

Determinants of Effective Electoral Campaign

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ABSTRACT

Personal influence of a candidate in a constituency, their past performance as politician, and standing of their political party in national politics are seen as the foremost factors determining the success of a candidate. A number of techniques and strategies to be used in devising electoral campaigns include rallies, enchanting slogans, and corner meetings, mohalla meetings, canvassing, involving biradari heads and opinion leaders, and door to door campaigns to convince voters personally. In addition, advertisements by electronic and print media, distribution of party manifestoes, voter cards, posters, hand bills, pamphlets and party symbols will be distributed. Propaganda and negative campaigning may also be used to destroy the voter support of contestant candidates.

KEY WORDS: Elections, Electoral Campaign, Pakistan's politics, Lahore Constituencies, and General Elections 2013

Introduction

This article examines the processes, dynamics, and strategies of electoral campaign in Pakistan. Furthermore, it highlights the trends, limitations, and challenges foreseen by the candidates and political parties for upcoming general election 2013. For this purpose in-depth interviews and FGDs (focus group discussions) were conducted with members of the five mainstream political parties i.e. PPP, PML (N), PTI, JI, and PML (Q). The present research is positioned in qualitative approach and uses interpretive paradigm to understand the life-world perspective of the aspiring candidates. This approach considers how the social world is created, experienced, interpreted, and understood by those who inhabit it. It means that the qualitative researchers are interested in the perceptions and views of the people, attaching meanings to their social actions in a particular social context (Bryman, 2001; Mason, 2002). In order to explore the multifaceted social-

political aspects of electoral campaign, views of MPA's (Members of Provincial Assembly of Punjab) and MNA's (Members of National Assembly) and those likely to contest upcoming general elections from Lahore constituencies were recorded. Their responses were not only based on their perceptions and past experiences but also on their future planning and expected use of strategies for designing the electoral campaign 2013. A sample of 16 respondents was selected; 8 respondents from the ruling party i.e. PML (N) and 8 respondents from the other parties i.e. PPP, PML (Q), PTI, and JI. It is important to mention that PTI and JI boycotted the previous elections in 2008 and do not have their representation in the present assembly in Punjab. However, they were given representation in the selected sample since they are considered among the mainstream political parties in Punjab and are dealt with as opposition parties in the present research. To give all opposition parties an equal representation, 2 respondents were selected from each of the opposition party i.e. PPP, PML (Q), PTI, and JI.

Academics view elections as multifaceted events involving individual and collective decision making that directly affect and are affected by political, social, and economic processes in a society. Elections are an important feature of the modern democratic political systems and highlight the basic characteristics of political structuring and government formation of a particular country (Shively, 2003). Elections act as a bridge between political elites and common people, between polity and society, between individuals and state (Palmer, 1975: 1). Moreover, an election acts as an agent of political participation and political socialization (Palmer, 1975), whereas electoral campaign is seen as an organized activity that arouses popular interest in elections and stimulates citizens to vote (Ranney, 1993:218). Electoral campaign experts suggest a number of different factors that are important for designing electoral campaigns such as political ideology, manifesto, party leadership, political workers and campaign staff (Ranney, 1993; Robbins and Coulter 2003; Trent and Friedenber, 2008). Some of the factors that can vary from context to context are contemporary issues of that society, laws in practice, available resources, and dynamics of localities where the campaign is to be launched (Ohman and Zainulbhai, 2009). Besides this various sources and techniques are used to communicate with the masses e.g. print and electronic media, loud speaker cars, rallies, processions, corner meetings, door to door campaign, mailing and informal discussions. Party message and manifesto can be spread by distributing leaflets, pamphlets, newsletters, newspapers, advertisements, using banners, posters and floats, installing billboards and hoardings (Bike, 2012; Ranney, 1993). Political consultancy and use of advanced computer technologies have become worthwhile for modern campaigning (Bike, 2012; Calvert, 2002; Ranney, 1993; Tent, 2008).

