MS Thesis

POLITICAL AND PUBLIC DISCOURSE ON 'REGIME CHANGE' IN THE FACEBOOK PAGES OF PTI, PML-N AND PPP: A THEMATIC ANALYSIS

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this MS thesis, titled "POLITICAL AND PUBLIC DISCOURSE ON 'REGIME CHANGE' IN THE FACEBOOK PAGES OF PTI, PML-N AND PPP: A THEMATIC ANALYSIS" represents my original work and research efforts. I have appropriately cited all sources and references used in this thesis following the APA 7th edition guidelines. This work has not been submitted elsewhere for any academic qualification. I take full responsibility for the content, ideas, and conclusions presented herein. I submit this thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the MS 'Mass Communication' degree at the International Islamic University, Islamabad.

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THESIS APPROVAL CERTIFICATE

It is certified that we, the Committee, have read this thesis submitted by Mr. Naseer Ahmed. It is our judgment that this thesis is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by the International Islamic University, Islamabad for awarding the degree of MS 'Mass Communication'.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate my research work to my beloved wife and two angel daughters who suffered a lot during my thesis work. I could not give proper time to them as they deserved especially my youngest daughter who came into this world during my research work. Here, my parents dedicated their efforts to take care of them along with taking care of me. Therefore, I confess that without my parents' support I would not have been able to complete this task.

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ABSTRACT

Social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter have provided the general public with a source and media to express their opinion along with gaining information. In today's day and age, the social media have converted a rather conventionally one way 'political communication' process into an effective and influential two-way communication process. The two-way communication process offers the 'receivers' to respond directly to the 'senders' of the political messages through the same medium without conventional 'gatekeeping' processes and editorial controls. This two-way communication process has an impact on the political communication phenomenon all around the world. Politicians, leaders, authorities, celebrities and institutions have been found apologizing to the public for their opinions and decisions because of the response they get from the social media users. Bearing in mind this aspect the researcher has attempted to explore how and to what extent the 'public discourse' matched or differed from the 'political discourse' regarding the political 'regime change' in Pakistan that took place in the first half of the April 2022. Employing the 'Framing' as theoretical bases the researcher has attempted to determine how the 'regime change' was framed in the political and public discourse. The researcher has employed thematic analysis as methodological tool in this study to identify, analyze and interpret the meanings within the political and public discourse regarding the 'regime change' appeared in the Facebook pages of the top three political parties in Pakistan i.e. Pakistan Tehreek-E-Insaaf (PTI), Pakistan Muslim League- Nawaz (PML-N) and Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP). The findings of this study show that the Facebook platform has become an exponentially significant source to spread the political narratives in today's Pakistan. Politicians and activists in Pakistan take to the Facebook to share their opinions, agendas, manifestos, ideologies and narratives. However, the target audience contrary to the conventional media consumers are not only the passive receivers rather they are active respondents. The Facebook respondents in Pakistan have their own say and they develop their own responses and narratives.

Key Words; Political Discourse, Public Discourse, Political Communication, Social Media, Facebook, Twitter, Thematic Analysis, Framing

CHAPTER 01

INTRODUCTION

Social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter have provided the general public with a source and media to express their opinion along with gaining information. In today's day and age, the social media have converted a rather conventionally one way 'political communication' process into an effective and influential two-way communication process. The two-way communication process offers the 'receivers' to respond directly to the 'senders' of the political messages through the same medium without conventional 'gatekeeping' processes and editorial controls. This two-way communication process has an impact on the political communication phenomenon all around the world. Politicians, leaders, authorities, celebrities and institutions have been found apologizing to the public for their opinions and decisions because of the response they get from the social media users. Bearing in mind this aspect the researcher intends to explore how and to what extent the 'public discourse' matches or differs from the 'political discourse' regarding the political 'regime change' in Pakistan that took place in the first half of the April 2022. Employing the 'Framing' as theoretical bases the researcher would determine how the 'regime change' has been framed in the political and public discourse. The researcher would employ thematic analysis as methodological tool in this study to identify, analyze and interpret the meanings within the political and public discourse regarding the 'regime change' appeared on the Facebook pages of the top three political parties in Pakistan i.e. Pakistan Tehreek-E-Insaaf (PTI), Pakistan Muslim League- Nawaz (PML-N) and Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP).

In a historic political move, the joint opposition political parties of Pakistan under the umbrella of 'Pakistan Democratic Movement' (PDM) were able to overthrow the ruling Pakistan Tehreek-E-Insaaf (PTI) government on April 10, 2022. Consequently, the deposed Prime Minister Imran Khan created the narrative of a 'Regime Change Conspiracy' and called for an early election. Meanwhile, he has also been the first politician of Pakistan to set up an effective social media campaign for his cause by building and destroying public perceptions via the tools presented in the form of Twitter, Facebook, TikTok and YouTube. What started out as an internal political displacement in Pakistan used the aforementioned ladder of 'USA Conspiracy' to become a call-for-revolution by the public of Pakistan. At

least 50% of Pakistan's population stood with Imran Khan in the period of May-September 2022 and the former premier continued to hold several gatherings panning far and wide across the country. One can deduct from these moves that the man under discussion knows how to build and maintain narratives (Khaliq, 2022).

For a person foreign to the way parliaments, courts and politicians work in matters of controversies, here's a rundown of what happened in the Pakistan Capital between 03 April 2022 and 11 April 2022 during the process of 'regime change'; on April 03, 2022: Fawad Chaudhary explains in the national assembly how the previously demanded No-Confidence motion by the opposition is unconstitutional (Article 5(1)) because it is being backed by external forces to change Imran Khan's regime. Deputy Speaker Qasim Suri accepts this argument and renders the no-confidence motion unconstitutional. A few moments later, Imran Khan addresses the public stating that he has advised the President of Pakistan (who is elected by Imran Khan's Party) to dissolve the national assembly. President does so under Article 58 of the constitution. However, one must note that the move to dissolve the assembly was controversial because of Article 58's explicit statement that the prime minister "against whom a notice of a resolution for a vote of no-confidence has been given in the National Assembly but has not been voted upon" does not have the earlier power to advise the president to dismiss the assembly. Later in the day, the chief justice of Pakistan Umer Ata Bandyal took suo-motto notice of this dismissal (*Dawn*.com, April 03, 2022; *The News International*, April 09, 2022).

On April, 04 2022 Cabinet Secretariat issues a notification stating that Khan had "ceased to hold the office of the prime minister of Pakistan with immediate effect". A contradiction of this is issued from the President's Office stating that Imran Khan holds power till the appointment of a new Prime Minister. On April 05, 2022 Court adjourns the matter. On 06 April 2022: Court demands minute sheet of the controversial meeting of the National Security Council in which the matter of US Cipher was first raised. On 07 April 2022: Court rules that the dismissal of the no-motion notice was not constitutional. The ruling states that the no-confidence motion will be held again on 09 April 2022. On 08 April 2022: No special activity on both sides. On 09 April 2022: Politicians from PTI try to "talk the bill out of time". This method is often used by politicians when they just won't shut up

to let a vote/meeting proceed. Later in the night, the speaker and deputy speaker resign. On 10 April 2022: National assembly passes the vote of no-confidence. PTI boycotts this voting. Imran Khan becomes the first Prime minister to be ousted by a no-confidence motion. On 11 April 2022: National assembly elects Shehbaz Shareef as the new Prime Minister (*Aljazeerah*.com, April 03, 2022; *Dawn*.com, April 03, 2022; Human Rights Watch, April 05, 2022; *The Guardian*, April 03, 2022; *The News International*, April 09, 2022).

The whole issue of the ‘regime change’ has been the topic of discussion for the social media users and activists for a long time later. Both the political parties, politicians, BOTs, Imran Khan and PDM supporters and social media activists participated actively in the discussions. Both the ‘political discourse’ and the ‘public discourse’ has been produced in abundance. Social media platforms carried enormous influx of public opinion during the whole process of regime change, and its aftermaths. Multiple press conferences were held by major politicians and ISPR to inform the public of the latest happenings, driving public discourse on the issue. Imran Khan went onto the process of showing close-ups of his injured leg and his social media team updated the public of his plans and proceedings 24/7. Thus, we observed that the public discourse was formed largely for Imran Khan rather than for the people in power. Political discourse related to regime change has been clouded by closed-door dialogues and under-the-table deals, as expected in a third-world country with a foreign policy dependent on the USA and its allies. What the outside world knows for real is that for the first time in Pakistan’s history, political setup was allowed to be completed and that results in the ending of a serving PM’s tenure.

So, it is only pertinent to explore and analyze the political parties' narratives, the public responses regarding the 'regime change' in Pakistan and to find out the predominant themes in the political and public discourse regarding the 'regime change'. It is also important to determine the extent to which the political parties' narrative is replicated and reflected in the public responses regarding the 'regime change' in Pakistan.

1.1 Problem Statement

Social media platforms have become an exponentially significant sources to spread the political narratives in today's world. Politicians and activists in the countries from North

to South take to the social media to share their opinions, agendas, manifestos, ideologies and narratives. However, the target audience contrary to the conventional media consumers are not only the passive receivers rather they are active respondents. The social media respondents have their own say and they develop their own responses and narratives. Drawing on the Framing theory, in this research attempt the researcher intends to explore whether and to what extent the political narrative and public response regarding the 'regime change' in Pakistan coincide and/or differ with each other. The researcher intends to explore how and to what extent the Facebook users in Pakistan have used the platform to agree with or dispel the political narrative regarding the 'regime change' operation in Pakistan in April 2022.

1.2 Research Objectives

Following are the main objectives of this research endeavour;

- To explore and analyze the political parties' narratives regarding the 'regime change' in Pakistan.
- To explore and analyze the public response regarding the 'regime change' in Pakistan.
- To find out the predominant themes in the political and public discourse regarding the 'regime change' in Pakistan.
- To describe which political party's narrative is more reflected among the public response regarding the 'regime change' in Pakistan.
- To determine the extent to which the political parties' narrative is replicated and reflected in the public response regarding the 'regime change' in Pakistan.

1.3 Research Questions

Following are the main questions of this research endeavour;

- What are the predominant themes within the political and public discourse appearing in the Facebook pages of the PTI, PML-N and PPP regarding the ‘regime change’ in Pakistan during April 2022?
- Which political party's narrative is more reflected among the public response regarding the 'regime change' in Pakistan?

1.4 Nominal Definitions of Key Terms

1.4.1 Political Discourse

In a generalized form discourse is the conversation in any form of communication. Drawing on the pioneer work by Michel Foucault the social theory sees the discourse as a process of thinking, knowledge, and communication that constitutes our experience about the outer world. This feature of the discourse controlling the world perception amounts to the notion of holding to the power by controlling the discourse (Dorschel, 2021). Within the premises of social sciences and humanities discourse is considered as a formal way of thinking expressed through language (Ruiz, 2009). Political scientists closely link discourse with politics and the process of policy making (van Dijk, 1997). Political discourse is the discourse in the form of talk and text produced by various political institutions, professional politicians, governments, and political parties at regional, local, national and international levels (Kitaeva and Ozerova, 2019).

In this study by 'political discourse' the researcher means the text produced in posts of the Facebook pages of the PTI, PML-N and PPP during March 25, 2022 to April 25, 2022 regarding the 'regime change' in Pakistan.

1.4.2 Public Discourse

Public discourse is a method or forum opted by the public to voice their concerns, opinions and sentiments regarding any concerning issues, decision making process and/or decisions around them (Maragha, 2022).

In this study by 'public discourse' the researcher means the verbal and non-verbal codes (text, pictures, caricatures, signs, symbols, animations etc.) employed in the public response under the posts of the Facebook pages of the PTI, PML-N and PPP during March 25, 2022 to April 25, 2022 regarding the 'regime change' in Pakistan.

CHAPTER 02

LITERATURE REVIEW

There is a plethora of research available that can be provided as evidence in support of the claim that social media as a platform have become inevitable in our daily personal, social and professional life (Papacharissi, 2015). The author argues that the term social media is somewhat redundant in the sense that all media are, in fact, by their very nature, social. The use of the term social media creates this impression that somehow there exist certain types of social media that are perhaps unsocial or anti-social, which of course is not the case at all. All media, in one manner or another, serve as a means of communication and therefore are social by default. The author also suggests that the term social media also puts an unnecessary emphasis on the degree of the sociality of each social media platform/ entity and prompts comparison. It is an established fact that all social media platforms tend to vary in how they operate and have a unique way of allowing users to be social within the confines of their digital systems.

Probably the most compelling notion that the author puts forth within the paper is how even the refusal to participate in social media activities is a kind of a social statement and conscious decision on the part of an individual. I believe the author makes a valid point and the idea of molding this journal around the concept of how social media exists in interaction with the evolving times, eras, and present and future social setups is quite a fresh approach, to say the least. Approaching the subject matter of social media through this lens would ultimately not only make for an interesting read within the journal but also create space for divergent thoughts and ideas to come forth through the encouragement of discourse and open-source information sharing between various experts within this niche (Papacharissi, 2015).

The 2016 U.S presidential elections, perhaps, offer a single most unique case study of how instrumental social media can be in political communications and in handling and maintaining a public presidential image. In their research paper, Tari and Emamzadeh (2018) study the interactions between CNN (apparently one of the biggest anti-Trump opponent out of all the U.S news media outlets covering the 2016 presidential elections)

and Donald Trump (the presidential candidate for the Republican party) between October 7th and October 31 period by applying a thematic analysis on the content produced by either party during that time. Interestingly enough, a thematic analysis of CNN's anti-trump coverage and Trump's tweets revealed that Trump's primary strategy was to avoid and ignore any or all accusations, statements, or allegations made against his character or his competency as a president. He refused to respond to CNN's constant negative coverage of him, e.g. calling him out as a racist, a tax evader, and an unstable president for the U.S. In fact, his counter-attacks were never about defending himself, they were always aimed at pointing out the incompetence and incapacities of his opposing candidates including Hillary Clinton and even Obama. He publicly stated that 'Obama Care' was a total and utter failure and called out Clinton's financial dishonesty as a means to fight back (Tari & Emamzadeh, 2018).

Mass media does, in fact, have an inherent tendency to sway, alter and change public opinion about a given subject matter merely by presenting critical information in a certain manner. The authors talk about three key theoretical frameworks that could play a role in this phenomenon; Agenda Setting, Framing, and Selective Exposure. Agenda setting; Media has the power to tell people what to think about by virtue of the fact that it essentially controls what kind of content and information gets the most airtime/ coverage. In presidential elections, this would mean giving more airtime to either a highly positive or a highly negative story relating to a presidential candidate that could ultimately influence public opinion and ultimately their voting decision. Framing; media can and does portray information in a manner that might make it easier for the public to understand underlying themes and make sense of the information. Oftentimes, gatekeepers would omit information relating to a certain event so that it can be interpreted by the audience in a particular way. Selective Exposure: This theory argues that media does not necessarily have a monopoly on agenda-setting and altering public perception because the audience is not a passive entity in this entire equation. In fact, most people today "cherry-pick" the content they want to engage with and have their profiles associated with. They can custom design their feeds and prioritize which posts to see most often and from whom. This ultimately creates a new loophole that political candidates can exploit as they can choose carefully which news story to respond to and which to ignore, i.e. a political candidate may choose not to respond to or

engage with a negative news story because doing so might automatically put them on the news feeds of people who follow that candidate even if they do not necessarily follow a news outlet that specifically posts negative news about that candidate as such. Here, the authors suggest that media no longer plays an omnipotent role in political campaigns because social media is highly customizable and tailored to the audience's needs and preferences (Tari & Emamzadeh, 2018).

Bruns (2015) argues that even the processes of media production are dependent on socialization. Ultimately, the very nature of social media content and social media itself is based on sociality from consumers consuming content and generating discourse around that content to producers, directors, and actors navigating the very social nature of the pre-production phase. The authors suggest that while all media may be social, including telephones and radios, there are some media that are defined exclusively by their sociality rather than any other function or purpose that they may offer. This can ultimately be used as a reference to differentiate media based on the level of sociality and allow us to set apart social media from other social forms of social communication such as radio, television, and telephone.

The author offers key structural and technological distinctions that can be used to differentiate the sociality of these vastly different communication channels. Firstly, the nature of the dissemination of information tends to vary with old and traditional media being reliant on a one-to-many communication basis whereas modern social media is open and a free playground for all to come and play in, i.e. express their opinions and thoughts freely. This leads us to the second aspect whereby the idea of censorship and gatekeeping sort of breakdown entirely within modern-day social media since it is not controlled by a single entity or organization but is more open-source and accessible to everyone and anyone in the world.

Another interesting notion that the author brings to light is how the use of a particular social medium can determine the extent of its sociability. The author cites the example of the telephone and how initially people were skeptical of its usefulness. It was not until the telephone had become an indispensable tool of communication in every household did people really start to consider it as a social medium. Therefore, the author

argues that the end-user and the ways in which they interact with any structural or technological aspect of a social medium ultimately determine whether that particular medium is social or not. And these interactions are not solo and isolated but occur as a result of the interplay between creators, producers, and users of content who interact with it. I believe the argument is valid since the needs of the end-user play a critical role in terms of how a social platform evolves over time. With social media becoming increasingly more public and accessible, it would make sense for this particular journal to approach and study this subject matter by analyzing these interactions of users with social media (Bruns, 2015).

Over the past decade, social media has played an instrumental role not only in facilitating political communications between political candidates and the public but also in impacting political outcomes and voting preferences of citizens at large. In their article, Yang, Chen, Maity, and Ferrara (2016) shift the focus on how political candidates use social media to their advantage and argue that while much research has been done on how social media can sway public opinion, little is known about communication patterns, tactics, topics and strategies that politicians themselves employ to get the public's favor. In order to investigate this further, the authors analyze how President Obama and the Governors of 50 States utilize social media, particularly Twitter (being the most powerful and popular platform among political candidates) as a tool. They analyze the tweets in the context of the agenda-setting theory and framing and look for distinguishing patterns in how Democrats and Republicans differ in their approach to political communication.

The authors cite existing research and suggest that a significant relationship exists between online campaigning and the support that the public shows for a particular political candidate. Moreover, research also shows that popular opinion on social media is usually a good predictor of what the voting outcomes are going to look like. Moreover, an analysis of tweets also showed a distinct segregation that exists online between people with different political leanings. Additionally, a difference was observed in the ways in which Republicans and Democrats tweet, with Democrats tweeting about stuff that they believed the public wanted to hear and Republicans only tweeting about stuff about their current and future agenda. The authors found similar results from their study whereby they concluded that both Democrats and Republicans use Twitter very extensively for political communications.

However, their styles of communication do tend to differ with Democrats more heavily relying on hashtag usage.

The analysis of President Obama's Twitter and the accounts of the 50 State governors revealed similar results with all of them using Twitter as an agenda-setting tool. Another interesting trend they noticed was how Republican governors usually had a similar stance and presented a united front on various political issues. The same was not true for Democratic Governors who did not align amongst themselves on various political issues and had different stances. Personally, I believe that this is probably the most interesting insight to come out of this article and could ultimately provide more information on how internal communications between political parties work and how that in turn affects public opinion about them (Yang, et al., 2016).

A research study entitled, "Political persuasion on social media: Tracing direct and indirect effects of news use and social interaction", by Diehl, Weeks, and Gil de Zúñiga (2016) explores how the interactive use of social media, whether for obtaining news or staying in touch with family and friends, can ultimately lead to political persuasion - no matter how subtle. The authors argue that simply engaging in social interaction with extended networks and seeking out news on social media can increase the likelihood of an individual being exposed to diverse political opinions, even those vastly different from their own existing political beliefs. The authors cite literature and existing studies on the subject matter that study how persuasion and attitude change occur and how people form political opinions. Interestingly enough, as much as people would like to believe otherwise, the majority of individuals tend to form political opinions as a direct result of a number of factors including the type of news they are exposed to or consciously/ unconsciously consume and their need for maintaining social connectedness.

Probably the most interesting aspect that came to the forefront in these previous studies was the fact that most people do not even have to directly engage in political interactions or discussions as such - mere social interaction and being exposed to other people's views and ideas on politics can effectively serve as a catalyst for inciting a political attitude change and lead to political persuasion. The reason why social media websites serve as such a great hotbed for political discussions and persuasion may be explained by the

theories put forth by deliberative theorists who suggest that the combined elements of shared text and the opportunity to debate and discuss a subject matter can increase the chances of political persuasion occurring. And social media provides individuals with these exact ingredients - the opportunity to share thoughts and ideas (in text) and discuss and debate them with an extended social network (comments, etc).

Another aspect that is worth mentioning here was how the authors mention that "individuals' opinions and attitudes are contingent upon characteristics embedded in their social connections" (Diehl, et al., 2016). This only further confirms the fact that social media can have a direct impact on the ways in which people form political opinions. The authors also mention this in the context of regular news media and conclude that it does not even have to be deliberate (e.g. the use of agenda setting, and framing) and mere exposure to a message can influence attitudes. A political candidate that is being covered by news media in a positive light can, in fact, influence people's perceptions and lead to political attitude change. Couple this with the power of social interactions on social media and that opens up a whole other unexplored research territory - which could reveal how persuasion works even better, particularly within a social context.

The authors further point out how heterogeneous networks play a role in political persuasion. Since sharing and posting news is one the key ways in which people use social media websites, the primary motivation is to use this activity as a means of connecting with a broader social network. Ultimately, network heterogeneity exposes individuals to discussion disagreement as well as diverse opinions and ideas that increase the chances of persuasion and existing opinions being swayed. And for that reason, network heterogeneity is directly linked to political persuasion. The extent to which an individual is persuaded depends on how actively they stay up to date with current news events and how actively they engage in social interactions on social media. Ultimately, probably the most interesting takeaway from this article is how non-political use of social media can lead to important democratic consequences. Mere exposure to news and varying opinions in one's social network could create subtle political opinion changes that can lead to a different political outcome collectively over a long period of time (Diehl, et al., 2016).

Parks (2009), suggests that current research and documentation around the internet

is being approached in a very chaotic manner and perhaps descriptive research that focuses on studying and understanding the underlying communicative models might be a more effective way of studying how CMC changes over time. The author identifies several problems with the way that research around the internet (at the time the paper was published) was being approached: Most of the research was motivated by marketing and commercial goals, Opinion-based information was prevalent within this niche, Lack of large sample size and generalizability, and Obsession with directing research efforts on the latest or newest technology.

The author argues that adopting a descriptive research methodology for studying CMC would allow us to identify and tackle the boundary conditions of theories much better and allow for improved generalizability of results obtained. The author cites the example of MySpace to emphasize further his point relating to boundary conditions - MySpace was expected to be an ideal digital space for studying the taste preferences of individuals by analyzing their profiles, however, researchers later discovered that most people do not display that kind of information on their profiles at all. Therefore, the author argued that while it is appealing and important to study the evolution of the "surface features" of internet technologies over time, it might be a more viable approach to focus on studying communicative processes within the digital space instead and bring them to the forefront of the discussion. Things like the effects of distraction and how individuals handle simultaneous media were all, as the author suggests in his paper, unexplored - especially when the paper was first published.

Moreover, the author points out additional gaps in research surrounding CMC by referring to aspects such as "mixed-mode" and "mode-switching" and how the effect of these have not been studied in-depth, particularly how they influence interactions and relationships (more specifically, long-distance relationships) between people. One aspect that I found particularly intriguing was how the author encourages researchers to resist the urge of studying the "next big thing" when it comes to internet technologies. This is a statement that might easily be misunderstood by most if not carefully analyzed. I believe the author was cautioning researchers against pursuing areas of research within the internet niche that are solely focused on studying the effectiveness of finished technologies and

applications - which in my opinion, might be too rigid of an approach. The author believes that the internet is anything but a “discrete” technology and because it is continuously evolving, it would be perhaps more reasonable to study how these technologies diffuse into the mainstream culture and lives of people and how that in turn affects the behavior of those who incorporate and rely on these technologies every single day. In that regard, analyzing public discourse surrounding these changing technologies and tracking “CMC-related phenomena” might be a more viable approach to conducting research.

Personally, I think the idea that the focus should shift towards studying human behavior and their interaction with these computer medication communications is just as important as studying newer technologies that are emerging every day around the internet. AI integration and the dawn of the metaverse are probably going to completely change the very landscape of the internet in the coming years with extensive experimentation already underway. Keeping that in mind, the author made a fair point in terms of encouraging researchers to focus not only on the continuously evolving internet technologies but also on the changing user interactions around them that ultimately influence us as human beings and the way that we approach our daily lives. Therefore, even when such a time comes when the internet is no longer exactly the way that we know it to be today, there will always be areas of research that could be explored in the broader context of how this evolving technology tends to influence the nature of our communication and behavior.

