Print Media Political Advertisements in Pakistan's
General Elections, 2013: A Qualitative Analysis

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Abstract

The present study analyzed the content of print media political advertisements published during electoral campaign for Pakistan's General Elections, 2013. The study aimed to identify the persuasive themes related to persuasive tactics used by different political parties. The analysis was done on the basis of Elaboration Likelihood model (Salmon & Choi, 2003) and Aristotle's Rhetoric Persuasion Model (Demirdogen, 2010). Three most favorite parties were selected for this analysis. The sample consisted of total 162 advertisements; including the three parties from the top 2 newspapers for both English and Urdu.105 advertisements were of Pakistan People's Party (PPP), 32 of Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) and 25 were of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI). The content analysis was done for themes related to emotional vs. factual content, negative campaigning vs. positive campaigning and other related themes. There was difference between political campaigning used by the three parties. PPP used factual content more frequently in advertisements while PML.N and PTI dominantly used emotional content. There was also a difference between positive and negative campaigning done by the parties. PML.N used only positive campaigning in their entire political campaign on the three newspapers. PTI used only 8 % of their campaign as having negative content. PPP used 29.5% part of their campaign in print media having negative content. These results give an overview to the type of political campaigning used in Pakistani elections 2013. The current study has implications in political psychology and marketing field.

Introduction

Across the globe every democratic country has the electoral system in which they are given the opportunity to publicize and advertize their point of views and manifestos so to come in the mainstream competition. Each and every party or candidate depending upon the system of elections spends a huge amount of money to gain the fame among public and to convince them that they are the best choice for the people to vote for. The political system, political context, socio-economic condition of the country and the global pressures and conflicts are the factors which influence the parties make policies and advertise accordingly. And the researches confirm that yes they are not just a formality instead political parties do persuade (Ridout& Franz, 2007)

Political Marketing:

Political marketing theory describes the political campaigning in the context of corporate marketing. Like in the marketing of a brand or a product we market the brand to the customers, in political marketing the concept shapes as the political candidates are the brands and their manifestos as their product and their voters or public becomes like they are the political customers to which they are marketing their product. The same concepts of loyalty and withdrawal from that party can be observed in the political context like those concepts have been illustrated in the consumer researches (Maarek, 1995; Marshment, 2004; Newman, 1999).These concepts link perfectly with political impression management. As today when doing marketing they would have to consider the tactics to use so that they can make impressions through their verbal and non verbal cues and impact the audience and the readers so that they may understand them to be those who can best fit to their demands. Politicians eagerly engage in political impression management. These political impression management techniques are useful political marketing tools (Landtsheer et al., 2008).Difference between Political Marketing and Business Marketing.There are two glaring differences between the use of marketing in business and in politics. First, there are differences of philosophy. In business, the goal is to make a profit, whereas in politics, it is the successful operation of democracy. Winning in politics is sometimes based on a few percentage points, whereas in business, the difference between winning and losing is based on huge variations. Second, in business the implementation of marketing research

results is often followed, whereas in politics, the candidate's own political philosophy can influence the extent to which it is followed (Kaid, 2008).

Political Advertisement

Political advertisement is defined as the communication process by which a source (usually a political candidate or party) buys an opportunity to expose the target population through mass channels to political attitudes, beliefs, and/or behaviors" but we can see that political advertising should be considered quite broadly as any sort of message primarily under the control of a source that is used to promote political candidates, parties, policy issues, and/ or ideas through mass channels (Kaid, 2010). Political advertising is a form of marketing communication that is aimed at selling the candidate of a party to the electorate. Political parties now prepare their political candidates and sell to the people, so as to attain their votes. Modern politics is therefore, incomplete without political advertising. Political advertising encompasses all forms of advertising pertaining to building support for any and all political campaigns, including candidates running for office, ballot measures, political activism, etc. (Edegoh et al., 2013).

Political Advertisements and Persuasion

With research evidence it has been proved that political advertisements do persuade and make a difference in the voter turn out. As the underlying phenomena of marketing is persuasion, in the case of political marketing we see the same principles of persuasion lying under it, because of this all the political parties spend a huge amount of money for the campaigns (Ridout& Franz, 2007). Persuasion is defined as performing an act (roughly, that of affecting someone's beliefs or desires) using some form of communication, usually language. By persuasion we simply mean the ability of a message to influence a person's political beliefs, attitudes or values. Several experimental studies that have examined the impact of television advertising on vote choice have found that advertising matters (Ridout& Franz, 2007).

