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Narrative Building in Politics: A Critical Analysis of Imran Khan's Selected Discourse



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Abstract: *This paper aims to shed light on narrative building in politics. It explores how Former Prime Minister, Imran Khan built his political narrative and consequently got unrivalled popularity in his country. It also investigates Imran Khan's linguistic strategies used for building his political narrative since the early days of his political party. This study is qualitative and narrative analysis has been done on the selected excerpts from the speeches by Imran Khan to understand how he built such a powerful narrative that changed the political views and perception of the masses. The study also reveals that Mr Khan has manipulated his usage of language to influence the minds of his countrymen. Hero-card and the space left by his opponents both helped him to succeed in making his incomparable place in Pakistani politics.*

Key Words: Political Narrative, Narrative Building, Discourse Studies, Narrative Analysis

Introduction

Narrative building refers to the process of constructing or developing a narrative. It involves organizing and structuring events, characters, and themes in a deliberate and meaningful way to create a cohesive and engaging story (Riesman, 2002). Narrative building in politics refers to the strategic construction and dissemination of a storyline or narrative to shape public opinion and influence political discourse (Chilton, 2004). The process typically involves carefully crafting messages that resonate with the target audience, emphasizing certain themes or values, and selectively presenting facts and events to support a particular perspective. By controlling the narrative, political actors can influence public

perception, sway opinions, and mobilize support for their policy proposals or candidates. A narrative building can take various forms, including speeches, media appearances, advertisements, social media campaigns, and grassroots organizations (Reinsborough, 2017). Successful narratives often tap into the emotions and values of the audience, appealing to their aspirations, fears, or sense of identity. Additionally, narratives may draw upon historical analogies, personal anecdotes, or compelling metaphors to make complex issues more relatable and understandable to the public. Narrative building in politics plays a significant role in shaping public opinion and influencing political outcomes (Baybars & Uzunoğlu, 2022).

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This study is an attempt to analyze the process of Narrative Building in Politics and how Imran Khan has built a political narrative via his discourses that have a powerful impact on the people of his country. It provides an insight to understand what strategies have been used by Imran Khan to build his political narrative since the beginning of his political era. It also explores instances where Imran Khan has faced challenges and backlashes on his narrative building as he made certain changes and took U-turns in his popular political narratives.

Significance of this Study

The findings of this study will be valuable for society as understanding narrative building in politics is significant because narratives shape public opinion, influence voter behaviour, and ultimately determine the outcomes of political processes. Narratives can frame issues in a particular way, influencing how people perceive and interpret political events and policies (Crow, 2016). By understanding how narrative is built, one will be aware of when someone is evoking their emotions to create alliances and mobilize support for a specific political agenda. It will play a crucial role in shaping voting behaviour. Political campaigns use narratives to connect with voters, build trust, and persuade them to support a candidate or a party. Understanding how narratives are constructed helps to make better voting decisions. The narrative building often involves the strategic use of language and symbolism to construct identities, promote ideologies, and establish power dynamics (Bucholtz, 2004). By understanding how narratives are crafted, one can identify the underlying intentions, biases, and manipulative tactics employed by political actors. Also, Media plays a significant role in shaping political narratives. Understanding how narratives are built and further prorogated by the media allows individuals to critically assess the information they consume, identify potential biases, and seek a more comprehensive understanding of political events. Overall, this study will help in understanding narrative building in politics, and it will enable individuals to critically engage with political discourse and make informed decisions.

Research objectives

The objectives of this research study are:

- i. To investigate how Imran Khan has built a strong narrative
- ii. To find out the strategies used by Imran Khan in building an impactful narrative
- iii. To explore the changes in the popular political narrative of Imran Khan.

Research Questions

The following are the research questions of the current study:

- i. How has Imran Khan built such a narrative that has a strong impact on the people?
- ii. What strategies Imran Khan has used in building his political narrative?
- iii. How has Imran Khan changed his popular political narrative over a period of time?

Literature Review

The narrative is, first and foremost, a prodigious range of genres scattered across many substances - as if any material were suitable for receiving man's stories. The narrative is present in myth, legend, fable, tale, novella, epic, history, tragedy, drama, comedy, mime, stained glass windows, cinema, comics, news items, conversation, and the ordered mixture of all of these substances (Barthes, 2004). Furthermore, narrative, in its nearly limitless variety of forms, is present in every period, every region, and every community; it begins with the very history of mankind (Cronon, 1992). All classes, all human groupings, have their own narratives, which are frequently shared by men from diverse, even opposing, cultural origins.

According to Fisher (1985), Narrative refers to the symbolic representation of shared human experience. It involves the use of storytelling and language to construct a coherent account of events, characters, and an action, which helps individuals and communities make sense of their lives and culture. Fisher emphasizes the importance of narrative in shaping our identities, beliefs, and values as they provide a framework for understanding the world and our place in it.