I think it is interesting to note that the paper was published at a time when there was still a lot of vagueness surrounding how the internet would eventually evolve. The internet of today is vastly different from the internet of 2009. From that standpoint, it is quite remarkable that the author suggested this approach to research within the internet niche so far back in time. Ever since 2009, the internet has continued to evolve and most likely will continue to do so for the foreseeable future. Approaching research topics within the internet niche using the advice of the author might actually benefit us in the long run - as far as understanding our changing behaviors in interaction with these new internet technologies is concerned. Currently, it seems to me that we live in, by far, the most exciting times in terms of what internet technologies have to offer us, and these technologies are new, eccentric, and likely to influence the very fabric of our society in the coming years as we

assimilate these technologies into our lives. Approaching and studying this phenomenon by focusing on descriptive CMC research would, therefore, be a wise idea.

2.1 Theoretical Framework

Framing is one of the most focused and applied theoretical perspective employed by numerous researchers globally in the discipline of communication studies. This theoretical framework has been the focus of multidisciplinary researchers for many decades now. It is defined as "the process through which people establish a certain understanding of an issue or realign their thinking about an issue" (Chong and Druckman, 2007, p. 102). The framing process contains two main components: selection and salience. Then, framing entails picking certain significant characteristics of the seen reality and emphasizing them during the communication process (Entman, 1993). Those who receive the message have their own distinct conceptualizations of issues, which are impacted by "frames in communication" or considerations offered by speech acts or written material (Chong & Druckman, 2007).

Every topic, including politics, may be regarded from a variety of angles and understood to have implications for numerous values or concerns. The smart use of framing may assist those conducting the communication in successfully expressing their point of view and argument; usually by accentuating a particular set of elements and angles associated with the issue at hand (Druckman, 2001).

So, keeping in view the appropriateness of the Framing theory the researcher has provided the theoretical underpinnings to this research endeavor from this theoretical perspective with particular and exclusive focus on social media and its users.

CHAPTER 03

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Data Collection and Sampling

The data has been collected from the Facebook pages of the selected political parties i.e. PTI, PML-N and PPP. Facebook pages posts and public responses on the posts during March 25, 2022 to April 25, 2022 are the main population of the study. The researcher has selected posts related to the 'regime change' by employing the census sampling approach. There was a total of 57 posts available in the Facebook page of the PTI, 76 in the Facebook page of PML-N and 88 in the Facebook page of the PPP. To keep the sample size controllable, the researcher has selected initial 10 posts from each page as sample of the study.

This means, to explore and analyze the 'political discourse' the total sample size is 30 posts by the admins of the pages. Similarly, to explore and analyze the 'public response' the researcher has selected initially appearing 10 responses/comments beneath each post. This means, a total of 300 public posts/comments/responses have been selected as a sample size to explore and analyze the 'public response' regarding the 'political discourse' in the Facebook pages of the political parties regarding the 'regime change' in Pakistan. As a whole, the total sample size of this study is 330 posts that have been analyzed to answer the research questions under study and to achieve the research objectives of this study.

3.2 Data Analysis; Thematic Analysis

To achieve the desired goals and objectives of the research and to answer the research questions the researcher has attempted to analyze the data by employing the Thematic Analysis as a tool. In their article, Clarke and Braun (2017), both leading proponents of thematic analysis as a method of qualitative research, discuss the effectiveness of thematic analysis as a data analysis method within qualitative research. The authors outline how thematic analysis is more of a research tool and a method of qualitative analysis in the sense that it relies on the identification of patterns and meanings from a given set of data by assigning codes. This methodological aspect of thematic analysis is what makes it different from other qualitative data analyses and makes it unique in its approach

to analyzing information. Essentially, what thematic analysis allows researchers to do is to "generate codes" from a set of data and then derive a broader meaning from all the themes/ patterns identified. Therefore, by compacting data into discrete categories and groups, researchers can easily use these codes as a foundation for identifying themes. This allows researchers to actively study key aspects of any set of data in a highly efficient manner, guided by the research question, without just merely summarizing it. Oftentimes, the original research question may evolve entirely over time as researchers begin identifying themes and patterns within a coded set of qualitative data. In fact, the article itself mentions how this is one of the major strengths of this type of analysis as it allows researchers to approach data in a manner that is highly flexible as far as the research question, and sample size are concerned.

Clarke and Braun (2018) further emphasize how thematic analysis is probably the best used for studying subjective data, particularly when it comes to data that relates to a participant's "lived experiences" as well as their behavior and perspective on a topic of interest to the researchers. The authors point out that while the nature of this research method would ultimately be the best suited for analyzing subjective experiences, the question relating to the prevention of researcher bias remains to be answered. How effective can a researcher be when trying to approach a subject matter objectively and consciously preventing any form of bias from seeping in especially when deciding the themes, a researcher is observing within a given set of data? Is there perhaps a way that a computer model could be generated that could assign codes at random and then generate themes on its own? But then how would such a program model be developed so that the themes developed actually relate to the research question being addressed? One way this bias could be reduced is to perhaps have a team of different researchers, all of whom, go through the data on their own thereby limiting the chances of a personal bias skewing the final results. But then again, with qualitative research and subjective data, there is only so much you can do to be absolutely objective. There are obviously limitations.

Thematic analysis has different approaches that can be used depending on the research design. First, inductive approach; where the researchers approach data without any preconceptions and let their research be guided by whatever it is that they find. Second,

deductive approach; where the researchers approach a topic with some themes in mind that they expect to find. Third, the semantic approach; wherein the researchers deal with the explicit facts discovered. Fourth, the latent approach; wherein the researchers deal with the underlying themes and meanings. Clarke and Braun (2018) also outline the very fluid and flexible nature of the thematic analysis and suggest that it is best suited for interdisciplinary research as well. This is probably the greatest strength of the thematic analysis as it allows for interdisciplinary collaboration and is not just limited to the field of psychological research alone. While the authors caution against thinking of thematic analysis as an Omni-method, perfect for all kinds of qualitative researchers, they do argue in favor of its ability to allow for that kind of interdisciplinary research to occur in some manner or form (Clarke & Braun, 2018).

Perhaps the most important element, when it comes to qualitative research data analysis, is the researcher themselves. Researchers play an instrumental role in analyzing qualitative data primarily because the conduction of a successful data analysis is dependent on a researcher's ability to objectively understand, describe and interpret broader contexts and themes within a given data set. The thematic analysis is a powerful method that can be used to study and analyze qualitative data sets. In this particular article, the authors build on Braun and Clarke's existing framework and offer a practical guide on how to conduct thematic analysis properly by following 6 important steps (Maguire & Delahunt, 2007).

The authors begin by emphasizing the importance of thematic analysis as a tool for analyzing qualitative research data. They point out that thematic analysis is probably the most effective tool that all researchers should have at their disposal because it is a highly flexible data analysis tool. Thematic analysis is also independent of epistemological and theoretical perspectives which is what makes this analysis tool highly flexible and diverse in its application to a variety of qualitative data sets. The authors suggest that the 6-step approach is widely accepted as the best one to conduct thematic analysis and should therefore be studied thoroughly.

This 6-step approach was presented by Braun and Clarke back in 2006 and comprises the following important steps:

1. **Familiarize yourself with the data.**

At this stage, researchers are encouraged to read data again and again and make notes if that helps organize the data better. But the first step is to familiarize yourself with the entirety of your data so that you can understand and realize the overall nature of the data you are dealing with.

2. **Start generating initial codes.**

Because in qualitative analysis, researchers deal with large quantities of data, it makes sense to break this information down into small meaningful chunks. Using codes and generating codes for data can be a great way to do just that.

3. **Look for specific themes.**

To give meaning to large quantities of data, it is recommended that broader themes are generated so as to organize data in a meaningful way. There is no hard and fast rule as to how these themes should be generated and the approach can vary depending on the nature of the qualitative data being dealt with.

4. **Review these themes.**

At this stage, researchers can review the themes that they have generated and modify any that need to be changed. Researchers can then begin organizing data sets according to the revised themes.

5. **Define a broader theme.**

It is crucial to be absolutely sure as to what the themes stand for and whether there are any other sub-themes that could help in organizing and making sense of the data better.

6. **Finish the write-up/ analysis.**

Reporting on the thematic analysis requires researchers to formally write down their analyses which can help convey the meaning of the overall qualitative data set in a coherent way.

Overall, the authors do a great job of making thematic analysis easy to understand - especially for beginner researchers. By breaking each step down, it becomes easier to conduct qualitative data analysis effectively.

Therefore, keeping in view the relevance and suitability of the thematic analysis as a research methodology with the research objectives of this study the researcher has employed this tool deductively. To achieve the desired goals and objectives of the research and to answer the research questions the researcher has attempted to analyze the data by employing the Thematic Analysis as a tool.

CHAPTER 04

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Following pages contain thematic analysis on the Facebook posts of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI);

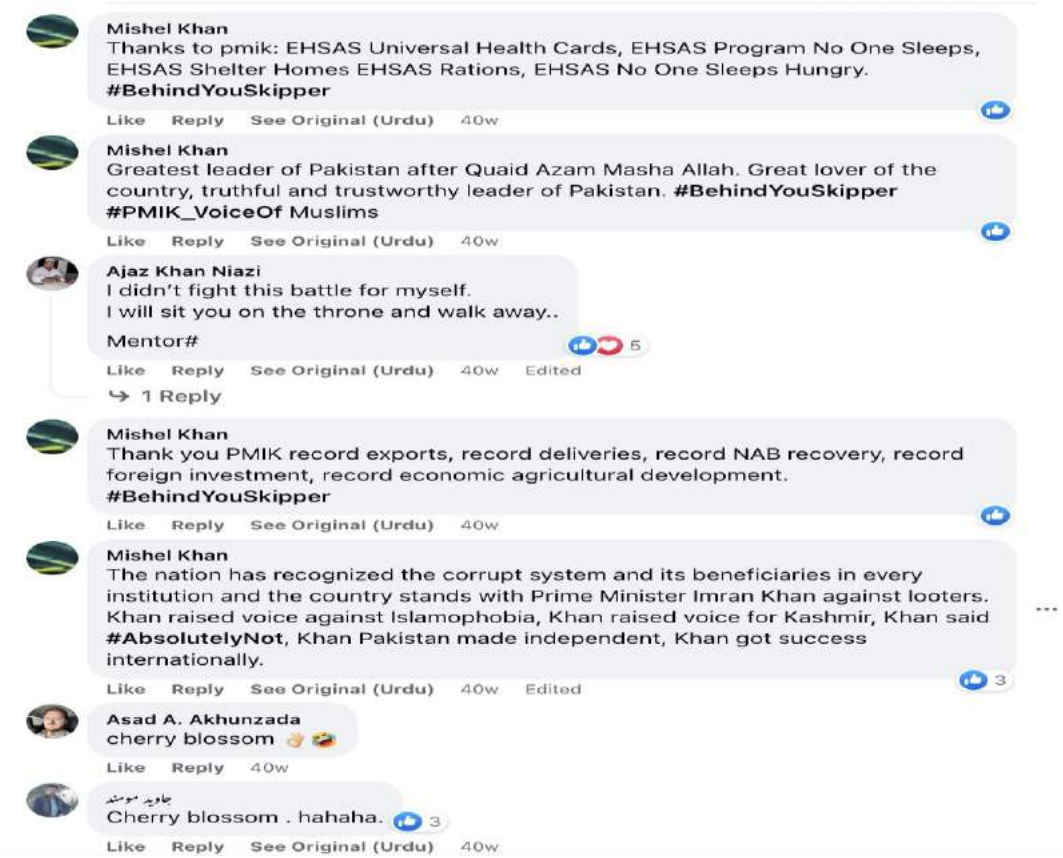
POST 01

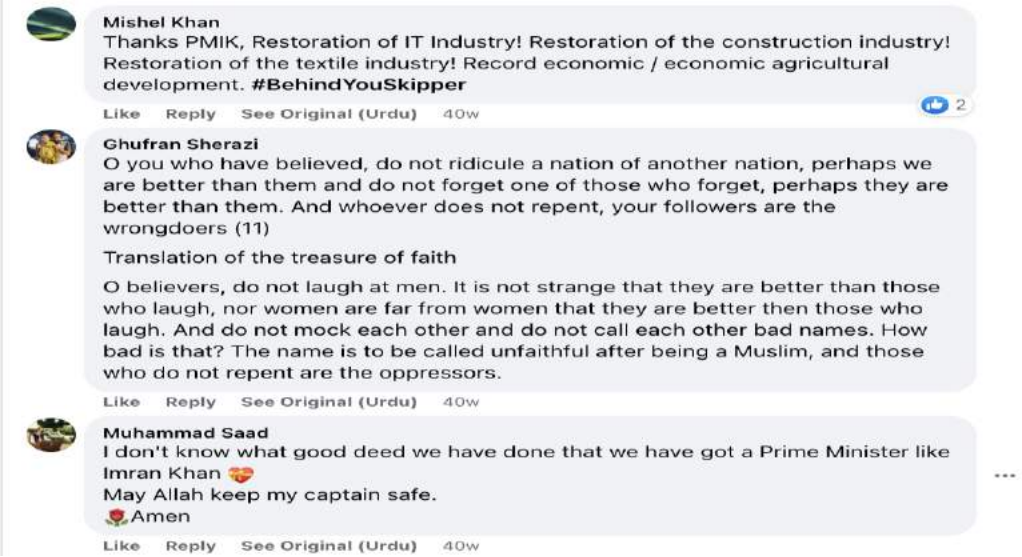
Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politics (PTI, Imran Khan, Political Gathering).	Imran Khan, Pakistan, 27th March at 3 PM, Parade Ground	Imran Khan (leader of the political party PTI)	Supportive (Justifying).	Imran Khan is fighting, War for your freedom, For the sake of Pakistan, For the sake of our children, Opportunity.

Interpretation; This PTI Facebook video post contains an update, “Live scenes from Parade Ground”, provides further background context, “Imran Khan is fighting the war for you and all of us”, and ends with an encouraging call to action, “Now we have to come out

for the sake of Pakistan, for the sake of our children". The predominant themes in this post, therefore, are those of "Politics" and "Political Gathering" and essentially relate to Imran Khan and his party PTI calling all Pakistanis to join in a Power Show demonstration arranged at "Parade Ground" in Islamabad. Several codes in the post support these themes such as "Imran Khan", "#27thMarchat3PM", and "Parade Ground". Overall, the post contains a supportive (justifying) viewpoint with words like, "Imran Khan is fighting", "War of your freedom", "For the sake of Pakistan", "For the sake of our children" and "Opportunity will not come again" being repeated. From these codes contained within the post, it can be concluded that PTI is encouraging its followers and supporters to join in on the Power Show demonstrations led by the political party near the designated location (i.e., Parade Ground, Islamabad).

COMMENTS





Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Gratitude, Politics (PTI, Imran Khan), Religion.	Thanks to PMIK, #BehindYouSkipper, Greatest Leader of Pakistan, Prime Minister Imran Khan against Looters, Cherry Blossom (a reference to the PMLN), Truthful Leader of Pakistan, Oh You Who Have Believed.	Imran Khan (leader of the political party PTI)	Supportive (Favorable, Appreciative).	Thanks to PMIK, Greatest leader of Pakistan after Quid-e-Azam, Truthful, Trustworthy Leader of Pakistan, #BehindYouSkipper, PMIK against Looters, Imran Khan got success internationally, Restoration of IT/ construction/ textile.

Interpretation; The first ten comments underneath this post contain the predominant themes of “Gratitude”, “Politics (PTI Leader Imran Khan), and “Religion”. These themes are further justified by the codes that are present within the written text of these comments. These codes include words like, “Thanks to PMIK”, “#BehindYouSkipper”, “Greatest

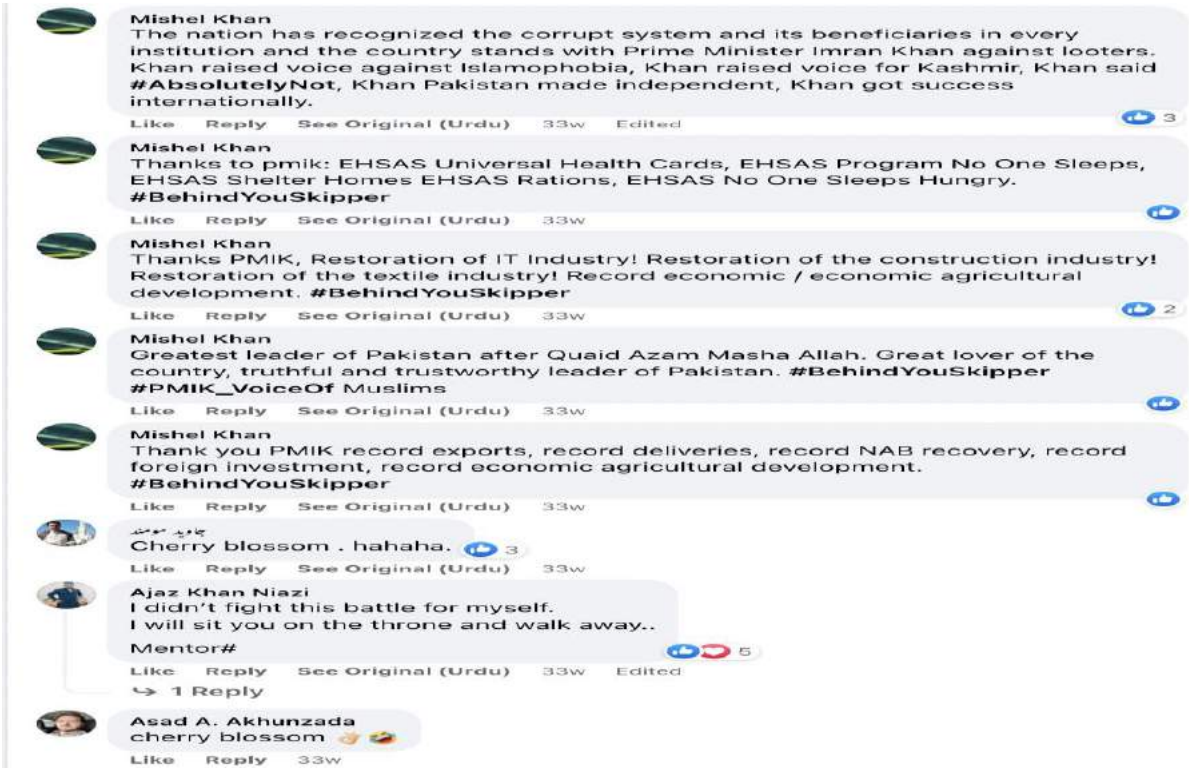
Leader of Pakistan", "Prime Minister Imran Khan Against looters", "Cherry Blossom (a reference to PMLN)", "Truthful Leader of Pakistan", "Oh You Who Have Believed (a translation of a verse)". Overall, the tone of these comments is largely supportive with words used in favor and appreciation of PTI leader Imran Khan. Even though no direct mentions of the Power Show are made as such, it can be concluded that these commentators approved of it. This supportive stance was confirmed by the codes "Thanks to PMIK", "Greatest leader of Pakistan after Quid-e-Azam", "Truthful", "Trustworthy Leader of Pakistan", "#BehindYouSkipper", "PMIK against Looters (a reference to PMLN)", "Imran Khan got success internationally", and "Restoration of IT/ construction/ textile".

POST 02

Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politics (PMLN, Shahbaz Sharif)	Prime Minister Imran Khan, #CherryBlossom, Shahbaz Sharif	Imran Khan (leader of the political party PTI) and Shahbaz Sharif (leader of PMLN political party)	Critical (Satirical, Abusive).	#Cherry Blossom

Interpretation; This PTI Facebook video post contains a caption about Prime Minister Imran Khan's, "interesting comment on Shahbaz Sharif" and a hashtag that reads "Cherry Blossom". This video post has the predominant theme of politics, more closely associated with the tussle between the two political parties, i.e. PTI and PMLN. Essentially, the video (containing the speech made by Prime Minster Imran Khan) and the caption are both jabs at the opposing political party PMLN, and its president Shahbaz Shariff. This is further evident from the codes contained within the caption of the post itself which include words like, "Prime Minister Imran Khan", "#CherryBlossom", and "Shahbaz Sharif". Additionally, the overall tone of the post is critical with strong satirical and abusive undertones. The use of the word and the hashtag, "Cherry Blossom", is clearly a satirical attempt by Prime Minister Imran Khan to imply that PMLN leader Shahbaz Sharif is essentially a puppet or a slave to the Western powers with no substantial stance of his own as a political figure. For context, Cherry Blossom is the name of a famous shoe-polish brand widely used in Pakistan. The implications are tied in with the subject of the insult being referred to as a bootlicker or someone with the tenancy to be an apple polish.

COMMENTS



Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politics (Imran Khan, PMLN, Shahbaz Sharif).	Prime Minister Imran Khan, #CherryBlossom, Shahbaz Sharif Sahib, Zardari, Bilawal, Sharif Family, Corrupt System, #BehindYouSkipper, Looters, PMIK,	Imran Khan (leader of the political party PTI) and Shahbaz Sharif (leader of PMLN political party)	Supportive (Favorable/ Appreciative)	Country stands with Prime Minister Imran Khan, Khan raised voice for Kashmir, Khan said #AbsolutelyNot, Thanks to pmik, Greatest leader of Pakistan, Truthful and Trustworthy Leader, Cherry Blossoms hahaha, Cherry Blossom👌🤣.

Interpretation; The discussion underneath this particular post has the predominant theme of politics with words like “Prime Minister Imran Khan”, “#CherryBlossom”, “Shahbaz Sharif Sahib”, “Zardari”, “Bilawal”, “Sharif Family”, “Corrupt System”, “#BehindYouSkipper”, “Looters”, “PMIK” being used the most often. The overall tone of these comments is supportive and is in favor of PTI and Imran Khan. This is evident from textual codes like “Country stands with Prime Minister Imran Khan”, “Khan raised voice for Kashmir”, “Khan said #AbsolutelyNot”, “Thanks to pmik”, “Greatest leader of Pakistan”, and “Truthful and Trustworthy Leader”. Additionally, this support is further evident from the way the commentators re-use the satirical hashtag #CherryBlossom (used by the PTI social media team) in the comment section as well alongside laughing emojis. In fact, one comment goes as far as to state “Sharif family’s assets are in Europe, if they don’t lick their feet, what else can they do”. Therefore, it can be concluded that generally,

PTI Facebook Page's followers agree with PM Imran Khan's comments on PMLN and their leader Shahbaz Sharif and generally share similar sentiments.

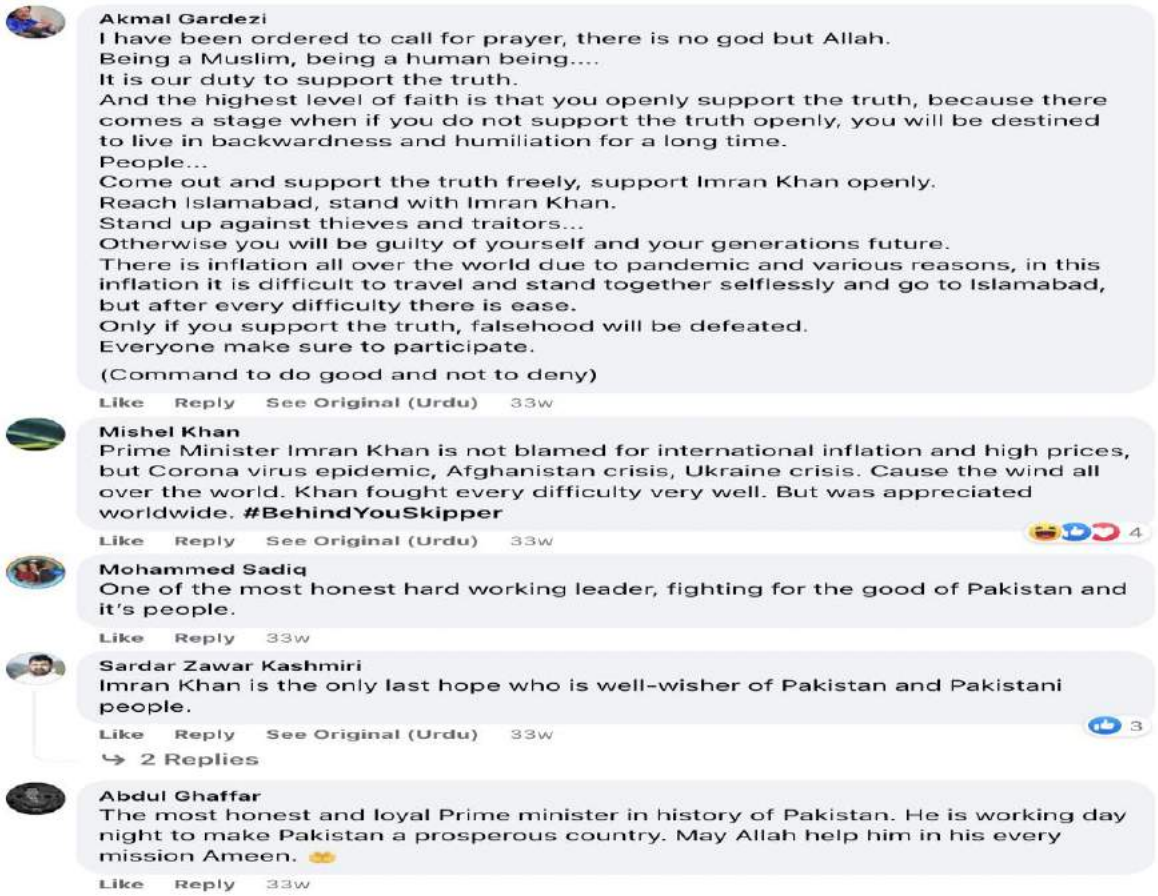
POST 03

Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politics (PTI), Political Gathering (at Mansehra)	#CaptainWillWin, #CornoredTigers.	N/A	Neutral (Slant)	Enthusiasm of people, Enough to send a message to the world that #CaptainWillWin

Interpretation; This post contains a general statement, "The enthusiasm of people is enough to send a clear message to the world that" and a prediction/ opinion that "#Captin_Will_Win". This caption is posted alongside video footage of PTI supporters chanting their support at a political gathering at Mansehra. The theme of the post relates to politics and political gathering (at Mansehra) as it contains content on the political party PTI and refers to the enthusiasm of its supporters at this said political gathering. Overall, the tone of the post and the caption is neutral with slant undertones as the statements made

are mere opinions and can be interpreted as biased judgments. Codes like “enough to send a message to the world”, “#CaptainWillWin”, and “#CornoredTigers” are further justification of this rather opinionated and biased approach to political communication. This could also be an attempt at framing the narrative in favor of PTI for the mass audience reading PTI’s Facebook Post and gathering more support.

