ANALYSIS OF FACTORS INFLUENCING VOTING PREFERENCES: A CASE STUDY OF GENERAL ELECTION 2018 IN DISTRICT GUJRAT

BY

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A thesis "Analysis of Factors Influencing Voting Preferences: A Case Study of General Election 2018 in District Gujrat"

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This thesis has been read by me and has been found to be satisfactory regarding contents, English usage, format, citations, bibliographic style and consistency, and thus fulfill the qualitative requirements of this study. It is ready for submission to the Department of Governance and Public Policy, Faculty of Management Sciences for internal and external evaluations.

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CERTIFICATE

It is certified that the research work contained in this thesis titled **"**Analysis of Factors Influencing Voting Preferences: A Case Study of General Election 2018 in District Gujrat" has been carried out and completed by **Sohail Qamar** under my supervision during his M.Phil. in Governance and Public Policy at the Department of Governance and Public Policy, Faculty of Management Sciences, National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents.

ABSTRACT

This study explores the factors that shape and mold voting behavior. This is the case study that specifically deals with General Election 2018 in Gujrat, Punjab, Pakistan, which was aimed to dig out the determinants that influenced voting behavior and voting preference of voters in General Election 2018. For achieving the objective, data was collected through interviews and FGD, from elected members and academicians in Gujrat. The collected data, then, analyzed using qualitative methodology. The technique used to analyze data is Thematic Analysis, six phased approach, suggested by Braun Clarke (2006). The findings of the research revealed that there are various factors (themes) that have shaped voting preference of voters in General Election 2018. These factors, then, were divided into two categories, Main factors and sub factors Broader factors (themes) under these categories include Public Expectation/demands, Issues/opinion, Media influence, Historical patterns, Political/Economic conditions, Basis of attachment, Social division, Campaign activity, Socio-political goodwill of the candidates and Party/Policy manifesto. Sub factors (themes) under aforesaid themes, that influence voting behavior include demand for new set up, developmental work, corruption, preference gap between rural vs. urban areas, honesty, trust building, events, propaganda, media biases, culture, family influence, Baradarism, awareness, financial resources, political reputation, party attachment, influenced candidate, caste system, religion, strength of attendants, coverage, familiarity, political actions, public orientation and party performance. The study suggests that

Keywords: Voting Preference, Electoral Behavior Political Parties, Political Behavior, Political Influence, Election system

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List of Abbreviations:

ANP: Awami National party

CSOs: Civil society Organizations

ECP: Election Commission of Pakistan

FGD: Focused Group Discussion

GE: General Elections

JIP: Jamat-e-Islami Pakistan

LE: Local Government Election

LR: Literature Review

PEMRA: Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority

PR: Proportional Representation

PML (N): Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)

PPP: Pakistan People's Party

PTI: Pakistan Tehreek e Insaf

RQ: Research Question

SMD: Single-Member District

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Democracy exists in different shapes, it can be direct, agent, deliberative, or participatory and there will almost always be disagreement in what are considered 'true' democratic practices (Sartori 1962). As the articulations propose, a key aspect setting it separated from its rivals is its accentuation, in all its shapes, on guaranteeing at slightest a few level of citizen involvement in Politics. According to a recent study, Democracy has gained acceptability as a form of government based on equity and justice. It purports to uphold the rule of law, as well as guarantee the preservation of human rights (Ojoh, 2017). Depending on the type of democracy being practiced, the level, frequency, and type of participation will vary, yet in modern conceptions it almost always includes opportunities for citizens to vote in elections. This is true even in the most elite-led visions of democracy which promote only minimal public engagement (Sartori 1962; Schumpeter 1954). It is through elections that legislative representatives are typically chosen and the direction of policy shaped; 'their outcomes can change the contours of politics' (Parry et al 1992). Similarly, King (2007) stated, deliberative democracy can facilitate development, since it integrates popular aspirations in public policies. When it is practiced transparently, with accountability, it could lead to responsible use of public resources, and as such, increase high level of participatory development.

The role of voting is vital and prominent in democracy. Crucially, however, throughout many established democracies during the post-war period there are ongoing observations of decline in electoral participation (Franklin 2004). In modern democratic societies role of voting is essential and cannot be ignored at any stage.

Democracy provides the opportunity to the citizens' to become a responsible citizen rather than inactive subjects of society (Jost, 2006). Any Pakistani citizen whose age is not less than 18 years can get himself enrolled as a voter in the electoral area. An unsound mind person cannot cast his or her vote. The citizens registered on the electoral list are only eligible to cast their vote as per the direction of the Election Commission of Pakistan. Voting can be a personal expression and preference of the candidate for a candidate or group of candidates or inclination towards one political party against the other (Blais et al., 2004). The people of Pakistan have not much experience in the election. The first 23 years of Pakistan were without votes, and from 1970 to 2010 nation has experienced four regimes in the shape of dictatorship. The political system in Pakistan is not still mature and is facing an experimental stage. Politics is part of both the political and social system (Ahmed, 2004). The role of social class in voting preference is very critical. However, some other factors are also important, which include party politics, social class, along with regional and ethnicity issues (Lednum, 2006).

Thus, national and Local Elections in Pakistan were never safe from any issue or problem. Some of these problems include vote buying, violence, influence of political dynasties, and inefficiency of vote counting machines and black propaganda (Oliveros, 2013). Santiago (2012), in her research, concluded that there exists a high level of uneducated voters whose basis for voting is highly different from those who are educated. She posited that there is an increased concern on looking at the basis of how voters exercise their suffrage, the basis on how they vote, and especially on the reasons on the voting choices. Voting behavior is different from voting preference. Voting behavior is a set of personal electoral activities, including participation in

electoral campaigns, turnout at the polls, and voting preference is choosing for whom to vote (Bretton, 2013).

Based on above mentioned facts, this research study focuses on the voting preference of voters in Gujrat City in the province of Punjab, Pakistan. On the basis of these circumstances, the proponents see that there is a need to check the situation of the voters' preferences for the Elections because the votes cast by the people will be the determining factor of the national and local political administration. The basis on how these votes are made will be essential on how the trajectory of the national and local government would move.

Studies classified factors affecting voting preference into Economics structure, social divisions, historical patterns, group loyalty, party attachment, candidate image and government action, campaign activity, economic conditions, political conditions, media influence, influence of friends, family (Mandis, 2008). Religious factor effected much the voting behavior in the General Elections of 2018. Religious sentiments have great influence on voting preferences. Voting decisions are the most crucial decisions for the nations, which enable them to decide which political party will rule the country and how resources will be allocations based on merit.

Aim of this study to detailed investigations of electoral politics and voting process in District Gujrat. Several challenges influence the voting choices of the voter by many social variables such as historical patterns, political/economic settings, social division, charisma of the candidates and party/policy manifesto. The affiliation with party dependability plays a more authoritative role as compared to social determinants of the voting inclination. The scope of the current thesis is Gujrat City.

Contextual Background of the study

The electoral history of Pakistan from the General Elections 1970 to till date eleven general elections were held but these elections were believed to be mere an exercise of voting, not delivering the true meanings of democracy. There are number of factors like intervention of different agencies and malpractices of political actors renders them hardly fair. It is important to notice that in the elections of 1945, pre-partition era, 46 led to the existence of Pakistan but elections 1970 worsened country's political situation to the extent that Pakistan had to lose East Pakistan just after 23 years of independence. (Wilder 1999: 2).

That are working in Pakistan and registered political parties are 123. In 2013 General elections only 92 political parties participated in the polls; however, in 2018, the number of political parties raised to 95. The political parties faced fierce competition among the candidates in district Gujrat during the General elections of 2018. The election results are also different in most of the elections as in 2013 General Elections, 3 seats of National Assembly were won by Muslim League N, one seat by Muslim League Q. in 2018 General Elections, 2 seats of National Assembly has been won by PML Q, 1 seat by PML N and 1 seat was won by PTI. it shows that there is changing voting behavior in District Gujrat as different political parties have their voting support which has been changed in all General Elections.

There are various factors that influenced voters' political behavior and choice in the general elections of 2018. As Election results and people's choice about their political representative is key to set the political future of the country, thus it is very important to explore some of these factors to conduct a meaningful analysis that what

determines candidate's victory or defeat in Elections. Similarly, this analysis would also help to foresee the likely trend in future elections.

During the electoral politics, a massive turnout of the citizens can affect the elections result and also play a role for effective political system. The participation of voters is a basic fundamental of democracy. Most of the political writers believe that act of voting is a sign which shows that a citizen sees himself or herself as an active participant in the political system. On the other hand side, the voter itself believes that he or she can influence the result of the elections by giving a vote to the favorite party. A motivated citizen may actively participate with full of energy and time and castes the vote with complete devotion to the political party of choice. In case if the political party of voter choice loses the election, the voter may hesitant to invest in future elections.

Gujrat is one of the populous and essential cities of district Punjab in Pakistan. The general elections result in Gujrat can have an overall impact on the political situation of the country, especially in the district of Punjab. This study is a complete analysis of General Election 2018 in the context of voter behaviors and voting decisions.

Problem Statement

Elections are key ingredient of liberal democracies, without free and fair elections, democracy (i.e. people's participation) cannot be ensured. In democracies people participate in politics through voting in elections. Representatives are elected on the basis of people's voting preference which is very crucial for candidate's victory. As these winner representatives are going to form the government and take

country's major decisions so it is very important to study what affects voting preferences of voters. Voting pattern analysis is very significant to be carried out because these preferences will ultimately set country's overall political future (Bretton, 2013).

It is necessary to know the various influences upon voting preference, and their impact. In a multilingual, multi-cultural democratic set up like Pakistan, voting preference is dictated by an excess of complex issues. From time and again it has been proved that political parties in Pakistan cannot rely upon any particular factor to win the trust and confidence of the voters. Such is the complex nature of the voting preference that even the best of the psychologists or social scientists or even genius politicians failed to read public psychology on numerous occasions (Asim, 2018).

This research will focus on the detailed analysis of voting preference of the electorate in Gujrat District with reference to voters political awareness, influence of various factors like caste, religion and education on the electoral preference of the voters and the impact of the election campaign through the media on voters decision and also examine the party position and its effect over their reputation in respective area. This study is about how independent voters make their vote decision in district Gujrat.

The overall effect of influences on voting through different theories on the formation of attitudes, beliefs, and practice of information processing is the main attribute, which is the main point of study to discuss in this research. The research will overall cover the meaning of elections, the electoral process for both the voter and non-voters who ever experienced discretionary elements during the electoral process. This study is going to address the pattern o of voter's influence as to what causes them to vote for a particular candidate. This research will be supportive of the

Decision making Authorities, lawmakers, opponent's parties, and all other related institutes advancing the political mindfulness in the region. Besides, this research work will be valuable literature for future researchers interested in a similar area of interest.

Research Objectives

During different tenures of the governments, some governments try to improve the voting system to attract a massive turn of the voters during election days. This study is primarily concerned with the voter's behaviours in the general election in Pakistan, especially in the district of Punjab. The study will also cover the proposition that to what extent the different factors will impact the voting preferences of the voters towards the political parties during the general elections. The research aims to fulfill following objectives:

Main Objective:

- To investigate the effect of different factors on voting preference of voters towards political parties.

Deriving objectives:

- To analyze how immediate or instant factors influence voting choice.
- To analyze how distant or remote factors impact on voting choice.
- To identify tools that can predict voting preference.

Research Questions:

For this study, I have derived four research questions to understand this study in a broader way. This study has significantly important and has in-depth insight and a full view to access the voting preference of the electorate in the Gujrat District. These are:

- How do immediate or instant factors affect voting choice?

- To what extent distant or remote factors impact on voting preference?

- What are the most effective tools to predict voting preferences?

- Who is voting for whom and why?

Delimitations of Research

This research is studying and examining the factors that influenced of voters' preferences in General Elections 2018.The geographical area concerned for this study is District Gujrat, Pakistan where four constituencies will be taken for data collection.

Limitation of Research:

The findings of the data collected through interviews from the sample can be applied to the people of Gujrat City only. However, to check the applicability of this research findings on any other geographical area of the country, one has to collect data from the respective area on the parameters defined by this study.

Significance of the study

The study is important in several respects. The study is based on field research undertaken to collect data on Gujrat electoral preferences and provides new information for creating better understanding of electoral preferences in Gujrat. It is believed that the analysis will help policy makers, research organizations, government actors, and interested parties better understand the voter.

This study will also cover the research gap and the practice for a better understanding of the research. The statistical analysis is a significant contribution to this research, which is also a vital part of the study. I have also highlighted several key politicians and people whose valuable thinking will be a piece of useful information for this research. This study will also be valuables paper in the future on the elections and electoral politics in Pakistan towards strengthening democracy.

Other important points of this research are:

- The study will cover several interviews with politicians and other political activists.

- It also contains a complete and in-depth analysis of the polling station in the district.

- This research will also provide detailed knowledge of electoral politics and cover the essential gaps in the literature on party politics in Pakistan.

- This thesis will overall cover many aspects and provide great literature towards Pakistan's public policy and political science literature

Rationale of choosing Gujrat City for the study:

Gujrat is the city where there has been found a vast variance amid the voting choice of developed and undeveloped areas. The political parties are sound so it would be easier to compare and investigate about the preferences of voters towards different political parties. Moreover, there is increasing ratio of vote casting in Gujrat. People do vote their ideal politicians to traditonal basis. So for this study ample data can be gathered from the voters to address the research questions. Various researches have been conducted on this topic but still there are very limited studies reagarding voting preference in Gujrat and specifically General Election 2018. So this study is expected to create awareness that on what basis people set their preference.

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

This section gives a comprehensive review of relevant literature and research studies that provide a frame of reference for the conduct of the study.

Factors that influence voting preferences are imperative subject that's broadly tended to in political science and humanism (Kurtbas, 2015). With time, the concepts and practice of politics are going closer and also guaranteeing social welfare and integrity Kurtbas (2005), in his paper titled "The Factors influencing voting preferences in local elections: an empirical study," reveals that there are numerous social and political factors that affect the political choices of the voters. One growing literature also shows that affective states play in public voting behaviour, which can be beneficial and biased as well. These effects refer to the experience of emotions and feelings (Andani, 2018). Kurtbas (2015) suggested that a voter should take advantage of social joins from childhood, which creates a strong social bonding and affiliation with the political party and also make a choice of their interests.

Political psychologists are now working on the attitudes and beliefs of the voters, along with the knowledge of political issues and the information the voters possessed (Asim, 2018). Furthermore, there is a seeming agreement among world's political scientists that world lacks fixed order. In case it did, there would be no require for politics (Kurtbas, 2015). The thing that produces legislative issues conceivable is the truth that clutter is as much a portion of life as is arrange (Bilgin, 2005). Since, in this setting, nearly everything has a connection with politics, examining policy means examining almost everything that occurs in the social context (Roskin, Cord, Medeiros & Jones, 2013). There are many clear

definitions of politics, and according to one generally accepted definition reveals the concepts and utilize of power on which control relations are based. In essence, politics is a control which is having an aiming target by using all devices accessible (Turkone, 2012). Kislali (2010) cited Weber's definition of power as "the individuals who are having authority over the people, which is also a widely used approach (Kurtbas, 2015). Politics is a discussion in which the political parties have to explain the way of their success over each other in the society where they are living. Politics is a kind of movement in which individual and social order take, implement, and regulate and also secure the political choices. Politics is scholastic teach, which is all about thinking of politics (Heywood, 2014). Heywood (2014) too included that legislative issues could be a social action that emerges out of interaction between individuals and legislative issues creates out of differing qualities, the presence of a extend of suppositions, needs, needs or interface. He moreover advanced that political differences is closely connected to the presence of strife, thus, legislative issues includes the expression of varying suppositions, competition between match objectives or a course or hostile interface. Finally, Hey Wood (2014) also concluded that politics is a collective decision which is in fact binding on the people of the state. Politics is a thought in which a fight of determination took place, and all the trouble can be a handle or settled. Politics is better thought of as an explore for strife determination or may be that its accomplishment since not all struggle are, or can be, settled (Heywood, p. 64).

Kapani (2009) reveals that all definitions of legislative issues revealed around the points where fundamentals rights to the society are required and whose target is to control and command. The overall objective of politics is to guarantee the solidarity

of the society along with the accomplishment of the common goals of well beings of every individual of the society (Kurtbas, 2015).

The existing socio-culture environment is much significant for the politics where the individuals have, both the monitory and individuals preferences; however, the collective wellbeing will barely be accomplished overall. In other words, all other parties who can construct a social arrangement profiting all the individuals can be better can beneficial for social wellbeing. Political participation is also one of the useful keys for the politics in which all the principal performers are human beings, and these human beings must be right disobedient and work legitimately. Political interest has been defined by the different writers, and overall it can be defined as "any planned actions of the citizen either successful or unsuccessful lawful to impact overall" (Anik, 2000).

In Pakistan's context, Amjad, (2013) described the personal influence of the candidate and their past performances as politician along with the standing with the affiliated party are seen as critical factors which can determine the success of the candidates in the general elections. There are numbers of strategies for the successful campaigns of the election candidate, which can include rallies, meeting, chanting slogans, corner meeting at every mohalla, participation in wedding and funerals, meeting with the Biradari heads and opinion leader and door to door campaign can strongly convenience the voter for casting a vote for that particular candidate. Besides, other advertisements tools can also contribute a lot to the success of the candidates; these advertising tolls must be electronic and print media, party posters, handbills for the general public, pamphlets. The propaganda and negative campaign can also impact significantly on the results.

Further, Nasir (2015) has pointed out arousal of conflicts can also impact the overall result of the elections. The power game cannot be played alone by the candidates itself, but it can only be supported by the Biradirism in especially in south Asian countries. The study also highlights the significance of rural conflict and its impact on political behaviour. The data was collected from Village Chak No.1 of Lodhran district with an overall sample of 153 respondents. Biradarism can develop affiliation, which finally leads to "reciprocity" in the group. The power game is very much typical among Biradaris and Casts with their aim to lead-based on some social and material issues with the opponent casts. The leadership can play a vital role in the case of intergroup conflict and can resolve the conflict efficiently. The overall village politics relies on many factors such as "factional leaders" and "kinship ties," and these factors can overall manipulate and change the structure of the politics at a local level. The role of the factional leader is also essential in the case of village politics.