Theoretical Models

Aristotle's Ethos, Pathos and Logos of persuasion (Demordogen, 2010). Aristotle explained the persuasion process having three main factors in it Ethos: pertaining to the credibility of the source or the persuader, Pathos: the element of feeling and emotion related to material and logos:

related to the logic in that persuasive material. This model was used by Yale university students in their experimental study to discover the general laws of persuasion in 1950 (Demordogen, 2010).Heuristic-systematic processing (Reimer, Mata, Katsikopoulos&Opwis, 2005). Another model for persuasion explains the understanding of persuasive material at two levels that involves Heuristic: pertaining to interpretation of the persuasive material by rule of thumb. The second level consists of systematic processing: pertaining to systematically and logically interpreting the persuasive material. This processing depends on the way the material is being depicted and the tendency of that material to be interpreted systematically or on heuristic level (Reimer. et al., 2005).

Elaboration likelihood model (Lowrey, Nespoli, Liu, &Shrum, 2012). This model explains the two routes on which the persuasive material is to be categorized at the level of interpretation i.e. central: this involves rational and systematic thinking and in this route hard facts and knowledge about the matter is interpreted and in result persuasion or inoculation takes place. The second rout is peripheral: which involves emotional cues and the data to be based on strong emotional appeals. This incorporates the issue vs. image advertising when especially when we talk about political advertisements (Lowrey et al., 2012).

Content Analysis Of Political Advertisements

Definition of content analysis.Normally three basic approaches are used for content analyses that are summative, conventional and directed content analysis. They all have different way of handling the data (Shannon & Hsieh, 2005).

Previous Studies:

Schafferer (2004), analyzed the political advertisements of Taiwan, on the categories of Attack opponent, Rebut criticism, Create image, Make an appeal. They carved out the categories and the themes from within the ads by using the data itself and then analyzed it accordingly. They scored every political party for the number of type of ads that have been mentioned above. So, the content of those political advertisements was analyzed by data driven themes and categories.Julie

and Bostick (2005) analyzed the content of political advertisements before the presidential elections in United States in 2004, according to the representation and placement of females and its effect in political advertisements. Specifically female placement category was used to analyze the appearance of females in the advertisements. The findings that resulted that George W. Bush was a little more likely to feature women in the advertisements he gave. The results also showed that advertisements that featured women were far more likely to deliver a positive tone and were more likely to be portrayed in an abstract manner. In a study conducted by Sheikh and Haq (1993) in Pakistan, they analyzed the content of newspaper for the purpose of finding that which newspapers in Pakistan fulfill the role of keeping the citizens informed with valuable and essential information. Their study indicated that there is an unsymmetrical amount of space given in the local newspapers to the international issues and news on the one hand and political statements by local politicians on the other hand. This opinion seemed to be lacking in analytical content given their importance, economic and judicial matters are given very little attention; and that there is a discrepancy between the interests of readers and the contents of paper (Sheikh &Haq, 1993). Another study analyzed the space allocation to political parties by the newspapers and implications of it to the possibility of their political statuses and the strength of democratic process in Ghana. They found out that the private newspapers gave more space to party related issues but less to the state issues, the state owned newspapers well balanced the party issues with state issues such as health , economy etc (Diedong, 2013).

Method

In the present study of the content analysis of the political advertisements from print media the following structure will be followed to accomplish the task successfully.

Objective

Following are the objectives of this current study.

The objective of this study is to analyze the content of political advertisements of the top most political parties for the election of 2013.

To compare the persuasive techniques used by different parties.

Whether the parties are using positive or negative campaigning more in print media

Whether the parties are using factual or promotional content more.

Sample

Two leading newspapers both from Urdu and English papers were selected i.e. Jang, Nawa e Waqt from Urdu and the Dawn and the News from English newspapers on the basis of National readership survey that was done in 2008. The survey identified the above mentioned newspapers to be leading as per their readership is concerned (NationalReadershipSurvey, 2008) The newspapers were collected dating from 9th April to 9th May that was 1 weak prior to the official campaign period of the elections given by Election Commission of Pakistan (Commonwealth mission, 2013). The inclusion criteria of the political parties the ones whose ads were analyzed are the three top favorite parties i.e. Pakistan Muslim league (N), Pakistan Tehreek e Insaf, Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians (Pildat& Gallup, 2013).

