

FEMALE VOTING BEHAVIOR IN ISLAMABAD (2008-2018)

By

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Abstract

Title: Female Voting Behavior in Islamabad (2008-2018)

Females are more than half of the total population of Pakistan and also in Islamabad the capital city of Pakistan. They played a significant role in all spheres of life, especially in politics. Their voting behaviour in Islamabad directly influences the political scenario of this city. This study was conducted to understand female voting behaviour in Islamabad from 2008 to 2018. Three general elections were conducted during this era, 2008, 2013 and 2018 general elections. In this study, a mix-method approach was used. The researcher used both primary and secondary sources of data. Primary sources mostly consist of the election commission of Pakistan (ECP) reports that relate to the 2008, 2013 and 2018 general elections in Pakistan and data is gathered directly from registered female voters of Islamabad with help of a questionnaire. For this purpose, a five points Likert scale questionnaire used to gather the data from the three constituencies of Islamabad NA-52, NA-53 and NA-54. A sample of 400 female registered voters was selected from the constituencies on a convenience sampling method. The data was entered and analyzed through SPSS statistical software and ANNOVA test was applied to analyze the results of this study. The study found a wide gap between male and female voters in registration and also in voting turnout. The study results also highlighted that female voting behaviour was determined by various social and political factors and it also revealed that some specific causes and elements brought changes in female voting behaviour in Islamabad from 2008 to 2018. The study highlighted the current voting behaviour and voter turnout of females in Islamabad and the importance of their voting rights in the political scenario of Islamabad. In this way, it reflects the political status of females in Islamabad and provides help for the political system and political decision-makers to increase the effective participation of women in politics.

Keywords: Election, Voting turnout, Voting behaviour, Constituencies, Determinants, Revealed, Political system.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ECP	Election Commission of Pakistan
PTI	Pakistan Tehreek– e- Insaf
PML -N	Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
MMM	Muttahida Majilis-e-e Amal

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DEDICATION

I dedicated this study to my own life. Which is the combination of days and nights, happiness and grief, hope and disappointments but the combination of all these makes it beautiful and worthy.

INTRODUCTION

A formal procedure of decision-making is an election.” elections are the formal process of selecting a person for public office or of accepting or rejecting a political proposition by voting.”¹ Election is essentially for a political choice-making system. The foundation of any democracy is free and fair elections. Elections in democracy succeed on the right ability to vote. For the peaceful transition of power to occur, they are necessary. A set of guidelines that explains how elections are held and how their outcomes are determined is known as an electoral system or voting system.² A vote is an official way for a voter to show their preference for two or more candidates, groups, parties, etc., especially when using a ballot.” vote (noun), a usually formal expression of opinion or will in response to a proposed decision.”³ Voting is a legitimate way for a nation’s citizens to choose the government that best suits their preferences.

A voter is a person who is qualified to cast a ballot, especially under a political system of elections. Every Pakistani citizen who is at least 18 years old and whose name appears on the voter list is a Pakistani voter.⁴ Voting is a means of expressing his approval or disapproval of government decisions, policies and programs, the policies and programs of various political parties and qualities of candidate who are engaged in a struggle to get the status of being the representatives of people. In a limited way, voting refers to the function of electing representatives by casting votes in elections.”⁵

The phrase refers to the process of choosing the government’s top officials in a political system and allowing citizens to take part in their own nation’s political process. Voting is significant because it provides a chance for change. People now have a choice in who they want in charge. Voting behaviour is the typical way that people cast their ballots.

¹Election,” Encyclopædia Britannica (Encyclopædia Britannica, inc.), accessed July 16, 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/election-political-science>.

²Electoral systems -, accessed July 18, 2022, <https://www.aceproject.org/aceen/topics/es>.

³Vote Definition & Meaning,” Merriam-Webster (Merriam-Webster), accessed July 16, 2022, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/vote>

⁴Election Laws (Eligibility to Be a Voter),” ECP, accessed July 18, 2022, <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/frnGenericPage.aspx?PageID=3032>.

⁵Zahida Akhter, and Younus Ah Sheikh.” Determinants of voting behavior in India: Theoretical pre-spective.” public policy and Administration Research 4, no.8(2014):104-108.

It can clarify how and why choices were made and votes were cast. One of the most hotly debated subjects in electoral politics and the social sciences is voting behaviour. It belongs to the study of politics. In the words of Plana and Riggs ^a voting behaviour is a field of study concerned with how people tend to vote in public elections and reasons why they vote as they do.”⁶

The study of voting behaviour concentrated on the factors that influence how and why people cast their ballots. Voting behaviour is the term used to describe the intricate web of influences or circumstances that affect how people cast their ballots in elections. Researchers can think about the type of political framework and the nature of change thanks to voting behaviour.

How and why a person vote is a primary concern when examining voting behaviour. Marshall also explained voting behaviour as, the study of determinants of why the people vote as they do and how they arrive at the decisions they make.” ⁷ There is mounting evidence that having more women participate in decision-making strengthens the nation’s democracy and political climate. All across the world, women can vote and take part in politics. Nuqul stated, ^aseveral types of research showed that there are differences in voting behaviour between men and women.....the voting pattern between men and women is different because women tend to have different views on certain issues such as poverty, gender equality, abortion, and the death penalty.” ⁸

Women are less likely than men to vote in many developing democracies, and they are expected to abide by the decisions of male households or clan heads. There are still many differences between men’s and women’s voting behaviour and participation in elections around the world. Women are less likely to exercise their right to vote on their own, even when they do so.⁹ Pakistan is a very diverse and complex nation. The people

⁶Zahida Akhter, and Younus Ah Sheikh.” Determinants of voting behavior in India: Theoretical perspective.” public policy and Administration Research 4, no.8 (2014):104-108.

⁷Admin, ^aVoting Behaviour in India - Definition and Factors [UPSC Polity Notes],” BYJUS (BYJU’S, December 2, 2022), accessed July 19, 2022, <https://byjus.com/freeiasprep/votingbehaviour/>.

⁸Fathul Lubabin Nuqul,” Gender and voting behaviour: Political psychology analysis for voting behaviour in Indonesian.” 2010.

⁹Chiao JY; Bowman NE; Gill H; ^aThe Political Gender Gap: Gender Bias in Facial Inferences That Predict Voting Behavior,” PloS one (U.S. National Library of Medicine), accessed July 19, 2022,

of Pakistan have seen several political eras throughout which they have witnessed elections of various kinds. They participated actively in the elections, but the outcome was determined by the complexity of their voting patterns. On the other hand, the Pakistani populace as a whole is ignorant of the electoral process and its true meaning. There were a total of seventeen elections held in Pakistan following independence. Pakistan's political system is still in its formative stages. Elections have a big part in the way the political system and society develop. The condition of female voting behaviour and participation in Pakistan is very worse. Scholars indicate that the voting behaviour of women is generally shaped by the political attitude of the male members of their respective families. Women are more conservative and traditional as compared to men and men are more politically active. Most of the women vote as instructed by their family members and their selection is not independent.¹⁰ The authors further write, "In Pakistan, political preferences and voting behaviour of individuals and especially the females should be changed more rapidly."¹¹

The scholars express that Pakistani voters also give weight to political determinants rather than social determinants. However, in the case of Pakistan, the voting behaviour of voters faced various negative impacts, including illiteracy, poverty, and religious extremism.¹²

The Rationale of the Study

The foundation of Pakistan was greatly influenced by historical women, particularly during the elections of 1945±1946 that changed the political climate in British India and resulted in the creation of Pakistan. Thousands of women left the comfort of their homes and enthusiastically participated in the 1945 presidential election. Muslim women came together under the banner of the Muslim League and participated in the 1945±1946 elections.

<https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/18974841/>.

¹⁰Nighat Younas, Rizwana Muneer, Nuzhat Younis, Uzma Kausar, "A Case Study to Analysis Election and Voting Behavior in Pakistan." February (2014) - Istanbul, Turkey 1167-1175

¹¹Younas , Muneer, Younis, Kausar, (2014) 1

¹²Younas , Muneer, Younis, Kausar, (2014) 2

Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah during his address in 1944, emphasized the importance of women and their involvement in nation-building, saying that "no Nation can climb to the height of glory unless you are women side by side with you."¹³ Salma Tassaduqu Husain, Begum Rana Liaqat Ali, Begum Shahnawaz, and Fatima Jinnah are a few well-known women. Fatima Jinnah was also a strong supporter of women. she said," women are not weak. But in certain matters, nature, society and circumstances have made her weak. But if she wishes and has an iron will she could be stronger than man. She sacrifices more than man, she surpasses man by maintaining the highest standard of character, an ability which is inaccessible to man in certain matters."¹⁴

Unfortunately, the vision of Pakistan's founder Muhammad Ali Jinnah and her sister about the political role of women and their involvement in politics and elections was not fully realized. Benazir Bhutto emerged as the most inspiring role model for women in politics in Pakistan. In 1988, she was Pakistan's first elected female prime minister. In contrast, the general Musharaf era (1999±2008) was seen as a political renaissance for Pakistani women. The political engagement of women grew under this government, reaching 20% in the Assemblies and 17% in the Senate.¹⁵ Even though Pakistani laws safeguard women's political engagement, the number of women who actively participate in politics is still minimal.

According to the constitution of 1973, article 25 discusses that all the inhabitants of Pakistan (men & women) are given equal rights by avoiding any differences based on gender.¹⁶ Pakistan is a patriarchal nation because of its culture, which emphasizes the importance of the male role. In this regard, various sociological, social, political, and economic aspects influence how women feel about voting. In Pakistan, historically speaking, women have participated less in elections. With 11 million fewer women

¹³Muhammad ALI Jinnah, "Speaking to Muslim League meeting" at Muslim university of Aligarh, March 10, 1944.

^{14a} Kishwar Sultana, "Women's rights as propounded by Fatima Jinnah." *The Pakistan Development Review* 42, no.4 (2003)761-76

¹⁵Ayesha Khan, and Sana Naqvi." Dilemmas of Representation: Women in Pakistan's Assemblies." *Asian Affairs* 5, no.2(2020):286-306.

¹⁶Abida Perveen," The Constitution of Pakistan (1973) And Women Rights: An Interpretation." *Pakistan Journal of Gender Studies* 13,no.1(2016):37-52.

voting in the general election of 2018, there was a 9.1% male-female difference in voter turnout.¹⁷ There are still several obstacles that prevent women from voting in Pakistan and Islamabad, despite the country having a female head of state and numerous laws and ordinances supporting women's voting and turnout. In Islamabad, several factors influence and shape the voting patterns of women, many of whom are unable to use their voting rights freely and independently.

Statement of the Problem

Understanding the factors that influence voting behaviour is one of the significant issues that political and electoral system scholars study. A stable representative democracy is built on proper and suitable voting practices. In the political system of any nation, the involvement of women in politics and their ability to vote has always been a contentious issue. Gender inequality can be shown in voter registration, turnout, preferences, and voting behaviour for both males and females. Pakistani electoral politics continue to be mostly dominated by men. However, women are unaware of the significance of their right to vote in the democratic system. In Islamabad, a variety of factors, including location, language, culture, economics, social issues, politics, media, education, tribes, race, class, occupation, membership in organizations or peer groups, and religion, have all had a considerable impact on how women vote. Analyzing election outcomes from previous elections in Islamabad may allow one to assess the characteristics of Pakistani female voters. This study also examines the variables that influence female voters' choices in Islamabad, with a particular emphasis on social and political variables.

Female voters in Islamabad showed a greater shift in their voting patterns after 2008, which was reflected in the elections of 2008, 2013 and 2018. The two-winning party system has historically varied. Women in Islamabad demonstrate a recent shift in their voting habits, which is reflected in elections. The election results demonstrate that candidates from various political parties won the three general elections held in Islamabad

¹⁷United States Institute of Peace, "Pakistan's Participation Puzzle: A Look at the Voting Gender Gap," September 17(2021), accessed September 16, 2022, <https://www.usip.org/blog/2019/07/pakistans-participation-puzzle-look-votinggender-gap>.

between 2008 and 2013 for the year 2018. The elements that affect how female voters behave are the foundation of this study. The most pertinent query is not so much who won the election as it is why women voted and what their reasons were for doing so, particularly for the women of Islamabad.

The turnout and voting behaviour of women in Islamabad differ greatly by gender. It is important to pinpoint the elements that influence and transform Islamabad's female voters. In this study, voting preferences and behaviour among women are analyzed.

Significance of the Study

Since women contribute significantly to a nation's development in all spheres, including political, social, and economic ones, for a democracy to continue, women's political engagement as voters and their preference for voting independently are essential. Their voices must effectively participate in the political process and government formation at all levels of a nation.

Students and researchers studying elections and voting patterns thus paid close attention to how women voted. This study was based on looking at the factors that not only shape the voting habits of female voters in Islamabad but also point out the elements that cause those habits to alter. Thus, it concluded and offered the following clarifications: how is female voting behaviour changed and why?

One of the study's key contributions was its attempt to pinpoint the variables influencing female voting behaviour in Islamabad and It aided in comprehending Islamabad's shifting patterns of female voting. It also clarified how and why female voters in Islamabad made their choices. This study serves the interests of democratic scholars, decision-makers, and women's rights activists. The political system aids decision-makers in their decisions. Additionally, it offers a base for the advancement of women in politics and their welfare.

Delimitations

Delimitation describes the limits of a research study that are established by the researchers based on their choices of what to include and what to leave out.

The scope of this study, which is expressed by the phrase "female voting behaviour in Islamabad (2008±2018)," is divided into three parts.

First off, this research study's geographic scope was restricted to the district of Islamabad. Second, only female voting behaviour was covered in this study based on gender. Thirdly, this study was conducted between 2008 and 2018. This is the time frame that was used.

Aims and Objectives

This study is based on the following aims and objectives:

- To discuss the determinants of female voting behavior in Islamabad.
- To explore the factors behind lower female turnout in Islamabad.
- To highlight the socio-political variables that bring change in female voting behavior in Islamabad.

Research Questions

The main research questions of my study are:

- To what extent the social and political determinants effect the female voting behavior in Islamabad?
- What are major factors behind lower female voting turnout in Islamabad?
- What are workable policy measures to change in female voting behavior in Islamabad?

Literature Review

According to Plato socialist movement without the active participation of women is like a wedding without a bride Pakistan's female population outnumbers its male population. In the previous 74 years, women's engagement in Pakistan's political system has increased dramatically. Even though women are less likely than men to run for public office and vote. Women are less likely to assure independence even when they vote.

Different reports were also published by the Election Commission of Pakistan that express the voting behaviour and voter turnout in Pakistan during the election of 2008, 2013 and 2018. The voting turnout in the 2008 general election in Islamabad on the two general seats was approximately 49% and the overall voter turnout in Pakistan is approximately 50%. Election Commission report on the 2008 general election expresses the election schedule details of the election administration election companion is a woman see or nomination and different observer about the administration and fairness of 2008 general election in Pakistan. The election commission of Pakistan report 2008 volume II focuses on the detail of the composition of the national assembly and provincial assemblies and also the names of winning candidates and political parties for National and provincial assemblies. A list of women-elected candidates is also discussed in this election report. Similarly, the election commission reports 2013 volumes I and II express all details of the schedule, notifications, administration, results and turnout, and views of foreign observers regarding the general election 2013 in Pakistan. A comparison-based statistic of the 2018 and 2013 general elections of voter registration and voter turnout is also provided by the Election Commission of Pakistan. Statistic-based notification is also published by the election commission of Pakistan that expresses the detail of separate gender voter registration and voter turnout in separately three constituents of Islamabad NA-52, NA-53 and NA-54. Furthermore, the details of all constituencies of the national assembly of Pakistan are also provided in this notification.

Many researchers and scholars have focused their attention on voting behaviour. Even though few studies have been undertaken on voting behaviour in Pakistan, many scholars are now interested in this research area. The voting behaviour, decisionmaking, and

political ideology of voters were explored by Richard R Lau and David P. Redlawsk in their publication named, "How voters decide: Information processing in the election campaigns." and write that the voters' decisionmaking process, the scholar devised a novel strategy or research method (experimental and scientific). Previously, all research was based on socioeconomic issues, but this study focuses on the consequences of information processing. The study developed four major ideas, each of which includes elements that influence whether voters vote correctly or poorly. The research was carried out against the backdrop of the US presidential election.

In Pakistan, Shakil Akhtar discusses in his book, "Media, religion, and politics in Pakistan." there was a triangle relationship of media, religion and politics that was discussed as the term of discourse in Pakistani Society for the formation of political and voting behaviour from 1970 to 1990. The scholar highlighted the impact of religion and media on the voting behaviour of the people of Pakistan. Another comparable study was undertaken in Pakistan by Janat Javed and Muhammad Sajid, "Influence of Print and Electronic Media on Youth Voting Behavior in Pakistan." to look at the impact of print and electronic media on youth voting behaviour. This study looked into how young people voted in the 2018 election. In this sense, it was limited to a single election and the voting behaviour of young people. The findings demonstrate that a variety of factors influence teenage voting behaviour, with news and media being one of the most powerful. Furthermore, Fakhta Zeib, Muhammad Hassaan Zubair and Kashaf Abdul Razaq write in their article, "Determinants of Voting Behavior in Pakistan: A Theoretical Perspective" social, psychological, and rational choices as predictors of voting behaviour in Pakistan had a moderate impact on the average Pakistani.

Another scholar Haroon K. Ullah in his book, "Voting For Allah's Vote." discussed the influence of religion in Pakistan on the political system, party formation and also on foreign policy and relations with other countries. He also analyzed after a survey that the attitude and behaviour of voters in Pakistan depend on religious thoughts. Similarly, Khursheed Kamal Aziz in his book, "Religion, Land and politics in Pakistan: A Study of Piri-Muridi." highlighted that piri-muridi is a strong factor and voters have religious attitudes and voting behaviour in Pakistan. In Pakistan, the majority of voting behaviour research has been undertaken in Punjab. Andrew Robert Wilder writes

in his book, "The Pakistani Voter, Electoral Politics and Voting Behavior in Punjab." the social and political factors that influence people's voting behaviour in Pakistan's Punjab province. In rural Punjab, he concluded, social behaviours such as tradition, feudal relationships, family ties, fiction, clan, or tribe are strong. Political determinants such as party allegiance and party leaders, on the other hand, are dominant in Punjab's metropolitan districts. The scope of this survey method research study is restricted to the Punjab province. Further, Mirza Ashfaq Ahmed, Muhammad Anwar ul Haq and Muhammad Usman in their article examined the structural relationship between Pakistani voters' political socialisation, emotional responses, social identities, and voting intentions. This research was also limited to the Gujarat-Punjab region of Pakistan. This research employs the political consumerism theory.

Noshina Saleem, Main Ahmad Hanan and T. Tariq in their article, "Political Advertisements & Voters Behavior in 2013 General Elections of Pakistan: Exposure vs Impact Analysis." the importance of political and party allegiance in voter behaviour in the 2013 election. The scope of this study was limited to the Punjab region, and it was conducted using a survey method. The researcher expresses the link between the theory of "vote and support" and the advertisement that influences Punjabi voters' voting behaviour. Ahmed Mughees in his articles identifies the importance of the role of biradari, political parties, and religious groups as a significant determinant of the voting behaviour of the rural and urban people of Punjab in Pakistan. Similarly, Hassan Jabeer Muhammad & Syeda Salma Hasan in their article address the psychological aspects that influence Pakistani voters' voting behaviour. The findings of this study yielded five variables, each of which motivates to vote. The scaling technique takes into account all of these variables. In this way, the study delves into the elements that influence people's voting decisions in Punjab.

Another researcher Mohamand and Shandana Khan compared voting patterns in several sorts of villages in the Punjabi district of Sargodha. Scholars provide an effective comparison between different villages to highlight the voting behaviour of people in the Sargodha district and explore the elements and consequences of the patrons' and landlords system on the voting behaviour of people in Punjab in detail.

A few searches were also made in different provinces of Pakistan linked to people's voting behaviour, such as Saeed Gul and Waseem Khan in their article, "Voting Behavior in Election 2013: A Case of Lower Dir (NA-34): elaborated on people's voting behaviour in the general election of 2013 in Pakistan. This research was limited to one election in 2013 and one location in Pakistan's KPK province, NA-34. According to this study, the majority of voters are united in their support for the leaders. In this domain, loyalty factors play a big role. People's voting behaviour is influenced by their family heritage (khanism) and religion. Philip Edward Jones in his book sheds light on Pakistan's historical evolution by concentrating on Sindh politics, a crucial region that helped to create the new nation state in 1947. This study of party politics of Pakistan people party and ministerial politics of its at the provincial level offers a distinctive viewpoint that is somewhat underappreciated. It helps to gain a better understanding of Pakistan people party and the struggles of Pakistan it has had since gaining independence in creating a stable political order and governance.

At the international level, female voting behaviour is a fascinating research issue for academics and researchers, with numerous books and articles written on the subject. For most of the twentieth century, scholar Mona Morgan-Collins in her book, "First Women at the Polls: Examination of Women's Early Voting Behavior." studied the historical component of women's voting behaviour and refuted the assumption that women voted as their husbands did. She also stated that women's political inclinations were now different from men's. Women's suffrage did have an impact on a country's political system, and their decisions were based on party agendas. Current voting patterns of women in Europe are also linked to the second wave of feminists. This research was carried out against the backdrop of the political systems of Canada, Norway, and the United Kingdom.

Another important study by J. Kevin Corder and Christina Wolbrecht in their book, "Counting Women's Ballots" looked for an explanation of a revolutionary technique of how the first female voters cast their ballots. The findings of this study revealed that women's voting decisions were diverse. This research focused on the election of 1920 to 1936 in the American political system. The basic hypotheses used to describe women's voting behaviour around the world are the gender gap and gender equality. M Dade,

Faieta & Arias state in the book, "Where are the Women? A Study of Women, Politics, Parliament and Equality in the CARICOM Countries." specifics of women's political participation in Caricom countries, as well as the contextual elements that influenced their presence in politics. This regional research study identifies the elements that influence women's voting behaviour and political participation, as well as makes recommendations for change. Another article, "The Gender Gap in Voting Revisited: Women's Party Preferences in a European Context" by Simone Abendschön & Stephanie Steinmetz on the notion of men and women's political and electoral behaviour found that women are conservative and voted for centreright parties until 1970. However, this circumstance is no longer frequent in many advanced industrialised countries. Similarly, Louise Chappell & Lisa Hill in their book, "The Politics of Women's Interest" developed a common interest of women in several realms of politics in another research study. In Chapter 4, experts analysed women's interests and political orientation in the context of the gender voting gap theory in three main European countries: the United Kingdom, Australia, and the United States. Female voting interest varied across these three countries, according to the survey. Liberalization was a significant influence in influencing women's political interests. The gender divide has a significant impact on women's and men's voting behavior.

Kazuki Iwanaga defines this in the book, "Women Political Participation and Representation in Asia: Obstacles and Challenges." Women's political participation and representation in the vast and diverse continent of Asia, which is home to a dozen countries, as well as the obstacles and challenges they face in terms of political participation and representation in Asia region countries such as China, Taiwan, Japan, and South Korea, Thailand, Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh, have expressed that while women have had the right to vote and run for office for a long time, their political participation is still very low. Women's political participation in Asia is influenced by a variety of geographical, social, cultural, and traditional variables. Betterment ideas such as gender quotas and an incremental track approach were also explored.

In Pakistan, there is concern over female voting behaviour and political participation. Various studies were carried out, however, they were limited to certain areas of Pakistan, election results, and socioeconomic and political variables that affect women's political

engagement. A quantitative research based study conducted in the district of DIR upper Khyber Pakhtunkhwa by Muhammad Saeed, Matiullah and Hamid Alam investigated the social system and conservative behaviour of women's political participation. The obstacles and factors that affect women's political participation in k. p. were examined in this research study. The causes of poor female voting turnout during the 2013 election in Pakistan's KP region were investigated in a case study by Hassan Shah, Syed Wasif Azim, Wajid Mehmood and Seema Zubair. As an obstacle to women voting, scholars identified four major categories: administrative issues, purdah, religious verdicts, and political party participation. Bushra Hameedur Rahman, Abida Eijaz and Rana Eijaz Ahmad in their article based on newspaper and T.V talk shows data during the general election 2013 and express that the role and political participation of women was not seriously taken by media in Pakistan. Although women in politics participate higher but serious measures are needed for the betterment.

Ali Cheema, Sara Khan, Shandana Khan Mohmand, Anum Kuraisi, Asad Liaqat and Fatiq Naseem discovered Gender inequality in the main cities in each of Pakistan's four provinces, according to their mixed-methods study. During the 2018 election in Pakistan, there was a significant gender divide in voter turnout; this disparity exists in all of the country's regions. Women's political participation and voter turnout are also influenced by their political education, invisibility, and self-efficacy. according to scholars Xavier Gine and Ghazala Mansuri an experimental study in Pakistan examines the influence of knowledge, peers, companions, and household members on women's voting behaviour. In another research study by Sobia Naseer and Ruqia Kalsoom various social and economic barriers exist in Pakistan that restricts women from participating in politics and decision-making. The situation is a major issue in terms of national integration.

Similarly, scholar Muhammad Ali Awan said that the quota system in politics has enhanced women's voter turnout in comparison to the past. Women's political wings are still inactive in terms of encouraging women to participate in politics and raising voter turnout.

At both a national and international level, the following literature provides insight into

voter behaviour, particularly female voting behaviour, as well as political engagement. Females play an important role in all aspects of life, including politics. In every political system, a woman's voting preferences not only influenced the outcome of elections but also shaped the government. However, all of the research mentioned above are about women's political participation, low women's turnout, and the issues and obstacles that women encounter while participating in politics. Typically, scholars address the theory of the gender gap and political involvement, and these studies are limited to certain localities and elections, among other things. The socioeconomic and social and political elements that determine female voting behaviour in Islamabad are the focus of my research project, which is based on the notion of women's political empowerment.

Theoretical Framework

Empowerment encompasses a wide range of concepts, philosophies, and dimensions that are defined by different scholars. The empowerment theory was first identified in Brazil in 1973 by Paulo Freire¹⁸. "Empowerment has been defined as an intentional ongoing process centred in the local community, involving mutual respect, critical reflection, caring, and group participation, through which people lacking an equal share of valued resources gain greater access to and control over those resources; or a process by which people gain control over their lives, democratic participation in the life of their community, and a critical understanding of their environment."¹⁹ Empowerment also defines as "the expansion in people's ability to make strategic life choices in a context where this ability was previously denied to them."²⁰ World Bank, 2001 defines women's

¹⁸Noor Hafiza Habib Sultan, & Fatan Hammah Yahaya." Women Empowerment in Development: An Overview. Proceedings of the 7th International Conference on Multidisciplinary Research." (2018). 527-534 <https://doi.org/10.5220/0008890005270534>

¹⁹Douglas D Perkins, and Marc A. Zimmerman. 1995. "Empowerment Theory, Research, and Application." *American Journal of Community Psychology* 23 (5): 569±79. <https://doi.org/10.1007/bf02506982>.