In Pakistan, general elections i.e. elections for national and provincial assemblies, are held under "Election Commission of Pakistan", an independent and autonomous body, in charge to conduct free and fair elections. Election Commission of Pakistan conducts elections in the presence of interim or care taker

government (Election Commission of Pakistan, 2012). Pakistan has a multi party system, with numerous parties contesting general elections. So far nine general elections have been held in Pakistan since 1970, which had their own particular settings in which electoral campaigns were designed. However, the road towards democracy has been bumpy due to number of military interventions and elections have been doubted for rigging, government interference, political monopolies, and massive use of influence and money. Election commission in the light of provisions by constitution has set code of conduct for a peaceful electoral campaign. In order to provide equal opportunity to all candidates for their electoral campaign, the Election Commission chalks out a comprehensive code of conduct. All necessary measures are adopted for strict compliance and implementation of this code. Convening, holding, or attending any public meeting or joining any procession within the area of a constituency is prohibited during a period of 48 hours ending at midnight following the conclusion of the polling for elections in that constituency. Similarly, canvassing within a radius of 400 yards of the polling station is an offence punishable with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees (Election Commission of Pakistan, 2012). Furthermore, a Pakistani political analyst, Rabbani (1999:460) highlights how Pakistani nation's attitude and modes of behavior also negatively affect electoral politics; lack of education and awareness of civic virtues are additional factors. He further states how political institutions, military, bureaucracy, religious parties, and judiciary have disregarded the democratic norms encouraging autocratic trends in political and administrative systems.

As general elections in Pakistan are expected in March or April 2013, candidates are negotiating with political parties to secure party ticket, political parties are strategizing to gain popular support, and political analysts are predicting the future of Pakistani politics. Askari (2012), an expert on electoral politics in Pakistan, highlights that the right of centre and Islamist political spectrum is divided and that they are expected to undermine each other in upcoming general elections, which include the mainstream political parties like PML (N), PTI, JI, JUI-F, and other Islamic-sectarian groups. This may benefit the parties from the center to the left on the political spectrum, who are the coalition partners in the present government, i.e. PPP, MQM, ANP, and PML-Q, a right of the centre party. Pakistan Peoples Party, a leading coalition partner, is trying to keep all coalition partners united. While PTI is expected to make electoral gains as an emerging political party and thus weaken the political clout of other mainstream parties, it is suggested that the coalition of different parties would be a successful strategy for the political leaders in upcoming general elections (Askari, 2012). Keeping in view the current political situation, this research attempts to explore how political parties, especially in the Punjab province, are planning to device their electoral campaign.

Election Issues and Campaigns

This section summarizes the main issues of the upcoming general elections in Pakistan in 2013 and success factors for the candidates. The respondents recognized a number of different factors contributing to successful electoral campaign that can ultimately lead to the success of a candidate. Personal influence of a candidate in a constituency, their past performance as politician, and standing of their political party in national politics are seen as the foremost factors determining the success of a candidate. However, an overwhelming majority of the respondents considered that, in recent years, electronic media has played a significant part in changing the political behaviors of people. Voters are much more aware in terms of their political rights and their understanding about micro and macro level political dynamics of their society, especially in large cities like Lahore. Therefore, it will be important for a candidate to discuss national issues and international politics influencing Pakistani society along with discussing local and constituency based problems. It was suggested that, alongside personal influence and past performance of a candidate and standing of his/her political party, it will be important for the candidates to consider that they will be dealing with politically much more aware people in general election 2013 and plan their campaign accordingly.

While talking about different development and political issues for the electoral campaign in general elections 2013, the respondents highlighted provision of basic facilities like education, health and medication; construction of roads and improvement of infrastructure; international politics and foreign policy of the country; inflation, unemployment, and poverty; terrorism, and law and order situation; political and humanitarian problems in Balochistan; and creation of Saraiki province. Energy crisis was identified as the core issue in the current socio-political situation in country. Moreover, as a result of the emergence of PTI as a mainstream political party, a few of the respondents considered that the candidates from other political parties i.e. PML (N), PPP, and JI in Lahore will be required to plan their electoral campaign in such a way that their voters, especially youth, do not get divided in favor of the PTI. Other factors mentioned by the respondents were well planned manifesto, motivated party workers and party leadership, spending money, use of media and other modern techniques, public participation and interest in campaign activities, effect of current socio-political situation, and different social factors e.g. caste and sectarianism. Furthermore, while the ruling party's respondents planned to discuss issues in the light of their past experience as government, the members of opposition parties intended to discuss not only the political and development issues but also insisted on mentioning flaws in the policies of government.

Factors determining the voting behaviors

The voting behavior theories describe how different short term and long term factors determine the voting behaviors of the people. While short term factors are based on current socio-political issues, record of the previous government, and well run campaign etc, long term factors refer to the factors like party identification and loyalty, actual or perceived membership of a social grouping etc (Shively, 2003).