In align, Mukhi (2003) in his book states that voting preference is influenced by caste, religion, region and several other factors. Moreover, the book written by Sharma (2004) points out that caste association has played an important role during election. According to him caste associations persuade the members of their caste vote a person belonging to their own caste and he may be of any political party.

Further, Khan (2015) points out that in democracies, voting is a fundamental and basic way to participate in politics through electing representatives. Voting is a crucial element to study in political and social sciences because election determines the future of country's politics. Voting behavior is influenced by multiple factors and to study those factors is very important. He conducted a study to explore the relationship between voting preference and violence. In other words he tried to find out how violence impacts voting behavior and voting preference of a voter. The

findings of his research showed that violence coupled with other political and behavioral factors influence and shape voting attitudes and preference of the voters. He argued that voting preference is not a static phenomenon rather that a dynamic one which continues changing with external factors. Ahmad, (2015) also pointed out that the caste is one of the most durable binders which can establish group alliances which makes a particular candidate more robust as compared to other having few gathering of the casts. The primary purpose of the paper was to explore the level of social and cultural devotion of the youth with their caste binding and its overall impact on local politics. The sample of the study was conducted at PMAS-AAU Rawalpindi with the sample size of the total of 185 enrolled students. By conducting a structured interview collected individually, and the overall result shows that the age group, the participants are between 19-30 years. Biradari system played much essential and critical role in local-level politics, 36.76 % of respondents were strongly agreed, and 45.95 % were agreeing with the statement. The overall effectiveness of Biradari gained 32.97 respondents as useful, 18.3 % were of the view that Biradri system is not much important factor at local politics. 49.19 respondents believe that the Biradari system is an important determinant in elections. A critical questions in the research is what image came to your mind when you heard the word Biradari? And 64.32 % answers it as a pressure group in local politics which can influence the results. The function of casts is significant and essential in local politics, which is also influencing youth. The study reveals that youth are very well aware of the caste and Biradari system also influenced by these factors for the selection of political candidates in their relevant areas.

According to Awan (2010), the study of voting behavior can be roughly divided into long-term and short-term influences. Long-term influences include social

class, gender, race, culture, religion, age, education, housing tenure and simple long-term political alignment. Short-term influence include the performance of the governing party, major issues, the electoral campaign, the image of party leaders, the influence of the mass media and major political events.

The overall findings (Bartels, 2018) pointed out the casting of the vote was not always applies by the free will of the respondents; instead, it was strictly imposed in Biradari and caste systems. The political behaviour gives particular direction and instructions in both rural and urban areas in term of authoritarian personalities (feudal system), which shapes public opinion and manipulate the results of the general elections. The paper further reveals that the decision and behaviour of the voters can influence the overall political system.

In conclusion, the reality of Pakistan electoral political and voting preferences can be fully analyzed using the afore-mentioned literature and frameworks. Such works show that Pakistani voting behavior and preferences is currently and continuously evolving, thus, checking and rechecking such factors through surveys and research are vital. These reflect that fact that Pakistani voting behavior and factors of preference have evolved from soothing that is passive and powerless into something that is active and powerful.

Theoretical Framework

Voting for elections is one of the most important civic duties for citizens in modern democracies. The act of voting is simple, however understanding how people decide what to vote is a more complex assignment. This proposed study will examine how voting preferences in elections in Pakistan in particular are shaped today.

Michigan Model: (Funnel of causality)

For this study, the conceptual framework has been derived from the Michigan Model of electoral behavior and its "funnel of causality", the rational choice approach outlined by Anthony Downs and variations of these. The theoretical background for an economic explanation of voting behavior has been submitted by Anthony Downs (1957) work on 'An Economic Theory of Democracy'.

This theory is commonly referred to as rational choice theory. This is an attempt to explain electoral behavior taking as its starting point the work done within the political economy by Kenneth Arrow (1951, 1986) with a political outcome or choice. The premise is simple: if the assumptions of rational choice are able to explain the market, then they can explain the political functioning. It establishes a direct analogy between consumers and voters and between enterprises and political parties. If companies seek to maximize profits and 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. The operation of the model is based on three fundamental premises: (1) all decisions — those that are made by voters and political parties — are rational, i.e, guided by self-interest and enforced in accordance with the principle of maximization of actions utility; (2) the democratic political system implies a level of consistency that supports predictions about the consequences of decisions made by voters and political parties, ie, their agents — voters, parties and government — are responsible and trustworthy, which makes it possible to make predictions about the consequences that result from different choices, and (3) the democratic system assumes — despite the consistency stated in the previous point — a level of uncertainty, sufficiently important to allow different options.

This proposed study will examine voting preferences in general elections in Pakistan, 2018. Previous researches revealed that voting behavior was primarily based on tradition and social location. Class was seen as the most important type of social location in Britain, so that "political allegiances are in fact formed along class lines" (Benney et al., 1956, p. 120). In other words, the social group you belong to, either defined by class, religion or race determines whom you vote for (Catt, 1996 p. 4).

The findings found no evidence of election-specific influences and instead suggested a stable attachment to parties: "The subjects in our study tended to vote as they always had, in fact as their families always had" (Lazarsfeld et al., 1968). The American Voter (Cambell et al., 1960) is one of the most famous works on voting behavior in the US. The conclusions were simple and almost identical to UK: most voters cast their votes on the basis of partisanship identification (which is often inherited from their parents) and floating voters were found to be the least interested in politics and lacked strong views on important election issues. Interestingly both the British and American researchers found that only about a quarter of the people in their studies changed their voting intention during the campaign (Catt, 1996 p. 3-4).

The Michigan model is a theory of voter choice which was initially outlined in The American Voter. The explanatory model of relations between the variables in describing voting decisioning is termed the "funnel of causality". The funnel metaphor is used to describe the chain of events that ultimately lead to a vote by distinguishing between long-term (historic and socio-economic factors, values, attitudes and social location) and short-term (issues, candidates, the political and economic situation, campaigning) factors (Campbell et al., 1960, chapter 2). In the outskirts of the funnel, you will find the long-term factors that shape the next element in the sequence which is partisanship. It is presumed that most voters are not

sophisticated ideologues and thus these factors are used to describe what shapes partisanship. Once reaching partisanship, the funnel has narrowed and the voting decision is now almost ready. The remaining gap in the funnel consists of the short-term factors and these are deemed less important in determining the final output of the funnel: the vote. The figure below presents the figure for a visualization of the funnel which would be used to find out the voting preference of Pakistani students by using the case study of Gujrat, Punjab. Using thorough Analysis, this paper will explore that if voting decisions in Pakistan are mainly shaped by long-term factors, in particular partisanship or short-term factors. Furthermore, the Michigan model (with a few refinements) and its funnel of causality is still a viable theory in predicting voting behavior. Nonetheless, it is argued that party identification should be seen as a moving force that can be influenced under special circumstances including short-term factors such as candidate personalities, (wedge) issues and campaigning tactics. Campaigning tactics can range from cross-pressuring partisans explicitly on wedge issues to tactical voting campaigns. It is important to stress that differences in political systems matter when determining the importance of different factors on the vote.
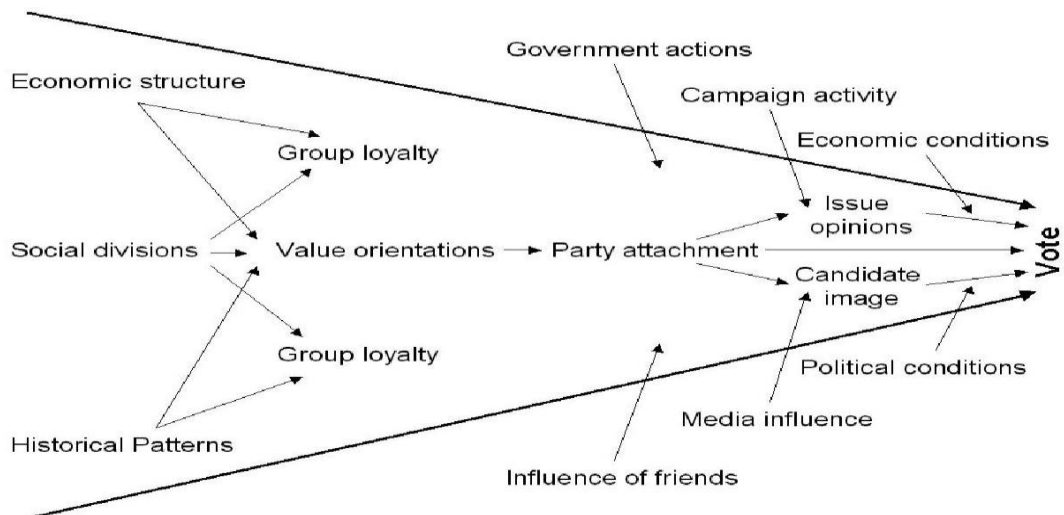
Figure 1 Derived theoretical framework based on funnel of causality and Rational Choice Theories

The Michigan model is a theory of voter choice which was initially outlined in The American Voter. In order to describe electoral behavior it focuses on sociological factors and psychological affinity to political parties. The explanatory model of relations between the variables in describing voting decision is termed the "funnel of causality". The funnel metaphor is used to describe the chain of events that ultimately lead to a vote by distinguishing between long-term (historic and socio-economic factors, values, attitudes and social location) and short-term (issues, candidates, the political and economic situation, campaigning) factors (Campbell et al., 1960, chapter 2). In the outskirts of the funnel, you will find the long-term factors that shape the next element in the sequence which is partisanship. It is presumed that most voters are not sophisticated ideologues and thus these factors are used to describe what shapes partisanship. Once reaching partisanship, the funnel has narrowed and the voting decision is now almost ready. The remaining gap in the funnel consists of the short-term factors and these are deemed less important in determining the final output of the funnel: the vote. See the above figure 1, Gustav Frøbert Welinder visualization of the funnel. Of course this is a generalization of voters and it does not explain the voting

behaviors of independent voters as well as it does with partisans, but party identification is seen as the strongest attitude in the Michigan model and in the decision-making calculus of ordinary voters.

As discussed earlier, the proposed study will analyze the factors influencing voting preferences. Factors (both long run and short run) as discussed in theoretical framework will be explored through under-mentioned research methodology.

Literature Gap:

There are numerous studies regarding voting preferences, voting behavior and voting choice all over the world. Different theories and models have been devised for drawing voting preferences. But there is very limited literature regarding voters' preference in a diverse ethnic province like Punjab, Pakistan especially in Gujrat with specific to recent General Elections 2018. This study is testing of Michigan Model: (Funnel of causality) in the Gujrat city to find out the factors that shape voters' behavior. Moreover, this study can guide

CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the research design, research respondents, research instrument, data-gathering procedure, and statistical treatment of data. This research has followed qualitative method. Qualitative data has been collected through face to face interviews and focus group discussion.

Research Design

This research study design consists of a process is driven qualitative method (Yin; 2013). According to most scholars, the appropriate method of research should be chosen as per the objectives and nature of the study being conducted (Kelaher et al., 2007; South, 2004). In this research, data was interpreted from qualitative data.

Qualitative Approach

Shank (2002) defines qualitative research as "a form of systematic empirical inquiry into meaning". By systematic he means "planned, ordered and public", following rules agreed upon by members of the qualitative research community. By empirical, he means that this type of inquiry is grounded in the world of experience. Inquiry into meaning says researchers try to understand how others make sense of their experience. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) claim that qualitative research involves an interpretive and naturalistic approach: "This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them"

Date collection

In qualitative approach data has been collected from four elected members and six academicians and one Focus Group Discussion from academicians consisting 3

academicians (political science teachers) and one elected member. The purposive sampling technique was followed for interviews as well as FGD.

Primary data collection

Face to face interviews and focused group discussion were two modes to collect data. The open-end questions scheduled meetings to a mass of the relevant information and data, A focus group discussion was comprised of five members including three academicians, one elected member and the researcher. The population of the survey includes elected members from constituencies of Gujrat, and academicians of Political science in Gujrat. Thus sample was drawn from these groups.

Face-to-face Interviews

It is the most popular and oldest form of qualitative data collection. It has confirmed to be the best form of data collection to minimize non-response and maximize the quality of data collected (Lavrakas, 2008).

Six (6) face-to-face interviews have been conducted from academicians. By academicians, researcher means teachers of political science. Four (4) interviews were conducted from elected members.

Focus Group Discussion

A focus group discussion involves gathering people from similar backgrounds or experiences together to discuss a specific topic or issue. Kitzinger (1995) introduced the focus group methodology by giving advice on group composition, running the groups and analyzing the results. According to him, focus group discussion is an effective tool for collecting data on particular issue from key

stakeholders. In this study one focus group discussion was conducted comprising five members including the researcher

Secondary Data Collection

the following diagram depicts the modes for secondary data collection.

```
                        ┌──────────────────────┐
                        │  Qualitative Approach │
                        └──────────────────────┘
                   ┌───────────────┴───────────────┐
          ┌─────────────────┐            ┌─────────────────────────┐
          │  Primary Data    │           │     Secondary Data       │
          └─────────────────┘            │ Review of research article,│
                  │                      │  documents and reports    │
          ┌─────────────────┐            └─────────────────────────┘
          │  Case Study      │
          │ General Election (2018)│
          └─────────────────┘
                  │
     ┌─────────────────┐        ┌─────────────────────────┐
     │ Face to Face     │────────│ Focus Group Discussion   │
     │ Interviews (10)  │        │          (1)             │
     └─────────────────┘        └─────────────────────────┘
      ┌──────┴──────┐              ┌─────────┴─────────┐
 ┌──────────┐ ┌──────────┐   ┌──────────┐ ┌──────────┐
 │ Elected   │ │Academicians│  │Academicians│ │Elected   │
 │ Members   │ │           │  │           │ │member    │
 │   (4)     │ │   (6)     │  │   (3)     │ │  (1)     │
 └──────────┘ └──────────┘   └──────────┘ └──────────┘
```
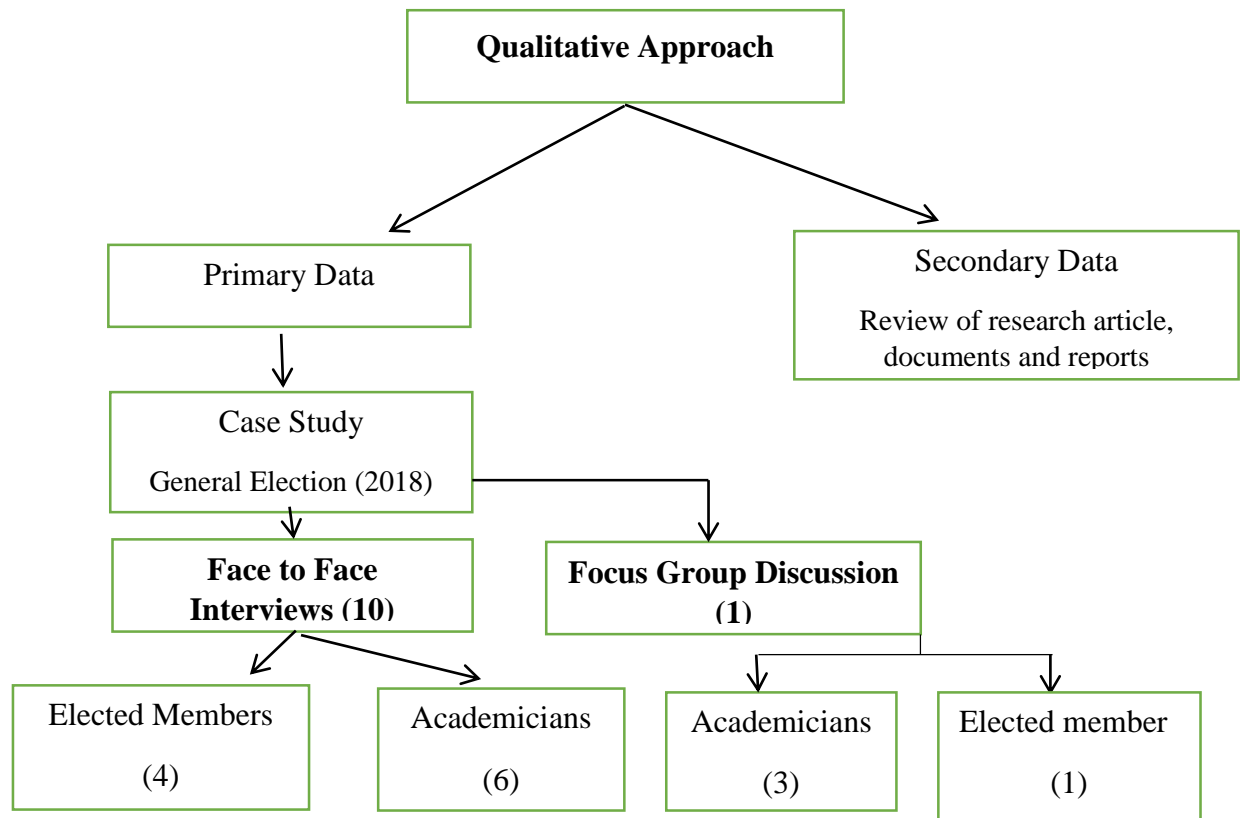
Figure 2 Qualitative method

Data Analysis

Strategies for elections will range from explicitly cross-pressuring parties to plan an action to aggressive voting campaigns on wedge issues. When deciding on the importance of different variables on the vote, it is imperative to push that contrast matter in the political frameworks. The Michigan model is a voter preference theory which was first presented in the American Vote. Methodically, data obtained were handled and analyzed to find out the answers to the study questions. The interviews were transcribed in-depth. Transcribed data were subsequently analyzed through

thematic analysis. Thematic data analysis is the systematic approach to qualitative data analysis that supports the identification of trends or themes of culture meaning, coding, and classification of data. Boyatzis (1998) describes five thematic theoretical goals. He sees this as a way to measure qualitative data, to evaluate the case methodically, to examine to see and to find relationships. For the current study, thematic analysis has helped to reduce and manage vast volumes of data without misleading the context, summarizing, organizing, and interpreting the data collected. The thematic analysis has been conducted as per steps proposed by Braun and Clark (2006). Braun and Clark (2006) gave six phased approach of doing thematic analysis.

