

Investigating the Framing of the Tweets of Three Leading Political Parties of Pakistan

Muhammad Ali*1, Atiya Tul Hasnain²

^{1*}Assistant Professor, Communication and Media Studies, Fatima Jinnah Women University, Rawalpindi, Punjab, Pakistan.

²Student, Communication and Media Studies, Fatima Jinnah Women University, Rawalpindi, Punjab, Pakistan.

Corresponding author: m.ali@fjwu.edu.pk

Keywords: Framing Analysis of Tweets, Framing Theory, Political Parties (PTI, PMLN, and PPP), Kashmir Election DOI No:

https://doi.org/10.56976/jsom.v2 i3.46

Online media let politicians speak with their crowd straightforwardly, especially during political proceedings. This study examined the media frames Pakistani politicians used while covering a Twitter political campaign in the Kashmir election. The study contained content analysis. This study mainly examined the three political parties, Pakistan Tehreek e Insaf (PTI), Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz), and Pakistan People's Party (PPP), and political representatives Imran Khan, Bilawal Zardari, and Mariam Nawaz's political tweets. Tweets were collected from 25th June to 25th July 2021 and revealed eight frames (Word choice, Metaphors, Exemplars, Descriptions, Arguments, Visual Images, Depict, and Catchphrases) with different percentages in the relevant tweets. Results further indicated that Politicians use the hashtag in their official tweets. PPP used more metaphors than PMLN and PTI. PPP used more Catchphrases than PMLN and PTI. PTI used more word choices than PMLN and PPP. PMLN comparatively used more frames than PTI and PPP. PTI used more visual images than PMLN and PPP. Maryam Nawaz used more metaphors in comparison to Imran Khan and Bilawal Zardari. Imran Khan used more word choices than Maryam Nawaz and Bilawal Zardari. Maryam Nawaz used more Visual Images while tweeting than Bilawal Zardari and Imran Khan. Additionally, there were similarities between political leaders' tweets and their official party page tweets. The frames that political representative's emphasis is different from their party tweets' frame strategy. Thus, this study concluded that the research findings specify that the choosing Twitter was a significant framing tool for campaigning and was resourcefully used to disseminate campaign apprises, endorse political accomplishments, and staying connected with the potential followers.



1. Introduction

The presence of Pakistani politicians on Twitter demonstrates that they are additionally utilizing this medium to speak with their crowd. It is seen that they are utilizing it to accomplish their political goals. It has been seen that politicians in Pakistan are utilizing Twitter broadly to remain in steady touch with their potential electors. Yet, the examinations relate to why and how the politician uses Twitter (Stier et al., 2020). This study cores towards the utilization of Twitter through the members of three political party leaders in the trend of the past political system. The utilization of Twitter by political leaders turns out to be more deserving of examination in states like Pakistan, where a vote-based system is not yet steady and is on the move period (Bradshaw & Howard, 2021). Political communication is where the competition of different political clusters struggles to achieve political goals in charge of slandering their opponents. Politicians often are cognizant and adopt multiple edifices, approaches, and rhetorical strategies either in opposition or in government when their benefits are at the pole. Likewise, in Pakistan, politicians such as Maryam Nawaz, Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, and Imran Khan, the leaders of three contrasting political parties in Pakistan, use Twitter for their political rhetoric (Sinha, 2017). Most of the senior members of two renowned political parties of Pakistan, such as Nawaz Sharif, Zardari, Shahbaz Sharif, and Mariyam Nawaz, are already charged with corruption, and money laundering was asked to resign from the resistance driven by Imran Khan. Leaders of these three parties counter each other, constructing schemas for more research in future (Masroor et al., 2019).

Similarly, Twitter is utilized to advance the political agenda of leading political entities. As political communication enters the era of digitalization, it has progressed to the point where it functionalizes as more effective political communication (Wanza et al., 2022). Twitter has become the most popular platform for purposeful personalization in recent years. The growing usage of Twitter prompted research on this subject during political campaigns on both the part of politicians and the general population. Twitter is a media that is often used by citizens and candidates alike; politicians frequently use it to frame themselves from all possible perspectives (Soedarsono et al., 2020). According to Masroor et al. (2019), framing is an important tool used by politicians to prioritize the dialogue toward their stance. Framing modifies the dialogue by stressing specific aspects that generate a connotation between the issue and a particular mentioned frame (Gulzar, et al., 2022). Multiple farming techniques are discussed, such as hashtags, pictures, figurative language words, and sentiments that politicians use to frame (Khare et al., 2022). Recently, political tweets have determined an essential part of digital communication. Politicians across the globe are using this medium to earn fame and project themselves to the public. There is substantial compression on politicians in Pakistan to use Twitter accounts to Frame themselves, which is a center of many queries for particularly self-framing and image development. But still, the major problem sustains that politicians are more focused on framing themselves on social media rather than actual efforts for the public, posing a threat to democratic ideologies (Masroor et al., 2019). The influential textual variations of political framing on Twitter by politicians in Pakistan

Vol 2 No 3 (2023): 110-134



are observed. According to reports, almost all political party leaders in Pakistan have been active on Twitter during the last few years. Twitter is becoming more well-referred in Pakistan as it drove many tweets regarding the embarrassing traditional press (Hussain et al., 2021).

While several studies have examined the part of Twitter in political campaigns, this study provides a distinctive contribution by focusing primarily on the framing techniques used by three major political parties in Pakistan during the Kashmir election. By performing a content analysis of tweets from Pakistan Tehreek e Insaf (PTI), Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz), and Pakistan People's Party (PPP), and their prominent leaders, the study presents discernment into how these stakeholders use Twitter to shape public discourse and contend with voters. By studying the details of framing techniques, i.e., word choice, metaphors, catchphrases, and visual imagery, this study adds profundity to understanding political communication strategies on social media platforms. Also, by comparing the framing techniques of individual politicians with their party's official messaging, the study emphasises the sophistication of political communication in the digital era. Therefore, this research is essential for explaining Twitter's role in modern political campaigning and provides practical discernment for researchers, practitioners, and policymakers.

1.1 Study Aims and Objectives

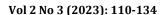
Online media has let politicians speak with their crowd straightforwardly, especially during political races. Universally, politicians' utilization of Twitter in constituent missions has expanded consistently throughout the most recent ten years (Saiqa et al., 2021). This study also focused on Twitter as one of the prominent social media platforms. Thus, the primary objectives of this research are to examine the characteristics of political rhetoric strategies and develop an understanding of political framing strategies on Twitter in Pakistan. This research is formally based on different sections to provide relevant evidence systematically and empirically. These sections involve an introduction, review of literature, theoretical framework, methodology, analysis and results, and discussion. Further, the study highlighted the theoretical implications and limitations accordingly.

2. Review of Literature

2.1 Twitter for Political Communication

Existing literature is based on different studies (Mir et al., 2022; Correa et al., 2020; Wanza et al., 2022), which targeted politicians to examine their use of Twitter for political concerns. Silva et al. (2022) worked on European parliamentarians and examined how politicians use multiple framing techniques, such as Hashtag, pictures, and words, not just to protect themselves but also against their foes or opponents.