²⁰Mercy Ozoya, I., P. A. Edewor, A. E. Idowu, I. A. Chiazor, C. T. Iruonagbe, T. O. George, and M. E. Egharevba. "A chronological overview of women empowerment initiatives in Nigeria." *IFE Psychologia: An International Journal* 25, no. 1 (2017): 304-317.

empowerment as “the expansion of the freedom of choices and action, which could increase women’s authority and control over resources and decisions regarding their life.” Similarly, further defines, “ Women empowerment is a process through which women achieve the ability to control, take ownership over resources and make strategies of life choices.”²¹ According to Scheyens, there are four main dimensions in empowerment, namely economic empowerment, social empowerment, psychological and political empowerment.²² The scheyvens expressed political empowerment in the situation when

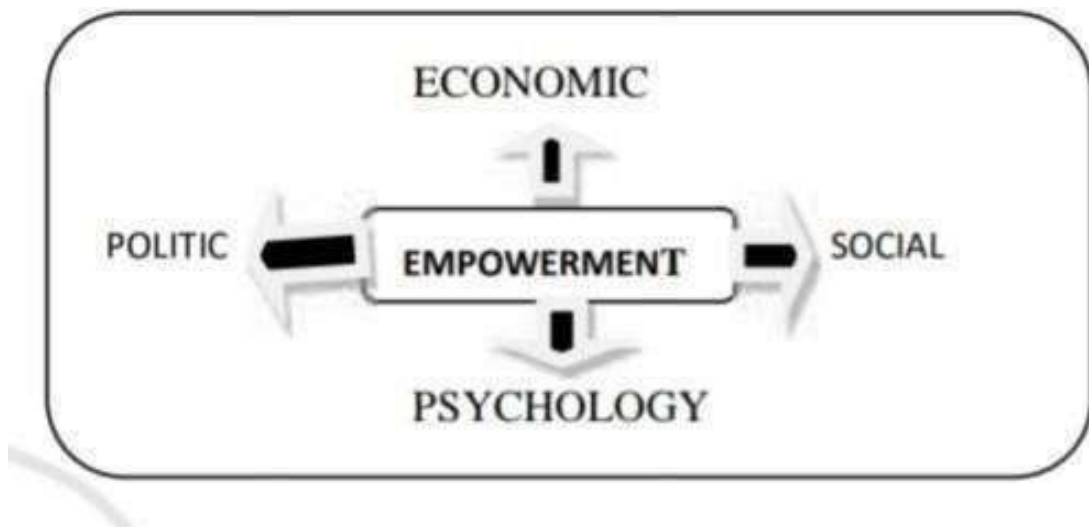


Figure 1

political power can provide opportunities for local people or the public to voice their opinions in the decision making process.²³ All of the dimensions of empowerment are intricately intertwined. Women must attain social, economic, and psychological empowerment before they can achieve political empowerment. In this situation, women can properly use their political empowerment.²⁴ Women’s political empowerment is the arena for social decision making; it is a process of developing women’s capacity, resulting in more options, agency, and involvement in societal decision-making. Sund-

²¹Nooreen, Mujahid, Muhammad Ali, Muhammad Noman, and Azeema Begum. "Dimensions of women empowerment: A case study of Pakistan." *Dimensions* 6, no. 1 (2015): 37-45.

²²Noor Hafiza Habib Sultan, & Fatan Hammah Yahaya." Women Empowerment in Development: An Overview. *Proceedings of the 7th International Conference on Multidisciplinary Research.*" (2018). 527-534 <https://doi.org/10.5220/0008890005270534>

²³Sultan & Yahaya, 2018-1

²⁴Sultan & Yahaya, 2018-2

ström defines," women's political empowerment as a process of increasing capacity for women, leading to greater choice, agency, and participation in societal decision-making. political empowerment can be promoted among women by affording them a greater say in decision making with them gaining self control over the reigns that lead their lives. In comparison to economic indicators, political empowerment is frequently less completely stated in the literature on women's empowerment. Women frequently go unmentioned in research on political empowerment at the same time.²⁵

Why Theory of Women Empowerment is Applied in this Study

The application of the theory of women empowerment in researching female voting behavior in Islamabad likely stems from the recognition that understanding how empowered women engage in the political process can provide insights into broader societal dynamics. By examining factors such as women's access to education, economic opportunities, and social autonomy, researchers can assess how these elements influence voting decisions. This approach helps to explore the relationship between women's empowerment and their political participation, contributing to a more comprehensive understanding of democracy and governance in the specific context of Islamabad.

Researching women's empowerment in the context of voting behavior in Islamabad allows for an exploration of social dynamics. This involves understanding how societal attitudes, norms, and structures impact women's agency in political processes.

The theory of women empowerment often considers access to education. Examining female voting behavior allows researchers to assess whether educated women are more likely to participate in the political process and make informed decisions.

Economic factors play a role in women's empowerment. Research can investigate how financial independence and employment opportunities contribute to women's political

²⁵Aksel, Sundström, Pamela Paxton, Yi-ting Wang, and Staffan I. Lindberg. "Women's political empowerment: A new global index, 1900±2012." *World Development* 94 (2017): 321-335.

engagement and influence their voting choices.

Analyzing the legal and political landscape in Islamabad helps researchers understand the extent to which women have equal rights and opportunities. This includes exploring any legal barriers or affirmative measures in place to promote women's participation in politics.

Women's empowerment is often linked to decision-making autonomy. Studying voting behavior allows researchers to assess whether women feel empowered to make independent political choices or if external factors significantly influence their decisions.

Cultural factors shape perceptions of women's roles in society. Researching female voting behavior allows for an examination of how cultural norms impact women's empowerment and their active involvement in the political sphere.

Recognizing the diversity of women's experiences is crucial. Research may consider how factors like age, socioeconomic status, and urban/rural residence intersect with gender, influencing women's empowerment and, consequently, their voting behavior.

Understanding the link between women's empowerment and voting behavior informs policymakers. It provides insights into areas where interventions or policy changes may be needed to enhance women's political participation and empowerment.

Investigating women's empowerment within the political context contributes to discussions on democratic governance. It sheds light on the inclusivity of the political system and the representation of diverse voices in decision-making processes.

Ultimately, research in this area contributes to the broader goal of fostering long-term social progress. Empowered women are likely to contribute to a more equitable and participatory society, impacting not only political processes but also social and economic development.

The variable of female voting behaviour is employed as a dependent variable with both social and political aspects as independent variables to explain women's political empowerment. To investigate women's political empowerment in Islamabad, it's vital to look at how women create voting behaviour and use their vote freely and freely. Thus, this study will provide a right picture of the causes of low female turnout in Islamabad

and also social and political determinants of female voting behavior in the district of Islamabad.

Research Methodology

A research methodology is essentially a way for conducting a study. To carry out a specific search, this part of the study discuss systematically the instruments and procedures, research design, study area, population, sample size, sampling strategy, etc. the purpose of this study is to explore the female voting behaviour in Islamabad by utilizing the specific research methodology as under:

Research Approach

Qualitative and quantitative research approaches are the two basic types of research methods utilized in the social sciences. In the social sciences, a third mix-method research technique is also used; each approach has advantages and constraints of its own. This study used a mix-method research approach to identify the voting patterns and behaviour of females in Islamabad. Both qualitative and quantitative methods were applied in this research study.

Research Design

A research study requires a proper plan and design for all research activities adopted for investigation. It gave a specific shape to a research study. A research design is a strategy used to implement that plan.

The descriptive research design is used for this study. It is the type of research that focuses on describing the features and characteristics of the population and variables that are being studied. Descriptive research design is a type of quantitative research.

Population

The total group that a researcher intends to analyze is referred to as the population. The entire number of women who were registered to vote in Islamabad served as the study's population. According to the Pakistan Election Commission, there were 442,381 female voters in Islamabad as of January, 020. That is 47% of the city's total population.²⁶

Sampling

The process by which researchers select a representative subset or part of the total population that could be studied for their topic so that they will be able to conclude the entire population is called sampling.

Sampling Technique

A sampling technique is a method for choosing a portion of a population so that it accurately reflects the traits of the entire population. This study employed a simple random sampling technique for deliberate sampling.

Sampling Size

A sample is a portion of a population that fairly depicts the entire population. The researcher selected it for their intended investigation. Researchers can quickly explore factors from the target population using this tiny sampling size. The sample size is always less than the total population. The sample must be accurate (not too large or small) and valid that represented the true population. In this quantitative study, the sample is taken from all the female registered voters of Islamabad, thus the N=442,381

The formula of sample size

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + Ne^2}$$

n = correct sample size

²⁶Election Commission of Pakistan, Electoral rolls, table of province-wise voter statistics, May 17, 2022. [http:// www.ecp.gov.pk](http://www.ecp.gov.pk)

N = total population

E = margin of error (MOE) = 0.05 based on the

statistics Thus the sample size is $n = \frac{442,381}{1 + 442,381(0.05)^2}$

$$n = \frac{442,381}{1107}$$

n = 399

400 females from the district of Islamabad were chosen for the study's sample from among the total number of women who were registered to vote in Islamabad's three constituencies.

Data Sources

Any information chosen, observed, generated, or manufactured to validate initial research findings is referred to as research data. The basic resources for the entire research process are the research data. Secondary data and primary data were the two main categories of research data employed in the study.

Secondary Sources

Data that has already been gathered by or is easily accessible from other sources, such as books, articles, journals, speeches, media reports etc.

Primary Sources

The data which is gathered by Interviews, surveys, experiments, government resources & reports and other methods used by researchers directly from the key sources is called primary data. The researcher used a variety of publications from the Pakistani Election Commission as primary data in this investigation. As a primary source of data, reports on the general elections of 2008 volume I and II report on the general election of 2013, volume I and II, various reports, and notifications of the 2018 general election particularly those including segregated information on female voter turnout.

Other primary data for the study was gathered from Islamabad's registered female voters.

Data Collection and Instrument

Gathering data is an essential component of research. For this, researchers used a variety of technologies. A closed-ended questionnaire was utilized to collect data for this investigation. The searcher attempted to get information about the female population in Islamabad who was registered as voters with the use of this questionnaire.

Data Analysis

Analyzing numerical and categorical data using various statistical approaches is what quantitative data analysis is all about. It is used to determine the answers to the questions "what," "how many," and "how often." For data collection and analysis, the researcher used quantitative methods; SPSS and Microsoft Excel were chosen for data analysis.

Chapterization

The purpose of this study is to examine the female voting behaviour in Islamabad from 2008 to 2018.

This study investigated and focused on the female voting turnout in Islamabad and social and political determinants of voting behaviour also changing elements that brought a change in female voting behaviour in Islamabad from 2008 to 2018. This thesis consists of four chapters. The introduction of this study which introduction to the topic, a statement of the problems, research objectives, research questions, significance of the study, delimitation, literature review and theoretical and conceptual framework, and a complete set of methodology (research approach, research design, population, sampling, sampling technique, sample size, research data, data collection, instrument and data analysis.

Historical Review of Islamabad

The first chapter of this study elaborated on the history and information of Islamabad. History, development, area, population, administration, education, tourism and flora and fauna of Islamabad city is included in this chapter.

Females Voting Turnout in Islamabad

The second chapter of this study dealt with the female voting turnout in Islamabad. In this chapter, the researcher highlighted the previous history of female voting turnout in Pakistan and Islamabad and also explained the causes of low female voting turnout in Islamabad.

Determinants of Female Voting Behavior in Islamabad

The third chapter of this thesis consists of further three parts.

The first part of the study explains female behaviour in Islamabad especially focused on the three general elections of Pakistan 2008,2013 and 2018 held in Islamabad under the supervision of the Election Commission of Pakistan.

The second part of this chapter described briefly the social and political determinants that shaped female voting behavior in Islamabad.

The third part of this chapter in this study elaborated on the constant change in voting behaviour in Islamabad and discussed the possible elements that brought a change in female voting behaviour in Islamabad.

Summary, Findings, and Conclusions

The last chapter of this study explained the summary, findings of the research, conclusion and recommendations based on the findings of the study.

Operational Definitions

A voter is a person who is registered and has the right to vote in elections.

Elections are the legal process of selecting a government or party by vote.

Voting turnout is the percentage of eligible participants in an election who cast vote.

Voting behaviour is the understanding of the processes and reasons that shape and lead the decision of whom to vote for.

Determinants are the cluster factors which impact the process of decision-making about the vote during elections.

Social factors during social life and their effects on his/ her life matter.

Political factors are related to the area of politics, government and laws and policies.

Change of voting behaviour means that change in actions, beliefs and decisions of a vote is reflected in the modification of election results.

CHAPTER 1

HISTORICAL REVIEW OF ISLAMABAD

Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan, is one of the most picturesque and green cities in both South Asia and Pakistan. Islamabad's clean surroundings, plentiful rain, wide tree lines, lush jungles, walking paths, and the splendour of the Margalla Hills all contribute to the city's beauty. It is located between the provinces of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. and Rawalpindi on the edge of the Margalla Hills. After Pakistan's independence, Karachi the formal capital of Pakistan developed into the nation's economic centre. Pakistan needed a capital that was simple to go to from every section of the country due to its unfavourable location.¹

1.1 History

To choose the best location for a new national capital, a commission was established in 1958. Location, climate, logistics, and defence needs were all given special consideration. As a result, it was agreed in 1962 to make Islamabad the new capital of Pakistan, replacing Karachi. Former Pakistani President Ayub Khan made this choice. Ayub Khan's administration also decided to design Islamabad as a planned metropolis.

¹Government of Pakistan, Capital development authority, about Islamabad, Islamabad history, Accessed September 27, 2022. <http://www.cda.gov.pk/>

The Greek firm and their architects Doxiadis created a master plan.²

1.2 Location, Area, and Population

1.2.1 Location

Islamabad is situated in the northeastern region of the nation at the base of the Margalla Hills, on the edge of the Pothohar plateau. The tenth-largest city in Pakistan is Islamabad. According to CDA statistics Islamabad has an area of 906 square kilometres,(350 square miles). The designated region, which includes the Margalla Hills in the north and northeast, is an additional 2.717 square miles.³

Islamabad and Rawalpindi are regarded as twin cities because of their proximity. The Rawal Dam is situated on the Kurang River, which is where Islamabad is situated and drained. Islamabad is located at latitude 33°49' and longitude 72°24' in the north. Islamabad is located 1700 feet above sea level. Murree and Kotli Sattian lie to the east of the city, to the north lies the Haripur district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Kahuta lies on the northeast, and Texila, wah cantt and attack districts lie to the northwest.⁴

1.3 Administration

There are rural and urban areas in Islamabad. The urban areas are 220.15 square kilometres and are named, and Administrative, diplomatic, residential, institutional, industrial, commercial, green belt and national park are the eight zones that make up this territory. Areas are simple to get to, and the majority of the roads are straight and at right angles

²Government of Pakistan, Capital development authority, about Islamabad, Master Plan, Accessed September 27, 2022. <http://www.cda.gov.pk/>

³Government of Pakistan, Capital development authority, about Islamabad, Facts and statistics, Accessed September 27, 2022. <http://www.cda.gov.pk/>

⁴Klaus Kästle - Nationsonline.org, "Searchable Map of Islamabad, Pakistan," Nations Online Project, accessed July 4, 2022, https://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/google_map_islamabad.htm.

to one another.⁵

1.4 Organization

The city is organised into sectors, which are square regions of 4 km each. The English alphabet's letters and numbers are used to organise and identify the sectors in a way that makes them incredibly simple to find.

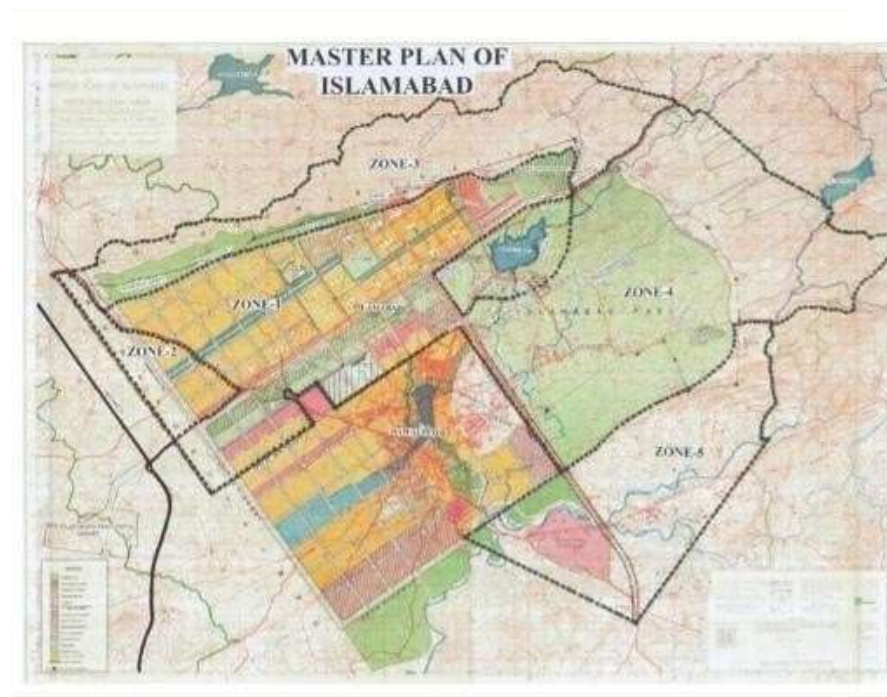


Figure 1.1: showing the map of Islamabad.

Its size is 466.20 square kilometres.⁶

1.5 Education

According to the Islamabad population, 2020 report with almost 88 percent of the population having a degree or higher, Islamabad has one of the highest rates of literacy in

⁵Government of Pakistan, Capital development authority, about Islamabad, Facts and statistics, Accessed September 27, 2022. <http://www.cda.gov.pk/>

⁶Capital development authority, Facts and statistics-1

the nation.⁷

1.6 Population

One of Pakistan's more populous cities in Islamabad. The total population of the city was estimated by the Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 2017 was 2, 003, 368 in 2017. Of that number, 1, 05, 2 328 were men and 950, 760 were women.⁸

The population of Islamabad is densely populated. 50.37 percent of the population lives in urban areas, while 5.86 is the average size of a household. Every year, Islamabad's population grows quickly. Islamabad's population is rapidly expanding, which harms the city's infrastructure, environment, and greenery. It also causes issues with the city's administration.⁹

1.7 Religion

The term "Islamabad," which refers to the city of Islam, is derived from the two syllables "Islam" and "Abad." Islam is the predominant religion in this area, census,1998 practised by 95.53 percent of Muslims. Christians make up 4.07 percent of the population, but Islamabad also has adherents of other faiths. Islamabad residents are allowed to practise their religions.¹⁰

1.8 Climate

Islamabad enjoys a relatively pleasant climate with five distinct seasons. winter (November - February) spring (March- April) Summer (May - July) monsoon (July- August)

⁷Islamabad population 2023, accessed October 20,2022, <https://worldpopulationreview.com/world-cities/islamabad-population>.

⁸Pakistan bureau of statistics, Government of Pakistan, brief on census- 2017, table -1, accessed September 30, 2022. [http://www. Pbs.gov.pk](http://www.Pbs.gov.pk)

⁹Islamabad population 2023-1

¹⁰Islamabad population 2023-2

and autumn (September- October). Islamabad has an attractive temperature and also has attractive rainfall.¹¹ Islamabad experiences a subtropical, moderate climate. Summers are hot and rainy.

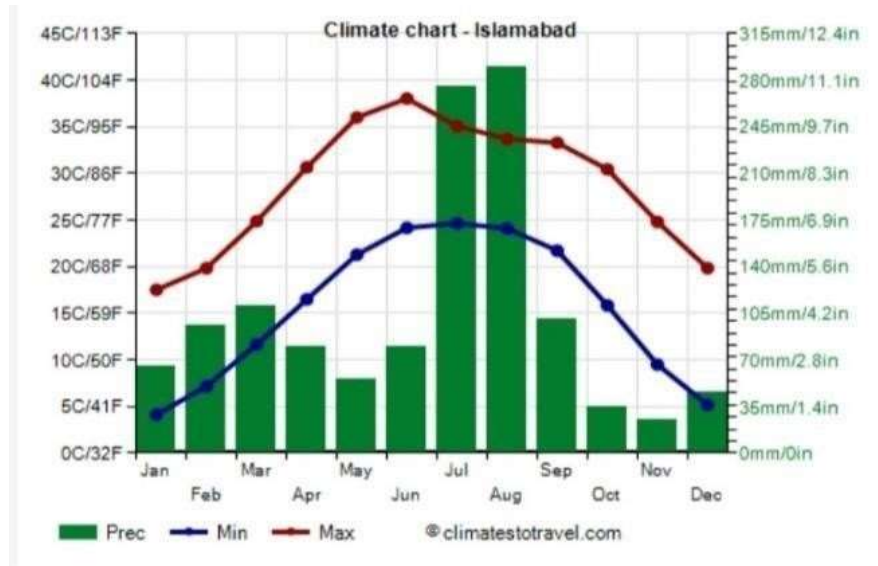


Figure 1.2: climate

The weather in Islamabad indicates that winters are mostly dry. Islamabad’s average temperature ranges from 10.8 C in January, which is the coldest month, to 31.1 C in June, which is the warmest month.¹²

1.9 Rainfall

Islamabad experiences an average of 1142 mm (45 inches) of annual precipitation and 95.2 mm (3.8 inches) of monthly precipitation. November is the driest month of the year, and August is the month with the most rainfall. July and August are when it rains the most. In Pakistan, it is known as the monsoon season.¹³

^{11a}Islamabad Climate: Weather by Month, Temperature, Precipitation, accessed September 30, 2022. <https://www.climatestotravel.com/climate/pakistan/islamabad>.

^{12a}Islamabad Climate: Weather by Month, Temperature, Precipitation, accessed September 30, 2022. <https://www.climatestotravel.com/climate/pakistan/islamabad>.

^{13a}Rainfall in Islamabad, Pakistan Average Precipitation and Wet Days.” accessed September 30, 2022. <https://www.islamabad.climateemps.com/precipitation.php>.

1.10 Culture and Tradition

Islamabad is a city that is multiethnic, multilingual, and multicultural. The culture in Islamabad is a synthesis of both traditional and contemporary elements, rather than being distinct and distinctive in and of itself. Islamabad is a multicultural city with a large immigrant population from every province of Pakistan.¹⁴

The culture in Islamabad also has prehistoric Aryan and Indus Valley Civilization elements. Because there are so many foreigners in Islamabad, internationalized cultures are also present there. Islamabad residents are eager to try anything new and are greatly influenced by western culture. Urdu and English are the city's two primary languages. The pride in speaking English is palpable. But some people speak Pothwari, Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashto and other languages in Islamabad.

1.11 Tourism

Islamabad is a tourist destination, there are several factors, including its location on the Pothohar Plateau, which gives it access to a variety of naturally beautiful landscapes.¹⁵ Many noteworthy locations in Islamabad draw tourists. Pakistan Monument, Lok Virsa Museum, Margalla Hills, Hiking Trails, Daman-e-Koh, Rawal Lake, etc. are some of Islamabad's top attractions. People in Islamabad are observed to have a high standard of life, good safety, and direct involvement in political activities. The most common occupations in Islamabad are those in the government and offices. Also, Islamabad is ranked as one of the highest cost of living and as an expensive city.¹⁶

¹⁴Culture, accessed September 30, 2022, <http://islamabad.comsats.edu.pk/Culture.aspx>.

^{15a}Islamabad," History Pak, September 7, 2020, accessed October 3, 2022. <https://historypak.com/islamabad/>.

^{16a}Islamabad - Pakistan," Tourism, accessed October 4, 2022, <https://islamabad.embassy.qa/en/republic-of-pakistan/tourism>.

1.12 Famous Places

Islamabad, Pakistan's beautiful capital, is renowned for its extraordinary beauty, tranquil atmosphere, and high standard of living. The city is recognised as the second most beautiful capital in the world due to its scenery, views, and natural beauty.¹⁷

The city is filled with amazing historical sites, activities for sightseeing, modern restaurants, and lush green areas, among other things. Islamabad's scenic locales can be divided into three categories:

1.13 Historical and Tourist Places in Islamabad

The city's well-known for its historical sites such as:

Shah Faisal mosque that is designed by a Turkish architect-designed mosque is Shah Faisal mosque in Islamabad. The total cost of this mosque was nearly about more than 130 million Saudi riyals and it is constructed on a total area of about 10 Kanals. It was completed in 1986.¹⁸ Shah Allah Ditta caves, which date back 2,400 years, were important to the local Buddhist population. It is situated in Sector C13, a short distance from Shah Allah Ditta hamlet. Another local name for the Caves is "Sadhu ka bag."¹⁹

Saidpur village is Islamabad's next historical location. The community is found at the foot of the Margalla Hills. It is influenced historically by the Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims, who used to live in this area. Mirza Fateh Ali is credited with discovering the village, which is 500 years old.²⁰ Some others lovely and picturesque locations may be found in Islamabad, including the Pakistan Monument Museum. Lok Virsa, Rawal Lake, Margalla Hills, Daman e Koh, etc. The Pakistan Monument is situated atop the

¹⁷Islamabad Pakistan Tourism," Pakistan & Gulf Economist, June 18, 2020, accessed October 4, 2022, <https://www.pakistangulfeconomist.com/islamabad/?amp>.

¹⁸Faisal Mosque, Islamabad," Faisal Mosque, Islamabad | Pakistan Embassy Tokyo Japan, accessed October 4, 2022, <https://www.pakistanembassytokyo.com>.

¹⁹The House, "Shah Allah Ditta - a Tale of Mystical Caves in Islamabad," HouseofPakistan, September 16, 2022, accessed October 4, 2022, <https://houseofpakistan.com/shah-allah-ditta-in-islamabad/>.

²⁰Saidpur Village Reflects History, Religious Heritage of Three Eras." accessed October 4, 2022, <https://www.thenews.com.pk>.

Shakarparian Hills, is a very appealing and lovely destination for tourists visiting Islamabad. It is the symbol of National Unity. The monument has the appearance of a flower in blossom.²¹ One of Islamabad's most popular picnic and tourist destinations is Daman-e-Koh. In between the Margalla hills is Daman-e-Koh. From Daman e-koh, tourists may enjoy the stunning view of Islamabad.²² Islamabad is one of the fortunate capital cities in the world to enjoy such close closeness to nature. The Himalayan mountain range continues in the Margalla Hills. Hills encircle Islamabad's two flanks on all sides. The Margalla hills, whose tallest peak is Charouni at 1,604 metres (5,262 feet), are located just north of the city.²³ On the Margalla hills, the Capital Development Authority (CDA) built eight renowned walking and jogging trails. These trails have the following numbers allocated to them: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6. The Saidpur trail and the Bari Imam trail are the names of the two remaining trails.²⁴

Islamabad is known for its two shrines, which are quite well-known. Shrine of Peer Meher Ali Shah and Hazrat Bari Imam Sarkar.

Islamabad's Shah Abdul Latif (Bari Imam) Shrine is another well-known location. In the 17th century, Aurangzeb, the Mughal emperor, constructed it. Many people come to this well-known sacred, religious, and spiritual location.²⁵ Another well-known mosque was constructed in the 20th century and is situated in the Islamabad neighbourhood of Golra.²⁶

²¹abnaveed098, "16 Most Famous Places in Islamabad for an Interesting Vacation in the City," Comely Travel, April 30, 2022, accessed October 4, 2022, <https://comelytravel.pk/famous-places-in-islamabad/>.

²²abnaveed098-1 "Margalla Hills." Beauty of Pakistan. May 3, (2017). accessed October 4, 2022, <https://beautyofPakistan.com/locations/margalla-hills>.

²³Government of Pakistan, Capital development authority, about Islamabad, Margalla Hills Hiking Trails, accessed September 27, 2022. <http://www.cda.gov.pk/>

²⁴Government of Pakistan, Capital development authority, about Islamabad, Margalla Hills Hiking Trails, accessed September 27, 2022. <http://www.cda.gov.pk/>

²⁵Aik - Better Together, "History of Soul Searching; the Shrine of Hazrat Bari Imam," AIK, June 17, 2020, accessed September 27, 2022. <https://www.aik.hive.org.pk/history-of-soul-searching-the-shrine-of-hazrat-bariimam/>.