Manifesto of Political Party

In modern political campaign, an important ingredient is the manifesto or message of a political party representing their ideology and talking points about policy issues (Askari, 2002; Trent and Friedenber, 2008). Political party manifesto is seen as a primary document through which political parties characterize themselves and their differences with other political parties in a political system (Smith and Smith, 2000:458). In this research, more than a few respondents acknowledged the importance of manifesto for upcoming general elections in Pakistan. They considered it as a backbone for the success of campaign and a chief source of conveying the message of a party to public (Askari, 2002). They expressed the view that without the manifesto and clear agenda of party, electoral campaign would not be effective. As one of the respondents reported:

Manifesto is the pre requisite for designing an electoral campaign. If the manifesto will be people oriented then people will surely participate in the electoral campaign and will vote for that party.

However, the majority of the respondents did not give much importance to manifesto and considered that in Pakistan's socio-political scenario manifesto does not play important role in electoral campaign like developed countries of the world. It was suggested that other factors e.g. popularity of a candidate and a political party in a constituency will be more important than manifestos. In this regard, argument put forward by one of the respondents is as under:

In previous elections, people used to consider manifestos of parties but for upcoming general elections in 2013 manifesto will not play an important role. Nowadays, people consider policies and political stance of parties as their manifesto. In addition to that media has also decreased the importance of manifesto. So in upcoming elections, it will neither be famous

among people nor among candidates and parties.

The above discussion suggests how the role of manifesto may be relatively less effective in the general elections 2013 in Pakistan. Arguably, manifesto based politics is comparatively less applicable in the countries where dynastic politics is the dominant form of electoral politics.

Leadership of Party

Campaign leadership is “the process of influencing a group towards the achievement of goals” (Robbins and Coulter 2003:458) where the goal is success of the party or its candidates getting offices. Though the leadership of a party may not get involved directly in campaigning at constituency levels, it is leadership’s priority to take part in campaign activities through media etc. Charismatic leadership is what not only influences workers and campaign managers but also general masses get greatly impressed. Such kind of leadership has a great impact on projecting the party aims and mobilizing the voters as much as possible. In this research, almost all of the respondents agreed that party leadership plays a pivotal role for electoral campaign, as suggested by Robbins and Coulter (2003) as well. One of the respondents from PML (N) said that:

In general elections main role is of leadership. If a candidate is 50% voted for his personality then 50%-60% of votes for him will be due to party leadership.

The above quotation indicates how the party leadership plays a fundamental role in success of a candidate. It was suggested that the popular party leadership makes the position of a candidate stronger and creates winning environment for a party or a candidate. The respondents highlighted how PPP candidates contesting elections use the leadership charisma of their deceased leaders Zulifkar Ali Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto during electoral campaigns stirring up the emotions of PPP voters. Another respondent talked about the influence of leadership in these words:

Leadership is very important as a candidate cannot access each and every voter in constituency. Party leaders stay in touch with people through media and put forth the party message on a large scale in such a way that every candidate can benefit during his/her campaign.

The respondents explained how the political leadership in Pakistan has played an overly dominant role during electoral campaigns. It was mentioned that there

are leaders having parties rather than parties having leaders and it applies to all major political parties in Pakistan i.e. PML (N), PPP, and PTI. Rabbani (1999) highlighted that in Pakistan's politics there is undemocratic culture even within the political parties and a few influential individuals have entire control over a party. It is thought that the trends would be same for the general election 2013 and leadership will play a key role for the success of their candidates in different constituencies. The respondents were of the view that the candidates contesting election on PML (N) platform from Lahore will have the benefit of their main party leadership also contesting elections from Lahore, which may help in creating winning environment for other candidates as well. Similarly, it was thought that PTI candidates contesting election from Lahore may also get some advantage for their main leadership residing in Lahore.

Voter's Preferences

The respondents considered that it will be significant for the candidates to keep in mind the voter's preferences while planning a successful electoral campaign. If a candidate talks about international issues and do not discuss the problems faced by people at local level, it will be extremely difficult for the candidate to draw attention of the voters. It was suggested that a candidate should first focus on voter's preferences and their issues and then may educate the voters for apt preferences through electoral campaign. Therefore, it would be important for the candidates and the party workers to understand the voter's preferences in terms of priority. Regarding voter's preferences in Lahore constituencies, the respondents said that the people in Lahore were politically aware and candidates contesting election might talk about international political dynamics shaping Pakistani politics along with discussing local level issues in their constituencies.