Analysis

The type of analysis that was used was Content analysis. It is the type of analysis in which the researchers enumerate the details of communicative messages. Data is tabulated in the form of words, images, speech, acts, meanings and units. This type of analysis measures the frequency and the percentages of the certain features in the material. By developing the coding system on theoretical base frequencies were analyzed. In the current study the advertisements were analyzed according to the following coding criteria (Grice, 2010).

For the study, directed content analysis was used which is the type of content analysis with a deductive approach.

Directed content analysis.It follows the theoretical backgrounds and coding is done on the base of theoretical framework that is already being determined. The key concepts of the theory were used for the initial coding categories. The application of the theoretical concepts which was pre-conceived was done in Directed content analysis. The content was **categorized and coded** according to that particular theoretical theme and it was not like that the coding was followed in inductive theme i.e. taking themes for coding from the content itself. Though after the initial coding with the help of theoretical concepts later coding that can't fall within any pre-conceived was done manually to some other criteria (Shannon & Hsieh, 2005). As, in under the construct of political advertisement and political persuasion there are theories available that explain that phenomenon as per there type of strategy is concerned. So, we can relate it to the

content of the advertisements of this study as they would be using the persuasive techniques and this would be executed through the delivery of that specific type of content. Using a directed approach, past theories were used such as the theories of persuasion discussed above, discussing emotional and factual content. This would be done by separating the content into bifurcations on the base of type of content used by making a theoretical base (Shannon & Hsieh, 2005).

Directed Coding Strategies

The coding strategy was set on the theoretical models we selected for persuasion.

Coding categories.Coding criteria used is mentioned as follows:

Emotional Content vs. Factual content

Positive Campaigning vs. Negative Campaigning

Throughthese categories the ads were categorized under emotional or factual nature depending upon the crux and the main dominant theme of the advertisement. Nature of the ad being positive or negative was also identified on the main crux of the over all content.

Emotional content.Dependingupon the type of content used, emotional content is that which doesn't include any stuff that addresses factual or rational appeals of mind. Claims without solid statistics or referable events, promises, slogans are considered emotional.

Factual content.By factual content it is meant that the content that appeals factual or rational element and invites curiosity to explore the matters and make us use our cognition to understand the claims. All the statements carrying statistics referring to some event or achievement or issue are considered to be factual.

Negative campaign content. It is taken as the content that attacks and criticizes other party that is the opponent of the party giving the advertisement for their works. Positive campaign content. It is taken the content that is self promoting by spreading about the achievements that they claim to have achieved as a party.

Inter-coder Reliability

Inter-coder reliability is calculated for the qualitative studies. Kappa coefficient describes the level of agreement between the two raters when two independent raters rate the same thing. Kappa coefficient is used to calculate that (Viera& Garrett, 2005). Inter-coder reliability was

calculated as two raters rated the 30 % sample that was taken out randomly from the total ads. Kappa co-efficient (Landis & Koch, 1977) was calculated by using SPSS. The inter-rater reliability between the raters on responses was found to be (Kr= .783, p<.001, 95% CI= .000, .259). This represents substantial agreement between the raters (Landis & Koch, 1977).

Chapter III

Results

Following tables describe the detailed results of the current study.

Table 1

Printed Advertisement sizesof political advertisement of Pakistan People's Party (PPP) (*N*= 105)

Party	Nawa-e-Waqt			Jang			The News			The Dawn		
	F. Pg	H. pg	O. Sz	F. Pg	H. pg	O. sz	F. Pg	H. pg	O. Sz	F. Pg	H. pg	O. Sz
PPP	8	16	2	8	17	24	8	8	2	2	9	1

Note: F.Pg = Full page, H.pg = Half page, O.sz = Other sizes

Table 1 describes the representation of ads according to sizes of PPP in different newspapers. The ads that are full page are 8 in number in Nawa-e-Waqt, Jang and The News while 2 are of full page size in The Dawn. The number of half paged advertisements is 16 in Nawa-e-Waqt and in Jang there are 17 advertisements of the size of half page. The News has 8 half paged advertisements while The Dawn has 9 advertisements. Sizes that are smaller than a half paged advertisements have been categorized as other size

