

“Political Rhetoric; Slogan Politics in Pakistan and Role of Parliament”

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Pakistani politics is full of political rhetoric. Attractive slogans are used by leaders of political parties to inspire and set the mood of public about a particular issue. Even parliament is neglected by politicians. This political immaturity led the nation towards street politics and polarization in the society. Due to elements of intolerance in politics, leadership could not find consensus and viable solutions. The paper analyzes political rhetoric; slogan politics and role of parliament in Pakistan especially focusing on the first one year of Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz’s (PML-N) current government. In this context, political parties and their leaders’ popular statements particularly in print media containing rhetoric and slogans to resolve two important issues i.e. electoral reforms and energy crisis has been examined. Political parties’ initiatives in the form of calling attention notices, questions, resolutions, bills, motions and point of orders in the parliament have also been assessed followed by recommendations. The paper highlights that politicians generally use rhetoric and slogan politics instead of using parliament to satisfy the public on various issues. The paper recommends that political parties should enhance intellectual depth of party members and leaders so that they can effectively use the forum of parliament for resolving issues.

Keywords: political rhetoric, slogans, parliament, electoral reforms, energy crisis

Since its independence, Pakistan’s politics have been shuttling between democracy and dictatorship like a pendulum where political rhetoric and slogan politics are mostly used to inspire and win public support. Pakistan’s current politics mostly focus on various key issues namely panama leaks, electoral reforms, energy crisis and law and order situation in the country due to terrorism. Many other issues like corruption, unemployment, education, health, poverty, price hike and inflation etc. are, however, at low priority agenda of political parties at the moment. These issues are mostly highlighted by political leaders on streets through demonstrations and media coverage.

In developed democracies, politicians mostly use parliament as a forum to discuss various political, security, social and economic issues in order to reach at solutions and frame legislations. Furthermore, in advanced states, parliament works to detached people from staging demonstrations in streets and helps them to send their representatives in the legislature (Waseem, 2016). However, it

is observed that the institution of parliament in Pakistan remains underutilized keeping in view its capacity. In addition, politicians in Pakistan instead of using the platform of parliament mostly prefer to follow the policy of agitation, sit-in or dharna politics to highlight and resolve issues. Various political parties which have their reasonable participation in parliament still aspire to work as pressure groups to settle various issues out of the parliament on streets. The trend of agitation has introduced elements of intolerance and violence in the society which is further leading towards polarization of society. This trend is actually marginalizing the role of parliament and also weakening the democracy. Overall, this propensity also shows distrust of some politicians and public on the sacred institution of parliament.

Above in view, there is a need to highlight the significance of parliament 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 politicians towards parliament, build their capacity and ensure organizational and structural reforms in political parties to increase intellectual depth of party leaders and also take steps to strengthen local government system to groom politicians enough that when they reach at parliament they can perform with full capacity.

Objectives

The aim of this research article is to compare political rhetoric and slogan politics in Pakistan using streets and media with presentation of issues on the floor of the parliament followed by some viable policy recommendations.

Method

Significance and Scope

The study is significant because it highlights the key issues in politics of Pakistan. The scope of this article is limited to review two burning issues i.e. electoral reforms and energy crisis as a case study which were debated during first one year proceedings of current parliament (14th National Assembly and Senate) and raised on streets and highlighted in both English and Urdu newspapers through popular statements by leaders of various political parties.

Data for Analysis

Both quantitative and qualitative methods of research are used to collect the data and for analysis purposes. Data is collected from the debates of 14th National Assembly and Senate from June 2013 to August 2014 and popular statements of political leaders appeared on front page of two English newspapers i.e. *The News International*, *The Express Tribune* and two Urdu dailies *the Jang* and *Daily Express* from May 1, to July, 31, 2014 (Three months). These four are leading national newspapers certified from Audit Bureau of Circulation (ABC) and have wide reading spectrum and circulation. The time frame of the case study is selected on the basis of intense political agitation and polarization in Pakistan.

Research Tools

Data is analyzed by desk review of Pakistan's leading 10 political parties' position in raising issues of energy crisis and electoral reforms during debates of National Assembly and Senate by using following five tools / instruments which help devise policy making in the parliament:

- i. Calling Attention Notice
- ii. Resolution

- iii. Bill
- iv. Motion
- v. Point of Order

Review of Pakistan's leading 10 political parties' position regarding popular statements delivered by their leadership through political rhetoric on issues of energy crisis and electoral reforms that appeared on front page of above mentioned 4 newspapers.

