

Patterning through Linguistic Posterity: A Socio-
Cognitive Discourse Analysis of Bhutto's
Political Rhetoric



By

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Reg. No. Sp16- MSENG-004

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A Post-Graduate Thesis submitted to the Department of English as partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of Degree of MS English.

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This thesis is dedicated to my parents, siblings and my dear to life nephew.

“Our Lord, forgive me and my parents and believers on the Day
When account is cast”. (The Noble Quran, 14:41).

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ABSTRACT

The present research study has been conducted on six political speeches of three political leaders of the same family namely Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Benazir Bhutto and scion of their legacy Bilawal Bhutto to examine how political leaders of same party have propagated their ideologies using linguistic strategies. It is imperative to investigate language as an instrument used by these politicians to persuade their public with assertion of power or power abuse. This study will also endeavour to explore rhetorical and ideological changes over the period of three generations. To investigate the discourse critically and to appraise the ideological foundation of political speeches socio-cognitive approach to CDA has been adopted to analyze and interpret the underlying ideological structure of discourse with reference to Van Dijk socio-cognitive discourse theory (1993) and macro level structural arrangement, communicative situations and linguistic ideological structures like meaning, polarization, verbose style, emotive nuance, presuppositions and implication identification, and parallelism. The study revealed the ways in which political leaders exploit the power given by people and control the minds of people by manipulating discourse. The research finding guide that Zulfikar Ali Bhutto delivered his speech as microcosm of the nation. No other leader of Pakistan had used such emotive and diplomatic discourse to persuade his nation. It was Bhutto's rhetorical style which had made him alive in hearts of his followers. Benazir Bhutto the daughter of zulfikar Ali Bhutto idealized her father and Bilawal Bhutto do not construct his identity completely subservient to Bhutto dynasty. Benazir criticizes Zia for her father's hanging and Bilawal criticized Pervaiz Musharraf for her mother's assassination. Finding revealed through discourse analysis that power validates and affirms itself in possible dimensions which continue fluctuating though in specific variety of orbits such as control, ideology, language, and society. Persuasion is just to gain power, to surpass, dominate, to prevail, and to stand out of all. They have confidently conveyed with them the insignia of their part at public stage. From structural, thematic, and discursive points political leaders have been found using persuasive devices.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Discourse, which is subject of this thesis, is a comprehensive term which can be discussed and conceived in myriads of ways. Discourse “integrates whole palette of meanings”, nuanced interpretation of term divulges that it can cover diverse areas from linguistics like philosophy and sociology (Titscher 2000, p.42). Fairclough claims that the term denotes the entire course of communication “of which text is just a part” (1989, p.24). Discourse denotes articulating oneself by means of words as persuasive way of facing the world. Discourse asserts knowledge and power, for confrontation and evaluation.

Since politics has excelled as solely social knowledge, is completely concerned with controlling and governing class that is subjects or nation in societal groups. This very sociable soul of politics has subjected it to enormous competition of political ideologies within the identical communal groups and others then there emerge several factions and individual promoting their personal agenda, plan or ideology that they think benefitting for their own selves and individual around them in those circumstances.

This “agenda-contest” demands to surpass the other factions and political group who seems to be more dominant and reliable (Dellingner,1995). To achieve the set purpose, it requires attainment of supremacy and power in both situations. The term ‘politics’ may be properly substituted in the place of ‘power’ here. Power and politics are complementary and harmonising each other. Hereafter, politics can be defined as an exercise of power, conservation, association and an attempt for accomplishment towards public and communal end. To understand, investigate and comprehend the production, effects and practice of political ideology the inexorably stimulating discourse, critical discourse analysis had presented the unsurpassed diagnostic tools

ever established (Dijk,1993). It is analytical practice which operates in systematized manner as shown in following self-explanatory following figure:

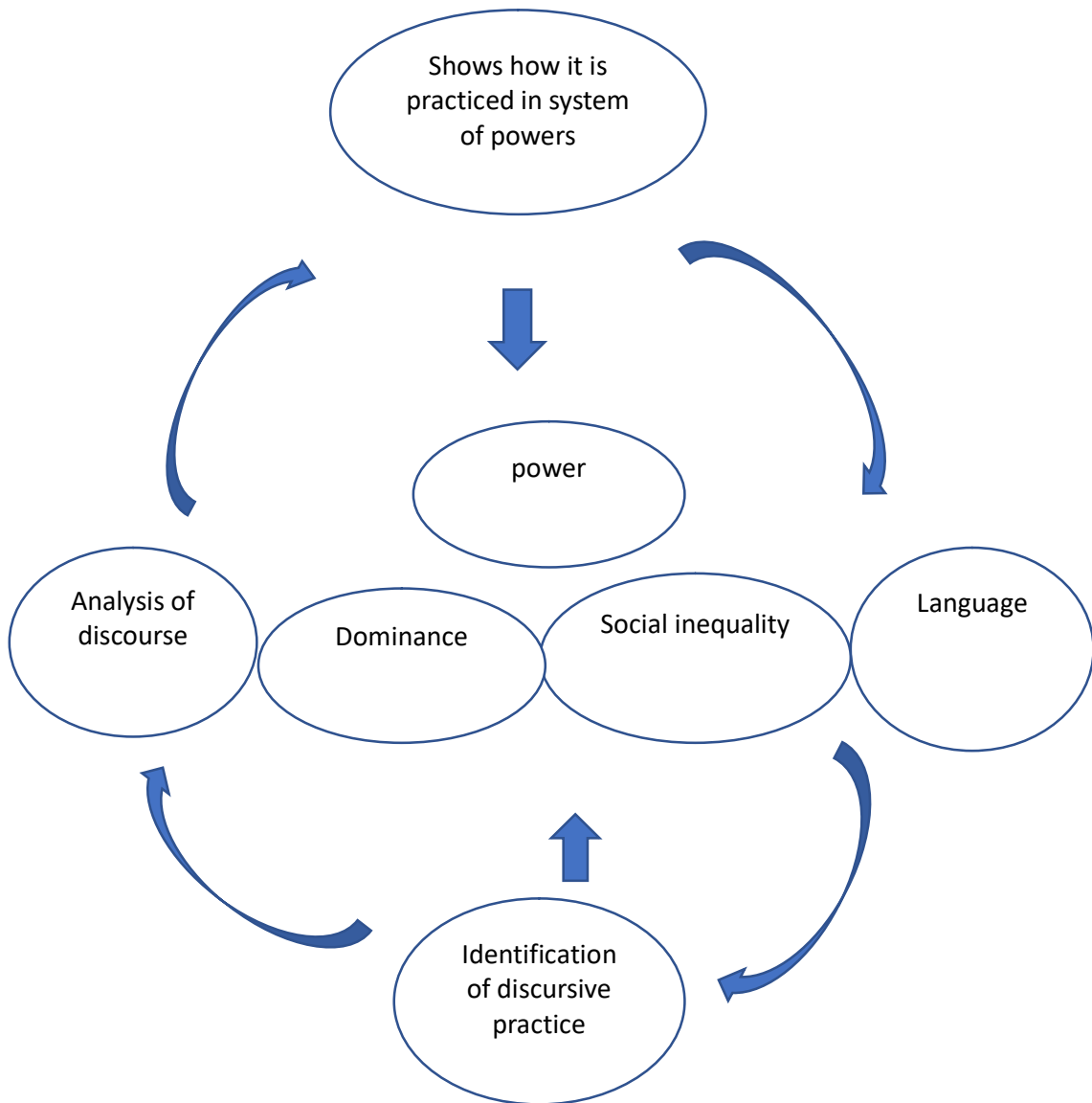


Figure1: Focus of CDA van Dijk (1993). How analytical process is done?

Political leaders attract the public through their political speeches using political discourse. When it comes to politics, one may think of exclusively struggle for supremacy and power to attain definite interests and ideology and exercise them into practice (Memon, Baghio & Gopang,2014). It was firstly realized among political parties, the course of developing a political agenda and transmuted it to concrete

societal accomplishment. In this course of developing political will language played a crucial role. Language controls, influence, prepare and accompanies the political action. Problem under consideration for the scholar is how to explain the boundaries of political discourse and multifaceted language of politics. Because of colossal development in media (electronic & print) people became aware of discourse which may be categorized as political discourse. Moreover, by the pronouncements of government, being aware of news on media and effects of governments policies people became more intricate about political actions. Power primarily utilizes language for the proliferation of it. This employment of language includes dexterous usage of propagation of ideology, political rhetoric, and manipulation through words that is called persuasion. As far as manipulation through words is concerned, it can be viewed at various levels of social actions not only politics. At political level, it encompasses political individual addresser to collective political illustration.

Political speeches and text cover various functions because of diverse political actions. Topics are mainly linked to political ideas, relations, and activities etc. And are widely meant for common public, is the most distinguishing character of political discourse. Van Dijk views on ideology denotes group of ideas that seems in system of belief, which is more likely to be cognitive confrontation than act of ideological dissemination and societal acts (2006, P.728-740). Specific societal groups mark their individuality with their specific ideology as does not necessitate and any confirmation on surface and deep structural levels. This belief is not only socially participated rather it also impulsively central and inevitably self-evident in nature. It is not learnt but acquired and may change through generations or scion.

This study will also endeavour to explore rhetorical and ideological changes over the period of three generations. The aim of present study is to critically evaluate the linguistic features which propagate political ideologies and furthermore it will analyse ideological boundary transforms with evolving political scenario. Political rhetoric is struggle over power to set certain political stance, monetary, societal, ideological viewpoint into practice. So, in this ideological propagation discourse plays a dynamic role, for each political action is accompanied, delivered and propagated using words. It was imperative to investigate language as an instrument utilized by politicians to influence their community with proliferation of supremacy or power abuse (Dijk, 1993). Speeches of politicians are categorically crucial elements of politics Fairclough asserts

that “language can misrepresent and represent realities, it can interlace apparition and imaginaries which can be executed to revolutionize realities and in some cases to amplify human well-being, but it can rhetorically disguise realities and infer them ideologically to serve unjust power relations” (1997, p. 258-84). To investigate the discourse critically and to appraise the ideological foundation of political speeches socio-cognitive method to critical discourse analysis has been adopted. Qualitative socio cognitive analysis will enable researcher to find out how the use of language within society by politician’s controls people’s thoughts, behaviours and influences.

1.1 Objective and aims of study

Objective of this research is to discover underlying ideological structures which are embedded in the speeches of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Benazir Bhutto and Bilawal Bhutto. This study will attempt to critically examine discourse of political rhetoric to clarify relationship between political speeches and promoting Pakistan People’s Party ideology. It will also endeavour to explore rhetorical and ideological changes over the period of three generations. To investigate the discourse critically and to appraise the ideological foundation of political speeches socio-cognitive approach to CDA has been espoused. The core hypothesis in the undergoing research is that the political addresses are used in the masses to control the cognition and perception of the common public.

1.2 Research questions

1. What kind of linguistic features and persuasive techniques are used by three different generations in the politics of Pakistan People’s Party?
2. What are the mechanisms of power inherent in language? Whether the use of manipulative and rhetoric devices favours the politicians in maintain political influence?

1.3 Research methodology

For the investigation of political ideological rhetoric qualitative method has been adopted because it gives in-depth analysis of any phenomena under consideration. Critical discourse analysis and socio-cognitive approach by Van Dijk (1993) provides with the ideological insights of linguistic strategies used by politicians and share same aims and objective to uncover the hegemonic political agendas. Furthermore, socio cognitive approach needs qualitative method to analyse discourse. Researcher has

selected political speeches of three dominant leaders of Pakistan People's Party as sample. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who was founder of Pakistan People's Party, fourth president from 1971 to 1974 and ninth prime minister of Pakistan from 1973 to 1977. Benazir Bhutto who was former prime minister from 1988 to 1990 and 1993 to 1996 and Bilawal Bhutto who inherited leadership from his ancestors and he is chairperson of his political party.

1.4 Delimitations of the study

In present research project researcher has selected six speech transcripts for the analysis of ideological and persuasive discourse. Though it seems appropriate for collecting data but it can be made more comprehensive with addition of more speeches. However, within the available time limit and the present research project is an attempt to understand discursive phenomena of political discourse. Although political leaders of different parties use persuasive strategies in their speeches but researcher has selected three political leaders of same political party to limit it to the study pattern through linguistic posterity. There are number of persuasive devices to be analysed to determine rhetorical effects but this study is limited to selected strategies which are defined by Van Dijk and Fairclough. Researcher has selected those speeches which are addressed to public gathering and not the presidential or formal addresses because researcher needs to analyse how specific political party's ideology is propagated to control persuade the public.

1.5 Justification of the study

Politics play a significant role in every aspect of daily life of common person because it is the cornerstone through which ideas and policies are developed and executed. The way politicians exploit language to reflect their ideology is imperative to study because it is primary tool which helps them to gain power and popularity among common people. Speeches of political leaders not only affect citizens but become part of history and collective identity. So, the in-depth linguistics discourse analysis will not only help researchers but also common people to know about the underlying structural ideologies of political leaders.

1.6 Significance of the study

Researcher will focus on theoretical concept which relates society, discourse, and cognition to show influence of hegemonic group discourse over public. Power bearing leaders Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Benazir Bhutto and Bilawal Bhutto's speeches with reference to utilization of persuasive devices and ideology has been selected to evaluate. Significance of the present study is based on that it critically examined discourse of political innovators who were not only politicians but chairpersons of their party also. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was diplomat, radicalistic and magnetic personality of his times and even alive in hearts of his followers. He used theatrical and scholarly discourse to verbalise his ideology and deployed emotive tone to attract his audiences. Though ironical sometimes, but he used deeply personalised tone and hyperbolic statements, the speeches are substantial sample of deliberative discourse. His powerful personal elegance was vital part to its continuing power. Benazir Bhutto was first female political leader who led her party and became prime minister of Pakistan as first ever Muslim lady. Bilawal Bhutto who is scion of Bhutto's legacy and known for his gab, when it is related to replicating the rhetorical magic of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto.

The researcher has analysed selected sample of these leaders from triangulated dimension of ideology, power and discourse. Data has been examined in the light of socio-cognitive approach. There are many reasons to study socio-cognitive approach to critical discourse analysis. Foremost reason is that critical discourse analysis allows the researcher to look at social, political and cultural issues which you have interest and how these issues are affecting and controlling society towards their discourse. Looking at CDA will give researcher new linguistic tools to study discursive practices in political rhetoric not just academically, but also in everyday social, political issues for example while reading political text, newspaper or listening to current affair program. This study will present the constructive insight to formulate people cognizant that the masses are manipulated in the society through political speeches.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Theoretical Backdrop

2.1 Discourse

Discourse, in step with Foucault, refers no longer to language or social communication but to the historic transformation of ideas. Foucault delineates how discourse can be replicated, formalized, and altered. Discourse, as a group of proclamations, is imbued with multifaceted relationships both intrinsic and extrinsic to it. Taking the proclamation as unit of analysis, Foucault defines the declaration as referential meaning that “is made up of laws of prospect, policies of lifestyles for the object that is named, definite, or described within it, and for members of the family which can be affirmed or denied in it (1997, p.91). This is to say, in a sure historical period, we are governed by way of precise regulations to act best in positive methods. Making use of Foucault’s concept to language, we discover that discourses on language each constrain and allocate the way we reflect, converse, and write about it. As a result, discourse no longer purely displays certainty, however also produces it. Cook (1992) describes discourse as language use in verbal exchange and the search for what offers discourse coherence is discourse evaluation. Cook further explains that discourse analysis examines how stretches of language, considered of their complete textual, societal, and psychological contexts becomes considerable and unified for their speaker. Additionally, Rymes (2008) cited in Mirzaee & Hamidi (2012) believes that, discourse is defined typically as “language-in-use.” And discourse evaluation, observes the way language-in-use is inspired by way of the context of its use.

Hollway (1989) proposed psychoanalytical version of discourse explaining it as social reality while borrowing concepts from Foucault and Lacan. To make more measurable and tangible approach Fairclough (1992) applied this social theory with linguistics. Linguists described the term discourse through many different interpretations.

According to Hollway discourse is a “network of meanings, their heterogeneity and their effects” (1989, p.38). Davies and Harre defined term discourse as “a multi-faceted public process through which meanings are progressively and dynamically achieved” (1990, p.47). Dreyfus and Rainbow describe discourse as a “group of statement that belong to single system of information” (1982, p.107). Parker suggests that discourse is a “system of statements which construct an object” (1990, p.91). With this definition, it becomes apparent that discourse is not only generated by human beings but it ensconces the human being which is most important feature of discourse. With the help of it we create our version of reality and it also gives us our own identity (Holborrow, 2006). As a result, it helps us to construct social relationship and present us with an ideologically based credence (Foucault, 1982). By using ‘regimes of truth’ Foucault made no qualms concerning perception of ideology. Foucault uncover the term to be in “virtual opposition to something else which is thought as truth” (1980a, pp.223-38). It remains that discourses are basically viewed as being subjective, and theoretically the expression "philosophy" keeps up a truth, a bit of what might be considered as basically false, henceforth in Foucault's view, unsatisfactory. One can recognize discourse by cluster it forms around a topic. The culturally shared clusters depend on authority, historicity and supremacy therefore they are typically dynamic and are in a stable flux. Potter and Wetherell claim that discourse is synonymous with ‘interpretive repertoire’ (1988, pp.168-183). While Parker used ideology and he did not agree with this term, he argued that “it is imperative that to hold to some notion of the disparity between discourses” (1992, p.33). Discourses became ‘interpretive repertoire’ only when they are being viewed as descriptions of our reality and for the construction of that reality. Hence to investigate how a community visualizes realistic versions of its reality, one should define the outer perimeters of discourses.

