

Ideology In Political Discourses: A Critical Discourse Analysis Of Pakistan Democratic Movement Leaders' Speeches In 2020

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ABSTRACT

The present study explores the in-group and out-group ideology in political speeches of two leaders, Bilawal Bhutto and Molana Fazal-ur-Rahman. These speeches were delivered by these speakers from the platform of PDM (Pakistan Democratic Movement) which was founded to destabilize Imran Khan's government. The present research has analyzed four speeches of each speaker. The speeches were delivered from Oct, 2020 to Dec, 2020. For this research, the researcher has used Van Dijk's (2006) research model in embedded form. The prominent categories that have been used in the present data include; actor description, authority, distancing, number game, polarization, hyperbole, and history as lesson, evidentiality, and repetition. The levels of analysis include word class, sentence and discourse level. The findings show that the speakers have used different linguistic forms such as noun, pronouns, verb and adjectives; rhetorical devices such as number game, hyperbole, and repetition to construct the discursive strategies such as actor description, authority, history as lesson, evidentiality, polarization, and distancing. These linguistic forms, rhetorical devices, and discursive strategies were employed by PDM leaders to propagate their ideologies to represent in-group positively and out-group negatively. The research concludes that political discourses are the best sites to propagate desired ideologies.

Keywords: Ideology, Political Discourses, Critical Discourse Analysis, Pakistan Democratic Movement

Introduction:

Pakistan Democratic Movement was founded in September 20, 2020 by the leader of the Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam, Fazal-ur-Rehman. Pakistan Democratic Movement is of the view that the 2018 Pakistan's General Election that was won by the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf Party was rigged by the Pakistani military. Therefore, the opposition parties demand the immediate resignation of democratically elected Prime Minister Imran Khan. Pakistan Democratic Movement (henceforth PDM) leaders further explained that Imran Khan is not selected by the

vote of Pakistani peoples rather it is selected by some higher authority. On 20 September 2020, Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, chairman of the center-left Pakistan People's Party, hosted an All Parties Conference at the Islamabad Marriott Hotel to form a grand political alliance and plan strategy for replacing the Imran Khan government. Afterwards, they organized public gatherings in different cities of Pakistan. Public gatherings that are selected for this research are those that held in Gujranwala, Karachi, Quetta and Lahore. Politics is an art to persuade the people. Political activities are characterized by the artful moves of

winning and holding control over people. These different linguistics moves include persuasion, presentation of opinions as facts and self-styled description of allies and opponents.

The present research is an attempt to critically analyses of the discourses i.e. speeches delivered by PDM leaders including Mulona Fazal-ur-Rahman is a senior Pakistani Politician who is currently attached to Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam Party. He has been opposing Pakistan Tehreek e Insaf and Imran Khan several times and demanding his resignation. Bilawal Bhutto is the current chairman of the Pakistan People's Party. He is the son of former Prime Minister of Pakistan Benazir Bhutto and former President of Pakistan Asif Ali Zardari.

Politician seeks to gain power through ideology, they build their power on ideologies, which may be focused on improvements in the country's structure of government, infrastructure, foreign relations and policies, the issue of inflation and corruption, or what people want to hear. Scholars, such as Fairclough and Van dijk, interpret ideology in terms of control. Ideology is when a particular person or group of people agrees with societal standards and ideals because it helps them to achieve their goals or they believe that certain ideologies address their concerns and help them to deal with their social problems and issues. These ideologies-based views are often articulated as reasonable. Political parties can obtain political legitimacy through elections, gain influence, and persuade audiences that their power and authority are legitimately based on the democratic system of things.

The present research employs Van dijk's (2006) Political Discourse Analysis framework. The study endeavors to explore how the triad of language, oration and politics is inter-woven by speakers for the dissemination of desired ideology and to win the consent of general masses. Therefore, the study aims to analyze the

speeches delivered by PDM leaders at the levels of word, phrase and discourse.

