are also the main components which shape the voting trends in Quaid-i-Azam University. The main objective of the present study is to analyze socio-economic status and social atmosphere to distal factors of voting behavior in the institution.*

**Keywords:** *Voting, Behaviour, ethnicity, federal, choices and preferences, electoral politics*

### **1. Introduction**

The 'real' electoral history of Pakistan began with the 1970 elections. From 1970 to 2013, ten general elections were held but it is believed that all these elections were hardly fair. Allegedly intervention of different agencies and malpractices of political forces weakened the credibility of elections. Pre-partition elections of 1945-46 paved the way for the creation of Pakistan, however, the elections of 1970 led to the separation of East Pakistan just after 23 years of its existence. (Wilder 1999: 2) The incident occurred because of dishonoring the decision of the majority population i.e. 56 per cent. The majority party, Awami League, was denied its right to rule the country leading to the separation of East Pakistan. Similarly 1977 elections were allegedly rigged again which sparked anti-PPP government agitation. The deteriorating situation ended at the imposition of Martial law for the third time in the constitutional history of Pakistan. After more than a decade of General Zia-ul-Haq's rule (1977-1988) the 1988 elections put Benazir Bhutto in the driving seat. From 1988 to 1997, there were four elections but bad governance and bitter political rivalry between the ruling party and the opposition damaged the worth of electoral politics in the country. In 1999, again the elected government was toppled by the military dictator. In order to overcome political problems General Pervez Musharraf decided to hold the elections in 2002. It is agreed the elections were engineered to get favorable results for the military rulers. However,

during this era media got freedom which led to strengthen democracy. The 2008 elections are considered fair to great extents which have indeed given credit to electoral democracy. A peaceful transition of one democratically elected government of PPP to PML-N reflected maturity in the political behavior of the Pakistani people. In order to check the voting behaviour of an educated class, an appropriate study of educational institution is vital. Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad, a federal institution of Pakistan, where almost every sect and ethnic identity of the country shows its existence, provides an opportunity to observe their political predisposition and voting behavior. It will try to analyze that how do people use to make their choice and what factor affects this choice. The question is no doubt very important in electoral politics of the country and for its future. The research work is about the factors that ultimately mold the public opinion or simply "People's Choice in General Election". In the words of "who is voting for whom?" (Wilder, 1999: 3). In point of fact, there are many factors which directly affect people's choice in the elections. Often their preference in elections is the product of both social and political determinants.

## 2. Source and Methodology

To analyze this phenomenon, different books, articles and research papers are consulted. Elections data of 2002 and 2008 helped to verify that how people made their choice. In addition to this a close fieldwork and data collection from a constituency to judge the people's voting behavior in elections is done. Historical facts including reports of Election Commission of Pakistan, books (Electoral Malpractices: During the 2008 Elections in Pakistan, Democratization in Pakistan: A Study of the 2002 Election, The 1993 Elections in Pakistan, The Pakistani Voter: Electoral Politics and Voting Behavior in Pakistan), articles (Social Cleavages, Attitudes and Voting Patterns: A Comparison of Canada and Great Britain, The Study of Electoral Behavior, Theoretical Models of Voting Behavior, Socio-economic Indicators of the People's Party Vote in Pakistan: A Study at Tehsil Level, Reflections on the Electoral History of Pakistan) and other research papers were also consulted. However, most of the research is based on primary introspection and focus group discussion with all sorts of people including students, politician and common people etc. Focus group discussion helped a lot to check the students' opinion about candidates and political parties of Pakistan. Similarly interviews with students to know about their choice in the last elections provide an insight of the fact i.e., the concept of vote for delivery (Wilder 1999: 192) or patron client relations is governing the voting behavior in Quaid-i-Azam University.

