CHAMPIONING POLITICAL CAMPAIGNING TOWARDS FIRST-TIME VOTERS

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Abstract

Undoubtedly, the 2013 electoral campaign in Malaysia marked to have significantly increased in its political campaigning budget. Despite that, General Election 13 was noted to be the most interesting in the history of Malaysian history, as it would be a most competitive presidential campaign, and the kingmakers to be first-time voters and young voters. This chapter focused on the candidates' advertising message strategies and their effects. The content and effects of these warrant investigation as results of tremendous advertising expenditures. Since the most polls conducted throughout the critical phase of the campaign indicated that the battle of General Election 13 would be to convert large undecided voters, young voters with weak pre-existing storage of information and also for political parties to sustain as relevant to the youth. In studies, this study identified the elements that underlie a successful political campaign, by ascertaining most preferred style, elements, tone and manner, content, structures and pattern of political advertisements to be targeted to first-time voters in particular. The researcher conducted a focus group of 3 groups based on their urban development categories such as rural, semi-urban and urban. The results show there is many elements that was not acknowledged by advertisers and political parties before designing and strategizing a campaign, thus, there is a lack of effectiveness in persuading and communicating with first-time voters.

Keywords: *Political campaigning/ Advertising, First-time voters, Counter-attack advertising, Political candidates, Subtle advertising, Voters' choice.*

Menyokong Kempen Politik Para Pengundi Kali Pertama

Abstrak

Tanpa ragu, kempen elektoral 2013 di Malaysia dengan jelas menunjukkan ada penambahan signifikan dalam belanjawan kempen politik. Walaubagaimanapun, Pilihanraya Umum 13 adalah yang paling hebat dalam sejarah Malaysia kerana ia adalah kempen presiden yang paling kompetitif., dan para pemilih adalah pengundi kali pertama dan pengundi muda. Kajian ini mengfokus pada strategi pesanan iklan calon dan hasil keberkesanannya. Isi kandungan dan kesan ini menuntut kepada penyiasatan kerana perbelanjaan iklan yang besar. Oleh kerana kebanyakan pengundian dijalankan sepanjang fasa kritikal kempen menunjukkan pertarungan Pilihanraya Umum 13 adalah untuk menukar pengundi yang tidak pasti, pengundi yang muda yang mempunyai maklumat yang lemah dan juga demi parti politik agar dapat bertahan serelevan dengan golongan muda. Kajian ini telah mengenalpasti elemen yang mendasari kempen politik yang berjaya dengan melihat kepada gaya, elemen, nada dan tingkah laku, isi kandungan, struktur dan corak iklan politik yang paling digemari untuk di sasarkan khususnya pada mereka yang mengundi untuk kali pertama. Penyelidik menjalakan perbincangan focus secara berkumpulan, iaitu dalam 3 kumpulan mengikut pada kategori perkembangan bandar seperti kawasan luar bandar, separuh-bandar dan bandar. Keputusan kajian menunjukkan ada banyak elemen yang tidak di ketengahkan oleh pengiklan dan parti politik sebelum merekabentuk dan menyusun startegi kempen. Hasilnya, terdapat kekurangan keberkesanan dalam membujuk dan berkomunikasi dengan pengundi kali pertama ini.

Kata kunci: *Kempen politik/iklan, pengundi kali pertama, iklan serang balas, calon politik, pengiklanan halus, pilihan pengundi.*

INTRODUCTION TO MALAYSIAN POLITICAL ARENA

Advertising is a tool that enables politicians to send their messages to a large number of people. It has been a significant component of the political

communication strategies adopted by election candidates, political parties and interest groups (Rafter, 2009).

The use of political advertisement could be seen over past years especially when the elections beckon. Nevertheless, in the past, the uses of political advertisements were mainly to serve as mean of a communication tool for a party, and electoral candidates. But, it is not limited to only that, from the previous research done, it shows that the uses of political advertising assist candidates to be better known through establishing popularity, enable a candidate to connect with a particular demographic group, attract new supporters, stimulate voter participation in the campaign, raising funds for the candidate and party involves, and ultimately attacking the opponent (Munira, 2012).

"The first use of political advertisements dated back decades ago. The first country that used such form of political campaign was the United States of America" (Valentino, Hutchings, & Williams, 2004). The advertisement was a success because it addresses the relationship between politics and television via the advertisement "Eisenhower Answer America". The uses of political advertisements were praised well by political and social studies scholars not only because it was an effective tool in promoting candidates, but also enable to reshape the image of the competing candidate (McGinnis, 1969; Valentino, et al., 2004).