COMMENTS



Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politics (PTI, Imran Khan, Noon League), Religion.	Noon League, Stand with Imran Khan, #BehindYouSkipper, Honest hard-working leader, Imran Khan, Honest Prime Minister, Nawaz and Zardari's Children, PTI,	Imran Khan	Supportive (Favorable, Appreciative) + Critical (Negative, Abuse)	Stand with Imran Khan, Stand up against thieves and traitors, #BehindYouSkipper, Honest hard-working leader, Fighting for the good of Pakistan, Imran Khan is the only last hope,

	Prayer, Allah, Faith, Ameen, Allah is with PTI, Haq always wins,			Honest and Loyal Prime Minister, Allah is with PTI, Cry Imran Cry, Go Imran Go.

Interpretation; The comments under this particular post relates to two broad themes including politics and religion - both in the context of PTI. Codes like “Noon League”, “Stand with Imran Khan”, “#BehindYouSkipper”, “Honest hard-working leader”, “Imran Khan”, “Honest Prime Minister”, “Nawaz and Zardari’s Children”, “PTI”, “Prayer”, “Allah”, “Faith”, “Ameen”, “Allah is with PTI”, and “Haq always wins” are used that support these themes. The overall tone of these comments is varied. While most comments are supportive (favorable/ appreciative) with codes like “Stand with Imran Khan”, “Stand up against thieves and traitors”, “#BehindYouSkipper”, “Honest hard-working leader”, “Fighting for the good of Pakistan”, “Imran Khan is the only last hope”, “Honest and Loyal Prime Minister”, “Allah is with PTI”, others are rather critical (negative/ abuse) in nature with codes like “Cry Imran Cry”, and “Go Imran Go”. Overall, the post has a mixed set of both positive and negative comments with the majority of the commentators showing their support for PTI and showing faith in their ability to “win” as a political party despite the setbacks.

POST 04

Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politics. (Political Leader PTI-Imran Khan, Political Gathering - PTI 27th March procession in Islamabad).	#Cornored Tigers, Captain, #27Marcha t3pm	Imran Khan	Supportive (Favorable/ Appreciativ e)	Truth, Right Path, Captain, Flawless Character, Stay Strong.Path of truth, Power, Right Path, Right Intentions, Truthful, Honest, For Truth.

Interpretation; This PTI Facebook post presents the leader of the political party, “Imran Khan”, in a positive light by pointing out the flawlessness of his character “No power can take him away from the right path”, “we are with you”, and by virtue of association his political party PTI. The predominant themes in the post, therefore, are those of Politics and Political Gatherings since the post also has the hashtag “27thMarchat3pm” in the image, which clearly indicates that a reference is being made to the political procession being led by Imran Khan in Islamabad. The post generally contains codes relating to the strength and honest character of the leader of PTI “Imran Khan”. The codes identified that support these themes and the general supportive (favorable/ appreciative) tone of the post include words like “#CornoredTigers”, “Captain”, “path of truth”, “right path”, “truthful and honest”, “right intentions”, and “for truth”. Overall, the post is about Imran Khan’s honest and truthful character and contains a supportive/ favorable/ appreciative viewpoint of the party leader. This is further confirmed by the codes in the post that contain words like “truth”, “right path”, “captain”, “flawless character”, and “stay strong, we are with you”.

COMMENTS

Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politics. Religion.	Imran Khan, 27March, Corrupt Noons, No Confidence, PM Imran Khan, Allah-Almight, Truth will win InshAllah, Leader.	Imran Khan (leader of the political party PTI).	Supportive (Favorable/ Appreciative) + Critical (Skeptical).	27March come out for the sake of truth, My leader, Proud, Imran Khan Wins, Good work, Imran Khan did what he said, He is working day and night, Don't Panic, Truthful and Honest, Fearless, Support, Great Leader PM Imran Khan, Honest, Loyal, Safe, Truth, Win, Snakes in your service, Fear God Admin, No Limit to Lies,

Interpretation; The comments underneath the PTI Facebook post generally contain supportive (favorable/ appreciative) messages that praise the strength of character of Prime Minister Imran Khan. The predominant themes that have been identified in these comments include themes of politics and religion with codes such as "Imran Khan", "27 March", "Corrupt Noons", "No Confidence", "PM Imran Khan", "Allah-Almight", "Truth will win InshAllah", "Leader".

The overall tone of the comments is positive and supportive with most comments cheering Imran Khan for his determined stance against the no-confidence motion. Codes like “fearlessness”, “effective leadership”, “support for Imran Khan”, and “truth and honesty” are more prominently visible. Additional codes identified include the words, “truth”, “self-reliant”, “independent”, “proud”, “good work”, “hope”, “truth & honesty”, “fearless”, “great leader”, and “support you till death”, etc. Two comments, however, are rather critical with skeptical comments like “Snakes in your service”, “Fear God Admin”, and “No Limit to Lies”. However, all in all, the post contains a very supportive, favorable, and appreciative response which is further confirmed by the codes “my leader”, “proud”, “Imran Khan wins”, “truthful, honest”, and “great leader”, etc.

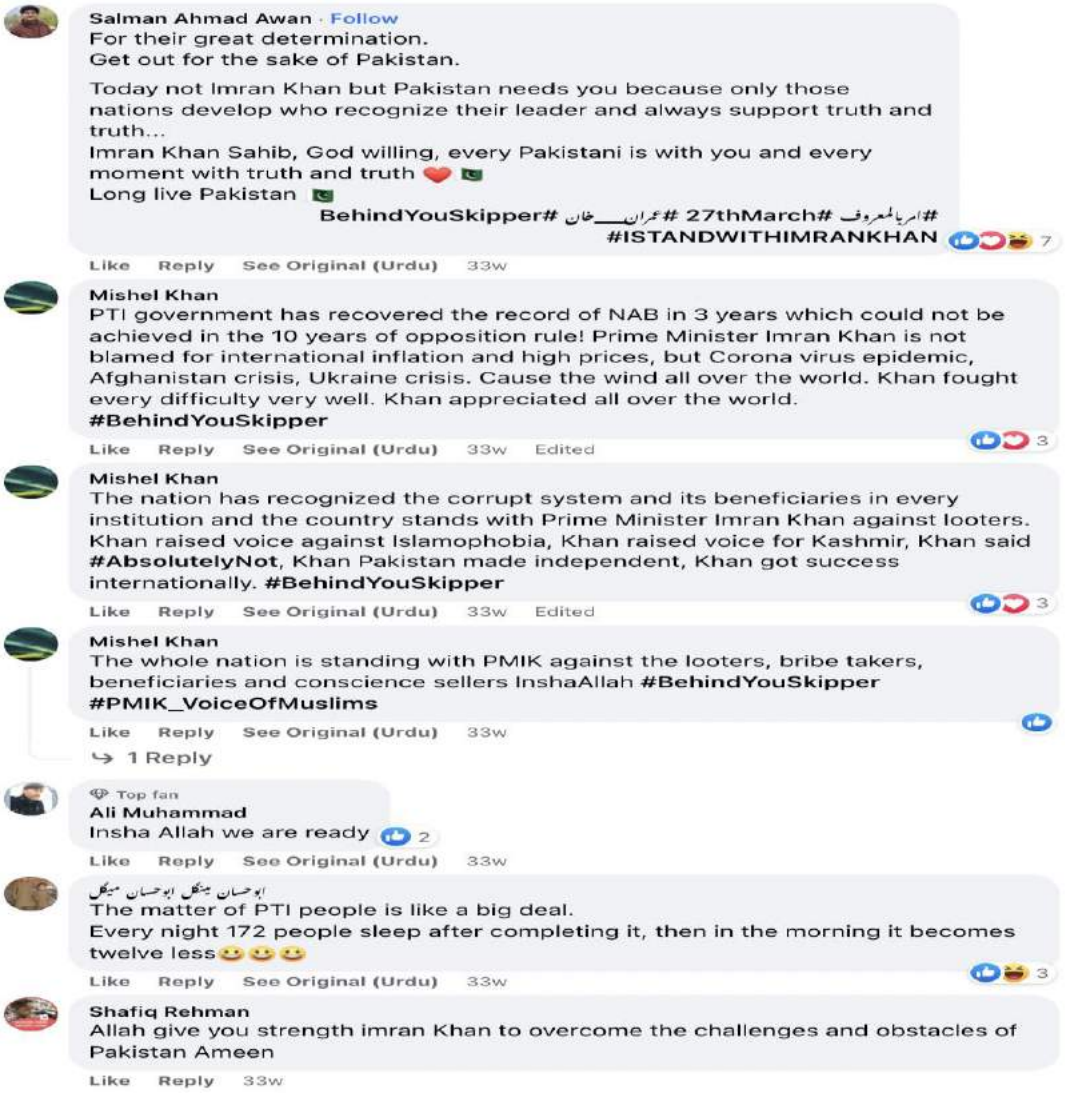
POST 05

Predominant Themes	Codes	Who is involved? (Character)	Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral	Codes

Politics. (Political Leader PTI- Imran Khan, Political Gathering PTI 27th March procession in Islamabad).	#CornoredTigers, Come out for the sake of Pakistan, #27Marchat3pm, Come out for the sake of truth, Parade Ground.	Imran Khan	Supportive (Favorable/ Justifying)	Raise the flag of truth, Come out, For the sake of Pakistan, For the sake of truth.

Interpretation; The predominant themes in this particular PTI Facebook post are those of Politics and Political Gathering - more specifically the post is a call-to-action by the party that essentially urges people to come out for the 27th March at Parade Ground in order to peacefully protest the no-confidence motion. These themes are supported by the codes "#CornoredTigers", "Come out for the sake of Pakistan", "#27Marchat3pm", "Come out for the sake of truth", and "Parade Ground". The tone of the post is Supportive in nature with the post leaning towards favorable and justifying use of language. Codes like "Raise the flag of truth", "Come out", "For the sake of Pakistan", and "For the sake of truth" support this claim. Overall, from the themes and codes identified, it can be concluded that this PTI Facebook post is attempting to justify the truthful and honest nature of the political party and its leader and therefore using positive language to gain support and also to encourage people to join in the procession on 27th March.

COMMENTS


Salman Ahmad Awan · Follow
For their great determination.
Get out for the sake of Pakistan.
Today not Imran Khan but Pakistan needs you because only those nations develop who recognize their leader and always support truth and truth...
Imran Khan Sahib, God willing, every Pakistani is with you and every moment with truth and truth
Long live Pakistan
#امریالمعروف #27thMarch #عمران___خان #BehindYouSkipper
#ISTANDWITHIMRANKHAN
Like Reply See Original (Urdu) 33w
Mishel Khan
PTI government has recovered the record of NAB in 3 years which could not be achieved in the 10 years of opposition rule! Prime Minister Imran Khan is not blamed for international inflation and high prices, but Corona virus epidemic, Afghanistan crisis, Ukraine crisis. Cause the wind all over the world. Khan fought every difficulty very well. Khan appreciated all over the world.
#BehindYouSkipper
Like Reply See Original (Urdu) 33w Edited
Mishel Khan
The nation has recognized the corrupt system and its beneficiaries in every institution and the country stands with Prime Minister Imran Khan against looters. Khan raised voice against Islamophobia, Khan raised voice for Kashmir, Khan said #AbsolutelyNot, Khan Pakistan made independent, Khan got success internationally. #BehindYouSkipper
Like Reply See Original (Urdu) 33w Edited
Mishel Khan
The whole nation is standing with PMIK against the looters, bribe takers, beneficiaries and conscience sellers InshaAllah #BehindYouSkipper #PMIK_VoiceOfMuslims
Like Reply See Original (Urdu) 33w
1 Reply
Top fan
Ali Muhammad
Insha Allah we are ready
Like Reply See Original (Urdu) 33w
ابوحسان بنگل ابوحسان میگل
The matter of PTI people is like a big deal.
Every night 172 people sleep after completing it, then in the morning it becomes twelve less
Like Reply See Original (Urdu) 33w
Shafiq Rehman
Allah give you strength imran Khan to overcome the challenges and obstacles of Pakistan Ameen
Like Reply 33w

Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politics.	#Get out for the sake of Pakistan, Imran Khan, #BehindYouSkipper, #IStandWithImranKhan, 27thMarch, PTI Government, Absolutely Not, #PMIK_VoiceofMuslims, Come out for the sake of Pakistan, For the sake of Imran Khan, Last chance against opposition gang of thieves, Election, Ending Corruption.	Imran Khan (leader of the political party PTI).	Supportive (Favorable/ Appreciative) + Critical (Negative).	Great Determination, Pakistan needs you, Support Truth, Pakistan is with you, Khan fought every difficulty, #BehindYouSkipper, Country stands with Imran Khan against Looters, We are ready, Allah give you strength, Come out for the sake of Pakistan, Loyalty. Things have already gotten 40% more

				expensive, Propaganda.

Interpretation; The comment section underneath this post leans towards supportive messages with the theme largely being associated with Politics. Codes like “#Get out for the sake of Pakistan”, “Imran Khan”, “#BehindYouSkipper”, “#IStandWithImranKhan”, “27thMarch”, “PTI Government”, “Absolutely Not”, “#PMIK_VoiceofMuslims”, “Come out for the sake of Pakistan”, “For the sake of Imran Khan”, “Last chance against opposition gang of thieves”, and“Election, Ending Corruption”. Aside from one comment that makes a critical remark with negative connotations supported by codes like “Things have already gotten 40% more expensive”, and “Propaganda”, the rest of the comments are largely very supportive (appreciative/ favorable). Textual evidence includes words and phrases like “Great Determination”, “Pakistan needs you”, “Support Truth”, “Pakistan is with you”, “Khan fought every difficulty”, “#BehindYouSkipper”, “Country stands with Imran Khan against Looters”, “We are ready”, “Allah give you strength”, “Come out for the sake of Pakistan”, “Loyalty”. From these comments, it can be concluded that the supporters or followers of the PTI Facebook page are very enthusiastic and hopeful about the March and are likely to join and encourage others to do the same.

POST 06

Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politics. (Political Leader PTI- Imran Khan), Political Gathering. (PTI 27th March Procession in Islamabad), Social. (Working Class Rights)	PM Imran Khan, Tehreek-e-Insaaf, #CaptainWillWin. Standing for right, Parade Ground, Show Solidarity Rights of working class, All Pakistan's laborers, Labor Wing.	Abdul Sami, Imran Khan	Supportive (Favorable)	Laborers are with PM Imran Khan, PM is standing for rights of working class, Solidarity.

Interpretation; This post features a statement from Tehreek-e-Insaaf Labor Wing representative Abdul Sami in relation to the 27 March procession that PTI conducted. The predominant themes that the post contains relate to Politics, and Social Class. This is supported by codes that are present within the caption on the post. The post includes words

like “PM Imran Khan”, “Tehreek-e-Insaaf”, “#CaptainWillWin”, “Standing for right”, “Parade Ground”, and “Show Solidarity” which all are political in nature and either relate to PTI or the political gathering that the party planned for March 27th. Furthermore, the post has a Social theme as well that essentially speaks of how PM Imran Khan is standing up for the rights of the working class, i.e. Pakistani laborers, and that for this reason, the working class aims to show full solidarity at the procession. Codes relating to the social theme include “Rights of working class”, “All Pakistan’s laborers”, and “Labor Wing”. Overall, the post features a very strong Supportive (favorable) tone with codes like “Laborers are with PM Imran Khan”, “PM is standing for rights of working class”, and “Solidarity” being used. From the post, it can be deduced that the PTI social media team aims to garner support from people from all walks of life and backgrounds from the working class to the elite. It could be an attempt to increase the factor or reliability for the common man and serve as an encouraging factor to join in the 27 March procession at Parade Ground.

Akmal Gardezi
I have been ordered to call for prayer, there is no god but Allah.
Being a Muslim, being a human being....
It is our duty to support the truth.
And the highest level of faith is that you openly support the truth, because there comes a stage when if you do not support the truth openly, you will be destined to live in backwardness and humiliation for a long time.
People...
Come out and support the truth freely, support Imran Khan openly.
Reach Islamabad, stand with Imran Khan.
Stand up against thieves and traitors...
Otherwise you will be guilty of yourself and your generations future.
There is inflation all over the world due to pandemic and various reasons, in this inflation it is difficult to travel and stand together selflessly and go to Islamabad, but after every difficulty there is ease.
Only if you support the truth, falsehood will be defeated.
Everyone make sure to participate.

(Command to do good and not to deny)

4

Like Reply See Original (Urdu) 33w

Aziz Alkarimi
It is easy to become Prime Minister but difficult to become Imran Khan. Because Imran Khan is a leader and a leader like Prime Minister Imran Khan is born after centuries.

5

Like Reply See Original (Urdu) 33w

Farzana Kausar
All corrupt political parties, all corrupt mafia ,all deep pocket media , west and every corrupt person against one Imran Khan who is fighting for Pakistan and for Islam and he will be successful Inshallah.

4

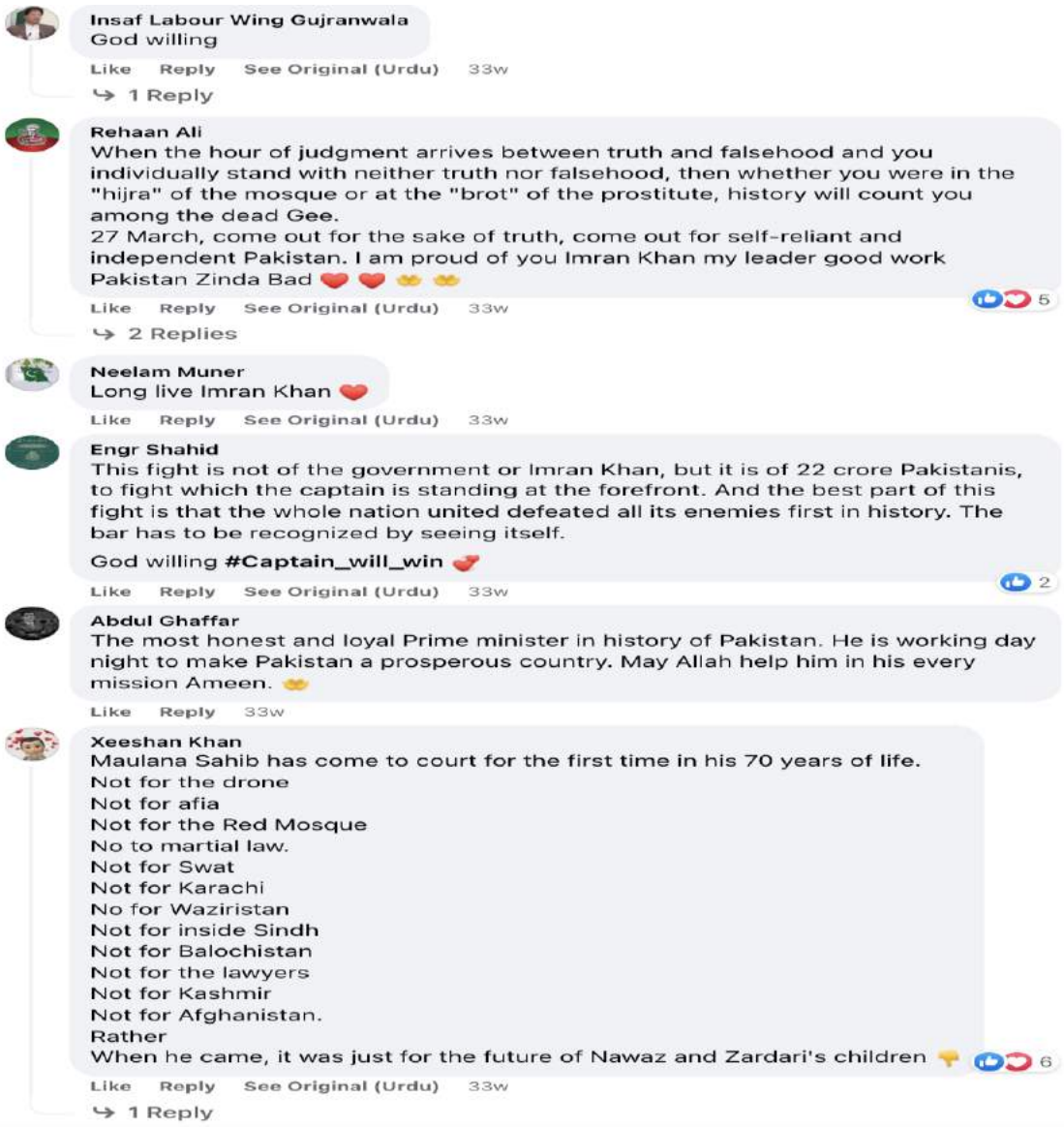
Like Reply 33w

↳ 1 Reply

Mishel Khan
The nation has to come out. A proud leader. A leader who stood alone against corruption and proved right. The nation has to come out against the corrupt system, become the caliphate of bribery taker, conscience seller. InshaAllah, the whole nation is united behind Prime Minister Imran Khan and our national security agencies. The external conspiracies against the state will be a tremendous defeat. InshaAllah **#BehindYouSkipper #PDMMafiaExposed**

6

Like Reply See Original (Urdu) 33w Edited



Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politics. Religion. Economic.	Support Imran Khan openly, Reach Islamabad, Stand up against thieves and traitors, Corrupt, Deep	Imran Khan (leader of the political party PTI).	Supportive (Favorable/ Appreciative)	Our duty to support the truth, Reach Islamabad, Stand with Imran Khan, Everyone make sure to participate, He

	Pocket Media, West, The Nation has to come out, 27 March, Government, Honest and Loyal Prime Minister, Corrupt System. Call for prayer, There is no God but Allah, Being a Muslim, Khan is fighting for Pakistan and Islam, He will be sucessful InshAllah, Become the caliphate of bribery taker, God Willing, Hour of Judgement Arrives, *Hijra* of the mosque, May Allah help him, Ameen. Inflation, It is difficult to travel.			will be successful, The nation has to come out, A proud leader, Long Live Imran Khan ❤️, #Captain_Will_ Win, Honest and Loyal Prime Minister.

