

Evaluating Hypotheses of Editorial Treatment of Manifestoes of Mainstream Political Parties in General Election 2013 by English and Urdu Dailies of Pakistan

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Abstract

This study evaluates the editorial treatment of pre-election manifestos of major political Parties of Pakistan: PMLN (Pakistan Muslim League-N), PPPP (Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians) and PTI (Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf) in leading English and Urdu dailies of Pakistan during from March 1st to May 9th, 2013. Content analysis method is considered to analyze the editorials and columns published during the aforementioned time frame. Overall, 280 newspapers have been analyzed by a well established coding sheet to limit the number of categories by carrying framing theory to gauge the manifestos of pertinent political parties taking the favorable, unfavorable and neutral frames. Moreover, significant issues i.e. economic, political, social and foreign have been determined in treatment. The findings of the study reveal that English dailies provided enormous treatment to the manifestos of political parties than those of Urdu dailies. It has been observed that not all parties have been offered equitable treatment in the selected time period. Comparatively, PMLN secured the maximum coverage which comprises the maximum neutral and unfavorable treatment among all selected mainstream parties. Hence, it is inferred that the four selected newspapers have considered the PTI highly significant because the abundant space in terms of favorable treatment during selected time span reflects its popularity and active participation throughout the campaign period.

Key Words: *Content Analysis; Editorial Treatment; Framing; Manifestos; Political Parties; Newspaper; Pakistan.*

Introduction

Media is considered as mirror of the society to reflect the incidents or affairs that take place in the contemporary world. So, it gives space and time to the incidents, events, and official statements according to their significance and public interest of what they judge significant subjects of the day.

During the time of polls, political affiliations of media particularly newspapers are more explicit. Even though, particular newspapers show partiality, biasness and become mouth piece of the campaign for their vested interest in preferred party. The status of newspapers is still admired among the individuals of society (Smith, 2015; Jan, et al., 2013).

Throughout the political campaigns, mass media has vividly an imperative task to carry out. Politicians put into practice media to flourish the good will and the image of their own and the parties as well till the end of campaigning and, polling day in particular (Carrier, 2015; Baadur, 2004). However, McCombs (2002) proposes that when the news stories or events are framed (framing) and change our perception in a way the stories are toned (priming), it confirms that agenda setting function does still prevail out and about. .

Manifestos and philosophies are deliberate subjects in political science. Manifesto is a public declaration of policy and aims, especially one issued before an election by a political party or candidate. Majority of democratic countries akin to Ireland believed party manifestos as a benchmark for elections. Manifestos affords summaries of policies of political parties to their voters, are related to the impression that elections provide parties with policy mandates (McDonald et al., 2004). Pre-elections time period, March 1st to May 9th, 2013 was very

important phase and most appropriate time to analyze newspaper's content regarding political campaigns. During the election campaigns both political parties PMLN and PTI exploited media actively, primarily to attract the youth. It created such an atmosphere that those two parties stood out as the most prominent and leading parties in people's mind. It was PML-N who first unleashed its manifesto at 7th of March. PPP followed the PML-N by launching its party pledge at 14th March. PTI revealed its election manifesto on 9th April. In view of the above scenario, it will be a matter of great interest to explore Pakistani English and Urdu newspapers Express Tribune, The News, Express, Jang to check their editorial treatment of mainstream political parties (Pakistan Muslim League-N, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf and Pakistan People's Party). Hence, the two major hypotheses are taken into account to evaluate the manifestoes of political parties.

The aim of the study is to focus on the editorial treatment or coverage to the manifestos of the aforementioned political parties in general elections, 2013 by four leading dailies of Pakistan, The News, The Express tribune, Daily Jang and Daily Express. The researcher is drawn to conduct research on to explore as to how each newspaper highlighted the manifestos of these parties, and what stance was adopted in their editorial policies during election campaign times. Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N), Pakistan Peoples' Party (PPP) and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI).

