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AN INVESTIGATION ON THE POLITICAL RHETORIC AS A FACTOR OF VOTERS' PERSUASION

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KEYWORDS	ABSTRACT
Political Rhetoric, Public Agenda, Voters' Motivation Factors	This research study explores the relationship between political agenda of the political leaders and parties in Pakistan and public agenda of the residents of Dera Ismail Khan District during election 2018. This study is important and helpful in understanding political landscape in Pakistan and role of political rhetoric in shaping that landscape. This study helped in understanding how voters decided to participate in elections and what are vital for audience during elections campaign. Researcher has drawn 400 samples from target population while using convenient sampling techniques for data collections. The study adopted cross sectional survey research design with closed-ended questionnaire for measuring public agenda and perception while coding sheet was used for measuring political rhetoric of leaders of diverse political parties. Study findings indicate that there is significant difference between political parties about different hot issues in Pakistan. The study results show that there was no significantly influence of the party affiliation on audiences' political behavior.
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INTRODUCTION

Political Communication is the type of communication through which political messages transmit from political actor to public. It can take place in different forms like formal and informal, in the different ways (mediated or unmediated) and different audience (public & private). The political actor gives speeches in rallies and also engage in the face-to-face communication, corner meetings or the interviews to the diverse media channels. All these different types of communications provide chances to talk with audience and share their knowledge to persuade and influence the audience (Marland, 2014). The elections provide opportunity to the people to not only select their representatives, but to share their views on the different national, regional and international issues with their leaders in a political dialogue through traditional as well as social media. In this connection, the public dialogue

helps political parties to adjust their manifestoes and electoral agendas according to the public agenda (Dimitrova, 2014).

LITERATURE REVIEW

For political actors, convincing of voters is essential. Rhetoric is art like poetry which create a story and using symbols to make emotional reactions and convince to build trust on the communicator or party (Harder & Krosnick, 2008). It is a method of the persuasions and political actors which make an imaginative story to grab the audience minds and convert their emotions and feelings in favor of their party or candidates (Harder & Krosnick, 2008). According to (Harder & Krosnick, 2008) that to make speeches meaningful, political actors used symbols with statements that catch the minds of the audiences and same practices followed in drama by actors, therefore researcher says that rhetoric is the art. The political representative use music, drama and dance as the powerful tool to persuade the audience (Harder & Krosnick, 2008). They create the circumstance in their speeches that the voters compel to think that all those issues which he/she is facing, their politicians in particular context know about and have serious attention to resolve these issues and give relief not supporters and voters (Martin, 2015).

Political actors also same like drama artist and they put deepness in their performance and characters during election campaign in front of their audience and give voice to their issues (Martin, 2015). Martin (2015) argued that Aristotle and Cicero, which understand the rhetoric different aspects and responsibility of arts so they were trying to discuss any issue or point in such way that feel like true and get attention to listen the arguments in their rhetoric. The existing research offered sufficient evidence about the slogans that are used by the political parties in order to attract the voters to vote to particular parties. These slogans were mainly related with the basic needs. History of political rhetoric in Pakistan started in 1970 when Pakistan People's Party first time launched proper campaign for the general election and raised a slogan "Roti, Kapra, Makaan" to persuade audience (Ahmed et al, 2013). With the passage of time diverse rhetoric slogans were introduced in Pakistan political scenario (Ahmed et al, 2013).

Connections in Manifestoes of Political Parties

Most of political parties have similar issues covered in their manifestoes but they present in different ways from each other's (Finkel, 1985).The differences in political parties on the basis of emphases on different policies and issues in favor of voters (Marien et al., 2010). They present manifestoes in which they talk on corruption, unemployment, infrastructure, health and education. but those priorities different on which basis they engage to voters (Hopmann et al., 2010). In this regard, elections play role as the bridge between political actors and general public (Ahmad, 2013). The public issues have major job for political oppositions and transform their policy on basis of these issue which are more important for public during election scenario (Meyer & Müller, 2013). In present political scenario

manifestoes is very important part of the political campaign, through the manifestoes party present their party agenda (Ahmed et al, 2013).

