MS Research

ROLE OF PAKISTAN TAHREEK-E-INSAAF IN MOBILIZING YOUTH DURING THE ELECTORAL PROCESS OF PAKISTAN: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ELECTIONS 2013 AND 2018

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَٰنِ الرَّحِيمِ

SUPERVISOR CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled " **Role of Pakistan Tahreek-E-Insaaf in Mobilizing Youth During the Electoral Process of Pakistan: A Comparative Study of Elections 2013 and 2018** " is the original work submitted by **Ms.** Shagufta Zulfiqa, a student of **MS in Political Science** in the Department of Politics and International Relations, Faculty of Social Sciences. This research work has been successfully done under my guidance and supervision. She has fulfilled all the requirements for the award for the MS degree ordinance at the University. This is important to certify that this thesis has not been submitted for attainment of any Degree, Diploma, Associateship, or Fellowship from any other university.

Dr. Nasreen Akhtar

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I hereby declare that the work in this thesis titled as "ROLE OF PAKISTAN TAHREEK-E-INSAAF IN MOBILIZING YOUTH DURING THE ELECTORAL PROCESS OF PAKISTAN: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ELECTIONS 2013 AND 2018" is my own work and that data has been collected from authentic sources and according to the rule provided by the International Islamic University Islamabad for the award of MS degree. This work had not been presented for any assessment.

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DEDICATION

To my beloved parents, whose endless support and love have made this journey possible. This work is dedicated to you, with all my gratitude and love.

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Table of Contents

Abbreviations

AJIP   Awami Jamhuri Ittehad Pakistan

ANP   Awami National Party

CEC   Central Executive Committee

ECP   Election Commission Pakistan

EVM   Electronic Voting Machine

FATA   Federally Administered Tribal Area

JI   Jamaat e Islami

JPSM   Junoobi Punjab Suba Mahaz

KP   Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

MMA   Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal

NSO   National Security Organization

OIC   Organization of Islamic Cooperation

PML-N   Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz

PML-Q   Pakistan Muslim League Quaid

PPP   Pakistan People's Party

PTI   Pakistan Tahreek e Insaaf

QWP   Qaumi Watan Party

RTS   Result Transmission System

Abstract

 Political parties are key actors in any democratic electoral process, and their evolving roles in Pakistan's elections have raised the interest of many observers. Pakistan's Political landscape has changed over time, with shifts in party strategies, voter behavior, and the general democratic structure. This study compares the role of Pakistan Tahreek e Insaaf (PTI) in mobilizing youth, their strategies for engaging young people and their impact on shaping voter behavior in Pakistan's 2013 and 2018 elections. It also investigates the role of different media platforms in spreading election-related information and propaganda. The various functions of political party by thoroughly examining campaign strategies, party manifestos, and electoral results in the context of Pakistan's changing socio-political landscape, observing their effect on voter choices and democratic stability. Furthermore, this study explores how PTI has influenced young voters' involvement in politics and the party statements and promises have significantly shaped voter choices. This study analyzes the factors and strategies that led to the PTIs success in Pakistan's 2018 national elections, in contrast to its struggles in the 2013 elections. This research primarily focuses on the role of PTI in mobilizing youth, and their campaign strategies during the 2013 and 2018 elections. In this study, we have used qualitative data to compare the role of PTI in Pakistan's general elections in 2013 and 2018. For this purpose, this study relies on secondary sources such as books, articles, journals, newspapers, other online resources, and primary sources like interviews. This study enables us to make more informed decisions and activities that aim to strengthen Pakistan's democratic process.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Political parties play an important role in democratic elections by representing various ideologies and values. They concentrate on individual interests to form an organized entity for dealing with the government. Parties strengthen democracy by organizing local participation and endorsing leaders. Through campaigns and debates, effective communication articulates policy proposals and collects public support. They enable well-informed voter decisions by presenting opposing viewpoints and stimulating vital dialogues. Political parties are vital for people in power, whether democratic or not. Active democratic process strengthens political parties, and powerful political parties strengthen democratic processes (Rehman, 2019). Winning parties form stable governments that implement structured policies. Opposition parties enforce accountability and transparency, thereby preventing abuses of power. They shape policies based on ideologies, which helps to maintain governance continuity (Mushtaq, 2018). Parties also encourage social integration and have an impact on international relations. So, they allow for diverse expression and representation while also contributing to accountable democratic systems.

The role of political parties in Pakistan's electoral process is critical to the country's democratic functioning. Political Parties are the principal vehicles for reflecting Pakistan's different political views, interests, and goals. It is necessary to provide some background on Pakistan's political scene to fully understand their function. Before 2013 elections, Imran Khan's conducted an active and creative campaign. The political plan of the PTI focused on anti-corruption measures, good governance, and economic reforms. Imran Khan's charismatic appeal and promises of change attracted a significant portion of the public, particularly the youth (Mamoon et al., 2017). The party made considerable use of social media and rallies in public to gather support and engage with people, creating a new and powerful narrative of change and reform in Pakistani politics. This campaign established the PTI as a rising political force in Pakistan's electoral scene, creating the way for an impressive performance in the 2013 elections (Ishaq, 2018). In the 2018 general elections in Pakistan, Imran Khan launched a campaign strategy that highlighted anti-corruption measures, economic growth, and social welfare. Imran Khan's attractive appeal and vision for a "Naya Pakistan" (New Pakistan) fascinated a wide range of the public, particularly the youth. PTI used social media tools and large rallies in public to gain support voters, providing a compelling story of change. This study compares the role of

Pakistan's national political party PTI in mobilizing youth during the 2013 and 2018 general elections. While other political parties like Pakistan peoples party (PPP), Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N) have emerged in Pakistan throughout the years, each representing different views, ethnic origins, and regional interests, this research focuses primarily on the PTI's role in election participation and campaign strategies in mobilizing youth (Iqbal, 2015). The general elections in Pakistan in 2013 and 2018 were key moments in the country's political history, with multiple major political parties fighting for seats in the National Assembly and provincial assemblies. During the Pakistan 2013 elections, PTI campaigned on several significant issues and a well-defined party manifesto. The promise of eliminating corruption a major issue in Pakistan's political scenario was prominent among these topics. As the key elements of the PTI's agenda highlighted good governance, economic change, and social welfare. Imran khan, who is the PTI's popular leader was important in the party's campaign strategy. He represented the promise of reform and transparency in Pakistani politics. PTI's campaign strategies were creative including large public rallies attended by many people effectively capturing the excitement and energy of its supporters. Furthermore, PTI utilized several social media channels to interact with individuals. It emerged into the national political arena by these different campaign techniques and its presentation of important issues, placing it as a major political force in the 2013 elections. After securing a significant number of seats in the 2013 elections PTI emerged as the second largest party and formed a government at provincial level (Khan, 2019).

The PTI highlighted key issues and its party manifesto in the 2018 elections in Pakistan focusing anti-corruption measures, economic growth, good governance, and social welfare. The PTI's campaign strategies focused on Imran Khan's impressive leadership who represented the promise of reform and transparency in Pakistani politics (Islam et al, 2019). They held several public rallies that effectively used social media channels and engaged with voters and providing a compelling story of a new and wealthy Pakistan. These strategies connected with a significant portion of the young population resulting in the PTI becoming the largest party in the National Assembly and establishing the federal government in 2018 leading a major shift in Pakistan's political landscape (Shah, 2019).

PTI played a significant role in the 2013 and 2018 general elections by concentrating on major issues that influence the individual's behavior. Their efforts succeeded and the PTI became the third-largest party in the country and achieved the provincial administration in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 2013. Then, in the 2018 elections, the PTI made history by becoming the largest party in the National Assembly and establishing the federal government for the first time. This shows how the PTI's changing strategy and agreement with major voter problems affected its victory in elections (Riaz et al, 2020). This transition from a small political party to a dominating force in Pakistani politics reflected a major change in the political culture of Pakistan.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

This study compares the role of PTI in mobilizing youth including its party manifesto and election campaigns, in influencing voter behavior in Pakistan's 2013 and 2018 general elections. However, it aims to determine the PTI strategies and involvement with the younger population, examining how the party specifically engaged and interacted with youth. This study also investigates whether party statements and commitments had a significant influence on voter choices. The purpose of this study is to analyze the factors and strategies that may lead to PTI success in 2018 elections, as well as the possible factors that may have contributed to its electoral defeat in 2013 elections. It also examines how political actors use media platforms to express their views, engage with voters, and influence public opinion.

1.2 Significance of the Study

This study argues that the role of political parties in general elections is significant because it provides valuable insights into the functioning of democratic systems, the dynamics of voter behavior, and well-being of a nation's political landscape. However, understanding how political parties shape electoral outcomes, engage voters, and influence policy-making processes is critical for strengthening informed citizenship and ensuring the legitimacy of democratic processes. It is important how the PTI engaged young people during the 2013 and 2018 elections as it helps us to understand the changing dynamics of youth political participation during the electoral process. The PTI efforts for connecting with young people could provide insights into greater changes in Pakistan's political scenario. It also contributes to a better understanding of how political parties engage young people in political activities. The findings

might be useful for policymakers, analysts, and elected officials who want to improve democratic institutions by promoting younger participation in political activities. This study explains the role of PTI in mobilizing youth, their campaign strategies and its influence on voter choices during general elections 2013 and 2018. This purpose of the study is to analyze the factors and strategies that led to the rise of PTI in Pakistan's 2018 elections and the possible factors that may have contributed to its electoral defeats in 2013 elections.

1.3 Research Objectives

1. To compare the role of the PTI in mobilizing youth, evaluate campaign strategies, and their influence on voter choices during the 2013 elections.
2. To analyze the factors and strategies that led to PTI's success in 2018 elections.

1.4 Research Questions

1. What aspect of PTI role to mobilize youth during their campaigns influenced the voter behavior in 2013 elections?
2. What were the key factors and strategies that led to PTI's success in 2018 elections?

1.5 Delimitations of the Study

This study focuses on a comprehensive analysis of the role performed by Pakistan's major Political Party PTI in mobilizing youth during the 2013 and 2018 general elections. While the study provides a thorough comparative analysis of these elections, it is limited to examining the unique role of PTI in mobilizing youth and strategies adopted by the PTI all over these two elections.

1.6 Research Gap

The research gap exists in this study specifically the comparative analysis of Pakistan's general elections 2013 and 2018. To fill this gap, this research conducts a detailed analysis to provide significant insights into the growing responsibilities of Political Party PTI in the context of Pakistan's electoral democracy.

1.7 Literature Review

In Pakistan, youth account most of the population, and their role in bringing about political, social, and economic change in the country is critical. Almost 35% of registered voters in the country are between the ages of 18 and 30, with 58% between the ages of 18 and 40.

Political parties in Pakistan have recognized the importance of youth in political transformation. During the 'General Elections 2013' campaigns, they issued a substantial number of youth-oriented adverts with various sorts of content in top Urdu each day to capture their attention. PPP, PML-N and PTI released the biggest proportion (41%) of their political advertisements targeting youngsters. The content used by political parties like emotional language, personal appeals, endorsement, play-on-words, and statistics. To gain the attention of the youth, all political parties primarily employed the term "endorsement." The youth's great impact inside families was one of the grounds for paying close attention to them. The significance of door-to-door political campaigning, as well as active engagement in voting process, their potential and future involvement in party growth, protest, strikes, and rallies are important in garnering party funds (khan, 2016). They encouraged creating reasonable promises in commercials and avoiding over-promising, which may lead to significant frustration among youngsters due to non-fulfillment in the future.

In Pakistan, the 2018 general elections marked the second time in the country's history that power was peacefully transferred from one civilian administration to another after a complete term in office. This was a watershed moment for a country that had long alternated between military and civilian leadership. The elections also brought the PTI, a political party led by cricketer-turned-politician Imran Khan, to power for the first time. The victory of the PTI was important as the democratic government in Pakistan's political center has historically shifted between the PPP and the PML-N. Many observers saw the loss of these parties, as well as the rise of a party that did not exist before 1996, as a good sign of voters' capacity to hold elections. However, claims of pre- and post-election influence reduced the excitement, Pakistan's democratic transition and democratic centralization potential. Even though the initial run-up to the elections was generally calmed. The two weeks preceding the 2018 elections were rather peaceful especially in comparison to the tragic elections of 2013, which witnessed 148 separate attacks between January and May, both campaigns and voters are at risk (Siddiqui, 2019). The elections also provide a platform for certain political parties to call of violence notably against Pakistan's minority sects.

The influence of advertisements of popular political parties of Pakistan is significant on the voting behavior in 2013 general elections. There are no facts indicating that Pakistan conducted electronic political campaigns throughout any of its prior elections; but, in the 2013

elections, Pakistani political parties dynamically looked for shelter in electronic media for bridging the gaps and delivering information. This changing trend within a country like Pakistan is certainly of interest, especially since there are urban voters who can access the medium, and in addition, most people are party loyalists who rarely change their opinion regardless of how much they are exposed to such advertisements. Despite these facts, the parties engaged in extensive campaigns, spending huge amounts of money depending on their ability. Instead of dealing directly with voters and producing more printed material for distribution, they intentionally or unintentionally shifted their strategy, focusing more on social media websites and electronic media rather than opting for less impactful mediums (Saleem, 2021). In a country like Pakistan, where we vote for a party rather than an individual, what scholars call personalized voting is not practiced at all. Instead, voters vote for one party regardless of who represents it in their constituency. Voter loyalty to their own political party was also a significant element in reducing advertising influence in the 2013 General Election.

Pakistan is a developing country where popular engagement in politics and the democratic process could play a role in the resolution of many socio-economic and political concerns. In the 2018 election, new media enabled Karachi people to express and reflect on political and city-wide concerns, as well as actively engage in the electoral process. This shows that the social media and the internet have all improved the public's capacity to learn political knowledge and engage in political disputes. Pakistan's 2018 election is a test run for political parties' use of social media in election campaigns. In the future, Pakistan's government can modify polling strategies and the election process by adding online voting and more systematic information websites - however this requires both money and skills for efficient execution. More virtual political events may be organized during election campaigns, resulting in more individuals participating in the democratic process. As social media grows more widespread, its influence on politics and political campaigns will grow over time (Jamil, 2018). It would be interesting to see how this plays out, particularly in Karachi and other large cities in Pakistan.

For the second time, Pakistan's general elections in July 2018 resulted in a smooth transfer of power from one elected government to another. However, the elections suffered by major claims of military interference in the political process. The results were as expected a hung legislature in which the PTI won the most seats. While Imran Khan's political path has been

spectacular, he inherits a country that has proven tough to rule and is facing a severe economic crisis. The second successful democratic transition in Pakistan reveals clear indicators of the establishment of a political system in which the military may be content with a sort of guided democracy a nominal democratic framework sustained and legitimized through elections. While the establishment remains strong in Pakistan's power system, it is becoming obvious that it is unlikely to capture power again. Pakistan has become a challenging country to manage. Even if the military does not exercise the direct control, it remains the ultimate decisions maker in Pakistani politics, as seen by the 2018 general elections (Behera, 2018).

Political advertising in major English and Urdu newspapers by Pakistan's three main political parties, one month before the 2013 and 2018 general elections. The publications were selected to represent the four major media firms. Two major English newspapers, Dawn, and The News, as well as two major Urdu newspapers, Daily Express and Daily Nawa-i-Waqt, were chosen. It was discovered that the three political parties used diverse advertising appeals, themes, and the opponent attack strategy in their political commercials to attract voter support during the elections. It was discovered that the Pakistan People's Party published more commercials than its main opponents, the PTI and the PML-N. It was discovered that PPP established the substance of its previous performance, as well as themes like Roti (bread), Kapra (clothing), and Makan (house), in their political advertising (Shah, 2020). Whereas the PMLN applied fear, past performance, the sanctity of the vote, and a variety of other mixed themes. In addition to the opponent violence, PTI included past performance, health, education, corruption, and hope appeal in their commercials (Ghor et al, 2022).

The PTI experienced significant changes between 2011 and 2018, including the recruitment of professional politicians from other parties, internal divisions between new and old leaders, and charges of irregularities in internal party elections. the release of a report on these irregularities, a few important PTI members were removed. The party experienced internal disputes, mainly over gender and decision-making authority. During the 2018 elections, the PTI faced allegations of supporting judicial activism and playing the religion card against the ruling party. They formed coalitions with various groups after taking government (Mufti et al, 2020)

1.8 Theoretical Framework

Agenda setting theory is the process through which the media informs audiences on what to think and care about. Walter Lippmann proposed the concept of agenda setting in the 1920s. According to this theory, media produces pictures in people's brains, and the public reacts to such images more than to real and actual world incidents. Agenda setting theory refers to the media's great control and ability to convey the importance of an issue to the public (Toor, 2020). Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw introduced the final version of this idea in 1972, however Walter Lippmann was the first to demonstrate how media might deliver desirable pictures to the public. Later, McCombs and Shaw studied the 1968, 1972, and 1976 united state election campaigns. During the early years of the study, researchers focused primarily on two elements: awareness and information. McCombs and Shaw attempted to explore the link between the real issues of voters in a community and the original substance of messages conveyed by the media during presidential elections to understand the function of agenda setting (McComb, 2014).

In this study agenda setting theory is being used to analyze the role of PTI in mobilizing youth in the electoral process and the comparative study of 2013 and 2018 elections. While using agenda-setting theory to analyze the role of PTI in elections highlights the importance of the party in framing the public opinion and affecting voter behavior. The capacity to adapt to the changing conditions and express important issues is essential in the election process. Politicians utilize the media sources to set a specific image aimed at influencing voters' behaviors. Therefore, PTI set an agenda and highlighted the issues on media that was most related to youth and engaged the young voters that contribute to their success in the elections. This theory provides insight on the interactions between political parties, the media, and public opinion during democratic elections. According to this theory, there is a correlation between the issues covered by media and the issues perceived as important by public, therefore during the general elections in 2013 and 2018, the news published by the media was important for the public to build an opinion and cast a vote to that political party who fulfils the needs of the population.
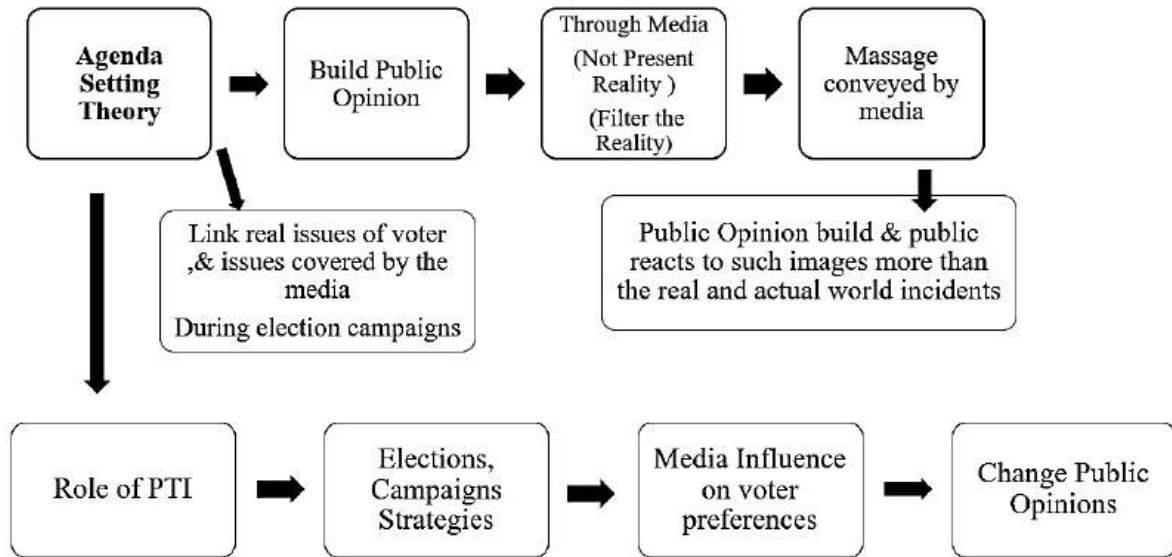
Figure 1: Source (McComb, 2014) & (Toor, 2020)

This diagram explains how agenda-setting theory sets agenda to influence public opinion by connecting the actual concerns of the voters with the issues highlighted by the media. The media has a role in shaping agenda that might not reflect reality rather it filters reality. The messages conveyed by the media have influence on public opinion, enabling individuals to react to these images rather than the actual events. Furthermore, the PTI's involvement in mobilizing youth, its campaign strategies, and the media's influence on voter choices all help to shape public opinion. As a result, people decide to cast a vote for the party that fulfills their needs and desires.