Social media, especially Twitter, has reshaped modern politics (Karlsen & Enjolras, 2016). Through Hashtags in political communication, Twitter is compared to other social media like Facebook or Instagram, which is more like a democratic platform. US Congress uses Twitter





hashtags for framing political issues; politicians use social media to frame apprehensions by taking both subjects to deliberate and exact hashtags within the subject ("Social Media in Politics," 2014). That noticeably troublesome subject obtains the most framing efforts. They also discussed that vote banks are also getting affected by this strategy. Furman & Tunç, (2019) agreed on the same point that politicians use Twitter as a political communication tool and use the Hashtag as a technique of framing and projecting their political agenda (Silva et al., 2022)

Seitkazin (2020) observed that Democratic Party leaders mostly use Twitter messages (tweets) to reshape their aggressive fustian through tweets. Regardless of the rhetorical variations, Twitter can help as an esteemed source to educate about the oppositional discourse of mainstream parties and (everchanging) their approaches. Yang et al. (2020) also discussed that During Elections, Twitter is the most used medium and might be driven as a tool for an article or political statement. However, it still has a partial influence on electoral forecasting results. Some other researchers, such as McGregor et al. (2019), focused more on the outcome of framing in the election. Politicians worldwide were approaching the latest medium, such as Twitter, to communicate with the public. The study showed a solid connotation among the amount of Twitter users in states and the approval of Twitter by M.P.s. Precisely, more Twitter handlers in a country correlative with its being accepted by further M.P.s (Valenzuela et al., 2017).

2.2 Framing through Rhetoric Strategies

There are very few studies on strategies and techniques politicians use on Twitter (Lee et al., 2015). It is found that some literature shows that parties and politicians hold the new channels presented by social media. Politicians merely think it is significant to use Twitter for political use while applying multiple strategies such as hashtags, pictures like selfies, and figurative language such as hyperbole, personification, metaphors, etc. are used differently by different candidates. Some researchers, such as Hussain et al. (2021), discussed these strategies in their respective studies also. According to McGregor et al. (2017) "politicians often use hashtags to frame strategical debates, and for this purpose, they never rely only on mainstream media." The results indicated a strong correlation between politicians' framing efforts and voting records, indicating that politicians talk and vote along similarly polarized lines" (Barberá et al., 2015).

Casero-Ripollés et al. (2017) discussed that "selfies are perhaps the newest technique of making the personality through using latest technology, A selfie is a technically facilitated for a depiction that sum up word-based — hashtags, slogans and commentaries — and an iconic dimension, produced with the awareness of belonging to a specific genre and spread across an individual's social network on social networking sites such as Facebook, Twitter or Instagram." (Linvill & Warren, 2020). However, classifying frames in tweets is a problematic job as exploring the limitations of what establishes the information is not inconsequential. Outside the text, frames could be acknowledged as hashtags, pictures, videos, and content from linked pages". From this thought, the greatness of the visual in the conventional media portrayal of political issues is acknowledged, and the target of extrapolating expressed thought to the Twitter setting is presented.





Subsequently, it a methodology is planned towards combining the visual framing and the verbal framing of the tweets that partook in the civil electing cycle of 2015 in Spain. Stier et al. (2018) discussed that an enhanced custom of graphic resources and political communication is possible on Twitter. Kreiss and Mcgregor (2017) through an empirical study of 388 graphic resource allowances between leaders and public contact, bring change in antiquated attention towards the mainstream medium and imitate now about the scope of digital media. Twitter no doubt enhanced pictorial representation, and political communication is conceivable.

2.3 Personal Interactions of Politicians on Twitter

Political communication is drastically changed or transmuted because of the rising acceptance level of Twitter as a political communication platform (Keller et al., 2019). Since Twitter is based on two-way communication, it gives individuals a chance to generate political rhetoric in a sphere (Pinontoan & Wahid, 2020). Politicians used various mediums to politicize their public stance. Around a decade ago, Twitter was considered a new media channel to interact with and influence the public. It's not just associated with current times. Since 2010, politicians have frequently been using Twitter for personal interaction, although the fast technological changes bring some changes in techniques and strategies of how politicians interact. A politician not just uses Twitter for self-presentation but also to interact with the public and foes. Kuan et al. (2021) describes that Twitter is mostly used by the US president tweets comparison to the other leaders, particularly with the British Prime Minister tweeting the slightest, and that the other three leaders utilized the medium for both accuracy and outcomes. According to Keller et al. (2019), leaders set direction, strategy, causes, and effects and hold people accountable. Bullock & Shulman, (2021) conducted a study on five French politicians using Twitter for public relations. The researchers used qualitative methods for political communication. They acknowledged that Twitter delivers those facilities to politicians for methodically detecting communal opinion and daily activities, to intermingle with people from every field and department of media, along with other politicians. Politicians can also use Twitter to interact with others to develop public relations, impact purposively, and disseminate information Casero-Ripollés and Franch, (2020) argue that "these politicians are may does not follow the ordinary assumptions, but rather these pioneers utilize different strategies in dealing with their live presence on twitter and dispersing their thoughts." In Turkey, politicians also use Twitter to troll their opponents and foe in terms of political interaction; among all other media platforms, twitter plays a significant role in political Spin-Doctors (Shulman & Sweitzer, 2018).

2.4 Theoretical Framework

The "Framing Theory" by Erwin Goffman provides basic support to the propositions and problem of current research (Ajovalasit et al., 2021). According to framing theory, events are projected under various theories from various viewpoints. For example, one specific piece of information with varying dimensions can be used with several frames. Many studies used various frames on their individual studies to identify the truth of these frames (Kuan et al., 2021). The framing theory is used to investigate how various nations present the same news in different ways



Vol 2 No 3 (2023): 110-134

based on their hidden political or personal agendas and the influence that this projection has. Additionally, it examines how political discourse is used and how political elites have changed the environment (Shafi, 2017). Talking specially about Twitter and framing, the significance of Twitter talk in the space of political issues cannot be overlooked. Several studies explored the Twitter usage from "basic "point of view for the development of belief system and power, demand for more studies in the relevant context (Bradshaw & Howard, 2021). There are large numbers of force relations and power structures working at several stages regarding political tweets (Frame & Brachotte, 2015). Although Twitter rhetoric's has been basically investigated for philosophy development and dispersal of bigot and patriots' belief systems, more studies are required to investigate its misuse by the political leaders to shape and reshape the public opinion and behavior (Masroor, Khan, Aib, & Ali, 2019). An increased dependence on social media for political purposes further magnifies studying Twitter. The possibility of "predominance" and "power" is pivotal since the tweets of strategically dynamic figures mirror the challenge of belief systems and further affect the public behavior (Mortensgaard, 2018).

3. Methods

3.1 Research Design

The current study is based on direct content analysis, starting as a guideline for the initial codes from a theory or relevant research findings (Sivarajah et al., 2017). Consequently, the current research study is exploratory that further helped to attain data in the quantitative form by using the content analysis approach. The period was the month of July 2021, when election campaigns of Azad Kashmir were creating goal-directed political debates on Twitter. The analysis was conducted from September 2021 to November 2021, as the sampled data was accessed easily through Twitter. Further, data is analyzed through a coding sheet and quantitative analysis SPSS (Statistical Package of Social Science) software is used. Data is also sorted on MS Excel to draw tables and charts.