Foucault (2000) viewed narrative as a discursive practice that shapes power relations and knowledge production. He examined how narratives operate within specific historical and social contexts, serving as mechanisms of control

and regulation, and determining what is considered truth or knowledge. Barthes's (1975) work on semiotics and literary theory sheds light on narrative building. He emphasized that narratives are constructed through signs and codes that carry cultural and ideological meanings. Narrative building involved the deliberate selection and arrangement of these signs to convey specific messages, ideologies, or perspectives. Orwell's dystopian Novel "1984" explored the manipulation of narratives by authoritarian regimes. His concept of "Newspeak" emphasizes the control of language and narrative as a means of maintaining political power and suppressing dissent. Orwell's work underscores the potential dangers of narrative building when it becomes a tool for propaganda, thought control, and the distortion of reality. Lakoff (2003) a cognitive linguist, argues that narratives are central to political communication. According to his view, narratives hold a profound significance in how we interpret the world around us. Narratives have the power to evoke emotions, making them highly engaging and influential tools for conveying ideas and beliefs.

Westen (2008), a psychologist and a political commentator is known for his views on narrative building particularly in the realm of politics. He argues that narrative play a crucial role in shaping public opinion and influencing people's political belief and attitudes. According to Westen, humans are wired to respond more effectively to stories than to abstract facts or data. Westen explores how emotions and storytelling are vital in the political landscape. He emphasizes the emotional aspect of narrative building. He argues that emotions play a significant role in shaping political agendas and voter behaviour, suggesting that effective narratives should tap into emotional responses to mobilize support. Kahneman (2011), a psychologist and Nobel laureate, emphasizes the role of cognitive biases in narrative building. He explores how cognitive heuristics and biases shape individual decision-making and argues that narratives can exploit these biases to influence public opinion.

Sobieraj (2010), a sociologist, examines constructing narratives that marginalize certain groups or perpetuate inequalities. She emphasizes the need to critically analyze the power dynamics involved in narrative building and their consequences for democratic processes. Entman

(1991), a communication scholar, focuses on the concept of framing in narrative building. He argues that framing processes shape how people perceive and interpret political events, influencing their attitudes and opinions. (Sekora & Andrews, 1989) said that narratives may also be used to illustrate a politician's persuasive arguments and a divisive tale employs historical reconstruction or stories to generate antagonists. According to Cobb (2013), politicians often make sense of their experiences and actions through the narratives they construct.

Schubert (2010) presents a taxonomy of the narrative purposes of political speeches. He differentiates between "personalizing," "integrating," "exemplifying," and "polarizing." When politicians personalize, they utilize tales to show themselves as different types of people. An integrating role 'may be observed in narrative sections that stress shared successes or ideals of a nation or political party, while the speaker is a representative of the group.'

A thorough and in-depth review of existing scholarly information reveals that studies on Narrative Building in General and specifically in Politics have been conducted in a variety of locations from various aspects. No information is available on the Narrative Building in Politics, A Critical Analysis of Imran Khan's Selected Discourse. As a result, the researchers plan to conduct research on the narrative building of Imran Khan since the beginning of his political era.

Research Methodology

Research Design

The present research is based on Narrative Building in Politics, A Critical Analysis of Imran Khan's Selected Discourse. The study was conducted through a collection of Imran Khan's speeches. According to Creswell (2007), this study follows a qualitative research approach. The researcher uses the qualitative method in this study. A descriptive study design is adopted to analyze the speeches of Imran Khan.

Data Collection

The researchers collected data on Imran Khan's speeches from YouTube and Online Newspapers. All the speeches of Imran Khan were available on YouTube and the most popular political narratives

of Imran Khan have made headlines. The selected data for this study is from 16 October 1996 to 2023. The speeches delivered by Imran Khan at different public rallies during the selected time frame have been chosen to study.

Narrative Analysis

Some excerpts from the speeches of Imran Khan have been taken for the Narrative Analysis. These speeches are made from the time when Imran Khan started his party back in 1996 to 2023. These speeches have been analyzed to explore how Imran Khan has built a strong narrative from the beginning. This analysis also explores the strategies that he has continuously been using. These speeches will also be used to analyze how his narrative has changed over the past. As the speeches are made in the Urdu Language, the English translation has been done for the better understanding of the readers.

The Analysis of the Beginning of Imran Khan's Political Narrative

These few excerpts are taken from the speeches of Imran Khan back on 16 October 1996. A few of them are delivered after one month after the opening of the first office of PTI in Lahore in 1996 and from his rally in Maridke back in 1996.

“Aur jahan tak yeh baghairti hai k sajday karty kabhi america k samany, kabi beron mulku k smany, kabi bankun k smnay...Tehreek e insaf ka nasab ul ain yeh hai k ‘Iyyaka Na`budu wa Iyyaka Nasta`een’, kay sirf Allah k ibadat krty hain, aur ussi se he madad mangty hain.. Insaano k gay nae jhukty.”

Translation: And as far as this shameless action is concerned that they (the opposition) bow down before America, they bow down before foreign countries, they bow down before Banks. This is not something that PTI will ever do. The PTI will follow (Quotes Quranic Verse which means) 'You we worship and You we take refuge in (Quran 1:5)', We only pray to Allah, and we only ask for HIS help. We don't bow down before humans.