Step 1 Become familiar with the data	Step 4 Review themes
Step 2 Generalize initial codes	Step 5 Define themes
Step 3 Search for themes	Step 6 Write up

Figure 3 Thematic Analysis approach by Braun & Clarke (2006)

Validity:

Face Validity:

The face validity has been ensured by the researcher through providing proper appearance of statements i.e. assertive, proper length, having no negative thought, easily apprehendable.

Content Validity:

Similarly the content validity has been ensured by getting it reviewed by various experts of the relevant filed.

Ethical Consideration:

The ethical consideration has been ensured throughout data collection process. The details of respondents with respect to their responses has been kept confidential. The

time and place for interview has been left on the discretion of the respondents without the involvement of third party.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents a detailed Thematic Analysis of the data gathered for carrying out the current study. A six phased approach of Thematic Analysis has been followed throughout the chapter as suggested by Braun & Clarke (2006). This chapters also gives the comprehensive analysis and discussion of the findings of the study.

Qualitative Analysis:

The collection of qualitative data generally depends on interpretation. That means multiple explanations are required of the data. It is because they also collect large quantities of qualitative data. There is also no distinction between data collection and analysis (Creswell, 2009). Similarly, According to Maguire & Delahunt (2017), qualitative data analysis is the process of examining qualitative data to derive an explanation for a specific phenomenon. Qualitative data analysis provide an unders (Marks & Yardley, 2004)tanding of research objective by revealing patterns and themes in the data. Increasingly it is recognized that clear direction is required on the practical basis of how to do subjective examination (Clarke & Braun, 2013). As Nowell, Norris, White and Moules (2017) clarify, the need of center on thorough and pertinent topical examination has suggestions in terms of the validity of the investigate prepare. This article offers a viable direct to doing a topical examination employing a worked case drawn from learning and educating investigate. It is based on a asset we developed to meet desires of our claim understudies and we have utilized it effectively for a number of a long time

Thematic Analysis:

Thematic analysis is a data analysis technique for a qualitative research. It is regarded as a suitable technique for the researches that involves interpretations. It is a detailed

systematic analysis. In this analysis the researcher creates themes from the data based on its frequency in the data and then associates it with whole content. Qualitative research allows researchers to collect data from various aspect and to understand accurately (Marks and Yardley 2004).

Getting Started:

Research question:

The purpose of doing thematic analysis is to address a very broad, straightforward research question of this study: What factors affect voting preference of voters towards political parties?

Doing Analysis:

For data analysis, thematic analysis technique has been adopted. A six phased framework has been followed as suggested by Braun & Clark (2006).

Step 1: Become familiar with the data,	Step 4: Review themes,
Step 2: Generate initial codes,	Step 5: Define themes,
Step 3: Search for themes,	Step 6: Write-up.

Braun & Clarke's six-phase framework for doing a thematic analysis

STEP ONE: Become Familiar with the Data:
At this step, the researcher became very aware with the complete set of data as well as data quantity before going any further. Moreover rough notes were also prepared.

Demographics of respondents:

The extract was obtained from a real focus-group, with politicians and academicians as part of a study that explored respondent's perspectives on academic feedback. The extract takes about 30 minutes of the interview and is available in Appendix 1. Six interviews have been conducted from academicians (political science teachers) and

four interviews have been conducted from elected members (MNAs and MPAs). Data has been recorded through notes.

STEP TWO: Generate initial codes

In this step, information was organized in a significant and orderly way. Coding diminished parcels of information into little chunks of meaning. This research is concerned with tending to address specific research question and analyze the information with this in intellect – so a hypothetical topical examination was taken after instead of an inductive one. Given this, each section of information was coded that was important to or captured something curiously around the investigate address. Every piece of content isn't coded. In any case, in case a more inductive examination had been done at that point line-by-line coding to code each single line might have utilized. Open coding is utilized; i.e. the codes were created and altered as have been worked through the coding prepare.

Process of Coding:

After finishing Step 1, initial ideas about codes were already gained i.e. some preliminary ideas about codes were developed. Coding a transcript was done separately under each question. Each transcript was gone through separately coding was done of each section of content that appeared to be important to or particularly address the research question. When comparison of the codes wrapped up, it was examined and adjusted some time recently moving on to the rest of the transcripts. We did this by hand at first, working through hardcopies of the transcripts with pens and highlighters.

Data gathered through Interviews:

Codes of Responses given by Academicians:

Q: 1 What were the essential factors that influence your political behavior in the general election 2018?	Q: 2 What means do you use to increase supporters for the party you support?	Q: 3 Why people preferences change in every election?
Codes:	**Codes:**	**Codes:**
Public demand for new setup. A good system that could realize their expectations what they have from their respective candidate.	I will talk about party policies. If party amend their policies according to the needs of its constituency, it will increase their supporters	People change their preferences on baradism. A candidate belonging to a baradari will prone to have more votes from the people belonging to the same Baradari
It was corruption. If we find any candidate corrupt, obviously it will influence our preferences	I will discuss the manifesto with my friends, of course creating an awareness about party's good conducts among my peers	No role of caste system. People cast vote on the basis of Party's performances
People vote to bring a change (political change) to their society. When they find that the same problems and issues are prevailing in the society, their preference changes.	By telling other the corruption of the opposite party (s). It is a good way to shed light on the rival party's failures and to do comparisons to make rational choice.	People vote for religion. A candidate from one religious group will have more votes from the same group.
It was a propaganda for change. People have some expectations. To us, our preference will surely be based on the previous tenure	I will use family culture in this regard. We can say the historical perspective and norms. I would persuade my peers on the basis	Don't change preferences. People have historically persistent preferences. Their preferences are based on the preferences of their ancestors.
		Only candidates are changed. People cast vote for candidate.

of a candidate. If it has not brought any good change then we prefer to bring new elective. Religion factor influenced. Religious factors influence people's preference to much extent. People do cast vote on the basis that if a candidate belong to their religious sect. People in rural areas have different criteria of voting. They give vote on the orientation of family, cast etc. while people in city have awareness and they tend to vote on the basis of performance In village areas voters give caste based votes. Caste system is prevalent in the country and a strong indicator of voters' choice	of our persisting culture of casting vote to the respective candidate I think it is easy to convince for a person who is known as honest. Transparent financial resources are vital to gain public preferences. Strong campaign will have strong influence on voters' mind	May be the personality, trustworthiness and image of the candidate irrespective of the fact that which party the candidate belong to. Party policies are caused for change. Good policies produce more supporters. Moreover the larger the campaign is the more influence it would have on its voters
Q: 4 How a voter's preference can be made rational and least affected from immediate factors like family influence, historical factors? **Codes:** Different scenario in rural and	**Q: 5 What role religion has played in strengthening party's position in general elections 2018?** **Codes:** There is no role of religion in 2018. Voting in done on the	**Q: 6 Have you been provide with the expected outcome from your previous elected members?** **Codes:** Yes, they worked for the development of area. And many

urban areas. Some events do create awareness among people about a party's stance and make them realize that are they rational in their choice or do they need to change their preference.	basis of the factors like, historical patterns, baradari system, party's reputation and somehow rationality.	of expectations have been realized by the elective.
Preference gap between Urban vs. Rural areas. Urban people vote on party basis while in rural areas people vote on family basis. Rural areas or least developed areas have less awareness and their minds are persistent for supporting the same party irrespective of their performance for their constituency.	Religion played most important role like voters of TLP. People do have religious sentiments attached to a particular political party.

Religion was an important determinant of casting votes in general election 2018 | No they could not fulfill the public demand so they were rejected. Thus people showed rationality in bringing new elective to the constituency.

Candidates' image, his appearance in the eyes of voters matter.

Elected members worked for the development of area. But their performance was somehow biased. |
| Political party is an important factor. A candidate's image is built through the party to which he/she belongs to, whether it has good reputation or not. | Religion is used as an emotional factor because people attach their religious ideas and sentiments to casting votes.

Some political parties used religious sentiments in 2018 general elections to increase their supporters. | More awareness about a political parties, candidates and political situation more rational decision it will become Accessibility of grassroots level people to the candidate made him more familiar that will build public's confidence in him. |
| Family background is an important factor. Family background of both the voter and the candidate play their role in setting voting preferences. | | |

Some events may take place about the party or its candidates that put a strong impact on voter's mind and influence their preferences

If political party is public oriented and less interested in power gaining it will increase our confidence in it. | | |

Table 1 Codes of Responses given by Academicians

Codes of Responses given by Elected Members:

| Q: 1. What were the essential factors that influenced your position in the general election 2018?

Codes:

People demanded change from their elective. Our party is devising such policies that can fulfill people demands

Corruption influenced elective's position. Public does keep an eye on the elective's activities

Party policies caused to influence my position. There are some policies which are not in | Q: 2. What means do you use to attract the people of your constituency?

Codes:

Development in the previous regimes by me. People are rational. They have obviously taken into account my previous performances which they ought to do.

Corruption of the previous members. It is our duty to hold others accountable and open the matters in front of people about any malpractices going on in the | Q: 3. Do you think that external factors like media influence, friends and family influence, country's political and economic conditions?

Codes:

Yes these factors influence the preferences. These factors like (media influence, friends and family influence, country's political and economic conditions) play an important role in molding people's preferences about a particular candidate. |

line with the expectation of the people. People did not like the previous elected members. They might not have been successful in providing adequate services which they were supposed to. Good development also strengthened my position. Our party has worked according to the needs of people of our constituency.	party. Party manifesto. We have formulated our manifesto that appears to address people demands and needs. Voter do caste vote directly to the candidate not the political party. Obviously, influenced candidate will have strong influence on voter's choice	Media is used for propaganda. Its biased judgments obviously influences party's position in the public's eye. Wide coverage of Jalsas make it more influential There is no role of family. Young generation does think logically to set their own criteria to support a particular candidate. People vote on party basis. A candidate belonging to a party which has a good stance in people's eye prone to have more chances to win than the other Ideology is the main factor. Both people and the party have ideology and if ideologies match, then there will be chances of winning. Media is powerful tool to mold voters' preferences and obviously media manipulates the things
Q: 4. Why people's preferences change in every election?		

Codes:		
There is no change. People do cast vote on the basis of their ancestor's choice irrespective of any other factor.		
People vote on honesty of the members. If they fulfill the promise they have made with people then they build a sense of trust of that candidate and his party		
People vote on the basis of developmental projects. The more an elective does developmental projects the more he/she has chances to have supporters.		
People change their preferences on party basis. If a candidate belongs to a party that has good party reputation in the area then he/she can easily build good image of him/her and gain their trust.		

Table 2 Codes of Responses given by Elected Members

Focus Group Discussion: (FGD)

One FGD has been conducted with three members. Initial codes (both in the form of individual and aggregate codes) were developed from the data gathered through FDG in the following table.

Q: 1 What were essential factors that influence your political behavior in the general election 2018? **Codes:** We had a sense of confidence as well as trust for our candidate and for sure everyone must and should have casted vote based on these indicators We think education plus the party he/she belongs to. Because ultimately he will be taking decision on the commands of his/her party	Q: 2 What means do you use to increase supporters for the party you support? **Codes:** Campaigns are best way. There is no need to persuade people. In this era people are aware of political affairs and can better judge a candidate and take voting decision. However, this is the job of a candidate to develop trust in his constituency. By shedding lights on the political performance but just for the sake of political awareness not for the sake of support	Q: 3 Why people preferences change in every election? **Codes:** Of course time changes, priorities change. But people might not tend to change their priorities due to family and friends' choice. If previous electives fails to fulfill their promises with people of their constituency, then of course they will lose trust and subsequently the elections
Q: 4 How a voter's preference can be made rational and least affected	Q: 5 What role religion has played in strengthening party's position in general	Q: 6 Have you been provide with the expected outcome from your previous elected

from immediate factors like family influence, historical factors? **Codes:** The best thing is creating political awareness, this is done through quality education, unbiased media, ensuring transparency, accountability, openness of political affairs	elections 2018? **Codes:** We can see the influence on the token of religion that how a religion can and have strengthened a party's position in a country where religion is a supreme priority of people. However, most of people do not merge religion into politics. If a candidate is honest and committed people do vote. Tag of Mullah is no more appealing	members? **Codes:** For certain things, they had performed well and for certain things they might not have. On the whole it was satisfactory May be to some extent but not to the level of expected outcomes. Of course they worked a lot they did developmental work, they created opportunities for young people in the form of easy loans and scholarships. And brought interventions in the sectors where needed, ensured transparency and accountability. They did best as per the funds they were provided with

Table 3 Codes generated through FGD

STEP THREE: Search for themes

Braun & Clarke, (2006), explained there are strict rule as to how to make a theme. A theme always characterized by its significance. The above table depicts initial codes that were recognized from extract of responses. The table below shows the highlighted words (the themes) along with the codes that are associated with. These lines are highlighted on the basis of their significance and prominence of an idea in

the whole response. Moreover once an idea is highlighted in one response will not be highlighted again in other response if it has the same idea or theme.

Data gathered through Interviews:

Codes of Responses given by Academicians:

Q: 1 What were essential factors that influence your political behavior in the general election 2018?	Q: 2 What means do you use to increase supporters for the party you support?	Q: 3 Why people preferences change in every election?
Codes:	**Codes:**	**Codes:**
Public demand for new setup. A good system that could realize their expectations what they have from their respective candidate.	I will talk about party policies. If party amend their policies according to the needs of its constituency, it will increase their supporters	People change their preferences on baradism. A candidate belonging to a baradari will prone to have more votes from the people belonging to the same Baradari
It was corruption. If we find any candidate corrupt, obviously it will influence our preferences	I will discuss the manifesto with my friends, of course creating an awareness about party's good conducts among my peers	No role of caste system. People cast vote on the basis of Party's performances
People vote to bring a change (political change) to their society. When they find that the same problems and issues are prevailing in the society, their preference changes.	By telling other the corruption of the opposite party (s). It is a good way to shed light on the rival party's failures and to do comparisons to make rational choice.	People vote for religion. A candidate from one religious group will have more votes from the same group.
It was a propaganda for change. People have some expectations. To us, our preference will surely	I will use family culture in this regard. We can say the historical perspective and norms. I would	Don't change preferences. People have historically persistent preferences. Their preferences are based on the preferences of their ancestors.

be based on the previous tenure of a candidate. If it has not brought any good change then we prefer to bring new elective. Religion factor influenced. ==Religious factors influence people's preference== to much extent. People do cast vote on the basis that if a candidate belong to their religious sect. People in ==rural areas have different criteria of voting==. They give vote on the orientation of family, cast etc. while people in city have awareness and they tend to vote on the basis of performance In village areas voters give ==caste based== votes Caste system is prevalent in the country and a strong indicator of voters' choice	persuade my peers on the basis of our persisting culture of casting vote to the respective candidate I think it is easy to convince for a person who is known as ==honest.== Transparent financial resources are vital to gain public preferences. Strong campaign will have strong influence on voters' mind	Only candidates are changed. People cast vote for candidate. May be the ==personality, trustworthiness and image of the candidate== irrespective of the fact that which party the candidate belong to. Party policies are caused for change. Good policies produce more supporters. Moreover the ==larger the campaign== is the more influence it would have on its voters
Q: 4 How a voter's preference can be made rational and least affected from immediate factors like family influence, historical factors? **Codes:**	**Q: 5 What role religion has played in strengthening party's position in general elections 2018?** **Codes:** There is no role of religion in	**Q: 6 Have you been provide with the expected outcome from your previous elected members?** **Codes:** Yes, they worked for the

==Different scenario== in rural and urban areas. ==Some events== do create awareness among people about a party's stance and make them realize that are they rational in their choice or do they need to change their preference.

==Preference gap between Urban vs. Rural areas.== Urban people vote on party basis while in rural areas people vote on family basis. Rural areas or least developed areas have less awareness and their minds are persistent for supporting the same party irrespective of their performance for their constituency.

==Political party is an important factor.== A candidate's image is built through the party to which he/she belongs to, whether it has ==good reputation== or not.

==Family background== is an important factor. Family background of both the voter and the candidate play their role

2018. Voting in done on the basis of the factors like, historical patterns, baradari system, party's reputation and somehow ==rationality==.

==Religion played most important role== like voters of TLP. People do have religious sentiments attached to a particular political party.

Religion was an important determinant of casting votes in general election 2018

Religion is used as an emotional factor because ==people attach their religious ideas and sentiments to casting votes.==

Some political parties used religious sentiments in 2018 general elections to increase their supporters.

==development of area==. And many of expectations have been realized by the elective.

No they ==could not fulfill the public demand== so they were rejected. Thus people showed rationality in bringing new elective to the constituency.

Candidates' ==image, his appearance in== the eyes of voters matter.

Elected members worked for the development of area. But their ==performance was somehow biased.==

More ==awareness== about a political parties, candidates and political situation more rational decision it will become Accessibility of grassroots level people to the candidate made him more ==familiar== that will build public's confidence in him.

in setting voting preferences. Some <mark>events</mark> may take place about the party or its candidates that put a strong impact on voter's mind and influence their preferences If political party is <mark>public oriented</mark> and less interested in power gaining it will increase our confidence in it.		