In 2008, general election has shown significant changes, tremendous transformation in Malaysia's political scenarios and governing policies. These transformations are getting stronger and stronger because the uprising of the middle class citizens. In 1999 till 2008 middle class has emerged to be a force in Malaysia politics (Loh, Saravanamuttu, 2003a, 2003b) however in the 2013 election, for the first time the kingmakers would be youth and middle class (Dermawan, 2013).

Such transformation was especially evident due to the stronger and larger uprising of the middle class as compared to the 1999 election. The middle class had emerged as a force in Malaysian politics since the 1999 election (Loh & Saravanamuttu, 2003a, 2003b) and was now more evident in the political landscape. The rise of the coalition of the opposition party under the flag of Pakatan Rakyat is seeing Parti Keadilan, Parti Islam Malaysia and Democratic Action Party against the ruling party, Barisan National (Mohamad, 2008).

The federal government is mainly using the mainstream media such as those owned by Media Prima (TV3, NTV7, TV9) and main newspaper agencies such as Utusan, The Star and others. Prime minister, Najib Razak is also active involvement social media in engaging local communities through blogs, Facebook, Twitter and other online platforms. Furthermore, the media channels of TV1 and TV2 are owned by national broadcaster Radio Television Malaysia (RTM), and Bernama news agency is seen to be the mouthpiece of the government, hence it is also used to be broadcasting all and only Barisan Nasional campaigns. On the other hand, the opposition parties utilized the

Internet, independent newspapers, news online, or any other alternative media to spread political agenda and views (Ng, 2013).

Candidates, parties and other independent group spend hundred of million of dollars on political advertising each year in the U.S, and the amount spent increases every year at a double-digit rate. In Malaysia, 2013 seems to be the year of highest expenditure for campaigning purposes, of over RM 400 million as compared to 2008, which is RM 171.8 million Ringgit whereas a huge difference from 2004 which was estimated to be RM 100 million (The Star, 2003). In addition to that, Barisan Nasional with the approval of the Election Commission (EC) determined that campaign period is 15 days, which was also anticipated by all political components (The Star, 2013).
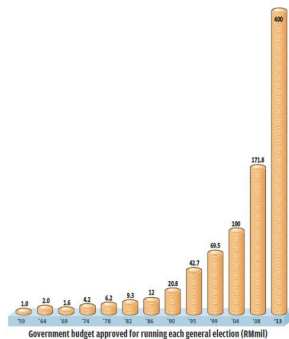
Figure 1.0 The photo "Government Budget Approved for Running Each General Election (RM Mil)" (The Star, 2013).

With party leaders and candidates spending million of dollars in airing on broadcast media, social media, print media, and even ambience advertising. Thus, each party must be expecting-in-return benefits such as higher number of voters, or volunteers for certain parties and such.
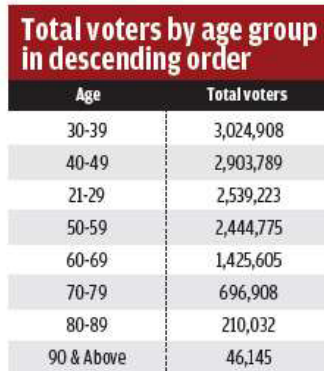
Consequently, the proportion of campaign-related expenditure by candidates and their interest groups dedicated to political campaigning has risen dramatically (West, 1997). Thus, there has been a fundamental shift from simply political campaigning materials and balanced with news over the last decades. Audiences are exposed to multiple numbers of political advertising in every election cycle (Bartels & Rahn, 2000; Kern 1989).

However, era has changed times, as how candidates send messages to the public and how the public receives those messages has shifted dramatically. Prior to these changes it was safe to assume that almost everyone with little or no interest in advertising came across some political information, or even if the exposure was unintentional (Blumer & Katz; 1974, Prior 2007).

In recent decades, political advertising has assumed greater and greater importance in campaigns for offices at all levels. There is a reason for this. Unlike most channels of communication, advertising allows candidates to reach

uninterested and unmotivated citizens, those who ordinarily pay little attention to news reports, debates, and other campaign events (Ansolabehere & Iyengar, 1995). In other words, least politically aware, could be infrequent newspaper readership seems to learn more from exposure of political advertisements. However those who are well adverse collects and gains prolong information seems not to be influenced or even affected as their candidate preference is unshakeable (Patternson & McClure,1976).

