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Politics-media-youth nexus: Analysis of Pakistan's general elections 2013

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Abstract: This study investigated the nexus of politics, youth and media, drawing on the example of General Elections 2013 of Pakistan. It analysed the youth oriented advertisements (YOAs) of three major political parties, e.g. Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML (N)), Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarian and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI), published in national Urdu Dailies before the elections. Findings revealed that PTI published the highest (41%), and PML (N) published the smallest proportion of their advertisements for young voters. The contents used by political parties in their YOAs were classified into five main categories, e.g. *emotional words*, *personal appeals*, *endorsement*, *play-on-words* and *statistics*. All three political parties predominantly used 'endorsement' to attract the attention of the youth. This study also found that the main reasons for paying high attention to the youth were their high influence within families, the importance in door-to-door political campaigns, active participation during polling process, their potential and future role in party flourishing, role and energy in protests, strikes and rallies, and importance in party fund raising. Based on the findings, this study suggested for making realistic promises in the advertisements, and avoiding over-promising that may lead to high frustration among the youth on non-fulfillment in future.

Subjects: Politics & the Media; Mass Communication; Political Communication

Keywords: general elections 2013; print media, political advertisements, youth; political parties; Pakistan

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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PUBLIC INTEREST STATEMENT

In Pakistan, almost one-third of registered voters in the country belong to the age group of 18–30 years, and nearly 60% to 18–40 years. Youth's role in political change has been realized by the political parties in the country, and major political parties have started emphasizing on the youth to gain political benefits. The political parties are dominantly using print media to attract the youth. Drawing on the example of General Elections 2013, this study examined the level of emphasis paid to youth by three major political parties, e.g. Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz Group (PML (N)), Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarian (PPPP) and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI), while publishing political advertisements in leading Urdu Dailies. The study ranked the political parties in terms of their emphasis on youth, and identified the different types of contents used in advertisements. The study also found the reasons of using youth oriented content by political parties.

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1. Introduction

Mass media have evolved into a powerful tool that can be used for political, social, cultural and economic change (Ferguson, 2000; Figueras-Maz, Ríos, & Rodríguez-Martínez, 2013; Sihvonen, 2015; Quigley, 2006). Timely availability of information has become very important than ever. In current era, media tools such as TV, radio, newspapers and the internet, have influenced life styles of the people, their values, and attitudes (Gamson, 2001). Revolution in information has increased awareness, global connectivity, and knowledge of all segments of the societies in the world (Middaugh, Bowyer, & Kahne, 2017). Media coverage can strongly influence the way readers or viewers make sense of news events and their major actors (Ryan, Carragee, & Meinhofer, 2001; Valkenburg & Semetko, 1999). This is more evident when media content focuses on highly publicized and relevant events, such as social movements (McLeod & Detenber, 1999; Nelson & Clawson, 1997; Terkildsen & Schnell, 1997). A substantial development can be observed in media technology, which in resulting in continuous flow of huge volume of information to the public. It has enhanced the chances of public awareness in all aspects including politics (Kroll-Smith, Couch, & Levine, 2002).

Media coverage induces significant impacts on decision-making processes and attitudes of the people (Cieri & Peeps, 2000; Ferguson, 2000; Gamson, 2001; Klandermans & Goslinga, 1996; McChesney, Newman, & Scott, 2005; Reed, 2005; West, 2005). The public's exposure to political contents may result in more knowledge about the candidates, and their attitude on voting decisions may be changed (Kaid, 2002; Martinelli & Chaffee, 1995; Valentino, Hutchings, & Williams, 2004), based on the evaluations of the candidates (Kahn & Geer, 1994; Tinkham & Weaver-Lariscy, 1993). Fighting and arguing on media platforms can be evaluated by the public to assess the temperament of the leaders and their ethical values. Negative approach of leaders may result in negative impacts on public attitudes toward political process (Elenbaas & de Vreese, 2008). In USA one survey held during the presidential political campaign in 1992, revealed that news magazine had strong influence on the election performance of political parties (Chaffee & Kanihan, 1997; Chaffee, Zhao, & Leshner, 1994). Almost parallel findings were observed by the studies which were based on surveys conducted in 1976 and 1980 during the election campaigns of USA presidential elections (Chaffee & Tims, 1982; Patterson, 1980). Media concentrate on a few issues and subjects lead the public to perceive those issues as more important than other issues (Shaw & McCombs, 1977).