Key Issues in Pakistani Politics

During the campaign of 2013 general elections, leaders of various political parties made promises with masses in public meetings and media to solve energy crisis, electoral reforms, corruption, unemployment, issues related to law and order, education, health, price hike, inflation and poverty. General elections were held on May 11, 2013 and parliament came into existence (Elections 2013 Pakistan, 2016). The forum of parliament was available to the politicians to draw attentions of the house and executive towards various issues and ultimately resolve them. During first one and a half year two issues i.e. energy crisis and electoral reforms prominently emerged on political landscape where politicians instead of using the forum of parliament to resolve these issues started politics of agitation and demonstration. It is worth mentioning that from time to time issues of energy crisis and electoral reforms were highlighted in parliament and media and in late July 2014, a parliamentary committee had also been constituted to formulate electoral reforms. It introduced 22nd amendment on 17 May 2016 which was approved by the National Assembly hastily and without sufficient debate on this significant issue (Mehboob, Ahmed, & Bilal, 2016). As per this amendment a retired judge of the Supreme Court or a senior bureaucrat or a technocrat would be eligible for appointment as Chief Election Commissioner (Zain, & Ali, 2016). It took 3 years that on 19 July 2017, parliamentary committee adopted "Election Bill, 2017" for further submission to parliament. PTI members in the committee walked out from the meeting. They criticized the government that it did not accept PTI's genuine demands that include introduction of bio-metric system, altering the standards of appointment of the caretaker administration, restructuring of the Election Commission of Pakistan, verification of voters in 2018 general elections and voting rights to overseas Pakistanis (Yasin, 2017). Even when National Assembly formally passed amended Election Bill 2017 on October 02, 2017, opposition again strongly protested the controversial clause 203 of the legislation. In their opinion it will provide a chance to the politicians who are already disqualified to hold public offices and lead political parties (Bilal & Muhammad, 2017). It is observed that the parliamentary committee on electoral reforms has taken a long time whereas it has to complete its work within 90 days as prescribed by the Rules of Business of the Parliamentary Committee on Electoral Reforms. The committee is late mainly because of its irregular meetings, lack of political will and little if any consultation with stakeholders (Iqbal, 2016).

Energy is considered as a significant component for the socio-economic growth of any country in the world. In the absence of sufficient energy resources at reasonable rates, prospective of economic development of a country becomes almost negligible and resultantly the high living standards of the masses are difficult to be achieved.

In Pakistan, since last decade or so, the issue of energy crisis has been most neglected one. Despite politicians' promises the issue remains unaddressed and hence created frustration among masses. During past many years, demand for energy has enormously increased in Pakistan which has resulted into a severe energy crisis and proved to be a bottleneck in the way of already faltering

economy. At present, there is no access to electricity and natural gas to at least one-fourth of the population of the country. People have to face long hours electricity and gas load shedding during peak times of summer and winter seasons respectively.

Renewable energy sources i.e. hydro, solar, wind, biomasses and geothermal are viewed as best sources to combat energy crisis in Pakistan. These exist in plenty and are cheaper and environment friendly. Hydro is a single most renewable source that is available in abundance in Pakistan but so far it has not been exploited fully except building some mega projects. Desert area is very suitable for generating solar energy whereas coastal area can be used to generate energy through wind and waves of the sea. Biomass is another renewable source of energy. Geothermal is comparatively expensive but it can also be used to fulfill the requirements of energy in the country.