Table 2

Number of ads with and without repetition in newspapers by Pakistan People's Party

(PPP) (N= 105)

Party	Nawa-e-Waqt		Jang		The News		The Dawn	
PPP	W.R	Wo.R	W.R	Wo.R	W.R	Wo.R	W.R	Wo.R
	26	21	49	22	18	13	12	10

Note: W.R = With Repetition, Wo.R = Without Repetetion

Table 2 describes the repetition of ads of PPP in newspapers. In Nawa-e-Waqt 26 ads are given including the repetition and excluding repetition there are 21 advertisements. In Jang 49 advertisements are given in total with repetition and without repetition there are 22 advertisements. In the News with repetition in total there are 18 advertisements and excluding repetition they remain 13. The dawn has 12 ads in total with repetition and excluding repetition they remain 10.

Table 3

Categorizationof ads on the basis of emotional and factual content used by Pakistan People's Party (PPP), (N= 105)

Emotional Content		Factual Content	
Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
32	30.5 %	73	69.5 %

Table 3 describes the content of the advertisements of PPP according to the categories of emotional and factual content of the ad based on the central theme of the advertisement making it Emotional or Factual in nature. 32 advertisements have been rated as emotional in nature and 73 have been rated as having Factual content.

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Table 4

Categorizationaccording to negative and positive campaign contentby PPP,(N= 105)

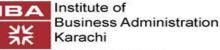| Negative Content		Positive Content	
Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
31	29.5 %	74	70.5 %

Table 4 shows the categorization of the negative and the positive content of the ad based on the central theme of the ad that makes it positive or negative in nature. There are 31 out of 105 ads that come under the category of Negative content and 74 advertisements out of 105 come under the category of Positive content.

Table 5

Main issues addressed by PPP in political advertisements (N =22)

Issues	f	%	Factual	Emotional	Negative	Positive
Agriculture	5	22.07	5	-	-	5
Electricity	4	18.18	3	1	3	1
Economy	3	13.63	3	-	-	3
Income support	3	13.63	3	-	-	3
Terrorism	2	9.1	2	-	2	-
General Issues	1	4.6	1	-	1	-
Leadership	1	4.6	-	1	-	1
Democracy	1	4.6	1	-	-	1
Laborers	1	4.6	2	-	-	2
Media	1	4.6	1	-	1	-

Table 5 describes the categorization of the advertisements of PPP on the basis of the issues excluding any non-issue advertisement and excluding repetition in the

advertisements. There can be seen that they have focused on the issue of Agriculture and have given 5 advertisements on them. Among which all the 5 advertisements are factual in nature and all are positive in nature. The issue of electricity comes next and they have given 4 advertisements on that issue among which 3 are factual and 1 is emotional while 3 are negative in nature that attack the opposite party and 1 is positive in nature. The advertisements related to the issues of Economy are 3 in number and all of the 3 are factual in nature and all the 3 are positive in nature. The advertisements related to the issues of income support program are 3 in number and all 3 are factual and all 3 are positive in nature. The issue of terrorism has 2 ads among which both of them are factual and both of them are negative in nature that is they are attacking in nature. Then there is 1 advertisement under the issue of Democracy that is factual and positive in nature. There is 1 advertisement for the General issues prevailing in Pakistan and it is factual and Negative in nature. There is 1 advertisement for the leadership issue that is emotional in nature and positive in nature. There is one advertisement on the issue of laborers and that is factual and positive in nature. There is 1 advertisement for the issue of Media and it is factual and emotional in nature.

Table 6

Printed Advertisement sizesof political advertisement of Pakistan Muslim League (N), (N= 32)

Affiliation	Nawa-e-Waqt			Jang			The News			The Dawn		
	F. Pg	H. pg	O. sz	F. Pg	H. pg	O. sz	F. Pg	H. pg	O. sz	F. Pg	H. pg	O. Sz
PMLN	0	3	18	3	2	6	0	0	0	0	0	0

Note: F.Pg = Full page, H.pg = Half page, O.sz = Other sizes

Table 6 describes the representation of advertisements of PML.N. According to the size of the political ads in all the newspapers; we see that there is no representation of PML.N in both of the English newspapers, while we see a higher representation of advertisements in Nawa e Waqt than Jang. We can see that the number of full page ads is 3 in Jang but there is no representation of full page advertisements in Nawa e Waqt. While half page ads are more in Nawa e Waqt. The numbers of ads that are categorized to be termed as "other" that are less than half page ads are more in Nawa e Waqt and less in Jang.