Political advertisements targeting youth may play vital role in political campaigning and outcomes (Campbell, Martin, & Fabos, 2000; Quigley, 2006). The youth is easy to be motivated for political interests because they are not so much stable in political thoughts compared to old and clever people (Jennings & Niemi, 1981). They are expected as more susceptible to an attitudinal change for political decisions (Sears, 1983). Drawing on an example of USA elections 2004 shows that the youth was one of the most focused segments in presidential campaign (US Federal Election Commission, 2004). Contents and timeliness of political contents appear to be essential in invoking pessimistic state of mind of younger population (Elenbaas & de Vreese, 2008). Emergence of technologies like 24-h news cycle through internet, radio and television have not significantly affected the importance of the print media, which provides an easily accessible and credible news source to youth (Quigley, 2006) to understand the national or regional political setup (Chaffee & Kanihan, 1997). In Pakistan, political parties excessively use print media, particularly newspapers, in election campaigns with strong focus on youth because almost 35% of registered voters in Pakistan are aged 18–30, and 58% are aged 18–40 (ECP, 2013). In Pakistan's General Elections 2013, use of newspapers in political campaigns was significantly higher, compared to that of 2008 due to higher focus on the young voters in 2013. Political parties mainly used three Urdu Dailies e.g. Jang, Nawa-i-Waqt and Express, due to their broader readership.

Research in the recent past has shed light on the relationship of media with voter's behavior. Studies have expanded on theories of voter engagement, and have examined the impact of exposure to political advertisements on voters' choice (Huber & Arceneaux, 2009), political participation (Franz, Freedman, Goldstein, & Ridout, 2007), and attitudes toward the political system in general (Jackson, Mondak, & Huckfeldt, 2009). Halle (2016) analyzed the contents of political advertisements

published before the 2016 Presidential Election of USA, and classified the advertisements in terms of theme and tone (e.g. attack, advocacy and contrast). Similarly, Alawode and Adesanya (2016) analyzed the contents of political advertisements published before 2015 Elections in Nigeria, and classified the contents in terms of tone (e.g. harsh, subtle and friendly). These recent studies have not emphasized youth in their analysis. Moreover, these studies mainly conducted descriptive analysis, and did not go beyond the classification of advertisements. None of the recent studies have reported the opinion of political parties about youth's role in political process. Thus, some critical questions are left unanswered. These questions are:

(1) Did political parties adequately emphasize youth in their political advertisements?

(2) What are the categories and sub-categories of contents used in advertisements, and what are the underlying aspects highlighted in each sub-category of contents?

(3) What is the opinion of political parties about youth's role in political process?

Drawing on the example of Pakistan's General Elections 2013, this study has made an attempt to answer the above questions. To the best of researchers' knowledge, studies regarding the use of print media for youth mobilization to achieve political goals are rare in Pakistan. Therefore this study will contribute significantly to the existing literature on politics-media-youth nexus in the country.

2. Methodology

2.1. Data collection
In the Pakistan's General Elections 2013, Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) allocated symbols to 148 political parties (Table 1), and accepted the nomination papers of 16,692 candidacies; of which around 5,000 candidates were for 342 National Assembly seats, and 11,692 candidates contested for 728 seats of the Provincial Assemblies (PAs) of four provinces (EUEOMP, 2013).

The political parties used several newspaper groups for political campaigns. However, this study was designed to collect the youth aiming advertisements from only three leading newspapers, Daily Jang, Daily Nawa-i-Waqt and Daily Express, due to time and budget constraints of this academic research (Table 1). These three 'Dailies' are being published in national language 'Urdu', and are having the highest circulation in all parts of the country. Moreover, these are the oldest papers securing a vast popularity among the young readers due to the advertisements of jobs and admissions. Therefore, the political parties prefer to use these Dailies as tool to mobilize the youth of Pakistan. Youth aiming advertisements were collected from these 'Dailies' during the period, e.g. 1 January 2013 to 10 May 2013, before the General Elections 2013. Moreover, this study chose only three major

Table 1. Sampling design		
Population	**Sample**	**Method of selection**
*148 political parties to which symbols were allotted by Election Commission of Pakistan for 2013 general elections	Three major parties only • PPPP • PML (N) • PTI	Purposive
**424 Dailies (Newspapers) being published in Pakistan	Three national Urdu Dailies (Lahore Edition) • Nawa-i-Waqt • Express • Jang	Purposive
All political election-related advertisements	Youth-oriented advertisements only	Purposive

 * and ** are attached with the two data sources to highlight the actual source of data used in the Table.
Sources: EUEOMP (2013)*; APNS (2014)**.