3.2 Study Population and Sampling

The universe consists of six Twitter accounts of three leading political parties' official and leader's accounts. These political parties include PTI (Pakistan Tehreek e Insaf, PMLN (Pakistan Muslim League Noon), and PPP (Pakistan People's Party). According to this research, all the Tweets, including rhetoric and semiotics such as hashtags and pictures, are included in three political parties' official Twitter accounts, and the personal accounts of leaders comprise this study's population. These political parties include PTI (Pakistan Tehreek e Insaf, PMLN (Pakistan Muslim League Noon), and PPP (Pakistan People's Party). Tweets data used from 26 June 2021 to 26 July 2021 are the population/universe of this study. The study included a simple random sampling method as it was a suitable tactic to get more precise data. The study's simple random sampling was suitable for getting precise data. Three leading political parties and six Twitter accounts were selected for this research. Tweets from the official accounts of PTI, PML-N, and





PPP, along with their chairpersons, Imran Khan, Mariyam Nawaz, and Bilawal Bhutto, were retrieved from Twitter. Notably, these all are leading political parties and leaders and influence followers. Finally, 992 tweets were retrieved as the sample of the study.

4. Data Analysis

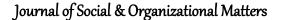
The study problem and objectives were kept under consideration while analyzing the data. Data analytical techniques are applied through the development of a content coding sheet (Habes et al., 2022). The foundation for framing theory in table 4.1 is used to build the coding sheet. The goal is to learn more about how strength and frame predisposition interact. Additionally, it investigated whether moral frameworks held by politicians are more prevalent in comments or retweets and how opponents respond to them. The coding sheet's categories are followed through the models proposed by Goffman et al. (1989); Entman (1993) and Kuan et al. (2021). It was observed through quantitative content that politicians used different strategies to frame themselves. This research methodology depends on research questions to focus on an in-depth analysis of political rhetoric.

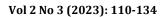
Table No 1: Elements of Framing Theory for the Coding Sheet

(Hemphill, Culotta, & Heston, 2013), used frames given by Goffman, Gamson and Modigliani (1989)			(Moscato, 2016) used frame devices of (Entman, 1993)			
Metaphors,	Exemplars,	Catchphrases,	Metaphors,	Exemplars,	Descriptions,	
Depictions			Arguments, V	isual Images		

RQ 1. What frames do politicians use to project themselves on Twitter?

Table 2 shows that (18.6%) of Maryam Nawaz used more metaphors in comparison to (11.5%) of Imran Khan and (0%) of Bilawal Zardari. (30.2%) Maryam Nawaz used more catchphrases than Imran Khan (15.4%) and (6.67%) Bilawal Zardari. (84.6%) Imran Khan used more positive word choices than (65.1%) Maryam Nawaz and (80%) Bilawal Zardari. (13.33%) Bilawal Zardari used more negative word choices than (11.6%) Maryam, but Imran Khan didn't use any negative word choices while tweeting. (51.2%) Maryam Nawaz used more depiction frames while tweeting compared to (46.67%) of Bilawal Zardari and 46.15%) of Imran Khan. Maryam Nawaz also used a negative depiction frame strategy while tweeting. (76.7%) Maryam Nawaz used more Visual Images while tweeting than (73.3%) of Bilawal Zardari and (30.77%) of Imran Khan. (65.1%) Marium Nawaz used more descriptions than (60%) Bilawal Zardari and (53.85%) of Imran Khan. (14%) Marium Nawaz used a negative description strategy as a frame too. Argument strategy is the only frame that was used very less but (4.7%) of Bilawal Zardari used more argument frame than (13.3%) of Marium Nawaz and (3.8%) of Imran Khan. (6.7%)







Bilawal Zardari and (9.3%) Marium Nawaz also used a negative argument strategy in tweeting. (80.77%) Imran Khan used more exemplars than (80%) Bilawal Zardari and (28%) Maryam Nawaz. But (9.3%) Maryam Nawaz used negative exemplars too.

Table No 2: Politician and their Tweets' Framing Strategy

		Imran Khan N, %	Bilawal Zardari N, %	Maryam Nawaz N, %
Metaphors	Positive	03, (11.5%)	0	08, (18.6%)
	Negative	0	0	05, (11.6%)
Catchphrase	Positive	04, (15.4%)	01, (6.67%)	13, (30.2%)
	Negative	0	0	04, (9.3%)
Word choice	Positive	22, (84.6%)	12, (80%)	28, (65.1%)
	Negative	0	2, (13.33%)	05, (11.6%)
Depiction	Positive	12, (46.15%)	07, (46.67%)	22, (51.2%)
	Negative	0	0	06, (14%)
Visual image	Positive	08, (30.77%)	11, (73.3%)	33, (76.7%)
	Negative	0	0	0
Description	Positive	14, (53.85%)	09, (60%)	28, (65.1%)
	Negative	0	0	06, (14%)
Arguments	Positive	01, (3.8%)	02, (13.3%)	02, (4.7%)
	Negative	0	01, (6.7%)	04, (9.3%)
Exemplars	Positive	21, (80.77%)	12, (80%)	12, (28%)
	Negative	0	0	04, (9.3%)

Table No 3: Political Parties Official Pages and their Tweets' Framing Strategy

		PTI	PPP	PMNL
		N, %	N, %	N, %
Metaphors	Positive	3, (1.5%)	19, (5.8%)	3, (3%)
	Negative	0	1, 0.3%	0
Catchphrase	Positive	4, (2%)	23, (7.06%)	7, (6%)
	Negative	0	0	0
Word choice	Positive	197, (98%)	297, (91.1%)	112, (97%)
	Negative	4, 2%	0	0
Depiction	Positive	35, (17.4%)	21, (6.4%)	24, (21%)
	Negative	0	0	0
Visual image	Positive	100, (50%)	82, (25.2%)	34, (29%)
	Negative	0	0	0
Description	Positive	55, (27.4%)	36, (11.04%)	42, (36%)
	Negative	0	0	0
Arguments	Positive	5, (2.5%)	13, (4%)	14, (12.1%)
	Negative	0	0	0
Exemplars	Positive	80, (40%)	81, (25%)	79, (68.1%)
	Negative	0	1, 0.3%	0



Table 3: shows that the Official pages of political parties use different strategies while tweeting. (5.8%) PPP used more metaphors than (3%) PMLN and (1.5%) PTI, but PPP used negative metaphors on their official page while tweeting. (7.06%) PPP used more Catchphrases than (6%) PMLN and (2%) PTI. (98%) PTI used more word choice than (97%) of PMLN and (91.1%) of PPP, but (2%) of PTI used a negative word choice strategy, too, while tweeting. (21%) PMLN used more depiction than (17.4%) PTI and (6.4%) PPP. (50%) PTI used more visual images than (29%) PMLN and (25.2%) PPP. (36%) PMLN used more descriptions than (27.4%) PTI and (11.04%) PPP. (12.1%) PMLN used more arguments than (4%) PPP and (2.5%) PTI. (68.1%) PMLN used more exemplars than (40%) PTI and (25%) PPP. But (0.3%) PPP used negative exemplars and a strategy while tweeting.

RQ2. Do all politicians use Hashtags during political tweets?

Findings that Imran Khan (IK) used (1, 4%) hashtags while tweeting, Bilawal Zardari used (8, 53%) hashtags, and Marium Nawaz used (5, 11.6%) hashtags.