²⁶"Shrine of Meher Ali Shah: Landmark: Islamabad," Shrine of Meher Ali Shah | Landmark | Islamabad, accessed September 27, 2022. <https://pk.top10place.com/mausoleum-of-meher-ali-shah-golra-sharif122159234.html>.

1.14 Local Government in Islamabad

Islamabad Capital Territory (ICT) Administration and Capital Development Authority is the city's primary administrative body (CDA). These serve as both the primary law enforcement organisation in the Federal capital and the civil administration.

The Chief Commissioner of Islamabad exercises the major powers.²⁷ Through its many Directorates, the Chief Commissioner is tasked with carrying out different administrative tasks, and by several laws, it also exercises provincial government authority up to the extent of the Islamabad Capital Territory (ICT). In addition, a Deputy Commissioner is chosen to handle the district's daily administrative concerns.²⁸

1.15 Flora and Fauna of Islamabad

Islamabad's flora and fauna have a distinctive ecosystem. Islamabad is the point where two different habitat extremes, one from the south and the other from the north, meet. Islamabad is home to several different kinds of trees and flowers, including kachnar, mango, date palm, and pine.

The Margalla Hills National Park, Fatima Jinnah Park, Lake View Park, and Shakarparian are some of the well-known locations for these trees.²⁹

Islamabad is home to a variety of flowers, including roses, jasmine, violet, dandelion, and thistle. In Islamabad, the Rose and Jasmine Garden at Aabpara is well known for its various flower varieties.³⁰

Many different species of animals and birds can be found in the Margalla Hills. Pigs,

²⁷Development & Finance Wing," ICT Administration, accessed September 27, 2022. , <http://ictadministration.gov.pk/chief-commissioner/>.

²⁸Development & Finance Wing-1

²⁹Majid Iqbal, Shujaul Mulk Khan, Zeeshan Ahmad, Murtaza Hussain, Syed Nasar Shah, Saqib Kamran, Fazal Manan, Z. Ul Haq, and Saif Ullah. "Vegetation classification of the margalla foothills, islamabad under the influence of edaphic factors and anthropogenic activities using modern ecological tools." Pak. J. Bot 53, no. 5 (2021): 1831-1843.

³⁰Kalbe Ali, "With Spring Come the Capital's Wildflowers," DAWN.COM, March 25, 2018, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1397305>.

monkeys, leopards, and tigers can be found here and have been glimpsed by Islamabad resident's numerous times.³¹

1.16 Political Participation in Islamabad

The capital of Pakistan, Islamabad, is home to well-educated, firmly established citizens mostly who work as a civil servant. It serves as the hub of all political activity in the nation and as the seat of the Pakistani government. The Pakistan Supreme Court, the Presidential Palace (Aiwan-e- Sadr), and the Parliament House, which houses the National Assembly of Pakistan, are all located in the city. In Islamabad, there are over 80 foreign diplomatic missions.³²

In the 2013 election, Islamabad had one of the lowest rates of male voting participation. Even though voter participation in Islamabad is among the highest overall and women, every second person does not intend to cast a ballot in the upcoming election.

There are many variables and explanations for the lower voting participation of men in Islamabad, including the fact that the bulk of the population is made up of non-natives from various regions of Pakistan, and that their votes are registered at other Pakistani polling places.³³

1.17 Women of Islamabad

In Islamabad, women are intelligent, courageous, and hardworking. Women are free to go wherever. Compared to other regions of the country, they have superior economic conditions and the ability to drive. Most women participate in elections as a voter but

³¹Kalbe Ali, "The Thriving Wildlife in The Margalla Hills," DAWN.COM, October 27, 2019, <https://www.dawn.com/news>.

³²"Do You Know When and Why Islamabad Was Founded?: Pakistan Cities, Towns and Villages," Do you know when and why Islamabad was founded? | Pakistan Cities, Towns and Villages | PrideofPakistan.com, accessed October 5, 2022, <https://www.prideofpakistan.com>

³³Muhammad Imran Khan, Raheel and Anwar Shah. " Why People Do Not Vote? A Case Study of Islamabad (Pakistan)." J. Asian Dev. Stud, Vol. 9, Issue 1 (March 2020)

the number of women is less who participate in rallies, rigged, procession and demonstrations in the district of Islamabad.³⁴ women are viewed politically as a passive vote bank. Even though women vote, from 2008 to 2018, no woman in Islamabad was able to win an election.

In the elections of 2008, 2013, and 2018, female candidates included Asia bibi, Ayesha Gulalai wazir, Saima Shiraz, Naila Joseph Dayal, and Noreen Khan Advocate.³⁵

³⁴Sarfraz Khan. and S. I. Haider. "Saadia, 2020. Women's education and empowerment in Islamabad, Pakistan." *Global Econ. Rev. I* (2020): 50-62.

³⁵Election Commission of Pakistan, ^a General election 2008,2013,2018, reports volume I, Accessed September 15 ,2022. [http:// www.ecp.gov.pk](http://www.ecp.gov.pk)

CHAPTER 2

FEMALES VOTING TURNOUT IN ISLAMABAD

2.1 INTRODUCTION

To understand the role of females voters and their voting behaviour in politics of Islamabad, it is necessary to overview the voting turnout of females in Islamabad. This chapter consists of introduction, the definition of voting turnout, the overall history of voter turnout in Pakistan, and females voting turnout in Islamabad with most focus on a decade from 2008 to 2018 in which the data from three elections 2008, 2013 and 2018 from ECP illustrate the voting turnout of females in Islamabad. The brief history of these three elections in Islamabad showed that female's electoral participation and voting turnout are always very low in Islamabad as compared to males.¹

2.2 Concept of Voting Turnout

Democracy is a form of government. According to Abraham Lincoln, in his famed Gettysburg Address, " democracy is the Government of the people by the people and for the people." With this type of government, citizens can use their authority directly

¹Election Commission of Pakistan, ^a General election 2008,2013,2018, reports volume II, Accessed September 15 ,2022. [http:// www.ecp.gov.pk](http://www.ecp.gov.pk)

or indirectly. A crucial component of contemporary democracy is elections. It is held to mobilize public representatives. Participation in elections is crucial in a democracy. It enables people to select their representatives, and voting participation has an impact on the nation's politics and political policies.²

Voting turnout is a compound word made up of the words voting and turnout. Voters are people who have the legal right to cast a ballot in elections. Voting is the act and process of selecting a candidate in an election. The quantity of participants or attendees at an event is referred to as the turnout.³ The term "turnout" in political science refers to the total number of voters in an election or the percentage of the electorate who cast ballots. The proportion of registered voters who cast a ballot in an election can therefore be used to define voting turnout.

Each country has its definition of the word "eligible." The majority of democracies require adult people to be eligible to vote. Age, citizenship, place of residence and registration on the voter list is the main criteria for eligibility. But the specific requirements for these differ from nation to nation.⁴

Voter turnout is a way to gauge how much a country's citizens are involved in its politics. In most cases, it is stated as a percentage. Geys defining "turnout as the absolute number of people voting in the election as the share of the population."⁵ OECD also expressed voting turnout as "the ratio between the numbers of voters and the number of persons with voting rights."⁶ This can be used to describe the proportion of voters who are registered, eligible, and of voting age. There are several ways to gauge vote participation in different countries. Voting is the most common way for people

²How Did Abraham Lincoln Define Democracy? - Byju's." Accessed September 27, 2022. <https://byjus.com/question-answer/how-did-abraham-lincoln-define-democracygovernment-of-the-peoplegovernment-by-the-peoplegovernment-for-the-1/>.

³OECD (2009), "Voter turnout in national elections", Accessed September 27, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.1787/reg-glance-2009-35-en>

⁴OECD (2009), "Voter turnout in national elections", Accessed September 27, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.1787/reg-glance-2009-35-en>

⁵Benny, Geys. "Explaining voter turnout: A review of aggregate-level research." *Electoral Studies* 25, no. 4 (2006): 637-663.

⁶OECD (2009)- 1

to participate in politics, making voting turnout one of the key indicators of how many people are involved in a nation's political life. The strength of democracy in a nation is measured by the percentage of voters who come out to vote. Election participation is a crucial element of democracy. Due to this circumstance, political science places a high priority on turnout. Voter turnout is a reflection of election results, public opinion, political attitudes, partisan distribution of voters, and other measures of a nation's democratic system's efficacy also the trust of the public in the political system of the country, degree of participation of people, their belief in the efficacy of the voting. All of these arguments suggest that voter participation is significant in a democracy.⁷ High turnout is preferred over low turnout because low turnout makes elections less legitimate and less effective in expressing the views and wills of the general population. It simply provides a skewed and incomplete view of the electorate's priorities.

On the other hand, a country's democracy and political system gain legitimacy and authenticity when a large number of people participate in elections. In a nation's political affairs, voter turnout is important. Determining public engagement in the electoral process is crucial.⁸

By enacting efficient and forward-thinking legislation, voter turnout can be increased. For instance, voting and casting a ballot are requirements in some nations for all of the country's residents. Voter turnout was high in these nations. Making voting simple is another way to make improvements. Systems of electronic voting for women can be used for this purpose. Every country in the globe has a different voter turnout percentage.⁹

By examining election turnout, political scientists can learn more about political engagement. Voter turnout varies noticeably between various election kinds, geographies, locales, political environments of nations, governments, democracies, and nations, etc.

⁷"Voter Turnout Is the Most Common Form of Democratic Participation," accessed October 30, 2022, <http://cega.berkeley.edu/assets/miscellaneous-files/wgape/4-Young.doc>.

⁸Benjamin Highton, and Raymond E. Wolfinger. "The political implications of higher turnout." *British Journal of Political Science* 31, no. 1 (2001): 179-223.

⁹André Blais, Louis Massicotte, and Agnieszka Dobrzynska. *Why is turnout higher in some countries than in others?*. Montreal: Environment Canada, 2003.

Voter turnout has declined over time on a global scale. In recent decades, voter turnout has decreased in the majority of nations. According to Voter Turnout by Country 2020 Rwanda has displayed the highest voter turnout in recent National elections with 98.15 percentage turnout. On the contrary Afghanistan and Haiti are marked as the lowest voting turnout countries.¹⁰ Pakistan has 51.5 % voting turnout in the 2018 election.¹¹

The voter turnout in elections is influenced by numerous factors. These could be regional, political, social, economic, or legal. Each of these factors varies from one country and one location to another. These may also be including education, income, age, gender, religion, occupation, and voter identification laws. All of these elements can either rouse a voter to vote or not, depending on the political system, and have a significant impact on voter turnout.¹²

2.3 Voting Turnout in Pakistan

The behavioral part of human life is politics. Election participation and voting are two ways that people express their opinions. A wide range of activities, including political involvement and voting, allow individuals to form and express their opinions about the political system in their nation. Every person aspires to participate in and influence the choices that affect a nation's politics. Democracy depends on elections. Without free, fair, and transparent elections, a democratic political system is impossible to envision. The British colonial empire decided to hold elections in British India in the 19th century, which is when Pakistan's electoral history began. Although there were restrictions on voting rights in British India.¹³ Elections held in 1945±1946 marked the beginning of Pakistan's electoral history and paved the way for its establishment. The Government

¹⁰aVoter Turnout by Country 2020." 2021. Worldpopulationreview.com. 2021. <https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/voter-turnout-by-count>

¹¹Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constituency Wise Percentages of Women Voters Turnout National Assembly, Accessed October 15, 2022. [http:// www.ecp.gov.pk](http://www.ecp.gov.pk)

¹²Highton, Wolfinger, 2001-1

¹³V.S. Rama Devi and S.K. Mendiratta "How India Votes: History of Elections during the British Rule," Sahapedia, Accessed October 30, 2022, <https://www.sahapedia.org/how-india-votes-history-elections-during-british-rule>.

of India Act of 1935's electoral provisions guided the conduct of this election.

The last general election in British India witnessed equal participation from Muslim men and women voters. Quaid-i-Azam motivated Muslim voters by saying, "give us the Silver bullets and we will finish the job."¹⁴ It demonstrated a strong Muslim turnout in this election. On August 14, 1947, under the direction of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Pakistan became a sovereign nation. due to the young democracy, the weak economy, the powerful leader class, the continuation of pre and post-colonial policies, and the weak party system. Both the first election and the drafting of the nation's first constitution took considerable time. However, Pakistan's first national elections were held in both the East and the West of the nation in 1970. The national parliament was chosen in a direct election for the first time in Pakistani history using an adult franchise. But for the nation as a whole, the election's outcome was very drastic. According to Desk's calculation, the overall voter turnout in Pakistan is 64% in this election.¹⁵

Further elections voting turnout details are mentioned in these tables:

The people of Pakistan are mostly uneducated and poor and do not realize the importance of voting in elections. Different political systems' experiences and martial laws also decrease the interest of the public in the political affairs of the country. It resulted in an overall low voting turnout in Pakistan. The history of voting turnout in Pakistan demonstrated that there was a significant difference in voting participation between various elections in Pakistan. Pakistani voters participated in the 1997 general election at the lowest rate of 35% voting turnout and the 1970 general election at the highest rate of 64% of voting turnout.¹⁶

Statistics from the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) showed that voter turnout varied between Pakistani provinces as well. Balochistan had the lowest voter turnout of

¹⁴Elections of 1945-46." 2012. History Pak. August 4, 2012. Accessed October 30, 2022, <https://historypak.com/elections-of-1945-46/>.

¹⁵Desk, Web. 2018. "Elections 2018: Will Pakistan Witness a Historic Turnout on July 25?" ARYNEWS. July 23, 2018. Accessed October 30, 2022, <https://arynews.tv/elections-2018-will-pakistan-witness-historic-turnout/>

¹⁶Desk, Web. 2018. "Elections 2018: Will Pakistan Witness a Historic Turnout on July 25?" ARY NEWS. July 23, 2018. Accessed October 30, 2022, <https://arynews.tv/elections-2018-will-pakistan-witness-historic-turnout/>

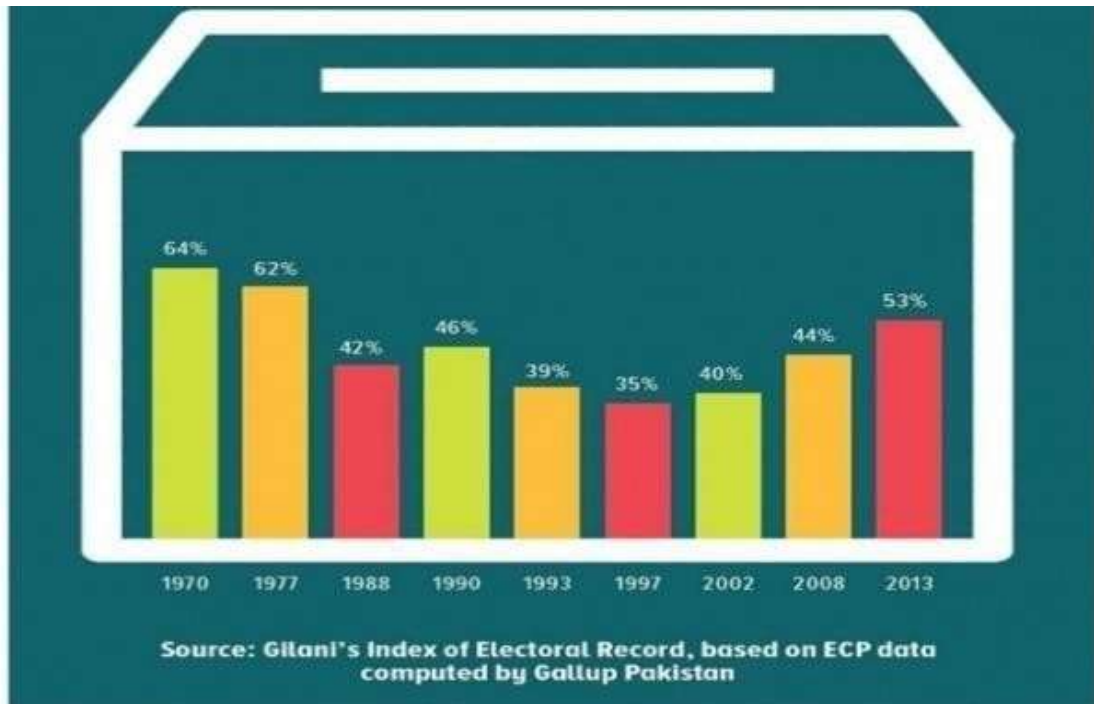


Figure 2.1

45.3% in the 2018 election, while Punjab had the highest 58.3% voter turnout. Voting turnout showed the political development and strong democratic values of a society. Thus the variation of voting turnout in provinces of Pakistan depicts different level of political development among provinces of Pakistan.¹⁷

2.4 The Female Voting Turnout

Before and after independence, women played a significant part in the politics of Pakistan and political events. Many women played inspirational roles in politics before Independence, including Fatima Jinnah, Begum Rana Liaquat Ali, and others. After Independence, Mutarma Benazir Bhutto was a notable figure in Pakistani politics. Pakistan, however, is a developing nation that struggles with issues of gender inequality against women in all spheres of social life, particularly in politics. The majority of women who are registered to vote do not cast their ballots. Women, who make up more

^{17a}Election Commission of Pakistan." Statistical reports, Accessed October 30, 2022, <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/frmstats.aspx>.

Assembly Wise Voters Turnout

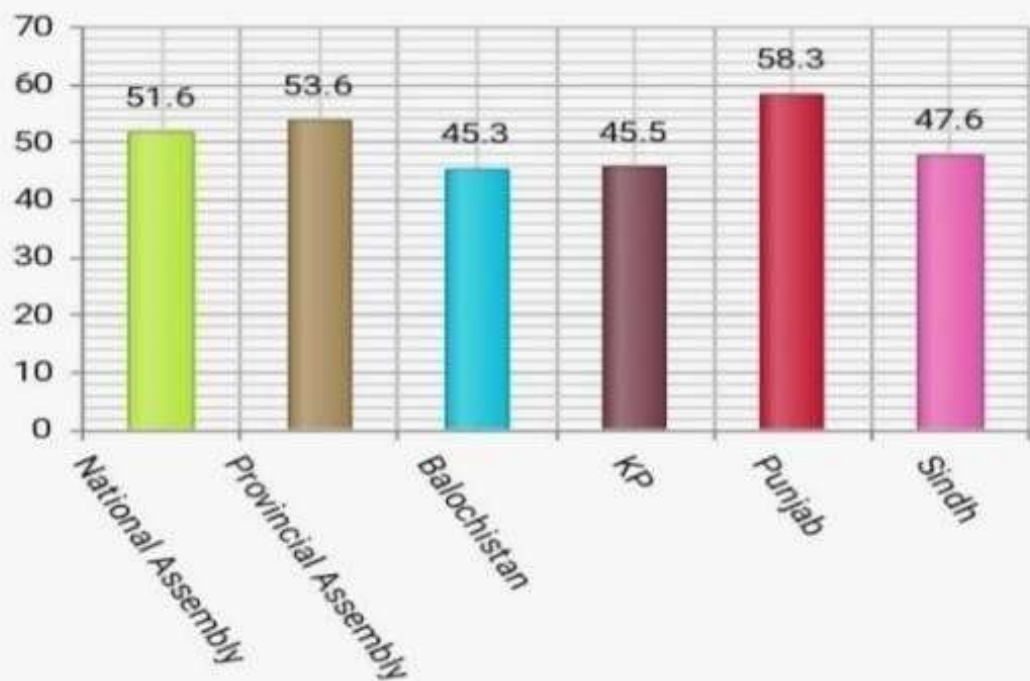


Figure 2.2

than half of the population of Pakistan, are unaware of the significance of their right to vote.¹⁸

As soon as Pakistan gained independence in 1947, women were granted the right to vote. Later, the 1937 constitution provided an adult franchise for direct elections and specified that every citizen, male and female, has an equal right to vote with equal weight. Shah, et al. write that article 25 of constitution of Pakistan state that, "all citizens are equal before the law and are entitled to equal protection before the law,"¹⁹ articles 34 further states that, "steps shall be taken to ensure the full participation of women in all spheres of national life."²⁰ On the other hand, Ullmas has made serious attempts to suppress female voting rights in the name of religion, and there are also social and cultural barriers that limit female voting participation in Pakistan.

The majority of Pakistani women are more concerned with household duties than working outside the home.

In Pakistan, women's primary responsibilities are to care for their family members and bear children. The political engagement of women in Pakistani society was restricted by all of these social and cultural constraints. Registered female voters are fewer in number than men not only at the National level but also in all provinces of Pakistan.²¹ According to the statistics, women represent only 43.7 % of citizens in the electoral roll and 12.11 million eligible women are not registered to vote. Other statistics of 2013 and 2018 election by gender gap and electoral rolls. In 2008 general election according to report volume 1 Election Commission of Pakistan registered male voters were 45, 394, 302 and registered female voters were 35, 637, 711 and total voters in Pakistan are 81,032,013 and gender gap in voting registration was 9,75,591.²² Other statistics for

¹⁸Muhammad Ali, Awan. "Political participation of women in Pakistan." Frankfurter Forschungszentrum Globaler Islam (2016): 1-2.

¹⁹Muhammad Ali, Awan. "Political participation of women in Pakistan." Frankfurter Forschungszentrum Globaler Islam (2016): 1-2.

²⁰Hassan Shah, Syed Wasif Azim, Wajid Mehmood, and Seema Zubair. "General Elections 2013: A Case Study of Low Turnout of Women Voters in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan." Liberal Arts and Social

Sciences International Journal (LASSIJ) 3, no. 2 (2019): 128-140.

^{21a} Election Commission of Pakistan." province/area/ district wise statistics of registered voters in final electoral -2018, Accessed October 15, 2022. [http:// www.ecp.gov.pk](http://www.ecp.gov.pk)

^{22a} Election Commission of Pakistan." 2008 [Www.ecp.gov.pk](http://www.ecp.gov.pk). Accessed October 4, 2022.

The gender gap in the electoral rolls

Year	Male	Female	Total Registered Voters	Gender Gap
	Registered Voters	Registered Voters		
2013	48,592,492	37,597,343	86,189,835	10,955,149
2018	59,224,262	46,731,147	105,955,409	12,493,115

Figure 2.3: Enter Caption

2013 and 2018 election by gender gap and electoral rolls.²³

Source : (“Gender Gap in Electoral Rolls,” 2019)²⁴

All these statistics illustrate the significant level of voter registration disparity between male and females in Pakistan. Before the 2018 elections, no separate information on male and female voter turnout is available.

In actuality, the election commission’s prior voting and vote-counting procedures lacked any system of specific gender consideration aside from separate polling places for women. Even though women have their polling places, their votes are not expressly counted separately in the outcome or voter turnout. The Pakistani Election Commission first used a distinct electoral system for men and women in the 2018 general election. In Pakistan, there is a significant disparity in the voting turnout of men and women both at the national and provincial levels. According to (ECP) report the overall voting turnout in the 2018 election is 51.5% with which male voting turnout is 60% and female voting turnout is 40%.²⁵ Pakistan’s participation puzzle indicates across the nation, female turnout is typically lower than male turnout even when women are registered to vote. In the 2018 general elections, men made up 9.1 percent of the electorate gender gap, with

<https://www.ecp.gov.pk/frnGenericPage.aspx?PageID=3054>.

²³Gender Gap in Electoral Rolls.” (2019) Accessed October 4, 2022 PakVoter. <https://pakovoter.org/election-observation/gender-gap-in-electoral-rolls-2/>.

²⁴Gender Gap in Electoral Rolls-1

²⁵General election 2018, National Assembly report , election commission of Pakistan, Accessed October 14, 2022. [http:// www.ecp.gov.pk](http://www.ecp.gov.pk)

Province	Male voting turnout	Female voting turnout
Punjab	58.47	41.53
Sindh	59.96	40.04
K.P	67.32	32.68
Balochistan	62.4	37.64

Table 2.1: province wise gender voter turnout in 2018 general election

11 million more men casting ballots than women.²⁶

The difference between male and female voting turnout in provinces of Pakistan is also dominant. (Election commission of Pakistan, 2018) provincial assemblies reports statistics showed K. P and Balochistan have the highest gender gap in voting turnout in the 2018 general election in K.P 67.32% males voting turnout but the ratio of females voting turnout is 32.68 similarly in Balochistan the males voting turnout is 62.4% and females voting turnout is 37.64% in the previous general election of 2018.²⁷

2.5 Voting Turnout in Islamabad

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan's capital is Islamabad. It is a sizable, lovely, and alluring City. The hub of all political activity in Pakistan is Islamabad. Every political party tries to maintain its deep roots in Islamabad. Islamabad has a total population of 2,003,368 people, 950,760 of whom are female according to (the Pakistan bureau of statistics, 2017)²⁸

All Islamabad's female population does not have the same status. Islamabad likewise adheres to patriarchal values, as does Pakistan as a whole. They are obligated to follow

²⁶Pakistan's Participation Puzzle: A Look at the Voting Gender Gap."2019. United States Institute of Peace. Accessed October 14, 2022 <https://www.usip.org/blog/2019/07/pakistans-participation-puzzle-look-voting-gender-gap>.

²⁷General election 2018, National Assembly report, election commission of Pakistan, Accessed October 14, 2022. <http://www.ecp.gov.pk>

²⁸Pakistan bureau of statistics, government of Pakistan, brief on census- 2017, table -1, Accessed October 14, 2022. [http://www. Pbs.gov.pk](http://www.Pbs.gov.pk)

Federal Capital	No of	Regd Male	Regd Female	Total Regd	Voti
2008 election	Seats2	Voters261,697	Voters221,104	Voters482,801	
2013 election	2	337,909	288,060	625,969	

Table 2.2: Islamabad registered voters and voting turnout

the decisions made by the male family members in charge. Due to these circumstances, they are unable to fully participate in political matters. Islamabad's women are more educated, enjoy greater economic and cultural independence, and have access to their fundamental rights.

In Islamabad, women are active in all aspects of society. Women work as teachers, doctors in offices, engineers, bankers, and other professions; sadly, they participate less in elections and other political activities in the nation. The administration of Islamabad successfully organised three democratic national elections in 2008, 2013 and 2018. The administrative body and electoral management work to establish new laws and regulations that will allow women to fully participate in Islamabad's electoral process.

The government of Islamabad makes an effort to encourage women to vote by using a variety of strategies, including using the media, giving them the necessary education, increasing their political consciousness, and holding workshops and seminars. Women who voted in elections were quite active political participants in Pakistan's political history.

However, the significant majority of women are unregistered as a voter in Pakistan, and there is still a significant gap between men and women in terms of both voter registration and turnout.²⁹

Islamabad had 2, 21 104 registered female voters overall in the 2008 elections, 288, 064 in the 2013 election, and 3, 57, 885 in the 2018 election.³⁰

The fact that more women than men registered to vote in three elections demonstrates

²⁹Dushka H, Saiyid. "Women in politics-problems of participation: A case study of Pakistan." *Strategic Studies* 21, no. 3 (2001): 11-24.

³⁰General election 2013 and 2018, National Assembly report, election commission of Pakistan, Accessed October 14, 2022. [http:// www.ecp.gov.pk](http://www.ecp.gov.pk)

the existence of gender concerns and challenges in big cities of Pakistan like Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan. Because of the circumstances in major cities, a sizable portion of women are unable to exercise their right to select their political representatives and take part in the electoral process.³¹ However, without separate data on female and male voters in the 2008 and 2013 elections, the female voting turnout in Islamabad cannot be tracked. In Pakistan, the overall female voting participation rate in the general election of 2018 was around 40%. Male vote participation in Islamabad is 62.19%, while female voting participation is 53.75%.³² Statistics show that women in Islamabad are less likely to vote than men, both in terms of voter registration and turnout. Additionally, it successfully mutes the voice of women in efforts to strengthen the legislative and regulatory framework for advancing gender equality in the nation.³³

2.6 Political Administration and Constituencies of Islamabad

All of our political and governmental operations are centered in Islamabad. Islamabad is home to the national assembly and senate, as well as the presidents' and prime minister's official residences, the diplomatic enclave, and numerous embassies from across the world.³⁴ Islamabad Capital Territory District National Assembly MNA seats have increased from two (2) to three (3) in numbers, according to the new and updated Halqa Bandi released (Election Commission of Pakistan, 2018, 3 May).

