

AN ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL ELITE'S RHETORIC DURING ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN PAKISTAN

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ABSTRACT

This study explore and analyse rhetoric of political leaders of some selected parties of Pakistan during election campaign. For this purpose, speeches of political leaders of the three mainstream political parties were studied from sources including YouTube, TV shows and tweets. Content analysis method was used to analyse the data. Various forms, modes and types of rhetoric have been identified which were subsequently contextualized with the speeches, advertisements and rhetoric of the political leaders of the selected parties. Four themes including argumentations, storytelling, credit claiming and partisan cueing were extracted from the selected speeches. It was found that political elites and party leaders are so wisely manage to generate arguments, counter arguments, illustration and storytelling. The study also found that elites seems very justifiable by telling the stories and arguments but later on there is no substantial evidence in the form of performance, success and public service. The study concludes that the rhetoric used by party leaders are mostly directed towards political opponents and party leaders of other parties and less focused on the public policies and programs of general interest.

Keywords: Rhetoric, Arguments, Leaders, Elites, Party

INTRODUCTION

During the past few years, a growing concern with regard to exploring the phenomena of elite and elitism has emerged among researchers (Khan, 2012; Lofiz, 2013; Birtchnell & Caletrío, 2014; Howard & Kenway, 2015; Bartels, 2008; Lodge & Taber, 2013; Matsubayashi, 2013, Lenz, 2009; 2012; Tesler, 2014; Gooch, 2015). Elite is a broader and comprehensive phenomena, which encompasses a variety of individuals, groups, communities and political parties in its domain. It includes corporate elites (Boschi & Diniz, 2004; Carrol & Sapinski, 2010), media elites, military elites, state-run organizational elites (de Swaan, 1988), holy or spiritual elites, among other elite sectors (Carrol & Sapinski, 2010). Likewise, in the context of Pakistani society, Shafaqat (1989) has outlined types of elites as bureaucratic elites (BE), military elites (ME), political elites (PE), industrial-merchant classes (IMC), and religious elites (RE). The dominant elites of these are military, industrial and bureaucratic elites (Shafaqat, 1989).

Elite is an identifiable group of individuals who exercise power, authority and influence over non-elites. After studying the Western concept of elite and different author's interpretations about Pakistani society, there are different types of elites who directly or indirectly hold and exercise social, economic and political influence and power. These elite groups and individuals include bureaucratic elite, military elite, industrial elite, religious elite, landowning elite and professional elites. In the Western world, players and artists are now becoming elites because of their exceptional services, achievements, status and wealth. Elites could be any prominent figure in a society, who has enough competence to drive certain sectors of people according to their own purposes. One of the most highlighted elite groups is that of political elite who is exerting legitimate, direct, and unprecedented

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social, psychological, economic and political power upon civil society and public. Moreover, political elite is an individual, well off, influential, well known and have a rational superiority. Professional elite, religious elites and industrial elites become political elite when they take active part in politics (Rizvi, 2015).

In the recent time, the word political elite has become a common parlance especially it refers to the individuals leading a mainstream political party. These include party leaders, cabinet members, ministers and key party workers. These key stakeholders are playing an important role in the political and administrative affairs in any given state and society. They obtain powerful position and portfolio through voting and election. They have exceptional and strong convincing power and motivational skills to influence the opinion, ideas, and political belief of the common masses to solicit their help in strengthening their social groups and political party. They use various tactics, strategies, techniques and methods to attract people towards their party programs.

Political Elites and Election Sloganeering

Political campaign is a key point and perhaps the central theme of communication between political representatives and the electorate over matters of public program and policy (Riker, 1996). It is a systematic way employed by the political party, leaders and political workers to influence public by presenting party manifesto and welfare programs. Electoral candidates and political elites possess strong social skills due to which they can attract people attention and sentiments. Despite a strong tradition of researching on electoral politics, very few studies have analysed about election sloganeering and the elite's rhetorical tactics during election campaign. This study attempt to explore that how, why and to what extent political elites influence public opinion during election campaign in Pakistan. Moreover, it studies that how political elites influence citizens through speeches and oratory skills during election campaign in Pakistan.