Nonetheless this research would focus on the element underlies in advertising political campaigning targeting for first time voters. Why such importance is given to youth between the age of 21 till 27 years old? Election Commission's figures show that 70% of the 4.2 million unregistered voters are between the ages of 21 to 40 years old. In contrast, about 450,000 Malaysian turn 21 each year, thus eligible to vote in this country. The effect of these young voters was seen in the 2008 General Election to be one of the reason vote swings towards the opposition (Nawab, 2013). In 2013, it is accounted some of 2.3 million of the country 13.3 million registered voters, or one in five, would be entering the polling booth for the first time (TheMalaysianTimes, 2013).

Total voters by age group in descending order	
Age	**Total voters**
30-39	3,024,908
40-49	2,903,789
21-29	2,539,223
50-59	2,444,775
60-69	1,425,605
70-79	696,908
80-89	210,032
90 & Above	46,145

Source: EC, gazetted Feb, 2013

Table 1.0 The Photo " Total voters by age group in descending order". (The Star, 2013).

University of Malaya Centre of Democracy and Election (UMCEDEL) showed 48% of the first time voters have yet to decide which party to vote for. They are usually referred to fence sitter or party hopper would be crucial in determining the election outcome. The initial survey is estimated that there would be only slim differences between support of two coalition) BN at 42%, while PR at 37% respectively). Against this backdrop, both parties, BN and PR are all out to step up their effort in order to win the youth vote (Nawab, 2013).

Young voter do not experiences nation defining events such as independence from British rule or 1969 racial riots. They are raised by amid growing prosperity,

thus they are passionate about Malaysian future, and not necessarily clamor to Barisan National as previous generations. Based on a survey conducted by 826 first-time voters, they admitted to be agnostic in their politics, while other two-third felt government had paid enough attention to their needs. These voters of whom, 90 percent said they have access to the Internet, thus, they are less likely to vote for a political party, but focus more on issues (The Malaysia Times, April 2013). While, another survey of Asian Foundation Youth Council in 2013, stated that "youths might still vote for BN even if they are unhappy with aspects of its governance, in the belief that, the current government is still the best bet in ensuring the continued economic well-being and societal harmony of the country" (The Kuala Lumpur Post, 2013)

The research in this area often focuses on two dependent variables that are vote choices in communication materials versus its effectiveness. Thus there is an evaluation of likeability, believability, and emotional quotient, from the political campaigning medium of communication only.

MALAYSIAN CONTEXT OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGNING

In Malaysia, the trend of electoral campaigning focused more on the candidate's first then only parties. In one level of social media candidates can individually brand themselves which sometimes lead to politicians and candidates often surpass in numerical terms in social network when compared to party based platforms. "For instance, as it stands today, Facebook fan pages of BN's Najib Tun Razak has 1, 636,000 likes, compared to PAS' Nik Aziz 917,000, PKR's Anwar Ibrahim 582,000 and DAP's Lim Kit Siang 137,000. Meanwhile, the BN page has 60,000 likes while PAS 120,000, PKR 20,000 and DAP an exceptional 434,000" (Free Malaysia Today, 2013).

On the other hand, local campaigning is extremely important in Malaysia because priority is not to get an overall majority of individual votes (state) but to obtain an overall majority of individual seats. Thus, this gives rise to imply that one constituency is more important than to target constituencies that are more likely to change (Niffenegger, 1989).

Advertising provides the candidate with a much more 'direct route' to the minds of voters. Effective advertising is not merely about designing a persuasive and memorable campaign jingle, but the overall plan is to strengthen the sponsoring candidates "market share". This target could be achieved by adjusting, altering advertising message to the context in order to stage the campaign and to specific attributes of candidates in the race (Iyengar & McGrady, 2007).

Despite the orthodox wisdom, campaigns do not manipulate voters into supporting the candidate that have more attractive appearances or compelling advertisements. But then, one of the principal effects of campaign's message is to bring candidate preferences and party image into the line with a voter's sense of party's identification. Whereas, the swing or undecided voters who are lacking from an attachment to a party would be susceptible to image and issue oriented

approach (Iyengar & McGrady, 2007).