1.9 Research Methodology

Research methodology is a method for solving a research problem in a systematic way (Kothari, 2004). This research aims to analyze the role of PTI in mobilizing youth in Pakistan's 2013 and 2018 general elections. This study provides a complete overview of PTI role in the context of Pakistan's democratic election. In this study qualitative data has been utilized as it is more suitable for comparing the role of PTI in 2013 and 2018 elections. The research relies on primary and secondary sources, drawing from the existing knowledge of renowned analysts and scholars. To make the study's logical coherence, relevant books, articles, journals, newspapers, social media, other online sources, and primary sources like interviews were used.

1.10 Research Design

The research design is a systematic process aimed at addressing the research question and achieving a comprehensive understanding of the role of PTI in mobilizing youth during the electoral process and a comparative study of 2013 and 2018 elections (Mishra & Alok, 2017). Qualitative research is the best methodology to explain this study. Therefore, detailed information on this topic has been collected through the variety of data collection tools which includes the primary and secondary resources.

1.11 Population

A research population is like a target group for a study. It helps make the research more focused and clearer.   When the population is too large, it can make the research more complicated and take more time (Shukla, 2020). We selected political analysts and politicians as a key population for our study to maintain clarity and concentration. We desire to get insight into the PTI's electoral strategies by analyzing how it connected with young people.

1.12 Operational Definitions

Operational definition provides clear and specific meanings of major terms used in research topics.

Political Parties

It is an Organized group with shared political aims and platforms that vote in elections to propose candidates for public office.

Electoral Process

It covers all election measures from election campaign through result declaration, as well as legal and administrative issues.

Politicians

Politicians who are actively involved in politics, such as elected officials, candidates, party leaders, and activists.

Diverse Group

It includes Individuals from various political affiliations, regions, experience levels, and academic backgrounds are included to provide a wide range of opinions.

Public Opinion

It is the public elaborate and collective opinions, attitudes, feelings, policies, and performance about of a political party

Campaign

A campaign is a focused effort to achieve a particular goal, commonly seen in a political election.

Voter

Individuals who are eligible to vote in elections cast votes to make political decisions.

Behavior

Behavior refers to the action and reaction of a person or entity in response to various situations and influences.

1.14 Instruments

Internet (google scholar), Books, Newspapers and Articles.

1.15 Data Collection

Data collection involves the gathering of relevant information from various sources to address research questions. There are two methods for data collection: Primary data collection, where data is directly collected, and secondary data collection, where existing data is used (Walliman, 2011). In this study, data is collected from relevant sources such as books, pertinent articles, opinion pieces, websites, and newspapers. The research is based on qualitative approach for data collection. This study focuses on the role of PTI in mobilizing youth during the 2013 and 2018 general elections.

1.16 Data Analysis

Data analysis plays an important role in the research process as it involves refining and structuring the collected data. (Singh, 2006). It helps to explore the relevant information to reach meaningful conclusions. After gathering the data, the next step is analyzing it. Therefore, Gathering and organizing data is part of analyzing the PTI's participation in the 2013 and 2018 elections. The content analyses look at how PTI's campaign techniques and messages changed over the period of two elections.

1.17 Organization of the Study

Chapter 1- Introduction

This chapter includes research objectives, research questions significance of the study, research gap and research methodology.

Chapter 2- Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, we have discussed the theoretical framework, and a short background of PTI.

Chapter 3-Role of PTI in Pakistan's 2013 General Election

In this chapter, we have discussed the role of PTI in Pakistan's general elections, their campaign strategies for influencing voter behavior.

Chapter 4- Role of PTI in Pakistan 2018 General Elections

This chapter discussed the 2018 general elections, focusing on the role of PTI in mobilizing youth and the factors that benefited the PTI success in 2018 elections. It explains the strategies that PTI used for their campaign to influence young people.

In the last the conclusion and findings of the research.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Framework

In this chapter we cover the short electoral history and the role of PTI in mobilizing youth. As the elections are the important way of political participation. Beginning with the research issue and aims, this study focuses on an analysis that relies on existing literature, develops an effective theoretical framework and examine the role of media in developing public opinion in both 2013 and 2018 election, and reveals the historical context against which PTI's political story emerges. Within this study, a particular focus emerges that the influence of PTI on mobilizing individuals. This looks at how the PTI strategically engaged and inspired young people, eventually transforming the dynamics of political participation.

Elections in Pakistan have long been an issue of debate with almost every election, except for the 1970 election. The 1988 General Elections are an interesting era in the country's electoral history. The election was pivotal marking the country return to civilian rule after the Zia regime. The elections were held under uncertain conditions and had distinct features. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and General Aslam Beg made remarkable claims to conduct elections on time with fairness under caretaker governments. Several political parties, political alliances, and independent candidates participated in these elections. Political coalitions were common in the 1988 elections as in a multi-party system. Political parties became active in highlighting their agendas with other multiple parties that worked together. Ultimately, PPP won the significant number of seats leading the Benazir first female prime minister of Pakistan. Pakistan's 1990 elections were held under the backdrop of political instability after President Ghulam Ishaq Khan's dismissed the Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's administration based on corruption and inefficiency. These elections noticed remarkable struggle between the Pakistan People's Party led by Bhutto and the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) a conservative alliance led by Nawaz Sharif. The IJI focused on the public dissatisfaction with the PPP leadership, establishing their campaign on promises of economic change and accountability. The elections were an overwhelming victory for the IJI and Nawaz Sharif becoming Prime Minister that indicating a turn towards a new era in Pakistan's political landscape (Syed, 1991). In 1993 Pakistan conducted elections after the dismissal of Prime Minister Nawaz due to political instability and economic problems. The major political parties in this election were the Pakistan PPP led by Benazir Bhutto and the PML-

N led by Nawaz Sharif. The PPP was successful in this election and Benazir Bhutto became Prime Minister for second time. The 1997 elections were held when President Farooq Leghari dissolved Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto administration following corruption charges and political instability. The PML-N won the elections. The number of voters was low as showing widespread dissatisfaction with the political system. Nawaz Sharif's return to power indicated an effort towards economic reforms and measures that strengthened his authority (Waseem, 1998).

The elections of 1988, 1990, 1993, and 1997 proceeded after Presidents Zia, Ishaq, and Leghari dissolved the National Assembly. The National Assembly approved the 8th Amendment to the 1973 Constitution in 1985 to end martial law and transferring essential powers from the prime minister to the president which includes the right to dissolve the National Assembly and dismiss the federal government. Governors had similar authority over provincial assemblies. Every national and provincial legislature elected since 1985 has been dissolved generally due to presidential concerns about government corruption, inefficiencies, and poor economic policies. Every election in Pakistan being described as rigged by all loosing political parties. General Pervez Musharraf retained power in the 2004 presidential elections and extended his rule that began with a military takeover in 1999 (Madni & Khan, 2016). Economic reforms and controversial policies particularly the relations with the United States in War on Terror defined his leadership. Therefore, there was strong political pressure and calls for democratic restoration during the 2008 general elections. These elections were held after the assassination of Benazir. The PPP received a huge victory formed a coalition government and appointed Yousaf Raza Gillani as Prime Minister. Pakistan's 2008 elections marked a return to civilian government and an evolution of democratic institutions. In the 2013 elections PTI gain support and emerge as a second largest party at provincial level (Bibi et al, 2022).

Before the 2018 General Election, the disqualification of Nawaz Sharif, electoral reforms, 2014 long sit-in and the foundation of Junoobi Punjab Sooba Mahaz (JPSM) benefited the PTI in strengthening its roots. The PTI relies heavily on youth participation in the elections. Using the media in a controversial manner, the PTI established a stronger basis for success in the elections. The PTI and PPP announced General Election 2013 to be an election of "Returning Officers" while the PML-N and other political parties declared General Election 2018 to be rigged by the establishment. This was the allegation by other political parties, but this claim was not clearly

justified. In the 2018 general election, the PTI did well in Punjab, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Karachi, and Balochistan. The population aged 18-40 accounts for 60% of Pakistan's overall population, and the PTI has successfully engaged its supporters (Saud & Mashud ,2020). In the past, elections were not conducted in a systematic way. During the Zia regime elections were manipulated to establish political power (Shafiq et al,2020). To establish federalism in Pakistan, constant political engagement of the population is required (Naseem & Mahmood, 2019).

2.1. Elections, A Way of Political Participation

Elections are a fundamental way for people in democratic countries to participate in politics. People vote in elections to elect the government they desire. The power to vote allows individuals to express "yes" or "no" to any government's rules and regulations. If they do not have this benefit, they become upset, and a country divided along ethnic lines may struggle to remain united. Looking at the past years, we can observe that delaying elections may be harmful to a country's unity (Zikria, 2020).

Pakistan that declared a federal state on August 14, 1947, performed its first provincial elections in 1951 and then its second in 1954. Pakistan's citizens had to wait until 1971 for their first free and fair elections. The era of General Ayub Khan's dictatorship, which began on October 7, 1958, introduced indirect elections and deprived people of their rights of electing their representatives (Ibrahim & Musarrat, 2015). During the indirect elections of 1965, charges of rigging elections infuriated youth who started a movement against Ayub Khan. Particularly the people of East Pakistan turned against the West Pakistani leadership and against the West Pakistan. East Pakistan's leaders desire more political influence and propose six points without supporting a federal setup. East Pakistan's youth welcomed this. They supported the Awami League in the 1970 General Elections leading to Pakistan's separation (Rizwan, 2014).

After the declaration of Martial Law on July 5, 1977, Zia-ul-Haq organized a rigged referendum for the presidential election. Later, he chose non-party base parliamentary elections that created instability in politics in the country (Musarrat & Azhar, 2011). Elections were held under Musharraf rule on party bases on October 10, 2002, and with political manipulation resulting to the formation of the PML-Q from the PPP and PML-N (Shahzad & Kokab,2013). People got the opportunity to cast a vote in a free and fair manner in the 2008 General Elections

and they chose the PPP to lead after Benazir Bhutto's murder. The representative government then tried to bring the state more in line with the desires of the people (Haider & Ali, 2018).

In 2013, young people were excited by the PML-N economic goals and promises to restore peace and combat terrorism. They also had a problem with the corruption charges raised against PPP leaders therefore they went to the PML-N. As a result, the PML-N won the elections and Nawaz Sharif was elected Prime Minister for the third time. After the 2013 elections Imran Khan accused Nawaz Sharif of corruption and election manipulation launching a "Dharna" (sit-in) in Islamabad which was attended by many young people. Imran Khan was able to successfully inspire the youth to his campaign. The young people supported the PTI in the 2018 elections, demanding change, electoral reforms, a corruption-free Pakistan and 10 million jobs. Therefore, the PTI won the elections, and Imran Khan became Pakistan's Prime Minister.

Political mobilization is the process of trying to get people's interest in and support for a specific political party or set of beliefs. This involves speaking to individuals about various subjects and explaining why they are essential. The aim is to ensure that people are prepared and ready to support a political group's ideas and techniques. Political mobilization is the process of turning a group of individuals who are just visible into active participants in public life. These groupings might be based on caste, class, religion, ethnicity, gender, or specialized issues. It involves diverse communities, organizations, and leaders joining together to work on a common objective or address a common problem (Skarzyński & Kuželewska, 2020). Parties in Pakistan regularly organize large meetings known as rallies, particularly around elections and other political events. Leaders address the public or on television. The main objective of these rallies is to educate and engage more people in the party's views and techniques. They seek to recruit new members and supporters for the party.

Many young people in Pakistan use social media actively for political mobilization. They have a lot of freedom in obtaining what they want from these forms of social media. Social media is mostly used to communicate with others, but it may have both positive and negative consequences depending on how it is utilized. Social media has enabled people to get more active in politics (Eltantawy, 2011). During the 2009 elections in Moldova, Twitter played an important role. People involved in campaigns and protests utilized social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, SMS, and Live Journal to connect, share information, and get support

16

(Mungiu-Pippidi, 2009). During the revolutions in 2011 Yemen, Tunisia, Libya, Syria, Egypt, and Bahrain, Facebook and Twitter were important in spreading information (Hassan, 2015) (Ahmed & Skoric, 2014). Political parties try to unite individuals behind a common set of views, concerns, and goals. They had a play significant role in how many countries' politics work. Parties decide whether issues are essential, choose candidates for office, run campaigns during elections, and monitor the performance of their elected leaders. These parties bring ordinary people into contact with the government, enabling citizens to have a voice in how the country is administered. Structure, election participation, an individual identity, engaging in government, putting forward candidates, and publicizing their views are all required for a group to be a political party. If an organization meets all these criteria, it is said to as a political party (Mushtaq et al, 2018). Political parties' primary goal is to attract individuals to join them.

2.2. Factors Influence Youth to Participate in Politics

When political parties or interest groups target individuals for mobilization, people are usually inspired to get involved in politics. Political socialization or personal life situations that generate interest might encourage participation. Civic involvement and a sense of political effectiveness are two major factors affecting political engagement, and both can inspire young people to participate in political activities (Ahmed, 2018).

Considering the current political situation in Pakistan young people get involved in politics for a variety of reasons. Some may seek personal fulfilment through political efforts while others may be driven by a desire to collaborate with neighbors and contribute to collective progress. They have the energy and possibilities to participate in a wide range of activities. Participating in political activities allows any person particularly young people to make important changes in their society (Saud, 2020). When more individuals get interested in national politics, they will be able to better comprehend what is going on in their country and speak against government decisions with which they disagree. When citizens experience challenges knowing about political issues allows them to comprehend and deal with such concerns.

This is how young people in Pakistan express their desire to participate in politics. They want to be responsible citizens, and they are motivated to do so for a variety of reasons. When young people learn politics, their actions can force the government to address issues that people are dissatisfied with. Citizens' participation in politics strengthens the political system in any country

(Lall, 2014). If everyone becomes involved, the government will find it difficult to ignore their issues. As a result, the increased participation in political activities should take into consideration the social and political issues that young people experience in democratic activities. There are various reasons but are essential factors that inspire individuals to participate in political activities.

Political leaders who are effective at encouraging individuals may attract the interest of young people in politics. If a leader is compelling, communicates effectively, and cares about issues that are important to young people, it could motivate them to participate in politics. When leaders reflect the values and goals of the next generation, it motivates young people to get more active in politics. For example, khan's inspiring personality motivates the younger generation to participate in politics. He effectively communicates his vision for corruption free Pakistan and addressing the issues like education, healthcare, and economic reforms. Politicians that talk about issues that are important to young people such as school, jobs, the environment, and justice excite the interest of young people in politics. Policies and political campaigns that focus on issues that young people care about are more likely to engage them in politics. One of the main reasons why young people become interested in politics is to learn about it and understand how it impacts our society. People are more likely to participate when they understand civic issues and how politics influences our society. A good education that promotes civics and makes people aware of politics may truly engage young people interested in and involved in politics.

Friends and social groups play a significant role in creating how young people observe and participate in politics. When young people experience their peers becoming active, attending events, or discussing their political opinions it inspires them to do the same. Being part of a community that shares similar values could make entering politics feel supportive and natural. Social media and technology have modified how information is delivered. On networks like Twitter and Instagram, young people can quickly communicate, discuss politics, and group together for causes. These forums enable people to discuss their ideas, connect with others who share their viewpoints, and participate in online activity (Karamat & Farooq, 2016).

2.3. Role of PTI in Mobilizing Youth

Young people in modern society rely heavily on media sources for information and frequently incorporating their use into regular learning routines. Media mobilisation has encouraged social and political changes throughout the world. Media has a key actor for socialisation for youth and it has influenced the attitudes of its users and viewers. Large media organisations act as an interaction among people, teaching viewers about events from different cultures and providing a variety of information on current political and global issues. It is generally accepted that media plays an important role in the political mobilization of young people with its popularity and amount of influence dependent on availability. The social media programmes tend to attract the interest of younger brains, such as youngsters and teens, more than older generations. According to studies, numerous television and radio programmes have a significant influence on young people who are generally attached by these channels. The arrival of media into people's lives has transformed politics on both the national and international levels (Tahir, 2019). The media has become a battleground for politics. This represents a shift in interaction features, particularly in terms of issues such as awareness of new political voting patterns, promoting democratic values in debates, and increasing youth interest in democratic processes and governance all due to the vibrant media.

New media sources have changed views and functions connected with professional training and socially relevant issues such as political shifts, contemporary development techniques and the spread of values and beliefs across regions. The world's intellectual economic, and social interests are dependent on continual connection between individuals. Political entities have traditionally used media to spread their views and establish influencing campaigns. This has raised public knowledge of political events, power transition methods, key changes, and political leaders throughout the world. It develops young people's political perspectives and encourages them to engage in the country's political processes.

PTI plays an important role in mobilizing young during the 2013 and 2018 elections. Under Imran Khan's leadership, the PTI has rapidly connected with the young people through several campaigns. PTI focused on mobilizing young people in 2013 by addressing their desires for change. Many young Pakistanis were attracted to the party's program which highlighted anti-corruption measures, good administration, and social justice. Imran Khan's attractive leadership

style was also important in attracting young people. During the 2018 elections PTI continued to use technology and social media to reach out to the younger generation. Imran Khan's appeal as an active leader, as well as his promises of a "Naya Pakistan" (New Pakistan), appealed to the young people expectations for a better and more progressive future (Javid & Mufti,2020). They also focus on youth-related issues including education, employment prospects, and anti-corruption measures helped to mobilize young people. Furthermore, the party's effective use of social media networks to interact with young people established important in mobilizing supporters. PTI strategy to addressing youth issues and goals, along with strong use of technology and social media, was important in mobilizing young people during both the 2013 and 2018 elections.

The important issues that PTI highlighted during their campaigns to engage young people. PTI address various issues related to the public as unemployment is a big issue of Pakistan. There is a lack of opportunity for high quality education and skill development. Therefore, PTI addressed the common issues related to the public. The party highlights anti-corruption and good governance which aligns with the youth desires for an equal and responsible political system. Imran Khan's charismatic leadership and promise to address important issues like education, jobs opportunities, social welfare and affordable housing projects have captured the interest of young people and get their support. PTI effectively utilized social media to engage and mobilize young people in politics. PTI focuses on technology educating people to use computers and the internet. while also focusing on environment related issues. This attracts young individuals who are informed about technology and concerned about environmental issues. Projects such as the Kamyab Jawan Programme, Ehaas programme indicate the party's dedication to youth empowerment and promise of change and reforms, enhance economic opportunity which helps to increase its appeal among young voters (Sial, 2023).