## 3. Theoretical Framework

Development of theories is considered as one of the most important features in social science. In these disciplines, theories are often used to explain some social phenomena of society. In the field of voting behavior, theories have long and vibrant history (Bartels & Larry 2008). Developments of modern theories of elections started in 1940s from American's Presidential elections. Later, most of theories of voting behavior got their growth on the same soil and became the vital part of every election study. Some of the well-known paradigms in this field came to be known as: The Sociological Approach, Party Identification Model and Rational Choice Theory of voting behavior (Robert and Anthony 2000). It will be discussed during the course of current research.

## 4. Sociological Model of Voting Behavior

Felix Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson and Hazel Gaudet gave an idea of Sociological Model of Voting Behavior in their article *The People's Choice (1944)*. They analyzed the 1940 President Elections of America in Ohio State. The authors developed a hypothesis about the voting trend and a questionnaire method of research. The initial thesis of their research is:

"Voting is an individual act affected mainly by the personality of the voter and his exposure to media." (Antunes 2010: 146).

Their research rejected this hypothesis. According to them, only 8% people (Antunes 2010: 147) (out of 600) change their party during election campaign. Their research proved that voters voted according to their original political predisposition. They wrote that,

"A person thinks politically as he is socially. Social characteristics determine political preference." (Antunes 2010: 147).

According to this model, the political predisposition of a voter determines his/her choice in elections and the predisposition is based on the socio-economic status, religion and area of residence. Therefore, according to Lazarsfeld and others, the social and cultural environment is the leading factor in the voting behavior and the relationship between social group and electoral behavior is pretty strong. They also say that voters even do not take pains to analyze the outcome of election results and also do not bother about the proposal of the candidate during the election campaign but prefer to vote for their community.

The authors of Sociological Model explain the effectiveness of electoral campaign as an instrument that 'activates the indifferent voters, it strengthens the link with political party and converts the undecided voters.' But they write, for instance, that electoral campaign is not a very effective tool in setting up voting trends; very few people change their decision because of electoral campaign. But it does beef up the relationship of voters with parties or candidates. Later Lazarsfeld and some other think that the voting is not even an individual act, but the social group to which the subject belongs also counts.

This model also discusses the importance of domestic, political, economic and international issues in determining the voting trends in American presidential elections. It also gives a very interesting explanation about the uniform attachment of the voters with party or candidate:

"Voters, while seeking to maintain a consistency between their positions and the candidate they supported, did not solve the inconsistencies by changing their voting option, but changing their perception of the candidate." (Antunes 2010: 151).

## 5. Psychosocial Model of Voting Behavior

Psychosocial Model of Voting Behavior is also known as the party identification model. In 1948, Campbell and Kahn analyzed the American Presidential Elections and gave the concept of partisanship. According to them, psychological affinity and stable relationship with a political party is a striking feature of voting behavior and it is called partisanship (Campbell and Kahn 1952).

The partisanship of a voter is influenced by the values and attitudes of family members, colleagues and peers. The authors also explain the factors of partisanship and divide these in two groups. The put the socio-economic, historical, values and attitude in distal factors and they put election issues, candidate, electoral campaign, political and economic issues and influence of family in proximal domain of voting behavior. According to them, both distal and proximal factors play their role in guiding an individual in elections and are effective in making voting trends.

Psychosocial Model of Voting Behavior offers a classical explanation of changing trends in voting behavior. According to Campbell, changes in party identification are rare phenomena and occur in result of some reaction. The model also suggests that changes occur at individual level (Antunes 2010: 155). Studying in higher institution, marriages, change of residence, change of job can amend the party identification in a fast mode and these changes put their impact on elections. But the changes which take place in political or social organization can revolutionize the partisanship faster than the changes of social status. Both these changes have long-term impact on psychological affinity and relationship with political party. Parties' proposals, political issues and candidates are considered as the short-term factors of change in partisanship. These changes are also directly influenced by the electoral results. In short, according to this model, the proximal factors play an important role in setting up the people's choice in Western Democracy.