While reviewing the studies we found that since its inception, Pakistan's political elites have relied more on political rhetoric and slogans rather than political fact and substance to deliver for the public. Prior to Pakistan's independence, Muslim leaders used political propaganda, slogans and phrases to bring the country's people together in order to accomplish the country's ultimate objective. People used to shout slogans like *Pakistan Zindabad*, *Pakistan Ka Matlab Kya La Ilahah Illalah*, and *Ban Kay Rahy Ga Pakistan*. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto revolutionized political campaign rhetoric, and his slogan *Roti, Kapra Aur Makan* stayed popular and famous among in Pakistani politics. Nawaz Sharif's famous party slogan *Qarz Utaro Mulk Sanwaro*, General Pervez Musharraf's slogan *Sab Se Pahlay Pakistan* and Enlightened Modernization, Asif Zardari's *Pakistan Khapay*, Imran Khan's *Tabdeli Akar Rahy Gi*, *Tsunami Arahi Hay*, *Naya Pakistan*, *Azadi March*, and *Allama Tahir ul Qadri's Inqilab March* are just some hit and popular slogans of Pakistani political rhetoric.

During and after electoral campaigns, political elites use slogans focused on topics and situations to mobilize and win widespread public support in their favor. Unlike developed countries' Pakistani political leadership, follow the route of protest and demonstration rather than strengthening the democratic institutions i.e. parliament as a forum of raising and addressing issues of national interest. In order to bring pressure on the government, opposition parties tend to take the energy crisis and democratic reforms to the streets and the newspapers. In recent years, this trend has gained serious momentum in the form of "*Azadi March*" of PTI and "*Inqilab March*" of PAT and their sit-ins on *D-Chowk* in front of parliament is core examples of politics of protest and demonstration. Likewise, the recent movement launched by Pakistan Democratic Movement (PDM) against the PTI led government portray the politics of sloganeering, protest and demonstration. The political elite's participation in sit-in or *dharna* politics has marginalized parliament's sanctity, but has also eroded the faith of the masses in democratic institutions. In order to highlight and address issues of public concern, political elites do not take interest in parliamentary proceedings consequently; politics of agitation is on the rise in Pakistan since two decades.

Political elites have an encouragement to practice opinions that evokes public sentiments such as anger, distress and nervousness. They use emotive requests to highlight shared beliefs and ideals, making it much easier to mobilize their party workers while still appealing to and gaining the support of the undecided and floating voters. With both the tendency for drama and excitement in news in media and news coverage, the use of emotionally charged references or tricks are also frequently used by political leaders. These emotional appeals and demands will last longer than other types of attempts to appeal, giving them a better chance of controlling the persuasive background.

Forms of Elite's Rhetoric

Argumentation is the most commonly observed and reported bodywork collected by researchers regarding the communication between party leaders and voters is argumentation. It has been explained that argumentation involves a conclusion and many premises to support the conclusion (Walton, 2007; 2013). Argument consists of a sequence of prepositions and other units of language that may either be real or false (Walton 1989). Electoral candidates usually try to present argumentations in order to justify their candidacy and win the confidence, belief and support of the voters during the election campaign (Gooch, 2015).

Storytelling and illustrations is another form of rhetoric employed by an electoral candidates with the aim to establish personal connection with voters during election campaign. This is considered as the second most effective rhetoric. This is normally used by the electoral candidates to break ice with the voters and wins their confidence by allowing them to closely look into their personal lives. Generally, electoral candidates tell three kinds of tales: stories of empathetic people they met, stories of their own biography, and stories of historical events. When candidates tell stories about empathetic people, they describe an individual most probable to be influenced by a problem (Gooch, 2015).