Objectives

Following are the objectives of the study:

1. To investigate how Bilawal Bhutto and Mulona Fazal-ul-Rahman use discursive strategies to represent positive Us and negative Them
2. To identify how language is used to disseminate ideologies by Bilawal Bhutto and Mulona Fazal-ul-Rahman

Practical and Scientific Applications

The research is expected to give valuable practical contributions to the research field of political discourse and critical discourse analysis. Practically, the result of this research will become one of the sources in linguistics which focus on discursive strategies for propagation of political ideologies. This research will contribute to the existing scholarship on political discourse and discursive strategies, and will give more knowledge about discursive strategies, ideologies and political power.

1.5 Research Questions

1. What linguistics strategies Bilawal Bhutto and Mulona Fazal-ul-Rahman employ to represent the dichotomy of Us and Them in their discourses?
2. What discursive strategies are used by Bilawal Bhutto and Mulona Fazal-ul-Rahman to disseminate desired ideology to the general public in their speeches?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Discourse and Critical Discourse Analysis

The word discourse comes from the Latin word discourses, which means "to converse, write, or speak." Linguists define it as a linguistically directed minimum unit of text that can sort from a single word to a full sentence. Discourse could

be defined in a various way. Any form of language in use (Brown & Yule, 1983) or naturally occurring language could be defined. Discourse might take the shape of a speech or a written document. Discourse can be characterized as a method of not just representing but also indicating, forming, and producing meaning in the world (Paltridge, 2000). Critical discourse analysis has increased to prominence as a key multidisciplinary approach to the study of texts and speeches at public circumstances. Fairclough (1995, 1989) claims that every linguistic usage reflects ideological perspectives and regards speech as a type of social practise. CDA's fundamental goal is to uncover the hidden aspects of conversation. Words are used in political discourse to transfer power or ideology from one group or country to another. CDA is primarily interested in studying opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power, and control when they manifest in language, according to Wodak (2001). Critical discourse analysis have some approach which help us to reveal that the relationship between languages, values, societies, opinions, power, and ideologies. CDA is therefore regularly honored with new approaches in language and communication discipline. Teun Van Dijk, has attempted to integrate cognitive psychology and CDA to show how ideological structures are hidden in people's minds (Chilton, 2004). Van Dijk's (1998) explains the process of persuasion as a strategy used by political leaders as a discourse to influence on the minds of listeners to alter their ideas. A potential political leader not only can change the opinions of people by using persuasive techniques but also can affect their daily life actions and contribution in society. Thus, it demonstrates that language is an essential element for persuasion used by various political leaders to gain dominance and control over the minds of people. Therefore, politicians intentionally politicize public speeches and interviews with theatrical connotations and

impractical assurances: it shows that various forms of languages can change the nature of clashes in the community. Regrettably, most of the listeners accept and believe what a political say in front of them since they lack substitute opinions and ideas or they have not enough knowledge to reject the ideas of political leaders.

Ideology Power, and Politics

Politics is defined as a social activity which is basically an endeavor to gain power. Power can be defined as agreed cooperative policies accepted by some political organizations and institutes to search out the solution for social clashes, for both who are enjoying the power and those who are not but want to enjoy (Chilton, 2004). Political innate features are struggled for benefits, persuading, manipulating, and the obligation of ideologies, praising friends (allies) and reflecting the bad image of adversaries (opponent). Foucault (1979) urged that, power is everywhere, not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere. This opinion is not outside of criticism it shows the indefinability of power, power is a concept which has varying meanings for different peoples. Damico et. al. (2005) say that people living in a society communicate with one another in daily life routines and the interactions between them encompass not only how we have communications but also construct these exchanges associate with underneath social factors such as power and harmony. This disposes us to have a practical understanding of relationships among language, discourse, and social forces for how political leaders use language to achieve their goal in society and traverse the difficulties in conversational interactions. In this way, political leaders construct their self-image concerning others by negotiating power with cooperative strategies to establish power hierarchy and social roles. Ideology is socio-cognitive; it reflects the cognition of an individual living in a particular

society. Here is an important aspect of societal beliefs structure e.g. social acknowledgment, views, perception, and attitude; these are the things inhabitants of a particular society share with each other. Similarly, as there is no divergent communication system (language), there are no divergent ideologies in a single society. The notion of 10 'rational or commonsensical, meanwhile Gramsci repeatedly relates to the social and political approval of ideologies (Haal, Lumley, & McLennan, 1978).