In Malaysia, the recent General Election witness a healthy competition in individual candidate marketing as well as party politic positioning. Since GE 13 was a tough battle between both coalition parties, and naturally both parties were fighting to be the people's choice. This situation has given rise to strong party positioning tactics in order to be able to stand in its own unique position in the mind of audiences. Based on Bradshaw (1995), party positioning uses policies, issues and reasoned arguments as well as style of presentation in order to win the battle in the mind of voters.

NAJIB, THE MAN IN SPOTLIGHT

The media blitz used creative input of three or four advertising companies, planning for integrated campaign in TV, Radio, Print Media, Billboards, and Direct Mail (for the first time). Najib Razak uses political campaigning by using soft sell, as most of the advertisements in General Election 2013, are about 'feel good' factor, and most of the issue pointed in the advertisement is about everyday things for example education, better services, improving police, anti-corruption and more. Nevertheless, Najib Razak has brainchild the campaign of 1Malaysia. 1Malaysia is an on-going campaign on 16th September 2008, calling the cabinet, government, agencies, civil servants and other mass public to emphasize ethnic harmony, national unity, and efficient governance. The eight values of 1Malaysia as articulated by Najib Razak are persevering, a culture of excellence, acceptance, loyalty, education, humility, integrity, and meritocracy.

Datuk Seri Najib Razak is taking leaves out of former UK Labor Party leader strategy book by launching "BN Baru" or new campaign on the 1Malaysia website. The Barisan Nasional chairman said the new BN and his "Transformation Team" of new faces representing BN for the general election. The list presents a perfect balance of individual with roots knowledge and experiences alongside young and dynamic whose would bring fresh ideas and new impetus to the party.

Our prime minister also urges the public to not be convinced by the pledge of opposition better government that the current incumbent Barisan Nasional. Our Prime Minister promise that changes would come from within Barisan Nasional, and there is no need for change of governance (The Edge, 2013).

In other words, the campaign is about selling the Barisan National brand, and the principal product that is Najib Razak. In addition, the technique of soft selling is used because the target audiences are largely young voters, who have reached a certain level of maturity, and these young voters enjoy making decision rather than being forced to formulate action (Utusan Online, 2012).

When an election looms on the horizons, leaders start making promises by simply out-doing each other, even they know can't keep promises, they throw freebies, and trying to appear more patriotic over the competition.

METHODOLOGY

Three groups of fix respondents were selected based on their on their engagement and responsive on politics during the 13th General Election. The focus group method was chosen because it allowed the interaction between respondents to be observed, which proved valuable for a study on youths (Raby, 2010). Furthermore, the respondents were able to engage in social facilitation (Feldman, 2001, p. 469) where they encouraged responses from one another. This method allowed the researcher to access how the respondents react to political advertisements, express them, which would provide a clearer picture of their perception of the latest trend and style of political advertisements in Malaysia.

The target audiences were given each 7 minutes to observe 21 print advertisements, 14 being advertisements from Barisan Nasional, whereas 7 advertisements are from Pakatan Rakyat. This sampling material is designed in such way is merely based on the print advertisement published during 2 weeks of the campaigning period, dating from 21st April to 4th May 2013.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The researcher conducted three focus groups, with five participants per each group. Each group is identified as rural, semi-urban, and urban, because similar homogeneity and similar characteristics will not give much depth to the research. Instead, the outcome of this research would weigh all the internal and external factors as well, such as the surroundings, family and friends, lifestyle, technological advancement, choice of news and information and many more.

However, one important characteristic that the participants must have is they must be first-time voters between the age of 21 to 23 years old. As political system is Malaysia are based on multi-racial settings, thus, this research have taken into consideration to provide a multi-racial focus group settings, involving three main races such as Malay, Chinese and Indian. Nevertheless, from gender perspectives, there is less assertion on equal gender population in each focus group, because this would not contribute to a different outcome that what have been hypothetically expected.

No.	Age	Sex	Race	Have you voted before?	What is your level of knowledge
1. Rural Group	1. 23	1. Male	1. Malay	1. No	1. Low
	2. 23	2. Female	2. Malay	2. No	2. Average
	3. 23	3. Male	3. Malay	3. No	3. Average
	4. 23	4. Male	4. Malay	4. No	4. Low
	5. 25	5. Male	5. Malay	5. No	5. Low

