

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL MEDIA IN AMPLIFYING HATE SPEECH: A QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF IMRAN KHAN AND NAWAZ SHARIF'S RHETORIC ON YOUTUBE

Faiz Mahmood^{*1}, Ms. Syeda Malika Zahra², Dr. Afia Mehdi³

^{*1}PhD scholar, Department of English Linguistics and Literature, Riphah International University, Islamabad.

^{2,3}Lecturer, National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad.

^{*1}mahmood.faiz786@gmail.com, ²malika.zahra@numl.edu.pk, ³mmehdi@numl.edu.pk

ABSTRACT

This study aims to understand the causes of hate speech, its implications, and reactions. The study surveys the underlying reasons for hate language, the motives of the person using it, and the results of such hate speeches on the followers and the public in general. This is primarily qualitative research and the speeches of two Pakistani leaders Muhammad Nawaz Sharif (PML-N) and Imran Khan (PTI) are selected as a case to collect the data, and comments of the followers and opponents of these leaders collected from the Youtube.com comment section. The data was codified for commonly emerging themes. The data revealed that the speeches resulted in a strong, abusive, mudslinging, and offensive reaction by the followers to the persons and institutions targeted by their political leaders. These speeches resulted in intolerance, fanaticism, and bigotry in an already polarized society and popularized the use of abusive language and trends on social media.

Keywords: hate speech, political discourse, Pakistan, social media, survey

INTRODUCTION

Hate speech covers a great variety of expressions including incitement to, advocacy of, promotion, and justifying hatred, violence, and discrimination against a person, group, sect, culture, or institution. In this world of social media and the internet, the news spreads like wildfire. Every constitution gives the right of freedom of speech to its citizens, to express themselves, to voice their concerns. The online platforms available nowadays have made it possible to reach the maximum number of audiences instantaneously, using a variety of channels, voicing their legitimate or otherwise concerns. Fake or disguised identities empowered people to write anything claiming the freedom of expression, making social media a hotbed for creating and

spreading hatred with impunity. This expression of speech becomes more pronounced when a public figure uses derogatory, inflammatory, inciting words against the opponents creating an abusive trend of expressing hatred and offensive remarks. This has also raised serious concerns in the international community to make effective countermeasures.

Pakistani society is a polarized one wherein common people generally show intolerance in religion, and are divided into sects. Each sect tries to prove itself right using the language to downgrade others, resulting in intolerance surfaces and overwhelming the common man, who while ignorant of nuances of the religion, becomes prey to the diatribe of the leaders, producing, projecting,

and propagating the same, showing hatred, xenophobia, and bias to promote the agenda set by the leader. Cult worship is the norm of Pakistani society. To get applause or to push the opponents' back foot, it has become a custom to muddle them. This creates a schism in the society wherein every sect and every party consider itself on the right and besides them, everyone is either a traitor or nonbeliever and deserves to be hanged.

It is crucial to define what hate speech is so that we can better understand the political outbursts and harangues the politicians enter every other day and cause upheaval and unrest putting into danger and disrepute persons, parties, institutions, and even the country, nationally and internationally. Hate speech is an emotional outburst expressing, demeaning, and disparaging verbal or nonverbal act, against an adversary which may put him at risk of verbal attacks or even has the power to put his life in danger at the hands of some frenzied follower taking the leader's words to the face value.

A speech that is "offensive" or "conveys hate" (Strossen 2016), can be termed hate speech. A comprehensive overview of different definitions can be found in Sellars (2016), "A speech that makes violent response possible is a hate speech according to Sellars. Proponents of free speech take refuge in the principle of "content neutrality" (Brettschneider 2013), and disallows ban on expression of viewpoint even if the message is "distasteful, offensive, disagreeable, or discomforting" (Beausoleil 2019), bordering hate speech.