The total number of MNA seats in Islamabad before the general election 2008 and 2013 was just two: NA-48 and NA-49. Now politically, the district of Islamabad is divided

³¹Ali, Cheema, Sarah Khan, Shandana Khan Mohmand, Anam Kuraishi, Asad Liaqat, and Fatiq Nadeem. "Women's political participation in a Pakistani metropolis: navigating gendered household and political spaces." (Lahore, Institute of Development and Economic Alternatives (IDEAS) 2019).

³²Election Commission of Pakistan, report (2018)-1

³³Election Commission of Pakistan, report (2018)-2

³⁴Mazhar Abbas, "How Islamabad Became a City of Dharnas," Geo.tv: Latest News Breaking Pakistan, World, Live Videos (Geo News, May 31, 2022), Accessed October 14, 2022. <https://www.geo.tv/latest/419961-how-islamabad-became-a-city-ofdharnas>.

into the NA-52, NA- 53, and NA-54 National Assembly constituencies.³⁵

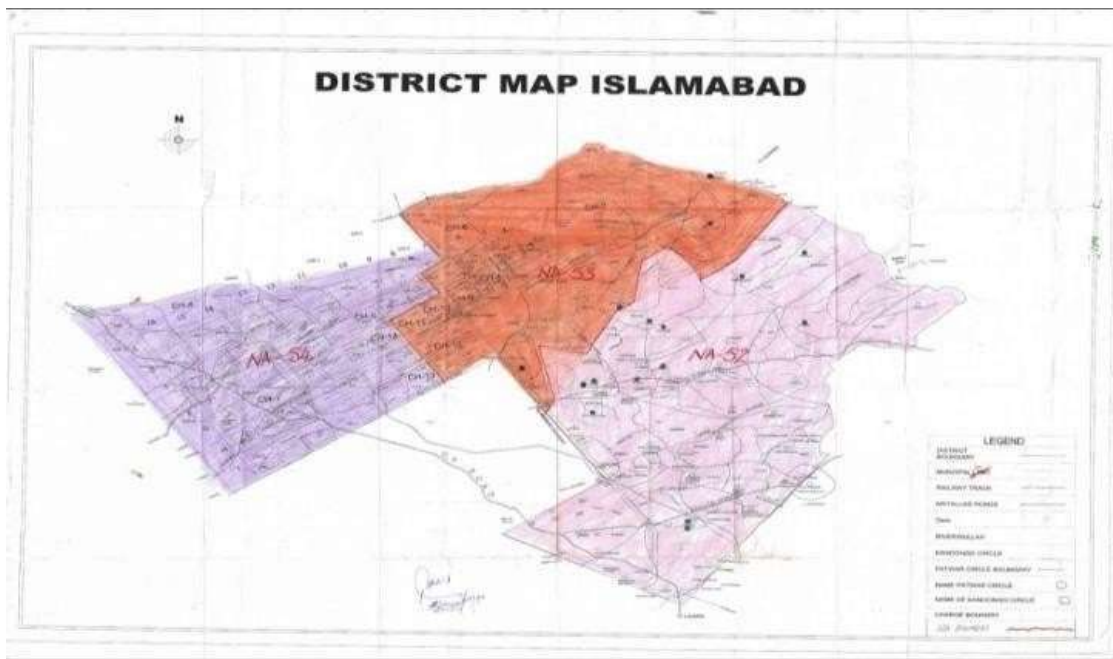


Figure 2.4: showing the division of constituencies in Islamabad

2.7 NA - 52 (ISLAMABAD - 1)

Pakistan's National Assembly has a constituency called NA-52 (Islamabad 1). The majority of this seat is made up of rural parts of Islamabad Capital Territory. The well known neighborhoods in this district are Said Pur, Noor Pur Sheahan, Ali Pur, Bhara koh, barri imam and Phul Garan, among others.

According to Geo news, 2018 elections news statistics the overall population of this constituency was 700744 as of the 2018 election, and there were 234508 registered voters, consisting of 125183 men and 109325 women.³⁶

³⁵"Delimitation of constituencies:2018" Election commission of Pakistan ,2018, Accessed October 14, 2022. [http:// www.ecp.gov.pk](http://www.ecp.gov.pk)

³⁶Election 2018 constituencies: NA-52", Geo news,2018, Accessed October 14, 2022. <http://www.geo.tv.pk>

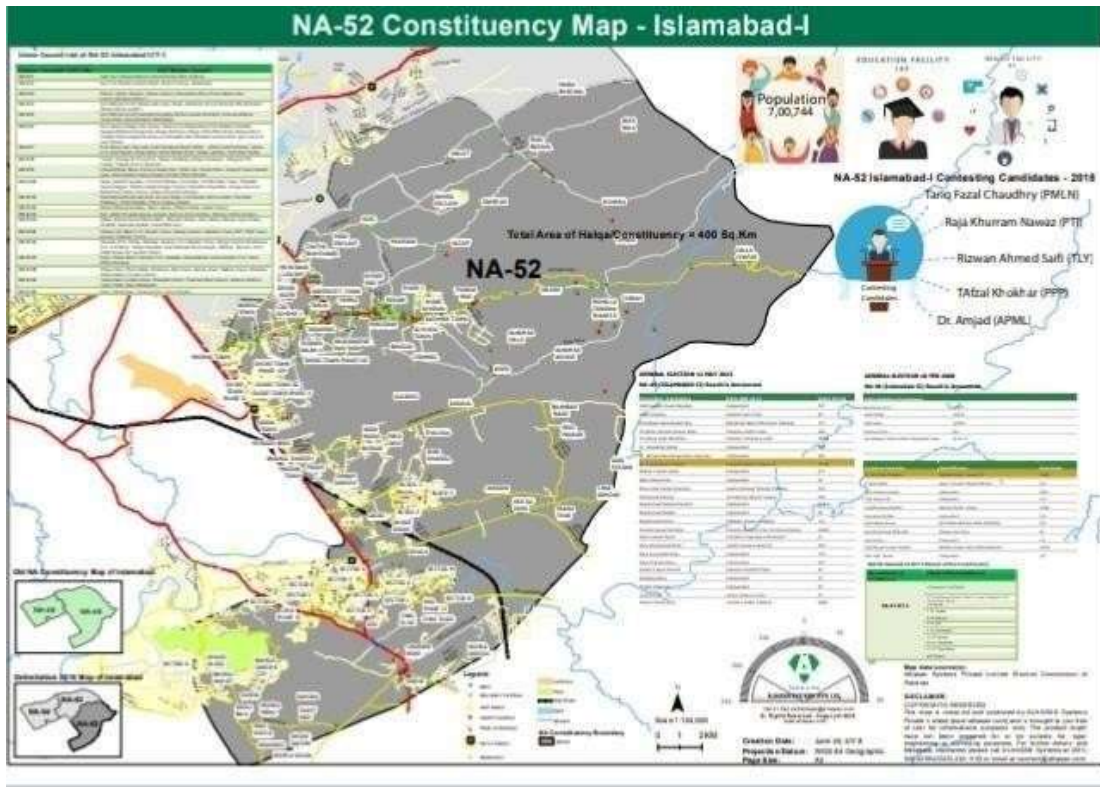


Figure 2.5: details area of NA-52

2.8 NA-53 (ISLAMABAD - 2)

NA-53 is a Pakistani National Assembly constituency. The majority of this constituency is made up of Islamabad's metropolitan areas. The areas that make up this seat were previously a part of the NA- 48 and NA- 49 constituencies. Islamabad's G, H, and E sectors are well-known for their Bari Imam-related neighborhoods.

In the 2018 election, this constituency had a total population of 670683 and 312143 registered voters, out of which 166024 were men and 146119 were women.³⁷

2.9 NA - 54 (ISLAMABAD - 3)

NA- 54 Islamabad is constituency for the national assembly of Pakistan. This constituency consists of a mix of Urban and rural areas of Islamabad capital territory from

^{37a}Election 2018 constituencies: NA-53", Geo news,2018, Accessed October 14, 2022. <http://www.geo.tv.pk>

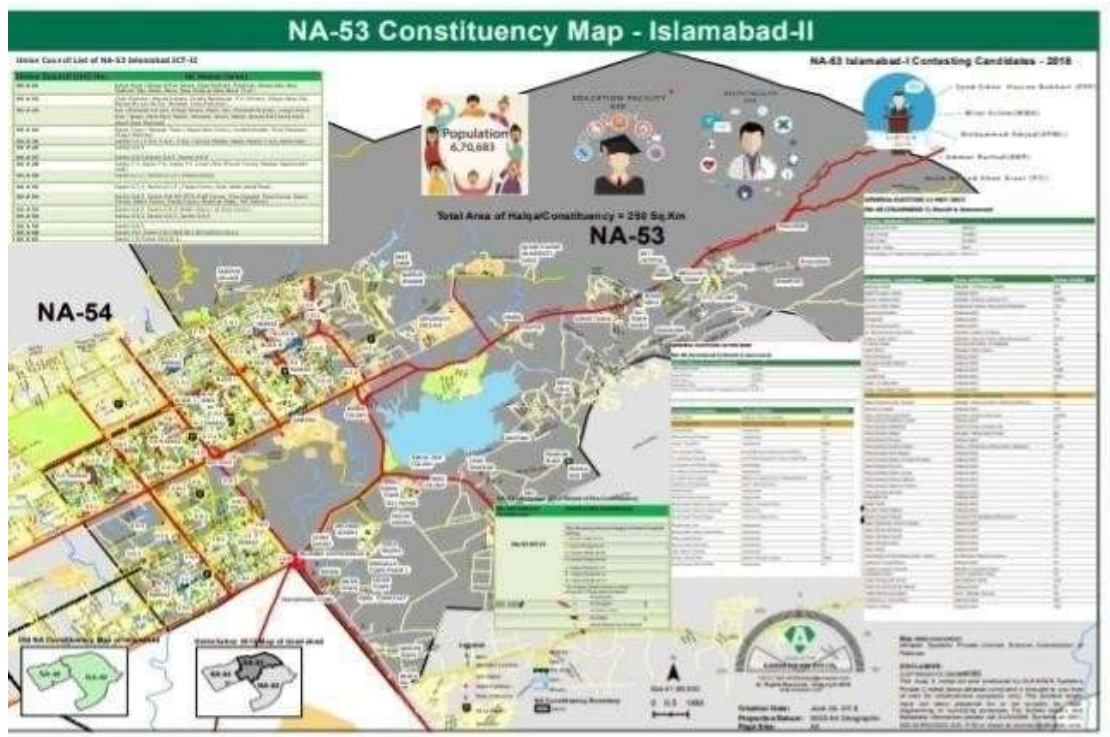


Figure 2.6: details area of NA-53

sector G-10 to Tarnol and also include sector.

In the 2018 general election the total population of this constituency was 630152 and its registered voters were 218795 out of which 116285 were males and 102510 were females.³⁸

Constituency of Islamabad	Population	Registered voters	Males registered voters	Male voting
NA-52	700744	234508	125183	56%
NA-53	670683	312143	166024	77%
NA-54	630152	218795	116285	57%

Table 2.3: constituencies wise registered voters and voter turnout in males and females in Islamabad in the general election 2018

^{38a}Election 2018 constituencies: NA-54”, Geo news,2018, Accessed October 14, 2022. <http://www.geo.tv.pk>

2.10 A New Delimitation Order 2022

A new delimitation of constituencies order on 31st may 2022 is issued by election commission of Pakistan. New constituencies delimitation was based on the current population according to the census of 2017. According to the ECP report (2022) the number of constituencies in Islamabad remains at three.³⁹ The name and population details are given below.

Name of constituencies	Population	Range
NA-46 ICT-1	681507	Within limit
NA-47-ICT-2	657657	Within limit
NA-48-ICT-3	664204	Within limit

Table 2.4: New delimitation constituencies limit

The new constituencies of Islamabad is named by NA-46 ICT-1, NA-47-ICT-2 and NA- 48- ICT-3.⁴⁰

2.11 Causes of Low Females Turnout

In democracies, scholars believe that people can voice their opinion through voting. Voting is important because this is the only process through which representatives can be accountable to the public and it is a time when leaders and voters feel a direct relationship with each other and both realize the importance of others. Although the female right was given to vote in Pakistan very soon it was dependent but the female voter turnout was very low in Pakistan and also in Islamabad. Globally South Asian countries established women's suffrage around the same time many European countries did and yet the gender gap remains high in part of South Asian countries even today. The gender gap in Pakistan remains particularly high while that in India is reducing.

³⁹Election commission of Pakistan , "Delimitation of constituencies:2022", Accessed October 14, 2022 ,[http:// www.ecp.gov.pk](http://www.ecp.gov.pk)

⁴⁰Election commission of Pakistan , "Delimitation of constituencies:2022", Accessed October 14, 2022 ,[http:// www.ecp.gov.pk](http://www.ecp.gov.pk)

Among the countries surveyed in the most recent general election of 2018, Pakistan has the largest gender gap of 9.1% in the general election 2018.⁴¹ The general elections of 2008, 2013 and 2018 were landmarks in Pakistan's democratic history. As it marked the first time that the elections were held at regular and stipulated time gaps and allowed the transfer of power from one democratically elected government to another government.⁴²

However, in each election attention turned to the fact that Pakistan's women voted did not engage with the electoral process to the same extent that men did. In Pakistan, male voting turnout is higher at all levels national and in provinces. Female participation is less in number in voter registration and voting turnout Islamabad the capital of Pakistan also faced this situation. In Islamabad, female voting turnout is always low and women have a very weak position in the district of Islamabad. Socially females in Islamabad are restricted and have very little say in political affairs. Although female voting turnout is high in Islamabad as compared to other parts of the country especially rural areas of Pakistan, the total electoral history depicted that no woman could succeed as a representative in Islamabad throughout the history of Islamabad.

Historically, cultural, and social factors restricted female roles and proved substantial barriers to female voting turnout. Male dominance and females being subordinates is the normative stance prevalent in Pakistan society as well as in the Islamabad district. Women are still considered inferior by their male counterparts. Generally, females are discouraged to take part in elections as a voter. Thus, it reduces voting turnout. The present study focused on the dependent variable of voting turnout in relation.

With the effects of independent variables on female voting turnout in Islamabad. The independent variables of this study were the attitude of males as gatekeepers in the society of Islamabad, the political knowledge of females and Administration and mobilization

⁴¹Hassan Shah, Syed Wasif Azim, Wajid Mehmood, and Seema Zubair. "General Elections 2013: A Case Study of Low Turnout of Women Voters in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan." *Liberal Arts and Social Sciences International Journal (LASSIJ)* 3, no. 2 (2019): 128-140.

⁴²Sushant Sareen and Kriti M. Shah, "Pakistan General Elections 2018: Analysis of Results and Implications," ORF, Accessed October 30, 2022, <https://www.orfonline.org/research/pakistan-general-elections-2018-analysis-ofresults-and-implications-46324/1>

issues faced by the females in Islamabad. A self-created close-ended questionnaire was led to analyze the causes of female voting turnout in the Islamabad district. The data was collected from the females of Islamabad. The demographic characteristics of data were the age of young females 18 to 30, middle age 30 to 45 and older 45 and above. Also, data is categorized in the form of constituencies of Islamabad that are NA- 52, NA-53 and NA - 54. Education of females is another demographic characteristic of data; it is further divided into three categories: matric, graduation and higher education. The data were collected according to these demographics.

Age	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 18-30	134	33.5	33.5	33.5
31-45	182	45.5	45.5	79.0
46 and above	84	21.0	21.0	100.0
Total	400	100.0	100.0	

Table 2.5

This table is taken from SPSS software and data is collected through questionnaire.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid under matric	95	23.8	23.8	23.8
Graduation	159	39.8	39.8	63.5
higher education	146	36.5	36.5	100.0
Total	400	100.0	100.0	

Table 2.6: Education

These tables show the demographic details of the sample. The sample size was 400. out of which 134 were young voters 18 to 30 years old. 182 respondents were from the age group of 31 to 45 and the rest of the 84 voters are above 45 years of age. 23.8% of respondents are under matric while 39.8 are graduates and 36.5% are higher educated respondents. Constituencies-wise results showed that 25.5% of respondents were from NA-52, 46.5 % were from NA-53 and 28% were from NA-54.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid NA-52	102	25.5	25.5	25.5
NA-53	186	46.5	46.5	72.0
NA-54	112	28.0	28.0	100.0
Total	400	100.0	100.0	

Table 2.7: Constituency

Are you a citizen of Pakistan?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Pakistani	400	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 2.8: Citizen

All the respondents are a citizen of Pakistan.

Are you a registered voter?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	388	97.0	97.0	97.0
No	12	3.0	3.0	100.0
Total	400	100.0	100.0	

Table 2.9: Registered voters

97% of respondents were registered voters of Islamabad. Only 3% were not registered in voting list. Are you voting in 2008 election?

31.5% of respondents casted their vote in 2008 general elections in Islamabad. The results showed that 68.5% respondents did not caste vote in this election.

Are you voting in 2013 election?

This table indicates that 50.5% of respondents cast their vote in the 2013 general election and 49.5% did not utilize their right to vote.

Are you voted in 2018 election?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	126	31.5	31.5	31.5
NO	274	68.5	68.5	100.0
Total	400	100.0	100.0	

Table 2.10: Vote in 2008

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	202	50.5	50.5	50.5
No	198	49.5	49.5	100.0
Total	400	100.0	100.0	

Table 2.11: Vote in 2013

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	294	73.5	73.5	73.5
No	106	26.5	26.5	100.0
Total	400	100.0	100.0	

Table 2.12: Vote in 2018

In this table the percentage of voting turnout of respondents are 73.5% while 26.5% of respondents not casted vote in this election.

2.12 Attitude of Males as a Gatekeeper

Females in developing and third world countries are mostly dependent on male family members. It is this (in majority of the cases) the decision of the male members of the family whether the female members will exercise to vote or not. Thus, independently participating in electoral activities and exercising their right to vote is very minimal. In the gender contract women are considered as subordinates to men. Men are given a socially accepted superior position to control their subordinates.⁴³ Religious discourse also insists on women to follow their husband and father to the maximum level. In Islamabad society traditional and formal decision making is mostly done by men without the female wills.

Are you vote according to your preference?

The results of this statement depict that 44% out of 400 female's respondent accepted that they cast their vote according to their preference while 25.5% females were also cast their vote with their preference on regular basis 6% mostly, 8% seldom and 16.5% never casted their vote according to their preference.

The political culture of Islamabad is patriarchal. Females are given fewer opportunities in this structure. A popular accepted reason for why women don't vote as much as men do in Islamabad is social conversation and the restriction that patriarchal social norms put on one woman agency and mobility. Islamabad is categorized as a patriarchy with most of its attendant restrictions on women exercise through male control over female productive and reproductive work. This is manifested in various ways in terms of political behavior women are not expected to participate in politics. Results in low females turnout in Islamabad.

⁴³Ali Cheema, Sarah Khan, Asad Liaqat, and Shandana Khan Mohmand. "Canvassing the Gatekeepers: A Field Experiment to Increase Women Voters' Turnout in Pakistan." *American Political Science Review* (2022): 1-21.

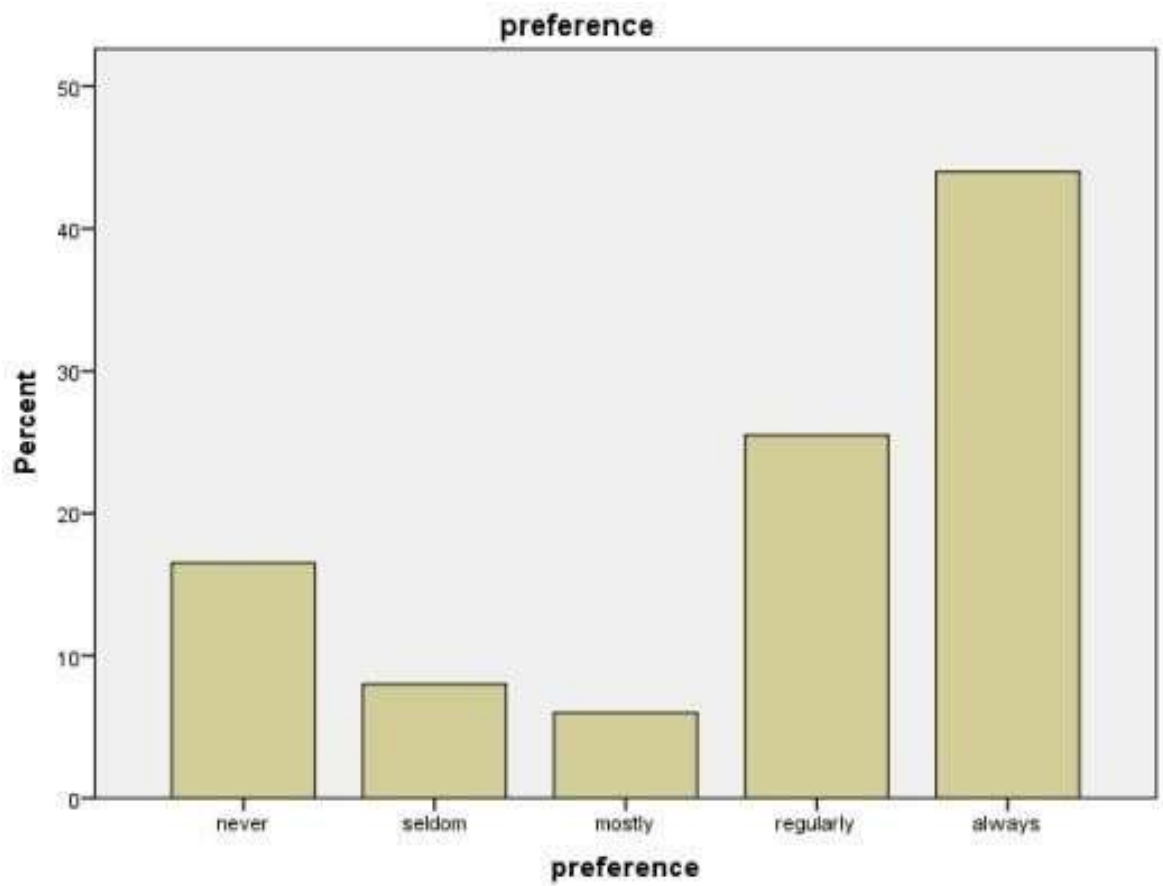


Figure 2.7

Are you have social and cultural freedom to vote? The response represented that more

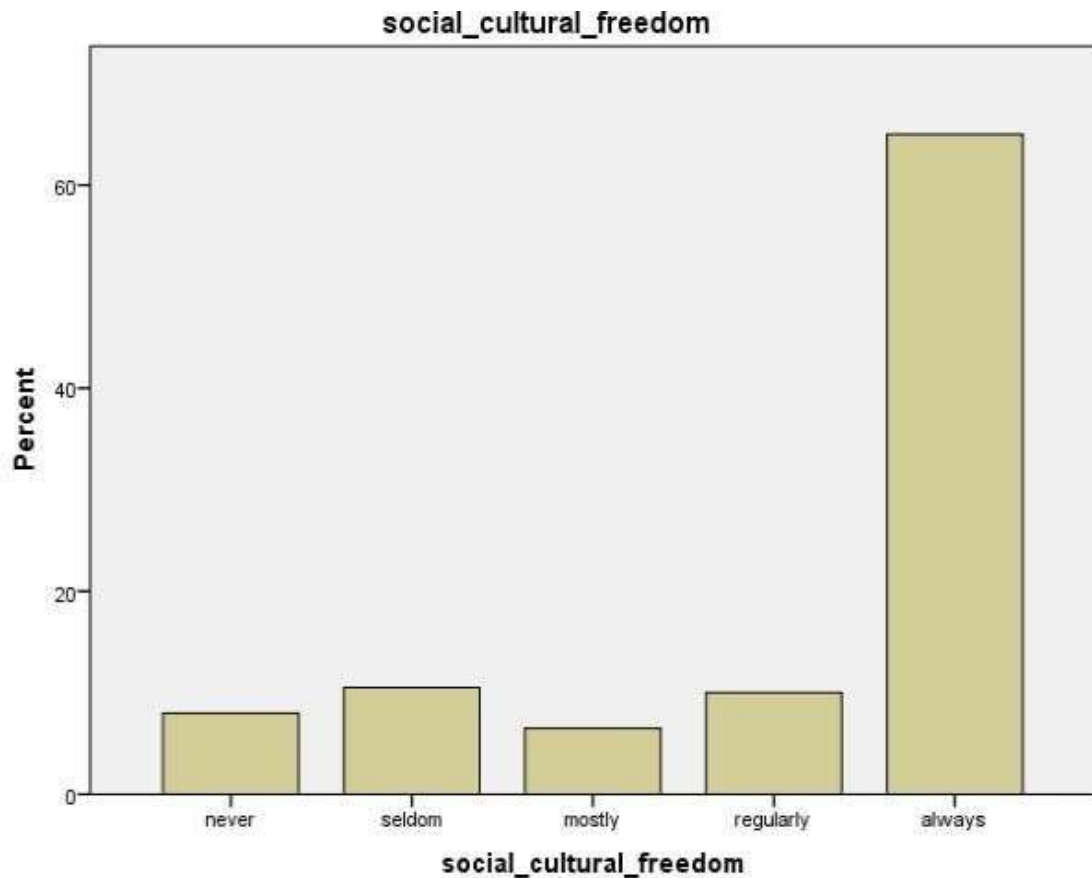


Figure 2.8

women have social and cultural freedom to vote in Islamabad. 65% women agreed that they have social and cultural freedom of vote in society of Islamabad. 10% of women have regular base cultural freedom of voting in Islamabad .

This table is taken from SPSS software and data is collected through questionnaire.

2.13 Mobilization Facilities and Administration

Women's political participation depends more on the ability to move about freely and safely. There is a strong relationship between mobility and political participation. To vote, females have to go to the polling stations to cast their vote on election day. women mobility choice and their ability to access transportation is the factor that may be influenced on voting turnout of females. Woman mobility outside the home in Islamabad is

restricted by social homes and safety concerns ; women are more dependent on males family members from one place to another.

