

**WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE:
DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE SPEECHES OF
BENAZIR BHUTTO & IMRAN KHAN**

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ABSTRACT

The present research critically studies the political speeches of Benazir Bhutto and Imran Khan delivered on different forums concerning Pakistani women's representation. The analysis of these speeches explores the real use of different discursive devices employed by the political figures. Political speeches of Benazir Bhutto and Imran Khan are loaded with specific political ideologies. Women have ability and constitutional right to perform effectively in fields of life. The data of this research was the five selected speeches of Benazir Bhutto and five selected speeches of Imran Khan. The selected 10 speeches were delivered at the national and international forums to underline the role of women in the building of the nation. Fairclough's Three Dimensional Modal 1998 was used to highlight the employed discursive techniques used by the political heads. Speeches were analyzed at word, sentence and discourse levels to pinpoint the linguistic spins and dominant prevailing political ideologies. This research study was qualitative in nature and it was delimited to the political speeches of Benazir Bhutto and Imran Khan. The findings of this research, as far as women's representation is concerned, suggest that rhetoric of the political leader of Pakistan People's Party, Benazir Bhutto, was more powerful. However, both the leaders tried to represent women in positive ways.

KEYWORDS

Political discourse, CDA, women's representations, discursive techniques, ideology.

INTRODUCTION

Politics is an art and powerful tool to influence others. The persuasive techniques of politicians always leave far reaching impacts on the minds of their followers. Different political parties use different chosen texts to reach their destination and the chosen text by the politicians reflects the embedded ideology of that political. The role of the language is crucial for the progress and survival of the society as without the language there is no growth of a society and no society can retain its existence for a long time. So, the use of discursive strategies by the speakers depicts the facts and hidden ideologies loaded in the texts and talks.

Research Question

1. How are women represented discursively in the speeches of Benazir Bhutto and Imran Khan's?
2. How does women's representation vary in the speeches of Benazir Bhutto and Imran Khan?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Discourse has been defined in different ways by different critics or linguists or theorists. Discourse refers to language used for communication in real life. The opposite of discourse is formalized abstract language. Discourse is not to be limited to ideas and neon signs but it includes gestures, grunts and the whole range of nonverbal behavior and paralinguistic features.

Discourse Analysis

Discourse explains the interactive and communicative aspects of language and discourse analysis analyzes the text after breaking it down into pieces. Such analysis of the text is done at morphological, semantics and phonological levels. So, the study of the above three levels of the text for specific context is called the discourse analysis. Brown & Yule (1983) define discourse analysis as 'how people make the use of language to communicate'. In the early 1990s analysts focused on its relation with ideology, power and inequality. So, DA is a process of evaluation of a text at three levels. In Pakistan, it is customary to conduct discourse analyses of speeches made by political leaders. Iqbal (2018) analyzed election speeches of 2013. Khalil et al. (2017) analyzed election speeches of Imran Khan for 2013 election. Nusrat, Khan and Shehzadi (2020) conducted CDA of Dharna speeches. Iqbal et al. (2020) analyzed speeches of Khan given in relation to COVID-19.

Critical Discourse Analysis

CDA is the forceful weapon to recognize the crucial role of social forces. Although it is a new field but its roots are linked with Marx's (1848) idea of social theory and has great influence on the social thinkers of the later days. According to Fairclough (1998, p. 36), "the term critical refers to human matters, interconnections and chains of cause and effect that may be distorted out of vision". For example, Andreassen (2007) has studied Margaret Thatcher's and Tony Blair's farewell addresses applying CDA model of Fairclough's.

Women's Representation

Representation means to create mental image by using art of language and other domains. Women's representation means to create the image of women either positive or negative by the use of any medium of communication before the public. Now a day, women are imaged as constructive members of a society by the large segment of society. So, the ways by which women are considered constructive member of any society for particular meaning is called women's representation. The specific practices and symbol systems are used for this purpose to gain certain meanings.

Discursive Strategies

Discursive strategies refer to the selected tools established by the linguists to analyze the discourse and the settled parameters to analyze the discourse at different level such as surface level and deep level and selection of designed tools to convey the message during the social interaction to the audience. Mostly, the politicians use the discursive devices to gain the positive political gains in the environment of competition.

METHODOLOGY

This study employed a modified research method of Fairclough model 1998 to carry out the critical discourse analysis of speeches of Benazir Bhutto and Imran Khan. Language is a tool to policing the author’s mind for certain purposes of persuasion. So, the researchers have gone through the data critically. The both political leaders of two different political parties used different categories in their text to persuade the audiences in different styles.