Discursive Strategies

Rhetoric in Politics

The art of effective speaking is referred to as rhetoric. It's about the persuasive power of spoken and written speeches, and how language may be used to influence the audiences regarding critical public issues. It has taken on an essential role in politics. It's most commonly used in political speeches to exploit the masses and propagate a specific sort of ideology. Political rhetoric improves the effectiveness of language in persuading the target readership or audience on a certain political topic. The goal of political discourse is usually mind control or manipulation (Van Dijk 1995, 2006).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Theoretical Framework

Political discourse analysis is a branch of discourse analysis that focuses on the discourse practices carried out in particular contexts, political platforms, and spheres, such as trials, debates, legislative processes, and discussions (Johnson & Johnson, 2008). It can also be defined as political discourse analysis. An area of discourse analysis that seeks to emphasize the political ideologies as the discursive discourse for the purpose of exposing and revealing the secret ideologies in which politicians' massive agendas

Discursive strategies are the approaches and use of various language devices to transfer a message in order to achieve the desired possessions or outcomes. To make their discourse more effective, political speakers adopt specific communication skills. The speaker's main method is to generate the discursive strategies and purposeful selection of linguistic devices. According to Reisigl and Wodak (2001), discursive strategies are particular and purposeful designs of activities used to achieve a specific social, psychological, or linguistic goal.

reside. Van Dijk (2006) believes that the Political Discourse is not limited to politicians or political debate, but it can be extended to include all actors who attempt to make political agendas discursive through the use of words, photographs, and gestures. Political discourse is not restricted to political language; rather, it encompasses all activities of the media, political workers, political officials, pressure groups, and social institutions that play a role in power. 24 According to Van Dijk (1998), debate is often contained in written or spoken narratives, while political discourse is primarily found in speeches given by politicians in parliament. Many other forums for political ideology construction exist, such as social institutes, forums, media discussions, talk shows, debates, conferences, campaigns, and legislative processes, although many politicians and political parties attempted to propagate and present their ideology through magazines, articles, books, and newspapers, among other things. Nevertheless, the social media platform is now the most powerful tool.

Van Dijk's Political Discourse Analysis Framework (2006)

The following information will serve as the foundation for the remainder of the study. Van Dijk's (2006) conceptual framework is

comprehensive and detailed, providing the researcher with instruments for language analysis. Other frameworks in the field of linguistic analysis and CDA, such as Van Dijk's (1997), concentrate on a single component of discourse production, but Van Dijk's (2006) framework covers arguments, political strategies, rhetorical devices, semantic strategies, and linguistics information. Rather than being quantitative in nature, this study is predominantly qualitative. The speeches of PDM leaders use significantly from this theoretical approach since it provides a good foundation for analyzing various critical variables. Van Dijk's (2006) framework elaborates on a variety of linguistic strategies, including the fundamental dichotomy between "positive self-representation" and "negative other-representation," which is highlighted in research. A semantic macro-strategy is one that is used to maintain one's 'face' or 'impression,' positive self-representation, or in-group (Van Dijk 2006). Other-representation in the negative meaning is a semantic macro-strategy for classifying groups as "good" or "bad," superior or inferior, "US" or "THEM." People produce, comprehend, and recall texts in a variety of ways, according to Van Dijk's sociocognitive paradigm (1998, 2001). Van Dijk conducts a social, cognitive, and discourse analysis of the text.

Discursive Strategies in Political Discourse Analysis

Van Dijk (2006) presents two major discursive strategies in the form of language. Stress "our" good things Stress "their" bad things De-emphasize "our" bad things De-emphasize "their" good things. The final analytical categories are explained below:

Delimitation of the Study

The present study is delimited to analyzing the discursive strategies of the speeches of political leaders in Pakistan Democratic Movement

(PDM), Bilawal Bhutto and Mulona Fazal-ul-Rahman. The researcher has analyzed the speeches of only four leaders of PDM, Bilawal Bhutto and Mulona Fazal-ul-Rahman. The speeches which have been selected for analysis were delivered by the speakers in Urdu language before the Pakistani National addressees of the Pakistan.