Analysis: Imran Khan has always started his speech with the name of Allah and also by quoting any Quranic Verse. In this speech, he used the word “Jhukna” which in the perspective of the Islamic Community means "bowing down before

Allah". Imran Khan has used such lexical words which can evoke any Muslim's religious sentiments. Imran Khan has portrayed the opposition as if they are worshipping America, Foreign Countries and Bank. With the choice of his lexical words, he builds a narrative by evoking the feelings of Muslims to feel as if the opposition is sinning as if they are worshipping others instead of God. After evoking the feelings, He calmed them down by reciting the verses of the Holy Quran that states that we only take refuge in Allah. He made the people believe that he will not worship anyone but Allah. And that he will never ask for anyone's help but Allah.

“Hum yeh pakistan me khud parasti hatam kregay, Azad qoum k tarhn rahein gay.”

Translation: We will end self-worship in Pakistan. We will live like an independent country.

Analysis: In this statement, Imran Khan has clearly mentioned another sort of worship which is self-worship. He pointed towards the political leaders that are self-centred; that only think and do better for themselves. He made people believe that he would not be self-centred like other politicians and that all the people will lead an independent life.

“Na imran khan aj tak kise k smany jhuka hai na wo apni qoum ko jhukny dega.”

Translation: Nor did Imran Khan ever bow down before anyone, nor he will let his country bow down before anyone.

Analysis: In this statement, Imran Khan has built a narrative of his personality that he is a strong-headed man who has firm religious beliefs. He never bowed down before anyone and nor he will let his people bow down before anyone. He tried to win the people's trust that by following him, he would make sure no one has to beg for anything to anyone ever.

“Ap logon se darkhawast hai k jo bhe tehreek ko join kry wo sirf yeh yad rkahy k ‘Iyyaka Na`budu wa Iyyaka Nasta`een’, kay ap ne kise insaan k smany nae jhukhna”

Translation: I request all the people that whoever joins this party should remember (Quote

Islamic Verse again which means) 'You we worship, and You we take refuge in. (Quran 1:5)', You must never bow down before any human.

Analysis: This statement is powerful as in this statement Imran Khan clearly calls out the people who believe in this Quranic Verse. Human beings that are believers in any religion have a strong inclination towards their religion. Being a Muslim, one can never deny anything that is written in Quran. Imran Khan used religious tactics to invite more people to his party. He drew a line between the people. The one side of the people are those who bow down before everyone else that in Islam has a term called "Shirk" and the people who only bow down before Allah. So, in the bottom line, he invited all the Muslims to join his party and made this Verse the distinction for his political party.

"Hume bas dalair logon k zarort hai, buzdil logon k nahin."

Translation: We only need brave people and not cowardly ones.

Analysis: In this statement, Imran Khan has built a narrative amongst the people that only brave people are welcome and not cowards'. He made a perception that only brave people are invited and will be part of this political party.

"Insaaf pe eh tehreek chalege, logon k traf se qiyadat ayege, apki taraf se qiyadat ayege, VIP culture hatam kregi."

Translation: This party will be based on justice. The people of this country will govern this party. You will govern this party. We will end the VIP culture.

Analysis: As many politicians do not consider the general public in their decision-making. Imran Khan made the people believe at many points that his party will have the people from the general public. The general public will take the decisions for the welfare of themselves. Imran Khan convinced the people that there will be no VIP culture.

"2 dafa bewqoof ban chuky hain, Benazir ko ap ne pehle dafa azamya, Asif Zardari ne choori shuru kr di, lot mar shuru ki, hum ne oneh phr se azamya pata tha k chori ki hai, kya nateeja nikala? K Benazir aur Asif Zardari ne choti chori k bajaye

bary dakay marny shuru kr diya, us chori k qeemat humne di, imran khan ne di, ap ne di."

Translation

We have been fooled twice. We gave Benazir a chance, but Asif Zardari started corruption. We gave them another chance. What happened then? Benazir and Asif Zardari got themselves indulged in more corruption. And who paid the price for their actions? Imran Khan did, you did!

"Jissy ap Siyayat kehty an, siyayat k matlab ache tarhn jhoot bolna, logon ko pagal banana. InshaALLAH, jo ap se bat kruga wo apko kr ke dekhauga. Ap se koi jhoot nae boluga, lakin jab ap se koi wada kruga ussy nibhaoga. Sabse pehle awam ko insaaf milega, apko apni misaal deingay, chotay gharu me rahegay, yeh barhay mahal school colleges me badal dein gay."

Translation: What you call politics is just telling lies, and making people fool out of it. By the will of Allah, Whatever I'll say, I'll prove it. I will never lie to you. Whenever I make a promise, I'll fulfil it. Firstly, the people will get justice. We will set ourselves as the set examples for everyone. We will live in small houses. All the government luxury residences will be converted into Educational Institutions.

Analysis: As the name suggested, Imran Khan has envisioned a just system for Pakistan. He named his party PTI (PAKISTAN TEHREEK-E-INSAAF), also called as Movement of Justice. Imran Khan has always called himself a Leader and not a Politician. As Politician has a negative connotation, he has referred to himself as a leader. He told people that politics is a game of lies and the public has been fooled by the political parties. He made people believe that he would never do what the politicians have done to them. He will stand by his word. He made the public believe that everyone will get justice. They will lead an exemplary life. He claimed that he would live in small houses. Imran Khan had been a staunch critic of the luxurious lifestyle of previous rulers who made the country bankrupt. By this statement, He made people believe that he will lead a simple life just like our prophets. He will convert the PM House into an educational institute. By saying so, he built a narrative amongst the people that Imran Khan will follow the patterns of Islamic Leaders and will not

indulge himself in corruption as he will not chase luxuries.