2.2 Political Discourse

Political discourse is a vast expression with numerous definitions which “integrates a whole palette of meanings” (Titscher et al., 2000, p.42), overlaying a big place from

linguistics, through different disciplines like sociology, philosophy. According to Fairclough the term refers to “the entire process of interaction of which a text is just a component” (1989, p.24). As pervasive approaches of experiencing the world, discourses confer with expressing oneself the use of phrases. Discourses can be used for affirming power and expertise, and for resisting a critique. The speaker communicates their ideological textual content in discourse as does the linguistic form of the textual content. That is, assortment or desire of a linguistic shape may not be a live technique for the person speaker however, the discourse can be a replica of that formerly found out discourse. Contents of discourse are preferred and structured syntactically whose “content material-structure” reflects the ideological association of a vicinity of social lifestyle (Dellinger, 1995). Political discourse can be a sub category of a discourse which is primarily based on two levels of analysis: functional and thematic. The political speeches are the consequences of politics created traditionally through politicians and it is far historically and culturally determined. It is thematic within the experience that subjects are particularly connected with political themes, thoughts and acts as per Fairclough (1995, 1996). Political behaviours, operations and speeches include many strategies and strategies to sell the ideologies of the speaker. Those strategies are very imperative to comprehend, if you want to get clear understanding of the political discourse. One of the techniques is rhetoric approach in political speeches that's the dexterity of speaking especially exploited in political speeches. Power is multifarious and abstract system which controls common people's life. It is capability of possessor to exact compliance of other individual to their determination. The person who can execute power “exercise influence outside the context of formal proceedings thus wielding real power” (Edelman, 1977, p.123).

Language plays crucial role in substituting values and cultural or social life as it also plays a key role in transforming power into compliance and accurate duty. Language can create area where power can be applied and it may create power. It is language through which our beliefs and cultural and social values which are result of organization and institutions in our society are created and allocated. According to Rousseau “the strongest is never strong enough always to be master, unless he transforms his power into right and obedience into duty” (Rousseau,1999, p.687). People usually act on what they perceive from input they do not get on the sensory input but they get from their world (Edward, 2006, p.324). Because the way in which

inducing stereotypes produce language go farther beyond language itself and gives view of social condition of language users. For example, specific variety of language spoken by a person, acts as stimulus which evokes stereotypes and attitude about society to which speaker is thought to belong. The effectiveness of message in any spoken language is concerned with what is being said to whom and who is the communicator which is “deeply tied up with power and social status” (Wareing, 2004, p.9). Or we can say that it depends on speakers and interlocutors that what variety of language they choose to communicate, also depends on what identity they want to project and perceived by others.

In other words, use of language varies depending on the situation whether it is formal or informal, public or private, who is addressing and who the receivers of messages are. So, it is a common fact that politics is always connected with power: the power to control capital, the power of making decisions, the power to create hegemony and most preferably power of controlling other people’s mind, values and behaviour.

Jones and Peccei (2004) suggest that it is the “skilful use of rhetoric” by politicians in their speeches with the help of this art they persuade listeners of the legitimacy of their views, authoritative and persuasive views. Rhetoric is the “art of employing language to persuade and influence others, the organization and structure of rules to be followed by orator or interlocutor to portray them with eloquence” (Oxford English Dictionary). Though the exercise of language is undeniably a significant aspect of political affairs, Fairclough underlines that it can represent veracities and misapprehend realities, it can intertwine conceptions and imaginings which can be deployed to modify realities and in many cases, improve human interests, but it can interpret realities ideologically to preserve unmerited power relations (Fairclough, 1989, p.24).

Wareing (2004) points out that the production and selection of words is so important that it can change the perception of person him/herself or insights about others. Jones and Peccei (2004) confirm this by suggesting that use of specific language can control people’s thoughts and beliefs and it can also shove their thoughts. We can exemplify this by a “George Orwell’s novel Nineteen Eighty-Four” (1998) in which characters thoughts are restricted and controlled by rhetoric use of language. The language of novel was so assembled to provide accurate and delicate expression to each meaning that a politician or authoritative member would wish to employ, apart from all other

connotations and moreover the opportunity of new at them by meandering process (Orwell ,1949). It affirms the point of Jones and Peccei that an ideology can steer the thoughts of people. The politician's foremost intention is to convince their addressees of their legitimacy of their political claims. Political persuasions flow from deployment of assets that outline the viewpoint and attitudes of others. A well-informed politician can become successful through "using their knowledge of informal influence" (Edelman, 1977, p.123). It can be made possible through presumptions and implicatures. With the help of these two tools audience can infer from what was said which was not explicit in the provided information (Jones &Peccei, 2004).

Presumptions are embedded in sentences and are backdrop assumptions. In political discourse, this technique is very useful since it makes audience to accept the views communicated because they cannot identify or reject views. Like implications and presumptions direct the listener to assume rather that was not overtly emphasized by the presenter. On the other hand, not like presupposition, this control over more than one expression or verdict and are greatly reliant on mutual knowledge between the speaker and the listener and on the perspective of the discourse (Jones & Peccei, 2004, p.44). Van Dijk underlines that political condition do not merely cause political actors to articulate in definite ways, in its place "there is a necessity for a cognitive cooperation between circumstances and talk or text, that is a context" (2006, p.733). Such contexts characterize how members understanding infer and signify features of the political circumstances. Political discourse is not only demarcated with political discourse constructions but also with political settings. Thus, performing as governmental officer like P.M etc., party activist, or supporter will naturally be professed by speakers or receivers as a related context category in political discourse.

2.3 Ideological structure of discourse

Ideologies have something to do with the system of ideas preferably with political, social and religious ideas which are mutually shared by members of society. Ideologies may be regarded as negative or positive depending on the position of members or society. Racism, feminism, liberalism, socialism, fascism, militarism, pacifism are ideologies and can be marked as positive or negative at the same time by different members of same society depending on their approach.

The structures which are involved in the production of power abuse are specifically studied during critical discourse analysis and analysis discourse structure. Discourse will be ideologically based when power abuse and power are defined commonly in relation to organizations and social groups. So, there is need to focus on such discourse structures which shows underlying ideologies and attitudes of governing social groups.

Member of groups sharing these ideologies may have wide-ranging ideologies and attitudes that stand as the foundations of their explicit beliefs concerning the world, construal of different events and examining their social practices. Hence the general definition of ideology is “Ideologies are the fundamental beliefs of a group and its members” (Dijk, 2000, p.7). Many approaches and definitions have been given to define ideology. In various directions within Marxism, ‘false consciousness’ formulate ideology, which is accepted but erroneous belief inculcated by governing social class to justify the status quo, and to cover up the genuine socioeconomic situation of working class. The structure of self-serving ideas of governing social groups, this negative notion of ideology has been widespread in the social sciences; it is used as opponent to true scientific knowledge. Discourse and language are the societal practices which are influenced by ideology through which we came to know to change ideologies. When members of such groups speak they express their ideological based opinion (Dijk, 2000).

The notion of discourse and ideology requires the study of all disciplines of humanities and social sciences. Dijk (2000) however made it easy to analyse by reducing these disciplines to three possible clusters of society, discourse and cognition. So, the communication, verbal interaction, talk, text and the use of language can be comprehensively considered under the label of discourse. The beliefs, collectively shared representations, relation of people with opinion and knowledge people’s nature as their ideas such mental features can be studied under the label of cognition. And extensive label of society covers the historical, political, and cultural facet of ideology. Ideological structure can have described in so many ways in this way discourse becomes more complex so, Van Dijk (2000) suggested ‘heuristic’ way to uncover ideology which is to find them in talk and text. Nature of ideology is represented as ‘self-schema’ of social group consisting of essential information which categorize a group member as their norms, values, activities, aims, group activities, and other associations etc. These categories usually classify information in the following way:

Aims: what do they want to accomplish? Why are they doing that?

Activities: what is projected about us? What are they planning?

Recourses: what do they have that others do not have?

Relations: where did they stand in society? Who are their friends and enemies?

Membership: who are they? Who can be added? Who belongs to them?

Norms: what is prohibited or permitted, and what is good or bad?

So, ideologies have ‘schematic structure’ as mentioned above for example activity, norm etc. For the identification of their societal groups, relations, interests, and belongings. Ideological discourse may be expected to feature pragmatically proscribed expressions of such kind. Ideological structure of discourse can be analysed on many various levels. Van Dijk (2000) had suggested following levels to study ideological structure.

2.3.1 Meaning

Van Dijk argued in his book Ideology and Discourse- a Multi-Disciplinary structure that discourses determine ideology at any point in communication. The content of ideology is explicitly determined in discourse meaning. So, through the study of semantics of discourse we can analyse ideology of discourse structure. To determine the meaning of sentence or the whole communication is an arduous process so, study of following relevant aspects will make it understandable (Dijk, 2000, p.45).

2.3.2 Polarization

There is underlying structure of ideology which is polarization. Member of society of governing authority polarize between negative and positive representation of ‘out group’ and ‘ingroup’ respectively. These polarizations influence all levels of discourse (Dijk, 2000, p.45).

2.3.3 Identification

Identity is the major type of group ideology. Ideological group members constantly recognize themselves as ‘ours’ and communicate such identifications in many ways such as speaking as a feminist, as a socialist, I, we, as a pacifist, etc (Dijk, 2000, p.46).

2.3.4 Topic

We cannot limit the meaning of communication to meanings of words and sentences. Topics and themes are key features of discourse which add to the 'global' meaning of discourse and inform us what is discourse about 'globally speaking' and gives gist of valuable information underlying the discourse. The general principle of discourse as mentioned above that is to topicalize information which we want to highlight such as our 'good things' and their 'bad things' and communicators de-topicalize information which they want to de-emphasize such as 'our bad things' and their 'good things' ideological discourse follow this principle. The interlocutors can use another option for the recognition their cognitive model even after the selection of topic. The notion of topicalization barely requires argumentation that communicators will be more precise and meticulous about their positive deeds and about negative things of opponents, and vice versa (Dijk, 2000, p.46).

2.3.5 Presuppositions and implication

It's been described that discourse development is dependent on intellectual models we've about various event, which for most reasons (like the knowledge a receiver previously has) we are in need to only express area of the information in that model. When essential, deficient information may thus be inferred by the receivers, specifically from other model for a discourse or their standard sociocultural comprehension. All suggestions that come in a model however, not in the discourse may consequently be called the 'implied' interpretation of your discourse (Dijk, 2000, p.49).

2.3.6 Hedging and Vagueness

A robust politics and ideological tool is the management of quality and vagueness, as the well-known ideal case of diplomatic language shows. We might hedge or be hazy when we have no idea an accurate answer to a question, yet do not want to give impression of being uninformed. But we might also hedge a discourse for political reasons, for example when accurate affirmations are contextually deplorable or just "politically incorrect". Such as a politician or journalist may oppose immigration, but may hedge such a judgment lest she or he be accused of racism. And both in the media and in political discourse, we might specifically observe the exploitation of hazy terms such as "popular discontent" or "resentment" rather than using a lot more explicit term

discrimination. Absolutely, vagueness may entail alleviation, euphemism and ultimately also a refutation.

Coherence is one of typical feature of discourse meaning. The communicator relates meaning of phrases or sentences in a discourse, such a relation of coherence is known as local coherence (Van Dijk, 2000, p.51).

2.3.7 Local Coherence

Global coherence may simply be identified in conditions of the issues reviewed above: a discourse is globally consistent if it has a theme or topic. Though it is challenging to specify this notion very accurately, we will simply assume a series of proposition is locally coherent if it's about a collection of actions, occurrences or situations that are mutually related, for occasion by relationships of causality or enablement. In even more succinct but officially impeccable conditions we may say a discourse collection is coherent if it has a model. In more intuitive terms which means that we might call a discourse (or discourse fragment) coherent if we can see right now a situation where it is or where maybe it's true (Van Dijk, 2000, p.47).

2.4 Approaches to CDA

As a long way as its method is concerned, CDA has been following vital linguistics techniques proposed by Fowler and Kress (1979), who drew on Halliday's systemic linguistics. In a couple of guides, Van Dijk (1993, 1997b, 2001) added the sociological and cognitive paradigms in CDA, and referred to as for a multidisciplinary technique to discourse research (1998, 2001, 2009). Wodak & Meyer argued that the reputedly exceptional traits within CDA without a doubt share the numerous dimensions of discourse, and called for multidisciplinary and multi-methodological methods: "CDA is therefore now not interested in investigating a linguistic unit p but in studying social phenomena which might be necessarily complex and therefore require a multidisciplinary and multi-methodical technique" (2009, p.2). The present study also follows multidisciplinary methodology by combining the methods of CDA and the insights of cognitive-pragmatic.

2.4.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse analysis was first delivered by the widespread works of Van Dijk (1993) who continued that CDA is not merely a unified model; however, a joint factor

of view on doing linguistics, semiotics, or maybe discourse analysis. Further, it is comprehensively claimed that the only element of CDA with the aid of which it's far prominent from diverse, even supposing connected, fields of discourse analysis is represented in its "critical" function.

Fairclough and Wodak, in turn, propose that what is vital for critical discourse analysts is the explicit consciousness of their function in society (1997, p.258-84). Enduring a practice that throw-outs the possibility of a "value free" science, they dispute that scientific know-how, and predominantly scholarly discourse, is intrinsically a part of an optimistic by using social composition, and fashioned within the social interchange due to which the textual content is engendered. CDA, consequently, is a sort of discourse analytical research which fundamentally deems the manner the social power abuse, supremacy, inequity and discrimination are enormously included, replicated, and resisted by using, saying, and the textual content communicates in certain contexts which comprise the social and political contexts (Dijk, 2000, p.48). Furthermore, as a reference for its historic significance, it is well worth mentioning that the fundamentals of CDA may already be available inside the essential idea of the Frankfurt College before the second international warfare (Agger, 1992; Rasmussen, 1996). Yet, the contemporary consciousness of CDA on language and discourse became initiated with the "important linguistics" that emerged on the give up of the Nineteen Seventies (Mey, 1985). CDA has additionally positive counterparts in "essential" developments in specific fields of knowledge, which include: sociolinguistics, psychology, and the social sciences, of which a few already relationship again to the early 1970s (Ibanez & Iniguez, 1997; Singh, 1996; Thomas, 1993; Wodak, 1996).

Critical discourse analysis focuses to inspect the application of fundamental rights, discernment, domination, authority, and racial discernment from the viewpoint of discursive observations with reference to political and social perspective. It is mainly concerned with investigation of discourse either it is spoken or transcribed/written (Dijk, 1998).

According to Fairclough with the help of CDA unusual relationships between varied traditional and social groups can be analyzed. It is a type of analysis in which text and successive actions are focused and then discloses the irregular ideology formed supremacy relations by relating these relations with broader perspective like cultural

and societal of discourse spoken by people. He investigated the way power is proliferated among masses through authoritative political discourse of leading class and attitude of elite (1993, p.135).

Fairclough asserts that there are three stages to investigate a discourse or text. By analyzing beliefs and attitudes of speaker information about ideology and personal involvement can be determined in first stage of analysis. In second stage, the way language is affected by communal relations is analyzed and in last which is third step to analyze and understand the individuality and authenticity of the speaker. Social context and identity of communicator can be exposed with the help of linguistic choices like syntactic forms, lexical collection and semantics. Power can be exerted with the help of language and language is the vital tool which is used to shape socio political ideologies through which power is exercised. Discourse reveals distinct cultural and social backgrounds of masses having varied expressive and relational rules. It affirms that Linguistic and communal variables have strong relation. The core objective of CDA is to examine the discourse with reference to political and ideological theory of language processing (1992, p.124).

Brown and Yule finds out that it is through language we can perform actions and not only it helps in conveyance of messages or description of different matters. Analysis of language uncovers cultural, ethnic, and societal contexts with examining its use in real context. According to them the wide-ranging culture and social perspective of addresser are result of his choice of linguistic features. CDA emphasizes on the way in which this binary relation reveals discursive practices of power exploitation (1985, p.43).

Halliday also confirms this notion about language that it is 'social act' as interlocutors discuss matters, issues or ideologies in some 'social setting'. Society and discourse are rather directly related to each other in relation to communication but reliant on each other. Our ideologies and identities are built using language according to Halliday. English is considered as symbol of elites in our society and person who can communicate well in English is thought as leading because he/she can fluently use that language which is symbol of culturally and politically dominant. So, it means that language variables can identify the class of people and especially socially leading class (1978).

Fairclough (1995b) defined inter textual examination as linguistic analysis of language practice in social cultural context. In defining language practice one need to identify grammatical, lexical, syntactic and diction used by interlocutor. Linguistic analysis also includes examination of organization of text, coherence and cohesion of discourse. This study concentrates on the discourse/text by including all types of discourse. Intertextuality is another characteristic of discourse analysis, which is defined by Fairclough (1992) as excerpts in text which are referred by speaker from another text and are made part of original text. The excerpts included in text by speaker then becomes part of text either it accepts the idea of the original text or disapproves the related idea or message, the borrowed text is considered as part of original text. Fairclough divided intertextuality into two types. 'manifest intertextuality' is first type in which direct quotes are narrated in text with inverted commas, to authenticate the validation of text, speech or discourse, and second type is 'constitutive text' in which other discourse structure is included to make discourse, text or speech innovative. Fairclough asserts that it can be analyzed while practicing linguistic analysis.

Moreover, Fairclough had studied this approach in context of 'critical language study' to analyze discourse. He paid his attention to disclose the discursiveness of public relations and pattern of conversational practices through which rights of common people can be exploited with the aid of discourse employed by speakers in their society. Supremacy and domination can be exercised using language according to his view. Text is the costume of opinions, thoughts and ideologies with the help of which individuals and leaders apply dominance over others (1989).

Wodak & Fairclough (1995, 1996) asserts that language is the vital tool to reflect the cultural and ethnic and social facets like mirror. Society uses language to propagate their ideology, authority and hegemony. The style and kind of language deployed by adherents of community exposes the affiliations like conversation of a leader of political party with his/her followers would evidently show the difference and leaders' authoritative attitude would be clearly defined by his use of diction. Connotations of discourse can be obtained by viewing historic outlook of text and it plays vigorous part in linguistic analysis. Discourse always has a historic background and perspective through which we can explicate the meaning of that perspective.

In this regard Gee and Sampson made an argument that critical discourse analysis construes discourse with the aid of numerous methods by thoroughly viewing monetary and socio-political settings. So, investigation of discourse might be done based on social aspects in that setting (1990, p.81; 1980, p.44).

The understanding of public concerning the socio-cultural background, is increased when acquaintances of exploitation and eloquent are analyzed by keeping in view critical discourse analysis (Fowler, 1996, p.214). Fowler asserted that linguists would emphasise on the depiction of critical positioning regardless of reproach of discourse. Critiques would signify the financial, dogmatic and societal wettings of discourse from analysing discourse critically.

Blommaert (2005) and Jorgensen (2002) discussed that CDA is comprehensive and broader approach which is used to infer the connection of language inside society and its own effects on discourse. According to them cultural and linguistic variables in research related to critical discourse analysis, are thoroughly webbed with each other because if we approach words or discourse, we will treat it from linguistic point of view and point out how selection of words in discourse relating to social political framework attempted to investigate the discursive technique. Regarding this Carson (1995) said that can be practiced through specific techniques for example stylistic and textual feature to learn social connections and individualities from linguistics point of view. Discourse either discloses the sociable concerns like hegemony, authority, and power are echoed with the help of discourse or other discourses used in business, official documents, education are allocated by examining written text.