Impact of Social Factors on Upcoming Electoral Campaign

This research examined how different social factors influence the voting behaviors and voting trends of people. In Pakistan, social factors like money, caste system, sectarianism, opinion leaders, intimidation, media war, propaganda etc. play a key role in electoral campaign. These factors at times become more important than political factors. The respondents anticipated that these factors will play a major role in upcoming general elections 2013 in Pakistan. The respondents, therefore, suggested that the electoral campaign should not be devised in isolation but rather it is important to consider different social, economic, and political factors impinging campaign activities. In this regard, three social aspects influencing the voting behaviors of the people were highlighted by the majority of respondents.

Monetary Resources

Campaign finance is now an excessively discussed subject in literature on election studies. It is explained how monetary resources play a crucial role in campaign activities and may influence the outcome of an election (Bike, 2012; Ohman and Zainulbhai, 2009). Similarly, in this research, an overwhelming majority of the respondents agreed that money would be an important factor in making electoral campaign successful in general elections 2013 in Pakistan. They considered that, in the age of electronic media and advanced technology, use of monetary resources has increased in electoral campaigns. Moreover, to hire party workers, to arrange processions, rallies and corner meetings and to distribute campaign literature, candidates and parties need money. All this will be possible by investing and having funds to run a campaign. Though none of the respondents denied the importance of money, some strongly emphasized that only money would not guarantee success of electoral campaign. One of the respondents suggested that:

Money is increasingly becoming an important factor in electoral campaign but in my point of view only money will not ensure success of a candidate unless he has some ideology or political stance to convince voters.

Caste System

An overwhelming majority of the respondents considered that the caste system will largely affect the electoral campaign in rural areas, where caste and biradari (kinship) loyalty is seen as one of the most decisive factors determining voting behavior of the villagers (Ahmed, 2007). Different studies explain how the local identities become the substance of electoral politics in rural Punjab (Ahmed and Naseem, 2011; Wilder, 1999). However, the respondents were of the view that the caste system would have lesser effect in urban areas. A few of the respondents said that due to increasing political awareness of the people, especially in the large cities like Lahore, caste system has become insignificant factor for both voters and candidates.

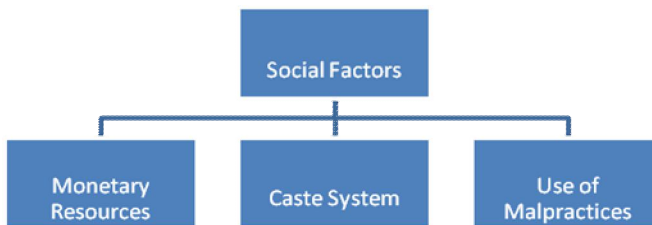
Use of Malpractices

The researchers got a mixed response about the use of malpractices in electoral campaign. Some respondents were of the view that in forthcoming electoral campaign candidates would tend to vilify their opponents' reputation through propaganda and media war to increase their own popularity. One of the respondents mentioned that:

Negative attitude will definitely affect the campaign in next general elections. It is a dark side but a blatant truth.

Askari (2002) explained how candidates during electoral campaign in Pakistan may use negative campaigning as a technique to portray their opponent as not well suited for the office, since good reputation of a candidate plays a part in persuading the voters to vote for that candidate (Hague and Harrop, 2001). While none of the respondents in the present research denied the chances of negative campaigning in general elections 2013, the majority of them did not consider it a factor making an electoral campaign successful. One of the respondents said that:

Negative tactics will surely be the part of campaign in forthcoming elections but excessive negative campaigning may go against candidate's own campaign. Because people will take the impression that this candidate has nothing to say except to criticize others. In next elections, I do not see the impact of negative campaigning on a large scale.