## 6. Theory of Rational Choice

Anthony Downs introduced a new dimension in voting behavior in 1957. He presented the idea of rational choice theory on the basis of economic laws. The main thesis of this theory is based on the concept of rationality. Rational Choice Theory argues that decision to cast a vote is a rational act and every voter wants maximum utilization of his/her vote. This theory supposes the political system as a market, where voters are the consumers and political parties act like enterprises. The theory explains these relations as:

"If companies seek to maximize profits, consumers act to maximize the utility; we can then theorize in the sense that voters seek to maximize the utility of their vote as the parties act to maximize electoral gains obtained from their political proposals." (Downs 1957: 157).

Therefore, this model discusses the electoral choice in terms of economics. Downs economics' theory defines the rational act as "maximizing output for a given input" (Downs 1957: 157). Political parties set their ideologies to get maximum support among the largest possible number of social groups. Here the theory once again gives the perfect analogy with economic functions.

"If the electoral market (political market) is dominated by one brand (political party), other brands can only grow if they bet on strategies that enhance the specific needs of the market niche (social market groups) not satisfied with the products (policy proposals) provided by the big brand (dominate party) and/or the specific needs of a significant fringes of consumers (voters) of this dominant brand (party)." (Antunes 2010: 160).

According to Downs, voters do a complete analysis of their votes and then choose some political party for their vote. In short, according to rational model, parties seek to win the elections and the voters want utilization of their votes.

## 7. Voting Trends in Quaid-i-Azam According to the Voting Models

To explain the voting trends of Pakistani people through these models is a difficult matter. Pakistani political system has a lot of structural differences from America (it has parliamentary system while United States has presidential system of government). Therefore, application of these theories in Quaid-i-Azam University is quite problematic. However, these approaches set general scales or rules to analyze the people's choice in any area of the world. In light of these theories, this topic deals with the voting trends in Quaid-i-Azam University. Therefore, the primary aim of this chapter is to integrate the major approaches of voting behavior in a comparative context of Quaid-i-Azam University. For this purpose, it will be used all the relevant points of these approaches and to put them in a frame work according to the given study.

Generally, in Pakistan, there are two types of common approaches about the voting behavior on academic level. According to M. Waseem:

"The 1993 voter was a parochial voter, not a national voter. He was bound by the consideration of local power structure in terms of caste/biradri and tribe, tampered by the instant patronage in the form of development funds or money proper." (Waseem 1994: 240).

Wilder challenges the common perception, that voting decisions largely depend upon social factors alone. He claims that ties of family, clan or tribes remain important in voting trends; but characteristic performance of political parties can override the social determinants of voting behavior (Wilder 1999: 217).

In the light of the theoretical models voting trends in Quaid-i-Azam University are studied and then developed a model of voting behavior named as 'People's Predisposition Model'. According to this model, every voter is a rational voter and his rationality is based on his political predisposition. Political predisposition of voter is based on the socio-economic status, social behavior and social atmosphere to which the voter belongs. Therefore, socio-economic status and social behavior are the main components of voting trends in Quaid-i-Azam University. The voting trends of Pakistani voters can be explained with the help of a chart.

With the help of People's Predisposition Model, we can investigate the voting behavior of other areas. To analyze the voting behavior of other areas, it is important to know about the socio-economic status and social atmosphere of local population. If we know these two things we can find the proximal and distal factors of voting behavior of any area.