Credit claiming is the third most important rhetoric used by the electoral candidate. This is usually used simultaneously with the story telling and partisan cueing. Furthermore, credit claiming is used by those candidates who have a previous record as ministers, parliamentarian or office holder. This kind of rhetoric can vary from arguments because there is no link between assumption and conclusion: to show past performance is merely a list of achievements.

Partisan cues are typically used at the start of speeches, or during the middle of a speech usually augmented by storytelling, and arguments. Partisan cues is treated as different tools and tactics of a political leader than the argument because there is no premise or conclusion in the partisan cue (Gooch, 2015). The basic purpose of partisan cueing is to realize the voters that the candidate is one of their fellowmen. They try to convince the voters that they are connected to the party and leaders of the party.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A review of literature on the elite rhetoric shows that elites can shape public opinion by using different tools and tactics to generate larger public support for party and issues (Converse, 1964; McGuire, 1969; Zaller, 1992; Rahn, 1993; Lodge & Taber, 2013; Matsubayashi 2013; Gooch, 2015). Studies have found that the impact of rhetoric is powerful and important to the voters than their own judgement and thoughts about problems (Zaller, 1992; 2013; Cohen, 2003; Berinsky, 2009; Lenz, 2009; 2012). Furthermore, elite rhetoric convince voters on switching and changing their stance regarding party or political leaders. People are attracted by rhetoric to such an extent that they prefer a party or political leader of any specific party and forget about their real issues and problems. The most striking evidence comes from studies of opinion change over time that show an individual will switch their position on an issue to match their preferred party or politician instead of reconsidering their support for the politician (Abramowitz, 1978; Zaller, 1992; Lenz, 2009; 2012; Tesler, 2014). These speeches and advertisements not only contain cues, arguments and stories about a party or its leaders but these are also included arguments, justifications in the form of arguments, emotional stories about voters, and statements that claim credit for policies. Likewise, the likes and dislikes of voters regarding candidates are directly associated with the contents of the speeches and advertisements (Vavreck, 2009).

Elites may involve in making some justifications to combat the negative propaganda effect on an issue position (Tomz & Van Houweling, 2014). The issues that candidates choose to talk about, and how they talk about them, might influence opinion formation beyond party identification (Gooch, 2015). If policy and program related information is presented and delivered in an objectified and unbiased way, it can create better results than mere delivering partisan cues (Lee, 2002; Bullock 2011; Druckman, Peterson, & Slothuus, 2013; Tomz & Van Houweling, 2014). It has been generally observed that each political leader tries hard to make its party and program look better and the opponent may look badly (Popkin, 1994). Furthermore, leaders of the political parties aims to indoctrinate masses about their achievements and try to undercut the success and contribution of the political opponents. In other words, previous researchers have reported that politicians to praise their party and try to find faults in the leaders and programs of the opposition (Benoit, Blaney, Pier 2010; Benoit 1999; Benoit, Blaney, Pier 1998; Benoit & Gustainis 1986) use speeches.

Objectives of the Study

The overarching goal of this study is to identify various forms of rhetoric used by the political elites during election campaign in Pakistan. Besides, it also aims to study and analyse the form, contents and meaning of the speeches, communication skills, and sloganeering of the political elites by inspiring people during election campaign in Pakistan. At more specific level, it address the question that how does political elite's communication style inspire people to support their political ideology? Furthermore, it also deals with various types of campaigns and proposals that opponents and incumbents consider quite efficient and, as a result, are most likely to determine the outcome of an election season and campaign.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study uses content analysis methodology to evaluate and examine political elite's rhetoric used during the 2013 and 2018 election of Pakistan. The study was conducted through secondary sources while using content analysis method. In the first phase of the study, various secondary sources in the form of books, journals articles and published reports were consulted to undertake a detail review of the basic concepts, discourses and terms involving in this study. Furthermore, research work of the previous scholars on this topic was reviewed to undertake the impact of elite's rhetoric on the public opinion in various democracies of the world.