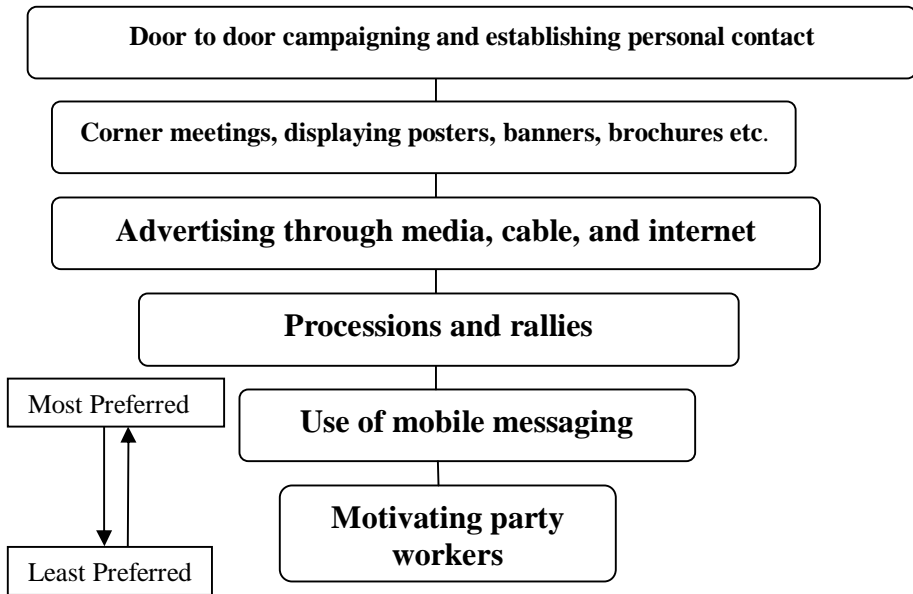


Model A: Social factors influencing electoral campaign

Techniques of Electoral Campaign

Candidates launch campaigns and use variety of techniques to convince voters (Bike, 2012; Paquette, 2006). The majority of respondents preferred to use “door to door” campaigning and establishing personal contact with public in upcoming general elections 2013 in Pakistan. These two were the main techniques highlighted by the respondents (Askari, 2002; Shaheen, 2004). Other techniques mentioned by them were corner meetings, addressing through processions and rallies; displaying posters, banners; distributing brochures, pamphlets; advertising through media, cable and internet; use of mobile messaging and motivating party workers (Bike, 2012; Paquette, 2006). In this regard, one of the respondents said:

I consider direct contact with voters is the most effective technique for electoral campaign and therefore I will prefer door to door campaign for upcoming elections. This will increase my vote bank and people will get personally familiar with me.



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Model B: Preferred techniques in electoral campaign

Effective use of Print and Electronic Media

Ranney (1993:65) highlighted the importance of media as the best short run technique for political modernization. Similarly, in the present research, the majority of respondents gave a lot of importance to use print and electronic media for the upcoming electoral campaign. According to them, print and electronic media can spread the message of candidates at a large scale through:

Advertising

The majority of respondents said that they would use both print and electronic media as well as local cable channels for their advertisements and will convey not only their messages but also party manifesto by using this technique.

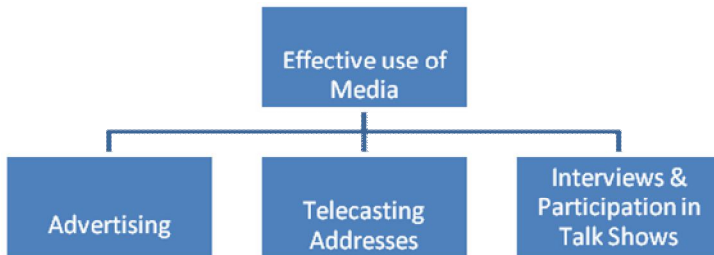
Addresses

The respondents considered that the audience of media is much larger than the audience of processions. If a procession will be telecasted on TV channels, the message will be conveyed to far larger number of people.

Participation in Talk Shows

The respondents highlighted that increasing number of TV channels has increased people's interest in media and in politics. It was emphasized that the interviews and talk shows would become major factor in determining the voting behavior of the people in general elections 2013 in Pakistan. One of the respondents stated that:

In Pakistan's history, it will be for the first time that media will play the most decisive role in electoral campaign. Campaigns will be based on interviews and talk shows of the TV channels and party representation on the screen will provide grounds to people to decide.



Model C: Effective use of media in three major ways

Public Participation in Electoral Campaign

Under this theme two major aspects were explored.

- Public participation and interest in campaign activities
- Participation of opinion leaders in campaign

As far as the public participation is concerned, an overwhelming majority of the respondents emphasized that the electoral campaign in general elections 2013

South Asian Studies 28 (1)

would not be successful without the involvement of general public. One of the respondents from JI said that:

Campaign is the name of interaction. Large gatherings in your procession will show the number of voters convinced by your message.