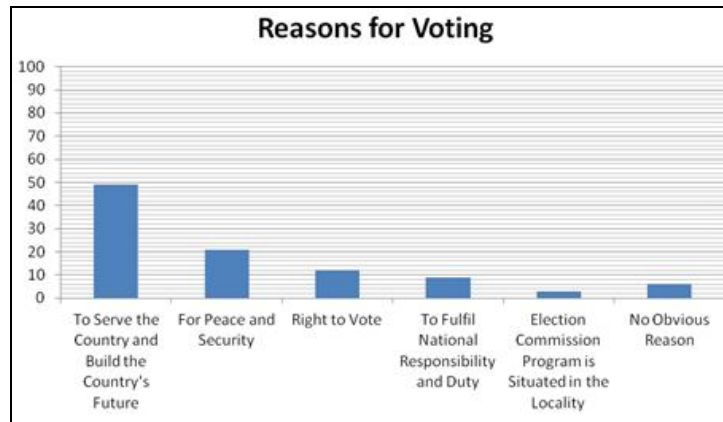


Figure 1: Reasons for taking part in voting during elections

**8. People's Predisposition Model**

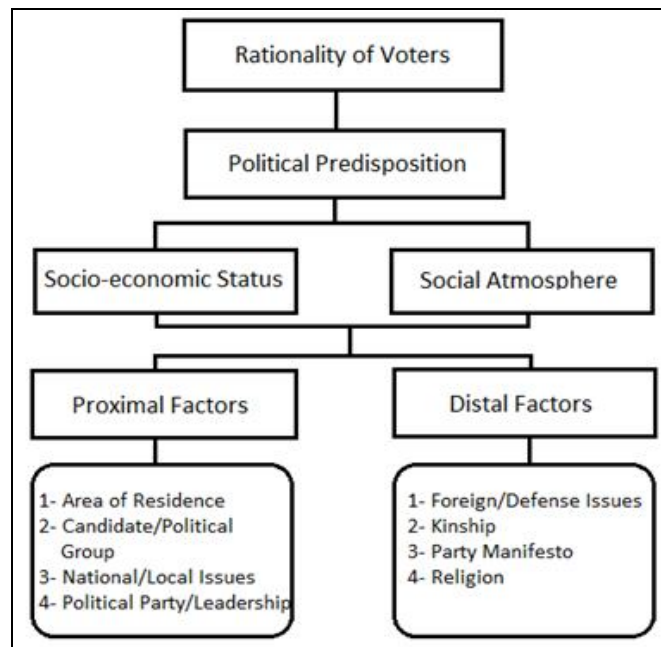


Figure 2

**9. The Rational Voter**

It is generally admitted that every voter is a rational voter. When he/she goes to poll his/her vote, he/she has some sketch or his/her choice in his/her mind. He/she makes a comparison between parties or candidates, or he/she assesses the trends of local and national politics and then casts his/her vote. During his/her calculations, a lot of things influence his decision but most of all his/her choice is influenced by political and social atmosphere.

Rationality does not mean that every voter wants some tangible benefits of hi/her vote, but rationality of a voter does reflect his/her choice. When he/she prefers one party or candidate over another, he must have some reason, plan or aim in his/her mind. He/she uses his/her rationality when he/she opts for some particular candidate. Two individuals having same choice may have different rationality. Here rationality of a voter does not indicate that voting decision is an individual act. In Quaid-i-Azam University, voting is not simply an individual act, especially for the voters from rural areas. Most of the time, clan, groups, kinship and biradri have key role in the selection of a candidate or party. For the voters from urban areas, on the other hand, party affiliation is the most important factor in voting.

**10. Political Predisposition**

Predisposition means “a tendency based on the environmental and inherited factors” (The Free Dictionary 2012). It also means personal inclination based on one’s social atmosphere or family values. Here political predisposition indicates the role of social atmosphere, environmental and family background in voting decision.

Collective or individual rationality is directly related with this predisposition. Predisposition of a voter is based on the social atmosphere, and the family values also influence a person in his voting choice. A lot of other factors are involved in the predisposition of a voter.

Whether voters vote for a party or for a candidate, their predisposition always plays a key role. Voter's affiliation with political party is a stable phenomenon of voting behavior. It is very difficult to change the partisanship. On the other hand, the voter's attachment with candidate is relatively weak in voting behavior. It changes with the passage of time. For example, the change in economic status, education in higher institutions and change in residence can affect both kind of voters, but the change in party voters is relatively slow. In Quaid-i-Azam University, political parties have small but very strong vote bank. In past elections it is noted that party attachment has been a stable factor.

The predisposition of neutral voters also depends upon social background. But current events and the contemporary local politics also influences their voting decisions. Their voting decision can change any election. In politics of Quaid-i-Azam University, neutral voters have a dominant role in local and national politics. Their decision of voting has been affecting the final results of elections since 1988 elections.