- 1- Gujranwala 16.10.2020 S1
- 2- Karachi 18.10.2020 S2
- 3- Quetta 25.10.2020 S3
- 4- Lahore 13.12.2020 S4

These speeches were delivered between 16 October to 13 December, 2020. The research focused on those sentences which convey the ideology of Us and Them presenting the Positive self-representation and Negative other representation. The name of the leaders, place and date have been mentioned: (here 'S' stands for speech)

Name	Venue	Date	Speech
1- PDM	Speeches	Gujranwala 16.10.2020	S1
2- PDM	Speeches	Karachi 18.10.2020	S2
3- PDM	Speeches	Quetta 25.10.2020	S3
4- PDM	Speeches	Lahore 13.12.2020	S4

Data Analysis

The researcher has employed Van Dijk's (2006) PDA framework for the linguistic analysis of political speeches to explore the discursive strategies used by the PDM leaders to disseminate ideologies. This research has been delimited to the critical analysis of Bilawal Bhutto and Mulona Fazal-ul-Rahman speeches in Gujranwala, Karachi, Quetta and Lahore. The researcher has listened to the video recording of these selected speeches of PDM leaders many times and wrote each sentence in Urdu language and then translated it into English. After this process every sentence is analyzed to identify the themes and various discursive strategies used by

the speaker in his speech. After including and excluding the analytical categories research made his own embedded framework for analyzing the data which is more relevant to selected data. Only those analytical categories are nominated that related and more applicable and more commonly used by the speaker. The relevance is based on in-group and out-group 30 appearance as well as demonstration of the events. The analytical categories which are included for this research are 'actor description, authority, history as a lesson, evidentially, number game, polarization, distancing, hyperbole and repetition are included in the embedded framework to analyze the data

Research Design

For the present research, the researcher has used Van Dijk's (2006) framework of Political Discourse Analysis as a research model for analyzing data. In textual analysis, the text is analysed for grammatical devices such as noun, pronoun, adjective and rhetorical devices such as hyperbole, number game, and repetition these devices relate to the discursive strategies that emerge such as, actor description, authority, distance, polarization history as a lesson and evidentiality. They further give rise to the underlying ideology used in their discourses. For the present research the researcher made his own embedded model derived from Van Dijk (2006) PDA analytical framework. This has been done considering the existing and emerged analytical categories from data.

DATA ANALYSIS

Actor Description

Discourse involves various types of actors. Actors may be described as members of groups or as individuals by their actions or (alleged) attributes, by their position or relation to other people, and so on. The overall ideological strategy is that of positive self-representation and negative other-representation. This description is

never neutral but has semantic, rhetorical, and argumentative functions in the expression of opinions.

Moluna Fazal-ur-Rahman

Awam ko apna rasta do/Give the people their way Here the use of Common Noun Awam/Public has used as a social actor.

In the sentence, Maulana Fazal-ur-Rahman is the representative of the general masses of Pakistan represent as in-group positively and demanding from the sitting government of Imran Khan that represented as out-group negatively let the people go ahead. The sentence is an imperative which means that the speaker has ordered the government, that they should not stop the people. Here, the ideology is that people come out from their hoses to disband the Imran Khan's government but they are not allowed to move forward. So, Moluna Fazal-ur-Rahman demanding from present government to give way to the public. In this way Moluna Fazal-ur-Rahman represent Imran Khan's government negatively. Moreover, the use of Apna rasta do/to give way to the people is highly ideological which means that during the government of Imran Khan People have not given what they deserve therefore people have come on the road for their rights and justice.

Bilawal Bhutto Bilawal

Hum ne is jamhuriat ka diffa Apne Khoon Se Kiya Hai/ We will defend this democracy with our blood. Bilawal Bhutto has used the first-person pronoun we as in-group to represent his whole party. Indirectly he wants to say that we all are democratic people, we have always sacrificed for democracy. Indirectly he is talking about Martyred Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto who is the founder of PPP, his Mother Martyred Benazir Bhutto, and the other party members who sacrificed for democracy. He showed in-group positively by saying that we defend 40 democracy with our

blood. In this example, we used as a social actor to represent the whole party. Here, the ideology is that Bilawal Bhutto indirectly wants to say that we are democratic people while Imran Khan and his party are undemocratic.