Similarly, academics look at electoral campaign as political communication between people and candidate (Calvert, 2002), which may help arousing popular interest (Ranney, 1993). One of the respondents from PTI was of the view that:

Campaign is all about impression management. Any candidate who would be able to create the impression of winning might actually win. And people participation in the campaign is the key to create that winning impression.

As discussed in the above quote, the idea of impression management in politics was given by Hague and Harrop (2001:143) as well. While none of the respondents denied the importance of public participation, a few were of the view that only this factor would not guarantee the success of electoral campaign. One of the respondents from PML (N) suggested that:

People's participation in campaign may indicate popularity of a candidate but only this factor will not assure the success of a candidate in upcoming general elections.

When asked about the contribution of opinion leaders in electoral campaign, the majority of respondents accepted the significance of opinion leaders. It was suggested that the opinion leaders form a bridge between candidates and people in a constituency. One of the respondents from PTI stated that:

Electoral campaign in rural constituencies will be impossible without the participation of opinion leaders. In urban constituencies they will also be important but will play relatively less effective role. In urban constituencies the role of opinion leaders will matter up to 25-30% in making general public's opinion during campaign.

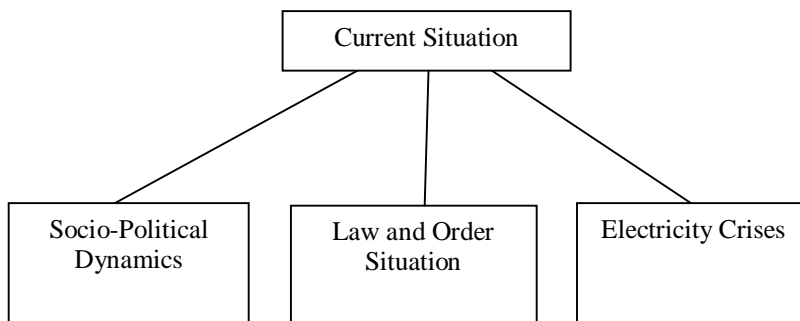
However, as indicated in the above quote as well, more than a few respondents considered that the opinion leaders may not have that effective role in

constructing public opinion in cities, like it used to be in the past. It was highlighted that the voters, especially in the large cities like Lahore, are politically much more aware and are likely to decide about their voting choices without such influences. On the other hand, Calvert (2002) laid stress on convincing opinion leaders for easy cultivation of opinion while campaigning. He considered its importance in case of large electorate where candidates find it difficult to access each and every voter; so that a candidate can benefit from opinion leader's influence in a constituency.

Effect of Current Situation on Electoral Campaign

In this regard, the researchers explored three aspects:

- Effect of socio-political situation on electoral campaign
- Effect of law and order situation on electoral campaign
- Effect of electricity crisis on electoral campaign



Model D: Current situation affecting electoral campaign in three ways i.e. socio-political dynamics, law and order situation, and electricity crisis

Political Uncertainties and Political Apathy among People

More than a few respondents suggested that, at the present, the perception and opinion of people and candidates about party loyalties, political disagreements, and political deals is obscure. Due to these uncertain political conditions, they believed that it was premature to express any concrete idea about effect of socio-political situation on campaign of forthcoming elections. Conversely, a few respondents considered that because of the horse-trading of politicians and frequently changing their political loyalties, people have lost confidence in the political commitment of politicians. As a result of this political apathy among

South Asian Studies 28 (1)

people, public participation and interest in electoral campaign is doubtful. While talking about horse-trading of politicians in present political environment, one of the respondents said that:

Politicians frequently change their parties
which will produce political turbulence and
will decrease their reliability among people.

Law and Order Situation

Although suicide bombing and other terrorist activities have decreased recently, more than a few respondents considered that the perception of security issues in demonstrations and large gatherings of people may obstruct the campaign activities in upcoming general elections, especially in the large cities like Lahore. If the security issues reemerge, both candidates and people might feel insecure to conduct and participate in campaign activities on large scale. Moreover, it was mentioned that the Election Commission of Pakistan is already discouraging large gatherings in by-elections in order to control law and order situation and as a result electoral campaigns in upcoming general elections may not be that lively, like in the past. On the contrary, quite a few of the respondents were of the view that the law and order situation is now stable and will not hinder the activities of campaign.