Codes of Responses given by Elected Members

Q: 1. What were essential factors that influenced your position in the general election 2018?	Q: 2. What means do you use to attract the people of your constituency?	Q: 3. Do you think that external factors like media influence, friends and family influence, country's political and economic conditions?
Codes: People demanded change from their elective. Our party is <mark>devising such policies</mark> that can fulfill people demands Corruption influenced elective's position. <mark>Public does keep an eye on the elective's activities</mark> Party policies caused to influence my position. There are	**Codes:** <mark>Development in the previous regimes</mark> by me. People are rational. They have obviously taken into account my previous performances which they ought to do. Corruption of the previous members. It is <mark>our duty to hold others accountable and open the matters</mark> in front of people about	**Codes:** Yes these factors influence the preferences. These factors like (<mark>media influence</mark>, <mark>friends and family influence, country's political and economic conditions</mark>) play an important role in molding people's preferences about a particular

some policies which are not in line with the expectation of the people.

People did not like the previous elected members. They might <mark>not have been successful in providing adequate services which they were supposed to</mark>.

Good development also strengthened my position. Our party has <mark>worked according to the needs of people of our constituency.</mark>

any malpractices going on in the party.

<mark>Party manifesto</mark>. We have formulated our manifesto that appears to address people demands and needs.

Voter do caste vote directly to the candidate not the political party. Obviously, <mark>influenced candidate</mark> will have strong influence on voter's choice

candidate.

<mark>Media is used for propaganda</mark>. Its <mark>biased judgments</mark> obviously influences party's position in the public's eye. Wide coverage of Jalsas make it more influential

There is no role of family. <mark>Young generation does think logically</mark> to set their own criteria to support a particular candidate.

People vote on party basis. A candidate belonging to a party which has a good stance in people's eye prone to have more chances to win than the other

<mark>Ideology is the main factor</mark>. Both people and the party have ideology and if ideologies match, then there will be chances of winning.

Media is powerful tool to mold voters' preferences and obviously media manipulates the things

Q: 4. Why people's preferences change in every election? **Codes:** There is no change. People do cast vote on ==the basis of their ancestor's choice== irrespective of any other factor. People ==vote on honesty== of the members. If they fulfill the promise they have made with people ==then they build a sense of trust== of that candidate and his party People vote ==on the basis of developmental projects==. The more an elective does developmental projects the more he/she has chances to have supporters. People change their preferences on party basis. If a candidate belongs to a party that has good party reputation in the area then he/she can easily build good image of him/her and gain their trust.		

Codes of Responses given by FGDs

Q: 1 What were essential factors that influence your political behavior in the general election 2018? Codes: We had a sense of <mark>confidence as well as trust</mark> for our candidate and for sure everyone must and should have casted vote based on these indicators We think <mark>education</mark> plus the <mark>party</mark> he/she belongs to. Because ultimately he will be taking decision on the commands of his/her party	Q: 2 What means do you use to increase supporters for the party you support? Codes: <mark>Campaign</mark>s are best way. There is no need to persuade people. In this era people are aware of political affairs and can better judge a candidate and take voting decision. However, this is the job of a candidate to develop <mark>trust</mark> in his constituency. By shedding lights on the <mark>political performance</mark> but just for the sake of political awareness not for the sake of support	Q: 3 Why people preferences change in every election? Codes: Of course time changes, priorities change. But people might not tend to change their priorities due to <mark>family and friends' choice.</mark> If previous electives fails to <mark>fulfill their promises</mark> with people of their constituency, then of course they will lose <mark>trust</mark> and subsequently the elections
Q: 4 How a voter's preference can be made rational and least affected from immediate factors like family influence, historical factors? Codes:	Q: 5 What role religion has played in strengthening party's position in general elections 2018? Codes: We can see the influence on the token of religion that how a	Q: 6 Have you been provide with the expected outcome from your previous elected members? Codes: For certain things, they had performed well and for certain

The best thing is creating political awareness, this is done through ==quality education==, ==unbiased media==, ensuring ==transparency==, ==accountability==, ==openness== of political affairs	religion can and have strengthened a party's position in a country where ==religion is a supreme priority== of people. However, most of people do not merge religion into politics. If a candidate is ==honest and committed== people do vote. Tag of Mullah is no more appealing	things they might not have. On the whole it was ==satisfactory== May be to some extent but not to the level of expected outcomes. Of course they worked a lot they did ==developmental work==, they created opportunities for young people in the form of easy ==loans== and ==scholarships==. And brought interventions in the sectors where needed, ensured ==transparency== and a==ccountability==. They did best as per the funds they were provided with

STEP IV: To Review Themes

Are they making sense? We read the data associated with each theme and considered whether the data really supported it. The next step is to identify whether the themes work in the context of the entire data set. Themes should be clear and they should be distinctive from each other.

The research questions are written separately and themes and sub themes under respective question are mentioned in each table under each question.

RQ 1: How do immediate or instant factors affect voting choice?

Public expectations/Demands:	Issue/Opinion:	Media Influence:
Sub themes:	**Sub themes:**	**Sub themes:**
i. New Setup	**i. Honesty**	**i. Events**
Codes:	People vote on honesty of the members. If they fulfill the promise they have made with people	Some events may take place about the party or its candidates that put a strong impact on voter's mind and influence their preferences
People demanded change from their elective. Our party is devising such policies that can fulfill people demands	I think it is easy to convince for a person who is known as honest.	Different scenario in rural and urban areas. Some events do create awareness among people about a party's stance and make them realize that are they rational in their choice or do they need to change their preference.
People vote to bring a change (political change) to their society.	**ii. Trust Building**	
	If they fulfill the promise they have made with people then they build a sense of trust of that candidate and his party	
ii. Developmental work		**ii. Propaganda**
Codes:	If a candidate belongs to a party that has good party reputation in the area then he/she can easily build good image of him/her and gain their trust People change their preferences on party basis.	Media is used for propaganda. Its biased judgments obviously influences party's position in the public's eye.
Development in the previous regimes by me. People are rational. They have obviously taken into account my previous performances which they ought to do.		**iii. Media biases**
	If a candidate belongs to a party that has good party reputation in the area then he/she can easily build good image of him/her and gain their trust.	Its biased judgments obviously influences party's position in the public's eye.
Elected members worked for the development of area. But their performance was somehow biased		Media is powerful tool to mold voters' preferences and obviously media manipulates
iii. Corruption		
It was corruption. If we find any candidate corrupt, obviously it will influence our preferences		

		the things
Corruption of the previous members. It is our duty to hold others accountable and open the matters in front of people about any malpractices going on in the party. **iv. Preference gap of rural vs. urban areas** **Codes:** Preference gap between Urban vs. Rural areas. Urban people vote on party basis while in rural areas people vote on family basis. Rural areas or least developed areas have less awareness and their minds are persistent for supporting the same party irrespective of their performance for their constituency. People in rural areas have different criteria of voting. They give vote on the orientation of family, cast etc. while people in city have awareness and they tend to vote on the basis of performance		

Table 4 Main themes and sub themes under RQ 1

RQ: To what extent distant or remote factors impact on Voting Preference?

Historical Patterns:	Political and Economic conditions	
Sub themes:	**Sub themes:**	
i. Culture	**i. Financial resources**	
I will use family culture in this regard. We can say the historical perspective and norms. I would persuade my peers on the basis of our persisting culture of casting vote to the respective candidate	Transparent financial resources are vital to gain public preferences. Strong campaign will have strong influence on voters' mind	
Don't change preferences. People have historically persistent preferences. Their preferences are based on the preferences of their ancestors. This is culture.	**ii. Political reputation**	
ii. Family Influence	Political party is an important factor. A candidate's image is built through the party to which he/she belongs to, whether it has good reputation or not	
.They caste vote on the basis of family, cast etc. while urban people have awareness and they tend to vote on the basis of performance	People vote on party basis. A candidate belonging to a party which has a good stance in people's eye prone to have more chances to win than the other	
Family background is an important factor. Family background of both the voter and the candidate play their role in setting voting preferences		
iii. Baradism		

People change their preferences on baradism. A candidate belonging to a baradari will prone to have more votes from the people belonging to the same Baradari There is no role of religion in 2018. Voting in done on the basis of the factors like, historical patterns, baradari system, party's reputation and somehow rationality. **iv. Awareness** More awareness about a political parties, candidates and political situation more rational decision it will become I will discuss the manifesto with my friends, of course creating an awareness about party's good conducts among my peers		

Table 5 Main themes and sub themes under RQ 2

RQ 3: who is voting for whom and why?

Basis of attachment	Social Division
Sub themes:	Sub themes:
i. Party attachment	i. Caste system

Political party is an important factor. A candidate's image is built through the party to which he/she belongs to, whether it has good reputation or not. People caste vote on the basis of party attachment By telling other the corruption of the opposite party (s). It is a good way to shed light on the rival party's failures and to do comparisons to make rational choice. **Influenced candidate** Voter do caste vote directly to the candidate not the political party. Obviously, influenced candidate will have strong influence on voter's choice Candidates' image, his appearance in the eyes of voters matter. Only candidates are changed. People cast vote for candidate. May be the personality and image of the candidate irrespective of the fact that which party the candidate belong to.	In village areas voters give caste based votes Caste system is prevalent in the country and a strong indicator of voters' choice ii. **Religion** Religion played most important role like voters of TLP. People do have religious sentiments attached to a particular political party. Religion was an important determinant of casting votes in general election 2018 Religion is used as an emotional factor because people attach their religious ideas and sentiments to casting votes. Some political parties used religious sentiments in 2018 general elections to increase their supporters.

Table 6 Main themes and sub themes under RQ 3

RQ 4: What does the most effective tools to predict voting preference?

Campaign activity	Socio-political goodwill	Party policies/manifesto
Sub themes:	Sub themes:	Sub theme:
i. **Strength of attendants**	i. **Familiarity** Accessibility of grassroots level	i. **Public orientation**

The larger the campaign is the more influence it would have on its voters **ii. Coverage** Wide coverage of Jalsas make it more influential	people to the candidate makes him more familiar that will build public's confidence in him Ideology is the main factor. Both people and the party have ideology and if ideologies match, then there will be chances of winning. **ii. Political actions** They worked for the development of area. And many of expectations have been realized by the elective. They could not fulfill the public demand so they were rejected. Thus people showed rationality in bringing new elective to the constituency Development in the previous regimes by me. People are rational. They have obviously taken into account my previous performances which they ought to do. Good development also strengthened my position. Our party has worked according to the needs of people of our	If political party is public oriented and less interested in power gaining it will increase our confidence in it. Party manifesto. We have formulated our manifesto that appears to address people demands and needs. **ii. Party performance** I will talk about party policies. If party amend their policies according to the needs of its constituency, it will increase their supporters No role of caste system. People cast vote by analyzing what is the performance of the Party I will talk about party policies. If party amend their policies according to the needs of its constituency, it will increase their supporters

	constituency	
	People vote on the basis of developmental projects. The more an elective does developmental projects the more he/she has chances to have supporters.	

Table 7 Main themes and sub themes under RQ 4

STEP V: Define Themes

This is the final refinement of the themes and the aim is to 'identify the 'essence' of what each theme is about.'.(Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.92). What is the theme saying? If there are subthemes, how do they interact and relate to the main theme? How do the themes relate to each other?

RQ No. 1

How do immediate or instant factors affect voting choice?

Three main themes are *Political expectation and demands, Issue/opinion* and *Media influence.* Under the main theme *"Political expectation and demands"* there are four further sub themes: *New set up, Developmental work, Corruption and Preference gap between rural* and *urban areas.* Similarly, second main theme, "Issue/opinion" consists of two sub themes: *Honesty* and *Trust building*. The third main theme, "Media influence" constitutes three sub themes: *Events, Propaganda*, and *Media biases.* The dotted lines in the diagram show the relationship of sub themes of one main themes with the sub theme of another main theme. As it is shown in the diagram that the sub theme "corruption" of main theme "political expectation" is related with the sub theme "honesty" of the main theme "issue/opinion". The relationship can be explained in the words that a person who is honest is unlikely to

be corrupt. Similarly, another sub theme "trust building" of the main theme "issue/opinion" is linked with the sub theme "propaganda" of the main theme "media influences" because false propaganda can lead to distrust.

RQ 1: How do immediate or instant factors affect voting choice?

1. Public expectations/Demands:

2. Issue/Opinion:

3. Media Influence:

New setup

Developmental work

Corruption

Preference gap of rural vs. urban areas

Honesty

Trust building

Events

Media Biases

Propaganda
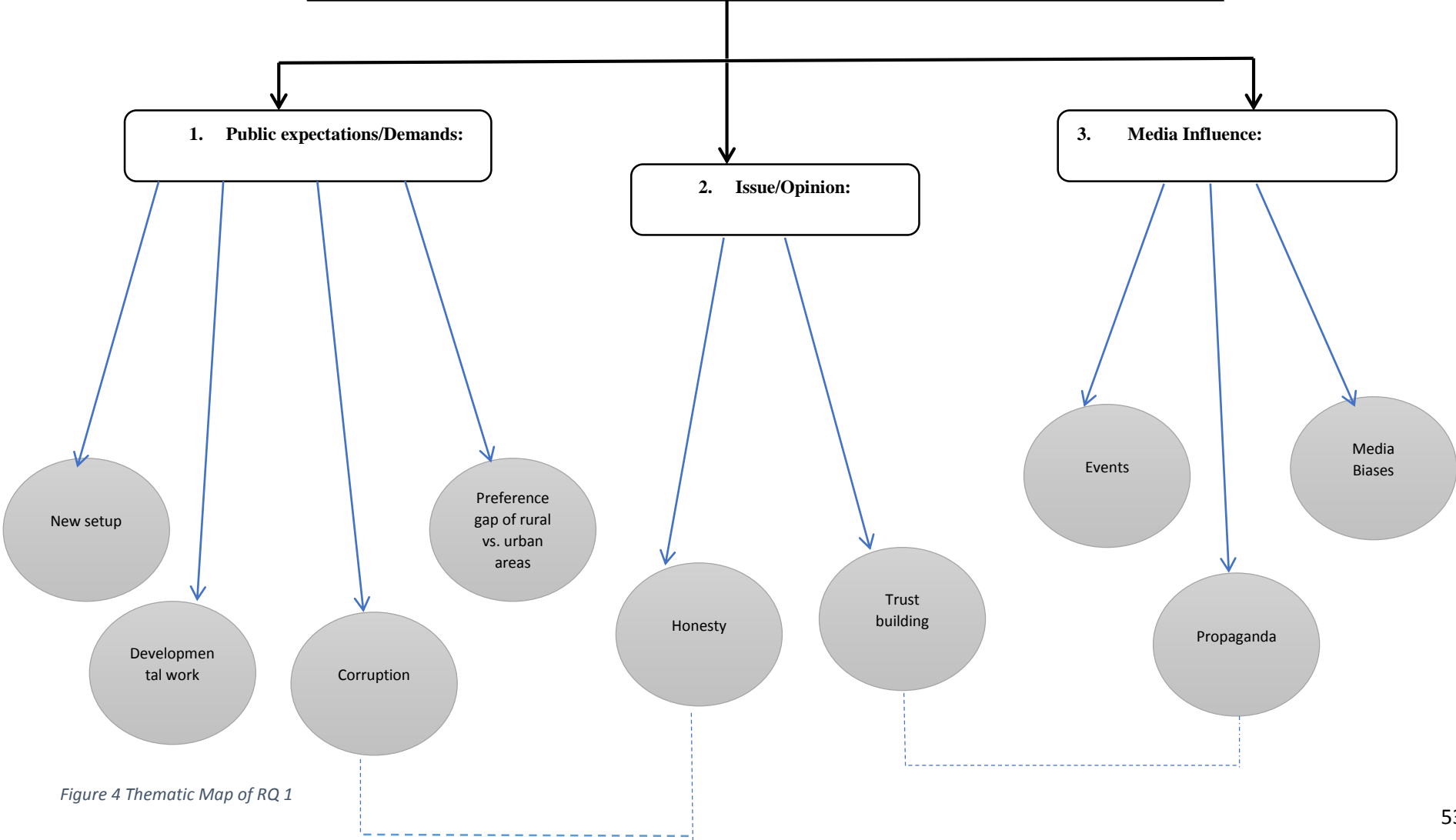
Figure 4 Thematic Map of RQ 1

RQ No. 2

To what extent distant or remote factors impact on Voting Preference?

Two main themes are: *Historical patterns* and *Political and Economic conditions.* Main theme *"Historical patterns"* consists of four further sub themes: *Culture, Family influence, Baradism* and *Awareness* Similarly, the second main theme, "Political and Economic conditions" constitutes of two sub themes: *Political resources and Political reputation.* The dotted lines in the diagram show the relationship of sub themes of one main themes with the sub theme of another main theme. It can be seen in the following diagram that the sub theme "awareness" of the main theme "historical pattern" is related with the sub theme "political reputation" of the main theme "economic and political conditions" because the extent of awareness about political actions of a candidate will influence his/her political reputation.

RQ 2: To what extent distant or remote factors impact on Voting Preference?