2. Semi-Urban	1. 23	1. Male	1. Malay	1. Yes	1. Average
	2. 23	2. Male	2. Malay	2. Yes	2. Average
	3. 24	3. Male	3. Malay	3. Yes	3. Low
	4. 25	4. Male	4. Malay	4. No	4. Average
	5. 21	5. Male	5. Indian	5. No	5. Slightly higher than average.
3. Urban	1. 21	1. Male	1. Malay	1. No	1. Average
	2. 23	2. Female	2. Others	2. Yes	2. Average
	3. 25	3. Female	3. Malay	3. Yes	3. Average
	4. 23	4. Male	4. Malay	4. Yes	4. Average
	5. 23	5. Female	5. Chinese	5. Yes	5. Average

BEST PREFERRED ADVERTISEMENT AND WHY

Urban Development Category Group	Rural	Semi Urban	Urban
Advertisements chose and reasons.	1. *PAS do not Need to Wait for 2/3 Majority in Parliament to Implement Hudud. (Barisan Nasional ad)* The issue pointed is very unique, creative and strategized to win the non-Muslim and moderate Muslims.	1. *DAP for PAS, PAS Hudud will Follow (Barisan Nasional ad).* It makes me as voters to study opposition's and ruling party's manifesto, weigh them before making a decision on whom to vote.	1. *Malaysian Business Owners Think Twice before Voting for Opposition (Barisan Nasional ad).* It is because it is very engaging, comprehensive believable because the use of figures, percentages and sources.
	2. *Progress and Sustainable Development (Barisan Nasional ad)* because it is straightforward, believable, also there is an emotional attachment from readers of being under the ruling party governance for 57 years old.	2. *Kindergarten Assistance Scheme (Pakatan Rakyat ad).* It motivates me to analyze theirs past manifesto and how many have been fulfilled.	2. *Strong Economic Growth in Malaysia (Barisan Nasional ad).* It provides facts, claims that was substantiated with sources.

3. Towards New Malaysia (Pakatan Rakyat ad) because they have good design, layout and style, and the advertisement is very engaging.	3. *Our 5 Years of Promise to You (Barisan Nasional ad).* It shows a tremendous effort to help public. As most of the promises have been fulfilled, the advertisement is believable and trustable.	3. *Towards the New Malaysia (Barisan Nasional ad),* because the image is very engaging, straightforward, yet simple.
	4. *Peace, Stability and Unity (Barisan Nasional ad).* It is because it shows the success of ruling party to keep peace, give comfort and grow development in Malaysia.	4. *Malaysia Then, Now, and Forever (Barisan Nasional ad)* because the images gave me a sense of comfort by looking at the colour sheme, image of Jalur Gemilang, and it gives to me the sense of pride and trust to the current government, same goes to *I choose Malaysia ad by Barisan Nasional*.
	5. *Who says DAP Is Good (Barisan Nasional ad)* It directly to me by having the conversational style between two young voters.	5. *Revoke Ambiga Citizenship (Pakatan Rakyat ad)* because the advertisement is subjective and it gave me opportunity to speculate any conclusion either positive or negative based on my own perception.
		6. *PAS Do not Need to Wait for 2/3 Majority in Parliament to Implement Hudud. (Barisan Nasional ad)* The issue pointed in to be very clear, and all the information provided was able to move voters into delving into deep thoughts before proceeding with an action.

Based on this answer, researcher has discovered that although the rural area has been cynical about political advertising and politics in general, their preferred advertisement is Barisan Nasional ads. They mentioned Barisan Nasional

advertisement to be creative and unique, however, their opinion for Pakatan Rakyat's advertisement is that most of those advertisements are more engaging and promote deep thinking. More rural participants they are attracted to layout, design, colour combination of the opposition party than Barisan Nasional, because it seems that the party have put effort in designing communication materials to straightly talk to young voters unlike Barisan Nasional's.

Whereas for semi-urban group, they are very careful with their judgments as they would see neutrally both sides of the party, and there seem to believe advertisements after they have omitted research on issues presented. Some of the participants in this group also have a strong emotional and physiological attachments of being govern by the ruling party for 57 years so, they are more attracted to advertisement that is promoting peace, stability, progress, pride and developments which was achieved by Barisan Nasional. Not only that, they enjoy getting both sides of an issue which will aid them to decide on their own party which is more testable and believable.