Retrospective view of Pakistani Politics

Pakistan, since the outset of Independence, has been invariably living through the several forms of governments reforming as parliamentary, presidential or semi-presidential level. . In the present government, President is the ceremonial head of the state and Prime Minister is the head of government. There exists multi-party system in Pakistan, where executive powers refer to the

government and parliament leads the legislative powers. Pakistani Parliament consists of two Houses: one is known as National Assembly and the other as Senate. The national assembly comprises of 342 seats including 60 seats reserved for women and 10 reserved for Non-Muslims (Christians, Hindus, Sikhs and others). The Senate consists of 104 members including 17 seats reserved for women and 17 seats reserved for technocrats and religious clerics. The members of the National Assembly are elected for a term of 5 years, whereas the members of the Senate are elected for a term of 6 years with staggered elections every 3 years (www.ecp.gov.pk 23 Feb 2014).

Pakistan has been ruled by both democratic and military system of governments. Seven Prime Ministers were changed either resigned or expelled since 1947 to 1958. This instability invited as ever the military takeover. On October 7, 1958 Pakistan's civilian President Iskander Mirza in association with General Ayyub Khan declared martial law by abrogating Pakistan's constitution. Later that General Ayyub Khan became president from 1958 to 1969; General Yahya Khan was the next President. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto ruled 1972 to 1977 but then removed by Army General Zia-Ul-Haq. In 1988 General Zia was killed in a plane crash. Then, Benazir Bhutto was elected as the Prime Minister of Pakistan. She was the first youngest woman in the history ever to be elected the Head of Government of a Muslim country. Her government was followed by Nawaz Sharif, and these two leaders swapped until the military coup. In 1999, Nawaz Shareef was taken into the custody by General Musharraf regime. President Rafiq Tarar was acting president of Pakistan from 1999 to 2001. General Musharraf remained the president of Pakistan after the submission of President Rafiq Tarar in 2001, followed by his own resignation in 2008. After a span of of seven years, Asif Zardari (The husband of youngest female Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto) was elected as president of Islamic Republic of Pakistan up until the

General Elections of 2013 took place. Peshimam (2013) in his report asserts that the 13th Parliament of Pakistan which dissolved on March 16, 2013 was the first ever in the political history of Pakistan to complete its term. A caretaker government was set up aimed at taking the responsibility of conduct clean elections within 60 days of the dissolution. May 11, 2013 was set as the polling date. For the very first time in the history of Pakistan, one civilian government transferred its powers to the next civilian government (2008-2013) though it has been faced both democratic and military governments since 1947. Therefore, elections 2013 were very vital in the history of the country. There were many political parties came to the forefront for contesting in the general elections of 2013 but PMLN (Pakistan Muslim League-N), PTI (Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf) and PPP (Pakistan People's Party) had become the three major political forces of the country.

Political Culture and Democracy

Political culture defines how people appreciate, and analyze the politics, and what they feel about it. Political culture indicates what general population wants to continue pursuing their political system and where they stand in that system today. There are a few political cultures which accent on the status of individual freedom whereas some consider the community solidarity is the topmost on the list. According to Political culture has following components: A sense of national identity, attitudes toward one's self as a participant in political sphere, attitudes toward one's fellow citizens, attitudes and expectations regarding governmental output and performance, and attitudes toward and knowledge about the political process of decision making (Pridham, 2016; DeVereaux and Griffin, 2016; Almond and Verba 1963). Mclean and McMillan (2009) assemble that our norms, opinions and action towards our political structure are the very essence of a political culture. Political Culture is the attitudes, feelings and values which underpin the

operation of a particular political system; these were seen as including knowledge and skills about the operation of the political system, positive and negative emotional feelings towards it.

Democracy defined best through the words of Lincoln, “government of the people, by the people and for the people”. This definition even to date is an exact description of the democracy. It is an ideology which allows people to choose their leader from to represent them. Democratic setup put emphasis on the importance of people in the system and society. In democracy, people are free to choose the one to lead them on, and they have right to hold them accountable in order to assure a prosperous and healthy society. When democracy prevails it ensures the freedom of speech, equality and protection of rights of every citizen, minorities and women. All is possible when elections are said to be the free and fair, as it is the only instrument to select them whom public want to preside over and without obstruction judge their performances. Democracy as a setup where public is supposed to be free of charge and identity, enjoys the equality and familiar to their importance which is acknowledgeable in the society (Murphy, 2016; Gunther & Mughan, 2000).