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Table 2. Advertisements published by political parties in Urdu Dailies					
Political Parties	**Number of advertisements**	**% of total advertisements**	**Number of advertisements published in Dailies**		
			Nawa-i-Waqt	**Express**	**Jang**
PMLN	326	54	211 (65)	92 (28)	23 (7)
PTI	154	25	80 (52)	62 (40)	12 (8)
PPPP	129	21	55 (43)	60 (47)	14 (11)
Total advertisements	609	100	346	214	49

Note: Figures in parentheses are respective percentages showing distribution of total advertisements of political parties across Urdu Dailies.

political parties, e.g. PPPP, PTI and PMLN (Table 1), rather than taking all active parties in the country. These three major parties claim to be the true representative of youth in Pakistan. In this study Youth refers to the population with age ranging from 18 to 40 years.

During the defined period, three major political parties published total 609 political advertisements in the selected three Urdu Dailies (Table 2). Out of these, PMLN published 54% advertisements. However, PT and PPPP published respectively 25 and 21% advertisements. PMLN and PTI published respectively 65 and 52% of their political advertisements in Daily Nawa-i-Waqt. PPPP published almost half of their political advertisements in Daily Express (Table 2).

In addition to collecting youth-oriented advertisements, six formal interviews were conducted with the representatives of political parties, maintaining two interviews with representatives of each political party. The purpose if these interviews was to understand why youth has higher importance for political parties in political systems compared to other segments of the society.

2.2. Analysis tools

Analysis in communication sciences demands in-depth understandings of content of videos, advertisements, stories etc., therefore researchers cannot just rely on numbers. They have to analyse qualitatively the contents so that they may establish appropriate logical statements and interpret those accordingly (Alan, 2001). Thus, media studies cannot confine their scope of analysis within the limits of rigorous tools. Due to the reluctance to adopt strict methodologies, in media sciences, there is huge scope of acquiring deep knowledge of contents (Levinsen & Wien, 2011). In this study, both descriptive statistics and content analysis are used to analyse the collected youth aiming advertisements. For data analysis, Microsoft Excel was used because it was good enough to estimate the descriptive statistics for this study. The youth-oriented advertisements (YOAs) were assigned value of 1 in MS Excel, and all other advertisements were assigned 0 value. For content analysis, this study has used well established methodology from recent methodological studies (e.g. Bengtsson, 2016; Erlingsson & Brysiewicz, 2017). In first step, the text body of YOAs was carefully read to identify the highlighted aspects by political parties. In second step, these aspects were grouped into sub-categories of contents. In final step, these sub-categories were compiled into broader categories of contents e.g. 'emotional words', 'Endorsements', 'Play-on-words' and 'Statistics'. In several instances one advertisement had more than one category of contents.

Sections 3.1–3.4 in the Results and Discussion section are mainly guided by the research questions raised in the end of Section 1. Sections 3.1 and 3.2 are based on descriptive statistics. However, Section 3.3 is mainly based on in-depth analysis of content categories, and underlying aspects highlighted in YOAs. Section 3.4 presents the opinion of political parties about youth's role in political process.

3. Results and discussions

3.1. Youth-oriented advertisements

In published advertisements, political parties presented their election manifestos, and tried to attract the attention of the most influential segments of the society such as rural people/farmers and the youth. Results revealed that PML (N) published the highest number of advertisements in Urdu Dailies, e.g. Express, Nawa-i-Waqt and Jang (Table 3). The total of advertisements published by two parties, e.g. PTI and PPPP, was less than the single figure of PML (N). Regarding the youth oriented advertisements, PTI published the higher number of advertisements among all three parties. Statistics reveal that they published more than 40% of their advertisements which were having content to attract the young voters (Table 3). PML (N) and PPPP published almost equal number of advertisements for youth voters. However, in proportion, PML (N) published only 13% of their advertisements to target youth for general elections. Their most of the advertisements were focusing other groups and issues in the society. PPPP allocated their nearly one-third of advertisements for youth. In general, political parties and PTI, in particular, paid very high attention to young voters in their political advertisements. It means that political parties strongly believe that the print media may induce highly significant impacts on decision-making processes and attitudes of the young population (Gamson, 2001; McChesney et al., 2005; Reed, 2005).