The findings from urban group is most interesting because researcher finds out the advertisements they are mostly attracted are those that is with thorough percentages, figures, numbers, sources. This kind of advertisement is appreciated very much by the urban group because they feel they can trust, believe and they also see the credibility of the party through their communication materials for printing facts rather than slanderous words or claims. One of the participants liked Pakatan Rakyat ad with the headline of Towards New Malaysia because it is very simple, engaging, lesser words but most apparent meaning, and it has no attack or counter attack elements. In urban group, there is also a participant who is drawn to the Barisan Nasional advertisement because they have emotional and physiological attachment to the party as being 'product' of Barisan Nasional ruling. The researcher could conclude that participants or urban groups prefers substantiate claims like figures, sources and numbers, then advertisement with good arguments on issues, also advertisement with a sense of comfort, pride and other positive emotional attachment.

SUBTLE AND SUBLIMINAL MESSAGES

When a researcher asked participants to identify any subtle and subliminal messages that appeared from the communication materials shown to them. The rural group unable to understand the meaning of subtle and subliminal, and even upon explanation, they failed to identify any. In semi-urban group, the same scenario of unable to understand and identify the subtle message happens, but only one participant was able to answer from his observation in Barisan Nasional's advertisement under the headline of Stability, Progress and Unity. The unspoken messages shown in the advertisement such as happy faces, multi-racial public shouldering one another, positioning technology such as iPad as evident of savvy generations, clearly showing social development under Barisan Nasional's governance.

In urban group, they are aware of the subtle message that was injected in most of the advertisements. Those advertisements are Towards New Malaysia (Pakatan Rakyat), Malaysian Business Owners Think Twice before Voting for Opposition (Barisan Nasional), DAP Will Turn Johor into Another Kelantan (Barisan Nasional), and Unclean Electoral Roll Might be a Matter of Perception (Pakatan Rakyat). It is said that most of the advertisement in subconsciously infusing fear, and subjective claims.

BEST ISSUES FOR POLITICAL CAMPAIGNING

The researcher has gained inside on what would be the best elements in political advertisements. Participants were given choices between national growth development & progress, racial stability, manifesto, and candidate characteristics.

Their preferences are as below; it is positioned in rank orders according to most preferred to least preferred.

Table 2.4 Best Issues for Political Advertisements based on the findings

Urban Development Category Groups	Rural	Semi-Urban	Urban
Elements of ad (rank)	1. National growth & developments 2. Issues 3. Racial stability 4. Manifesto 5. Candidate's characteristics	1. Racial stability 2. Issues 3. National growth & developments 4. Manifesto 5. Candidate's characteristics	1. National growth & development 2. Racial stability 3. Manifesto / Issues (equal) 4. Candidate's characteristics

Based on this table, research could clearly see national growth & developments, issues and racial stability to be the top three, whereas manifesto, candidate's characteristics are positioned at least liked and preferred.

BEST TONE AND MANNER FOR POLITICAL ADVERTISING

The researcher also asked about which would be the best tone and mood for political advertisement in order to engage and appeals most to young voters. Their opinions are documented in table form in order to make it easy to compare.

The choices are between subtle & subliminal, straightforward, attack & counter attack, and entertainment.

The outcome was ranked based on best liked, and least preferred. Refer to table below:

Table 2.5 Best Tone and Manner for Political Advertisement Based on Findings

Urban Development Category Groups	Rural	Semi-Urban	Urban
Tone and manner of ads (rank)	1. Straightforward 2. Subtle/ Subliminal 3. Entertainment 4. Attack & Counter Attack	1. Entertainment 2. Subtle/ Subliminal 3. Straightforward 4. Attack & Counter Attack	1. Subtle & subliminal 2. Straightforward 3. Entertainment 4. Attack & Counter Attack

Based on this table, researcher could conclude that participants across the groups most liked subtle & subliminal, straightforward and entertainment, but all of them agreed to dislike and loathe attack and counter attack advertisements from both parties.

CONCLUSION

This study revealed that best preferred print political advertisement is increasing notice as essential in delivering news, information, debating issues, promoting candidates, building loyal supporters, also to enhance the party's image. Concisely, the first time voters of today are revolving, and their numbers will be seen to be increasing for 5 years time. There are studies saying young voters, and first time voters are the most difficult to persuade because they are very cynical and skeptical than voter of 30 years old, Delli Carpini (2000).

"But, they are more cynical than the older population, less interested in public affairs, less likely to register or to vote, and significantly less knowledgeable about politics. Several surveys found that this lack of information about candidates, parties, the government, and the act of voting is the number one cause of political apathy" (Declare Yourself, 2003; National Association of Secretaries of State ([NASS], 1999).