Competition for power has always been ultimate objective of the political parties. In democratic settings, parties present their action plans (manifestos) on those bases public elect them. The only purpose is the practical implementations of those plans for their public. Regardless of the outcome of the polls political parties become the part of the government. In a situation, when party or parties gets the majority of seats in legislature, they are welcome to device policies and practically implement their plans. When party or parties fail to succeed to form government, they form opposition. In order to critically look and realize the government policies and warn against the power abuse is the job of the opposition. Strong opposition gives a tough time to the government should there be any setbacks. This is assumed as one of the prides

of democracy. In Pakistan democracy has always been idealized though but never implemented in its original or practical form. Initially, the country suffered lots of setbacks like uncertainty and political parties' course being interrupted over and over again.. Pakistani religious political leaders have utterly failed to improve the political system due to military and civil bureaucracy (Hayes, 2016; Callard, 1968).

In actual democratic societies, party manifesto is considered the yardstick for post-election performance. But in a country like Pakistan, situation is very different, manifestos are confined to lip service and usually lack better performance. Free press or media has a high status in the democratic system where it keeps an eye on the governmental activities. During election campaigns, media ought to be unbiased, sensitive, and responsible to ensure the peoples state of affairs and political parties that they can effectively propagate their vision for the future with each other. Media should also perform the duty of a guardian in free and fair electoral process to ensure the transparency which is essential for self-assurance of public in elections.

Political Parties of Pakistan

Political parties' existence is sine qua none in a democratic state, these bodies should have the ability to run the government and correspond to the populace for their present and future betterment. Political parties apparently suffer when a communication gap occurs between the people and their leaders. According to Bhatti (2007), a successful democracy needs political parties which are capable of running the governmental affairs. When political parties get elected winning polls they control the entire state and the other party's forms the opposition to keep a check and balance on government each and every domestic as well as foreign matter and their functioning. Political parties should be well aware of their liabilities towards government and her populace i.e. to endorse the policy plans aims to aware and educate the people how a democratic

system performs and protect their rights. In other words, it's up to the political parties how well they do for the welfare and prosperity of the society as whole.

Yousaf et al., 2016 and Ziring (2003) enlighten one of the flaws of a weaker political system in Pakistan that is the political leaders themselves. Owing to this civil and military administration carried out the political process instead of the political parties. The parties on the other side are not yet capable of providing disciplined expressions of societal ambitions. In Pakistan, the political leaders from Punjab mostly dominate the political reforms, the structure of the administration, the economic structure, and the general decision making power.

Selected Political Parties of Pakistan

According to the Commonwealth report, Observer Mission for the general elections 2013, 148 political parties contested the National and Provincial Assembly elections. The main parties were: the Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians (PPPP), the Pakistan Muslim League- Nawaz (PML-N), the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI).

a) The Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PMLN)

The Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz to date is believed to be the largest political party in Pakistan having had 186 seats a vast majority in the National Assembly during the mentioned elections.. Nawaz Sharif, who is the present Prime Minister of Pakistan, is also the head of PMLN. The party have had strong roots in Punjab province as well as its assembly, even though it has representation in Balochistan, KPK, FATA and Sindh, and a little presence in Kashmir and Gilgit–Baltistan.

b) The Pakistan Tehreek-e- Insaf (PTI)

- a. The PTI (Pakistan Movement for Justice) is rapidly increasing, anti-status quo movement, established by former Pakistani cricketer Imran Khan. PTI received the second highest votes in elections 2013. It is regarded as a non-family party along with 10 millions memberships within and across Pakistan. Election 2013 declared PTI as the 3rd largest party of the country 2nd major in Punjab and Karachi while the most influential party in KPK province and formed its alliance government in the KPK.

c) The Pakistan People's Party (PPP)

Pakistan People's Party (PPP) has deep roots in southern province of Sindh and had been a very influential political force in the country being into the power at different eras (1970, 1977, 1988, 1993 and 2008) (www.ppp.org.pk 24 Feb 2013). Party's leadership has been dominated by the members of the Bhutto-Zardari family. PPP Once considered as the most influential political party in the country.the then, it failed to perform over promising and under delivering precluded it from even securing a single seat from the Balochistan, KPK, and the tribal areas. The party has been reduced to its stronghold of Sindh Province. It is currently the opposition party in the National Assembly and ruling party in Sindh and Gilgit-Baltistan.