Do you facilitate for mobilization for voting? This table showed that only 9.5% of

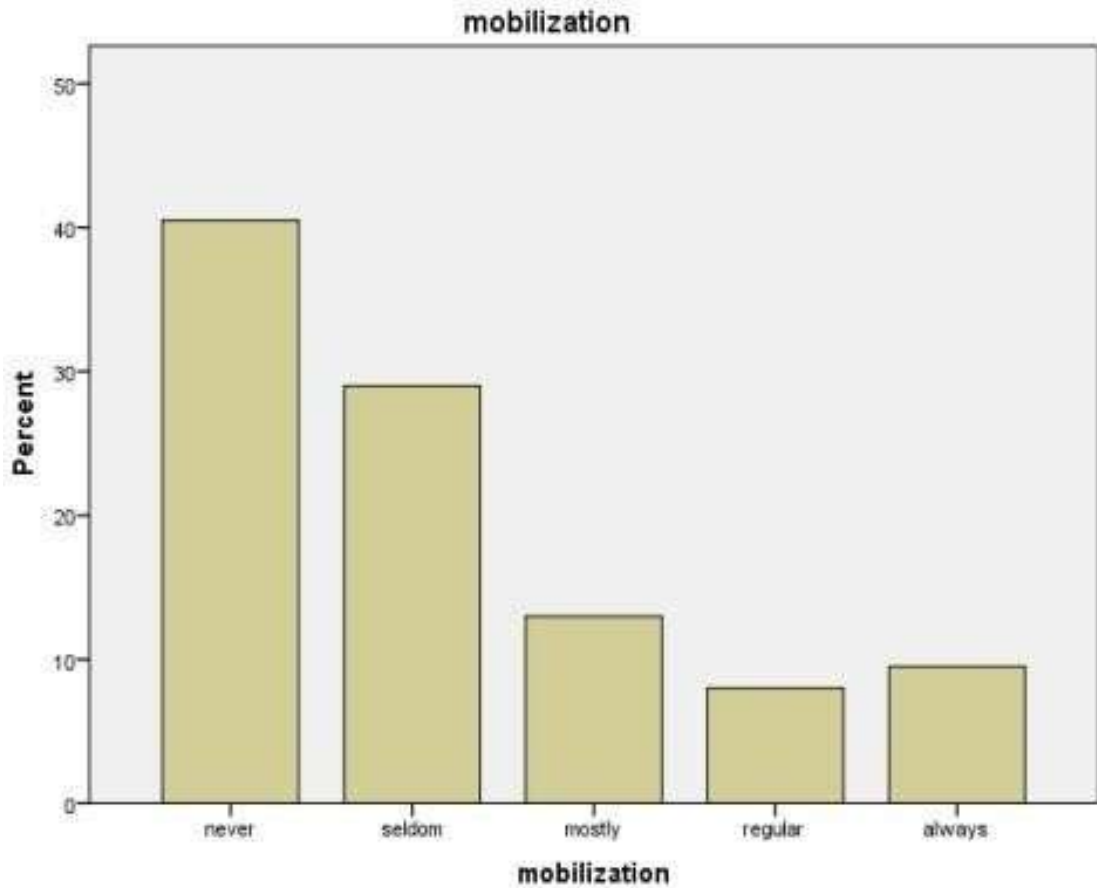


Figure 2.9

females have the facility of mobilization in Islamabad for casting their vote . 8% of women have facility less but on regular basis and 40.5% females respondents express that they have not any facility of mobilization for cast to vote on election day and faced that the problem of mobilization for casting vote.

Similarly administrative issues affected the female voting turnout also. Elections are usually administered and supervised by the election commission of Pakistan (ECP) in Islamabad. it has the legal rights to implement election laws. The decisions and policies implemented by election management bodies can have a significant impact on women's participation in elections and also affect their voting turnout. Administered issues that

are faced by females in Islamabad may be the area location of polling stations, National identity card(CNIC) registration and verification, no. cooperative behavior of staff etc. These issues directly affect the female voting turnout in Islamabad.

Did adequate mechanisms help you in casting vote? this table showed that 37% women

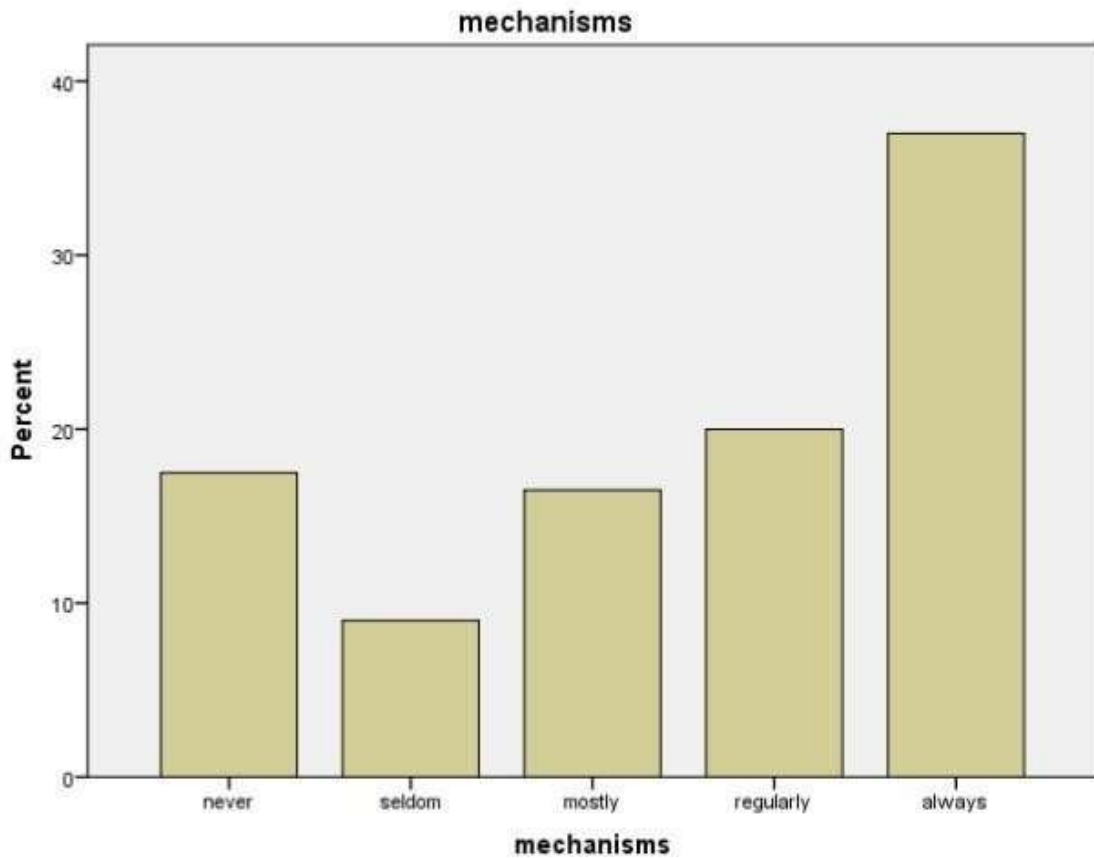


Figure 2.10: Enter Caption

are helped by administration staff of election commission in casting their vote. 20% females are also satisfied by mechanisms but less basis. Although 17.5% women claimed that they are not helped by administration staff. It is a common perception that females in Islamabad have lack of mobilization facilities for casting vote on election day. Also claimed that the administration facilities were not cooperative for females. These reasons heavily affected the female voting turnout in Islamabad. Cultural and traditional stereotype mobility constraints security concerns discouraged females from participating in elections.

2.14 Females Political Interest and Knowledge

Women political knowledge did not lack greatly though it was better from older women than younger females but yet the gender gap in political knowledge and interest have been formed persistently in the society of Islamabad female living in Islamabad with high ratio are more likely not to interest in politics and political affairs.

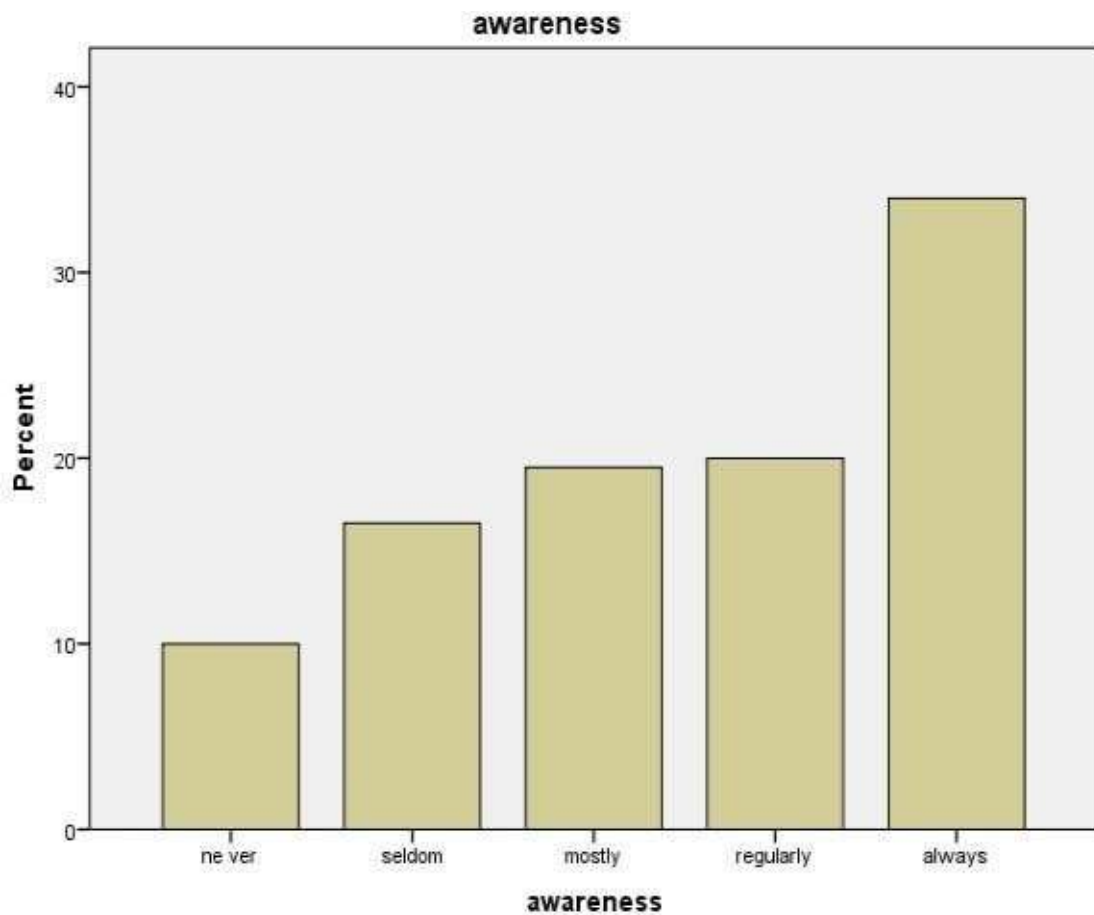


Figure 2.11

⁴⁴This table showed that 34% women have strongly aware of their right to vote and 20% females have the awareness of voting right 19.5% females have some time basis awareness. 10% of women refuse to have any awareness and 16.5% females have little awareness of right to vote.

Common females in Islamabad face a lack of interest and political affairs; they mostly remain segregated in home where they remain engaged in the domestic chores and child

⁴⁴This table is taken from SPSS software and data is collected through questionnaire.

bearing and look after. At a personal level too, females in Islamabad are socialized in a way that they don't consider politics a matter of females. Most females are not willing to utilize their time by engaging in the voting process.

This self perception is the result of social and cultural values that exist in the society of Islamabad. Also lack of education, political awareness and lack of importance of female Right to vote and political participation are responsible for this type of perception. Females in Islamabad are not trained and educated politically so that they realise the importance of their participation in politics. They are not interested in acquiring politics considering it an evil and dirty field that is solely for men. To measure the political interest the statement is asked by females respondents.

Is politics and elections discussed in your family? This table indicate that 41.5% of

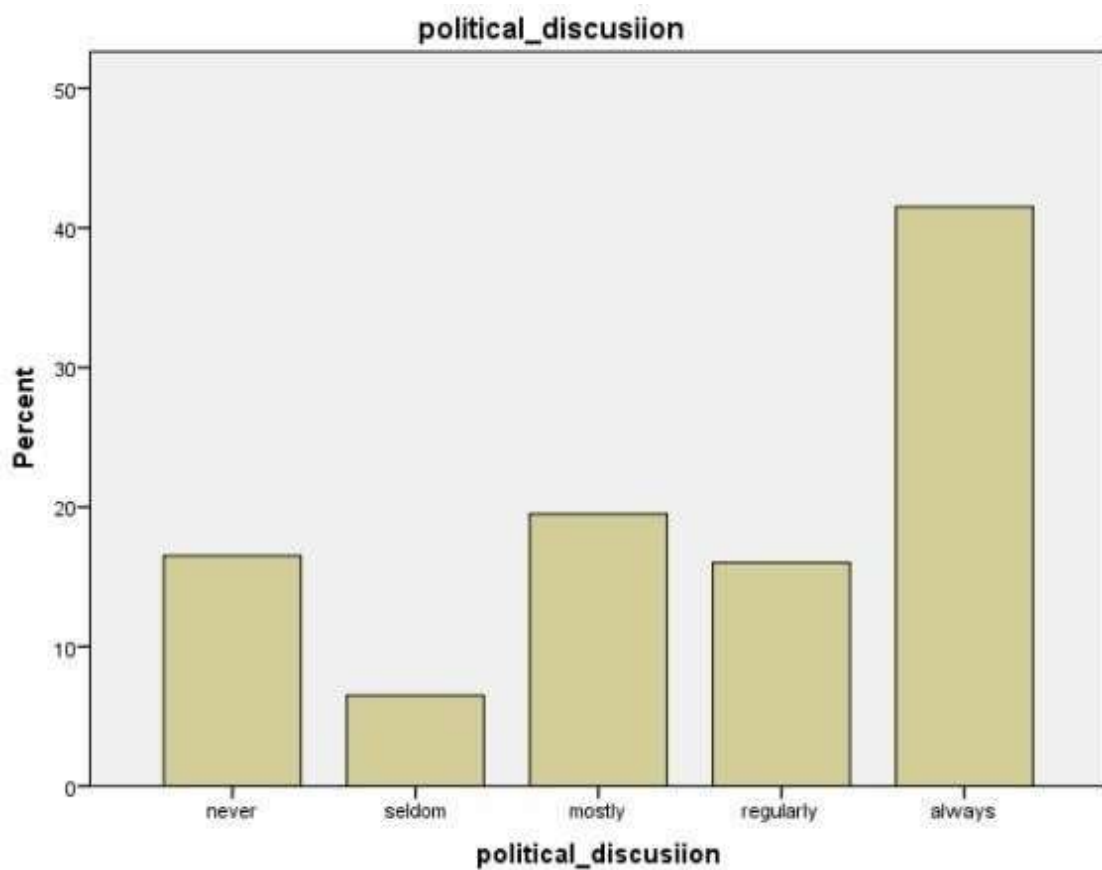


Figure 2.12

respondent women were experience and like to political and elections discussion in homes. 16% of females discuss politics regularly, 19.5% females sometimes discuss

the politics with their family.16.5% women refuse to experience any political discussion within their families.

Model	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	69.598	3	23.199	30.912	.000 ^b
Residual	297.192	396	.750		
Total	366.790	399			

Table 2.13: ANOVA

45

a. Dependent Variable: voting turnout

b. Predictors: (Constant), interest, voting problem, m-gatke The causes of low females voting turnout in Islamabad is a sensitive variable having variation in their results. This table with ANOVA test represented that p value is 0.000 which is less then 0.05 hence the researcher say that there is the significance relationship between dependent variable and independents variables.

⁴⁵This table is taken from SPSS software and data is collected through questionnaire.

CHAPTER 3

Section 1

DETERMINANTS OF FEMALE VOTING BEHAVIOR IN ISLAMABAD

This chapter of the study will examine the introduction and history of voting behaviour, determinants of female voting behaviour and causes of change in females voting behaviour in Islamabad society. Female voting behaviour in Islamabad is influenced by multiple factors. Due to this reason these factors can be categories in social and political determinants of female voting behaviour. By these categories this chapter has been divided into three sections. First section of this study briefly describes the introductions and history of voting behaviour in Pakistan and in Islamabad too. Voting behaviour, usually referred to as electoral behaviour, is knowing the variables and motivations that affect a person's voting behaviour. Numerous researchers in numerous social science domains examine voting behaviour to analyse it. According to sociologist Gordon Marshal, "the study of voting behaviour invariably focuses on the determinants of why people tend to vote in public elections as they do and how they arrived at the decision

they make." ¹ The second section evaluates the social and political factors that play a significant role behind voting females behaviour in Islamabad. The third section of this chapter highlighted the change in female voting behaviour in Islamabad and elaborated the causes and reasons behind this change. For this purpose a self-structure question- naire was developed.

In this s chapter, the researcher will look at what influences women’s voting behaviour in Islamabad society. Islamabad’s female voters’ behaviour is influenced by a variety of variables. As a result, these variables may fall under the social and political drivers of female voting behaviour. In Islamabad, information was gathered from 400 female respondents. The study’s findings showed that social and political issues significantly influenced how women voted in Islamabad.

3.1 Voting Behavior in Islamabad

Voting behaviour is a collection of attitudes and convictions about a nation’s elections. Voting behaviour is described by political and social scholars as an environment and decision that influences people’s propensity to cast ballots in public elections, as well as the causes and contributing factors to this environment and decision. Men base every action on a particular behaviour. A voter displays his or her support for political parties, candidates, as well as the nation’s government and political system, either directly or indirectly, by casting a ballot.² The population of Islamabad is educated, knowledgeable of politics, and engaged in political activity. In Islamabad, the average citizen has a variety of encounters with political public rallies, marches, protests, processions, popular meetings, and break-ins, among other things. All of these political actions, both good and bad, increase political awareness and foster greater communication. The voting patterns of the citizens of Islamabad indicate the ongoing transformations brought

¹Voting behaviour.” (2021). Accessed November 13,2022. <https://cdn1.byjus.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/voting-behavior.docx1-.pdf>.

²Vote.ie,“Why Vote?,” Vote. ie, November 28,2016, Accessed November 15 ,2022. <https://www.vote.ie/why/>.

about by the general elections of 2008, 2013, and 2018.³

3.2 General Election 2008

Originally set for January 8, 2008, the general election was moved to February 18 as a result of Benazir Bhutto's death in a terrorist attack on December 27, 2007. The PML-N, PML-Q MMA, PPP and PTI in Islamabad were the major political parties in the 2008 elections. All of these political parties launched their electoral campaigns in Islamabad, where they made extensive use of print and electronic media as well as public gatherings to inspire and persuade residents to cast their ballots for them. The PML-(N) won both of its constituencies, NA-48 and NA-49, in the 2008 general election, which was a clear reflection of the voting behaviour of the people of Islamabad.⁴ According to ECP report volume 2 (2008) in NA-48 ICT-1 Anjum Aqeel Khan of PMLN got 61480 votes, Dr. Syed Israr Hussain of PPP got 26485 votes and Rizwan Sadiq Khan of PML got 10483 votes in the general election of 2008. In NA-49 ICT-2 Dr. Tariq Fazal Chaudhry of PML-N got 45482 votes. Syed Nayyer Hussain Bukhari of PPP got 44726 votes and Mustafa Nawaz Khokhar of PML got 34546 votes in the general election of 2008 in Islamabad.⁵

3.3 General Election 2013

Pakistan announced that the 2013 general election would take place on May 11, 2013. The 2013 parliamentary elections marked the end of Pakistan's first elected government's term. The outcome of the 2013 general election revealed Islamabad's voting habits to have slightly changed. Although NA-49 voters favoured PML-N in the 2008

³Saqib Riaz, Sajid Nawaz Abbasi, and Babar Hussain Shah. "Political Advertising in Pakistan: Comparative Analysis of General Elections 2013 and 2018." *Ilkogretim Online* 19, no. 4 (2020): 4800-4815.

⁴Election Commission of Pakistan, "General election 2008, report volume II, Accessed November 15, 2022. [http:// www.ecp.gov.pk](http://www.ecp.gov.pk)

⁵Election Commission of Pakistan, "General election 2013, report volume II, Accessed November 20, 2022. [http:// www.ecp.gov.pk](http://www.ecp.gov.pk)

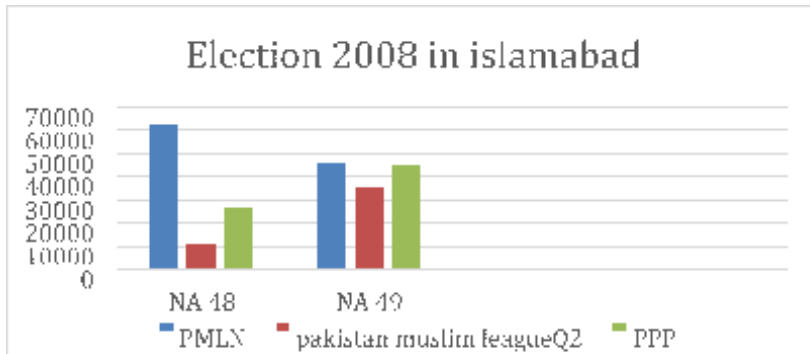


Figure 3.1: Election 2008 results

election, they did so in this election as well. However, a new development was noticed in NA, when voters declared their preference for PTI. In these constituencies, the PTI won a seat for the first time in Islamabad. ⁶ According to ECP report volume 2 (2013)

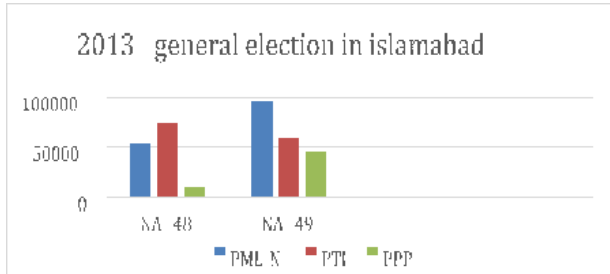


Figure 3.2: Election 2013 results

in NA-48 ICT-1 Makhdom Javed Hashmi of PTI got 73878 votes, Anjum Aqeel Khan of PML-N got 52205 votes and Faisal Sakhi Butt of PPP got 9178 votes in the general election of 2013. Makhdom Javed Hashmi left his seat and the election were held again in this constituency. In NA-49 ICT-2 Dr. Fazal Chudary of PML-N got 94106 votes, Chudary Ilyas Meharban of PTI got 57383 votes and Mustafa Nawaz Khokhar of PPP got 44984 votes in the general election of 2013 in Islamabad.⁷

3.4 General Election 2018

General elections were held in Pakistan on Wednesday, July 25, 2018. The PTI, PML-N, PPP, and MMA were the major political parties in Islamabad. The outcomes of this election revealed a new voting pattern in Islamabad. In all three of Islamabad's

⁶Election Commission of Pakistan, ^a General election 2013, report volume II, Accessed November 20, 2022. [http:// www.ecp.gov.pk](http://www.ecp.gov.pk)

⁷ECP, 2013 report, 1

constituencies, PTI won the election. This voting behaviour in Islamabad includes the behaviour of female voters as well.

The analysis of the outcomes of these three elections (in 2008, 2013 and 2018) raises the question of what influences the general voting patterns in Islamabad and, in particular, the patterns of female voting in Islamabad during these three elections.

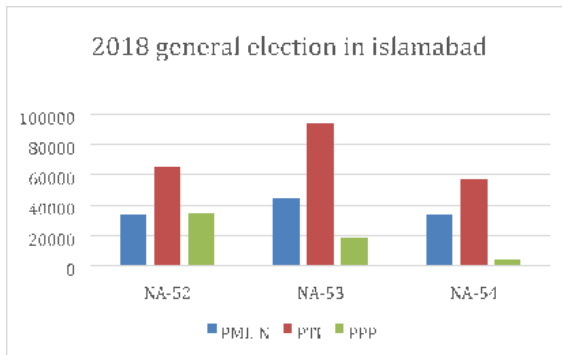


Figure 3.3: Election 2018 results

According to ECP notification (2018) in NA-52 ICT-1 Raja Khurram Shahzad of PTI got 64881 votes, Muhammad Afzal Khokhar of PPP got 34087 votes and Tariq Fazal Chaudhry of PML-N got 33564 votes in the general election of 2018. In NA-53 ICT-2 Imran Ahmed Khan Niazi of PTI got 93110, Shahid Khaqan Abbasi of PML-N got 44347 and Syed Sibte ul Haider Bukhari of PPP got 17973 votes, in NA-54 ICT-3 Asad umer of PTI got 57086 votes, Anjum Aqeel Khan of PML-N got 33009 votes Raja Imran Ashraf of PPP got 4019 votes in the general election of 2018 from Islamabad.⁸

⁸Election Commission of Pakistan ^a General election 2018, notification the Gazette of Pakistan, Accessed November 20, 2022. [http:// www.ecp.gov.pk](http://www.ecp.gov.pk)

3.5 Section 2

3.6 Determinants of Female Voting Behavior

In addition to analysing the voting patterns of women in Islamabad, this study also emphasised the factors that influence these patterns and how they are changing. In Islamabad, women's social and political freedom is severely constrained. Numerous socioeconomic, racial, and cultural variables exert pressure on women and influence how they vote. Political scholars always focus on the question of female voting. There is ample evidence, though, that women do not independently decide how they will vote. Their male equivalents in the family or household must agree to it. In Islamabad, women don't completely participate in politics and don't freely cast their ballots. Determinants of voting behaviour are the essential elements that mould, persuade, direct, and compel a voter's behaviour to vote in favour of a specific party. These factors might vary greatly from person to person and include social, political, cultural, educational, and economic factors. The social and political factors that influence women's voting behaviour in Islamabad were the main topics of this study.

3.7 Social Determinants

Man cannot exist alone since he is a social being with social needs. Society is a term used to describe a large group of people that live in a structured manner, making decisions about how to do things and sharing the labour that has to be done. A system of social ties makes up society. The phrase "social factors" refers to the elements and determinants that people encounter as they forge relationships within a society during the course of their lives. These connections could be between a father and son, a teacher and pupils, an employer and a worker, a leader and followers, etc. These relationships affect a person's entire range of activities, choices, personalities, ways of thinking, and plans, as well as the other members of society.

The researcher came to the conclusion that social determinants are elements that have

an impact on an individual's way of living in society. Family, education, religion, class structure, the political system, and other factors may be included. These socioeconomic determinants can be found in a nation's politics as well. Numerous societal factors can change and influence a person's political choice during an election period in a nation.

Political ideas and voting behaviour of a citizen in a nation are directly influenced by social variables including family, peers, print, and electronic media.⁹

Islamabad's female population is also impacted by a number of societal variables, which obviously affect their voting behaviour. The family and class structures that affect women's voting behaviour in Islamabad were the key sociological factors of the current study. Women's political voting tendencies frequently revolve around her family and social network.¹⁰

3.8 Family

A crucial social institution is the family. Almost all of a man's activities centre around the institution of family. The institution of family establishes a person's fundamental attitudes, beliefs, values, and customs. The family is regarded as a social element that forms the basis for other social statuses in society, including caste, race, tribe, class, and class structure.¹¹

The senior male is the head of the entire family in traditional patriarchal and Patrilineal Pakistani homes. Particularly for females, family associations have had a substantial impact on voting behaviour in Islamabad. Women are influenced by the male household members, such as the husband, father, and brothers, and they cast their ballots in

⁹Umbreen Javaid and Urwa Elahi, "Patterns of political perceptions, attitudes and voting behaviour: Influence of media." *South Asian Studies* Vol. 29, No.2, July - December 2014, pp. 363-378

¹⁰Xavier, Giné, and Ghazala Mansuri. "Together we will: experimental evidence on female voting behavior in Pakistan." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 10, no. 1 (2018): 207-35.

¹¹Family: Meaning, Characteristics, Function and Types," *Your Article Library*, April 12, 2014, Accessed November 22, 2022. <https://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/speech/family-meaning-characteristics-function/><https://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/speech/family-meaning-characteristics-function-and-types/34966and-types/34966>.

accordance with how closely those males are tied to a certain political party.

One of the key elements influencing female voting behaviour, particularly in relationships with partners, is family pressure. In most situations, women must follow the decisions of their male counterparts in all spheres of life, including social, economic, educational, and political ones. She is also motivated and bound to obey the male family members' decisions by the culture of the community. Women are seen as inferior to men in a gender contract.