Chilton (1996) claimed that critical discourse analysis can be made more comprehensive by referring to metaphors in text. As use of metaphors in discourse signify thoughts which give way towards authenticity of context in accordance with interlocutor's awareness (pp.53-70). For example, Martin Luther king had deployed metaphors in his speech (1963) according to his political and cultural context, which manifested his ideology.

Ruth & Wodak (2001) inferred the word 'critical' in critical discourse analysis as the examination and knowledge of language embedded in politics, financial, cultural point of view (pp.45-67). Critical discourse analysis will try to alter relation among capabilities applied through diction with broader political and social context. The

emphasis appears to be on words primordially since it demonstrates the ideological foundations which can be created and formed through public connections. These researchers were simply of the view that CDA had not only outlined the supremacy connections among public practices of language but it had additionally provided with prospects of concerns and to criticise it. According to Carrol (2004) CD offered numerous facets for analysis of discourse or text as it purposed a hypothetical construction i.e. Theory and the way to use data for further examination. CDA studies conveys both features which 'post-modern' and cultural aspects for evaluation of discourse. Cultural or social features recounts to practical facet of terms in the creations and depiction of social relationship. It targets the utilization of linguistic structures in discourse and exactly how authority and hegemony effects the cultural and social relationship. CDA studies the maltreatment of supremacy and hegemonic frame of mind by centring through the language. The 'post-modern' aspect examines the framework and scopes of text.

This part presents the socio-cognitive procedure in critical discourse studies (CDS), more typically called critical discourse analysis (CDA). Researcher avoided the word CDA since it showed that it is a way of discourse research, and not a crucial perspective or frame of mind in cognitive-scientific discourse studies (DS), using several ways of the humanities and interpersonal sciences.

The critical way of CDS characterizes scholars somewhat than their methods: CDS scholars and their research are socio-politically focused on communal equality and justice. They can be specifically enthusiastic about the discursive fabrication of power misuse and the level of resistance against such supremacy. Their objectives, thoughts, schemes and data and other scholarly procedures are chosen as educational efforts to such level of resistance. CDS is more problem-oriented than discipline-oriented, and takes a multidisciplinary approach.

A critical method of discourse presupposes an ethics. Its research may conclude that some kinds of dominant words or have a discussion are unjust or illegitimate, for illustration because they violate human being and social privileges. For instance, sexist or racist discourse may be found to flout basic norms and worth of gender and cultural equality and justice. Inside the broader platform of critical discourse studies my socio-cognitive method of discourse is the Discourse-Cognition-Society triangle.

Whereas all methods in CDS analysis the relationships between discourse and modern culture, a socio-cognitive procedure boasts that such relationships are cognitively mediated. Discourse buildings and social set ups are of any different aspect, and can only just be related through the mental representations of terminology users as individuals and since social members.

Thus, sociable connections, situations and communal structures may only just influence discourse, messages and conversation through public's interpretations of such people surrounding. And conversely, discourse can only effect societal discussions and cultural setup through same cognitive user interface of mental models, knowledge, ideologies and conducts.

Critical discourse experts do not need their own theory of the buildings of discourse, which they may largely tell other discourse experts. However, they typically exceed such structural ideas of discourse. In addition, they describe and describe how discourse may be engaged in the reproduction of ability maltreatment, or against such domination, in modern culture. In the strategy offered here, this also includes a cognitive element that is essential to consider the role of knowledge, behaviour and ideologies in such discursive domination.

2.4.2 Socio-cognitive discourse analysis

Socio cognitive approach to discourse asserts that relation between society and discourse are cognitively intervened. Structure of discourse and society are two different things and can be related through mental illustrations of speakers. So, the cognitive border of ideology, knowledge and attitude can reflect the social constitution and interaction of speaker. Van Dijk (1993) therefore momentarily focused on those discourse structures that inclined to exhibit basic attitudes and ideologies of governing social groups. Van Dijk (1993) gave special attention to cognitive interface in this model to discourse. Our experiences of different social situations and interactions are represented as mental modals in the form of ideologies and attitudes. Social knowledge as belief is shared by all affiliates of epistemic culture. Ideologies and attitudes are beliefs which are shared by special members of society. Hidden agendas describe these ideologies. Ideological foundation of discourse characterizes relation to others, identity, goals, activity, the controlling structure of power abuse, us versus them, domination, cooperation, and ideological discourse. This ideological discourse includes positive

self-portrayal and negatives others. Speaker needs a cognitive mediation and social cognition for discursive domination and to directly or indirectly control public discourse. As it is an ideological fight of hidden agendas and it includes all the fields like governmental reports, debates, political crusades and demonstrations. According to Dijk “It is extremely here that diverse and divergent groups, supremacy, struggle is at stake. To be able to struggle, political groups need to be ideologically conscious and organised” (2003, p.11).

In this power scuffle, political leaders attain their goals and win the overall communal agreement by utilizing their capacity to inspire and influence the public. “The winner is the party whose language, terms, words and symbolic expressions are overriding once authenticity and context has been demarcated” (Teittinen ,2000, p.1). So, it is necessary to use professed and persuasive language to find what is true and how it will be bended to subtle and premeditated language.

To understand the comprehension, perception and structure, a three-degree structure given by Dijk (1988, 1991,1993) to make text he gave two levels to analyse text. Basically, he gave this to analyse news. So, socio cognitive approach operates at two levels. At macro level, it studies socially shared ideologies for example power abuse, discrimination, racism etc. It is thematic or topical analysis of news reports or speeches. And at micro level it studies personal mental modals of social members for example language use, discourse, and verbal interaction it also involves the semantic relations like lexical facets, prepositions, and other rhetoric devices to give a comprehensible structure to a text. Researcher has chosen this model to show how social factor, ideology and attitudes in discourse make the social cognition of an individual, how power hegemony is created through use of word and how politicians made use of rhetoric to control the mind and to attain soft corner in hearts of their followers.

Van Dijk focused on some ideological structure in his socio cognitive approach which employs schematic structure to for the recognition of social group and deployment of hegemonic power control. Norms and values, polarization, emphasis, interests, hedging, parallelism, verbose style etc. Are used in political speeches to persuade public.

2.5 Persuasive Techniques in Language

Language is ideological in such a way that speaker can convey their ideology or interest using language as a tool. It is imperative to study this tool employed by politician to persuade people with affirmation of power. Language is an excellent tool employed by political leaders who deploy linguistic approaches with linguistic manipulation as a significant manoeuvre of political orotundity to influence addressees for an explicit political achievement. To argument in favour of their political beliefs and goals, politicians use a wide-ranging devious and stylistic strategies at pragmatic, semantic, syntactic, phonological, etymological and textual levels in their political discourse (David, M.K, 2014 pp.33-45).

Language is the most primitive and influential device, which has the capability to practice linguistic properties in agreement with firm necessities of different communication types, and is appreciated ability in achieving communal or individual goals (Silvester, L & Ignorar, 2014, p.64). Political language inclines the general population towards them whether they act or not on something. When public gatherings are addressed by political leaders they try to persuade them. So, simply by manipulating language, skilled communicators influence the views, preconceptions, fears and ambitions of masses, to degree of prompting public to admit their vocal statements as true evidence or to confirm policies which are conflicting to their interest (Thomas & Wareing, 1999).

Politics is often associated with power of administration and authority. This association is evaluated by Fairclough (1989), Thomas & Wareing (1999). They suggested that to attain the consent and willingness of wide ranging public, and to implement the policies political leaders should develop their ideologies which should be echoed to recognize themselves as public leader. According to this argument, politicians and speakers can use multiple linguistic strategies to shape their ideology which will help them to build their arguments in the favour of their ideology and people will be attracted towards their discourse. Politicians use certain mental schematic strategies by choosing or evading rhetoric techniques or lexical, syntactic items to upgrade the credibility of their assertions and to strengthen their ideology. In this way, they play with presuppositions and cognition of masses. Often this strategy permits most of the politicians' claim to be alleged in the same way as they supposed to be

implemented and regarded by public. As the ideologies are shaped and cherished through the expansion of the identical discursive phenomena (Thomans & Wareing, 1999).

2.6 Use of rhetoric in maintaining political influence

To achieve explicit purposes and to emphasize ideologies in public many linguists had contemplated on methods of analysis types of languages used by politicians and speakers (Edelman, 1977; Bolinger, 1980; Faircough, 1989; Arnold, 1993; Thomas & Waring, 1999). Political rhetoric had been subject of many of the research studies in which researchers had considered use of linguistic devices, functions and distinct kinds of these linguistic devices. However, the continual variations in the setting of dogmatic rhetoric, it requires new investigations in this field. Present research of rhetoric must refer to the traditional studies, but it is well predictable that the backgrounds and mass media which are source of proliferation of political rhetoric in the contemporary times and the sources like electronic and written media which arbitrate political rhetoric to distant places, distort the discrepancy between entertainment and politics. The sources of mediation are diverse in many aspects from the traditional period (Zoonen, V., 2005; Condor, at all, 2013).

Researches related to political discourse mostly emphasize on real world setting of political engagements. Linguistic approaches have been adopted to encompass work related to protest groups (Sowards & Renegar, 2006) societal activities (Endres & Senda-Cook, 2011) and e. activist group (Sommerfeldt, 2011). Most experimental studies related to political discourse endure to emphasize on official political statements including legislative debates (Vanderbeck & Johnson, 2011), prestigious text, dialogues and historic papers (Tileaga, 2012), political movements and promotions (Fridkin & Kenney, 2011). Just like rhetorical dexterity in Barak Obama's general speech awareness had led researcher to current renewal of theoretical interest in the rhetoric styles of specific politicians (Coe & Reitzes, 2010).

David Zarefsky proposed three-dimensional theory for application of real world principles of presidential rhetoric which is vital to examine practical aspects. In his article "Presidential Rhetoric and the Power of Definition" Zarefsky mentioned "audience-message, rhetoric-text, and scholarly analysis" three dimensional aspects for the investigation of real world applications. These three transactions can separately

serve as foundation of varied studies. Analyzing through first transaction that is 'audience-message' comprises of appraising the definite response and reaction of public to a linguistic act. Zarefsky after his extensive research pointed out by citing George Edward that "engaging in a prominent campaign for the public's support has emerged in modern times as the president's core strategy for governing' still presidents usually fail in their efforts to move the public to support them and their policies" (2004, p.607). He further noticed that G. Edward was concerned with the fact that while listening to presidential rhetoric people had impact of it. And it has also revealed through his study that there were few researches conducted on effects of presidential or leadership ideas.

Zarefsky pointed out that there were three better reasons due to which researchers like Edward usually found no alterations in ideology and attitudes of politicians when the social researchers collect data from presidential debates, take them as independent variables and examine the results of ideological changes or replacement of opinions. In first place, we came to know about seldom changes in attitudes by analysing message in communication research type. Then researchers analyze that the only change in attitude is one type of change in opinions or replacement of attitude. Change in silence of attitude or credence, underpinning of one's preliminary situation, deviations in discernment of what other opinions are about or connected, alterations in understanding of attitude or belief of others all are related to some other kind of change and not part of change in attitude. Third reason given by him was the focus on 'message- audience' connection which means to find effects of discourse on public, was the only one way of linguistic transaction and not most often helpful of informative. It tries to lessen the verbal discourse effects and after that it tends to treat it as 'black box' (2004, pp.607-8).

Basically, to make consistent independent degree of changes and effects political rhetoric are made too composite, subtle, and interconnected to current and past actions. 'Rhetoric-text' which is second transaction, by reviewing this researcher came to know that it is mainly a historic method. It includes about the way how rhetorical selections narrate academics about the leader, its association to the president's private and past programs, and analyzing the expansion of communication. Primarily it is surrounded by careful selection of convenience of internal memoranda and other accounts of arrangement and the participation of speechwriters in this contemporary politics (Zarefsky, 2004, p.609).

Third approach and transection discussed in Zarefsky scholarly analysis, was concerned on motives, strategies and other features which can be revealed in the discourse in which it included all the facets of linguistic act, irrespective of what the documented outcomes appear to illustrate about its treatment and who is the writer or speaker of text. Through this outcome it can be suggested that how these specific strategies can be used by other communicators to form different attitudes. Zarefsky asserted that there is vital association between the linguistic critic and text or discourse, who practices diverse reading tactics to disclose various levels of connotations and importance of meaning in discourse. Rhetoric critics by their rationale informs about the procedure of hypothetical renovation and reconstruction of discourse or text into discourse's possibilities. He also criticized this approach by saying researchers frequently deploy causative diction and thus propose experiential claims when they truly did not mean to make fundamental opinions rather had other proportions of rhetoric in observance. The theoretical slovenliness offered a response, particularly from the point of view of social researchers, that the rhetorician creates claim imaginative by indication and so, there will be no effect accredited to political rhetoric (2004, pp,607-9).

Careful analysis of the research reveals that researcher evaluated the text of political rhetoric to uncover figurative effects, internal meanings, and opportunities which they pursue to attain without creating unfortified declarations about the extensive political and communal effects of the action or objects of politicians. In analysing political speeches there was consensus and evidence of people reception and contemplation which would had concentration on holistic study to speech but would not had attempted to characterise direct connection in non-appearance of valid evidence.

2.7 The gendered attributes of female and male political speakers

Gender issues in politics and in culture are one of the crucial and important concern for research studies for periods, and it has been a dynamic and valuable. Professor of linguistics in Deborah Tannen who is considered proficient in gender discourse or communication had noted that “a woman in the public eye is going to provoke hatred and anger from men, that is visceral” (Clift & Brazaitis, 2000, p.45). It is general perception that in communication of political realm males and female differ perceptually and at least in their election campaign policies and strategies (Bystrom, 2004). Han asserts that female politicians often fail in struggle to influence voters to

have belief and confidence in their capabilities especially in field of politics and in campaigns. Later he argued each feature described by researchers defines over-arching linguistic condition that female politicians had to speak during election campaign to achieve premier role in politics. Like several researchers Bem argued the females had to walk on thin line, with their linguistic use, of progress without ensuring revolution (Han, 2003, p. 115). Clift and Brazaitis unfolded the potential of female politicians and commented that “Political analysts believe the first woman president will be a ‘Sister Mister,’ having the body of a woman with the character traits of a man” (2000, p.18).

When female politicians got victory, they stress on both features of male and female but most frequently traditional female speakers advocate their feminine issues (Bystrom, 2004, p.79). Bystrom also suggested that “women candidates may be most successful emphasizing mostly feminine or a balance of feminine and masculine image traits” (2004, p.109). Undeniably, these opinions were reverberated in numerous studies which had been specified that women must poise the optimistic guiding qualities and matters relate them with equally flairs of male and female leadership efficiently to achieve triumph in elections and particularly the presidency (Bower,2003; Bystrom,2004; Rosenthal,1998; Huddy &Terkildsen,1993).

There are various scholars who had claimed that feminine and masculine qualities and matters are maintained by accomplishing political rhetoric, with the aid of organization of discourse that inspires practical arguments and dialogue while permitting rhetors which symbolizes fundamentals that are evocative of female diction (Campbell, 1998; Han,2003; Bystrom,2003). Tonn and Dow had claimed that “Female politicians must operate in the ultimate public deliberative context, where feminine communicative strategies would seem least valued and adaptation to typically male communicative patterns would seem the most useful” (1993, p.288).

Campbell (1989) was first to use term ‘feminist style’ in her work in which she analyzed speeches of female activist of ‘suffragist and teetotalism’ movements. In her later research, she more effectively discussed the cannons and perceptions of this style through rhetoric analysis. Campbell declared that unfolding the effects and advent of feministic linguistic style she came to know that female speakers were projected to reiterate their femaleness conversationally when they have to establish the usually rhetorical capabilities to convince for their opinions explicitness of situation, offering a

compelling advice, and responding to opponent views were ‘gender-coded’ as masculine (1989, p.4). Bystrom also confirmed in her views about feminist rhetoric while analyzing female members of political campaigns she said that “both female and male candidates were equally as likely to use all of the elements of the feminine style” (2003, p.179).

As previously expressed feminine ways of persuasion are conventional and their style offers other means of combining the styles by researchers and thus, may signify an appealing and attractive way for female looking for place in politics to avoid the twofold bind and to efficiently connect to electorates.

Unfortunately, due to these firm and rigid social treatments women are restricted to enter the masses, and thus their participation, depiction in politics is restricted and they inherently refute females having a direct connection with that of government which is considered as ‘man’s domain’ (Buchanan, 1996, p. 18).

2.8 Linguistic posterity

The research which approaches age, gender, family, or religion as a system of symbols infused with affections and meanings congenitally emphasis on intimate family diction which is related to anthropological research, creating kinship association and groups in societies (Kroeber, 1909; Malinowski,1930; Radcliff-B, 1941). Present research also shows parallel interest in investigating affinity association, mainly on linguistic posterity of intergenerational speeches, with discourse socialization procedure, cultural and linguistic cooperation, and interactional designs. The inspection of these procedures takes language, family, and social scenario as ‘symbolic system’ and resources where their intrinsic meanings could be constructed, utilized, negotiated, and modified with help of application of language of social affiliates who are also family adherents. The study therefore interrelates broader national and social setting to take in the study of discursive development of ideological and political system and the exercise of identity development for their own selves, with the national and religious self.

2.9 Practical Use of Theoretical Backdrop

Marter Luther king’s famous speech “I have a dream” was analysed by Hassna Alayez (2009). He conducted this research in the light of Wodak, Austin speech act theory and O’Halloran. The findings of the researcher claim that critical discourse evaluation is

tool for the analysis of discourse and text. The messages communicated over media may be inexplicable for the addresses. In such cases, critical discourse analysis suggests a variety of frameworks towards the elucidation of such transcripts. Consequently, critical discourse analysis is accomplished to investigate the obscured and fundamental meaning hidden in a text which deceptively appears to be deliberately oblique and inoperable. The critical discourse analyst of text located reverend Marter Luther king's style in uncorroborated claims exceptional and operative. He could have made his speech honestly inculcated for those who attended to him before him and for those who had acknowledged him through media. Among the other persuasive techniques use by Marter Luther king, the researcher has found distinct implication for the 'repetition strategy' as "I have a dream" the topical phrase has been repeated for many times by the speaker. This speech has been found of essential enters for the critical discourse evaluation. The researcher found that from the discursive point of view speaker employed persuasive strategies and it is also rich with ideological terminologies. The issues like racial exclusion, socio-political inequity, conflicts of interests existing in American society of that times has been addressed by speaker. The investigator is persuaded that rational reasoning along with emotional appeal had increased the persuasive impression of speech and it had also played a vital role to believe in king's theory to socio-political phenomenon. It has been suggested through analysis that speaker's historical credibility and progressive discourse also raised speech.