Politicians merely think it is significant to use Twitter for political use while applying multiple strategies such as Hash Tags, pictures like selfies, and figurative language such as hyperbole, personification, metaphors, etc. are used differently by different candidates. Some researchers, such as (Mortensgaard, 2021; Bryant & Oliver, 2019; Hanteer et al.; 2018) discussed these strategies in their respective research also. According to Tomaž Deželan & Igor Vobič, (2016) "politicians often choose hash tags to frame political trendings, and they practice this without depending on mainstream media." Politicians merely think it is significant to use Twitter for political use while applying multiple strategies such as Hash Tags, pictures like selfies, and figurative language such as hyperbole; personification, metaphors, etc are used differently by different candidates (Karlsen & Enjolras, 2016).

In the semiotic analysis, all three political parties used the hashtag and @.

H1: Political party's official page uses more hashtags than the Political leaders' page 1- IK Hashtags vs. PTI Hashtags

The p-value is (.010), which is smaller than the standard alpha value alpha level (normally .05). The result is substantial – the data propose that the party official page hashtag and politician personal age hashtags are associated with each other. But Imran Khan used fewer Hashtags than their party's official pages tweets used.

2- Bilawal Zardari vs PPP Hashtags

The p-value is (.000), which is smaller than the standard alpha value alpha level (normally .05). The result is significant – the data suggests that the party official page hashtag and politician personal age hashtags are associated with each other. But Bilawal Zardari used fewer Hashtags than their party's official page used in their tweets.



3- Marium Nawaz vs PMLN Hashtags

The p-value is (1.000), which is more than the standard alpha value alpha level (normally .05). Because Marium Nawaz used more hashtags in her account than PMLN official account tweets used hashtags.

H2: Political leaders' tweet has similar frames to political party's page tweets

The p-value is 0.476 > 0.05, meaning that political leaders use frames in tweets differently than their political party page tweets' frames. Bilawal Zardari didn't use exemplars, catchphrases, and depiction frames more emphasizing, but his party page used them with a good percentage. Marium Nawaz used all frames effectively, but her party page didn't use them as much as she did while tweeting. Imran Khan used fewer visual images and emphasized exemplars, but his party page shares more visual images.

RQ3. What are the similarities and differences observed in political Tweets?

Table No 4: Similarities and Differences of strategies used in political tweets.

	Metaphors	Exemplars	Catch Phrase	Depiction	Visual Image	Word Choice	Description	Argument
IK	3,	21,	4,	12, 29.3%	8,	22,	14,	1,
	27.3%	46.7%	22.2%		15.4%	35.5%	27.5%	20%
PTI	3,	80,	4,	35, 43.8%	100,	197,	55,	13,
	12%	33.3%	11.8%		46.3%	32.5%	41.45	40.6%
Maryam	8,	12,	13,	22, 53.7%	33,	28,	28,	2,
J	72.7%	26.7%	72.2%	,	63.5%	45.2%	54.9%	40%
PMLN	3,	79,	7,	24,	34,	112,	42,	14,
	12%	32.9%	20.6%	30.0%	15.7%	18.5%	31.6%	43.8%
Bilawal	0	12,	1,	7,	11,	12,	9,	2,
		26.7%	5.6%	17.1%	21.2%	19.4%	17.6%	40%
PPP	19,	81,	23,	21,	82,	297,	36,	5,
	76%	33.8%	67.6%	26.2%	38%	49%	27.1%	15.6%

Table 4 shows that every politician and official page used Exemplars and Word Choice as the most preferred strategy while tweeting. The Argument strategy not be preferred as the first choice. Sometimes they use visual images with hashtags without any word choice or description. PPP mainly uses Metaphors the most on its official page. PTI used more exemplars the most, PPP used catchphrases the most, PTI used depiction the most, PTI used visual images the most, PPP

Vol 2 No 3 (2023): 110-134



used word choice the most, Maryam Nawaz used description the most, and PMLN used arguments strategy in tweeting.

4.1 Political Analysis

A pre-essential for inspecting tweets is to assess the political inclination of the controllers complex. One way abstracts a tweet's political predisposition is through its syntactic and semantic highlights. A few papers have proposed these two examinations to find client networks and different tweet classes. We played out a semantic investigation to distinguish which tweets had political substance. We characterized the accompanying circumstances for the recognizable proof of political tweets:

- 1. The tweet is a political party's tweet.
- 2. The tweet targets at least one candidate in each political party.

The tweet has a competitor's candidate name; whether one of these circumstances was fulfilled for one political actor, then, at that point, that tweet was considered a political tweet for them. If any of these circumstances were fulfilled for both politicians, that tweet was viewed as political for the two of them. We considered signs of an applicant focusing on or referencing the twitter client name, the name, and the name contraction. Hence, it approved the competitor Bilawal Bhutto, Imran khan, and Maryam Nawaz.

4.2 Tweets Analysis

Political rhetoric strategies of three Pakistani politicians (Imran Khan, Bilawal Zardari, Marium Nawaz). A framing analysis is conducted through content analysis by applying the framework of framing theory. It is analyzed that politician frames themselves on Twitter using multiple rhetoric strategies. The analysis is divided into two main and one sub-research question to conduct this research. Political rhetoric has been taken from tweets of political candidates of both parties. This rhetoric analysis also observed semiotic analysis, such as hashtags and @username. The uncluttered rhetorical techniques help understand the unseen fact that unsettled political tweets (Masroor, Khan, Aib, & Ali, 2019). Framing is an important tool used by politicians to prioritize the dialogue toward their stance. Framing modifies the dialogue by stressing specific aspects of the issue that generates a 1connotation between the issue and a particular mentioned frame (Fountaine, 2017). Multiple farming techniques are discussed, such as Hashtags, pictures, figurative language words, and sentiments that politicians use to frame. Therefore, three political parties used rhetoric strategy through semiotic analysis to frame themselves on Twitter.

In some degree different sense, information obtained from logical work affirm the presence of a connection between the larger number of items framed by pictures and the assortment of gadgets utilized for their distribution (PCs, tablets, and cell phones, among others), albeit not between that variety and mindfulness accomplished. Thus, the prominence of the microblogging stage not just relies upon the gathering of local area chiefs a legislator could have and its steady



development on interpersonal organizations yet additionally on the creativity and personalization of each activity is very definitive.

4.2.1 25th June 2021 to 24th July 2021

Table No 5: Basic analysis of Imran khan, Bilawal Bhutto and Maryam Nawaz

Politicians	Tweets	Likes/Comments
Imran Khan	26	12.9 million
Bilawal Bhutto	15	4.9 million
Maryam Nawaz	43	8.7 million

Table No 5 shows the basic sample analysis from June 25th, 2021, to July 17th, 2021. The total Tweet of Imran khan was 26, and the likes/comments were 12.9 million. The total number of tweets of Bilawal Bhutto was 15 and likes/comments were 4.9 million. The total number of tweets of Maryam Nawaz was 43 and likes/comments were 8.7 million.

According to these tweets, analysis on Twitter is to classify the concentration in using Twitter and to evaluate their supporters. It can be experiential that Imran khan has been observed as the furthermost popular among Twitter handlers as it has been instituted as having the most number of supporters (likes/ comments) compared to other samples of two parties, Bilawal Bhutto and Maryam Nawaz.

4.2.1 Analysis of Tweets of Imran Khan

The rhetorical devices were recognized and analyzed by spread over framing theory.