Men are given a role that is socially acceptable for controlling those under them. Religious discourse also exhorts women to devote themselves entirely to obeying their husbands and dads. The majority of conventional and formal decisions in Islamabad society are made by men without the input of women. These factors all have an impact on how women vote. In accordance with the wishes and directives of their male household heads, females cast their votes. Many women in the big cities of Pakistan like Lahore and Islamabad etc, vote a certain way because their family men instructed them to support a certain candidate or political party.¹²

Are your voting behavior is influenced by your kinetic relations? the statistics of this table indicate that 30% of females respondent says never for the affect of kinetic relations on their voting behavior. 20% says seldom affects families on their voting behavior. 15% accepted relations mostly affect voting behavior 16% females agree its regular affect and 18.5% always cast their vote in the guidance of their family.

3.9 Social Structure

Every society comprises of a variety of social structures. The term "society structure" refers to the division of society's members based on social and economic factors. The primary kind of social organization, which includes the various kinds of groups, associations, and institutions, as well as the collection of entities that make up societies, is

¹²Ali, Cheema, Sarah Khan, Shandana Khan Mohmand, Anam Kuraishi, Asad Liaqat, and Fatiq Nadeem. "Women's political participation in a Pakistani metropolis: navigating gendered household and political spaces." (Lahore, Institute of Development and Economic Alternatives (IDEAS) 2019) .

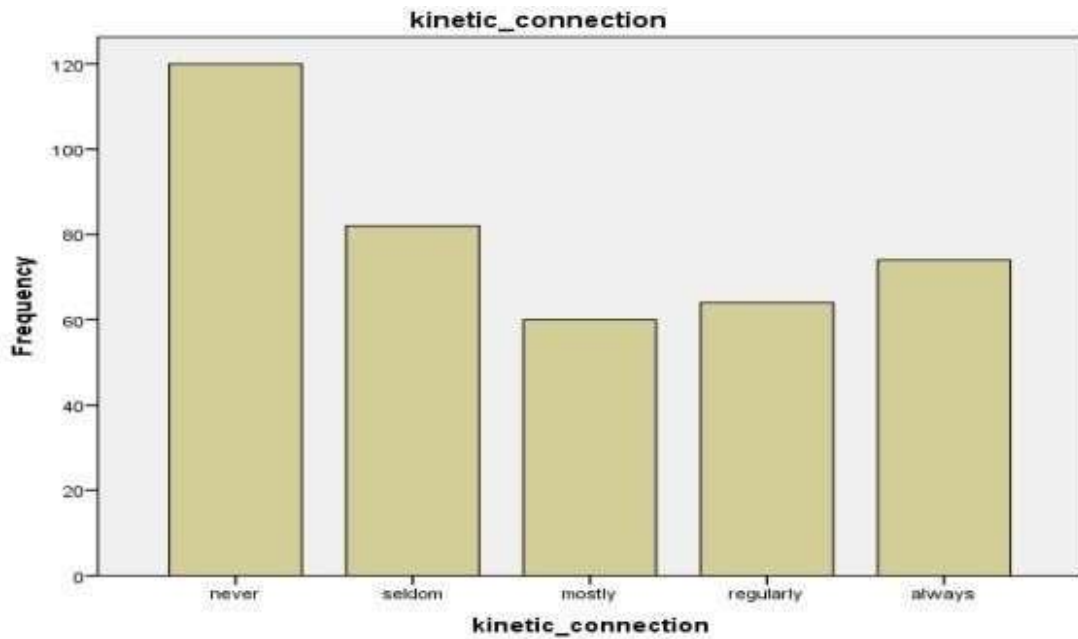


Figure 3.4

what Ginsberg calls "the study of social structure." People may be positioned at various points along a continuum or a range; in reality, society is divided into several social classes. A social class is a cohesive group of people in a society that is formed on the basis of a person's caste, bradri, education, occupation, and location of residence. There is a hierarchy in the social system. The range from low to high is what it is.¹³ In the society of Islamabad, the social structure and divisions have diverse identities, roles, and functions. The social structure in Islamabad is mostly based on kin and family. The family is the fundamental pillar of social organisation, giving its members security and identity. Caste and bradri are two other important pillars of Islamabad's social structure. A group of people known as a bradri are those who share the same family, kinship, tribe, caste, profession, etc. In the society and major cities of Pakistan, bradri is mostly centered on kinship systems based on the Rajput, Jatt, Mughal, and Arian dynasties.¹⁴

Do you consider the importance of social- structure in society? this figure showed that 9.5% respondents do not considered the importance of social- structure in society while

^{13a}"Social Structure," sociologyguide.com, accessed January 25, 2022, <https://www.sociologyguide.com/socialstructure/index.php?text=According%20to%20Ginsberg%20the%20study,of%20the%20that%>.

¹⁴Peter R, Blood. Pakistan: a country study. DIANE Publishing, 1996.

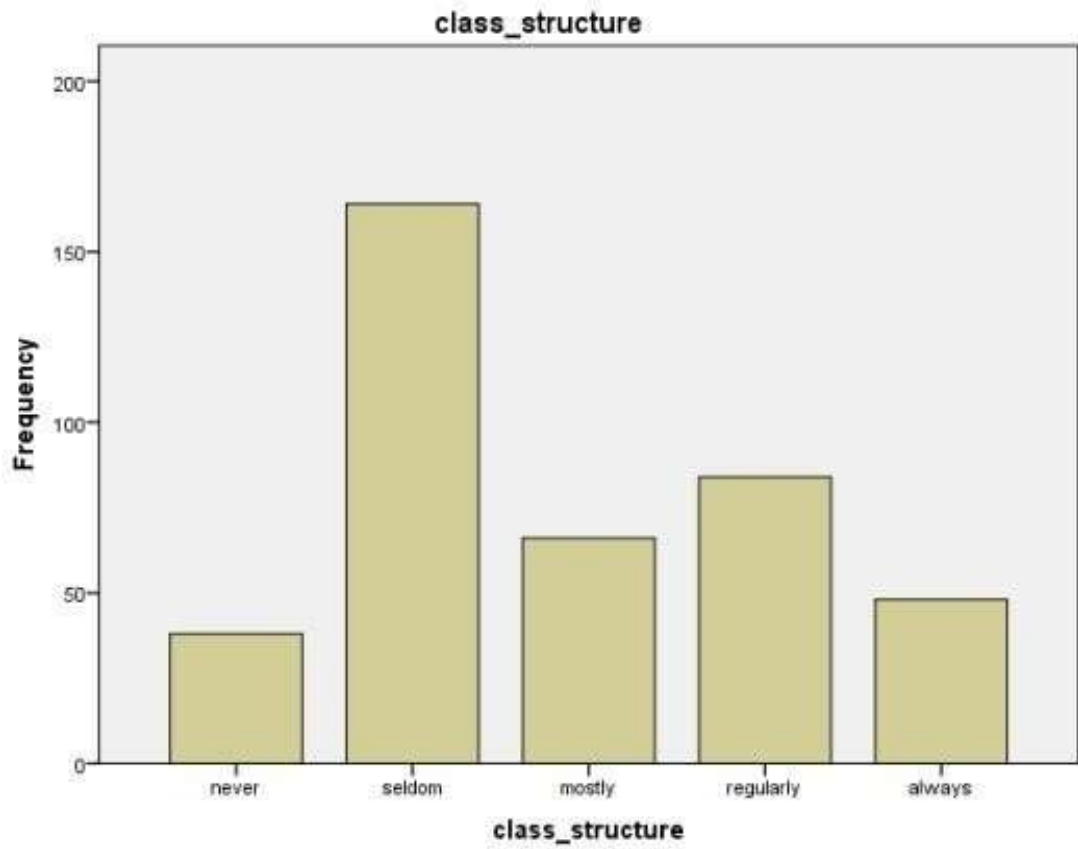


Figure 3.5

Model	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	35.567	2	17.783	8.397	.000 ^b
Residual	840.823	397	2.118		
Total	876.390	399			

Table 3.1: ANOVA

41% realize seldom its importance. 16.5% feel mostly and 21% on regular basis feel the importance of social-structure in society. 12% respondents strongly agree with its importance in Pakistani society.

However, as middle class government employees make up the majority of the population in Islamabad, profession is another important component of social structure. The population of Islamabad has a small upper- and lower-class component. that female voters in Islamabad behave consistently when casting ballots. The voting habits of women in Islamabad are therefore consistent. Additionally, women from top and lower socioeconomic classes show less interest in politics than women from the middle class. Numerous female voters support a candidate who is a member of their caste, clan, Biradari, or sect. Women's voting behaviour in Islamabad is influenced by the social structure of the country.¹⁵

Does social structure in society reflect in your voting behavior? This figure indicate that 28.5% females respondents says never to caste vote according to social structure and 4% says seldom for it while 19% are mostly reflect social structure in their voting behavior. 32% are regularly caste vote in accordance of social- structure. 16.5% females voting behavior is always reflecting social-structure.

a. Dependent Variable: social factors

b. Predictors: (Constant), kinetic connection, social structure social determinant

The social determinants of females voting behavior in Islamabad is a sensitive variable having variation in their results. This table with ANOVA test represented that p value is 0.000 which is less then 0.05 hence the researcher say that there is the significance

¹⁵Muhammad Ali, Awan. "Political participation of women in Pakistan." Frankfurter Forschungszentrum Globaler Islam (2016): 1-2.

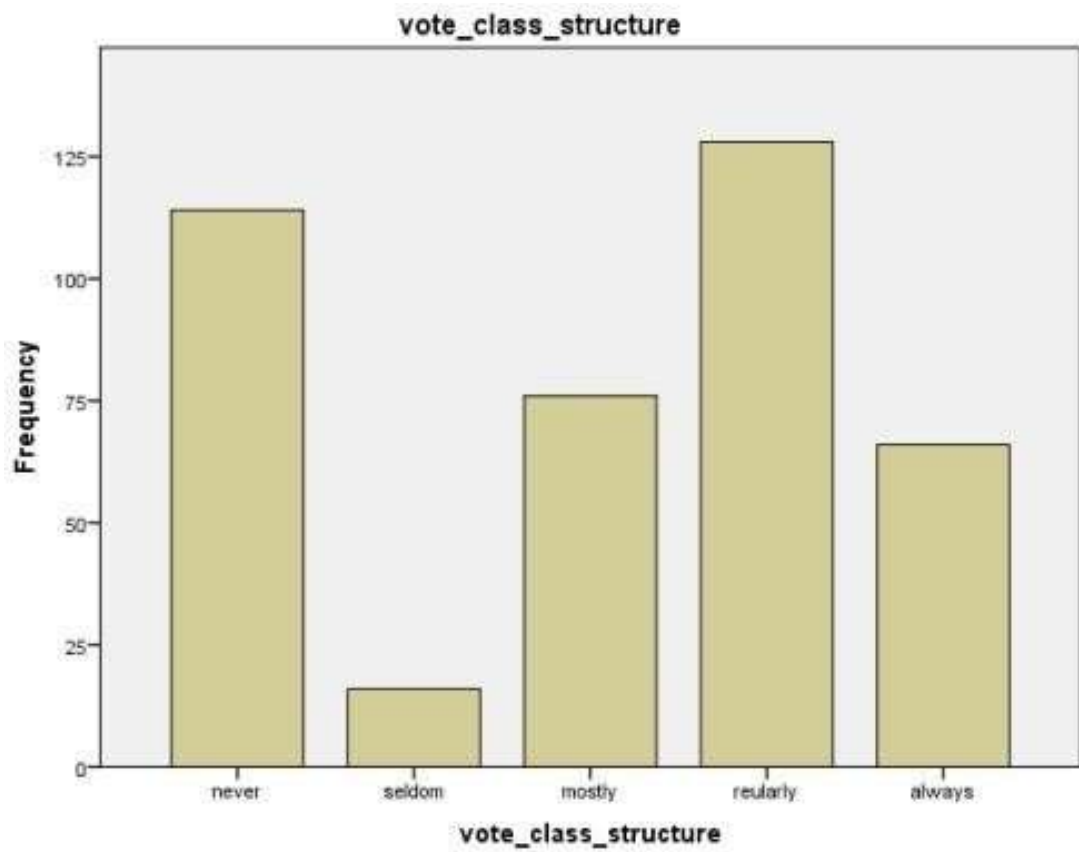


Figure 3.6

relationship between dependent variable and independent variables.

3.10 Political Determinants

This part of the study looks at how political issues affect how women vote in Islamabad, with a particular emphasis on candidate personalities, party allegiance, and party programmes. The main goal of this study is to demonstrate how these characteristics have an effect on how women vote in Islamabad. Key questions were included to measure each of these elements in the questionnaire since they influence how female voters in Islamabad behave politically. This study's findings showed that women in Islamabad heavily strongly pursue the political factors when choosing who to vote for.

3.11 Political Determinants of Voting Behavior

Each nation has a unique political system. A nation's political system is founded on a variety of factors, such as the country's form of government, political culture, environment, political parties, and pressure groups, among others. These factors together will create a country's political atmosphere. The political activities of a citizen in a nation are further influenced by this political environment and political experiences. Voting patterns and electoral behaviour that reveals how and why decisions were taken by the general people in a nation.¹⁶

In both the global and Pakistani studies of electoral politics, voting behaviour plays a significant role. Several social and political issues have an impact on voters' behaviour. The social factors that influence how women vote, which were discussed in the chapter's previous section, were not the only ones in Islamabad that shaped and determined how women voted. Other political factors also had a big impact on how women voted. Government policies, political leadership, changes in international commerce and policies, internal political concerns and policies, a candidate's personality, etc are all polit-

¹⁶Man Mohan Singh, Negi. "Theoretic Aspects of Electoral Behaviour." *The Indian Journal of Political Science* (2005): 95-104.

ical influences. Nearly all social scientists concur that these factors play a substantial influence in influencing voting behaviour.

The study of political issues aids in the analysis of social scholars' voting patterns, which have an impact on who receives what, when, and how, especially on female voters in different areas of Pakistan.¹⁷ This study is designed to evaluate the influence of political issues on the voting behaviour of female voters in Islamabad. Through this study, party loyalty, candidate personalities, and political party policies variables are highlighted in particular.

3.12 Party Loyalty

Party loyalty in democracy and politics refers to a strong commitment, allegiance, and devotion to a political party based on that party's particular ideology, programme, actions, and performance. Politics involves party allegiance since it influences how candidates are matched up during elections. Party loyalty is a political behavioural characteristic that results in a person repeatedly acting in a way that supports a particular party or group.¹⁸

Voter loyalty may be quantified in every society, although it is particularly important in less democratic and developing nations. Voters who firmly support a certain political party do so because they are devoted to it and because their connection with it is a significant predictor of the political climate in Pakistani society. The national assembly, the Senate, and the bicameral legislature make up Pakistan's federal system of government.

Each of the four provinces is governed by an elected provincial assembly. Political parties are allowed to run for office in Pakistan. Both big and small parties, as well as independent candidates, can run in national and provincial elections. They can also

¹⁷Ali, Cheema, Sarah Khan, Shandana Khan Mohmand, Anam Kuraishi, Asad Liaqat, and Fatiq Nadeem. "Women's political participation in a Pakistani metropolis: navigating gendered household and political spaces." (Lahore, Institute of Development and Economic Alternatives (IDEAS) 2019).

¹⁸Ron, Shachar. "Party loyalty as habit formation." *Journal of Applied Econometrics* 18, no. 3 (2003):251-269.

serve in both national and provincial legislatures.¹⁹ Party loyalty is the main factor in Pakistan that binds individuals to various political parties, and they consistently vote for the party rather than the candidate.

The nation is home to a large number of political parties, and a coalition has frequently ruled the nation in the past. Unfortunately, in Pakistan, party allegiance and affiliation are more strongly influenced by regional factors because the PML-N is dominant in Punjab. Punjabis are more supportive of the PML-N. More people in Sindh are loyal to PPP and MQM. PTI and KP Public are tight.²⁰

The overall political history of Pakistan demonstrates the stark variations across Pakistan's provinces when it comes to selecting a political party. Party allegiance has historically been a major influence in Islamabad politics that affects how residents vote. People in this region still favour the PML-N more than they did prior to 2013, however the results of the 2013 general election showed that this trend had obviously altered and a new one had emerged.²¹

Are you previously affiliated to a specific political party? this table indicate that 46% of respondent are not affiliated to a political party previously, 10.5% seldom affiliated, 8% mostly affiliated ,14% affiliated on regular basis and 21.5% always affiliated to different political parties.

This table is taken from SPSS software and data is collection from questionnaire.

The current section of the study concentrated on how female voting behaviour in the district of Islamabad that shaped by party loyalty.

Did political party loyalty effect on your voting behavior?

According to this table statistics 24% of respondents reject party loyalty in their voting behavior, 5% says seldom to it, 18% agree mostly for their voting behavior, 14% on regular basis while 39% respondents always cast their vote for the reason of party

¹⁹Shaista, Taj. and Zia Ur Rehman. "Role of Political Parties in Pakistan and Perverted Form of Democracy." *Dialogue (Pakistan)* 10, no. 4 (2015).

²⁰Saleem, M.M Qureshi." Party Politics in the Second Republic of Pakistan." *The Middle East Journal* (1966): 456-472.

²¹Qureshi,1966-1

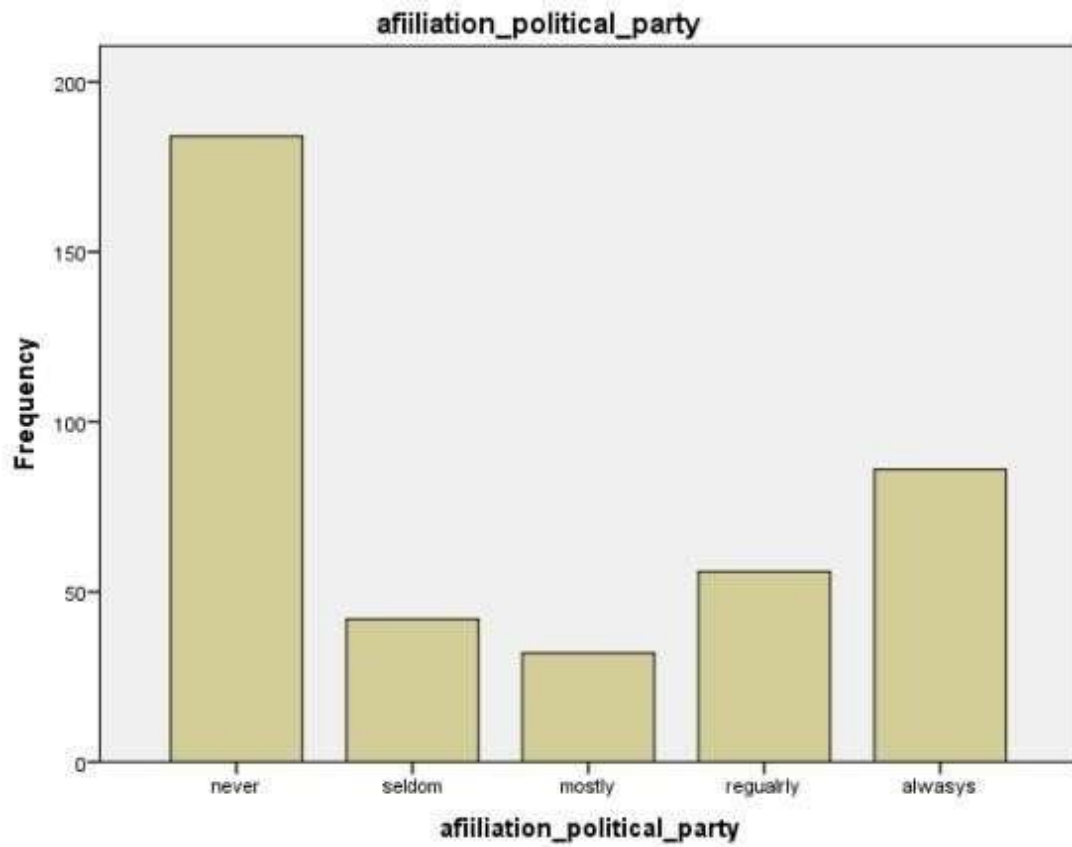


Figure 3.7

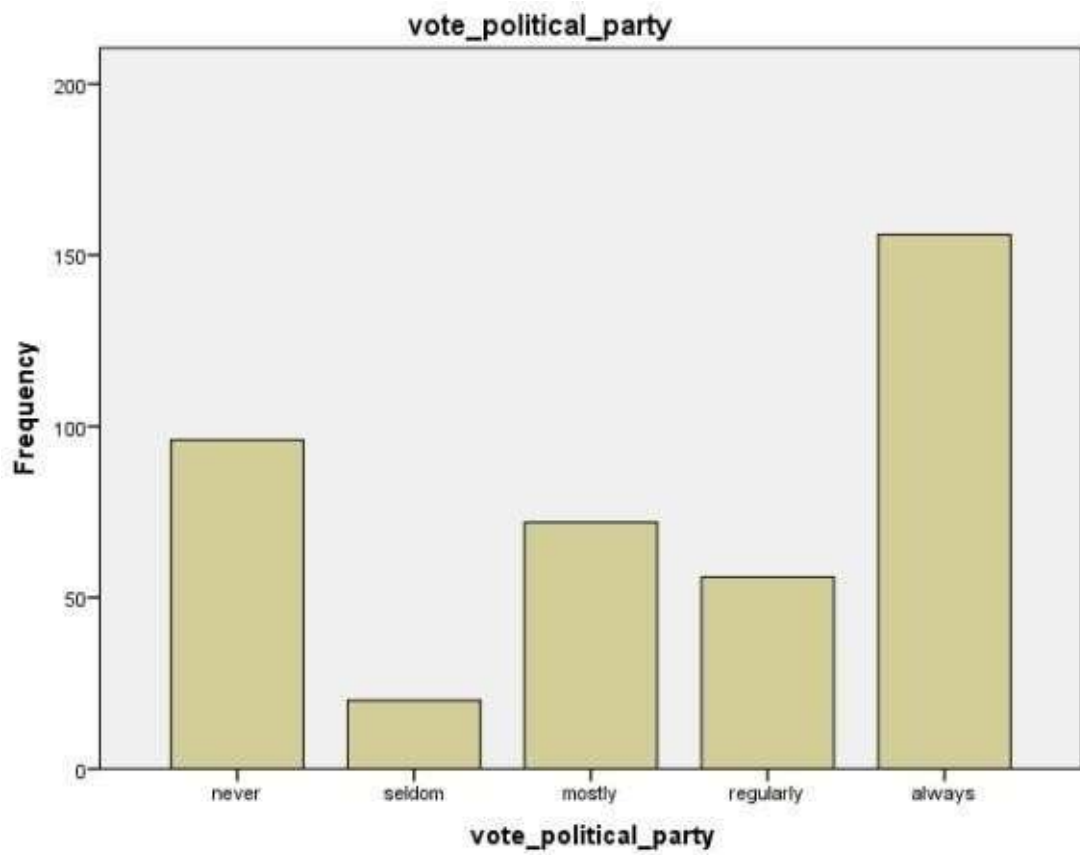


Figure 3.8

loyalty.

This table is taken from SPSS software and data is collected from questionnaire.

3.13 Candidate Personality

Voting behaviour is significantly influenced by a candidate's personal qualities, such as honesty, integrity, confidence, communication skills, attire, language, and brawn. Voters consider these personal qualities of a candidate carefully when assessing a candidate's personality, ambition, and capacity for success in general elections.

His or her personality endows the candidate with the capacity to establish meaningful connections with others, which is particularly useful in politics during election seasons. These emotionally charged factors influenced the electorate's attraction to and motivation for the candidate. The political landscape in a given locality, region, or occasionally the entire country can alter completely when a candidate's personality changes. In every political system, a strong candidate personality is crucial to grabbing the public's and voters' attention.²² Pakistani politics and personalities are inextricably linked.

Based on his personality traits, Quaid - i- Azam himself rose to prominence in British India's politics historically. After him, the personality of the leaders and candidates of several parties and governments made them well-known. As a result, Pakistani politics continues to be based on personalities.

Political parties in Pakistan not only have different ideologies and viewpoints and no distinct charters, but they also function as a result of various personalities. Candidates' personalities have an impact on Pakistani voters, who cast their ballots accordingly during general elections.²³

²²Jo Silvester and Madeleine Wyatt, "Personality, Politics and Strong Democracy (Chapter 2) - Psychology of Democracy," Cambridge Core (Cambridge University Press), accessed January 25, 2022, <https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/abs/psychology-of-democracy/personality-politics-and-strong-democracy/3A0EF02BBEFA50A5576A797CDEC7B3F2>.

²³Muhammad Javeed, Akhtar, and M. Tahir Ashraf. "political islam and populism in pakistan's politics: a study of pakistan tahreek-i- insaf's leadership." *PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology* 19, no. 3 (2022): 918-928.

In Pakistan, political parties tend to place more emphasis on candidates' personality than on their qualifications in terms of education and political savvy.²⁴

Is the political candidate personality attract you? The data reflect that 13.5% of respon-

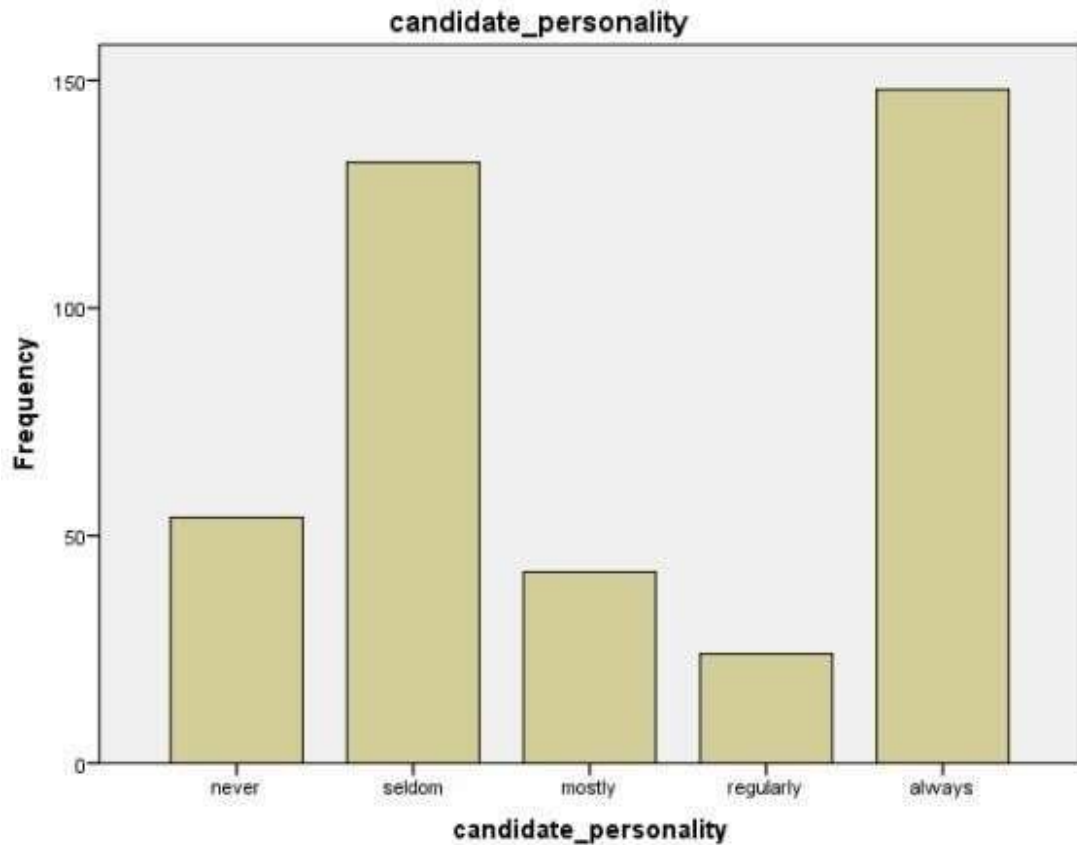


Figure 3.9

dents never prefer the personality of candidate, 33% seldom attract by it, 10.5% mostly, 6% regularly and 37% always attract by the personality of candidate during elections.