Alvi & Baseer (2011a) evaluated Obama's speech "keynote address at the 2004 democratic country wide convention". The hidden meanings in speaker's persuasive construction has been analyzed using transitivity framework of Halliday. Alvi and Baseer (2011b) explored Barak Obamas three other speeches to confirm the use of linguistic spin in political discourse. He affirmed that political discourse has been attempted using transitivity system. The analysis unveils that rational procedure to get the warmth to win the affection of masses combined with material procedure is used by Obama.

Benazir Bhutto's speech 'Democratization in Pakistan' has been critically analyzed by Naz, Alvi, and Baseer (2012). This speech was delivered on 25th, September 2007 in election campaign to get her tenure again as perfect minister. The analysts have conducted transitivity assessment of the selected conversation through linguistic spin with the help of Halliday's viewpoints. The analysts have categorically applied the

notions of different clauses procedures and circumstances on discourse of selected speeches. Researchers had tried to recognize what types of transitivity options are being employed by Benazir Bhutto during her political discourse. Their research figured Benazir Bhutto was relatively more mindful about the intellectual and bodily responses and actions of her audiences. It had been also discovered that she was more worried about material clauses during her speeches. However, she did not use existential and verbal clauses her political dialect yet it was revealed through analysis that occurrence of relational, rational and behavioural clauses is sizable simultaneously. For the substantiation of her opinions temporal and spatial constructions played vital role. Moreover, the researchers found that circumstances of possibility and manner of reciprocally lent objectivity to her discourse.

Sana Nawaz (et. Al. 2013) had analyzed Quaid-I-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's well-known speech delivered before the Pakistan came in to being on 11th august 1947. Researchers viewed that distinction between what was intended by the founder of country and indorsed and what the behaviour and action of Pakistani nations had overcome. He desired a nation permitted from all the socio-governmental delinquent, with full religio-political synchronization and independence. Primarily, the conceptual and nation-wide areas of his discourse were attempted to evaluate. The ideological exposition as stipulated in selected conversation was investigated because of overall countrywide situation of Pakistan.

The most celebrated speech 'I have a dream' by Marter Luther king has been examined using Fairclough's 3D model. In his 3D model, he proposed three proportions or degrees to analyses a discourse or explicit text. These three degrees of analysis are wording, discursive practice, and sociocultural practice in the specific culture. The discursive activity in the world is affected by socio political and economic aspects so the analysis through this triangulated method render words to. Fairclough has envisaged this model as elevating awareness of manipulative social associations galloped through the discourse engaged. The experts have scrutinized the affect exercised through the lexical selections, syntactic plans, and speech-coherence of discourse which essentially holds ideology conferred within. Researcher inferred that critical lens had been established exclusively to review the communal, political, and efficient demonstration in the specific speech. The analysts divided their research into two areas: one analyzing the intra-sentential firm and symmetry, and the other concentrating on the inter-

sentential assemblage along with patterning; the first section has outlined specifically the theme, and rhyme and additional information. They also have tracked certain persuasive strategies utilized by Luther Ruler in his talk mainly the utilization of repetition and metaphor. Besides text message, framework, style, and representation value of the talk are also given unconditional treatment (Sipra, M.A. & Rashid, A. ,2013).

Being an impressive multidisciplinary methodology, CDA became a great deal of critical discourse research studies of politics and other discourse had been directed by using number of different frameworks. This research record shows that in politics texts were the utmost concerned, essential, and most liked literature for the experts in critical discourse research. Though, the political discourse of female rulers who are head of states are hardly topic of critical discussion. This study can be an analytical try of the same.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Method

This section presents methodological concerns of the research and choices of theoretical aspect of discourse analysis and method which is suitable for socio-political discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis has been chosen to critically examine the carefully selected speeches of three political leaders Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Benazir Bhutto, and Bilawal Bhutto Zardari of the same family. This research explores the working of power supremacy over language and depiction of ideology in political discourse. The objective of this research is to scrutinize the linguistic strategies and rhetoric devices in the political speeches of three members of different generations of same political family delivered on various occasions to their nation or followers. The style in which these leaders have conveyed innumerable socio-political messages by employing their language and used these message constructions to persuade their audience is quite analysable. For the investigation of political ideological rhetoric qualitative method of analysis has been adopted as it gives in-depth analysis of any phenomenon under consideration about which little is known or researcher wants to gain new insights about which much is already known (Straus & Corbin, 1990).

3.2 Methodology

Present research project has been directed at a combo of different frameworks suggested by different discourse analyst. Since this research is not confined to the single platform of critical discourse research and has engaged general approach of CDA studies, it ought to be considered in the frame of selected methodology. According to Van Dijk CDA itself is a multidisciplinary approach, added sociological and cognitive

paradigms in it and referred CDA as multidisciplinary method to discourse analysis (1993,1997b,1998, 2001,2007). Wodak and Meyer argued that the reputedly exceptional traits within CDA without a doubt share the numerous dimensions of discourse, and called for multidisciplinary and multi-methodological methods: “CDA is therefore now not interested in investigating a linguistic unit but in studying social phenomena which might be necessarily complex and therefore require a multidisciplinary and multi-methodical technique” (2009, p. 2). The present study also follows multidisciplinary methodology by combining the methods of CDA and the insights of cognitive-pragmatic.

The critical research of selected speeches has been done keeping the objectives and goals in mind, hence it is more target oriented research than tool oriented. The use of eclectic strategy became evident when researcher discovered that no single methodology can answer the set objective and goals sought by researcher. Rather making use of different methodical frameworks on various parts of the research it was considered more benefitting that the complete project should get the uniform treatment so far as the approach is concerned. Therefor eclectic way has properly implemented for the critical evaluation of political discourse. Van Dijk’s critical involvement in CDA proves to be gardening light throughout. And Faircloughian discourse fundamentals are also beneficial in parts. Paradigms, guidelines and techniques of qualitative research method will be thoroughly used to achieve this research. Researcher has formatted and organised the complete work in the light of guidelines and prescriptions of American Psychological Association (APA). The researcher will try to the better to prefigure the significant constituent and passages of the research study.

Literature behind this research work has very categorically been researched with maximum possible attention. It has been examined at two levels one from the point of view of theoretical backdrop, and from the point of view of the applications of the backdrop theories. In the first part, it has been reviewed regarding the major ideas which have been developed and permitted in the backdrop of critical discourse analysis and subsequently, researcher has reviewed that how different bigwig of their specialized field and critical discourse connoisseurs have applied the concepts. It has been examined so that present research can rationally be defensible as duly filling up a

hunch by compartment of theoretical development laterally using its systematic submissions at its back.

3.3 Framework

A critical form of discourse analysis is implemented for this research. It also investigates whether lexical depiction, syntactic coherent and explicit discussion in an exhaustive socio-cultural context having set ideology affects the perception of audiences or not. The notion of discourse and ideology requires the study of all disciplines of humanities and social sciences. Van Dijk (1993, 2000) however, made it easy to analyse by reducing these disciplines to three possible clusters of ‘society’, ‘discourse’ and ‘cognition’. So, the communication, verbal interaction, text and the use of language can be comprehensively considered under the label of discourse. Researcher needs to gratify number of prerequisites when conducting critical discourse approach to discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis as a methodological framework is concerned with discourse as instrument of power, control and changing realities of society (Van Leeuwen, 1993).

Critical discourse analysis and socio-cognitive approach by Van Dijk (1993, 1988, 2000) provides with the ideological intuitions of linguistic strategies used by politicians and share same aims and objective to uncover the hegemonic political agendas. Van Dijk is one of those discourse analysts who have been most often quoted for the assessment critical discourse studies especially in media discourse. Even researcher applied his theory on discourse which was not appropriate for critical discourse (for example Ezewudo, 1988 & Karim, 2000). Van Dijk (1988) has emphasized not only on analysing structural and textual level but he also focused on examining discourse on production, reception and on comprehension level of analysis and this made his work distinguished from other discourse analyst (Beyod- Berrat, 1994). Van Dijk explained analysis of structural level means “analysis at various level of description” which includes description of properties of higher level such as coherence, stories in news or speech, topics and themes and explanation of morphology, syntax, grammar and semantics of discourse. This research design involves analysis of structural level of higher properties i.e. Local coherence, stories, topics, themes, style, rhetorical pattern and schematic analysis etc (Dijk, 1988, p.2).

Furthermore, socio cognitive approach needs qualitative method to analyse discourse. Critical discourse analysis has been used as theoretical construction to investigate the selected political speeches. It has been selected because CDA helps to analyse discourse more critically and uncovers the social dogma such as hegemony, dominance, exploitation by elites, victimization of oppressed etc. Furthermore, it is an interdisciplinary field which brings linguistic and cultural sciences at same platform. Ideology, discursive practices, gender shackles, dominance, discernment, hegemonic frame of mind of high towards low and ethnicity etc. are some of the issues which are associated with topics of discussions. Language is the only parameter of examination which discloses how discourse establishes discursive procedure in a public setup. The title of this dissertation evidently signifies the problems which has been dealt by CDA on principal basis. Topic of present dissertation comprises of variables like politics, social, and ideological rhetoric which are mainly core issues in CDA mentioned by Dijk, Fairclough and other linguistics experts. This theoretical construction offers a complete foundation and standing up for the evolution of above mentioned factors in the speeches of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Benazir Bhutto and Bilawal Bhutto.

3.4 Selection of text

Text for the analysis has been collected from political speeches of three political leaders belonging to Pakistan People's Party. From the third world Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (1928-1979) was the political leader, received a special place in the pantheon of leaders and the one who received perpetual in the firth against imperialism and colonization. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto who was founder of Pakistan people's party and fourth president of Pakistan from 1971 to 1974. Pakistan people's party's foundation was a holdup for the illiberal dogmas in Pakistan subjugated by the right. The party's slogan "roti, kapra and makan" shifted the focus of politics from dogmatic to financial issues. Among many delivered speeches by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto researcher has carefully selected two speeches. These speeches are formal addresses of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto delivered on various occasions. One was delivered on television to his nation in which he gave the party policy on 4th of November 1970. This speech consists of eleven paragraphs of varied length. Second speech is "Address to the workers of the Pakistan People' Party at Lahore on October 6, 1972" and it consists of 57 paragraphs. These speeches were intended to deliver ideology to nation and workers of party. Text of speeches provides researcher with a lot of persuasive and ideological statements. So, these speeches were

appropriate to discuss under this methodological framework. Benazir Bhutto (1953-2007) daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was a political leader and former prime minister from 1988 to 1990 and 1993 to 1996 of Pakistan. One of the selected speeches from Benazir's addresses is the one when she spoke to her nation at the eve of her success in the election on 2nd December 1988 in Islamabad. It was for the very first time in the history of Pakistani politics and even in the whole Muslim world that a female politician became prime minister of a Muslim state. So, it was a speech from determined and ambitious premier female leader though in experienced. And other one is her last speech which she delivered on 27th December 2007 after that she was murdered in Liaquat Bagh, Rawalpindi. This speech consisted of 24 paragraphs of varied length.

Bilawal Bhutto (1988) who inherited leadership from his ancestors and he is present chairperson of his political party. He stated his wish for the country to develop independent as 'the founding father envisioned it to be' and defended his legacy. He has not delivered many speeches as his mother or grandfather but he tries to follow their style. The speeches which have been chosen for analysis, one was delivered on 18, October 2014 at Bagh-e-Jinnah Karachi. This speech empirically sounded with additional spirit and politics. This speech transcript consisted of twenty-one paragraphs of varied length. This speech is considered as 'make or break' because it was considered formally launching speech of Bilawal Bhutto in politics. The second speech was delivered at Naudero house on 23th of October 2014 at Diwali celebrations. This speech consisted of ten parts.

Collection of these speeches depends on condition, careful reading of researcher and framework so that discourse of these transcripts delivers researcher with persuasive linguistics techniques to review critically. The researcher has streamlined selecting these specific speeches for numerous aspects that have concentrated them perceptible via research. Many of these factors necessitate that the presenter, at times of the discourses, was the first ever before in-office female mind associated with an ideological government (Pakistan) as well as the first ever in the Muslim world, she was 'Princess of the East', but possessed and acquired a great deal of European education, her stimulating power was multiplied by the fact that she had not been only the top leader of their state but, at the same time, head of PPP.

These afore-mentioned aspects have placed these speeches on a higher plinth of nature, complexness, importance, and distinguishableness, this very multifariousness of the speeches encouraged the researcher to choose them for CDA. The speeches will be evaluated in the light of societal and historical features. The study will deal with the words of the speakers as a product of the society. Researcher have selected those speeches that are addressed to open public gathering and are supposed to be delivered for nation on television or public gathering rather than the presidential or formal addresses from a federal government representative because it must be assessed how explicit political party's ideology is propagated to persuade public. It might be delimitation of my research.

3.5 Data collection source

Since all the official speeches, interviews and articles available today, by significant political dogmatic leaders on various occasions and events are organized to broadcast. There may be little exertion to find them on internet and in the archives of media. We can find them easily but there is little concern about the authenticity of such selected discourses. To avoid such difficulty of unauthentic material researcher has selected transcripts from the official websites of Pakistan people's party. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's speech on 'party manifesto' (1970) transcript has been selected from official website:

[Http://bhuttolegacyfoundation.com](http://bhuttolegacyfoundation.com)

Second speech transcript "Address to the workers of the Pakistan People' Party at Lahore on October 6, 1972" has been collected by researcher from another official website of PPP:

[Https://www.bhutto.org](https://www.bhutto.org)

These transcripts were downloaded in pdf format. Benazir Bhutto's speech transcript has been collected from the following official sites.

[Http://bhuttolegacyfoundation.com/bhutto/supremacy-of-people-and-nationalintegration/](http://bhuttolegacyfoundation.com/bhutto/supremacy-of-people-and-nationalintegration/)

[Http://bhuttolegacyfoundation.com](http://bhuttolegacyfoundation.com)

Bilawal Bhutto speech transcript (Naudero house on 23th of October 2014 at Diwali celebrations) has been collected from the following website.

<https://mediacellppp.wordpress.com>

The written transcript of speech delivered on 18 October 2014 has been collected from:

<https://www.dawn.com>

3.6 Procedure for data collection

Selecting the required samples, words and phrases of its discourse have critically been contemplated, interpreted, weighed, explored, and examined, by implementing CDA methodology to categorise the socio cognitive boundary, ideological structures, supremacy relations and by applying socio-cognitive approach to CDA. Social issues of socio-cognitive method permitted the scholar to comprehend the ideological structures and discursive practices employed in the discourse. And discourse analysis aided researchers to recognize the most recurrent words and phrases employed with their projected meaning. These intended connotations are not only the matter of language but it addresses the key issues of ideology, power relations and discursive practices in the paradigm of CDA. Effect and ideas of the ideological aura rising from the mutual relationships among the sentential constructions, between the 'paragraphed' constructions, and between sentential- 'paragraphed' constructions are also tried out to exposure. Discourse will be ideologically based when power abuse and power are defined commonly in relation to organizations and social groups. So, there is need to focus on such discourse structures which shows underlying ideologies and attitudes of governing social groups.

Analysis of linguistic strategies and paradigms can be made more effective when researchers relate political conduct of a speaker along with details of linguistic behaviour. For this according to Van Dijk researchers can use two methods from the perspective of linguistic analysis that is macro level and micro level analysis. In micro level analysis specified structures and strategic functions can be analysed like syntactic structure, word choice, sentence structure etc. Verbal interaction, social order, use of diction, and discourse can be discussed in micro level analysis. Macro level analysis deals with functions of discourse and communicative conditions of text and can be analysed in broader linguistic perspective to know which of the rhetoric device and linguistic strategy has fulfilled the function. Supremacy, dominance, discrimination among social groups and issues like inequality are part of macro level studies. So, on

the macro level structural arrangement, communicative situations and linguistic ideological structures like meaning, polarization, hedging, coherence, presuppositions and implication identification, parallelism, verbose style will be analysed from excerpts of speeches. On micro level, syntactical arrangement of the selected text will be analysed. It shows that critical discourse analysis has the power to fill the gaps hypothetically, present between macro and micro levels of approaches which is disparity and a 'sociological construct' (Dijk, 2003, p.354).

Us-Other binaries are also going to be located attended to categorically wherever happened. However, pragmatic features of the selected political content will be least handled. The feminist constructions will also be described wherever took place. Stylistic features of the discourse will also be considered. Not merely the demonstration and representation of power and ideology but also the partnership among various power-possessing situations has been assessed under critical discourse evaluation. Usage of persuasive strategies has been found important and of essential curiosity about the selected materials, the variety and the style the political leader has, offered in using linguistic strategies will also be scrutinized because of their discursive and linguistic value. Implications of varied covert linguistic strategies will also be studied from near proximity, the concerns whether these strategies are persuasive in character or used or in both are also undertaken. Alongside with the persuasive strategies, the manipulative methods will also be inspected in detail. Besides this, sizeable accommodations will also provide to solely thematic evaluation of the selected discourse. Duality and multiplicity of this means in addition will not be neglected throughout the analytical process. Having examined the written text from a broader and multi-theoretical perspective like the discursive functions, techniques, and circumstance approved by Halliday also, and the discursive perspectives associated with ideology, electric power, and persuasion seen by Van Dijk and Fairclough, the researcher will have revisited the study problem, research questions, and research goals set first. This critical revisit of certain research-paraphernalia will lead the researcher to certain studies and checking the study objectives and anticipations. A lot of the research aims will be efficiently achieved however, an integral part of them will also continue to be undecided and unascertained. At the same time, certain other measurements and implications of discourse will also have come to the top as well as the targets pursued by the researcher.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Analysis of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's speeches

4.1.1 Bhutto and his discourse

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1928-1979) founder of Pakistan People's Party has been known for his charismatic personality, use of diction and grave understanding towards the concept of hegemonic power (Malik, 1969, p.205). It is tough to classify discourse of Bhutto as he had served his country in several roles as an academician, feudal, diplomat and most importantly as political leader. According to Anwar Hussain Syed Bhutto was a great leader who ruled through the amalgamation of magnetism, patriotic rhetoric, and orientation of world order like popular political leaders of world such as Ghaddafi, Sukarno, and Nasser (1992, p.13). Bhutto utilized highly formalized discourse to make his place in political world after great Quaid Muhammad Ali Jinnah as living, patriotic and compelling political leader. The Pakistan's general election of 1970 held on 7th December of that year, was the first general election held in Pakistan (East and West Pakistan) and ultimately only general election held prior to the independence of Bangladesh. The election saw a fierce contest between two socialist parties: Pakistan People's Party and Awami League. The Awami League was the sole major party in East Pakistan. Meanwhile, in the four provinces of West Pakistan, PPP faced a severe competition against the conservative factions of Muslim League, the largest of which was Muslim League.