The Constitution of Pakistan defines not only the freedom of speech but also bars speech that is against the "glory of Islam or the integrity, public order, decency or morality." (Constitution of Pakistan, Freedom of Speech: article 19) "It is expressed in a public way or place. It targets a person or group of people with a protected characteristic such as race, religion, or sexual orientation" (Constitution of Canada, freedom of speech) First Amendment United States of America requires the government to strictly protect robust debate on matters of public concern even when such debate devolves into distasteful, offensive, or hateful speech that causes others to feel grief, anger, or fear. (The Supreme Court's decision in Snyder v. Phelps) "Any kind of communication in speech,

writing or behavior, that attacks or uses pejorative or discriminatory language concerning a person or a group based on who they are, in other words, based on their religion, ethnicity, nationality, race, color, descent, gender or other identity factor." (UN definition of Hate Speech) The constitution of Pakistan doesn't allow anyone to incite the rank and file of the army against its command and leadership.

The sanctity of the armed forces has been enshrined in the constitution of Pakistan that no one can defame the institution of the judiciary and army. It is a violation of the constitution of Pakistan under Articles 243, 244, and 245 to speak against the armed forces. After the amendments to the Pakistan Penal Code of 1860 and Code of Criminal Procedure of 1898, it is a crime to defame the armed forces according to the Criminal Law (amended) Act Bill. A person may get imprisonment of up to two years or he can be imposed a fine of five hundred thousand or he can face both punishments if he is found guilty of defaming the armed forces.

The sacrosanctity of the armed forces has been specifically added in the amended Penal Code and Criminal Procedure Code restricting and penalizing the person who speaks or acts in contravention of both the Penal and Criminal Acts. To examine whether the speeches of Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and Imran Khan can be termed derogatory and inflammatory inciting the public intentionally against the armed forces we have framed the following questions:

1. What kind of language did both the leaders of mainstream parties, Muhammad Nawaz Sharif PML (N) and Imran Khan (PTI) use to incite the public against the Armed forces of Pakistan? And what are the causes behind the use of this kind of language?
2. What are the implications and reactions following these emotionally explosive outbursts from the followers and opponents of these leaders?

LITERATURE REVIEW

This section provides subject matter and theoretical accounts of the research questions. Hate speech poses a serious threat to democracies, the rule of law, and human rights. It can lead to violations of

personal freedom, the right to freedom of expression, acts of violence, and conflicts on a personal, religious, cultural, sectorial, and national scale. Criminal prohibition of hate speech is necessary and a balance should be placed to distinguish between hate speech and freedom of expression (European Commission for Racism and Intolerance <http://www.coe.int/>) ECRI has suggested self-discipline is an effective approach to tackle hate speech, especially cyber hate, regulation by the internet bodies and education is an effective tool to end misconceptions and misinformation that forms the basis of hate speech.

The purpose of this article is to discuss the hate speech against the army is our major concern so we shall restrict ourselves to the side of the hate speech. "People demand freedom of speech as a compensation of thought which they rarely use," says Kierkegaard. The problem in today's democracies is how to give people freedom of speech while ensuring peace, and rule of law and nabbing intolerance and violence in society, says Zafar Aziz Chaudhary. (<https://dailytimes.com.pk/writer/zafar-aziz-chaudhry/>). Before 1929, there was no law against hate speech, after the sacrilegious act of a Hindu against the Holy Prophet, the British Government enacted Section 295(A) (deliberate and malicious acts to outrage any person's religious feeling) to which later during Zia period were added 295(B) (defiling the Holy Quran) and 295(C) (blasphemy against the Holy Prophet, 298(A) (using derogating remarks against Holy Personages) 298(B) forbidding Ahmadis from using Islamic epithets, etc. (<https://dailytimes.com.pk/writer/zafar-aziz-chaudhry/>)