1.   Historical Patterns:

2. Political and Economic conditions

Culture

Family influence

Baradism

Awareness

Financial resources

Political Reputation
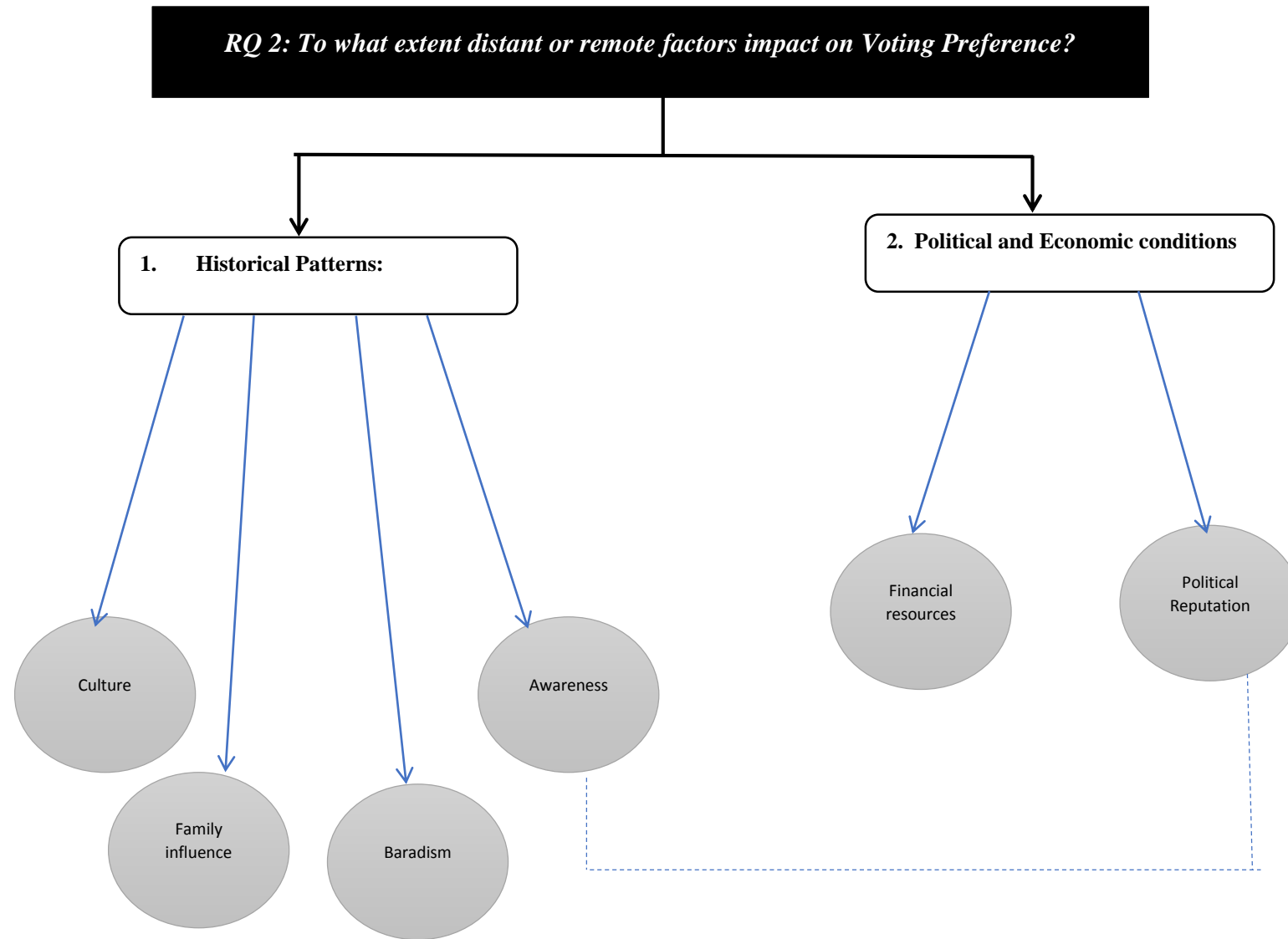
Figure 5 Thematic Map of RQ 2

RQ No. 3

Who is voting for whom and why?

Two main themes are: *Basis of attachment* and *Social division.* The main theme *"*Basis of attachment" constitutes two further sub themes: *Party attachment* and *Influenced candidates.* Similarly, the second main theme, "Social division" consists of two sub themes: *Caste system* and *Religion.* The dotted lines in the diagram show the relationship of sub themes of one main themes with the sub theme of another main theme. It can be seen in the following diagram that the sub theme "party attachment" of the main theme "basis of attachment" is related with the sub theme "caste system" of the main theme "social division" in a way that majority of people in a country like Pakistan exhibit party attachment on the basis of caste system. Caste based party attachment is widespread in Pakistan.

RQ 3: who is voting for whom and why?

1. Basis of attachment

3. Social Division

Party attachment

Influenced Candidate

Caste system

Religion
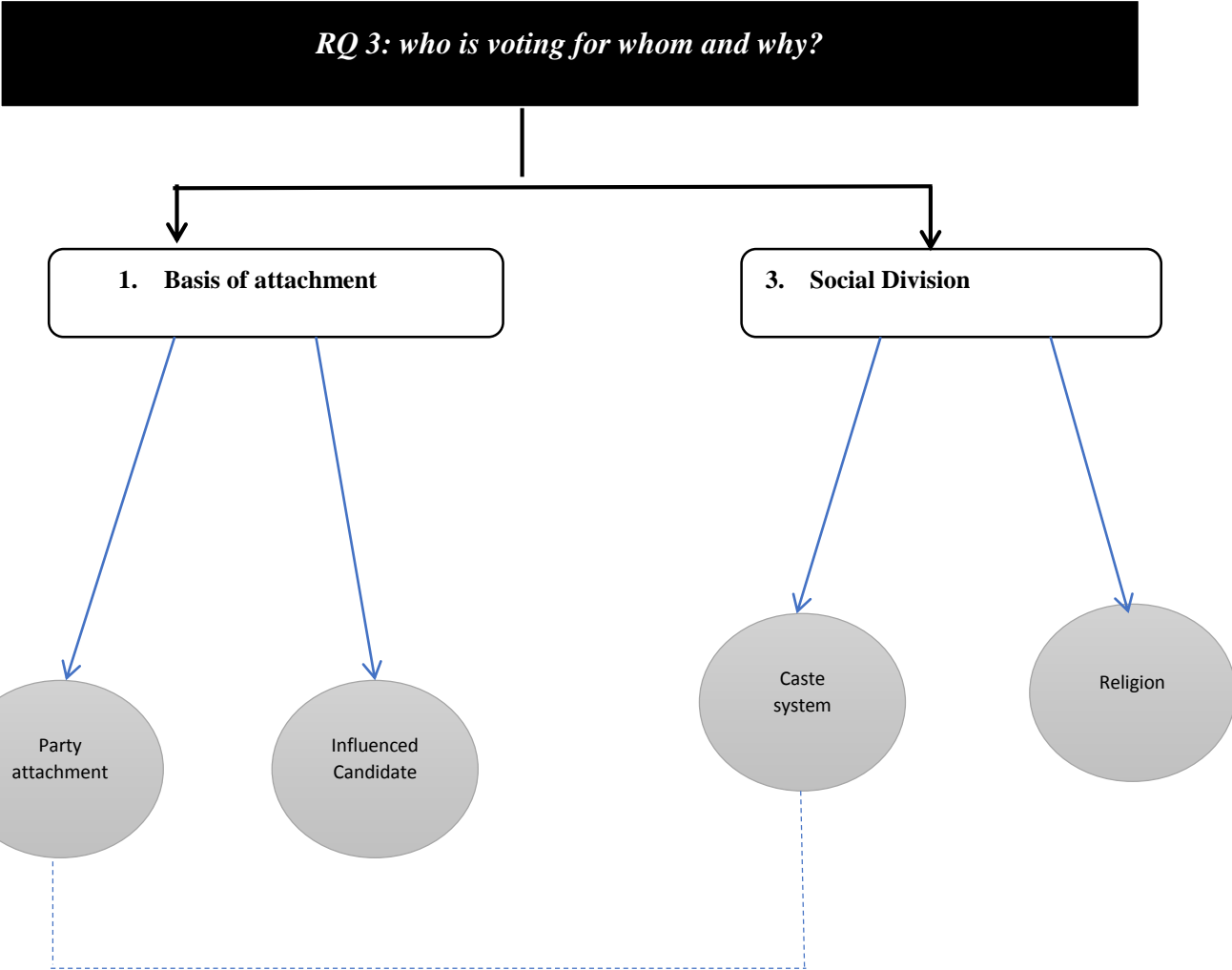
Figure 6 Thematic Map of RQ 3

RQ No. 4

What does the most effective tools to predict voting preference?

Three main themes are: *Campaign activity, Socio-political goodwill,* and *Party Policies and manifesto.* The main theme "Campaign activity" consists of two further sub themes: *Strengths of attendants* and *Coverage.* Similarly, the second main theme, "Socio-political goodwill" consists of two sub themes: *Familiarity* and *Political actions*, the third main theme, "Party policies and manifesto" comprises of two sub themes: *Public orientation* and *Party performance.* The dotted lines in the diagram show the relationship of sub themes of one main themes with the sub theme of another main theme. It can be seen in the following diagram that the sub theme "coverage" of main theme "campaign activity" is related with the sub theme "familiarity" of the main theme "socio-political goodwill" in a way that a campaign activity is meant to get support of voters which can be amplified if the coverage is wider and accessible to larger portion of audience. Similarly, another sub theme "political actions" of the main theme "socio-political goodwill" is linked with the sub theme "party performance" of the main theme "party policies/manifesto" because voters evaluate political actions of a candidate in order to judge the overall performance of political party which he/she belongs to.

RQ 4: What does the most effective tools to predict voting preference?

1. Campaign activity

2. Socio-Political Goodwill

3. Party policies/manifesto

Strength of attendants

Coverage

Familiarity

Political actions

Public Orientation

Party Performance
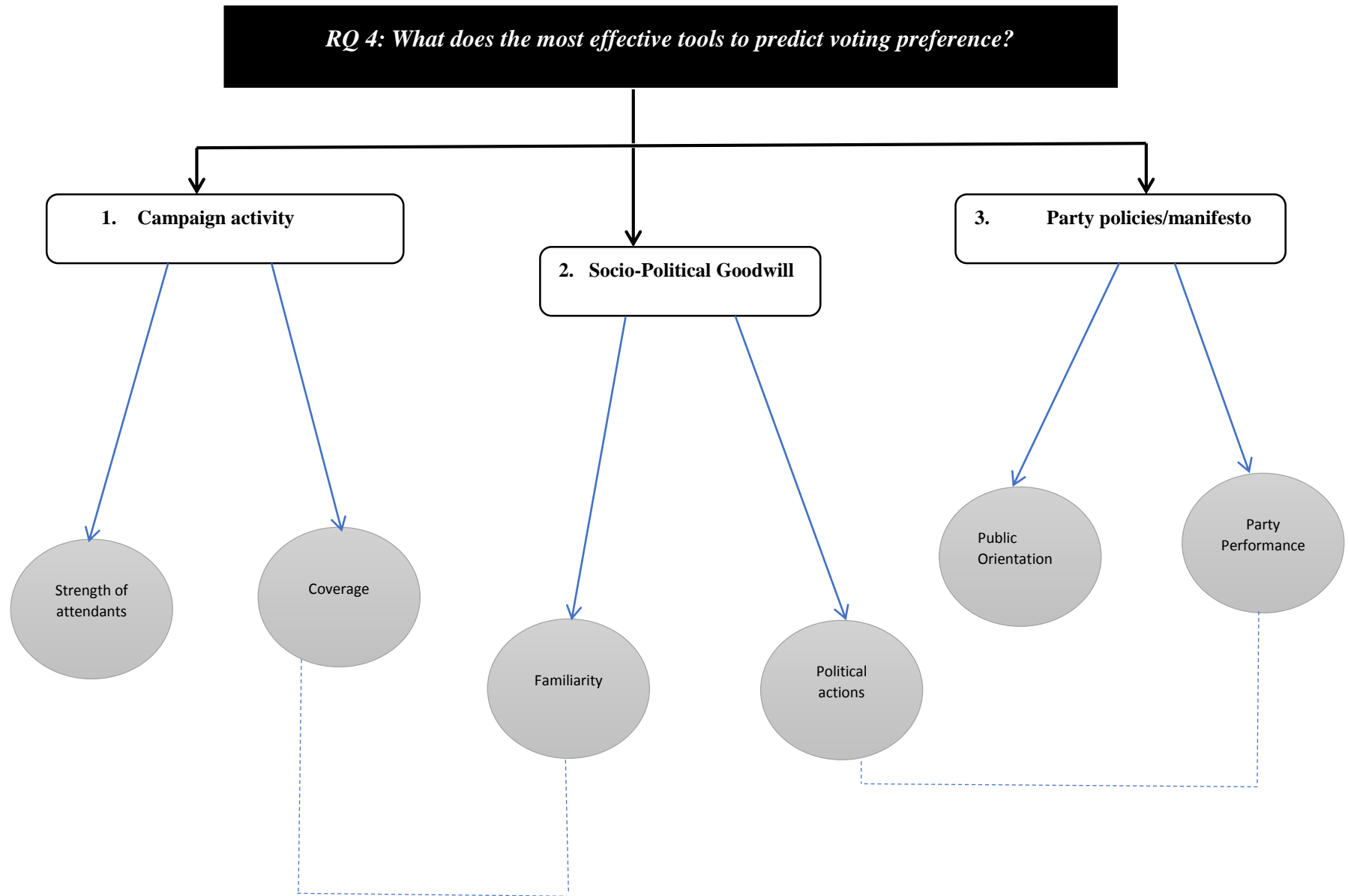
Figure 7 Thematic Map of RQ 4

STEP VI: Write up (Discussion of findings)

The sixth phase of the thematic analysis is last and the concluding phase. This phase gives detailed discussion of the justification of each themes and their sub themes

RQ 1: How do immediate or instant factors affect voting choice?

Main Theme 1: PUBLIC EXPECTATION/DEMANDS

This theme is meant to address how citizens judge the trustworthiness of electives, focusing on the cognitive process through which trust is assessed. It considers how far trust reflects not only the perceptions of how politicians behave but also prior expectations of that behavior.

According to Seyd (2014), expectancy disconfirmation' models suggest that attitudes to political electives are largely shaped by performance perceptions adjusted for expectations. He suggests that boosting the public's trust might therefore require improving political performance rather than simply limiting what the public expects of its elected representatives. Thus voters' minds are occupied with certain expectation attached to their respective candidate on the basis of what they caste vote and judge their performance and also set future trends for voting. Moreover, Kimball & Patterson (1997) also emphasized the role of pre-post expectations of people in setting their preferences for candidates.

On the narrative of "important factors affecting voting preferences" one respondent (Academician) argued that "*People have some expectations. To us, our preference will surely be based on the previous tenure of a candidate. If it has not brought any good change then we prefer to bring new elective"* Similarly, another respondent (Elective) said *that Party policies caused to influence my position. There are some policies which are not in line with the expectation of the people."*

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Thus, for the current study, "Public Expectation/Demands" is taken as a main theme with constituting sub themes: New setup, Corruption, Developmental work and Preference gap of rural vs. urban areas

Sub theme: New Set up

According to the data, the main purpose of election is to bring a system that is at least better than the previous, having all traits of good governance. Perry & Paul (1973) argued that a democratic structure that is the method of official government decision making is usually compared to legal, economic, cultural, and other social systems. It is, however, a somewhat simplistic view of a more complicated structure of categories that includes questions of who should have authority and whether the government can control its population and economy.

Governments established on democratic systems rely on elections fundamentally. Modern societies around the world utilize direct democracy as a form of government, where the citizens of the community make political decisions themselves. This form of democracy has proved to be impractical so far. The political choices in a democratic government must be made by the elected representatives. However, the people have the right to vote, which enables them to choose the representative of their likeness and choice and hold him/her accountable for the performance of official duties during their tenure. As implied by a respondent, *"People vote to bring a change (political change) to their society."* Leaders or representatives tend to lose interest in the fact that they may not be reelected even if they perform poorly in the office during their tenure, which leads to a lack of accountability within the party and overall government systems. In democratic governments, political diversity is lacking or where one party or coalition is so strong that the people have little to no choice to bring about a change by their vote. This issue may be resolved by subjecting the leaders and representatives to a variety of regular and seasonal or periodic elections. A competitive

constituency provides a wide range of candidates to choose between, and the public gets the opportunity to discuss the competency of the candidates by openly discussing the issues of their constituency. The decisions made in such gatherings have a clear view on what the public wants, and thus such decisions have a higher chance to gain the responsiveness from the government. The decisions of the representatives possess a more significant legitimized character, and therefore, it helps the cause representation of the public.

Sub theme: Developmental Work

One of the preferences identified through data gathered from respondents is developmental related work by the electives. As one commented that *"People vote on the basis of developmental projects. The more an elective does developmental projects the more he/she has chances to have supporters"*. Similarly, according to an elective, *"Good development also strengthened my position. Our party has worked according to the needs of people of our constituency"*. People living in a developed country usually have a longer life expectancy than the people living in the rural areas. According to Malhotra (2004), People are the real wealth of nations, and the main goal of development is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy, creative lives. This may appear to be a simple truth. But for too long, development efforts have focused on creating financial wealth and improving material well-being. Forgotten in such pursuits is that development is about people. The preoccupation with economic growth has pushed people to the periphery of development discussions. Development is good for people to enjoy basic human welfare such as clean water, accessible to health care facilities, roads, sewage collection and disposal.

Sub theme: Corruption

Senior L. (2006) defines corruption as an action to (a) secretly provide (b) a good or a service to a third party (c) so that he or she can influence certain actions which (d) benefit the corrupt, a third party, or both (e) in which the corrupt agent has authority. Morris S.D. (1991) a professor of politics, writes that political corruption is the illegitimate use of public power to benefit a private interest.

In Pakistan, corruption prevails at greater extent, especially in government and police. Pakistan is at 117th of 180 countries on Corruption Index according to Transparency International's 2017 Corruption Perception Index. Corruption prevails in Pakistan since its birth, 1947. The drastic change is political regime i.e. military as well as civilian, could not overcome corruption by strengthening anti-corruption institutions. In 2017, the PM of the state, Nawaz Sharif was also accused of corruption case and had been disqualified by the Supreme Court. This also indicates the widespread corruption in the country. So under these circumstances, it has become far important for the general public to judge their candidates on the basis of honesty. Such as a respondent commented that *"It was corruption. If we find any candidate corrupt, obviously it will influence our preferences"*. On a question that what affects voting preference, a respondent replied, *"Corruption of the previous members. It is our duty to hold others accountable and open the matters in front of people about any malpractices going on in the party"*. It indicates that corruption prevails at the uppermost altitudes of political power. It happens when the representatives and decision-makers in politics, who are permitted to frame, create and execute the laws for the public, are themselves dishonest and corrupt, and misuse the political influence they are equipped with to withstand their influence, position and prosperity. It also happens when policy design and policy legislation is made to advantage officials and policymakers. Furthermore, even when the impact of democratization in curbing corruption is still considerably discussed and not

very solid according to given figures, one fundamental argument is that corruption can only be overcome by bringing democratization in the state. Economic and political rivalry, clearness and accountability, as well as democratic principles of checks and balances, are the required tools to control corruption and authority misuse.