2.4. Theoretical Framework

When the media influence what people think and care about, this is referred to as agenda setting theory. This concept was first proposed by Walter Lippmann in the 1920s. According to this theory, the media creates images in people's minds and then they react to these images rather than what is happening. As a result, the theory continues to simplify and improve our understanding of incidents in our world. The agenda setting theory highlights how powerful the

media is in determining what problems are significant to the public. Although McCombs and Shaw completed this idea in 1972. Later, McCombs and Shaw studied election campaigns in the United States in 1968, 1972, and 1976. Walter Lippmann was the first to propose that the media may convey certain pictures to a significant number of people. Agenda-setting theory deals with highlighting and ignoring real-world issues. Two basic concepts regarding this theory have been proposed by scholars.

1-In the real world, media does not reflect reality. It creates and filters it accordingly.

2-The media attracts the public's attention to certain issues, and as a result, individuals believe are very important to them (Freeland, 2012).

According to this theory anything that political influencers publish on social media has the potential to influence voters. Social media can influence what individuals think is essential and make political facts popular in Pakistan. Furthermore, online messages influence what individuals speak about and believe. Understanding this enables us to see the influence of social media on the opinions and decisions of Pakistani people. Media is an effective tool for describing agendas and influencing public opinion throughout the world. Election campaigns frequently use media to influence people towards certain political parties. However, the influence of media campaigns on people's voting behaviour differs depending on their political culture. Social media campaigns were launched by Pakistan's popular political party PTI on individual voting behaviour during the 2013 and 2018 elections. In these elections, the PMLN, PPP and PTI were the dominant political parties (Ashra, 2013). There are some important factors that have influence on public opinion.

The media has a significant impact on how people think and see things. They decide which news is important and how to talk about it. When the media regularly highlights an issue, it acquires more importance in the minds of individuals. They also decide how to present stories highlighting certain issues that influence other people and how they perceive the material. The media functions as a barrier, deciding what news is to share and this influences what people think and changes their mind. The more something appears in the news, the more people remember it. However, some people also choose the media that agree with what they think and support their already present opinions. The media has a significant influence on how people view the world. Since individuals only have direct contact with a limited number of the institutions

that impact them, the view of these institutions is mainly formed by what they see on television, on the radio, on the Internet, in newspapers, and magazines (Mechanic, 2005)

Nowadays social networks have a significant importance about what people think, and the influence of media rises every year. These platforms have developed into powerful tools for communication and cooperation. The social media influencers are the people active on social media and spreading information occasionally and adding their own ideas. These influences have a large following and have a significant impact on how people make decisions about various social issues. These are the people who set their agenda to influence the public opinion during an important events and problems like elections and political crisis in the country (Shmalenko et al, 2021). During the 2013 general elections, indefinite protests were beginning which became an important aspect of the political scenario of Pakistan. The protest had an influence on how people viewed the elections and decided who to support. Therefore, social media and influencers not only change worldwide views, but they also influence individual choices in local events such as elections.

2.4.1. Role of Social Media in Developing Public Opinion During the 2013 and 2018 Elections

Agenda setting theory play an important role in shaping the political perspective in Pakistan. This theory suggests that the media through its selection and presentation of news and information influences the public opinion by selecting which issues are considered as important or relevant. In Pakistan, the media has had a significant impact in shaping the narratives and influencing the public opinion. Pakistan media sources, such as television, newspapers, and internet platforms, actively participate in agenda developing by covering certain political events, policies, and societal concerns. For example, during election campaigns, media coverage tends to focus on major candidates, political parties, and important election-related issues. This coverage focuses public attention on these topics that impact what people perceive as important in the political scene (Khan et al, 2019). However, Political influencers, such as leaders, activists, and analysts, strategically use media platforms to shape the agenda. Through interviews, press releases, and social media involvement, these influencers highlight specific points of view and shape public views in specific manners. Their capacity to identify the problems and control narratives helps to shape political discourse. The effect of Agenda Setting is particularly evident during important historical events in Pakistan. For example, elections, political crises, and social

22

movements all attract media attention. It influences the public views and conversations. The coverage and presentation of these events helps the public to understand the political problems that impact public opinion and voting patterns (Babur & Adnan, 2023).

In Pakistan the rise of social media platforms, provide a space to for political discourses allowing individuals, influencers, and political entities to set their agendas independently. The viral content of these platform-like hashtags and trends came into real world discussions and people react according to it rather than the actual and real-world incidents (Raza, 2019). Therefore, the setting agenda has been a powerful force in shaping political discourse in Pakistan. The media highlights certain topics that have an important effect on what people think and talk about and considered it essential in politics of Pakistan. In 2013, the PTI used the media to establish its agenda and interact with young people. Imran Khan charismatic appeal and promises of change connected to the desires of the younger population and the media played a major role in spreading these views. PTI effectively utilized social media platforms like Twitter and Facebook to communicate with young people directly and create a sense of involvement in the political process. The media coverage of the PTI rallies and activities contributed to the narrative of a youth-led movement for change which helped to mobilize a significant percentage of young voters (Safdar, 2016).

The significance of internet sources in shaping public opinion was important for PTI to mobilize youth during the 2013 and 2018 elections. In 2013, PTI observed the internet and social media as powerful instruments for connecting with a younger generation. The party carefully used multiple online sources to exchange messages and connect with supporters. The rapid flow of information via social media enabled PTI to reach a large audience. The presence of internet sources allows PTI to answer problems and communicate information directly to young people building a sense of participation in the political process. However, in the 2018 elections, PTI increased its use of online platforms specifically social media to mobilize and inspire young people. They focused on digital campaigning, online advertising, and new methods such as online town hall meetings and live streaming (Qazi et al, 2019). This strategy established a dynamic online environment that allowed PTI to respond quickly to meetings, control public opinion, and fight against misinformation.

Who Influenced The Voter?
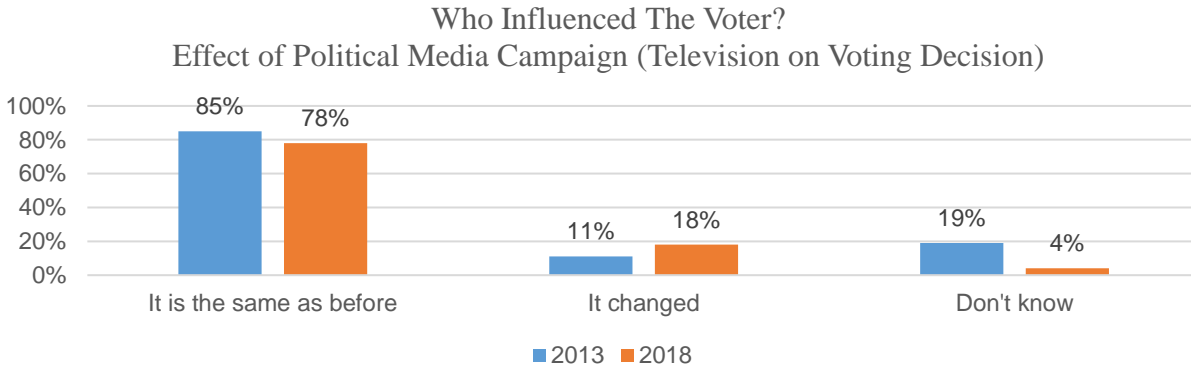Effect of Political Media Campaign (Television on Voting Decision)

Figure 2: Source (Gallup Pakistan,2021).

This figure shows that the effect of media political campaigns to influence the voter behaviour. Most of the respondent says that the media campaigns have no effect on their opinion it remained same as before. According to Gall up survey 2021, in the 2013 election 85% people says that their opinion remained same as before and 11% respond that they changed their opinion changed. Only 19% people have no opinion about the media campaigns. In the 2018 election of Pakistan, 78% people says that their opinion remained same as before and 18% says that their opinion gets changed due to the media political campaigns. However. 4% people have no opinion about the media campaigns.

Agenda setting plays a critical role in developing public opinion and influencing the decision-making process. During the 2013 and 2018 elections PTI set an agenda that mainly focused on the issues of the youth, and it had a significant impact on opinion building and making decisions. During both the elections, PTI highlighted the problems that resonated with the youth, like anti-corruption, good governance, economic change, youth empowerment and created a narrative that was related to the desires and concerns of the younger generation. Through effective communication and media advertising, the PTI was able to connect itself with voters and shaping their opinion in favor of the party system (Arabi, 2017). Therefore, the electoral outcome of 2013 and 2018 elections is evident that the setting of agenda shape public opinion and decision-making. The PTI ability to effectively clarify the issue and connect it with youth issues helped the party to mobilize the younger generation. The public view on the key issues determined that the setting of agenda had a significant impact on the decision of the voters.

The widespread use of social media platforms for self-expression, communication, and social involvement has resulted in a great deal of openly shared personal information online. Traditional techniques to evaluate public opinion, social media allows for more efficient and cost-effective gathering and analysing of information with less human work. The media have grown into an effective instrument for promoting political, social, cultural, and economic change. The timely availability of information is more critical than ever. Today, media instruments such as television, radio, newspapers, and the internet shape people's lifestyles, values, and opinions. The information revolution has raised awareness, worldwide interaction, and knowledge in many sectors of society (Yousaf, 2016). Media coverage may have a big impact on how readers and viewers comprehend news events and prominent people. This is especially true for widely reported and meaningful events, such as social movements. Advances in media technology have resulted in an ongoing flow of information to the public, raising public knowledge in many sectors, including politics.

People may easily interact on social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter. People use these platforms to increase their internal and external political effectiveness. Facebook and Twitter help users establish strong political opinions and views, which encourages them to participate in online political activity. These social media networks have a significant impact on politics by raising people's awareness of their own skills (internal efficiency) and their understanding of the government's role in addressing their political requirements (external efficiency). Those with higher internal efficiency are more inclined to engage in political activities, but those with higher external efficiency are more likely to do so because they feel the government will respond to their concerns. In Pakistan, the younger generation uses social media to enhance political awareness and engage in political discussions.

The use of technology has changed people's social interactions. While traditional and new media convey information, social media stands out as an essential source of communication. It has transformed into a major venue for political activities. There's no denying that social media, particularly Facebook and Twitter, has transformed voting and political campaigns. Furthermore, social media provides new opportunities for individuals to engage in political activity. The usage of social media has resulted in a huge increase in political engagement among young people globally, giving them many opportunities to get active in politics. Today societies are more

linked than ever before due to advances in technology that connect individuals all over the world. Social media has connected geographical boundaries by providing a social interaction.

Political advertisements targeting young people may have an important impact in campaigning and election outcomes. Young people are more vulnerable to political influence since their political beliefs are not as strong than those of older people. They are more inclined to modify their political views and opinions. Political messaging' material and timing have a significant impact on young people's political beliefs. Despite the arrival of 24-hour news on the internet, radio, and television, print media remains a reliable and accessible news source for young people seeking to understand political circumstances. Political parties in Pakistan frequently use media during election campaigns, with a focus on youth, since around 35% of registered voters are between the ages of 18 and 30, and 58% are between the ages of 18 and 40. Due to the focus on young voters, newspapers were used in more campaigns in the 2013 General Elections than in 2008 due to the large number of readers. Political parties mostly employed different media sources like newspaper and other online sources to grape the attention of the people (Ghani et al, 2020).

Political parties used published advertising to convey their electoral manifestos and appeal to powerful elements of society, such as rural people, farmers, and youth. The data revealed that PML N ran the most advertising in different newspapers. PTI and PPP collaborated to issue fewer advertising than PMLN alone. PTI had the greatest number of youth-oriented advertisements, with more than 40% of those targeting young people. PMLN and PPP both ran a comparable number of youths-focused advertisements, although PMLN only targeted 13% of their ads to youth, focusing on other demographics and concerns. PPP focused roughly one-third of their advertisements to youth. PTI prioritised appealing to young people in their commercials. As the political leaders think that the media has a substantial impact on young people's decision-making and opinions. Throughout the election campaign, the PTI campaigned for a transparent administration in a modern Islamic republic, highlighting the potential of Pakistan's young. The PTI's policies supported for real democracy, including active involvement in elections, and encouraged people to vote. Pakistan's 2013 elections also marked the first "social media" election. The PTI, along with the established parties PMLN, PPP, and MQM, used Facebook and Twitter to campaign and engage with voters. With 8 million Facebook users and 3 million

Twitter users in Pakistan, this was the first-time political parties used social media significantly during election campaigns (Ashra, 2013). The transition to social media was intended to attract a larger audience, enhance party exposure, and prevent violence. Political gatherings in Pakistan are frequently targeted by violent attacks, thus parties restricted events to sensitive regions and relied heavily on social media for their campaigns.

Press conferences and political advertisements can shape or change public opinion. They encourage both political parties and people to cooperate with their positions based on their needs so modifying power relations. Media has an enormous effect on voting behaviour and democratic views choosing which political party is most suited for effective administration. As a result, it has a major effect on Pakistani citizens' democratic behaviour and voting behaviours. During the 2018 elections, the media continued to play an important role in establishing the narrative around PTI and youth mobilization. The PTI emphasis was on anti-corruption, good governance, and socioeconomic changes attracted to the youth. Social media became an even more powerful instrument as PTI supporters strongly shared material, organized online campaigns, and influenced public opinion (Ashra, 2013). The media coverage not only increased awareness for the PTI programme but also helped the idea that the party was at the forefront of a youth-led political movement. For the first time in the 2018 elections, public voters were encouraged to engage with parties to gain their support. While Facebook and Twitter are used for selecting competent political leaders. Many advertising were false and accounts are frequently controlled to promote certain parties. Common people, particularly the uneducated people could rapidly change their minds depending on social media news that they encounter rapidly.

Use of Media During Elections Campaigns
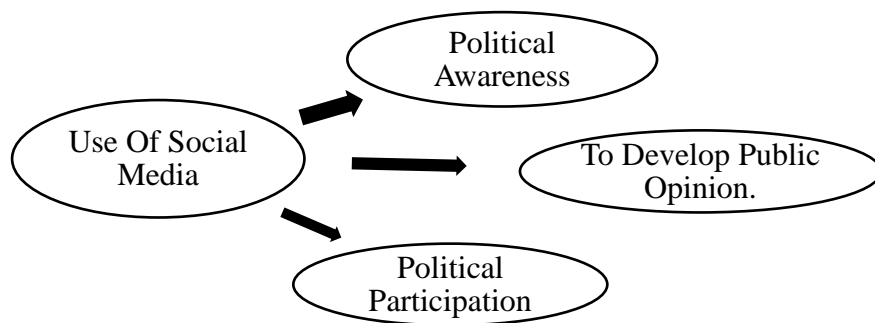
Figure 3: Source (Batool et al, 2020).

This figure shows that the social media has a significant influence on shaping people's opinions. The people use social media for the political participation, political awareness and to develop their opinion. Many people use social media to participate in political debates, learn about current political issues and form their own opinions. It allows individuals to see alternative points of view as well as stay informed about current political developments. This enables individuals to make more informed decisions and engage more actively in politics. As a result, social media has a significant impact on how individuals think about and participate in politics.

Chapter 3
Role of PTI in Pakistan's 2013 Elections

This chapter mainly deals with the role of PTI in mobilizing youth and their campaigns that influenced the voter behavior during the 2013 elections. It looks at how PTI used advanced campaign techniques to encourage young people to vote for them. They were highly engaged on social media to attract the attention of young people. This chapter discusses the emergence of PTI, their organization structure, the role of media and the strategies that PTI used during their election campaigns. The PTI had faced different challenges following the elections, but this chapter highlights how its efforts in 2013 played a significant role.

3.1. The General Elections 2013

The 2013 General Elections in Pakistan was an important event in the country's political history. These elections were characterized by intense competition among several different parties and were held in the context of a challenging sociopolitical situation. The PTI emerged as a major participant, attracting voters' attention with creative campaign techniques and an appealing agenda. These elections addressed a wide range of issues including anti-corruption initiatives, welfare programs and the various issues of good governance. PTI's expanding popularity has been helped by Imran Khan's attractive leadership and the party's smart use of social media platforms (Mahmood et al, 2014). PTI was established with the goal of bringing about positive change in Pakistan's political scene. The party was founded in 1996 and was strongly influenced by popular personalities, especially Imran Khan, a well-known cricketer-turned-politician. Imran Khan was an important personality in developing the PTI's vision and goals, focusing on his reputation and popularity. As an inspiring leader, he attracted people who shared his main values which included an anti-corruption stance, a commitment to good government and social justice. Imran Khan's leadership and the participation of prominent personalities set the way for the PTI's ultimate expansion and emergence as a strong political force in Pakistan political scenario (Nadeem & Bashir, 2020).

Before the 2013 elections, PTI struggled hard to reshape the political landscape. He travelled around the country addressing people at several public forums and reaching out to various communities recognizing the need for change. He regularly utilized social media to interact with young people and frequently spoke about eliminating corruption and having an

open and honest administration. During this period, the country was going through a challenging time with issues such as corruption, financial issues, and security concerns being discussed. Many people appreciated Imran Khan's determination to enhance governance system making the PTI appear to be an attractive possibility for bringing about positive change (Mirza & Mushtaq, 2020). All these measures completed the way for PTI to play a significant role in the election.

PTI works hard for their election campaigns to engage with people in numerous ways. They spend a lot of time on social media talking to young people who use the internet. Imran Khan addressed several large gatherings attended by many people and talked about important issues such as security issues, combating corruption and making the government more accountable. The elections were highly competitive and the PTI's active campaign helped them to establish themselves as a major candidate having a significant influence on the 2013 elections. Pakistan has two major political parties, PPP, and PML-N. In the past, these two parties have taken turns leading the country sometimes with the help of smaller parties. However, this year a new party emerged that could challenge the power of these two major parties. In the 2013 elections, a new and exciting party known as PTI emerged on the political landscape. It shortly attracted the attention of the media and the public because of the popularity of its leader. The party impacted the established two-party system and performed well in surveys and polling. By focusing on criticizing the current situations and widespread corruption, the PTI became Pakistan's fastest-growing political party (Howitt, 2013).

3.1.1 Emergence of PTI

Imran Khan, a former famous cricketer founded the PTI in 1996 and started his political career. PTI has developed itself as Pakistan's third largest and fastest-growing political party. It emerged as a social and political force, but it did not gain much support initially. However, its popularity increased significantly as time passed. Imran Khan initially accepted General Musharraf government believing that he would bring prosperity to the country especially because the other two parties (PML-N & PPP) had failed to accomplish it. Later, he got dissatisfied with General Musharraf's leadership and strongly criticized him (Khan, 2011). Imran Khan campaigned in the 2002 elections and won a seat from his hometown of Mianwali, becoming a Member of Parliament. During the same year, he supported the Musharraf regime, and he became president for five years in an election. On the other hand, he continued to criticize the

government policies. He felt that the entire political system was corrupt, and he wanted to establish a new and honest system. This strong belief led him to start a grassroot level effort which he worked on for more than a decade. Throughout his journey, he highlighted that political corruption and insincerity were the main reasons for Pakistan's progress.

Imran Khan claimed that military rulers and a few strong families ruled the country and true democracy was missing. With his engaging personality, he considered youth as an important asset and encouraged people to enter politics. Thousands of people joined the PTI and were attracted by its promise of a welfare state that is free from foreign interference and where everyone is treated with equality. Although the PTI did not run in the 2008 elections (Nelson, 2009). Its policies and particularly its vision for a new Pakistan gained attention. Despite criticism and discrimination Khan and his loyal supporters continued their effort (Butt et al, 2023). There are some challenges and issues that PTI faced from 1996 to 2008 due to the lack of expertise.