Why Manifestos are required?

McClelland (1996) asserts that modern democracy dwells on the notion of informed choice through offering citizens the option to select from a number of possible alternatives. Political parties do link past and future policies in a unified agenda under it voters are expected to make

informed decisions. This is important since voters, by electing a party or parties to office, choose among alternative frameworks that will regulate their lives during the tenure of office. The idea is that in a modern democracy, the people's wishes are an effective driver of policy. Katz (1997) explains the system for achieving this is activated way before a general election and is described by doctrines of party competition. It is a common practice that parties enter campaigns by presenting their political agendas, in one way or another, to potential voters during the short period preceding an election. Policy promises formed during this period are considered by the electorate to be a blue print for future government plan because by adhering parties to particular pre-poll policies, election programs permit voters collectively to decide in elections what types of policies will be followed over the subsequent term of government.

Laver (2001) finds that determination of political parties as Left-Right wing along with their policy positioning is considered one of the principles in the field of politics. Political scientists agreed on the most common tactics while locating a party's position; expert surveys, opinion poll data, and content analysis of party manifestos. Kalogeropoulou (1993) argues that election manifestos should be worthy reflection of the position of a political party; the most important questions hovering over them are whether electors actually exploit program policies as a foundation for their voting choices and whether they account constantly and accurately for future actions on policy during the subsequent term of government. Of late, Pakistan is going through numerous challenges energy crises is one of them, the political manifesto paves the way that how a political party will tackle to the problems of people down the line (Huda and McDonald, 2016). Dolezal et al., (2008) notice the significance of manifestos in determining the party position and studying the elections at advance level. Manifestos of political parties

usually offer a list of policy preferences to the electorate, which allows political scientists to trace whether they are fulfilled or not.

Hence, following hypotheses are taken:

H₁. It is more likely that English Dailies give more significance to the mainstream political parties' manifestoes than the Urdu Dailies of Pakistan.

H₂. It is more likely that English and Urdu dailies give more significance to a particular party during the general election 2013.

Methodology

Content analysis research technique has been exploited to analyze the editorial treatment to manifestoes of mainstream political parties in general elections 2013 by English and Urdu dailies of Pakistan. The nature of the research lies under the qualitative method. This study examined the articles (editorials and columns) published on the editorial and op-ed pages in the newspaper The News, Express Tribune, Daily Jang and Daily Express. Universe of this study is most circulated two English and two Urdu dailies of Pakistan selected during the period of 1st March to 9th May, 2013. It is the time when all political parties were busy to promulgate their agenda via political campaigns and manifestos for the pre announced elections on May 11th, 2013. English dailies coupled with The News and Express Tribune whilst Urdu dailies include Daily Jang and Daily Express. The treatment of manifestos of mainstream political parties PMLN, PPP and PTI has been scaled with the help of measuring tool for this study. Keeping the nature of study in view, census of all selected dailies found appropriate for this particular study. Overall 280 newspapers were analyzed given as following (See Table 1). To determine editorial treatment of mainstream political parties and their role in term used "Favorable", "Unfavorable" and "Neutral" on manifestos of mainstream political parties PMLN, PPP and

PTI. Editorial page and Op-ed page of selected (The News, Express Tribune, Daily Jang and Daily Express) newspapers is the unit of analysis for this study. It includes the word count to analyze the editorial treatment given to the manifestos of mainstream political parties PMLN, PPPP & PTI in general elections 2013 and it is in line to Holsti (1969). In the current study, the entire article (editorial, editorial note and column) is the contextual unit of analysis. Data for research study has been collected with the help of a well defined coding sheet.

Table 1: Universe of the Study

	March	April	May	Total
The News	31	30	9	70
Express Tribune	31	30	9	70
Daily Jang	31	30	9	70
Daily Express	31	30	9	70
Total	124	120	36	280