Sub theme: Preference gap of rural vs. urban areas

Data from respondents considers whether or not rural voters differed in regards to their vote preferences compared to their urban counterparts. A respondent argued that "*Urban people vote on party basis while in rural areas people vote on family basis. Rural areas or least developed areas have less awareness and their minds are persistent for supporting the same party irrespective of their performance for their constituency*". According to De Maesschalck (2011), party strategists are aware of residential differences in vote preference. Given this easily identifiable group of voters and the clear preference of party, it is indeed plausible to imagine election campaign efforts focusing increased efforts on some areas over others and potentially exacerbating these residential differences for political gain.

According to Political experts, social class affects voting choice, and some other factors such as areas, tribal/ethnic group, religion and urban-rural divide. According to the respondents, in rural areas only popular biradaries are successful. It indicates that people give their votes to candidate who is supported by Bradari. Largely, voters do not political loyalty. They voting choice decides their survival in a biradri. Party identification does not exist. If group X is in Pakistan Tehreek e Insaf and Y is in Pakistan People's Party, next time if X joins PPP then B will leave PPP. Because the voters do not show political affection to political parties but biradari loyalty is in contradiction of rival groups.

There can be various types of voters; i.e. (a) General voters are in mainstream however they are merely participant. Their votes are based on a biradari support or

sometimes on political loyalty or can also be based on candidates' personality but rarely. General voters can alter the condition of the election and sometimes wrong anticipations appear. On the other hands, Neutral voters are from to higher and high middle classes. They choose to be at home on the Election Day and the voters who do not have much wealth or man power cast their votes on principle of give and take. They caste vote for strong group so that they could be able to get help from them afterwards like financial and laws related problems.

Main Theme: ISSUE/OPINION

In democratic countries, people are supposed to voice their opinion through voting. Voting process is essential for the fact that through voting, candidates can be held accountable and the potential candidates are reinvigorated to fight for seats. But, in Pakistan, there is dearth of studies about political participation and its determinants. In this study, from data through responses, general determinants of voting preference have been attempted to be drawn.

Sub theme: Honesty

Unethical behavior is a massive societal problem that occurs in almost all aspects of our everyday lives. In the modern world where accessibility of information is just on one click, people are aware of the conducts of their representatives. The main form of dishonesty is bribery, embezzlement, fraud and extortion. Mostly voters rely on individual honesty. When individuals engage in dishonest or otherwise illicit forms of behavior, costs of rule monitoring and enforcement increase, common resources can be depleted, and patterns of cooperation and trust can break down. One of the respondents argued that *"People vote on honesty of the members. If they fulfill the promise they have made with people"*. Similarly

another person talked about the goodwill of an honest person, commenting that *"I think it is easy to convince for a person who is known as honest"*

There are some scholars who argue that voters, when making electoral choices, often make a mental trade-off between honesty and competence. If you encounter a politician who is corrupt or dishonest, you might be willing to look the other way when it comes to allegations of malfeasance because you rate him or her to be highly effective. There are many American politicians we could think of whose success is probably a result of this sort of calculation. However, this is always not the case. It is not necessary that a candidate is dishonest and at the same time competence. According to the data by the respondents, a candidate loses his all good qualities when he/she turns out to be dishonest. However he can still win if he has influence based on Biradari or clans etc.

Sub theme: Trust Building

Another interrelated determinant is trust building of the candidates. The mind-set of voters, taking part in general elections of Pakistan has matured over the years. Politically, they have become more aware and at the same time demanding as well. A respondent argued that *"If a candidate belongs to a party that has good party reputation in the area then he/she can easily build good image of him/her and gain their trust People change their preferences on party basis"*.

Respondents believe that the candidates experience a tough time to perform according to their way or will due to party politics and structure and gain the favour or faith of the voters. In general, candidates are represented and supported by political parties. After obtaining the party ticket, a candidate has a higher chance of winning the favour of the public via the platform of the party. Public analysis and supports the candidate due to the party name

and fame and not for his/her personal qualities and political wisdom or capacity. Thus the candidate plays safe and abides by the requirements and rules of the party to win in the elections. Since the party works in a general fashion and issues a broad set of rules and agendas to be followed by the candidates, it affects the constituencies and the voters. Due to the generalized party policy, all the constituencies experience an uneven and unequal distribution of energy and resources. This distribution gives rise to distrust among the voters in addition to disappointment and frustration for being neglected. This act increases the chances of a candidate to lose his/her next potential elections. The candidate cannot act on his own will and discretion to gain the trust of the voters since the party makes decisions on his behalf and decide the fate of his constituency.

In the elections, voters choose most suitable candidate by hoping to reap a better yield in forthcoming time. Like a respondent argued that *"If they fulfill the promise they have made with people then they build a sense of trust of that candidate and his party"*. Unfortunately, within the political framework of Pakistan, each candidate carries on in comparative conduct by disregarding the voters' interface and advances their possess vested interface. Respondents also showed the fact that political contestants' requirements are personal political competences to fulfill the basic needs of the society. They are fundamentally supposed to exercise their power for the wellbeing of citizens.

Main Theme: MEDIA INFLUENCE

Majority of voters obtain election information through TV, news or social media. Moreover another important source of information is digital communication platform, where citizens give their opinion about particular political event or politicians' actions. Modern media brought improvement in campaign techniques of political parties, political

organizations and political contestants. It has also improved the media coverage. According to data gathered from respondents, media influences to much extent in shaping voters' behavior. For example a respondent argued that *"Media is powerful tool to mold voters' preferences and obviously media manipulates the things.* Moreover according to the respondents, media also influences the campaign activities such as modern technologies have improved the campaign strategies so the voters, journalist and candidates view these campaigns differently, unlike traditional campaign coverage's. The scope of modern coverage is wider than that of traditional.

Similarly, modern campaign media have flourished and become progressively noticeable as each election comes. Social media is also providing a platform that allows communication and teamwork in the construction, distribution, and discussion of content have developed as a campaign backbones. Now candidates are able use multifaceted media tactics integrating improvements in combination with old media organization methods. Similarly researchers have also examined the connection that how voters' use modern media for increasing their levels of political attention, information, behaviors, alignments, and commitment. The findings of the study exhibits a positive relationship between voter's use of online and modern media and their increased electoral involvement and voting turnout. There are three sub themes derived from the main theme analyzed below:

Sub theme: Events

In the study, events constitutes both pre-election and post-election actions by the political candidate as well the voters. Media acts as a channel that highlights such events to create awareness among the people about electoral process. A respondent argued that *"Some events may take place about the party or its candidates that put a strong impact on voter's mind and influence their preferences"*. Moreover media's role may be biased or funded (this

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will be discussed in the next section under the sub theme "Propaganda"). The evolution of modern technologies allows the people worldwide to search for significant results in seconds such as easy access to information, creation of new doorways to services and opened up more chances for strong civic involvement and strong social interaction with extended societies. Moreover, evolution of modern technologies have also arbitrate and contour political institutions and their activities.

Similarly modern media technologies have strongly influenced people' access to information and government related facts and statistics, campaign strategies, voting choice of voters, the methods of journalist to spread their messages and the approaches through which an issue gets place on public agenda. Literature has also guided that in democracies, new media is playing a very crucial role for disseminating the information about a political event to public so that they can judge the political activity of a party and subsequently mold their voting choice, at large, it is influencing political participation. Same has been the findings according to the data. Voters as well the candidates are more aware about the events and activities related to electoral process.

Sub theme: Propaganda

Literature suggested that propaganda is the spreading of information in support of a cause. The word propaganda is often used in a negative sense, especially for politicians who make false claims to get elected or spread rumors to get their way. In fact, any campaign that is used to persuade can be called propaganda. It is generally when media is biased it creates propaganda that is used primarily to influence an audience and further an agenda, which may not be objective and may be presenting facts selectively to encourage a particular synthesis or perception, or using loaded language to produce an emotional rather than a rational response

to the information that is presented. According to the respondents *"Media is used for propaganda. Its biased judgments obviously influences party's position in the public's eye"*

According to Andani (2011), majority of people of the country uses social media. Cambridge Analytical – a data withdrawal firm –was alleged of influencing United States general elections 2016 through boosting up election campaign of a political party. If political parties use such firms to influence their political campaign then there are chances that in Pakistan the same trend can be prevailed of hiring firm to boost up campaign activities to get wider coverage by wrong means. Similarly, it has also been found that some political parties are also using bots (accounts) on social media to strengthen their campaign coverage. Moreover, dissemination of fake news is also trending. They are meant to damage the reputation of a political party, the image of their candidates and eventually their vote bank. In other words, career of political candidate is also spoiled by the people through engaging in intentional dissemination of wrong information and fake stories. These fake stories spread like a fire through sharing and retweeting and reaches to the people who use social media to get news. Election Commission of Pakistan is supposed to conduct free and fair elections.

For the fact that winning party will be going to run the country for next five years so it is important to regulate social media to avoid any kind of intentional abuse that purposely target a political party to damage its reputation by manipulating public opinion.

Sub theme: Media Biases

Hamborg F. (2018) defines media biases as "the favoritism or inclination by the journalist or news reporters or anchors to highlight and report a specific political story, event or political activity of a political party to influence its position or reputation". Findings showed that broadcasting biases play an important role in shaping voters' behavior. A respondent claimed that *"Its (media) biased judgments obviously influences party's position*

in the public's eye. Findings of the study suggests, the media is the lifeblood of an election. In Pakistan's context, even at the best of times, both elections and the media is widely believed to be adversely manipulated and influenced not just by corporate interests but also by powerful lobbies with political objectives. Considering that media perceptions are critical in influencing public opinion, an intimidated media cannot help the electorate navigate the minefield of competing narratives amidst rising political temperatures by snipping away misinformation and conspiracy theories and providing the necessary information and analysis that helps people form informed opinions to make meaningful electoral choices. Also, Media outlets and political campaigners recognize social media as a means for widely disseminating news and opinions. In particular, Twitter is used by political groups all over the world to spread political messages, engage their supporters, drive election campaigns, and challenge their critics. Further, news agencies, many of which aim to give an impression of balance, are often of a particular political persuasion which is reflected in the content they produce. According to the data it is found that media bias and toxicity exist in the political discourse the country.

RQ 2: To what extent distant or remote factors impact on Voting Preference?

Main Theme: HISTORICAL PATTERNS

Elections system has been in use since the time of ancient Athens, in Rome, where popes and holy roman emperors were selected. The modern election process has its roots the continuing development of democratized government in Europe and North America starting in the 17th century. Governments are formed by the winning parties in democracies so governments exercise their rules on the consent of the governed. The political party who is in rule is supposed to work for the wellbeing of the citizens who chose them to be winners through voting. According to the results of the study Accountability can be affected if a

representative once elected does not care about his reelection. Having said that, for historical or further reasons, one party or alliance gets so stronger voters are left with no choice to choose among different candidates parties, or policies i.e. political monopoly. Thus this is crucial to make leaders submit to regular and periodic elections in order to have unbiased leadership succession and ultimately to maintain democracy. Similarly, healthy competition in election process is the sign of true democracy where there are no presupposed winning hints and healthy competition also make candidates and political parties to show their records and show their future plans and intention to win voter's confidence. Therefore election pre and post-election period gives the citizen education about the current situation of politics as well as the future trends in politics that ultimately bring about responsive citizens' political participation. Through political awareness, citizens also be able to legitimize the actions of elected members, thus ensuring accountability. Finding also suggests that masses generally follows a preferences based on the determinants of historical patterns such as culture, family influences, Baradism and lack of awareness (discussed in the subsequent sections). As elections serve a self-actualizing aim by settling the worth and dignity of individual citizens as human beings. Voting gives people a chance to have their say and, through articulating partisanship, to satisfy their need to feel a sense of belonging regardless of the historical patterns.

Sub theme: Culture

Being a social animal, a man plays a fundamental part in the social systems of society. He is considered as the commander of the social structures and therefore upholds and enforces his unwavering authority. The mode of electing process and strength of a candidate is an essential part of political systems. The voting aspect of human society is an essential feature of social evolution and generating an understanding of the will of the respondents.

The citizens of the democratic and egalitarian cultures and societies are evolved into a productive element of the community instead of being considered as inactive members. The political and democratic structure of Pakistan is still in its infant phase and requires a lot more to evolve into the system. A political system is centralized in its political understanding and revolves around the social structure as well. Respondents have gathered evidence on the social structures of the human lives and defined culture as "People have historically persistent preferences. Their preferences are based on the preferences of their ancestors. The social scientists established that voting behaviour is subject to various social aspects such as religion, village and city political ideals, the ethnicity of the voters, etc. Due to a lack of knowledge and awareness of rights, the villagers have to face feudalism. And cities are plagued by ethnicity. Certain groups rely on religion and secularism to decide on a candidate to elect due to sluggish behaviour of the government and its institutions who have failed to devise a new and efficient procedure of election and vote casting. The voting system introduced by the British is currently in effect, but it has been improvised to some extent following the modern-day requirements. British reserved a specific number of seats for the village and city representatives in the early 19th century. Following the customs and traditions of the land, only landlords and feudal lords were allowed to represent their constituency. Thus the poor and illiterate people of lower social classes had to rely on their landlords for representation before the government. They were forced to vote their landlords and feudal lords due to their influence, and in case of failure, the punishment was to be executed. The findings on the electoral process established the two levels of voting behaviour. The first level is based on the aspects of social and cultural systems and the elements comprising such systems, i.e., religion, ethnicity, cast system, feudal structures, power, and authority of landlords. The second level is based on unethical and immoral techniques such as deception, rumours, conspiracy theories as well as a negative projection of the opposition candidate in

print and digital media to lower the credit of the candidate and cause him/her to lose votes. This situation creates ambiguity and confusion for the voters to make the right choice for their representatives. The voters also lack potential and essential information about the candidates to make a proper and unbiased choice of representatives.

Sub theme: Family Influence

The data analysis has led us to reach the outcome that the respondents possess different opinions and perception about various political parties and their candidates. Their only intention to cast a vote to empower a representative who has the potential to make better and radical changes in the development of the country but their hopes are doomed. The research suggests that the males of a particular society powerfully depict loyalty towards the party and rely on the cast and ethnicity to affiliate and support any specific party or candidate. Family background plays a vital role while deciding the candidate to be supported by a particular family or cast or ethnicity. As recorded by one of the respondents, "Family background is an important factor. Family background of both the voter and the candidate play their role in setting voting preferences". The research indicated that the male voters tend to be more loyal and sincere to their political party even if their hopes and dreams were set to flames by the previous candidate; they tend to make the same choice again due to an overwhelming sense of loyalty. The candidates are selected by emotions and not by free will or judgment. Due to the prevalent social structure and customs, married women tend to vote for the candidate of their husband's choice. Unmarried females depict the least interest in politics and follow the judgment of elders or male members of the household in choosing a representative. The most common and influential factor among both genders comprises of ethnic and caste systems. The younger members are morally bound to follow the decisions of the elders and vote collectively for the same candidate.

Sub theme: Baradarism

Politics based on Baradism is widespread in rural regions of Pakistan and is important to understand that how Baradism based political participation undermines party ideologies and performance. The ethnic relationship among voters and candidates weakens the democratic system in Pakistan. If a candidate wins election through free and fair process of election irrespective of ethnic biases then the leadership will likely be truthful, competent and hardworking that ultimately strengthen the democracy in country. *According to respondents, Baradarism is one of the determinants in shaping voting preferences.* Baradarism can be explained as an assemblage of families with blood relations and these groups of families live in one place or in neighboring areas. It is just like a social groups that consists of many families. Baradi ties are so strong that no marriage takes place outside the Baradari. However, Baradari bonds are not stronger at lower levels of community or among manual castes (kammi) who are supposed to provide services to the land owners and are dependent on them. Landlords who own land give their lands for cultivation and harvesting to their kammis and expect them to obey them in any matters. So when it comes to political choice, landowners force their kammis to vote for the candidate who is supported by the landowner or his Baradari. As kammis are larger in numbers so in this way, landowner influence the voting behavior of the majority of the population of their area. Baradism has been influencing politics throughout the electoral history of Pakistan. It did not arise brusquely, rather emerged gradually on political scenario to its current state. The leading factors of Baradism are rural-urban divide, economic discrimination among people, social classes and status, gap in distribution of wealth, i.e. difference between landowners and landless people. At the time of partition in 1947, the mohajirs from east Punjab arrived and were considered as a thread for financial welfares of native people. Resultantly, as a result, both segments of the society started to be depend upon the authority and power of Baradari so that their interest can be

safeguarded. Such as a respondents commented that *"People change their preferences on baradism. A candidate belonging to a baradari will prone to have more votes from the people belonging to the same Baradari".* Infact, the political parties are now also giving tickets to those candidates who have strong ties with major Baradaris in order to secure seats and increase vote bank. Consequently, Baradarism is considered as a decisive factor commonly in the rural region of Punjab and especially in the area of Gujrat.