DATA ANALYSIS

The researchers collected the speeches of Benazir Bhutto and Imran Khan. The speeches were delivered between 1995 and 2019 respectively. The speeches were taken from the official website of both the leaders. The analysis has been done at surface and deep levels. The research was of qualitative of nature. But the thematic quantification of the data will also be done by pie charts and tables. The selected speeches were consciously sampled as these speeches were delivered at significant forums and on the crucial issues of women’s representation. So their linguistic content is very essential material for this research. The content of these speeches was analyzed as a neutral observers Fairclough model (1998) was sued for analysis.

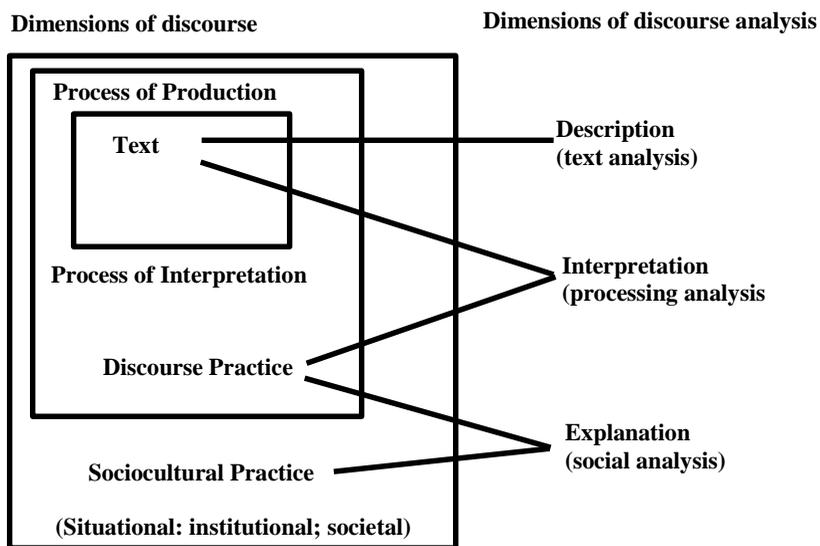


Figure 1: Graphical Representation of a Picture

Fairclough argues that CDA is the analysis of dialectical associations amid semiotics and others constituents of social practices. So, semiotics is active roughly in three ways in social practices:

1. It is a part of social activity within practices.
2. It shapes representation.
3. It forms in the performance of special position within social practices. Semiotics as a part of social activity represents genres, in the recital discourses and in the performance of positions it builds styles (Fairclough 2001).

Norman Fairclough Model 1995

This model of 1998 has different discursive strategies and categories and with the help of the strategies he has explained the text on descriptive ways on three levels.

1. Text level
2. Discourse practice
3. Social-cultural practice

These discursive strategies are unique in the field of CDA and are keys for the explanation of a text as well as discourse.

1. Representation
2. Implicature
3. Assumption
4. Lexicalization
5. Metaphor
6. Inclusion
7. Exclusion
8. Binary opposition
9. Presupposition
10. Lexicalization

The use of some certain words, consciously convey the intended meaning. The deliberate use of these synonymous words conveys the certain goals or clears the point of view of a reader.

Example The use of must, will, can, could etc.

Metaphor

Example Diamond, flower, lion

The persuasive semantic rhetoric figures are used to make the complex and unfamiliar meaning more affirmed and familiar.

Presupposition

The interesting parameter which is used in the discourse to convey the hidden or intended meaning in a discourse and has no effect on the truth value of a given text, in other words the negation of a sentence.

Example I can no longer write an essay
 My wife is pregnant.
 My wife is not pregnant.
 The use of “no long” and “not” are presupposition.

Assumption

The unexamined belief what we think without realizing we think it. So, the grammatical choices are made by certain words and assumptions are made it may be may not be result oriented.

Example They know how I feel.
 He will come and bring a book for me.

Men always show negative behavior toward women freedom in Islamic country.

Implicature

The selection of words or lexical items that explores the intended meanings created by the speaker and covered by the hearer and needs not a special context.

Binary Opposition

The use of binary terms leaves influential effect on the mind of hearer or listener and reader.

Example Good versus Bad
 Peace versus war
 Man versus Woman

In such a pair of words each explains the other. Contraries explain each other.

Inclusion

This is linguistic device to represent the people belonging to in group positively and out group negatively. It is a significant feature of critical discourses that good quality of our people is highlighted against the bad qualities of certain people. Actually inclusion and exclusion are forms of “Usness versus Themness”

Example They cannot represent themselves.
 They must be represented by us.