PTI struggled to establish a significant support in its early days due to a lack of political experience particularly in Pakistan. Surviving in such a political environment was difficult. One of the most difficult challenges was breaking through the established control of existing political parties like PML-N and PPP. These parties had great power due to their large networks of patronage and long participation in Pakistani politics making it difficult for the PTI to achieve major popularity and awareness among voters. PTI struggled to establish its identity. When the PTI had its first elections in 1997 it failed to secure any seats in the national or provincial parliament. Despite invitations from the PML-N to join their party PTI rejected the invitation declaring its belief that the current political system was corrupt. After the Kargil conflict in 1999, in which Pakistan was defeated by India in Kashmir. General Pervez Musharraf led a military coup that dismissed Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and his cabinet (Fozia Bibi, 2022). In 2001, Musharraf proposed the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution, declaring himself President and asking for new elections in 2002. Following the events of 9/11, the PTI remained focused on supporting Musharraf's attempts to defeat terrorism and handle major concerns. In the 2004 elections, the Pakistan Muslim League Quaid (PML-Q) which supported Musharraf received the most votes. In its second election the PTI won only one seat in the National Assembly which represented Khan's hometown of Mianwali. Furthermore, the PTI experienced

credibility issues and criticism from both the public and political analysts. Many people say that the party ideological undertaking lacked the practical expertise required for an effective rule. The PTI' first election defeats raised concerns about its capacity to deliver its promises of radical change that leading to the lack of popular support among voters. In election campaigns, the PTI was frequently excluded and unable to fight on an equal level with more well-funded and established political rivals. The larger political landscape in Pakistan during this period marked by multiple instances of political instability and interference of other institutions in government created hurdles for the PTI. The changing political scenario, the rapid shifts in political leadership and policy direction produced an unstable environment in which PTI had to operate (Faiz, 2022). This instability made it difficult for the party to develop and implement a consistent and unified political strategy to establish itself as a legitimate and long-lasting force in Pakistani politics.

In 2013 elections disappointed politicians and young people have joined the PTI as they prepare for the elections. PTI was charged of being a one-man show, but in 2012 it responded by holding of interparty elections as an unfamiliar concept in Pakistani politics. The thought of having intraparty elections inside the PTI was a turning point in Pakistan's political scenario. It was considered as a historic moment to encourage other parties to adopt democratic procedures not just in national politics but also within their own organisations. These elections were seen as an important moment and the first official effort by a party to actively engage its members in decision-making. This was considered as an essential tool for addressing the current undemocratic traditions deeply rooted inside political parties determining a culture of democracy and equality. Even though people consider Imran Khan to be politically inexperienced but his hard work and interaction with the youth have gained his popularity. The PTI claims to be democratic and organizing itself on a merit basis and bringing in a new era of party elections. PTI engaged in effective campaigns in the 2018 elections gaining huge support particularly among the youth. As a result, it emerges as a key government player and eventually establishes the government at federal level (Quraish & Islam, 2018). Following the 2013 elections, the PTI implemented reforms with the aim of improving education, healthcare, and law enforcement. One major effort was the implementation of the "Health Insurance Card" programme, which provided free healthcare services to households living below the poverty level. The party worked to improve the education system which included attempts to enhance infrastructure development,

teacher training program, and curriculum development. The PTI also implemented police reforms aimed at eliminating the crimes, increasing professionalism, and restoring trust in law enforcement institutions. At federal level, The PTI worked on several key areas to increase their government effectiveness. The implementation of the Ehsaas Programme and a comprehensive social welfare programme aimed at combating poverty, inequality, and social exclusion. The programme comprises cash transfers, scholarships, interest-free loans, and programmes that worked on empowering women economically. PTI focused on institutional reforms to improve governance and eliminate corruption. This includes efforts to enhance anti-corruption measures, increase government transparency, and reduce poverty (Yilmaz & Shakil, 2021). The party also promoted economic changes to increase development, promote investment, and create job opportunities and attempts to enhance business efficiency and encourage creativity.

Imran Khan has been active in politics since he created the PTI in 1996. However, his party did not receive significant attention until 2011. Imran Khan has gained popularity among urban, educated, and young people. Although the PTI consists of many traditional politicians from feudal backgrounds, and they continue to present itself as a force for change in Pakistan. In the 2013 elections, PTI was the second largest party and formed the government in KP. The PTI won the 2018 elections with a strong majority and formed a coalition government. However, Imran Khan lost power in April 2022 because of a successful no-confidence motion presented by all opposition parties. This resulted in political and economic chaos, including higher inflation and instability in the country.

3.1.2 Organization Structure of PTI

The function of any political party depends on its organization structure. The structure of PTI is composed of leaders, members, and activists. The main function of the organization structure is to organize the party and bound them to perform their duties according to the party constitutions. The organizers of the party take decisions at different national and regional levels. Imran Khan created PTI on April 25, 1996, in Lahore. The party's constitution was created in 1999 by a committee led by Hamid Khan. Other members included Mairaj Muhammad Khan, Abdul Hafeez Khan, Saeed Ullah Khan Niazi, Mahmood Mirza, Farooq Amjad Mir, Dr. Arif Alvi, Nawab Zada Mohsin Ali Khan, Fauzia Kasuri, and Khawaja Muhammad Jamil. On

January 24, 1999, the PTI Central Executive Committee, led by Imran Khan, ratified the Constitution. The party's official name was "Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf."

Organizational Structure of PTI

National Organisations $\rightarrow$ Provincial Organisations $\rightarrow$ Regional Organisations $\rightarrow$ District Organisations

Tehsil/Taluka/ Town Organisations, $\rightarrow$ Union Council Organisations, $\rightarrow$ Primary Organisations
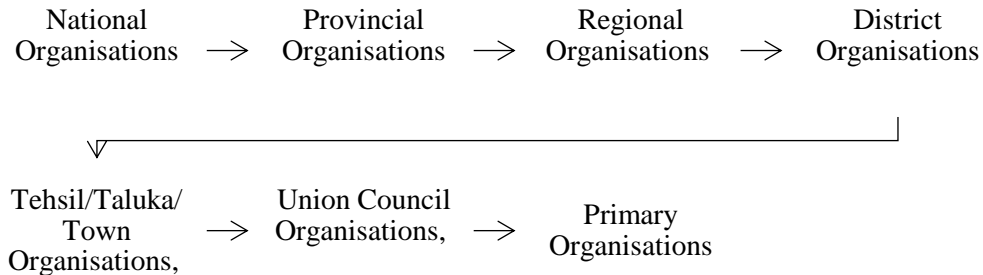
Figure 4: Source (Ayub, 2018).

This was the organizational structure of PTI. At the national level, the National Organisation consists of the National Council and the Central Executive Committee. In addition, it contains an Overseas Pakistani Organisation, Provincial Organisations, Presidents of Regional Organisations, Presidents of the District Organisations. Furthermore, the party requires thirty-five members, with five representing each demographic, including women, youth, students, labourers, farmers, minorities, lawyers, and foreign members. These representatives are nominated by their organisations. Furthermore, the Chairman has the right to choose technocrats and experts from around the country. However, the overall amount of these nominations cannot exceed one-fourth of the total number of members. National Council members from Provincial Organisations, Presidents of Regional Organisations and Presidents of the District Organisations vote on the election of the following office bearers.

According to the party constitution 1999, following was the organization structure.

National Organisations → Organisations for overseas Pakistanis → Organisations for Federally Administered Tribal Northern Area. → Organisations for Federally Administered Tribal Area.

Organisations for Federal Capital Territory → Provincial Organisations for Each Province → Divisional Organisations → City Organisations

District Organisations → A Tehsil/ Taluka/Sub Divisional/Zonal Organisations → Ward Organisations → Primary Organisations
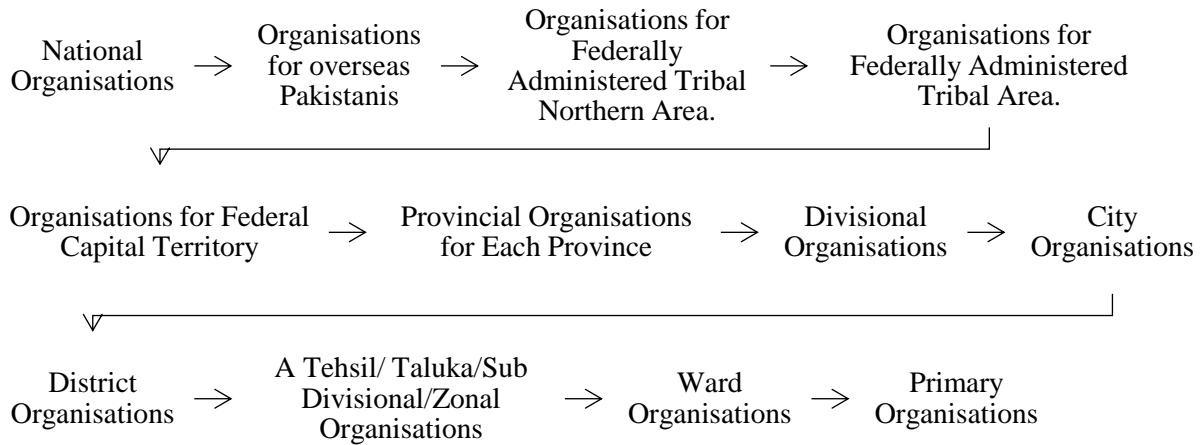
Figure 5: Source (Ayub, 2018)

The Party Chairman establishes a Parliamentary Board in each province for selecting candidates for both the National and Provincial parliament. In addition, a Regional Parliamentary Board recommends one candidate and one backup candidate to the Chairman-led Central Parliamentary Board. Furthermore, the Provincial President, working together with Regional Presidents, establishes a Parliamentary Board for Regions. This board oversees recommending candidates for the National and Provincial Assemblies.

The office bearers of national organization are elected by the national council.

Chairman → Senior Voice President → Four Voice Presidents One From Each Province → General Secretary

Four Joint Secretariate One From Each Province → Finance Secretary. → Information Secretary
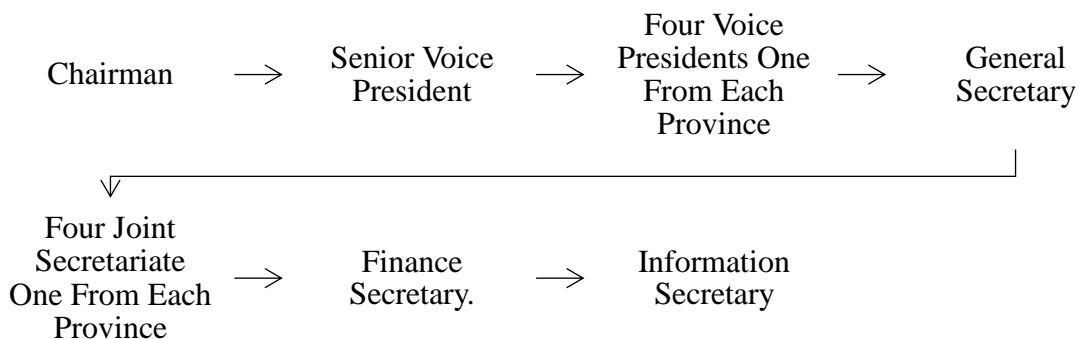
Figure 6: Source ((Ayub, 2018).

The second PTI constitution was developed by a committee led by Hamid Khan and ratified by the Central Executive Committee in April 2012. Justice (R) Wajeed ud din Ahmed,

Dr. Arif Alvi, Ahsan Rashid, Naeem ul Haq, Asad Qaisar, Qasim Suri, Fauzia Kasuri, Shamsa Ali, Firdaus Naqvi, Saifullah Niazi, Mian Mahmud-ur-Rashid, Chaudhry Ijaz Ahmad, Aamer Kiani, Sardar Azhar Tariq, and Shah Farman were among the committee members. According to the party constitution 2012, following members were added.

President $\rightarrow$ Senior Voice President $\rightarrow$ Four Voice Presidents $\rightarrow$ General Secretary $\rightarrow$ Two Joint Secretary
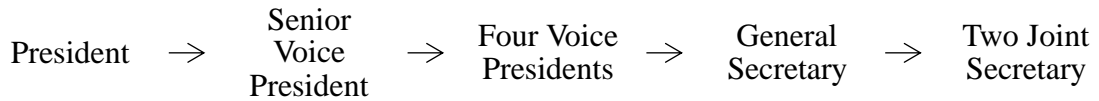
Figure 7: Source (Azhar et al, 2019).

In the constitution of 2012, the senior presidents of all districts organization made part of provincial council. The number of nominated members were increased from twenty to twenty-five and five seats were added for farmers and lawyers. In the structure of the provincial council, the office of two senior voice presidents, ten vice president out of two which were reserved for women, two deputy general secretaries, four joint secretaries out of two which were reserved for women and secretaries of education, labour, agriculture, religious affairs, health, minorities, social media were added. In 2019 PTI made changes in the party structure and amended it in 2022. The goal is to develop Pakistan into a fully modern democratic, equitable, and peaceful Islamic welfare state (Ryasat-e-Madina) in which all citizens are treated equally under the law and enjoy fundamental rights. This involves providing equality regardless of gender, caste, creed, religion, or any other economic, physical, or social condition. so that everyone has the same opportunity, peace, harmony, and happiness.

There shall be three bodies having their respective units. The following bodies having their respective basic units shall have status of federation. The changes made in 2019.

Insaaf Student Federation $\longrightarrow$ Insaaf Lawyer Forum $\longrightarrow$ Insaaf Doctor's Forum

Figure 8: Source (Pakistan Tahreek e Insaaf, 2019

The Insaaf student federation will focus on student-related issues, and its age restriction will be 27 years. The Insaaf lawyer forum will focus on legal profession concerns, organise

lawyers, and ensure legal representation in bar politics. The doctor's forum aimed to organise doctors to improve the health-care system and resolve concerns at government hospitals.

In 2022, PTI made amendment in party structure and ensure that the intra party election held on time. The intraparty election shall be held in two parts.

Elections of the chairman $\rightarrow$ Elections of the other office bearers

The chairman of the party shall be elected as a direct secret ballot of all the registered member of the party. In case of falling vacant of chairman seat due to any reasons the general secretary will take the charge. The elections of the office bearers shall be heled after expiry of the elected office member, and it must be held according to provisions. The election shall be held on a direct secret ballot of any eligible party member. In case of falling vacant seat, executive committee nominated by the relevant panel (Pakistan Tahreek e Insaaf, 2022).

All elected member to a Legislative body comprises of the parliamentary party.

National Assembly $\rightarrow$ Provincial Assembly $\rightarrow$ Senate $\rightarrow$ District Council $\rightarrow$ Tehsil Council $\rightarrow$ Union Council

Figure 9: Source (Pakistan Tahreek e Insaaf, 2022).

The chairmen will nominate the parliamentary party leader and shall perform their duties according to the direction of the chairman. Parliamentary leader would be accountable to the respective party organization, and they represent the report of their work to the executive committee for representation of the legislation, budget allocation and development works.

According to the party constitution 1999, the main objective of creating the PTI was to mobilise Pakistanis to overcome despair and lead the country towards unity, social justice, and prosperity (PTI Constitution, 1999). One of the PTI aims was to build Pakistan as an Islamic welfare state that protected the basic rights of all people, regardless of caste, creed, or religion, while also ensuring peace and prosperity. The party desired to eliminate all types of corruption and establish structures for accountability. They focused promoting competent and honest people in all aspects of life. The constitution provided that the previous government structure, which

was seen as colonial, should be replaced with a democratic, decentralised system. Provincial autonomy and local government were to be encouraged, as well as the abolition of corruption, Elite culture, and discrimination. The constitution also promoted free thinking and speech, public access to information, women's and youth representation, equality, solidarity, unity, and minority protection.

The party indicated electoral reform measures aimed at ensuring election expenditure accountability, eliminating unlawful riches, pressure, and administrative interference in politics and elections. Corrupt persons and defaulters would be banned from running in elections. The party also pushed for a united electorate, lowering the voting age to 18, and included abroad Pakistanis in elections. To provide prompt and financial justice, the party intended to protect judicial independence and implement judicial reforms for an efficient justice system. Reforms to the police force, public services, and land tenure were intended to make these institutions more responsive and equitable. Every resident would have equal and appropriate access to health and education facilities, as well as a unified school system and technical education to help create jobs.

The party aimed to expand the tax base, manage inflation, boost economic activity, generate job opportunities, safeguard labour and fixed-income groups, and attract investors. Workers, technocrats, professionals, and intellectuals would all be given special seats in legislatures. Media freedom would be guaranteed by deterring government intrusion and unfair media regulations, defending journalists' and press workers' rights, and ending government. The PTI's aims included the protection of Pakistan's cultural heritage, the promotion of family values, a foreign policy focused on national interests, good ties with regional and Muslim nations, and support for Kashmir's right to self-determination. The party supported international efforts to establish a just economic system for the whole community. Intra-party conflicts occur in PTI during 2013 elections because of the inclusion of the new members. It conducts the intra-party elections, but it cannot convince the members due to the organization structure and internal conflicts. Most of the members left PTI who contributed to the formation of PTI, and new faces emerge, and they were unable to convince voters about their loyalties because most of them were electable who change their mind during elections (Azhar et al, 2019). Due to this factor, PTI

suffered intra-party conflicts. The organization structure of PTI may change during different time periods.

3.2 Electoral Campaigns Strategies

Pakistan was preparing for an election in early 2013. In 2011, PTI, a right-wing political group, organized a massive protest in Lahore attended by 100,000 people. This marked the beginning of their growing popularity. In rallies around the country, they continued to attract large target groups. Imran Khan, the PTI's leader became popular with 68 percent of respondents observing him positively in a June 2011 Pew Research Centre poll. This was an important rise over 2010, when just 52% were beneficial. People started getting worried how well the PTI would perform in the upcoming elections. Beyond the elections growing support for the PTI has sparked debate in Pakistan about politics and democracy. These debates are significant because they represent how individuals see their relationship with elected officials (Flamenbaum, 2012). During the 2013 Pakistan general elections, PTI aimed to establish vision of "Naya Pakistan" (New Pakistan) and the promise of change and reform that fascinate a significant portion of the public. Anti-corruption measures, good governance, economic changes, improved education and healthcare sector, peace and security, justice system reforms and the empowering of local governments were all part of their agenda. While the PTI did not win a federal majority it became the second-largest party and formed the Government in KP.

Pakistan has a significant number of young people, accounting for more than 60% of the overall population. This demography can significantly boost the country's economic growth. To achieve this, youngsters must engage equally in the democratic voting process. This may be accomplished by teaching them about democratic processes and establishing the values of democracy in them. In Pakistan, around 35% of registered voters are between the ages of 18 -30, with 58% falling between the ages of 18 -40. Political parties have recognised the role of youth in enhancing political progress and change. As a result, they spend significant investments in youth-targeted electoral advertisement during election campaigns. This investment is based on the youth influence in families and society, their engagement in the voting process, their enthusiasm for future party events, their active participation in rallies, strikes, gatherings and their assistance with fund raising efforts (Saud et al, 2020).

Many voters are inexperienced with politics is a major concern for how democracy functions today. This raises the question of not just how voters compensate for this lack of knowledge, but also which voters really receive essential political information when provided the opportunity. During election campaigns, a lot of political information is shared. Political parties and leaders really want to inform people what they believe about important issues, and the media plays an essential role in spreading these concepts. These campaigns provide opportunities for voters to obtain essential political information that will help them make informed decisions (Nadeau et al, 2008). People are increasingly thinking about political campaigns and information efforts in a similar way, such as door to door campaigns and establishing personal contacts, corner meetings, posters, banners, pamphlets etc, advertising through media, cables, and internet, processions and rallies, use of mobile messaging and motivating party workers.