4.2.2 Metaphors

It is a figure of speech that is used to contrast judgments between two things that are different in real but do have to some degree in common. Imran Khan often used other metaphors in his tweets. Particularly in Imran khan's account there were no negative metaphors used instead positive metaphors were used often,

On June 26th, 2021 Imran khan tweeted,

"Preparing a cricket ground for the youngsters of Bani Gala. InshaAllah, we are planning for sports grounds at Union Council level all over Pakistan".

On July 6th, Imran khan tweeted,

"Next week Cabinet has decided on a comprehensive policy in this regard. We put an end to the colonial legacy of pomp & glory used to overwhelm the people."

4.2.3 Exemplars

An exemplar is a person that others try to imitate, such as Michael Jackson or Quaid e Azam

On 2nd July 2021 Imran khan tweeted that "Congratulations Khyber Pakhtunkhwa! Under the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Health Card Plus program, 250,439 patients received absolutely free





treatment. This is the Pakistan we are moving towards and which Allama Iqbal and Quaid-e-Azam dreamed of."

4.2.4 Catchphrases

A well-known verdict or expression, particularly one related to a specific prominent individual. On July 3rd, 2021 another tweet from Imran khan,

"Important message in Chitral language about vaccine from students from Chitral. Vaccines are the best and only solution to prevent future economic and social sanctions. Send ID card number to 1166 today and get registered for vaccination."

On July 17th Imran Khan tweeted,

"It was a wonderful experience to finally visit Samarkand, the greatest city in the world at the beginning of the 15th century. Visited the tombs of Amir Taimur 28."

4.2.5 Depictions

A illustration through text or picture of a person or thing (The book is enthralling in its representation of the country's early antiquity)

4.2.6 Word Choice

'Word Choice" in the script, is the practice of operative and specific language that takes content not just in a practical way but also to educate the person who reads.

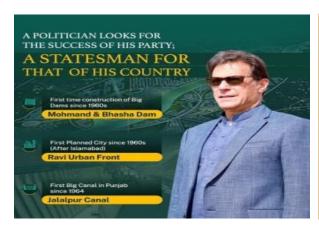
On July 15th, 2021, PM Imran khan said

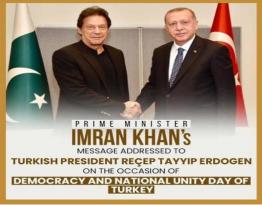
"What a lively campaign going on in Kashmir by PTI. Jam-packed Jalsas with full enthusiasm. All eyes on July 25th for the PTI victory, Insha'Allah

1. A verbal or inscribed explanation of an individual, thing, or happening. On July 1st, 2021

"During the speech in Parliament, the whole House resounded with slogans of Imran Khan Zinda Bad! Only those who call Khan a Jewish agent chanted slogans in favor of the Prime Minister! People of Maulana's party turned out to be crazy about Khan."

4.2.7 Visual Images





Vol 2 No 3 (2023): 110-134





4.2.8 Arguments

A conversation of departing or conflicting opinions is characteristically an intense or annoyed one.

On 5TH July 2021, Imran khan tweeted,

"The PDM meeting reflects their politics. The people of Pakistan have rejected the PDM. Pakistan is moving forward and the PDM's morale is declining. Whatever we do now, Pakistan will move forward under the leadership of Prime Minister Imran Khan."

4.2.9 Semiotic

@ImranKhanPTI

The Prime Minister

@ImranKhanPTI, address rallies in Trarkhal and Kotli Azad Kashmir tomorrow On July 5th, 2021

"Trans genders holding valid Computerized NICs will be brought into the fold of Ehsaas Kafaalat. Trans genders usually live as a separate community; all trans genders in a household will be declared Kafaalat beneficiaries "#EhsaasSabKa #PakistanMovingForward.

4.2.10 Analysis of Tweets of Maryam Nawaz

The rhetorical devices were recognized and analyzed by spread over framing theory.

1. It is a figure of speech used to make a contrasting judgment between two things that are different in real but have some degree in common.

On 10th July

The handmade necklace presented to me at Sharda jalsa by local women who insisted I wore it right there is the most precious jewel I possess!

My Kashmir is breathtakingly, jaw-droppingly beautiful. Relishing every minute. Banjusa Lake

4.2.11 Exemplars

An exemplar is a person that others try to imitate, such as Michael Jackson or Quaid e Azam

On 14th July2021



"Deeply saddened by the death of former President of Pakistan Mamnoon Hussain Sahib. He was a sincere man who served Pakistan with all honesty. May Allaah give the late one a place in the tide of mercy. Amen"

4.2.12 Catch Phrases

A well-known verdict or expression, particularly one related to a specific well-known individual.

4.2.13 Depictions

A illustration through text or picture of a person or thing (The book is enthralling in its representation of the country's early antiquity)

4.2.14 Visual images

My homeland will come to your paradise one day.



My Kashmir is breathtakingly, jaw-droppingly beautiful. Relishing every minute. Banjusa Lake

4.2.15 Word Choice

'Word Choice" in writing uses effective and precise language that conveys information not just in a practical way but also to enlighten the reader.

1. It is a spoken or written account of a person, object, or event.

4.2.16 Arguments

It is a conversation of conflict or contradictory views, particularly an intense or annoyed one.,

On Jul 25, she said,

"I have not accepted the results and will not. I have not even accepted the results of 2018 and have accepted this fake government. The worker and the voters have been commended. What will be the course of action on this shameless fraud? The party will decide soon. Inshallah Quote Tweet Afaq Ahmad @Afaq_Ahmad · Jul 25, 2021, Accepting such results by accepting election results is a severe mistake. Accepting such results as encouraging select and selectors, you are also putting the 2023 election in their fold when they know that whatever we do is not; they have been pushed with more power than ever before twitter.com/Maryam Nawaz Sharif.

4.2.17 Semiotic

Vol 2 No 3 (2023): 110-134



It is a use of hashtag @ On Jul 14, 2021 What is this General sb? @OfficialDGISPR

4.2.18 Analysis of Tweets of Bilawal Bhutto

The speech strategies were observed and examined using a theory framing device. Bilawal Bhutto, in his tweets, did not use metaphors very often.

4.2.19 Metaphors

It is a figure of speech that is used to contrast judgments between two things that are different in real but do have to some degree in common.

4.2.20 Exemplars

An exemplar is a person that others try to imitate, such as Michael Jackson or Quaid e Azam

On 17 July 2021, Bilawal said.

"There is no precedent in the world's political history like the sacrifices of the Bhutto family, Asif Zardari.

4.2.21 Catch Phrases

A well-known verdict or expression, particularly one related to a specific well-known individual.

Former President Asif Ali Zardari pays homage to Shaheed Shahnawaz Khan Bhutto. Shaheed Shahnawaz Khan Bhutto fought for constitution and democracy in the country; Asif Zardari"

4.2.22 Depictions

An illustration through text or picture of a person or thing (The book is enthralling in its representation of the country's early antiquity) The book is fascinating in its depiction of the country's early history.

On 25 July 2021, Bilawal Bhutto Said,

@PalwashaKhan18

#VoteSirfTeerKa

In Kashmir, poor management and mismanagement of elections are clear evidence of the incompetence of the federal administration.

Center Palwasha Khan

The incompetent elected government and Modi's agenda are the same.