Furthermore, we studied and reviewed the speeches, tweets and Facebook pages of the political leaders of five major political leaders. For this study, we selected only those speeches that were delivered during campaigns of 2013 and 2018 general elections. A total of 18 speeches of the political leaders were studied, evaluated and analysed based on its contents, forms and meaning. The sources from which those speeches and contents were obtained were social media, YouTube, TV channels, and newspapers. All these contents were downloaded studied, its contents, purpose, meaning, and emotional tune were analysed. Furthermore, all the speeches were word to word transcribed into English language and subsequently clubbed into various themes. The identified categories were partisan cues, stories and illustration, argumentations, religious cues and credit claiming. The discourses and selected narratives of the party leaders were evaluated and put into appropriate categories for discussion and conclusions.

RESULTS AND MAJOR FINDINGS

We identified five themes including arguments, illustrations and stories, credit claiming, religious cues, and partisan cues are tools used by politicians during election campaign. This section explains these five major types of rhetoric used by political candidates or demagogues.

Argumentation

The most prominent campaign message found in the selected rhetoric of the politicians during 2013 and 2018 election campaign in Pakistan was argumentation. This argumentation was included with a conclusion and a series of supportive premises in line with the conclusion. Majority of the speeches we reviewed were full of argumentations by various party leaders. Candidates and parties try their best to present reasonable arguments to justify their candidacy. It was found that some of the selected arguments were logical while some of the supportive premises were observed as just a stump oratory and illogical statements. In one of the speeches, the leader of Pakistan *Tehreek e Insaaf* (PTI), Imran Khan presented his argument as:

In the last ten years, our debt has increased from 6,000 billion to 27,000 billion. The reasons behind this debt increase are corruption and incompetence of the leaders. This nation is paying the price of the increasing debts. The poor are paying the price with their own blood.

In above arguments PTI leader Imran Khan strongly criticized the previous governments and held them responsible for the increase in the national debt. He has associated increase in the national debt with the corruption, mismanagement, and incompetence of the rulers. A general overview of the speeches of Imran Khan during 2013 and 2018 election reveals dominant narratives against corruption and misuse of the public money by the previous rulers in the country. In last part of the above narrative suggest that the speech is concluded with some sympathetic words and appealing statement related directly to the masses. He said in another speech as:

Nawaz Sharif became prime minister thrice. His children have 300 billion dollar in form of companies and properties. What was his business? His business was corruption and money laundering from country, to build companies for his children. 50% of our children do not get proper food, so their

brains are not growing neither they are reaching their height, and those two and half crore (0.025 billion) children are out of schools, we have ended their future, now we have to stand with them.

In the above argument, Imran Khan has provided data about the wealth possessed by the former Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. He has asked about the source of income and the volume of wealth of the former prime minister. In his speech, Imran Khan has associated the wealth of Nawaz Sharif with money laundering and corruption. In connection with the above statement, Imran Khan has further intensified his argument by comparing the children of the working and poor class who have no access to basic education and poor health. In above arguments Imran Khan discussed the main issues of Pakistan like poverty and education. Due to poverty our half of our children are not getting proper food and 0.0025 billion children are out of school which is alarming for future. The statement portray a realistic picture of the prevailing health and education condition in the country especially children of the working class in Pakistan.

About the social inequality in Pakistan, he narrated that:

No society rises where there is an island of the rich and the sea of the poor. Electricity, gas, transportation and everything is expensive here. All this incompetence and corruption has been done by the successive regimes of the two parties in the country.