Factors Affecting Voters to Vote

In the light of past studies reveals that highly educated citizens very critically evaluate the different parties manifestoes and agendas, after that they decide to vote this party which party agenda is according to their priorities (Tenn, 2007). Turnout in elections increased as result of trust of public on their political parties (Tenn, 2007). Past studies mentioned many factors which influence voters to participate in elections like ethnic background, religious believes, social status, residential patterns and political affiliations, which drive the voter's choice in the elections (Bashir, 2015). In 1960 elections, those candidates who got highest votes were from ethnic groups and no one succeeded in elections by personal relationship or manifestoes of their party (Church, 2010). In Nigeria, after few years situation changed and the candidates won election by their personal relationship or party manifestoes (Finke, 1985). From 1999 to 2015 the voting behavior of Nigerian people in presidential elections were influenced by personal relationship, spiritual belief, political associations, national responsibility, ethnic background and some others factors. The big effects on the masses is interpersonal communication with public can convince to vote and change the decision towards their party (Lowery, 1983).

Political participation and educational qualification have significant relation if education ratio increased the voting turnout increased and same like that others such as friends and family, political affiliations, sex, residential patterns, political background and age etc. also persuade voting behavior of audience (Chaudhry et al., 2010). A large number of Political Parties contested in General Elections of 2018 which was major political event of Pakistan. Pakistan "Tehreek-e-Insaf" caught the attention by emerging as third the national political party in a country, which was mostly ruled by two major political parties PPP and PML-N. Previous studies raised diverse questions about public (voters) that how they decide to vote someone or what are the criteria of voters to select someone in election which will be representative of their voices in parliament? and how politicians convince public (voters) that they will be best representative in parliament. To find the answers of above questions, the present study focused on political rhetoric of party leadership during 2018 election that how they convinced public to vote for their party. Based on the review of previous studies, research hypotheses are:

H₁: It is more likely that there is significant difference between the rhetoric of different political parties.

H₂: It is more likely that affiliations of voters with party and candidate is more important factor in compelling them to vote.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework for current study is based on Agenda Setting Theory. Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw presented "Agenda Setting" theory in 1972 and was created

to study the audience knowledge about prominent issues on news media. There are two major constructs in this study which are:

Political Rhetoric

Political rhetoric means the art or study of using the language effectively and persuasively (Grzywińska & Batorski, 2016). According to Aristotle in political rhetoric a speaker tries to compose a message or speech in such way that grab the audience attention. In this study political rhetoric means those speeches delivered by leaders of the political parties during political campaign of the elections 2018 to attract and capture the audience attention and convert their attitude towards the party or candidate. In this study researcher focuses on different political parties' agenda and core issues which they present in electoral process to change voter's decision process and compare it with their parties manifestoes. Also, this study investigates the public agenda during elections 2018 of residents of the District Dera Ismail Khan. In this connection, it also focuses on how voters change their behavior toward any party or candidates.

Voters' Attitude

Another important variable of this study is the voter's attitude. Which means how voters decide to vote any candidate or party and what is the criteria of voters to choose a best one candidate in numbers of the candidates and choose one party in several parties. This study focuses on, either voters change their decision about party choice after getting the information or the study ideology or manifestoes and leadership speeches of the different political parties.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The present research study is quantitative study which tried to explore objectives by using survey method of exploratory research. Research design means the set of methods and procedures used to collecting data and after data collection how to analyze these data to measure the variables relationship. Cross-sectional survey research design is used to study the variables under study in the focused population only at one point of the time.

Population of Study

Population for present study was Urban and Rural residents of Dera Ismail Khan District. Pakistan Bureau of Statistics census 2017 detailed city population is given the below table.