Soon after the last general elections almost all political parties which participated in the election complained irregularities and rigging in the polls. However, they accepted result of the election and consequently, PML-N formed the government. However, with the passage of time, demand for electoral reforms gained momentum and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), part of parliament, took this issue on streets and on August 14, 2014 started Azadi March against the government. Meanwhile, Pakistan Awami Tehreek (PAT), not part of parliament, also announced Revolution (Inqilab) March. Despite an episode of violence in which at least three persons were killed and at least 500 protesters including police officers were injured,(Hasan, 2014) both PTI and PAT staged their sit-ins in front of parliament in Islamabad and demanded government to step down and paved the way for electoral reforms. The issue of electoral reforms hit the headlines of media. Along with demonstration, both parties also held dialogues with government to settle the issue peacefully. Although after 126 days, PTI announced to end its sit-in to express national solidarity in the backdrop of attack on Army Public School in Peshawar (Zaman, & Qamar, 2014) yet it continues “politics of protest” to “command headlines” (“PTI’s protest politics,” 2016) and reach a conclusion on Panama leaks. It is observed that Imran Khan attended a small number of meetings of lower house and barely added worth contribution while tabling issues and legislation process. Meanwhile, former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and even many ministers also remain absent from parliament. Therefore, most of the members of the parliament betray the trust of their voters while not spending time in parliament (Waseem, 2016).

In ensuing paragraphs, with reference to presenting and resolving two key issues i.e. electoral reforms and energy crisis firstly through political rhetoric finding out of the box solution in media and on streets and secondly by constitutional means i.e. proceedings of the National Assembly and Senate are examined.

Political Rhetoric and Slogan Politics

Political rhetoric and slogans are mostly used by the politicians all over the world to inspire and win the hearts of people; however, these are more popular in the politics of developing countries. Political rhetoric is essentially classical rhetoric applied to a modern political situation where three basics of rhetoric like logos, ethos, pathos and or logic, image, and emotional appeal all apply to contemporary political discussion as devices to increase the effect. These practices are employed in speeches and public statements to win support of public. Before the public, politicians use their image in order to create their impact as more honest, righteous, and intelligent. They use logic to create valid arguments and point out flaws in opposition’s arguments. Furthermore, in order

to provoke a certain reaction from an audience, appeal to emotion and emotionally charged words are used normally in speeches by the politicians ("What is Political Rhetoric?" 2016).

Since its inception, like other developing countries of the world where democratic institutions are weak and political parties lack structure, organization and intellectual depth, Pakistan's both civil and military leaders mostly rely on political rhetoric and slogans rather than political reality and substance to deliver. Before independence of Pakistan, leaders of Muslims used political rhetoric and slogans to unite the masses to achieve the ultimate goal of Pakistan. The slogans like *Pakistan Ka Matlab Kya La Ilahah Illalah*, *Pakistan Zindabad* and *Ban Kay Rahy Ga Pakistan* were very famous among the people. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto gave twist to political rhetoric and his slogan *Roti Kapra Aur Makan* is still popular among the Pakistanis. Nawaz Sharif's slogan *Qarz Utaro Mulk Sanwaro*, General Pervaiz Musharraf's *Sab Se Pahlay Pakistan* and *Enlightened Moderation*, 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* etc. are some popular and hit slogans of Pakistani political rhetoric. These slogans are mostly based on the situation and issues during and after election campaigns to motivate and gain public support in their favour.

Unlike developed countries' leadership, Pakistani politicians rather than strengthening the democratic institutions i.e. parliament as a forum to utilize for raising and addressing issues of national interest, follow the path of agitation and demonstration. They prefer to take issues of energy crisis and electoral reforms on streets and media to put pressure on the government. This trend has gained momentum during recent years. "Azadi March" of PTI and "Inqilab March" of PAT and their sit-ins on D-Chowk in front of parliament are core examples of politics of agitation. Politicians' interest to stage sit-in or dharna politics has marginalized the sanctity of parliament but also weakened the trust of masses on democratic institution. As public representatives do not pay attention and take interest in parliament's proceedings to highlight and resolve issues of public interest, therefore, politics of agitation get boost in Pakistan. Furthermore, the trend of agitation and violence has further divided society into two segments. One faction including PTI, PAT, Pakistan Muslim League (PML) and Awami Muslim League (AML) support revolution and want drastic changes in the system by toppling the sitting government whereas the other segment led by ruling party PML-N along with other opposition parties including Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians (PPPP) supports status quo to continue existing democratic system. It is interesting that after the blast of Panama leaks on the issue of off shore companies along with PTI, PPPP moved on the way of demonstration. The leadership of PTI, PML-N and even PPPP conducted big public meetings and demanded Nawaz Sharif to step down. Even after the disqualification of Nawaz Sharif as Prime Minister in the hands of Supreme Court of Pakistan under the petitions filed by the PTI, AML and Jamat-Islami Ji on the issue of Panama leaks, blame game is still going on in the politics of Pakistan (Bhatti & Haseeb, 2017). In this regards, one thing which is unique among the leadership of these political parties is to use political rhetoric as a tool on which they frequently rely to win the support of public on various issues. It has become a trend in Pakistani politics that public interest issues are not sufficiently debated in the parliament and resultantly delay in necessary legislation is seen.