This table is taken from SPSS software and data is collected from questionnaire.

This aspect has an impact on Islamabad, the Pakistani capital. In Islamabad, a candidate's personality is more likely to make an impression than their performance. Their voting habits in this case are influenced by the candidate's personality. In Islamabad, female voters are similarly influenced by the candidate's personality and cast their ballots based on what they observe about the candidate.

²⁴Hassan Shah, Zahir Shah, and Wajid Mehmood Khattak. "Candidate's Personality and Voting Preferences in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa." *Global Regional Review* 4, no. 1 (2019): 29-42.

The researcher attempted to pinpoint the impact of candidates' personalities on female voting patterns in Islamabad in this section, which also looked at the extent to which female voters in Islamabad were influenced by various aspects of candidates' personalities in the 2008, 2013, and 2018 elections.

Are you voted according to the personality of candidates? This table showed that 35.5%

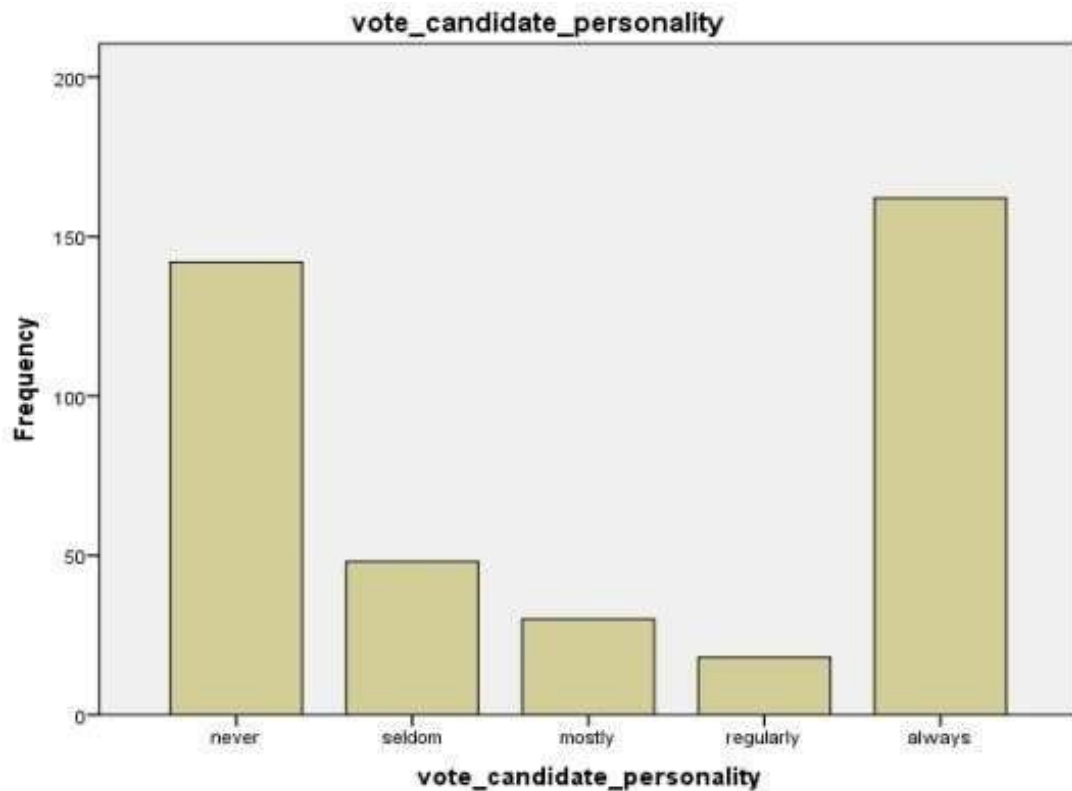


Figure 3.10

respondents refuse to cast their vote according to the personality of candidate, 12% showed seldom favor, 7.5% mostly, 4.5% on regular basis while 40.5% respondents always voted according to the personality of candidates.

3.14 Policies of Political Parties

Political party policies are determined by political actions involving political parties. Policies are guiding principles that are created to affect choices and behaviour. Policies are comprehensive rules of thumb for decision-making that connect the creation of a

plan with its execution. Every political party develops policy for both their current organisation and their future administration. Guidelines, constituency, accountability, efficiency, and clarity are provided by policies when describing how this party will function as a government in the future.²⁵

Pakistan is a country of multi-party system. There are several national, regional, religious, ethnic political parties that have their specific policies and charters to impress and attract their voters to vote in general elections. Successful and progressive policies of a political party creates a positive environment and voters will vote for this party for their achievement.

On the other hand, dull and inappropriate policies create a negative environment and people refuse to vote for these political parties. Planned and Comprehensive policies influence the voting behaviour of the voters. For this reason political parties are coming up with new different and innovative policies, claims and mottos that attract the attention of voters.

policies represent the ideologies of political parties which make people easily differentiate between different political parties.²⁶

People in Pakistan are greatly fascinated by the various political parties' policies. Contrarily, the public strongly opposes these programmes. These actions can occasionally make people feel enraged, disgusted, and rejected by a certain political party. Voters are greatly affected by political party platforms. Voters, particularly women, were inspired by these initiatives and became more motivated to vote by the platforms of political parties.²⁷

Are you discuss the current policies of political parties? This statistics of data reflect that 20% of respondents say never for the discussion of party policies, 10% accepted on seldom, 20% mostly and 20% regularly discuss the policies of different political parties

²⁵Party Manifestos," PakVoter, January 12, 2021, accessed January 25, 2022, <https://pakvoter.org/party-manifestos/>.

²⁶Amjad, Abbas Khan. "Nature and Contours of Party Politics in Pakistan." *Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society* 31, no. 2 (2018).

²⁷Shahid Javed, Burki. *Manifestoes and Political Preferences in Pakistan*. Institute of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore, 2013.

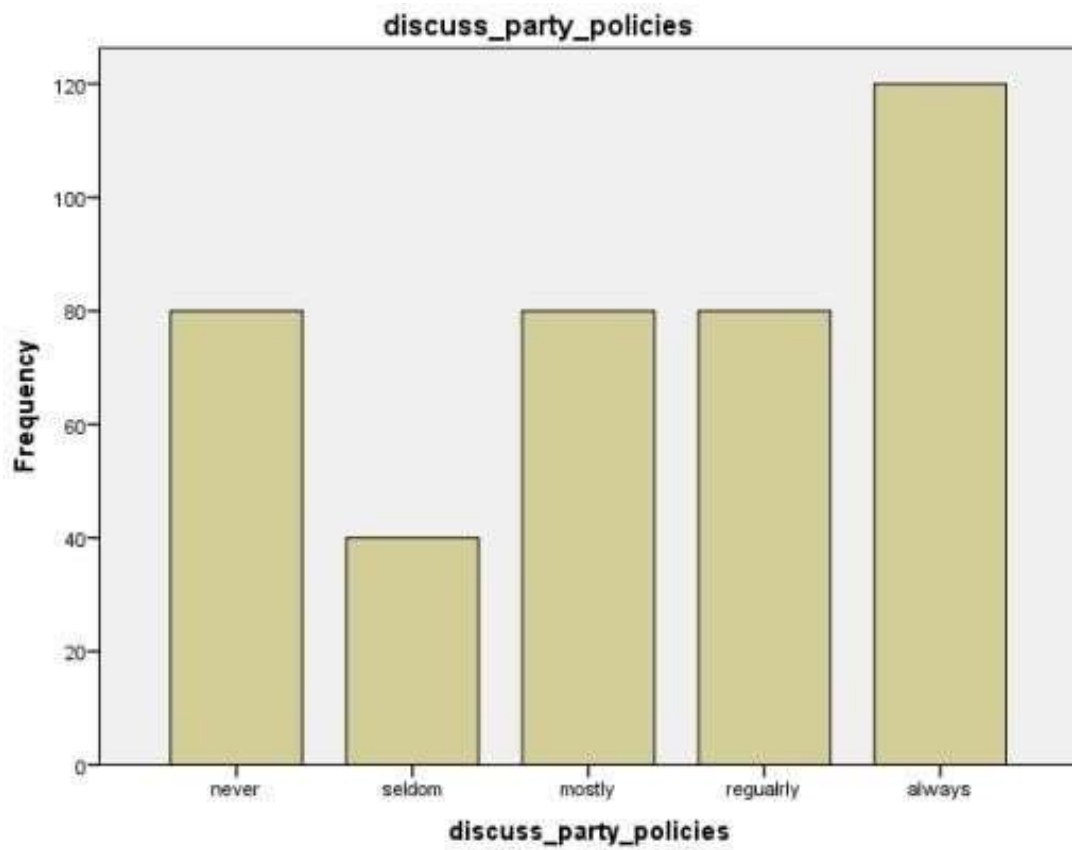


Figure 3.11

Model	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	239.611	3	79.870	49.670	.000 ^b
Residual	636.779	396	1.608		
Total	876.390	399			

Table 3.2

while 30% females respondents always discuss the policies of political parties.

Women are learned that political parties' plans, interests, and activities are explained by their policies. That will function in government and it shapes voter behaviour toward particular choices during elections.

Do you cast your vote in accordance with the policies of political parties? Statistics of

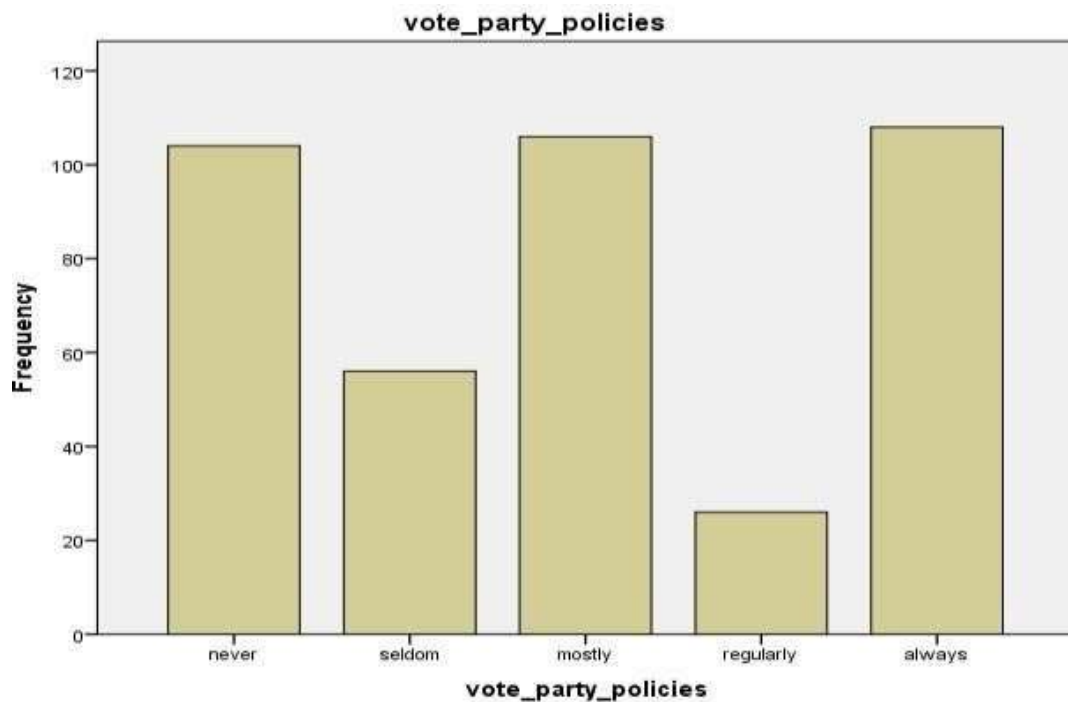


Figure 3.12

this tables indicate that 26% of respondents rejected the party policies influence in their voting behavior, 14% seldom, 26.5% mostly, 6.5 regularly and 27% respondents voting behavior always influenced by policies of political parties.

a. Dependent Variable: political factors

b. Predictors: (Constant), variable party policies, compute candidate personality, variable party loyalty

This table is taken from SPSS software and data is collected from questionnaire.

The political factors of females voting behavior in Islamabad is a sensitive variable having variation in their results. This table with ANOVA test represented that p value is 0.000 which is less than 0.05 hence the researcher says that there is a significant relationship between dependent variable and independent variables.

3.15 Section: 3

The researcher addressed the elements that affect female voting behaviour in Islamabad in this section of the thesis chapter. The section's main goal is to analyse the significance of elements including education, economic empowerment, the track record of political parties, and newly emerging leadership as a moderating force on female voting behaviour in Islamabad. Important items were added to the self-structured, close-ended questionnaire for this reason. Data from 400 female residents of Islamabad was gathered, and the findings indicated that the political climate in the city had undergone a substantial transformation. All of these factors have a crucial impact on the shift in the political environment of Pakistan especially in voting behavior of people of Pakistan.²⁸

This section looked into any connections between potential voting behaviour changes brought on by social factors and the district of Islamabad.

3.16 Change of Voting Behaviour

Because a man is a social being, he always participates in society. This contribution fluctuates. It is always evolving. In politics, participation levels and types are always shifting. Voting is a very significant component of human life since it allows social

²⁸Nazeer Mahar and Tarik Malik, "Changing Patterns of Political Dynamics in Pakistan: Exploring Grassroots Social and Political Realities" (Islamabad: Friedrich-EbertStiftung (FES), 2021).

scientists and academicians to understand public opinion and what they want. Voting patterns vary from society to society and are always evolving.

One of the most crucial areas of political studies is the investigation of changes in voting patterns. No one can consistently win in a democracy. Immediately facing the losing situations if succeeded once. This circumstance demonstrated the ability of voters to switch between parties. It is advantageous for democracy because it increases accountability and shows that political systems are adaptable in general. Scholars have begun to pay attention to the factors that have changed as voting behaviour has changed relatively slowly.²⁹

Numerous factors led to a change in Pakistani voters' voting patterns. The people of Pakistan live under several types of administration, including presidential, parliamentary, martial, etc., and various election systems, including party, non-party, and referendum elections. In Pakistan, the Martial Law period has lasted a very long time. Due to all of these factors, people do not participate in many elections and do not exhibit a consistent voting pattern. Since the country's independence, the electoral and political systems have changed. The political structure of a nation is fundamentally based on how people vote. There is no consistent election trend or voting behaviour in Pakistani history. Various political parties are chosen by people at various points throughout time. To reform Pakistan's political structure, the majority of voters support that party.³⁰

3.17 Change in Voting Behavior in Pakistan

Pakistani politics followed a pattern of a two-party system from 1988 to 1998. PMLQ and PTI are two new parties that entered Pakistani politics after 2000. These new parties changed how Pakistanis voted, which was reflected in the 2008, 2013, and 2018 general elections as well as in the subsequent ones. Voting patterns reveal people's preferences.

²⁹Ruth Dassonneville, "Stability and Change in Voting Behaviour. Macro and Micro Determinants of Electoral Volatility." Catholic University of Leuven (2015).

³⁰Jamil Ahmed Sheikh, Syeda Samar Shahid Bokhari, and Mrs Riffat Naseer. "Voting Behavior and Elections in Pakistan (A case study of Pakistani Election Methods and Methodology)." The Explorer Islamabad: Journal of Social Sciences 1, no. 12 (2012): 449-453.

Between 2008 and 2018, voting patterns in Pakistani politics were continually changing. Pakistanis demonstrated their voting pattern in favour of a PPP in the 2008 election. Election results showed that the Pakistan People's Party would form the government. Following this, voters in 2013 changed their voting behavior to support PML-N.

People demonstrated their voting patterns and enthusiasm in PTI in the 2018 general election. After 30 years of political struggle, the PTI finally won in the elections and established its administration. All of these circumstances demonstrated the Pakistani people's persistent and significant shift in voting behavior.³¹

3.18 Change in Voting Behavior in Islamabad

Islamabad General elections in Islamabad include a distinctive and distinctive voting pattern for the nation's capital. Pakistan's Election Commission is in charge of the elections in Islamabad. The only Federal Territory in Pakistan that is not a part of a province is Islamabad. Islamabad served as president of Pakistan's national assembly from 1977 until 1997, representing NA-35 Islamabad as its sole seat. At present time, Islamabad residents are favouring a two-party system in their voting habits. PPP and PML-N are these two organisations.³²

Islamabad had two national assembly districts from 2002 to 2013: NA-48 Islamabad- 1 and NA-49 Islamabad-2. The voting behaviour of Islamabad residents in the 2002 general election was in favour of the MMA and PPP political parties. Muslim League Nawaz won both of Islamabad's NA-48 and NA-49 seats in the general election of 2008. People in Islamabad are also shifting their voting habits. In the general election of 2013, PTI defeated Islamabad NA-48 to win a seat. The PML-N received a favourable vote in the second constituency.³³

Islamabad was represented in the 2018 general election by the NA-52, NA-53, and

³¹Election Commission of Pakistan ^a General election 2008,2013 and 2018, reports, Accessed November 20 ,2022. ,[http:// www.ecp.gov.pk](http://www.ecp.gov.pk)

³²Mask, ^aGeneral Elections Pakistan 1970 to 2018 Information Result," All General Elections Pakistan 1970 to 2018 Information Result Detail, accessed January 30, 2022, <https://www.electionpakistani.com/>.

³³Mask, 2022-1

NA-54 national assembly districts. All three of the constituencies' election outcomes favoured the PTI. From Islamabad's three constituencies, PTI won the election. Given that women make up more than half of our population, voting behaviour among women also includes voting among men. This modification reflects the fact that women's voting habits are altering in Islamabad. The voting patterns of women in Islamabad have changed significantly for several reasons. This chapter discusses a few variables.³⁴

3.19 Education

A nation's political development revolves around its educational system. Through knowledge, skills, and awareness, it plays a crucial part in promoting political stability and human potential. Education also fosters tolerance, self-worth, advancement, and confidence, all of which provide people the ability to stand up for their rights. Voters may use voter education as a tool to help them make more informed candidate selections. The best force for transformation in all areas of social life is education. People become more conscious of the significance of politics, elections, and voting behaviour and decisions as a result of increased public knowledge and comprehension of the political system, elections, and political parties.³⁵

Education also gives women in Pakistan and in Islamabad more influence and boosts their selfconfidence. According to a number of studies, educating women can boost their role in society and give them more control. Women in Islamabad might perform better after receiving education in both social and political spheres.

Do you consider education as the turning element in voting behavior?

According to data results 10.5% respondents reject the importance of education in voting behavior, 6.5% consider as seldom, 36% mostly, 16% regularly and 31% values always education's importance in changing voting behavior of females.

This table is taken from SPSS software and data is collected through questionnaire.

³⁴Mask, 2022-2

³⁵David, Easton. "The function of formal education in a political system." *The School Review* 65, no. 3 (1957): 304-316.

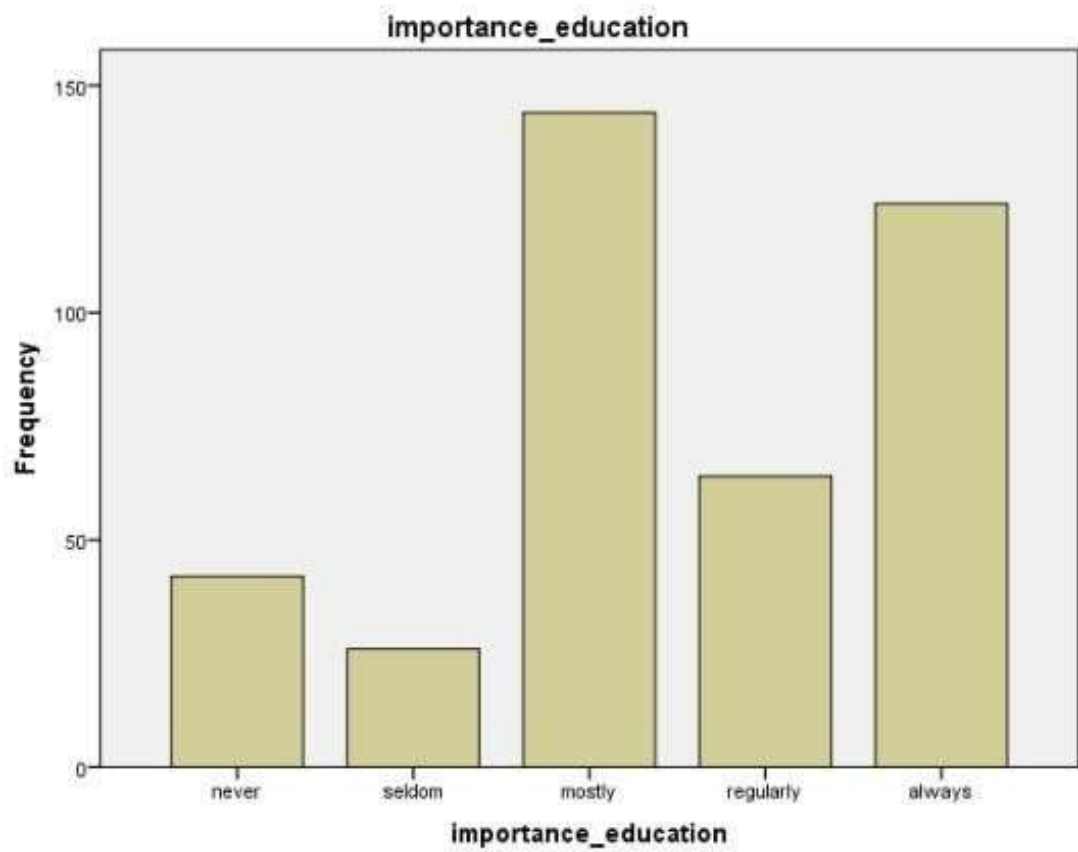


Figure 3.13

The correlation between education and voting behaviour is stronger, and education is a key factor in changing how women vote in the Islamabad area. In this section of the study, the researcher looked at how education might alter how women vote in Islamabad.

Did education bring change in your voting behavior? The results showed that 15%

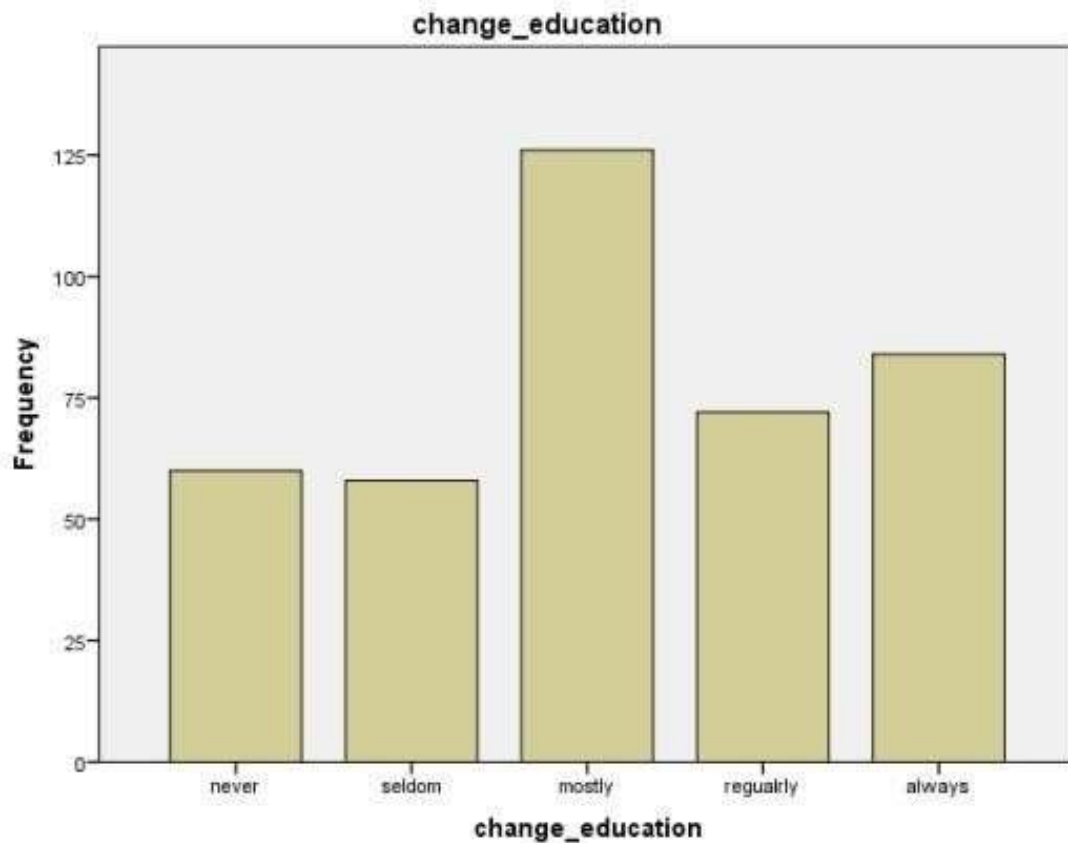


Figure 3.14

of females respondents say never to bring change in their voting behavior through education, 14.5% express seldom, 31.5% mostly, 18% regularly while 21% respondent agree with always bring change through education in their voting behavior.

3.20 Economical Independence

Economic independence is about expanding the capacity of women to make genuine choices about their lives through full and equal participation in all spheres of life. It

is about recognising women's work, paid and unpaid, as valuable, both socially and economically. Women participation in politics and various decisions - making bodies is an effective component of their voting behaviour. Women's participation at all stages of political structure is necessary for every society. It would be extremely difficult without their economic independence. Women economic Independence is the dire need of the hour. women earn money through employment, allowing them to become a breadwinner contributing members of household with the strong sense of politics create their Independence voting behaviour.³⁶ Economic independence increasing women's capacity to make meaningful decisions about their lives by ensuring their full and equal involvement in all aspects of society is a key component of achieving economic independence. It entails valuing women's work, both paid and unpaid, in both a social and economic sense.³⁷ Women's engagement in politics and other decision-making bodies is a key factor in how they vote.

Every society needs women to participate at all levels of the political structure. Without their self-sufficiency in terms of finances, it would be quite challenging. Economic independence for women is urgently needed today. Women can support themselves financially by working, making them household contributors who have a strong sense of politics, which influences how they vote for independence.³⁸

In the past, Pakistani women relied heavily on the male household members to meet their financial demands. Today, Pakistani women actively participate in the productive and reproductive sectors of the economy. Women participate in political activities more effectively as a result of this circumstance, particularly in Pakistani cities. Women can now freely express their vote preferences in all of Pakistan's cities.³⁹ The economic security of women in Islamabad is also raising political knowledge of their voting habits and political rights. Today, women in Islamabad freely express their voting prefer-

³⁶Kausar, Ali, and Tabassum," Economic Independence in Relation to Women Empowerment and Gender Equality." *Madhya Bharti UGC Care Group 1 Journal*, Vol82 No 05 January- June 2022. 48-49.

³⁷Sirianne Dahlum, Carl Henrik Knutsen, and Valeriya Mechkova. "Women's political empowerment and economic growth." *World Development* 156 (2022): 105822.