Table 7

Number of ads with and without repetition in newspaper by PML.N

Affiliation	Nawa-e-Waqt		Jang		The News		The Dawn	
PML.N	W.R	Wo. R	W.R	Wo.R	W.R	Wo.R	W.R	Wo.R
	21	4	11	6	0	0	0	0

Note: W.R = With Repetition, Wo.R = Without Repetetion

Table 7 describes the repetition of ads in the newspapers. In Nawa-e-Waqt all the ads including the repeated ones all combine to give a number of 21 and after excluding repetition there are 4 basic advertisements. In Jang with repetition there are 11 advertisements and excluding the repetition the exclusive advertisement remain 6. There is no representation of the advertisements of PML.N in the News and the Dawn.

Table 8

Categorization of ads according to emotional and factual campaign content by PML.N,(N= 32)

Emotional Content		Factual Content	
Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
30	93.75%	2	6.25%

Table 8 represents the ad representation of PML.N according to the categorization of emotional and factual ads. The ads have bee categorized into the categories of emotional and factual content on the basis of the main content of the ad that holds the central theme of the advertisement. Under that criterion 30 advertisements of PML.N are emotional in nature and 2 advertisements are factual in nature.

Table 9

Categorization of advertisements according to the negative and positive campaign content used in by Pakistan Muslim League (N) (PML.N), (N= 32)

Negative content		Positive Content	
Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
0	0%	32	100%

Table 9 describes the number of advertisements that have dominant positive content that is basically self-promotional and the number of negative content is basically an attack on the other parties. PML.N has not used any attack based ad in their campaign so 32 ads have been categorized as having positive content and 0 ads as having negative content.

Table 10

Main issues addressed by (PML.N) in political advertisements (N = 5)

Theme	f	%	factual	emotional	Positive	Negative
Gen. Issues	1	20	-	1	-	1
Gen. Development	4	80	2	2	-	4

Note: Gen. Issues = General Issues, Gen. Development = General Development

Table 10 is describing the frequencies of ads and their content analysis on different issues by PML.N excluding any kind of internewspaper or intra newspaper repetition. According to this table there were two main categories that the issues were divided that were making the content of the advertisements. The advertisement quantity on general issues prevailing in Pakistan is 1 out of 5 advertisements and that makes the percentage of 20 %. The advertisements on general developments needed in Pakistan were 4 out of 5 advertisements that make 80 % of the advertisements. Out of these advertisements 2 are factual that come under the category of General Development. 2 advertisements are emotional under the category of General development and one is emotional in the category of General Issues. All the advertisements are positive in nature.

Table 11

Printed Advertisement sizesof political advertisement of PakistanTehreek e Insaf (PTI), (N= 25)

Party	Nawa-e-Waqt	Jang	The News	The Dawn

	F. Pg	H. pg	O. sz	F. Pg	H. pg	O. sz	F. Pg	H. pg	O. sz	F. Pg	H. pg	O. Sz
PTI	0	4	0	0	4	14	0	2	0	0	1	0

Note: F.Pg = Full page, H.pg = Half page, O.sz = Other sizes

Table 11 describes the representation of ads of PTI according to the size of the political advertisements in all the newspapers. We can see that there is equal representation as per size is concerned that 4 half sized advertisements have been published in both Nawa-e-Waqt and Jang while Jang has 14 advertisements that are smaller than half page and have been categorized as other sized advertisements. The English newspapers have 2 advertisements in the news and only 1 advertisement in the Dawn.

Table 12

Number of ads with and without repetition in newspapers by PakistanTehreek e Insaf (PTI), (N= 25)

Party	Nawa-e-Waqt		Jang		The News		The Dawn	
PTI	W.R	Wo. R	W.R	Wo.R	W.R	Wo.R	W.R	Wo.R
	4	4	18	5	2	2	1	1

Note: W.R = With Repetition, Wo.R = Without Repetetion

Table 12 describes the repetition of advertisements by PTI in the newspapers. In Nawa-e Waqt there are 4 advertisements that have been published and they have not been repeated as the number can be referred in the table remains the same for both with

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repetition and without repetition of the advertisements. In Jang the number of ads including repetition is 18 and excluding repetition shrinks to 5 advertisements. There is no repetition in the News as the table can be referred the number of advertisements with repetition and without repetition remains the same. In the Dawn advertisements have no repetition as well as the number remains the same for both with and without repetition.