This Extraction has been taken from the speech of Imran Khan back on 7 October 1999

“Jo La Illah Illahi” dil se parhy wo kabhi buzdil nae ban skta, Sirf munafiq sajdya krty hain jhootay buttu k smany, America ka buth, Paisa ka buth, IMF ka buth. Yeh but parsati ho ri hai Pakistan mein.

Translation: Whoever recites “La Illah illallah” which means “There is no God but Allah” can never be a crowd. Only a hypocrite can bow down before the sculptures of God made by humans. Only hypocrites bow down before the USA, Money and IMF. The worship of idols is a sin and that is being done in Pakistan.

Analysis: In this statement, the lexical choices made by Imran Khan provoked the religious sentiments of Muslims. His lexical choices include quoting the Quran Verse on which the whole message of Islam stands. Furthermore, he used the terms like “Munafiq” which means “Hypocrite”, “Sajdah karna”, which means “To bow down before someone” and “Buth” which means “Sculpture of God”. In Islam, it is forbidden to bow down before a sculpture of Gods. It is considered a sin. The Islamic term for such sin is called “Shirk”. Imran Khan built the narrative of people by making them believe that the opposition is bowing before USA & IMF for the sake of money. Imran Khan used the term “Munafiq” for the opposition that has a history in Islam. Imran Khan made people believe that the opposition is committing a sin and that it must end in Pakistan.

Imran Khan’s Political Narrative Analysis on “Naya Pakistan”

These excerpts are taken from the “Pakistan Bachao Jalsa” by Imran Khan at Minto Park Lahore on 30 October 2011.

“Aj Allah ne huamre sun li. Aj hum nayee Pakistan ka Aghaz kar rhay hain. Mein sabse zayada khushamdeed kehta hon sab rikshaw drivers ko, taxi drivers ko, civil servants ko jo yahn pe chuph kr ayein hain, aur tamam Peoples Party aur Nawaz Sharif k jo karkun ayae hain uneh bhe Mubarak deta hon k aap ne apna qibla durasat kar liya.”

Translation: Allah has listened to us. Today we are making the NEW PAKISTAN. I extend a warm welcome to all rickshaw drivers, taxi drivers, secretly present civil officials, and police officers today. I extend my greetings to the people from the Peoples Party and PML-N who came here to join me today. I am happy that you are finally following the right direction.

Analysis: As the title of the rally suggests “Pakistan Bachao” which means “Save Pakistan”. By the name of it, it gets perceived that Pakistan must be saved. Imran Khan takes the responsibility of saving it from corruption mafia. As he witnessed thousands of people, he began by saying that today Allah has listened to us. We are heading towards making a New Pakistan. By the term “New Pakistan”, Imran Khan meant to say Pakistan that will be free from corruption and that will stand with minorities.

As he addressed the public, he began by greeting the minorities. Here, if we observe closely, a man standing on the stage cannot possibly see the whole audience and the kind of people that have come to the rally. Here he built the narrative by mentioning the lower-class professions that are suffering the consequences of corruption and are fighting inflation are standing beside him. He also mentions the civil servants and policemen who are mostly considered corrupt professions in which bribery is taken. He builds a narrative that the people that are accused of corruption are not the real culprits. They are in the rally for the promotion of justice and for the eradication of corruption in Pakistan. The real culprits are the opposition that forces them to be corrupt. Hence, they are present in the rally to support Imran Khan.

He further mentions the people from different parties just to build a narrative that the people are tired of the existing parties. And that everyone is with him. He used the phrase “Qibla Durast krna” which means “Following the right deflection”. He congratulates them and builds a perception that whoever supports Imran Khan is on the right path.

“Pakistan kabhi kise se bheek nahin mangega. Kaya ap mujhe batayen k Quaid-e-Azam kise se bheek mang sakta tha? Tu kaya Imran Khan kise se bheek mangega? Dollar ka liya khoon beechany walo pe lannat bajhta hon.”

Translation: Pakistan will never beg anyone. Do you think Quaid e Azam can ever beg for anything from anyone? Do you think that Imran Khan will ever beg? I curse those who sell blood for the sake of dollars.

Analysis: Imran Khan has compared himself to Jinnah. He made people believe that he is a follower of Quaid e Azam and just like him, Imran Khan can never beg anyone. He cursed those who are greedy for dollars.

“Mere nujuwano, mere behno, mera khaas paigham maazadaroun ko k hum ap ko ap kay haqooq delwaigay jo apko kise ne nahin diya. Mein ap k sath kharra hongaa. Isleya nahin k me seyasi narray mar raha hon, is lea k me ek musliman hon aur mera faraz ha k hum kamzoor tabqay sath khary hon. Hum jo ghar me mulazim hain, log jo mulazmat krty hain. Jineh log janwaro k tarhn rkhty hain hum uneh haqooq delwaigay gharun mein.”