The distribution of youth-oriented advertisements across Urdu Dailies has also been analysed (Figure 1). PML (N) published 44% of their YOAs in Daily Nawa-i-Waqt. They published almost one-third of their YOAs in Daily Express, and one-fourth in Daily Jang. Almost similar to PML (N), PTI published 46% of their YOAs in Daily Nawa-i-Waqt. They published their 41% YOAs in Daily Express, and only 13% in Daily Jang (Figure 1). PPPP published their 44% YOAs in Daily Express. They published only one-third of their YOAs in Daily Nawa-i-Waqt, and nearly one-fourth in Daily Jang (Figure 1). Overall, it can be concluded that all three political parties preferred Daily Nawa-i-Waqt and Daily Express to publish their YOAs.

Compared to other two Urdu Dailies, Jang was relatively less preferred by political parties for publishing election related advertisements. This Daily was given the least number of advertisements by all three political parties (Table 2). In terms of proportion of YOAs also, Daily Jang was given least preference by the political parties (Figure 1).

3.2. Ranking of political parties based on youth-oriented advertisements

Based on number and proportion of youth-oriented advertisements, political parties have been ranked in order to know which party paid the highest attention to attract the young voters. In terms of number of youth oriented advertisements, overall PTI is ranked number one (Table 4). In individual Urdu Daily wise analysis, they are also ranked as number one for publishing the highest number of advertisements in Daily Express and Nawa-i-Waqt. However, they were placed at third position in Daily Jang. Overall, PML (N) is placed at second position, and PPPP at the third position. In Daily Jang, PML (N) published the highest number of YOAs.

In terms of proportion of youth-oriented advertisements in total political advertisements published by respective political parties, number one rank of PTI has not been changed (Table 4). PPPP was placed at second position whereas PML (N) was at third place. Conclusively, it has been found

Table 3. Youth-oriented advertisements					
Political parties	Total number of advertisements	Youth-oriented advertisements		Other political advertisements	
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%
PMLN	326	41	13	285	87
PTI	154	63	41	91	59
PPPP	129	40	31	89	69

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Figure 1. Distribution of youth-oriented advertisements across Urdu Dailies.
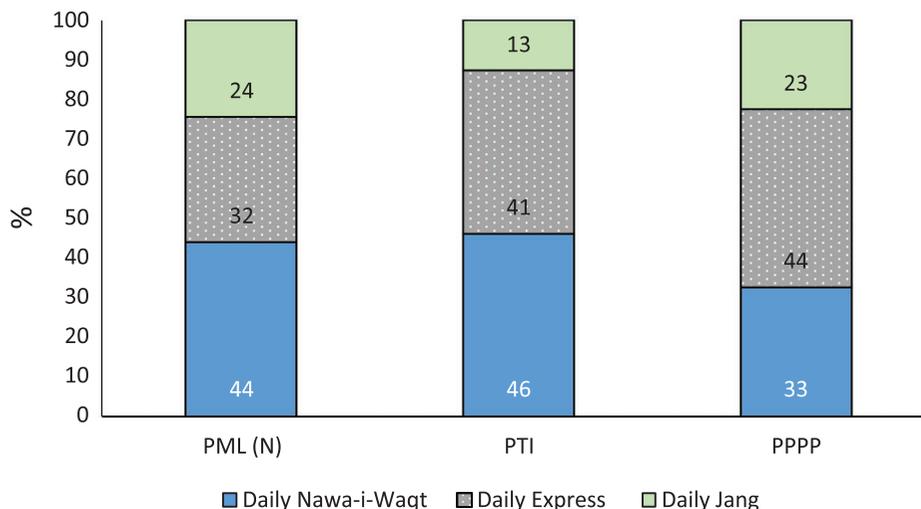

Table 4. Ranking of political parties based youth-oriented advertisements

Political parties	Number of youth-oriented advertisement				Proportion of youth-oriented advertisements in total advertisements published by each political party (%)			
	Overall	Daily Express	Daily Nawa-i-Waqt	Daily Jang	Overall	Daily Express	Daily Nawa-i-Waqt	Daily Jang
PML (N)	41	13	18	10	13	14	9	44
	(2)	(3)	(2)	(1)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)
PTI	63	26	29	8	41	42	36	67
	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)
PPPP	40	18	13	9	31	30	24	64
	(3)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)

Note: Figures in parentheses are ranks in respective categories.

that PTI focused the most on youth voters in their political advertisements in terms of both absolute number and proportion of youth-oriented advertisements.