By the end of 1971, Bhutto was successful in developing his regime and known as political eccentric well known global leader for his ostentation and declamatory aptitude. Bhutto cited global rules and guidelines, philosophies of authorities and linked with those of common people internationally. He employed repeated themes of alliance and tranquillity. Bhutto was obscure diplomat, self-controlled and acknowledged

political leader and reformist. Bhutto's opponent called him a manipulator. According to Khalid bin Sayeed he had amused his views with acting and imitation and was more likely an actor (1975, p.51). Golam Waheed Ch. said that Bhutto had "the art through which he could only effect illiterate people" (1973, p.236). Nevertheless, the astonishing conditions in which Bhutto delivered his discourse necessitate to be evaluated. Scholars had attempted to explore Bhutto's complex mindset to examine his argumentative position though researcher will look at rhetorical persuasive devices in present research.

4.1.2 Emotive Attachment

Political speakers use emotional tone, gestures, body language and phrases to move targeted audience in their own desired way. Pioneer of social psychology, Floyd Henry Allport defined emotional tone as "as an approach to impress and respond in an extremely explicit manner towards other individuals" (1996, p.96). Making political language more persuasive using emotional tone in speech validates a deep understanding of audience, communication and determination because it is personalized to each member in the audience. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto started his speech by calling his audience as 'ladies and gentlemen and my young fellows' and greeted them. He started his party manifesto speech (1970) by calling his audience to make them feel that he is considering them close to him and as his friends. In the very start of his speech he realized his audience about the difficulties which at that time country was suffering from. And then remembered the sacrifices of Indian Muslims for their separate homeland.

His argument reverberated the uncertain association between Pakistan and India from Pakistani perspective in last lines of first paragraph. People would feel the importance of freedom which they have and feel emotionally towards their country. The addressees would have felt that their leader is speaking to them exclusively and speaker got devotion and attention of his audience by calling them directly. Peace was necessary for both countries before they could have made progression but Zulfikar Ali Bhutto like other Pakistani people stroked "our people braved the hazards of partition to carve out Pakistan" (Haqani, H., 2005, p.97). In last paragraph of this speech Bhutto ended his speech in very emotional and sentimental words. He said, "My countrymen, my friends, my brothers and sisters, I make this pledge to you solemnly as a Muslim and as a

Pakistani, Pakistan Zindabad” (Bhutto, 1970). It was inspiring to see in what ways and why Bhutto utilized emotional tone.

In his second address which was delivered at Lahore to the party workers in 1972, Bhutto said in second paragraph that it was his desire to see his party workers. It was through workers courageous struggle, tireless self- sacrificing, and genuineness which made party glorified and proliferated agenda of PPP in common people. He called his party workers soldiers of ‘people’s cause’ that’s why he was delighted to see them. In third paragraph of this speech Bhutto held his argument that he told governor of Punjab he wanted to meet his workers when he reached Lahore. And he said that “I will never forget the efforts and sacrifices of party workers and the messes” (1970, p.2). In fifth brief paragraph Bhutto thanked his workers by saying that purpose of that gathering was solely to meet his workers and thanked them. In twentieth divide of his speech he continued adoring his people to persuade them and make them feel that he is talking to them exclusively. He continued saying that his people made him able to govern. Throughout his life his sole purpose was to serve his country and he came into power without any help of government institution but with his peoples’ power love and devotion. In this way, he critiqued his opponent doctoral regime in hidden words and created a positive image of his self.

Bhutto used rhetoric skilfully and he expertly played up to addressees prospects. At numerous levels he interconnected with his audience using emotive nuances, he skilfully tackled his discourse to persuade people. According to Syed Zulfiqar Gilani his discourse refined his addressees need for individuality and a leader or saviour (1994, p.232). Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto’s words proved as legacy for his followers and followers of his party would reflect them in the behaviour, attitude and ideology of their leader.

4.1.3 Rhetorical strategy of repetition

Political actions, operations and speeches include many tactics and approaches to proliferate the ideologies of the speaker. One of the techniques is rhetoric technique in political speeches that is the dexterity of speaking specifically subjugated in political speeches. One of the techniques is repletion of words, phrases at various levels. Bhutto delivered his messages by using this technique. He repeated same phrase at the start of his sentences to pay stress on his discourse. This specific use of words is called

parallelism according to Van Dijk (1993). As a persuasive device parallelism is further divided into two persuasive techniques epistrophe and anaphora. As a repetition strategy, these two stylistic techniques are very useful on part of interlocutors. Repetition of same phrases at end of each sequential sentence is marked as epistrophe. And if the orator spoke same phrase or word at start of clause or sentence it is anaphora. Bhutto's discourse involved anaphora as repetition strategy in party's manifesto speech (1970). In deliberative discourse, it is necessary to evoke sense of earnestness and to pay stress. From his selected two political speeches following are some examples of anaphora.

We will make every Endeavour to control rising prices. We will provide fair wages. We will bring beurocracy under the command of the people. Will remove the ghettos and clean the spectre of slums. We will restore the freedom of the press. We will ensure that the Judiciary remains independent. (Bhutto, 1970)

He continued echoing phrase 'we will' in this whole paragraph. Bhutto used 'we' to show that he would do these social reforms along with his people and he is not only sole power bearing figure but his people were also with him in revolutionising their country. Bhutto used social anaphora as persuasive strategy which gave a pleasant tone to his discourse above examples from paragraph six conveys a hortative type of clauses which accompanied a positive and sanctimonious effect. Use of this kind of repetition devices pay more emphasis on discourse and its rhythm because they are repeated and remain longer in the mind. Rhythm annoyances audiences' prospects and is utilized to exaggerate spoken or written discourse. The repetition of words, phrase brought required intentions into consideration of public and arrangement of phrases with increasing intensity reveals the importance of messages. Though utilization of two or more persuasive devices in a sentence may do not anticipate effect (Abbas, 2011). This part of speech was organised in coherent, precise and rational way so that it could be used to persuade public and support leaders' ideas and policies.

4.1.4 Religious and local content

Political leaders also use religious content to persuade their audience and to reinforce their messages more powerfully. Bhutto made use of this persuasive strategy to add a sagacity of climax in his discourse. Bhutto referred to religious content in his party manifesto speech (1970) broadcasted on television. Following are the examples from paragraph three, four and five.

There was a time in the history of Islam when the great Omar declared that if along the banks of the Euphrates should a dog die of starvation the Caliph of Islam would be answerable before almighty Allah. (Bhutto,1970)

Our ideology is inspiring and Islam our religion is the final message of Allah to man. In other words, we certainly possess the ability to overcome the lingering crisis. Let me make it quite clear that in truth there is no dispute over religion. (Bhutto,1970)

Bhutto's use of religious content is not exceptional it is tradition in politics to evoke private messages with the aid of religious and spiritual references. However, researchers had paid little attention to understand the consequences of appeals made by religious references although religious discourse is presumed to be persuasive. Bhutto's employed religious references throw light on how discourse which had special implied meaning for Muslim population effect the attitude of political leaders. The religious sermons are not deniable and are coded to make discourse expectable because it evolves special meaning after relating personalized messages with spiritual content for the people. In above examples, religious sermons are quoted so that people believe in their leaders discourse and leader can easily control thoughts of public by relating discourse which was not deniable. If their more precise connotation was offered to public that meaning cannot be denied either people have had made firm belief on it.

In fifty-third paragraph of his party workers speech he used a maxim "pride hath a fall" (Bhutto,1972). In democratic politics, there must be no place for attitude and such conceited behaviour. In public politics if a leader shows humbleness he will be appreciated and honoured by people. He motivated his audience using a universal truth

and make them believe that he is more down to earth person and believes on peoples' power and he will strive for them as he thinks for them from the core of his heart.

4.1.5 Polarization (positive self and negative others)

According to Van Dijk (1993) to imitate sovereignty and supremacy, mind control is the elementary and most used practise by political leaders. It does not only includes giving information about world through the discourse or communication but political leaders can control their addressees thoughts by delivering them such an information about which they don't have adequate knowledge. Because this type of discourse is persuasive and convincing in nature the political leader should have "strong awareness of his topic and public" (Corbett & Connors, 1999, p.271). We cannot limit the meaning of communication to meanings of words and sentences. Topics and themes are key features of discourse which add to the 'global' meaning of discourse and inform us what is discourse about 'globally speaking' and gives gist of valuable information underlying the discourse. The notion of topicalization barely requires argumentation that communicators will be more precise and meticulous about their positive deeds and about negative things of opponents, and vice versa (Dijk, 2000, p.46).

In second paragraph of party manifesto speech delivered in 1970 Zulfikar Ali Bhutto stressed his words with technique of polarization to aggravate sense of urgency in his audience. The attention of public had to be gained by portraying the consequences if progression of action was not tracked. That's why historical events, analogies, and comparison are key character to be discussed in polarized discourse type. Bhutto related historical events and with the use of negative connotations he polarized out-groups. He said that Pakistan was suffering from instability, unrests, tensions and financial disaster. Foreign relations were on stake and population had been increased. In that horrible condition Pakistan had faced two dictator governments. He opposed dictatorship and blamed dictators for all that frustration in the country. He also criticised 'capitalist tycoons' for being responsible for plundering national wealth. Researcher can notice visible design of rhetorical questions which were followed by past events in last lines of this part. These questions were asked to persuade public input made them realize that their leader shared their ideals. Bhutto asked these to show a rebellious stance, it was his 'signature style' especially in campaign speeches. To

persuade the addressees rhetorical questions are good techniques to keep listeners rhetorically involved.

In ninth divide of party manifesto speech (1970) Bhutto polarized in group by drawing a positive image. He said in last lines of this speech transcript that all other than his party and followers had insidiously subjugated the ideology of Pakistan and who were against his country, would find rational enunciation from Pakistan Peoples' Party in its struggle for the freedom of Jammu Kashmir. Bhutto proliferated his ideology positively criticising others. He created a patriotic image of his party while creating enemy image of others. He did not mention them directly whom he thought against Pakistan and left on audience to decipher. His party became more influential, nationalistic, and embodiment of self- righteousness in comparison with unknown opposition of Pakistan. People will automatically turn their sympathies with the party which is in struggle for Kashmir liberation and not for others who are antagonist of ideology of their country.

Second speech under consideration of this research, which was delivered in 1972 to party workers in Lahore Z.A Bhutto alluded to positive portrayal of his own government and pictured negative image of past government through his words in eighth and ninth paragraph respectively. He said that people should rationally think who is true democratic in their country one who were just talking about democracy in last few years or one who was practically working for a democratic country. He wanted to incline his audience towards him for his struggle for democracy and critique the past governments. In next paragraph, he made a negative statement and openly referred to previous government by taking the name of president of Pakistan and accused him for fake democracy which he just propagated in his words. These sarcastic statements are ironical, impolite, and extreme examples of polarized discourse.

4.1.6 Justifying personal attitudes and ideologies

According to Roger Bissell, “ a political spectrum is a cognitive device which permits researcher to organise a class of phenomena theoretically and visually, according to some typical of measurement, so the nature of association between phenomena could be more effortlessly grabbed” moreover inquiringly he added to his argument that “ political spectrum, in specific, organises political ideologies and advocates personal policies in some kind of geometric, circular , linear or otherwise” (2012, p.16). In this part of research political leader associated his ideas in a linear spectrum to advocate his

personal ideologies and attitudes and purpose behind their mitigation is to persuade audience by impressive propagation of their ideologies. Z.A Bhutto in his party manifesto speech mitigated his ideologies towards his audience. In his speech, it was his aim to explain his manifesto to workers and public. It was delivered before election. So, in paragraph eighth which is continuation of seventh part of this speech Bhutto said that he did not created concept of 'Islamic socialism' but his party would replace capitalism with 'Islamic socialism'. He related this ideology with father of nation Quaid-e-Azam and directly quoted his saying:

I am not innovator of the concept of Islamic Socialism, I am merely following the doctrine of the Quaid-e-Azam and if my conscience by teaching Islamic Socialism with all the strength and power that I am capable of mustering. On the 26 March 1948, the Quaid-e-Azam said: You are only voicing my sentiments and the sentiments of Millions of the Mussulmans when you say that Pakistan should be based on sure foundations of social justice and Islamic Socialism, which emphasizes the equality and brotherhood of man. (Bhutto,1970)

In next lines of this part he related saying of first prime minister Liaqat Ali Khan in which he said that among number of isms Muslims of this country would have Islamic socialism only which says that "nation would be provided with equal rights and justice, medical facilities, food, clothing, and shelter countries could not make progress if people lack these facilities" (1949). Bhutto cited text with in text to give strength to his ideology. He proved his policy of flourishing 'Islamic socialism' in country was not merely his own thoughts but founder of Pakistan and Quaid's principle lieutenant Liaqat Ali Khan had also showed their inclination for the flourishing of this ideology. Moreover, Bhutto cited Liaqat Ali Khan to show that his slogan of bread, clothing and shelter (roti, kapra and makan) had been the major issues under consideration of first prime minister so, he will continue the mission of founders of Pakistan and he had the true spirit to rule the nation and country. However, it also reveals that the basic facilities which should be provided to people of Pakistan had not been given to them even after twenty-three years of independence. Provision of basic facilities of life is still

an issue which needs to be resolved. Furthermore, reference to the text within text also refers to intertextuality according to Fairclough (1992) these are excerpts in text which are referred by speaker from another text and are made part of original text. The excerpts included in text by speaker then becomes part of text either it accepts the idea of the original text or disapproves the related idea or message, the borrowed text is considered as part of original text. Fairclough divided intertextuality into two types. 'manifest intertextuality' is first type in which direct quotes are narrated in text with inverted commas, to authenticate the validation of text, speech or discourse, and second type is 'constitutive text' in which other discourse structure is included to make discourse, text or speech innovative. Fairclough asserts that it can be analyzed while practicing linguistic analysis.

In last paragraph of party manifesto speech (1970) Bhutto alleviated his personal concern about condition of his country. He said that he had given best of his life in improving foreign relation and policies as he was foreign minister from 1963 to 1966. As a foreign minister, his socialist views embark him to develop strong relations with neighbouring country China. And during his tenure he was recognized as vocalizing hostile geostrategic policies against neighbouring country India. So, he memorized people for what did for his country and talked about other challenges of that time. He said that they must rebuild sense of determination to make country progressive and in last line he used first person pronoun 'I' to inform his audience that he had to fulfil his responsibility to make country progressive. He was preparing his public for general elections which had to be held in next year in 1971 so that people would vote for him and his party by thinking him as reformer and their sympathizer.

In speech which was delivered in Lahore (1972) Bhutto in sixth divide of his speech made his arguments in the favour of democracy. With the use of personal plural pronoun 'we' he justified his personal attitude towards democracy as it was his own government and he included his workers in the reformation of his ideology by using 'we'. According to him it was people's government and said, "leaders should go to the public and tour and elucidate their point of view with full obligation and correctness, because the individuals are the ultimate judges" (1972). He made clear that he would not discriminate his public and being in power he would connect with powerless common masses and leaders of party would made clear their manifesto by directly meeting with masses.

In paragraph fifteenth of this address Bhutto gave his ideology about other parties and he said that he had lifted ban on parties as democrat it was a positive step to give them all rights to proliferate their agenda. He cleared that he was against martial law and no one should think him as product of doctorial regime that's why he launched campaign against doctorial regime. He continued this personal agenda in next paragraph and said that he was not afraid of democracy because he had been elected through men power and he would not leave his nation alone rather would struggle for their rights and solidarity of their country. In last line, he acknowledged not only his workers but whole nation for being with him.

Whenever we should deliver speeches, we ought to speak with reason and sense. Abusing friendly foreign countries does not bring any good to Pakistan. You know me well. My politics is not secret politics, my politics is people's politics and open and clean politics. Those who are criticizing us are dabbling in parlour politics. (Bhutto,1972)

Twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth paragraphs of this speech are also examples of justification of personal attitude and ideology he said by creating a polarized image of 'others' politics made explicit that his politics is like open book and no one should criticise his politics as it is based on his people power. His struggle was evident and he should not be blamed for any misconduct as he had not secrets or bad deeds behind this popularity. Earlier in speech had made evident that he came into power with the help of his people struggle not with aid of back door channels like army institution so he and his politics is clean and sacred.

4.1.7 Glorification of PPP

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto glorified his party its agenda in his speeches to make it popular and reliable among people. Compiegne speeches are designed to disseminate glorified and hyped prospects of party. In tenth paragraph of party manifesto speech (1970) he said:

I speak on behalf of my Party on this matter, you should accept my assurance that when my Party comes to power it will fulfil without delay the foreign policy objectives of our nation. Never letting Pakistan get inveigled into

imperialist clutches. Never letting Pakistan forsake its commitments to the people of Jammu and Kashmir. (Bhutto, 1970)

In above example Bhutto gave his stance on foreign policy matters and subjugation of Jammu Kashmir. In 1971 general elections were to be held so carving for success in that he used style of exaggeration and over glorified his party stance on policies related to international relations and on the matter of Jammu Kashmir. Political leaders usually disguise the agenda and made vivid statements to control public minds. They relate socio political situations of the time and give solutions for the social issues which need to be considered by powerful regime. Same is done by Bhutto he boosted his party policies to attract the fervour of masses.

In party workers speech, Bhutto glorified his party's struggle towards democratic government in paragraph ten. People's party was in government and being a president Bhutto negotiated all the negative propaganda by revealing the contribution and sacrifices of PPP and its workers against doctoral government of past regime. In twelfth part, he said about his party stance against Yahya Khan move on constitution. As a democrat, he said no one had right to impose laws on public that's why his party strongly condemned the move of former president. And it was his party's stand that constitution must be framed with assembly's approval. In that times Pakistan constitution was under consideration by political leaders for amendments. In 1973 new constitution with assembly approval was made.