In above argument Imran Khan highlights the social inequality and class differentiation in Pakistani society. He talked about the inequitable distribution of wealth in Pakistan as he stated that few of the individuals possess greater wealth and the larger population in the country is living in savage poverty. He added that the working class is facing serious problems of inflation and price hiking, as they cannot afford to pay for gas, electricity and transportation. He linked the social conditions of the poor with the large scale corruption of the ruling elites in the country. Moreover, incompetence, poor governance and lack of political will were termed as prominent factors behind the sorry state of affairs in Pakistan.

PTI will act as an enabling and facilitator agent rather than a developer in the construction of 5 million low-cost housing units. We intend to construct 1.5 to 2 million metropolitan housing units and 3 to 3.5 million rural residential buildings.

In one of his speeches, he has repeatedly highlighted the issues of homelessness and unemployment. He expressed that these are the two biggest issues neglected by the previous governments. During 2018 election campaign, Imran Khan claimed that he and his party has the plan of constructing 5 million low cost houses for homeless peoples and will create 5 million jobs for jobless. During 2018 election campaign, Imran Khan claimed that he will create decent job opportunities and will enhance job market in different sectors. Most of the critics has pointed out that the numbers of jobless people in Pakistan has been elevated to reach 6.65 million during financial year 2020-2021 compare to the previous numbers of 5.80 million (Mian, 2020). Moreover, political leader of every successive party has blamed and raised fingers against the previous regimes. The political leader of Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PMLN) has blamed the previous government for their flawed foreign policies. In one of his speeches during election campaign, he has expressed his views as:

The country's rulers have sold the country's sovereignty to the United States. Every individual citizen's future looks bleak, but our government would take all necessary measures to ensure security and stability.

He further added that

Pakistan has been seriously damaged by the policies of its present government, which have resulted in rising poverty, inflation, instability and insecurity. The PML-N is worried about the country's reputation in the international sphere. PML Pakistan is currently cut off from the rest of the world and stands isolated. My party will work to address the Kashmir problem and will continue to participate in Afghanistan's peace talks.

Above statements are extracted from Nawaz Sharif speeches of 2013 election. Nawaz Sharif criticized the past rulers and expressed uncertainty about the future of the nation. He ensured that if he came into power he will protect the national interests and will establish peace in the region. He said that the incumbent government had destroyed the country by their policies and led the country towards social insecurities, poverty and inflation. Further, he promised like every political party leader that if Pakistan Muslim league (N) came into power he would restore peace and solve energy crisis in the country within two years.

Stories and Illustration

Storytelling is a type of justification that political elites use to make a personal connection with voters. Usually, the candidates try to use various types of stories and illustrations including stories about citizens, story about their own life and struggle and some illustrations from the past events. Personal biographies are presented by the political leader to develop familiarity with citizens and voters who usually unaware of the experiences of their party leaders. In one of the stories by the leader of PTI Imran Khan tells a story about a teacher who cannot afford her expenses, 2) Bilawal Bhutto Zardari tells a story about his mother that shaped his political views and career and 3) Nawaz Sharif tells a historic story about nuclear tests conducted by Pakistan in May 28, 1998.

Sympathetic citizens story by Imran Khan, 2018

A teacher send me a letter while writing that they (both husband and wife) are doing job and they have three children. She further writes that when she came back from school, she teach tuition at home and remain busy until 11 o'clock. She does not find time to look after her children. Despite of such hard work, she is unable to meet expenses of her household.

Imran Khan is known as a populist political leader in Pakistan. In the above statement, he connects himself with common people and their issues. He narrates the story of a woman who is a teacher and going through financial crises. This story also reflects his concern for the salaried class and their problems.

Historical recounting story of Nawaz Sharif, 2017

“Nuclear tests conducted by Pakistan in 1998 created a balance of power in South Asia and gave a strong message to the “enemies” that aggressors would meet an exemplary fate. Some 19 years ago, when the Pakistan Muslim League government decided to carry out nuclear tests, it had been facing numerous challenges”.