Hate speech, in general, has been described above through the definition found in laws and regulations on national on international levels; however, major focus is to highlight the hate speech against the Army. We moved from the general hate speech to the specific hate speech against the Army. The army in any civilized or developing country has been a source of inspiration and strength; people derive inspiration as it lays down lives to save us from the enemies inside and outside. These politicians should be expelled from our politics who are working against the sovereignty of this

motherland. Freedom of speech doesn't mean that you start criticizing your own country and army. (Ali Anwar, Daily Times, November 22) He argues it cannot be declared freedom of speech when you provoke the army officials that they shouldn't obey the orders of their chief (Ali Anwar, Daily Times, November 22). However, Mr. Patil counters the argument that "Excessive involvement of the military in terms of time and manpower in non-military matters is not advisable for the armed forces" (Patil, DefenceXP, May 22)

Niha Dagia Supports the sanctity of the armed forces and extols, that there is no dearth of admiration for the armed forces in Pakistan. From rescuing victims of natural disasters and plane crashes to saving stranded mountaineers from frozen peaks and donating their share of the COVID-19 jabs to speed up the country's anti-coronavirus vaccination drive, the armed forces are revered for their courage and the extraordinary sacrifices made while protecting Pakistan's sovereignty. (Niha Dagia, The Diplomat, May 21). Patil opposes the argument that "Military taking control over the administration by involving themselves in such activities leads to inefficiency of the civil administration" (Patil, DefenceXP, May 22) The use of derogatory remarks and maligning the army for all the ills is the hallmark of the politicians. It happens only when they are out of power and want to get hold of the reins of power again by cajoling or coercing the military to do what they want them to do. In their thirst for power, they can recourse to any means can further their design, (Sushant Saree, ORF, 2020), Nawaz Sharif crosses the army line of control by hurling abusive language (Sushant Saree, ORF, 2020). Imran Khan was the darling of the establishment but when the so-called 'cipher' issue surfaces, there comes a divide and resultant note of no confidence in the assembly – a democratic process for in-house change – but it is called an American conspiracy, and war of words starts. About 70 of the procession and a long march to dethrone the sitting government. (Dawn, November 22) The outburst and language used in these processions against the army, incited the public to use derogatory language, maligning the army of interference in politics, alleging them to be a proxy of the US, an accomplice in de-seating the Premier

Senate election managed by Establishment. Asim Saleem Bajwa attacked, the army covering his corruption. Divide and rule by Establishment. Judges are handpicked by the Establishment. Imran is not our enemy Establishment is				
---	--	--	--	--

Table 2: Imran Khan Speech from Hospital November 2022

(<https://youtu.be/B8BLWdRzTD4>)

(Annexure 2)

Text	Code	Category	Theme	Frequency
Conspiracy against PTI/Cypher. Musharraf NRO Establishment role in overthrowing IK Establishment blindness to public sentiments Establishment blocks free elections Establishment threats to MPs Establishment of Torture on Journalists	Establishment Killing By Army personnel Plotting by the army	manipulation in politics by the army. sabotaging the political process destruction of political institution	Overreaching constitutional role by the army	18 1
4 establishment personnel plotted to kill me Use of religious cards by the establishment Crackdown on PTI backed by establishment Attack on IK hatched by 2 politicians backed by the establishment The establishment needs to decide Ballot or Bullet Assassination attempt hatched by Major General Conspiracy may result in another Bangladesh. PTI symbol of the federation, not Military Establishment of torture on Azam Swati Appeal to COAS Bajwa Resignation Of Major General MPs Threatened in Multan	Fall of Dhaka – Army framed Politician unites, army divides. Intrigues by Army	fall of Dhaka	Dismemberment of Pakistan	

The coding makes it evident that a pattern of hate speech emerged in both speeches. The frequency of the hate words clarifies the approach of both leaders that these speeches were delivered when they were not in power.

The comments show the polarity of opinion as it has always been. The followers of a leader support the leader no matter what s/he says or does, the blind following see the leader, not the utterances s/he makes.