Main Theme: POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONDTIONS

How do economic and political conditions affect political behavior and opinions? To answer the question, this main theme has been drawn from the data. Pakistan is a country where political instability and economic underdevelopment is prevailing since the partition in 1947. In recent statistics, according to Economic Freedom Index (2019) Pakistan's economic freedom score is 55.0, making its economy the 131st freest in the 2019 Index. Its overall score has increased by 0.6 point, with higher scores for judicial effectiveness and property rights outpacing declines in monetary freedom and fiscal health. Pakistan is ranked 32nd among 43 countries in the Asia–Pacific region, and its overall score is below the regional and world averages. Although some aspects of economic freedom have advanced modestly in Pakistan in recent years, decades of internal political disputes and low levels of foreign investment have led to erratic growth and underdevelopment. Findings of the data suggests that voting preferences of voters are also influenced by the economic and political conditions of both the voters and candidates. According to the respondents, there is a culture of buying and selling votes. Strong financial status is one of the determinants of winning votes. There are following sub themes under these main themes:

Sub theme: Financial Resources

Election Act 2017 specifies that a candidate, contestant to be a Member of National Assembly can use up to Rs4 million on campaigning whereas a candidate aimed to be a Member of a provincial assembly seat can use up to Rs2 million for campaigning. Based on the information collected from various sources as well as the interviews, it is found that the candidates, who are contesting in elections whether being a candidate nominated by a political party or contesting as an independent candidate, come into some deals with voters through front men. They bribe the voters in form of goods or services such as cash payment, distribution of solar panels, and heavy amounts to front organization in order to develop their good image. They also invest in mosques, seminaries, other religious places as a charity. These all activities are carried out by the candidate just to earn good reputation among the masses. Similarly, other contestants, especially poor voters realized that their representatives had no interest in their welfare and repeatedly failed to fulfill election promises, and didn't hesitate to amass wealth through corruption, they began to lose interest in democracy and its value. Push and pull factors acted simultaneously. Some studies have found slums the most attractive fetching place for vote buying because of "high population density, larger family size and extreme poverty

Moreover, a candidate with strong financial status make the campaign activity more attractive and convincing. There is need to have transparency in showing the resources. A respondent commented that *"Transparent financial resources are vital to gain public preferences. Strong campaign will have strong influence on voters' mind"*. Responses suggest that candidates fail to comply with the financial limits and methods of campaigning as specified by Election Act, 2017, and run their campaign on their own terms not apparently but secretly involve in malpractices

Sub theme: Political reputation

A key element of a well-functioning democracy is the ability of political parties to select the "right" candidates. Reputation is a treasured concept for humans. It is a powerful tool that has both negative and positive influences. Classical arguments focus on the role of retrospective voting in which citizens look to past performance as evidence of politician competence and therefore favor politicians who have performed well in the past. Politicians seeking office make promises. This is presumably done in the belief that the promises will alter voters' beliefs about the policies the politician will implement if he is elected, and about the capabilities of the politician. The flip side of the coin is that these promises may later come back to haunt an office holder seeking re-election, so candidates must temper their promises in anticipation of future elections. These attitudes of the candidate help him win voters' heart and build a sense of trust for him. Moreover party reputation is also very important in this regard.

After every single election, electoral systems are used to apportion seats among the different parties that compete in the election, and to select the individual candidates who will be appointed as representatives. Elections thus act as a mechanism for deciding the policies to be enacted among the options proposed by the different parties, and for establishing the specific representatives who will implement them. In addition, citizens also use their vote to express a judgment about parties' and candidates' performance in office during the previous term. As a consequence of these two processes, elections serve the purpose of improving the quality of both representation and representatives, findings of the research showed that voters generally caste party based votes. A respondent commented that *"Political party is an important factor. A candidate's image is built through the party to which he/she belongs to, whether it has good reputation or not"*.

Another problem highlighted in the data is that the party's general policy cannot always focus on the each specific glitches and need. After winning election if a party leader fails to meet the need and requirement of the masses, resulting in uneven allocation of energy and resources, develop a sense dissatisfaction and frustration of the voters. This ultimately leads to the arousal of disbelief and distrust. Consequently it is difficult to bring back the trust of the voters for candidate in next round. This becomes a political inability of the candidate and considered as a hurdles in earning voters trust ultimately affect the overall image of political party which the candidate belong to. As all the respondents emphasized that most of political leaders do not fulfill the expectation and promises that were made before election. Thus diminishing the trust of the voters. The basic needs of a society is development of infrastructure supply of electricity and gas, job opportunities, business motivation, social welfare, security and right protection, economic development and fair conduct of law imposing organizations. If these basic needs are not fulfilled as promised in election campaign then it will develop a sense of the disappointment among the voters they lose voters' trust, ultimately political reputation of candidate gets damaged.

RQ 3: who is voting for whom and why?

Main theme: BASIS OF ATTACHMENT

Voting system is a crucial ingredients of politics in democracies. Through voting process, the voters gets awareness about politics and more specifically in during election campaign voters judge the political stand of a candidate and his future ambitions. By attending Jalsaas and keeping track on the political activities of a candidate, voters get a sense of attachment to a leader whose policies and actions inspire and impress them. On the question that who is voting for whom? The majority of the respondents replied that people do vote on the basis of the attachment with particular party or with a candidate itself. For

example a respondent argued that *"Political party is an important factor. A candidate's image is built through the party to which he/she belongs to, whether it has good reputation or not".*

There are multiple determinants affecting voting preference of the voters, the main heads of these determinants are subjective considerations, utility concerns and ecological impacts. These all factors shape political behavior whereby voters draw basic predispositions. Furthermore, this is a pull-push relationship among different factors such as the image of candidate, parties, caste, race, language, class, religion, ideology, family. The main theme constitutes the following sub themes:

Sub theme: Party Attachment

Political aspects play a vital role in the determination of voting behaviour among voters. They tend to take party affiliations seriously. Ahmad (2010), based in Gujrat, challenged the voting behaviour and claimed that the social aspects of determining a potential candidate are far higher than that of political ones throughout the province. This challenge is supported by the findings as well. He also implied that the social determinants are gradually losing their ground as compared to the political determinants in Gujrat. People rely on political party affiliations and party leadership instead of family, caste system, and ethnicity. According to the respondents, party affiliation and attachment is a significant factor. Besides favoring a party, supporters also disfavor other parties to gain support for their own parties, such as a respondent commented that *"By telling other the corruption of the opposite party (s). It is a good way to shed light on the rival party's failures and to do comparisons to make rational choice".* The voting process is influenced and shaped by the political rather than social factors in Pakistan (Wilder, 1999). Political factors such as affiliation with a political party and its leader are the main factors which attract voters to voting booths. The voters who

have an association with a particular political party feel obliged to cast a vote according to the political directions of that party. It is because of this reason that election campaigns often fail to attract new voters.

The political arena of the countries around the world is shaped by the political affiliations of people with political parties, and it is a driving factor regarding voting behaviour. The political parties elect charismatic leaders so that they attract the general public to vote for the party. It is observed in a study that around 20% of the people prefer to vote for political leaders with strong, sound, dynamic, and charismatic personalities. Such qualities were considered meritorious among respondents (Sheikh et al., 2015). For example, a study made on the election of 2013 found that in district Layyah, 55% of people voted for the candidates rather than their representative political parties (Faisal et al., 2014).

Similarly, Gujrat saw an influx of election of the independent candidates on national and provincial assemblies, with the majority of them hailing from the northern districts of the province. The trend is due to the political influence of feudal lords, tribal chiefs, elitists, and influential political figures who have their sway of control over their areas, which helps them gain many votes as independent candidates without any affiliation with political parties. They do not require party tickets, which are often awarded on personal relations with party heads instead of individual merit. Usually, the party's tickets are assigned to prominent public figures so that the win in election is guaranteed because they can use their influence to attract more people to cast them the vote. This situation is a prevalent political status quo since 1970 in Pakistan (Ahmad, 2010).

Sub theme: Influenced candidates

Literature guided that influenced political candidates in terms of appearance, financial status and political goodwill are able to attain more votes. This phenomenon applies to male and female contenders equally. The politically naïve and unaware candidates usually get influenced by candidates' appearance. Thus candidates being influenced is their criteria. In other words, these voters vote for good looking candidates and see them more competent and convincing. The respondents of the study argued that, influential candidates are more prone to win elections, such as a respondent commented that *"Voter do caste vote directly to the candidate not the political party. Obviously, influenced candidate will have strong influence on voter's choice"*. Another respondent commented that *"Candidates' image, his appearance in the eyes of voters matter"*. Recent studies have also linked candidate appearance to the burgeoning psychological literature on the automatic processing of images of human faces. This research also indicates that people often draw inferences about the character and abilities of others from their facial features, despite the fact that such inferences are of dubious accuracy. Similarly, laboratory studies, in which subjects cast hypothetical ballots after seeing pictures of politicians' faces, suggest that voters employ this same heuristic when evaluating candidates. Due to evolution of widespread visual media, political experts give their point of view that candidate "image" could easily be cheapen or misrepresent their position. As appearance and reputation is a crucial element in politics and a winning factor for their success. Voters view their contestants on their appearance appeal. These implications are not small: in some types of races appearance exercises almost as much influence over candidates' electoral prospects as does the strength of the party whose standard they carry. In addition, candidates appearance can constitute many other factors, specifically visual cues that media shows about a specific political parties, or they see from the posters or banner hung everywhere during election time. On the other hands voters may not be manipulated through visible appearance when they personally have the information

about the main contestants. Similarly, numerous other factors such as ethnic relationships, baradism, and partisan also make voters indifferent to candidate's personal appearance or goodwill or even the way they look. Research findings of the research are possibly upsetting about the fact that upon which the winning of a candidate based in a democratic country. I.e. the way a candidate look or appear? This is as interesting as alarming. There may be of course a better standard for getting votes, i.e. one's political abilities, records, performance, future ambitions, vision, party affiliation or policy position instead of basis of candidate's race, ethnicity or false information about him/her. If the findings shows that elections are mere beauty pageant instead to be political contest, then findings also give the solution, i.e. to making correct information be available to voters that may lessen the impact of appearance. Yet, the findings do not suggest that there is need to replace less beautiful and more experience contenders with less experienced and more attractive contenders in order to get succeeded in elections. Beauty premium can merely be contributor to the success but incumbency advantage is more important.

Main theme: SOCIAL DIVISION

McCarthy (1996) social divisions' refers to regular patterns of division in society that are associated with membership of particular social groupings, generally in terms of advantages and disadvantages, inequalities and differences. Social structure greatly influence politics and this phenomenon has been studied since many decades. It has its roots in the study of Aristotle where he reflected the role of social division for the strength of Greek polities. Thus the way, how social discrepancies put influence on voting behavior, has been on the agenda of research since the beginning of civilization. One of the findings of the current study is that social facets such as class, religion, regional and ethnic identity are regarded as main determinants shaping voting behavior. It is important to mention the words

of Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet in 1948 "a person thinks, politically, as he is, socially. Social characteristics determine political preference,"

As society is divided into social strata and constitutes various interest groups so it can be said that political parties are perceived as their representatives and have the bond based on "give and take" principle. Franklin et al. suggest that data majority of democracies of the world indicates that the political parties who contest in a social cleavage and take advantage of that, have been able to shape individual voting behavior. In fact the social cleavages are now widely explained as predictable element of voting results. i.e. rich parties are perceived to win. Why? For the fact that, however, uppermost strata of the society is lesser in numbers while the middle and lower masses are majority in population but the small and organized upper strata controls and influences the large and unorganized strata of the society i.e. lower middle and middle class. Moreover, the discrepancies in social class also shape the attributes, the situations, attitudes, and behaviors of individuals. These changes have sharpened the lines between social classes and social statuses and have straightly affected the voting behaviors of voters. Dalton's theory of cognitive mobilization expresses that through the evolution of mass media and increasing education and political awareness, individuals are able to take political decisions irrespective of external cues set by social classes. Thus, for the current study, a full fledge theme of social division has been formulated to analyze that to what extent do social division influence voting preference. This main theme constitutes the following sub themes:

Sub theme: Caste System

Punjab, a north-western province, is a historically and culturally rich area in which the Indus Valley civilization thrived. The historical mix of many cultures has produced multi-facet socio-cultural and politico-economic value system in Punjab. The caste system is also stemmed from this value system, and it affected the rural population more than the urban

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population. Moreover the data of responses showed that the factor of caste directly influences political preference that ultimately made the researcher interested in the study of political behavior based on caste influence. The caste system largely affects the electoral campaign in rural areas, where caste and Bradari (Kinship) loyalty is seen as one of the most decisive factors determining voting behavior of the villagers (Ahmed, 2007). A respondent also commented that *"In rural areas, voters cast vote on the basis of caste. Caste system is prevalent in the country and a strong indicator of voters' choice".* Moreover, different studies explain how the local Identities become the substance of electoral politics in rural Punjab (Ahmed and Naseem, 2011; Wilder, 1999). Lack of political awareness played a role in it. There is more political awareness in metropolitan cities like Lahore, Islamabad, and Faisalabad than in small villages where voting happens mostly on the preference of candidates caste than on merit. However, findings showed that in the rural areas of Gujrat there still caste based voting. Such as Mandis (2008) says that social groups have to play a major role in election. Discussing the Pakistani voters in 1993 election, he concluded that the voter was not a national voter rather was parochial one and was obliged to the local power structure and caste/biradri. The party voter, patronage voters and voters of the social groups together made the Pakistani voters in 1993 elections. The author considers multiple factors of voter behavior relating all three theoretical models, which shows that there is no single factor to shape the voting behavior. The significant figure in the town is influenced by the candidates to attract more votes. It is observed by the author that multiple factors rather than one are responsible for shaping the voting behaviour, and he considers them all relating all three theoretical methods.

Moreover it is found that there is significant impact of caste system rural area as compared to urban. Interview results already reflect that people of Eastern Punjab (rural area) were in

favour of caste system e.g. voters of Arian caste cast their votes in favour of Arian candidate. This trend was not followed much by voters of urban area. Moreover, in the rural society, the spirit of casteism has deep roots among rural people of Eastern Punjab specially District Gujrat.

Sub theme: Religion

The interconnection and interdependence between religion, politics and the nation-state is the core behind the political legitimization and considers as the basic pillar of a state Azhar (2015). Findings suggested that there is direct relationship between religion and voting behavior. One of the respondent commented *"Religion played most important role like voters of TLP. People do have religious sentiments attached to a particular political party"* Another respondent spoke that *"Religion is used as an emotional factor because people attach their religious ideas and sentiments to casting votes"*. It can be argued that the state like Pakistan, which emerged on the map of the world during the decolonization process in the name of religion, it is important to know either religion plays any role in religio-socialization or in the electoral cum political framework. Religion has deep imprints on human life. Each act and attitude of individual is shaped by the influence of religion. In the same way, religion has strong effect on political attitudes of individuals. Religious affect can be seen in two different ways. Firstly, religion affects the value system. Religious teachings prioritize social values by accepting few and rejecting few of them. This value system then influences the political attitudes of individuals that formulate their voting behavior. Then, religion directly influences the political behavior of an individual. As a particular group of people in the society belong to a certain religious sect vote their like-minded political party (Siddiqi, 2018). Similar to the responses of this study, the findings of Bashir & Khalid (2018) about 11th General Election also showed there was an abrupt increase in votes of religious political parties in GE 2018. It saw a 2.17 % rise in the religious vote bank in the entire country and 1.32% rise in Punjab.

Similarly, Tahreek Labbaik Pakistan emerged as a radical Sunni Islamic party, it increased its vote bank through brelvi. And it appeared as the third major party of Punjab, on the basis of vote bank. Moreover in GE 2018, political wing of Jamaat-ud-Dawa, the Milli Muslim league was also seen as emerging political party which was in against parliamentary government and had a critical condition in the Elections. Furthermore, the rising control and impact of various religious gaddi nasheen was also witnessed during GE 2018. Thus, literature and findings guided that religious parties are the one who uses religion for the purpose of electoral success.

RQ 4: What does the most effective tools to predict voting preference?

Main theme: CAMPAIGN ACTIVITY

Findings of the research suggested that an increasing number of citizens change and adapt their party preferences during the electoral campaign. We analyze which short-term factors explain intra-campaign changes in voting preferences, focusing on the visibility and tone of news media reporting and party canvassing. According to the responses campaigns provide voters an opportunity to update their expectations of each candidate's or party's chances of success. A political campaign is an organized effort which seeks to influence the decision making progress within a specific group. In democracies, political campaigns often refer to electoral campaigns, by which representatives are chosen or referendums are decided. Respondents of the study showed that one of the determinants that shape voting behavior is effectiveness of campaign activities. This includes strength of attendants and coverage. Democratic elections require an informed as well as a free vote and a fair chance for contestants to win support and motivate supporters to help them gain office. Effective election campaigns are vital to gaining voter's preference. Studies showed that elections that

are genuinely competitive offer equitable opportunities for contestants to convey their positions to citizens and compete for votes. Moreover election campaigns provide candidates and political parties with opportunities to present their message to citizens, helping voters make educated and informed decisions on Election Day. Findings of the research showed the same. In order to help ensure an even playing-field and an election that ultimately reflects the will of citizens, any public resources allocated to election contestants must be equitable. Another impact of election campaign on voting behavior is its influence on building coalition. Election campaign provides a site for joining prospective coalition partners. Party coalition is very crucial in enhancing or diminishing its support. If party build coalition with a partner who is acceptable by the society, it will increase the likelihood of their victory. This all may not happen in campaign but election campaign serves as a basis for these coalition and as an effective time to give gesture for coalition. It can also be argued that yet, election campaigns may matter even when voters do not learn anything about parties' preferred policy positions, or change their evaluations of what the ideal policies on different policy dimensions are. Voters may change their preferred party choice simply because a campaign leads them – more or less consciously – to focus on specific policies or issue dimensions during the campaign. Even if voters are perfectly aware of their ideal policy on all relevant areas, simply directing their attention towards particular issue areas may generate changes in voting behavior. Voters may agree more with the policies of one party on one particular area, and with another party in another area.