Translation: My youth, my sisters, this is my special message to the labourers of the country; we will get you the rights that no one has ever given you. I'll be there for you. Not because I am acting politically, but rather because it is my obligation as a Muslim to support the weak. The labourers that work in the homes, the ones who get treated like animals, we will give them their rights in the houses.

Analysis: Imran Khan has specially mentioned the lower class of Pakistan. In the country 67.25 million people are labourers. In the country, where poverty and inflation have reached alarming levels, making life exceedingly difficult for labourers, with 80 per cent of unskilled labourers reportedly not receiving the minimum wage of PKR 25,000. In that country, Imran Khan built and played his political narrative of getting them their rights.

“Ab mein khawateen ko kehna chahta hon k pakistan k aurtu k lia paigham hai k Thereek e insaaf wo jamat ha jo apko haqooq delwaige . Apko taleem dalwaigay takay ap khud apny haqooq k lia khari hojayege. Dosri cheez, mje barhay afsos se kehna prta hai k jo yeh mulk Islam k nam pe bana tha aur auraten, humare aksar aurtun ko jaidad me hissa nae milta, hum dalwa kr dekhaigay unko.”

Translation: PTI is the political force in Pakistan that will secure your rights as a woman. We'll work to improve women's education. After receiving an education, they will defend their rights. I am saying it with utmost disappointment that women do not get an equal share in inheritance in the country that was made in the name of ISLAM. We promise to get you your rights.

Analysis: In a country, where 49.6% of the total population is of women and 12 million women are not getting their basic education rights. Imran Khan has hit the right spot and has spoken a lot about gender equality and women's empowerment in Pakistan. He addressed the women of Pakistan and promise to get them education as well as their inheritance rights in Pakistan.

Imran Khan's Political Narrative Analysis on Mission Islam and Riyasat e Madinah

Imran Khan presented himself as a Muslim leader who is tasked with reviving the concept of Riyasat-e-Madina, which has great significance in Islam. It draws attention to the state established by the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). To maintain the party's reputation as the only organization in Pakistan capable of limiting the influence of other organizations or political parties that looted public money by holding and controlling public office, Imran Khan has overused emotive religious expressions like Riasaat-i-Madina and Amr bil Maroof wa Nahi-unil-Munkir to win the public's support and justify the party's stance.

Few excerpts of Imran Khan's speech on 10 November 2019

“Dekhein, Mein mere jo inspiration thi wo humare Nabi hain. Jo madina k riyasat banayi us riyasat k andar jis tarhn ka insaniyat ka nizam aya. Pehle dafa dunia ki tareekh me ek falahi rayasat ai ek rayasat ne zimadari li apny kamzoor tabqay ki, pehle dafa ek riyasat ne bewayun k, mazdooron ki, yateemo ki, ek eh b stage aye k Khalifa waqat ne kaaha k aagr kuta b mere riyast me mary me zimdar hongaa, mein meri inspiration eh hai. Pakistan os tarhn ka nizam banay.... Mein Pakistan ko un principles pe chalyuga.”

Translation: Look, my inspiration is our Prophet PBUH. The state of Medina was the first welfare state in human history where the government took care of the weak. The first state that took responsibility for labourers, orphans, widows... There was a time when Caliph made himself accountable for even a Dog's death; this is my inspiration for Pakistan.

“Hum jab nimaz me mangty hain k hume Us rasty pe laga. Hum os rasty pe lagaty hain. Baq Izzat aur kamyabi dena wala Allah hai. Huamra kam hai us rasty pe lag kr jadojahad hai. Isme mushkilat ayegi. Humre smanay ek brha mafia bethay howy an jo ek corrupt nizam se mal bana kr tagry log bethy an, media me bethy an, siaysat me hain, bureaucrats mein, humara kam hai jadojahad kr ke ineh shikast dna.”

Translation: When we pray, we ask Allah to put us on the path of the righteous. We will follow that path. The rest will be determined by Allah. Our task is to follow that path and struggle to strive for good. There will be hurdles. We have a huge mafia in our way that has looted money and has become powerful. We have to struggle to defeat them.

Analysis: Imran Khan used religious tactics in his speech. He started off by saying that we all must follow the right path which we ask for in prayer. He later took a turn and referred to the media, politics, and bureaucrats as the mafia who are the hurdles in that path. Politicians often use nationalist and religious sentiments to sway public opinion, often relying on fake news and propaganda. Imran Khan has been slammed many times for mixing religion with politics. He starts off by evoking religious sentiments to bring opposition as the enemies of Islam and asserts his followers to revolt against them. He has often used the term "Jihad" as well in his speeches which has an altogether different meaning in Islam.

Imran Khan's Political Narrative Analysis of Pak Army and Gen Bajwa

PM Imran Khan bluntly defends Army Chief Gen Bajwa and Pak Army in a speech during the Tigers Force convention on 17 October 2020: he said,

“Nujuwano ghour se suno, Aj Pakistan ko jo aj akhty rakhe howy hai, Pakistan k Fouj is mulk ko

akhta rkh ri hai. General Bajwa ne jis tarhn is hakomat k madad ki. General Bajwa ko daad deta hon. General Bajwa Aik Suljhay howy admi hain. Unme thehrao hai isleya bardasht kr ry hain . Koi aur fouj me hota tu bht reaction ana tha. Gusa tu bht hai andar magar muje pata hai k wo bardasht kr ry hain kyun k wo believe krty hain democracy k andar. Yeh General Faiz pe attack kr ry hain. Kaya ap Pakistan k Army Chief aur ISI Chief aur fouj ko keh ry hain k inka helaf bagahwat kryn.. issay barhay gadhari kaya hai?”