RESULTS

Use of Language and its causes

This section answers the first research question:

- i) kind of language used by Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and Imran Khan
- ii) underlying causes of using derogatory language

Language Used by Politicians

The first category that emerged in our broader theme of the overreaching constitutional role of the army in politics is the army's manipulation in politics and overthrow of democratic governments (1a), the army is alleged of rigging in elections, [1b] overthrow of government and imposition of Martial law.[1c] Both of the politicians accused the establishment of unconstitutional acts by dishonoring people's mandate, they stated within a state, an elected politician elevated to the highest of premiership is a powerless PM vs Unseen powers, who orchestrate Baluchistan Coup [1d], use newspapers for discrediting politicians or misuse JIT propaganda, and Dawn Leaks de-popularizing and discredit the elected members, use social media platforms like Twitter to Tweet against Nawaz Sharif, and manage Senate elections to place their handpicked chairman on the pontificate. They are virtually in control of civil institutions, threaten the politicians, constitute powerful institutions like NAB to rein in the politicians [1e], corruption of Ex-servicemen and present military junta Asim Saleem Bajwa was attacked, and the army is alleged to every ready to cover its corruption [1f] they control judiciary who bails their corruption out as "Judges are handpicked by the Establishment [1g].

The Military establishment in collusion with the US administration overthrew Imran Khan's Government. Imran Khan goes on to allege the military of "Conspiracy against PTI (Cypher issue), Establishment played a vital role in overthrowing Imran Khan. The establishment is blind to public sentiments against them as Imran Khan is pulling an extraordinary number of people to his processions, he continues his allegations and says that the establishment blocks free elections, threatens MPs, tortures Journalists, and 4 establishment personnel have plotted to kill me, they use religious card against politician to discredit

them in the eyes of the public, crackdown on PTI is backed by the establishment, similarly attack on IK has been hatched by 2 politicians backed by establishment, establishment needs to decide Ballot or Bullet, Assassination attempt on Imran Khan has been hatched by Major General [1h], in the same strain Imran Khan criticizes the Military "Establishment torture on Azam Swati, and PTI's MPs are threatened in Multan" to vote according to their wishes. [1i] Judges are handpicked by the Military establishment [1j] [1]

- a) overthrow of democratic government.
- b) Rigging in the election.
- c) Imposition of Martial Laws, State within a state, Powerless PM Vs Powerful Unseen hands.
- d) Dawn Leaks by Unseen Powers, JIT, and Propaganda by Strong powers, tweeted against MNS "Rejected", Baluchistan coup by Establishment, Senate election managed by Establishment
- e) Constitution of NAB by dictator to nab the politicians.
- f) Asim Saleem Bajwa attacked, army covering his corruption
- g) Conspiracy against PTI/Cypher. Establishment role in overthrowing IK. Establishment blindness to public sentiments, Establishment blocks free elections, Establishment threats to MPs, Establishment torture on Journalists, 4 establishment personnel plotted to kill me, Use of religious card by the establishment, Crackdown on PTI backed by the establishment, Attack on IK hatched by 2 politicians backed by the establishment, the establishment needs to decide Ballot or Bullet, Assassination attempt hatched by Major General.
- h) Establishment torture on Azam Swati, MPs Threatened in Multan in collusion with the establishment.
- i) Judges are handpicked by the Establishment.

The second category that emerged is the dismemberment of Pakistan which has been alleged on the military establishment. The Fall of Dhaka has been implicitly alleged to the army by both of the leaders. Muhammad Nawaz Sharif warned that the intervention by the military may result in another Bangladesh [2a). Imran Khan's emotional outburst caused him to echo the same refrain,

conspiracy like cipher against the most prominent party may result in another Bangladesh [2b].

[2]

- a. Another Bangladesh due to intervention
- b. Conspiracy may result in another Bangladesh.

Causes behind the hate speech against Army

Our second part of the first research question is the causes behind this emotive outburst which sabotages the institution's repute. Politicians curry favor with the Army and when due to their failings are voted out target the establishment for their wrongdoings." The use of derogatory remarks and maligning the army for all the ills is the hallmark of the politicians. It happens only when they are out of power and want to get hold of the reins of power again by cajoling or coercing the military to do what they want them to do" (Dawn). Their lust for power forces them to hurl abuses on the institution which ensures the sovereignty of Pakistan. Freedom of speech doesn't mean that you start criticizing your own country and army. (Ali Anwar, Daily Times, November 22).