Exclusion

It is a linguistics device to represent the people. This is a linguistic device to represent the people belonging to in group positive and out group negatively. It is a significant feature of critical discourses that good quality of our people is highlighted against the bad qualities of other people. Actually inclusion and exclusion are forms of “Usness versus Themness”

Example Our smart bombers are doing tricks wonderfully.

Analysis

The analysis of the speeches of Ms. Benazir Bhutto and Imran Khan was done at micro level and macro level. The analysis illustrates how both the leaders represented the women

in different styles and how Benazir Bhutto, being a female leader had a different approach towards women from Imran Khan.

Analysis of Imran Khan's Speech 18 January, 2015

Main Themes

1. Encouraging the women folk
2. Encouraging and appreciating attitude about the women sacrifices in the way of political process and claiming to be a realist.
3. Assuring them to be with them expressing solidarity with mothers.
4. Promising to grant equality to women.
5. Claiming that he is giving equal privilege to women at national level
6. He is appreciating women.
7. Making plans of women participation in politics and equal chances of job for women in political stream
8. He is promoting the women of tribal areas and their participation in the political field

Background of the Dharna Speech and Analysis of the Text

Dharna speech is one of his speeches which explained the wrong policies of the PML-N government and corrupt practices of its ministers. So, for this purposes he staged the dharna on 8 January, 2015 and engaged the people to do positive activities to weaken the will of ruling party and government. In the 120-day dharna Imran Khan addressed the people and thanked the people who joined the dharna regardless of the barriers. He delivered a speech to unveil the corrupt practices of the government. He appreciated the people whose contribution had made the dharna successful and wanted to endorse the constructive policies after turning over the government in near future. He mentioned in the speech that he was looking for the better management of the country and wanted to make it a welfare state where full participation of every individual in growth and prosperity was ensured. He said, I am here to thank you, especially, the women. There were days when there were more women than men at the dharna. When a women of household is awakened, there is no turning back.

In the above mentioned lines Imran Khan as a political leader has used linguistic devices to thank the public and represented the women in dharna activities. The use of pronoun "I" represents the intensity of the speaker's feelings about the public and shows the certainty and individuality. The implied meanings in the use of "I" is that he, being a leader, expresses the sense of security and gratitude on the part of the masses and engages the attention of the masses by ameliorating the status of the women and their contribution in the dharna and appreciating their political activism in all this journey. The use of adverb 'especially' reveals the ideological mind set of the leader and his party towards the women's status. The underlying message imparted in these sentences is that women are core of the political attention of his party and no one can deny the contribution of this large segment of the society. He positioned the women and appreciated the women's political activism and expressed that positive measures adopted by government can raise the class of the women that is the key point and main concern of this party. He valued the women as a game changers and made comparison between the past and present and finalized that

women were more committed and loyal to their given targets. So, in these lines the linguistic devices used by the Imran Khan engaged the attention of the masses special the women in persuasive style that reflected the ideology of his party. So, the positive representation of women is one part of Imran Khan's ideology and "slogan of the Tabdeeli" is another part of his party on the one side of the masses regardless of gender differences. He regretted the stereotypical construction and perception about the role of women. The following chunks from his speech highlight the sacrifices and participation of women in the protests. He said, wherever PTI'S voice went through the dharna, in every city people came out on three days' notice. We empowered women and saw their participation like never before. In conservative places like Mianwali too'.

In these lines, the speaker represents the essence of his party, dharna and leadership of the party has influential impacts on the minds of the masses in general and women in particular on one side the response of the women toward the voice of party on the other side. The speaker has used lexical items like "every city, three time, never before and conservative places are ideological loaded and imparted message to the public in persuasive style. The speaker says that if women were empowered in full sense, it would be easy to turn a slogan into reality. He appreciated the responsive behavior and their participation to turn the dream into reality is crucial in all the time. In these lines the speaker has also made the use of linguistic devices such pro-noun "we" to show the sense of collectiveness and power associated with the women.

Benazir Bhutto's Speech

Main Themes

1. Postmodern era and place of women in modern world
2. Women's determination
3. Women are exploited
4. Comparison of women's status in Islam and the present world
5. Self-projection from general to specific
6. Women's empowerment through struggle
7. Islam and women's right
8. Historical evidence and Islam
9. Islam and gender equality
10. Women's rights and emancipation in Pakistan culture
11. Struggle never ends
12. Misrepresentation of Islam and gender equality
13. Modernity versus confused tradition
14. Clash between tradition and modernity
15. Uniformity of Islam
16. Change has started in the world over.