Interpretation; The first 10 comments under this post largely fall under three main common themes including those of Politics, Economics, and Religion. These themes are, in fact, recurring in most of the frequent comments that are made on PTI's Facebook page. The codes that support these themes include political ("Support Imran Khan openly", "Reach Islamabad", "Stand up against thieves and traitors", "Corrupt", "Deep Pocket

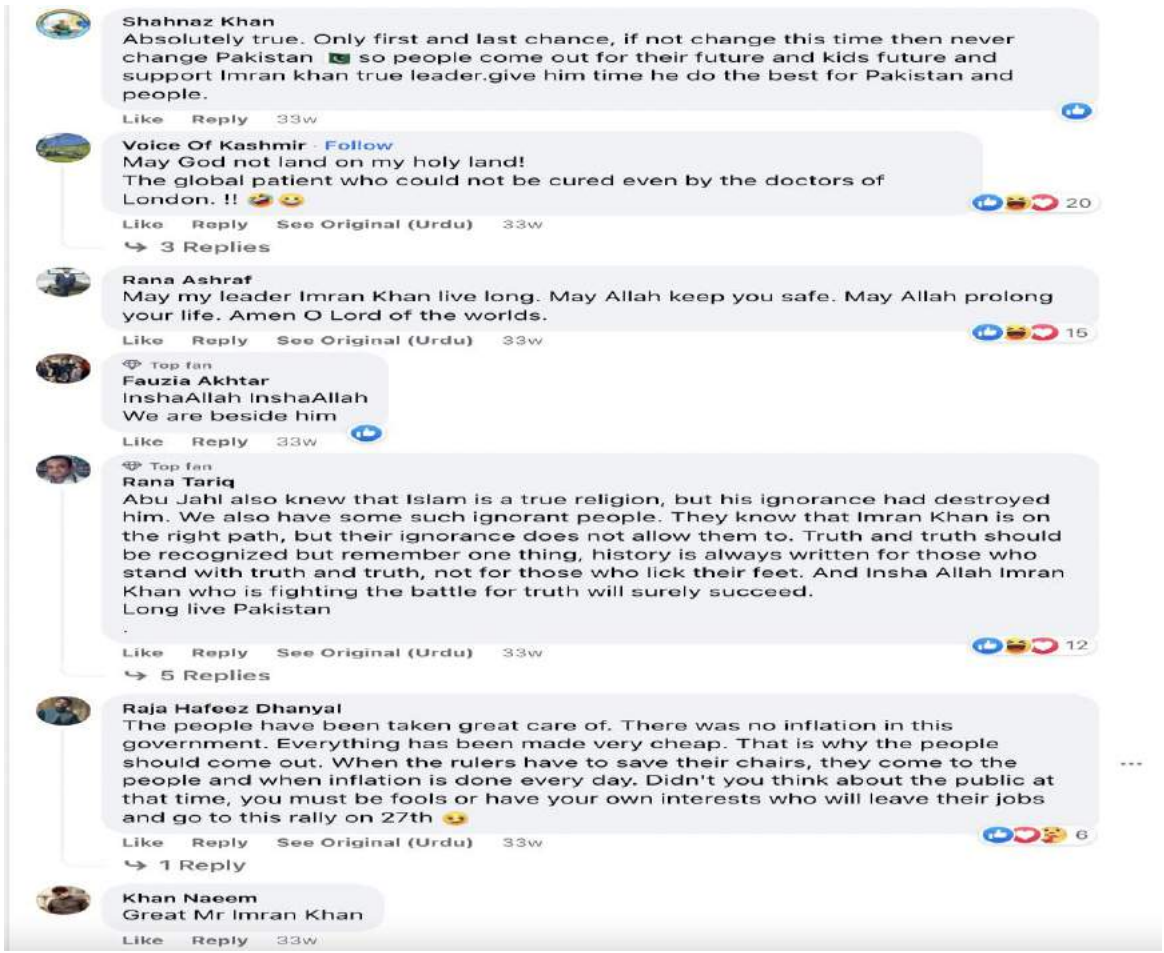
Media", "West", "The Nation has to come out", "27 March", "Government", "Honest and Loyal Prime Minister", "Corrupt System", religious ("Call for prayer", "There is no God but Allah", "Being a Muslim", "Khan is fighting for Pakistan and Islam", "He will be successful InshAllah", "Become the caliphate of bribery taker", "God Willing", "Hour of Judgement Arrives", "Hijra of the mosque", "May Allah help him", "Ameen" and economic ("Inflation", "It is difficult to travel"). And since the overall tone of the post is mostly Supportive (favorable/ appreciative), it can be concluded that most PTI followers believe that Imran Khan represents a symbol of hope and he is on the right path. The commentators also show considerable hope and hold faith in Imran Khan to alleviate inflation and improve the economic conditions of the country. This is further supported by the codes within the comments that include words and phrases like "Our duty to support the truth", "Reach Islamabad", "Stand with Imran Khan", "Everyone make sure to participate", "He will be successful", "The nation has to come out", "A proud leader", "Long Live Imran Khan 💔", "#Captain_Will_Win", "Honest and Loyal Prime Minister."

POST 07

Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politics. Hope.	Biggest Rally, 27 March 3 pm, Parade Ground, Support Prime Minister Imran Khan. For our children's tomorrow, People will come from all corners of Pakistan, Support the rights of your Children, #VictoryShallBeCaptain's.	Prime Minister Imran Khan.	Neutral	Step out today for our children's tomorrow, Support Pakistan, Support Prime Minister Imran Khan

Interpretation; Much like other posts on PTI's Facebook page during this time, this post makes an announcement about the upcoming gathering on March 27th at 3 pm. The post has two predominant themes relating to Politics and Hope. Words like "Biggest Rally", "27 March 3 pm", "Parade Ground", and "Support Prime Minister Imran Khan" all have political connotations. Moreover, there is an element of hope in the way that the caption is typed out and the words and imagery that are used alongside it. The codes that support this theme include words like "For our children's tomorrow", "People will come from all corners of Pakistan", "Support the rights of your Children", "#VictoryShallBeCaptain's". Overall, the post has a Neutral tone to it. It is neither overly supportive nor overly critical. It is merely communicating the message that a political procession will take place on March 27th and the party hopes all Pakistanis would join and show their support. Neutral but encouraging words are used within the post like "Step out today for our children's tomorrow", "Support Pakistan", and "Support Prime Minister Imran Khan".

COMMENTS



Shahnaz Khan
Absolutely true. Only first and last chance, if not change this time then never change Pakistan 🇵🇰 so people come out for their future and kids future and support Imran khan true leader.give him time he do the best for Pakistan and people.
Like Reply 33w

Voice Of Kashmir · Follow
May God not land on my holy land!
The global patient who could not be cured even by the doctors of London. !! 🤣😊
20
Like Reply See Original (Urdu) 33w
↳ 3 Replies

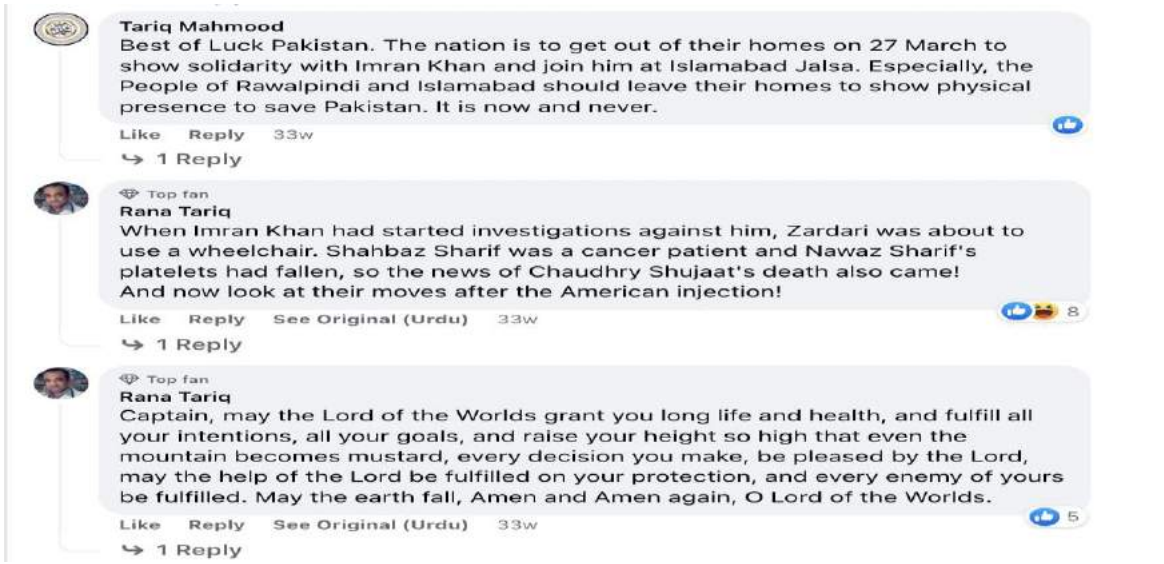
Rana Ashraf
May my leader Imran Khan live long. May Allah keep you safe. May Allah prolong your life. Amen O Lord of the worlds.
15
Like Reply See Original (Urdu) 33w

Top fan
Fauzia Akhtar
InshaAllah InshaAllah
We are beside him
Like Reply 33w

Top fan
Rana Tariq
Abu Jahl also knew that Islam is a true religion, but his ignorance had destroyed him. We also have some such ignorant people. They know that Imran Khan is on the right path, but their ignorance does not allow them to. Truth and truth should be recognized but remember one thing, history is always written for those who stand with truth and truth, not for those who lick their feet. And Insha Allah Imran Khan who is fighting the battle for truth will surely succeed.
Long live Pakistan
.
12
Like Reply See Original (Urdu) 33w
↳ 5 Replies

Raja Hafeez Dhanyal
The people have been taken great care of. There was no inflation in this government. Everything has been made very cheap. That is why the people should come out. When the rulers have to save their chairs, they come to the people and when inflation is done every day. Didn't you think about the public at that time, you must be fools or have your own interests who will leave their jobs and go to this rally on 27th 😉
6
Like Reply See Original (Urdu) 33w
↳ 1 Reply

Khan Naeem
Great Mr Imran Khan
Like Reply 33w



Tariq Mahmood
Best of Luck Pakistan. The nation is to get out of their homes on 27 March to show solidarity with Imran Khan and join him at Islamabad Jalsa. Especially, the People of Rawalpindi and Islamabad should leave their homes to show physical presence to save Pakistan. It is now and never.
Like Reply 33w
↳ 1 Reply

Top fan
Rana Tariq
When Imran Khan had started investigations against him, Zardari was about to use a wheelchair. Shahbaz Sharif was a cancer patient and Nawaz Sharif's platelets had fallen, so the news of Chaudhry Shujaat's death also came!
And now look at their moves after the American injection!
8
Like Reply See Original (Urdu) 33w
↳ 1 Reply

Top fan
Rana Tariq
Captain, may the Lord of the Worlds grant you long life and health, and fulfill all your intentions, all your goals, and raise your height so high that even the mountain becomes mustard, every decision you make, be pleased by the Lord, may the help of the Lord be fulfilled on your protection, and every enemy of yours be fulfilled. May the earth fall, Amen and Amen again, O Lord of the Worlds.
5
Like Reply See Original (Urdu) 33w
↳ 1 Reply

Predominant Themes	Codes	Who is involved? (Character)	Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral	Codes
Politics. Religion	Imran Khan, Come out for their future and kid's future, Government, Inflation, 27 March, Zardari, Shahbaz Sharif, Nawaz Sharif, Chaudhry Shujaat's. Holy Land, May God, InshAllah, May Allah keep you safe, Islam is a true religion, Amen, O Lord of the Worlds.	Imran Khan (leader of the political party PTI).	Supportive (Favorable/ Appreciative/ Justifying)	Ture Leader, Support Imran Khan, Great Imran Khan, Show solidarity with Imran Khan, Join him in Islamabad, Captain

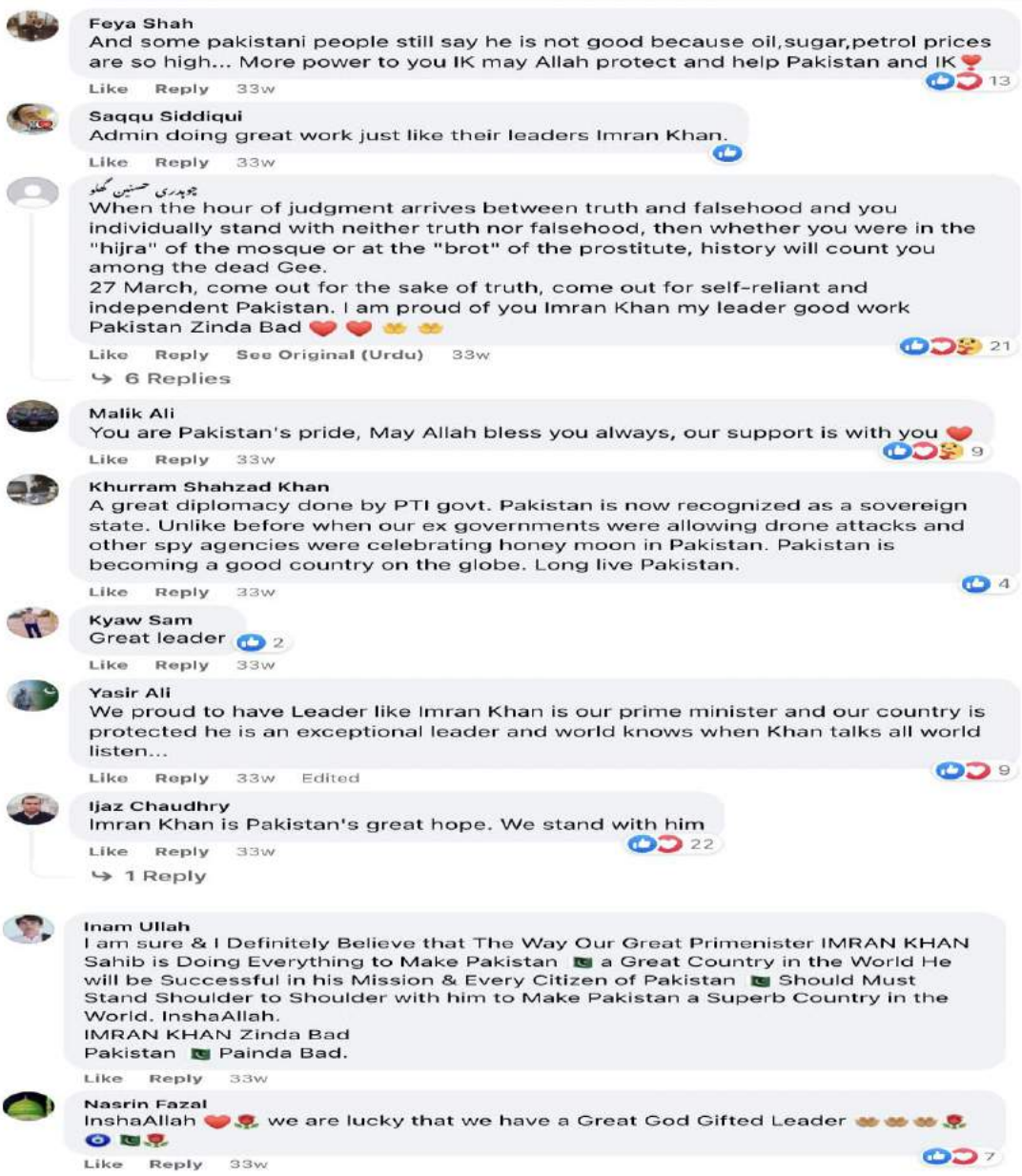
Interpretation; The posts have two major themes including those of Politics and Religion. The commentators express their support and appreciation for Imran Khan and wish PTI well for the upcoming gathering on 27th March. There are distinct codes that support these themes including words like "Imran Khan", "Come out for their future and kid's future", "Government", "Inflation", "27 March, Zardari", "Shahbaz Sharif", "Nawaz Sharif", "Chaudhry Shujaat's", "Holy Land", "May God", "InshAllah", "May Allah keep you safe", "Islam is a true religion", "Amen", "O Lord of the Worlds". The overall tone of the post, therefore, is Supportive with comments harboing on favorable, appreciative, and justifying stances. Codes like "Trre Leader", "Support Imran Khan", "Great Imran Khan", "Show solidarity with Imran Khan", "Join him in Islamabad", and "Captain" demonstrate the appreciation of the commentators.

POST 08

Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politics. International Relations.	Dreamed of isolating Pakistan, Leadership of Prime Minister Imran Khan. Kashmir Issue India, Globally, International Foreign Policy, Several Countries, World Forum.	Prime Minister Imran Khan (PTI)	Supportive (Justifying)	Prime Minister Imran Khan established contacts, Best International Foreign Policy, Whole world started listening to Pakistan's voice, Countries have supported Pakistan at the World Forum

Interpretation; This post contains two broad themes including those of Politics and International Relations. The post makes a bold statement calling out India by stating that "India, which dreamed of Isolating Pakistan globally, saw that Pakistan under the leadership of Prime Minister Imran Khan, established contacts" and projects PTI and Imran Khan's leadership in a positive light by stating that "...the whole world started listening to Pakistan's voice…several countries have supported Pakistan at world forum". Overall, the themes of politics and international relations are clearly evident from the codes in the caption that include words like "Dreamed of isolating Pakistan", "Leadership of Prime Minister Imran Khan", "Kashmir Issue" "India", "Globally", "International Foreign Policy", "Several Countries", "World Forum". The overall tone of the post is Supportive with a justifying voice being used. Codes like "Prime Minister Imran Khan established contacts", "Best International Foreign Policy", "Whole world started listening to Pakistan's voice", and "Countries have supported Pakistan at the World Forum". From all of these codes/ themes within the post, it can be concluded that PTI's social media team is trying to convince or remind its followers that Prime Minister Imran has been working diligently to improve Pakistan's image and strengthen international relations with other nations.

COMMENTS

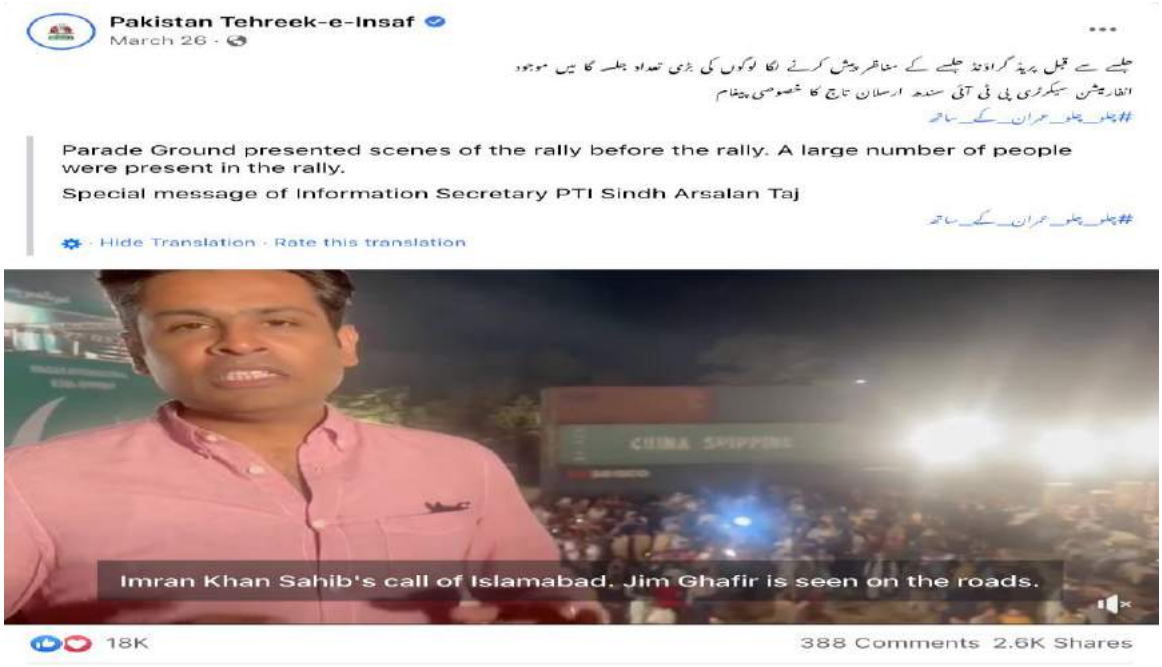


Predominant Themes	Codes	Who is involved? (Character)	Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral	Codes

Politics.	More power to you IK, 27 March, Imran Khan my leader, Diplomacy, Sovereign State, Drone Attacks.	Imran Khan (leader of the political party PTI).	Supportive (Favorable/ Appreciative)	More Power to you IK, Admin doing great work just like…Imran Khan, You are Pakistan's Pride, Great Leader, Proud, Great Hope, We stand with him, Great God Gifted Leader

Interpretation; The comments underneath this post have a predominant theme of Politics with Imran Khan being shown support and praised for his effort to improve international relations. Several codes that support this theme include words like "More power to you IK", "27 March", "Imran Khan my leader", "Diplomacy", "Sovereign State", and "Drone Attacks". Moreover, the tone of the post is largely Supportive (favorable/ appreciative). Commentators show their support by using words like, "More Power to you IK", "Admin doing great work just like…Imran Khan", "You are Pakistan's Pride", "Great Leader", "Proud", "Great Hope", "We stand with him", "Great God Gifted Leader". From analyzing these codes present within the textual data obtained from the comments, it can be concluded that PTI Facebook followers are largely appreciative of Imran Khan for building these international connections with other nations. They believe that strengthening international relations between Pakistan and the rest of the world would improve Pakistan's image and also lead to progress in the long run.

POST 09

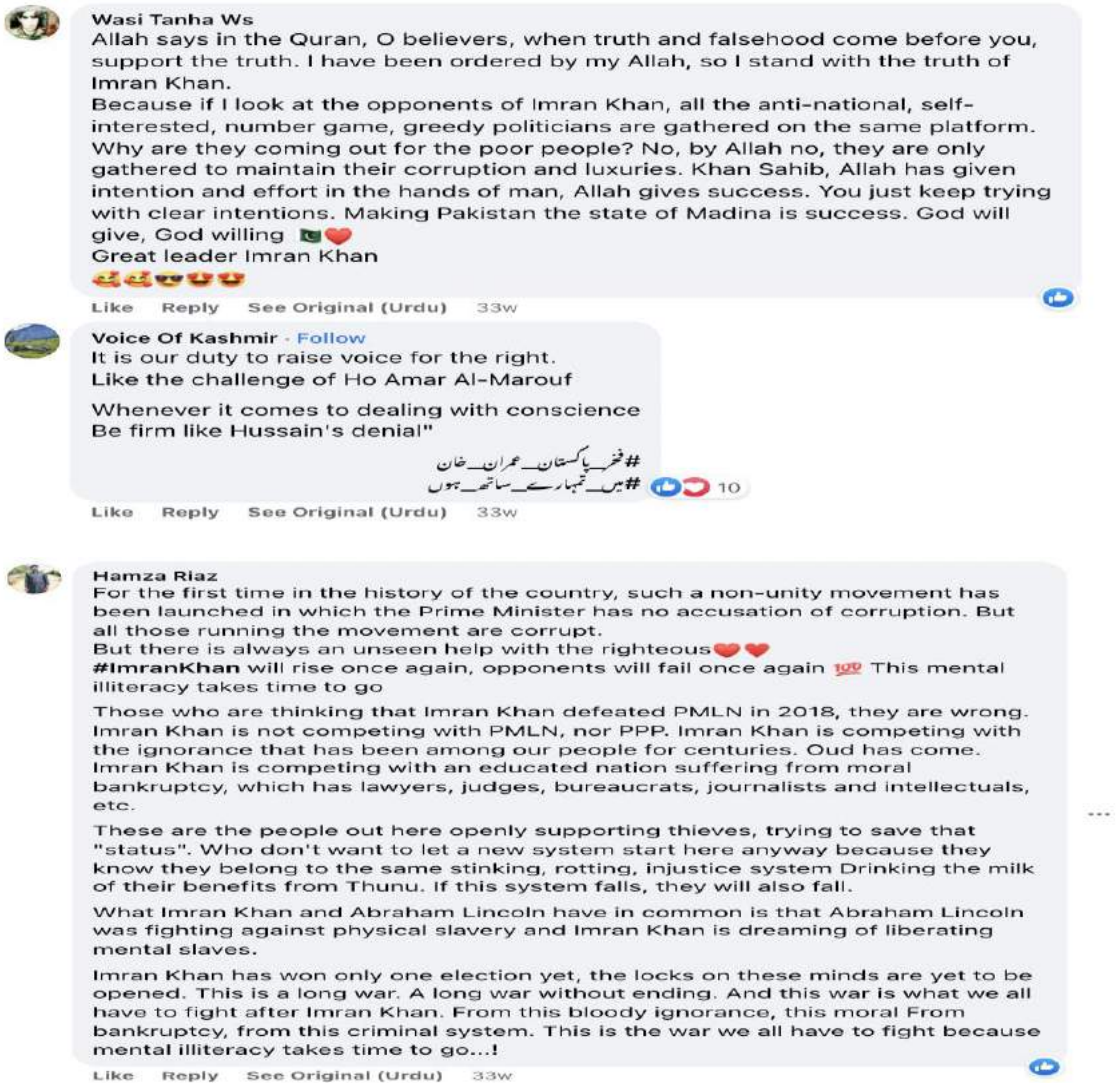


Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politics. Political Rally (27 March Parade Ground, Islamabad)	Imran Khan, Information Secretary PTI. Parade Ground, Rally.	Prime Minister Imran Khan (PTI)	Supportive (Favorable)	A large number of people were present at the rally, #LetsGoWithImran.

Interpretation; This post makes a live update from the scenes at “Parade Ground”. The reported, Arslan Taj (Information Security PTI, Sindh), reports from the location and states that there is a “rally before the rally” on the roads of Islamabad and that “a large number of people are present” for the rally. From the caption of this post, two broad themes are easily identifiable: political and political rallies. Codes like “Imran Khan”, and “Information Secretary PTI”. “Parade Ground”, and “Rally” are used that justify these themes. Moreover, the overall tone of the post is very Supportive (favorable) in nature. Words like “a large number of people were present at the rally”, and the hashtag “#LetsGoWithImran” is prominently used. From these codes and themes present within the post, it can be concluded that PTI wants to show how positive the response of the public

has been in relation to Imran Khan's call for a rally at Parade Ground. The party seems optimistic that something good will come out of this rally and that the majority of the people seem to be on their side.