Results and findings

The analysis of all the selected newspaper's editorial treatment to the manifestos of mainstream political parties in Elections 2013 show that newspapers have specified a reasonable space in editorials and columns published during election campaign 2013. Overall, 280 English and Urdu newspapers (*The News, Express Tribune, Jang and Express*) are analyzed from 1st March to 9th May. Altogether, 2372 articles from four national dailies have been analyzed that published during selected time frame, where as many as 183 articles are found relevant to the study. (Table 2) Indicate that *Tribune* shares 53 articles to its audience whereas *The News* follows with 50 articles from 1st March to 9th May. Similarly, Urdu press Express leads with 41

articles whereas Jang follows with 39 articles on the manifesto, rallies and address in Public meetings of PMLN, PPPP and PTI during the same period. Table 2 Illustrates that *The News* contributes a fairly large amount of 2635 favorable and 1077 neutral words to the PTI whereas more 4316 unfavorable words to the PMLN. As compared to *Tribune*, with more 2192 favorable words for PTI, 4052 unfavorable words for PPPP and 1287 neutral words for PMLN. Jang conveys significant amount of 1630 favorable words for PTI, however PMLN receives the high amount of 4227 unfavorable

Table 2. Editorial Treatments to the Pre-election Manifestos of Mainstream Political Parties by English and Urdu Dailies from 1st March to 9th May

Newspapers	# of Articles	# of Words	PMLN			PPPP			PTI		
			F	UF	N	F	UF	N	F	UF	N
The News	50	16641	1154	4316	825	265	2811	1028	2635	2530	1077
Tribune	53	18364	944	3744	1287	569	4052	690	2192	3608	1278
Jang	39	14681	336	4227	1760	415	2881	186	1630	2820	426
Express	41	15226	159	3803	1333	152	3632	1688	1330	2499	630
Total	183	64912	2593	16090	5205	1401	13376	3592	7787	11457	3411

1760 neutral words. Similarly, Express published more 1330 favorable words for PTI, further PMLN receives a high amount of 3803 unfavorable and PPPP gets the 1688 neutral words.

Findings of the study reflect that among all three political parties, PTI gets the maximum favorable (12%) space in terms of treatment and PPPP gets least favorable (2%) space of its total coverage. Findings also indicate that PMLN receives most unfavorable (25%) treatment and PTI receives slightest unfavorable (18%) treatment among PMLN and PPPP. Whereas, PMLN gets

more neutral (8%) space in terms of treatment and PPPP and PTI gets somewhat equally neutral (5%) treatment during the entire mentioned period. The rest of the relevant facts are presented in the following figure 1.

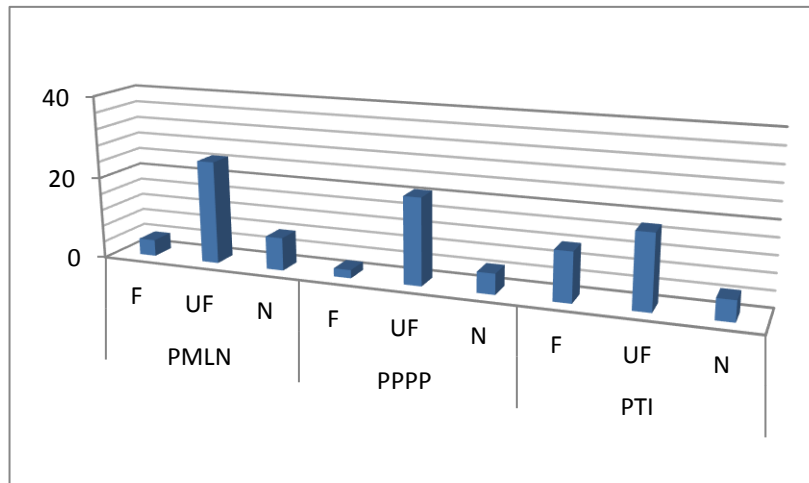


Fig 1. Treatment to the Pre-election manifestos of PMLN, PPPP and PTI in General Elections 2013

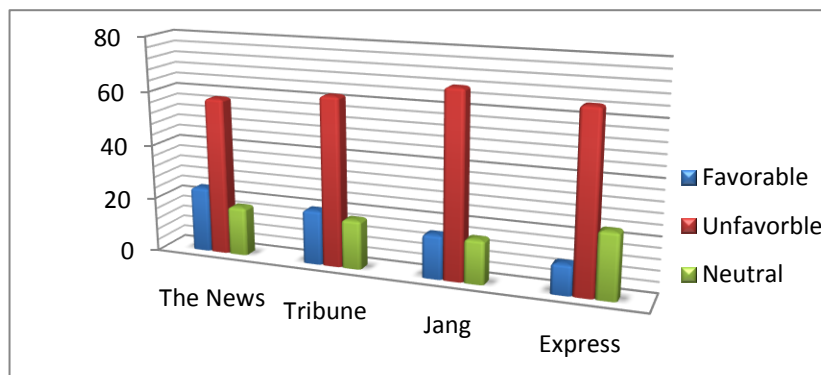


Fig. 2 Treatment given to political parties in English and Urdu dailies from 1st March to 9th May