### 11. Socio-Economic Status of the Voter

Socio-economic status means, an individual's or group's position within a hierarchical social structure. Socio-economic status depends on a combination of variables, including occupation, education, income, wealth and place of residence. Most of the time, it is used to predict the behavior of an individual or group (reference dictionary 2012). It is important to mention here that Pakistan is basically a hierarchical society. This means human beings are not considered equal in worth. The village population is, for instance, divided into different socio-economic groups called *biradris*. These *biradris* are ranked differently from top to bottom. This hierarchy has some Pakistan wide common features but also some local variations.

People who vote for some particular party or candidate are influenced by their socio-economic status. For example, Pakistan People's Party (PPP) has a particular economic class in Pakistan and in Quaid-i-Azam University. Most of the PPP voters belong to poor economic class. In the university, the situation is not different (although they have a very small vote bank).

Here the area of residence and economic background of people are influencing the people to vote for a specific political party in election. Muslim League enjoys popularity in the urban areas because of the migrated people in Pakistan. There is clear cultural difference between the hard core voters of PPP and Muslim League. From family outlook to occupation, both the voters have apparent diversity. Therefore all the variables of socio-economic status (occupation, education, income, wealth and place of residence) play important role to investigate voting behavior in Quaid-i-Azam University.

### 12. Social Atmosphere

Social atmosphere is defined as a state of mind that is created or influenced by the surrounding people (Oxford Advance Learner's Dictionary 2012). It is another vital feature in developing the predisposition of a voter. Family values, historical background, coteries of friends, place of job and residence, political surrounding and religion are the important features of social atmosphere in Quaid-i-Azam University. All these factors help the voters to select their party or candidate in elections.

To elaborate my point further, I have divided the socio-economic status and the social atmosphere of voters into two groups:

- Proximal factors
- Distal factors

### 13. Proximal Factors

Proximal factors of voting behavior means, "the factors which influence the people's choice more deeply". Proximal factors are those factors that play important role in people's choice when they go for poll. In other words these factors are the controlling factors in voting behavior. In every election, combinations of proximal factors guide the voters to choose their candidate/party. Proximal factors of voting behavior reflect the social atmosphere and economic background of the natives. Proximal factors vary from area to area and are totally based on the socio-economic status and social atmosphere. Important proximal factors of voting behavior in Quaid-i-Azam University are:

- Area of Residence
- Candidate/Political Group
- National/Local Issues
- Political Party/Leadership

### 14. Distal Factors

Distal factors of voting behavior means, "the factors which play less important roles in voting trends of local people". These factors are considered weak affecting factors of voting behavior. It doesn't mean that these factors have no role in voting behavior but it means distal factors have lesser roles than proximal. Like most of the Pakistani voters, the people of Quaid-i-Azam University also do not take into account the religious identity of candidates. Even the manifesto of political parties plays very little role in elections. Historical background or some sudden incidents also come under the distal factors. Important distal factors of voting behavior in Quaid-i-Azam University are:

- Foreign/Defense Issues
- Kinship
- Party Proposal/Manifesto

- Religion

### 15. Transformation in Political Predisposition

Most of the time, political predisposition is considered as permanent phenomena. Generally, people have strong affiliation with their party or candidate. But the general elections results in Pakistan show that people change their choice in polls. Poor performance of elected governments, bad governance, massive media campaign, any social or political blunder by the local or national politicians, and social revolution can affect the political predisposition of any voter.

In Pakistan, elections results show that people change their decision about their votes. In this regard, poor performances of elected government and bad governance have a vital role. If any democratic government does not deliver, people start their search for new rulers who can solve their problems. In country like Pakistan, people even welcomed the military dictators and supported them.

Nowadays, the social media and electronic media also play vital role in shaping people's opinion in elections. Since the advent of these two medium in Pakistan, they are playing dominant role in city area. People are better aware of the issues of politics and performance of government. Before 2002 General Election in Pakistan, the role of media was very nominal in electoral politics. But now it is regarded as a vital tool of election campaign. Effective media campaign can affect the electoral politics and also revolutionize the political disposition.