Electricity Crisis

An overwhelming majority of the respondents considered that the electricity crisis in the country will affect the campaign activities in upcoming general elections. It was emphasized that electricity crisis may get worse during election days in April/May 2013 because the use of electricity will rapidly increase in the hot weather conditions, which may hinder campaign activities e.g. late night sittings and campaign activities of the supporters in constituencies.

Differences between the electoral campaign of Ruling and Opposition Parties

Froman (1966) suggested that there are always issue differences between ruling and opposition parties while devising electoral campaign. When asked about the campaign differences between ruling and opposition parties, the respondents identified two major aspects of the campaign i.e. issues difference and difference in use of resources. In the present research, legislators and those likely to contest elections from Lahore constituencies were interviewed. However, the findings of this study can be useful to understand the dynamics of effective electoral

campaign 2013 in other constituencies as well, especially in the Punjab province. Interestingly, PML (N) leads the ruling coalition in Punjab province and on the other hand they are the main opposition party in National Assembly. Similarly, while PPP forms coalition government in National Assembly, they sit on opposition benches in Punjab assembly acting as a leading opposition party against PML (N) lead coalition government. Hence, in the present research, the researchers mainly refer to PML (N) as ruling party in Punjab and PPP, JI, PTI, and PML (Q) as opposition parties in the upcoming general elections in Punjab. While discussing the differences in the campaign of ruling and opposition parties, one of the respondents from ruling party said that:

There will be a lot of differences of issues between ruling and opposition parties. Ruling parties will focus past performance in their campaign whereas opposition parties will criticize policies of government.

The respondents specifically talked about the issues that ruling and opposition parties would consider in their campaign in the upcoming general elections. It was suggested that PML (N) as a ruling party would highlight their main achievements e.g. laptop distribution among students, Danish School System, empowerment of youth, Yellow Cab Scheme for educated unemployed individuals, educators recruitment, Lahore Metro Bus System, control of dengue virus, and prize distribution among position holder students. Besides highlighting their achievements, PML (N) candidates will criticize PPP's government policies at national level e.g. mismanagement in energy crisis, corruption, deteriorating law and order situation, and increasing poverty.

On the others hand, PPP candidates, as a main opposition party in Punjab, will criticize Punjab government's policies and will emphasize the major achievements of their national government e.g. Benazir Income Support Program, war against terrorism, 18th Amendment in Constitution, and initiative of new provinces in Pakistan. Alongside PML (N) and PPP, PTI has emerged as another mainstream political party and candidates contesting elections on PTI ticket will suggest the political change in country by electing a new political party; they will criticize PPP government's policies in center and PML (N) government's policies in Punjab. JI will rely on their long-established stance of implementation of Islamic system and interest free economic system etc and will criticize the policies of PPP and PML (N) governments in Center and Punjab province respectively. The respondents from PPP, PML (N), and PTI considered that JI may contest elections in alliance with other center right parties like PML (N) and PTI. Since PML (Q) will contest elections in alliance with PPP, the respondents considered that the campaign issues for PPP and PML (Q) will be same.

On the issue of differences in the use of resources while campaigning, three points of views came forth. According to very few respondents, there will be no

difference of use or misuse of resources by opposition and ruling parties because three months before elections, interim government will take the charge and ruling parties will not be able to exploit the resources in Punjab. For most of the respondents, such differences will only depend upon the role of care taker government i.e. how impartial will be that government and the Election Commission. Some respondents from PML (N), PTI, and JI strongly emphasized that there will be a definite exploitation of resources like use of media and transport by PPP since Asif Ali Zardari's term as president will not be over till general elections 2013.

Effect of Electoral campaign on the Success of a Candidate

A number of different studies have discussed the effect of electoral campaign on the success of a candidate (Pattan Development Organization, 2006; Ranney, 1993; Sarwar, 2004). Campaign is seen as a "method of exposure and persuasion" (Froman, 1966:16), which helps a candidate to increase his acceptance among people as a potential winning candidate. Ranney (1993) articulated that without campaigning political parties cannot grab the attention of voters despite having progressive plans. Similarly, in this research, the respondents suggested that the electoral campaign is one of the basic requirements to compete in elections and for the success of a candidate (Pattan Development Organization, 2006). However, the respondents emphasized that the successful electoral campaign is always organized and involves coordination of efforts. They highlighted that the campaign has to be effective and high spirited otherwise a candidate may lose. An organized electoral campaign can ensure the success of a candidate. One of the respondents from PTI described it as follows:

To win elections, electoral campaign plays a pivotal role but only if it is well organized. This is a basic factor. Such an organized campaign can be designed by proper publicity, motivating party workers and women wing, planning door to door campaign, conveying party message efficiently, preparing well for election day activities, arranging transport for voters on election day, enhancing communication skills and satisfying public in best possible ways.