In the above statement, Nawaz Sharif connects his party with a historical story of nuclear tests in 1998. He claimed that his dedication and commitment was so strong that it led towards balance of power between Pakistan and India. He further added that his decision on the nuclear test was a strong message to the “enemies” that aggressors would meet an exemplary fate.

Sympathetic citizen story by Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, 2018

In 2009, Sindh government provided interest free loan packages to women for poverty alleviation at the level of four union councils. Under this program, social organizations at the gross root level in 6000 villages were formed to ensure community participation and empowerment. This micro credit scheme in the rural areas have enabled women to start and support their own business including embroidery centers and different factories. Parveen Khatoon from Kashmor has started her business in livestock, Nawab Khatoon from Shikarpur started cloth stitching and Mussarat from Jacobabad who started stitching and embroidering.

In the above statement, Bilawal Bhutto Zardari narrates a sympathetic citizen story. He is narrating success stories of few female entrepreneurs in order to attract mass opinion that how his party invests in poor and how they remember the names of those poor citizens.

Biographical story by Mohammad Shahbaz Sharif, 2018

In the year of 2003, the doctors informed me about the diagnosis of Cancer. During my treatment in a surgical ward, I was still thinking and talking about development of my country. Fortunately, I survived that deadly disease because I am committed to serve my country until the last breath of my life. Later on, I got the opportunity to represent Punjab with the blessing of Allah. People know me as a man of hurry because I want to serve people while winning race with time.

In the above story, the erstwhile Chief Minister of Punjab Mian Muhammad Shehbaz Sharif has narrated about the deadly disease and his commitment of serving the nation.

Credit Claiming

Another important rhetoric that we found in this study is credit claiming by various political leaders. Generally, political parties in Pakistan have focused various areas in which they try to identify themselves and their party workers. For instance, PPP and its leaders are claiming the distribution and redistribution of land by ZA Butto and his popular slogan of *Roti, Kaprha, and Makan*. Likewise, leaders of PML(N) is associated themselves with nuclear test in 1998 and the infrastructure projects they completed in the past. They have been also found in highlighting their struggle for democracy and claim that they stood against the military dictators in the past. Furthermore, PTI have claimed their struggle about injustices, corruption, independent foreign policies, national security and development.

Imran Khan, 2018

It is my resolve that I will curb corruption from Pakistan. We will strengthen National Accountability Bureau (NAB) and other institutions of accountability and justice. Because of corruption and horse-trading, we have expelled twenty parliamentarians in KP and this has never happened in the political history of Pakistan.

Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, 2018

The PPP's campaign slogan is "roti, kapra, makan," but the opposition is only here to support only the wealthiest in the country. My grandfather has introduced land reforms and took away the land from feudal lords and landlords and distributed it to the nation's poor and vulnerable, and PPP continues to follow the same approach. We have established Benazir Income Support Program (BISP) to ensure that women have access to their rights and we have also the credit of implementing Social Action Program (SAP) that have benefited women across the country.

Nawaz Sharif, 2013

In 1998, I turned down an attractive deal of \$5 billion from the US head of state in exchange for Pakistan not conducting nuclear tests.

Partisan Cues

Partisan cues typically appear at the opening of speeches, or they are followed by stories or argumentation in the frame of speeches. Partisan cues signal to voters that the political elite or candidate is one of their own, and possibly not a coincidence, partisan cues happen more in party convention speeches compared to advertisements and stump speeches. Because public or voters change their attitudes about issues to match their favorite candidate of political party with little to no thought gave, "democracy is inverted" because political elites prescribe attitudes about issues to public and voters and not the other way around (Lenz, 2012).

Partisan cues by Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, 2018

It was Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Butto who championed Pakistan's nuclear program to protect the sovereignty and integrity of Pakistan. Not only he introduced land reforms and Pakistan nuclear program but also established mega projects including Port Qasim, Heavy Mechanical Complex, Pakistan Steel Mills and setting up industrial zones across the country.