Distancing

It is employed for polarization of Us vs Them. This strategy employs those words or lexis which gives the impression of the distance between in-group speakers and the out-group. Van Dijk's (2006). It is a technique where people belonging to in-group are represented positively and people belonging to out-group are represented negatively. It is a kind of linguistic distancing to marginalize the out-group. It is a significant feature of political discourse as well. In politics, we see this type of rhetoric is very much popular to represent Us as positively and Them as negatively. Similarly, the data under analysis we see that the technique of othering is quite obvious,

Moluna Fazal-ur-Rahman

Moluna Fazal-ur-Rahman has used the discursive strategy of Distancing. Some examples are given below

**us waqt mayshat theek tha ab tabah ho gia/
The economy was in a good position at that time now it's ruined**

In this sentence, Moluna Fazal-ur-Rahman has used the word that time to relate the present government with the previous government to represent the Imran Khan's government negatively. In other words, the Economy has used as an abstract noun and worked as a lexical device to relate this government with the previous government. The ideology is that Moluna Fazal-ur-Rahman has blamed that during this administration the economy of Pakistan has destroyed due to wrong policies and incapability of this government. Moreover, he said that in the previous Government the economy was in better shape and now it has been destroyed. The implicature under analysis is that the previous governments were doing right and boosting up the economy of the country but now the condition

is opposite. In this way, Moluna Fazal-ur-Rahman propagates his ideology to represent in-group positively and out-group negatively.

Bilawal Bhutto

punjab ka metro 2sal main aur Khyber pakhtunkhwa ka sath saal main mukamal ho/The Punjab Metro was completed in two years and the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Metro in seven years

Here, along with the technique of distancing, the technique of number game has also been used for positive self-representation and negative other representation. Here the use of two year and seven year are examples of a Number Game. The previous government of Mr. Shahbaz Sharif and Nawaz Sharif is represented positively and they completed their project of Punjab Metro within time. On the other hand, Imran Khan's government is represented negatively for Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Metro which was completed in seven years. This is shown by representing the time period of two years for Shahbaz Sharif government and seven years for Imran Khan's government through the technique of comparison and contrast. Bilawal Bhutto has distanced Imran Khan's government and previous government to represent in group positively and out group negatively.

Authority

This category highlights powerful figures used in the text to support the given proposition. International figures, politicians, worldly as well as religious scholars are considered as authoritative figures in political discourses. Speakers mention authorities in an argument to support their case, these authorities are generally recognized, experts, or moral leaders. Authority is often related to the semantic move of evidentially, objectivity and reliability in argumentation van Dijk's (2006).

Moluna Fazal-ur-Rahman

Hamare maieshat mazboot ho ge to hm tarki kr saken gy/If our economy is strong, then we will be grow

Moluna Fazal-ur-Rahman has used the plural pronoun our Economy to represent the solidarity with the people of Pakistan. He used the word abstract noun maesht/ economy as an authority figure. Moluna Fazal-ur-Rahman represents Imran Khan's government negatively by blaming that these people are so incapable even they don't stable our economy. Without a strong economy, we never make progress in the world. The ideology is that before Imran Khan government the economy of our country was in good shape and the country making progress in every field but after this government, the economy of country is down day by day. This is the negative representation of Imran Khan presented by Moluna Fazal-ur-Rahman through his speeches.

Bilawal Bhutto

Similarly, criticizing the present Government, Bilawal Bhutto has used the technique of authority in the form of the following example.

Sindh Mein Aaj Bhi darbadra Sailaab se Mootasreen Wazir Azam sy imdad ky muntazir hn/ Flood victims are still displaced in Sindh waiting for Prime Minister help till today.

Bilawal Bhutto has criticized Imran Khan to represent him negatively. Here, Bilawal Bhutto has discussed the natural threats of Silab Mutasreen/ Flood victims which were used as a lexicalization to represent the Imran Khan's government negatively. The word Prime Minister is used as an authority figure to represent Imran Khan. Bilawal Bhutto blamed that still today there are so many flood victims displaced but Imran Khan did not even ask about them. In this sentence, darbadar/ displace is used for the negative representation of Imran Khan's government. Moreover, Mr. Bilawal said that people in Sindh Silab Mutasreen/flood-affected people are still waiting to be provided relief from the Center but none from the center have so far reached there to provide relief to the people. He especially mentioned Authority figure Wazir.e.Azam/Prime minister to represent him

negatively. The ideology is that in previous governments when some natural disaster occurred the government fully helped the people but now the situation is opposite government does nothing for those people. In this way, Bilawal Bhutto represents in-group ideology positively and out-group ideology negatively.