### 16. Political Constituencies in Quaid-i-Azam University

To understand the politics of Quaid-i-Azam University, it is very important to understand the demography location of political constituencies of the university. A constituency means "a body of voters in specified area which elects a representative to a legislative body" (Answ.com 2012). Therefore, a constituency is related to the specific area of city or a town and its basic purpose is to select a representative for assemblies. The Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) has power to demark the boundaries of a constituency. Another wing of ECP, Delimitation Commission has completed the demarcation of constituencies in the country under the supervision of ECP. Such demarcation is based on the population of the area, its geographical location and boundaries of administrative units. According to ECP:

"All constituencies are required to be delimited with regard to the distribution of population in geographically compact areas, existing boundaries of administrative units, facilities of communication, public convenience and other cognate factors to ensure homogeneity in the creation of constituencies. All constituencies for the general election are equal in population." (ECP 2012).

After the completion of demarcation, The Delimitation Commission published the details in official Gazette.

### 17. Questionnaire Analysis of Voting Behaviour in Quaid-i-Azam University

Voting is the main determining factor in current democracies. It is considered as the main pillar of the democracies. Without voting, the states don't deliver effectively and efficiently. If voting or elections are conducted fairly, there is an expectation that the state would deliver effectively and would increase welfare of the nation

Keeping the importance of election in mind, the current study has been conducted to uncover different angles of election in Pakistan. The sample taken from a student of a university aged between 20 and 40. The sample was 120 of both male and female.

### 18. A Question-Wise Descriptive analysis of the Collected Data

- *Question #1:*  
It was asked if the participants casted a vote in the General Elections of Pakistan 2013. 82% of the participants answered that they did while the remaining 18% answered that they did not.
- *Question #2(a)*  
For the participants who did cast a vote in the General Elections of 2013, the reason for voting was asked. 6 options were given and the participants had to select an option that best suited their reason. 49% people voted to serve the country and to build the country's future. 21% voted for peace and security. 12% voted because it is their right to vote. 9% voted because it is their national responsibility and duty. 3% voted because the election commission's education program was situated in their locality while the remaining 6% voted for no obvious reason.
- *Question #2(b)*  
For the participants who did not vote in the General Elections of 2013, the reason for not voting was asked. 15 options were given and the participants had to select an option that best suited their explanation. 33% did not vote because they did not like any candidate. 17% did not vote because they were uninterested in politics. 10% did not vote because they believed that there is no point in voting because their vote will not change anything in Pakistan. 8% did not vote because the party they supported no longer stands for what they believe in. 7% did not vote because they believe that their vote does not make a difference while another 7% did not vote because the circumstances on the voting day did not allow them to vote even though they really intended to vote. 7% did not vote because they did not like the candidate of their party. The remaining 41% of candidates voted for other reasons.
- *Question #3:*  
It was asked if the participants casted a vote in the previous election. If they did not cast any vote, the reason was inquired. The options were given and the participants had to select an option. 41% answered that they did not vote because they did not like any of the candidates. 9% did not vote because they are uninterested in politics. 13% believed that their vote will not change anything in Pakistan hence there is no point in voting. 8% did not vote because the party they supported no longer stands for what they believe in. 9% did not vote because they believe that their vote does not

make a difference. 7% said that they really intended to vote but were unable to do so because of their circumstances on the voting day. 7% did not vote because they did not like the candidate of their party. The remaining 6% did not vote because of other reasons.