3.3. Contents of youth-oriented advertisements

All three political parties realized that the contents and timelines of political advertisements are highly essential in invoking pessimistic state of mind of younger population, as reported by other studies (Elenbaas & de Vreese, 2008; Ferguson, 2000; Kroll-Smith et al., 2002; Levinsen & Wien, 2011; West, 2005). In YOAs, political parties used different persuasive techniques in their youth-oriented advertisements to attract their attention in the general elections. Based on the content analysis, five types of contents (also called as 'appeals'), e.g. emotional words, personal appeals, endorsement, play on words and statistics, were identified in the YOAs (Table 5). In total, PML (N) used 362 appeals in their 41 YOAs. PTI and PPPP used 189 and 182 appeals in their 63 and 40 YOAs respectively (Tables 4 and 5).

In YOAs of PTI, almost 50% of the appeals were of endorsement category, and 25% appeals were containing the contents about personal characteristics of their leader (Figure 2). Their 15% appeals were containing the contents of promises and future incentives for the youth. They used less emotional contents and statistics. In YOAs of PPPP, they mainly used endorsement (30%), statistics 26%), and 'play on words' (29%) to persuade youth for general elections (Figure 3). In YOAs of PML

Table 5. Content categories used in youth-oriented advertisements			
Categories of contents/appeals	**Number of appeals under each category**		
	PML (N)	**PTI**	**PPPP**
Emotional words	2	11	5
Personal appeals	22	47	21
Endorsement	240	93	56
Play on words	81	29	52
Statistics	17	9	48
Total	362	189	182

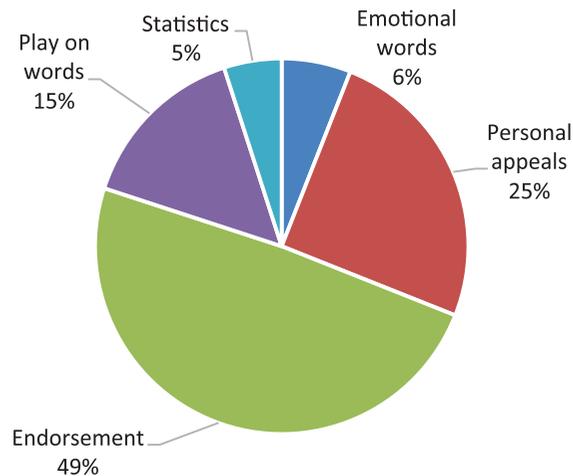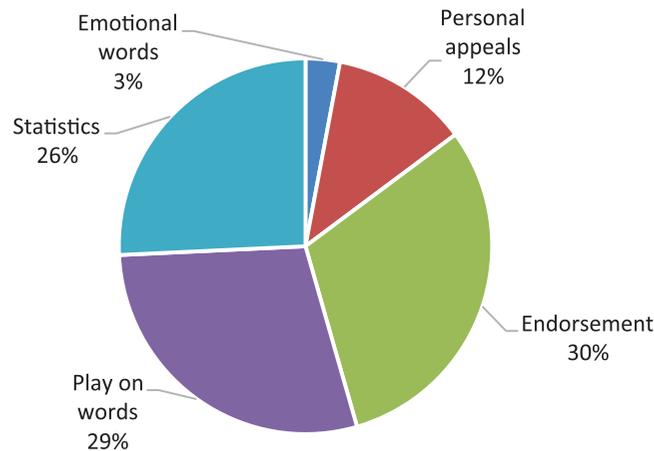**Figure 2. Content/appeal analysis of advertisements of PTI.**

Figure 3. Content/appeal analysis of advertisements of PPPP.

(N), two-third appeals were having endorsement content to attract the youth. Their 22% appeals were containing the content of incentives and promises for the youth (Figure 4).