This research investigate history to know the causes of the hated speeches by the leaders of popular parties against the Pakistan army. Pakistan politics has a much-checkered history wherein the democratic process has always been overthrown without letting it complete the constitutional term. We analyze it historically to know the causes underlying military intervention as alleged by the politicians. Hina Altaf writes, that "heavy reliance" on the military post-partition decreased civilian authority and increased military supremacy. (Altaf, Hina, History of Military Intervention in Pakistan, 2019:

Founding Father Muhammad Ali Jinnah put together a constituent assembly but in practice, he wielded supreme and absolute power. Jinnah, according to Philip Oldenburg (2010) rejected the formation of political parties fearing, "they destroy and capture what Muslim league has achieved". Liaquat Ali Khan followed in his footsteps and exclaimed, "Those who formed parties are traitors, liars, and hypocrites" (McGrath, 1996). Ghulam Muhammad dismissed the assembly strengthening the alliance between the military and bureaucracy resulting in military supremacy.

The absence of any strong civilian institution and the absence of political to strengthen body politic has given rise to strong military, who came to the fore in 1958, 1969, 1977, and 1999 openly and its presence has always been felt even in civilian governments. Samuel Finer (1962) argues that political culture sets the parameters for military interventions. He continues that a society that lacks effective political culture leave the military establishment or institution as the only body to govern. Finer (1962) argues, that there are modes of intervention i) normal constitutional channels ii) collusion and competition with civilian authority iii) intimidation of civilian authority iv) threat of non-cooperation with military authority v) lack of deference for civilian authority during violence vi) violence against civilian authority. Harold Trinkunas agrees with Finer that not having a supportive political culture make newly emerging democracies vulnerable to military interventions.

Finer and Harold Trinkunas proved right when we trace the history from 1947 to 1922, the martial laws, and strong military presence in civilian setups. Goshal (2009) refers to military presence as "a power without responsibility". Afghan war gave an extraordinary hand to the military in defense, foreign affairs, defense expenditures, and service spending (Talbot 1998). While Niha Dagia is all praise for the army and writes, Public forget the services which the army performs besides their main duty of securing the borders and defending the country from within and without, "from rescuing victims of natural disasters and plane crashes to saving stranded mountaineers from frozen peaks and donating their share of the COVID-19 jabs to speed up the country's anti-coronavirus vaccination drive, the armed forces are revered for their courage and the extraordinary sacrifices made while protecting Pakistan's sovereignty". (Niha Dagia, The Diplomat, May 21)

Politicians failed themselves and the nation by neither strengthening the civil institution nor framing the legislation. The power rests not with the parties but with the pressure groups, who for their short-term vested interest are found ever ready to derail the system. MPs' seats are not a privilege but a tool to mint money. In such a scenario, there remains an institution that is famous for its unity, discipline, and internal strength. Politicians

themselves involve them to topple or make governments. When some party holds on to the rein of power with their backing is ousted on losing the patronage, and starts crying wolf. People who are unaware of the backdoor power politics become puppets in their hands. We as a nation are cult worshippers and believe in whatever right or wrong is uttered by the leader we follow. The same is the case with the speeches we analyzed above. Both leaders, after losing army support, criticized them on the one hand and were found trying to curry their favor and eager to strike a deal with them on the other hand. The blind admirers follow them in letter and spirit and believe in whatever s/he coins to derogate, hurl abuse, or belittle the army institution. The Hashtags appearing daily against the army are ample proof of it.

It is concluded from the above that the politicians have a large following whose words matter the most for the followers so they should be careful about the language they use and try not to undermine the very foundations of the country which has provided them with everything. They should be more careful about their words against the institution which is the lifeline of Pakistan and guarantee the integrity, sovereignty, and jealously guard the independence of Pakistan. Whatever mistakes are there, it is in the body politic, not the army, and politicians should build and strengthen the civil institutions so the army cannot interfere in times of crisis. Politicians should settle their differences and political battles through ballots otherwise military bullets step in. “The fault dear Brutus is not in our stars but in ourselves that we are underlings”. The fault lies with the politicians, not with the army.