Table 13

Categorizationof ads on the basis of emotional and factual content used byPakistanTehreek e Insaf (PTI),(N= 25)

Emotional Content		Factual Content	
Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
21	84%	4	16%

Table 13 represents the content analysis of advertisements of PTI according to the two main categories i.e. Emotional content and Factual content. The ads that come under the category based on the central theme of the advertisements are 21 in number out of N=25 and that come under the category of factual content are 4 in number out of N=25.

Table 14

Categorization according toNegative and Positivecampaign content in advertisements of Pakistantehreek e Insaf (PTI) (N= 25)

Negative content		Positive Content	
Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
2	8%	23	92%

Table 14 describes the ads that have been categorized as having Negative and the positive content in the advertisements. The ads that come under Negative content based on the central theme of the advertisement are 2 in number out of N=25. And the ads that are rated as positive content advertisements are 23 in number out of 25.

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Table 15

Main issues addressed by PTI in political advertisements (N=4)

Theme	f	%	Factual	Emotional	Negative	Positive
Leadership	1	25%	1	-	-	1
Education	1	25%	-	1	-	1
Health	1	25%	-	1	-	1
Opposition part	1	25%	1	-	1	-

Table 15 describes the categorization of the advertisements of PTI on the basis of the issues excluding any non-issue advertisement and excluding repetition in the advertisements. PTI has given equal representation to the all the issues that they have addressed. They have given 1 advertisement on the issue of Leadership that is factual and positive in nature. There is 1 advertisement on the issue of Education and that is emotional and positive in nature. There is 1 advertisement on the issue of health that is emotional and positive in nature. There is one advertisement on the opposition parties and the ruling party of the last tenure that is factual and negative in nature.

Discussion

Political advertisement is now a dominant form of political communication between the candidates and the voters. Around the world in the democracies political advertisement is a vital source that attaches the politicians and the public. Therefore the research on this specific topic of political advertising is expanding and it is becoming the most important discipline in the study of political communication (Kaid, 2004). In this study analyzed the ads of 3 political parties to find out whether their content was factual or emotional, attacking or promotional. This was done to find out the core strategies used by different parties. The overall results showed a relative similarity by the type of content they have used according to their status at that time with respect to political power. This study aimed at finding the foundations laid by the political parties to probe the minds of people to lead them to believe that they are the best choice they have got in this election. The

overall results show that political parties those in rule i.e. PPP have achieved more representation in the ads in all the newspapers i.e. N=105 that are the total number of ads in given by PPP. They have given the highest number of advertisements in Jang i.e. 49 ads and in Nawa-e-Waqt there are 26 total ads. In The News they have given 18 advertisements and in The Dawn they have give 12 advertisements. The highest representation in all the newspaper by PPP depicts the possible reason for this representation that they were actually the ruling party of that time. That makes easy fro them to get more space in the newspapers and become more prominent in that medium. They have given Highest number of ads in the daily Jang as it the top newspaper as per the readership survey tells (National Readership Survey, 2008). The second possible reason for that may be that daily Jang is a newspaper which has a moderate conservative trend (Ricchiardi, 2012) and PPP is a party with a leftist trend (Gazdar, 2008) with a tinge of conservatism if their concept of Islamic Socialism is considered. So that depicts the representation trend to be the highest in that newspaper because both the party and the newspaper somehow represent moderate trends regarding their ideological leaning. The total numbers of advertisements given by PML.N are 32 among which they have highest representation in Nawa-e-Waqt i.e. 21 and on the second number they have shown representation in Jang i.e. 11 advertisements. They have not given any advertisement in the English Newspapers that depicts that they have mainly targeted the population of

Pakistan that is not elite class rather the general mainstream public. The higher number in Nawa-e-Waqt can have a possible reason that PML.N is perceived to be a Right wing (Kronstadt, 2013) party and Nawa-e-Waqt is also a Right wing Newspaper (Ricchiardi, 2012) so this might be a possible reason for higher representation in that specific newspaper. The total number of advertisements given by PTI are N=25 among which they have the same representation between Nawa-e-Waqt and Jang i.e. 4 advertisements. They have also shown their representation in The News i.e. 2 advertisements and 1 advertisement in the Dawn. Their less representation in the newspapers may have a possible reason as they have never been in the government before so it was difficult for them to attain representation. The overall statistics show a great difference between the Ruling party representation and the representation of the PML.N

that was in fact the most favorite party of that time and the PTI which was on 2nd number in the favorite list (Pildat& Gallup, 2013). The possible reason can be assumed for PPP going high on such a number is because they were the party in power with their president as the President of Pakistan.