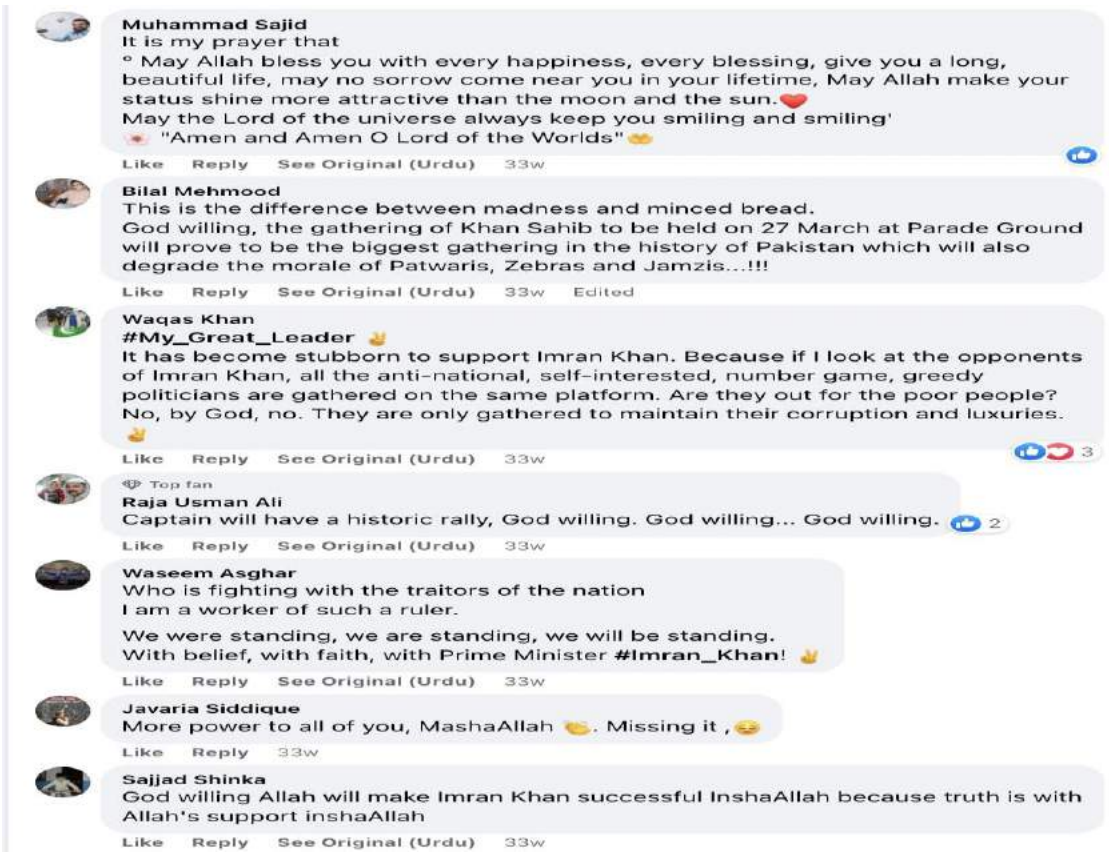
COMMENTS



Wasi Tanha Ws
Allah says in the Quran, O believers, when truth and falsehood come before you, support the truth. I have been ordered by my Allah, so I stand with the truth of Imran Khan.
Because if I look at the opponents of Imran Khan, all the anti-national, self-interested, number game, greedy politicians are gathered on the same platform. Why are they coming out for the poor people? No, by Allah no, they are only gathered to maintain their corruption and luxuries. Khan Sahib, Allah has given intention and effort in the hands of man, Allah gives success. You just keep trying with clear intentions. Making Pakistan the state of Madina is success. God will give, God willing 🇵🇰❤️
Great leader Imran Khan
🥰🥰😍😍😍
Like Reply See Original (Urdu) 33w

Voice Of Kashmir · Follow
It is our duty to raise voice for the right.
Like the challenge of Ho Amar Al-Marouf
Whenever it comes to dealing with conscience
Be firm like Hussain's denial"
#فخرِ_پاکستان_عمران_خان
#میں_تمہارے_ساتھ_ہوں
10
Like Reply See Original (Urdu) 33w

Hamza Riaz
For the first time in the history of the country, such a non-unity movement has been launched in which the Prime Minister has no accusation of corruption. But all those running the movement are corrupt.
But there is always an unseen help with the righteous❤️❤️
#ImranKhan will rise once again, opponents will fail once again 💯 This mental illiteracy takes time to go
Those who are thinking that Imran Khan defeated PMLN in 2018, they are wrong. Imran Khan is not competing with PMLN, nor PPP. Imran Khan is competing with the ignorance that has been among our people for centuries. Oud has come. Imran Khan is competing with an educated nation suffering from moral bankruptcy, which has lawyers, judges, bureaucrats, journalists and intellectuals, etc.
These are the people out here openly supporting thieves, trying to save that "status". Who don't want to let a new system start here anyway because they know they belong to the same stinking, rotting, injustice system Drinking the milk of their benefits from Thunu. If this system falls, they will also fall.
What Imran Khan and Abraham Lincoln have in common is that Abraham Lincoln was fighting against physical slavery and Imran Khan is dreaming of liberating mental slaves.
Imran Khan has won only one election yet, the locks on these minds are yet to be opened. This is a long war. A long war without ending. And this war is what we all have to fight after Imran Khan. From this bloody ignorance, this moral From bankruptcy, from this criminal system. This is the war we all have to fight because mental illiteracy takes time to go...!
Like Reply See Original (Urdu) 33w



Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politics. Political Rally. Religion	Imran Khan, Number Game, Greedy Politicians, Corruption, Non-Unity Movement, PMLN, PPP, Election. Coming out for the poor people, Biggest Gathering, 27 March at Parade Ground, Historical Rally. Allah, Quran, Madina, Hussain's denial, Amen, O lord of the worlds, God Willing, Faith, MashAllah. InshAllah.	Imran Khan (leader of the political party PTI).	Supportive (Favorable/ Appreciative)	Support the truth, Success, Great Leader Imran Khan, Raise voice for the right, War we all have to fight, Support Imran Khan, Captain will have a historic rally, More power to all of you, We will be standing, Imran Khan successful.

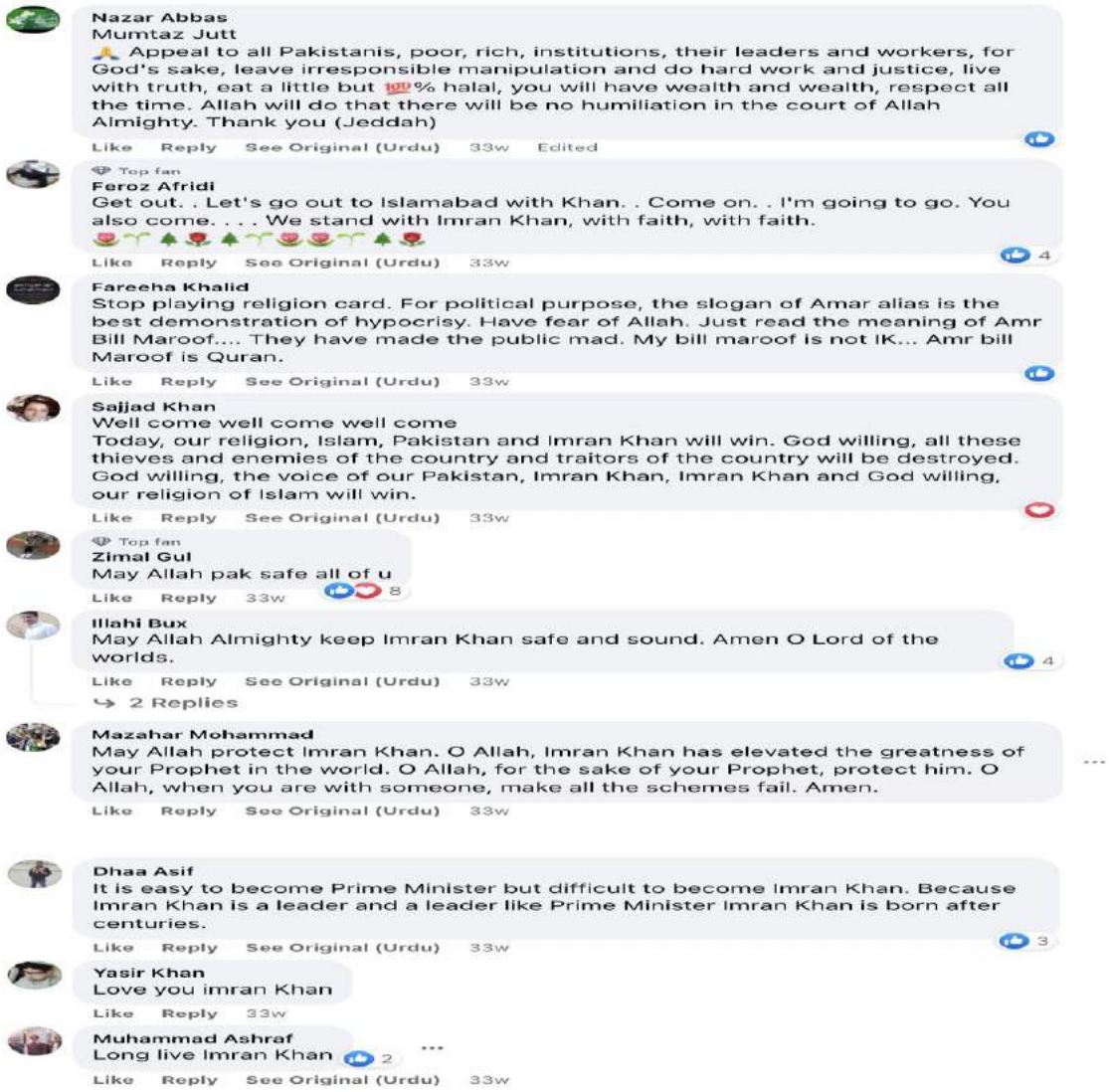
Interpretation; The comments underneath this post show considerable support for Imran Khan and PTI. The upcoming rally on March 27th appears to be the major topic of interest amongst the commentators under the post. The major themes present within the comments include politics, political gatherings, and religion. Codes like “Imran Khan”, “Number Game”, “Greedy Politicians”, “Corruption”, “Non-Unity Movement”, “PMLN”, “PPP”, “Election”, “Coming out for the poor people”, “Biggest Gathering”, “ 27 March at Parade Ground”, “Historical Rally”, “Allah”, “Quran”, “Madina”, “Hussain’s denial”, “Amen”, “O lord of the worlds”, “God Willing”, “Faith”, “MashAllah”, and “InshAllah”. Overall, the commentators seem to be very excited about the upcoming rally and this reflects in the tone of the overall post which is largely Supportive (favorable/ appreciative). The codes that support this tone include “support the truth”, “success”, “great leader Imran Khan”, “raise voice for the right”, “war we all have to fight”, “support Imran Khan”, “captain will have a historic rally”, “more power to all of you”, “we will be standing”, and “Imran Khan successful”.

POST 10

Predominant Themes	Codes	Who is involved? (Character)	Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral	Codes
Politics (Political Rally - 27 March Parade Ground, Islamabad)	Amar-ul-Maruf rally, Attend the rally.	N/A	Supportive.	Preparation in full-swing, Caravan are arriving from all sides, Amar-ul-Maruf rally, People from Pakistan are coming door to door to attend the rally.

Interpretation; This post updates PTI followers about the upcoming preparations for the gathering at the 27 March Parade Ground rally. The predominant theme in this post is that of Politics with code words like “Amar-ul-Maruf rally”, and “Attend the rally” being used. The overall tone of this post is very Supportive and reflects a sense of excitement and anticipation for the rally with words like, “preparation in full swing”, “caravans are arriving from all sides”, “Amar-ul-Maruf rally”, and “People from Pakistan are coming door to door to attend the rally” being used in the caption. From these themes and codes, it can be concluded that the post is conveying to PTI Facebook followers that the rally is going exceptionally well and that a very large number of people are participating. The show of strength, from a political standpoint, is never a bad move, and this post accomplishes just that.

COMMENTS



Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politics. (27 March Parade Ground rally) Religion	Khan, Stand with Imran Khan, Prime Minister, Let's go out to Islamabad. Allah, Quran, Allah Pak,	Imran Khan (leader of the political party PTI).	Supportive (Favorable/ Appreciative) Critical.	We stand with Imran Khan, Imran Khan will win, Love you Imran Khan, Long Live Imran Khan. Stop playing religion card,

	Amen O Lord of the worlds.			hypocrisy, Have fear.

Interpretation; Commentators under this post share their largely positive and appreciative sentiments about the upcoming 27 March Parade Ground rally. The first 10 comments contain themes of Politics and Religion. The codes identified within the post that justify these themes include words like “Khan”, “Stand with Imran Khan”, “Prime Minister”, “Let’s go out to Islamabad”, “Allah”, “Quran”, “Allah Pak”, and “Amen O Lord of the worlds”. While most comments generally are Supportive (favorable/ appreciable) in tone with words like “We stand with Imran Khan”, “Imran Khan will win”, “Love you Imran Khan”, and “Long Live Imran Khan”, one comment seems to tread on the negative side with words and phrases like “stop playing religion card”, “hypocrisy”, and “have fear” being used. This comment seems to suggest that the party is using religion as a crutch to get their message across and using the words *Amr-bill-Maroof* is taking it too far. All in all, the themes in codes within the comments under this post seem to be in support of the 27th March rally.

Following pages contain thematic analysis on the Facebook posts of Pakistan Muslim League-N (PML-N);

POST 01

Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politics, Meeting	*'Qaumi Assembly', 'Ijlaas', 'Parliament'*	Shahbaz Shareef	Supportive	*'Quaid Hazb'*

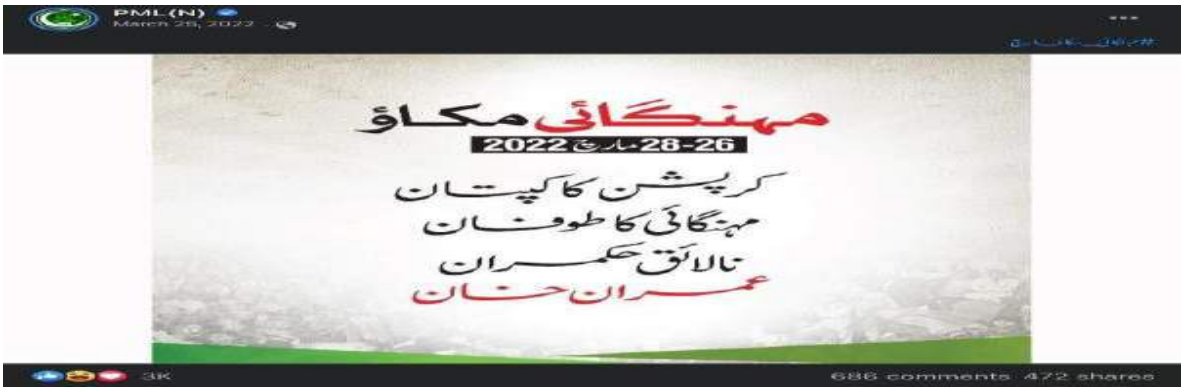
Interpretation; Posted on the 25th of March, this post was uploaded on Pakistan Muslim League's (PMLN) official Facebook page. The post informs about the presence of Shahbaz Shareef at an Assembly Meeting at the Parliament. Attached with it is a video of Shahbaz Shareef entering the Parliament for the meeting.

COMMENTS

Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politics, Character Assassination, Mocking	*'Corrupt tola', 'Topi Baaz', 'Firaun', 'Kamar mai dard', 'NAB', 'Shaitaan', 'Chor'*	Shahbaz Shareef, Imran Khan	Critical (Negative, Taunting, Sarcastic)	*'Hawa nikal jaati hai', 'Shukar hai mere quaid', 'Corrup tolay say chutkara'*

Interpretation: The comment section for this post is majorly negative. Almost all the comments are filled with accusations, demeaning phrases, and mockery. The major theme among the comments is that of support for Imran Khan and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI). Hence, all the comments are in opposition of PMLN and Shahbaz Shareef. A few days before this post Shahbaz Shareef did not attend a meeting which he had with the National Accountability Bureau (NAB) due to alleged back pain. Some of the comments have called this out by mocking his claims of back pain and instead claiming that the reason he missed the meeting was because he feared appearing in front of the bureau.

POST 02

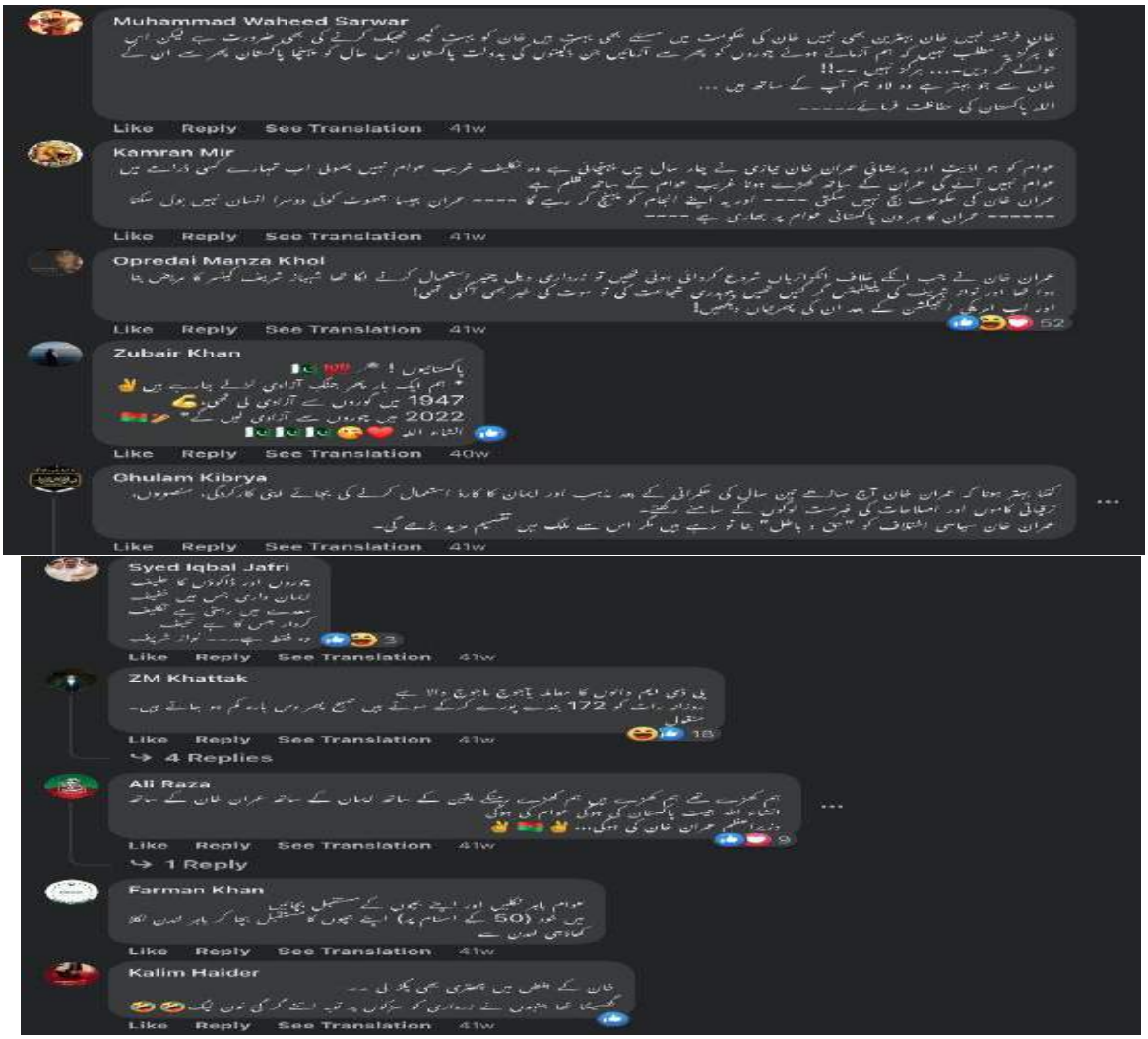


Predominant Themes	Codes	Who is involved? (Character)	Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral	Codes
Accusatory, Defaming, Leading to change	*'Corruption ka captain', 'Nalaiq hukumraan'*	Imran Khan	Negative	*'Mehngayi ka toofaan'*

Interpretation: This is the second post published on 25th March by PMLN's Facebook page. It is a picture along with the caption, '*Mehngayi Mukao March'*. The post states PMLN's intentions of conducting a long march against the rising inflation and poor governance in the country. It is intended to rouse the supporters of PMLN to come out and support their party by participating in the long march. The post itself is negative in the sense that it criticizes PTI's government and specifically calls out Imran Khan as well. Khan is

given derogatory terms such as '*nalaiq'* and accused of being corrupt, which further highlights the post's agenda to rouse hate against Imran Khan and PTI.

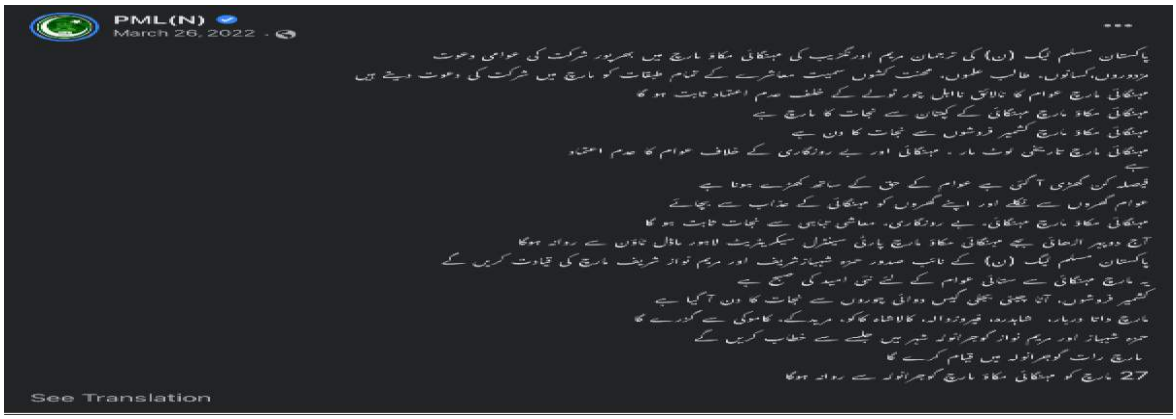
COMMENTS



Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Negative, Accountability, Maligning	*'Inquiry shuru hui toh Shahbaz ko cancer hogaya', 'Awaam bahir niklay', '2022 mai choro say azaadi le'*	Imran Khan, Shahbaz Shareef	Neutral (both Supportive & Critical)	*'Azmaaye huay chor', 'Chor aur daako', 'Imran kay saath', 'Khan ki hukoomat bach nahi sakti'*

Interpretation: This comment section is more mixed in terms of support and criticism. A few comments are in support of the long march and PMLN's agenda while other comments are those which are in support of PTI and Imran Khan. There are many comments stating derogatory terms such as 'chor' and 'daako' in context to PMLN.