3.3.1. Emotional words
In the category of 'Emotional words', two subcategories, e.g. past sacrifices and nationally important issues, were established. Political parties revealed past sufferings, struggles and sacrifices to attain the sympathies of the youth. PTI highlighted their chairman Imran Khan's 16 years struggle to raise the voice of youth (Table 6). PML (N), highlighted the proscription of Nawaz Sharif family in 1999. General Pervez Musharraf dismissed the PML (N) government, and arrested the Prime Minister

Figure 4. Content/appeal analysis of advertisements of PML (N).
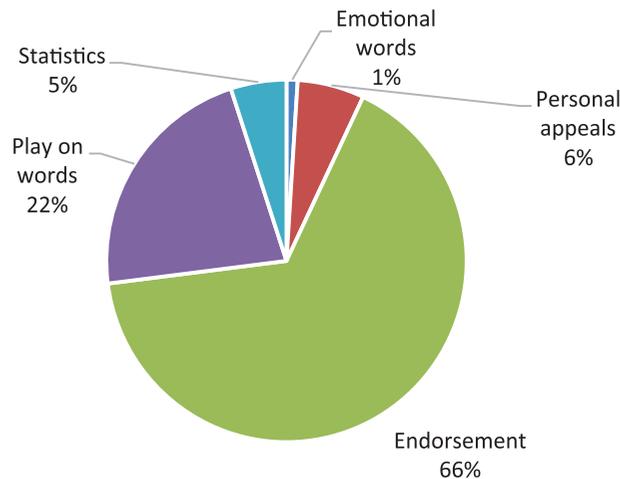
'Nawaz Sharif'. PPPP highlighted the killing of their chairperson Benazir Bhutto in terrorist attack in 2007. Aspects highlighted by PML (N) and PPPP were not directly related to youth, but these parties tried to present the barriers which constrained them to serve the youth effectively. PML (N) tried to present that their government was not allowed to serve the nation for full 5 years of tenure, and their plans for the people and particularly the youth could not be operationalized. PPPP tried to link their sufferings with nationally important issues. They revealed that they were the victims of the terrorisms due to their clear stance against fundamentalism and vision for moderate society. PML (N) highlighted the issue of energy crisis and linked it with economic development and opportunities for youth. PTI highlighted the issue of corruption, and showed it as a key factor that leads to youth brain-drain from the country.

3.3.2. Personal appeals

Under this category, four sub-categories, e.g. personal characteristics of leaders, negativity about opponents, positivity about own party, and comparison with other parties, were established. In personal characteristics of leaders, PTI and PML (N) highlighted respectively their current leaders' honesty and patriotism (Table 6). However, PPPP did not try to highlight such characteristics of their current leader 'Asif Ali Zardari' due to his track-record in corruption. They highlighted themselves as successors of the founder of PPPP 'Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto' who was perceived as an honest and patriot leader by the youth (Bellingham, 2016). In negativity about opponents, all three political parties targeted the corruption of the other parties. PPPP and PML (N) targeted each other, and PTI targeted the both in their YOAs. In positivity about own party, the political parties gave unique titles to their young followers to enhance their self-reliance and self-esteem, and show that they are the most important segment in the society for political parties. PML (N), PTI and PPPP respectively gave titles of lions, tigers and *jialas* (passionate) to their young followers (Table 6). In the subcategory of comparison with other parties, PTI claimed to be the true representative of the youth in Pakistan. However, PML (N) and PPPP tried to highlight their past achievements to differentiate themselves from other parties. PML (N) aimed to highlight that their party strengthened the country in the past with nuclear tests in 1998, and they can also play vital role in strength and development in future. Nuclear testing is not directly related to the youth, but PML (N) highlighted this achievement based on the assumption that the youth is more concerned about the strength and progress of Pakistan (Yusuf, 2011). PPPP highlighted the Benazir Income Support Programme, which was launched in 2008. They tried to show that they empowered the women of the country including young women through this social safety net.