Difference in the representation was found in advertisements in different newspapers as well. As we see there is no representation of PML.N in the English Newspapers which draws our attention that their main focus were the population that have higher readership of Urdu Newspaper, this signifies that they have been trying to focus the majority in the context that majorly Urdu newspapers are more read by the public and cost less than those of English. This can also raise a point that as they were already the favorite party of the election (Pildat& Gallup, 2013) they didn't want to over spend over the advertisements where it was not needed, so they gave ads only in the Urdu newspaper which possibly cover the majority of the readership of Pakistan. Other parties such as PPP they gained representation in all the newspapers and tried to cover a huge campaign on the print media for the possible reason that they wanted to go for political impression management and to inform the voters about the other parties by making negative advertisements and by claiming that their efforts were being undermined. PTI as discussed above has tried to focus on the basic issues and the theme of *"NayaPakistan"* to develop an image as they don't have any previous representation in Pakistan government.

According to the researches we can see clearly interpret the rationale for spending a huge amount on the political advertisements because the basic purpose of the political advertisement as thought to be is delivering of the information and to the voters so that they can make rational choices (Langer & Scammer, 2006) but to us it seems that it is for mobilization of the persuasion of the voters (Hart, 2000; Popkin, 1992; Richards, 2004).

Findings of the present research indicate that the party that was on the third number in the strength of winning the elections and which was also the party currently ruling in Pakistan's Central Government i.e. Pakistan People's Party (Pildat & Gallup, 2013), we have seen that they have used Negative Campaigning dominantly as their 33.01% of the

ads comprise of the negative campaigns that they have done against their strongest opponents. On the other hand Pakistan Tehreek e Insaf has used only 8 % of their ads for negative campaigning which is in fact a very minimal amount from their overall campaign. Pakistan Muslim League (N) has not even used a single attack ad in their entire campaign. We can assume by these statistics that PPP has not used those attack ads for winning votes or directing the sympathies of the voters but in fact they have used these ads to inform the voters that are either on the side of those who are their opponents or the neutral voters that have not pledged allegiance to any party up till now that these parties are claiming big but in fact they are not capable of doing their part significantly. This can possibly break the vote bank of the opponent parties that would result in their votes being higher than those other party due to the division of the voters on either side, because the point of fact is that Pakistan People's Party was the third most favorite party of that time.

Meta-analysis of the political advertisements having the objective to study the effect of negative campaigning provides some evidence which gives us an insight that the negative campaigning doesn't affect the voter sympathies to the party doing the campaign; it just enhances the political knowledge of the readers to which the information is being conveyed (Rovner, Sigelman& Lau, 2007).

According to the models used to make our foundations in the current study, every party has used almost every strategy depending upon their status as the ruling party of that time or the most favorite or the second favorite. The ratio of the strategies is different. Depending upon the crux of our models the categories were emotional and factual natured ads that the parties have used. It was previously reported that Aristotle's Model for the sake of Persuasive Communication (Demirdogen, 2010) is still being studied and the extensions of this model also work under the real of persuasion such as Elaboration Likelihood model and (Lien, 2001) we can develop a link that political persuasion done by the method of advertisements can enhance the political impression of the politicians, their party and the image and the credibility that they have depending upon their work and criticism on that work. Through this political campaigning they become like political

marketers that sell their product of their trust to the political customers that are actually voters that would in return affect their attitude and their behavior in the form of granting them their votes. We have seen that they have used the images of their party leaders of the higher level or the chairman, so that they can directly achieve the credibility perceived by the voters.

The strategy used by the current ruling party of that time i.e. PPP, their frequency on factual based ads is 61.2 %. They have done it by giving specific references and the statistical figures so that they talk about the issues directly to the nation and in return affect their central route to persuasion. This is done by using high factual information (Salmon & Choi, 2003).