The Analysis of the Text

Discourse is a reflection of one's style or style is a reflection of personality and personality is expressed by handling and manipulating things in a specific way. The choice of words, phrases and sentences and methods to handle the things and situations represent the frame of mind of that person. So, in the same way politicians also make

the use of linguistic devices to persuade the common masses for the designed purpose such as the use of pronouns, metaphors, lexicalization and thematic unity and references. Ms. Bhutto also used linguistics devices in her speeches to aggrandize her agenda at different forums. Her choice of words, sentences, themes reflects her mind and soul. In her speech at Dubai women's College Dubai on September 20, 2004, about women's achievement expressed her pro-women ideology to support the women at international level.

The choice of linguistics devices in her speech reflects her mind set about women's sufferings, sacrifices and achievements. Ms. Bhutto has made the use of pronoun in different styles and being a woman leader her selection of "pro women" themes and words have far reaching impact upon the all segments of the society. Her repeated use of "first person pronoun "I" and "we" express two different ideologies and being a woman she makes the use of "I" to represent herself and the use of "we" collective first person pronoun represents her mixed plural approach towards women at different forms. Her style of projection associates her with common women. In the following lines, she said, I come here this morning at a time when women across the world reached out for excellence ...women still face the brunt of violence, hunger, and poverty. We know women are poor and work harder to get fewer wages than men'.

In these lines Ms. Bhutto has made the use of "first person pro-noun "I" for her personality. It shows the certainty of her mindset about her strength despite the sufferings and barriers and the use of singular" third person pro-noun "she" for common women represents the "out group" despite the sufferings and barriers. In the same time her selection of "WE" for women highlights her collectiveness and unity with the women. Her style of mixing up herself with common women's pains reflects the ideological approach toward women such as being a woman her personality's projection and perception is like other common women. So, her strength lies in the survival and strength of other women. She said, *'They survive and they succeed because of persistence in the face of adversity they never give up. I am also a Muslim women educated in Western universities'*. She said, 'women are nurturers, women give birth to lifeMy message to you, the young generation to whomWe live in an age of change, an age whereway to new standards'.

So, the use of discursive strategies by Ms. Bhutto is key element in her speech that makes her message persuasive and attractive. The use of first person pro-noun to describe herself and second and third person pro-noun for women differentiates the status between elite class women and ordinary class women. The use of discursive devices also expresses the ideology behind her party is that the women are vital pillar to support the society.

The Use of Lexicalization

The use of discursive devices in discourses fills colors and makes the text persuasive. Speech is a genre and effective tool to disseminate the message at public level. The speaker's style of expression and selection of words makes the message more attractive and persuasive and has far reaching impact to mould the mindset of the targeted audience. The selection of words is always loaded with ideology as no discourse is free from ideology. So, the political discourse is also loaded with ideological items and hidden

scheme of themes. In the selected words it explores the complex layers of ideas related to that discourse. In the same way, Ms. Bhutto's selection of lexicalization as a linguistic device in her speeches has unveiled the hidden ideologies quoted in the concerning discourses. So, her speech about the achievement of the women at international forum explores the various ideologies concerning to women's empowerment. The selection of words and phrases related to women in her speech makes the message more persuasive and effective. Some of these phrases are 'women across the world', 'on the fast track', 'flying planes', 'women are everywhere', 'brunt of violence', 'hunger', 'poverty', 'personal tragedy and gender discrimination' and 'gender equality'. These words and phrases highlight the pro-women approach and explore all phases of troubles that women had been facing. So, in her speech she has cited references from the history of Islam such as 'Bibi Khadija' and 'Bibi Fatima. She explains that how Islam gives place to women in a society and in what circumstances women can move in different fields. This is how she was trying to convey the message that she and her government had taken steps to empower the women in different domains of life.

Comparative Analysis

It is obvious from the analysis of the data collected from the speeches of Ms. Benazir Bhutto and Imran Khan that Khan started from his dharna speeches and appreciated the women participation in the dharna politics. According to him, it was a kind of milestone in struggle for political empowerment and he names some of ladies like Shameem whose son was martyred in political struggle. He asserted time and again that no nation could make progress unless and until its women especially the youth were empowered. He also cited the references from the history of Islam and came to the conclusion that Islam did not ban the women's participation in politics and women should work shoulder to shoulder with men. So, the analysis of Mr. Imran Khan is that he is in favor of women's active participation and it is the manifesto of his party to empower women economically and politically.