Implication and Reaction

The second research question is about the implication and reaction following these emotionally explosive outbursts from their beloved leaders.

Emotionally charged speech no doubt create a euphoric reaction from the followers and abusive rejoinder from the opponents resulting in nefarious, obnoxious, and detestable trends on social media. The language, images, visuals, and deep fake videos go viral getting appreciation from enthusiasts and offensive responses from adversaries. Nawaz Sharif's speech fetched

comments, “penthouse pirates” and “generals are partners in crime” [3a]. An adversary outburst “Respect the sycophancy” [3b], someone declares him, “a godfather” who was hatched in the “GHQ incubator by Gen Zia and Gilani”. Another hardcore opponent goes on to allege “godfather who shuttlecocked to GHQ to save his corruption” and incriminated generals of collusion in matters of, “Hudaibiya case, Model town massacre, ECL, letting him go abroad”, [3c].

Another response from the opponents also alleges the army, [3d] “Gen Kiyani” made “35 Puncture”, he “fixed elections”, and he inducted “25 MNAs to PMLn” for which “Kiyani was rewarded with Ring Road project”. [3e],

Someone alleged generals of “dropping Maryam’s name from Dawn leaks” he went on to call Maryam Nawaz “General Rani” and concluded with “loot and run” as the slogan of the Sharif family. [3f]. These comments show the leaders show disrespect towards the opponents first to malign or discredit them, which ultimately generates intolerance, fanaticism, and narrowmindedness in the followers which they show in the form of Twitter and Facebook posts in words or illustrations. The fiercer the speech is the more emotional the reaction by the followers. As the leader challenged, alleged, accused, and bashed the military for all the democratic ills of Pakistan so burst out the follower by accusing the army, “Establishment is challenged n exposed so wide open. The time has come to bring the military under elected government and curve it down. I never heard such submission of truth” [3g]. The politicians are in the habit of gathering sympathy from the public, they are away from the honorific pontificate and Nawaz Sharif is successful. Another follower exclaimed, “Great leader who is continuously paying and paid a lot for democracy even for three times.” [3h] [3]

a) “Penthouse Pirate divulged the Dark Secrets of his Partners in Crime, Corrupt Gens. With offshore properties, in the U.S.A., Canada, Dubai to the U.K. Some TV channels muted audios when TT Sharif exposed Gen.Asim Bajwa’s corruption.

b) Boot ko Izaat Doo (respect the sycophancy)

c) Gen.Gilani & Gen.Zia created Godfather in GHQ Incubator.

d) Choi Nisar, Ibne Brig. Fateh, Makar Khusra & Showbaz, held 12 Burka Clad meetings in GHQ Bunker to keep Godfather in Power, facilitated Godfather’s Corruption, and Betrayed the Nation—also, Gen. Qadar, Gen.Nasar Janjua, Gen.Rizwan, Gen.Qayum, were “go-between.” All criminals Godfather’s Son, Dubloo, Bubloo, \$ Dar, Suleiman, and Ali Imran, were allowed to escape, Later put their names on ECL, Closure of Hudabiya, 14 were Murdered in Model Town, 260 Burnt to death in Baldia Town.

e) Gen.Kiyani 35 puncture, fixed election, inducted 25 MNA to PMLN....Hamid Mir, and his brother, Maj. Kamran Kiyani was rewarded with Ring Rd. Contract and also made billions in Property scams and is an absconder.

f) Gen. Riyal, dropped Mariam’s name in “Dawn leaks,” warded off protests against the rigged election and Broad day Massacre in Model Town, got a prized job of 7 Crores/month & 88 Acres of land? Lately, New Gen. Rani, “Tahmina Durani Langoti & Gen.Bajwa Goti Fit,” dropped indemnity bond, gave Judicial NRO to a Convict, Enjoying Burfi, Fauluda, and Paapar, rehearing a New Tarana, “ Lutto & Phutto.”

g) Establishment is challenged and exposed so wide open. time has come to bring the military under elected govt and curve it down. I never heard of such submission of truth.

h) Great leader who is continuously paying and paid a lot for democracy even three times.