In seventeenth of this speech Bhutto said that Pakistan was on verge of crisis but it was his government which stabilized the condition and during his regime Pakistan was alive and strong. He used word funeral (janaza) with negative connotation for Pakistan before his party got elected in election and after taking control over government, he said Pakistan was alive and stood on its feet by personifying his country.

In twenty-first and twenty-second paragraphs, he gave his government's policy regarding national investment and national dispute respectively. He said to invest in education was national investment and constructive involvement towards future of Pakistan as educated nation is treasure of any country. He then continued his discourse to persuade his audience with narrating his government policies using a magnifying

mirror. He said his government would spend money on defence because disputes with neighbouring country India. In this way, he assured his nation that their future would be safe because their strong defence system. It would be just because of people party's government policies.

In thirty-eighth part of this speech transcript Z.A Bhutto puffed up his party policy in the following persuasive way:

The past of these parties was self-explanatory. He said that PPP was the first political party which was increasingly marching towards the implementation of its programme and pledges step by step against all possible odds and despite the crisis, which faced us as a nation. (Bhutto,1972)

He negatively polarized other parties and let people decide that what was their performance during their reign. Bhutto gave credit to his party of fulfilling all those commitments which they had made during campaign speeches in 1970 and 1971. Even though it was just start of his government but got the credit of revolutionizing the country and nation. In last twenty-three years of independence no one could give basic facilities to nation at the time of the speech, but Bhutto promised to his nation that he would gradually implement all the pledges. In fifty-first paragraph Bhutto honoured his nation and said that nation is supreme and sacred so it should not be punished. And such an attitude would not be tolerated by his government and national interest would be the priority for his government and he would not at any rate sacrifice national interest for personal privileges. His ideology was prior and more important than his own life.

4.2 Analysis of Benazir Bhutto's speeches

Benazir Bhutto, the 11th prime minister of Pakistan and the first female premier to lead a Muslim state elections strengthened its democratic culture. She was the first ever in-office female head of an ideological state (Pakistan) as well as the first ever in the Muslim world, she was 'Daughter of the East', but had also acquired a considerable amount of western education, her power was multiplied by the fact that she was not only the head of the state but, at the same time, head of her political party as well. The first of the selected speeches is the one which was addressed to the nation at the eve of

her success in the general election on December 2, 1988, in Islamabad. It was an event when she succeeded in winning the general election for the first time in her political career. It was the first ever instance in the history of Pakistan as well as the Muslim world that a female became head of the state. This unique opportunity rendered, naturally, her first tenure extraordinary as well as unusual at home and abroad. Therefore, it was an address from the pulpit of though an inexperienced yet a more ambitious premier. Second speech selected for analysis was delivered at Liaquat Bagh, Rawalpindi, as part of her election campaign soon after which she fell to the assassination's bullet on the unfortunate evening of December 27, 2007. She spoke to massive gathering consisted of enthusiastic party workers and common people.

4.2.1 Emotional attachment

Benazir Bhutto in her speech which she delivered on her success in elections, congratulated the audience on her victory. In first paragraph, she declared that her success is not only hers but it must be celebrated by all because it is also her peoples' success. In this she paved the way for introducing her ideology. She tried to attach with her audience by nominating them as power behind her success. In this way people get enthralled that their leader is appreciating them and giving them importance. As she said, 'it is you who succeeded' this attitude of speaker indicated her generosity and humbleness at the outset. Awarding credit to nation and emotional appeal sounded to be an efficient use by political leader. She elaborated same forwards of her discourse by declaring openly that it had not been the victory of Pakistan People's Party only but the whole success in elections was result of nation who participated in elections and indicated self confidence in their leader and PPP (Pakistan People's Party). It was hint of her particular ideology in discourse. Although speaker denied about the monopoly rumours of her political party in that success, the goal of this prominence was to highpoint her political party that was displaying philanthropic and giving nature.

In twentieth paragraph of this speech transcript speaker extended the mental function of appreciating people, it was not party centered but in general speaking sense of the speaker. Speaker tried to create an emotional attachment with her audiences in forty-second paragraph of her speech she humbly dealt with audience by calling them her brothers and sisters, elders and affiliates, then informed them that it was a difficult journey after which her party along with her restored democracy and it was result of

peoples' power that bring forth this democracy. The speaker being truly a politician typically adopted the customs of political discourse and has tried out to shorten the distance between her public and herself by associating relations like brother, sister and elders. And she used 'our nation' as a persuasive device to get influential and close covertly.

Benazir Bhutto starts her last speech which she delivered in Liaquat Bagh Rawalpindi by calling the name of city creating an emotional attachment with the city. She said Rawalpindi which is city in Punjab, is her second home. In the very start of her speech she tried to attain attention of people. By calling name of city and her home she wanted to create affiliation with the people as generally people have massive association with their hometowns. People generally show affection towards a person who belong to their city so being a political leader Benazir Bhutto needs to create a soft and positive image of her own so, people starts to listen to her and think her as she is one of them. She accomplished her first goal by saying Rawalpindi her 'second home' in this way she tried to make robust relation with her audience because majority of her audience belonged to Rawalpindi. In the next lines, she made this relationship stronger by saying that she attended school in Rawalpindi when her father Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was minister. In this way, she tells everyone that she was once part of them lived as common people even her father was minister. She also remembers her father so that she can take sympathy from her followers. She encouraged and motivated her audience by telling them that they were with her in tough time when her party was in difficulty, people of Rawalpindi had been with her and they are standing with her in good times. It means that in present time when she was speaking to her people they are with her and they will be with her in future. In this way people are motivated and they develop a sense of contentment that their leader belongs to them and they value them.

4.2.2 Mind Control through Polarization

In ninth divide of the victory speech transcript, the presenter contemplated and grieved the disordered state of the country at that time. She sanctioned that the entire condition of Pakistani nation was crucial ang grave. She explained that we are facing (whole nation) an enormous problem, though, Benazir Bhutto didn't elucidate the problems specifically. She established her discussion to be able to throw the procedure of a good action which used this progress. She continued that the serious state condition and the

enormous troubles cannot compete peoples' dedication and steadiness to coup with the tribulations drifted on the nationwide horizon in those days. She, repeatedly compared her day with previous times, that was designed to disparage the strategies and performance of previous government. She resolved it to be accurate that the government's guidelines during the earlier years therefore were intended to preserve one's personal strength. Such self-cantered policies had brought chaos within Pakistan's' culture, and it harmed the national unity to the amount that it completely harboured ethnic, communal, lingual and racial difference in full swing. In this paragraph speaker established her individual construct by critiquing previous regime.

In tenth paragraph of speech delivered on her victory eve, Benazir Bhutto declared the overseas policy of the previous government proved to be imprudent. By this denunciation, the presenter meant the overseas policy proposed by her to be always a ray of optimism for the folks. She discovered that the monetary strategies before were unreliable because those policies caused damage of individuals and natural sources of their country. Economic guidelines in the previous government had predicted an underestimated discerning due to which country was found on the verge of financial crises.

The presenter, in sixteenth paragraph of her discourse, repeated the prior content of polarizing others. She followed that the root base of the said crises was profound in the backdrop. That grave condition has prevailed between people and government. Benazir Bhutto ramblingly conveyed that the acts of the wrong-doers should not be attached with others by averting their individual value. She asserted to safeguard herself and her government by saying that our government would not be held in charge of the transgressions of the past government. Having matured her discussion fully required scope, she earned the treatment of all narrated socio-political diseases, and she obscured this cure to be there in her regime. In this part of discourse, a certified and authorised discourse sounded in the depth of ideological development.

In thirty-eighth paragraph of her victory speech, Benazir Bhutto sounded of the view that the prior dictatorial regime had promoted the policy of weapon, and had reduced the writ of legislations since it was predicated on subjugation and the ideology of agony, that was the reason of Alma-maters were enjoying chaotic situation however

their superficial goal was to enrich the young generation with worthy supply of knowledge.

After admiring her audience, in second and third paragraphs in her last speech (2007) Benazir Bhutto related incidents from the past. She recalled historical significance of the city. How this city played role to destroy dictators rule was remembered so people thinks that they helped their leaders and now it's time to be with them again because they didn't forget their struggle. Leaders control minds of people by polarization. This is an underlying structure of ideology. In which members of society of governing authority polarize between negative and positive representation of 'out group' and 'ingroup' respectively. These polarizations influence all levels of discourse (Dijk,2000). Polarization is an important aspect which helps in creating the meaning of ideological discourse. In these paragraphs, political leader polarized negative representation of out-group by quoting facts from past and tried to create negative image of others and positive image of 'ours'. In this way speaker controlled the minds of public who were not aware of the historical facts. Political leader exploits this and controls public mind by using historical facts in their own party's favour. Their audience cannot challenge them because they do not know facts and believe in their leaders. According to Van Dijk (1993) to replicate supremacy and hegemony mind control is the basic and most used technique by political leaders. It does not only involves giving information about world through the discourse or communication but political leaders can control their audience thoughts by delivering them such an information about which they do not have adequate knowledge. Benazir Bhutto told her audience about Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's struggle against dictatorship and remembered of Abdul Hameed and Idrees Tooti's murder when most people did not have any idea about their misfortunate murder Benazir Bhutto used it in her favour and tried to create positive image of her party against a dictator's government.

4.2.3 Mitigating personal ideologies and attitudes

Benazir Bhutto in seventeenth paragraph of her speech bridged between reflection and perception. It inspired as persuasive sequential action for the concentration of public being a mental conception. As she affirmed day of her triumph a momentous day in history of her country and recalled her fathers' words as far as prosperity and development of Pakistan was concerned. She described his sayings in seamless setting

'he had said', which has shown that she was referring Mr. Bhutto's words to be visionary since 'he had said'. Before going on to the mentioned words, it is relevant to say that the presenter acquired pronounced name of the creator of her political party for just two times up to now, each and every time she called him, 'Shaheed' became the title/prelude of the true name. This idea can be studied as an indicator of conceit that Benazir Bhutto discovered in the fatality of her father-leader as he sacrificed his life for fighting for his country and democracy. She demonstrated that in her words that it was not only a political of father-daughter relation between her and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto but she feels there is rational and spiritual relation between them just like a mentor. However, it was sentiment of the political leader and in political discourse when such sentiments are transmitted to the audience they become discursive gestures. Shaheed zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's related saying was quoted here in speech which read that those who rely upon the strength of people must address the public, and should not be an integral part of any opportunity which moves them against their passion. By citing quotation of pioneers of party's leadership she enhanced her ideology in implicit and explicit manner and gave durability to her work. At this point, political discourse was made more complex. Speaker developed a unitary composition of locution at once by engaging all the discursive constructions such as reiterating, with recollection, strategy, ideology, traditions with development, prediction with recommendation and this made discourse more complex. According to Fairclough theory the speakers referring of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto is entirely an intertextual arrangement along with mitigation of personal ideologies. Fairclough (1992) defined intertextuality as excerpts in text which are referred by speaker from another text and are made part of original text. The excerpts included in text by speaker then becomes part of text either it accepts the idea of the original text or disapproves the related idea or message, the borrowed text is considered as part of original text. Fairclough divided intertextuality into two types 'manifest intertextuality' is first type in which direct quotes are narrated in text with inverted commas, to authenticate the validation of text, speech or discourse, and second type is 'constitutive text' in which other discourse structure is included to make discourse, text or speech innovative. Fairclough asserts that it can be analyzed while practicing linguistic analysis.

Thirtieth paragraph of her speech was also about her governments' policies and what she prefers for betterment of her public. She informed her audience that her government

is of the view that public rights should be safeguarded by them as it is their moral and obligatory duty and party thinks that people must be given their basic rights and freedom. For the welfare of oppressed and exploited people her government will work and in declarative mode she told her audience about new labour and wages rules. In this way speaker showed her sense of obligation for public and dedication towards them.

Benazir Bhutto continued alluding to her governments and party's ideology in thirty-seventh paragraph of her victory speech. She claimed that her government authorities would encourage the advancements in higher education and try to meet the standards of international education system. Benazir Bhutto sounded motivated to launch country wide education fund to endorse system of good education in Pakistan. Benazir Bhutto rarely used first person in her speech even not for taking any credit of her success and not for taking any responsibility, she pronounced 'our' which showed confidence in her teamwork. This was not the quality of an ordinary leaders' discourse rather it had exposed the competence and calibre of true political leader. As a persuasive method, it was the best way to gather public interest and affiliations and it is hallmark of political discourse to take general public favour.

In fourth paragraph of last speech (2007) Benazir Bhutto established personal ideologies and attitudes to interpret 'system of personal attitudes and of group ideologies'. She narrated her party's ideology not as individual but group ideology. She said that her party was established to help the poor and hopeless people. Shaheed Bhutto (her father) worked for the betterment of oppressed people. He also made country strong enough to be inviolable. It was Bhutto who increased the self-esteem of nation. She further said that if people voted Bhutto they didn't just vote him into parliament but man who held Islamic summit conference in Lahore. In this way, she also elaborated that Bhutto was chairman of Islamic summit conference and he gathered all the Muslim leaders in Pakistan and their party had worked for the increase in brotherhood and captured thoughts of public by narrating positive attitudes her party's founder. She declared that PPP was established for common people. But people who are not their followers think differently. It was stated in a research by Raja that 'Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto found PPP in 1967 in the British and Mughal tradition, as an anti-establishment party with a populist platform that opposed Ayub Khan's handling of events leading up to Bangladesh succession' (1988, p.57). Raja's finding suggests a

different ideology behind but speaker did not entrench those events from past which may go against her. She just used those ideologies which were favourable for her positive image and create a firm believe by common people on their leader.

4.2.4 Bhutto's legacy

Benazir Bhutto breaks sixth paragraph of her victory speech with the use of non- public pronoun. By using 'we' she explicitly revealed her ideology of uniformity and equality. She aimed to bring whole nation on same level of equality and will grow to be uniform with all people and there will be no discrimination or dissimilarity in country. She employed technique of exaggeration in the start of this paragraph and tried to convince her audience that powerful and non- powerful will have same treatment. She will bring uniformity and equity in the country which is her party policy. After giving hopes Benazir Bhutto told her audience that they were set on an honourable mission and this is the mission which was legacy of those who spent their lives in struggling to make Pakistan a reformist and progressive country a country in which there will be no corruption and exploitation and democracy would be flourished. She turned her discourse and signalled to be quite definitely inclined to indulge reference or sort of perception, because she referred to person who had undertook mission before Benazir Bhutto's turn. This retrospective tilt became clear in next lines when she referred exactly seventeen years back when founder of party Zulfikar Ali Bhutto started journey by creating People's Party with a mission to help underprivileged and abandoned nation. Moreover, the speaker also referred to the opponent dictatorial government in times of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto through which he successes to establish a party which was pro public and in the favour of democracy. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was the legend who saved this country from destructive effects of dictatorship. She further safeguarded Bhutto's legacy from 'Dhaka debacle' and blamed dictatorial government for disintegration of country in two parts in 1971. She glorified her fathers and founder of party's legacy by giving him credit of compiling and empowering the shattered ideologies in the minds of people and system of overwhelmed nation. In this part of her speech she reminded masses of her father's legacy so that she can have favour of those who had admired her father and by remembering Bhutto's legacy she gave message that it was because of her father who save Pakistan in the times of great deterioration. Infect, alluded Bhuttoism is one of the fundamentals of Pakistan People's Party.

Benazir Bhutto had enlightened the addressees in forty-fourth part of her victory speech that after her success when she moved into the parliament, individuals congregated to repeat the slogans zinda hey Bhutto, zinda hey means Bhutto's legacy continues to be alive. The lines under examination divulge the hegemony and supremacy which is the topic subject of critical discourse analysis relating to Van Dijk, nevertheless, the slogans were comprehensible and really recognizable in the backdrop of a particular framework- the triumph of the Benazir Bhutto in over-all electoral process. Therefore, the address of presenter can be examined through this specific political cum cultural context. The presenter had implemented meek dialect with the sense of appreciation. The relationship with other's slogans has brought in the Fairclough's idea of intertextuality along with socio-cognitive analysis.

Benazir Bhutto in her last speech which she delivered in Rawalpindi, encouraged her public through Bhuttoism. During her speech Benazir showed her father and founder of her party as the foremost figure and tried to control her audience talking about Bhuttoism even though she was running her party at the time of delivering her speech. Legacy of Bhutto had always helped her political scenario and this is the critical standpoint of her speech that she had institutionalized politics and speeches because of that Bhutto's legacy behind her and her outcome is fixed as her father had paved her political career with his political actions. That's why in her speech her emphasis is to remember Bhutto's legacy and repeating her father's sir name Bhutto again and again. She reminded her audience that she is daughter of zulfiqar Ali Bhutto who gave them constitution 1973. And it is because of her father's struggle that Pakistan became a nuclear power. She repeated her father's words to so that followers of her father feel the same for her as they do for Bhutto being her daughter. Generally, critics think that one of the reasons for the popularity of Benazir is this legacy behind her. According to researcher Raja "I admit that one of the main reasons of becoming Benazir Bhutto prime minister in 1988 and then 1993 was Bhutto legacy, his surname and nothing else. It incumbered the efficiency of both of her terms as prime minister" (1988, p.53). Her strategy to get support of her voters was to remember Zulfiqar ali Bhutto and his charitable deeds. She in her speech did not talk about her contribution through which she can control her audience and persuade them to support her rather she connected herself with Bhutto legacy.

4.2.5 Exaltation of political leaders own party

In fifth paragraph of her victory speech, Benazir Bhutto directly delivered her message to the whole nation by asserting that nation elected a government that was unanimously endorsed through the four provinces of Pakistan. Therefore, it savoured a lot of minds on its side. In this paragraph, she gave a precise note on Pakistan Peoples' Party's countrywide relevance. After relating her federal government as being with debt to people who participated in the political process of electing government, Benazir Bhutto expressed her views in the similar quantification and qualification of her country's people. She disengaged from evaluating the side of particularized spheres of her political party's employee and other co-workers to be able to impart the feeling and manifestation of her universality good generosity towards common masses. She displayed the ideology of equality as well as balance, and convincingly vowed that she was aware of her position and knows her responsibility was to justify the people of her country in all spheres without discrimination of their sections and factions.