On the contrary if we look at the speeches of Benazir Bhutto about the representation of women, being a lady, she starts from her own example. By citing her own example, Benazir Bhutto asserts that women should take part in different walks of life. She makes references to Islamic history, Bibi Khadija, as a business woman. So, her ideology is based on Islamic ideology.

In short, both male and female prime ministers seem to have tried to put their stance in their own respective styles by citing the different examples from the present history, from economy and religion.

Table 1
Comparison of the speeches of Benazir Bhutto and Imran Khan's

S#	Imran Khan's Speeches Analysis	Benazir Bhutto's Speeches Analysis
1	Granting equality to women	Granting equality to women
2	Women's active participation and empowerment	Traditional stereotype and women's freedom
3	Encouraging and appreciating women sacrifices in all sphere of life and in political field	Struggle never ends
4	Equal opportunities for women in all classes	Women's rights at international levels
5	Promoting education on equal level	Women's literacy and human rights
6	Promoting equal chances of employment to women	Opportunities for women in all walks of life
7	Islam and women	Islam and gender equality
8	Equal justice to all	Equality for all
9	Islam and women's treatment	Islam and women's rights
10	Women's participation in politics and enrollment in mainstream	Religio-political women's representation

Table 2
The content analysis of Imran Khan's Speeches

S#	Category	Sub-Category	Frequency																								
1	Number Game	All, many, one, several, Three Days, more, too	19																								
2	Lexicalization	Homeless people, women of household, History of Pakistan, Heat cold rain, due rights, Muslim women, the widow, sick people, mindset, status quo, Islam, Lower classes, Real welfare state, animal world, women morality, Inter-alia, gender mainstreaming,	55																								
3	Islamic References	The Prophet, Islam, Hijab, etc.	4																								
4	Pro-noun	<table border="0"> <tr> <td>They</td> <td>Their</td> <td>Them</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> <td>4</td> </tr> <tr> <td>We</td> <td>Our</td> <td>Us</td> </tr> <tr> <td>4</td> <td>10</td> <td>1</td> </tr> <tr> <td>You</td> <td>Your</td> <td>You</td> </tr> <tr> <td>6</td> <td>-</td> <td>-</td> </tr> <tr> <td>I</td> <td>My</td> <td>Me</td> </tr> <tr> <td>9</td> <td>3</td> <td>-</td> </tr> </table>	They	Their	Them	2	3	4	We	Our	Us	4	10	1	You	Your	You	6	-	-	I	My	Me	9	3	-	
They	Their	Them																									
2	3	4																									
We	Our	Us																									
4	10	1																									
You	Your	You																									
6	-	-																									
I	My	Me																									
9	3	-																									

Table 3
Content Analysis of Benazir Bhutto's Speeches

S#	Category	Sub Category	Frequency																								
1	Number Game	Many, several, all, one, each other, 1898	20																								
2	Pro-noun	<table border="0"> <tr> <td>They</td> <td>Their</td> <td>Them</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3</td> <td>1</td> <td>0</td> </tr> <tr> <td>We</td> <td>Our</td> <td>Us</td> </tr> <tr> <td>41</td> <td>25</td> <td>10</td> </tr> <tr> <td>You</td> <td>Your</td> <td>You</td> </tr> <tr> <td>13</td> <td>02</td> <td>0</td> </tr> <tr> <td>I</td> <td>My</td> <td>Me</td> </tr> <tr> <td>46</td> <td>29</td> <td>16</td> </tr> </table>	They	Their	Them	3	1	0	We	Our	Us	41	25	10	You	Your	You	13	02	0	I	My	Me	46	29	16	
They	Their	Them																									
3	1	0																									
We	Our	Us																									
41	25	10																									
You	Your	You																									
13	02	0																									
I	My	Me																									
46	29	16																									
3	Lexicalization	Gender discrimination, Pakistani women, Gender equality, Skies flying, personal tragedy, Honor killing, violation of women, Demised of closed Nation and so on	90																								
4	Islamic References	Prophet of Islam, Bibi Khadija, Bibi Aysha, Bibi Fatima, Hazrat Ali, Muslim women, Islam and so on	07																								

To conclude it can be said that both the political leaders tried to focus on women in Pakistan. Benazir, being women herself, seems to be a better advocate of women's rights. Her perspective, as shown in the mentioned speeches is more supportive of women than that of Imran Khan. She was able to use linguistic devices more effectively than Imran Khan, as far as women's representation is concerned.

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