- *Question #4:*  
It was asked that in the present elections, in which party's favor did the participants cast their votes. 32% voted for PTI while another 28% voted for PML-N. 15% voted for PPP and 8% voted for JUI. The remaining 17% voted for other parties (JI, MQM etc).
- *Question #5:*  
Options were given and the question was asked that, which of the given options was the biggest reason behind casting vote for any candidate? 18% answered that they voted because the candidate was from their Biradri/Clan. Another 22% voted for their candidate because of the influence and ability of the candidate to help them in difficult times. 19% voted for their candidate because of the candidate's developmental work and services to the community. 21% voted for their candidate because they were impressed by the personal character of the candidate. 4% voted for their candidate because the candidate was from their preferred party. The final 16% voted for their candidate for other reasons (establishment of Islamic state etc).
- *Question #6:*  
It was asked from the participants that which personal traits of the candidate urged them to vote for the candidate. 9% answered that they voted for the candidate because the candidate is a good Muslim/noble person. 11% voted for their candidate because the candidate is young. 9% voted for their candidate because the candidate is brave. 4% voted for their candidate because of the candidate's ability to tackle national issues. 8% voted for their candidate because the candidate can play an effective role in legislation. 12% voted for their candidate because of the political experience of the candidate or his/her family. The remaining 47% voted for their candidate because the MPA/MNA they were supporting had a panel with that particular candidate.
- *Question #7:*  
It was stated that sometimes people support one candidate merely because they wish for another particular candidate to lose. Hence the participants were asked if this factor influences the decision of which candidate they vote for. 64% answered that yes, it does while 27% answered that it does not. 9% answered that they did not know for sure whether it does or doesn't.
- *Question #8:*  
It was asked from the participants if they believed that another candidate/party was better but since he/she was not in position to win, so they voted for their candidate only to prevent the vote from getting wasted. 42% answered yes, that was the case while 46% answered no, that they voted for the candidate they thought best. The remaining 12% participants did not respond.
- *Question #9:*  
It was asked from the participants that if the candidate they voted for belonged to another party, would they still vote for him/her. 44% answered yes, they would while 37% answered that they would not. The remaining 19% answered that they were unsure.
- *Question #10:*  
It was asked from the participants that which candidate would have been their second best choice. Most of them answered that; PML-N would have been their second best choice otherwise none.
- *Question #11:*  
It was asked if there was anyone whose advice/recommendation influenced the choice of the participants in voting for a candidate. If yes, then the participants had to write down whom. 33% answered that they voted on the recommendation of the head of their family. 17% voted on the recommendation of the elder of their tribe/biradri. 11% voted on the recommendation of their Pir Sahib. 7% voted on the recommendation of their landlord. And the remaining 32% voted on the recommendations of other personnel (teacher, friend, maulvi sahib, boss etc).
- *Question #12:*  
It was asked if the election symbol of the candidate/party influenced the choice of the participants. 29% answered that yes it did. 41% answered that it did not whereas the remaining 30% were unsure.
- *Question #13:*  
It was asked from the participants if the candidate who they voted for in the National Assembly was from their biradri or not. 32% of the participants answered yes while 42% of the participants answered that the candidate was not from their biradri. The remaining 26% of the participants were unsure.
- *Question #14:*  
It was asked from the participants if the candidate who they voted for in the Provincial Assembly was from their biradri or not. 46% answered yes while 12% answered that the candidate was not from their biradri. The remaining 42% did not answer the question.
- *Question #15:*  
It was asked from the participants if there was any gathering arranged in their Biradri to deliberate on the voting decision. 11% of the participants answered that yes there was while 68% answered that there wasn't. The remaining 21% of the participants were unsure.

- *Question #16:*  
For the participants who answered yes to the above question, it was asked if they attended that gathering or not. 31% answered that they did while 33% answered that they did not. The remaining 36% were unsure.
- *Question #17:*  
The participants were asked to write down the names of the candidates who contested in the elections from their constituency:

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY	PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY
Different people wrote different names from their areas. Majority of these candidates were from PTI, PML-N, Independent and JI.	Different people wrote different names from their areas. Majority of these candidates were from PTI, PML-N, Independent and JI.