Translation: Listen to me carefully; the only one that has kept Pakistan together is the Pakistani Army. The way General Bajwa has helped the government is impeccable. I appreciate General Bajwa. General Bajwa is a wise man. He is accepting this because he is a calm individual. There would have been a strong reaction if there had been anyone else in the service. He might be angry, but he is tolerating all of it as he believes in democracy. They (the opposition) are attacking General Faiz. Are you asking the army to revolt against Pakistan's Army Chief and ISI Chief? Who else can be the biggest traitor?

“General Bajwa ne jis tarhn es hakomat k mushkil me madad ki. Abe Karachi me madad ki, jab bairshen ari the, carona k andar pori tarhn madad ki, jab mulk k pass paisa ni tha 2 saal PAKISTAN K FOUJ NE asal me apary defence expenditures pe cut leya ku k uneh fikr the k Pakistan k pass paisa ni ha. Asa pehle kabi nae hua. Barasgheer k tareekh mein ase hakomat nae aye, jo muslimano se aur Pakistan se itni nafrat karti hai jitni Narendra modi k hakomat krty hai.. Mere tigers....Har roz humare foji apni jan k qurbaniyan de rhay hain. Parso 20 Pakistan k security forces ne shahadat paye..Aur yeh kyun apni jan k qurbaniyan de rhy hain? Huamre lia, Mul k liya! Aur yeh geedar jo dum duma kr bahir bagha tha (clapping)..wahan beth kr Army Chief k uper jo usne zaban istemal ki aur DJ ISI k uper.. yeh wo nawaz shareef hai k jo aj fouj k uper aur fouj k sarbarh k uper is tarhn k jo zaban istemal kr rha hai.. Pakistan k Fouj aur Gen Bajwa huamre sath kharay hain. Yeh soch rahy hain k government k beech me darar dalein, ya fouj k beech mein inteshar paida karyn.”

Translation: Gen. Bajwa has aided the current government in two ways: most recently, during a recent rainstorm in Karachi, and most actively

during the coronavirus. When we ran out of money, the Pakistan Army reduced its defence spending for two years out of concern for Pakistan's financial condition.

My Tigers and the Youth of Pakistan! There has never been an Indian government that dislikes Muslims and Pakistan as much as Narendra Modi does in the history of South Asia. Our soldiers are the targets of attacks, and they are giving their lives in the process. Twenty members of Pakistan's security personnel were killed just the day before yesterday. He remarked, raising his voice. Why are they giving their life in this way? It is for us and for this nation! Furthermore, this jackal (Nawaz Shareef), who fled from the area, is now seated in London and has been using derogatory words on our army chief and the DG ISI. Gen. Bajwa and the Pakistan Army are supporting us everywhere. Now, they (the opposition) are trying to sour relations between our government and the army.

The prime minister cited three more books, claiming that they included facts regarding how the leaders of the PML-N and the PPP had harmed Pakistan. He said:

"Teen aur kitaben hain jo ap parheyn k ineh ne mulk se kesi gaddari ki...To be continued."

Translation: According to the book *The Way of the World*, Bilawal's mother used to call him [Bilawal], and the CIA tapped the phone calls. She used to inform him where his money was kept in which banks. Another [such book] is *Ghost Wars*, in which the author claims that Nawaz Sharif wanted the US to send troops because he was terrified of his own army: he was begging for American protection!"

"These are people who are willing to sell their country in order to save their stolen money." Their god is money. They have done to their country what Mir Jaffar and Mir Sadiq did to their respective nations for personal gain. They enslaved their own people for personal gain.

It is not an attack on Gen. Bajwa, but rather an attack on the Pakistani army, what he [Nawaz] said while being outside. This is what Narendra Modi said as well. Nawaz Sharif remained silent when Narendra Modi repeatedly said, "We like Nawaz Sharif, but the Pakistan Army chief is a terrorist." Why doesn't Modi assert that General Bajwa is wrong and Imran Khan is right? Because

he knows that I'll reveal Modi's radical nature to the rest of the world.

Analysis: PM Imran Khan began his speech by welcoming the Tiger Force which was largely comprised of youth volunteers. He turned his guns towards Nawaz Sharif and built a narrative against him. He began by praising the efforts of Gen Bajwa and the Army. Imran Khan asks several questions to bring the realization that it is due to the army and their sacrifices that we are standing together, safe and sound as a nation. He later called Nawaz Shareef a traitor and a jackal for bashing the army and for running to the UK. He also called the opposition the Mir Jafar and Mir Sadiq of today. As Mir Jafar and Mir Sadiq characterize a crass traitor, who changed the history of the Indian subcontinent and has become the symbol of Betrayal. Imran Khan has precisely referred Shareef brothers Mir Jafar and Mir Sadiq more than once.