3.3.3. Endorsement

'Endorsement' category was containing contents which highlighted popular figures, celebrities, national heroes and party leaders as role models for youth. PML (N) and PPPP highlighted national

Table 6. Content categories and key aspects highlighted in youth oriented advertisements

Categories	Sub-categories	Key aspects highlighted by political parties		
		PML (N)	**PTI**	**PPPP**
Emotional words	Past sacrifices	• Nawaz Sharif family's proscription in 1999	• 16 years struggle for the voice of youth	• Killing of PPPP's chairperson Benazir Bhutto in terrorist attack in 2007
	Nationally important critical issues	• Energy crisis	• Corruption	• Moderate society
Personal appeals	Personal characteristics of leaders	• Patriotism of party leaders	• Honesty of the party chairman	• Succession of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto
	Negativity about opponents	• Corruption of other parties	• Corruption of other parties	• Corruption of other parties
	Positivity about own party	• Calling party workers as 'lions'	• Calling party workers as 'tigers'	• Calling party workers as 'jialas' (passionate)
	Comparison of party with other parties	• Role of party in nuclear tests in 1998	• Claim for true representativeness of the youth	• Launch of Benazir Income Support Programme in 2008
Endorsement	Mainstreaming celebrities/heroes/party leaders	• The founder of Pakistan (Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinhah) • Party leaders and their descendants	• Showbiz stars • The party chairman as a sports idol • Winning of cricket world cup 1992	• The founder of PPPP (Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto) • The former prime minister (Benazir Bhutto) • Party leaders and their descendants
Play on words	Future goals and incentives	• Student laptop scheme • Youth loan schemes • Employment opportunities • Green tractor scheme • Land allotment to agriculture graduates	• High standard health and education systems • Employment opportunities and transparency in process • Economic development • Bringing talented youth back to Pakistan	• Equality in the society (Building on old slogan of 1970s 'food, cloth and house for all')
Statistics	References to vague statistics	–	–	• Economic development in last tenure
	References to specific statistics	• Motorway projects • Sasti roti scheme	• Shaukat Khanam Cancer hospital • NAMAL College	• Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan Package • Higher education devolution to provincial level

heroes and their own party leaders. PML (N) tried to build link of their party with the founder of Pakistan, and claimed that they are the same party which was led by the founder Pakistan, and played role in the independence of Pakistan. It was aimed to prove that the youth under the umbrella of PML played very important role in the independence movement, and they are supposed to perform the same role now for the development of Pakistan under the same party. PPPP used the names of their past leaders to attract the youth. Their past leader Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was heavily followed by the youth (Bellingham, 2016), and the party tried to encash this past glory for 2013 election. PTI used their chairman Imran Khan's personality as a cricket idol to influence the youth. Another example, they also allotted election ticket to a famous pop singer of Pakistan Abrar-ul-Haq, and featured him in some YOAs. Cricket and music are most popular activities among the youth of Pakistan. Cognizant of this, PTI tried to use these two aspects to improve the popularity of their party in the youth.

3.3.4. Play on words
Under the category of 'Play-on-words', the political parties highlighted their future goals and incentives for youth. This category was heavily expected to unveil the manifesto of the political parties revealing party vision, directions and specific goals. However, in YOAs, this category was given comparatively less attention (Table 5). PML (N) promised to launch very youth specific schemes including laptop scheme for students, loans to skilled youth to start their small and medium businesses, allotment of cultivable government land to agriculture graduates, and green tractor scheme for rural youth who are interested in agriculture (Table 6). They also promised to create job opportunities for the youth. PPPP did not highlight their clear goals for the youth, however they promised to bring equality in the society, indicating some latent plans about socioeconomic development with gender integration. PTI highlighted their goals for good quality health and education systems, and employment opportunities and transparency in related processes. They also revealed their long-term vision about the economic development, and bringing out-migrated youth back to Pakistan.

3.3.5. Statistics
In the category of 'Statistics', the political parties referred to statistics from success stories of their parties or leaders. PML (N), highlighted the statistics from successful motorways projects and '*sasti roti* scheme' (low price bread). PTI highlighted the statistics and stories from the successful establishment and governance of two big institutes, e.g. Shaukat Khanam Cancer Hospital and NAMAL College. These institutes were established by the PTI chairman Imran Khan. The underlying purpose to highlight the success of these institutes was to prove that he is capable of leading and governing the institutes, and can lead the nation as well. PPPP highlighted economic development in their last tenure without any reliable statistics and stories. However, they highlighted specific statistics from their imitative of *Aghaz-e-Haqooq-Balochistan* Package (realization of the rights of Balochistan province) and devolution of the authority of higher education from federal to provincial level. They aimed to attain the attention of the youth from Balochistan province through highlighting their *Aghaz-e-Haqooq-Balochistan* Package. However, higher education is directly related to the youth from all provinces, and the party tried to reveal the devolution of authority of higher education will provide more opportunities to the youth due to improved management and transparency. All this information in the YOAs may serve as a strong source of motivation to change voting decisions, as reported elsewhere (Kaid, 2002; Valentino et al., 2004).