Political parties use a variety of strategies to convince people during their campaigns. In Pakistan's 2013 general elections, most people supported "door-to-door" campaigning and personal interaction with the people. Other strategies like corner meetings, processions, rallies, posters, banners, booklets, pamphlets, media advertising, cable, and internet adverts, encouraging party members to work effectively. The important strategies that PTI use during their election campaigns. Social media was one of the strong instruments in the electoral campaign strategy of PTI. It is a powerful tool to shape public opinion. The most important strategy that PTI use during 2013 elections was youth participation. Rule of law is the basic objective and demand of PTI in electoral campaigns as the need of rule of law to bring change in Pakistan. The promise to eliminate corruption was one of the important factors in their campaigns. The slogan of Naya Pakistan was used by PTI as it promises to build new Pakistan. The Alliances with other political parties play a role in the evolution and performance of PTI during 2013 elections. Many new faces, particularly electable join PTI (Usman et al, 2014). It also plays an important role in PTI performance during the 2013 elections.

During the 2013 elections, PTI campaign strategies highlighted several key issues. Participating in social engagements such as corner meetings, delivering speeches during procession and public rallies, showing messages on posters and banners, spreading information through pamphlets, using media, internet advertising, and encouraging party workers (Usman et al, 2014). During the election campaign leaders address issues both at the local and

national level. Candidates that pay attention to the issues in areas they represent receive more votes from individuals. The PTI election campaign began with the slogans "Change" and "New Pakistan." PTI candidates criticized both the national and provincial administrations for poor leadership throughout their election campaign speech. They promised to transform the way that institutions are organized and administered. People support Imran Khan, the leader of PTI because of his previous achievements to society. As a result, many voters in KP supported him and his party in the 2013 general election (Shah, 2019).

PTI focused on several key issues in their campaigns during the 2013 elections. Anti-corruption measures, economic reforms, good governance, combat terrorism, healthcare improvement, education reforms, infrastructure development and youth Empowerment. The PTI gained support from new social groups. The power and influence of these social groups which have established the party's stable political base are the main reasons for the party's progress. The most important reason is that the youth are the largest voting group, comprising around 64 percent of the population. They are active and prominent supporters of the PTI. People who used to support the other political parties like PPP and PML-N have found the PTI vision for change, and leadership to be more attractive. Pakistan's growing middle classes have now started to lose trust in the country's established political parties, both in rural and urban regions (Rais, 2018).

Political party manifestos serve as a road map presenting a party's aims and goals to enhance the welfare of people. It is highly significant for a country's citizens since they represent the perspective and opinion of the politicians. Different parties work hard to gain support by releasing their manifestos. These manifestos are created with the specific situation in the country, and they also incorporate new plans for the public's benefit. In general, each group tries to show themselves positively in comparison to others. When political parties talk about politics, they frequently discuss what has happened in the past and what wonderful things may come if people vote for them. The context or situation is critical in the creation of these manifestos. These programs consider the country's values and beliefs (Kiran et al, 2020).

According to the PTI manifesto, 60% of Pakistan's population is young. The PTI aims to include youth in politics and local governance. They also seek to develop programs to help young Pakistanis who are unable to read or write. According to the manifesto, PTI would encourage business and training programs for young people. The importance of young people in

the country is highlighted as the country's future depends on its youth (Ali & Rashid, 2020). During 2013 elections PTI highlighted the several goals and objectives. Make Pakistan a sovereign and independent state that become a source of pride for our people. Strengthening democratic institutions while protecting political, economic, and religious freedom. Establish a responsible government to protect people's lives and property. Launch an education revolution to achieve universal literacy and higher educational standards in schools and institutions. Make sure that every citizen has access to sufficient healthcare services. Concentrate on poverty reduction through measures that provide opportunities for employment and empower the poor to own property. Implement a merit-based system that gives equal chances for employment and progress in society, particularly for the working class. Create an environment that encourages private-sector growth, leading to more income and job possibilities. Remove restrictive laws that give police and government bodies too much authority or restrict citizens' rights. Work for a self-sufficient economy that does not rely on foreign help. Encourage regional peace and strengthen our relations with friendly countries (Shah et al, 2017).

The PTI's strategy for a return talk of long-held expectations among our people. It reflects the concept of a modern Islamic republic that values tolerance, moderation, and religious freedom. The PTI is committed to providing trustworthy new leadership to restore Pakistan's authority over politics and the economy by establishing a strong bond between the government and the people (Qayyum, 2022). It believes that only by actively engaging people and by use of human and material resources to progress forward and become a confident and self-sufficient nation. People in Pakistan desire to be treated with respect and dignity. There is no real possibility of addressing the nation's multiple difficulties until we increase the confidence of individuals and restore their faith in political leadership (Nadeem & Mahmood, 2014). This may be done by following the "Unity, Faith, and Discipline" values taught by Quaid-e-Azam. PTI is committed to improving government transparency and universal accountability. Following the principles of parliamentary democracy defined in the 1973 Constitution, the party favors federalism and provincial effective autonomy.

3.3 Role of Media During Pakistan's 2013 Elections

The role of media in society is significant. In democratic countries, it serves as a spokesperson. The media contributes to the development of society. It is important in shaping public opinion,

drawing attention to public issues, and informing people about government actions. The media affects society by spreading information and giving new ideas. It informs the public and provides new concepts. The media helps individuals to understand their country's political system. Therefore, promoting democracy is linked with educating the people and providing them access to get information from the media. The media is a powerful means of communication (Rasool, 2023). It provides critical information to both political leaders and the public. It ensures that everyone, including those who are in rural areas, has access to information. People can form their own opinion based on what they learn from the media.

Media coverage has a huge influence on people's decision-making and opinions. When individuals have access to political information, they generally learn more about the politicians which may affect their voting preferences. This change is based on how they evaluate the candidates. The public also judges leaders based on their behavior in media such as arguments and fights which can influence opinions about their temperament and ethics. Negative behavior by leaders can negatively impact public attitudes towards the political process. There are number of Advertisements in different media sources during the 2013 elections.
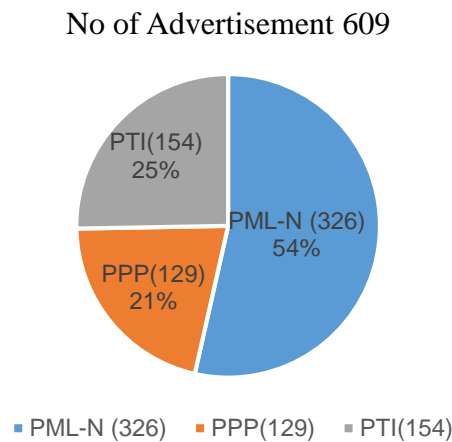
No of Advertisement 609

Figure 10: Source (Gallup Pakistan, 2022)

This table shows the advertisements of major political parties PPP, PTI, and PMLN rather than all active parties dung the 2013 elections. These three claims to represent Pakistan's young individuals aged 18 to 40. These parties ran 609 political advertisements in different

social media sources. PMLN accounted for 54% of these advertisements, while PTI and PPP published 25% and 21%, respectively.

Technology has become quite advanced in the modern era. It facilitates communication. When anything happens in one area of the world information reaches other regions in a matter of seconds. Distance and time have been overcome by technologies such as mobile phones and the Internet. Traditional media such as television and radio have also benefited from these developments. It is a strong mass-media instrument. It has a significant impact on public opinion. It educates individuals on the benefits of politics and encourages them to engage in the electoral procedure. The main objective of the media is to inform and inspire people and television contributes to this goal through current affairs programs, informative shows, entertainment, stories, and other media programs (Safdar et al, 2015). The media plays a vital role in an electoral system, particularly during elections. Under President Musharraf, the media had more freedom to spread information. In the past governments controlled the media. Since 2000, Pakistan's media has developed into a strong and essential element of the state. The media was more open and provided complete coverage of the 2008 general election. PPP became the first democratic party to serve a full five-year term (Sleem & Hanan, 2015). In the 2013 elections, the media focused on political campaigns and party facts. PTI, PPP, and PML-N became major political parties using various media platforms for their campaigns. Political talks on tv programs allow people to find which party and agenda to support. The independence of the media also increased public awareness about the importance of voting (BiBi & Yousaf, 2020).

PTI's rise to popularity may be credited in large part to social media. Different publications and journalists influenced which candidates or parties gained greater attention. The media made decisions on what to cover and what to ignore according to agenda setting theory. Imran Khan received a lot of coverage for his anti-corruption, political mafia, and poverty agenda, as well as his intentions for internal and international policy reforms in Pakistan. The media also promotes political socialization, a process in which every person actively participates in society. It shapes public opinion and establishes patterns. It plays an important role in the democratic process and brings about social change. The media is highly important in elections because it influences how people think. It performs this by spreading information, providing narratives, and influencing conversations. The media through television, social media, and

newspapers, may have a significant impact on how people understand candidates, recognize issues, and view the political environment. Political parties and leaders play critical roles in democratic society. The relationship between political leaders, parties and the public are complex. Leadership is essential in politics and leaders often belong to a political party that represents a variety of social values. The period of elections is critical for the connection between political leaders, the media, and the public. If the media is biased, it can influence people's opinions and so influence election results (Ghani et al, 2020). The media has a large impact on educated people's views while it has less influence on individuals who are not informed. We cannot still ignore the importance of the media in politics.

The general election in Pakistan was held on May 11, 2013. Pakistani politics has been controlled by two main parties the PML-N and the PPP. Despite the participation of several other parties, they have been unable to establish a government. In the 2013 election, a new party known as PTI challenged this power for the first time. The voter participation was 55.02 percent, the highest rate since 1970 and 1977. Pakistan has experienced three martial laws throughout its history. Particularly, this election was the first in which one political party peacefully transfers over control to another (Schoemaker, 2013). Therefore, the established parties-maintained power and PML-N won with the highest majority. While the media had a great important in enhancing the role of PTI and shaping public opinion during the elections but there are still concerns regarding the Pakistani media's overall performance in this democratic process. It shapes public opinion and establishes patterns. It plays an important role in the democratic process and brings about social change. The media is highly important in elections because it influences how people think and react. It involves spreading information, providing narratives, and influencing conversations. Social media and newspapers may have a significant impact on how people understand candidates, recognize issues, and view the political environment (Hussain & Sajid, 2018).

3.4 Pakistan's 2013 Election Results

Pakistan's general elections in 2013 were an important turning point in the country's political landscape. PML-N secured a majority in the National Assembly leading Nawaz Sharif to become Prime Minister for the third time. The elections were notable because they played an important role in the peaceful transfer of power from one civilian government to another and

highlighted an important turning point in Pakistan's democratic history (Samad, 2017). PTI emerged as a key factor in these elections. It did not win a majority at the federal level, but the party performed well and successfully became the second-largest party in terms of popular vote. The PTI victory was most visible in KPK where it became at the provincial level and marking the party's first experience of running a provincial government. The PTI came to power with an agenda of change and reforms in multiple sectors aimed at improving the province's governance structure (Shaukat, 2021).

The PML-N won many seats in Punjab, the country's most populated province. The mandate of the party focused on economic growth, infrastructural projects, and energy initiatives (Ahmed et al, 2017). At the provincial level PTI victory in KP and PPP kept power in Sindh while no one party gained a clear majority in Balochistan enabling a coalition government. Therefore, Negotiations, alliances, and coalition-building were all necessary and part of the process of establishing administrations at both the federal and provincial levels. This period observed political parties perform a difficult task as they worked to accommodate the electorate's various needs and desires (Madni et al, 2014). The 2013 elections saw significant shifts in the political scenario that the PTI emerging as a powerful force threatening traditional political parties' dominance. The elections highlighted the individual's desire for change and reform as seen by the increase in popularity of the PTI particularly among young people. However, the aftermath of the election was not without challenges and allegations. Some political parties raised allegations of irregularities and rigging, provoking protests and calls for election reform. These issues triggered an inquiry of the voting process and an appeal for reforms in future elections.

Distribution of National Assembly seats among the four provinces of Pakistan. The below table shows the results of different political parties during the 2013 elections.

Provinces	Total (272 general seats)	PTI	PML-N	PPP
Punjab	148	8	118	2
KP	35	17	3	0
Sindh	61	1	1	32
Baluchistan	14	0	1	0
FATA	12	1	2	0
Federal capital (Islamabad)	2	1	1	0

Table 1: Different Sources (based on literature) (Syed & Bakht, 2019).

The source for this table is taken from different articles and National Assembly of Pakistan website. The distribution of seats among four provinces of Pakistan. The total general seats were 272 for each party and they won different numbers of seats in each province. As the PTI won 8 seats in Punjab, 17 seats from KP, 1 seat from Sindh, 1 seat from FATA, 1 seat from Islamabad and in Baluchistan it did not get any seat. However, the PML-N got the higher number of seats and formed the government, 118 seats from Punjab, 3 seats in KP, 1 seat from Sindh and 1 seat from Baluchistan, 2 seats from FATA and 1 from Islamabad. PPP maintained their position in Sindh and got a higher number of seats from Sindh 32 and 2 seats from Punjab.

Total seats won in National assembly of Pakistan.

Party	National Assembly Seats
PML-N	148
PPP	46
PTI	35

Table 2: Source (Niaz, 2020), Pakistan National Assembly website

This table discusses the total general seats won by the major political parties, PML-N, PPP and PTI during the 2013 election. The PTI did not perform well in the 2013 elections. The PML-N maintained control of Punjab and took over the federal government as the largest party

with an absolute majority. The PML-N won 129 general seats with support from 19 independent members of the National Assembly. They also appointed 6 minority and 35 female representatives of parliament making a total of 189 seats out of 342. The PPP won 46 seats, while the PTI only won 35 (Niaz, 2020). Even though the PPP did not do as well as any previous elected administration in Pakistan as it lost control of the federal government while maintaining its traditional power base in Sindh province. In May 2013, Pakistan conducted elections for 272 seats in the National Assembly. The voter turnout was 55.2%. However, elections in NA 38 the Kurram region Agency were cancelled due to safety concerns. Furthermore, on May 11, 2013, the voting in NA 254 Karachi stopped due to bad administration. Therefore, results for 270 National Assembly seats were announced after the last general election (Zia, 2013).

3.4.1 Impact of PTI on Political Participation

PTI under Imran Khan's leadership represented a turning point in Pakistani politics in the 2013 elections. The PTI's ability to mobilize and engage with young people was important to its electoral success. Imran Khan's charismatic leadership and vision of change and reforms connected with a significant number of people particularly the young people that creating new energy into the political scenario. The PTI goal to transform Pakistan into Islamic state (Riyasat e Madinah) stance to eliminate corruption, end dynastic politics and focus on economy was a key component of its electoral campaign (Hussain et al, 2021). Imran Khan focused strongly for accountability and transparency in administration and committing to address long-standing corruption concerns in Pakistani politics. PTI achieved significant electoral gains, obtaining the second-highest number of votes in the general elections. The party moved on to establish the provincial administration in KP breaking with major political parties such as the PPP and the PML-N.

The rise of the PTI initiated calls for electoral reform with the party claiming election irregularities and taking influencing measures to ensure free and fair election in the future. The focus on electoral reform became an important part of the PTI political platform. Furthermore, Imran Khan's idea of a "Naya Pakistan" or "New Pakistan" attracted the significant attention of the public and promising an end with previous politics and a commitment to bringing out positive change. This vision was essential to the PTI narratives and connected with those individuals looking for a change from the current regime. While the PTI had a significant

influence on Pakistan political scenario, but it also had had to face challenges and criticisms such as the need to transform promises into real acts, governance concerns and as well as internal party conflicts (Saleem & Hanan, 2015). Therefore, the rise of PTI in the 2013 elections reflected a turning point in Pakistani politics and bringing a new political narrative influencing policy debate and leading to a more competitive and dynamic political scene.

The PTI faced several challenges throughout its political campaign and following governance. Given the party's early basis its primary challenge was its limited organizational structure which limited its ability to compete with stronger political institutions. Furthermore, the Party face criticisms for Imran Khan's lack of political experience and supporters questioning his ability to govern the country effectively. Strong opposition from well-established parties, allegations of electoral irregularities, and security concerns in particular areas delayed the PTI's electoral path further (Ullah et al, 2020). The party's ideological claims such as eliminating corruption and rapidly changing governance system were called into question due to their practical survival. Internal conflict and division among party members and media scrutiny increased the challenges. The high expectations established by the PTI desired program became difficult to maintain. Despite these challenges, the PTI dedication and ability to overcome some of issues helped its ultimate rise as a strong political force and establishing the provincial government in KPK and influencing national politics (Mustafa & Bengali, 2013).

Coalition politics plays an important part in today's national governance. It plays a role in politics because it brings small political groups together and reduces the possibility of major disputes. Coalitions are classified into two types: those established after elections to create a government and those formed before elections. Political parties provide a link between the government and the citizens. Regional parties or pressure groups hardly obtain a majority in elections. If they are out of power for a long period of time, they lose influence and may not receive votes. As a result, to solve their community's challenges they must form a coalition and hold an equal amount of government power (Nasir & Faqir, 2021). According to (Downs, 1957) "A coalition of men seeking to control the governing apparatus by legal means". Coalition means a group of individuals who have certain goals in common and cooperate with each other to achieve them. After the announcement of results of 2013 general elections, the leader of different political parties' support PTI to form coalition government in KP. Imran khan also had

telephonic conversation with Aftab Ahmad khan Sherpao (chairman of QWP) for this purpose. PTI, QWP and JI agreed to form coalition government. Pervaiz Khattak said that: "Establishing peace, ending corruption and immediately conducting local bodies election will be the top priorities of our government," Implementing uniform education system throughout the province, providing better health facilities in government hospitals and reforms in police system will also be dealt on a priority basis. PTI, JI and QWP have agreed to work on one agenda for the development of K-P and its people (The Express tribune. May 17, 2013).

The PTI, JI, and QWP have agreed on a power-sharing structure for forming a coalition government in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Three ministries were given to QWP and JI. JI was given the ministry of Finance, education, and Usher-zakat. Deputy speaker of KP provincial assembly, one senior minister and a minister was given to QWP (The Nation. May 16,2013). The coalition of AJIP with PTI remained long lasting. AJIP was founded by Liaquat khan Tarakai of Swabi. It got one seat in the National Assembly and three seats in provincial assembly and formed coalition partnership with PTI. The coalition of AJIP reaches its climax when it merges with PTI. The main reason behind it was the promise of awarding party tickets to contest senate election (Dawn. Feb 23,2015). The differences emerge soon between the QWP and PTI and PTI ended its Alliances with QWP because of the corruption charges on 13th November 2013. According to the PTI two ministries belonging to the QWP were involved in corruption practices and poor performance (The Nation. Nov 14, 2013). CM of KP Pervaiz Khattak plays an important role in coalition of QWP with PTI. When this coalition ended, he stressed to resume it. There was difference between the QWP and PTI, but on the insistence of Khattak it was resumed. Imran khan warned Khattak that no lawmaker is appointed as a minister unless he has a clean past as party don't want to lose its popularity because of other wrong doings (The Nation. Sep 30, 2015). On 30th September 2015, QWP rejoined and became the coalitions partner of PTI. JI is one of the coalitions partners of PTI as both have some common objectives. Both parties were against corruption and wanted to eliminate the corruption. They are in favor of making Pakistan as an Islamic welfare state. PTI was satisfied with JI performance as a coalition partner (The Express Tribune. May 21,2016). Although both the PTI and JI were not on the same page regarding the issue of sit-in, but they were united issue of Panama case.