Popular Statements on Energy Crisis and Electoral Reforms in Media

On the issues of energy crisis and electoral reforms popular statements of political leaders appeared on front page of two English newspapers i.e. *The News International*, *The Express Tribune* and two Urdu dailies *the Jang* and *Daily Express* from May 1, to July, 31, 2014 (Three months) are reviewed. Over all issue of energy crisis was highlighted 212 times including 111 popular statements

of political leaders whereas the issue of electoral reforms was highlighted 216 times including 150 popular statements of leaders of political parties. Leaders of PML-N raised issues of energy crisis and electoral reforms 96 and 55 times respectively. PTI highlighted issues of energy crisis 10 and electoral reforms 56 times respectively. PPPP highlighted issue of energy crisis 3 times and issue of electoral reforms 23 times. JI raised the issue of energy crisis in media only for one time and issue of electoral reforms 4 times whereas AML raised the issues of energy crisis and electoral reforms 1 and 2 times respectively. PML has only raised the issue of electoral reforms 9 times in media. Details about political parties' position in highlighting issues of energy crisis and electoral reforms in media through popular statements are given in table 1.

Table 1*Detail of Political Parties' Position*

| Sr. No | Political Parties | Energy Crisis | Electoral Reforms |
|-----------|---|---------------|-------------------|
| 1 | Awami Muslim League (AML) | 1 | 2 |
| 2 | Awami National Party (ANP) | 0 | 0 |
| 3 | Jamaat-Islami (JI) | 1 | 4 |
| 4 | Jamiat Ulma Islam Fazal-ur-Rehman (JUI-F) | 0 | 0 |
| 5 | Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) | 0 | 0 |
| 6 | Pakistan Muslim League (PML) | 0 | 9 |
| 7 | Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N) | 96 | 55 |
| 8 | Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarian (PPPP) | 3 | 23 |
| 9 | Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) | 10 | 56 |
| 10 | Pukhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (PKMAP) | 0 | 1 |
| 11 | General News on Energy Crisis and Electoral Reforms | 101 | 66 |
| 12 | Total | 212 | 216 |

Role of Parliament: Debate on Energy Crisis and Electoral Reforms

Pakistan is a federation where parliament is a supreme legislation body. It is bicameral that consists of two houses i.e. National Assembly and the Senate, lower and upper houses respectively. President of Pakistan is also part of parliament. Both the Houses work together in order to carry out law making in the parliament, however, the National Assembly has an advantage over the Senate by legislating exclusively on money matters ("Observance of the Rules of Procedure," 2016). Parliament through its debates, resolutions, adjournment motions, points of order, questions hour session and standing committees raises and resolves national issues. This mechanism also provides check on executive and ensures that the government functions within the parameters set out in the Constitution and does not violate the fundamental rights of citizens. Over all the issue of energy crisis has been raised on the floor of parliament 32 times (21 times in National Assembly and 11 times in Senate) whereas the issue of electoral reforms was raised 8 times (5 times in National Assembly and 3 times in Senate) from 1st June 2013 to 31 August 2014. PPPP topped by raising the issue of energy crisis 7 and issue of electoral reforms 3 times respectively followed by MQM that has highlighted the issue of energy crisis 6 times and the issue of electoral reforms one time. PML-N and PTI raised the

issue of energy crisis 5 times each and the issue of electoral reforms 2 times each. Detail of party position is given in table 2:

Table 2*Detail of Political Parties' Position*

| Sr. No | Political Parties | Energy Crisis | Electoral Reforms |
|-----------|--|---------------|-------------------|
| 1 | Awami Muslim League (AML) | 1 | 0 |
| 2 | Awami National Party (ANP) | 1 | 0 |
| 3 | Jamaat-Islami (JI) | 2 | 0 |
| 4 | Jamiat Ulma Islam Fazal-ur-Rehman (JUI-F) | 3 | 0 |
| 5 | Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) | 6 | 1 |
| 6 | Pakistan Muslim League (PML) | 1 | 0 |
| 7 | Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N) | 5 | 2 |
| 8 | Pakistan People's Party Parliamentary (PPPP) | 7 | 3 |
| 9 | Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) | 5 | 2 |
| 10 | Pukhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (PKMAP) | 1 | 0 |
| 12 | Total | 32 | 8 |