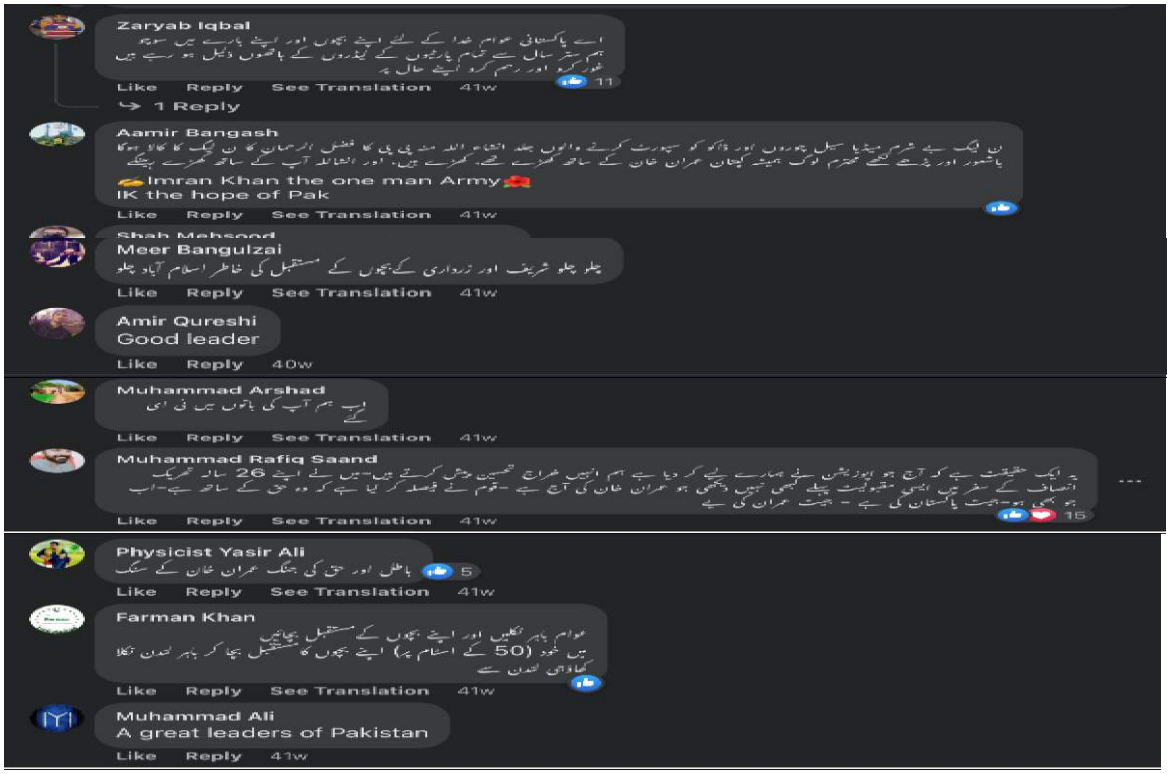
POST 03



Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politics, Protest	*'Jalsa', 'Mehngayi Mukao March,*	Maryam Nawaz, Hamza Shahbaz	Critical	*'Mehngayi Mukao March', 'Satayi hui awaam'*

Interpretation: This entry was published on the Pakistan Muslim league's (PMLN) official Facebook page on March 26. The post is critical as it shows that PMLN opposes Imran Khan's policies, which according to them promotes inflation, unemployment and economic instability. This post informs that they are calling everyone to participate in their march for the sake of inflation. It states that now is the moment to support farmers, get rid of unemployment and for the liberation of Kashmir.

COMMENTS



Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Opposition, Dismissive, Accusatory	*'reham karo', 'chor', 'aap ki baato mai nahi ayenge'*	Maryam Nawaz, Hamza Shahbaz	Critical (for PMLN) Positive (for PTI)	*'Leaders kay haatho zaleel horahay hai', 'Besharam', 'Baatil aur haq', 'Khan ki maqbooliyat'*

Interpretation: Only 2 of the 10 comments here are in favor of PMLN. The rest are mostly critical and almost all of them also mention Imran Khan & PTI in a positive light. One user states, "Imran Khan the one-man Army", while another sarcastically comments that the long march is being held by PMLN to "ensure a better future" for the sons of Shahbaz Shareef & Asif Ali Zardari. The two positive comments for are "Good leader" &

"A great leaders of Pakistan", clearly in reference to the subjects involved, Maryam Nawaz & Hamza Shahbaz. Overall, the dominant theme of this comment section is of criticism & angst that the people feel of being done wrong by the subjects involved.

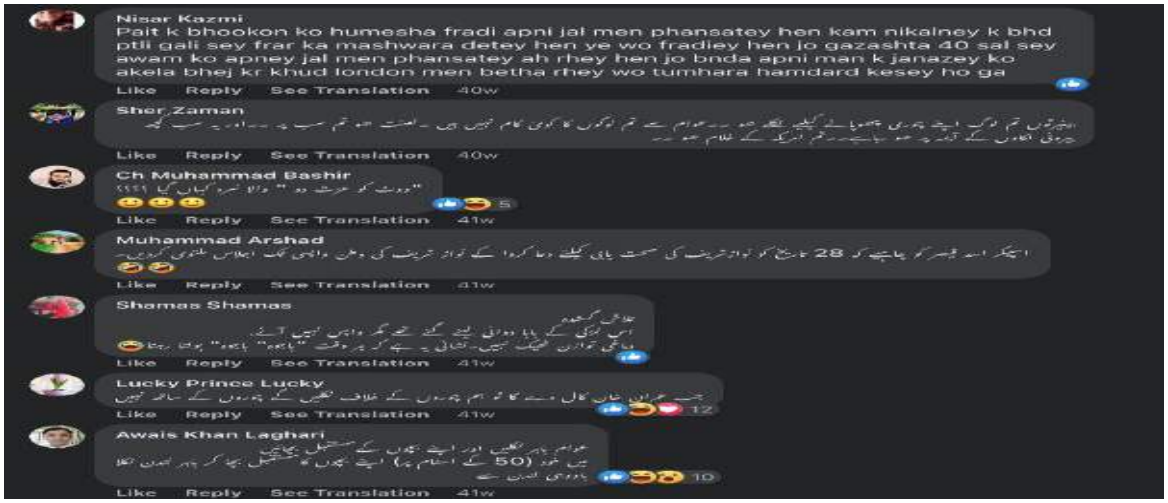
POST 04

Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politics, Call for Long March, Protest	*'Chalo chalo Islamabad chalo', 'Chor kay khilaaf qaum bahir nikle'*	Maryam Nawaz, Hamza Shahbaz, Shahbaz Shareef, Nawaz Shareef	Critical	*'Mehengayi say satanay wala hukumraan', 'Faisla kun ghari', 'Jhoothay', 'Bewafa hukumraan'*

Interpretation: Like we saw in the previous post, this is another post by PMLN which is calling out to its supporters to participate in the long march headed towards Islamabad. Attached with the caption is a photo featuring all the major figureheads at PMLN. The post calls out Imran Khan & PTI for being the cause of major inflation and unemployment in the country. It plays on this sentiment to call out the supporters to join the march in an attempt

to make it as effective as possible. One example of this is, 'Waada faramosh aur zaalim hukumraan kay khilaaf gharon say niklain'.

COMMENTS

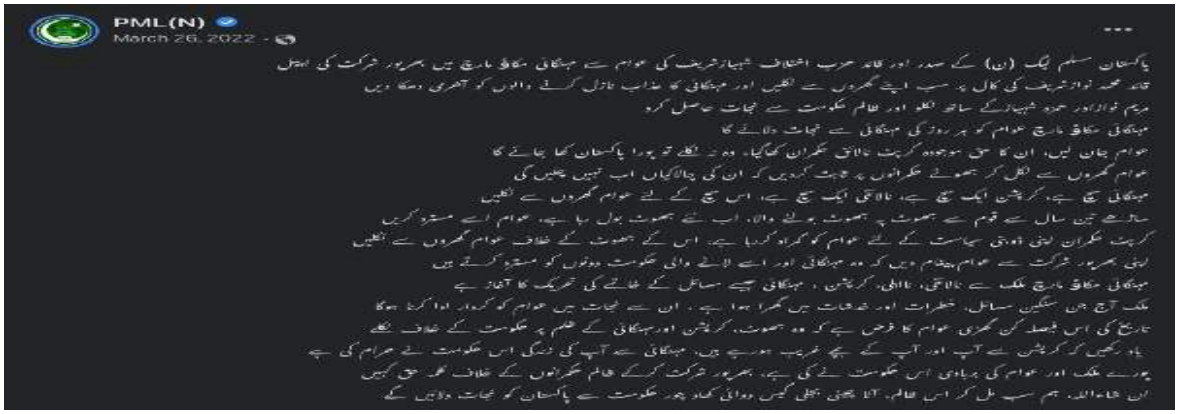


Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Abusive, Accusatory, Condemning	*'Beghairto', 'Laanat', 'Buhat loot liya', 'London mai bethay bethay'*	Imran Khan, Nawaz Shareef, Qamar Javed Bajwa	Critical	*'Chori chupane nikle ho', 'Hukoomat kay khwaab dekhna chordo', 'Bajwa Bajwa bolta rehta hai'*

Interpretation: The comment section is completely negative with not even one statement favoring PMLN & its members. Some users have written in abusive language while others have chosen more subtle ways to express their disapproval. One example of the latter is a comment: 'Iss larki kay baba dawayi lenay gaye thay magar wapis nahi aye'.

This is a dig clearly aimed at Maryam Nawaz in context to her father Muhammad Nawaz Shareef for not returning to his homeland and choosing to reside in London due to health reasons. Support for Imran Khan is once again clearly visible with comments such as, 'Jab Imran Khan call dega tab niklenge'. To draw a conclusion, much like most of the posts of PMLN, the comment section once again is heavily critical and disapproving.

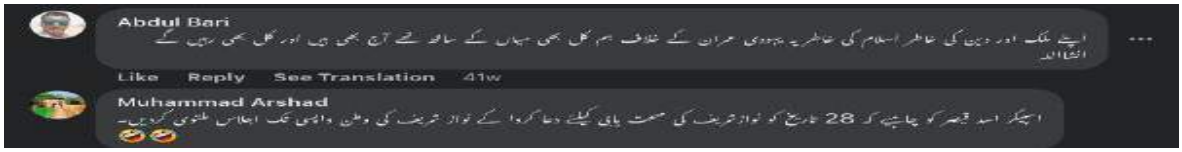
POST 05



Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Call for Long March, Need of the hour, Imperative	*'Bharpoor shirkat ki appeal', 'Mehngayi mukao march'*	Maryam Nawaz, Hamza Shahbaz, Imran Khan, PMLN, PTI	Heavily Critical	*'Awaam ko gumraah kar raha hai', 'Hukoomat nay zindagi haram ki', 'Zaalim', 'Chor hukoomat'*

Interpretation: Again, in a long series of posts, this one also is about the need to participate in the long march with an aim to get rid of the 'Corrupt' government. To recall, this was a time when instability was growing in Pakistani government and all opposition parties were putting a united front against PTI, the government in power. Imran Khan is called out again and is termed as 'Zaalim' & 'Chor' and his government is accused of being the cause of the multiple economic issues in the country.

COMMENTS

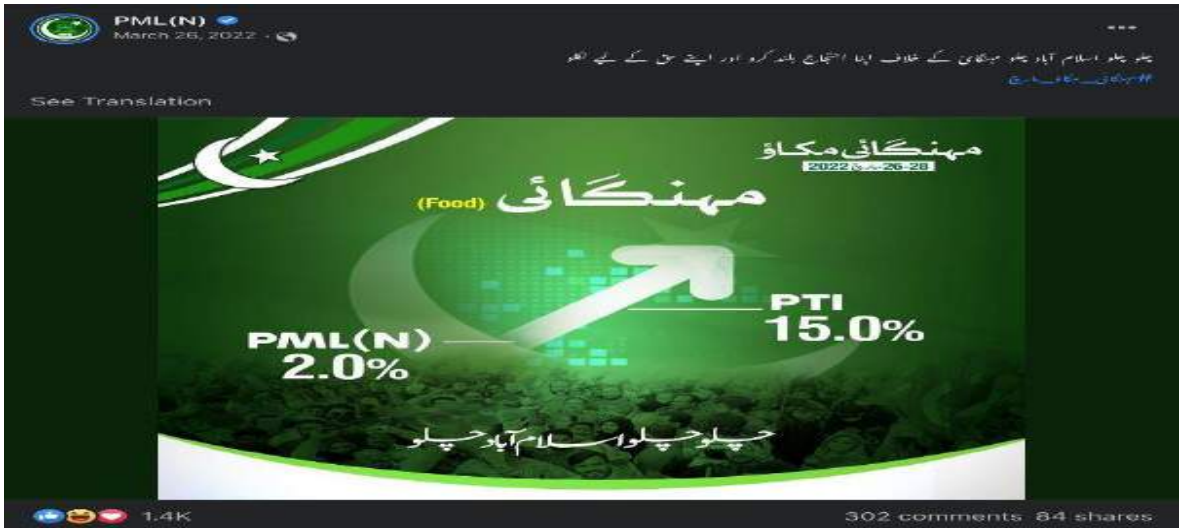


Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Accusatory, Abusive, Negative	*'Haraamkhor', 'Haraam kay pille', 'Kuttay', 'Bewakoof bana raha', 'Yahoodi Imran kay khilaaf'*	Imran Khan, PMLN, Speaker Asad Qaiser	Mixed	*'#jeetkaptaankihogi', 'PMLN Zindabad', 'Miya kay saath hai', 'PMLN mulk ko Asian Tiger banayegi' 'Namoona Pakistan kyo nahi laatay'*

Interpretation: The comment section for this post is quite mixed. There is ample support for Imran Khan like some of the previous posts we have seen, however there is a

bigger representation for PMLN supporters compared to earlier posts. One comment criticizes Khan and accuses him of fooling the people while another states, 'PMLN Zindabad'. However, there are still comments where PMLN is stated in a bad light. Overall, the theme of this comment section is more mixed and has a good participation from both sides. One particular comment stating, 'Sab nay mil kar loota hai' can even be seen in a neutral light as it does not blame one particular side but rather blames them as a collective group.

POST 06

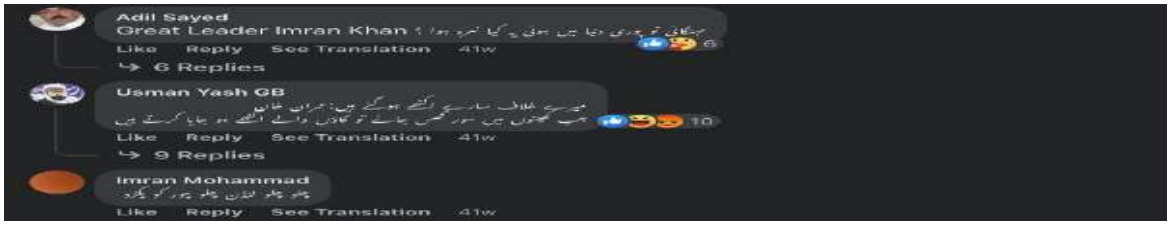


Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Call for Long March, Food Inflation, Revolt	*'Islamabad Chalo', 'Haq kay liye niklo'*	PMLN	Critical	*'Mehengayi kay khilaaf', 'Ehtajaaj buland karo',* Food-inflation rise from 2% to 15%

Interpretation: This post starts a long list of posts which were posted in the buildup to the eventual long march planned by PMLN. All these posts share the same green background inspired by the Pakistani flag, and each one focuses on a specific issue in the country which is claimed to have been much better in PMLN's governance. This particular post focuses on the inflation in food prices in the country and the post claims that inflation

in these prices rose by 13% in the hands of the current government. The post also then reminds the supporters of the upcoming march and the need to participate to bring about change.

COMMENTS

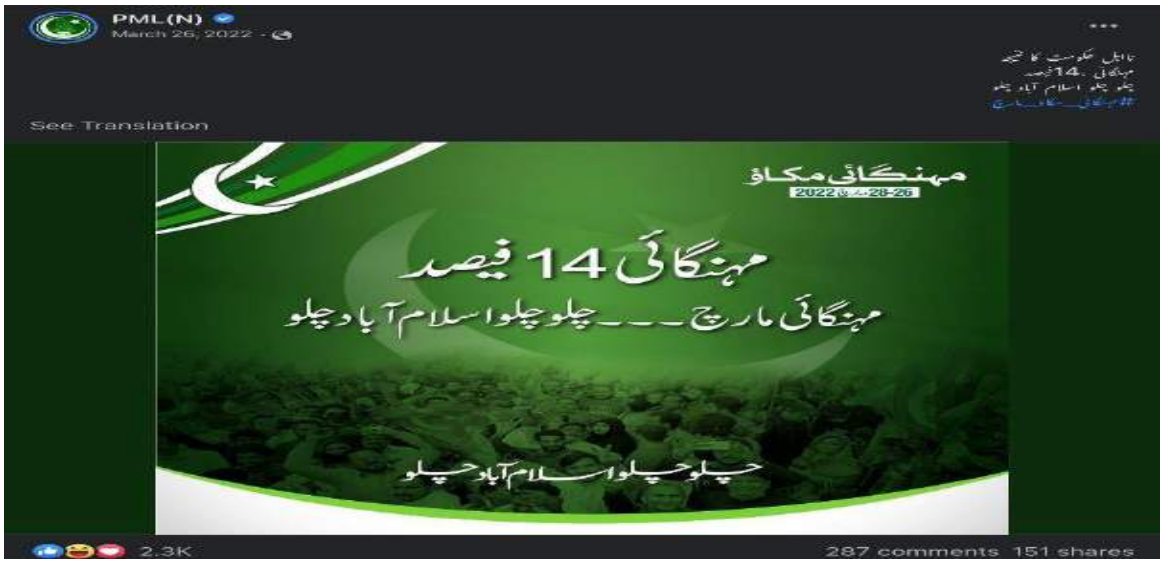


Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politics, Negative, Mockery	*'Miya sahab Kaaf League say jaan chura le', 'Chor ko pakro',*	Nawaz Shareef, Imran Khan	Neutral (both critical and supportive)	*'Chor ko pakro', 'Kheto mai suar', 'Jeet Nawaz Shareef ki hogi',* 'Great Leader Imran Khan'

Interpretation: The comment section for this post has statements which are both for and against the publisher, PMLN. There are multiple comments in support of PMLN and Nawaz Shareef in specific, such as 'Great Leader Nawaz Shareef'. On the other side, there are comments shaming Nawaz Shareef for not returning to the country for the funeral of his

mother and wife and mocking him by comments such as ‘Chalo Chalo London Chalo’. Imran Khan is also mentioned in a very negative connation by one comment stating, ‘Kheton mai suar aajaye toh gaon walay ikathay hojatey hai’, an attack at Khan’s claim of the opposition uniting against him.

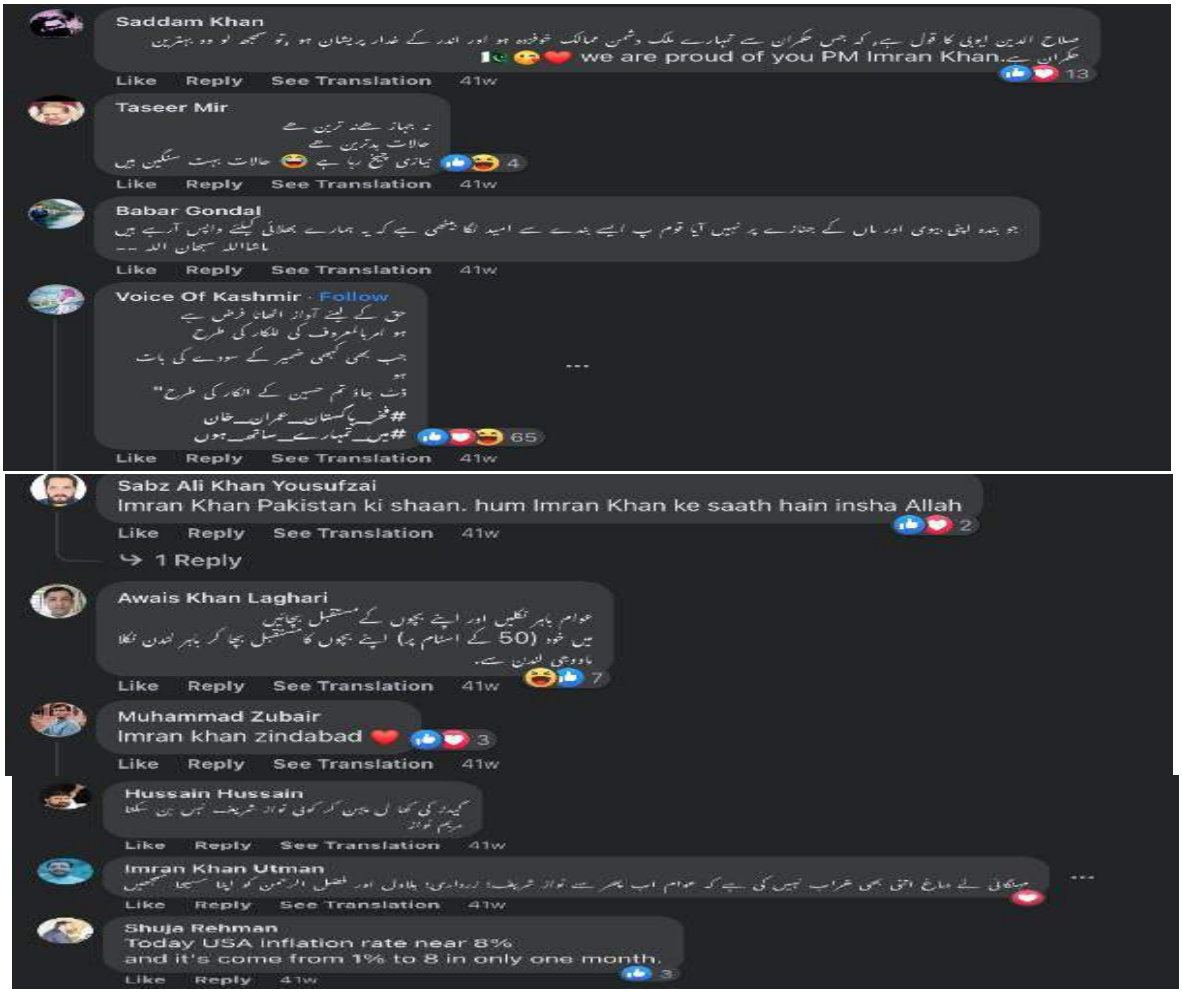
POST 07



Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politics, Call for march, Inflation	*‘Chalo chalo Islamabad Chalo’, ‘Mehengayi mukao 28-25 March 2022’*	PMLN	Critical	*‘Mehengayi 14 feesad’, ‘Na ehal hukoomat ka nateeja’*

Interpretation: Being the second post in this sequence of posts leading to the buildup of the march, this one highlights the inflation rate which is claimed to be 14%. The economic conditions of the country at the time were very shaky. This post may have been posted with the intention of rousing people for the injustice being done and to encourage them to participate in the march to change the situation.

COMMENTS

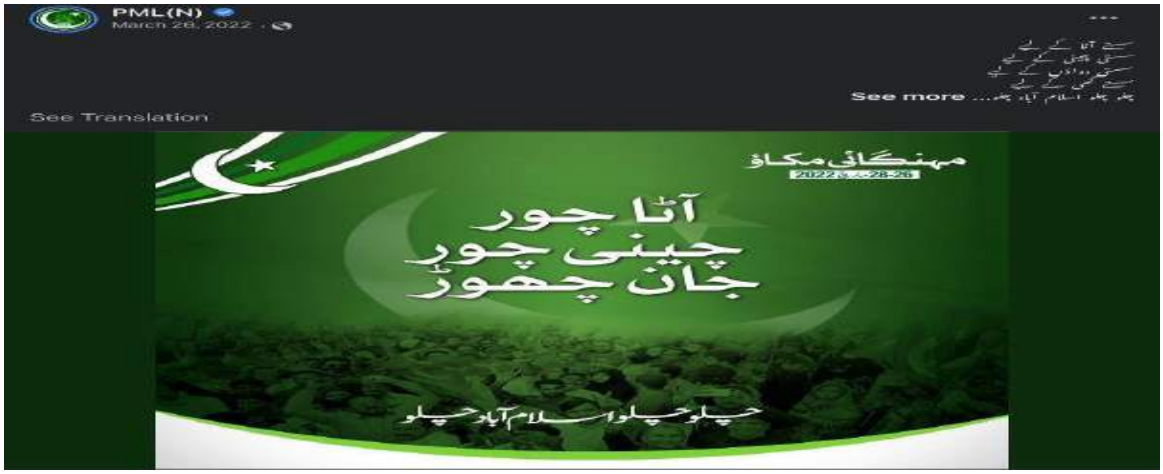


Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Inflation, Character Assassination, Opposition	*'Geedar ki khaal', 'Halaat buhat sangeen hai', 'Dimaagh itna kharab nahi'*	Nawaz Shareef, Asif Ali Zardari, Bilawal Bhutto, Fazal-ul-Rehman, Imran Khan	Supportive	*'Fakhar Pakistan Imran Khan', 'We are proud of you PM Imran Khan* pk◆. „C ”s

Interpretation: This comment section is extremely critical, and it is very difficult to find any positivity in this from PMLN's perspective. Almost all the comments are favoring

Imran Khan and hold him in high regard. One user even commented on the inflation rate of Pakistan compared to that of America's in an attempt to defend Imran Khan. Overall, the comment section does not bring much glory for the publishing account as not even a single comment acknowledges the contents of the post and rather make their own stances clear instead.