#VoteSirfTeerKa

Vote for arrows only

Vote for Pakistan People's Party for the development and prosperity of Kashmir.



4.2.23 Visual Images



4.2.24 Word Choice

Word Choice" in the script, is the practice of operative and specific language that takes content not just in a practical way but also to educate the person who reads.

On July 24, 2021, Bilawal Bhutto said,

"Azad Jammu and Kashmir constituency LA-44 polling station 20 Haider Amin Shaheed Model School near the PPP polling camp was demolished by PTI workers with the help of police".

4.2.25 Descriptions

verbal or inscribed accounts of an individual, thing, or happening.

4.2.26 Arguments

It is a conversation of departing or conflicting views, characteristically an intense or annoyed one. The negative message of bloodshed on the vote will go to both sides of Kashmir, Secretary General PPP To Ensure transparent elections in Kashmir: Faisal Rathore. I will tell the workers to guard Secretary General PPP's polling station. Today, July 25, is an important day of decision for Kashmiris.

4.2.27 Semiotic

PPP Chairman expresses condolences to Mian Shaukat Ali Bajwa on the demise of his mother

@BBhuttoZardar

Chairman Bilawal Bhutto Zardari extends condolences to PPP Pakpattan General Secretary Mian Shaukat Ali Bajwa.

4.3 Discussions

This research was based on ("Nature, Sources, and Effects of News Framing," 2009) and used the concept of framing as they also used the conceptualization of framing. The analysis recognized the framing strategies through rhetoric. These rhetorical devices are the strategies used to influence the target to achieve citrine political goals. Politicians use rhetorical strategies in their conversations to influence the public and attain political goals. Speech is an influential instrument for politicians through which they inspire and encounter multiple issues, such as political, economic, social, and cultural practices, to achieve supremacy and authority. Twitter and other





such mediums have become an influential part of message dissemination. Politicians use such mediums for straight and quick communication with one another. This research observed the political rhetoric regarding tweets and acknowledged different strategies. All three leading political parties employed rhetorical strategies to persuade the target tweets' data. Many rhetorical strategies were identified based on (Seitkazin, 2020) and applied frame (Kuan, Mohd Hasan, Mohd Zawawi, & Abdullah, 2021).

Conversation strategies were meaningfully used, such as metaphors, arguments, word choices, catchphrases, semiotics, descriptions, word choices, deceptions, and visual images. However, there is still more ground available to study twitter as a significant political medium. It is strongly observed through the literature mentioned above that many scholars have witnessed political framing through Twitter in different countries (Enli & Skogerbø, 2013; Kreiss & Mcgregor, 2017; Pinontoan & Wahid, 2020).

Particularly in Asia, many researchers indicated the optimistic temper of the medium in cultivating political contribution and directness among politicians and the public. This study also highlighted the role of Twitter in political framing and communication used in Pakistan. However, it is early to expect the factual, independent potential of twitter; findings can provide a ground to conduct ore research regarding political communication and digital platforms in Pakistan (Jamali, Shoukat, & Mahesar, 2018).

The 2021 Kashmir election's general results observe the existence of practically all prominent political groups on Twitter for political race crusading. This shows the significance of innovative technology in modern political scenes. The capability of cyberspace to highlight major cultural and political fluctuations in Pakistan is also observed. The way social media access is available for political purposes shows pollical manipulation and diffusing partisanship among the public (Furman & Tunç, 2019). The study examined rhetorical strategies in tweets employed for varied goals by three prominent political parties and the personal stories of their spokespeople. All three political leaders, Bilawal Zardari, Imran Khan, and Mariyam Nawaz frequently used social media to discuss the same topic from several angles. Twitter usage for political purposes has significantly increased during the past few years. Different virtual social platforms facilitate the political communication process. Many politicians utilize social media networking platforms for political communication worldwide (Jamali, Shoukat, & Mahesar, 2018), and current research also validated this stance.

Talking specifically about Pakistan, PTI, PPP and PML-N used Twitter as a multi-reason movement instrument, not just through party accounts but their accounts. PTI centres around administration, financial turn of events, and the guarantee of occupations were strategically set up to motivate the new citizens who assumed a critical part in its discretionary conquest. The party's political race likewise used the scope of cell phones and the Internet in the country. Such as, Imran Khan tweeted on July 6th that,

Vol 2 No 3 (2023): 110-134



"Congratulations to NCOC members, Ehsaas team & State Bank of Pakistan for effective response to Covid 19 pandemic; and above all thanks to the mercy of Almighty Allah".

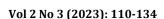
Today, interactivity via Twitter permits new authoritative elements of argumentative and legislative issues, where online conversations assume key parts ("Nature, Sources, and Effects of News Framing," 2009). These progressions benefit other parties, which may get undermined in political fights. Current outcomes are proven contrasts between how new ideological groups, like PTI, with no history, and veteran public gatherings on social media in previous elections, like PML-N, contended in the web space. PML-N tried to get its contentions heard and bantered at the public level, and its need was to assemble support by featuring common issues. PML-N drew in with general society and customary media more often and utilized Twitter to elevate itself and to approve itself through regular notices of customary media sources. This research showed that by conspicuously partnering with papers and news channels, PML-N tried to foster its believability and get media approval Mangerotti, Ribeiro, & González-Aldea,(2021); then again, laid-out parties like the PTI and PML-N appear to convey an awareness of the media since they tried connecting to news titles. A tweet from the PML-N official account tweeted on July 12th, 2021, stated that:

"NAB has been investigating the Niazi Nexus energy projects. For the last 3 years, loose corruption has not been proved in the power project".

This research also found that political groups and leaders such as Imran Khan, Mariyam Nawaz and Bilawal Bhutto seemed to have different objectives regarding Twitter utilization. Featuring the framing through the rhetoric idea of the political decision, researchers observed that the officeholder party, PTI, was generally leaned to involve Twitter for analysis. This delivered the perspectives of PML-N and PPP into the public investigation. PML-N empowered any remaining gatherings to welcome the general population in disconnected crusade exercises. PML-N officially tweeted on July 12th that,

"We started the transmission line from Matiari to Lahore. The transmission line from Matiari to Lahore was not extended one inch".

The researchers found that Twitter was utilized for pushing convenient, on-request data to their supporters about campaign updates and party advancements. Re-tweets were the most famous post class for most gatherings, to disperse news informs or posts by their party's spokesperson. PPP's official account tweeted on June 25th:





"Qamar Zaman Kaira was also present along with Chairman Bilawal Bhutto Zardari during his visit to Azad Kashmir in connection with the election campaign. Chairman Bilawal Bhutto Zardari received a warm welcome in Dhan Gali, people were warmly welcomed on his arrival in Kashmir."

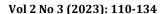
Thus, it is also found that virtual entertainment is changing the power connections in political issues, as the conventional party-ordered progressions are becoming straightened, and more organization based. This research is another instance of how political supremacy leads to the support of a specific leader both in offline and online environments. Election campaigns aiming a huge voter turnover, showing users as relying on Twitter and getting motivated by political messages (Pinontoan & Wahid, 2020). In conclusion of this, research findings specify that the choosing Twitter was a significant framing tool for campaigning and was resourcefully used to disseminate campaign apprises, endorse political accomplishments, and staying connected with the potential followers.