*Table 1: Names of the candidates and constituencies*

- *Question #18:*  
The participants were asked if they had sufficient knowledge of the personal character of the candidates in the National Assembly from their constituency on 11<sup>th</sup> May. 66% answered that they had sufficient knowledge while 13% responded that they did not have sufficient knowledge of all the candidates, they had knowledge only of the candidate they decided to cast their vote. The remaining 21% were unsure.
- *Question #19:*  
The participants were asked if they had sufficient knowledge of the personal character of the candidates in the Provincial Assembly from their constituency on 11<sup>th</sup> May. 54% answered that they had sufficient knowledge while 22% answered that they did not have sufficient knowledge of all the candidates, they had knowledge only of the candidate they decided to cast their vote. The remaining 24% were unsure.
- *Question #20:*  
The participants were asked a final open ended question. They were asked to give any specific observations about the electoral process at their polling station. The participants answered mixed observations. The major answers were from urban areas and the respondents said that they observed most of the supporters waving their weapons.

## 19. Conclusion

The present research study tied to analyze the voting behavior of the people at national level. It provides an insight of socio-political thinking of people. In other words it is an attempt to answer the question 'who is voting for whom and why'? To understand this question, the model of voting behavior 'People's Predisposition Model' is given to cognize the people's choice in Quaid-i-Azam University. That model helped to understand the voting behavior of Pakistan because the students in Quaid-i-Azam University are from all regions and areas of the country. It is observed that if anyone analyzes the socio-economic status and social behavior of a locality then he/she could easily understand the voting behavior of that locality through distal and proximal factors.

In result of current research, it becomes clear that people prefer to vote for electable personalities of their constituency. No doubt, they wish to vote for candidates with fair chances to win the upcoming elections enabling them to solve their problems of daily affairs. Generally, the voters do not give much consideration to religious affairs of candidates. The concept of 'vote for delivery' or patron-client relations is governing the voting behavior in Quaid-i-Azam University. Because of this, some members of political parties are strong candidates (regarding vote bank and socio-economic status). They use to get enough importance in electoral process and enjoy powerful position in party politics. Interestingly, there are a few people in the city who have some ideological attachment with some party and vote for that particular party. However, such people are few in numbers. In our political culture, most of the people look for their vested interests instead of national interest while casting their votes. Such people set their voting decision after analyzing the position of candidate or party.

On the other hand, local politicians too do not bother about their commitments in changing their political identity. Often they have no solid political ideology and their political predisposition is based on tangible benefits. National thinking/interest or party manifestos are not the first priority of most of our politicians. The Quaid-i-Azam University also presented the same picture as it is a fragment of the same society. However, it is observed that people of Pakistan or Quaid-i-Azam are not responsible of this attitude but political parties of the country and local politicians are the main characters in shaping these trends. Strategies of politicians are based on short ends goals. Parties frame policies in order to win elections, rather than win elections in order to formulate policies. Local politicians deal with the local problems cleverly and capture the favor of their voters. They promote and prefer the individual politics instead of collective.

Policies of the PPP government are the real example of this attitude. Benazir Income Support Programme, distribution of laptops, yellow cabs and *Sasti Roti* schemes were political tricks of the two major parties. These schemes proved white elephants for country's economy and did nothing to improve the life standard of the Pakistanis. Such policies did not help in developing a coherence national thinking. People were forced to think just about their individual benefits. Therefore, individualism based on benefits and not on free thinking is increasing in Pakistani society. Pakistan People Party and Muslim League (Nawaz) have completed the first phase of their tenure in 2013 and have started the second phase in the same year. The General Elections 2013 were crucial in the history of Pakistan. After a long time, both the ruling parties faced a tough challenge from Imran Khan's



Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf (PTI) and Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) in elections. PTI fascinated the youth of Pakistan on a larger scale. PTI and JI both could have surprised the political pundits but could not make their government in the Centre. Political situation in Quaid-i-Azam University favored PTI and PML-N. In the presence of many electable students joined the both parties and seem to have a soft corner for Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif. Like other parts of the country both enjoyed popularity in the university. In the presence of electable candidates of favorite castes of the people, as predicted, both PTI and PML-N gave tough time to each other in Quaid-i-Azam University.

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