3.5 Sit-In Politics

People were surprised by the 2013 election outcomes because it failed to deliver the expected wave of change for a "New Pakistan" led by PTI. Despite media and popular expectation of people form Imran khan, the well-known party PML-Nawaz formed the government at federal level. The PTI, which focuses on eliminating corruption, remained at provincial level and the PPP scored second in the national parliament (Chowdhry, 2013). However, there were various challenges and controversies for the elected government. After the 2013 general elections, PTI carefully accept the results while demanding an inquiry into fraud in four regions. Although organizing rallies and submitting a 2100-page white paper on rigging, no action was taken. Imran Khan criticized the Supreme Court for not reviewing the results, ignoring proof and leaks from Afzal Khan. The court rejected the appeal for a lack of clear and compelling evidence as required under Pakistani law. During protests, Imran Khan expressed his unhappiness with the legal system and the Election Commission (Ullah et al, 2020). In April 2014, the PTI officially began an anti-rigging struggle. Tahir-ul-Qadri's political march, the Inqilab March, occurred jointly with the PTI's Azadi March, with similar aims achieved separately. Initially, the leaders of PAT and PTI demanded the Prime Minister to resign. Therefore, PPP leaders and other Pakistani officials criticized the action as threatening the democratic system.

The 126-day Dharna in Islamabad's D Chowk ended on December 16, 2014. The march stopped after Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan launched a terrorist attack on APS in Peshawar, killing 150 people, including 132 students. Imran Khan called off the march on December 17, 2014, saying, "Due to the current situation in the country national unity is urgently needed so we have decided to stop our protests." This decision was made in reaction to the terrorist attack on the Peshawar APS. Former President and PPP co-chairperson Asif Ali Zardari welcomed the move calling it "a step in the right direction at a time when all attention must be focused on combating the nation's critical threat"(Gohar et al, 2022). Positive improvements in Pakistan-Afghanistan relations were observed in 2015 that could contribute to stronger cooperation towards cross-border terrorism. However, the situation in India showed little change. His main internal concern was addressing and eliminating terrorism especially after the destroying Peshawar school a tragedy in 2014 which killed 7,500 people. The eastern border with India saw periodic exchanges

of fire while the western border with Iran and Afghanistan saw attacks that affected counter-terrorism activities. Cross-border movement of non-state actors remained a key concern requiring neutral cooperation between Pakistan and Afghanistan to successfully combat terrorism (Malik, 2015). There were a lot of political crises in 2014 but in 2015 political parties needed to work together to address critical issues such as terrorism, law enforcement, and peacekeeping. This collaboration consists more of a response to public demand than an informal relationship as shown by the creation of all parties' national action plan.

The Supreme Court removed Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif from office in July 2017 on corruption allegations just four years after he won the 2013 election and established a majority government. While many in the legal community criticized the decision, the establishment supports it. PTI used strong social media presence and connections to the large Pakistani population globally. Khan created a popular narrative in which he criticized the Sharifs and other PML-N officials for corruption. He held them accountable along with the PPP for the difficulties facing Pakistan's poorest population. While this strategy gained popularity, he won the 2018 elections largely due to the military's support. Khan was not chosen by a single general but by the entire high command (Jalal, 2024). In the 2013 election, the PTI form the government in KP and emerged as the second largest party in Pakistan. The PTI utilized the social media platforms to connect with the young voters who were attracted to the khan charismatic leadership style and the party anti-corruption agendas. Social media plays an important role in shaping and changing public opinion according to the agenda setting theory. PTI organized large public rallies and social gatherings to attract the attention of the public and get the support of the young generation. Moreover, the PTI campaigns and their manifestos like the anti-corruption, good governance, reforms in education and health care sectors, creation of job opportunities for young people get the attention of the public. The concept of Naya Pakistan also gets the attention of many young people that benefit the PTI to came at provincial level.

Chapter 4
Role of PTI in Pakistan 2018 General Elections

This chapter discuss the 2018 general elections, focusing on the major role of PTI during the 2018 elections, the vision of Naya Pakistan, the important factors that benefited the PTI during election campaigns. It explains the role of electable during the 2018 general election and the strategies that PTI use to influence the young people. This also gives a short comparison of the 2013 and 2018 elections. It gives a good understanding of the role of PTI and the factors that initiate the PTI victory in 2018 elections. The chapter concluded with flexible and thorough evaluation of elections results.

4.1 Political Scenario During 2018 Elections

On July 25, 2018, Pakistan conducted its eleventh general election. This was the second time in Pakistan's history when one elected government completed its term and transfer the power to another. The first time this happened was in 2013, when the PPP administration transferred power to the PML-N. On August 18, 2018, Imran Khan became 22nd Prime Minister of Pakistan. Before the elections PML-N and PTI will compete effectively in the National Assembly elections. However, there were many claims of military intervention in the democratic process even before the elections (Mufti, 2022). There were allegations of rigging on election day itself. Many people believe that the military influenced the outcome of the election resulting in a divided Assembly with the PTI having the most seats. The regaining of democratic authority in 2008 following almost 9 years of military dictatorship was seen positively. However, the 2018 election shows that, despite the civilian governance, the military continues to play an important role in politics. In the last two elections, governments led by the PPP and PML-N attempted to function independently of the military, creating suspicion in civil-military relations. Before the 2018 elections, it was evident that the military intended to influence the outcome. Serious allegations of election process influence by the military were raised but it was hard to verify this claim clearly (Behera, 2018).

Pakistan's second successful transition to democracy reflects a change towards a political system of Pakistan in which the nobody longer tries to undermine democracy but rather supports it in determining political leadership (Corsi, 2018). During the 2018 elections, the PTI stance

was to focus on the common issue related to the public. It highlighted the anti-corruption efforts, governance issues, youth involvement, inclusive economic growth, political changes, and infrastructural development, creating job opportunities with a particular emphasis on welfare and national security. The vision of Naya Pakistan, and the promise of change and reforms that fascinate a wide range of public. It provides a compelling story of change and reforms in Pakistan's political scenario. The use of social media for political campaigns and addressing crucial political, social, and economic issues and their solution were highlighted during election campaigns. These strategies led to the success of PTI during the 2018 general elections (Begum, 2022).

On July 9, 2018, PTI Chairman Imran Khan released the party's manifesto, titled "The Road to Naya Pakistan." The PTI was the only major party to announce its manifesto. PTI gave it policy for the national security. The PTI claims that important national security decisions would be taken after discusses with key stakeholders in a National Security Organisation headed by the Prime Minister. We need an institutional structure for effective internal security. A National Security Organisation (NSO) is essential for bringing all stakeholders together to design and observe the systematic execution of a national security strategy. The Prime Minister should serve as the NSO's chairman. The PTI has shifted its focus away from negotiation with militants, rejecting the idea that "the war on terror is not our war." The party promises to completely implement the National Action Plan, cut off terrorist financing, and take serious action against militants who refused to surrender. Furthermore, the PTI has promised to address the legitimate problems of the people in the devastated by war provinces of FATA and Balochistan. Pakistan would not allow any nation to use its territory, people, or military forces for the purpose of political ideology, hegemony, terrorism, or state instability. The PTI will enforce and completely execute the National Action Plan, as well as Pakistan's international counterterrorism commitments. They will stop terrorist funding by establishing a strong National Terrorist Financing Investigation Cell (NTFIC). Extreme terrorists who refuse to disarm and submit to the state will be eliminated. As part of a comprehensive cooperative military-civilian action plan aimed at isolation, elimination, and back avoiding them (Shehzad, 2018).

The PTI and the PML-N realise the significance of establishing a counter-ideological narrative. While the PTI aims to achieve this through religious authority, it has also incorporated

changes in madrassas, the criminal justice system, and anti-terror legislation in its Defence and National Security strategy. Educate people by developing a counter-ideological narrative with the assistance of religious scholars. Improve madrassas by modernising the curriculum and offering better educational resources. Reform the criminal justice system as soon as possible and evaluate anti-terrorism legislation. The PTI seems Pakistan has not taken full advantage of its geographical position. To correct this, it suggests enhancing the Foreign Office's ability to protect Pakistan's interests overseas. The party emphasises its commitment to preventing other states from using Pakistani territory or armed forces for further their ideological or geopolitical ambitions. The external security promises were to: Make defence and security strategy flexible to address developing threats at several levels, including the linked at internal and external aspects of terrorism. Maintain the credibility of Pakistan's overall deterrent strategy. And engage in extensive bilateral strategic talks with India on all areas of strategic nuclear deterrence, with the goal of preventing the region's nuclear arms race for further increasing. Support for equality in all arms control and peace efforts, especially global disarmament of nuclear weapons. (The Express Tribune, March 22, 2018).

4.1.1 The Role of Electable During the 2018 Elections

In third-world countries with inadequate political party organizations electable are common. Pakistan's political system characterized by weak parties and organization structure frequently highlights electable during elections. Apart from organizational issues money resources are critical in Pakistani politics with candidates spending a lot of money during elections. As a result, politics in Pakistan is often seen as a money game with party tickets going to candidates with strong financial holdings and a track record of winning seats (Islam et al, 2019).

In the past, political electable were referred to as "lotacracy," which was a type of horse trading. However, the PTI which included many such groupings in the July 2018 general elections contributed to the current rise in electable. PTI gave over a hundred tickets to these electable who had switched allegiances from the Pakistan Muslim League-N and the PPP (Khan, 2022). During the 2018 elections, the PTI strayed from its promise to bring in effective leaders. It excluded its ideological supporters and provided tickets to traditional politicians who had served in Musharraf's cabinet as well as Zardari and Nawaz regimes. The PTI supported these

traditional politicians exclusively for their capacity to win an election. As a result, the PTI seems to be heavily influenced by this group of politicians. Many political parties participated in the 2018 general elections providing their agendas to attract the public's attention. While all these parties maintained their seats at provincial level. PTI emerged as the major party gaining the most seats in the election and achieving federal power. The PTI's attractive political efforts particularly targeting young people to gain electoral support. There are many political parties that contested for election but the mainstream parties that previously remain in government are mentioned here. The major political parties that contested for 2018 general elections were PTI, PML-N and PPP (Bibi & Bashir, 2022).

Imran Khan formed his government in 2018 with the backing of electable candidates. Despite his widespread popularity, his party was only able to secure a majority in the National Assembly after receiving support from delectables who had joined the PTI before the elections. During the 2018 general elections more than 60 electable joined the PTI from Punjab, many of them were previously associated with the PML-N and PPP. According to allegations made by Sharif's party the establishment convince these leaders to transfer loyalty from PML-N to PTI enabling Imran to rise to power (Amin, 2024). However, the PTI and its leader are equally convinced that political power in Pakistan cannot be gained without the backing of these "electable." They claim that many people in the country support these "electable" because of their considerable social role and influence. Pakistan's parliamentary political system has reinforced the tribal and baradari systems, leading to severe political instability. The rise of "electable" is a direct outcome of this circumstance, and all political parties must recognise their value, even if they are viewed as problematic (Khan, 2018).

List of electable who joined PTI during 2018 elections.

Name of electable	Previous party	Year of joining PTI	Ministries
Omer Ayub Khan	PMLN	2015	Serve as a Minister
Noor Ul Haq Qadri	PPP	2017	Serve as a Minister
Noor Alam Khan	PPP	2018	Serve as a Minister
Major (R) Tahir Sadiq	PMLN	2017	Member of National

			Assembly
Sardar Zulfiqar Khan Dulha	PMLN	2018	Member Of National Assembly
Amir Sultan Cheema	PMLNQ	2018	Member Of Provincial Assembly
Sahibzada Muhammad Ameer Sultan	PMLN	2018	Independent Candidate
Makhdoom Khusro Bakhtiyar	PMLN	2018	Serve as a Minister
Sardar Muhammad Laghari	PMLNQ	2018	Serve as a Minister
Nasrullah Khan Dreshak	Independent	2018	Member of National Legislature
Amir Liaqat Hussain	MQM	2018	National Assembly Legislature
Saleh Muhammad Khan	Independent	2018	Serve as a Minister
Muhammad Sana Ullah Khan Masti Khail	PMLN	2018	Independent candidate
Syed Fakhar Imam	Independent	2018	Independent candidate before joining PTI, serve as Minister
Muhammad Asim Nazir	PMLN	2018	Serve as a Minister
Muhammad Shabir Ali	Independent	2018	Independent candidate
Muhammad Amjad Farooq Khan Khosa	PMLN	2018	National Association Member
Ch Tahir Iqbal	PMLN	2018	Independent candidate
Amir Talal Gopang	PMLN	2018	Member of National Assembly
Khawja Sheraz Mehmood	PPP	2018	Member of National Parliaments
Dr. Muhammad Afzal Khan	PMLN	2018	Member of National Assembly

Dr. Ramesh Kumar Vankwani	PMLN	2018	Member Of National Assembly (Reserved seats for minorities)
Makhdom Ahmad Alam Anwar	PMLN	2018	Member Of National Assembly
Shah Mehmood Qureshi	PTI	2013 & 2018	Foreign Minister
Firdos Ashiq Awan	PPP	2018	Information Ministry

Table 3: Source (Bilal, 2023) (Junaidi, 2018).

The list of the electable who join PTI during the 2018 election. The candidate belongs to the different political parties later they joined PTI. In the political culture of Pakistan, they emerged as a candidate when the national elections are around. The PTI has accepted this trend, despite its support for change and a corruption-free Pakistan. The party used the term "Wicket gira de" for the electable who switched their loyalty to them. The high significance of electable in elections derives mostly from weak political parties and a lack of organisational structure. Another reason for awarding tickets to electable is their money, as financial resources are important in Pakistani political culture. Without money, a political worker can not progress in the party. Candidates spend millions of rupees on election campaigns. Therefore, parties' favour those who have substantial financial backing. Before the 2018 election, PTI engaged several Party members. According to information, the PTI was the largest party in the 2018 general election, distributing more than 100 tickets to electable (Islam, 2019). This led to clashes between ideological workers and immigrants. The ticket-awarding technique was very controversial making difficulties for board. In Baluchistan, the entire PMLN parliamentary party resigned to form the Baluchistan Awami Party (BAP), and Punjab became a hub for electable who left PMLN for PTI. Most electable are based in rural areas due to their strong family ties and local influence and many voters are unaware of political party manifestos and programmes leading to a reliance on electable, making it seem like a myth that ordinary people could contest elections (Rehman, 2018).

4.1.2 Youth Participation During 2018 Elections

In Pakistan's 2018 elections, youth participation played an important role in changing the political landscape. A significant rise in voter registration among young people was observed,

showing a greater interest and involvement in the election process. Social media platforms have become efficient tools for political mobilization, enabling young people to organize and express their opinions. Several campaigns and initiatives evolved to promote issues such as education, employment, and social justice. This increasing engagement did not stop at the elections many young people campaigned for elections leading to a shift in demographic representation in politics (Ali & Zikria, 2020).

Public Opinions
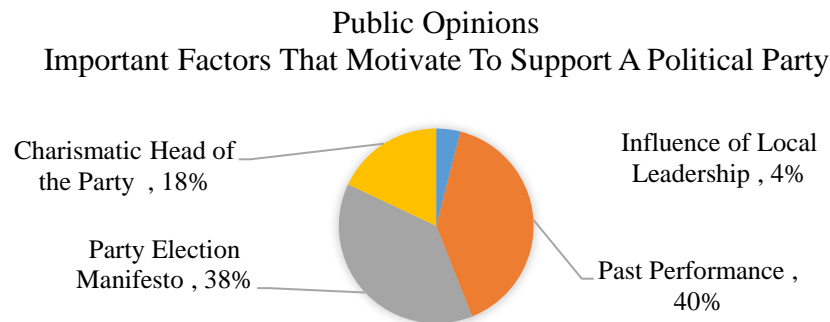Important Factors That Motivate To Support A Political Party

Figure 10: Source (Gallup Pakistan, 2022)

This figure shows some important factors that motivate individuals to support a political party according to the survey. A leader's past performance influences an individual about 40% to participate in politics, party elections manifesto influence about 38%, charismatic head of party 18% and local leadership has a less influence on individual participation almost 4%. Therefore, the party manifesto plays an important role in party position and developing public opinion.

Political parties worked hard during the 2018 election to get the attention of many young voters. While there may be many reasons for engaging young people, certain factors have been observed to promote their involvement. Young people have an important influence in convincing their family members to vote for a particular political party. They are also effective in convincing others in their communities, universities, streets, villages, and towns. Young voters play an important role in door-to-door electoral campaigns. They can convince others to vote on Election Day. They are excellent in managing voting centers, coordinating election-related activities, and avoiding violence. Young voters are viewed as the future strength of political parties. They can serve as voters and party workers for a long period of time. With the proper education and

training people may make important contributions to the country. Political parties seek success by concentrating on the youth.

Young people can prove major supporters for political parties in decisions such as protests, strikes, rallies, and change making events. They can organize events at all levels, including local, regional, and national ones, such as sporting events, academic contests, festivals, conferences, and seminars. Young people are very useful in fundraising for political parties and crisis assistance. These factors are significant in Pakistani politics and political parties prioritize reaching out to young voters. However, each party may have additional considerations based on their individual interests (Anwar & Hussain, 2024). The electoral strategy plays an important role in the evolution of PTI. Due to the electoral strategy and sound manifestos the strength of PTI increased rapidly. Therefore, it became the largest political party of Pakistan in the 2018 general elections. PTI used various campaign strategies during the 2018 elections. The party highlighted anti-corruption messages promising transparent and accountable administration. The leader of PTI was a key figure in the campaigns, presenting himself as a charismatic and credible leader. The party made great use of social media including Facebook and Twitter, to reach out to a younger audience and spread its message (Pasha et al, 2021).

The PTI electoral campaign also focused on essential policy issues including economic reforms, education, healthcare, reforms in governance system, and justice system improvements. The party organized large rallies and public gatherings with a focus on involving young people. Imran Khan's emphasis on a "New Pakistan" attracted a significant number of people giving a vision of change and reform (Shafqat, 2018). PTI also developed strategic agreements with electable to strengthen its electoral possibilities. The party's entire strategy included charismatic leadership, social media advertising, policy concentration, and strategic political alliances to appeal to a wide range of people and gain success in the 2018 elections. During Pakistan's 2018 election, PTI campaigned on important issues. The party emphasized the need for anti-corruption measures and a transparent administration. However, Economic changes such as poverty reduction and creation of jobs were key to their goal. PTI also promised to make reform in education and healthcare sectors seeking to enhance accessibility and quality in these areas. The PTI electoral strategy also included improvements to the justice system that is concerned about

national security, and it also promised to address environmental issues. These issues were the center of the PTI campaigns during the 2018 elections.

The agenda of the PTI during the 2018 general elections was very attractive. It had a deep impact on the minds of the people. On July 9, 2018, PTI released their manifesto which highlighted the popular slogan "Road to Naya (New) Pakistan." Under the leadership of Imran Khan, the PTI made commitments to transform Pakistan into an honest Islamic welfare state, maintain no tolerance for corruption, provide autonomy to the National Accountability Bureau, implement significant reforms in the judiciary, address issues in Baluchistan to promote peace, establish South Punjab as a new province, improve education through curriculum changes, generate 10 million jobs for the youth (Sarwar et al, 2020). This manifesto particularly fascinates the young people as it contains a thorough list of promises and goals. The second item on the manifesto to focuses on enhancing the federation by combining FATA and KP, creation of a south Punjab province, encouraging peace in Baluchistan, promoting political and economic growth in Gilgit Baltistan, protecting minorities' constitutional rights, reducing poverty, introduce social safety nets, and ensuring a greater role for Pakistanis living abroad. The third agenda in PTI's manifesto revolves around inclusive economic growth, aiming to create a business-friendly environment that facilitate the small and medium sized enterprises, address the energy crisis, implement a policy structure, generate employment opportunities, promise of reform, and change in healthcare sector. It would also ensure that the China Pakistan economic corridor to translate into a game changer project. PTI has carefully prepared its manifesto to influence Pakistani voters (Pasha et al, 2021).