Table 1 Total Population of Study

SN	Name of Tehsil	Urban	Rural	Total
1	Dera Ismail Khan City	217,457	507,438	724,895.
2	Paharpur	80,155	303,829	383,984.
3	Paroa	39,881	252,585	292,466.
4	Daraban	Nil	123,933	123,933.
5	Kulachi	24,738	77,116	121,854
	Total	362,231	1,264,901	1,627,132

Sampling Techniques

It was impossible for researcher to select subset of population by simple random sampling techniques due to non-availability of the detailed information about each individual of the population. Therefore, researcher drawn a sample using purposive sampling method from the population keeping in view population's general characteristics available in the census report 2017 of Pakistan Bereave Statistics.

Sample Size Determination

Sample size means selection or choosing a subset of population. For sample selection Curry, John (2007) described Sample Size Rule of Thumb for the sample selection which is given below:

Table 2 Sample Size Determination

Population Size	Sampling percentage
10-100	100%
101-1,000	10%
1,001-5,000	5%
5,000-10,000	3%
10,000+	1%

According to above mentioned criteria, a sample of four hundred (400) was sufficient for this study. The Tehsil and locality wise distribution of sample size is given in the following table.

Table 3 Locality Wise Distribution of Sample Size

SN	Name of Tehsil	Urban	Rural	Total
1	D.I. Khan City	53	124	177
2	Paharpur	19	74	93
3	Paroa	09	61	71
4	Daraban	0	39	29
5	Kulachi	06	19	30
	Total	87	317	400

Data Collection Tool & Analysis Technique

The study uses coding sheet and well-structured closed ended questionnaire for collecting data. Coding sheet is used for content analysis of speeches, while questionnaire is used to measure the attitude and behavior of voters towards political process in the country. The questionnaire was distributed and respondent were requested to fill questionnaire at the distribution spots. SPSS was used for analyzing quantitative data using both descriptive & inferential statistics to find out the answer.

DATA ANALYSIS

Chi-square for independence and one way ANOVA ware used to measure the relationship between all variables: rhetoric of political parties, motivation to vote. Significance level α = 0.05, the outcomes are offered in Tables No 4, 5 and 6 respectively.

Table 4 Descriptive statistics to Compare Means Scores of Political Parties Rhetoric for the Important Public Issues in Pakistan.

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Education	PTI	5	2.40	2.31
	PMLN	5	1.60	1.82
	PPP	5	.60	.9
	MMA	5	1.00	1.41
	Total	20	1.40	1.7
Corruption	PTI	5	6.80	3.6
	PMLN	5	2.40	1.7
	PPP	5	.20	.45
	MMA	5	.00	.00
	Total	20	2.35	3.35
Health	PTI	5	3.20	1.8
	PMLN	5	1.60	1.5
	PPP	5	1.00	.71
	MMA	5	1.20	.84
	Total	20	1.75	1.5
Energy	PTI	5	2.00	2.34
	PMLN	5	2.80	.45
	PPP	5	.00	.00
	MMA	5	.80	1.30
	Total	20	1.40	1.67
Unemployment	PTI	5	2.80	1.8
	PMLN	5	1.00	1.00
	PPP	5	2.60	.9
	MMA	5	.00	.00
	Total	20	1.60	1.57
Law & Order	PTI	5	2.20	2.59
	PMLN	5	.60	.89
	PPP	5	.40	.55
	MMA	5	2.00	1.87
	Total	20	1.30	1.75
Economy	PTI	5	3.60	3.13
	PMLN	5	.20	.45
	PPP	5	1.00	.00