5. Conclusions

This investigation highlights the importance of social media platforms in contemporary political communication. Social media has transformed how politicians interact with the public, providing direct and primary access to an extensive audience. Platforms like Twitter have appeared as crucial tools for political framing, allowing politicians to shape public discourse, communicate their messages, and engage with members in real-time. Within social media, Twitter stands out as a quite effective platform for political communication. Its conciseness, proximity, and across-theboard reach make it a practical tool for politicians striving to convey their narratives, muster support, and react to unfolding affairs. This study emphasizes how politicians strategically use Twitter's features, i.e., hashtags, word choice, metaphors, catchphrases, and visual imagery, to frame their messages and interact with voters effectively. Also, this investigation contributes to comprehending Twitter's role in political campaigning, especially within the Kashmir election in Pakistan. By examining the tweets of major political parties and leaders, the study outlines distinctive framing strategies used by diverse stakeholders, highlighting their communication tactics and preferences. Besides, the study highlights the subtle distinctions between individual politicians' tweeting styles and their party's official messaging, highlighting the sophistication of political communication on social media outlets.

5.2 Study Limitations and Recommendations

This study has some primary limitations that narrow down its scope. First, the researchers have selected only three political parties, whereas other political parties prefer Twitter for political communication and framing purposes. Second, this research only highlighted the political scenario of Twitter usage in Pakistan, limiting its scope. The third limitation involves analyzing only the Tweets during the elections in Azad Kashmir. At the same time, the relevant analysis can be





conducted during the general election countrywide, narrowing the scope of current research. Finally, the fourth limitation involves selecting only Twitter as the main social networking platform, indicating a need for more focus on other virtual social networks. Thus, this research recommends more studies focusing on social media and political communication, particularly during the countrywide election, to highlight further the role of different social media platforms in political campaigning and framing.

5.3 Study Implications

The theoretical framework and critical concepts for this research are presented in the following parts. These include framing theory, a preliminary examination of rhetoric and ideology, and content analysis. It begins by incorporating the existing literature on the relevant theories. For instance, it is shown that most researchers have employed the framing theory, although some have also included additional theories in several related studies. It is experiential that Aharony, (2012) used grounded theory to enhance their analytical perception by discussing phenomena of present happenings. (Mumtaz, 2019) applied Network Theory and argued that "Stimulatingly, Network theory bargains numerous capacities of significance, which exemplify how belief cohort and propagation work in different ways within a network of personalities. These three components of supremacy, i.e, level centrality, eigenvector centrality, and centrality classify hypercritical in a network after the network's grid is made". Hussain et al. (2020) used the same framing theory with different frames of Jesper Strömbäck and Spiro Kiousis (2011) and "Nature, Sources, and Effects of News Framing," (2009) framing framework and another equalization theory of social media. Shafi, 2017) used the Issue ownership theory and Framing Theory with the Framework of ("Nature, Sources, and Effects of News Framing," 2009). According to the requirements of the study's research question, it is found that neither stereotypes nor social networking users can be used to determine the framing analysis accurately. Instead, it is found that framing political tweets on Twitter is acceptable for structuring the study of political tweets. That is one of the major reasons Framing theory is incorporated through Endman's Framework Stier et al., (2018).

6. References

Aharony, N. (2012). Facebook use in libraries: an exploratory analysis. *Aslib Proceedings*, 64(4), 358–372. https://doi.org/10.1108/00012531211244725

Ajovalasit, S., Dorgali, V. M., Mazza, A., d'Onofrio, A., & Manfredi, P. (2021). Evidence of disorientation towards immunization on online social media after contrasting political communication on vaccines. Results from an analysis of Twitter data in Italy. *PLOS ONE*, *16*(7), e0253569. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0253569

Al-Saggaf, Y., & Simmons, P. (2015). Social media in Saudi Arabia: Exploring its use during two natural disasters. *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*, *95*, 3–15. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.techfore.2014.08.013

Barberá, P., Jost, J. T., Nagler, J., Tucker, J. A., & Bonneau, R. (2015). Tweeting From Left to



Right: Is Online Political Communication More Than an Echo Chamber? *Psychological Science*, 26(10), 1531–1542. https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797615594620

Bradshaw, S., & Howard, P. (2021). *Challenging Truth and Trust: A Global Inventory of Organized Social Media Manipulation*. Retrieved from https://demtech.oii.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/12/2018/07/ct2018.pdf

Bryant, J., & Oliver, M. B. (2019). *Media Effects: Advances in Theory and Research, Third Edition*.

Bullock, O. M., & Shulman, H. C. (2021). Utilizing Framing Theory to Design More Effective Health Messages about Tanning Behavior among College Women. *Communication Studies*, 72(3), 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1080/10510974.2021.1899007

Casero-Ripollés, A., Sintes-Olivella, M., & Franch, P. (2020). The Populist Political Communication Style in Action: Podemos's Issues and Functions on Twitter During the 2016 Spanish General Election. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 61(9), 986–1001. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764217707624

Enli, G. S., & Skogerbø, E. (2013). PERSONALIZED CAMPAIGNS IN PARTY-CENTRED POLITICS. *Information, Communication* & *Society,* 16(5), 757–774. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118x.2013.782330

Frame, A., & Brachotte, G. (2015). Le tweet stratégique: Use of Twitter as a PR tool by French politicians. *Public Relations Review*, 41(2), 278–287. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2014.11.005

Furman, I., & Tunç, A. (2019). The End of the Habermassian Ideal? Political Communication on Twitter During the 2017 Turkish Constitutional Referendum. *Policy & Internet*. https://doi.org/10.1002/poi3.218

Gulzar, F., Gul, S., Mehraj, M., Bano, S., & Thelwall, M. (2022). Digital footprints of Kashmiri Pandit migration on Twitter. *El Profesional de La Información*. https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2022.nov.07

Habes, M., Elareshi, M., Ali, S., & Ziani, A. (2022). Analyzing the Portrayals of Child Sexual Abuse of Urdu Newspapers in Developing Countries. *Pertanika Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, *30*(4). https://doi.org/10.47836/pjssh.30.4.03

Hussain, S., Shahzad, F., & Saud, A. (2021). Analyzing the State of Digital Information Warfare Between India and Pakistan on Twittersphere. *SAGE Open*, 11(3), 215824402110319. https://doi.org/10.1177/21582440211031905

Jamali, Y., Shoukat, G., & Mahesar, R. A. (2018). Comparative Study of Democratic Performance of News Media in Pakistan: Analysis of Framing Theory. Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.17051/ilkonline.2021.05.778

Jesper Strömbäck, & Spiro Kiousis. (2011). Political Public Relations. In *Routledge eBooks*. Informa. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203864173

Karlsen, R., & Enjolras, B. (2016). Styles of Social Media Campaigning and Influence in a Hybrid Political Communication System. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 21(3), 338–357.



https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161216645335

Keller, F. B., Schoch, D., Stier, S., & Yang, J. (2019). Political Astroturfing on Twitter: How to Coordinate a Disinformation Campaign. *Political Communication*, *37*(2), 1–25. https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2019.1661888

Khare, A., Amisha Gangwar, Singh, S., & Prakash, S. (2022). Sentiment Analysis and Sarcasm Detection of Indian General Election Tweets. *ArXiv* (*Cornell University*). https://doi.org/10.48550/arxiv.2201.02127