In political campaigns social media is a powerful force with a significant impact on public opinion. It goes beyond traditional methods of information exchange, and it is critical to the quick transfer of communication. The 2018 elections saw significant reliance on information and communication technology, that is the use of social media and internet. Political parties, voters, and supporters used social media actively throughout election campaigns and to promote their agendas. The active participation of social media groups was critical in mobilizing individuals and helping parties' election success. Almost 44 million individuals in Pakistan have access to social media with approximately 3 million regularly using Twitter. In Pakistan's 2018 elections, use of social media platforms was critical for shaping people's political opinions.

These social networks were regarded as essential for political communication (Muzaffar et al, 2020). In recent years, the PTI has become an established force on social media. The party actively uses media groups to promote its platform, agenda, vision, and programs. PTI activists use social media to spread misinformation against rival parties and their leaders. Notably, PTI Chairman Imran Khan's official Facebook page, "Naya Pakistan," has the most followers compared to the other parties (Bajwa et al, 2022).

This trend gets worse by the challenges connected with physical campaigning in Pakistan where security concerns lead to violent attacks on party officials and candidates in recent elections. Furthermore, the use of internet sources and digital technology enables rapid delivery of information to millions of users at once. According to the 2018 polls, 43.82% of all voters on electoral rolls were between the age of 18 to 35. Therefore, the active use of social media and the participation of youth during election campaigns play an important role during 2018 elections. Thus, the media set the agenda and spreads the news and information that was most related to the public and change their opinion and they vote for the party that fulfills their needs and demands as above-mentioned in the agenda setting theory.

Voted for on Election Day 2018			
Percent share in Gain and Loss			
Switching Behavior	PML-N	PTI	PPP
Switching to (gain)	12	42	10
Switching away (loss)	39	20	13
Net gain	-27	+22	-3

Table 4: Source (Gallup Pakistan, 2022)

The PTI received 22% of the vote share among the 18% of voters who changed their voting decision because of political media campaigns. In contrast, the PML-N and PPP lost 27% and 3% of their votes respectively.

Imran Khan, the former leader of the Pakistan cricket team led the PTI which introduced creative slogans into Pakistani electoral politics. During its initial entry into electoral politics the PTI promoted its ambitious slogan "Change" (Tabdeli), which connected particularly with the middle class and young men and women. Millions of people vote in favor of the PTI reform

program in the 2013 general election due to concerns about the economy, inflation, unemployment, and poverty (Serfraz, 2020). The PTI pro-change position encouraged anti-status norm emotions, holding the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz and Pakistan People's Party accountable for public difficulties. In preparation for the 2018 general election, PTI launched new slogans centered on its message of a corruption-free Pakistan, "Naya Pakistan" (New Pakistan), based on the Riyasat-e-Madina, and the unification concept of "not two, but one Pakistan" (do nahi aik Pakistan) (Shah, 2022). Through such narratives, the PTI promoted an equal society with effective government based on merit. However, khan appointed dr. Atif Mian as in his economic advisory council and he belonged to a member of Ahmadi group minority. Imran khan faced criticism due to this act from the religious parties and groups and lost their vote bank (Sayeed, 2018).

During Pakistan's 2018 elections, opposition parties played an active role in the political process. Opposition parties participated actively in election campaigns presenting alternative programs and criticizing the winning party's performance. The elections were disrupted by claims of electoral fraud with various opposition parties including the PML-N, PPP, and MMA, raising concerns about the election process. Legal challenges and appeals were filed by the opposition mainly the PML-N, leading to a complicated post-election environment. In the parliamentary arena, opposition parties played an important role by engaging in debates and holding the administration accountable for its activities. Protests and rallies were planned to expose alleged differences and raise popular support. The opposition also sought international participation, contacting international observers and organizations to validate their concerns. Following the election, debates among opposition parties about coalitions and partnerships helped to alter the political landscape. The wide and active engagement of opposition parties influenced the overall dynamics of the 2018 elections and after political landscape in Pakistan (Bibi et al, 2022).

According to the Gallup survey 2022, there are several reasons for the low youth voter turnout in Pakistan, such as poor performance of the of politicians, low trust in political parties, poor performance of ECP in the past, lack of awareness about the significance of the vote, believe that individual vote will make a difference and non-awareness of the political scene (Gall up, 2022).

4.2 Pakistan's 2018 Election Results

Pakistan has conducted general elections every five years. The most recent elections took place on July 25, 2018. The time between the 2013 and 2018 elections saw major shifts in political landscapes and voter preferences. For the last three decades, the PML-N and PPP have dominated the country's political landscape, with the PML-Q governing for eight of these periods.

In the 2018 elections, the PTI won the majority with 149 members in the National Assembly, while the PML-N received just 82 seats, half of what they had in 2013. The Panama Papers and the PTI's anti-corruption campaign had a negative impact on the PML-N which won 61 seats in Punjab and only two in KPK while no seats were obtained in Sindh, Baluchistan, Islamabad, or FATA. In contrast, the PTI gained seats in all provinces. FATA was not yet completely merged into KPK till the 2018 general elections (Gilani, 2023).

This table shows the province wise party position in National Assembly of Pakistan during the 2018 elections.

Provinces	Total (272 general seats)	PTI	PML-N	PPP
Punjab	141	66	64	6
KPK	39	30	3	0
Sindh	61	16	0	36
Baluchistan	16	2	0	0
FATA	12	6	0	1
Federal capital (Islamabad)	3	3	0	0

Table 5: source (Gupta, 2018), (Butt, 2022).

The sources for this table were taken from different articles and National Assembly of Pakistan website. The distribution of seats among four provinces of Pakistan. The total general seats were 272 for each party and they won different numbers of seats in each province. As the PTI won 66 seats in Punjab, 30 seats from KP, 16 seats from Sindh, 6 seats from FATA, 3 seat from Islamabad and 2 seats from Baluchistan. However, the PML-N get 64 seats from Punjab, 3

seats in KP, and no seat from Sindh, Baluchistan, FATA, and Islamabad. PPP maintained their position in Sindh and got higher number of seats from Sindh 36 and 1 seat from FATA and 6 seats from Punjab.

Total seats won in National Assembly of Pakistan.

Party	National Assembly Seats
PML-N	67
PPP	43
PTI	123

Table 6: Source ECP website (General Elections 2018, 2018)

The total number of seats that each party get in national assembly of Pakistan. The PML-N won 67 general seats in the National Assembly. The PPP won 43 seats and maintained their position in Sindh, while the PTI only got a majority of seats and formed the government at federal level for the first time.

4.2.1 Important Factors Benefited PTIs Success

A political party that had previously obtained only 31 National Assembly seats in the 2013 General Elections emerged as the largest political party in the 2018 General Elections. There are the following reasons:

Almost 35 percent of Pakistan's registered voters are between the ages of 18 to 35 and 58 percent fall between the age of 18 to 40. The PTI leadership intentionally targeted and engaged young people in politics and establishing an active youth wing within the party. This group remained highly motivated during protests, rallies, and public meetings, both before and throughout the election campaign. The party effectively utilized print, electronic, and social media outlets (Saud, 2018). Many young voters expressed significant support for PTI. The desire for a corruption-free Pakistan attracted significant number of people. In the 2013 election campaign, the PML-N challenged PPP leader Asif Ali Zardari on corruption allegations, winning a majority of National Assembly seats and becoming in the government. A similar scenario occurred during the 2018 general elections when PTI head Imran Khan alleged PML-N leadership of corruption. This anti-corruption attitude was essential in attracting supporters with the promise of building a corruption-free country (Arshad, 2020).

The PTI 2014 sit-in was a response to alleged voting irregularities that benefited the party in the 2018 elections by presenting itself as an enemy of corruption and inefficiencies. The sit-in increased PTI popularity, and it connected with the people and contributed to the party election success in 2018. PTI leaders effectively communicated political slogans like "vote for change" and "vote for a new Pakistan," making a lasting impact on the public. The succeeding PTI platform which promised the creation of new job opportunities, the elimination of poverty, and the construction of an economically stable Pakistan had a significant impact on voters' political decisions. The PML-N leadership claimed that the establishment and state intelligence services helped the PTI by establishing the JPSM (*Junoobi Punjab Suba Mahaz*). This group was mostly made up of PML-N dissidents who joined the PTI and helped it to gain a majority in the National Assembly (Javed, 2021). The Supreme Court of Pakistan's deciding against PML-N leader and former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in the Panama Papers case benefited and made the PTI anti-corruption stance stronger. Therefore, in the 2018 General Elections PTI won and became in government at federal level. Except for the PTI, all political parties disagreed with the 2018 election results claiming different forms of election manipulation. Asfandyar Wali Khan, President of the ANP accused the ECP, Pakistan Army, and the caretaker government of rigging. Major political parties such as the PML-N, PPP, and MMA all raised claims of rigging and chose to examine the matter in parliament. They claimed that the vote count declarations were not made in the presence of their representatives, and that copies of forms 45 and 46 were not provided to them or published publicly. The Results Transmission System (RTS) failed to send results from voting locations to Returning Officers. The ECP took 56 hours to release 99% of the results, raising concerns about the accuracy of the results (Ullah & Khan, 2020).

Following the 2018 elections, PTI faced several challenges. Economic issues, political opposition, legal and accountability issues, national security concerns, and managing the public's opinions and expectations was critical to PTI government. Implementing social welfare programmes, enhancing public services, and advocating for institutional reforms need a collaborative and strategic approach. Internationally, maintaining diplomatic ties to promote Pakistan interests on the world stage complicated the PTI challenges. The COVID-19 pandemic created significant challenges for PTI. Managing healthcare crises and economic crises as well as adopting effective measures and responding to public concerns were essential responsibilities. The need for healthcare infrastructure, economic support, and managing the pandemic's

complicated dynamics. These all test the PTI's governance and crisis management capabilities (Torri et al, 2020).

During its tenure, PTI achieved notable goals in various sectors. The government implemented economic reforms to stabilize the economy, launched social welfare programs like Ehsaas to support vulnerable populations, and focused on improving education and healthcare. Environmental sustainability was addressed through initiatives like Clean and Green Pakistan. Anti-corruption measures were emphasized, and infrastructure projects aimed at enhancing connectivity were undertaken. PTI also worked on strengthening diplomatic ties, initiating police reforms, and promoting digital transformation across sectors. While opinions may differ on the effectiveness of these efforts, they collectively reflect PTI diverse initiatives during its time in government (Bano, 2021). During the PTI tenure, considerable civil service reforms took place to promote efficiency and transparency. These changes attempted to accelerate bureaucratic processes, improve professionalism, and implement merit-based appointments. The objective was to establish a civil service structure that was more flexible and responsible, to promote effective governance and public service delivery (Bashir & Malik, 2021).

4.3 Success and Failure of PTI Government

In 2018 general elections, the PTI gained 149 seats in the National Assembly due to effective campaigns and charismatic leadership. The party's leader addressed common public concerns, which gained huge support from the public. PTI claimed to address economic challanges, governance issues, reform in education and healthcare sector, strengthen the judicial system, and create 10 million jobs for young people. These issues were the center of the PTI campaigns during the 2018 elections. There are some key issues that PTI address during their tenure.

The PTI highlighted pro-poor efforts including as panahgahs and extended Ehsaas programs, Sehat sahulat program (Sehat card) which addressed immediate requirements while addressing the problem of poverty. Pakistan's covid vaccinations program achieved more than 80% coverage, indicating economic and administration efficiencies. The Billion Tree Tsunami highlighted the government's commitment to sustainable development by bridging the gap between progress and environmental protection. Under PTI, Pakistan's economic condition improved by increasing monthly exports from $2 billion to around $2.5 billion by addressing

long-standing issues with external liabilities. The PTI promoted governance improvements, including civil service reforms, the Citizen's Portal, and transparent ministerial evaluations.
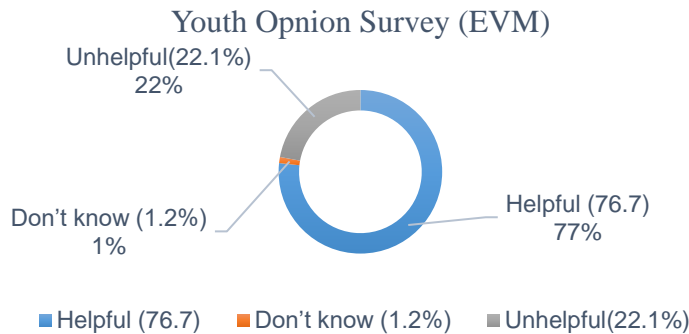

Figure 11: Source (Gallup Pakistan, 2022)

This figure shows that the debate over the use of Electronic Voting Machines (EVMs) continues, the youth largely support them. About 76.7% of young people feel that EVMs will assist ensure free, fair, and reliable elections, while 22.1% believe they would be ineffective. PTI worked for EVM to allow the overseas Pakistanis to poll for the next general elections. Despite the concerns from the opposition bill was sent to the senate. The minister was said that it was unfortunate that EVM introduced without any technical expertise and public awareness. It is not practical to implement them across the country (Wasim, 2021).

Pakistan's covid-19 vaccinations program achieved more than 80% coverage, indicating economic and administration efficiencies. Economic instability was marked by a considerable fall in GDP growth, high inflation rates, and growing unemployment under Imran Khan's leadership in Pakistan. GDP growth fell from 6.2% in 2018 to -1.3% in 2020, inflation rose to 13.4% in 2022, and the COVID-19 pandemic enhanced economic problems. These circumstances caused significant anger among people and frequent protests. In response to COVID-19, rules were created that prioritised smart lockdowns to combine public health measures with economic stability as well as major public awareness efforts. The Ehsaas emergency cash programme also provided financial aid to needy people affected by the epidemic. Flood management activities were focused on emergency relief operations, rehabilitation and infrastructure development. The National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA) and provincial governments coordinated rescue efforts and paid compensation to the

affected families. Infrastructure improvements such as dam building and bank reinforcement were designed to reduce future flood hazards.
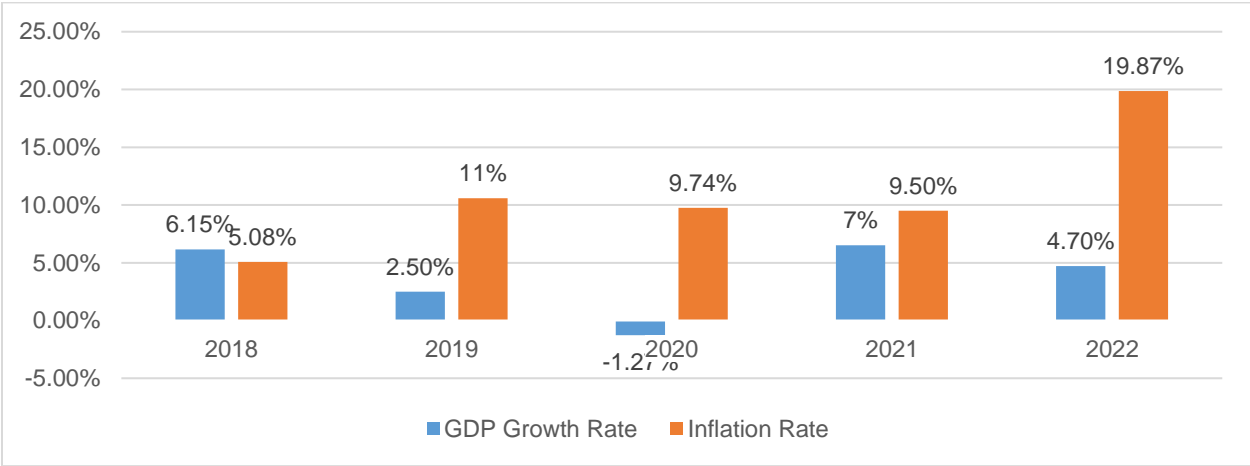

Figure 12: Source (Macrotrends)

This graph shows that Economic instability was a major concern under Imran Khan's administration, increased by several misguided policies and the COVID-19 epidemic. Despite the Pakistani government's careful approach, the pandemic had a negative impact on the national economy, resonating the effects on the global economy. According to the World Bank, Pakistan's GDP fell from 6.2% in 2018 to 2.5% in 2019, then to -1.3% in 2020 due to the epidemic, before rising to 6% in 2021. However, inflation remained a major problem (Khan et al., 2023). Food costs in Pakistan increased by 18% in 2020, whereas they increased by just 6% in India. Maintaining price stability is crucial for economic progress, however Pakistan's inflation rate increased to 13.4% in April 2022, up from 11.1% the previous year and much higher than the 3.8% rate before to the PTI administration taking office. Rising unemployment, high inflation, and a lack of economic improvement prompted regular protests. In reaction to popular chaos, opposition organisations planned the "Mehngai Mukao March" from Lahore to Islamabad in March 2022. Additionally, Tehreek-e-Labbaik Pakistan (TLP) declared rallies, which resulted in the deaths of several individuals, including three security officers.

PTI struggle for E-governance system aimed to improve transparency, efficiency, and citizen participation on the governance system. The E-governance system in various sectors including NADRA, information, and communication technology, improve economic growth and stability, property digitalization to reduce fraud and disputes, COVID-19 digital services

adoption to ensure transparency. But Pakistan E-governance system has no significant improvement as compared to the other countries. The opening of kartarpur corridor during his tenure was a peace gesture towards Sikh community in India. The successful withdrawal of the United States from Afghanistan, as well as the holding of an OIC meeting and a diverse foreign policy highlighted the PTI worldwide achievements.

Imran khan term as a prime minister has ended in high political crisis and constitutional chaos. The parliament of Pakistan voted against khan the vote of no confidence on 10 April 2022. There was a lack of the development plan from the very start that PTI failed to deliver the promises that were made. There are some reasons that led to the failure of the PTI government. The deep economic crisis contributed the dissatisfaction towards Imran khan government which led to the high inflation during his term. The prices go beyond the reach of the common man. The increase in fuel prices and the high electricity bills further pressurize the fiscal deficit and the balance of payment crisis. The rupee fell at a historic rate against the US dollar, and a large-scale trade deficit. The state bank of Pakistan increases the interest rate in emergency (Almeida, 2022). PTI lost the support of the coalition allies which they deny supporting the PTI that needed for the majority to defeat the vote of no-confidence movement. According to the Gallup survey the public opinion about the Imran khan government performance.
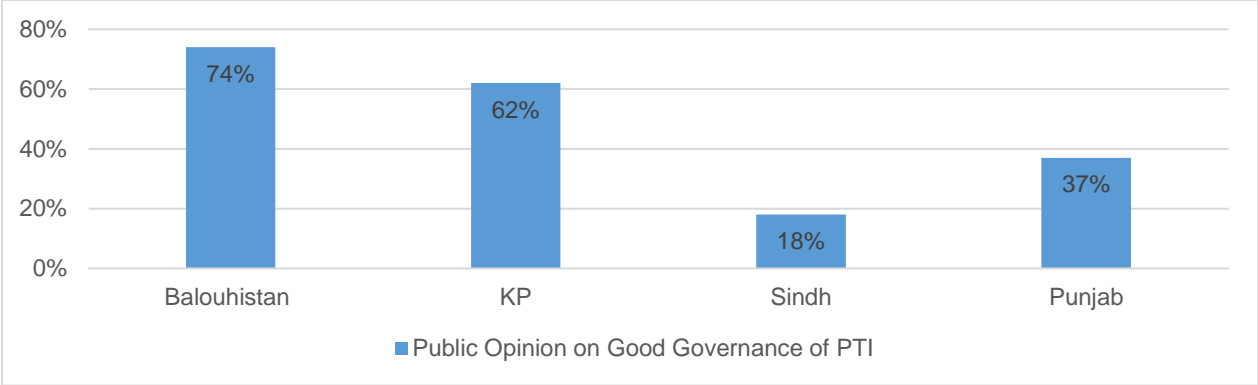

Figure13: Source (Gallup Pakistan, 2021)

This figure shows the public opinion about the government of PTI in provinces of Pakistan. The PTI gains higher support from Baluchistan about 74%, from KP 62% support, from Sindh 18% and from Punjab about 37% support the PTI.