Seventeenth and eighteenth divide of victory speech opened and implemented in the same manner, with the words 'at this moment and prior one with 'on this occasion' having same meaning. The speaker was democratically elected through a democratic procedure of free and reasonable standard election and on this day speaker declared Pakistan also became superb one. Stemming the realization from 'nation-democracy-history debate, Benazir Bhutto witnessed her country of the same health. She directed the span of her speech to glorify her own political party by suggesting that it was a chance for Pakistan People's Party as it turned out entrusted with serious responsibility of facilitating the nation and serving her country. This section proved to be a party-pivoted part. By building a rational idea of democracy in the annals of country, the pavement was designed to escalate the success of democratic election process in Pakistan which can be a stimulating idea critical discourse research viewpoint. The representation of ingroup with use of word 'we' and outgroup with 'others' has efficiently been spun to persuasion in the same body of discourse, speaker exactly at the same time had used ideology of democracy and everything as abstract ideals. Speaker had used approach of exaggeration for the propagation of her ideology.

Twentieth part of this victory speech transcript Benazir Bhutto glorified her party ideology and extended the rational action of appreciating masses in general. Regardless

of creed and colour of people she praised common people and oversimplified the recently epitomized idea of democracy. Benazir Bhutto stressed that her party's basic plan was to advance towards provision of distinction to the dignified ideas of Islam i.e. equivalence, persistence, brotherhood, and acceptance. By symbolising such honest and religious notions, she possessed vigorously connected her political fundamentals with the historical idea which resulted in the creation of Pakistan namely ideology of Islam. The identical ideology became millstone and inspiring power in the hand of founder of Pakistan Muhammad Ali Jinnah during the partition of subcontinent.

Benazir glorified her party in her last speech too. In her last speech transcript paragraphs seven to ten are structured to glorify party policies and ideology. She called her public as her brothers and sister to create a sense of strong connection so that people think that their leaders value them and indulge in hearing what they will be saying to them. Benazir Bhutto said that it is due PPP that Pakistan is strong today. Voters have not selected Benazir Bhutto as prime minister but they made first ever Muslim female prime minister which increased image of Islam and Pakistan as enlighten country. After highlighting her success as success of her country and Islam she admired her party thinks of poor's and needy. It is their agenda to help the needy and PPP believes in empowerment and wellbeing of country's people. She highlighted basic niceties of common people like education, food, jobs and a good salary she he said PPP will provide them with all those necessities of life which they need and others exploit them for these basic niceties. She said to her public "You may have nuclear power or missile technology but if you are poor and deprived of necessities, non-one can ensure the strength of the any government or the people to make that the country's defence is secured" (Bhutto, B., 2007). She used 'if' for the poor's it showed that it is not her accomplishment which is quoted but here she quoted Pakistan people's party manifesto to adore the name her party. According to her nuclear power is not useful unless her country's people are not having good standard life. She is trying to show her love and care for her public. Her public is more important than anything else. But in next lines she contradicts her statement and brags her party's effort to make Pakistan a nuclear country. It was Bhutto whose efforts turned country into nuclear power and made Pakistan defence strong.

4.2.6 Historical alteration

Historical distortion is another strategy which is used by politician to utilize information in favour of them. They alter the historical information and mould it in their favourable shapes and then persuade their unaware audience. Van Dijk underlines that political condition do not merely cause political actors to articulate in definite ways, in its place “there is a necessity for a cognitive cooperation between circumstances and talk or text, that is a context” (2006, p.733). Such contexts characterize how members understanding infer and signify features of the political circumstances. Political discourse is not only defined with political discourse structures but also with political contexts. Thus, acting as an MP, Prime Minister, party leader, or demonstrator will typically be perceived by speakers or recipients as a relevant context category in political discourse.

In thirteenth part of victory speech Benazir Bhutto took a sequential swing into past refreshing fundamental ideology of country-wide discourse. She raised the subtle ideological concern by talking about faith and beliefs of people. She stirred the shared credence that Pakistan will live forever no matter how deteriorating situation is. She made this as basis of her argument and continued that Pakistan being eternal had all those components which are essential to strengthen the nation. This statement expressed to be overstated rather mythological manipulation, and created sentimental play of chauvinism at larger extent. at this point speaker talked about father of nation Quai-e-Azam which made the discourse more faith associated. Benazir Bhutto identified Quid-e- Azam being the basis and model of her ideology. She utilized history for her own benefit to be able to persuade people to make them believe that she was the true successor of the Quaid-e-Azam. She promoted Pakistan to be a modern state according to the vision of the founder of the country. She revealed that the Quaid-e-Azam deciphered the dreams of all Muslims of the subcontinent when he suggested Pakistan to be always a modern country. Here, the presenter stealthily wished the audience to have her as the real communicator as well as practicer of the Quaid-e-Azam’s suggested policies. It really is a good example of politicizing the ideology for her own benefits.

Fourteenth paragraph had taken a direct swing to a specific group in public, the working-class group and this part was associated to the entire contents and delineations

of the suggested ideology. Fifteenth paragraph was presented as sequel of the prior in the sense that the prior one linked the circumstance of pre-partition perceptions although paragraph under analysis handles the post-partition difficulties. Through sharing common people distress, first the Benazir Bhutto evoked the disagreeable trials. It really is a psychological structure of receiving the goodwill from the audience. Though, the sentences had not been intended at solely on persuasion by itself, the and core of ideology was founded to be associated throughout. Mute criticism had been created in loud information. Suggestive narrative had been again offered in this part. Hegemony was found to be participating in in the backdrop of polite ideas.

In paragraph seven of her last speech, Benazir Bhutto told her public that when she was in power it was her government which brought peace and prosperity in their country. Although the newspaper articles and opponents of her party hold a different view. According to them in PPP tenure corruption was increased. Fleschenberg Andrea claims that “the cost to economy by way of corruption and wastage was ordered of twenty to twenty five percent of total GDP” (2013, p. 93). In another article by Dawn (1996) corruption of Benazir Bhutto was discussed. It elaborated that there were two cases on Benazir Bhutto regarding corruption in the sale of land and obtaining contract for the sale of liquid petroleum. In this regard, she misused seven hundred million rupees from public accounts.

Just how historical sources are cited in the conversation is the deliberate affair on the intellects of the audience to regulate them. A lot of the audience is unacquainted with the past incidents and they don't have sufficient knowledge about days gone by events to encounter the speaker's information so they take the info in the discourse as right and accurate. As pervasive approaches of experiencing the world, discourses confer with expressing oneself the use of phrases. Discourses can be used for affirming power and expertise, and for resistance a critique. The speaker communicates their ideological textual content in discourse as does the linguistic form of the textual content. That is, assortment or desire of a linguistic shape may not be a live technique for the person speaker however, the discourse can be a replica of that formerly found out discourse. Contents of discourse are preferred and structured syntactically whose “content material-structure” reflects the ideological association of a vicinity of social lifestyle (Dellinger, 1995). Historical events are cited in a desired way that help politicians to enhance their political party's popularity and reliance in public.

4.2.7 Verbose style

Verbose style is persuasive technique used by politicians in which they build opinions and arguments on the incidents and memories of past to get sympathies from people. Van Dijk (1993) named this skilful use of incidents as verbose style, in which irrelevant information is codded by political leaders to create soft corners in the heart of their followers. Benazir Bhutto also used this strategy in her speeches and reverted incidents to get compassion. Benazir Bhutto in her speech paid homage to the martyrs of her democratic journey. In twenty-seventh divide of victory speech (1988) transcript she promised to her audience that she will not forget her followers who sacrificed for her and bring their names back. She guarantees her public that she will pay them for their amenities as reimbursement. Benazir Bhutto publicises to make memorials to recuperate names of those who gave their lives in struggling for democracy in this way they can be remembered in the heart of everyman endlessly. She paid stress to pay homage to those who sacrificed for her. Her intention was to show herself as true embodiment of democracy.

In paragraph fifteen of her last speech, Benazir counted incidents which happened to her during past few years from her father's assassination to her husband's custodial she enumerates all these incidents as part of struggle for country. Her father was hanged her two brothers were murdered and her husband Asif Ali Zardari was jailed, she repeated all this to get sympathies from public and to create a sense of victim so that people turn their favour and vote to her.

In her speech, she spoke more about herself, adoring her Pakistan people's party name and her own name. Connecting Mir Murtaza and Shahnwaz Bhutto murder, Asif Ali Zardari's jail and her mother's tribulation with prosperity and progress of Pakistan is subjective approach. In this entire passage Benazir tried to present the past incidents which happened to her family as result to struggle for the country. She glorified these by saying 'fighting against the enemies'. It was clear that Asif Ali Zardari was charged corruption cases and her brothers were not fighting against any enemy but she used this to show her party a victimised one just because she and her family were fighting for the betterment of this country. So now it is obligation of people to support them.

4.2.8 Argumentative move

Nationalist or political leaders made their argumentations to attract audience, which are explicit example to persuade the opponents. Benazir used a lot of negative linguistic feature for her opponents in her speech. She used 'political orphan' to address her adversaries which means that she is calling them her enemy and they do not know about politics. In this style of speaking according to Van Dijk (1993) speakers represent their selves with positive remarks and other with negative representations. These 'us' and 'others' boundaries had been used by Benazir Bhutto to show a clear difference between her thoughts and her opponents. She said in paragraph eleven that they made economy falling day by day and there is acute unemployment and PPP has set agenda in which removing unemployment is their priority. She criticised her opponents by using 'they' which shows that they are other than them and she gave a five-point manifesto which was set according to common peoples' needs. It was obvious that every man and women wants a good education system for their children, jobs, equality and respect for them. People hopes that may be this time our leader will give us all what we need and we should support them. She had tried to use the communal fidgety in contrast to the malpractices of the earlier government. It had operated as an effective persuasive technique because such sharing of trouble can play well to near the addressees when the speaker becomes a participant of trouble agony and pain concerning more than merely a speaker does. In turn, such nearing has appealed from the audiences' side. By using such discursive devices as an instrumental link speaker succeeds in making a sturdy alliance between audience and the speaker. In this speech, same discursive technique had been employed by speaker.

4.2.9 Rhetoric Art of Speaking

Rhetoric is the ability of speaking as a mean to persuade public and using a meaningless language in a way to impress listeners (Dijk, 2006). This tool will increase interest to monetary, overseas and civil rights coverage and lead to boom in public concerns with those policies (Cohen, 1995). Political behaviours, operations and speeches include many strategies and strategies to sell the ideologies of the speaker. Those strategies are very imperative to comprehend, if you want to get clear understanding of the political discourse. One of the techniques is rhetoric approach in political speeches that's the dexterity of speaking especially exploited in political

speeches. Power is multifarious and abstract system which controls common people's life. It is capability of possessor to exact compliance of other individual to their determination. The person who can execute power "exercise influence outside the context of formal proceedings thus wielding real power" (Edelman, 1977, p.123).

This indicates that if the involved areas of the public are addressed, they bring about recognition of the politicians in public. This is the ability of the audio system within the public to govern their recognition scores through political speeches and election campaigns. Every other rhetorical approach that is used in election campaign is repetition and hedging. And it was one of the important technique used by Benazir Bhutto in her speech to persuade her audience. Benazir Bhutto started her victory speech (1988) by congratulating the audience on her victory, she said, it is not only her victory but it is success of my nation. So, it was notable that she repeated the word congratulation twice in her sentence, firstly without any association and then by saying 'congratulate you' which means she congratulate the whole nation. The recurrence of this expression showed her parallel approach being subjective and objective in both exclamations of the identical expressions. She also repeated construct of being victor for two times in her first sentence. Success and victory are synonyms and share same meaning which is triumph speaker congratulated her audience by on their success and victory. She repeatedly used both words right in her very first sentence as a remarkable persuasive device of repetition.

In twelfth part of her speech transcript she elaborated repetitive announcements to the extent which gave it poetic touch. The recurrence of phrase 'we will' not only worked as catalyst for strong willpower but it also stimulated aesthetic side of workers. If the declaration of short phrases serving promises dis not made discourse sermon it brought close to the rhetoric discourse. It resonated the typical slogans of PPP roti, kapra or makan (bread, clothing and home). This paragraph gave an explicit view of ideology and the so called 'healing of wounds' also lied in this paragraph. The speaker pronounces about the social realities as foundation of this paragraph which framed this part as macrostructure of discourse.

In her last speech (2007) she used repetition of slogans at elevated level of sound production. These repetitions of slogans are used by positions to attract crowd towards speaker. In paragraph thirteen she raised a slogan bread, clothing and home for all (roti,

kapra or makan) and the crowd repeated this in in full throat slogans and their repeated slogan like ‘Zenda hay Bhutto Zenda hey’ after her in full voice. This repetition of slogans charged the public and they turned towards their leaders’ voice. According to Van Dijk (1993) there are several types of repetition depending on production of sound, meaning and sentence. If the repetition is at sound level it would be alliteration and rhymes. If it is at sentence level it would be called parallelism and if meaning is repeated by the speaker it would be at semantic level. In this selected excerpt repetition was made at sentence level same sentence was repeated by audience for many times so it was parallelism.

4.2.10 Propagandistic Speech

“Ideologies are the fundamental beliefs of a group and its members” (Dijk, 2000, p.7). Many approaches and definitions have been given to define ideology. In various directions within Marxism, ‘false consciousness’ formulate ideology, which is accepted but erroneous belief inculcated by governing social class to justify the status quo, and to cover up the genuine socioeconomic situation of working class. The structure of self – serving ideas of governing social groups, this negative notion of ideology has been widespread in the social sciences; it is used as opponent to true scientific knowledge. Discourse and language are the societal practices which are influenced by ideology through which we came to know to change ideologies. When members of such groups speak they express their ideological based opinion (Dijk, 2000). Within the propagandistic words of the conversation specifically in the election campaign, the principal job of the presenter is that of interacting an ideology which really is a tool of intense patriotic and imperialistic interests and presenter will try to subordinate all varieties of human endeavour to provide the purposes of propaganda of political party of presenter. The propagandistic discourse of the conversation utilizes all good types of linguistic features on their behalf party and everything negative varieties of linguistic features for the contrary get together. The negative representation of the opposite party can be a look at by the presenter to build up the stereotypes in the conversation.

4.2.11 Stereotypical Development

People usually act on what they perceive from input they do not get on the sensory input but they get from their world (Edward, 2006, p.324). Because the way in which inducing stereotypes produce language go farther beyond language itself and gives

view of social condition of language users. For example, specific variety of language spoken by a person, acts as stimulus which evokes stereotypes and attitude about society to which speaker is thought to belong. The effectiveness of message in any spoken language is concerned with what is being said to whom and who is the communicator which is “deeply tied up with power and social status” (Wareing, 2004, p.9). Or we can say that it depends on speakers and interlocutors that what variety of language they choose to communicate, also depends on what identity they want to project and perceived by others. The stereotypical creation of the presenter can be used in the analysed talk where not only the disputes are created strong by creating opponent’s images but also brains are managed clinically that warranties the widest authorization from the audience. One of the better ways to attain the agreement of the audience is by using language emotionally by growing stereotypes and slogans. The repeated phrases of the slogan in the conversation will be the ways to appeal to the people towards the speaker. Which creates psychological attachment between the speaker and the audience.

In second last paragraph of her victory speech, Benazir had offered her addressees with a universal saying that the individual who serves the country is never neglected. Relating to her intellectual, money and corruption are nothing, what is important in life are the beliefs and the vanity which being Muslim, the nation of Pakistan should rightly possess. She had recommended her audience to help each other with their good deeds. Based on philosophy which presenter had proliferated, as long as people would live in harmony and spread brotherhood among them no one can destroy them. She asked her audience to be with her till last breath of her life. In this way, she indulged her audience and emotionally she collected agreement of her audience. She moreover said that it was important for her to get respect from her public than to attain power and supremacy. She repeated that Pakistan Peoples’ Party will serve them. The speaker had succeeded simultaneously to teach, persuade and preach her audience due to which her discourse sounded rhetorical in this part. Effectiveness of her message was concerned with she said as a leader to her audience who were there to celebrate her victory.

In last paragraph of speech delivered on victory of PPP Benazir Bhutto thanked CAOS and former president for establishing democracy and fair election in the country by overpowering the of democratic system. In the very start of last part, she made stereotypical development by endorsing her enemies by calling them ‘enemies of

democracy'. She suggested it as collective responsibility of all people of Pakistan and nationalistic to work and struggle for a life of self-esteem. Benazir Bhutto had finished her speech by acknowledging the public and elevating the slogans of 'Pakistan zinabad'. The repeated phrases of this slogan in the speech would have appealed and attracted the people towards the speaker and created psychological attachment between the speaker and the audience which is a stereotypical development.

4.3 Analysis of Bilawal Bhutto speeches

4.3.1 Bilawal Bhutto discourse

Bilawal Bhutto, young face of People's party and scion of his grandfather dynasty reflects his party and Bhutto's legacy in so many ways. He and his political party were in transitional point at time when he formally became chairperson of his party. It needed a lot of investment of time, patience and effort to bring him and his party where Bhutto's dynast monarch was. It was not the right time to judge him and his political oratory because it was too early as his political journey was few months old. Bilawal Bhutto is not primarily known for his gab but his accent and slack Urdu (Khan, 2014). But he is descendant of Bhutto's dynasty and has positively adopted his grandfather and mother rhetorical style by positively replicating and delivering their charismatic and magical oratory. Although it was not going to be easy journey for a leader who spent his early life abroad and became descendant of populist party. The learning path was steep somehow Bilawal Bhutto had attracted his people with narrating Bhutto legacy and using his inner potential of a good leader.

4.3.2 Bhuttoism

One thing which is evident in Bilawal speeches is his more often use of his grandfather and mother's legacy. Bilawal Bhutto in his speech which he delivered at Bagh e Jinnah Karachi (2014) promoted Bhuttoism. In third paragraph of this speech transcript he said that his mother and grandfather had fought for the rights of public and he related the Quaid-e- Azam wanted equal rights for his nation and then leaders of his political party had continued this struggle. It was his party tradition to quote father of the nation and employ his themes in their speeches. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto quoted Quaid-e-Azam in tenth paragraph of his party manifesto speech. Bilawal following Z.A Bhutto's tradition related his stance with Muhammad Ali Jinnah. People's party is party of brave leaders

and people there is no place for scaredy pants in it. He mobilized his crowd in start of his speech by calling them brave and telling them they are followers of politically strong party. In tenth part of this speech he claimed to bring 'stability' to his country and the way to become a stable nation is following 'Bhuttoism'. Here he did not define Bhuttoism because he had already proclaimed that founding father of nation and founder of his party shared same thoughts for the welfare of their nation. Just like her mother who in her victory speech (1988) remembered Bhutto's legacy by giving message that it was because of her father who saved Pakistan in the times of great deterioration. Infact, alluded Bhuttoism is one of the fundamentals of Pakistan People's Party at that times.