	MMA	5	1.80	1.48
	Total	20	1.65	2.06
Infrastructure	PTI	5	1.20	1.64
	PMLN	5	2.80	1.64
	PPP	5	.00	.00
	MMA	5	.60	.89
	Total	20	1.15	1.57
Transport	PTI	5	.00	.00
	PMLN	5	2.60	1.67
	PPP	5	.00	.00
	MMA	5	.20	.45
	Total	20	.70	1.38
Institution Reforms	PTI	5	3.60	2.07
	PMLN	5	.00	.00
	PPP	5	.20	.45
	MMA	5	1.00	.71
	Total	20	1.20	1.79
Justice	PTI	5	1.60	1.51
	PMLN	5	.60	.55
	PPP	5	.40	.55
	MMA	5	.40	.55
	Total	20	.75	.97

n=400

The descriptive analysis shows that all parties have same number about hot issues. But it has higher mean and standard deviation value about the education (M=2.40, SD=2.31), corruption (M=6.80, SD=3.6), health (M=3.20, SD=1.8), law & Order (M=2.20, SD=2.59), economy (M=3.60, SD=3.13), institutional reforms (M=3.60, SD=2.07), justice (M=1.60, SD=1.51), while PMLN has higher value about energy (M=2.80, SD=.45), infrastructure (M=2.80, SD=1.64), and transport (M=2.60, SD=1.67), and PPP has higher value about unemployment (M=2.60, SD=.9).

Table 5 Difference in Rhetoric of Political Parties

		SS	df	MS	F	Sig.
Education	Between Groups	9.20	3	3.07	1.08	.387
	Within Groups	45.60	16	2.85		
	Total	54.80	19			
Corruption	Between Groups	149.75	3	49.92	12.72	.000
	Within Groups	62.80	16	3.93		
	Total	212.55	19			
Health	Between Groups	14.95	3	4.98	2.98	.063
	Within Groups	26.80	16	1.68		

	Total	41.75	19			
Energy	Between Groups	23.20	3	7.73	4.18	.023
	Within Groups	29.60	16	1.85		
	Total	52.80	19			
Unemployment	Between Groups	26.80	3	8.93	7.15	.003
	Within Groups	20.00	16	1.25		
	Total	46.80	19			
Law& Order	Between Groups	13.00	3	4.33	1.53	.244
	Within Groups	45.20	16	2.83		
	Total	58.20	19			
Economy	Between Groups	31.75	3	10.58	3.47	.041
	Within Groups	48.80	16	3.05		
	Total	80.55	19			
Infrastructure	Between Groups	21.75	3	7.25	4.68	.016
	Within Groups	24.80	16	1.55		
	Total	46.55	19			
Transport	Between Groups	24.20	3	8.07	10.76	.000
	Within Groups	12.00	16	.75		
	Total	36.20	19			
Institutional reforms	Between Groups	41.20	3	13.73	10.99	.000
	Within Groups	20.00	16	1.25		
	Total	61.20	19			
Justice	Between Groups	4.95	3	1.65	2.06	.146
	Within Groups	12.80	16	.80		
	Total	17.75	19			

A one-way ANOVA was conducted to compare the difference between political parties' rhetoric about important public issues in Pakistan. For rhetoric four political parties were selected and studied speeches of their leaders during election campaign 2018. The results show that there was significant difference amid political parties' rhetoric about corruption $F_{(3, 16)} = 12.72$, p= .000; energy $F_{(3, 16)} = 4.18$, p= .23; Unemployment $F_{(3, 16)} = 7.15$, p= .003; economy $F_{(3, 16)} = 3.47$, p= .041; the infrastructure $F_{(3, 16)} = 4.67$, p= .016; transport $F_{(3, 16)} = 10.75$, p= .000; and the institutional reforms $F_{(3, 16)} = 10.98$, p= .000. While results regarding education $F_{(3, 16)} = 1.07$, p= .387; Health $F_{(3, 16)} = 2.97$, p= .063; law & order $F_{(3, 16)} = 1.53$, p= .244; and justice $F_{(3, 16)} = 2.06$, p= .146 show that there was no significant difference between political parties. The results show that for issues of corruption, energy, unemployment, economy, infrastructure, transport and institutional reforms the null hypotheses were rejected, while for the other issues the null hypotheses were accepted. So, these findings provide partial support for our research hypothesis (H1) which states that "It is more likely that there is significant difference between the rhetoric of political party's leadership".