Figure 2 reflects the collective treatment in percentage (favorable, unfavorable and neutral) to all political parties by selected dailies; The News, Tribune, Daily Jang and Daily Express in the selected time frame from March 1st to May 9th, 2013. In general, The News has more favorable (24%) viewpoints and Daily Express has the least favorable (11%) stance for the political parties' manifestos among all selected dailies. Daily Jang provides maximum unfavorable (68%) space whereas, The News poses comparatively a lesser amount of unfavorable (58%) attitude

towards parties' manifestos amongst specified newspapers. Daily Express presents political parties more neutrally (24%) as compared to Daily Jang with lesser neutral (16%) opinion. More details are obvious from figure 2.

Table 3: Editorial Treatment to Pre-election Manifestos of Mainstream Political Parties by English and Urdu Dailies in March 2013

Newspapers	# of Articles	PMLN			PPPP			PTI		
		F	UF	N	F	UF	N	F	UF	N
The News	16	872	1869	176	216	1179	506	1436	358	100
Tribune	17	66	1370	534	86	1316	118	435	1079	423
Jang	11	183	1569	1665	129	779	32	279	0	0
Express	18	99	1682	1130	79	2240	965	729	989	471

Table 3 indicates that in the month of March no. of articles, Express (18) published more articles followed by Tribune (17), The News (16) and Jang (11). It indicate that The News published a significant amount of 1436 favorable words for PTI while PMLN bears 1869 unfavorable words and PPPP gets more 506 neutral words. Tribune specified 435 favorable words for PTI, while PMLN receives the 1370 unfavorable and 534 neutral words. Again PTI gets the maximum 279 favorable words among PMLN and PPPP, whereas, PMLN gets a huge number of 1569 unfavorable and 1665 neutral words in Jang. Similarly, Express published 729 favorable words for PTI, though PPPP finds the 2249 unfavorable words and PMLN gets the 1130 neutral words respectively.

Table 4: Editorial Treatment to Pre-election Manifestos of Mainstream Political Parties by
 English and Urdu Dailies in April 2013

Newspapers	# of Articles	PMLN			PPPP			PTI		
		F	UF	N	F	UF	N	F	UF	N
The News	18	54	1227	543	49	662	472	1063	932	754
Tribune	26	647	1021	609	405	1410	421	1329	1234	690
Jang	17	0	1735	0	0	1509	63	1185	1847	340
Express	17	60	1594	77	73	882	597	282	971	33

Table 4 demonstrates that Tribune (26) published more articles followed by The News (18), Jang (17) and Express (17) in the month of April 2013. Result shows that The News presents PTI with 1063 favorable and 754 neutral words, while PMLN highlighted with 1227 unfavorable words. Tribune provides 1329 favorable and 690 neutral words for PTI, although PPPP gains the 1410 unfavorable words. In Jang, only PTI enjoys the 1185 favorable treatment in the entire month, at the same time PTI gets a huge number of 1847 unfavorable and 340 neutral words. Even as, Express grants 282 favorable words for PTI, whereas PMLN gets 1594 unfavorable and PPPP receives 597 neutral words.