PPP has addressed mainly the issues of Agriculture in which they have addressed the general public as well but specifically people who are related to agriculture as Pakistan is an agricultural country. They have also targeted general public on the very common and effective on load shedding. They have also addressed labor and lower class by stating their welfare projects for them. Generally the address of their advertisements remains at the general population of Pakistan. The issues that they have focused are different depending on the party, PPP has strongly focused on the theme of Electricity, Economy, Agriculture, Terrorism, Media, Income support, Democracy, General Issues, Leadership, Laborers and There repetitive central theme *"Jeetkanishan Teerkanishan"*

Pakistan Tehreek e Insaf has dominantly used emotional type of campaign that is promotional in nature, 84 % of their campaign is emotional in nature and 16 % of their campaign is factual in nature. Their campaign mostly includes promises and the glorifying concept of *"Naya Pakistan"*. Political Parties use the emotional content for addressing the peripheral route of the voters when there is no possibility of adding any current issue to talk for their self-promotion or attack on the opponent. (Salmon & Choi, 2003). Pakistan Tehreek e Insaf has addressed the general public of Pakistan that involves all the classes specially the needy people. Their address remains on the issues of "Leadership, Education, Health, and Opposition Parties". Their repetitive theme is of *"Naya Pakistan"*.

Pakistan Muslim League N has used 100 % positive promotional advertisements as they were already the favorite party of that time. They have used4.33 % of the factual ads and 96.7 % of their ads are emotional in nature. PML.N has addressed the general issues prevailing in Pakistan and the general development needed or that was done by PML.N in 1998 onward. They have addressed the general public of Pakistan as one nation for their issues and problems. Their main focus is the middle and lower class that according to them are facing problems.They have used the repetitive theme of *"Sherkanishan, Roshan Pakistan"*.

The target group that different parties addressed in their advertisements depended upon the type of issues they were addressing. PPP addressed farmers and agriculturists, economist, general public and the labor class while delivering their message in their advertisements. Of course they did address the whole general population of Pakistan while addressing the specific issues in order to manage their overall impression. PML.N on the other hand made the focal address to the general public entirely which included their issues regarding the population of Pakistan. PTI focused doctors and patients for the betterment of health facilities, they also addressed the youth of Pakistan by offering a leadership that represents youth. They also addressed students and teachers for better academic facilities. They still in overall context focused the general population of Pakistan.

The overall results of the study show that the political parties have used the techniques that were compatible to their political status at that time and they tried to inculcated through them their message into the readers that in anyway they can be a better alternative. This can be observed when we give a bird eye view to the whole campaign of any political party. This becomes more relevant when we see that according to the party position in the government(central or provincial) at time or any time in the past. The party currently in the government has more to explain for the criticism they have been alleged and to attack the opposition for their mishaps than with a party that has never been in government as we saw in this case PPP was in central government, PML.N is the central government and PTI was never before in the government.

Conclusion

The present study concluded that the parties had a difference in representation of their advertisements in newspapers. PPP had the largest representation in all the 4 newspapers that were selected, while PML.N didn't have any representation in the English newspapers. PTI did have a little representation in the English newspapers as well besides having representation in Urdu newspapers. PPP had the highest Negative campaigning content in their advertisements. PML.N didn't have any negative campaigning content in their advertisements while PTI did have a small representation of the negative content. Under the categorization of Emotional and Factual content PPP had the high factual content in their advertisements comprising of facts and figures. PML.N and PTI dominantly used emotional content in their advertisements. Thus, all the parties used approximately all the strategies that we have categorized for our study according to their status in the political situation of that time.

Implications of the Study

The present findings of the study can be implicated in general awareness of the types of strategies politicians use while in the process of persuading their potential voters. This can help improve the campaign standards and the ethics of political advertisements. So that the voters can get the quality information that is considered to be the main purpose of Political advertisement to provide rational evidence to the population to decide what is good for them and what is not. An insight could be achieved about mind set of the people by the excessive use of any certain kind of strategy in their campaign.

Limitationsand Suggestions

Limitations of this study include the possible subjectivity in perception of the emotional and factual content.

This data didn't cover all of the media campaign as it only focused the print media and even in the print media we have selected 4 newspapers.

Other mediums of communication should also be considered in the future researches. Both qualitative and quantitative methods should be used for further research.