Table 6 Factors Affecting Voter's Behavior

	What motivated you to vote					Total
VCE-2018	EEWV	IMNR	ORIP	FVEM	EHWP	EEWV
Yes	31	216	25	24	39	335
No	4	32	2	7	4	49
I prefer not Say	0	11	2	2	1	16
Total	35	259	29	33	44	400

VCE: Vote cast in election 2018   n=400; χ2=6.67
EEWV: Everyone Else Was Voting;   IMNR: It's My National Responsibility
ORIP: Own Representation in Parliament   FVEM: Family, Village Elders Motivate
EHWP: Experienced, Honest & Wise Person   EEWV: Everyone else was voting

The above table show the results of chi-square test for independence which was used to measure the association between factors motivating people to vote and participation in election 2018. The test results show that the relationship is insignificant at α=.05, χ2 (8) =6.67, p=.57. Therefore, the results accept the null hypothesis that there is no significant relationship between different factors of motivation and people's voting behavior.

DISCUSSIONS

The research study was conducted to examine the effects of political rhetoric on audiences during general elections 2018 campaign. Results shows that there was significant difference between political parties regarding mostly hot issues in Pakistan. Finkel (1985) study also supported current results. He argued political parties focus on same issues with different pattern of presentation. All parties try to convince the voters so they keep in mind their voters and they prioritize different issues in the different ways (Finkel, 1985). Finkel, (1985) further stated that they endorse same issues but in different way for the benefit of voters to convince them in elections. Mostly voters demand from government to decrease the taxes and give welfare to them. The political parties competing for political office generally make claims in their manifestoes which are unrealistic or not their priorities, but purpose of such slogans is to motivate the voters and compel them to vote for candidate (Finkel, 1985). Political parties highlight those issues which is more important for voters and they want to gain voters support by giving stressed in a party agenda during elections. The results of this study shows that there are no effects of the party affiliations on the voters' participation in elections.

Bashir (2015) observed that voting behavior cannot be attributed only to party affiliation, rather there are many factors which influence voters to participate in the elections such as the ethnic background, religious believes, social status, residential patterns and political affiliations, which drive the voters choice in elections, so the results shows that the political affiliation does not have direct influence on behavior of respondents to vote for political

party to which they are affiliated, conditions of research were not safe from intervening variables which can effects the results of the study may have interference in the results of the current study. The results of this study in regard to the relationship between party affiliation and voting behavior are in line with previous literature on the issue. This study suggests that the relationship between party choice and motivational factors for voting behavior is insignificant. While Church (2010) analysis revealed that, rhetoric of political leaders relies on feelings of fear, anxiety and anger of voters to get support from them during elections. Therefore, findings of the current study invalidated the findings of the previous studies.

CONCLUSION

This research study was conducted to measure the political agenda and the public agenda during election 2018 and to see significant difference between different political parties. The research study indicates that there was significant difference among the rhetoric of the political parties about the corruption, energy, unemployment, economy, infrastructure, transport and institutional reforms while insignificant difference among political parties regarding education, health, law and order and justice. To see association between voter's motivation towards election and participation in election, results show that there is no significant association between these two variables. The current study has the following recommendations as extracted from results and conclusion of the study. Firstly, the study was conducted only to examine difference between political agenda and public agenda, observed political rhetoric during general election campaign 2018. The researcher studied four main political parties of Pakistan.

Future researcher can study difference among political agenda, public and media agenda during general elections campaign. Secondly the current study was based on district Dera Ismail Khan Resident; future researchers can study on same topic on residents of others area of Pakistan. Thirdly, sample of population were selected by using convenient sampling technique while future researchers should prefer probability sampling techniques mainly where parameters of population are known. Fourthly, there is not much difference in the political agenda of different political parties, due to which it is difficult for voters to draw clear differences amid different political choices. For better political campaigning, political parties should focus on how they are different from other political parties so that they may emerge as a distinguish choice for voters.

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