Gallup Performance Indicators

- 45% Performance Running the Economy
- 48% Performance on controlling corruption
- 54% Performance on Helping Poor
- 58% Performance on Foreign Affairs
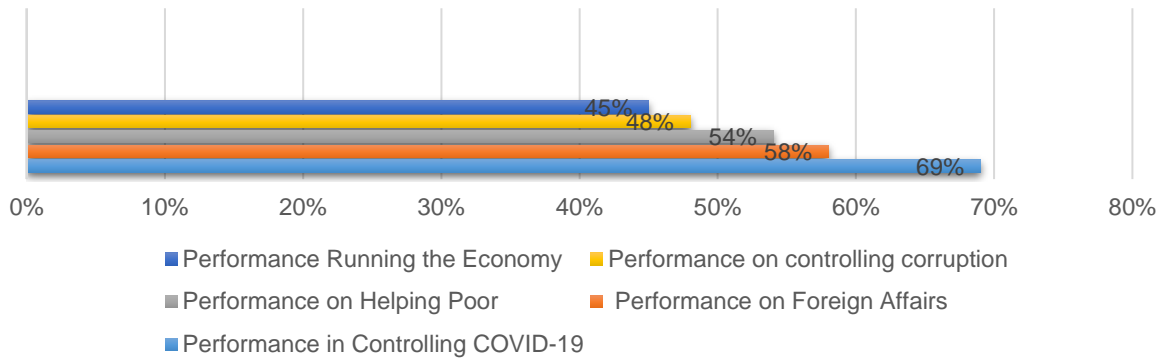- 69% Performance in Controlling COVID-19

Figure 14: Source (Gallup Pakistan, 2021)

According to the Gallup survey, the performance indicator of the PTI government that how much PTI perform well during his government. The PTI performance were satisfied in some areas like they perform well in controlling covid -19 almost 69% people respond positively. However, 58% of people say that their performance was good at foreign affairs, but he was not able to maintain good relations with some countries. Their performance in helping poor people is 54%, 45% of people say that their government was not able to maintain an economic condition and 48% people respond about the performance to combat corruption. As their government fails to combat corruption completely.

PTI government also fails to combat the corruption. The system of justice has not been improved because the number of pending cases is high as ever. The cases take a long time to make the final decisions. This reflects the failure of the government. As the process of accountability is also very low and could not be enforced during his tenure (Jabbar, 2022) (Khan S. A., 2022). As he promised to put all the corrupt politicians in jail. Limited improvement in education and health care sector. Khan promises to improve these sectors, but it could not address the issues completely. Imran khan appointment of Usman Buzdar as a chief minister of Punjab who had no experience of running a large province which had half of Population of Pakistan. The PTI started its government with the support of the establishment. Later, it made some unnecessary problems with the intuitions. The appointing of the DG ISI damaged the crucial relationships which was the key element of the rise of the PTI. The party needs to look on some bad decisions that led to the failure of their government (Husain, 2022).

The team selection of PTI did not match its promises. The cabinet was very weak. The constant re-shuffling of the team member led to the lack of clear vision that contributed to its major mistakes in some ministries like finance and energy. The poor communication led to the bad performance of the PTI (Husain, 2022). It is important to mention that the PTI could not implement its agenda fully as it claimed during their election campaigns. As for the failure of PTI there are some other factors behind it. For example, when PTI started to implement its reforms agenda in different intuitions, their reforms were challanges in courts. And this took two to three years, and some cases are still pending in courts. The majority of PTI led coalition government in National Assembly and it lacks majority support in Senate. This led to a challenge for the government to make legislation and implement reforms.

4.4 Comparison of 2013 and 2018 Elections

The 2013 and 2018 elections in Pakistan identified two distinct times in the country's political landscape and the PTI playing an important role in mobilizing the youth on both occasions. In the 2013 elections the PTI emerged as an influential player among young people. The party's focus on anti-corruption, good administration, and social justice reflected the objectives of the young people. Imran Khan's attractive leadership style as well as his call to change and the concept of a "Naya Pakistan" (New Pakistan), attracted a significant number of young people. Effective campaign strategies and the promise of change and reforms get the attention of a significant portion of youth. The effective use of social media also helped to motivate a significant portion of the public (Skoric, 2015). However, PTI did not win the elections, but it emerged as the second largest party at federal level and formed a government in KP.

During 2018 elections the PTI continues to mobilize the youth with important changes in approach and impact. The PTI had established itself as a more mainstream political force and Imran Khan's continuous call for change and reforms gained support. The PTI youth mobilization activities became more institutionalized with the party actively participating in youth-focused projects, like education programs, and policies targeting young unemployment. The use of social media remained an effective strategy, but the PTI message had expanded into a larger vision for national development. Therefore, the PTI won securing 31% of the popular vote

and winning 149 seats during the 2018 elections and emerge as an influential force at the federal level.

The vote poll of PTI during 2013 and 2018 elections.

Total Vote poll of 2013 and 2018 elections.

Party	2013 election	2018 election
PTI	7.6 million votes	16.8 million votes
PML-N	14.8 million votes	12.89 million votes
PPP	6.91million votes	6.9 million votes

Table 7: Source (Shah & Sareen, 2018)

This table shows the total; vote poll of 2013 and 2018 elections. During the 2013 election, PML-N formed the government with a total vote poll of 14.8 million individuals. PTI did not win the election but emerge as the second largest party at provincial level as it gain a second largest number of votes in 2013 elections. And PPP remained as an opposition party. In 2018 elections, PTI emerged at federal level with highest number of votes 16.8 million votes.
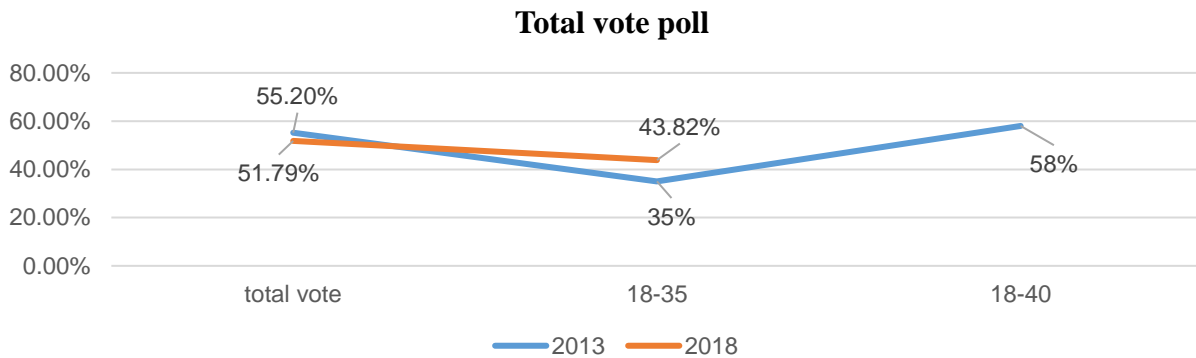

Figure 14: Source (Gallup Pakistan, 2021) (Pildat, 2020).

This graph shows the total vote poll during the 2013 and 2018 elections. The people voting for the PTI during 2013 general election between the age of 18 to 40 was 58% and 18-30 was 35%. Therefore, the total vote poll in 2013 elections was 55.20% as it was the highest poll as compared to previous elections. During the 2018 election the people between the age of 18 to 35 voted for the PTI 43% and total vote poll was 51.79%. The total vote poll during the 2018 election were less as compared to 2013 elections.

Total national assembly seats won by PTI during 2013 and 2018 elections.

Party	2013 elections	2018 elections
PTI	35	149
PML-N	148	82
PPP	46	54

Table 8: Source (Sareen, 2018).

This table compares the total number of seats in 2013 and 2018 election. During the 2013 election, PTI won 35 seats and formed government at provincial level and in 2018 PTI won highest number of seats and 149 and formed government at federal level. The PML-N won the highest number of seats in 2013 elections 148 and formed government at federal level and in 2018 elections PML-N won 82 seats. PPP maintained their position in Sindh in both 2013 and 2018 elections.

During both the elections there were allegations of rigging. Pakistan's major political parties expressed disappointment with the 2013 general elections. Despite winning the PML-N claimed rigging in Sindh while the PPP blamed returning officials for the outcome. All parties labelled the election as controversial. The PTI also claimed rigging in elections and complaint a report, but a three-judge inquiry committee dismissed the PTI's complaints. They claimed that certain violations by the ECP were made but polls were mostly fair according to a 237 pages report released in 2015. However, those in opposition were dissatisfied with the outcome. However, in 2018 elections there were also allegations of rigging by opposition parties. The elections were disrupted by claims of electoral fraud with various opposition parties including the PML-N, PPP, and MMA, raising concerns about the election process.

Therefore, it was evident that neither the 22nd amendment nor the election Act 2017 brought transparency in the electoral process. But a difference in complaints was recorded as in 2013 election 133 people submitted their complaints and in 2018 elections only 102 people filed complaints. This indicates that fewer people claimed rigging (Begum, 2022). In both elections, the PTI's role in mobilizing the young population was essential. The party's focus on problems important to the younger generation, including education, jobs, and anti-corruption, gave an opportunity for young people to actively participate in the political process. The PTI ability to establish itself as a credible alternative to existing political parties connected with the desires of young people who are looking for change.

Conclusion

PTI plays an important role in bringing young people to the political landscape during the 2013 and 2018 elections. The commitment to bring new faces into the political landscape encouraged the participation of the young people. The PTI effective campaign strategies and their focus on major issues influence a significant portion of the young people. They highlighted the issues that were most related to the younger generation and their compelling story of change and reforms attracted the attention of the public. The use of social media platforms and rallies in public to gather support and creating a powerful narrative of change and reforms in Pakistan's politics. The use of social media platforms provides a way of communication with the public and spreads election related information. Since 2013 the active politics of opposition helped the PTI to engage the political worker in the protest, rallies, sit-ins, and public gatherings all over the country. The continued involvement of the workers helped the PTI to inject the sense of political ownership to its workers. Furthermore, the khan attractive personality and the promise of change and reforms, enhance governance system, reducing corruption and reforms in health and education sector, attract the attention of the significant portion of the public.

In 2013 PTI play a significant role in mobilizing the youth and bringing them into political scenario. PTI formed the government in KP in 2013. Due to its focused-on issues like anti-corruption, good governance, economic reforms, reforms in education and health sector, promise to eliminate corruption, focus on accountability, proved its government worth in the KP. PTI implemented the policies and brought changes in the province like education, health, and police department to ensure the safety and security of the public in KP. The khan government was successful in KP, as they focused on improving governance system, reducing corruption, and implementing various reforms. Due to its performance in KP it also got the consecutive second government in 2018. The performance of PTI government in KP helped it to form the government at federal level in 2018 elections. The organization structure also plays an important role in the evolution and expansion of the party. In 2013 it emerged as the second largest party at provincial level. Due to increase in its popularity PTI gain a huge support from Pakistani society especially from the younger population, women, and overseas Pakistani people.

PTI successful strategy of mobilization of youth through social media platforms and use of mobile technology engages with the neglected segments of the Pakistani society. It benefited

the PTI by attracting a significant portion of the younger population. Social media has an influence on changing public opinion. People rely on social media news and information more as compared to the real picture of the reality according to the agenda setting theory. The personality of khan inspires and motivate the upper middle-class youth. The use of inspirational songs and motivational speeches in public gatherings and rallies make it to the attractive platform for some people. Furthermore, the party gives tickets to the young and new politicians of both genders that made the PTI inspirational. It is also important to note that lowering the voting age from 21 to 18 provided PTI the enthusiastic political youth. The student Insaf federation also play important role in spreading the messages in the country. The PTI alliance with other political parties also plays an important role in party performance. The inclusion of electable in the party benefited the PTI. As the electable has a huge vote bank and fan followings. The inclusion of electable in the party brought the PTI in the forefront of the political scenario of Pakistan. As in the political culture the majority of the electable got victory in the election. They are the people who have experience in elections and influence on the specific area and they get voting benefit from the people of that area. The PTI stance for elimination of corruption, and struggle to give equal constitutional rights for all including FATA play a significant role in generating awareness among the people. PTI discourage the dynastic politics in the political parties in Pakistan. As the political position should not be passed down within the families. It should be on merit based and can serve the people. They talk about the system that selects the individuals on the base of their qualification and merit rather than the family background.

The allegation of rigging in 2013 election raised concerns for ECP that elections were not held in a proper manner. The ECP decided to re-poll the election in different constituencies because of the allegations raised by the different political parties. The PTI also raised concerns about rigging and in 2014 khan started a long sit- to eliminate the corrupt government. In 2017, the Panama case, and the disqualification of Nawaz sharif, get more stronger the anti-corruption stance of Imran khan. In the 2018 elections, the khan attractive leadership style and their effective campaign strategies benefited PTI to form the government at federal level. In the previous election PTI was at the provincial level and because of their performance in KP it gets some experience and emerges as the largest party at federal level in 2018 elections. PTI raised the several key issues in their election campaigns that attracted a significant portion of the young

population. The slogan of Naya Pakistan that PTI used in their campaigns fascinate the young people. Under khan leadership PTI commitment to turn Pakistan into Islamic welfare state, maintain no tolerance for corruption attracted the attention of the individual. PTI focus on enhancing the federation by combining the FATA and KP, creation of south Punjab province, enhance peace in Baluchistan, promote political and economic growth in Gilgit Baltistan, reduce poverty, and create business friendly environment for all who want to create new business at small level or to expand their business. The PTI manifestos influence the voter behavior. The use of social media tools also plays an important role in spreading the elections related information and to promote the party agenda. The media is a powerful tool to spread information and get the attention of the public.

The current election of Pakistan led to another controversy in the political history of Pakistan. The elections held on 8 February 2024 since the installation of caretaker government in 2022, and it is the third consecutive democratic handover of the power between the civilian government. The major parties PPP, PML-N, PTI and some other political parties contested the elections. The political parties claim that the elections are rigged and the delay in election results announcement is the clear evidence of the election manipulation. Imran khan face allegations from opposite parties and was removed from power in April 2022. He was sentenced to jail on charges of corruption and breaches of national security. While khan remain a popular figure in Pakistani politics and his imprisonment make him ineligible for office. Electoral authorities have rejected the PTI candidate for standing and even senior party official have resigned after being arrested. PTI has been banned for using its bat symbol on ballot papers. Because the symbol is necessary for any party identity. The PTI won 93 seats while the other political parties like PML-N won 73 seats and PPP won 54 seats. The independent candidate of PTI later joined the PML-N and after three days delay in elections results announced the PML-N form the government. PTI and retain its Popularity among the youth, but it did not form the government at federal level.

According to the view of politicians, PTI performed well and gained popularity in the elections due to its struggle. In the previous elections PTI did not participate as it has not enough support. PTI started their struggle from 2011 when it first time do a jalsa in Lahore and many young people came in Lahore to support PTI. The public rallies, door to door campaigns and the use of social media benefited the PTI and it came to provincial level in 2013 elections. PTI

priority to create opportunities for the young people who are well educated but they did not get jobs. They also focused on education and made a change in the curriculum that the Islamic education is compulsory for the students from primary to matric level. Imran khan wanted to end the corruption and in 2014 long sit-in was for against the corrupt government. In KP PTI work hard and made reforms in education, health care sector and infrastructure development programs to improve the quality life of the resident of the KP. Due to its struggle at provincial level, PTI came to power at federal level in 2018 elections.

According to political analysts' views about the PTI government during the 2013 and 2018 elections.

During the 2013 elections, the PTI gained popularity as dissatisfaction with traditional political parties increased. Despite the lack of track record, Imran Khan's charisma and reputation for honesty appealed to the people excited for change. However, the PTI faced opposition from powerful political parties and charges of election manipulation. The party's strong social media presence and grassroots mobilization activities helped to raise its popularity. This shows the changing dynamics of Pakistani politics in context of media biases and establishment pressures. Imran Khan's struggled during the 2013 elections with a lack of grassroots organization and an independent campaign strategy. In 2018 the party changed its strategy, focusing on young people's participation and strategic connections with its voters and the establishment. The change along with active participation in Dharna politics (sit-in), led to the PTI' electoral success. This shows the party's flexibility and understanding of essential political factors.

If any government attains 30% of its goals it is considered as good government. The government of PTI attained around 30% of its objectives, which is considered as a significant achievement given the country's financial constraints and governance challenges. Additionally, their use of a smart lockdown strategy during the COVID-19 pandemic contributed to prevent widespread starvation and maintained economic stability, and it indicated a growth rate of more than 6%. However, its governance record was limited with inefficiencies and a lack of united leadership, which led to an unequal decision-making process. While economically perform well the PTI governance deficiencies led to popular dissatisfaction that indicates its inconsistent record.

The PTI government both in 2013 and 2018 general elections there is some success and failure like every government has it lack. If we talk about at the provincial level, it is much easier to address the problem of the people as compared to the federal level government. Because at the federal level a leader needs to handle the issue of the governance, as well as many other intuitions, political and economic concerns confronting the country. They need to maintain the relationship between the opposition parties and other allies for the smooth running of the government. Furthermore, a leader needs a proper team for policy making and to address the issues of the public. Imran khan had a team to work, but he wants their own influence, and he changed the ministries regularly that led to the lack of clear vision, experience and expertise. PTI brought changes in some sectors, like education and health but it could not materialize the promises they were made during electoral campaigns, and it led to the popular dissatisfaction that indicate its inconsistent record during his tenure.

Findings

There are some findings key finding that develop after the study.

1. PTI effective campaigns and the active use of social media platforms help to engage and mobilize youth during the elections.

2. PTI started nationwide protest and rallies regarding allegations of rigging in 2013 elections and the dismissal of PML-N government in 2017 further stronger the anti-corruption stance of PTI which benefited the PTI to came in power in 2018 general elections.

3. One of the core agenda of khan's manifesto to transform Pakistan State as "Raiysat e Madina" which attracted the attention of younger generation.

4. The youth were mobilized through personal contacts. Use of social media in both rural and urban areas where people can get first-hand information regarding the government easily. At that time, PTI was also actively responding on social media to grab the attention of the public.

5. The strategy of PTI to focus on change and reforms also resonated with the aspiration of young people to vote for them.

6. PTI focused on the young generation to participate in political activities that mobilize the youth to vote for them. Khan also involves the young voices in decision making ensuring the youth representation and influence within the party.

7. PTI emphasizes transparency and accountability to eradicate corruption and appeals to the young people who are seeking political reforms to vote for the party and make government.

8. A leader's past performance, their party manifesto and leader's charismatic style fascinate the young people to vote for party.

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