Table 3: Comments on Muhammad Nawaz Sharif's speech

Comments by the followers	Comments by the opponents
<p>Best speech Mian g. best speech. You hit everything in the right way. the best analysis ever by a leader raised many questions. The establishment is challenged and exposed so wide open. time has come to bring the military under elected govt and curve it down. I never heard such submission of truth ever ever. my best wishes. A great leader who is continuously paid a lot for democracy even three times</p>	<p>Boot ko Izaat Doo, " Penthouse Pirate divulged the Dark Secrets of his Partners in Crime, Corrupt Gens. With offshore properties, in the U.S.A., Canada, Dubai to the U.K. Some TV channels muted audios when TT Sharif exposed Gen.Asim Bajwa’s corruption. .Gen.Gilani & Gen.Zia created Godfather in GHQ Incubator. Gen. Aslam and Gen. Durani raised Godfather with ISI funds, Asghar Khan case. Choi Nisar, Ibne Brig. Fateh, Makar Khusra & Showbaz, held 12 Burka Clad meetings in GHQ Bunker to keep Godfather in Power, facilitated Godfather’s Corruption, and Betrayed the Nation. Also, Gen. Qadar, Gen.Nasar Janjua, Gen.Rizwan, and Gen.Qayum, were “go-between.” All criminals Godfather’s Son, Dubloo, Bubloo, \$ Dar, Suleiman, and Ali Imran, were allowed to escape, Later put their names on ECL, Closure of Hudabiya, 14 were Murdered in Model Town, 260 Burnt to death in Baldia Town, Sahiwal Tragedy? Gen.Kiyani 35 puncture, fixed election, inducted 25 MNA to PMLN....Hamid Mir, and his Brother, Maj. Kamran Kiyani was rewarded with Ring Rd. Contract and also made billions in Property scams and is an absconder.</p>

1. Imran Khan's speech resulted in the same kind of reaction from the opponents. After the attack, when Imran Khan delivered his first speech from the hospital, the opponents refused to admit he was shot at [4a]. He was accused of making up all that shooting drama, the hatred blinds the truth which the opponents are reluctant to believe [4b].

Imran Khan likes the roads until he gets the seat of the Prime Minister. [4c], he continues to accuse him of “using Islam and Jihad” to fulfill his dream of premiership [4c]. Despite the alleged involvement of military high officials, he was showered praise for attacking the army by the followers.

Table 4: Comments on Imran Khan's Speech

Comments by the followers	Comments by the opponents
<p>Imran Khan is the most beloved person in Pakistan PK May Allah protect Imran Khan and Pakistan and punish corrupt politicians amen. Please, keep Imran Khan safe in the hospital with the food he eats. May Allah keep IK safe and bless him with Health O' Allah protect our leader Imran Khan We love Imran Khan; he is a brave and honest leader.</p>	<p>How can he give a speech after such a big accident one day back? When he is unable to enter Islamabad, and he knows he can't, the story is made up and he goes back to Shaukat Khanum where everything happens as per his desires. He wants to live on the road until he gets his seat How can he say we beg Americans and Chinese; he knows the state of our economy He also cleans the shoes of Americans and West Very sad for the people who believe this liar... unfortunately brings jihad and Islam for his worldly gains</p>

[4]



- a. How can he give a speech after such a big accident one day back?
- b. (When he was unable to enter Islamabad, and he knows he can't, the story was made up, and went back to Shaukat Khanum where everything happens as per his desires,
- c. He wants to live on the road until he gets his seat How can he say we beg Americans and Chinese; he knows the state of our economy He also cleans the shoes of Americans and the West Very sad for the people who believe this liarm unfortunately brings jihad and Islam for his worldly gains.
- d. Hate speech has a profound implication on the supporters and opponents as it entails intolerance and fanaticism among them. We are living in a polarized society where cult worship is the norm. where bigotry rules the roost, where we can't tolerate opposing views and the person expressing it ultimately become our enemy and resultantly bears the wrath of our intolerance, either in the shape of assassination attempts like Liaquat Ali Khan, Benazir Bhutto, Salman Taseer or some fanatic hurling a shoe or sprinkling an ink to blacken the face, or like Ahsan Iqbal and Imran Khan barely escape the assassination attempt.