Moreover, Imran Khan mocked Nawaz Shareef for asking for the help of the US Army as he fears the Pakistani Army. Imran Khan has also evoked the aggressiveness of Pakistani Youth against India. He first called Narendra Modi's government the biggest enemy of Pakistan. He further evoked emotions by telling the youth that the attempts of killing the soldiers of Pakistan are being made by the Indian Army. He further then talked about how Narendra Modi has been talking ill of the Pakistani Army but praising Nawaz Shareef as he has been silenced about it. He makes the youth believe that the one who is against Pakistani Army is against the Pakistani country and whoever remains silent on it, is the biggest traitor and shouldn't be forgiven.

Imran Khan's Political Narrative Analysis on Army after no-trust Motion

"Jo power is General Bajwa k pas the super king tha, sab k uper betha hua tha sab faisly uskay. Government tab tak theek the. Government kay kam tab hotay thay jab tak General Bajwas fasila kry k han yeh theek hai. Tanqeed tu Imran khan k hoti the har dsory din. Punching bag me tha. Power wo le kr bethay thay."

Translation: Gen Bajwa had all the powers. He was the super king. He was above all. He made all the decisions as per his choice. All the government issues were being handled as long as he agrees to

them. Imran Khan was being criticized. I was the punching bag meanwhile I had no power.

Analysis: Imran Khan once said that he was on the same page with Gen Bajwa and the army. Later, he made a claim that Gen Bajwa had all the powers. He was merely a puppet that was put in front to face the consequences of the decision made by Gen Bajwa and was criticized for being an incompetent leader.

Imran Khan's Political Narrative Analysis on the Term "Neutral"

Excerpt of Imran Khan from April 19, 2018

“Mein cricket k dhai soo salon tareekh ka wo captain hon jiski wajah se cricket k duniya mein neutral empire ayay thay. InshaAllah hum apnay electoral process ko asa bnaayegay k jese cricket k dunia me neutral empire k zareya jo ahrta hai wo b qabool krta hai, jo jeetata hai wo bhe qabool krta hai.”

Translation: I was the first captain in the history of cricket who introduced the concept of a Neutral Empire. By the will of God, we will make our electoral process based on neutrality.

“Mein apnay neutral se kehta hon k abhe bhe waqat hai abhe b time hai apni policies review kryn.”

Translation: I asked my neutrals to review their policies while they were still time.

- i. On Friday, March 10, Imran Khan addressed a public gathering at the Dir Scouts ground in the Balambat area of Lower Dir district, saying:
- ii. *“Neutral banany k hume Allah ne hme ijazat ni di..... Neutral sirf janwar hoty hain.”*

Translation: Allah has forbidden us from being neutral since 'only animals are neutral'.

Analysis: Imran Khan introduced the word “Neutral” and tried building his narrative on it. He has never stopped crediting unbiased umpires in cricket to his own activism and campaigning during his cricketing career. On April 19, 2018, the prime minister said he was the first captain in cricket history to strive for unbiased umpires. Imran Khan, who was running for president that year, insisted on a 'neutral' setup as essential for

organizing transparent elections. On May 3, the same year, he lauded neutrality and named COAS Gen Qamar Jawed Bajwa as the most neutral and pro-democratic general. But ahead of the no-trust motion, PM Khan defined neutrality in a religious context, saying that humans are supposed to act according to their conscience rather than being impartial, which is an animal trait, while addressing a gathering at Timergara on March 11. He went on to assert that animals cannot distinguish between good and evil. Humans make decisions based on their conscience. Only animals are truly neutral.

Conclusion

Findings

A political narrative is a story, and a story's objective is to "shape fact and influence our perceptions of reality (Patterson, 1998). A political narrative is typically an account of "fictitious people and events." A 'value' is provided by a political story. A political narrative is independent of the truth (Arendt, 2005).

When Imran Khan came to power with the support of the military in 2018, a narrative of a clean politician devoid of corruption baggage was promoted to challenge the leaders of the opposition parties who were facing significant bribery accusations. The cricketer portrayed himself as a selfless leader who had a lucrative and glamorous life as a sports star before entering politics purely for the sake of Pakistanis. However, this was a political story that provided the audience with 'value' — a ready-made solution to all of the problems they were facing. Remember that a political narrative has nothing to do with reality. Although Imran Khan couldn't do much to combat corruption throughout his time, the narrative of him fighting corruption against all odds was regularly repeated, which he hoped would compensate for his incompetence.

Imran Khan has built a narrative by continuously calling Prophet PBUH and Quaid e Azam his inspiration and North Star to follow. A large portion of the Pakistani population was deluded. It is a grave disservice to elevate Imran Khan to the level of Quaid, who has made unparalleled contributions to the subcontinent's judiciary, legislative, and politics during the past 40 years. They are also diametrically opposed in their political beliefs as can be seen from the

various u-turns in his narrative. The current generation grew up in the post-Zia era. Apart from Pakistan Studies, their only other source of information is their leader on a container, who they regard as a new Jinnah.