Table 5: Editorial Treatment to Pre-election Manifestos of Mainstream Political Parties by English and Urdu Dailies in the month of (1-9) May 2013

Newspapers	# of Articles	PMLN			PPPP			PTI		
		F	UF	N	F	UF	N	F	UF	N
The News	16	228	1220	106	0	970	50	136	1240	223
Tribune	10	231	1353	144	78	1326	151	428	1295	165
Jang	11	153	923	95	286	593	91	166	973	86
Express	6	0	527	126	0	510	126	319	539	126

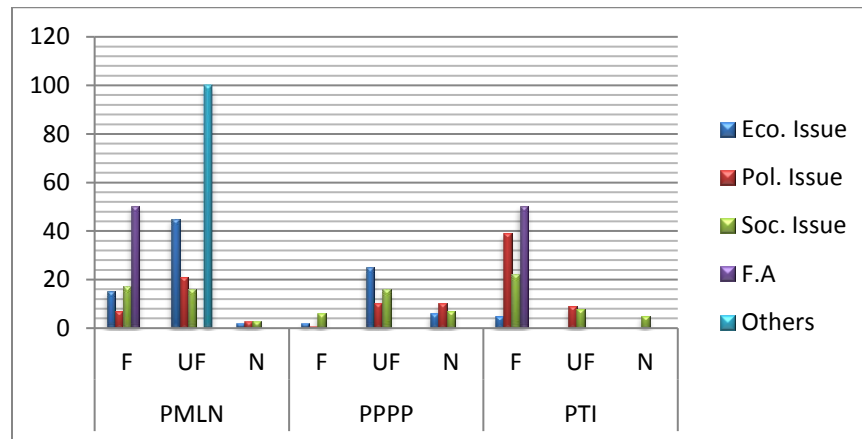
Table 6: The News Editorial Treatment to the Pre-election manifestos of PMLN, PPPP and PTI for the month of March 2013

Categories	PMLN			PPPP			PTI		
	F	UF	N	F	UF	N	F	UF	N
Eco. Issue	352	1079	40	57	616	138	131	0	0
Pol. Issue	137	433	73	27	221	208	817	189	0
Soc. Issue	363	343	63	132	342	160	468	169	100
F.A	20	0	0	0	0	0	20	0	0
Others	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	872	1869	176	216	1179	506	1436	358	100

Table 5 shows that The News (16) published more articles followed by Jang (11), Tribune (10) and Express (6) in the selected days of May 2013. It also shows that The News published more 228 favorable words for PMLN, whereas 1240 unfavorable and 223 neutral words for PTI.

Tribune comes up with 428 favourable and 165 neutral words for PTI, whereas PMLN gets 1353 unfavorable words respectively . However, Jang gives PPPP more 286 favorable words, while PTI gets 973 unfavorable words and PMLN receives 95 neutral words. Similarly, in Express, only PTI gets the 319 favorable words whilst bearing 539 unfavorable words also but all three political parties PMLN, PPPP and PTI treated equally with 126 neutral words.

Table 6 shows The News editorial treatment to the pre-elections manifestos of PMLN, PPPP and PTI in the month of March 2013. According to the above table PMLN gathers the highest 352 favorable words even as the 1079 unfavorable words and PPPP gets the 138 neutral words on their economics issues. For political issues PTI secures 817 favorable words while PMLN bears 433 unfavorable and PPPP with 208 neutral words gets the highest ranks. On social issues, PTI gets 468 favorable words whereas PMLN gets 343 unfavorable words and PPPP secures 160 neutral words at the most. For foreign affairs PMLN and PTI treated equally with 20 favorable words. In the next category, this entails rest of uncommon discussed issues named as “Others, for this category only PMLN gets unfavorable treatment in 14 words. Collectively, The News gives more 1436 favorable words to PTI while the PMLN received 1869 unfavorable words and 506 neutral words published for the PPPP during the month of March 2013.



Political Issues: a. Military+ National Security, b. Terrorism, c. Media emancipation, d. Corruption+ Accountability, e. Elections, f. Separate Province+ FATA

Social Issues: a. Education assessment, b. Health amenities, c. Labor rights, d. Women rights, e. Minorities rights, f. Environmental concerns, g. Youth

Foreign Affairs: a. Kashmir dispute+ relationship with India, b. relationship with Afghanistan, c. relationship with China, d. relationship with America, e. relationship with Western powers + Islamic countries, f. Loans Others: a. Infrastructure, b. Import+ Exports

Fig 3 The News Treatment to the Pre-election manifestos of PMLN, PPPP and PTI for March 2013

Figure 3 shows that during the month of March 2013, The News provides a reasonable space to the manifestos and the political campaigns of PMLN, PPPP and PTI in their editorials and columns. Figure 3 explains that PMLN gets more favorable (15%) and unfavorable (45%) opinion whereas PPPP also gets more neutral (6%) treatment for economic issues. For political issues PTI secures maximum favorable (39%) stance while PMLN gets more unfavorable (21%) attitude and PPPP with neutral (10%) view gets the highest ranks. In social issues, PTI gets favorable (22%) space whereas PMLN and PPPP somehow, treated equally unfavorable (16%) and PPPP secures neutral (7%) stance the most. For foreign affairs PMLN and PTI treated equally with favorable (50%) treatment. In the next category named as “Others”, only PMLN gets the unfavorable (100%) treatment.