3.4. Reasons for attracting youth
It is evident that all three major political parties adequately emphasized on young voters for general elections 2013. There might be several reasons for motivating the youth. However, the representatives of the political parties during interviews revealed following five main reasons.

(1) Young people are more influential within the family to convince the other members of the family to vote for the particular party. Also, they are more productive to convince the people in neighbourhood, universities, streets, villages and towns.

(2) Young voters may play very important role for parties in door to door election campaigns, and may also bring other voters out of their homes so actively to vote for the particular party on the Election Day. They are more effective in polling process, handling polling camps and booths, and controlling any kind of violence and manipulation during the election.

(3) They may become the future power of the parties, and may serve for longer period of time as voters and workers. Moving beyond the political interests, they may also serve the country in a very productive way if groomed effectively through robust political trainings in the political system. This is consistent with the findings of Campbell et al. (2000) who revealed that political parties foresee their future success in present active participation of youth in political process.

(4) For protests, strikes, rallies and gatherings in the name of change, youth are most powerful instrument for political parties to gather public, and organize and handle the political events. They may also be very effective in organizing productive events at local, regional and national level such as sports events, academic competitions, festivals, conferences, workshops etc.

(5) Youth is also very effective instrument to raise funds for parties.

4. Conclusions

In Pakistan, youth accounts for the majority of the population and their role is very important to bring out political, social or economic change in the country. Almost 35% of registered voters in the country belong to the age group of 18–30 years, and 58% to 18–40 years. Youth's role in political change has been realized by the political parties in Pakistan. They published a significant number of youth-oriented advertisements with diverse forms of contents in leading Urdu Dailies during the campaigns of 'General Elections 2013' to attain their attention. Among three major political parties, e.g. Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz Group (PML (N)), Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarian (PPPP) and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI), PTI published the highest proportion (41%) of their political advertisement for youth. PPPP published one-third of their political advertisements aiming at the youth. PML (N) published the least proportion (13%) of youth oriented advertisements in their total political advertisements. The political parties used diverse forms of contents in their youth oriented advertisements, e.g. emotional words, personal appeals, endorsement, play on words and statistics. However, all political parties used the highest proportion of celebrity appeals (endorsements) to influence the youth. In each broader category of contents, several sub-categories and a vast range of underlying aspects were identified. The study also found that the possible reasons of using youth-oriented advertisements were youth's influence within family, their importance in door-to-door campaigns, active participation during polling process, their potential and future role in party flourishing, role and energy in protests, strikes and rallies, and importance in party fund raising.

Based on the findings, this study has suggested some recommendations. It is appreciable to focus the youth in election campaigns but over-promising in contents of campaigns may lead to negative impacts in society. If youngsters are promised anything during election campaigns, they must be provided with because non-provision of promised things may induce huge frustration among them which may lead to increased crimes and unrest in the society. Since the political parties in general and PTI in particular paid the higher attention to the youth, it is suggested that youth may be utilized in highest interest of the country rather than just targeting their voting strength and their expected role in tangible and non-tangible benefits of parties. In short, after either winning or losing the election, youth should not be left alone.

It is also suggested to use positive contents, e.g. opportunities for higher education, technical skills and capacity, and sports activities, in political advertisements that may motivate the youth to utilize their potential in the most productive way for the country development. In addition, it is suggested not to use contents like inflated financial promises in youth oriented advertisements because these contents may raise youth's expectations from political parties. If these financial promises are

not fulfilled, it may induce frustration in the youth. It is suggested to use only realistic contents and promises.

5. Suggested future research

Among political parties, PTI paid the highest attention to youth in their political advertisements and achieved a lot success to attain their attention. They won only 35 National Assembly (NA) seats in General Elections 2013 compared to only 1 NA seat won in 2002 elections. However, still a valid question rises that a political party 'PML (N), which focused the least on young voters, won the 'General Elections 2013'. In view of this fact, this study opens the door for future research on two issues. First, despite the fact that the youth shares nearly 60% to total registered voters in Pakistan, and they are the most useful in fetching other voters due to their influence within household and in the society, a political party which focused the least on this segment won the election. What were the factors behind this? Second, to what extent PML (N) is attempting to fulfil the promises which were made in their youth-advertisements campaigns during election campaigns?

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