Kreiss, D., & MCGREGOR, S. C. (2017). Technology Firms Shape Political Communication: The Work of Microsoft, Facebook, Twitter, and Google With Campaigns During the 2016 U.S. Presidential Cycle. *Political Communication*, 35(2), 155–177. https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2017.1364814

Kuan, D., Mohd Hasan, N. A., Mohd Zawawi, J. W., & Abdullah, Z. (2021). Framing Theory Application in Public Relations: The Lack of Dynamic Framing Analysis in Competitive Context. *Media Watch*, *12*(2), 15-27. https://doi.org/10.15655/mw/2021/v12i2/160155

Lee, J., ahh, J., & oh, J. S. (2015). Mysterious Influential Users in Political Communication on Twitter: Users' Occupation Information and Its Impact on Retweetability. *Research Gate*. 25–39. Linvill, D. L., & Warren, P. L. (2020). Troll Factories: Manufacturing Specialized Disinformation on Twitter. *Political Communication*, 1–21. https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2020.1718257

Mangerotti, P., Ribeiro, V., & González-Aldea, P. (2021). Populism, Twitter, and Political Communication. *Brazilian Journalism Research*, *17*(3), 596–627. https://doi.org/10.25200/bjr.v17n3.2021.1415

Masroor, F., Khan, Q. N., Aib, I., & Ali, Z. (2019). Polarization and Ideological Weaving in Twitter Discourse of Politicians. *Social Media* + *Society*, *5*(4), 205630511989122. https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305119891220

McGregor, S. C., Mourão, R. R., & Molyneux, L. (2019). Twitter as a tool for and object of political and electoral activity: Considering electoral context and variance among actors. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, *14*(2), 154–167. https://doi.org/10.1080/19331681.2017.1308289

Mir, A., Mitts, T., & Staniland, P. (2022). Political Coalitions and Social Media: Evidence from Pakistan. *Perspectives on Politics*, 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1017/s1537592722001931

Mortensgaard, L. A. (2018). Contesting Frames and (De)Securitizing Schemas: Bridging the Copenhagen School's Framework and Framing Theory. *International Studies Review*, 12(3), 154–167. https://doi.org/10.1093/isr/viy068

Nature, Sources, and Effects of News Framing. (2009). *The Handbook of Journalism Studies*, 195–210. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203877685-22

Obaida Hanteer, Rossi, L., Davide Vega d'Aurelio, & Magnani, M. (2018). From Interaction to Participation: The Role of the Imagined Audience in Social Media Community Detection and an Application to Political Communication on Twitter. *Advances in Social Networks Analysis and Mining*. 4(2), 54–77 https://doi.org/10.1109/asonam.2018.8508575



Obregón, R., Chitnis, K., Morry, C., Feek, W., Bates, J., Galway, M., & Ogden, E. (2009). Achieving polio eradication: a review of health communication evidence and lessons learned in India and Pakistan. *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*, 87(8), 624–630. https://doi.org/10.2471/blt.08.060863

Percastre-Mendizábal, S., Pont-Sorribes, C., & Codina, L. (2017). A sample design proposal for the analysis of Twitter in political communication. *El Profesional de La Información (EPI)*, 26(4), 579–588. https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2017.jul.02

Pinontoan, N. A., & Wahid, U. (2020). Analisis Framing Pemberitaan Banjir Jakarta Januari 2020 Di Harian Kompas.com Dan Jawapos.com. *Komuniti: Jurnal Komunikasi Dan Teknologi Informasi*, 12(1), 11–24. https://doi.org/10.23917/komuniti.v12i1.9928

Saiqa, S., Mohd Zain, Z., & Ajis, M. N. (2021). Social media and political accountability: An exploratory analysis of the impact of facebook and twitter in Punjab Pakistan. Retrieved May 3, 2023, from etd.uum.edu.my website: https://etd.uum.edu.my/9416/

Seitkazin, R. (2020). Political Communication and Influence Through Twitter. *Pro Publico Bono - Magyar Közigazgatás*, 8(4), 94–105. https://doi.org/10.32575/ppb.2020.4.7

Shafi, A. (2017a). Issue Ownership And Framing Of Digital Privacy On Twitter. Wayne State University Dissertations. Retrieved from

https://digitalcommons.wayne.edu/oa_dissertations/1875/

Shafi, A. (2017b). Issue Ownership And Framing Of Digital Privacy On Twitter. Wayne State University Dissertations. Retrieved from

https://digitalcommons.wayne.edu/oa dissertations/1875/

Shulman, H. C., & Sweitzer, M. D. (2018). Advancing Framing Theory: Designing an Equivalency Frame to Improve Political Information Processing. *Human Communication Research*, 44(2), 155–175. https://doi.org/10.1093/hcr/hqx006

Sinha, S. (2017). Fragile Hegemony: Modi, Social Media, and Competitive Electoral Populism in India. *International Journal of Communication*, 11, 4158–4180. Retrieved from https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/viewFile/6739/2161

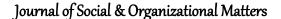
Silva, B. C., & Proksch, S. O. (2022). Politicians unleashed? Political communication on Twitter and in parliament in Western Europe. *Political Science Research and Methods*, 10(4), 776-792.

Sivarajah, U., Kamal, M. M., Irani, Z., & Weerakkody, V. (2017). Critical analysis of Big Data challenges and analytical methods. *Journal of Business Research*, 70(1), 263–286. Sciencedirect. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2016.08.001

Social Media in Politics. (2014). In B. Pătruţ & M. Pătruţ (Eds.), *Public Administration and Information Technology*. Cham: Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-04666-2

Soedarsono, D. K., Mohamad, B., Akanmu, M. D., & Putri, I. P. (2020). Political leaders and followers' attitudes: Twitter as a tool for political communication. *Journal of critical reviews*, 7(8), 1245-1252.

Stier, S., Bleier, A., Lietz, H., & Strohmaier, M. (2018). Election Campaigning on Social Media:







Politicians, Audiences, and the Mediation of Political Communication on Facebook and Twitter. *Political Communication*, *35*(1), 50–74. https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2017.1334728

Stier, S., Bleier, A., Lietz, H., & Strohmaier, M. (2020). Election campaigning on social media: Politicians, audiences, and the mediation of political communication on Facebook and Twitter. In *Studying Politics Across Media* (pp. 50-74). Routledge.

Tomaž Deželan, & Igor Vobič. (2016). (R)evolutionizing Political Communication through Social Media. *Advances in Public Policy and Administration (APPA) Book Series*. https://doi.org/10.4018/978-1-4666-9879-6

Valenzuela, S., Correa, T., & Gil de Zúñiga, H. (2017). Ties, Likes, and Tweets: Using Strong and Weak Ties to Explain Differences in Protest Participation Across Facebook and Twitter Use. *Political Communication*, *35*(1), 117–134. https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2017.1334726

Wanza, I., Ireri Kamuti, Diana Nyaguthii Gichohi, & Kimaita Richard Gikunda. (2022). The impact of Twitter on political influence on the choice of a running mate: Social Network Analysis and Semantic Analysis -- A Review. *ArXiv* (*Cornell University*). https://doi.org/10.48550/arxiv.2208.00479

Yang, X., Chen, S., & Zhang, L. (2020). Promoting sustainable development: A research on residents' green purchasing behavior from a perspective of the goal-framing theory. *Sustainable Development*. 14(2), 154–167 https://doi.org/10.1002/sd.2070