In the above statements, Bilawal Bhutto Zardari used the partisan cues. He talked about the PPP's services and reforms in political history of Pakistan. Besides, he memorized the charismatic political leadership of his party Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and his services like establishment of Port Qasim, Steel Mills of Pakistan, Heavy Mechanical Complex, and establishing industrial zones in different parts of the country. He also talked about Benazir Bhutto for raising the flag of democracy, human rights and freedom after the judicial murder of Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

Partisan cues by Nawaz Sharif, 2013

Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah founded our political party and he did not found the party, but he was its most important component. Ours is a progressive, democratic, and forward-thinking party.

These examples validate how demagogues and political elites use partisan cues in their speeches to connect themselves with their party, which might be enough of a justification for some voters. For example, Bilawal Bhutto Zardari used partisan cues as a lead-in to arguments about issues, the role of Partisan cues can be double coded with arguments or stories, but those cases are less common. Bilawal Bhutto Zardari partisan cue references a popular Pakistan people's party leader, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto, and Bilawal Bhutto assertion implies that a vote for him would fulfill a promise to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto. The partisan cue from Bilawal Bhutto also includes referencing a popular party Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, and the only justification given to support his assertion about keeping Pakistan prosperous is that he is also a Pakistan People's Party leader like Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The partisan cue used by Nawaz Sharif referencing one of the most popular leader Quaid e Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, and the only justification given to support his assertion about keeping Pakistan democratic and progressive is that he is also a Pakistan Muslim League party leader like Quaid e Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

DISCUSSIONS

Pakistan being a poor country where every incoming ruler presents a prosperous future counts the deprivations and collects votes in elections. These elites become very active especially in the time of election and come out with their full strength, mental vigor, oratory skills and political wisdom to

influence people attention in favor of their party in election. During every election campaign, they come forward and talk about burning issues like corruption, economic decline, national debt, poverty, energy crises, clean water, education, tourism, price hiking, independent foreign policy, public health problems and many internal issues. During election campaigns, the political parties promise a variety of solutions to these problems. They promise to resolve all issues if the public gives them confidence and vote.

It is argued that elite's rhetoric will have varying degree of influence on people related from different social, economic, religion and political backgrounds. People with higher political consciousness and social awareness will be more critical, selective and responsive towards elite rhetoric. People having more awareness are likely to be more able to express their views, and they will be more inclined to reveal ideologically compatible opinions that are associated with their inclination and predispositions. Likewise, citizens of any given social structure characterized by poverty, corruption, energy crises, inflation, lack of infrastructure, over population, security and crimes, high birth rates, economic reliance on the developed world are likely to be more attracted by the elites when they deliver their rhetoric on such issues. The electoral history of Pakistan reveals that there is an established set of pattern with regard to election sloganeering, political demonstration, and speeches by the political leaders. The masses have been promised repeatedly about the establishment of a welfare state during the successive election of 1988, 1990, 1993, 1997, 2008, 2013, 2018 but the promises were not being materialized. Political leaders have been very successful in sensitizing civilian regarding their problems as a consequence a high voltage political atmosphere has been created. They were motivated by the demands and needs of their relevant areas and their own private or individual interests in the process i.e. giving employment to supporters of their electorate, encouraging some development work through governmental assistance, trying to remove their supporters' complaints and creating personal link with public administrators employed in their subdivision or district.