Detail of debates in National Assembly and Senate on issues of energy crisis and electoral reforms is explained separately as under:

National Assembly's Debates on Energy Crisis

On June 1, 2013, the 14th National Assembly was sworn in. During first 15 months (June 2013 to August 2014) proceedings, National Assembly held 14 sessions. The House took up serious legislative business where members raised issue of energy crisis related to electricity, gas load shedding, energy policy and increase in prices of petroleum, gas and electricity. About energy crisis total 16 Calling Attention Notices were raised and answered, 1 Bill was laid, 3 Resolutions were adopted, and 1 Motion was debated by the House. Detail about political parties' position in raising issue of energy crisis in National Assembly debates is given in table 3.

Table 3*Detail of Political Parties' Position*

| Sr. No | Political Parties | Calling Attention Notices | Resolutions | Motions | Bills | Points of Order |
|--------|---|---------------------------|-------------|---------|-------|-----------------|
| 1 | Awami Muslim League (AML) | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2 | Awami National Party (ANP) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 3 | Jamaat-Islami (JI) | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 4 | Jamiat Ulma Islam Fazal-ur-Rehman (JUI-F) | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 5 | Muttahida Qaumi | 4 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|---|-----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| 6 | Movement (MQM) Pakistan Muslim League (PML) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 7 | Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N) | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 8 | Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarian (PPPP) | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 9 | Pakistan Tehreek-e- Insaf (PTI) | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 10 | Pukhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (PKMAP) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | | 16 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 0 |

Senate's Debate on Energy Crisis

On the issue of energy crisis, in Senate, 2 Calling Attention Notices were raised on price hike and tariffs of electricity, 5 Motions were moved to discuss issues of price hike of petroleum, gas, electricity, power shortage and Iran-Pakistan Gas Pipeline project, one Bill titled "The Gas (theft Control and Recovery) Ordinance, 2014" was introduced and issue of gas and electricity load shedding was raised through 3 Points of Order. Detail about political parties' position in raising issue of energy crisis in Senate debates is given in table 4.

Table 4

Detail of Political Parties' Position

| Sr. No | Political Parties | Calling Attention Notices | Resolution | Motion | Bill | Point of Order |
|---------------|---|--|-------------------|---------------|-------------|---------------------------|
| 1 | Awami Muslim League (AML) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2 | Awami National Party (ANP) | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 3 | Jamaat-Islami (JI) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 4 | Jamiat Ulma Islam Fazal-ur-Rehman (JUI-F) | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 5 | Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 6 | Pakistan Muslim League (PML) | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 7 | Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 8 | Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarian (PPPP) | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 |
| 9 | Pakistan Tehreek-e- Insaf (PTI) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 10 | Pukhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (PKMAP) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Total | | 2 | 0 | 5 | 1 | 3 |

National Assembly's Debate on Electoral Reforms

On the issue of electoral reforms, in National Assembly, 5 Bills were introduced by the members of which one Bill was about Electoral Laws (Amendment) Ordinance, 2013, one Bill was to amend the Political Parties Order 2002 [The Political Parties Order (Amendment) Bill 2013] and other 3 Bills were to amend the Representation of the People Act, 1976 [The Representation of the People (Amendment) Bill 2014]. Detail about political parties' position in raising issue of electoral reforms in National Assembly debates is given in table 5.