The respondents considered that the electoral campaign would play a decisive role to gain the attention of floating and non-committed votes, as suggested by Sarwar (2004) as well. Moreover, the respondents suggested different ways to make

electoral campaign successful and effective. In this regard, one the respondents from PPP suggested that:

There are two levels to run a campaign i.e. candidate level campaign and party level campaign. Both campaigns should be coherent with each other, then the campaign will gain real strength but in my opinion, party campaign will dominate individual campaign for forthcoming elections.

Similarly, one the respondents from PML (Q) said:

In my judgment, campaign before election day has 50% importance and 50% importance is of election day activities like how motivated your party workers are on election day? How transport issues are managed? Same trends will be followed in the upcoming electoral campaign.

The above discussion suggests how a well organized electoral campaign may play a role in the success of a candidate in general election 2013 in Pakistan. It should be interesting to see how different mainstream political parties design their electoral campaigns in upcoming elections when, as discussed previously, the dynamics of electoral politics and voting behavior of people in Pakistan are changing rapidly.

Conclusion

The significance of electoral campaign cannot be denied; its success depends upon how pertinently it is designed. Without proper planning, it may diminish the chances of success of a candidate. Moreover, it is not the sole factor ensuring the success of a candidate but one of the important means to achieve goals. Every society has its contextual dynamics and features of electoral processes. Electoral campaigns in Pakistan represent distinct features of its electoral politics. Upcoming general elections 2013 in Pakistan will also shape up its socio-political environment and will affect election activities accordingly. As far as the focus of the upcoming general elections is concerned, parties will highlight their past performance, rely on personal influence of their candidates and popularity of their party in a constituency, and discuss different local, national, and international political issues in their campaigns. Differences of ruling and opposition parties' campaign will be based on difference in issues and the ways of discussing issues. Role of party leadership will be imperative and will directly affect the campaign of

individual candidates. Popular party leadership will help making the position of a candidate stronger and creating wining environment for a party or a candidate. Role of manifesto may be relatively less effective whereas, factors such as motivated party workers, money, and use of media may play a major role in the success of electoral campaign. Hence, there will be a number of different factors rather than a single factor contributing to successful electoral campaign. Current situation will affect the campaign mainly in three ways i.e. political uncertainties and resulting political apathy among people, law and order situation, and electricity crisis. As a result of politicians frequently changing their political loyalties, people have lost confidence in the political commitment of politicians, which may lessen public participation and interest in electoral campaign. Furthermore, the perception of security issues in large gatherings may discourage public participation in campaign activities. Electricity crisis in hot weather conditions in April/May 2013 may also affect campaign activities. As far as voter's preferences are concerned, people of Lahore are politically aware, so preferences will be more issue oriented than candidate and party oriented. However, in rural constituencies of Punjab province, personal influence of a candidate may still be a decisive factor for an effective electoral campaign. While the general public participation will be an essential factor, opinion leaders may also play a significant role in campaign activities, especially in rural Punjab. Electoral campaign of upcoming elections will involve a variety of techniques to influence people. Most preferred techniques will be door to door campaigning and establishing personal contact with the voters. Apart from this, there are other techniques which are not only employed in Pakistan's political culture but world over to convince voters. These will include processions, rallies, corner meetings, distribution of pamphlets, brochures, symbols, display of banners and posters, advertisement through media, mobile messaging and motivating party workers. Due to drastic advancement in the field of media, advertisements, addresses, and talk shows on TV channels will play a crucial role during upcoming electoral campaign. There are some peculiar social factors which have affected Pakistan's politics in past and will influence it in future as well. Firstly, use of money will be necessary to run a successful and technologically advanced campaign but only financial investment without a clear ideology in campaign will not ensure the success of a candidate. Caste system will also play a role to mobilize and motivate voters but this factor will be more influential in rural Punjab. Character assassination of and propaganda against political adversaries had been the culture of Pakistan's politics and will prevail in upcoming general elections as well. Similarly, misuse of state resources by ruling party may also come into play and, in this case, caretaker government will have to play their role. However, negative campaigning will not be a success factor and over usage of such mal-practices during campaign may negatively affect the candidates' own campaign.

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