The Former Prime Minister and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) Chairman Imran Khan has emerged as the country's most popular leader. He has been followed and supported by the women of Pakistan as well. Imran Khan has talked about gender equality and women empowerment in his speeches but Imran Khan made some very harmful statements shortly after taking office: the damaging influence of Western feminism on the role of mothers; the importance of observing "Pardah" and the banning of Bollywood movies and social media could help eliminate vulgarity and thus resolve issues such as violent sexual assault against women and reduce divorce rates; the effect of women's clothing on men - after all, men are not robots. Imran Khan also faced backlash after he blamed victims of rape for wearing "very few clothes". Moreover, the violence against women worsened during the regime of Imran Khan.

Imran Khan also built a narrative following a religious tactic. Imran promised to transform Pakistan into a 'Riyasat-e-Madina,' where everyone is equal and there is no concept of VIPs. However, Azam Swati, Mian Mehmood Rasheed's son, and Imran Shah are current examples of VIP culture in 'Naya Pakistan.'

Imran Khan once said that if Holland's prime minister can ride by bicycle, why couldn't ours? Imran Khan, on the other hand, travels by helicopter from PM House to Banigala after being elected Prime Minister. It was decided during Imran Khan's first cabinet meeting that the prime minister and his cabinet would not use a special jet for their foreign visits. The Prime Minister and his cabinet would fly commercially. Imran Khan, on the other hand, has used Airforce One, a dedicated plane for the Prime Minister, on all of his foreign travels. Foreign Minister Shah Mehmood took a chartered plane to Afghanistan. Imran Khan committed to turning the Prime Minister's, Chief Minister's, and Governor's Houses into educational institutions. Not only has Imran Khan moved to the PM House, but his party's chief ministers and governors have additionally done likewise.

Imran Khan has also undergone a notable shift in his narrative regarding the army. Initially, Khan has seen as a strong supporter of the military establishment, emphasizing a close relationship between civilian leadership and the armed forces. He called Gen Bajwa the most pro-democratic General. He claimed that all of his foreign policies are made with the collaboration of the Army Chief. He claimed that Army is standing strong with the manifesto of PTI. He spoke highly of the Army chief in his various speeches. He even called out Nawaz Shareef for talking against Gen Bajwa and remaining silent on the comments of Narendra Modi against the Army. But later on, he turned his narrative. He shifted his political narrative against the Army which caused chaos in the country.

"I will not even appoint Sheikh Rashid as my peon," Imran Khan stated on a long-ago television chat show. Sheikh Rashid, on the other hand, is not just a cabinet member but also one of Imran's personal advisers. Imran Khan used to refer to Punjab's former Chief Minister as "Punjab's biggest robber." However, after winning the general election, Pervaiz Elahi not just become an important ally of Imran Khan but he was also elected as Speaker of the Punjab Assembly. Imran Khan also appointed members of Pervaiz Elahi's party to provincial and federal cabinet positions.

At a public event in Islamabad on March 27, 2022, Imran Khan said that the US was behind the opposition's petition of vote of no confidence and had been conspiring against his government. He built his narrative amongst the youth on "Imported Government". This tag was on trend on various social media platforms. He made his narrative that this government was imposed on us by American conspiracy. Later, he changed his mind about the US conspiracy theory four times. At the same time that he claimed there was a US regime change plot, his party negotiated an agreement with an American lobbying firm to restore relations with the US administration and boost the party's positive image. Imran Khan has revised his stance on the US conspiracy, claiming that the no-confidence vote was staged by a powerful establishment. They could have halted the plot against his government if they had. Imran's position on the US conspiracy hypothesis has shifted yet again, this time blaming Nawaz, Zardari, Maulana Fazl, and others for the operative regime's true character. As if that wasn't

enough, Khan changed his tune on the regime change plot, saying that the operation was being planned by Punjab's interim Chief Minister, Mohsin Naqvi. Finally, Imran Khan reversed his position and stated that the regime change scheme was not imported, but rather exported. However, along with other narratives he made in the past, this too also changed.

Discussion on Findings

Imran Khan builds a master narrative since he has little else to give the people. The story appeals to his young support base, which includes a sizable portion of the urban salaried class and the Pakistani diaspora in the West. Because of their attachment to the Pakistani state, all of these groups have a strong desire to swallow such narratives. Populist politics thrives on basic slogans, and populist leaders understand that they must first herd people into a herd before shepherding them.

In Pakistan, the power system depends on narratives that allow the power elite to discriminate and identify like-minded people and grant them membership in their own clubs. Mr. Khan is experimenting with a master narrative cultivated by the power elite, but he has advanced

it to the point where the power elite worry, they may lose control of it. Master narrative in Pakistan is ultimately the middle-class narrative – based on Islamic theology, all-Pakistanis, perceived Indian belligerency, and a world seen through Islamic eyes. Imran Khan's whole political vision centres around this political vision (all his popular efforts centred on Islamization of institutions), which is founded on the middle class's ideological binary: religion versus the other.

Imran Khan has disappointed his followers, but if there was one thing he did with dedication and passion during his term, it was to build narratives.

Limitations and Further Research

This Narrative Building in Politics study comprises a Critical Analysis of Imran Khan's Selected Discourse that has been taken from YouTube from October 1966 to 2023. It is the analysis of his political narrative building and the U-turns he made in his narrative. Other limitations are that it has only taken Imran Khan's political narrative building. The researchers can use this study for taking help for conducting further research.

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