Young voters are increasingly becoming well educated with education level are higher than high school to university graduates, and they also become technologically savvy, and in addition to that, they have become a world-class social news reader. This also means that they are becoming global societies do not only they watch national newscast, but they also watch international news. It is because things that happens to the other side of the world matters and play a part in their lives as well. With the flow of parallel tendencies of globalization, it soon becomes procured an extremely significant position to offer international news for international audiences. Then why must they be cynical, and avoid social responsibility in voting for their own country's sake?

The answer is the way politicians approach, attract and persuade young voters have made no significant changes in order for them to feel empowered as a

citizen. As an advertising student, advertisements play a vital role in changing this situation towards betterment of the society and political scenario. Without this research in particular, ruling party and opposition party will no be able to understand that young voters do not appreciate the negative attack and counter attack as much as other young voters from masculine countries would prefer. Our youth voters see advertising as an essential medium, despite having another alternative medium for news because they admitted that advertisements provide them easiest means to get ever-ready information, and issues could be easily compared to the opponents.

But in delivery persuasion messages, young voters have unanimously agreed that advertising would not be able to persuade them 100% on the primary stage, because the information-seeking process would start afterwards in order for voters to be able to judge the information provided.

If advertisements could generally engage, communicate but not persuade, then there is a lack of understanding of the style, trend, development of the political advertisements to suit young voters. There are many elements, style, tone and manners that a young voters are expecting from political parties in delivering their messages, and without improving all these accordingly, young voters will only grow more apart, and bridge a wider gap between politics and themselves.

Although there is a different answer from all the urban development groups, which was researched in this study, there is a common denominator that could be achieved among all the findings. For instant, on a general scale, young voters are attracted to see a print political advertisement based on the design, then, content, then only content of messages, and in addition, the majority of the participants do not cloud their judgment on believing an advertisement based on the pre-existing information storage, but carefully analyze issues and study them before accepting or rejecting certain information passed on through advertisements.

Thus, this scenario gives a lot of opportunity for political parties in attracting young voters, because they still give 'chances'. Despite the layout and style, the content of advertisements also needs to be truthful, trigger their mind to delve deeper into an issue, credible with figures, sources, percentages, and references, and also focus on issues related to their life, national development & progress, and racial unity.

The use of attributes such as top leaders' images, celebrity and entertainment has served a different results among all the groups, it is because the above mentioned elements such as design, layout style, the message of the content and references are not achieved, and therefore these attributes are no longer significant.

As a research into this topic, the researcher was able to deduce three important aspects of political advertisement's style, elements and tone and manner.

Young voters like more graphics and images, simplified words, and colourful advertisements. They prefer neutral topics such as national growth & development, racial unity, and issues and solution to avoid and help plague

issues in Malaysia such as corruption, cronyism, and others. Young voters should not be looked down, because they are getting more adverse in their political information and they are well informed on global issues, thus, when they are targeted to certain advertisements, it must be able to convey truth, intelligent arguments, and rational issues.

Therefore it is easy to conclude that they would prefer soft sell advertisements rather than hard sell because they do not like to be forced to commit an action, but prefers to judge the content of the message at their preferred time, and space.

In addition to that, they like to make their own judgments on which information to believe on, and which parties to choose from, thus they do not like 'authority' or fear mongering advertisements, even attack and counter attack advertisements, because they perceived it to be too direct and uncultured. In terms of tone and manner, young voters prefer subtle and subliminal, straightforward with a twist of entertainment and celebrity endorsement.

Manifesto advertisement was not desired by participants of all categories from the research because it seems to be too complicated, overlapping one another, and not easily comprehensible. Therefore, when asked if they could recall any manifesto from both parties, most of them could recall Pakatan Rakyat's manifesto rather than Barisan Nasional. This is however not because of the advertisements, but because the content of the manifesto are more related 'youth agenda'.

While upon achieving all the above in an advertisement, then only attributes like image of top leaders would be significant to create likeability and trust-ability towards the parties instead.

Not only that, online and offline advertisements, as well as other media advertisement must be coherent with one another. There must be a connectivity and consistency in delivering information through advertisements, or else it could eradicate the credibility of the parties. In addition, the online advertisement through social media is seen to be a good platform to target niche markets such as first-time voters, because they spent more time online, rather than engaging in traditional medium.

As a conclusion, when designing a print political advertisement, there are a few factors and elements that advertisers and political parties must bear in mind as how these factors that are presented in this research will largely affect the effectiveness of their political advertising.

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