Hyperbole

Hyperbole is a figure of speech which use in language to exaggerate or emphasize the meaning. Metaphor is also used to give a hyperbolic impression. It has semantic implications in political discourses.

Moluna Fazal-ur-Rahman

Foj hamre ly ase hy jase aankhon ki palkien/Army for us as dear as our eyelids.

The example mentioned above illustrated that the speaker has used hyperbole to win the hearts and consent. In this sentence Aankhon ki palkien/ Eyelids is used as a technique of exaggeration to show the solidarity with Pakistan Army. Moluna Fazal-ur-Rahman has declared that Pakistan Army is as dear to him and his party as eyelids are to eyes. This is highly metaphorical and persuasive to represent him and his party positively. One cannot imagine eyes without eyelids and it is the case with the people of Pakistan that their survival is only dependent on Pak Army. As long as eyelids are there their eyes can see, as long as Pak Army is there the people of Pakistan can live in Pakistan independently. He had used this technique to propagate his message that we are very much behind our Army. It is dearest to all of us and we cannot imagine the sovereignty and independence of Pakistan without Army.

Bilawal Bhutto

Bilawal Bhutto has also used the rhetorical device Hyperbole to propagate his ideology. Some examples are as under:

Shaheed Benazir apni zat aor Bahdree main bynazir thi/ Shaheed Benazir was unique in herself and her bravery.

Bilawal Bhutto has used the proper noun Benazir who plays an important role in the political history of Pakistan. By using the technique of alliteration in the form of Benazir and Benazir, the first Benazir is used for his mother and the other Benazir is used as an exemplary lady. Here, Bilawal Bhutto used the word Benazir as an exaggeration technique to represent the in-group positively. So, this is the technique in which he represented himself, his mother, and his party as a pro. Pakistani. Here the ideology is that Bilawal Bhutto represented in-group positively by affirming that Banazir was so good lady for the people of Pakistan that was unique in herself and his bravery.

Number Game

A Number Game is an analytical device/linguistic move that is often used to highlight the intensity in terms of numbers. Mostly in political discourses, it is observed that most of the politicians use this technique of number game in their political speeches to make their stance more persuasive and comprehensive.

Moluna Fazal-ur-Rahman

Moluna Fazal-ur- Rahman has used the technique of Number Game in his speeches, some examples are discussed as under:

Imran Khan ki hukmot main budget 5 percent sy km ho kr 1.5 aa gaya/During Imran Khan Government budget reduced from 5percent to 1.5 percent.

Moluna Fazal-ur-Rahman has used the proper noun Imran khan, directly mentioning his name to represent him negatively. He targeted Imran khan through another angle by highlighting that, budget defect has also decreased and the progress of the country which was previously five percent is now 1.5 percent only. It's clear that instead of making progress the country is suffering from a downfall in economy. Moreover, 5 and 1.5 are used as a technique of Number Game to represent in-group positively and out-group negatively. The ideology is that Moluna Fazal-ur-Rahman blamed that Imran Khan has

destroyed the economy of the country. It's all due to the incapability of Imran Khan and the wrong policies of his government.

Bilawal Bhutto

Bilawal Bhutto has also used the technique of the Number Game in his speeches. Some examples are mentioned below

Hamne apni hukumat main 150 feesad panshan main izafa kia/ We increased the pension of the people 150 percent.

Bilawal Bhutto has used the first-person pronoun we to represent himself and his party. Here he used 150% as Number game technique. He indirectly showed that previous governments were always very caring and friendly towards the government employees. They increased ipension by 150 percent which clears that the previous governments were concerned about the people who had been retired from their jobs. But this government does nothing for those people who retired from their job. In this way, Bilawal Bhutto represents in-group positively and out-group negatively.