Sub theme: Strength of Attendants

The influence of election campaigns on issue positions, turnout, attitudes about politics, and evaluations of candidates in the mass public has been shown to be conditional on citizens' attentiveness to politics, partisanship, and pre-campaign familiarity with the candidates. The

nature of the campaigns matters, too. Campaigns vary widely in media coverage, strength, competitiveness, candidate, party, third-party spending and effort, in the occurrence of newsworthy events, and so vary in their potential to change citizens' views of issues and the candidates. According to the responses an indicator of effective election campaign is strength of attendants, the wider the campaign is, in terms of attendants, the influential it will be on voters in shaping their voting behavior. Such as a respondent commented that *"The larger the campaign is the more influence it would have on its voters"*. The winning political campaign is most often the one that takes the time to large target voters, develops a persuasive message and follows through on a reasonable plan to contact and those voters. An important factor that increases number of attendants in campaign is voter's outreach. Voter outreach is comprised of canvassing, phone-banking, townhalls and public appearances, and email or digital communications. Studies also showed that discussions about the impact of name recognition on voting preferences are often closely linked to ongoing debates about the deployment of candidate resources, most notably campaign funds. On this score, researchers have been somewhat equivocal. It can also be argued that campaign strength is related to familiarity with the candidates, so the identification of voter with candidate or party.

Sub theme: Coverage

An indicator of intensity of election campaign is mass media attention to the campaign. Without it, a campaign may be the proverbial tree falling unheard in the woods. Presumably media coverage reflects what will attract an audience, and this in turn reflects a judgment about the interest of the story and about the attentiveness of potential viewers or readers. Voting process is served as source of representation collective voter's choice. The way how media impacts and molds the voting preferences in choosing a candidate as well as shaping other political behavior are inevitable. The phenomenon that media influences voting

behavior and other political factors was studied back in 1940's and 1950's, however, these studies show a merely marginal role of media in shaping voter's attitudes (Lazarsfald et. al., 1948; Barelsonet. al.,1954). Election campaign is meant to make the audience aware about a political party, its visions and agenda and to convince the voters to support that party. This aim can be amplified if the campaign coverage is wider. It is not wrong to say that the wider the coverage of an election campaign, the higher the extent to which it influenced the audience to get support. Thus, media is a crucial factor in amplifying the impact of election campaign through wider coverage. The larger the coverage the more it will reach to larger public. In other words, a wider coverage creates political awareness which in turn helps to shape voters' behavior and preference. Another important element is that coverage might only be attentive to front-runners. If the winner is predicted earlier then it might focus on the campaign which is seemed to be second runner. In short media only tend to focus on interesting stories and if all stories are usual and does not seem interesting, the media gets interested to create one. Findings of the study showed that media coverage plays important role in determining the effectiveness of the campaign and ultimately the voting behavior. Such as a respondent commented that *"Wide coverage of Jalsas make it more influential.* Moreover the journalists get involved in elections is by choosing which candidates to cover and how much. Those choices alone can have a huge effect on voter perceptions. Researches also reveals that many major media outlets attract partisan audiences, which reflects political biases in their coverage. Again, this phenomenon is motivated by business: Since today's news consumers can get the basic facts from a quick internet search, many publications have differentiated themselves by shifting from straight news to context and analysis. So it can be argued that campaigns want to influence media coverage in their candidate's favor. They seek to dominate the election agenda, frame and prime issues, and have the media transmit their message of the day. The proliferation and diversity of modes of communication makes this

complicated. Campaigns attempt to control their political advertisements and influence debates. They try to set the news-media agenda to create influence on voters.

Main Theme: SOCIO-POLITICAL GOODWILL

The first analysis of the voting behaviour of voters and electoral candidates was developed by Downs (1957). He observed that votes prefer those candidates who will implement their preferred policies, and they help him win the election by casting him more votes. The study shows that the positive attitude and the presumption that a particular candidate can win are the traits of the candidates upon which most voters cast their votes. The motivational theory suggests that the voters cast a vote to that candidate whom they feel have a good chance of winning because they like to be on the winning side. It is enjoyable to be the supporter of a potential winner than a confirmed loser. Voters also use expected utility model to analyze which candidate will do well. According to the assumption, primary voters are rational players who try to exploit their predictable utility (Aldrich, 1980). The voters evaluate a candidate based on the efficiency they will more quickly if that candidate becomes a president. Therefore, it is observed through study and literature that not only the selection of the candidates is influenced by the economic, civil and internal relations of the area from which the candidate is contesting but also by the looks, religious beliefs, career background, and goodwill of the candidates. Personal attributes, political history, candidates' credibility, communications & campaign management, and contact used by the candidate are all essential factors which the voters assess while deciding on choosing the right candidate for their vote. The overarching main theme constitutes the following sub themes, explained below:

Sub theme: Familiarity

Sub theme: Political Actions

The competency of a candidate lies in how they can create a positive image and strike the minds of the general public with impressive speech and personality. The party image also plays a part in paving the way for the success of their candidates in the election. Effective communication and better campaign help the overall electoral success of the candidates in the election (ALsamydai, 2000). According to a respondent, "*Accessibility of grassroots level people to the candidate makes him more familiar that will build the public's confidence in him.*" More preferential votes are acquired when more electoral candidates are featured in the news. It is found that featuring candidates in electronic media has a significant impact than being featured in print media because it has a substantial effect. It would mean that a particular candidate is well-known enough to be featured in the news. Additionally, public meetings allow the candidate to share their view on political issues with the public and stay in contact with them, which consequently aids the people in the selection decision. It also provides the opportunity for the public to oblige politicians and public officials to explain particular political actions. In particular, media attention during the election campaign, in the final weeks before Election Day, is seen as vital to the election outcome (Harrop, 1987). The election campaign and how a candidate is featured in the electronic media shape the win or lose situation for the candidates. Those candidates who are in contact with the general public have a better chance of establishing a sense of trust with them, which helps them win the election. This also helps them to create an affiliation with the general masses. A political candidate's positive image is built through trust which can be achieved if the candidate, when given a seat, fulfills all the promises that he made with his supporters. These promises are filled in terms of political actions. This will make him trustworthy for subsequent elections. A respondent commented that *"They could not fulfill the public demand so they were rejected. Thus people showed rationality in bringing new elective to the constituency"* similarly another respondent commented that "*Good development also strengthened my position. Our*

party has worked according to the needs of people of our constituency". Thus, the various factors that influence the vote decision vary in their stability over time. Evaluations of candidate qualities and government performance are distinctly short-term forces, capable of substantial shifts from one election to the next. Party identification and ideology are much more stable in the short term. Not many voters change their party identification or ideology from one election to the next, and the changes that do occur often are fairly small ones. Issue orientations fall somewhere in between. It can be argued that the party label is not all that matters and that personal attributes of the candidates have an importance independent of party. Candidates may attract support for who they are, or what they have done (in terms of political actions), or what they might do, rather than simply because of the party to which they belong.

Main theme: PARTY POLICY/MANIFESTO

Every political party has its manifesto that dictates its vision, plans, programs and broad policy directions which are meant to implement by the party or on which party makes commitment in order to get support of voters to win in Elections. Parties' organizational strategies (including party policies and manifesto) are particularly important in strengthening the affective relationships between parties and voters. Literature from multiple resources guided that affiliation with the party shapes voters' behavior and preferences. This build a relationship among factors i.e. affiliation with a political party, political views, inclination to subjective political information and persistence of affiliation with a party. People who are affiliated with a party adopt party's political norms and preferences and use them to influence others in support of respective political party. The findings of the research suggests that this relationship may not be significant but somehow affect political outcomes. Thus according to respondents, party policies and manifesto is very important element in shaping the perception

about party in the minds of voter thereby influencing their voting behavior. For example, the main agenda of PML (n) is developing infrastructure, similarly the overarching agenda of PTI is removing corruption thus the respondents will behave accordingly. It is all about the game of matching voters' preferences and party preferences.

Sub theme: Public Orientation

Political party market orientation is about how parties behave in response to the electorate; it is a way of thinking. Whilst all parties might use different marketing techniques such as polling and focus groups, voter segmentation, direct mail, telemarketing, sophisticated voter databases, and opposition research, what is important is the way they use these, and the influence this has on the way they create their political product and communicate. Parties may fall into two orientations and be public-oriented, or market-oriented. A political party is supposed to maintain a balance between market orientation and public/welfare orientation. If a political party in more inclined towards gaining political power regardless of safeguarding public interests, it will lose trust, thereby voters' support. A respondent commented that *"If political party is public oriented and less interested in power gaining it will increase our confidence in it"*. Political parties are a crucial link between the public and policy outcomes. However, few studies have considered who political parties are responsive to when they take positions on specific policy proposals. Political party gives ticket to their nominee to contest for political office. In order to come into rule exercise their power to implement proposed policies, parties articulate and assemble public interest with the aim that similar interests lead to group formation. Likewise these groups or parties having same interest and aims are crucial elements political system, which ensure guarantee of rights (and duties) through a national constitution. There is a range of steps involved in articulation, aggregation of interests to implementation in order to safeguard public interest. This is also

called as "interest aggregation" where political parties present a different opinion on a centralized concern. Ray (2004) suggested that interest aggregation also allows a coherent integration among different groups related to political issues through centralization of ideologies in a political scenario.

Sub theme: Party Performance

What role a political party meant to play? Findings suggests that a political party is supposed to perform two basic functions, i.e. representation and work for the best interests of the society or it wellbeing. During election campaign, a candidate whether belonging to a political party or contesting independently, make certain promises and commitments to get voter's support. After winning election, candidates' performance or party's performance is judged on the basis of those promises and commitments made in pre-election time. Judging party's performance is beneficial in two terms, one is holding an official accountable for his actions as well as setting future priorities. Similarly, in order to be better able to evaluate and assess party's performance, public needs political information and political awareness which can be brought about through fair and unbiased media. Thus it is seen that many factors are interrelated and interdependent. Downs (1957) recommends that voters view the past to judge how party will perform in the future. He further suggests that a voter works on economic principle, and views and compare the expected utility of voting of various parties and support a party where he/she can achieve maximum utility. A respondent also commented that *"I will talk about party policies. If party amend their policies according to the needs of its constituency, it will increase their supporters"*. Fiorina (1981) also proposed that an informed voter caste vote based on the utility he/she is likely to receive from a political party after coming into power. Fiorina further explained that, retrospective voting behavior is influenced by the expected performance of party in government in future and is guided by judgments of

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past policy. Moreover, voters may act purposely by casting a vote to their favored party, only to keep a party they dislike (do not prefer) out of the office (Cox, 1997). Moreover it can also be argued that literacy (male and female) is regarded as an indicator of the whole cognitive ability of an individual. A literate voter who is more aware, politically knowledgeable and informed is more likely to keep the performance as a criteria for voting instead of being influenced by ethnic, racial or baradri relationship or any other factors Thus findings suggests that elections cast a long shadow, and wholly determine party performance over time.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

This study was aimed to investigate impact of different factors on voting preference of voters towards political parties with driving objectives of finding out the impact of immediate or instant factors on voting choice, exploring the impact of distant or remote factors on voting choice and to determine the degree of their political participation and involvement in the electoral process. For achieving the objectives, qualitative approach has been adopted, data has been collected through interviews and FGD and analyzed through Thematic Analysis. The findings of the research suggests that there are number of factors that influence voting preferences and mold voting behavior of voters. These factors are classified into themes and their sub themes.

Broader issues under these categories include Public Expectation/demands, Issues/opinion, Media influence, Historical patterns, Political/Economic conditions, Basis of attachment, Social division, Campaign activity, Socio-political goodwill of the candidates and Party/Policy manifesto. Sub factors under aforesaid themes, that influence voting behavior include demand for new set up, developmental work, corruption, preference gap between rural vs. urban areas, honesty, trust building, events, propaganda, media biases, culture, family influence, Baradarism, awareness, financial resources, political reputation, party attachment, influenced candidate, caste system, religion, strength of attendants, coverage, familiarity, political actions, public orientation and party performance.

So the most critical determinants for selection of candidates by the voters are political affiliation, personality and image of the candidate, their past actions and familiarity with local issues, and personal affiliation of voters to the political parties. Men voters focus more on political ideologies than on actual candidates. In contrast, female voters focus on merits and

previous history of the candidate, i.e., whether they are familiar with local issues. Party cadres and projects also shape the voting process. With an increase in the level of income, the number of voters who believe in the party's squads and projects being the most influential factor decreases.

Similarly, voters who prefer the candidate must know about local issues also increase as compared to those who say that showing their extended-standing support to the political party matters more. Candidates who work in the private sector are selected for their party's cadres and projects. Civil servant candidates are preferred for their recent activities, while candidates with political ideologies attract unemployed voters. The image of a candidate, their knowledge about local issues, and psychological attachment to the participants' political party are the factors that attract the political choices.

Recommendations

Based on the findings and discussion, the study proposes some recommendations to following entities:

To the Election Commission of Pakistan:

1. Enhance accountability of voting processes, election officials and electoral candidates by:
   - Act as a watchdog on electoral candidates and largely on political parties' actions during pre-post elections so they may not convince their voters to vote through bribe or through coercive means.
   - Accountability of electoral candidates for the resources for election campaign.

- Ensuring to the extent possible that all electoral constituencies are roughly equal in population size, and abide by other criteria in the Delimitation of Constituencies Act, 1974.

- Revising the code of conduct for each electoral cycle;

- Barring temporary election staff from officiating in their home districts, and taking action against those found guilty of corruption or bias;

- Providing election observers unfettered access to polling stations;

- Simplifying complaints and appeals procedures by reducing the number of administrative personnel tasked with processing petitions, and streamlining all relevant administrative mechanisms; and

2. Improve the polling process by:

- Discouraging any caste-based or bribe-based grouping on polling station and their violence. Ensuring impartial voting.

- Prohibiting candidates from contesting elections in more than one constituency;

- Implementing complete computerization of the voter registration process, including photographs of voters as a further guarantee against bogus voting; publishing the final voters list on the ECP's website; and abiding by the new constitutional requirement for revising the list annually

3. Enhance training and research, and create awareness among general public about the importance of impartial voting.

- Recruiting qualified people from the non-government sector as temporary staff for election day duties to investigating misconduct and taking disciplinary action against polling officials found guilty of misconduct

- Expanding the role of the Federal Election Academy by equipping it with trained staff and improved facilities

To Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority:

4. Being a regulatory body of Electronic media, PEMRA may provide a check on biased news channels, discouraging any content, targeting any specific political party or a candidate.

5. It may encourage creating awareness and political knowledge in general masses about the importance of impartial voting choices through clips, documentaries or visual message on TV.

To Civil Society Organizations:

6. CSOs may play an important role in making voting preference rational and logical through conducting sessions and meetings with voters.

7. CSOs may also run campaigns or walks against any kind of manipulation in voting behavior of voters through bribe or coercive means

To Political Parties:

8. In order to contest elections in true meanings of democracy, political parties may show fairness in its political actions through rational and impartial elections campaigns and not manipulating voting preferences though false means.

Suggestion for Further Research

This study contributes to the growing body of literature that identifies factors as determinants of voter choice in Gujrat. The findings as presented above suggest a host of future research questions.

- First and foremost, future research should identify the conditions under which voters will use ethnicity and economic conditions to inform their vote choice.

- In addition, they should explore the conditions that increase the likelihood that a voter will vote for a particular candidate over another. In other words, future should ask the question: Are people simply motivated to vote for the candidate they already prefer, or do they make up their minds in the run-up to the election?

- Future studies should also investigate why and how it is that voters move away from ethnicity as a major determinant of voter choice. They should attempt to investigate and measure possible changes in voters' preferences over time by examining the survey data collected in this study as well as earlier survey data. This type of study could either employ a longitudinal analysis by critically reviewing past electoral records or use past survey data that has similar research questions. The outcome of such a study could help analyze the changes in voters' preferences over time

- Additionally, further studies should investigate how candidate personality and campaign promises influenced electoral outcomes in other cities of the country and compare these findings with those from other case studies. Such analysis will help to identify whether (and when) personality and campaign promises have a significant impact on vote choice

- Furthermore, the findings of a single city study such as Gujrat may raise questions about its generalizability. In order to achieve generalizable results, future research

should rely on national data to investigate the determinants of voting behavior in other areas that have similar electoral patterns.

- The findings of such a project could provide important insights about the robustness of a single city study and have the potential to offer important lessons for the promoting democratic consolidation and deepening

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INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

I.	Interview Information												

Interview Number				Interview Date		*Mm*			*dd*				
Interview Time	Start time		*hrs*			*Min*			End Time	*hrs*			*Min*		
Interviewer Name													

II.	Information about Locality (section-II should be filled by enumerator)

Tehsil		Union Council							
Village (as per list)		Mohallah/Hamlet							

Distance from district HQ		Road type				Good	Average	Poor
			1	Main Road				
			2	Secondary Road				
			3	Tertiary Road				
			4	Bridle Path				

III.	Basic Information of Respondent

Name			Sex	*Male*		*Female*		Age	
Contact No.			*(Please tell the respondent that objective of contact number is for survey verification purpose only. Don't insist female respondents for providing contact number.)*						
Marital Status	*Single*		*Married*		*Divorced*		Widowed		Separated	

Education	*Illiterate*		*Can read and write only*			*Primary*		Middle	
	Matric		Intermediate			BA/BSc.			
	Masters		*Technical Diploma*			*Religious Education*			
	Other (Specify)…………………………………………………………………………………………..								

Profession	Unemployed		Student		Govt. Job		Private Job		Daily Wage Labor	
	Farming		Shop Keeper		Livestock rearing		Housewife		Overseas job	
	Retired Worker		Contractor		Business		Tourism services		Others	

Schedule Interview

Academicians

Q 1: What were the most important factors that influenced your political preference in the general election 2018?

Q 2: What means do you use to increase supporters for the party you support?

Q 3: Why peoples' preferences change in every election?

Q 4: How a voters' preference can be made rational and least affected from immediate factors like family influence, historical patterns?

Q 5: What role religion has played in strengthening party's position in general elections 2018?

Q 6: Have you been provided with the expected outcome from your previous elected member?

Elected Members

Q 1: What were the most important factors that influenced your position in the general election 2018?

Q 2: What means do you use to attract the people of your constituency?

Q 3: Do you think that external factors like media influence, friends and family influence, country's political and economic conditions?

Q 4: Why peoples' preferences change in every election?