In this paragraph, he said that they will come in power without any help of 'third empire' means would not act on military dictatorship. Just like Z.A Bhutto declared in his speech that he was against martial law and no one should think him as product of doctorial regime that's why he launched campaign against doctorial regime (1972). His use of sarcastic diction here made his discourse more politically discursive. Criticising the out-group, he said that Bhuttoist do not act on dictation they follow their own legacy. Creating a reference to intertextuality Bilawal referred to 1973 constitution by saying it represents Z.A Bhutto's ideology. By promoting Bhuttoism in his speech he tried to control audience who were admirer of his grandfather's ideology.

Speech delivered on Diwali celebrations also includes preferment of Bhutto's legacy. Minorites in our country has equal rights as per our constitution but they are not treated equally, wanted to gather fervour of minorities and said they do not have equal rights now but his leaders were of the view that they should enjoy equal rights. It was important to know what was his vision about rights of minorities despite of giving his personal views he told his listeners what was his Quaid's and Quaid-e Azam's dream about Pakistan. To establish his views in favour of minorities he gave a negative prospect of Pakistan that there is no equality. Politicians in attempt to develop positive agenda of their party forgot their loyalties with country and struggle to get vote and rule make them self -possessed man. People do not notice this because this type of discourse is always in individuals interest and not in national interest.

4.3.3 Mind control through polarization

Political discourse is concerned with contrasting ideology with worthless arguments and peruses to convince the addressees to flow a certain outlook of their ideology (Corbett& conners,1999 p.271). In fourth part of his speech in Karachi to a mammoth rally he made compelling arguments about his competitors PTI, PMLN and MQM, the famous and ruling parties in different provinces of Pakistan. He intended to create negative impression of other parties by blaming them for irregularities in country like rigging in election, sit-ins and riots. He accused government of ret. Gen. Musharraf for attack on his mother rally in 2007. Welcome rally of Benazir Bhutto was attacked by terrorist and many were killed in it Bilawal played a blame game and bashed Pervaiz Musharraf former president of all that disaster.

He used for his mother “B.B Muhtermma” to give her reverence also to give a view that she was not only her mother of just a leader but she has maintained as revered lady in heart of everyone. He also accused former president for his mother’s death even though in his speech delivered on fourth April he said that investigation team made a report and soon they will know the murders name (Bhutto.B,2014). But in this speech, he declared Pervaiz Musharraf responsible for Benazir death.

In thirteenth paragraph of his speech delivered on 18 October Bilawal bashed PML-N which was ruling party in whole country. He said that Nawaz Sharif won election over rigging. And there was a ‘script’ behind his success means he did not won election by votes of common people but it was panned by government or perhaps army institution. And People’s Party always came into power with his people votes. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto also proliferated this ideology in his debates he said that he was not afraid of democracy because he had been elected through men power and he would not leave his nation, he cleared that he was against martial law and no one should think him as product of doctorial regime that’s why he launched campaign against doctorial regime. (1972). Bilawal discursively made argument for his failure in general election (may, 2013). His party got partially elected in Sindh and could not get enough seats in national assembly. So, he did not confess his failure rather accused winning party of rigging.

In twentieth part of Bilawal Bhutto Zardari’s speech transcript PTI and MQM were criticised by him he said that “MQM is ruling Karachi for the past 20 years. Whatever

happened to Karachi in this time is in front of everyone see. Now PTI wants to become the MQM of Lahore (Zardari,2014).

Bilawal Bhutto criticised MQM for not making any development for last twenty years. Though PPP was in government from 2008 to 2013, Bilawal recalling what his part government did for the country or city bashed others for the ruination of city. He said that MQM had done nothing Karachi had been over populated and its condition is evident through media talks and news we came to know that Karachi has been neglected by the politicians who call themselves reformers and pledges that common people to revolutionise their country and city but when it comes to practice after getting voted we see nothing but censuring others. He made prophecy that it was only his party which could change the future of Karachi. He wanted to assure his audience if they will select him to rule he will change the situation by giving hopes politician wants to control the masses.

According to roger Bissell, “a political spectrum is a cognitive device which permits researcher to organise a class of phenomena theoretically and visually, according to some typical of measurement, so the nature of association between phenomena could be more effortlessly grabbed” (Bissell, 2012, p.16). In his second speech delivers on Diwali to minority group Bilawal arranged his arguments in a way that can reflect compassion and sympathies with this specific class and polarized negatively others so that minorities would bend towards him against others. Using his cognitive abilities, he raised a social phenomenon of inequality and injustice with minorities of non-Muslims. In third and fifth part of this speech he other parties do not treat non- Muslim minorities with equality but PPP is of the view to give equal rights and he persuade them to bring his rule so that his party would reform and implement the rulers. He employed the term ‘religious fascist’ for all other parties to give a negative image and related them to doctorial regime of Zia-Ul-Haq who was responsible for assassination of Z.A Bhutto according to PPP.

In paragraph five and nine of this speech transcript Bilawal sad that if anywhere in world there is injustice people and leaders spoke for it against oppression of meagre and minorities but in our country the status quo party members feel scared or either they do not care about the poor and do not clear their stance against subjugation. Continuing his stance against other political parties related past incidents of attacks on

temples and churches to evoke emotions of his audience and then console them by using metaphoric relation of his own home town and attacked places by saying he considers these attacks on his own home. People if not totally believe on his words they at least came to know that others have not supported them in time of great trouble and distress. And this the aim of political leaders to make a negative aura of others while proclaiming positive things for themselves.

4.3.4 Verbose style

Verbose style is persuasive practise employed by politicians in which they convey messages, opinions and arguments on the events and memories of earlier times to get compassions from public. Van Dijk (1993) named this dexterous use of occasions as verbose style, in which unrelated information and material is coded by political leaders to produce lenient corners in the heart of their supporters. Bilawal Bhutto like his mother Benazir Bhutto also used this strategy in his speeches and relapsed incidents to get compassion. He started his address in Bagh-e- Jinnah by evoking the incident of 18 October 2007 the day when Benazir Bhutto arrived in Pakistan and massive crowd welcomed her return to Pakistan but it was disrupted by terrorist attack as a result many workers were killed and injured. Because this speech was delivered on 18 October so, it ought to be started with remembrance of that incident.

In part five and six of this speech he related hardships that had been faced by his party leader and incident of death Benazir Bhutto. He reverted the incident by questioning that why his female party chairperson was terrorised by whips and lashes adding he said Benazir Bhutto was first Muslim lady as prime minister but she was brutally murdered. In a sentence Bilawal glorified his leader and victimised. In twelfth part of his speech he talked about conspiracies which had been confronted by PPP in Zia regime and during Musharraf reign. He made empathetic expression in front of his audience who gather to listen him and to support his party they would had defiantly believe in him and that in front of gathering calling her mother B.B Muhtermma Shaheed and victimised made his people nostalgic and more determined towards his party. By revolving around past incidents, he made his public realised that his party had paid many sacrifices, workers had been killed and injured even founding father of his party and leading female figure of Pakistani politics had been victimised of

conspiracies, now it was time to pay them off and people should vote for his party as a revenge against all those brutalities and hardships which had been faced by his leaders.

4.3.5 Rhetoric style of repetition

Bilawal used anaphoric repetition strategy to persuade his audience gathered at Bagh-e-Jinnah Karachi. Anaphoric expression is part of figurative language and a persuasive strategy but politicians also speak figurative language to appeal his audience. According to Van Dijk (1993) there are several types of repetition depending on production of sound, meaning and sentence. Bilawal repeated his phrases at sentence level and within sentence he repeated phrases at start of them replication style of his grandfather. He employed this strategy at very start of his speech (18 oct,2014) by chanting slogans of his party leaders. He reverberated the words 'jeay Bhutto' for several times in his speech to galvanise his crowd. In seventh part of his speech he recited a poem to clarify his ideology. He repeated the lines of poem which was written in favour of Bhutto and against doctoral regime of Zia-Ul-Haq. Bilawal ingeniously recited this poem to make his audience enthusiastic and lunatic. Mere words in any speech do not made it impressive and acceptable it is cognitive ability of persons which made them popular for their gab so Bilawal showed his socio-cognitive ability by wittingly repeating party slogans at different intervals of his speech to make crowd alive, vigilant and lunatic for their leader.

In his Diwali speech, he employed anaphora to make his discourse pleasant and rhymical. He repeated phrase 'a Pakistan where' in second paragraph to sound more patriotic and rhymical. These repetitions of slogans and phrases are used by politicians to attract crowd towards speaker. The technique, parallelism in discourse of political speeches is used to boost up the covert message and to proliferate the ideologies of the speaker.

4.3.6 Exaltation of PPP'S agenda

Scholarly themes are essential in political discourse to sway the followers. The specific themes are also tactical as they intend to national interest, harmony and to help politicians for defining policies towards issues. Glorification of party is one of strategic themes used to adore party and its agenda in speeches to make it popular and reliable

among people. Compiegne speeches are designed to publicise overestimated and hyped prospects of party. In the same way Bilawal disseminated his party agenda and policies in exaggerated discourse. In his speech delivered in Karachi he raised the issue of Jammu Kashmir and explained his party concern regarding it. He said when his voice reached neighbouring country India they started propaganda and hacked website of PPP. He thinks that it was because of the fear of Bhuttoism, as it is recognised globally. Z.A Bhutto also glorified his party by raising issue of Kashmir. His party would not let negotiations on this matter hostage. The dispute of Jammu Kashmir has been part Discussion of political leaders they exploit the hopes of people and pledges their audience for the liberation of Jammu Kashmir. Political leaders need social issues about which they would make promises to solve them if they will be elected.

In nineteenth part of this speech Bilawal Bhutto stated that his party equipped to wage war against oppression and terrorism, at this point to validate his agenda he repeated the words of his grandfather from historic speech of taking oath from people to stand with him in struggle. Pakistan People's Party had endorsed reconciliation in politics despite criticism according to Z.A Bhutto. Bilawal added that their country would not have to beg if political parties will work together. But it seems that from the present analysis that they are mere words Bilawal Bhutto had made arguments against all other parties and did not tried the policy of reconciliation in the same way Benazir also bashed her opponents in full swing and after winning she did not invited others to work together for the betterment of nation.

4.3.7 Emotional nuance

Emotional nuance depicts that speaker is closer to audience and understand their feelings and addressing them individually. Politically emotional tone helps political leader to catch the attention and support of audience. Political slogans, repetitions and remembrance of hardships also work to arise sentiments of audiences. Bilawal Bhutto in his Diwali speech used emotive tone at several intervals effectually. He started his discourse by using this strategy efficaciously and said that he was extremely pleased to become part of that Diwali celebrations. He pronounced his audience as his sisters, brother just like his grandfather and mother used to say in start of their speeches. This created very warmth feeling among people that their leader whom they follow and thinks as more powerful personality, is giving them honour and credit of being equal

with them. Audience become attentive as through use of emotive tone speakers decipher that they are addressing to them individually. Bilawal in more explicit manner said that he felt like he was with his own siblings celebrating the day of Eid in Karachi. Comparing Diwali with Eid is significant as it gave message of equality, brotherhood and importance of minorities with emotional attachment.

In sixth divide of Diwali speech transcript Bilawal he switched from one code of language to other to make his message emotive. He spoke in Sindhi language which is regional language. He said that he would die but never give Pakistan repeated his sentence adding Jinnah's Pakistan at end. He switched his language to make people feel more sentimental towards his words because people feel closer to a person who shares same mother tongue and feel comfort by speaking in their own language. In his listeners, most of the people spoke Sindhi language as he was delivering his speech in Naudero house and people had also gathered from Naudero. Bilawal Bhutto attracted his audience to persuade them to select him and his party as governing party. Bilawal Bhutto in his selected speech has followed style of her mother anyone who had seen or listened her would identify her style of oratory in his son. A speaker's utmost power is when his words not only echo the feeling but whose passion balances that of masses as well. The public would overlook recurrence of ideas, pardon a speech fraught with faults and it stand listening to their leaders for hours.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The aim of present study was to critically evaluate the linguistic features which propagated political ideologies and furthermore, it analysed ideological boundary transforms with evolving political scenario. Political rhetoric is struggle over power to put certain political stance, economic, social, and ideological viewpoint into practice. In this ideological propagation language played a vital role, for every political action is accompanied and propagated using diction. It is admissible to indicate here that present research work has endeavour to contemplate only those facets, expressions, ideas and phrases chosen speeches and has been discursively, analytically and critically considered integral part from ideological and linguistic facets, and followed right from the start. A scenic examination of present work and findings has provided researcher with the following notable main feature with revision of following research questions:

1. What kind of linguistic features and persuasive techniques are used by three different generations in the politics of Pakistan People's Party?
2. What are the mechanisms of power inherent in language? Whether the use of manipulative and rhetoric devices favours the politicians in maintain political influence?

Politics is play of power and with changing social, economic and political scenario politicians strategies to influence public must be changed. This analytical study discovered the fact that political leaders have their own self-centred ideology and motive of supremacy/authority despite of that, political speeches of leaders accomplished to signify an ideology including all the masses and sections of society.

Though it may only occur when politicians have possibly altered ideology conferring to desires and scenario of present hour. As the findings suggest that the political leaders have employed ideological discourse choices concerning diverse forefronts and background. Investigation of leaders' ideological discourse has been examined from some different convenient viewpoints as the addresser's ideology is of various shades. However, religious, emotional, personal, verbose, national, and regional reflection of their ideology has been scrutinized by the researcher. How these three leaders have given importance and preference to their party workers, their own affiliations with party, the practice of personal pronoun, metaphors and figurative language, use of temporal sympathy and sensibility has been discussed in detail. The detailed analysis of political speeches of three leaders, revealed their discourse was comprehensive, prudent, wide-ranging, multi-faceted, and societal political ideology concerning chief facets of societal bands necessitates that they had been inclined towards being peace lovers, pro-public, state focussed, collective cognisant, and anti-expansionist deep down at heart. This research has excavated them as having composed, absolute, planned diplomatic foreign strategy design in relation with socio- national policies. The political leaders have been discovered in the proliferation of healthy religious and social approach which revealed to be all inclusive in moderate and sensible fashion. The extend of party affiliation in the discourse has been discussed in this research. They have confidently conveyed with them the insignia of their part at public stage. From structural, thematic, and discursive points political leaders have been found of emphatic rhetoric. The findings showed that Z.A Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto, for indoctrination of their ideology have skilfully deployed covert and overt persuasive strategies. Although Benazir portrays a strong image of a woman that is divergent from the stereotypical image of a woman. Her political consciousness enables her to secure herself the title of a Prime Minister for two terms. She fights for the honour of her father and of her own, and tries to demolish every hurdle standing in her way. Understanding the importance of credibility, she highlights and elaborates her father's credibility and of her own since credibility is the only available tool to judge the prospect of the politicians. It has been discovered that discourse is supplied with operative procedure that's why researcher do not face problem while analyzing and outlining the persuasive strategies using Dijk's theoretical elements. Persuasive techniques like parallelism, hedging, verbose style emotive use, polarization, and verbose style employed by three different generations indicated that these politicians had maintained typical style of rhetoric and used

emotive tone at start of their speech to attract their audience and findings suggested that these three political leaders used positive self-image and negative others. They had condemned their opponents by calling them 'they' indicating they are other than them and not loyal to the nation and country. Although the circumstances have been changed so, target of their condemnation and criticism has been changed but the way through which they deliver their speech is not changed. All discussed speeches were delivered by the politicians belonging to same family members sharing same ideology and legacy this may be the reason why they maintained similar style and persuasive techniques.

Communal groups and societies are ideologically replete whether people assert it or not. People and communities are always with some ideology either they are political or impartial. No matter ideology is practiced in their message or spirit or not people are ideological driven and ideologically given. In society, every small or large sects of people necessitates specific social and cultural ideology. It is alone ideology which recommends and describes the strategy of existence at collective or individual levels. Societies including the worldly or most copious one, cannot exist without having some roughly designed or well-defined ideology. So, the propagation of these ideologies in front of masses who are already connected to some ideology becomes very easy for the politician. With the help of specific linguistic features political leaders have persuaded their audience and tried controlled the thoughts of people. This persuasion is just to gain power, to surpass, dominate, to prevail, and to stand out of all. Authentication of political ideology can be very hard as it cannot be measured or confirmed with the help of discourse only. Political discourse is always debatable and it goes discursive in the play of power. Language is the only tool in the hands of these political leaders to epitomize their agenda. People get attracted by the use of metaphorical and hyperbolic narration of historical events and social incidents and get compelled towards them. No medium other than discourse can help these leaders to change the mindset of public. Though the practicality of their ideological features come on second position because they proliferate their ideology through discourse in public. Irrespective of fact that these persuasive approaches have been employed instinctively or deliberately, they had been used to change the mindset of masses.

Ideology can be carried through the social practice of discourse. It means that ideology is being yoked by language to perpetuate and reserve it. Without alluding power in

political speeches and other political discourses it cannot be characterized or established. Consequently, exercise of hegemony and authority do not essentially necessitate to illustrate authority. It is difficult to ascertain either persuasion is attained by allocating honest affiliations with audience or mere at colloquial level. But it is this use of persuasion which made them famous and reliable in public. It favours them as they convey their hardships, glorification, triumph and tribulations with public realizing them that they are very close to their public and shares every thick and thin with them. They are with them in times of great need and distress as seen in analysis of selected political leaders. They made full use of their inner potentials of vocalization and attracted public with manipulation of words.

5.1 Recommendation for the further research

The writer of speeches under discussion were not known they might be speakers own drafted and written or by some political office (speech writer), was not known due to inadequate resources. So, further research can be done on several speeches of one political leader to determine the credibility of ideology in the discourse of speaker. Moreover, it will be of worth to do a comparative analysis of different leaders to discover new dimensions. Present research is socio-cognitive discourse analysis of written transcripts of political speeches and researcher did not include body language, hand gestures and other visionary levels of discourse so, further research can be conducted by involving the spoken and visual discourse using pragmatics or phonological levels of linguistics. Present research has been conducted by selecting speeches of two male leaders and one female leader, further they can be analyzed in contrastive way that is from gender perspective though over-all estimate has been discussed by researcher.

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