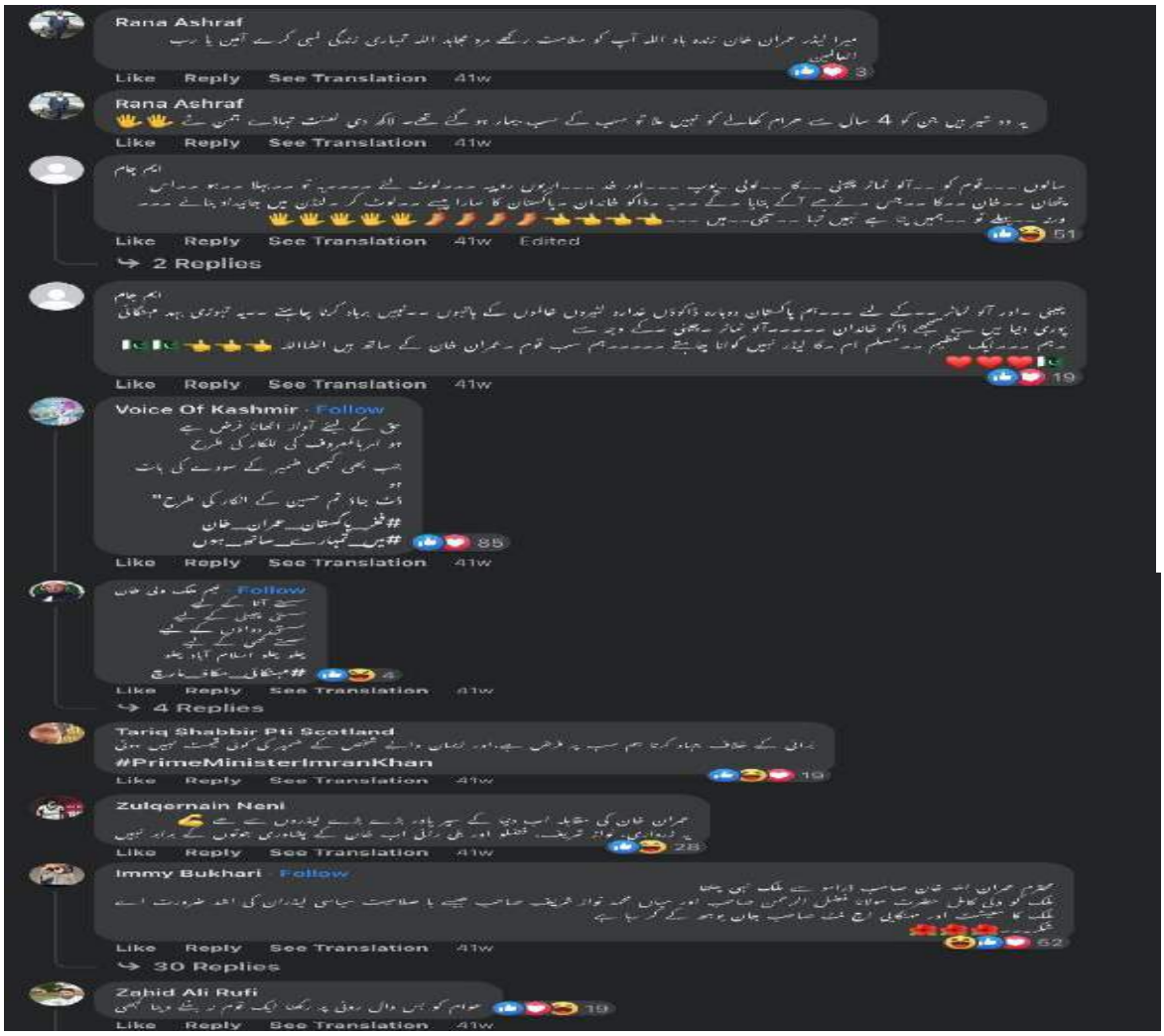
POST 08



Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politics, Call for march, Accusatory	*'Chalo chalo Islamabad Chalo', 'Sastay aatay kay liye'*	PMLN, Ruling Party (PTI)	Critical	*'Cheeni chor', 'Aata chor', 'Jan chor'*

Interpretation: The third post in this sequence, this one accuses the ruling government of the time (PTI) of stealing essential items such as sugar & flour thus making them too expensive for most of the population. The post is once again intended to be a reminder to the supporters to participate in the march to revolt against the government and to fight against inflation.

COMMENTS



Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Inflation, Character Assassination, Opposition	*'Sastay aatay kay liye chalo Islmabad chalo', 'Daaku khaandaan',*	Nawaz Shareef, Asif Ali Zardari, Bilawal Bhutto, Fazal-ul-Rehman, Imran Khan	Mixed	*'Mera leader Imran Khan', 'Burai kay khilaaf jihad', 'Dramo say mulk nahi chalta'*

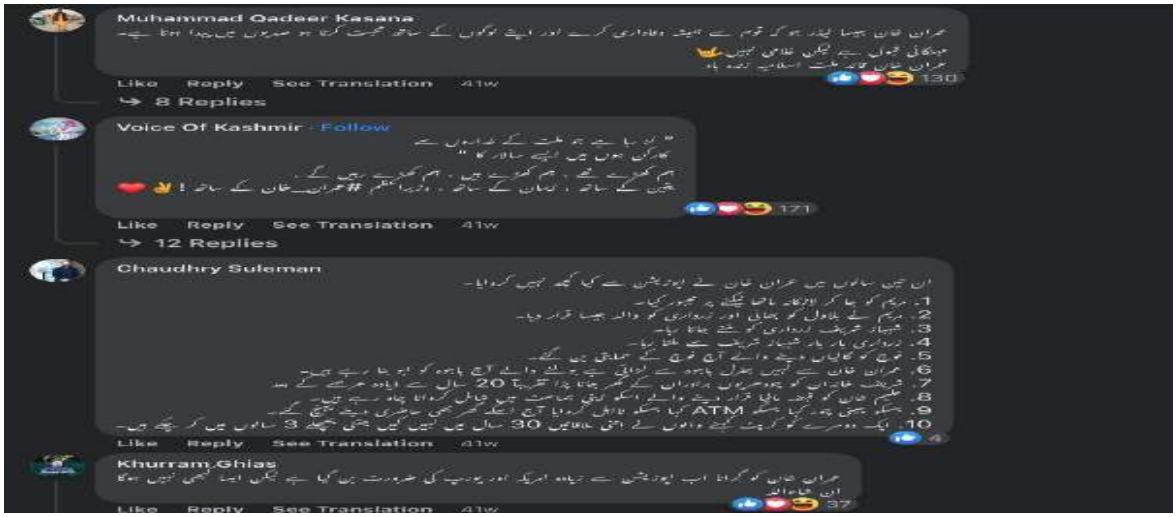
Interpretation: The major theme of this comment section is negative for PMLN as there are only two comments in support of the content. One of such comments uses the phrase '#mehengayimukaomarch' in effort to show support for PMLN and their agenda of the long march. However, most other comments once again are favoring PTI and Imran Khan in particular. With terms such as 'Mera leader' and 'Zindabaad' being used in context of Khan. Overall, like most other comment sections before it, this one also is filled with heavy opposition for PMLN and ample support for PTI.

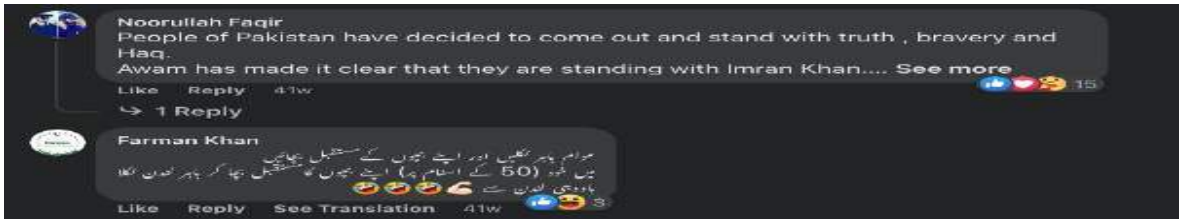
POST 09

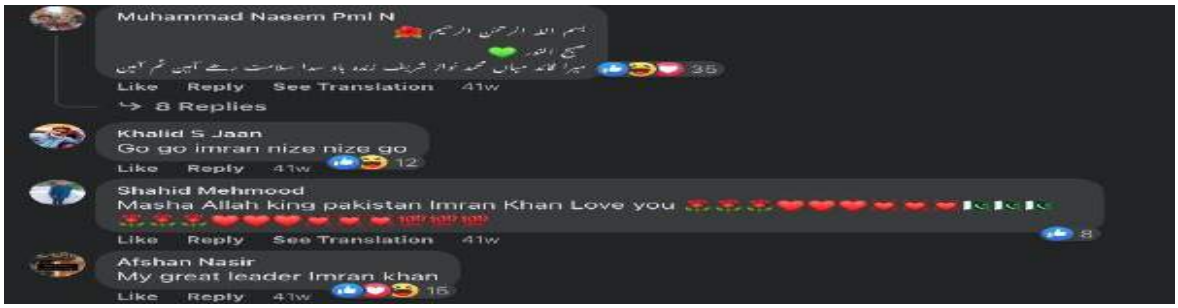
Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politics, Long March, Inspiring, Motivating	Maryam Nawaz waving at massive crowd, *'Chalo Islamabad chalo'*	PMLN	Neutral	*'Mehengayi mukao march'*

Interpretation: This post has a video attached alongside it which shows Maryam Nawaz waving at a massive crowd from the top of a vehicle. The background for this post is that it was captured when PMLN approached Islamabad for their long march which had been the main thing being promoted on their social media for the past few days.

COMMENTS







Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Character Assassination, Negativity	*'Millat kay ghaddar'*, *'People come out to stand with truth, bravery'*	Nawaz Shareef, Imran Khan	Supportive to Mixed	*'Mehengayi qubool, ghulaami nahi'*, *'Imran Khan kay saath!*({n '', *'Mera Quaid Miya Nawaz Shareef'*

Interpretation: One of the comments above states, 'Awam has made it clear that they are standing with Imran Khan'. This can be considered the overall conclusion of this comment section as there is only one comment favoring PMLN and Muhammad Nawaz

Shareef. Rest of the comments are about and in support of Imran Khan and PTI. This is a very common trend which we have seen over the past few posts as well.

POST 10

Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Informative, Success, Celebration	*'Jashan ka waqt', 'Results aagaye hai'*	Maryam Nawaz, PMLN	Supportive	*'Hukoomat doob chuki',* Maryam Nawaz video

This post was published at a very critical time when PTI's government in Punjab was approaching immense instability. PMLN only had to gain from this and hence in this video Maryam Nawaz comes out to greet the media and states that, 'Ab celebrations ka waqt hai'. The win for PMLN in this moment was that the gave a big blow to their opposition PTI and the post celebrates this win, especially due to the motivating words by Maryam Nawaz for PMLN supporters.

COMMENTS

Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Disappointment, Misogyny, Opposition	*'Allah watan per reham farmaye', 'Oski zanani oski nahi sunti', 'Ghulami aur laachari'*	Imran Khan, Maryam Nawaz, PMLN	Critical (opposition)	*'Shar pasand', 'Mera kaptaan chamkay ga', 'Long Live Imran Khan*

The comment section for this post exudes disappointment and angst that the people feel towards PMLN and its members. Not a single comment is positive for PMLN and all of them are in support of their opposition, PTI and specifically Imran Khan. People use phrases such as 'Allah is with him' and 'Imran Khan zindabad' in support of PTI and to express their disapproval of PMLN and its members. The overall goal of PMLN for this post may have been to gain supporters celebrating this occasion. However, looking at the initial comments it does not look like this has been the reality. One comment even stinks of misogyny as it's a personal attack at Maryam Nawaz and her husband.

Following pages contain thematic analysis on the Facebook posts of Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP);

POST 01

Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politics (PDM, PPPP)	Chairman PPP Bilawal Bhutto Zardari Opposition Leaders, Parliament House	Chairman PPP Bilawal Bhutto Zardari Prime Minister Pakistan Shehbaz Sharif	Neutral (Mixed)	---

Interpretation; This post contains a shared live stream of the conversation between Prime Minister Shehbaz Sharif with Bilawal Bhutto Zardari and other opposition leaders, with the press that was taken place in front of the Parliament house.

COMMENTS

Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politics (Support for Bilawal Bhutto)	Next Prime Minister, Jiye Bhutto,	Bilawal Bhutto	Suppor tive (favora ble)	Next PM, Jiye Bhutto

Interpretation; So, keeping in mind the codes/themes available in the comments of the post, it can be concluded that the responses have ‘Support for Bilawal Bhutto’ and ‘Negative criticism on Shehbaz Sharif’, and ‘Hate for Imran Khan’ as three predominant themes in them as they contain words like; ‘Next PM Bilawal Bhutto’, ‘Liar’, ‘Wishing death’, ‘Go to Balochistan’, ‘damnation’, ‘Go away’, ‘Run away Niazi’, and ‘Long live Bilawal’. The responses are about Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, Imran Khan, and Shehbaz Sharif and the text of the responses contains a Critical (negative, satirical, cynical, and abusive) and Supportive (Favoring) angle in them with words like ‘Go’, ‘Run’, ‘Long Live’ and ‘Liar’.

POST 02

Predominant Themes	Codes	Who is involved? (Character)	Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral	Codes
Politic (PDM, PPPP)	Chairman PPP Bilawal Bhutto Zardari Opposition Leaders, Parliament House	Chairman PPP Bilawal Bhutto Zardari Prime Minister Pakistan Shehbaz Sharif	Neutral (Mixed)	---

Interpretation; This post contains a shared live stream of the conversation between Prime Minister Shehbaz Sharif with Bilawal Bhutto Zardari and other opposition leaders, with the press that was taken place in front of the Parliament house.

COMMENTS

Predominant Themes	Codes	Who is involved? (Character)	Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral	Codes

Politics (Support for Bilawal Bhutto / PPPP) Politics (Support for Shehbaz Sharif) Politics (Support for Imran Khan / PTI) Politics (Anti-PMLN / Shehbaz Sharif) Politics (Anti-Imran Khan)	Jieo Bilawal air Rafque Ahmed, Great speech Chairman Sahab, Jiye Bhutto jiye bilawal Jeet aap ki hogee Today was the day Imran Khan led us to 1992 world cup victory, PTI zindabad Involvement of big hands, speaker must follow constitutional law, opposition chor chor Ya Allah hume Imran bhikari se bacha, yahoodi se bacha le	Bilawal Bhutto Shehbaz Sharif Imran Khan Shehbaz Sharif Imran Khan	Supportive (favorable) Supportive (favorable) Supportive (favorable) Critical (negative, abusive) Critical (negative)	Jiye Bilawal Bhutto, Great speech, PPP, PPP zindabad Jeet aap ki hogee Led us to world cup victory Involvement of big hands, speaker must follow constitutional law, opposition chor chor Bhikari, Yahoodi

Interpretation; So, keeping in mind the codes/themes available in the comments of the post, it can be concluded that the responses have ‘Support for Bilawal Bhutto’, ‘Support for Shehbaz Sharif’, ‘Support for Imran Khan’, ‘Hate for Imran Khan’,and ‘Negative criticism on Shehbaz Sharif’, as the five predominant themes in them as they contain words like; ‘Imran Khan led us to 1992 world cup victory’, ‘Bhikari’, ‘Yahoodi, ‘Involvement of big hands’, and ‘Long live Bilawal’. The responses are about Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, Imran Khan, and Shehbaz Sharif and the text of the responses contains a Critical (negative and abusive) and Supportive (Favoring) angle in them with words like ‘chor chor, ‘Yahoodi, ‘Long Live’ and ‘Bhikari.

POST 03

Predominant Themes	Codes	Who is involved? (Character)	Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral	Codes
Politic (PPPP, PMLN)	Image	Chairman PPP Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, Asif Ali Zardari, Shehbaz Sharif	Neutral (Mixed)	---

Interpretation; This post contains an image of Asif Ali Zardari and Bilawal Bhutto Zardari arriving at Prime Minister Shehbaz Sharif's residence.

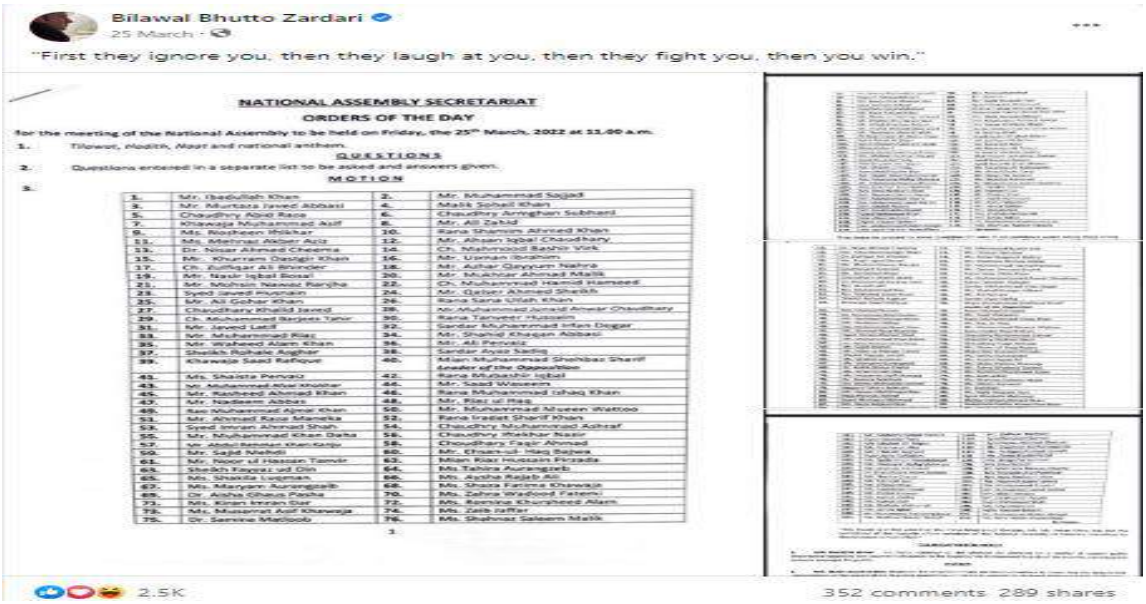
COMMENTS

Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politics (Support for Bilawal Bhutto / PPPP) Politics (Anti-PPPP / Bilawal Bhutto) Politics (Support for Maryam Nawaz)	Excellent, thumbs up sticker, heart emojis, victory sign emojis and thumbs up emojis Bilawal wo begairat ha k jis party ne is ki maa ki tasweerain jahazo se phenki in ki gaud me beth kr khatoon e awal k mutaliq bakwas kr raha ha Image	Bilawal Bhutto, Shehbaz Sharif Bilawal Bhutto Maryam Nawaz	Supportive (favorable) Critical (satirical, abusive) Critical (favorable)	Emojis Negative image Image

Interpretation; So, keeping in mind the codes/themes available in the comments of the post, it can be concluded that the responses have ‘Support for Bilawal Bhutto and

Zardari', 'Negative criticism on Bilawal', and 'Support for Maryam Nawaz' as three predominant themes in them as they contain words like; 'Excellent, Positive emojis', and 'Images'. The responses are about Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, Zardari, and Maryam Nawaz and the text of the responses contains a Critical (satirical and abusive) and Supportive (Favoring) angle in them.

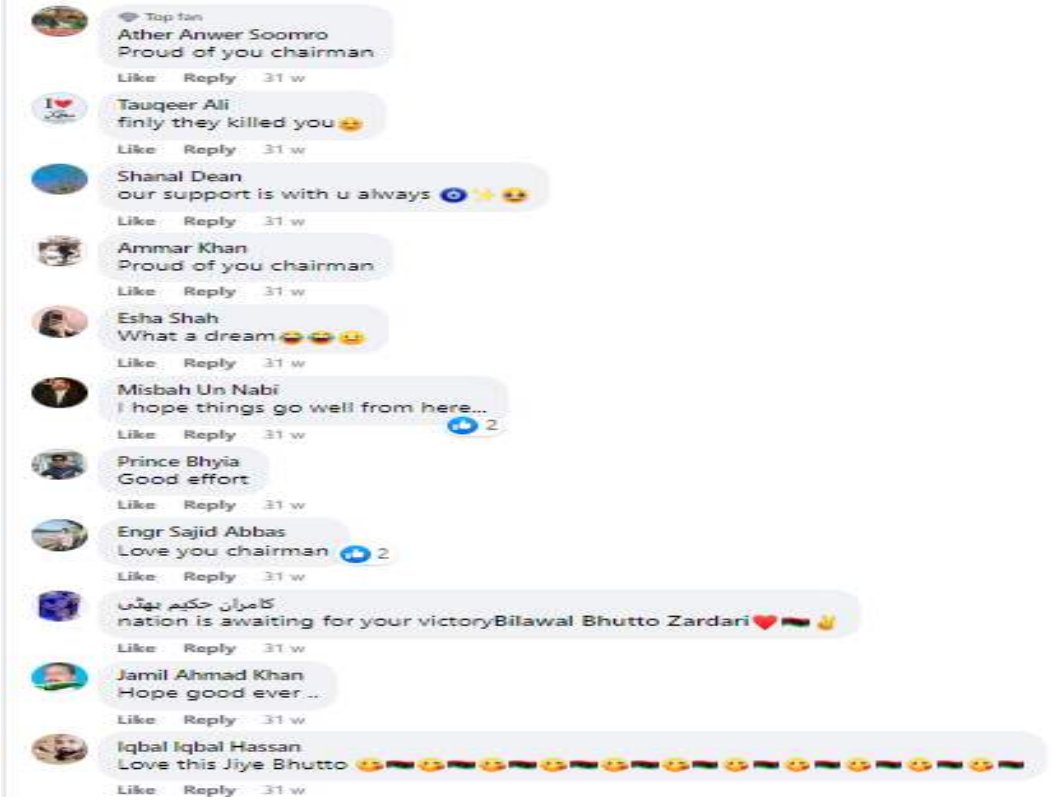
POST 04



Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Political update (PPPP)	Image	Chairman PPP Bilawal Bhutto Zardari	Critical (satirical)	'First they ignore you, then they laugh at you, then they fight you, then you win'

Interpretation; This post contains a shared of political update of Bawal Bhutto Zardari achievement shared by himself with a satirical comment including the text 'First they ignore you, then they laugh at you, then they fight you, then you win'.

COMMENTS



Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politics (Support for Bilawal Bhutto) Politics (Anti-Bilawal Bhutto)	Proud of you chairman, our support is with you always, what a dream, good effort, love you chairman, Nation is awaiting your victory, Jiye Bhutto Finally they killed you	Bilawal Bhutto Bilawal Bhutto	Supportive (favorable) Critical (cynical)	Proud of you chairman, our support is with you always, what a dream, good effort, love you chairman, Nation is awaiting your victory, Jiye Bhutto Finally they killed you

Interpretation; So, keeping in mind the codes/themes available in the comments of the post, it can be concluded that the responses have 'Support for Bilawal Bhutto' and

'Negative criticism on Bilawal' are two predominant themes in them as they contain words like; 'Proud of you chairman, our support is with you always, what a dream, good effort, love you chairman, Nation is awaiting your victory, Jiye Bhutto' and 'Finally they killed you'. The responses are about Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, and the text of the responses contains a Critical (cynical) and Supportive (Favoring) angle in them.

POST 05

Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved (Characters)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politic (PPPP)	Chairman PPP Bilawal Bhutto Zardari Opposition Lobby	Chairman PPP Bilawal Bhutto Zardari Syed Ali Nawaz Shah	Neutral (Mixed)	---

Interpretation; This post contains a shared video of the meeting between Bilawal Bhutto Zardari and Syed Ali Nawaz Shah in the opposition lobby.

COMMENTS

Top fan
Maqsood Ahmad Maqsood Ahmad
Great CHAIRMAN SHB
Like Reply 31 w 2

Ali Raza Rind
Most Well Come
Like Reply 31 w

Muhammad Faisal Dars
Like Reply 31 w

Fayaz Sindhi
Like Reply 31 w

Aliya Riaz

Like Reply 30 w

Aliya Riaz

Top fan
Shaukat Babar
Like Reply 31 w

Top fan
Shaukat Babar
Like Reply 31 w

Top fan
Imtiaz Ahmad Ch

Like Reply 30 w

Top fan
Nawaz Rajper
Weldone
Like Reply 31 w

Ehsan Hashmi
Like Reply 31 w

Ameet Kumar Malhi
Like Reply 31 w

Predominant Themes	Codes	Who is involved (Characters)	Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral	Codes
Politics (Support for Bilawal Bhutto), Long march Politics (Misogynism) Politics (Support for Imran Khan)	Great Chairman Sahab, Most Welcome, PPPP flag emojis, victory sign emoji, heart emojis, flyer, well done Photoshopped image Image	Bilawal Bhutto Bilawal Bhutto Imran Khan	Supportive (favorable) Critical (satirical) Supportive (favorable)	Great Chairman Sahab, Most Welcome, PPPP flag emojis, victory sign emoji, heart emojis, flyer, well done

Interpretation; So, keeping in mind the codes/themes available in the comments of the post, it can be concluded that the responses have 'Support for Bilawal Bhutto' and 'Negative criticism on Bilawal', and 'Support for Imran Khan' as three predominant themes in them as they contain words like; 'Great Chairman Sahab, Most Welcome, PPPP flag emojis, victory sign emoji, heart emojis, flyer, well done' and images. The responses are about Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, and Imran Khan and the text of the responses contains a Critical (satirical) and Supportive (Favoring) angle in them with words like 'Great chairman, 'well done, emojis and images.