³⁸Dahlum, Knutsen, Mechkova. (2022)-1

³⁹Rebecca, Khattak, and Grace Higdon. "Strengthening Women's Political Participation in Pakistan." Oxfam (2020).

ences. Numerous factors influence how women vote, but in Islamabad, economic independence and voting behaviour are more closely associated with one another.⁴⁰ Is economic independence influence your voting behavior? The results statistics depict

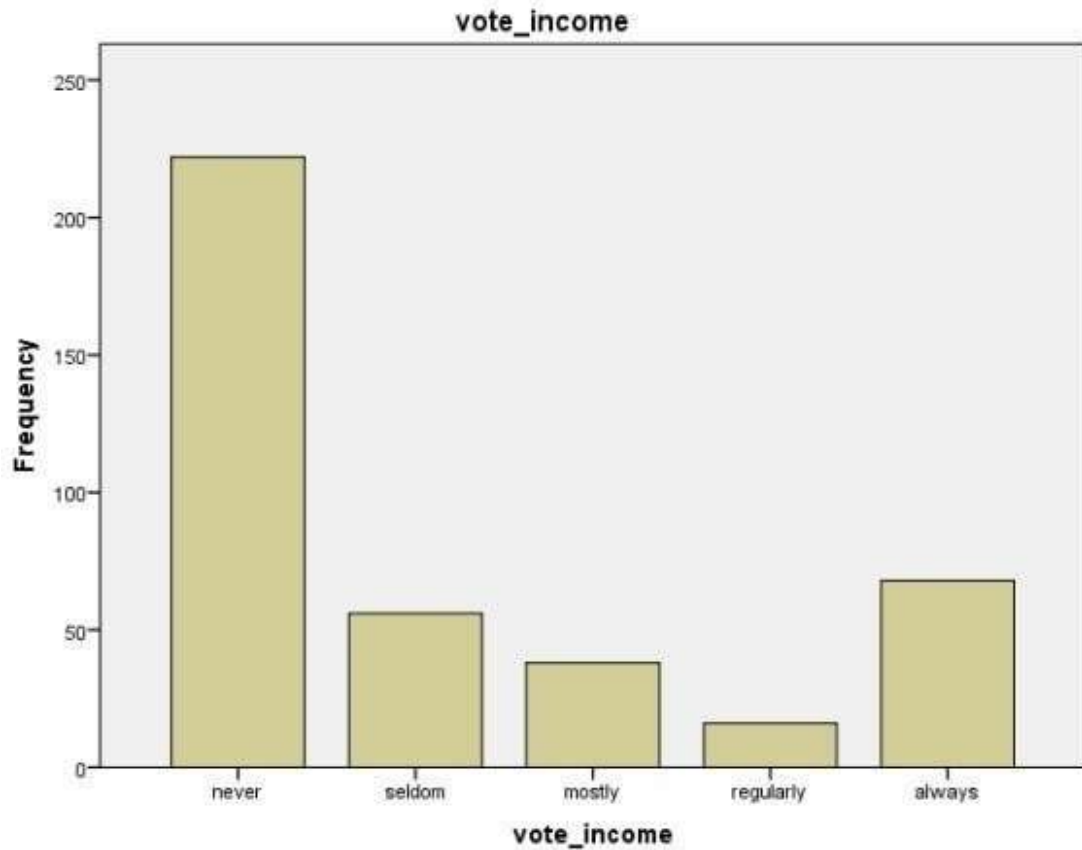


Figure 3.15

that 55.5% females rejected the element of economic independence in changing their voting behavior,14% says seldom,9.5% mostly, 4% regularly and 17% females agree with the change of voting behavior in relation with economic independence.

3.21 Past Performance of Political Parties

Political parties must choose between modifying positions and policies to satisfy voters.A fundamental tenet of democracy is that all actions and results of the government are

⁴⁰Khattak, Higdon.(2020)-1

under the control of the winning political party. The effectiveness of the administration and political party is therefore a major factor in voting behaviour.

Sometimes the preceding administration's policies and actions foster a climate of discontent among the populace, and as a result, voters reject this political party in the subsequent general election because of their poor prior performance. For a political party to be successful in the upcoming general election, voter support and satisfaction with the party's performance are crucial factors.⁴¹

Every political party strives to achieve this goal by creating innovative and alluring policies that benefit both its supporters and the nation's citizens. Because of this condition, winning political parties are given various responsibilities and accountability structures, and they are forced to govern by the wants and demands of the populace. The government makes an effort to meet all of the needs of the people and voters.⁴²

The effectiveness of the government and political parties is closely scrutinised by various media outlets. People in Pakistan are more knowledgeable about politics and the political actions of a party as a result of media advancements, improvements in education, and a higher literacy rate. Today's youth and younger generations in Pakistan heavily utilise media, particularly social media thanks to technological advancements.

The pros and negatives of all the current government's performance were highlighted in electronic and social media, along with the policies' strengths and flaws. In Pakistan, a sizable portion of voters are under thirty. Election outcomes were directly impacted by their voting behaviour. Voters directly affect the performance of the government since they base their voting decisions on the outcomes of prior administrations. The change in female voting behaviour is mostly due to the underwhelming performance of past political parties.

Are you satisfied with the performance of previous political parties? The data results indicate that 52% of respondent did not satisfied with the performance of previous political parties,6% are seldom satisfied,15.5% are mostly, 16% are regular and 10% are

⁴¹Qin, Guo. "The Relationship between Voting Behavior and Election Commitment: A Literature Review." *Open Journal of Social Sciences* 8, no. 02 (2020): 201.

⁴²Guo, (2020)-1

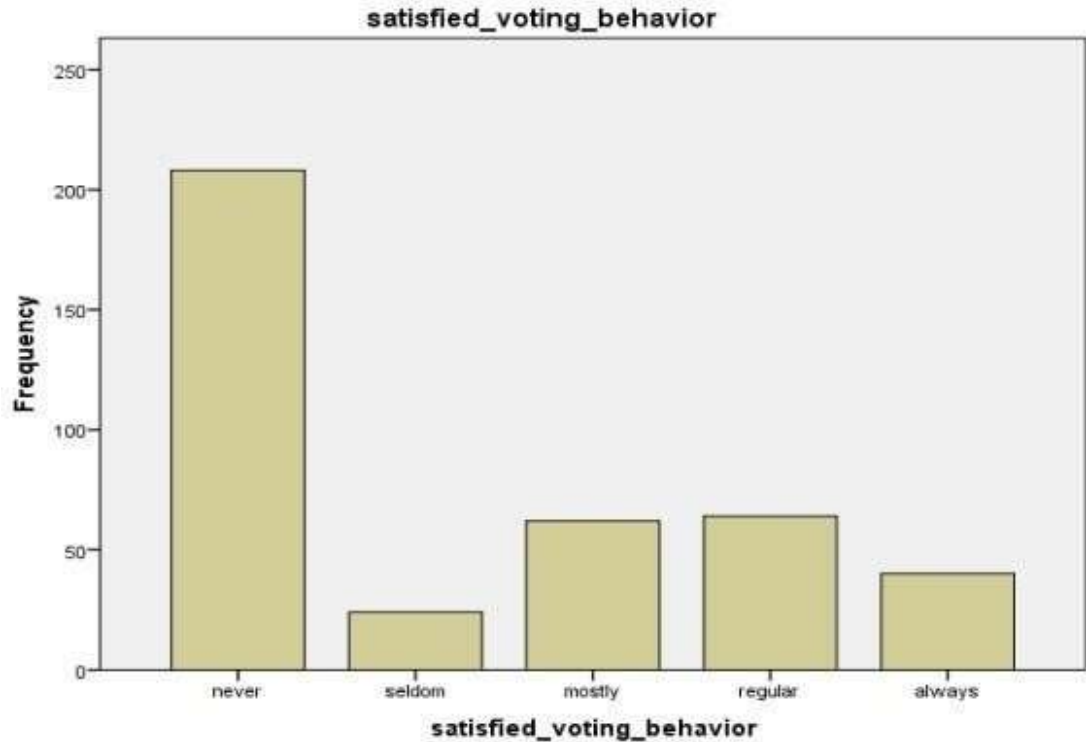


Figure 3.16

always satisfied with the performance of previous political parties.

3.22 Leadership

The public's voting habits will shift as new leadership takes hold in a nation's political climate. The formation of new political leadership is influenced by the nation's political climate as well as how well the previous political leaders performed. The system's political stability will benefit from the transition and popularity of the new leadership. In reality, it demonstrates the ability to adjust to new political system changes. The country's political system can frequently benefit from these leadership changes and become more representative of the will of the people. As rulers and leaders are elected, retire, or pass away, new leaders will assume their positions and bring about change in the political climate of a nation.

Jinnah's leadership, as his charismatic leadership and personality developed. People supported this new leadership due to his oratory style, harsh criticism, fresh ideological

ideas, and personality.⁴³⁴⁴

Following this, the Pakistani traditional political stakeholder phase swap took place as a result of Imran Khan's recent rise to political prominence and his success in garnering support from voters for his partially affiliated Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI). Both of these leaders were well-known to young people. All of these circumstances have an impact on the public's and voters' voting behaviour.⁴⁵⁴⁶

Are you impressed by new emerging leadership? The results statistics indicate that 37% of respondent are not impressed by new emerging leadership, 4% are seldom impressed, 27% mostly, 10% regularly and 22% fully impressed by new emerging leadership.

With the advent of new, educated young leaders with alluring personalities, women are likewise impressed by them. A shifting political atmosphere and the introduction of new appealing leadership also affected Islamabad's female voters' voting patterns. Female voters' prior voting habits changed, and this new voting pattern was mirrored in the general election outcomes for Islamabad's NA-52, NA-53, and NA-54 constituencies from 2008 to 2018.

Did new leadership change your voting behavior?

The results express that 40.7% respondents says never to cause new leadership as a change in their voting behavior, 20.1% seldom, 11.1% mostly, 14.1% regularly and 14% says always a change due to new emerging leadership in their voting behavior.

a. Dependent Variable: change voting

b. Predictors: (Constant), vote income, satisfied voting behavior, education as a change,

⁴³Kishwar, Munir, and Iram Khalid. "Analysing the voting cluster of political parties: A case study of district Lahore Pakistan (1970-2013)." *Liberal Arts and Social Sciences International Journal (LASSIJ)*

5, no. 1 (2021): 413-431.

⁴⁴Boas, Shamir. "Ideological position, leaders' charisma, and voting preferences: Personal vs. partisan elections." *Political Behavior* (1994): 265-287.

⁴⁵Akmal, Hussain. "Charismatic Leadership and Pakistan's Politics." *Economic and Political Weekly* (1989): 136-137.

⁴⁶Kunwar Khuldune Shahid, "The Rise, Fall, and Rise of the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf," *The Diplomat* (for *The Diplomat*, May 3, 2022), accessed January 30, 2022 <https://thediplomat.com/2022/04/the-rise-fall-and-rise-of-the-pakistan-tehreekehttps://thediplomat.com/2022/04/the-rise-fall-and-rise-of-the-pakistan-tehreek-e-insaf/insaf/>.

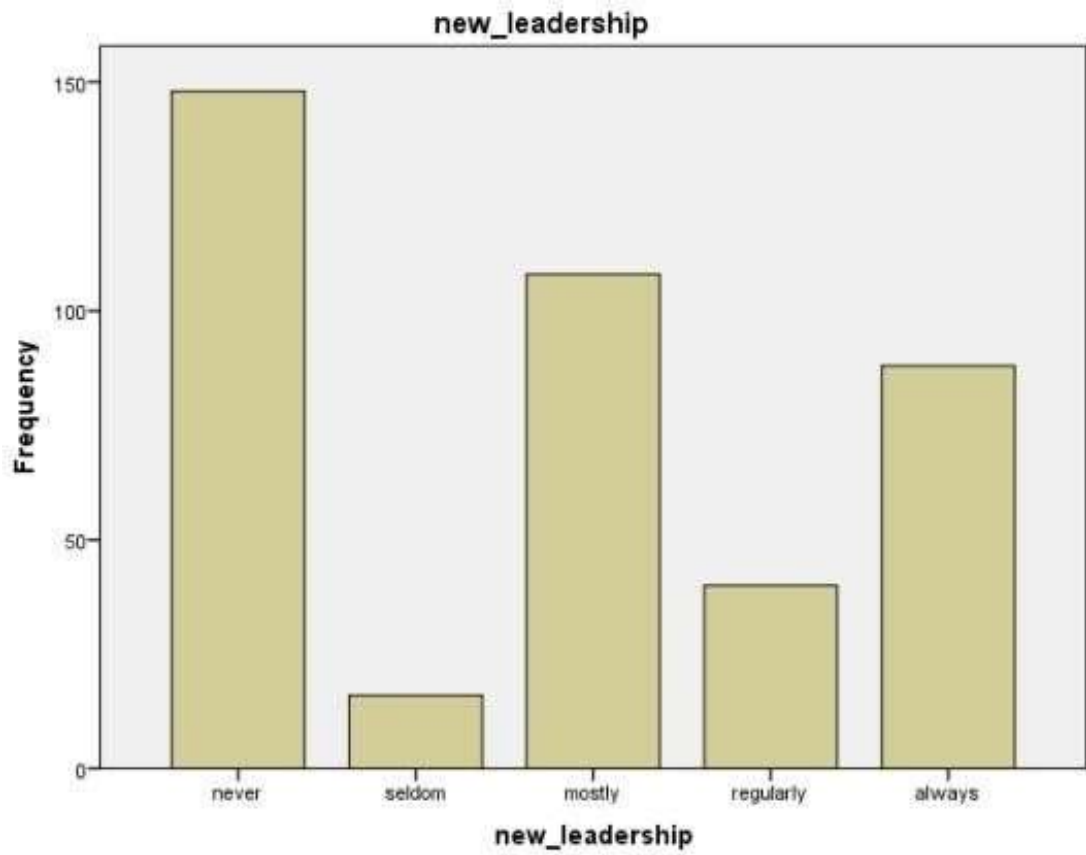


Figure 3.17

ANOVA ^a					
Model	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1 Regression	124.724	4	31.181	16.502	.000 ^b
Residual	742.573	393	1.889		
Total	867.296	397			

Table 3.3: ANOVA TEST

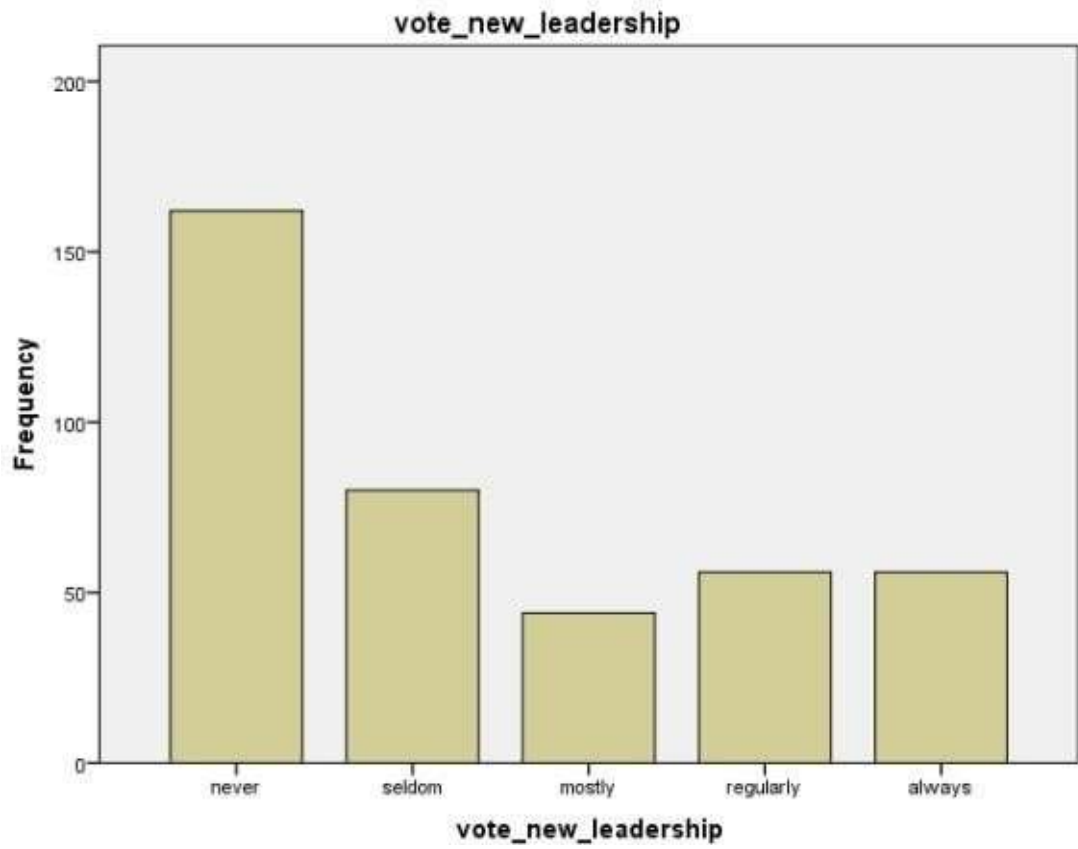


Figure 3.18

change leadership

The change in females voting behavior in Islamabad is a sensitive variable having variation in their results. This table with ANOVA test represented that p value is 0.000 which is less than 0.05 hence the researcher says that there is a significant relationship between dependent variable and independent variables

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS, CONCLUSION, FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The entire research process is summarised in this chapter, along with the major findings analysis of conclusions, recommendations, and ideas for future research. This chapter also identifies the main problems with female voting behaviour in Islamabad and highlights the theoretical contribution of the thesis. The study's main goal was to determine the percentage of women who voted in Islamabad and to emphasize the social and political issues that influenced women's voting behaviour there.

4.1 Summary

The current study concentrated on how women voted in the district of Islamabad. The purpose of this study was to investigate the factors that influence female voting behaviour as well as to determine how and why women choose to vote in the general elections in Islamabad. The primary objectives of this investigation were: to investigate the factor that causes lower female turnout in Islamabad, to discuss the determinants of female voting behavior in Islamabad and to highlight the factors that brings change in female voting behavior in Islamabad. To achieve these objectives, the research ques-

tions of my study were. What is the cause of lower female turnout in Islamabad? What are the social and political determinants of female voting behavior in Islamabad? And Which factors bring change in female voting behavior in Islamabad?

The whole study was based on the females voting decisions to what and why they voted. The conceptual framework of women political empowerment was applied for this study. Despite making up more than half of the population in both Pakistan and Islamabad, women do not actively participate in politics or other political affairs in the districts of Islamabad. In order to complete this study, a quantitative research design was used. Due to the objectives' nature, 400 female residents of Islamabad from all three constituencies as well as NA-52, NA-53, and NA-54 were required to provide quantitative data. 97% of responders and all female Pakistani holders were registered voters in Islamabad. A five-point likert scale with a closed-ended self-structure was used to collect the data from female electors in Islamabad. The SPSS-22 version is used to enter and analyse the data after it has been obtained. The first chapter of this study was represented the basic information, history and administration of city Islamabad. The second chapter was gave the details results of causes of low females turnout in Islamabad on the basis of data that was got from females registered voters of Islamabad. The third chapter consisted on the results of importance of social and political factors as a determinants of females voting behavior in district of Islamabad in the light of data analysis and results. The data was processed using SPSS descriptive statistics, and the analysis of the outcomes was done to determine the validity. All Independence Independent variables were subjected to the ANNOVA test, and the outcome of this test showed that P -value is less than 0.05, indicating only that there was a significant link between the Independent variables and dependent variable.

4.2 Findings

There is no segregated data of Election Commission of Pakistan regarding male and female voting turnout and voting behavior regarding the elections 2008 and 2013. The overall voting turnout in Islamabad in the 2008 general election is 50.1% and in the

2013 general election is 62.29%. The constituencies wise females turnout in the 2018 general election is NA-52 is 44%, NA-53 is 43% and NA-54 is 43%.

Firstly, This study was conducted to find the causes of low females turnout in Islamabad, for this purpose attitude of male member, mobilization and administration facilities and political interest were taken as independent variable to examined the causes. As the P-value of ANNOVA test was 0.000 showed strong level of confidence between independent variables and dependent variable. (represented in table 2.22) thus the findings of this study showed that attitude of male members, mobilization and administration facilities and political interest were major causes of low females voting turnout in Islamabad.

Second purpose of this study was to highlighted the social and political determinants of female voting behavior in Islamabad. For this family and society- structure were independent variables of social determinants and party loyalty, candidate personality and policies of political parties were independent variables of political determinants. Social determinants like family and society- structure were significant social determinants of females voting behavior in Islamabad. The political determinants party loyalty, candidate personality and policies of political parties play a significant role in developing females voting behavior in Islamabad.

The third purpose to conducted this study was to examined the factors that brought change in females voting behavior in Islamabad. The voting behavior of people of Islamabad showed a changed during 2008 to 2018. For this reason, education, economic independence, previous performance of political parties and new emerging leadership were taken as independent variables of dependent variable of change of female voting behavior.

Education, economic independence, previous performance of political parties and new emerging leadership are key elements that brings change in females voting behavior in Islamabad.

4.3 Conclusion

The conclusion of the findings related to the three research objectives of this study. The first objective of this study related to the examination of causes of low females turnout in district of Islamabad. Female voting turnout is essential to measuring the female political participation in a political system. The theory of women political participation stressed on the development of women's abilities to make right decisions in the sphere of politics. Although, Islamabad has the high ratio of literacy and education, also being having the status of country's capital of Pakistan, In Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan, the results of 2008,2013 and 2018 general elections (as mentioned in tables of 2.5 and 2.6) depicted that there was very low rate of females voting turnout in Islamabad. After the descriptive analysis of questionnaire data from the females of Islamabad, the results concluded that restricted mobilization, attitude of male members and political interest are significant causes of low females voting turnout in Islamabad city. The P- value of ANNOVA test was 0.000 showed strong level of confidence between independent variables and dependent variable. (represented in table 2.22)

The second objective of this study was to investigate the social and political determinants of females voting behavior in Islamabad. Many social factors played vital role in shaping the decision of females voters such as family, baradri, cast system, social structure etc. This study based on the independent variables of family and society- structure as a social determinants of females voting behavior in Islamabad.

It was concluded that both family and society structure are strong determinants of female voting behavior in Islamabad as ANNOVA test showed P-value 0.000 that was less than 0.05 indicated the strong relationship between factors of family and social ± structure as the social determinants of females voting behavior in Islamabad (tables 3.7 showed).

Political determinants of females voting behavior in different areas of Pakistan were also described by many scholars and authors. To examined the political determinants of females voting behavior in Islamabad this study was based on independent variables of party loyalty, candidate personality and policies of previous political parties in females

voting behavior in Islamabad. (see table 3.14)

This study finding concluded that both social and political factors were strong determinants of females voting behavior in district of Islamabad. The analysis of data related to social factors

(family and social \pm structure) as well as political factors (party loyalty, candidate personality and policies of previous political parties) showed the P-value (0.000) that was less than 0.05 reflect the strong level of confidence on both social and political determinants of females voting behavior in Islamabad. The third objective of this study was to examined the causes of change in females voting behavior in Islamabad. As many scholars described that voting behavior did not always constant. The decision to voteto whom is always on changing and it was reflected in the previous elections of 2008,2013 and 2018 in Islamabad. A significant number of female's respondent agree withthat their voting behavior turn changed in these three elections.

This study discussed and concluded factors responsible to change in voting behavior of females in Islamabad such as education, economic independence of females, previous performance of political parties and new emerging leadership as independent variables of this study. The study results revealed that these elements played significant role in changing females voting behavior in Islamabad. As (table 3.21) showed ANNOVA test results that was 0.00 less than 0.05 represented a strong level of confidence between the data finding and results.

4.4 Recommendations

4.4.1 Recommendation for Females Voting Turnout

The results of this study show that voting presents a number of social, administrative, and political interest challenges for women. These factors are to blame for Islamabad's poor female voter turnout. As a result, it is proposed that women vote more frequently in Islamabad.

1. It makes sure that the required actions are made to raise the status of women in

society. Women's political empowerment only greatly increases in society when social and other forms of empowerment also increase.

2. On election day, give women the tools they need for mobilization so they can easily get to the registered polling places where they can cast their ballots.
3. facilitating and elevating the voting experience for women.
4. The electoral commission's polling station employees must be supportive of women and welltrained. In Islamabad, having female personnel is more beneficial for increasing female voter participation.
5. Making politics more relevant to female voters to increase their interest in taking part in politics as voters
6. Educating them so they understand the significance of women voting and actively involving them in politics.

4.4.2 Recommendations for Females Voting Behavior

1. The study's findings and conclusion showed that social and political influences have a significant impact on how women vote in Islamabad. The voting patterns of women in Islamabad were impacted by a variety of issues. Therefore, it is advised that 1) more consideration be given to women's social status. The government should take proactive steps to protect citizens' voting decisions from outside influences such as social and familial structures.
2. In current culture, there is a huge need for women to vote freely and independently, especially the ability to vote according to her own preferences rather than those of her family and kin. In order to achieve this goal, our society needs to enact the required rules and regulations.
3. In order for women to make the appropriate voting decision, it is important to educate and inform them about the social and political factors that influence voting behaviour and how those factors affect voting behaviour. This will effectively end the practice of traditional and powerful female voting in our society.

4. For women to vote honestly and freely, more rigorous and more coaching is needed. Political parties must establish female political wings for this reason in order to educate women on politics and help them develop the proper voting habits.
5. For women to vote responsibly, they must have easy access to trustworthy information about politics, political parties, and party platforms. Various media sources can be employed to deliver accurate information for this aim.

4.5 Suggestions for Change in Females Voting Behavior

1. Education is a powerful and essential component in changing how women vote. It enables ladies to receive the essential education. The government should implement necessary measures for this goal.
2. Another aspect that influences women's freedom in voting is their economic independence, hence it is essential and advised that economic independence of women be strengthened in the culture of Islamabad. In order for a woman to vote according to her preferences.
3. The political landscape of the nation has recently undergone substantial changes, including new policies and leadership with a different image. The efficient use of various knowledge and information sources, such as social and print media or electronic media, as well as political allies of political parties, is necessary to improve female voting behaviour with education. so that women can quickly acquire information about their region's and politics today.

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QUESTIONNAIRE

INTRODUCTION

This questionnaire is for the M.Phil research in Pakistan studies. This study is conducted to investigate female voting behavior in Islamabad. you are requested to fill this questionnaire. Your information will be kept strictly confidential. This information will be used only for present research.

NAME:

AGE:

1. 18 to 30
2. 31 to 45
3. 46 and above

Education:

1. Under matric
2. Graduation
3. Higher studies

CONSTITUENCY OF ISLAMABAD:

1. NA-52
2. NA-53

3. NA-54

QUESTIONNAIRE

	YES	NO
Are you a citizen of Pakistan?		
Are you a registered voter?		
Did you cast your vote in the 2008 election?		
Did you vote in the 2013 election?		
Have you voted in the 2018 election?		

	Never	Seldom	Mostly	Regularly	Always
Are you aware of your right to vote?					
Did you cast your vote according to your own prefers					
Had you facilities for mobilization for voting?					
Did adequate mechanisms help you in casting your vote?					
Did you have social and cultural freedom in casting your vote?					
Is politics and elections discussed in your family?					
Are your votes influenced by your kinetic connection?					
Do you consider the importance of society structure in politics?					
Does society structure in politics affect your voting behaviour?					
Is income influence your voting behaviour?					
Is the political candidate					

	Never	Seldom	Mostly	Regularly	Always
personality attract you?					
Are you voted according to the personality of candidates?					
Are you previously affiliated to a specific political party?					
Did political party loyalty effect on your voting behavior?					
Are you discuss the current policies of political parties?					
Did you cast your vote in accordance with the policies of political parties?					
Did your voting behaviour return change?					
Do you consider education as the turning element in voting behaviour?					
Did education bring change in your voting behaviour?					
Are you impressed by new emerging leadership?					

	Never	Seldom	Mostly	Regularly	Always
Did new emerging leadership change your voting behaviour?					
Are you satisfied with the performance of previous political parties?					