History as a lesson

History as a lesson is an argumentative strategy to build a connection between past and present incidents. The comparison between the events of history with the present ones when become more generalized then they become Topos and also serve the purpose of showing history as a lesson Van dijk's (2006)

Moluna Fazal-ur-Rahman

Awam pahly kabhi itna zaleel ni hoi jitna is hukomat main ho rhi hy / Publik never humiliate in the past as in this Government.

Moluna Fazal-ur-Rahman has used the technique of History as a lesson to represent the Imran khan's government negatively. Here Moluna Fazal-ur-Rahman has used the common noun Awam/Public to represent Pakistani people. Moreover, the word zaleel kr dia has used for the negative representation of Imran Khan. In this sentence, the technique of History as a lesson has been used in the form pahly kabhi/ never in past.

Moluna Fazal-ur-Rahman has criticized the present government by saying that in past public face such types of difficulties as they are facing in this government which means in previous government's public was safe but now the condition is reversed. In this way, Moluna Fazal-ur-Rahman represented in-group positively and out-group negatively.

Bilawal Bhutto

Bilawal Bhutto has used History as a Lesson in his speeches. Some of the examples which have been picked from his speeches are as under.

Aafreen Hai Benazir Bhutto per Jisne 13 sal pahle voh hosla dikhaya Jiski duniya mein koi misal nahin milati/ Congratulations to Benazir Bhutto who showed courage 13 years ago that is unparalleled in the world.

Bilawal Bhutto has been used the proper noun Benazir Bhutto to represent his party positively. Another word hosla dikhaya/ showed courage used for exaggeration to represent himself and his party positively. Moreover, in this sentence, Bilawal Bhutto has used the technique of History as a lesson in the form of Terah sal pahly/ Thirteen year ago. The ideology is that he represented his party positively by saying that Benazir Bhutto showed courage thirteen years ago when her all family being martyred but she don't lose the heart and stand against the dictatorship. In this way, Bilawal Bhutto represented in-group positively and out-group negatively.

Polarization

Polarization creates a dichotomy between in-groups and out-groups and shows two groups or in-groups and out-groups as two distinct poles. It may be rhetorically enhanced when expressed as a clear contrast, that is, by attributing properties of us and them that are semantically each other's opposites Van dijk's (2006).

Moluna Fazal-ur-Rahman

Moluna Fazal-ur-Rahman criticized Imran Khan's government by using the technique of polarization. Some examples are discussed under

Ham sab mil kr is na ahil sy jaan churien gy /we together will get rid of this incompetent

Moluna Fazal-ur-Rahman has used the first-person pronoun ham/we as a subject to represent the people included in PDM. Here ham/we used as an in-group and naahil/incompetent as an out-group. Another word Sab mil kr/ Together used as a technique

of solidarity which means we all are on one page. Moreover, he used the word na-ehel/ Incompetent as an object form to represent Imran Khan negatively. The ideology is that he says that we all are together to get rid of the incapable government of Imran Khan which means previous governments were good as compared to this government.

Bilawal Bhutto

Bilawal Bhutto has also used techniques of polarization. He criticize the Imran Khan's government to represent in-group positively and out-group negatively. Some examples are as under

Aaj Hamen ekatthe hokar in ghayr jamhoori logon ka Muqabla karna hoga/ Today we must together and withstand these undemocratic people together

Bilawal Bhutto has used the word hmien/ we as a subject to represent the people that included in PDM. Other words ekthay ho kr/ together has been used as a technique of solidarity to represent the in-group ideology. Here, the use of the word ghair jamhore/ undemocratic as an adjective to represent the Imran Khan government negatively. Bilawal Bhutto affirmed that today we all are on one page against these undemocratic peoples. The ideology is that we are democratic and want democracy in the country, but the present government was not elected, rather it was selected, they are undemocratic, therefore, we are united to get rid of this selected government. In this way, Bilawal Bhutto represent in-group ideology positively and out-group ideology negatively

Evidentiality

Claims or points of view in argument are more plausible when speakers present some evidence or proof for their knowledge or opinions. This may happen by references to authority; figures or institutions or by various forms of evidentiality Van dijk's (2006).