Table 5***Detail of Political Parties' Position***

| Sr. No | Political Parties | Calling Attention Notices | Resolution | Motion | Bill | Point of Order |
|--------|--|---------------------------|------------|----------|----------|----------------|
| 1 | Awami Muslim League (AML) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2 | Awami National Party (ANP) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 3 | Jamaat-Islami (JI) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 4 | Jamiat Ulma Islam Fazal-ur-Rehman (JUI-F) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 5 | Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 6 | Pakistan Muslim League (PML) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 7 | Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 8 | Pakistan People's Party Parliamentary (PPPP) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| 9 | Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| 10 | Pukhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (PKMAP) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 |

Senate's Debate on Electoral Reforms

In Senate, 2 Motions (one related to alleged irregularities / rigging in election 2013, and the other related to Senate's nomination of the parliamentary committee to evaluate shortcomings of elections 2013) were moved and discussed. One Bill titled "The Electoral Laws (Amendment) Ordinance, 2013 was laid which was referred by National Assembly under Article 89 (3) (b) of Constitution of Pakistan. Detail about political parties' position in raising issue of electoral reforms in Senate debates is given in table 6.

Table 6

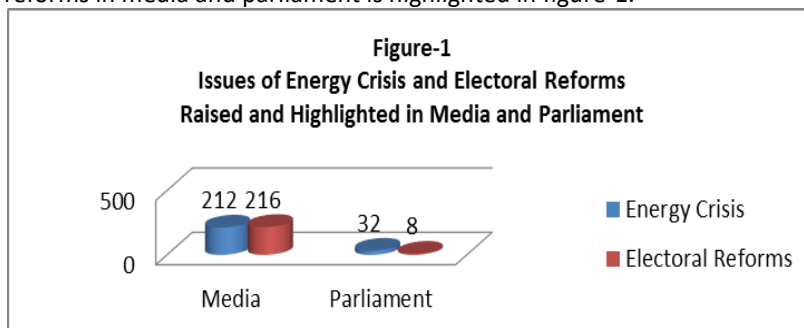
Detail of Political Parties' Position

| Sr. No | Political Parties | Calling Attention Notices | Resolution | Motion | Bill | Point of Order |
|--------------|--|---------------------------|------------|----------|----------|----------------|
| 1 | Awami Muslim League (AML) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2 | Awami National Party (ANP) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 3 | Jamaat-Islami (JI) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 4 | Jamiat Ulma Islam Fazal-ur-Rehman (JUI-F) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 5 | Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 6 | Pakistan Muslim League (PML) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 7 | Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N) | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 8 | Pakistan People's Party Parliamentary (PPPP) | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 9 | Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 10 | Pukhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (PKMAP) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 |

VIII. Findings

Some key findings are as follows:

- i. First key finding is that the institution of parliament is underutilized as compared to its capacity. From June 2013 to August 2014, the issue of energy crisis was raised 32 times (21 times in National Assembly and 11 times in Senate). Whereas, during the same span of time, the issue of electoral reform was raised / discussed 8 times (5 times in National Assembly and 3 times in Senate) in parliament.
- ii. It is observed that politicians mostly prefer rhetoric and slogan politics by using streets and media in order to highlight issues of energy crisis and electoral reforms. Over all issue of energy crisis was highlighted 212 times including 111 popular statements of political leaders whereas the issue of electoral reforms was highlighted 216 times including 150 popular statements of leaders of political parties. A comparison of raising and presenting issues of energy crisis and electoral reforms in media and parliament is highlighted in figure-1.



Recommendations

Encourage Politicians to Use Constitutional Means to Solve Issues

In order to change the pattern of politics of agitation in the country, there is a need to take necessary steps to highlight the significance of parliament and revive its role to resolve issues through constitutional ways. The role of the government, opposition, civil society and media is equally important in this regard. Furthermore, government should take appropriate and meaningful steps to resolve the issues raised / discussed in parliament regarding public interest. This will work as a confidence building measure for strayed politicians and public on parliament.

Need to Bring Attitudinal Change in Politicians

It is viewed that nations live in the hearts of poets but prosper and die in the hands of politicians. The role of politicians as leaders in nation building can't be denied. If capable and honest leaders can lead the nations to rise and the new heights of progress, the corrupt leaders may send them to stone ages. In perspective of Pakistan, there is a need to bring attitudinal change in the approach of stakeholders especially politicians towards politics and parliament. In fact, politicians should prefer to utilize the forum of parliament rather than agitation for resolving national issues and play their role in strengthening this democratic institution.

Capacity Building of Political Parties

Due to lack of organizational, structure and intellectual depth in political parties, political leaders mostly rely on political rhetoric and slogan politics. They think it is simple and easy way to use catchy slogans to attract masses and media. It is recommended that political parties should focus on organizational and structural reforms of their parties and take steps to increase intellectual depth of party members and leaders.