Conclusion

This study is limited to only two speeches of mainstream party leaders. But the politics in our part of the world depends solely upon hurling abuses, slinging vituperative swear words upon the opponents, and showing intolerance and xenophobia, which our cult-worship culture imbibes and helps to spread the same fanaticism far and wide in their own words, therefore it reaches even in those corners of the country where neither electronic nor social media is scarcely available. Hate speech is one of the hallmarks of our society. These kinds of speeches are not specific to the politicians only. The religious scholar while scoring a point touches the border of hate speech and a few even move a step ahead by openly inciting violence through provocative speeches. These speeches are designed to denigrate, discredit, and malign other sects to prove the superiority of their sect. The religious minorities also bear the brunt of that hatred and suffer the burning of their houses or sometimes even the whole community living is set ablaze. This

study does not cover the aspect of religious, cultural, and communal hate speeches but the findings may be the same if results are applied to these areas. A wider, comprehensive, and all-encompassing study covering these areas may also be conducted to check the similarity of the conclusion and results of the hate speech. Politicians, religious scholars, communal leaders, and cultural heads employ the same techniques to incite their followers.

REFERENCES

- Anwar, A. (2022, November 22). Freedom of speech doesn't mean criticizing your own country and army. Daily Times.
- Chaudhary, Z. A. (n.d.). The problem in today's democracies: Balancing freedom of speech with peace and rule of law. Daily Times. Retrieved from <https://dailytimes.com.pk/writer/zafar-aziz-chaudhry/>
- Dagia, N. (2021, May 21). Reverence for the armed forces in Pakistan. The Diplomat. Retrieved from <https://thediplomat.com>
- Dawn. (2022, November 22). Social media rhetoric against the military after the no- confidence motion. Dawn News. Retrieved from <https://www.dawn.com>
- European Commission for Racism and Intolerance (ECRI). (n.d.). Criminal prohibition of hate speech and freedom of expression. Retrieved from <http://www.coe.int/>
- Finer, Samuel E. (1962). *The Man on Horseback: The Role of the Military in Politics*. Pall Mall Press.
- Goshal, Anirudh. (2009). *Militarization and Politics in South Asia: Changing Perspectives*.
- Kierkegaard, S. (1843). *Either/Or: A fragment of life* (D. F. Swenson, Trans.). Princeton University Press. (Original work published 1843). (For the quote: "People demand freedom of speech as a compensation for thought which they rarely use.")
- McGrath, Allen. (1996). *The Destruction of Pakistan's Democracy*. Oxford University Press.
- Oldenburg, Philip. (2010). *India, Pakistan, and Democracy: Solving the Puzzle of Divergent Paths*. Routledge.

Pakistan Penal Code (PPC). (1927). Section 295A, 295B, 295C, and 298A-C: Blasphemy and hate speech laws. Government of Pakistan. Retrieved From <https://www.pakistani.org/pakistan/legislation/1860/actXLVof1860.html>

Patil. (2022, May 22). The consequences of military involvement in non-military matters. DefenceXP. Retrieved from <https://www.defencexp.com>

Saree, S. (2020). Political exploitation of the military in Pakistan. Observer Research Foundation (ORF). Retrieved from <https://www.orfonline.org>

Trinkunas, Harold A. (2005). Crafting Civilian Control of the Military in Venezuela: A Comparative Perspective. University of North Carolina Press.

Talbot, Ian. (1998). Pakistan: A Modern History. Hurst & Company.