Moluna Fazal-ur-Rahman

Main ye baat wizaht krna chahta hn in hakomat ky khilaf hm apny moaqf py qaim hain/ I want to make it clear that we stand by our position against this government

Moluna Fazal-ur-Rahman has used the technique of Evidentiality to represent in-group positively and out-group negatively. In this sentence, Moluna Fazal-ur-Rahman has used the first-person pronoun main/ I as a subject to represent himself as an evident directly criticizing Imran Khan and his

government. main wezaht krna chahta hn/ I make it clear used as an Evidentiality technique. Moreover, he again used the first-person pronoun hm/ we to represent the whole PDM that against the Imran Khan government. Here he used in hukumat ka khilaf/ Against this government used for the negative representation of the Imran Khan government. Moluna Fazal-ur Rahman has criticized the Imran Khan government through the use of Evidentiality technique to represent himself and his party positively and Imran Khan's government negatively.

Bilawal Bhutto

Main aapko yakin dilata hun ham jald fatah per pahunchne wale hain/ I assure you that we are on the verge of victory

Bilawal Bhutto has been used the same technique of Evidentiality to propagate his ideology positively. Bilawal Bhutto has used the first-person pronoun main/ I as a subject to represent himself directly as a piece of evidence. Here, he again used the first-person pronoun hm/we to represent the whole PDM. Moreover, he used fatah/Victory for the positive self-representation. The ideology is that Bilawal Bhutto evidenced himself and assured us that we will reach victory soon. Indirectly he wants to say that Imran Khan and his government do nothing for the people of Pakistan therefore, we come out to over through this government and soon we reach our goal. This is the ideology of Bilawal Bhutto which he represented in-group positively and out-group negatively.

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

The present research aimed at critical discourse analysis of the political speeches of PDM leaders Bilawal Bhutto and Moluna Fazal-ul-Rahman to investigate how various discursive techniques are employed by the speakers to propagate their ideology. The research is conducted through Van Dijk's (2006) Political Discourse Analysis with the mentioned analytical categories identified in the data.

The findings of the research testify that these speakers have utilized different analytical categories include actor description, authority, History as a lesson, Evidentiality, Number game, Polarization,

Distancing, and Hyperbole. The major arguments of all these leaders are given below

Moluna Fazal-ur-Rahman, talked about Democracy, Imran Khan ny Pakistan ki siyasat ko kharab kr dia/Imran Khan Spoiled the Pakistan's politics, Economic revival, us waqt mayshat theek tha ab tabah ho gia/ The economy was in a good position at that time now it's ruined. Foreign policy, Cheen sy hamare dosti bahr.ul.kahil sy bhi ghare thi jo kah ab khatm ho raha hai/Our friendship with China is deeper than Pacific quotation now which is suffering from downfall Accountability, Imran Khan ki hukmot main budget 5 percent sy km ho kr 1.5 aa gaya/During Imran Khan Government budget reduced from 5percent to 1.5 percent.etc

Bilawal Bhutto talked about Democracy, Hum ne is jamhuriat ka diffa Apne Khoon Se Kiya Hai/ We will defend this democracy with our blood. Unemployment, Nojwan dagrian lye kr sarkon py ghoom rhy hn/Young people are roaming on the road with degrees. Inflation, Mahngie itni kah jo dawien 1000 kin thi aaj 5000 ki hy/ The dearness has reached a vast extreme, the medicine which used to be Rs.1000 now is of Rs.5000. Poverty. Tareekh Mein sab se zyada ghubat, sabse zyaada berozgari, aur sabse jyada mahangi is Dore hukumat Mein Hui/ The highest poverty in the history, the highest unemployment, and the highest inflation occurred during this Government. Etc

Moluna Fazal –ur-Rahman supported its agenda by using dominant features of these discursive strategies 227 times in his selected speeches, Bilawal Bhutto 75 times and had used different devices to propagate their ideology to represent in group (PDM) positively and out group (Imran Khan) negatively. The ideology of these selected leaders mentioned for this research is to overthought the Imran Khan Government because the political power they had before this government is gone, now they want to take back their previous political power. For this purpose they attend different public gathering organized from PDM platform to mislead the people against Imran Khan Government by saying that Imran Khan is not democratic but we are the democratic. We come out to save the democracy you people joined with us to give respect your vote and we again elect our new government.

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