Table 7 ANOVA of frequency treatment given to political parties’ manifestos

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1660670.950	3	553556.983	.076	.972*
Within Groups	117045250.800	16	7315328.175		

*p> .05

Result of ANOVA reflects highly significant difference exists between the groups (The News, Express Tribune, Daily Jang and Daily Express) and within the groups (economic, political, social and foreign affairs’ categories).

This study reflects that newspapers allocated a reasonable space to the manifestos of mainstream political parties PMLN, PPP and PTI in editorials and columns published during March 1st to May 9th, 2013. Cissel (2012) explains the relationship between media framing and the way different media sources portrays the same news events whereas this study is also in line with the notion of measuring the difference in media framing. The study of Amponsah (2012) asserts that in campaign coverage of presidential campaigns manifestos are discussed more than the personalities while the findings of the study show that manifestos are rarely discussed in the Pakistan. English dailies contributed more worth and detailed analysis to the manifestos than Urdu dailies. It can be inferred that Pakistani English press gives significant importance to political issues of the country. The part of the reason might be that English newspapers are considered more popular among elites and opinion leaders and they can understand the policies and complexities in their structures more easily. Nwokeafor and Okunoye (2013) affirm that newspapers place numerous agendas by conferring additional space to a particular political party.

Caglayan (2010) confirms in his study that when a political party AKP is in power and before it's coming into the power media treatment is different towards it unlike media in Pakistan, the way it treated the PPP while it was in power and no positive coverage was given to PPP as compared to PMLN and PTI. Findings also indicate that press is said to be 'Free' in Pakistan to criticize government, PPP gets no coverage as compare to PMLN and PTI and it strongly support the argument that previous newspapers are heavily dependent on the government for financial reasons. Editorial are used to shoulder the government and their plans willingly or unwillingly. In case of refusal, newspapers and journalists suffers to cease funding, imprisonments or shutdown printing press. Ultimately, other publication houses and newspapers surrendered them to the government (Shoeb, 2007).

Conclusion

Overall this study accomplishes all its major objectives. Major findings from study share that English dailies discussed pre-election manifestos more than Urdu dailies. Comparatively, Express Tribune produces maximum space to pre-election manifestos than the other selected dailies whereas major portion of its coverage refers to its neutral stance. The newspapers' focus in terms of treatment to the pre-election manifestos of political parties reflects the significance of manifestos in the study. Though, there is a little amount of articles specified for the manifestos but more critical and analytical approach is adopted by press in discussing them. Further, it is observed that not all parties are being treated similarly in selected time period. On the whole, PMLN secures the maximum coverage which encompasses the maximum neutral and unfavorable treatment among PPP and PTI. It is concluded that PTI remains the only party to be treated most favorably as this finding strongly supports the assumption that in condition, one candidate or party extensively uses media to campaign, while rivals are not in a state of exploiting media in a successful way. Following the outcomes of the study, it is also concluded that all four selected dailies considered the PTI most important because it was newly emerged an anti-government political force. Findings indicate that press is said to be 'free' in Pakistan to criticize government, PPP gets no coverage as compare to PMLN and PTI and it strongly supports the argument that previously newspapers are heavily relying upon the government for financial reasons. Election results reflects that PMLN wins the election with a vast majority in National Assembly, PTI turns out to be the 2nd largest political force in the country and secures the 3rd place in NA, whereas PPP becomes the 3rd largest political party of Pakistan and secures the 2nd highest seats in NA. These results also back to the argument that people may not respond the press agenda. Study findings reflect that framing and agenda setting have influence on people

to some extent. Manifestos of political parties can enhance the significance of democracy by providing the available options in general elections, for instance, which party would represent them better in assemblies and stands by them.

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