Streamline Pressure Groups / Deviated Segments to Become Part of Democratic Process

Government should negotiate with those political parties or religious factions who are not part of parliament in order to motivate and encourage them to become part of democratic process. This will help to strengthen the institution of parliament.

Promote Local Government System

Pakistan's democracy record is very poor at the grass root level. If military regimes introduced and focused on devolution of powers and decentralization for their legitimacy reason the democratic governments most of the times went in opposite direction and favoured centralized government system in the country. So in one or the other way, local government system has never been a priority of ruling elites in Pakistan which resultantly hinders the empowerment of citizens at grass root level. There is a need to strengthen this third tier of government to work as nursery to build the capacity of the politicians at initial level and groom them enough that when they reach at provincial and national assemblies they can perform more effectively.

Government Should Utilize Renewable Energy Sources

Energy is a lifeline for any economy. Currently, Pakistan is facing great energy crisis where significant electricity and gas shortfalls have made life of people miserable besides a negative impact on the growth of economy. Due to limited oil and gas reserves, Pakistan has to heavily depend on the import of oil to complete energy requirements. Meanwhile, it has abundant renewable energy sources like hydro, wind, solar, biomass and geothermal. Keeping in view the grave situation of energy crisis, government should focus on renewable energy sources as these can help in bridging

power deficit in the country. Furthermore, renewable energy can readily take electricity to remote rural areas of the country where power transmission becomes too expensive. There is a need to take steps proactively to address energy crisis by utilizing renewable energy sources otherwise it will haunt the nation for coming decades.

Urgent Electoral Reforms

Complaints of political parties about rigging and irregularities in general election 2013 warrant urgent electoral reforms in the country. However, Parliament's Electoral Reforms Committee took at least three years in drafting Election Bill 2017 which was approved by parliament on 2 October 2017. Through these reforms an effort was made to strengthen and empowered Election Commission of Pakistan. However, due to controversial amendments done by the parliament from the beginning Election Act 2017 has become notorious. Firstly, amendment in clause 203 which facilitated Nawaz Sharif to become party head of PML (N) even after his disqualification from Supreme Court of Pakistan. Secondly, amendment was made in Khatm-i-Naboowat oath form which has to be restored later on to its original state under great public pressure. It is noted that Sections 7B and 7C of The Conduct of General Elections Order 2002 had also been omitted from Elections Act 2017. These are related to the status of Ahmedis (Khattak, et al., 2017).

Despite the introduction of various good electoral reforms there is still need to start the use of Electronic Voting Machines (EVMs) in elections, again review the formation of caretaker government, and to evaluate the scope and utility of Articles 62 and 63 of the Constitution. In addition, the process of decision making in election tribunals is very slow which also needs especial attention. All these areas need a comprehensive debate, consultation at the floor of parliament and political will to resolve them. Political parties should also show wisdom and vision in order to make Election Act 2017 a success. In sum and substance, remaining issues related to electoral reforms should also be addressed on urgent basis otherwise it will further aggravate the ongoing political crisis in the country.

Conclusion

Political rhetoric and slogan politics in Pakistan has a long history. In subcontinent, All India Muslim League (AIML) used slogans for a noble cause of creation of Pakistan by motivating and energizing Muslims. After independence, this trend is still continued. The difference is that now the forum of parliament is also available to the politicians to debate and resolve any issues facing by the nation. Political rhetoric and slogan politics saw its peak in the era of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto who was extraordinary in rhetoric (Herring & Ronald, 1980, p.599). Most recently, elements of street politics and agitation is seen again after 2013 general elections. Findings of the study shows that even leadership of PML-N, ruling political party at center as well as opposition parties including PPP and PTI are using slogans and rhetoric in their politics to deal with the key issues i.e. electoral reforms and energy crisis. They use streets politics and media to inspire masses. By doing this act, politicians are not even undermining the institute of parliament but also ignoring its importance in democratic system. In sum and substance, this trend can be avoided by enlightening the skills and changing the attitude of politicians with reference to practice parliament as a tool to resolve issues of the society with health debate and speedy procedure. Otherwise, polarization of the society will become the fate of this country where trust deficit is already increasing and posing a big question mark about the success of democracy as a system in Pakistan any more.

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