POST 06

Predominant Themes	Codes	Who is involved? (Character)	Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral	Codes
Politic (PDM, PPPP)	Chairman PPP Bilawal Bhutto Zardari Opposition Leaders, Parliament House	Chairman PPP Bilawal Bhutto Zardari Prime Minister Pakistan Shehbaz Sharif	Neutral (Mixed)	---

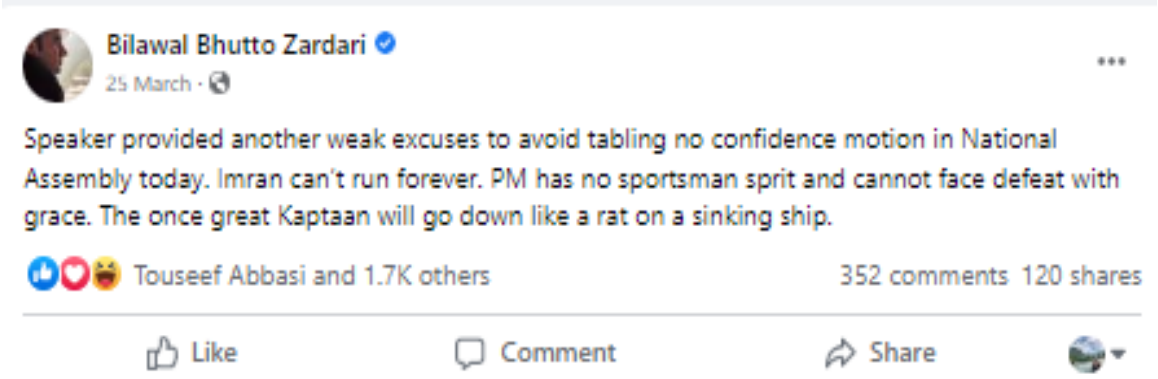
Interpretation; This post contains a shared live stream of the conversation between Prime Minister Shehbaz Sharif with Bilawal Bhutto Zardari and other opposition leaders, with the press that was taken place in front of the Parliament house.

COMMENTS

Predominant Themes	Codes	Who is involved? (Character)	Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral	Codes
Politics (Support for Bilawal Bhutto)	PPPP flags, victory signs, great chairman sahb, heart stickers, thumbs up stickers	Bilawal Bhutto	Supportive (favorable)	PPPP flags, victory signs, great chairman sahb, heart stickers, thumbs up stickers

Interpretation; So, keeping in mind the codes/themes available in the comments of the post, it can be concluded that the responses have 'Support for Bilawal Bhutto' as the predominant theme in them as they contain words like; 'great chairman', and PPPP flags, victory signs, heart stickers, thumbs up stickers. The responses are about Bilawal Bhutto Zardari and the text of the responses contains Supportive (Favoring) angle in them.

POST 07

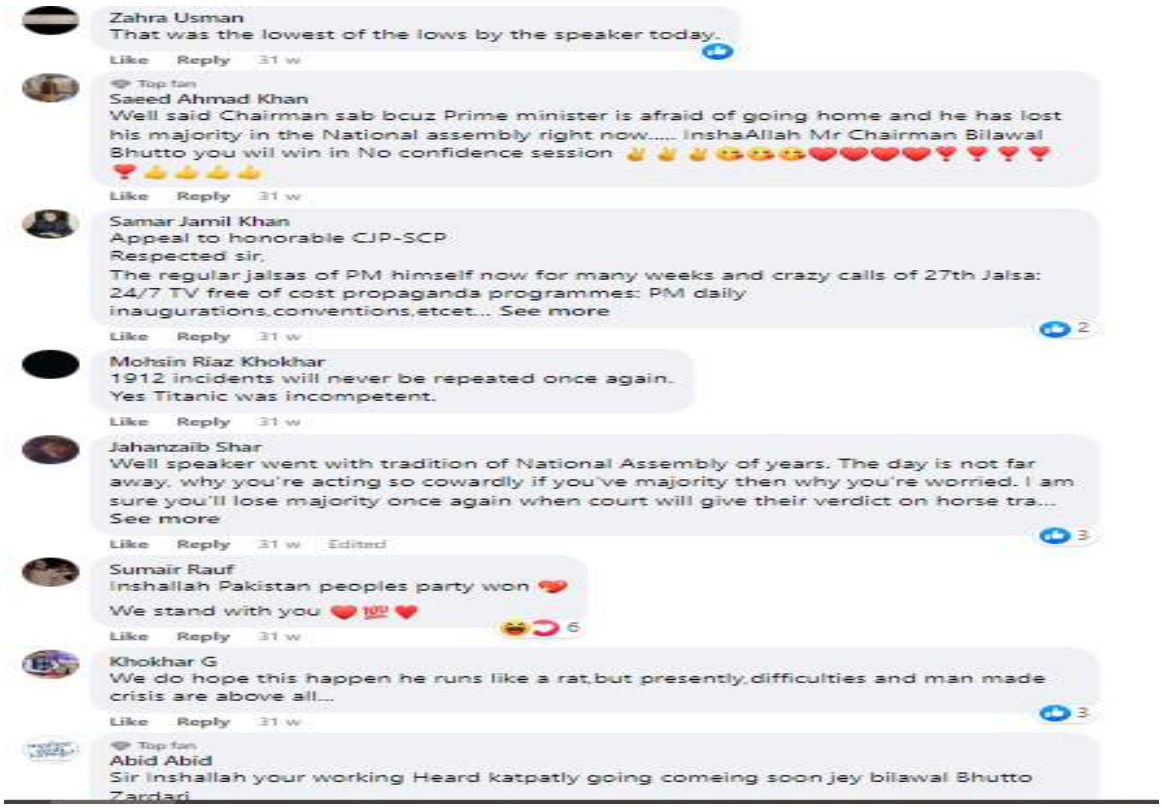


Predominant Themes	Codes	Who is involved? (Character)	Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral	Codes
Politic (Anti-Imran Khan)	Weak excuse, avoid tabling no confidence notion, cant run forever, no sportsman spirit, cannot face defeat with grace,	Speaker, Imran Khan	Critical (negative)	Weak excuse, avoid tabling no confidence notion, cant run forever, no sportsman spirit, cannot face defeat with grace, will

	will go down like a rat on a sinking ship			go down like a rat on a sinking ship

Interpretation; This post contains a post by Bilawal Bhutto Zardari criticizing the speaker's motion to delay tabling the no confidence motion. He called them weak excuses and bashes Imran Khan for having no sportsman spirit. The post is critical and uses words like 'Imran khan can't run forever' and 'will go down like a rat on a sinking ship'.

COMMENTS



Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politics (Support for Bilawal Bhutto) Politics (Anti-PPPP) Politics (Anti-Imran Khan)	Well said, Inshallah PPPP won, we do hope he runs like a rat, Jiye Bilawal Bhutto Why are you acting cowardly, Islamabad mein kaanpein taang rahi Lowest of the lows by speaker	Bilawal Bhutto Bilawal Bhutto Imran Khan	Supportive (favorable) Critical (negative, satirical) Critical (negative)	Well said, Inshallah PPPP won, Jiye Bilawal Bhutto Cowardly, kaanpein tang rahi Lowest of the lows

Interpretation; So, keeping in mind the codes/themes available in the comments of the post, it can be concluded that the responses have 'Support for Bilawal Bhutto' and 'Negative criticism on PPPP, and 'Hate for Imran Khan' as three predominant themes in them as they contain words like; 'Well said, Inshallah PPPP won, we do hope he runs like a rat, Jiye Bilawal Bhutto', 'Why are you acting cowardly, Islamabad mein kaanpein taang rahi'. The responses are about Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, Imran Khan, and the text of the

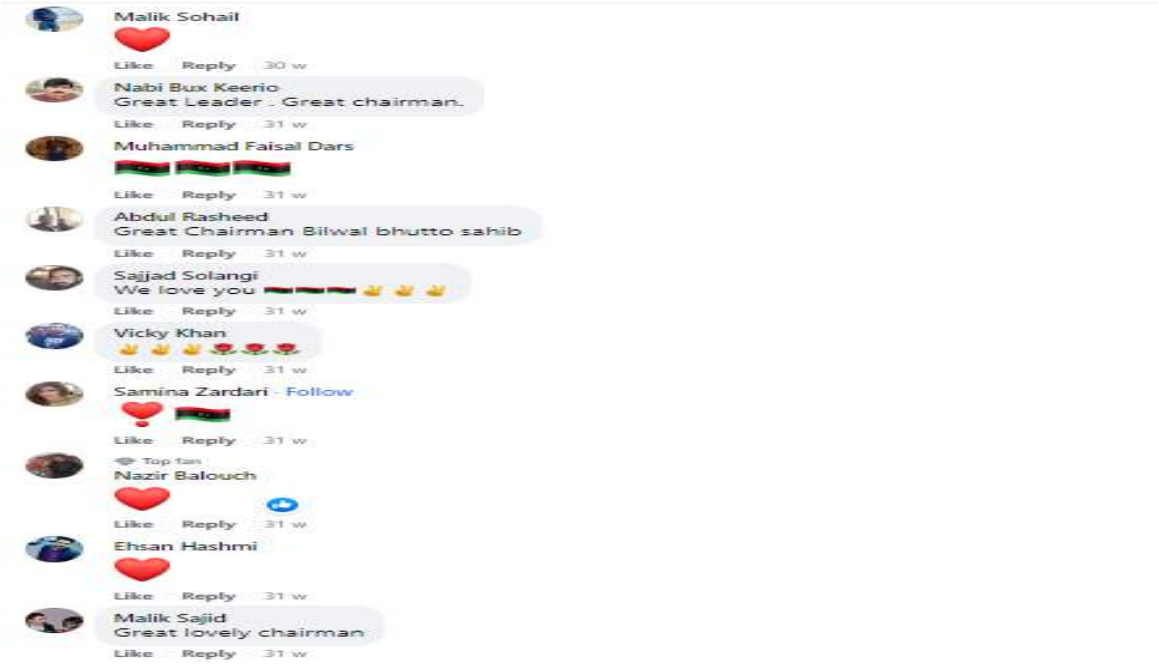
responses contains a Critical (negative, satirical) and Supportive (Favoring) angle in them with words like ‘COWARDLY, ‘Rat, ‘Long Live’.

POST 08

Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politic (BAP, PPPP)	Chairman PPP Bilawal Bhutto Zardari Balochistan party rehnuma	Chairman PPP Bilawal Bhutto Zardari Amir Magsi	Neutral (Mixed)	---

Interpretation; This post contains a shared live stream of the conversation between Bilawal Bhutto Zardari and Amir Magsi, regarding current political situation.

COMMENTS



Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politics (Support for Bilawal Bhutto)	Hearts, PPPP flags, Great chairman, we love you, roses, Lovely	Bilawal Bhutto	Supportive (favorable)	Hearts, PPPP flags, Great chairman, we love you, roses, Lovely

Interpretation; So, keeping in mind the codes/themes available in the comments of the post, it can be concluded that the responses have 'Support for Bilawal Bhutto' as the predominant theme in them as they contain words like; 'Hearts, PPPP flags, Great chairman, we love you, roses, lovely'. The responses are about Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, and the text of the responses contains a Supportive (Favoring) angle in them.

POST 09

Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politic (PPPP)	Image	Chairman PPP Bilawal Bhutto Zardari	Critical (negative)	Selected khatputli

Interpretation; This post contains a shared video of the speech by Bilawal Bhutto Zardari against Imran Khan, claiming they have never bowed down in front of anyone and neither will they bow in front of Imran Khan.

COMMENTS

Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politics (Support for Bilawal Bhutto) Politics (Support for Imran Khan)	PPPP flags, Great leader, Jiye Bhutto, hearts, great speech, rose, jiye shehzada bilawal Image	Bilawal Bhutto Imran Khan	Supportive (favorable) Supportive (favorable)	PPPP flags, Great leader, Jiye Bhutto, hearts, great speech, rose, jiye shehzada bilawal Image

Interpretation; So, keeping in mind the codes/themes available in the comments of the post, it can be concluded that the responses have 'Support for Bilawal Bhutto' and 'Support for Imran Khan' as two predominant themes in them as they contain words like; 'PPPP flags, Great leader, Jiye Bhutto, hearts, great speech, rose, jiye shehzada bilawal' and an image of Imran khan. The responses are about Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, Imran Khan, and

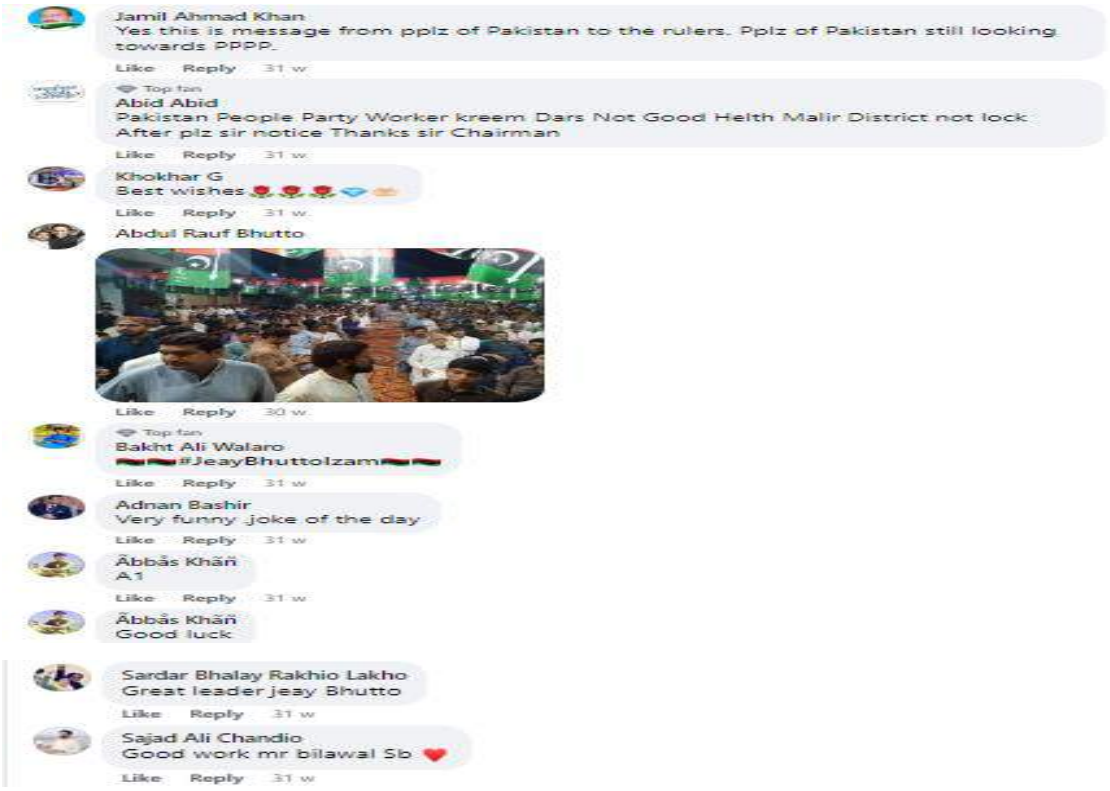
the text of the responses contains a Supportive (Favoring) angle in them with words like ‘Great speech, ‘Jiye bhutto’, ‘Great leader’ and emojis.

POST 10

Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politic (PPPP)	images	Chairman PPP Bilawal Bhutto Zardari	Neutral (Mixed)	---

Interpretation; This post contains shared pictures of the jalsa led by Bilawal Bhutto Zardari in Para Chinar.

COMMENTS



Predominant Themes	**Codes**	**Who is involved? (Character)**	**Critical/ Supportive/ Neutral**	**Codes**
Politics (Support for Bilawal Bhutto) Request for aid Politics (Anti-PPP)	Looking towards PPPP, best wishes, image, jiye bhutto, A1, good luck, great leader, good work PPP not in good health please look after Funny joke	Bilawal Bhutto Bilawal bhutto Bilawal Bhutto	Supportive (favorable) Neautral (Mixed) Critical (negative)	Looking towards PPP, best wishes, image, jiye bhutto, A1, good luck, great leader, good work PPP not in good health please look after Funny joke

Interpretation; So, keeping in mind the codes/themes available in the comments of the post, it can be concluded that the responses have 'Support for Bilawal Bhutto' and 'request', and 'Hate for PPPP' as three predominant themes in them as they contain words

like; ‘Looking towards PPPP, best wishes, image, jiye bhutto, A1, good luck, great leader, good work’, ‘PPPP not in good health please look after’, and ‘funny joke’. The responses are about Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, and the text of the responses contains a Critical (negative) and Supportive (Favoring) angle in them with words like ‘Good luck, ‘Good work, ‘funny joke’ and ‘A1’.

CHAPTER 05

CONCLUSION

At the outset of this study, the researcher devised two research questions; What are the predominant themes within the political and public discourse appearing in the Facebook pages of the PTI, PML-N and PPP regarding the ‘regime change’ in Pakistan during April 2022? And, which political party's narrative is more reflected among the public response regarding the 'regime change' in Pakistan? Along with these research questions, the researchers set following objectives for the study; to explore and analyze the political parties' narratives regarding the 'regime change' in Pakistan, to explore and analyze the public response regarding the 'regime change' in Pakistan, to find out the predominant themes in the political and public discourse regarding the 'regime change' in Pakistan, to describe which political party's narrative is more reflected among the public response regarding the 'regime change' in Pakistan, and to determine the extent to which the political parties' narrative is replicated and reflected in the public response regarding the 'regime change' in Pakistan.

To achieve the desired goals and objectives of the research and to answer the research questions the researcher has attempted to analyse the data by employing the Thematic Analysis as a tool. To explore and analyse the ‘political discourse’ the total sample size of the Facebook pages’ posts was 30 posts by the admins of the pages. Similarly, to explore and analyse the ‘public response’ the researcher has selected initially appearing 10 responses/comments beneath each post. This means, a total of 300 public posts/comments/responses have been selected as a sample size to explore and analyse the ‘public response’ regarding the ‘political discourse’ in the Facebook pages of the political parties regarding the ‘regime change’ in Pakistan. As a whole, the total sample size of this study is 330 posts that have been analysed to answer the research questions under study and to achieve the research objectives of this study.

Employing the ‘Framing’ as theoretical bases the researcher has attempted to determine how the ‘regime change’ was framed in the political and public discourse. The researcher has employed thematic analysis as methodological tool in this study to identify, analyse and interpret the meanings within the political and public discourse regarding the

‘regime change’ appeared in the Facebook pages of the top three political parties in Pakistan i.e. Pakistan Tehreek-E-Insaaf (PTI), Pakistan Muslim League- Nawaz (PML-N) and Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP).

Findings of this study are entirely supporting the findings of the available literature that the social media platforms have become an exponentially significant sources to spread the political narratives in today's world. Politicians and activists in the countries from North to South take to the social media to share their opinions, agendas, manifestos, ideologies and narratives. However, the target audience contrary to the conventional media consumers are not only the passive receivers rather they are active respondents. The social media respondents have their own say and they develop their own responses and narratives. The findings of this study show the same case in Pakistani context.

However, there is an interesting result of this study that as for as the ‘political narrative’ propagated through PTI pages is concerned the ‘public response’ has overwhelmingly supported it. There is hardly any instance where the researcher can claim that the PTI’s ‘political narrative’ has been opposed and/or challenged by the ‘public response’. For instance, the PTI page posts contained ‘political narrative’ in terms of themes such as; Imran Khan is fighting, War for your freedom, For the sake of Pakistan, For the sake of our children, Hope, Country stands with Prime Minister Imran Khan, #AbsolutelyNot, enough to send a message to the world that #CaptainWillWin etc. The PTI’s ‘political narrative’ has been found to be reflected and manifolded in the ‘public response’ in themes such as; Thanks to PMIK, Greatest leader of Pakistan after Quid-e-Azam, Truthful, Trustworthy Leader of Pakistan, #BehindYouSkipper, PMIK against Looters, Imran Khan got success internationally, Restoration of IT/ construction/ textile, Stand with Imran Khan, Stand up against thieves and traitors, “Truth will win In’Sh’Allah”, “truth”, “self-reliant”, “independent”, “proud”, “good work”, “hope”, “truth & honesty”, “fearless”, “great leader”, and “support you till death”, “my leader”, “proud”, “Imran Khan wins”, “truthful, honest”, and “great leader”, Great Determination, Pakistan needs you, “#BehindYouSkipper”, “#IStandWithImranKhan”, “27thMarch”, “PTI Government”, “#PMIK_VoiceofMuslims”.

In case of the ‘political narrative’ propagated through the PML-N Facebook page the predominant themes included words/codes such as; ‘Quaid Hazb’, (positive for Mian

Shehbaz Sharif), ‘Corruption ka captain’, ‘Nalaiq hukumraan’, ‘Mehngayi Mukao March’, ‘Satayi hui awaam’ (Accusatory and Defaming for the then PM Mr. Imran Khan). However, the ‘public response’ is entirely opposite to the ‘political narrative’ appeared on the PML-N Facebook page. The ‘public response’ included maligning, abusive, and condemning themes including words/codes such as; ‘Hawa nikal jaati hai’, ‘Shukar hai mere quaid’, ‘Corrup tolay say chutkara’, ‘Corrupt tola’, ‘Topi Baaz’, ‘Firaun’, ‘Kamar mai dard’, ‘NAB’, ‘Shaitaan’, ‘Chor’ (Political ccharacter aassassination, Mocking, Negative, Taunting, Sarcastic). ‘Azmaaye huay chor’, ‘Chor aur daako’ (Negative, Accountability, Maligning). ‘Leaders kay haatho zaleel horahay hai’, ‘Besharam’, ‘Baatil aur haq’, ‘Khan ki maqbooliyat’ (Opposition, Dismissive, Accusatory). ‘Beghairto’, ‘Laanat’, ‘Buhat loot liya London mai bethay bethay’, ‘Chori chupane nikle ho’ (Abusive, Accusatory, Condemning). And, ‘Allah watan per reham farmaye’, ‘Oski zanani oski nahi sunti’, ‘Ghulami aur laachari’ (Disappointment, Misogyny, Opposition).

Similarly, in case of the ‘political narrative’ propagated through the PPP Facebook page the predominant themes included words/codes such as; Next Prime Minister, Jiye Bhutto, Looking towards PPP, best wishes, Great chairman etc. Here, the ‘public response’ is neutral and mixed from a point of supporting Bilawal Bhutto to the point of criticizing the then PM Mr. Imran Khan and vice versa. For instance, ‘public response’ in favor of Mr. Bilawal Bhutto contained themes in terms of words/codes such as; Next PM, Jiye Bhutto, Jiye Bilawal Bhutto, Great speech, PPP, ‘PPP zindabad’, ‘Jeet aap ki hogee’, ‘jiye shehzada bilawal’, (Support for Bilawal Bhutto). On the other hand, criticism, opposition and abusive language against Bilawal Bhutto appeared in words/codes such as; PPP not in good health please look after, Selected ‘khatputli’, we do hope he runs like a rat, ‘Jiye Bilawal Bhutto’, Why are you acting cowardly, (sarcasms and mockeries). In the same way the ‘public response’ in favor of Mr. Imran Khan contained themes in terms of words/codes such as; Led us to world cup victory, Involvement of big hands, speaker must follow constitutional law, opposition ‘chor chor’, ‘PTI zindabad’, Imran Khan’s photos, emojis supporting PMIK, (Support for the then PM Mr. Imran Khan). On the other hand, criticism, opposition and abusive language against Mr. Imran Khan appeared in words/codes such as; ‘Bhikari’, ‘Yahoodi’, ‘Ya Allah hume Imran bhikari se bacha, yahoodi se bacha le’, avoid tabling no confidence notion, can’t run forever, no sportsman spirit, cannot face defeat with grace, will

go down like a rat on a sinking ship, (criticism, opposition and abusive language against the then PM Mr. Imran Khan).

In a nutshell, drawing on the findings of the detailed and careful thematic analysis of the data under study, the researcher can conclude that the ‘political narrative’ of the PTI is more reflected among the ‘public response’ regarding the 'regime change' in Pakistan as compared to the ‘political narrative’ of the PML-N and PPP. Similarly, the ‘public response’ is more matched and remained supportive to the ‘political narrative’ of the PTI as compared to the ‘political narrative’ of the PML-N and PPP. The ‘political narrative’ of the PML-N received the least of the public approval and the ‘public response’ overwhelmingly opposed and rejected PML-N’s ‘political narrative’. However, the PPP’s ‘political narrative’ received a mix of and neutral ‘public response’. Therefore, the researcher can claim that the social media platforms have become an exponentially significant sources to spread the political narratives in today's Pakistan. Politicians and activists in Pakistan take to the social media to share their opinions, agendas, manifestos, ideologies and narratives. However, the target audience contrary to the conventional media consumers are not only the passive receivers rather they are active respondents. The social media respondents in Pakistan have their own say and they develop their own responses and narratives.

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