Pakistani politics is full of rhetoric about public issues, welfare programs, good governance and policies. During each election, leaders are using attractive slogans to encourage and attract half-educated masses and floating voters for support. These slogans and rhetoric usually consists of false promises, defamation of the opponents and opposition with no contents and substance. These speeches serious lack political will and commitment on the part of political leaders as they indoctrinate the public with shallow slogans with high emotional tone and oratory. Such immaturity of political elites has driven the nation to street politics and greater community polarization. Leadership could not find consensus and realistic options because of elements of intolerance in politics. Pakistan's politics has fluctuated between democracy and dictatorship like a swing since liberation, with nationalist rhetoric and slogan politics by political elites being primarily used to inspire and attract public support and widespread approval. Pakistan's current politics are primarily concerned with a number of main challenges, including corruption, unemployment, education, and health; poverty, price hikes, and inflation, among others. Demonstrations, sit-ins, and media reports are often used by political elites to draw attention to these issues on the roads and streets. Political elites in liberal and advanced democracies mostly debate political, defense, societal, and financial crisis in order to come up with strategies, proposals and draft legislation. Furthermore, in advance democracies, political elites and parliament work to detached people from staging demonstrations in streets and help them to send their representatives in the legislature. However, political elites in Pakistan in its place of using the platform of parliament mostly choose to follow the policy of agitation, sit-in or *dharna* politics to highlight and resolve issues. Various political elites and political parties who have their reasonable involvement and participation in parliament still seek to work as pressure groups to settle various issues out of the parliament on streets. The trend of agitation promoted by political elites has lead elements of intolerance and violence in the society which is further leading towards divergence of society in Pakistan. This trend is actually marginalizing the role of parliament and weakening the democracy and thus leads towards creating emotionalism and hypes among the masses.

Many of the rhetoric of the political elites in Pakistan are overloaded with solving energy crises but the issue is still to be resolved. However, resources of renewable energy, such as sunlight, winds, hydraulic, geothermal, and biomass, have been identified as the most effective strategy to combat Pakistan's energy crisis. Despite these tall claims by various political leaders during election campaigns, electricity and natural gas are not available to at least one-fourth of the country's population.

Soon after the last general elections of 2013, almost all political parties which participated in the election complained rigging and irregularities in the polls. However, they acknowledged the election

outcome and, as a result, the government was formed by PML-N. Nevertheless, with the passage of time, demand for electoral reforms gained traction and *Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf* (PTI), part of Parliament, took this issue to the streets of Pakistan and began the Azadi March against the government on August 14, 2014. Meanwhile, not part of parliament, *Pakistan Awami Tehreek* (PAT) also declared the *Inqilab* (revolution) March. Despite an incident of violence in which at least three people were killed and at least 500 demonstrators were wounded, including police officers, (Hasan, 2014), both PTI and PAT held their sit-ins in Islamabad in front of parliament and called on the government to step down and pave the way for electoral reforms. The topic of electoral reform has entered the media headlines. In addition to the protest, both parties have held dialogues with the government to resolve public issues.

CONCLUSIONS

It is concluded from the study that political leader make all kinds of statements, commitments, and public declarations by using various tools and tactics including argumentation, partisan cues, storytelling and illustration to convince the masses. These speeches and advertisements usually contain contents, facts, figures and justifications in the form of arguments, emotional stories about voters, and statements that claim credit for policies. These tactics and tools in the form of elite cues, argumentation, credit claiming, and storytelling are viewed as the powerful driving forces to form public opinion in greater magnitude and strength. Nevertheless, at practical level, such sloganeering politics have given birth to a culture of agitation, protest, political demonstration and mud-slinging. It has been noted that these contents are seriously lacking depth and substance. Due to lack of organizational, structure and intellectual depth in political elites and political parties, mostly rely on political rhetoric and slogan politics. A political atmosphere full of heated debate, half-truth, fabrication and defamation of the opposition has established a culture of aggression and intolerance. Above in view, there is a need to highlight the significance of political parties as a forum to resolve the issues instead of promoting the element of agitation through political rhetoric by issuing popular statements in public meetings and media. In this regard, it is essential to bring attitudinal change among the political elites to build their capacity and ensure organizational and structural reforms in political parties to increase intellectual depth of party leaders. It is suggested that the political leader should work on improving the quality of political campaigns by following ethical standards in their speeches and advertisements to allow voters to decide their future in the light of objectivity and facts.

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